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

EDITED FROM UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
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by

Brian R. Campbell

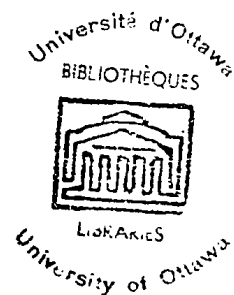
A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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B.R. Campbell, Ottawa, Canada, 1978



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"Shut up, Bobby Lee," The Misfit said.

"It's no real pleasure in life."

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

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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

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INTRODUCTION

(1) JACQUES LEGRAND: HIS LIFE AND WORKS

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

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

¹George Gordon Byron, "Letter to John Murray, 30 July 1821," in *Byron: Selected Prose*, ed. Peter Gunn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 456.

²Primary sources were unavailable to me owing to a lack of research money. Secondary sources include: Alfred Coville, cited above; Francis Roth, cited below; André Combes, "Jacques Legrand, Alfred Coville et le *Sophilogium*," *Augustiniana*, 7(1957), 327-348 and 493-514, and

basic knowledge about the man may perhaps stir an interest which the English title of his work has not. Jacques Legrand was an important figure in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Europe, and the numbers of his MSS and editions testify to his enduring popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. My account of the life of Legrand relies heavily on Francis Roth's "Jacques Legrand," *Augustiniana*, 7(1957), 313-326, and "The Epitaph of Jacques Legrand," *Augustiniana* 7(1957), 485-492; material from these articles is acknowledged by the page number in brackets.

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

Augustiniana, 8(1958), 129-163; R.F. Lucas, "Two Notes on Jacques Legrand," *Augustiniana*, 12(1962), 196-217; Evencio Beltran, "Jacques Legrand prédicateur," *Analecta Augustiniana*, 30(1967), 148-209; Evencio Beltran, "Un sermon français inédit attribuable à Jacques Legrand," *Romania*, 93(1972), 460-478; Evencio Beltran, "Jacques Legrand O.E.S.A.: Sa vie et son oeuvre," *Augustiniana*, 24(1974), 132-160 and 387-414; Adolar Zumkeller, "Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in Mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken," *Augustiniana*, 12(1962), 53-57.

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

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

³Quoted by Roth, p. 488, n. 5.

⁴See also Combes, p. 328, n. 6.

can place his licentiate in 1409-1410, and his probable *magisterium* in 1410-1411 (489).

The sermons of Jacques Legrand date before 1409.⁵ He is recorded as having preached a sermon on the opening of the Paris chapter during Pentecost, 1393,⁶ but his most remembered sermons are the ones he preached on Ascension Day and on the day of Pentecost in 1405. Preaching before the court as official court preacher, and in the presence of Isabelle of Bavaria, he attacked the evils and excesses of the court, and particularly the misdeeds of the Queen and her favorite, the Duc d'Orléans.⁷ As one would expect, a scandal ensued. The King was interested enough that he ordered Legrand to preach again on the day of Pentecost so he could hear the preacher himself. Charles VI brought the King of Navarre, the Dukes of France, and a broad cross-section of the nobility. The sermon may have been more than the King expected (316-317).⁸ Legrand attacked the crown for imposing two heavy taxes in a single year and then doing nothing to improve the defence of the country. He went on to excoriate the Duc d'Orléans under the guise of a young man who had seemed promising as a youth:

⁵Beltran, "Jacques Legrand prédicateur," p. 151.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁸See also *ibid.*, p. 150.

sed nunc propter inhonestam malam vitam et insatiabilem cupiditatem maledictiones plebis incurrebat, cum omnes ab eo et sibi similibus intollerabiliter premerentur, et in finalibus concludens, quod si diu continuarentur tot nephanda, non timebat quin Deus, qui potens est discingere balteum regum, quando placet, aut regnum in brevi transferret ad extraneos, aut propter mala principum divideretur in se ipso.⁹

The royal response to this sermon has not been recorded, but the fragments of these sermons have attracted praise, some writers comparing Legrand favorably with Gerson.¹⁰ Of particular interest is the response of Jean de Montreuil, the early French humanist, to Legrand's preaching. His letters to Legrand praise his wide learning,¹¹ and he is said to have been so taken with Legrand's oratorical gifts that he listened to Legrand's preaching for six continuous hours on a certain Good Friday (315).

Jacques Legrand's involvement in ecclesiastical and secular politics comes as no surprise to those acquainted with the *Sophilogium*, and its translation and revision, *Le livre des bonnes moeurs* (*Book of Good Manners*), where whole sections are dedicated to the proper behavior of secular and ecclesiastical rulers.¹²

⁹Monachus Sancti Dionysii, *Chronicis Caroli Sexti* (Paris, 1839-1852), III, p. 272, cited by Coville, p. 16.

¹⁰Beltran, "Jacques Legrand prédicateur," p. 151, n. 17, cites Le Roux de Lincy-Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens* (Paris, 1868), in support of this assertion.

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

¹²See Appendix 2, where the chapter headings of *Sophilogium* appear.

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

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

¹³My account of Legrand's political activities depends on Roth, pp. 317-319.

beside the King of Sicily, the Duc de Bourbon, and the Archbishop of Saon. He is said to have been offered the Archbishopric of Bordeaux, a post he did not take up.

In the years 1411-1413, Legrand was not idle, since he was involved in Armagnac planning. He took part in three missions to England in 1412 on behalf of his faction. The English were leagued with the Burgundians through a treaty with Henry IV, and the Armagnacs must have felt a re-alignment was necessary if their cause was to succeed. The second of the two missions was intercepted, and the Armagnac proposals were read to a great meeting of the nobles on April 6, 1412. Legrand's party proposed a military and financial alliance, coupled with the cession of Aquitaine. Coville describes Legrand as a traitor,¹⁴ but Roth counters that given the divided condition of France, such an alliance might have saved the French the agony of Agincourt (319). In any case, these were important negotiations, and Legrand was involved.

The only comprehensive treatment of Legrand's work is that of Evencio Beltran,¹⁵ who has edited some of Legrand's sermons and is preparing a critical edition of *Sophilogium*. Other discussions of Legrand suffer from incomplete

¹⁴Coville, p. 32.

¹⁵"Jacques Legrand O.E.S.A.: Sa vie et son oeuvre," *Augustiniana*, 24 (1974), 132-160 and 387-414. The second of these articles discusses his work, and lists the MSS.

scholarship, which is the problem with the thesis of Alfred Coville, or from limited access to the MSS, which is the problem with the article of Francis Roth. Apart from Roth and Coville, other authors mention Legrand's *oeuvre* in passing;¹⁶ Beltran covers it in detail, correcting errors and omissions he has noticed. The discussion which follows is a brief summary of Beltran's work; the numbers at the end of each section refer to the page numbers there. His is a chronological treatment, and the order and the dating of the works reflect his conclusions. There are English MSS of *Sophilogium* and of *Livre des bonnes moeurs*, but the rest of his production seems unknown to the English. The *Sophilogium* and its translation and revision *Livre des bonnes moeurs* (*Book of Good Manners*) were the culmination of Legrand's achievement, and even a brief listing of his works may give us some idea of his development.

MAJOR WORKS

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

¹⁶Adolar Zumkeller, "Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in Mitteleuropäischen Bibliotheken," *Augustiniana*, 12 (1962), 53-57; Thomas Charland, *Artes praedicandi* (Paris: Vrin, 1936); Friedrich Stegmüller, *Reportorium commentariorum in sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Wurzburg: Schöningh, 1947); Friedrich Stegmüller, *Reportorium biblicum medi aevi*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior, 1940-1961).

387. (2) *Abbreuacio dictionarii Morales-Biblici Petri Berchorii*: 1395-1397; a résumé enriched by 1200 sayings and examples Legrand had culled from antiquity to correct their absence in the original; 388. (3) *Archiloge Sophie*: 1397; written for the instruction of Louis, Duke of Orleans, while Louis was still a youth; 388-390. (4) *Sophilogium*: 1400; ded. Michel Creney; for a discussion of dating see 390-393; 390-395. (5) *Compendium utriusque philosophie*: 1401; written for his students, the work proposes "avant tout d'expliquer et résumer la philosophie d'Aristote d'après les principes de la philosophie chrétienne;" 395-396. (6) *Principium super Bibliam*: 1401, date of his "baccalauréat biblique;" Holy Scripture is allegorized as a fountain which transforms itself into the "fleuve" of wisdom. This fountain is reached by other "rivières"—the study of the humanities and the authors of antiquity. Of Christian authors, he cites only St. Augustine and Boethius; 396-397. (7) *Postilla tam litteralis quam mystica super librum Genesis*: ca. 1401; ded. Michel Creney; part of a biblical commentary; 397-398. (8) *Expositio in Psalmos*: ca. 1401; ded. Creney; placed after the *Postilla* by Beltran for reasons of logic, this commentary, similar in form to the earlier one, ends with Psalm 7; 398-399. (9) *Aliqua originalia ad laudem Sacre Scripture*: date uncertain, ca. 1401-1404; a collection of *sententiae*, taken from the Church Fathers, in praise of Holy Scripture; 399. (10) *Introductorium sermocinandi*:

after 1404; treats the different methods of introducing themes in preaching during Legrand's time; 399. (11) *Epilogium* (12 Latin sermons); before 1409; the sermons denounce "particulièrement les exactions perpétrées à l'encontre des pauvres, l'orgueil des princes et des seigneurs, le mauvais usage qu'ils font des richesses publiques, les mauvais collaborateurs et conseillers des princes, leur mépris de la parole de Dieu et leur bon accueil aux flatteurs;" 399-401. (12) *Collatio super Sentencias*: 1404; this work discusses the theological problems concerning the nature of God; 401-402. (13) *Lecture super quattuor libros Sentenciarum*: ca. 1404; this work is so dated because it must fall in the period when Legrand was named *sententiarus*; the work is more "dans la ligne de Gilles de Rome, que dans celle de Grégoire de Rimini;" 402. (14) *Le livre des bonnes moeurs*: 1410; ded. Jean, Duke of Berry; 403.

MINOR WORKS

- (1) *Chronica*: a short history from the creation to Gregory VII; 403. (2) *Tractatus de arte memorandi*: 403-404. (3) *Metrum de vita sancti Augustini et ordine suo*: 404. (4) *Metrum de vita sancti Pauli primi heremite*: 404.

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

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

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

¹⁷Beltran, "Jacques Legrand: Sa vie et son oeuvre," pp. 388-389.

¹⁸Lucas, pp. 202-203.

¹⁹Beltran, "Jacques Legrand: Sa vie et son oeuvre," p. 389.

is that, while the *Archiloge Sophie* is still a translation, it is taken from an ur-text, which was the source of both the *Archiloge Sophie* and *Sophilogium*.²⁰

Whether Legrand's *Archiloge Sophie* is taken from *Sophilogium*, or both of them find their source in a common ur-text, Lucas's remarks (working from the conclusions of Roth²¹) that Legrand's "translation is by no means literal" and "there are parts where no more than the general theme of a chapter or certain exempla can be traced to the Latin"²² are still to the point. The same is true of the relationship of *Sophilogium* and *Livre des bonnes moeurs*, and if anything, here the changes are more radical, and the new book is altered both in form and content.

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

²⁰Beltran, "Jacques Legrand: Sa vie et son oeuvre," pp. 389-390.

²¹Roth, "Jacques Legrand," p. 325.

²²Lucas, pp. 202-203.

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

To understand the relationship of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* and *Sophilogium*, one must have in mind the chapter headings of *Sophilogium*. These are included in Appendix 2. A brief survey shows the *Sophilogium* is divided in three books: (1) The love of wisdom, (2) The love of virtues, and (3) Concerning the different conditions of life. Under these main headings, there are a total of ten tracts, which in turn are made up of individual chapters. Too often, laments Combes, the copyists have omitted the main division into books and left us with the ten tracts.²³ This, he says, has disguised the economy of the design of *Sophilogium*, and made it seem loose and repetitive, a criticism Alfred Coville had brought against the work.²⁴

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

²³ Combes, p. 343.

²⁴ Coville, p. 50.

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

Both *Sophilogium* and *Livre des bonnes moeurs* are concise. *Sophilogium* takes less than 400 columns to complete a discussion which is two or three times as long in other works.²⁵ The chapters are short—less than two-and-a-half columns on the average—and there is nothing diffuse about the text, which, according to Combes, shares much in common with a reader's notes.²⁶ The brevity continues in *Livre des bonnes moeurs*. R.H. Lucas notes:

the *Livre des bonnes moeurs* may be called a condensation of the *Sophilogium* in that it possesses not one-half the length of the relevant parts of its model, nor in contrast to the *Archiloge Sophie* does it contain any long interpolations.²⁷

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

²⁵ Combes, p. 491.

²⁶ Combes, p. 491.

²⁷ Lucas, p. 209.

in the balance in the two works. In *Sophilogium*, Legrand appeals more frequently to Greek and Latin antiquity than he does in *Livre des bonnes moeurs*.²⁸ An example of Legrand's appeal to antiquity is *Sophilogium* 2, 2, 1, *Quomodo est credendum articulis fidei et etiam aliquo in lumine naturali*, where pagan thinkers are shown to have found the truths of the faith through natural reason.²⁹ This part of *Sophilogium* 2 is omitted from *Livre des bonnes moeurs*, possibly because of Legrand's knowledge that "his translation would reach an audience as yet unsympathetic to the first faint rays of French humanism."³⁰

Jacques Legrand intended *Livre des bonnes moeurs* to be a major revision of *Sophilogium*. We can see this in the early parts of the work where, although he takes his general themes from *Sophilogium*, the *Livre des bonnes moeurs* takes hardly more than chapter headings and certain *exempla* from the earlier work.³¹ As the work progresses, however, it comes to resemble its source more closely, and by the time we reach *De statu plebanorum* (*Sophilogium* 3, 4) "little is changed indeed."³²

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

²⁸ Lucas, p. 209.

²⁹ Edited with commentary, Combes, pp. 129-142.

³⁰ Lucas, p. 209.

³¹ Lucas, p. 209.

³² Lucas, p. 209.

qu'un véritable traité sur les moeurs, est un florilège, où une simple phrase suffit en général à introduire une longue série de citations et d'exemples."³³ At the lowest level *Livre des bonnes moeurs* is a collection of *sententiae* and *exempla* dealing with stock topics: not interesting material for modern readers. But André Combes, discussing *Sophilogium* 1, 1, 1, says that Legrand "consults"³⁴ —that he is trying to show that when one considers the questions in his books in depth, both the intellegentsia (*sententiae*) and the record of history (*exempla*) support his basic premises. Legrand shows there is agreement, no matter where one looks. For him there is unity, and *Livre des bonnes moeurs* and *Sophilogium* are works of synthesis.

Writing on *Sophilogium*, André Combes notes of Legrand's organization of his materials that "le fil qui les relie est discret."³⁵ The thread is somewhat thicker in *Livre des bonnes moeurs*, where the main moral point is found in the chapter headings, but Legrand's technique within chapters

³³ Beltran, "Un sermon français inédit," p. 462.

³⁴ Combes, p. 498: "Dès cette introduction, quelques traits se révèlent dont il est assez clair qu'ils seront caractéristiques de l'œuvre tout entière. La méthode, d'abord. Jacques Legrand n'entend procéder ni en théologien ni en professeur. Au lieu de déduire ou d'enseigner, il consulte. Tout comme feraient les hommes du monde auxquels il s'adresse, il interroge les experts. Il recueille leurs réponses. De là vient qu'il s'abstienne de poser au principe de son œuvre une définition personnelle de la sagesse. Il compte qu'elle se dégagera de l'ensemble des opinions rapportées.

³⁵ Combes, p. 492.

remains the same. He divides his subject matter, and the *exempla* are carefully chosen to illustrate the sub-divisions he has made. The result is, when we look at the work as a whole, that we look at the record of history from continually changing perspectives: David is cited as an example of pride (186-189), and as an example of meekness (388-393); Aristotle appears as a wise philosopher (462-465, 474-476), and as the foolish victim of women (1304-1305); Noah is both an example of obedience (604-606), and an example of drunkenness (1071-1081).

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

Why should *Livre des bonnes moeurs* have a lasting

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

³⁶*The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. W.J.B. Crotch, EETS OS, 176 (1928; rpt. London: OUP, 1956), pp. 99-100. I have retained Crotch's punctuation, but I have taken the liberty of expanding the abbreviation of "and."

(3) THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ENGLISH
TRANSLATIONS OF *LIVRE DES*
BONNES MOEURS AND BN.
f. fr. 1023

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

The Middle English translation of Jacques Legrand's *Livre des bonnes moeurs* on which this edition is based is found in the University of Glasgow Library MS. Hunter 78, ff.1r-39v. The work, here called the "Book of Good Conditions," is the sole work in this MS. The MS was bound in the eighteenth century. The binding consists of millboards, covered with quarter calf and marbled paper. The binding has a gilt title printed vertically: "BOOK OF GOOD / CONDITIONS." The MS has two paper fly-leaves, the second attached to the first quire. Then follow three quires, the first two of twelve folios each, the third of fifteen folios. The inner and outer sheets of each quire are vellum, and there is a half-sheet of vellum at f.31 in the third quire. The third quire is followed by one original vellum fly-leaf and two paper fly-leaves. The first of these final two paper fly-leaves is attached to the third quire. Apart from the fly-leaves, which are eighteenth-century, and the vellum sheets we have already noted, the MS is written on paper with the same watermark throughout: this is what Briquet in *Les filigranes* calls "tête de boeuf à yeux et à narines." The

watermark is similar to, but not identical with, 14.954, to which Briquet assigns dates in the 1430s.³⁷

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

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

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

³⁸p. 86.

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

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

Wherbi it appireþ þat the hope of þem avayleth þem lytil þat
 seith þis world xal endure ryte longe, etcetera.

