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The Ars Moriendi

An examination, translation, and collation
of the manuscripts of the shorter
Latin version

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
University of Ottawa

by Jeffrey Campbell
Department of Classical Studies



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ISBN 0-612-07840-X

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Abstract

The Ars Moriendi is a Mediaeval Christian death manual that appeared around the middle of the fifteenth century. Though no-one is certain who the author was, there is no doubt that Jean Gerson was the major inspiration through his Opusculum Tripartitum. The general consensus is that the text was written by a member of the mendicant orders, probably a Dominican, and it was through them that the text spread so rapidly across Europe.

The text was originally written in Latin with translations into the various vernaculars coming later. The Ars Moriendi appears in almost every major European language. I choose to limit my study to those in Latin. Since there are two Latin traditions, the longer or CP, and the shorter or QS, I further narrowed the field of study and concentrated exclusively on the latter. This text has about fifteen pages with eleven woodcuts. The first two pages are an introduction. The following pages alternate between temptations of the devil and inspirations of the angel. The final page concerns the death of the sick man. The woodcuts reflect what is discussed on the printed page.

The text seems to have been produced as a response to the devastation of the Black Death. With so many priests either dead or missing, the popularity of a manual that instructed how to die in a way that ensured one made it to heaven is easy to understand.

Of the three hundred known manuscripts, only six are of the shorter version. Five of these I have studied. The sixth unhappily was destroyed in 1944 in Metz. This paucity is not surprising since the true appeal of this work is the woodcuts. Of the five manuscripts, at least two were copied from printed editions. The text itself is not very impressive as it is comprised mostly of various quotations from the Church Fathers and the Vulgate. I have been able to trace most of these citations, those I have been unable to locate are probably from florilegia.

Introduction

The Ars Moriendi first appeared around the middle of the fifteenth century and it explains how a Christian should die in order that he might make it to heaven. It exists in several versions and many languages. There are extant today at least 300 manuscripts in Latin and most of the Western vernaculars, and added to this number are the numerous printed copies that can be found in libraries around the world. The text was printed from either wood block or movable type editions well over one hundred times before 1500 and frequently during the first half of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries (O'Connor, 1-2). What makes this work rather unique is its emphasis as it deals not at all with living, but only with dying. The *moriens* is both warned and consoled, threatened and relieved as devils tempt him to turn from solid faith to mundane objects; these harbingers from hell are foiled however by angels and eventually by Christ himself. The topic of death and dying has always been popular and part of the psyche of society and it also is a standard theme in catechetical teaching. This was especially so during the late Middle Ages when memory of the plague was still very vivid as, though its initial devastating spread was almost one hundred years passed, sporadic outbreaks continued to take lives and enhance fear. That so many could die so quickly brought into focus divine retribution and the need for spiritual salvation.

The Two Traditions

The Ars Moriendi exists in primarily two Latin versions, though my research indicates those in the various vernaculars do not conform to a strict model. I intend only to examine the Latin versions; other versions will be dealt with only where necessary for

establishing the Latin text. As stated above, there are two versions of the Ars Moriendi, the longer or CP edition and the shorter or QS edition. I am adopting the system used by O'Connor to differentiate between the versions. The letters derive from the first words of each text, *Cum de Praesentis* (CP) and *Quamvis Secundum* (QS). The longer of the two, commonly referred to as the Tractatus Artis Bene Moriendi or Speculum Artis Bene Moriendi, is thought to be the earlier, with the shorter being an abridgement as it is about one third of the length. It is this shorter version that is called the Ars Moriendi (O'Connor, 7). The CP version is divided into six parts. The first is a series of quotations from Christian authors that relate to death; the second has the five temptations (faith, despair, impatience, vainglory, and avarice) that the devil will give to the dying; the third is a series of questions; the fourth consists of instructions on how to die as Christ did and includes prayers; the final two sections are intended for those who are around the dying, the fifth has instructions, and the sixth section contains prayers. The QS version or Ars Moriendi has been described as an abridgement of Book Two of the longer tradition (O'Connor, 12). Though both have the same temptations, the QS has corresponding inspirations (to faith, against despair, to patience, against vainglory and against avarice) from angels as well as a section that deals with the death of the individual. The shorter edition is put together in an organized fashion as woodcut is followed by text, with the temptation coming first followed by the inspiration. Each of these is exactly one page in length; this ensures that the woodcut and its appropriate text can be easily followed. The QS version has generally thirteen printed pages and eleven woodcuts. The two extra pages form the introduction. There has been some debate as

to which came first. Was the longer edition the progenitor of the shorter, or was the shorter an already existing text that was shortened and included into the longer? A satisfactory explanation has yet to be provided by contemporary scholarship. The arguments thus far put forward tend to emphasize the supposed character of the author. Should the reader be interested further, O'Connor summarizes the debate on pages 11-13.

The QS appears almost exclusively in block books though some have been found in movable type. Of the three hundred manuscripts of all versions that I am aware of, only six are of this shorter Latin edition. Others may exist in private collections. I have seen microfilm or paper copies of five of these manuscripts. The sixth unhappily was destroyed in Metz in 1944 and no copies of this are known to exist. The preference for block printing is obvious, the true beauty of this work is not so much the text but rather the woodcuts. "La diffusion de l'Ars moriendi était due, pour une bonne part, à des gravures sur bois très expressives, reproduites plus ou moins dans toutes les éditions....Ces gravures, qui sont au nombre des plus anciennes connues, font de l'Ars moriendi un des plus précieux monuments de l'art du XVe siècle" (Vernet, 898). When one considers that printing at this time was still a very new practice and that the standards of the printers varied greatly, it is surprising that greater discrepancies do not exist. Another surprising feature is the structure and similarity of the woodcuts. In each instance, even subtleties, such as a devil wrapping his arm around a bed post or sticking out his tongue, were almost identical. Thus, it seems that an emphasis was placed more on the pictures than on the text. In editions without woodcuts, such as the English Caxton edition from 1492, blank leaves were filled with prayers and devotional

instruction. In the Seville edition, prayers were not included with favour being granted to unrelated woodcut materials. As devotional and religious books were printed most frequently, it must be accepted that the printer had access to a block text which could have sufficed. Instead, he used the woodcuts.

Date and Authorship

There is much confusion surrounding the question of authorship. Originally this work was ascribed to Jean Gerson, but this theory is no longer held. Though he is referred to only once as the *Cancellarius Parisiensis*, there are several excerpts from his de Arte Moriendi. Tradition holds that Gerson did not write the Ars Moriendi, but his work was undoubtedly the source. The de Arte Moriendi appeared as the final section in Gerson's Opusculum Tripartitum and this work was completed between 1408 and 1412. There is a manuscript of the CP edition in Vienna dated 1418 (O'Connor, 80). Questions can be raised regarding this dating. It is about twenty years earlier than other dated manuscripts. Also, it is attributed to Dominicus Capranica. He is widely held as being the translator of the Ars Moriendi from Latin into Italian. In no Italian edition is he ascribed authorship, only the role of translator (O'Connor, 49). As most of the Ars Moriendi manuscripts in Vienna are attributed to him, and most are dated to around 1439/1440, this would be a more accurate date for the Vienna manuscript as well.

Though the work of Gerson is without doubt the inspiration, he is not the author. For that matter, no one else is given credit either. Male feels that the author was a French priest and bases his assumption on the importance of Gerson's Opusculum Tripartitum, "...les évêques de France, dans un de leurs synodes, avaient adopté pour l'éducation du

clergé" (Male, 381). In all probability, the author was a member of one of the mendicant orders. The Dominicans are the most likely candidates (O'Connor, 55). It is felt that the de Arte Moriendi first appeared around Constance after the Council (1414-1418). This helps to add some credibility to the early date of the aforementioned Vienna CP manuscript. O'Connor makes it clear that those attending the Council were familiar with this work of Gerson, "the testimony of later centuries seems to indicate that, if not the whole Opusculum, at least the De arte moriendi was known at Constance" (O'Connor, 52). The Dominicans wrote and distributed devotional works. As they were present in number in and around Constance, the link between them, the Council and the work of Gerson is clear. Furthermore, their peripatetic lifestyle would help to explain the rapid spread of the text across Europe. A Carthusian has also been posited. The basis for this link is a similar text written by their most famous member, Dennis, and that one of the manuscripts is believed to have been made by one of their members (O'Connor, 50, 110).

It is not surprising that Gerson could inspire these works. He was one of the most influential and respected scholars of his time. His position at the University of Paris, the intellectual centre of Europe, only enhanced his stature. The influence of the Opusculum Tripartitum extended beyond the two Artes Moriendi as the French episcopate insisted that the clergy read parts of it every Sunday to their congregations. Synods in the sixteenth century renewed this obligation. As late as 1782 it was found in rituals (O'Connor, 22-23). The popularity of the Ars Moriendi is more basic. There is no known author for this work, no reputation that preceded it. It is not a text of great intellectual prowess or literary beauty. The longer edition did not

even possess the woodcuts. It reassured its readers that if they followed its instructions, their soul would be saved.

Modern critics, such as Nancy Beaty, have derided and disparaged the Ars Moriendi for its lack of textual artistry and emphasis on Patristic sources rather than artistic inspiration. Such an attack is really misdirected as it fails to comprehend what the work really was. She held up as a comparison a work that the Ars Moriendi inspired, Thomas Lupset's Craft of Dying (Beaty, Chap. 1,2). By doing so, she has taken an aphoristic and devotional guide comprised of excerpts from the Church Fathers and Christian dogma and compared it with a polished poem written by an early Humanist. The Ars Moriendi never aspired to high art, at least not in its textual nature, and cannot be considered as such. What it inspired however, was a tradition throughout Europe of death literature in which the same themes and problems were examined (Wlodarski, 287).

The Time of the Ars Moriendi

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a time of tremendous upheaval, despair, dissension, and change. With the people of Europe enduring regular periods of war, a devastating plague, a Church actively discrediting itself, and heresies growing in popularity, it is not surprising that a text describing how to reach heaven would be sought out. Though the Black Death occurred almost a century before the appearance of the Ars Moriendi, its effects were felt for centuries. In the space of two years, it has been estimated that one third of the population of Europe, or twenty million people, died as a result of the epidemic. A Franciscan friar in Sicily echoed these sentiments when he

detailed how "magistrates and notaries refused to come and make the wills of the dying, even the priests did not come to hear their confessions" (Tuchman, 96). The medical and learned men of the time believed the cause of this calamity was attributable to astronomical forces. To the people however, the plague was the scourge of God, His divine retribution for the sins of mankind.

Suscepit eos de via iniquitatis eorum,
propter iniustitias enim suas humiliati sunt.
Omnem escam abominata est anima eorum,
et adpropinquaverunt usque ad portas mortis;
et clamaverunt ad Dominum, cum tribularentur,
et de necessitatibus eorum liberavit eos.
Misit verbum suum et sanavit eos et eripuit
eos de interitionibus eorum (*Ps.* 106:17-20)

It took them from the path of their iniquity,
for on account of their injustices, they were humiliated.
Their soul abominated all food, and they approached
near to the gates of death;
And they clamoured to God, when they suffered,
and he freed them from their needs.
He sent his word and it healed them and he snatched
them from their destructions.

In an age when sanitation and proper waste disposal were not practiced and rats were commonplace, it is not surprising that a majority of the populace felt that the end was at hand.

The clergy did not escape the effects of the plague either. Episcopal and parish registers indicate that more than half the beneficed clergy died during these two years (Campbell, 133). As the clergy were expected to perform last rites and hear the confessions of the dying, their mortality rates were high. The mortality rates throughout

Europe for the clergy as a whole were about 35 percent. This is in keeping with the death rates for the rest of the populace.

	Died During Black Death	Disappeared	Uncertain	Survived
Popes	0	0	0	1
Patriarchs	1	0	0	4
Metropolitans	25	1	0	44
Bishops	207	13	20	368
Totals	233	14	20	417

(Campbell, 136)

What is interesting about these statistics is the number of churchmen who disappeared or, for one reason or another, cannot be accounted for. What should be emphasized however, is that the latter may include problems regarding actual dates. Nevertheless, it seems that even members of the higher clergy did not always perform their duties at a time when they were most needed. For as was indicated above, priests often did not hear the confessions of their flock, nor did they always perform last rites. This deeply upset the faithful and in answer to this, Clement VI issued a papal bull in June of 1349 that permitted laymen to make confessions to each other should no priest be available. He went further when he granted the remission of all sins to those who died of plague (Tuchman, 94-95). With the clergy either dying or disappearing, there came the need to replenish the ranks. Ordinations of lesser men and youths became very common, though most lacked an understanding of the faith they represented and possessed a marginal reading ability. The resulting demoralization was felt by all people, both sacred and secular (Campbell, 134).