Here endyth þe Book of Good Condictions opirwyse called þe
 Sophiloge of Wysdam.

(ii) BRITISH MUSEUM MS. HARLEY 149

A translation of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* forms part of the
 contents of British Museum MS. Harley 149.⁴⁰ The contents of
 this MS are:

- (1) The table of contents of *Dives et Pauper*,
 ff.1r-6v.
- (2) *Medicamenta nonnulla contra sciaticam et
 hydropem*, f.6v.
- (3) The text of *Dives et Pauper*, ff.7r-182v.
- (4) *The Book of Good Manners*, ff.183r-252r.
- (5) *þe cene that oure lorde made with hys*

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

⁴⁰My description of British Museum MS. Harley 149 is taken from R. Nares *et al.*, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (1808; rpt. New York: Georg Olms, 1973), I, 44, and from an examination of the microfilm of the MS. I also received valuable information regarding the size, binding, and present condition of MS. Harley 149 from Dr. A.P. Campbell, who has seen it.

- dyssplys*, ff.252v-254v.
- (6) *Nichodemus his gospel*, ff.255r-263r.
- (7) *Serteyn storyes of thynges done aftyr hys passyoun*, ff.263r-276v.
- (8) *A tretys of the veronycle*, ff.276r-279r.
- (9) *A tretys betwene Saynt Petre and Symon Magus*, ff.270r-280v.
- (10) *The obyte of Pylat*, f.280v.
- (11) *The decollacyoun of S. Petre and S. Poule*, f.280v.
- (12) *The worthy tokenes goyng before the general doom*, f.281r.

The folios of this MS are uniformly numbered in an eighteenth-century hand, and there is a sheet of some sort dividing the MS in two parts at f.182v. The MS is currently bound in boards and leather, and from its appearance seems to have been taken from an older binding and pasted into this one.⁴¹ Because of its condition, little can be determined about the collation of the MS, although the second part would seem to have been collated in twelve-page sections, since there are catchwords at 193v, 205v, 217v, 229v, 241v, 253v, 265v, and 277v in our section of the MS. There are no signatures. The pages in the MS measure 265 × 195 mm, and the writing area is 240 × 163 mm. *The Book of Good*

⁴¹Dr. A.P. Campbell has noted this.

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

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

The divisions of the text are:

Incipit, f.183r:

here begynneth the table of the ruberyssches of a booke yntytuled of goode maneres composed by ffrere jacques the grete.

Beginning of the text, f.184r:

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

Explicit, f.252v:

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

here endyth the booke of goode maneres or of good condicyouns.

⁴²Cf. C.E. Wright, *English Vernacular Hands: From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries* (Oxford: OUP, 1960), plate 16.

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

(iii) BRITISH MUSEUM ADDITIONAL MS. 5467

A Middle English translation of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* forms part of the contents of British Museum Additional MS. 5467.⁴³ The contents of this MS are:

- (1) *The tellynge of ... Godfray upon palladie*, an agricultural treatise of some sort, ff.1r-16r.
- (2) *The trettee of Nicholas Bollard*, another agricultural treatise, ff.16r-21r.
- (3) A confused section including an unidentified religious tract, Latin inscriptions, and an autograph, ff.21r-22v.
- (4) *Le maner pour rost briller & frier*, a cook-book, ff.23r-66v.
- (5) John Lydgate, *Stans puer ad mensam*, ff.67r-68v.
- (6) *The parayllous dayes of the yeere*, ff.69r-71r.
- (7) *Medecynes of maistre William ... gyven to kyng Henry*, ff.71r-71v.
- (8) *Medesyne approbate for mortal sekenessesse by saynte Beede*, ff.71v-72r.

⁴³ My description of British Museum Additional MS. 5467 is based on an examination of the microfilm, and on information kindly drawn from the MS for me by Dr. A.P. Campbell.

- (9) *The horrible murdur of the kyng of Scottes*, ff.72v-84v.
- (10) *An approbate medicyne for the Epidemye*, ff. 85r-87r.
- (11) *The ... peace betwe Sigismonde Emperour and kyng Henry*, ff.87v-96v.
- (12) *The Book of Good Manners*, ff.97r-211r.
- (13) *The governance of kynges and prynces*, ff.211r-224v. This is incomplete, as it ends in mid-sentence in the middle of Chapter 16.

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

The MS is currently bound in boards and leather, and the page size is 7" x 9". The writing area is 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x

5½".⁴⁴ The corners of the pages are rounded. The *Book of Good Manners* is written in single columns of 22-27 lines, and there is no visible ruling, either for lines or margins. It was impossible to determine the collation of the *Book of Good Manners* from the evidence on the microfilm. Catchwords appear at the bottom of every verso page ff.97-155, with the exception of f.147v, and randomly after that. There are no signatures.

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

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

⁴⁴ The information about the binding and page size is Dr. A.P. Campbell's; the size of the writing area was calculated from the microfilm.

⁴⁵ Cf. M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands: 1250-1500* (London: OUP, 1969), plate 10(iii).

divided between the top margins of the verso and recto pages. In the top margin of most recto folios, the part number and chapter number are indicated in Roman numerals. Examples of marginalia in this MS can be found on ff.122r, 114v, 115v, 117v, 127r, and 149v. The treatment of marginalia is not exhaustive, as there is not sufficient space for that.

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

The divisions of the text are:

Incipit, f.97r:

Tabula de Bones Mures etcetera

Ere begynnyth the Table
of the Boke in ffrenche

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

Beginning of the text, f.99v:

Alle prowde folke wolde be like to god in somuche that they

glorifie them of them selfe.

Explicit, f.211r:

By the which it appereth that litill is worth hope of hem
that sayn that the world shall longe laste.

And thus here endeth the boke cleped les bones meurs.

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

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

⁴⁶*The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*, ed. W.J.B. Crotch, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁷My description of British Museum IB. 55125 is taken from Seymour de Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons* (London: Bibliographical Society (OUP), 1909), pp. 73-74, and from an examination of the microfilm.

missing passages have been taken from the microfilm of *STC*, 15395, the 1494 edition of the same translation printed by R. Pynson.

The *Book of Good Manners* is printed in single columns of type No. 5.⁴⁸ There are 33 lines to the page, and the printed area measures 191 × 115 mm. The *Book of Good Manners* has 66 leaves bound in marked signatures. Signatures *a-g* are gatherings of eight folios; *h* has ten folios. There are wood-cut initials of two-three lines in depth. The edition lacks foliation, pagination, and catchwords.

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

⁴⁸ William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton: England's First Printer*, 2 vols. (1861; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1964), II, xxxviii-xxxix.

⁴⁹ de Ricci, p. 74.

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

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

The divisions of the text are:

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

Whan I consydere the condycions and maners of the comyn
people whiche without enformacion and lernyng ben rude and
manerd lyke unto beestis brute.

Beginning of the text, f.3r:

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

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

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

Explicit / et hic est finis / per Caxton etcetera

Finished and translated out of frenshe in to englysshe the vii day of Juyn the yere of our lord M iiii C lxxxvi / and the first yere of the regne of kyng harry the vii / And em-
 prynted the xi day of Maye after / etcetera.

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

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

From its appearance, it is a carefully-made book.

The divisions of the text are:

Incipit, f.1r:

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

Beginning of the text, f.5r:

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

Explicit, f.88r:

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

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

Because the French MSS of *Livre des bonnes moeurs* are still unedited, a critical edition of the English translations is impossible. The textual notes in this edition show that such wide variance in errors of attribution, and, in

some cases, in passages of the text that it is safe to conclude the English translations are the work of individual men, probably working from separate French MSS. Of the translations, Caxton's seems the most reliable, with MS. Hunter 78 and MS. Harley 149 not far behind. The work of John Shirley in British Museum Additional MS. 5467 is slipshod by comparison. There are, however, errors in all of them, and these errors do not follow any pattern which would indicate a direct relationship among them.

(4) A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The transcription was made from prints of the microfilm of the MS and compared, in cases of doubt, with the microfilm. Lack of funding made comparison with the MS itself impossible. The punctuation, capitalization, and to some extent the division of words, have been made to conform with modern practice, as have the distinctions between *i* and *j* and *u* and *v*. Abbreviations and contractions have been expanded without notice. Both thorn (*þ*) and yogh (*ȝ*) have been retained wherever they occur. There are examples of "ff" in the MS; these have been transcribed as a single letter and capitalized where capitalization is appropriate. Numbers, which appear as roman numerals in the MS, have been spelled out in Modern English, with the exception of chapter numbers in the body of the text. Frequently, these are given in Latin by

the scribe, and are uniformly given in Latin in the transcription.

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

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

(5) AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

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

APPENDIX 1

THE EPITAPH OF JACQUES LEGRAND

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

EPITAPHIUM FRATRIS JACOBI MAGNI, PARISIENSIS

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

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

Translation

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

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

APPENDIX 2
THE CHAPTER HEADINGS OF *SOPHILOGIUM*

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

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

Tractatus I.

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

Cap. 1. Qualiter sapientia facit felices et de amore sapientie (1 d - 2 b). — 2. Quomodo veteres sapientiam amaverunt (2 b-c). — 3. De mulieribus sapientibus (2 d - 3 a). — 4. De studio sapientie a iuventute (3 a-c). — 5. De necessaria sapientia regibus (3 c-d). — 6. Quomodo sapiens omnia possidet et stultus nichil (3 d - 4 a). — 7. De dispositione ad sapientiam et de quiete contemplantium (4 b-c). — 8. Quomodo sapientia docet omnia (4 b - 5 a). — 9. Quomodo iugiter est studendum (5 a-d). — 10. Quomodo non sufficit legere sed etiam oportet audire (5 d - 6 a). — 11. De modo docendi (6 a-c). — 12. De philosophia et eius descriptione et usu (6 c - 7 a). — 13. De dignitate et utilitate philosophie (7 a-c). — 14. De famosis illustribusque philosophis qui sapientiam amaverunt (7 c - 8 b). — 15. De

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

Tractatus II.

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

Cap. 1. De inventione grammaticae atque litterarum (10 a - 11 b). — 2. De inventione logicae (11 b-c). — 3. De inventione rethorice (11 c-d). — 4. De inventione poetriae (11 d - 12 b). — 5. De poetis famosis (12 b - 13 a). — 6. De inventione arismetice (13 a-b). — 7. De inventoribus geometriae (13 b-d). — 8. De utilitate musicae (13 d - 14 a). — 9. De inventoribus musicae (14 a-b). — 10. De inventoribus astronomiae (14 b-c). — 11. De medicina et eius inventoribus (14 c). — 12. De legibus et eorum inventoribus (14 c-d). — 13. De regimine civitatis et politica (14 d - 15 b). — 14. De regimine principis (15 b-d). — 15. De legibus divinis et humanis (15 d - 16 b). — 16. De yconomica (16 b - 17 a). — 17. De regimine patris familias (17 a-d).

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

Tractatus I.

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

Cap. 1. Quomodo virtutes sunt naturaliter appetende (17 d - 18 a). — 2. Quomodo natura capit virtutes (18 a-d). — 3. Quomodo virtutes non querunt mercedem temporalem (18 d - 19 c). — 4. Quomodo virtus consistit in medio (19 c - 20 a). — 5. Quomodo mens respuit vitia (20 a - 21 a). — 6. De honestate vite intus et deforis (21 a-c). — 7. De bona consuetudine (21 c - 22 a). — 8. Quomodo est vita mala et mundi vanitas (22 a-b). — 9. Quomodo mala est peccandi opportunitas (22 b-d). — 10. De cautela vitandi et cognoscendi peccata (22 d - 23 d). — 11. Quomodo vitanda sunt vitia leviora ne contingant graviora (23 d - 24 a). — 12. De sinceritate vite antiquorum (24 a-d). — 13. De odio peccati (24 d - 25 a).

Tractatus II.

De virtutibus theologicis (25 b - 34 b)

Cap. 1. Quomodo est credendum articulis fidei et etiam aliquo modo in lumine naturali (25 b - 26 c). — 2. De cultu et veneratione Dei (26 c - 27 c). — 3. De ydolatria et nominibus deorum et dearum (27 c - 28 c). — 4. Quomodo per fidem salvamur (28 d - 29 b). — 5. De consolatione spei (29 b - 30 a). — 6. De perpetuitate anime et consequenter de spe vite future (30 a-d). — 7. De caritate et bona amicitia (30 d -

31 d). — 8. De vera amicitia atque eius fidelitate (31 d - 32 d). — 9. De correctione caritativa (158 v - 159 v). — 10. De pietate (159 v - 160 v). — 11. De pace et concordia (161 r-v). — 12. De vero et ficto amore (161 v - 163 r). — 13. De adulatione que est ficta amicitia (163 r - 164 v = 33 d). — 14. De hospitalitate (33 d - 34 b).

Tractatus III.

De virtutibus cardinalibus (34 b - 46 c)

Cap. 1. De vera iustitia (34 b - 35 a). — 2. De eloquentia advocatorum (35 a-d). — 3. De equitate iudiciorum (35 d - 36 b). — 4. De misericordia iudicis (36 b-d). — 5. De virtute temperantie habenda (36 d - 37 d). — 6. De modestia lingue (37 d - 38 b). — 7. De vitando mendacio et periurio (38 c - 39 a). — 8. De regimine temperato corporis (39 a-d). — 9. De prudentia acquirenda (39 d - 40 b). — 10. De providentia circa fortuita (40 b - 41 c). — 11. De facili credulitate reprobanda (41 c - 42 b). — 12. De stultitia fugienda (42 b-d). — 13. De stulto amore cavendo (42 d - 43 b). — 14. De habenda fortitudine et constantia mentis (43 c - 44 b). — 15. De perseverantia in bono habenda (44 b - 45 b). — 16. De inconstantia (45 b - 46 a). — 17. De constantia (46 a-c).

Tractatus IV.

De virtutibus capitalibus (46 c - 69 b)

Cap. 1. Quomodo humilitas placet et exaltat, superbia vero de primit (46 c - 47 b). — 2. De humilitate (47 b-d). — 3. Quomodo humilitas facit homines acceptos (47 d - 48 b). — 4. De superbia qualiter et quomodo fugienda est (48 b - 49 b). — 5. De vana gloria minime affectanda (49 b - 51 b). — 6. De patientia habenda (51 b - 53 a). — 7. De ira vitanda (53 a-d). — 8. De odio et crudelitate (53 d - 54 a). — 9. De contemptione et procacitate (54 a - 55 a). — 10. De abstinence et sobrietate (55 a-d). — 11. De ebrietate (55 d - 56 b). — 12. De vitio gule (56 b-d). — 13. De penitentia non differenda (56 d - 57 b). — 14. De liberalitate (57 b-d). — 15. De beneficiis cito et gratuite dandis (57 d - 58 c). — 16. De beneficiis cognoscendis (58 c - 59 b). — 17. De sufficientia et paupertate voluntaria (59 b - 60 a). — 18. De avaritia vitanda (60 a-d). — 19. De rapina et fraude (60 d - 61 d). — 20. De fortuna et eius stabilitate (61 d - 62 c). — 21. De contemptu divitiarum atque seculi (62 c - 63 d). — 22. De contemptu divitiarum (63 d - 64 d). — 23. De negligentia (64 d - 65 b). — 24. De castitate et pudicitia (65 b - 66 c). — 25. De luxuria vitanda (66 c - 67 c). — 26. De voluptate carnis (67 c - 68 c). — 27. De

invidia (68 c - 69 b).

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

Tractatus I.

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

Cap. 1. De brevitatem huius vite (69 b - 70 a). — 2. Quomodo vita presens est carcer anime mediante corpore (70 a-c). — 3. De contemptu mortis (70 c - 71 b). — 4. De preparatione et desiderio bone mortis (71 c - 72 b). — 5. De patientia mortis sub spe glorie future (72 b-d). — 6. De resurrectione mortuorum et immortalitate anime (72 d - 73 b). — 7. De consideratione mortis (73 c - 74 a). — 8. De providentia futurorum (74 a-c).

Tractatus II.

De statu ecclesiasticorum (74 c - 80 a)

Cap. 1. Qualiter viri ecclesiastici debent habere curam de subditis in moribus et scientia (74 c - 75 a). — 2. De exemplaritate prelatorum (75 a-d). — 3. De electione prelati (75 d - 76 b). — 4. Quomodo non debent eligi favorabiliter (76 b-d). — 5. De moribus sacerdotum et aliorum ecclesiasticorum (76 d - 77 b). — 6. De continentia virorum ecclesiasticorum (77 b-d). — 7. De moribus prelatorum (77 d - 78 a). — 8. De oratione facienda sic quod unus oret pro alio (78 a-c). — 9. De predicatoribus (78 c - 79 b). — 10. De scolasticis (79 b - 80 a).

Tractatus III.

De statu nobilium (80 a - 90 c)

Cap. 1. De clementia principum (80 a-c). — 2. De bonis principum (80 d - 81 a). — 3. De misericordia et pietate principum (81 a-d). — 4. Quomodo principes debent colere Deum et ecclesiam (81 d - 82 b). — 5. De moribus principum (82 b-c). — 6. De vitiis principum (82 c - 83 a). — 7. De Sapientia et clementia principum (83 a-c). — 8. De ludis principum (83 c-d). — 9. De dominio principum quomodo debet esse virtuosum (83 d - 84 c). — 10. De tyranno (84 c-d). — 11. De iustitia principum (84 d - 85 b). — 12. Quomodo victoria a Deo est (85 b-c). — 13. De humilitate principum (85 c - 86 a). — 14. De castitate principum (86 a-b). — 15. De moribus principum (86 b - 87 a). — 16. De liberalitate principum (87 b-d). — 17. De patientia principum (87 d - 88 a). — 18. De legibus (88 a-b). — 19. De consilio principum (88

b-c). — 20. De militibus (88 c - 89 b). — 21. De fidelitate militum (89 c-d). — 22. De bellis (89 d - 90 a). — 23. De regimine militum (90 a-c).