With death so near and visible to all, it is easy to understand how a text such as the Ars Moriendi could attain such popularity. As Sister Mary Catherine O'Connor stated: "Since the author is entirely orthodox, he must have intended his little book to guide the business of dying of those to whom the ministrations of the clergy were not available. It was probably the plague which produced the need for such a work; with epidemics recurring as they did, Christians must be given a method of directing their own passing to a happy eternity" (O'Connor, 6-7). This is in many ways true. Yet, as she herself pointed out, "there is, however, no evidence of this purpose in the text" (O'Connor, 7). It must be emphasized that there is no evidence that this text was produced by the Church with the benevolent intention of providing a safe path to heaven. With the Church in such a state of upheaval, change, and division, and with the level of the papal coffers getting very low, it is difficult to accept that any organized attempt could be made to undertake this task. The cost of printing the text alone would have made it prohibitive. This text, however, provided ready succor for the fears of those who possessed it. With the clergy in limited numbers and often in disarray, the Ars Moriendi filled this void and showed the way to salvation without the presence of a priest. With the papal bull of June 1349 by Clement VI this text was the obvious step beyond as it gives instructions both to the dying and those around him, as well as works in lieu of last rites. Some question has been raised as to whom this work was designed for as well as its purpose. Though Sister Mary admits that there is no specific evidence for this purpose in the text, she raises a very interesting point. It appears that the targeted audiences were those of the mercantile and landholding classes. These were the classes that both could

have had the education to enable them to read, if not in Latin then in the vernacular, and more importantly the money to pay for the text. This is hinted at in the woodcuts of the Ars Moriendi as the dying man is depicted as lying not on a pile of hay on a dirty floor but rather on a carved poster bed with thick pillows in a clean room. Also, in the text and in the woodcuts there occur frequent references to the wealth and property of the dying. Furthermore, the text itself seems to have been something of a cherished commodity as it appeared not only in the early catalogues of libraries but also in wills (O'Connor, 1-2). One possible explanation for both the importance and the popularity of this text is that it may have become part of a feudal obligation. The feudal lord was bound to ensure the well-being of his serfs, both physically and spiritually. It may have come about that with the clergy in such disarray, this text may have been used to ensure a safe passage to heaven for members of the manorial household. The spirituality of the Ars Moriendi allows one to die without the ministrations of a priest; in fact, according to the text, one need only give a true confession on one's deathbed to attain salvation, "sa vie passée, ses péchés, ses infidélités seront pardonnées à condition qu'il s'adresse à Dieu dans un mouvement sincère de contrition et de confiance" (Tenenti, 56). The possibility exists that the Ars Moriendi was a form of simony, distributed and sold by members of the local clergy to whomever had the money to pay for it. This is doubtful, though not entirely impossible. It seems more plausible that the text was produced as a response on a grassroots level to meet the needs of the people, especially Manorial Lords and those who had a household for which they were responsible, which were no longer being effectively met by the local clergy. The fact that both spiritual and monetary benefits could be

reaped by the seller, who may have been either ordained, lay, or more probably mendicant, was of secondary importance.

The Purpose of this Thesis

Sister Mary stated in her important work: 'Thus far investigation of the little book has been the work of Germans interested, most of them, in its place in the history of printing....Little French work has been done on it, little English, and almost no American. The Ars Moriendi has not had, indeed, the treatment deserved by a book known for two centuries all over western Europe'(O'Connor, 2-3). In general, the work conducted to date on this book has centered around its artistic value, and more specifically on the woodcuts that accompany the Latin text. The most commonly cited and most popular work dealing with the Ars Moriendi is that published for the Holbein Society. In that work, though George Bullen briefly summarized the history and peculiarities of the Latin text, the bulk of his research centered around the woodcuts. Other authors chose to examine its influence on vernacular literature. Wlodarski did this with Polish literature and Beatty did so with English literature. What I have tried to do is the first manuscript study of this tradition. Furthermore, I have also attempted to trace the citations back to their original source, which also has not been done. In the process of doing this, I have uncovered a previously unknown source which was referred to simply as *iuxta illud*. It is the Secretum Secretorum. I have also attempted the first direct comparison with the de Arte Moriendi of Jean Gerson. Mine also is the first English translation of this tradition, those which came before being primarily based on Caxton's translations from the French versions. Finally, mine is the first attempt to bring to light the various

manuscript variants, these include sections that appear in manuscript H that I have seen in no other version nor have I seen any reference to them. These I have placed in the apparatus.

A Note on Edition and Translation

This edition is based only on the manuscripts and no collation has been made with texts from printed block books. The actual number of printed books of this work would have made such an undertaking far too massive for an effective study and many of these editions are not dated. Furthermore, it is clear that little would be gained since the printed editions which I have seen are not only almost identical, there were very few differences when compared with the manuscripts. This can be easily explained as at least two of the five manuscripts were copied from block books. These are the British Library Harleianus 1197, (H), and the Oxford Library Bodleianus 636, (B). In both of these manuscripts, the introductions to each section refer to a woodcut that is not included. In ms. H, there appears word balloons with the exact quotations from the woodcuts with titles, '*Diaboli dicunt*', and '*Angeli dicunt*' where appropriate. In ms. B, a description appears at the introduction to the first temptation that mentions the fact that pictures appear with temptations, "*...dyabolus asserit persuasibilia subsequencia que sunt ymaginibus.*" Furthermore, each section begins with a description of the woodcut with the same quotations included. This is not surprising since manuscripts at this time were still considered superior to the printed text and more desirable; if a printed text was the only copy available, it was not uncommon for a written copy to be made. This renders a stemma both impossible and unnecessary as there is no way to ensure that the other three

manuscripts are also not copied from block texts. Two other points that should be stated are that in manuscript B, the fifth Temptation and Inspiration were placed third even though it was evident they were misplaced, and that manuscript A ended just a few lines into the first temptation. Also, copies of the woodcuts have been placed at the end of the text. These are from the 1450 edition which was reprinted for the Holbein Society.

In order to lessen confusion I have chosen to standardize the text by changing the spellings from Mediaeval to the more familiar Classical norms as found in the Oxford Classical texts. I have not done this for the text in Appendix B. In this section, I compared the similarities between the Ars Moriendi and the de Arte Moriendi of Gerson. For the sake of comparison, I felt it best to leave both of these texts unedited and to provide only an accurate transcription. The format of the testimonia was based on that found in the Corpus Christianorum.

In translating this text, I attempted to remain as close to the Latin as possible. This was not always possible however since the Latin was very repetitive and at times awkward. The reliance on aphorisms made any distinct style difficult to follow and at times made an exegesis confusing. One aspect of the translation that may cause some questions was my handling of the term *teste*. I have consulted other English versions and they have used either witness or witnessing. I therefore have decided to maintain my reading of “witness”. On occasion I did not translate certain words. An example is the word *carnales*. I feel it is somewhat laboured to say carnal friends when friends alone gives the sense.

Regarding the apparatus itself, in this I have chosen to include only important differences, such as variant readings and significant changes in word order while avoiding such things as minor spelling changes. The primary concern of this edition is to present as accurate a text as possible in conformity with palaeographical considerations. Such things as different spellings and minor word order changes have been excluded because they were of little significance; as no stemma or tradition could be established, the inclusion of these would only serve to burden the reader with an unnecessarily large apparatus.

At this point specific problems with the text itself should be discussed. The most intriguing textual question occurs in the first temptation as well as in the woodcut. The line appears to read *Infermus fractus est*. This reading makes very little sense. George Bullen preferred the reading *Infirmus factus est*, while Weigel and Zestermann saw it as *Infermus fractus est* (Rylands, 9). Another possible interpretation could be *Infermus factus est*. A precedent for this reading can be found in a work by Hildegardis Bingensis (Scivias pars prima, visio secunda; Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, line 160 p. 16). However, I believe the key to this reading can be found in the introduction to ms. H. The line that follows this is *non est infernus*, there is no hell. It is for this reason that I am proposing to read *fractus* as *facticus*; this would make the reading *Infermus facticus est, non est infernus* - Hell does not exist, there is no hell. I am proposing this as a conjectural reading; as *facticus* was not that common a word, it is clear how a scribe could be easily confused. Furthermore there are three relevant references to *facticus* or its derivatives in other works; two of these come from Augustine and one from Bernard.

These are the *Contra Faustum* and *Contra Fortunatum* of Augustine and the *Epistula de Baptismo*.

I should also mention the difficulties that were presented by the various quotations. Lengthy sections of this text are comprised of quotations from the Bible as well as various ecclesiastical authors. Those which are from the Bible proved to be easily traceable and generally more accurate. Several problems arose however with those from the Church Fathers. Many of these could not be found. It seems that the author of this text either quoted strictly from memory and was able to render only an approximation of the original or he used a book of quotations. O'Connor makes mention of this and lists two possible manuscript texts, the first is housed in Vienna while the second is in Prague: Collectanea de morte e Patribus and Opusculum ex floribus collectum de arte moriendi (O'Connor, 41). Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity to view either of these texts. A similar problem arises when dealing with the quotation from Aristotle which is found at the beginning of the introduction. Aristotle stated:

Terribilissimum autem mors. Terminus enim, et nichil adhuc mortuis videtur neque bonum neque malum esse.
(Aristoteles Latinus, *Ethica Nichomachea*, 15a25).

This appears in Book III, Chapter 7 of the Latin editions, Chapter 9 of the Greek editions. The quotation that appears in the Ars Moriendi in a Latin version seems to have been taken from either a commentary or from florilegia.

Another point that should be made concerns a quotation found on page 61. The quotation is generically cited as *Scriptum est* though the possibility exists that its origins may have come from Augustine. The quotation appears as follows: *Non tibi arroges,*

non te iactes, non te insolenter extollas, nihil de te praesumas, nihil boni tibi tribuas.' Examination has revealed that these may have come from different works of Augustine and have been pieced together in this form. The following are the possible sections: '*sed precor ne tibi tantum arroges:*' Contra Iulianum Operis Imperfectis (PL. vol. 44 col. 1154); '*ergo nec tu te iactes redemptum:*' Sermo CXXXIV (PL. vol. 38, col. 744); '*nec tu te extollas redemptorem:*' Sermo CXXXIV (PL. vol. 38, col. 744); '*nihil de te praesumas:*' Sermo XXXII (PL. vol. 38, cap. IX, col. 200); '*ne hoc tibi tribuas:*' Sermo CLX (PL. 38, col. 876).

Unfortunately, I have not been able to track down the version of the Vulgate that was used. All I can say regarding this is that I do not believe that enough of the Bible appears in the Ars Moriendi to do this effectively. I believe that the quotations were taken from a manuscript that can be placed in the standard tradition.

Orthography

This is a short note on the differences between the Classical and Mediaeval spellings. Often the i appeared as y, for example dyabolus in place of diabolus, ymaginibus for imaginibus; ae appeared only as e, presciantur for praesciantur, nulle for nullae, que for quae. The p was usually included in damnum so that it appeared as dampnum. Often, the c appeared in place of t in the middle of a word, for example tercius for tertius and temptacione for temptatione.

Sigla

H - British Library Harlianus 1197
A - Oxford Bodleian Library Add.A.268
B - Oxford Bodleian Library Bodleianus 636
R - Oxford Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.662
U - Oxford University College Library 53
cf - confer
v - vide

Ars Moriendi

Quamvis secundum philosophum tertio Ethicorum /a/: "Omnium terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima," morti tamen animae nullatenus est comparanda; teste Augustino qui ait: "Maius est damnum in amissione unius animae quam mille corporum;" teste etiam Bernardo qui dicit //: "Totus iste mundus ad unius animae pretium aestimari non potest." Mors ergo animae tanto est horribilior atque detestabilior quanto anima corpore est nobilior atque pretiosior. Cum ergo anima tantae pretiositatis existat et dyabolus pro morte ipsius eterna hominem in extrema infirmitate maximis temptationibus infestet, ideo summe necessarium est ut homo animae suae provideat ne morte illa perdat. Ad quod maxime expediens est ut quilibet artem bene moriendi, de qua /2/ est praesens intentio, frequenter prae oculis habeat at que extremam infirmitatem mente sua revoluat, quia ut ait Gregorius: "Valde se sollicitat in bono opere qui semper cogitat de extremo fine." Nam si futurum malum praeconsideretur, facilius tolerari potest, iuxta illud /b/: "Futura si praesciantur, levius tolerantur." Sed rarissime aliquis se ad mortem disponit tempestive eo quo quilibet diutius se victurum existimet nequaquam credens se tam cito moriturum, quod instinctu dyaboli fieri certum est. Nam plures per talem inanem spem seipsos neglexerunt indispositi morientes. Et ergo nullatenus infirmo detur spes nimia corporalis sanitatis consequendae /c/. Nam secundum Cancellarium Parisiensem /d/: "Saepe per talem falsam consolationem et fictam sanitatis confidentiam

1. Teste Bernardo, B. Teste Bernardo qui ait. R. 2. quilibet artem moriendi de qua. R.

a. Cf. Aristotle. NE. Liber III. cap. vi. See also p. 15 above. b. Cf. Secretum Secretorum. opus 19. sent 21.
c. V. Appendix B. d. V. Appendix B.

certam incurrit homo damnationem." Ante omnia ergo inducatur moriturus ad ea quae necessario ad salutem requiruntur.

Primo, ut credat sicut bonus Christianus credere debet laetus quisque qui in fide Christi et Ecclesiae moriatur unitate et obedientia. Secundo, ut recognoscat se Deum graviter offendisse, et inde doleat. Tertio, ut proponat se veraciter emendare si supervixerit, et numquam amplius peccare. Quarto, ut indulgeat suis offensoribus propter Deum et remitti petat ab his quos ipse offendit. Quinto, ut ablata restituat. Sexto, ut cognoscat pro se mortuum esse Christum et quod aliter saluari non potest, nisi per meritum passionis Christi, de quo agat Deo gratias in quantum valet. Ad quae si bono corde responderit, signum est quod sit de numero salvandorum ///. Deinde studiosè inducatur ad debitum usum sacramentorum Ecclesiae. Primo, ut per veram contritionem integram faciat confessionem, alia etiam Ecclesia sacramenta devote recipiendo. Quisquis vero de promissis ab alio interrogatus et informatus non fuerit, seipsum interroget /2/ considerando si sit dispositus ut praefertur. Qui autem sic dispositus est, se totum passioni Christi committat continue eam retinendo atque meditando /3/. Nam per hoc omnes temptationes dyaboli /4/ et in fide maxime superantur.

I. quod est de numero salvandorum. *H.* 2. fuerit seipsumet interroget. *H.* 3. passioni Christi committat eam retinendo. *U.* passioni Christi committat continue eam retinendo. *H.* 4. omnes temptationes modo dyaboli. *B.*

Unde notandum quod morituri graviores habent temptationes quam umquam prius habuerunt, et sunt quinque ut postea patebit. Contra quas angelus suggerit eis quinque bonas inspirationes /1/. Sed ut omnibus ista materia sit /2/ fructuosa, et nullus ab ipsius speculatione secludatur sed inde mori salubriter discat, tam litteris tantum litterato deservientibus quam imaginibus laico et /3/ illitterato simul deservientibus cunctorum oculis obicitur /4/. Quod duo se mutuo correspondentes habent se tamquam speculum in quo preterita et futura tamquam /5/ presentia speculantur. Qui ergo bene mori velit, ista cum sequentibus diligenter consideret /6/.

1. angelus suggerit eis bonas inspirationes. B. 2. Sed ut ista materia sit. U. 3. scripsi illitterato. codd. litterato.
4. tam lustris...presencia speculantur. lacuna U. discat tam laicis tantum. B. litteris scripsi. codd. lustris laicis. 5. in quo et futura tamquam. A. 6. consideret et sua opere non obliviscetur. H.

The Art of Dying Well

Although according to the third book of the Ethics of the Philosopher: "Of all terrible things, the death of the body is the most terrible," however by no means can it be compared to the death of the soul; witness Augustine who said: "The loss of one soul does more harm than the loss of a thousand bodies;" witness also Bernard who said: "The whole of this world cannot be valued at the worth of one soul." Therefore as the soul is much more noble and more precious than the body, the death of the soul is so much more horrible and detestable. Therefore since the soul has such a great value, in order to ensure its everlasting death the devil attacks a man in his final sickness with the greatest temptations; for this reason, it is very necessary that man provide for his soul lest it be destroyed in death. For that purpose it is very important that everyone should have the art of dying well, which is presently of concern, before their eyes frequently and they should turn over in their minds their final illness, as Gregory said: "He who always thinks about death is very much concerned with a good work." For if future evil is considered in advance, it can be borne more easily, according to the saying: "If future events are known in advance they are borne more lightly." But very rarely does someone prepare himself properly for death at the right time, as everyone believes they are going to live for a long time and they never believe that they are so close to death; this, it is certain, happens through the instigation of the devil. For, because of such an empty hope, many neglected themselves and died unprepared. Therefore in no way should too much hope of physical health be given to the sick. For according to the Chancellor of

Paris: "Often through such false consolation and a lying belief in recovery, man incurs certain damnation." Therefore above all else, the one about to die should be made to understand those things which by necessity are required for salvation.

Firstly, he must believe, as a good Christian ought to believe, that he who dies in the faith of Christ and in the harmony and obedience of the Church is happy. Secondly, he must recognize that he has gravely offended God, and as a result of this he must grieve. Thirdly, he must propose to amend himself in truth and to never sin again if he should survive. Fourthly, on account of God he must show forgiveness to those who have offended him and he should seek to be forgiven by those whom he has offended. Fifthly, he must return those things which he has stolen. Sixthly, he must understand that Christ died on his behalf and that he cannot be saved in any other way except through the merit of the passion of Christ, for which he should give thanks to God as much as he is able. If he should respond with a good heart to these, it is a sign that he is among the number of those to be saved. Then assiduously he must be led to the proper use of the sacraments of the Church. First of all, he must make a real confession through unaffected contrition, and receive the other sacraments of the Church devotedly. But whoever is not questioned and instructed by another about these promises must interrogate himself by considering if he would be prepared as described above. However, he who is disposed thus, must commit himself totally to the passion of Christ by remembering continually and by meditating on it. For through this, all temptations of the devil are overcome, especially those concerning faith.

Thus, it must be noted that those about to die have graver temptations than they have ever had before. There are five as will be clear later. Against these the angel will suggest to him five good inspirations. But in order that this would be beneficial to all and no one might be excluded from the contemplation of this, but may learn to die in a good death, the book should be placed before the eyes of all so the words serve well for the educated as the pictures serve for both the lay and the illiterate. The two mutually corresponding pages have each other as a mirror in which past and future things are seen just as things that are present. Therefore he who would wish to die well should consider carefully these things with those that follow.

Primo temptatione de fide dyabolus asserit persuasibilia subsequencia, quae sunt in imaginibus. Ubi imagines habentur, scriptis linuntur quibus nullo modo fidem adhibeatis. Primo dicit //: "Infernus facticius est, non est infernus." Secundo dicit: "Fac sicut pagani fecerunt. Adorate idola, non est vita post hanc vitam. Fides vestra nulla/2/." Tertio persuadet uni: "Heu heu quare pateris tot horribilia et magna in hac vita misera. Interficias teipsum et liberaberis ab omni angustia, miseria, et vexatione."

Sequitur nunc temptatione de fide annexa imaginibus vel imagines depicte fuerint.

In the first temptation concerning faith, the devil presents the following persuasions, which are included in the pictures. When the pictures exist, they are covered with words in which in no way you should hold faith. Firstly he says: "Hell is not real, there is no Hell." Secondly he says: "Act like the pagans act, worship idols. There is no life after this life. Your faith is nothing." Thirdly he persuades him: "Alas, alas why do you suffer so many great horrors in this miserable life. You should kill yourself and you will be freed from every distress, misery and vexation."

Now follows the temptation concerning faith with pictures included or with a description of them.

1. scripsi facticius. codd. fractus. 2. scripsi Fides vestra nulla. codd. Fides vestram nullam.

Temptatio Dyaboli de Fide

Ex quo fides est totius salutis fundamentum, et sine ea nulli omnino potest esse salus, teste Augustino qui ait: "Fides est bonorum omnium fundamentum et humanae salutis initium;" et Bernardo dicente: "Fides est humanae salutis initium, sine hac nemo ad filiorum Dei numerum potest pertinere, sine hac omnis labor hominis est vacuus." Ideo dyabolus, totius humanae generis inimicus, totis viribus hominem in extrema // infirmitate ab illa totaliter avertere nititur, vel saltem ad deviandum in ea ipsum inducere /2/ laborat, dicens: "Tu miser, in magno stas errore. Non est sicut credis vel sicut praedicatur. Infernus facticius est. Quidquid homo agat, licet aliquem vel seipsum occidat /3/ cum indiscreta poenitentia, sicut aliqui fecerunt, vel idola adorat ut reges paganorum et plures pagani faciunt, nonne in finem idem est quia nullus revertitur dicens tibi veritatem, et sic fides tua nihil est." His et similibus dyabolus maxime laborat ut hominem in extremis agentem a fide /4/ avertat quia bene scit /a/: "Si fundamentum ruat, omnia superaedificata necessario ruent."

Secundum tamen quod dyabolus in nulla temptatione hominem cogere potest, nec etiam aliquo modo praevalere ut sibi consentiat quamdiu usum rationis habuerit, nisi sponte voluerit ei consentire /5/. Quod certe super omnia cavendum est; unde apostolus /b/: "Fidelis Deus qui non patitur vos temptari super id quod potestis, sed faciet cum temptatione proventum ut possitis sustinere /6/."

1. totis viribus hominem in ex... A ends here. 2. in ea ipsem inducere in ea ipsem inducere. B. 3. licet aliquem vel seipsem occidit, R. 4. in extremis laborantem a fide. R. 5. sponte voluerit reconsentire. BRU. sponte voluerit. U. 6. possitis sustinere et vos regnum et vinum haurire. H.

a. V. Lc 6.48 V. b. ICor 10.13

Temptation of the Devil concerning Faith

We know that faith is the foundation of all salvation, and without it no one is able to be saved; witness Augustine who said: "Faith is the foundation of all good things and the beginning of salvation for humanity;" and Bernard says: "Faith is the beginning of salvation for humanity, without it no one is able to be numbered among the children of God, without it every labour of man is in vain." For this reason the Devil, enemy to man, with all his force struggles to turn the dying man from faith completely or at least he labours to induce him to waver in it, saying: "Wretched one, you stand in great error, it is not as you believe or as it is preached. Hell is not real. Whatever a man might do, whether he may kill another or kill himself with unwise penance as some have done, or worship idols as the kings of the pagans and many pagans do, surely in the end it is the same since no-one has returned to tell you the truth, and thus your faith is nothing." Through these and similar things the devil does his best to turn the man, on his deathbed, from his faith because he knows well that if the foundation falls, by necessity all things built above must fall as well.

Since however, the devil cannot force a man to yield to temptation, nor can he win his consent by any means, so long as he has use of his reason, unless by his own accord he was willing to consent to him. This then ought to be warned against above all other things; hence the Apostle: "God is trustworthy, who does not permit you to be tempted above what you are able to stand, but with the temptation he will provide support so that you may be able to bear it."

Tunc pro confortatione fidei venit angelus bonus ad animam agonisantem, dicens: "Sis firmus in fide," ostendens ei antiquos Sanctos et Patres in caelo exeuntes et eorum verba ut sequitur, animam sic confortatam ad Abrahe sinum representare laborans. Quo Sancto rugientes diaboli fugam capiunt; dicentes unus: "Fugiamus," et est primus medius: "Victi sumus," et extremus et tertius dicit: "Frustra hic laboramus, vadamus alibi videndo an ibi perficere valeamus."

Sequitur nunc Bona Inspiratio angeli Dei de fide.

Then for the strengthening of faith, the good angel comes to the soul in agony saying: "Be strong in faith," showing him the ancient saints and the fathers going out into heaven and their words which follow, thus to bring the soul comforted to Abraham's bosom. From the Saint the devils take flight roaring; one saying: "We must flee," and the first one, who is in the middle, says: "We are defeated," and the third one, being the furthest, says: "Here we labour in vain. We must go elsewhere to see whether we are strong enough to succeed there."

Now follows the Good Inspiration of the Angel of God concerning Faith.

Bona Inspiratio Angeli de Fide

Contra primam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonam inspirationem /1/, dicens: "O homo, ne credas pestiferis suggestionibus dyaboli, cum ipse sit mendax - nam mentiendo protoparentes decepit - nec aliquo modo in fide dubites. Licet sensu vel intellectu comprehendere non valeas, quia si comprehendere posses; nullatenus esset meritoria, iuxta illud Gregorii /a/: 'Fides non habet meritum cui humana ratio praebet experimentum /2/.' Sed memento verba sanctorum patrum, scilicet Sancti Pauli ad Hebreos XI /3/, dicentes /b/: 'Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo;' et Johannis tertio /c/: 'Qui non credit iam iudicatus est /4/;' et Bernardi dicentis: 'Fides est primogenita inter virtutes;' et iterum: 'Beatior fuit Maria percipiendo fidem Christi quam carnem Christi.' Considera etiam fidem antiquorum fidelium, Abraham, Isaac et Iacob et quorundam gentilium scilicet Iob, Raab meretricis et similium, fidem /5/ apostolorum nec non immutabilium martirum confessorum atque virginum. Nam per fidem omnes, antiqui et moderni, placuerunt. Per fidem Sanctus Petrus super aquas ambulavit, Sanctus Iohannes venenum sibi propinatum sine nocumento bibit, /d/ Montes Caspii orante Alexandro per fidem adunati sunt; et ideo fides a Deo merito est benedicta /6/.

1. angelus domini bonam, H. 2. habet meritum ubi humana ratio, H. 3. Sancti Pauli apostuli ad hebreos, B. 4. Qui non credit iam iudicatur, R. 5. meretricis et similium similiter fidem, HBR 6. Et ideo fides a deo merito benedicta, HRU.

a. V. Gregorius: *XI. Homiliarum in Evangelia*, liber secundus, hom. 26., PL, vol. 76, col. 1197, sec. 1552.
b. V. *Heb* 11.6. c. V. *Io* 3.18 d. V. Appendix A.

Propterea viriliter debes resistere dyabolo et firmiter credere Ecclesia quia Sancta Ecclesiae errare non potest cum a Spiritu Sancto regatur."

Nota quam cito infirmus sentit se temptari contra fidem. Cogitet primo, quam necessaria est fides quia, sine ea, nullus salvari potest. Secundo, cogitet quam utilis est quia potest omnia, dicente Domino */a/*: "Omnia possibilia sunt credenti;" et iterum */b/*: "Quodcumque orantes petieritis */1/*, credite quia accipietis;" et sic infirmus faciliter Dei gratia dyabolo resistet. Quare etiam bonum est ut symbolum fidei circa agonizantem alta voce dicatur pluriesque repetatur */2/* ut per hoc infirmus ad fidei constantiam animetur et demones, qui illud audire abhorrent, abigantur */3/*.

1. Quodcumque dicunt orantes petieritis. *B.* Quod orantes petieritis credite. *R.* Quod dicunt orantes petieritis. *H.* *2.* voce dicatur pluriesque petatur. *B.* *3.* abigantur et ab eo infirmus locus recedat deputatum. *H.*

a. *V. Mc* 9.22. *b.* *V. Mc* 11.24.

The Good Inspiration of the Angel concerning Faith

Against the first temptation of the devil the angel gives a good inspiration, saying: "O man, do not believe the noxious suggestions of the devil since he is wont to lie - for by lying he deceived your first parents -nor in any way waver in faith. Although you are not strong enough to understand by sense or intellect because if you were able to understand, by no means would it be meritorious, according to that passage from Gregory: "Faith does not have a merit for which human reason has a proof." But remember the words of the holy fathers, especially those of Saint Paul to the Hebrews XI saying: 'Without faith it is impossible to please God;' and from the third epistle of John: 'He who does not believe has already been judged;' and Bernard saying: 'Faith is the first born among the virtues;' and again: 'Mary was more blessed by taking hold of the faith in Christ than the flesh of Christ.' Consider then the faith of the faithful ones from the past, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and a few Gentiles, for example Job and Raab the harlot and those like them, the faith of the Apostles, and of the immutable martyrs, Confessors and Virgins. For through faith everyone, both the ancients and the moderns, were pleasing God. Through faith, Saint Peter walked on water, Saint John drank poison which was given to him to drink without being harmed, Alexander prayed and through faith the mountains of the Caspian Sea came together; for this reason, faith is deservedly blessed by God. Therefore strongly you should resist the devil and firmly believe all precepts of the Church because the Holy Church is not able to err since it is governed by the Holy Spirit."

Note how quickly the sick man feels himself tempted against faith. Firstly let him contemplate how necessary faith is because, without it, no-one can be saved. Secondly, let him contemplate how useful it is because it can accomplish anything; for the Lord says: "All things are possible to the believer;" and again: "Whatever you have sought in prayer, believe and you will receive;" thus the sick man resists easily the devil through the grace of God. Wherefore it is also good that the Nicene Creed is said around the one in agony in a loud voice and repeated many times so that through this the sick man may be endowed with strength for the steadfastness of faith and the demons, who hate to hear this, may be driven off.