Tractatus IV.

De statu plebanorum (90 c - 99 b)

Cap. 1. De divitibus et eorum statu (90 c - 91 b). — 2. De pauperibus et eorum statu (91 b - 92 a). — 3. De mercatoribus (92 a-c). — 4. De servis et laborantibus (92 c-d). — 5. De peregrinatione (92 d - 93 b). — 6. Quomodo senes debent esse virtuosus (93 c - 94 b). — 7. De sapientia senum (94 b-d). — 8. De iuvenibus et eorum statu (94 d - 95 b). — 9. Quomodo coniuges debent vivere in amicitia (95 c-d). — 10. De fidelitate coniugum (95 d - 96 a). — 11. Quomodo coniugia sunt contrahenda (96 a-c). — 12. De parentibus ad filios (96 c-d). — 13. De filiis ad parentes (96 d - 97 b). — 14. De obedientia filiorum erga parentes (97 b-c). — 15. De mulieribus (97 c - 98 b). — 16. De virginibus (98 b - 99 a). — 17. De viduis (99 a-b).

ABBREVIATIONS

- DL Diogenes Laertius. *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. Trans. R.D. Hicks. 2 vols. London: Heinemann, 1970.
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*. 15 vols. 1909; rpt. Paris: Letouzey, 1950.
- E, LM
E, VS
E, PD Epicurus. *Letters, Principal Doctrines, and Vatican Sayings*. Trans. Russel M. Geer. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964.
- GL Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend*. Trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- LA Jacobus de Voragine. *Legenda Aurea*. Ed. Th. Graesse. 2nd ed. Leipsig: Arnold, 1850.
- OED *The Compact Edition of The Oxford English Dictionary: Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically*. 2 vols. Oxford: OUP, 1971.
- PL Migne, J.P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*. 221 vols. Paris: Garnier, 1844-64.
- RG Julius Valerius. *Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*. Ed. Bernard Kuebler. Leipsig: Teubner, 1888.

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BOOK OF GOOD CONDICIONS

aliam

Sophology of Wisdam

<H>ere begynneth þe table of the rubryches of þe
 5 book whych is called Good Condycions, oþerwyse the
 Sophiloge of Wysdam. The which seyð book is devyded
 in three partes. The fyrst parte spekyth of þe seven
 dedely synnes, and of the remedyes ageyns þem. The
 secound parte spekyth of state of men of the chirche.
 10 The thirde parte spekyth of þe state of knyghtes and
 of prynces. The fourth parte spekyth of state of þe
 comoun pepil. The fifth parte speketh of deth and the
 day of dome, etcetera.

<H>ere begynnyth the rubryches of the fyrst parte.

15 Fyrst, etcetera:

How pryde dysplesith God	one
How pryde blyndeth the undirstondyng of a persone	two
How mekenes maketh a man to knowe hymself	three
20 How mekenes is plesaunt bothe to God and to the worlde	four
How a creature schulde obeye mekely to God	five
How ingrattytude dysplesyth God	six
How a man xulde have pacyence in adversite	seven

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

	How men of the chirche xuld preche and telle the trouthe of the feyth	four
	How men xuld study and lern and special holy scripture	five
55	<H>ere begynneth the rubryches of the thirde parte. Fyrst:	
	How prynces schulde be pitous and mercyful	one
	How prynces schulde be of good lyvyng and of good condycionis	two
60	How prynces xulde not be negardis nor coveytous	three
	How princes xulde maynteyn and kepe justyce	four
	How princes xulde be meke, softe, and debonayre	five
65	How princes xulde be sobre, chaste, and of good levyng	six
	How and whereupon prynces schulde employe them	seven
	How knytes schulde govern them	eight/
f.1v	<A>fyr þis begynneth þe rubryches of þe fourth parte. Fyrst:	
	How none xuld gloryfye hym in rychesses	one
	How the state of poverte schulde be plesaunt to God	two
75	How auncient men xuld be good, wyse, and vertuows	three

	How yonge men schuld govern þem wysely	four
	How men xulde maynteyn þem and govern them in þe state of mariage	five
80	How women xulde govern them and quat condicions þei xuld have	six
	How þei xuld maynteyn virgynite and maydenhood	seven
	How þe state of wedowhede sculd be kept 85 holyly	eight
	How kyn, and in esspecial fader and moder, xulde þinke on þer children	nine
	How chyldren xuld obeye and worchepe þer kyn	ten
90	How marchautes schuld maynteyn þem in þer marchaundyses	eleven
	How servautes xuld maynteyn and govern þem in þer servyse	twelve
	How the state of a pylgrym xuld be 95 maynteyned	thirteen
	<H>ere begynneth the robruches of þe fifth parte of þis book:	
	How the lyfe of þis world is schort and lytil while endures	one
100	How tho that lyveth schrewdly xul deye schrewydly	two
	How all dedely synne deservyth deth	three

	How good lyfe deservyth good deth	four
	How men xulde dysprayse thys present lyfe	five
105	How none xulde doute the deth	six
	How it is a profytable thyng to þink on deth	seven
	How none xuld make his sepulture to coryous	eight
	How menne xuld þink on þe day of dome	nine

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

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

120 Therfor þe prophete seith God resistyth proud pepil,
 þe which be vyleynes houndes among men. The first was
 Lucifer, that thorow his pryde fel from he<vyn> into
 helle—he and al þo þat consentid to his synne. On
 the same wise, our first fadyr Adam, by his mystakyng,
 125 he dysobeyed to God and obeyed to the serpent, which
 seyde he xuld be lyche God so þat he ete of the frute
 þat was defendid hym. And for he consented he was put
 out of paradyse, as it is schewyd in the Book of

Genesis. Also Agar, Sare chaumberer, to Abrahaum was
 130 proude ageyns hyr mastryes for a chylde þat sche had
 f.2r be the seyde Abrahaum. But veryly for hyr pryde / sche
 was put oute, both she and hyr childe. And þer was
 noþing yovyn to hyr at hyr departyng but a lytil bred
 and watyr, as it is schewid in the sixteenth chapetter
 135 of Genesis. Moreover we rede how the pryde of Nem-
 broth, and of many othyr, was in gret parte cause of
 þe devysion of the world, and of many hurtes, as it is
 schewed in þe fifth book aforeseyd. And aftyr the
 flood were the geauntes, þe which þrow ther pryde toke
 140 upon þem to assayle hevyn. And they edified the toure
 of Babiloyn. And therfor þei wer devyded in many
 langages, insomyche that on undyrstood nat anoþyr, as
 it is schewed in the eleventh parte of Genesis. And
 mesemyth þat pryde ryse nat but of foly. For who so
 145 knowe it wel, yf he be evyl, he hath cause of gret
 mekenes, for every synne is schame. And 3yf he be
 good on the same wyse, he hath cause of gret mekenes,
 for the grace þat God hath yovyn hym, inasmych as he
 is good and aggreabyll to God. And moreover the
 150 punysshment that we rede of that proude pepill have
 counceylid us to have mekenes. And indede we rede how
 Pharao was so proud that he seyde he knew not quat God
 was, and that he sette no store be hym, as it is
 schewyd in the fifth chapetter of Exode. But veryli

155 he was punysshid, he and all his. Moreover we rede
how Amon for his pryde wolde ben worchepid of all
men. And he was ryte angry with Mardoche, a man so
called because that he wold nat worchepe hym. But,
veryli, the seyde Amon was hangen on a gybet, the which
160 he had ordeyned to hangyn on the Childre of Issirael, as
it shewyth in the third chapetter of Hester. Also
Abymalech, be his pryde, made hym to ben slayn. For
because a woman had smeten hym, he called a sqwyer of
hys and seyde to him: "Smyte me to, to the entent þat
165 men schal not sey a woman hath kyllid me." As it
shewyth in the ninth chapitre of þe Book of Juges.
Rede we nat also how Balthasar for hys pryde was
slayn. And Nabugodonosor was put from hys sege and
chaunged to a beste, as it schewyth in the fifth
170 chapitre of Danyel. Anthiocus also for his pryde he
was gretly punysshid of God and smytten with a wounde
the which myte nat be hole, as it scheweth in the
Second Book of Machabeus. And generally all proude
pepil hath veryly ben lowned. Rede we nat how the
175 pryde of Nykanor was dyscounfyte and brout to no3t, as
it appereth in the Book of Machabeus, þe fyrst book
and þe eighth chapitre. And Absolon, which wolde a
put his fader David fro his rewme, was he nat veleyntly
slayn, as it apperith in þe Second Book of Kynges, in
180 the fifteenth chapitre? Quat made Pheton to falle but

f.2v his pride, / for he wold a governed the hevyn over þe
 comawndement of his fader Phebus. And therfor he fel
 unworchipfully as Ovide telleth in hys Fyrst Book of
 Methamorfoseos. Wherfor was Dedalus son drowned, but
 185 for he wold fle to hye agens the techyng of his
 fadyr, as Ovide tellith? And David was punysshid
 gretly because he made his pepil to be noumbred whiche
 wer his sogettes, as it apperyth in the Secound Book
 of Kynges, the twenty-fourth chapitre. Heroude also
 190 was ryte proude, and therfor the aungel smote hym, as
 it apperyth in the Book of the Apostelis Dedys. And
 because þat our savyour Criste Jhesu wold shew to his
 apostelys þat pryde displesid hym, he repreved þem
 because thei glorified þemself, seying to Cryste:
 195 "Ser, in thy name, the ennemyes be sogettes to us."
 And þan Jhesu Cryste, to withdrawe þem fro pryde, he
 leggyd them the story aboveseyd of the aungel Lucifer
 þat fel from hevyn to helle for þat þei shulde take
 exaumpil, as it apperith in the tenth chapitre of þe
 200 Gospel Seynt Luke. Mesemyth for to flee pryde we have
 sufficient exaumpilis in these þinges aforeseyd. But
 moreover it is good to considre how pride is nat all
 only noying, but also his opposite, þat is to sey
 mekenes, is ryte plesaunt and aggreable to God. And
 205 as pryde causith an ovirþrowe, so mekenes enhaunsith
 a creature, and reysith hym toward God. Therfor seyth

the prophete þat þe Virgyn Marye plesed God for here
mekenes. And David, which was the leste of his
broþirn, was chosen above all þem, as it schewyth in
210 þe Fyrst Book of Kynges, the sixteenth chapetre.
Moreover Salamon had þe reame aftyr his fadyr David,
and yit was he lesse and yonger þan his bretheryn
Adonias, as it apperith in þe Fourth Book of Kynges,
the fourteenth chapitre. Manasses also was lesse and
215 yonger þan Efferaym, his broþer, yit had he the blyss-
yng afore hym, as it apperyth in þe sixteenth chapitre
of Genesis. And generally mekenes and lownes of hert
maketh a creature to come to worschepe. And be reson
pride overthroweth at the last. And among oper synnes
220 it is þe most displesaunt to God, and is þat þe which
moste he punysshith most and greuously blyndeth the
undirstondyng of a persone, etcetera.

How pryde blyndeth the undirstondyng of a persone,
etcetera.

225 <T>he man þrow pryde knawyth not his wretchidnesse
ne hys frelnes, but wenyth he be more perfyte þan he
is. And þis wytnessith the prophite, seying þat quan
a man is in pride he lesith knowleche and undirstond-
yng, and becometh as a dome beste, and as a mare that
230 hath non undyrstondyng in hyr. Wherby it apperith
þat a man the which wyl become wyse shulde be meke and
knowe hymself withoute wenyng of hym þat þe which is

f.3r nat. / And to this purpos Seynt Gregory seyth in his Dialoges, in þe fyrst boke, þe fifteenth chapitre, how
 235 Constantius lovid them better þat dyspreysed hym þan tho þat preysed hym. And indede it fel þat a man desired to see hym for his gret name, and for the goodnes þat men seyde of hym. And veryly quan he saw hym he began to sey in maner as merveilyng: "O Constancius,
 240 I wend þu hadist ben a myche man, stronge and perfyte, and of aspare all fachon, but I see clerly þat þis is noþing in the." Þan Constantius set hym to preyse God saying: "I preyse and þank God þat he hath yoven the so good syte and so clere knowyng of me, for trewly þu
 245 art all only he þat hast wele beholdyn me, clerly and holy juged þe throwth of me." And þerfor seyth Seynt Austyn in his Fyrst Omelye upon þe Gospel Seynt Johun: "Veri mekenes is not to grutche ne to dysprayse oþer, but to þank God for all þat he sendith." And the same he
 250 telleth how ther was sumtyme a rethoricien, and quan men askyd hym quat was the pryncipal comawndement of rethoryke, the which answerd þat it was to pronowns wele. And if þat he had asked hym so an hundred tymes, þat as ofte he had answerid hym on þe same
 255 wyse. In lyche wyse seyth Seynt Austyn: "Yf þu aske me quat is þe principal commawndement in every mankyndely lawe, I answeere and sey that it is to kepe mekenes. And as ofte as þu shalt aske it me, as oftyn

myn answere xal be þus to þe, for mekenes suffereth
 260 non erreure in undirstondyng, but it engendereth know-
 yng and knowlech of trouthe." And to þis purpos Seynt
 Anselyne spekyth in the twenty-seventh chapitre of his
 Symylitudes, seying þat mekenes hath seven degreis.
 Þe first is to knowe wele hymself. Þe second, to have
 265 foryevenes for hys synne. The third, to confesse his
 synne. The fourth, to know þat a man is enclyned to
 synne and to do evyl. Þe fifth is holy to dyspraise
 hymself. The sixth is gladly to endure vylenyes and
 re pryves. The seventh is to rejoyse hym in mekenes.
 270 And þus it scheweth how mekenes engenderyth verry
 knowlache. And therfor Seynt Barnard in his Book of
 Degreis of Mekenes seyth þat mekenes is non oper þing
 but a vertu þat veryly maketh a man to knowe and to
 dyspraise hymself. Þe which þing to have Seynt Austyn
 275 counseileth us in þe Fifth Omely upon þe Gospel Seynt
 Johun. We have, seyth he, an exauple of gret mekenes
 in our savyour Criste Jhesu, þe which us to save and
 to hele wold descend from hevyn and become lytel. And
 þerfor yf þu wolt folow þi meke servaunt, þu xuldest
 280 folow þi meke master and lord Jhesu Criste, þe which
 spekyng to us seyth þus: "Lern of me my children—
 lern to become meke and debonayre, for I am suche."
 As it is wretyn in the eleventh chapitre of Seynt
 f.3v Mathew. Thys / ys the lesson þat God hath schewyd

285 to us. There is the exaumpyl þat we xuld take of hym
in his deedis, as Seynt Jerom seyth in his Pystil,
Ninety-seventh. Moreover we rede in scripture how
sumtyme ambicion and wyl hath ben cause of many hurtes
and hath don so myche þat many hath gretly mysknowyn
290 þemself and fallen in ryte grevous synnys. Rede we
not how Athaly, for the gret desyre <s>he had for to
be lord and master, sche dyd slee the seed of þe
kynges, as it apperyth in þe First Book of Machabeus
in þe fifteenth chapetre. Also Roboan, for þe wyl
295 that he had for to be a lord, he dyd myche harm and
regned schrewdly, as it apperith in the Third Book of
Kynges, þe thirteenth chapitre. In lyche wyse Abyma-
lech regned ryte malyciously and did so myche þat he
was chosen kyng; but veryli he slew his owyn brothern,
300 as it apperyth in the nineteenth chapter of þe Book
of Juges. Rede we nat also ho Aliquinius, for desyre
that he had to be the gret preste of þe lawe, he
grutched ageyns hym þat was it, as it apperyth in the
Fyrst Book of Machabeus, the seventh chapitre. Thus
305 it schewyth how ambicion doth mych harme. And indede
we rede how Jason to be the gret preste of þe lawe
promysid to King Anthirtus three hundred and seventy
markes of sylver, and sent Menelaus to hym to be his
mene and to do hys message. Neverþeles Menelaus coud
310 so ordeyn and do þat he had the offyce for hymself, as

appyareth in þe Second Book of Machabeus, in þe fourth
 chapitre. Be this it schewyth how ambycion engender-
 yth symonye in the ton and treson in þe toþer. Also
 we rede in the Third Book of Kynges, þe eighteenth
 315 chapitre, how Jabin slew his lord to regne after hym,
 yet he regned nat all only but seven dayes. Also
 Tholomeus, be his ambicion, ocupied falsly þe rewme of
 Alisawndre. Neverþeles it fyl so þat he deyed
 schrewdlye the third day after þat he was made kyng,
 320 as it apperyth in þe Fyrst Book of Machabeus, in þe
 fifteenth chapitre. Adonias also, seyde he nat by his
 ambicion: "I xal regne after my fadyr?" Neverþeles,
 it fyl contrarye, as it apireth in the Third Book of
 Kynges, the first chapitre. Be the whiche þinges we
 325 may conclude how ambycion and pryde makyth a man to
 become blynde and to lese undyrstondyng, and conse-
 quently to do many synnes and hurtes, etcetera.

How mekenes makyth a man to know hymself, etcetera.