Tunc sequitur quomodo diabolus animam agonisantem conatur facere desperationem, dicens et proponens ei primo: "Periurus es," secundo: "Ecce peccata tua," tertio: "Fornicatus <es>," quarto: "Quare vixisti?" quinto: "Occidisti." His quibusque et similibus peccatis laborat dyabolus pro agonisantis desperatione. Quibus involuti gratiam et obtinebimus misericordiam largiente, etc.

Then follows how the devil tries to drive the suffering soul to despair saying and bringing forward to him firstly: "You have perjured yourself," secondly: "Look at your sins," thirdly: "You have committed fornication" fourthly: "Why have you lived?" fifthly: "You have committed murder." With these and similar sins, the devil labours to bring about the despair of the one in agony. And we, enveloped in these sins, will obtain grace from Him who is rich in mercy, etc.

Temptatio Dyaboli de Desperatione

Secundo, dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum per desperationem, quae est contra spem atque confidentiam quam homo debet habere in Deum. Cum enim infirmus doloribus cruciatur in corpore, tunc dyabolus dolorem dolori superaddit obiciendo /1/ sibi, peccata sua presertim non confessa, ut eum in desperationem inducat, dicens: "Tu miser, vide peccata tua quae tanta sunt ut numquam veniam acquirere possis, ita ut dicere possis cum Cayn /a/: 'Maior est mea iniquitas quam ut veniam merear.' Ecce quomodo Dei precepta transgressus es. Nam Deum super omnia non dilexisti, hominibus iniuriam intulisti, et tamen bene scis quod nullus potest saluari, nisi servaverit mandata Dei, quia Dominus dicit /b/: 'Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata.' Sed superbe, avare, luxuriose, gulose, iracunde, invidie, accidiose vixisti; attamen praedicari audisti quod propter unum peccatum mortale homo potest damnari. Insuper septem opera misericordiae non implesti /2/ quae tamen Dominus precipue inquit /3/ in extremo die, ut ipsemet testatur dicens his qui a sinistris sunt /4/ /c/: 'Ite in ignem eternum /5/. Nam esurivi et non dedisti mihi manducare; sitivi et non dedisti mihi potum; et cetera /6/.' Et ideo Iacobus dicit /d/: 'Iudicium sine misericordia fuit super terram.' Vides etiam quam plures nocte et die in lege Dei vigilantissime laborantes, qui tamen nullatenus de salute sua praesumere

1. dolori superaddit obiciendo. HRU. 2. septem opera non implesti. HU. 3. dominus tamen precipue requiret. B. tamen dominus precipue in extremo. R. 4. sinistris eius sunt. B. 5. Ite in ignem. Nam. B. 6. Nam esurivi non dedistis michi manducare sitivi et non dedistis nihil potum et cetera. HR. non didisti in bibere et cetera. B.

a. V. Gn 4.13. b. V. Mt 19.17. c. V. Mt 25.41-42. d. V. Jac 2.13

audent quia nullus scit an odio vel amore dignus est /1/, et ergo nulla spes salutis tibi relinquitur." Per ista et similia inducit hominem /2/ in desperationem, quae super omnia mala est vitanda cum misericordiam Dei offendat, quae sola nos saluat. Teste propheta /3/ /a/: "Misericordia domini quia non consumpti sumus." Et Augustinus dicit: "Unus quisque positus in peccato. Si de venia vera desperaverit, misericordiam funditus perdit. Nihil enim sic Deum offendit quam desperatio."

I. an amore vel odio dignus sit ergo nulla. *U.* et ergo tibi nulla spes salutis relinquitur. *H.* 2. similia inducit dyabolus hominem. *U.* 3. nos saluat. propheta testante. *R.*

a. *V. Im* 3.22

Temptation of the Devil concerning Despair

Secondly, the devil tempts the sick man through despair which is contrary to the hope and the confidence that Man should have in God. When the sick man is wracked with physical pain, then the Devil adds pain to the pain by throwing in his way the sins he has not confessed, in order to induce him to despair saying: "Wretched one, look at your sins which are so great that you would never be able to acquire grace." Thus, you can say with Cain: "My wickedness is too great for me to receive grace." Look how you have transgressed the precepts of God. For you have not loved God over all things, you have brought injury to men and yet you know well that no-one can be saved unless he kept the Commandments of God, for the Lord said: "If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments." But you have lived in arrogance, in avarice, in depravity, in gluttony, in anger, in envy, in laziness, yet you have heard it preached that man can be damned through one mortal sin. Moreover you have not fulfilled the seven works of mercy which the Lord especially looks for on the last day, as himself makes known saying to those who are on his left side: 'Go into the eternal fire. For I was hungry and you did not give me food to eat; I was thirsty and you did not give me a drink; etc.' And therefore James said: 'There was judgement without pity on earth.' You see many labouring night and day most vigilantly in the law of God, those who by no means dare to presume anything about their salvation because no-one knows if he is worthy of hate or love, and therefore no hope of salvation is left to you." Through these and similar things he leads man to despair, which above all evil things must be avoided since it offends the mercy of God

which alone saves us. Witness the Prophet: "Through the mercy of the Lord, we are not destroyed." And Augustine said: "Everyone is placed in sin. If he should despair about true forgiveness, he loses the mercy of the Lord completely. For nothing offends the Lord more than despair."

Remedium

Tunc angelus bonus suadens contra desperationem venit ad agonisantem, dicens: "Nequaquam desperes," proponens ei primo Petrum tertia vice Dominum ante galli cantum negantem, secundo Mariam Magdalena peccatricem, tertio latronem sero poenitentem in figuris depictis. Et obtenta victoria, diabolus malus recedit, dicens: "Victoria mihi nulla."

Remedy

Then the good angel persuading against despair comes to the one about to die, saying: "You should in no way despair," and shows him in the figures depicted, firstly Peter denying the Lord for the third time before the crowing of the cock, secondly, Mary Magdalene the sinner, thirdly the thief who repented late. And victory having been won, the evil devil departs, saying: "There is no victory for me."

Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Desperationem

Contra secundam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonam inspirationem /1/, dicens: "O homo, quare desperas? Licet enim tot /2/ latrocinia, furta et homicidia perpetrasses, quot sunt maris guttae et arenae, etiamsi solus totius mundi peccata commisisses, etiamsi de eisdem numquam prius penitentiam egisses nec ea confessus fuisses, nec etiam modo ad confitendum ea facultatem haberes, nihilominus desperare non debes /3/ quia in tali casu sufficit sola contritio interior; teste Psalmo /a/: 'Cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicias.' Et Ezechiel ait /b/: 'Quaecumque hora peccator ingemuerit, saluus erit.' Unde Bernardus ait: 'Maior est Dei pietas quam quaevis iniquitas;' et Augustinus: 'Plus potest Deus misereri quam homo peccare.' In casu etiam quo tibi constaret quod de numero dampnandorum esses, nequaquam adhuc desperare debes /4/, eo quod per desperationem nihil aliud agitur nisi quod per eam piissimus Deus multo magis offenditur et alia peccata fortius aggravantur, poena quoque eterna usque in interitum augmentatur /5/. Christus etiam pro peccatoribus crucifixus est et non pro iustis, ut ipsemet testatur dicens /c/: 'Non veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores.' Exemplum habeas in Petro Christum negante, Paulo ecclesiam persequente /6/, Matheo et Zacheo publicanis, Maria Magdalena peccatrice, in muliere deprehensa in adulteria, in latrone iuxta Christi in cruce pendente, Maria Aegyptica /d /, etc."

1. angelus domini bonam, H. 2. licet autam tot. UR. 3. nihilominus desperares. Quia. B.
4. adhuc desperares eo quod. B. 5. usque interitum aggravantur. R. 6. negante Paulum ecclessiam persequentem. B.

a. V. Ps 50.19. b. Cf. Ez 33.12. c. V. Mt 9.13. Mc 2.17. d. V. Appendix A.

Nota quam /1/ cito infirmus sentit se temptari per desperatione. Cogitet quod ipsa est peior et dampnabilior omnibus peccatis et quod numquam debet admitti propter quaecumque etiam peccata. Nam ut dicit Augustinus: "Plus peccavit Iudas desperando quam Iudei crucifigendo Christum /2/." Secundo, cogitet quam utilis et necessaria est spes, quia secundum Chrysostomum: "Spes est /3/ salutis nostrae anchora vitae nostrae fundamentum, dux itineris quo itur ad caelum." Et ideo numquam est relinquenda propter etiam quaecumque peccata /4/.

1. Notaque quod. R. 2. crucifigendo Christum. HU. 3. Quia secundum Chrysostomom: "Est. HRU.
4. etiam quaecumque peccata enormans. H.

The Good Inspiration of the Angel against Despair

Against the second temptation of the devil, the angel gives a good inspiration, saying: "O man, why do you despair? For although you may have perpetrated so many crimes, robberies, and murders, as many as there are drops <of water> and <grains of> sand in the sea, even if you alone may have committed the sins of the whole world, even if you may never have done penance for these things before, if you have never confessed these things nor have had the opportunity to confess these things, nonetheless⁷ you must in no way despair. For in such a case interior contrition alone suffices, witness the Psalm: 'God, you will not despise a contrite and meek heart.' And Ezechiel said: 'At whatever hour the sinner repents, he will be saved.' As Bernard said: 'The goodness of the Lord is greater than any wickedness;' and Augustine: 'God can be more merciful than man can sin.' In case it occurred to you that you were among the number of those damned, you should never despair, because through despair nothing else is accomplished except that the most kind God is offended deeply, the other sins are aggravated greatly and eternal punishment is augmented unto complete destruction. Christ was crucified on account of sinners and not on account of the just, as he himself bore witness saying: "I came not to call the just, but the sinners." You have an example in Peter denying Christ, in Paul persecuting the Church, in Matthew and Zachaeus the publicans, Mary Magdalene the sinner, in the woman taken in adultery, in the criminal hanging on the cross next to Christ, in Saint Mary the Egyptian, etc."

Note how quickly the dying man feels himself tempted with despair. Let him contemplate that despair is worse and more damning than all sins and never should it be yielded to on account of any kind of sin. For as Augustine said: "Judas sinned more by despairing than the Jews by crucifying Christ." Secondly, let him contemplate how useful and necessary hope is, because according to Chrysostom: "Hope is the anchor of our salvation and the foundation of our life, it is the leader of the path that goes to heaven." Therefore it ought never to be abandoned on account of any kind of sin.

Tunc sequitur quo diabolus nititur temptare infirmum de impatientia, dicens ei:
"Ecce quantam poenam patitur." Cum illa et aliquibus adulationibus et qua intentans */a/*
eum deridet, dicens: "Ecce quam bene decepi eum."

Then follows how the devil strives to tempt the dying with impatience, saying to
him: "Look how great the pain he suffers." With this and with a few flatteries and
pointing at this, the devil derides him saying: "Look how well I have deceived him."

a. scripsi intentans. codd. intenta.

Temptatio Dyaboli de Impatentia

Tertio, dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum per impatientiam, quae oritur ex magna infirmitate, dicens: "Cur tu pateris istum dolorem grandissimum // qui est intolerabilis omni creaturae et tibi penitus inutilis nec etiam tuis exigentibus demeritis dolor tantus iure /2/ deberet causari. Nam scriptum est: 'In poenis benignior <quam> /a/ in temptatione facienda.' Etiam, quod multum gravat, nullus tibi compatitur quod contra omnem rationem /3/ fieri nemo dubitat; licet autem amici /4/ ore compatiantur, tamen maxime, propter bona reliquenda, tuam mortem mente desiderant. Anima quidem corpore exuta vix per unius diei spatium pro omni substantia relicta corpus tuum hospitari volunt." Istis et similibus /5/ ad impatientiam, quae est contra caritatem, qua tenemur Deum diligere super omnia nititur dyabolus hominem ducere, ut sic merita sua perdat.

Nota quod morituris maximus dolor corporis accidit, his praecipue qui non moritur morte naturali, quae rara est. Sicut docet experientia manifesta, sed frequenter ex accidentibus, puta febre vel apostemate vel alia infirmitate gravi et afflictiva atque longa dissoluuntur; quae quidem infirmitas plerisque, et praecipue ad mortem indispositos et iniuste morientes, adeo reddit impatientes atque murmurantes, ut plerumque ex nimio dolore in impatientia amentes atque insensati videantur, sicut saepe

a. A lacuna exists here. I have added quam to provide sense.

1. dolorem gravissimum qui est, HR. 2. dolor tantus in te, U. 3. compatitur quod omnem rationem. U.
4. Licet enim amici, H. 5. Isti et similibus. U.

visum est in multis. Ex quo vere constat quod tales utique in vera deficiant /1/ caritate: teste Hieronimo qui ait: "Siquis cum dolore egritudinem vel mortem patitur seu accipit, signum est quod sufficienter Deum non diligit." Et Paulus ait /a/: "Caritas patiens est benigna est /2/."

1. constat quod tales utique in deficiant. U. 2. est que gravis non agens sinistra etc.

a. V. 1Cor 13.4.

The Temptation of the Devil concerning Impatience

Thirdly, the devil tempts the dying man through impatience, which rises from a serious illness, saying: "Why do you suffer this agonizing pain, which is intolerable to every creature and is utterly useless to you, by right such great suffering should not be used even though your sins demand punishment. For it is written: 'He is kinder in creating suffering than in making temptation'. Also, what makes it worse, no-one commiserates with you as everyone believes this to be unreasonable, and although friends may speak compassionately to you, they really want you to die for the sake of the inheritance. Indeed, with the soul having departed the body, they scarcely want to host your body for the period of one day in return for all the inheritance." Through these and similar things the devil labours to lead the man to impatience, which is opposed to the charity by which we are bound to love God above all else, so that thus the man would lose his merits.

Note that the greatest physical pain happens to those about to die, especially to those who are not dying from natural causes, a type of death which is rare, as practical experience teaches, but die often by accident from, for example, a fever or from an abscess or from another grave infirmity and long affliction. Such diseases attack those especially who were unprepared for death and those dying unjustly so impatient and gripping, that often they seem crazy and mad in suffering from excessive pain. Therefore the common perception is that those of such a nature are deficient in true charity; witness

Jerome who said: "If someone suffers or takes sickness or death with grief, it is a sign that he does not love God sufficiently." And Paul said: "Love is patient and kind."

Tunc dat angelus bonus bonam inspirationem contra impatientiam, ostendens et proponens Barbaram, Iob, Sebastianum et singulos martires; et his obtuentibus mali diaboli duo discedunt, unus dicit: "Sum captivatus," alter: "Labores amisi."

Then the good angel gives a good inspiration against impatience, showing and bringing forward Barbara, Job, Sebastian and each of the martyrs; having seen these, two evil devils retreat; one says: "I am captured," the other: "I have wasted my labours."

Bona Inspiratio Angeli de Patientia

Contra tertiam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonam inspirationem, dicens: "O Homo, averte ab impatientia animum tuum /1/ per quam dyabolus suis mortiferis instigationibus /2/ nihil aliud quam animae tuae detrimentum quaerit. Nam per impatientiam et murmur anima perditur sicut per patientiam possidetur, teste Gregorio qui ait /a/: 'Regnum caelorum nullus murmurans accipit.' Te igitur infirmitatis, quae respectu meritorum tuorum levis est, non taedeat cum ipsa ante mortem sit quasi quoddam purgatorium cum tolleratur ut oportet, videlicet patienter et libenter cum gratitudine; quia non solum gratitudine opus est in his, quae sunt ad consolationem, sed etiam quae sunt ad afflictionem, quia /3/ ut Gregorius ait: 'Misericorditer Deus temporalem adhibet severitatem ne eternum inferat ultionem;' et Augustinus: 'Domine, hic ure et seca ut in eternum mihi parcas /4/.' Nullae ergo tribulationes te perturbent, quia Christum nolle te relinquere ostendit, iuxta illud Augustini: 'Mala quae nos hic puniunt, ad Deum nos ire compellunt.' Non igitur animae salus approbatur in carnis beneplacitis, sed potius eterna damnatio, iuxta illud Augustini: 'Signum manifeste damnationis est beneplacita assequi et a mundo diligi;' et iterum /b/: 'Mirum est quod omnibus in eternum damnandis omnes lapides non surgunt in solacium, sed magis mirum est quod omnibus in eternum salvandis omnes lapides non surgunt in periculum /4/.'

1. averte ab impacencia animum. U. 2. dyabolus his mortiferis instigationes. U.
3. sed eciam in hiis que sunt ad conflicionem quia. H. 4. non surgunt in solacium periculum. B.

a. V. Gregorius: *XI. Homiliarum in Evangelia, liber primus*, hom. 19. *PL*. Vol 76, col 1156. sec. 1512.
b. Cf. Augustinus: *Enarratio in Psalmum XCV*. *PL*. vol 37, col. 1227-1228.

Expelle ergo a te impatientiam tamquam pestem virulentam et assume patientiam, scutum fortissimum quo omnes inimici animae faciliter superantur, et respice Christum patientissimum et omnes sanctos usque ad mortem."

Nota, cum infirmus sentit se temptari per impatientiam, consideret primo quam nociva est impatientia, quia ipsum inquietando et perturbando a Deo avertit, quia Dominus dicit */a* /: "Super quem requiescet spiritus meus nisi super quietum et humilem corde?" Secundo, consideret quod patientia est sollicite servanda. Primo, quia est necessaria; unde Paulus */b*/: "Patientia est vobis necessaria;" et Dominus */c*/: "Nonne oportuit pati Christum et ita intrare in gloriam suam;" et Gregorius */d*/: "Numquam servari concordia nisi per patientiam valet." Secundo, quia est utilis. Unde */e*/: "In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras;" et Gregorius */f*/: "Melioris meriti est adversa tolerare quam bonis operibus insudare;" idem */g*/: "Sine ferro martires esse possumus si patientiam in animo veraciter servamus;" et Salomon */h*/: "Melior est patiens viro forti et qui dominatur animo suo expugnatore urbium."

a. V. Bernardus: *In Festo Purificationis B.M. Virginis Sermo I*, *Opera Omnia* vol. III, col. 1497. Cf. *Is* 66.2.
b. V. *Heb* 10.36. *c.* V. *Lc* 24.26. *d.* V. Gregorius: *Moralium Libri XXI*, cap. 30. *PL*, vol. 76, col. 209, sec. 694.
e. V. *Lc* 21.19. *f.* Cf. Gregorius: *XI. Homiliarum in Evangelia*, liber unus, hom. 13. *PL*, vol. 76, col. 1123, sec. 1481.
g. Cf. Gregorius: *XI. Homiliarum in Evangelia*, liber secundus, hom. 35. *PL*, vol. 76, col. 1263, sec. 1616.
h. V. *Prv* 16.32.

The Good Inspiration of the Angel concerning Patience

Against the third temptation of the devil the angel gives a good inspiration, saying: "O man, turn your mind from impatience. Through it the devil with his death-bringing encouragements seeks nothing other than the destruction of your soul. For through impatience and griping the soul is lost, just as through patience it is saved; witness Gregory who said: 'No-one griping receives the kingdom of heaven.' Therefore let the weight of your sickness, which is light with regard to your merits, not weary you since this is like a purgatory before death when it is borne patiently, willingly and with gratitude, as is proper. There is a need not only for gratitude in those things which pertain to consolation, but also for those which pertain to affliction; because as Gregory said: 'God metes temporal punishment in his mercy lest he inflict eternal vengeance;' and Augustine: 'Lord, burn and cut here so that you might spare me forever.' In no way therefore, let tribulations bother you, because Christ shows he is unwilling to abandon you, according to Augustine: 'Bad things which punish us here, compel us to go to God.' Therefore it is not the salvation of the soul but rather eternal damnation that is assured by carnal pleasures; according to that saying of Augustine: 'To pursue pleasures and to be loved by the world is a clear sign of damnation;' and again: 'It is astonishing that all rocks do not rise in solace for all those damned forever, but it is more astonishing that all rocks do not rise as a threat to those saved forever.' Therefore cast off impatience as a virulent disease and embrace patience, the strongest shield with which all evils of the soul are easily overcome, and look to Christ, the most suffering, and to all the saints right up until death."

Note, when the dying man feels himself to be tempted through impatience, he should first contemplate how injurious impatience is, because by agitating and disturbing him, it turns him from God, as the Lord said: "Over whom does my spirit rest except over the peaceful and humble of heart?" Secondly, let him consider that patience must be maintained carefully. Firstly because it is a necessity; according to Paul: "Patience is a necessity for you;" and the Lord said: "Surely it was necessary that Christ suffer, and thus enter into his glory;" and Gregory: "Harmony is cannot be preserved except through patience." Secondly, because it is useful. According to the Lord: "In your patience you will possess your souls;" and Gregory: "It is of greater merit to tolerate adversities than to sweat over good works;" the same: "We are able to be martyrs without the sword if in truth we preserve patience in our soul;" and Solomon: "A patient man is better than a strong man and one who is ruled by his spirit is better than a sacker of cities."

Tunc sequitur qualiter diabolus agonisantem temptat de vana gloria. Primo, dicit: "Gloriare." Secundo, proponit: "Tu es firmus in fide." Tertio, confirmat: "Coronam meruisti," quarto: "Exalta teipsum." Quinto, dicit: "In patientia perseverasti." His et similibus conatur agonisantem decipere, etc.

Then follows how the devil tempts the one suffering from vainglory. Firstly, he says: "Boast." Secondly, he proposes: "You are firm in faith." Thirdly, he confirms: "You deserve a crown," fourthly: "Exalt yourself." Fifthly, he says: "You have persisted in patience." With these and similar temptations, the devil tries to deceive the one in agony, etc.

Temptatio Dyaboli de Vana Gloria

Quarto, dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum per sui ipsius complacentiam, quae est superbia spiritualis per quam devotis et religiosis atque perfectis magis est infestus. Cum enim hominem ad devianandum a fide aut in desperationem aut ad impatientiam non potest inducere, tunc aggreditur eum per suiipsius complacentiam, tales in eum iaculans cogitationes: "O quam firmus es in fide, quam fortis in spe, et quam constanter patiens es in tua infirmitate. O quam multa bona operatus es, maxime gloriari debes quia non es sicut ceteri qui infinita mala perpetrarunt et tamen solo gemitu ad caelestia regna pervenerunt. Igitur regnum caelorum tibi iure negari non potest, quia legitime certasti. Accipe ergo coronam tibi paratum et sedem excellentiorem prae ceteris optinebis." Per ista et similia dyabolus instantissime laborat hominem inducere ad spiritualem superbiam sive ad suiipsius complacentiam.

Pro quo notandum quod ista superbia multum est vitanda, primo quia per eam homo efficitur similis dyabolo. Nam per solam superbiam de angelo factus est dyabolus. Secundo, quia per ipsam homo videtur committere blasphemiam, per hoc quod bonum quod a deo habet a se praesumit habere. Tertio, quia tanta posset esse sua complacentia quod per hanc dampnaretur; unde Gregorius *a/*: "Reminiscendo quod gessit dum se apud se erigit, apud auctorem humilitatis cadit */I/;*" et Augustinus *b/*: "Homo, si se iustificaverit et de iustitia sua praesumpserit, cadit."

I. Gregorius scripsit quod gessit dum, codd. quis boni quod.

a. V. Gregorius: *Regula Pastoralis*, pars 4, *PL.* vol. 77, col. 125, sec. 100.

b. Cf. Augustinus: *Sermo (CLXXII)*, *PL.* vol. 38, col. 1253.

Temptation of the Devil concerning Vainglory

Fourthly, the devil tempts the sick man through his own complacency, which is the spiritual pride through which he is more a menace to the devoted, the religious, and the blameless. For since he is not able to tempt the man to deviate from faith either to despair or to impatience, then he attacks him through his complacency, casting at him thoughts of such a nature: "O how firm you are in faith, how strong in hope, and how you steadfastly resist in your infirmity. O how many good things you have done, to the greatest extent you should be glorified because you are not like the others who perpetrated infinite wrongs, but nevertheless they have entered into the kingdom of heaven with only a groan. Therefore, the kingdom of heaven cannot be denied to you justly because you have fought rightly. Therefore, accept the crown prepared for you and you will obtain a better seat than the others." Through these and similar things the devil persistently labours to induce the man to spiritual arrogance or to complacency in himself.

For this reason it ought to be noted that this arrogance must be especially avoided, firstly because through this, man is made similar to the devil. For through arrogance alone the devil was made from an angel. Secondly, because through this man seems to commit blasphemy, since something good which he has from God, he presumes to have from himself. Thirdly, because he would become very complacent and as a result he would be damned; according to Gregory: "By remembering what he has

done he raises himself up in his own eyes, but he falls before the teacher of humility:"
and Augustine: "Man falls if he has justified himself and has presumed about his
righteousness."

Tunc angelus bonus dat inspirationes, dicens primo: "Sis humilis, mirans nos, Anthonium, et alios humiles Sanctos." Secundo, refert et proponit poenam superborum, dicens: "Superbos punio;" et sic diabolus <dicit>: "Victus sum. Quid modo faciam, etc."

Then the good angel gives inspirations, saying firstly: "You should be humble, admiring us, Anthony, and the other humble Saints." Secondly, he points and draws attention to the punishment of the arrogant, saying: "I punish the arrogant;" and thus the devil (says): "I am defeated. What should I do now, etc."

Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Vanam Gloriam

Contra quartam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonam inspirationem, dicens: "Miser, cur tu superbis ascribendo tibi /1/ ipsi constantiam in fide, spe et patientia quae tamen soli Deo ascribenda est, cum nihil boni a te habeas, Domine dicente /a/: 'Sine me nihil potestis facere?' Et alibi scriptum est /b/: 'Non tibi arroges, non te iactes, non te insolenter extollas /2/, nihil de te praesumas, nihil boni tibi tribuas /3/.' Et Dominus ait /c/: 'Qui se exultat humiliabitur;' et iterum /d/: 'Nisi efficiamini sicut parvulus iste non intrabitis in regnum caelorum.' Humilia ergo te et exaltaberis, dicente Domino /e/: 'Qui se humiliat exaltabitur;' et Augustinus: 'Si te humilias, Deus descendit ad te; si te exaltas, Deus recedet a te.' Averte ergo mentem tuam a superbia quae Luciferum quondam angelorum pulcherrimum fecit dyabolorum deformissimum et de alta caelorum proiecit ad inferni profunda, quae etiam fuit causa omnium /4/ peccatorum; unde Bernardus: 'Initium omnis peccati et causa totius perditionis est superbia;' idem: 'Tolle hoc vitium et sine labore omnia vitia reserantur.'"

Unde singulariter notandum quod quicumque moriturus sentit se temptari per superbiam; debet primo cogitare quod superbia tantum Deo displicuit quod sola ipsi occasione nobilissimam creaturarum Luciferum cum omnibus sibi adherentibus de caelis relegavit in eternum dampnando; et sic ex tali consideratione se humiliat atque deprimat sua recogitando peccata quia ignorat an odio vel amore dignus sit. Unde debet praecipue

1. superbis ascribendi tibi. RBU. 2. non te extollenter. R. 3. tibi tribuis. HBU. 4. quae occasio fuit omnium. H.

a. V. Jo 15.5. b. see page 16 above. c. V. Lc 14.11. Lc 18.14. d. V. Mt 18.2 e. V. Lc 14.11 Lc 18.14.

capere exemplum a Sancto Antonio /a/, cui dyabolus dixit: "O Anthoni, tu me vicisti. Cum enim volo te exaltare, tu te deprimis //; cum te volo deprimere, tu te erigis." Secundo, debet cogitare quod humilitas tantum Deo placuit, quod praecipue ipsi occasione gloriosa Virgo Maria Deum concepit et super choros angelorum exaltata est.

I. tu deprimis. RU.

a. V. 'Vita Patrum', PL., vol. 73, col. 115ff.