Capitulo tertio:

330 <W>han a man is meke þan he knowyth þat of hymself
 is noþing but frelnes, poverté, and wrechidnes. And
 þerfor þe postyl, in þe Second Pistel of Corintheus,
 in the last chapitre, counceillip us seying: "My
 frendes: prove you, but yet knowe yew." And Seynt
 335 Austyn, spekyng alone to God, seying: "Sere, yeve me
 grace to knowe þe and to knowe me. For þis I knowe

me, I xal wele knowe þat I am but asshes and rotnes." And þerfor Abraham seid: "Alas, how dare I speke to God, I am but poudir and asshes." As it apperyth in
 340 þe eighteenth chapitre of Genesis. And to his purpos Seynt Barnard in his Thirty-sixth Omelye upon þe Can-
 f.4r tycles seyth: "I wyl examyne my soule and knowe / my-
 self and so wyl reson. For þere is nothyng so nere as I am to myself." And þerfor in olde tyme on þe gate
 345 of þe tempil þei wrote þese wordis þat folowe, þat is to sey to knowe hym wele is þe weye to hevyn, as Mar-
 robe tellyth in his Fyrst Book. And Policrate in his Third Book, in the second chapitre, how þer dyscended
 a voys from hevyn þe which seyð þat every man xuld
 350 knowe hymself. And þe same seyth Juvenal, and wyt-
 nessith þat the seyð voys seyð: "Notis elnes." Pat is as myche to sey as: "Know þu þiself." And Seynt
 Austyn seyth in þe Fourth Book of þe Trinite, in þe first chapitre: "I prayse them," seyth he, "þat know-
 355 eth hevyn and erthe, and þat studyeth in mankyndely sciences. But yet I preys more þem þat knoweth them-
 silf and þat aviseth wele þer poverte and þer frel-
 nes." "Allas," seyth Seynt Barnard, in þe book afore-
 seyð, "pride deceyvyth þe creature, and ledyth a man
 360 in makyng hym to undirstond þat þe which is nat, and ledith a man unto þe tyme he weneth his vices were
 vertues." And to þis purpos Seynt Gregory seyth in

his Morales, in þe Thirty-first Book, þat þe synner
 wenyth þat his obstinacie were constauns, and þat his
 365 foly were mekenes, his avauntyng he wenyth it were
 larges, his slauthe he callyth prudens, and his impor-
 tunite he nameth diligens. And þus his synnes he
 callyth vertues. And þerfor a man þat wole leve holy-
 li, he xulde examyne hymself and, be reson, wysely
 370 chasteys himself, as Hewe counceylyth us in his Book
 of þe Cloystre of þe Soule. And the prophete Ysaye
 seyth in his forty-sixth chapitre, spekyng to þe
 synners: "Synners avyse yew. Examyne yeure werkes and
 youre þou3tes." A ful wyse philosophir did so called
 375 Sixtus; the which examyned hymself dayly how he had
 lyved, and how he þanked God for his goodnes, and re-
 pryved and chasteysed hymself for his evyl, as Senek
 tellith in his Third Book of Ire. In lyches wyse
 shulde we doo to dentent þat in knowyng ourself we
 380 have cause to meke us to God; and þan all vertuys xal
 gendre in us, for mekenes is ground of all vertues.
 For to have mekenes we have many good and notable ex-
 aumplis, as of David, the which meked hym gretly afore
 God, and mekely salved the erthe of God, as it appir-
 385 eth in the Second Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chap-
 ytre. The which David also receyved ryte mekely
 Nathan, the massanger of God, as it apireth in þe
 chapitre aftyr. And veryli David, seyng þat God

wolde distroye his people, he began to wepe and accuse
 390 hymself seying: "I am he þat have synned, take ven-
 geaunce on me and nat on the pepil." And so he gate
 mercy, as it appyareth in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe
 twenty-fourth chapitre. We shuld also remembre of
 mekenes in þe three kynges þat wurched þe swete
 395 child Jhesu, as Seynt Matheu tellith in þe second
 chapitre. Þe which mekenes was ful plesaunt to God.
 On þe same wise we rede of Achab—notwithstondyng þat
 he was ryte evil—yet when he herd of þe peyn þat he
 xuld have, he meked hym to God and gate mercy, as it
 400 is wryten in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe fortieth
 chapitre. And Roboan, be mekenes—natwithstondyng þat
 f.4v he was ryte / cruel—he gate grace of God, as it
 apperyth in þe Second Book of Paralypomenon, the
 twelfth chapitre. Ezechias also be hys mekenes gate
 405 in his tyme þat God toke no vengeauns, as it appireth
 in þe book aforeseid, þe twenty-second chapitre.
 Nabugodonosor also be hys mekenes gate his restitu-
 cion. For þat he had be destytuted of his rewme and
 chaunged to a beste because of hys pryde, was be hys
 410 mekenes restored to his estate as he was afore. Thus
 wytnessyth Danyel in his third chapitre. Also we rede
 how the cyte of Nenyve schuld a be drowned, but be
 mekenes and penauns þei gate grace, as Jonas tellyth
 in his third chapitre. In lyche wyse Mari Magdalene

415 meked hir to the feet of Jhesu Criste wipyng and <dry-
 ing> hys feet wyth hir heer, and þerwith she gate re-
 myssion of all her synnes. Be these þinges it schew-
 yth how mekenes gete mercy. And indede Jacob with
 meke speche plesid hys brothyr Esau, the which was
 420 wroth with hym and wolde have kylled hym, as the for-
 seid wrytyng seyth in þe thirty-first chapitre of
 Genesis. Whi was it also þat Roboan partid from his
 Erytage and lost it, but for proude wordes and answers,
 as it apperyth in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth
 425 chapitre. We rede also þat þe two chinquantynes þat
 for pride come to Ely were dystroyed with fyer, but þe
 third chinquantyne be his mekenes was saved, as it
 apperyth in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, þe first chap-
 itre. Whereby it schewyth þat pryde displesith God,
 430 and þat proude pepil were sumtyme gretly punysshid.
 But be mekenes a creature may get all goodnes of God.
 Also we rede how the Cananee, spekyng mekely to Jhesu,
 gate helthe for hir sonne, as Seynt Matheu rehersith
 in his fifteenth chapitre. And to have þis mekenes we
 435 have an exauple in Seynt John Baptist þat levid in
 desert in ryght gret penauns and in verry mekenes.
 And he seid: "I am unworþi to touche the hemme of þe
 schoo of Jhesu Criste." And he was clad in a camels
 skyn, as Seynt Matheu rehersith in þe third book. And
 440 because of his mekenes he was reysed above all oper

and called more þan a prophete. In lyche wyse Hely
 was ryte meke in levyng, and þerfor God haused hym
 ryte gretly, and was þe first prophete for whom God
 began to do meraclis, as it apperyth in þe Fourth Book
 445 of Kynges, in the first, tenth, fourteenth, and six-
 teenth chapitre. Moreover þe childre of Israel were
 overleyd with Olofernus, but veryli þei meked þem, as
 it apperyth in þe tenth chapitre of Judyth. And gen-
 eraly þe mekenes every creature may get of God þat
 450 which is prophitable and nedeful for hym. For to have
 this mekenes, it is ful necessarye for a man to behold
 and knowe wel hymself, as it is seyde at þe begynnyng
 of þis chapetre.

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

<M>ekenes is ful plesaunt to God, for it is wytnes
 of þe wurschyp þat a creature xuld do to his maker.
 And also, naturally, every man hateth pride, wherof it
 foloweth þat he loviþe mekenes. And indede we se þat
 460 pride may never have frend, and þe cause whi is for he
 may not suffre non to be lyke hym, but he wolde passe
 f.5r all / pepyl, and he geynseyth all frenshep. For Aris-
 totil seyth in his Ninth Book of Etiques: "Frenshep
 requyryth his lyknes." And sumtyme evyl seyinges be
 465 twen tho that xuld love togedyr. Alas, pryde devided
 paradyse. Pride also make many stryves in þe world,

for wyl to have lordshep maketh often grete bataylis
 to be had, and sumtyme mucche pepil put to deth wyth-
 owten cause. Perfor a wyse man shulde meke his hert
 470 to be loved of God and þan of þe world. And foras-
 mucche as a creature hath þe more of goodnes and þe
 lesse of adversite, insomuche he xuld meke hym þe
 soner, and nat abide þe tyme of necessite, whan aforse
 he xal meke hym. Therefor Aristotil seyth he is bet-
 475 ter þat meketh hym of his owyn wyl þan he þat meketh
 aforse. And þerfor Senek seyth in his Pistyl to
 Lucylle, seventy: "Thus lede we a lytil estate with-
 out reysyng þe hye, to dentent þat fortune make þe not
 overthrowe from hye." Seyth nat naturel pepil þat þe
 480 lyon doþe non harme to þe man þat mekeþ hym, and þe
 bore to þe man þat is leyd at erthe? And þerfor a man
 xuld meke hym to eschewe perel. And to þis purpos we
 rede þat Dedimus, in a pistel of his, seid to Alis-
 aundre: "Knowe for trouþe þat God is redy to make þe
 485 wise so þu be not with thi pryde deseyvid." Wherby
 it apperith how pride lettith wytte and avys and
 maketh a man to lyve withouten pes of consciens. For
 hate and noyse is groundid in pride as in þe rote of
 all ennemyte. And to þis purpos naturel pepil seyþe
 490 þat grete wyndes is cause of thondre and lytenyng, be-
 cause þat sum erþeli þing mowntype sotili be þe son
 bemes hier þan he xulde. But nature, þe which may not

suffre þem, sendeþ þem doun ageyn, and þus þei cause
 þe þing aforeseid. In lyche wyse, it is of a proud
 495 man þat is ful of noyse, because þat he clymeth hier
 þan he xuld. And indede he may noþing in þe world
 endure, and yet he ceseþ nat to dispraise oþer. Þer-
 for seith Prudens in his Book of Subjeccion of Vices
 þat mekenes redressith a man and makip his lyfe to be
 500 moyen and to eschew all bad werkes. Moreover, Val-
 erius tellip in his Fourth Book, and after, þat anoper
 called Valerye had ben ryte gret at Rome, he frely set
 him in ryte a litil estate, and lefte all pompe and al
 worldly þing. And mesemiþ þat al proude pepyl xulde
 505 avise þem upon þe auncient stories and exaumpilis in þe
 which apireþ hou mekenes makeþ pepil to be reised and
 pride make þem to overprow. Rede we nat hou Saul kept
 neet and David sheep, and after þat þei were kynges?
 Also Constantyne was ryte power when he toke Elyn to
 510 wife, and after þat he was chosyn Emperour. Wherbi it
 sheweþ how mekenes haþe ben reysed. But quat xal we
 sey of pride? I pray þe take hede. Where is become
 þe myte of Neron þat fysshed with nettes of golde?
 Where is þe myte of Pharaon? Where is þe cite of gret
 515 Troye, þat was so namyd? Where is Babylone, þat was
 so hie? Verili, all is come to noght, for pride may
 not endure. Quat is pride worþe than, þat loveþ þe
 world so muche? Where is Arphaxat become, the ryte

proude kyng? He was spred abroad as a smoke. Where
 f.5v is / Agryppe and Julyan become þat were so myghti?
 Fortune haþe take al, for he yaf all. So he is a fole
 þat trusteþe þerin. But be hope þu xalt sey þat þu
 mayst ful wele trost in þi wytte and nat in þi myte
 nor in þi good. Alas wylt þu avise the; none xuld
 525 glorifye his hert in wysdam. And þerof have we ex-
 aumple of Salamon þe wyse, þe which was deceyvid also,
 inasmuch as he wurchepid ydolis. And Antyropeys, þe
 wyse counceylour of David, þe which veryli with a cord
 hyng hymself. And wyse Caton, kyllled he not himself?
 530 And Demoritus also. And þerfor it is foly to glorifye
 hym in his wytte or in his konnyng. Moreover quat
 avayleth he or she yif þou be fayre? For Absolon was
 fayer, yet he was hangen on a tre. And olifaunt, for
 þe beute of his bonys and of his tethe, he is oftyen
 535 put to deth. The gamaloon is ful fayer in his lyve,
 but at þe deþe he is ryte foule. Quat is þan þe beute
 of þis world worth? Thus, ychon, ye may wele see and
 perceyve þat þer is noþing in þe world whereof we xuld
 be proud to glorifie ourself. And þat considered wele
 540 Kyng 3erches, þe which seyng þat his pepil and his
 knytes wepten, seying: "Alas, I se ryte a fayre fela-
 shepe, but it is peti seyng þat in schort tyme it xal
 be but erthe." As Seynt Jerome seyth verely: "Þis
 world is noght." For we rede how Jovynien did gret

545 peyn to be kyng, but he dyed þe same day þat he shuld
 a be kyng of þe rewm of Perse. And Valentyne, þat was
 so ryche, castyng blood out at his mowth, was ded and
 choked. And hys sonne Gracyen was betrayed and slayn
 of his owen men be an ennemy of his. This is þan a
 550 lital joye to be a lord or to have ryches. And the
 same Kyng Agrype aforeseid, þe which in his dying
 cryed with a loud voys: "Allas, allas, my good pepil,
 set nat be ryches, for ye may see me yeure lord dye
 ryte pourly." And therfor Oraces, in his Pistil,
 555 seyth þat þer is noping more convenient for a man þan
 lytilnes. For to lytel þing, lital longith. Þat is
 to sey mekenes, þe which makeþ a creature agreable
 bothe to God and to the world, as it is seyð afore,
 etcetera.

560 How a creature xuld mekely obeye to God.

Capitulo quinto, etcetera:

<H>ow obediens plesyth more, seip þe scripture, to
 God þan doþe sacrefyse. Hereof have we exaumpil in
 our first fader Adam, þe which did his owen wyl and
 565 left þe commaundement þat God had yoven hym. And þer-
 for he fel into gret poverté and much wrechidnes, as
 Seynt Austyn witnessith in his Twenty-fifth Omelie
 upon Seynt Johns Gospel. It is also good reson þat a
 servaunt obeye to his master and consequently þe crea-
 570 ture to God his maker. And to þis purpos Vegetius

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

575 And yif ye obey to man, þat schuld be for þe wurchep
of God—so counceylyþ þe apostel. And indede much
f.6r good haþe comyn to þo þat haþe mekely / obeyed in the
wurchep and for þe love of God. And to þis purpos
Seynt Gregory tellyth in his Dialogis, in þe first and
580 þe seventh chapters, how Seynt Banet had a discipil
whom he comaunded to renne on þe watirs, þe which
obeyed and was safe from perel. Þan Seynt Benet askid
him yif he were not aferd of þe waters, þe which ans-
uerd and seid þat he perceyved no waters. Þan Seynt
585 Benet þanked God for þe myracle þat he had shewed for
þe obediens of his discipule. Seynt Gregori tellyþ
also of a religious man þat at þe commaundement of his
abbot every day he watred a pece of dreye wood þe
which was set in þe erthe. And yet he must go for þe
590 water two myle. And because of his obediens, þe seid
wood florysshed þe third yere. And þis same story telleþ
Cassian in þe First Book of his Collacions, wherin he
rehersip hou þe discipule of ryte an olde man at his
commaundment wold remeve rite a gret roch, and avised
595 him nat wheder he myte do it or non, for it suffised
him to obeye to his master onto his pouere. Be þe

which þinges it shewep hou obediens is agreabil to God.
 Þe which to have we have exaumpil of nature. As natu-
 rel speche seith, bestes obeie to þe lion as to þer
 600 kyng, and dar not passe the cercle þat þe lyon makeþe
 with his tayle. On þe same wyse, bestes obey to þer
 kyng. And in nature we se many þinges lich. Moreover
 to þis purpos we have many exaumpilis in holy scripture.
 And indede we rede how Noe obeied redely to God, as it
 605 appiriþe in þe seventh chapitre of Genesis, and þerfor
 he was saved from þe flood. Also þe childre of Israel
 for þer obediens were savyd of God, as it appiryþ in
 þe ninth chapitre of þe Book of Noumbres. The postels
 also obeied sone to Jhesu Christe, inasmuch as þei
 610 folowed hym all only for his word, as Seynt Matheu re-
 hersip in his fourth chapitre. And þerfor above all
 pepil þei be chosyn in þe chyrch and in hevyn. Also
 Abrahaum obeyed to God whan he wold sacrificed his owen
 childe and smyten of his hed at Goddes commaundment,
 615 as it appireth in þe twenty-second chapitre of Genesis.
 And þerfor God promysed to Habrahaum of his seed xuld
 procede Jhesu Criste, þe savyoure of þe worlde. It is
 ful trewe þat in obesiauns we xuld more obey God þan
 man, as it is aforeseyd, and þerof have we an exaumpil
 620 of Mathatias, þe which answerd to þe massanger of Kyng
 Antyoche seying: "Hou is it þat all obeie to Kyng
 Antioche?" And neverþeles as to hym he wolde first

obeye to God. As it is wretyn in þe First Book of
 Macabeus, þe second chapitre. We rede also of seven
 625 breþirn þat had rether dye þan ete flessch ageyn þe
 commaundement of God, notwithstanding þe kyng com-
 maunde it. Wherbi it appireþe þat þo that arn to
 reprove ascusith them of þe evelis þat þei doo be þer
 mastres þat commaundid þem. But þis ascusacion is non
 630 because þat the comaundement of God xuld goo afore, as
 Seynt Peter seith, as it apireth in þe fifth chapitre
 of þe Postelis Dedis. Moreover to obeye þe example
 shulde enclyne us of þe Virgyn Mary, þe which obeyid
 to þe aungelis wordis seying: "I am þe chaumbre of
 635 God, doth with me as hym liste and as þu haste seid."
 We rede also hou David, natwithstandyng þat he was
 kyng, yet obeied he to his fadir, as it appiriþe in
 the First Book of [þat he was] Kynges, þe seventh
 f.6v chapitre. And yonge Thobye / seyde to his fader:
 640 "Fader comaund me quat þu wylt for I am redi to do
 it," as it appireth in þe fifth chapitre of þe Book
 of Thobye. And Cornelius seid to Seint Peter þat he
 was redy to obey to hym þat God had set to be his pre-
 lat and mayster, as it apiriþe in þe eleventh chapitre
 645 of þe Apostelis Dedis. Also we rede hou þe Regabites
 dranke no wyne and had no houses, to obeye unto þer
 fadir, as Jerom rehersiþ in his third chapitre. Be þe
 which þinges it schewith hou obediens was wel kept in

olde tyme. And indede þo þat dysobeyed were punysshid
 650 of God, as it appiriþ of þe childre of Israel, þe which
 fel in þe batayle because þat þei did ageyns þe wyl of
 God. And þei come nat into þe londe of behest þe which
 þei desired, as it appiriþ in þe twenty-fourth chap-
 itre of þe Book of Nombres. Jonas also fel in þe see
 655 because þat in sum wise þei douted to do þat þe which
 God commaunded þem, as it appiriþ in þe second and in
 þe third chapitre of Jonas Pistelis. And þerfor we
 xuld first obeye to God, and after to þe creature, yif
 ye wyl eschew such perellis and plese Jhesu Criste, as
 660 it is specified in þis forseid chapitre.

How ingratitude displesith God. The Sixth chapter,
 etcetera:

<T>he holi doctoure Seynt Bernard seiþ upon þe can-
 ticles a man is nat worþi to have gode þat knoweþ nat
 665 þerof. And Seynt Gregori in his omelye seiþ þat þe
 more a man haþ receyved goodes of God, þe meker he
 xuld be to God, and þe more enclined to serve hym.
 And yif he do oþerwyse, þan þe goodes þat he haþ re-
 ceyved xal be encresing of peynis and in grutchyng at
 670 þe day of dome. And þus witnessiþ Hugh hou in þe
 eighth chapitre of þe Book of þe Arche of Noye. And
 to have cause to knowe þe goodnes þat God haþ don to
 us we have many exaumpis in holy scripture. Rede we
 nat þat Jacob seid after þat God had do to hym muche

675 good: "Ser, I þank þe of þe goodnes þe which þu hast
 do to me, or þe which I remembir wel." As it appiryth
 in þe twenty-eighth chapitre of Genesis. In lyche
 wise David did, as it appiryth in þe Second Book of
 Kynges, þe seventh chapitre. And Daniel seyde: "Ser,
 680 praysed and blissed be þi name, for þe goodnes þat þu
 hast don to me," as it appiryþ in þe second chapitre
 of Daniel. On þe same wise þe postle Seynt Poule in
 his pistel ryte oftin and contynueli praised and
 þanked God, as it appiryþ in þe first chapitre of his
 685 Pistel of Romayns and in þe second chapitre in his
 Pistel of Ephesius. Rede we nat also hou þe children
 of Israel sange and praised God because he delyverid
 þem out of þe þraldam and þat þei had passed þe rede
 see withouten perel. As it appiryþ in þe fifteenth
 690 chapitre of Exode. Also þe three children þat God
 delyverid from þe forneis blissed God ryte sweteli and
 devoutli, as it appiryþ in þe third chapitre of Daniel.
 Be þe which storyes it appiryþ hou every person xuld
 meke him to God and yelde þankes for þe goodes þat
 695 þei have receivid of God. And to þis purpos Senek in
 his Pistel of Lucille, eighty: "And I seiþe þat to an
 f.7r unkunnyng, necligent / man men noþing yeve, for þe
 goodes þat men yeve hym, he turnyth it into pride and
 to synne." Here schuld we take exaumpil of þe childyr
 700 of Israel, þe which after þer victorye offerid in ther

sacrificise many yiftes to God, as it appireth in the
 twenty-first chapitre of þe Book of Noumbres. And
 after þat þei had þe victorye of Sysara and Elbora,
 they in praying God began to synge, as it appireth in
 705 the third chapitre of the Book of Juges. Also quan
 þei be Judas Machabeus had þe victory ageyns the
 Thymotheans þei in praying God began to syng, as it
 shewith in þe Second Book of Machabeus, in þe tenth
 chapitre. So mesemyth þei be gretly to reprove þat
 710 knowe not the goodes þat God hath yoven to þem. And
 yet þat wers in mesure the more good þat God doth to
 hem, þe more þei be enhaused to pride. Þei shulde
 take exampil of good creaturs þe which sumtyme þe more
 good þat God dede to them, the more þei loved hym. We
 715 rede also how Anne praised God and þanked hym, because
 God had yoven hir grace to have issew, as it appyareth
 in þe First Book of Kynges in the first chapitre. And
 when þe Virgyn Marie had conceyvid Crist Jhesu, she
 began to magnifie God sei yng: "Magnificat anima mea
 720 dominum," as Seynt Luke rehersiþ in his first chapitre.
 And Zacharye quan his sonne was born, þat is to seyn
 Seynt John Baptist, þan he began to sey: "Blessed be
 the God of Israel, þat haþe visited and boght ageyn
 his people." Neverþeles þer be many þat tende to non
 725 oper þing but to get good withoute ony takyng heed
 whens it cometh, and þerfor goodes perysshith verili

and comeþ to nou3t. And yif it be not in þer tyme,
 þer heires ben deprived þerof for þer unkyndenes and
 þer mysknowlech. Þus þan every creature shuld beholde
 730 quat he haþe of God, and þe more þerfor serve hym and
 love hym. And it is nat alonly to do þus to God, but
 men xuld knowlege all þe goodis and benefices þat his
 neybouris doþe to hym. And þerof have we example in
 Thobye þat offered many yiftes to þe aungellis, þe
 735 which helid his fadyr þat was blynde, and delyvered
 his wyfe from þe fende, and also he kept hym from þe
 fyssh þat wold a devoured hym. He wende wele þat þe
 aungel had ben a man, and þerfor he offerid hym parte
 of þe goodes þat God had sent hym, as it appiriþ in þe
 740 thirteenth chapitre of þe Book of Thobie. In lychē
 wyse David þanked hem mekely þat had served hym, as it
 appirith in þe Second Book of Kynges in þe second cha-
 pitre. Also Helias receyvid þe wedowis sonne, þe
 which had don hym muche good, as it appiriþ in þe
 745 Third Book of Kyngis, the eighteenth chapitre. And
 generally all þe pepil of name and of good lyfe haþe
 knowleched þe goodis þat þei have receyvid, and þo þat
 do oþerwise be to repreve as pepil unworþi to have
 good. Þe which may be lykned to a servaunt of Phar-
 750 aons þat foryate anon þe goodnes þat Joseph had don to
 hym in prison, as it appiryth in þe fortieth chapitre
 of Genesis. And to whom David had don muche good,

afterward þei did þer dilygens to delyver hym into þe
 handes of his ennemy Saul, as it appiryþ in the First
 755 Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth chapitre. Also Saul had
 f.7v re/ceyved mucche good of David, and yet he wold a slayn
 hym, as it is wretin in þe First Book of Kynges, þe
 seventeenth chapitre. And Absolon persecuted his
 fadir David, þe which had doun hym mucche good, for he
 760 had pardoned hym þe deth of his broþer and also he had
 kept hym fro banysshung. O what treson and ingrati-
 tude is of þe son to þe fadyr! And þis forseid story
 appireth in the Second Book of Kynges, the fifteenth
 chapitre. Of þis ingratitude many be spottid in doying
 765 evil to þem þat doth hym good or to þer successours.
 Kyng Jacob did so, þe which forgate þe frenshep of
 Jogade, preste of þe lawe, for he kylled 3a3arches
 son, as it is wretyn in þe Book of Paralipomenon, þe
 twenty-fourth chapitre. And þe proud Amans procured
 770 þe dep of þe children of Israel, þe which had don hym
 mucche good and good servyse, as it appirip in þe
 Second Book of Kynges, þe tenth chapitre. O ingrati-
 tude, þu makist benefices to be for3etyn and þe man
 unworþi to have good! And þerfor God pleynith hym and
 775 seyth of ingrate pepil in þe first chapitre of Ysaye
 þe Prophete: "I have chosen and norysshed children and
 they disprayse me." And hereof have we many storyes
 of <those> þat haþe dysprayed God aftir þer goodis

receyvid. Rede we nat how God sumtyme delyverid þe
 780 children of Israel from þe þraldom of Pharao? And
 after þat þei lefte God and wurched gelte calves, as
 it apiryth in the eleventh chapitre of þe Book of Nom-
 bres. To þe which children of Israel God sent manna
 into þe desert, and yet þei gruched, as it appireth in
 785 þe book aforeseid, þe fifteenth chapitre. Also we
 rede hou God heyved sumtyme Jeroboan and made hym lord
 of ten lygnes, and natwithstondyng he was þe man þat
 withdrewe þe pepil from Goddis servise, as it is
 wretyn in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth chapitre.
 790 Also Ananyas, be þe help of God, overcam his ennemyes,
 and neverþeles he left God and worchedid ydoles, as it
 is wretyn in þe Book of Parilopomenon, þe twenty-fifth
 chapitre. And þerfor þe wyse man schulde sadly avise
 hym on the goodes þat he haþ receyved and schulde know-
 795 lege them sweteli, as it is aforeseid, etcetera.

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

<T>he sovereyn meen to overcome his ennemye is to
 have paciens. And þerfor Platon seith þat þe philoso-
 800 phir of all sciens is paciens. And to þis purpos
 Senek, in his Sixth Pistel, seid to Lucille: "We
 xuld," seith he, "gladly endure adversitees, for be
 unpaciens we do noþing ellis but hevy us as oure hurt
 and encres it." And indede wise auncient men were

805 ryte pacient, as Salamon seith, þat founde first þe
 lawe, and was ful wyse and ryte pacient, as Valery
 tellyþ in his Seventh Book. And Espicure set no store
 be sorrow þat myte come to hym, as Tarquilian telliþ
 in his Apologetique. And Quintilian in his Tenth
 810 Cause seiþ þat þer is no peyn but in hym which may
 noþing endure. And yif þe man endure wyllingli, þan
 xal he mastre fortune, as Prudens seiþ in his book.
 Þat paciens reioyseth hym in aduersite and makyþ a man
 to come to gret good, insomuch þat noþing may noye
 815 hym. As Marrobe seith in his Book of Saturnelles,
 wherein he tellyþ hou August, þe Emperoure, was ryte
 pacient, natwithstondyng men seyde of hym many velanyes.
 And Valery in his Fourth Book rehersiþ hou Ciracusan
 f.8r was ryte pacient quan Denys / the tyraunt put hym out
 820 of his countre. And to coumfort hymself it fel þat he
 went to Theodores hous and abod longe at þe gate.
 Siracusan, seyng þat, seyde to his felawe: "Alas, I out
 to have pacience, for in hope of tyme paste I have
 made many opir abyden." In lyche wyse every man xulde
 825 þink quan any aduersite falleþ to hym, because of our
 synnes we xulde gladly endure and have paciens. And
 indede paciens wakyþe a man and makyþe him ofte to
 gete vertu and causeþe þe man to become gode. As
 Water wytnessyþ in his Third Book of Alixsandrydos.
 830 Allas, we see hou many to gete helþe endureþ mucche woo

and receyvyth oftyn bytter medycynys. Than be gretter
 reson we out to endure adversyte to gete vertu and for
 to hele þe soule. And þerfor Caton seyþe he þat may
 not overcome adversite be his owne myte, he xulde help
 835 hym with paciens. And hereof have we an exauple in
 Socrates, the which was somtyme ryte pacient so þat
 none myte angre hym, as Cassian seiþ in his Book of
 Collacions. And Seynt Jerome in his First Boke Ageyns
 Jovyan telleth how Socrates had two wives þe whiche
 840 did hym mucche harme, but neverþeles he had paciencie
 and took al at worþe. And seid þat unpaciens doþe
 noþing but encres turment. The same we have many oþer
 examplis, þe which were somtyme ryte pacient. Rede we
 nat hou Ysaac was ryte pacient quan his fader wolde
 845 have smytten of his hed, as it appiryþ in þe twenty-
 second chapitre of Genesis? And David was ful pacient
 quan his sonne Absolon persecuted hym, as it is wretyn
 in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chapitre.
 And Thobye endured ful patiently þe wronges þat his
 850 wyfe and his kyn dyd to hym, as it appiryth in þe
 second chapitre of Thobie. Trewly paciens is verry
 mastres of all adversite. It is vertu be þe which a
 man may overcome fortune. And also we rede be paciens
 many haþe getyn good and eschew harm. Rede we nat hou
 855 Gedeon, bi his paciens and humble spech, pesid þe
 children of Effraym, as it appireth in þe Book of

Juges, þe eighth chapitre? Also þe softe spech of
 Abigail pesid David, þe which was angry with here hus-
 bond Nabal, as it appireth in þe First Book of Kynges,
 860 þe fifteenth chapitre. But Roboan, be his unpaciens
 and rude speche, lost his dignyte and his sygnorye, as
 it appireth in þe Third Book of Kynges, þe twelfth
 chapitre. Allas, what avayleth unpaciens but to en-
 cres harmys, for be paciens we may gete þe better of
 865 oure ennemyes and gete all grace of God, etcetera.

How ire and hate noyeth every creature, etcetera.

Capitulum octavum:

<S>enek seiþ that ire trobeliþ undirstondyng. Þer-
 for it were gret profite for a man to beholde hymself
 870 in a meroure, for, as Senek seiþ, yif þe angry man be-
 f.8v helde hymself, he xuld have pyte of / [of] hymself.

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

Therefor every person xuld eschewe ire, for, as Caton
 seyth, it engenderyth al enmyte and discord and pery-
 880 sship reson. As <also> Virgyle seyth in þe Second
 Book of Eneydos. Þerfore seyþ Sibile þat þei were
 ryte horribil þat founde werre first, for be werres

many dye ful evyl. And ire haþe don so much þat many
 have killed þemself be wanhope. Tellip nat Valery in
 885 his Ninth Book hou Othus, þat afterward was called
 Daryus, was ryte cruel and yrous, insomuch þat he did
 slee many good men and found many orribil engyns to
 make men to dye? But at þe laste þe cruelte fil on
 hymself, for reson wyl þat þe crewel man be at þe last
 890 fordon and punnyshed for his cruelnes. So it is good
 to considre quat ire is, for mesemyth it is noþing but
 a spyce of woodnes—Senek seith so in his Fyrst Book
 of Clemence. Natwithstondyng I wil not repreve þe ire
 of good pepil, þe which be angry quan þei see men do
 895 evyl. How seyth the Prophete? Of an evil dede men
 may wele be angry withoute synne. And Seynt Austyn
 seiþe men may love wele þe pepil þow þei love not her
 synnes. And moreover we rede hou Moyses was wroþe
 with þe pepil because þei kept þe manna ageyns þe com-
 900 maundment of God, as it appiryth in þe seventeenth
 chapitre of Exode. And he angred hymself, seyng þat
 þe pepil lyved evil, þat he kest doun his tabelis and
 brak þem, as it appirip in þe thirty-second chapitre
 of Exode. And Nemas was angry with þem þat ded usure,
 905 as it appirith in þe fifth chapitre of Noenne. Wherby
 it shewep þat it is not evil to be angry with evil.
 And indede Seynt Austyn seyth þat God is angry with
 shrewis in punysshing þem. And to þis purpos we rede

þat God was angry with Salamon because of his ydola-
 910 trye, as it appirith in þe Fourth Book of Kynges, þe
 tenth chapitre. And for þe same cause he was angry
 with þe childre of Israel, and put þem into þe handes
 of A3ael, þer ennemye, as it appiryth in þe Fourth
 Book of Kynges, þe tenth chapitre. And for ydolatrie
 915 God was angry with Joas and his captenys, as it is
 wretyn in þe Second Book of Paralipomenon, þe twenty-
 fourth chapitre. We rede also hou God was angry with
 þe childre of Israel because þat þei ded fornicacion
 with Moabs dou3ters, as it appireth in þe tenth
 920 chapitre of þe Book of Noumbres. Be þe quych þinges
 it shewith þat God is sumtyme angry with mysdoers.
 Þis is nat þe anger called inpaciens þat trobeliþ þe
 spyryte and þe understondyng, þe which lettith much
 goodnes and makeþ a man for to come into many incon-
 925 venientes. Telle nat Valery in his Tenth Book of þe
 cruelte of þe juge þat dede make a vessel of bras, in
 f.9r þe which þe / evyl doers shuld be closed in to dye for
 hunger. Hanybal, seyng þat, condempned þe same juge
 to dye þe seid deþ þat he had condampned oþer. And
 930 neverþeles Hanibal was yet ryte creuel, insomych þat
 he did make a brygge of þe bodies of þe romaynes þat
 he had slayn, upon þe which bryg he and his felashepe
 passed þe ryver of Golle. But at þe last Hanibal was
 gretly travaled of his ennemyes, for of reson cruelte

935 wil have his sallary. And þerfor non xuld be creuel
ne kepe ire in his hert, for ire turmentip þe angry
man and bryngip hym to such a plyte þat he knowe nat
hou he may consent to reson. Alas, quat avaylip me to
hate my neyboure, seyng so set I may not plese God sen
940 þat I love not hym hom I xuld love, and þat I may not
have foryevenes but yeve I wyl foryeve othir? Rede we
nat hou Geyte made pes with þe Galadites insomuch þat
he faut for þem, natwithstondyng þat þei had don hym
much harm, as it appirip in þe eleventh chapitre of þe
945 Book of Juges? David also wold nat kylle his ennemye
Asbareth, and indede he dyd sle þe two þenys þat pre-
sented him with þe hed of his seyde ennemy, as it
appirip in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fourth chap-
itre. Wherby it shewyp þat non xuld bere angyr in his
950 hert. But þe fend, þe which is prynse of all devy-
sion, engenderyþ fyrst in dyverse manerys. For som
haþe all þer heritages; and þat was þe stryfe betwen
Esau and Jacob, as it appiryþ in þe twenty-fifth
chapitre of Genesis. And som hateþ ich oþer of envye,
955 and þat was þe hate of Josephes breþirn, þe which
solde hym, as it appiryþ in þe twenty-ninth chapitre
of Genesis. But because þat þei were grete and þat
þei multiplied, as it appiryþ in þe third chapitre of
Exode. And whi hated Saul David, but because he sawh
960 hym wyse and wel alowed of þe pepil, as it appirip in

þe Fyrst Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chapitre. Þus
 þe fende in dyverse wyses fedith ire and dyscordis,
 but ho so is wise he xuld not bere it in his hert but
 desire the welfare of all to the whiche he wolde come,
 965 etcetera.