Good Inspiration of the Angel against Vainglory

Against the fourth temptation of the devil the angel gives a good inspiration, saying: "Wretched one, why do you exalt by ascribing to yourself this constancy in faith, hope, and patience which are given by God alone, since you have nothing good from yourself, as the Lord says: 'Without me, you can do nothing.' And elsewhere it is written: 'You should not claim anything for yourself, you should not flaunt yourself, you should not insolently praise yourself, you should not presume anything about yourself, you should not assign anything good to yourself.' And the Lord said: 'He who exalts himself will be humbled;' and again: 'Unless you become as this child, you will not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' Therefore, make yourself humble and you will be exalted, as the Lord says: 'He who humbles himself will be exalted;' and Augustine: 'If you humble yourself, God comes down to you, if you exalt yourself, God moves away from you.' Therefore, turn away from the arrogance which once made Lucifer, the most beautiful of angels, into the most deformed of devils and cast him from the heights of the heavens to the depths of hell, which was the beginning of all sins; according to Bernard: 'The beginning of each sin and the cause of complete ruin is arrogance;' the same: 'Take away this sin and all sins are cut off without effort.'"

Accordingly, it must be noted especially that everyone about to die feels himself to be tempted through arrogance; firstly, let him contemplate that arrogance so greatly displeased God that it was for this reason alone that he cast from heaven the most noble of creatures, Lucifer, with all those clinging to him, and damned him forever. Thus, in

consideration of this he must humble himself and keep himself lowly by recognizing his sins because he does not know if he worthy of hate or love. Accordingly, he must take the example of Saint Anthony especially, to whom the devil said: "O Anthony, you have defeated me; for when I wish to exalt you, you put yourself down; when I wish to put you down, you raise yourself up." Secondly, let him contemplate that humility pleased God so much that it is on account of this that the glorious Virgin Mary conceived God and was raised above the chorus of angels.

Tunc diabolus malus studet agonisante temptationem de avaritia, dicens primo: "Provideas amicis," monstrans ei eos pulchros. Et deinde dicit: "Intende thesauro," asseverans thesaurum, oves, equos et homines ante eum. "Intende isti, quo vis cum eo. Non est melior custos illius quam tu."

Then the evil devil pursues the temptation from avarice against the one in agony, saying firstly: "You must consider your friends," showing to him those who are beautiful. And then he says: "Look to your treasure," presenting before him his treasure, sheep, horses and servants. "Think about it, how you wish to be with it. There is no better guardian of it than you."

Temptatio Dyaboli de Avaritia

Quinta temptatio dyaboli est avaritia, magis seculares et carnales insectans, quae est nimia occupatio temporalium atque exteriorum circa uxores et amicos carnales seu corporales divitias atque alia quae magis in vita sua dilexerunt. Per quae dyabolus hominem maxime vexat in fine, dicens: "O miser, tu iam relinques omnia temporalia, quae sollicitudinibus et laboribus maximis sunt congregata, etiam uxorem, proles, consanguineos, amicos carissimos et omnia alia huius mundi desiderabilia quorum te societati, adhuc interesse tibi magnum foret solacium ipsis quoque magni boni occasio." Haec et similia dyabolus hominem in extremis */1/* de avaritia praesentat ut sic per amorem et cupiditatem terrenorum avertat amore Dei et propria salute.

Unde singulariter notandum */a/* quod maxime caveri debet ne cuiquam morienti amici corporales, uxor, liberi, divitiae, et alia temporalia ad memoriam reducantur, nisi in quantum illud infirmi spiritualis sanitas postulet aut requirat quia alias maxime periculosum esset. Tamen sic ab his quae spiritualis et salutis sunt, quibus maxime tunc omnibus viribus interioribus et exterioribus intendendum est, revocaretur ad ista miseria temporalia et carnalia; tunc maxima sollicitudine a memoria et mente removenda in quibus certe tunc occupari valde periculosum */2/*.

1. dyabolus in extremis, U. *2.* valde periculosum est. U. periculosum et pemiciosum. H.

a. V. Appendix B.

Temptation of the Devil concerning Avarice

The fifth temptation of the devil is avarice, attacking more the secular and the carnal. It is too great a preoccupation with temporal and external things concerning wives, friends and wealth and other things which they really enjoyed during their lifetime. Through these things the devil vexes greatly the man near death, saying: "O wretched one, now you will leave behind all the temporal goods which you accumulated through the greatest efforts and labours; you will leave behind also your wife, children, relatives, dearest friends, and all other desirable things of this world with which to be associated would be a great solace for you and also an occasion of great benefit for them." The devil shows the dying man these and similar things concerning avarice so that thus, through love and desire of earthly things, he turns him from the love of God and his own salvation.

Accordingly, it must be especially noted to be extremely careful lest friends, wife, children, wealth, and other temporal things are remembered by anyone dying, except to whatever extent his spiritual salvation demands or requires, because otherwise it would be very dangerous. Should he be recalled to temporal and carnal miseries from those concerns which relate to the spirit and salvation on which he must focus with all his strength, both physical and spiritual, then with the greatest care these carnal thoughts must be forgotten as it is dangerous to be occupied with such things.

Contra quintam temptationem angelus bonus consolatur nos, primo dicens *la'*: "Ne intendas amicis," iuvans nos et sanctis adducens nos relictis amicis illis coniungi in caelorum regnum." Secundo, consolatur nos, dicens: "Non sis avarus. Sed intende divine thesauro ut illum acquirere possideat; sic victa temptatione." Diabolus hoc intelligens recedit, asseverans: "Quid modo faciam quia iam victus sum. Non pateris proficere."

Against the fifth temptation, the good angel consoles us, firstly saying: "Do not direct your thoughts to your friends," helping us and bringing us, with those friends left behind, to be joined with the saints in the kingdom of heaven. Secondly, he consoles us, saying: "Do not be greedy. Direct your thoughts to divine treasure that it might be possible to acquire; thus defeat temptation." The devil understanding this retreats, proclaiming: "What should I do, since I am defeated. You do not allow me to succeed."

a. scripsi primo dicens: "Ne intendas amicis." iuvans nos. et sanctos.... codd. primo: "Ne intendas amicis." iuvans nos. dicens...

Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Avaritiam

Contra quintam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonam inspirationem, dicens: "O homo, averte aures tuas a mortiferis suggestionibus dyaboli, quibus te irritare /1/ et inficere conatur. Et omnia temporalia /2/ totaliter postpone quorum memoria utique nihil salutis conferre potest sed magnum impedimentum, memor verborum Domini ad eos qui istis adhaerent /a/: 'Nisi quis renuntiaverit omnibus quam possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;' et iterum /b/: 'Si quis venit ad me et non odit patrem suum et matrem et uxorem et filios et fratres et sorores, adhuc non potest /3/ meus esse discipulus.' Item ad eos qui istis renuntiavit dicit /c/: 'Et omnis qui relinquerit domum vel fratres vel sorores aut patrem aut matrem aut uxorem aut filios aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et vitam eternam possidebit.' Memento etiam paupertatis Christi in cruce pro te pendentis, matrem dilectissimam et discipulos carissimos propter tuam salutem spontissime relinquentis. Considera etiam quod tot viri sancti in isto contemptu rerum temporalium secuti sunt eum, audituri illud /d/: 'Venite, benedicti Patris mei /4/, possidete regnum praeparatum vobis ab origine mundi /5/.'

Imprime ergo ista tuae menti et omnia transitoria tamquam venenum a te penitus repellendo, cor tuum ad voluntariam paupertatem integre converte, et sic regnum caelorum ex promisso tibi debetur, dicente Domino /e/: 'Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam

1. quibus te irritare. U. 2. Et omnia alia temporalia. BR. 3. et sorores etc. non potest. R. et sorores et animam suam non potest. H. 4. benedicti patris mei, etc. R. 5. possidete... mundi. om. R.

a. V. Lc 14.33. b. V. Lc 14.26. c. V. Mt 19.29. d. V. Mt 25.34. e. V. Mt 5.3

ipsorum est regnum caelorum.' Teque totum Deo qui tibi divitias conferet sempiternas, plenarie amitte, /1/ totam tuam fiduciam in eum fundans."

Nota quod /2/ infirmus sentit se temptari per avaritiam seu amorem terrenorum. Consideret primo, quod amor terrenorum a Deo separat quia Dei amorem secludit, teste Gregorio qui ait /a/: "Tanto quis a superno amore disiungitur, quanto hic inferius in creaturis delectatur /3/." Secundo, consideret quod voluntaria paupertas hominem beatificiat et ad caelum ducit, dicente Domino /b/: "Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum."

1. sempiternas plenarie committe. HR. 2. Nota quod, U. 3. Gregorius scripsit hic inferius delectatur. scripsi nota quod. codd. notare quam

a. V. Gregorius: *XI. Homiliarum in Evangelia*, libri duo, lib. 1, hom. 30, PL 76. b. V. *Mt* 5,3.

Good Inspiration of the Angel against Avarice

Against the fifth temptation of the devil the angel gives a good inspiration, saying: "O man, avert your ears from the death-bringing suggestions of the devil, with which he tries to enrage and infect you. Lay aside completely all temporal things whose memory cannot bring salvation but are a great impediment, recalling the words of the Lord to those who cling to these things: 'Unless someone has renounced all his possessions, he cannot be my disciple;' and again: 'If someone comes to me and does not spurn his father and his mother and his wife and children and brothers and sisters, he cannot yet be my disciple.' He says to those who have renounced these things: 'And everyone who relinquishes his household or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or land on account of my name, he will receive a hundredfold and he will possess eternal life.' Remember the poverty of Christ hanging on the cross for you; he left behind his beloved mother and his dear disciples for your salvation. Consider also how so many holy men have followed him in this contempt of things temporal, paying heed to this: "Come, blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." Therefore, impress these things on your mind and repelling all transitory things completely like poison, turn your heart truly to voluntary poverty and thus the kingdom of heaven will be given to you as promised, as the Lord said: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit for the kingdom of heaven is theirs.' Commit yourself completely to God who confers everlasting riches to you, pouring all your faith into him."

Note that the infirm feels himself to be tempted through avarice or through a love of earthly things. Let him contemplate firstly, that the love of earthly things separates him from God because it shuts off the love of God; witness Gregory who said: "By however much someone is separated from heavenly love, by this much he is attracted to lower things." Secondly, let him contemplate that voluntary poverty makes a man blessed and leads him to heaven, as the Lord says: "Blessed are the poor in spirit for the kingdom of heaven is theirs."

Tunc finaliter pro huius artis moriendi conclusione, si agonisans superhabuerit usum rationis, fundit orationes ad Deum et Sanctos eius, dicens diaboli: "Spes vobis nulla," et intuens Deum et ornatum celestium. Hoc diaboli intuentes recedunt, dicentes unus: "Heu insanio," aliter: "Confusi sumus," tertius: "Furore consumor." Quartus inquit: "Animam amissimus. Vadamus igitur alibi, attemptando non lucris habere poterimus."

Then, finally to conclude this art of dying, if the one in agony still has the use of reason, he pours forth prayers to God and to his Saints, saying to the devils: "There is no hope for you," and looking to God and to the splendor of those in heaven. The devils seeing this recede, one saying: "Alas, I am going mad," another: "We are confounded," a third: "I am consumed with anger." A fourth says: "We have lost a soul. Let us go elsewhere, we are able to have no profit here by tempting him."

Si agonisans loqui et usum rationis potuerit, fundat orationes, Deum /1/ primo invocando ut ipsum per ineffabilem misericordiam suam et virtutem passionis suae suscipere dignetur. Secundo, diligenter invocet gloriosam Virginem Mariam pro sua mediatrice, deinde omnes angelos /2/, et praecipue angelum pro sua custodia deputatum, deinde apostolos /3/, martires, confessores atque virgines, specialius tamen illos quos vel quas prius sanus in veneratione habuit et dilexit, quorum imagines cum imagine crucifixi et beatae Mariae virginis ei presententur /a/. Item dicat /4/ ter istum versum /b/:

"Disrupisti, Domine, vincula mea. Tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis." Nam iste versus secundum Cassiodorum /5/ /c/ tantae creditur esse virtutis ut peccata hominum dimittantur si in fine vera confessione dicatur. Item dicat /6/ ter haec verba vel similia, quae in Summa beato Augustino ascribuntur: "Pax Domini nostri Iesu Christi et virtus passionis eius et signum /7/ seipsum crucis et integritas beatissimae Virginae Mariae et benedictio omni Sanctorum et Sanctarum, custodia angelorum necnon suffragia omni<a> electorum sint inter me et omnes inimicos meos visibiles et invisibiles in hac hora mortis mea. Amen." Ultimo dicat /d/: "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum /8/." Si autem infirmus non sciat /9/ orationes /10/ dicere, dicat aliquis de astantibus alta voce coram eo orationes vel historias devotas in quibus /11/ pridem sanus delectabatur /e/ /12/.

Ipse vero oret corde et desiderio ut scit et potest.

1. fundat ad Deum, H. 2. Tercio omnes angelos, B. 3. Quarto apostolos, B. 4. Quinto dicat, B. 5. iste secundum Cassiodorum, U. 6. Sexto dicat, B. 7. passionis et signum, H. 8. tuas domine commendo, BR. spiritum meum redemisti me domine Deus veritatis, U. 9. infirmus insciat, U. 10. orationes perdictas, U. 11. devotas in quibus, R end^o here. 12. pridem sane delectabatur, BRH.