How none shuld debate ne engendir stryfe, etcetera.
 Capitulum novum:

<N>o wele may come by stryfe. And chidyng engen-
 derip stryf þe which oftyne men may not pese. And þer-
 970 for Caton seid to hir son: "Son, þu xuldist fle
 chidyng, for many haþ ben hurt þerbi." To þis purpos
 Juvenal seip in his Fourth Book þat stryvynge langage
 berip venym in hym and corrompeþ good condicions and
 lettip frenshep, as Menand seip in his book. Mesemyþ
 975 ho so may have pes to be styll, haþe not much to do,
 for it is a maistri to speke wel, but to be styll it
 is no gret peyn. And neverþeles scilens makip ofte
 pes to be had, and þat witnessip Ovide in his Second
 Book of þe Crafte to Love. Moreover it appirip bi
 980 reson þat debate and stryfe it is not worþe. For yif
 þu stryve for wele and to susteyn pes, it is no gret
 wytte, for bounte and trouþe susteyn þemself. And
 þerfor it suffisip to make trouþe to be undirstondin
 withoutin any stryfe. For ho so undirstondip trouþe,
 985 and wyl nat consent þerto, be þe first his purpos xal
 never be chaunged. And yif þu stryve for falsnes and

for evil, þi synne is ful gret and þerto þu lesist þi
 labour. For þe more þu stryve, þe more clerli shewiþ
 þi falsnes. And þat witnessiþ a philo3ophir called
 990 Exnophon. And Senek in his First Pystel of Lucille
 f.9v seiþe / þat men shuld nat stryve with a wyse man. It is
 foli, for þe wyse man hatiþe stryf and chidyng and it
 lettiþ pes of hert and of conscience. Therfor þe wise
 man seiþe þat fayre softe speche makip pes and frendis
 995 to be had. Moreover it is good to enquer whens þat
 chidyng comyþ. Mesemyþ it is oftyn engenderid of
 pride. We rede hou Amalech made werre with þe children
 of Israel for fer he had to lese his lorschepe, as it
 appiriþ in þe seventeenth chapitre of Exode. And chi-
 1000 dyng comyþe oftyn of unpaciens and ferse wordis, as it
 is aforeseid. Wherbi it appiriþ þat to speke lital or
 nocht, it is a sovereyn meen to have pes and flee chidyng.
 We rede hou Saul dissimuled to þem þat seid amys of
 hym, as it appiriþ in þe First Book of Kynges, þe four-
 1005 teenth chapitre. And Thobie seid no word to his wife,
 þe which seid to hym mucche wronge, as it appiriþ in þe
 second and in þe third chapitre of Thobie. Þus xuld
 þe wise man do in heryng withoute any stryfe.

How men xuld lyve sobirli. Capitulum decimum:

1010 Gloteny is noryssher of many evilles and synnys,
 and it engenderiþ many maladies boþe bodili and gos-
 teli. And þerfor Tullus seiþ in his First Book þat

temperaunce is nat ellis but to maistre the flessch
 and all corromped desire be resoun. And Seynt Ambros
 1015 seip þat temperauns is a vertu þat reulip a man in
 þat þe which he xuld do. And þerfor auncient pepil
 lyved ryte sobirli. And to þis purpos Agelle tellip
 in his First Book how Socrates was ful sobir alle his
 lyve, þe which Socrates seid þat men xuld not lyve to
 1020 ete, but ete to lyve. But Laicasen seyþ in his Book
 of Verri Odoracien þat poyetes callip gloteny bestly-
 nes, for þe man þat is a gloton lyvyþ out of reson
 and out of reule. And þerfor Senek seip in his Book
 of Four Vertuis þat men xuld ete without to much re-
 1025 plenetes and drynke without drunkenes, for drunkenes
 causip liteli þe pepil to falle in letcherye. And
 to þis purpos Seynt Jerome seip Ageyns Jovinyan hou
 Galian seid þat þe man may not lyve hali but yif he
 lyve holyly, þe which is trewe nat onli to þe bodi,
 1030 but as wel to þe soule. And indede Socrates ete but
 onys on þe day quan þe sonne went to rest. How seip
 Agelle in þe book abovesaid? And Boete seip in þe
 Second Book of Consolacion þat nature is content with
 litil þing, as ho seip þat nature requireth sobirnes
 1035 and abstynens. And to þis purpos Valeri tellip in
 his Second Book þat auncient pepil lyved ryte sobirli
 to þe intent þat þei myte be chaste, insomuche þat
 þe women Romayns drank no wyne for þe same

cause. And Agelle in þe book aforeseid rehersiþ hou
 1040 þe Romayns lyved rite sobirly, and inespecial at soper,
 for þan þei ete litil or noght. Moreover Dedimus
 writyng to Alisaunder and seid þat þe pepil of his
 countre, þat is to sey of Pragmeyn and Prage, were
 ryte sobir and toke no refeccion but upon reson and
 1045 upon necessite of nature. And he concludeþ verili þat
 þe pepil of þe seid countre had in partye no sekeneþ,
 for þei usid non oper medecyns but sobirnes and absty-
 nens. Be þe which it shewiþ þat to lyve sobirli, it
 is a ful profitable þing boþe to þe bodi and to þe
 1050 soule. For bi sobirnes þe bodi haþe helþe, and the
 soule lyveþ withoute synne. And þerfor Lucan seiþe
 þat men xuld use to yeve to nature temperat noryssh-
 yng þe which xuld nat be outrageus ne drunkelew, for
 gloteny is nat alone but it haþ ever many synnes with
 1055 hym. And indede be gloteny þe man lesiþ wit and
 f.10r understondyng and / oftyn opyneþ his secretes folili.
 Gloteny makip a man olde and sone to become foule.
 And much chidyng comyth of drunkenes and þe man be-
 comeþ as a dome beste. As Water seiþ in his First
 1060 Book to Alixandreydos þat drunkenes is þe sepulcre of
 al vices. And Ovide seiþ in his Second Book of Reme-
 dyes þat drunkenes brayeþ þe corage and þe wil of a
 man, for be drunknes þe man is as ded, and holly en-
 habyled from al good dedis. And þerfor ych of us

1065 diligentli flee and eschewe gloteny, for þat is þe
 vice wherbi þe fende werreyeþ and overcomeþ þe man.
 For with þis synne he tempted our first kyn, be þe
 which he was verily put out of paradise, as it
 appiriþ in þe third chapitre of Genesis. In lych wise
 1070 he wold a tempte our savyour Christ Jhesu, seying to
 hym: "Yif þu be Goddes sonne, make bred of þes
 stonys," as it is wretyn in þe fourth chapitre of þe
 Gospel Seynt Matheu. Moreover gloteny makip þe man
 lecherous. And þerof we have exampil of Loth, þe
 1075 which gate his two do3ters with childe be dronkenes,
 as it appiriþ in þe nineteenth chapitre of Genesis.
 Drunkenes makip þe man to be disworchepid. And þerof
 have we an exaumpil of Noe, þat be drunknes lay shame-
 fully on þe ground and shewed his prive membris of
 1080 nature, wherbi he was moked of his son Cam, as it
 appiriþ in þe eighth chapitre of Genesis. Alas, be
 gloteny þe childre of Israel wer sumtyme temptid and
 gretli deceyved, as it appiriþ in þe sixteenth chap-
 itre of Exode. And be gloteny, Esau solde his pat-
 1085 rimonye, as it appiriþ in þe fifteenth chapitre of
 Genesis. Moreover rede we nat hou Jonathas was con-
 dampned to deþ because þat he eet a litil hony ageyns
 þe commaundment of his fader, as it appiriþ in þe
 First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth chapitre? Wherbi
 1090 it shewip þat gloteny haþ don much harm. And indede

we rede hou þe Philistynys wer slayn drynkyng and
 etyng, for þe hous fel on þem, as it appiriþ in þe
 seventeenth chapitre of Juges. The same fel to þe
 children of Job, as it appiriþ in þe first chapitre
 1095 of Job. Hou was þe geaunt Olofernus ded but be drunk-
 enes? For Judith made hym dronken and so kylled hym,
 as it appiriþ in þe tenth chapitre of Judith. Hou
 was Symon and his children slayn but be drynkyng and
 etyng, as it appiriþ in þe First Boke of Machabeus,
 1100 þe fifth chapitre. And Naman, after þat he had etyn
 and dronken merily, he after þat was crucified, as it
 appiriþ in þe ninth chapitre of Hester. Thus me semyþ
 þat gloteny is a charyng synne, ledyng þe man to do
 much harm.

1105 How abstynens is cause of much goodnes, etcetera.
 Capitulum undecimum, etcetera:

e abstinens reson overcomyþ þe flessh and putteþ
 þerfro al superfluytes, and it norysship and engender-
 iþ vertus. And to þis purpos we rede hou Diogenes,
 1110 þat was a wise philosophir, dispraised al superfluytes
 and habundances of mete, as Valeri telliþ in his
 Fourth Book. And þerfor in wit and wisdom he was
 gretli named and praised. And as Bernard Savage seiþe
 in his Micrososme: "Abstynens noryssheþ wyt, and glo-
 1115 teny wastiþe it." And þerfor sumtyme al þo þat wolde
 come to gret good lyved sobirly, as it appiriþ in many

places of holy wryt. And indede we rede hou God /
 f.10v commaunded þe children of Israel þat þei xuld lyve
 sobirly and kepe þem fro etynges dyvers metes, as it
 1120 appiriþ in þe second chapitre of þe Book of Levytes.
 We rede also how Moyses fasted forty dayes to dentent
 þat God wold yeve hym and graunt hym þe lawe, as it
 appiriþ in þe second chapitre of Exode. Also Hely
 lyved ryte sobyrli because þat he myte prophecye þe
 1125 more wyseli. And indede þe aungel brou3t hym twyes on
 þe day bred and watir. But raffenes brou3t hym twyes
 on þe day flessh, as it is wretyn in þe Third Book of
 Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. Werbi it shewith be
 þe fendes, be whom rafenes is undirstondyn, desiriþ
 1130 gloteny and repleccion of flessh in man, but aungelis
 wold þat man were sobir and rewled be abstynens. More-
 over we rede how God shewid many visionys to Daniel,
 þe which lyved ryte sobirli, as it appiriþ in þe ninth
 chapitre of Daniel. Also Anne served God, and þerfor
 1135 she prophecied ryte wyseli of Jhesu Criste, as Seynt
 Luke seiþ in his second chapitre. And therfor sumtyme
 þo þat xuld be conserved ded abstynens afore and spe-
 cially in all þinges þat myte cause drunkenes, as it
 appiriþ in þe sixth chapitre of the Book of Nombres.
 1140 Also we rede hou Seynt Johun þe Baptist ete alonly
 longegostis and sautereves and wilde honey, as Seynt
 Maþeu seiþ in his third chapitre. And þerfor he was

chosen above all prophetes. But now the tyme is come
 þat glotenye reygneþ, and þerfor þe flessch werryeþ
 1145 and overcomyth reson, insomuch þat letcherye is ryte
 comon in þe world, for glotenye and drunkenes is his
 noryssher. Yit we xuld considre þat be abstinens we
 may eschew mych harm and get much grace of God. And
 to þis purpos we rede how Kyng Josaphat had sumtyme
 1150 victory because he fasted and preched to oþer þat þei
 shuld fast, as it appirip in þe Second Book of Para-
 lipomenon, þe twenty-ninth chapitre. Also we rede hou
 þe children of Israel were twyes discourmyte of Ben-
 iamys childre. But afterward þei fasted and God yafe
 1155 þem victory, as it appirip in þe second chapitre of þe
 Book of Juges. In lyche wyse þe children of Israel
 were discourmyte with þe Philistynis, in so much þat
 þei toke away þe Arche of God. But after þat þe chil-
 dren of Israel began to wepe and to faste, and þerfor
 1160 God yaf þem þe victory, as it appirip in þe First Book
 of Kynges, in þe fourth and in þe seventh chapters.
 And therfor Thobye seyþe þat prayere is good whan it
 is medelid with fastyng. Also we rede how Esdras
 preched penauns to þe pepil þat wold aske foryevenes
 1165 of God, as it appirip in þe fourth chapitre of Esdras.
 We rede hou Achat gate grace of God at þe first be
 fastyng, as it appirip in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe
 first chapitre. The same wise we rede be the Cyte of

Nynnye in þe second chapitre of Jonas. Be þe which
 1170 þinges it appirip how we xuld lyve sobirly for to gete
 grace and vertu. And Aristotyl seith in þe thirteenth
 chapitre of þe Book of Bestes: "It is nat profitable
 to a person to fat hymself." For gret gres causipe
 sone dep, and somtyme sodeynly, as Constantyne wytnes-
 f.11r sip. The which is trew nat only to þe body / but as
 wele to þe soule, for glotenyte fateth þe soule with
 synne and makip it verili to dye shrewdly, as it
 appirip in the chapitre beforeseid, etcetera.

How men shuld lyve chastely, etcetera. Capitulum
 1180 duodecimum, etcetera:

<C>hastite makyp the man aungel-lyke and makip his
 lyfe honeste. And þerfor Dedimus seyde to Alisaunder
 þat þe pepil of his countre lyved chasteli, nat only
 for vertu, but for honeste and clenness. But it is
 1185 that letcherye is so comon nowadayes, and þat it makip
 so much pepil go out of þe weye and to langoure in
 harlotrye and foule lyfe. Alas, þei xuld take exam-
 pil of auncient pepil. As Seynt Jerome seiþ to þis
 purpos in his book Ageyns Jovinyan hou Platon chese
 1190 to dwel in a pleyn ton called Achadeyn, þe which was
 ferre from Athenys and from al cetys, because þat he
 wolde fle letchery and lyve chasteli. And Tarquinyan
 rehersiþ hou Democryte put out his owen eyn for þat he
 xuld see no women, þe which he myte nat see withoute

1195 synne. Wherbi it shewyt þat it suffiseþ nat alonly to
 be chaste, but men xuld also eschew þe beholdyng. And
 þerfor þe Pitagoriens chese somtyme desertes and soli-
 tari places to eschewe letchery, and because þei xuld
 nat see wordli vanytees. And þerfor þe Gospel seiþ
 1200 yif þu or þin ie do amys we xuld put it out. Alas,
 wordly and flesschly beholdynges haþe sumtyme made much
 pepil to overþrowe. Rede we nat hou men in beholdyng
 women were sterid to letcherie, and þerfor God pun-
 ysshid þem be þe gret flood, as it appiriþ in þe sixth
 1205 chapitre of Genesis? And Josephes mastres, in behold-
 yng hym, was steryd to synne. Also David, in behold-
 yng a woman þat wasshed her hed, was steryd to letch-
 ery. And to fulfyllle his syne, he kyllid hir husbond,
 as it appiryþ in þe Second Book of Kynges. Hoo de-
 1210 ceived Olofernus, but þe beute of Judith? And hoo de-
 ceivid þe two olde men that desyred Susanne but þer
 fals beholdyng, as it appiriþ in þe first chapitre of
 Daniel? Wherbi it shewiþ þat hoo so wyl lyve chasteli,
 he xuld turne his look from women and from men þat
 1215 myte enclyne his wyl to synne. And þerfor seiþ Quin-
 tilian in his First Cause þat all oure letchery is
 cause of oure foli look. And Senek in his Book of
 Remedies seiþ <the eyes> be massangeris to al vices.
 And to þis purpos Valeri seiþ in his Fourth Book how
 1220 sumtyme ryte a fayre child called Spuryng for his

beaute women desired hym to synne. And quan he per-
 ceived it, he split his visage seying þat he had lyver
 be foule þan be his beaute cause oper to synne. Thei
 þat be fayre xuld tak heed þerto. Moreover þe chas-
 1225 tite of auncient pepil is good to telle. And to þis
 purpos Seynt Austyn seiþ in his First Book of þe Cite
 of God how Mark, fornamed Marcel, was ry3ht chaste.
 And indede quan he toke þe cite of Siracuse, he founde
 þer many fayre women and wele arayed. But he comaun-
 1230 ded al his pepil þat non xuld be so hardy to touche
 þem. For þat dede, he seid, was ageyns þe state of
 gode knytehode. And Valery, in his Fourth Book,
 f.11v telliþ hou Cipion in þe age of twenty-four / yere,
 toke þe cite of Carthage, and þer was ryte a fayre
 1235 mayden presented to hym to do hys plesure with hir.
 But he wold nat, for þat dede, he seid, were shame to
 a trew knyte. And þerfor he delyverid hyr to her hus-
 bond þat was prisonere, and had never touched hyr.
 And because of þe seid mayden, þat she xuld not doo
 1240 amys, he yaf hym his raunsom and his fredam. Verily,
 at myn avise, þis was a dede of a nobil knyte. And
 þerfor, fro þat oure forþe, he had ever grace of al þe
 world and of alle knytes. But þe gentils doth nat so
 now. They wene to have don a fayre dede quan þei have
 1245 ravysshid a mayde, but to my dome þat is a foule dede
 and an unthrifty knytehood. Thei xulde þink on

Lucesse, the meroure of all chastite, of þe which
 Valery telliþ in his Sixth Book how Tarquin, þe sonne
 of Tarquin the Proud, toke hir with strenght and ful-
 1250 filled his fals wyl. The which Lucesse on þe mornyng
 callyng here frendes and, in tellyng þe disworchep and
 þe shame þat was don to hydr, [and] before þem all she
 kylled hirself. And because of þis Tarquin lost his
 lordeschepe, and þan cessed þe kynges at Rome and were
 1255 put doun. And never after was crowned kyng in Rome,
 for þe Romayns seid þat þei had no nede of a lord to
 do such outrageousnes. It is ful trewe þat to this
 synne þer is oftin many causers, as baudis þat studieþ
 ho þei may do, and intrete oþer to do as þei doo, or
 1260 as thei have don in tyme past. The which be like þe
 women of Ceteynques, of whom Valery telliþ in his book
 abovesaid, how þei preied Marius þat he wold yeve þem
 leve to goo and speke with þe maydenys þat served þe
 Goddes Vesta. And they made þem stronge to make þem
 1265 enclyne and consent to þe synne of letchery. But be-
 cause þei fayled of ther entent, as in dispayre thei
 hyng hemself. And of troupe it is þe saleri þat long-
 eth to suche pepil.

How letcherye causith much harm. Capitulum tercium
 1270 decimum, etcetera:

<L>echery is ennemye to all vertu and to all good-
 nes. And þerfor Boete seiþ in his Third Book of

Consolacion þat he is happy þat leviþ withoute letch-
 erye. For lecheri is a stoute sekenes and putteþ a
 1275 man to deþ or þat he perceyve it, as Valery witnessith
 in his Ninth Book. Þe which Valery rehersiþ in his
 Fourth Book how Saphodes, in his age, answered to one
 þat asked yif he were letcherous: "I pray þe," seiþ
 he, "speke to me of sum oþer þinges, for al evil
 1280 comeþ of lechery, and it trobeliþ þe goodnes of every
 creature." Alas, quat was cause [of] of þeestruc-
 tion of þe pepil of Sicheim but þe violyng of Dyenne,
 Jacobs dou3ter, þe which went to see dawnces, and þer
 she was ravisshid, as it appiriþ in þe Book of Genesis,
 1285 þe twenty-fourth chapitre? Rede we nat also hou þere
 were slayn more þan forty thousand and fifty for þe
 f.12r lecheri set in þe levytes wife, as / it appireth in þe
 twentieth chapitre of þe Book of Juges. And Amon was
 slayn for his lecherie by Absolon, hys broþer, because
 1290 that he had violenced his sustir Thamar, as it appiriþ
 in the Secound Book of Kynges, the eleventh chapitre.
 Abner and Ysboreth knew ther faderis concubynes, but
 anon after they were both slayn, as it appiriþ in the
 Second Book of Kynges, the fourteenth chapitre. Quat
 1295 was cause of the flood but letchery? What was cause
 of the distruccion of Sodom and Gomorre but lechery,
 as it appiriþ in þe Book of Genesis? Who made Joseph
 wrongfully presoned but þe lecherye of his mastres?

And þerfor he is wyse þat eschew þis synne and that
 1300 settyth nat to folow women as for such þinges. And
 therfor ho so wyl leve chastely, he xuld eschew þe
 felaschepe of women. And considre þat be women wyse
 Salomon was deceyved, and þe stronge Sampson, the
 my3ti Olofernus, the prophete David, þe philosophir
 1305 Aristotel, þe poyetis Virgyle, and many oþer wyse
 pepil. And yet in þis I wyl not blame women more þan
 men, but I wyl sey quat man þat wyl be chaste he
 schuld eschew the phelawschepe of women, for nature is
 lyghtli enclyned to synne. The which to eschew Ful-
 1310 gence techith us in þe Second Book of Thiologes, sey-
 ing þat lecherye is ryte a foule synne, and of all
 oþir dishonest and evil setting to every creature þat
 wyl have worshepe. And indede the noble Kyng Sapton
 hated so much þat synne þat in his countre he defended
 1315 bordellys and oþer dishonest places. But it is pite
 þat all þe word now is ful of lewde places for such
 dedys. And as for þe most comune, boþe yong and olde
 is nowadayes yovyn to lechery. But þei xuld considre
 quat Ovide seyþe in his Sixth Boke of Methamorphoseos,
 1320 þe which seyth þat lechery makeþ a man to brenne in
 hymself. And versifuour seip that the love of women
 febelith þe body, it lessith ryches, it makeþ the mann
 foule þat is fayre, and at þe laste makeþ the man to
 come to nou3t. And Seynt Jerome in his book Ageyns

1325 Jovynyan seyþ þat the love of a woman makyþ reson to
 be forgetyn, it lettyth good councel, and makyþ hym a
 very fole, it lettīþ his study, it makeþ a man to fel-
 eshepe lewdly. Be þat love þe man is all troubeled,
 and at last hateth hys body and hys lyfe. And Senek
 1330 in his Declamacions, in þe first book, seiþ it is an
 herd deth þat þe which lecherye procureth, for lecheri
 makyþ to be loste tyme, wurchep, and al goodnes. And
 therfor Senek in his Twenty-fourth Pistel of Lucylle
 seyth: "Beware þat lecherye be not in þe, for the
 1335 lecherous man is as a þing holly lost." And, for-
 sothe, in auncient tyme lecherous pepil were gretly
 punysshid. As Valery rehersiþ in his Sixth Book the
 man þat sumtyme forded his maryage xuld lese his eyn.
 And upon þe olde lawe, þe woman shuld be stoned.
 1340 Wherbi it shewith þat þis synne is ryte displesyng to
 God and to auncient pepil, for it causiþ much harm as
 is aforeseyd, etcetera.

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

1345 <A>monge all synnys leste excusable is envie, be-
 cause he haþe no cause of his malyce, insomuche as he
 f.12v is displesed with the / goodnes of oþir þat never ded
 hym harm and rejoysith hym of his neybours hurt. And
 doctours seyn, and in especial Seynt Gregori, þat þe
 1350 synne of envye is of so gret malyse þat afore God it

may have non excusacion to alegge at þe day of dome.
 And it appirþ wele þat it is þus consideryng þe con-
 dicion of othir synnes ageyn envye. For yif I aske
 the proud person whens comyth þat pryde, som excuse
 1355 may he have seying þat he is proude because of the
 goodes and wurchep þat he haþe in þis world. And yif
 I aske þe irous mann whi he is wroth, he may sey for
 the hurtes þat arn fallen to hym. The lecherous may
 sey þat þe temptacion of þe woman made hym to synne.
 1360 The coveytous may sey þat fere to fayle good made hym
 to coveit and to kepe his. But I aske of þe envious
 whens his envy comeþ, he may not excuse hym ne telle
 þe cause of his malise. For envi is nat ellis but to
 have displesure of oþirs welfare, and to rejoyse hym
 1365 of his hurt þat never ded hym harme. But þe envious
 may sey þat hope yeviþ hym cause to have displesure of
 otheris welfare seying þat suche goodes to hym is pre-
 judiciable, and þat he hopith to have had þe same
 goodes yif he had not had it. And to this I answeere
 1370 þat in suche case it is not propyrli envye, but it is
 pride or coveityse, inasmuche as þu desirest oþeris
 good for þe. In lich wyse it may falle þat þu xalt
 see the goodes opynly of hym þat þu hatest, but þan þi
 synne is, or xalbe, ire and nat envye. For envy is
 1375 quan men propirli arn angry of oþeris welfare, þe
 qwich is nat prejudiciable to hym, or when men rejoyse

of þer hurt þat ded hym never harm. Wherbi it appiriþ
 þis envi is ryte a malicious synne, seyng þat it haþ non
 excusacion as it is abovesaid. And therfor Oraces seiþ
 1380 in his Pistelis þat þe invious man waxeth lene with þe
 welfare of oþer, and fateth with his owen wrechidnes
 and with his neybours povyrte. O false envy—quat! þu
 doist much harm! How mucche pepil hast þu distroyed?
 ¶ Prou þe Chaym slew his owen broþer Abel, as it appiriþ
 1385 in þe third Chapitre of Genesis. Be þe, envye, Joseph
 was solde of his broþerin, þe which myte nat see the
 love þat his fader had to hym, as it appireþ in þe book
 aforeseyd. Be envy Saul persecuted David, þe innocent,
 because þat Saul had displesure of þe prayse and þe
 1390 good name þat he had, as it appireþ in þe First Book of
 Kynges, þe eighth chapitre. How made Daniel persecuted
 but envye, as it appiriþ in þe fifth chapitre of Danyel?
 How made our saviour, Criste Jhesu, to dye and to be
 dampned to þe deth, but þe envy of þe jewis, þe quych
 1395 myte see þe goodnes and þe myracles þat he ded dayli,
 as Seint Luke rehersiþ in his nineteenth chapitre. O
 envie, þu hast do much harme. ¶ Prou þe o man mysseþ an-
 oþer and sekeþ many weyes to greve his neybour. Be þe,
 envye, Architofle fyl in dispayre, for quan he sawh þat
 1400 Jesi was wyse and governed wel þat þe which was put to
 hym, than Architofle be his gret envye fil in dispayre
 f.13r and hyng / hymself, as it appiriþ in þe Second Booke of

Kynges, þe seventeenth chapitre. Be þe, envi, Seynt
 Stevyn was stonyd, for the jewis myte not here the witt
 1405 and the doctrine þat Seynt Stephyn had, as it appiriþ
 in þe Book of þe Apostelys Dedis, the seventh chapitre.
 How made þe stryfe between Jonathas and Saul but envye,
 for Jonathas excused David and þerfor Saul was wroþe be-
 cause of þe envy þat he had to hym, as it appiriþ in þe
 1410 First Book of Kynges, the second chapitre. Whi was An-
 thiocus wroþ but quan he herd sey that Judas Machabeus
 had many victoryes? Trewly envie made hym wroth, as it
 appiriþ in þe First Book of Machabeus, the third chap-
 itre. Whi was Senacheris wroþe quan he herd sey þat
 1415 men edified þe wallis of Jerusalem, but for envye, as
 Neemie rehersiþe in his fourth chapitre. Wherbi it
 schewep þat envye is ryte a grevous sekene and contra-
 ryte to nature, for nature desyreth wel. And every crea-
 ture naturelly hath plesauns in goodnes. And envye re-
 1420 joysep hym whan he seþe muche harme fall. And þerfor
 Marcial seiþ þat envi hateth much the envious, for it
 kepith þe hert and þe thou3t in gret malencolye and
 makeþ his colour pal. It makip hym to syhen oftyen and
 ever to sey evil of oþer, for he can not sey wel. Envye
 1425 sekyth ever a man to betraye oþer. Trewly envye makith
 þe man lyche a fend of helle, þe which may not suffir
 ne endure any creature to do wel. The Caldiens sumtyme
 accused þe jewis ryte falsly be envye, as it appiriþ in

þe third chapitre of Danyel. Achym be envye seid evil
 1430 of þe preste of þe lawe called Demetrius, as it appireþ
 in þe First Book of Machabeus, þe seventh chapitre. And
 generally envye desyreþ ever to sey evil of oþer and to
 desyre his ney3bours hurt. And of his welfare he is
 angry, as it is aforeseid. O envie, þu art dou3ter to
 1435 pride: þu mayst not see thi lyknes. Thu desirest to
 haunt ny the pepil þat is in wrechidnes, and þan þu de-
 lytest þe quan þu seest þi neybour wepe sore or wayle.
 Trewly, envye, þu art of ryte a fals nature, for by þe,
 ne of þe, may come no profyte, neyþer in þis word, ne
 1440 in þe toþer. And of oþer synnes it is nat so, for þe
 lecherous be his synne may sumtyme gete frendeshep. And
 þe coveitous be his synne becomyþ oft ryche. The necli-
 gent be his necligens haþe oftin pes, because þat he en-
 tremyttith hym of noþing. And þe proude man is oftin
 1445 praised. The angry man is oftin dou3ted. And þe glo-
 ton haþ plesure in good metis and drynkes. And þus all
 synnes haþe sum plesure save fals envye, the which is
 contynuelly sory and makeþ man or woman to langure in
 peyn and in displeasure withoute rest of hert or of con-
 1450 sciens. To þis purpos Valery telliþ in his Seventh
 Book hou Fabien was rite envious. For quan he sawh he
 f.13v xuld yeve þe half of a certeyn noumyr of shippes / to
 Kyng Anthioche, þe seid Fabien made cleve al þe vessellis
 in two partis, and þus þe vessellis vailed neyþer on ner

1455 oþer. Wherbi it appiriþ þe envye hurtiþ hymself for to
hurt oþer. And þat dede is þe fendes condicions, þe which
wold þat al were dampned. And yet þe more pepil he xal
have in helle, þe more grevous xal þe peyn be to endure.

How þe vertu of diligens is ageyns þe synne of
1460 <sloth>. Quintum decimum:

<A>s þe scripture seiþ, God yevith a coron. Þat is
to sey to þo þat wakeþ, and þat is diligent. The man
is nat worþi to have good quan he lesiþ þe good þe
which be diligence he myte gete. And þerfor Pers seiþ
1465 in his Sauters þat þe necligent man is as a bareyn
erþe. Thus þe sleper xuld wake and considre þat þe
which is good to do, and withoute delay þei xuld exe-
cute it. For as Virgyle seiþ: "Ho so putteþ hym late
to do werk, he xal never deserve wel hys hyre." And
1470 þe philisophir seiþ þat þe necligent man is as a dede
man. And, indede, is not ellis but þe dysyre of mys-
chauns. Trew it is þat many be diligent to gete vertu
and to have worldly goodes, but for þe goodnes of þe
soule þei be ryte necligent. As þo þat laboure day
1475 and nyte to get þer temporal levyng, but to gete
vertu þei wole not laboure ne þink þeron one oure of
a day. Ne þei care no3t but for þe body and foryetyn
holly þe soule. This necligence is gretli to repreve,
for it is better to be diligent for to save þe soule
þan to þinke al only on þe bodi, þe which is wrechid

and ful of rotnes. It is ful trewe þat diligens is
much to prayse quan it þinkip boþe of þe bodi and of
þe soule. And þe man is not worþi to leve þat be his
necligens slepith in his synne and dyeth in poverte.

1485 For natwithstondyng þat poverte is good quan it is
voluntarili, yet he is to repreve þat be his slauthe
is poure and wreched. Wherbi it shewith þat diligens
is mucche to prayse, boþe to þe body and to þe soule.
And þerfor þe prophete seiþ: "I have slept and after
1490 þat I have waked." Wherby it is yoven to undirstond
þat we xuld be diligent and wake to profite in gode-
nes. And þerfor þe postle seiþ wrytyng to Athimothee:
"Wake þu þat slepist, and God xal illumyne þe with his
grace. For hevyn was not ordeyned for sleepers and
1495 necligent pepil, but for þo þat do wel in þis present
world." And to þis diligens many auncient storys out
to enclyne us wherbi it appiriþ þat necligens haþe ben
cause of many hurtes and inconvenientes. Rede we nat
how David was ydel and þerfor he was tempted with þe
1500 synne of letcherye, insomych þat he fulfilled it to
his gret disworchep? As it appireþ in þe Second Book
of Kynges, þe fifteenth chapitre. And þerfor Ovide
seiþ, in his First Book of Remedies, þat idilnes and
necligens arn norysshers of þe syn of lecherye. And
1505 Quyntilian seiþ þat naturelly synne askip an ydel man.
And þerfor Caton resonabeli seyð to his sonne: "Kepe

f.14r þe wel / þat þu be not necligent ne slombryng, for
 longe rest norysship synne and vicis." And to þis
 purpos we have many storys how much harme haþe comyn
 1510 in slepyng. Rede we nat hou Thobye slepyng was blyn-
 dyd as it appiriþ in þe second chapitre of Thobies
 Book? Hisboreth lost hys rewme slepyng, as it appiriþ
 in þe Second Book of Kynges, þe fourth chapitre. Samp-
 son, slepyng in his wyvis lap, was takyn and boundyn
 1515 of þe phylistyns, and þei put out his eyn and made hym
 to grynde þer corn at mille, and at last dyed, as it
 appiriþ in þe sixteenth chapitre of þe First Book of
 Kynges. Awake necligent pepil, for ye may not longe
 slepe! As who seiþ, yeur lyfe is ful short. And þer-
 1520 for we rede how Jacob repreved his childre of necli-
 gens, as it appiriþ in þe twenty-fourth chapitre of
 Genesis. And oure sovereyn savyoure Criste Jhesu re-
 previd his disciples of necligens seying: "Myte ye not
 wake with me one oure?" As Seynt Matheu telliþ in his
 1525 twenty-fourth chapitre. Wherbi it shewiþ þat necli-
 gens is gretli to re pryve. And to þis purpos we rede
 how þo þat xulde sowe good seed sleptyn, and þan comyþ
 þe fende þat sowiþ þe shrewid seed, as Seynt Mapeu
 seiþ in his thirteenth chapitre. Be þe which is yovyn
 1530 us to undyrstonde þat we xuld wake yif we wyl profyte
 in our good dedes, þe which is understondyn be þe good
 seed. For as þe Gospel seiþ of Seynt Mapeu in his

first chapitre, the five maydenes þat slept were not
 receyved into hevin, but þe holy maydens þat woke was
 1535 receyvyd. Wherbi it shewiþ þat we xuld wake, þat is
 to sey to do wel, for trewli þei slepe þat abide in
 synne withoute repentyng. Rede we nat upon nature þat
 þe venym of a serpent called aspide is of such condi-
 cion þat it makip þe man þat sette hym to slepe to dye
 1540 slepyng? Of þe same condicion is synne for it makip
 þe man slepe be necligens, and slepyng he oftin damp-
 neþ hym. For defaute of avisying hym þe man dyeþ
 oftin ryte shrewdly. To þis purpos Ovide seiþ in his
 First Book of Methamorphoseos ho Argus had one hundred
 1545 eyn, and, natwithstondyng, Mercury, with his pipe,
 made him to slepe. And þan slepyng, a kowh was take
 from hym called Yo, þe which Jubiter had taken hym to kepe.
 And because of his necligens þe forseid Argus was
 slayn and lost. In lyche wyse many þat haþ one hun-
 1550 dred eyn, for þei see ful clere and have good wytte
 and good understondyng, and neverþeles Mercuri, þat is
 to sey þe world, make þem oftin to slepe, and þan þer
 kough, þat is to sey þer soule, is loste, and wasted
 with synne. Wherbi, verili, þe man ryte oftin is
 1555 dampned and dyeþ evil. But som may sey þat þei wold
 be diligent and besi to do wele yif þei were awaked.
 f.14v And to / [to] þis I answer þat þer is no synner, be he
 never so gret, but yif he be al holly to obstenat, but

þat he haþe somtyme a remors of consciens, þe which
 1560 wakeþ þem and conceiliþ þem to wasshe þem of synne.
 And hereof hast þu experiens somtyme in þiself quan
 reson makip þe anon to sygh and to have displesure of
 þin evil lyfe. Þan þi consciens jugeþ þe and con-
 dampneþ þe quan þu seist: "Alas, I have don evil, so
 1565 [so] I am sorry." Mesemyth þat þis consciens, þe which
 wakeþ us, it may be lykned to þe waker, of whom nature
 tellip, þat yif a man slepe in a schadew place where
 serpentis be, þan þe mustele awakip þe man because þe
 serpent xuld not noye hym. Thus doþ reson and con-
 1570 sciens, þe which wakip us oftin. But þerbi many þat
 restip not on a good purpos or on a good þou3t quan þe
 consciens schewip it to þem. Þe which doþe as Virgile
 ded þat kylled þe flye þat prykked hym in þe forhede
 and wook him with his bytyng. And yit Virgile had
 1575 deyed be þe serpent þat was be hym yif he had not ben
 awaked. And þan Virgile was sorry þat he had kylled þe
 flye þat did so wele to hym. Wherbi it appirip þat þe
 good þou3tes þe which wakip us to do wele, xuld not
 make us ded but we xuld diligentli wake to do wel for
 1580 to eschew þe peril of the serpent, þat is to sei of þe
 fend, þe which ever purchasip our deþe, etcetera.