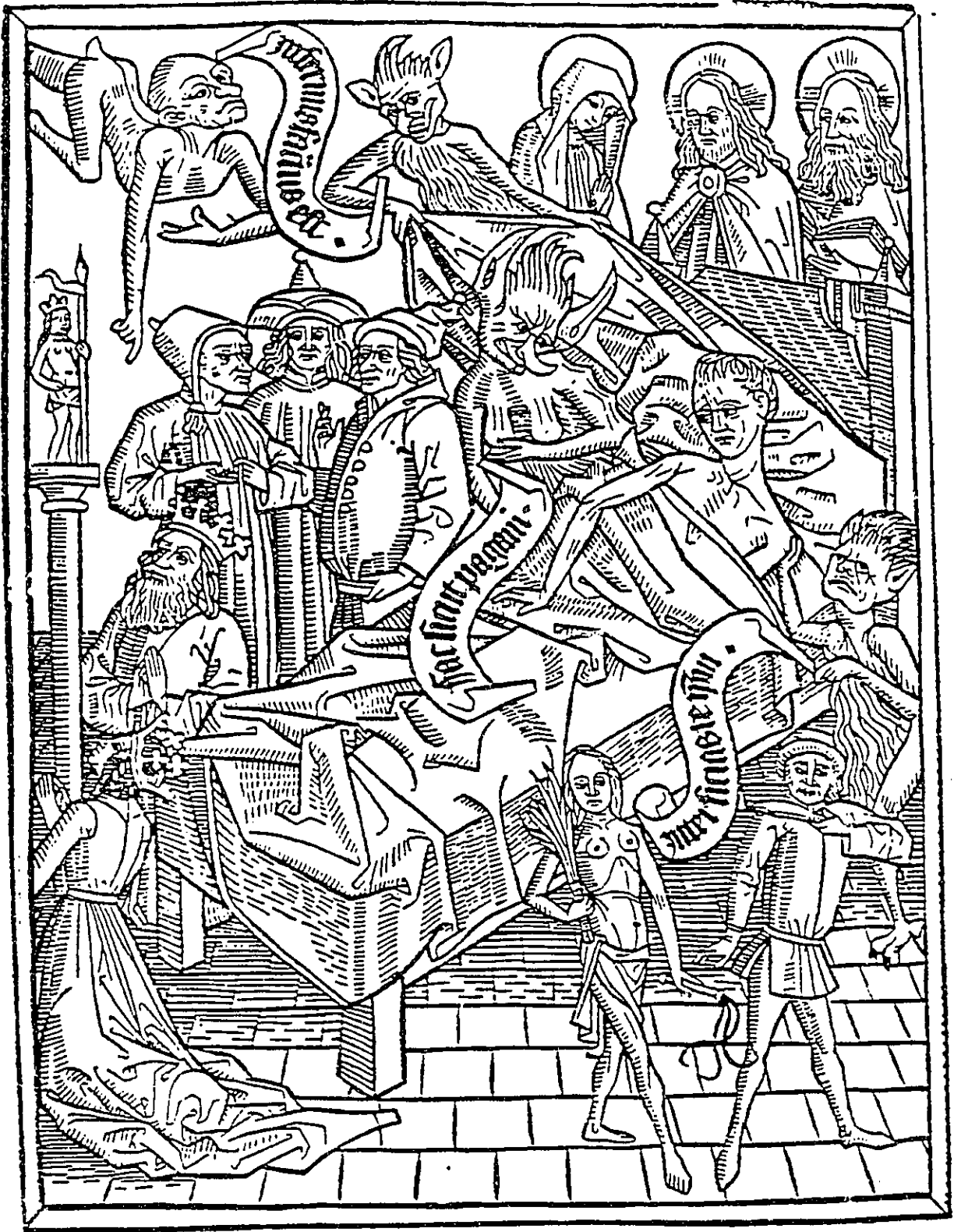
a. V. Appendix B. b. V. Ps 115.16-17. c. V. Cassiodorus: *Expositio Psalmorum CXXI*, pars II, sec. 2, *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina vol. XCVIII. d. V. Ps 30.6. e. V. Appendix B.

Unde nota ex quo tota salus hominis in fine consistat, sollicite curare debet unusquisque ut sibi de socio vel amico devoto fideli et idoneo provideat qui ei in extremis fideliter assistat ad fidei constantiam, patientiam, devotionem, confidentiam et perseverantiam ipsum incitando, animando ac in agonia orationes devotas pro eo fideliter dicendo. Sed heu pauci sunt qui in morte proximis suis fideliter assistunt interrogando, movendo et pro ipsis // orando, praesertim cum ipsi morientes nondum mori velint et animae morientium saepe miserabiliter periclitantur./2/

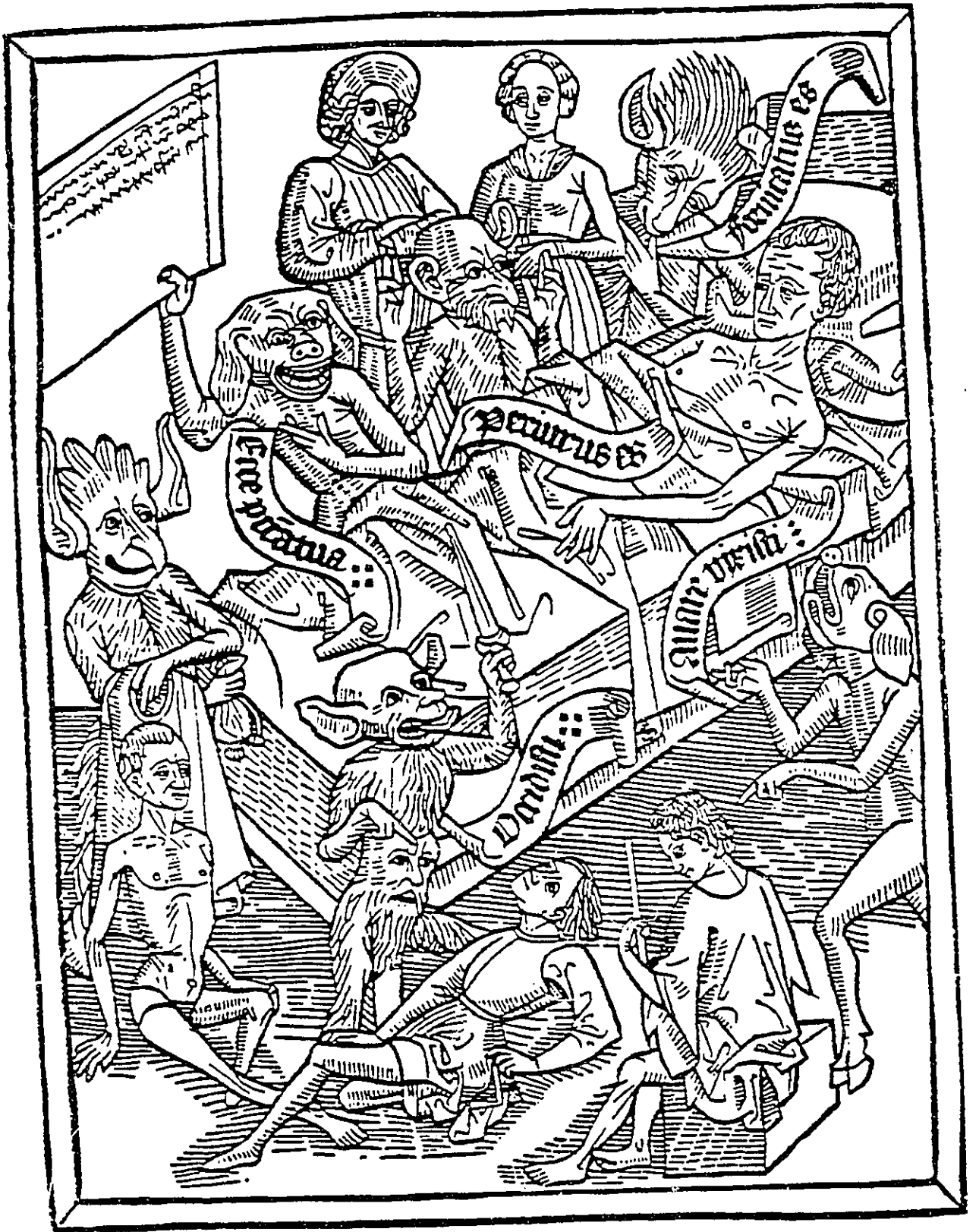
1. et pro eis. BU. 2. Explicit liber Ars Moriendi. B. perclitantur et sic devie in perditionis locum intrudantur. Quem a nobis pater eternus sufferat et nos ad Abrahe sinum collocet per suam pyssimam Mariam et ineffabilem bonitatem eternam. Amen.. H.

If the one in agony should be able to speak and has the use of reason, he must pray, firstly by invoking God, that through his ineffable pity and the strength of his passion he deign to receive him. Secondly, he must invoke diligently the glorious Virgin Mary as mediator on his behalf; then all the angels, especially the angel assigned to watch over him; then he should invoke the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, in particular those whom before, when he was healthy, he held in veneration and loved, whose pictures should be shown to him along with a picture of the crucifixion and the blessed Virgin Mary. He must say this verse three times: "Lord, you have broken my chains. I will sacrifice for you an offering of praise." For this verse according to Cassiodorus is believed to be of such great strength that the sins of men are taken away if it is said at the of a true confession. He must say these or similar words three times which are ascribed to the blessed Augustine in the Summa: "May the peace of our Lord, Jesus Christ, the strength of his passion, the sign of the cross, the chastity of the most blessed Virgin Mary, a benediction from each of the Saints, the protection of angels, and moreover all of the prayers of the elect be between me and my enemies, both visible and invisible, in this hour of my death. Amen." Finally, he must say: "I commend my soul into your hands." If however the dying man is not able to say the prayers, somebody present must say them in front of him with a loud voice, or he must tell a story of piety which before, when he was healthy, he enjoyed. But let him pray from the heart and with desire as long as he knows how and is able.

Accordingly, note what the salvation of man in the end consists of: everyone must assiduously take care that he arrange with a devoted, trustworthy and suitable companion or friend to faithfully assist him in the end to the constancy of faith, patience, devotion, confidence, and perseverance by inciting and reviving him, and in agony by saying faithfully devotional prayers on his behalf. Ah, but there are few who stand by their neighbours in death by interrogating, moving, and speaking on their behalf, especially when those dying do not yet wish to die and their souls are often miserably put in peril.



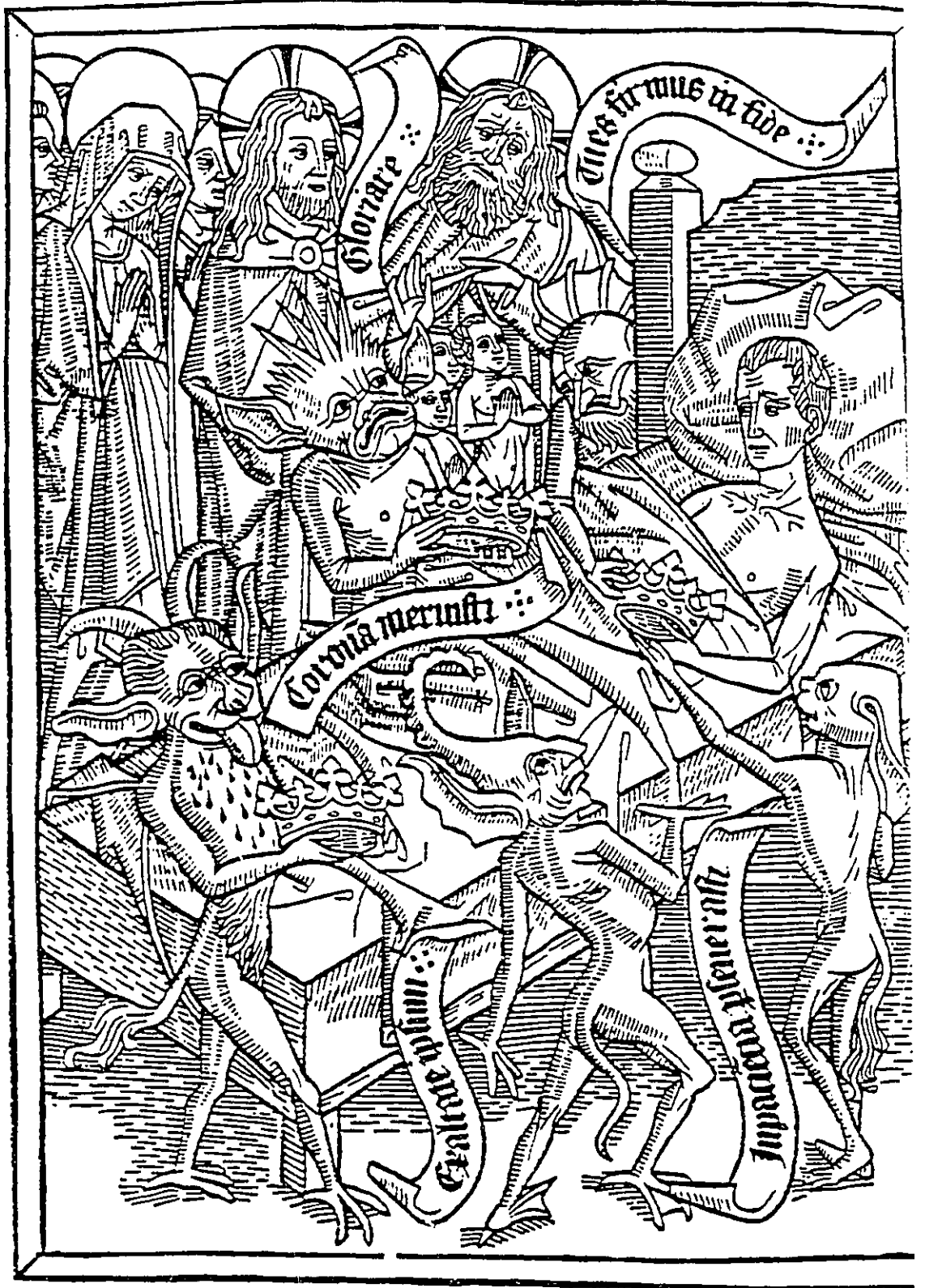




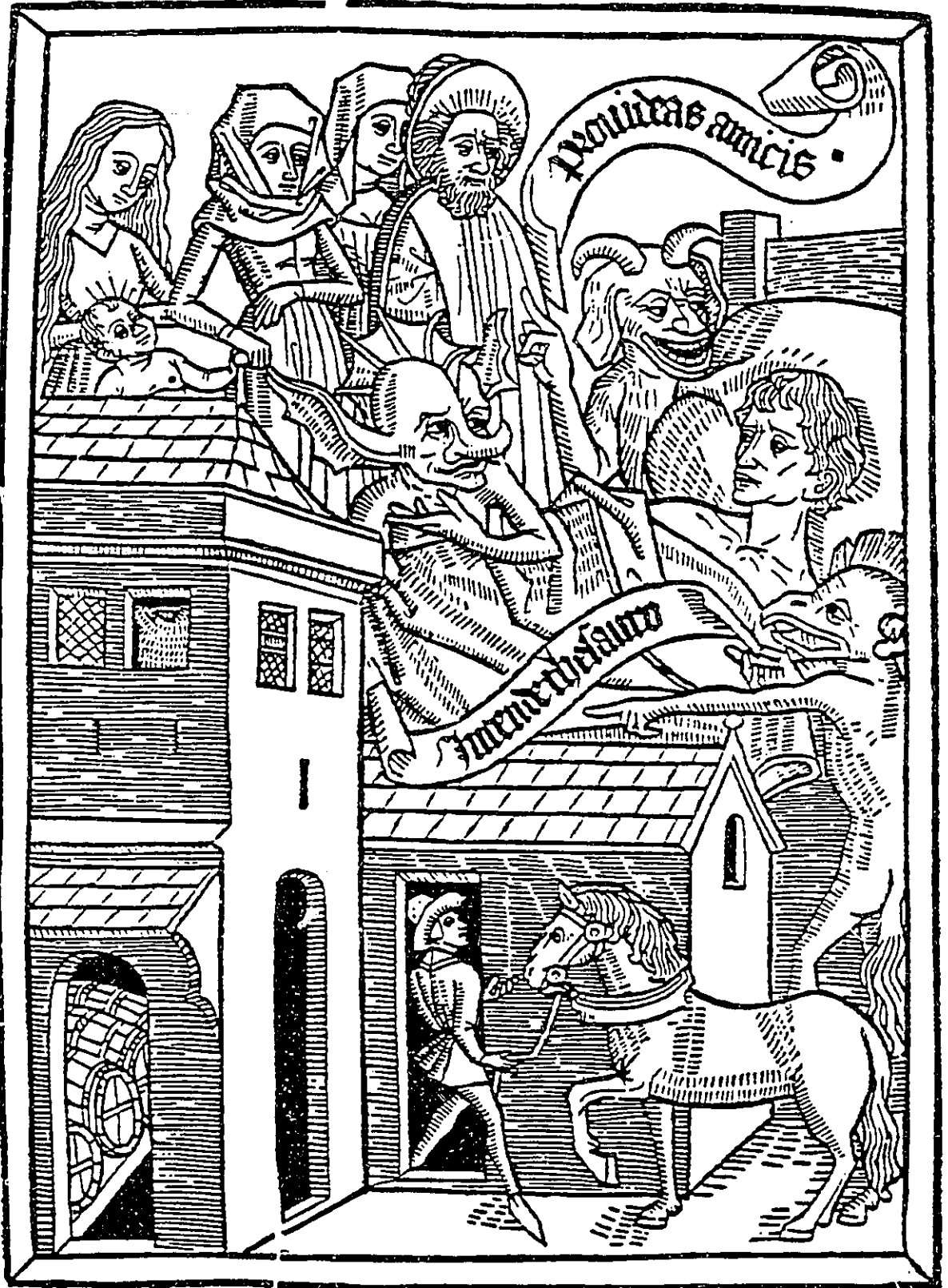




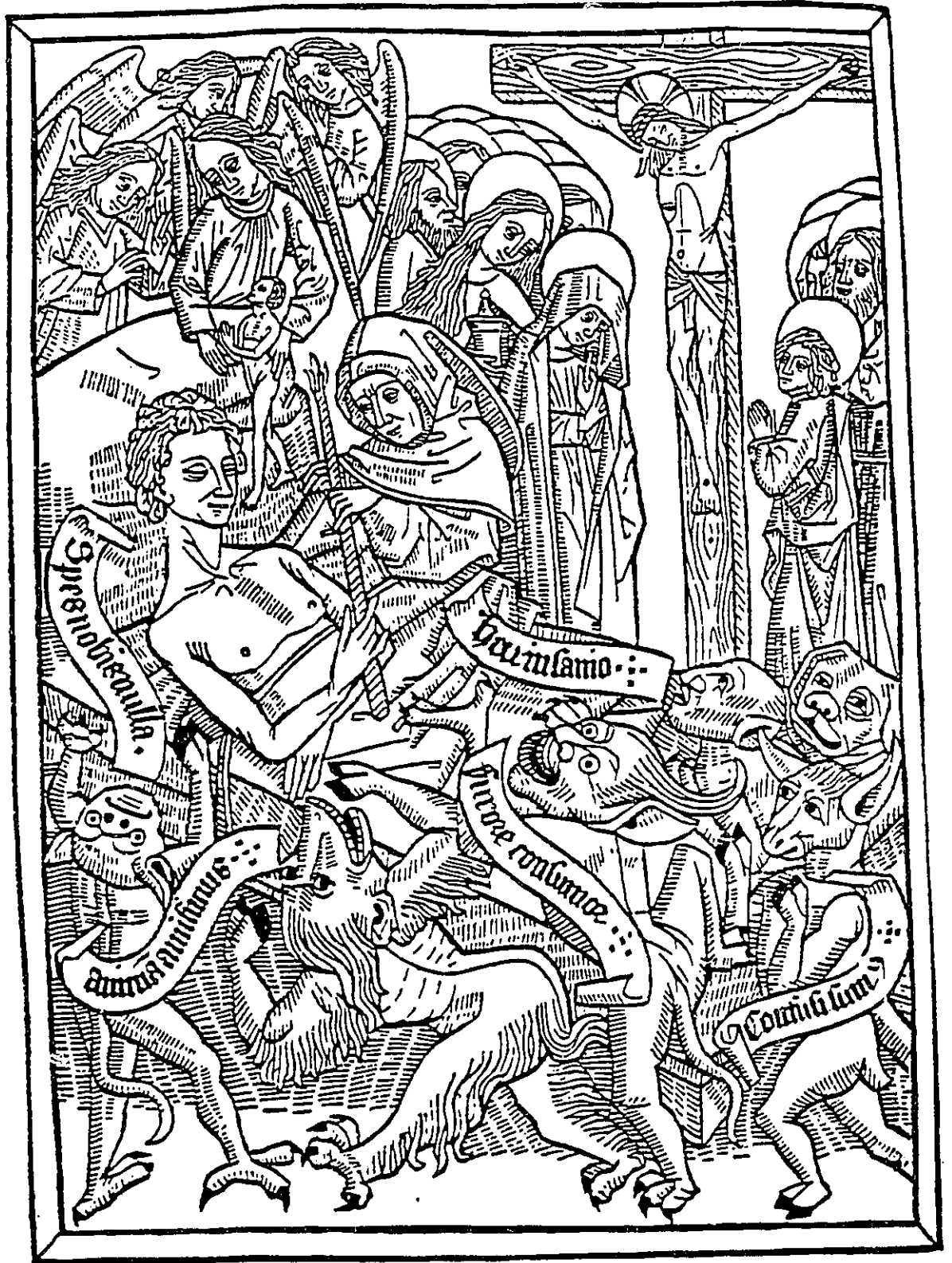












Appendix A

Maria Aegyptica: also known as Maria the Copt. She seems to be a rather mysterious figure that sometimes is confused with Maria the Jewess and the alchemist Kleopatra. Much doubt has been placed upon the validity of her existence. It is believed that she was created by the Egyptian alchemists as a rival to Maria the Jewess.(Lindsay, 252). Her connection with this text centers around her profligate early life, and her conversion while on a trip to Jerusalem. She is said to have died on the night she received Holy Communion (Carter, p. 387, see also *Vita Patrum*, PL, vol. Lxxiii, col. 671)

Alexander: this is a reference to Alexander at the Caspian Mountains. This comes from the Jewish traditions and was passed into the Middle Ages through several texts. Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* was the source for later accounts such as this one.(Cary, 296). In this story, Alexander meets the ten tribes of Israel who have been secluded by the Caspian Sea. They entreat Alexander to liberate them from their confinement. He rejects their plea when he hears of God's anger towards them. Alexander then beseeches God to assist him in further imprisoning them by moving two mountains together. By doing so, Alexander is seen as carrying out the will of God.

Itaque cum venisset Alexander ad montes Caspios, miserunt ad eum filii captivatis decem tribuum. Ex edicto enim tenebantur egredi non licere, postulantes ab eo egrediendi copiam. Cumque quaesisset causam captivitatis, accepit eos recessisse aperte a Deo Israel, vitulis aureis immolando, et per prophetas Dei praedictum esse eos a

captivitate non redituros. Tunc respondit quod arctius eos includeret. Cumque angustia viarum obstrueret molibus bituminatis, videns laborem humanum non sufficere, oravit Deum Israel, ut opus illud compleret. Et accesserunt ad se invicem praerupta montium, et factus est locus immeabilis. Ex quo liquido apparet non esse Dei voluntatem ut exeant. Egredientur tamen circa finem mundi, magnam hominum stragem facturi. Et, ut ait Josephus, Deus quid facturus est pro fidelibus suis, si tantum fecit pro infideli? Cumque rediisset Alexander in Babylonem, sumpto veneno usum linguae amisit, et extremam voluntatem suam scripto expressit. Et voluit monarchiam suam in aliquem transferre, ne aliquis par ei in potentia apud posteros legeretur, et duodecim quos ab adolescentia sua socios habuerat, regni successores instituit. Haec autem institutio non stetit. Nam quatuor ex his tantum, aliis abjectis, regnaverunt, sicut in historia Danielis est comprehensum. Mortuus est autem cum esset annorum triginta duorum: et duodecim annis regnavit. Et dicitur a quibusdam, quod duodecim Alexandrias aedificavit, pro numero annorum, quibus regnaverat. Ipse in Ammone condidit Parathonium, id est virtutis suae indicium, scilicet arcum triumphalem.

And thus, when Alexander came to the Caspian Mountains, the sons of the captive Ten Tribes sent a message to him. For, by an edict, they were held and they were not permitted to leave. They asked of him the chance to leave. When he inquired as to the cause of their captivity, he was told that they openly seceded from the God of Israel, by sacrificing the golden calves, and through the prophets of God it had been foretold that they would not return from captivity. He then replied that he would enclose them

even more securely. And when he was blocking up the narrow parts of the road, seeing that human labour would not suffice he entreated the God of Israel to complete the undertaking. And the sides of the mountains came together in turns and the place was made impassable. From this it was clear that it was the will of God that they leave. Nevertheless, they came out at the end of the world, to become the great destroyer of men. And, as Josephus said, "What would God do on behalf of the faithful if he has done so much for the infidel?" And when Alexander returned to Babylon, having taken poison, he lost the use of his voice and was forced to express his last wish in writing. He did not want to transfer his empire to someone lest some companion is said in posterity to be equal in power to him, so he established twelve friends from his childhood to be his successors in ruling. However, this arrangement did not last. For, only four of these ruled, as the others had been overthrown, as is contained in the history of Daniel. He died when he was thirty-two: he ruled twelve years. It is said by some that he built twelve Alexandrias for the number of years in which he ruled. He built a temple in Ammon, that is, a sign of his power, namely a triumphal arch.

Appendix B

The influence of Gerson went beyond merely providing the idea for a text of this nature. His *Opusculum Tripartitum* furnished several rather lengthy quotations that appeared in the *Ars Moriendi*. Though some disparities exist, there is no question that these were taken from the work of Gerson. The third part of the *Tripartitum* was the most influential of the three sections as it was from here that each of the quotations were taken. However, the second part seems to have at least provided a blueprint for the *Ars*

Moriendi as a series of sins were listed with descriptions placed beneath much in the same way that this work has its Temptations and Inspirations. The sins themselves differed though as Gerson selected them from the seven deadly sins: Circa peccatum invidiae; Circa peccatum irae; Circa peccatum avaritiae; Circa peccatum acediae; Circa peccatum luxuria; Circa peccatum gulae.

Gerson: Non detur infirmo nimia spes corporalis salutis consequendae, ingeratur potius eidem prima monitio superius explicata.

Moriendi: Et ergo nullatenus infirmo detur spes nimia corporalis sanitatis consequendae. (page 18)

Gerson: Saepe namque per unam talem inanem et falsam consolationem, et incertam sanitatis corporeae confidentiam certam, incurrit homo damnationem.

Moriendi: Sepe per talem falsam consolationem et fictam sanitatis confidentiam certam, incurrit homo damnationem. (page 19)

Gerson: Nullatenus aut minime si fieri possit, morienti amici carnales, uxor, liberi vel divitiae ad memoriam reducantur, nisi in quantum id exigit patientis spiritualis sanitas et dum alias convenienter omitti nequit.

Moriendi: Unde singulariter notandum quod maxime caveri debet ne cuiquam morienti amici corporales, uxor, liberi, divitiae, et alia temporalia ad memoriam reducantur nisi in quantum illud infirmi spiritualis sanitas postulet aut requirat quia alias maxime periculosum esset. (page 62)

Gerson: Praesentetur infirmo imago crucifixi, vel alterius sancti, quem sanus et incolumis specialiter venerabatur.

Moriendi: Quarto apostolos, martires, confessores atque virgines specialius tamen illos quos vel quas prius sanus in veneracione habuit et dilexit quorum imagines cum imagine crucifixi et beatae Mariae virginis ei presententur. (page 70)

Gerson: Si moriturus prolixum temporis spatium ad suam recollectionem habeat, nec morte festina praeveniat, legendae forent coram eo ab astantibus historiae et orationes devotae, in quibus sanus et vivens amplius delectabatur, vel recensanda essent divina praecepta, ut profundius meditetur si quid adversus eo negligenter oblitum deliquerit, vel similis coram eo instructio recitetur.

Moriendi: Si ante infirmus non sciat oraciones dicere dicat aliquis de astantibus alta voce coram eo oraciones vel historias devotas in quibus pridem sane delectabatur. (page 70)

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