How lyberalyte is ageyns the synne of coveytise.

Capitulum sextum decimum, etcetera:

<L>iberalityte is a mene to get frendes and to lyve

1585 sufficientli, lich as þe lyght lessith nat þou it schew
 to many, and þat many haþe parte þerof. Dedimus wyt-
 nessiþ þat in his wrytyng to Alisaundre, þe which Ali-
 saundyr gate manyer rewmys more be liberalite þan be
 strenght. And to þis purpos Boyce seiþ to us in his
 1590 Second Book of Consolacion þat þe getyng is blissed
 þe which doþe good to many. And Cassidore in his
 Twenty-fourth Pistel seiþ þat þe man xuld yeve gladly,
 for liberalite lessiþ nat þe goodes þou þat þe man
 haþe þe lesse for þe tyme after þat. Yet þe lesse
 1595 suffiseþ hym as wele as þe more dede, ellis he xuld
 nat be liberal. Than, sen þe man haþ sufficiauns after
 þe yifte as wel as afore, it foloweth þat he was as
 ryche afore. But forsoþe many calle þem liberal þe
 which be nat, for to suppose þat <which> þei yeve is
 1600 yovin folili and outragously; and þat is nat to
 praise. Yet somtyme for to be liberal it suffiseþ nat
 to yeve al only, but he ought to distribute his goodis
 wyseli and be reson, as Caton witnessiþ seying to his
 son: "Sonne, beware to hom þu yevist." And nat only to
 1605 whom, but also men xuld take hede to whom, quan, how,
 and how much. And to þis purpos spekiþ Tulle in his
 First Book of Offices, seying þat a man xulde yeve to
 hym þat haþe nede withoute veyn glorye or hope of ony
 oþer reward. And a yever shuld take hede to whom þat
 1610 he yeviþ xuld be worþi, as Macrobe techiþ in his Book

of Saturnelles. But comon men yeviþ to þe <un>worþi,
 and to þo also þat haþe non nede, as Clarence and Mar-
 cial witnessiþ. Þo þat in þat dede doþ þus haþe non
 mede ne non grace of God, for þe man þat verili wold
 1615 be large and liberal xuld avise hym and beholde þe
 maner of þe yever and þe circumstaunces. And inespe-
 cial of his yifte xuld be aggreable to God or non, for
 þe largesse comyþ most of a perfyte hert. As Barro
 seiþ in his Sentences: "The yifte is more agreabil up-
 1620 on þe affeccion of þe yever þan upon þe affeccion of
 þe 3ifte." And hereof have we exaumpil in þe Gospel
 of Seynt Luke. And Seynt Jerome rehersiþ þe name in
 f.15r þe prolouge of the / Bibil seying þat þe 3ifte of þe
 poure woman, þe which offred but a litil, was more ex-
 1625 ceptable to God þan þe yifte was of kyng Cressus,
 which was ryte rych, or of þe Kynge of Lyde, þe whiche
 offered gret yiftes and many 3iftes of golde and syl-
 ver. And þe cause whi is for þe poure woman made hir
 offeryng with gretter devocion þan þe seid kynges
 1630 dedyn, conceyvyng she yafe al þat she had. But þe
 seid kynges, after þer 3iftes, were styller ryche and
 myti as þei were afore. Wherbi it shewiþ þat þe affec-
 cion doth more þan doþe þe gretnes of þe offeryng.
 Moreover we rede how be liberalite many haþe getyn
 1635 gret name and gret lordeshespes. And to þis purpos þe
 story of Alisaundre seiþ þat Alisaunder wan manyer

rewmys more be liberalite and be fredom þan he dyd be
 his strenght, for he was so liberal þat þe servauntes
 of his enmyes come to dwel with hym, and lefte þer
 1640 lordes and þer kynges to serve hym. Also we rede hou
 Salamon was ryte liberal, as it appiriþ in þe Third
 Book of Kynges, þe second chapitre. Also King Cirrus
 was ryte liberal for he sent ageyn to Jerusalem þe
 vessell of golde þe which his fader Nabugodonosor had
 1645 takyn away, as Esdras rehersiþ in his First Book. We
 rede also how Thobye offerid ful liberaly al þat he
 had to þe aungel Raphael, þe which he wend had ben a
 man, as it appiriþ in þe twelfth chapitre of Thobie.
 Also we rede how Kyng Assur was ryte liberal quan he
 1650 yaf half his rewme to Hester. Be þe which storys it
 appiriþ þat many were sumtyme named for þer liberal-
 lite. But coveitise haþe diffamyd much pepil, and
 made þem to falle into many inconvenientes, as it
 xalbe shewid in þe chapitre þat folowis.

1655 How coveytise bryngeþ a man to an evyl havyn and
 makip hym to lyve in wrechidnes and in poverte. Capi-
 tulum septimum decimum:

Be coveitise þe man coveitip oþer mennes gode, and
 after approprep it to hymself undewli. And der nat
 1660 helpe hymself with his owyn good, for ever he ferip to
 fayle good. And þus þe coveitous lyve ever in wrech-
 idnes, for I suppose þat he have much good yet he is

ryte powir quan, for his coveitise, he may nat help
 withal hymself. Perfor þe wyse man xuld eschew cov-
 1665 eitise and negardshepe. Caym offred to God of þe
 werst frute þat he had of his ground, and þerfor his
 offeryng was not aggreabil to God. And þan Caym,
 seyng þat þe offeryng of his broþer Abel was plesyng
 to God, because þerof he was meved to anger and to
 1670 envie, insomuch þat he slew his owin broþir. As it
 appiriþ in þe Book of Genesis. Throu coveitise Judas
 betrayed his lord, our saviour Jhesu Criste, and fyl
 holli in dispayre and hyng hymself. Moreover Dalida,
 because of covitise and for mony þat was yovin her,
 1675 betraied hir owen husbond Sampson. And þerafore she
 shewid to Sampson rite gret syne of love, as it
 appiriþ in þe eighteenth chapitre of þe Book of Juges.
 Be þe which þinges it appiriþ þat coveitise bringiþ þe
 man oftin to perdicion. O coveitise, þu settist
 1680 stryfe betwen Abraham and Loth, as þe Boke of Genesis
 telliþ, for þer ryches causiþ þat <they> myte not dwel
 togeder. Be coveitise Saimuellis children did much
 harm and yaf many evil jugementes, as it appiriþ in þe
 First Book of Kynges. Who made þe fals witnes agains
 1685 Naboth but coveitise, as it appiriþ in þe Third Book
 f.15v of / Kynges? Who was cause of þe fals witnes of þe
 knyghtes þat kept þe sepulcre but coveitise? For be-
 cause of serteyn mony þat þei receyvyd, falsli þei

witnessed þat þe disciples had stolyn þe body of Jhesu Criste,
 1690 as Seynt Matheu witnessiþ in his twenty-eighth chap-
 itre. Who made Achor to dye shrewdli but his coveit-
 ise? As it appiriþ in þe seventh chapitre of Josue.
 Whi wold David slee Nabal, but because þat Nabal was
 ryte coveitise? As it appiriþ in þe First Book of
 1695 Kynges, þe fifth chapitre. Why was Semey dampned to
 dep, but for his coveitise? Ho made hym departe out
 of Jerusalem ageyns þe commaundement of his fader, but
 coveytise? As it appiriþ in þe Third Book of Kynges,
 þe second chapitre. And whi was þe evil riche man
 1700 dampned by for his coveitise? Because he denyed þe
 poure Laser þe crommys of his bred, as Seynt Luke re-
 hersiþ in his sixteenth chapitre. Trewli avarise haþe
 perished many a man and made þem to consente to many
 inconvenientes and synnes. For Menelaus, þou3[t] he
 1705 unworþi was, for money was promoted to be preste of þe
 lawe, as it appiriþ in þe Second Book of Machabeus,
 fifth chapitre. And somtyme þe preste of þe lawe, be
 þer coveityse, suffred nete and shepe to be solde in
 þe temple, and oþer marchaundises to be done, as Seynt
 1710 Mapeu rehersiþ in his thirteenth chapitre. We rede
 also how Ananye and Saphire fel in many inconvenientes
 because of þer coveitise, as it appiriþ in þe fifth
 chapitre of þe Apostels Dedis. Thus mesemyþ þat al þo
 þat wil lyve holili xuld holde þem content with þe

1715 goodis þat God sendiþ þem withoute setting þer hertes
 on wordeli goodis. For as Saluste in his Catilinayr
 seiþ, coveitise lettþ trowþe and worþines, and engen-
 deriþ pride and cruelnes. Coveitise lettþ good studi
 and makiþ þe man to care in vanites and for godes þe
 1720 which arn not stabil. And to þis purpos Senek seiþ in
 his Pistel of Lucille, þe seventy-third chapitre,
 coveitise makiþ þe man a fole. For þe coveitous man
 desireþ ever þat þe which he haþe not, and þat þe
 which he haþe, he knowiþ nat þat it is his, for he is
 1725 ever aferde to lese it and þat goodes xuld fayle hym.
 And þerfor Valeri seiþ in his Ninth Book þat coveitise
 fariþ as þe beste þat may nat be filled and makiþ þe
 pepil to dye shreudly. And indede he telliþ how on
 called Septimulus, seyng þat he was in perel of deþ
 1730 but yif he kest part of his good out into þe see. And
 yet he had lever dye with his riches þan to cast out
 parte þerof and lyve to kepe þe remnaunt. Wherbi it
 appiriþ þat covetise makyþ a man a gret fole and waxeþ
 unkonnyng, for þe covitouse man falliþ oftin in such
 1735 anger þat he had lever dye þan lese his good. And to
 þis purpos Helinand telliþ that Hanibal sumtyme
 beseged a castel in þe which were three hundred men
 þat had not to ete but myse and rattes. And it fel
 þat on coveitous man amonge þem took a gret rat, and
 1740 natwithstondyng he died for hunger. For he solde it

to anoper man for two hundred penys, wherþrou it for-
 tuned þat þe seid covetous man dyed with all his money
 and þe toþer lyved and ware delyvered withoute deþ.
 So ich man xuld avise hym and consider how þat goodes
 1745 be not made but to serve man. And þerfor he xulde not
 love þem but as he haþe necessite. And yit þan he
 xulde use þem sobirli þanking God, þe quych is well of
 al goodnes. /

f.16r How þe state of poverte is plesaunt to God. Capi-
 1750 tulum duodevicesimum.

Poverte is nat ellis but veri suffisauns withoute
 desiryng any oþer þing but such as God sendiþ to a
 creature. And suche poverte is called poverte of
 sperit, þe which God haþe promysed in þe gospel seying
 1755 þat blessed be þo þat be poure of spirite, [þe which
 God haþe promysed in þe gospel sey] þat is to sey of
 wil. And mesemyþ upon þe scripture þat auncient pepil
 loved poverte, and inespecial þo þat wer loved of God
 and called to good and to worchep. Rede we nat how
 1760 Jacob was an herd and kept sheep, and goyng doun be þe
 countre he slept in þe myddis of þe feld and leid a
 ston undir his hed instede of a pelow? As it appiriþ
 in þe twenty-eighth chapitre of Genesis. Also we rede
 hou Moises kept a mannes sheep called Jetro, as it
 1765 appiriþ in þe third chapitre of Exode. And yet after
 þat Moyses was ordeyned to be governour of þe pepil of

Israel. We rede also hou Saul was content with a ser-
 vaunt þat he hed, and sought his faders asses for his
 use and nat þe hors. And yet he was made kyng, as it
 1770 appirip in þe First Book of Kynges, þe fourteenth
 chapitre. And we rede also of David, how he kept
 shepe quan he was called to be kyng, as it apperyth in
 the Fyrst Book of Kynges, þe sixteenth chapitre. Be
 þe which storys it shewyth clerly þat the state of
 1775 poverte is plesyng to God. And indede Jhesu Cryste
 hap yovyn us exampil of poverte, for of a poure modyr
 he was born, and of a poure smyþe norysshid—that is
 Joseph. He was leid in a poure bed, in poure cloþis
 lapped, and presented to þe tempil with pore kyn, cru-
 1780 cified naked, and beryed in anoþer mannes tounge. Be
 þes þingis Crist Jhesu schewith þat none shuld dis-
 prayse poverte, for Jhesu Crist seith in þe gospel,
 who so wole be perfite xuld forsake worldly goodis and
 yeve them to þe poure pepil, as Seynt Matheu rehersiþ
 1785 in his seventeenth chapitre. And to þis purpos we
 rede how auncient pepil seid þat þe poure is rycher
 yif he haþe suffisaunce, þan is he þat is coveitous
 þow he have ryte gret habundauns of good. As Senek
 wytnessiþ, seying þat Diogenes þe which had nou3t was
 1790 rycher þan Alisaunder þat had al þe werld, for Alisaun-
 dyr had not so mucche good to yeve as Diogenes myght
 and wolde refuse. Of þe which Diogenes Valeri

rehersiþ in his Fourth Book how he refused yiftes the
 which Denyse the Tyraunt sent to hym. And on a tyme
 1795 it fel þat Diogenes had lekis þe which he xuld ete.
 And one called Aristipus, seyng þat, seyð to hym: "O
 Diogenes, yif þu woldist flatter Denys, þu xuldist not
 be in such poverte." And þan Diogenes answerd to hym
 and seid: "Aristipus, yif þu woldist endure my poverte
 1800 þu xuldist not be a flatterer as þu art." And Seynt
 Jerome telliþ of þis same Diogenes in his book Ageyns
 Jovynyan, how for al cloþis he had but a litil double
 mantel to kepe hym from colde. Insteðe of housis of
 offyse, he had a litil bag. Insteðe of an hors, he
 1805 had a lytel staffe, and he was loged in a litil tunne
 at þe gate of þe cite. Þe which tunne, to eschew cold,
 he turned it as þe wynde went. And he, seyng a /
 f.16v chylde that dranke water in hys honde, kest hym doun a
 lytel cuppe to þe erthe. And þe child seyð to hym:
 1810 "It suffyseþe to me to drynke in a vessel þat nature
 haþe yovyn me"—þat is to sey the honde. Wherbi it
 shewiþ þat gosteli poverte and veri suffisaunce were
 somtyme in wyse pepil, as in Diogenes and many oþer.
 And to þis purpos we rede hou Espicure seid þat þer
 1815 was noþing vayled to joieus poverte. And Oraces seiþ
 in his Pistelis þat poverte xuld nat displese, nat-
 withstandyng þe man haþ sufficiaunt levyng, for al þe
 gode þat is in þe werd may yeve the man no more but

his levyng. And þerfor Caton seid to his sonne: "Seyng
 1820 þat nature made <þe> al naked thu shuldest gladli en-
 dure povyrte and flee outrages, for nature xal not
 fayle þe at nede." And þu xalt be ryche yif þu have
 suffisaunce, as Geffrey in hys poyetrye wytnessith,
 and many opir more. Moreover þe wyse man xuld consi-
 1825 dre and þinke þat outrage ne to gret habundance avay-
 leþ noþing þe man. Is nat Anthiocus deed and com to
 no3t? Of whom Valery tellyþ in his Ninth Book how he,
 beyng Kyng of Surrye, he made his hors to be arayed
 with golde, and al þe vessellis in hys kechyn was
 1830 golde and sylver. But he lost all sorowfully, for he
 desired more to take and to reve from hys pepil þan to
 do justise. Where is Pompey become? And Netos wyfe,
 þe which made hyr marys to be schod in lych wise; and
 she ded cary afore hyr charyettes ful of golde. Trew-
 1835 li al is come to no3t. And þe rych pepil, for al þat,
 dede the more wrechidly because þei love þer riches.
 And þerfor Dedimus telliþ hou the pepil of hys cuntre
 levid pourely and without coriouste, for vanite makeþ
 man to perissh and to forgete God, þe which is cause
 1840 of al goodnes. And þe olefaunt is deceyvid when he
 trostep to þe tre whereupon he restith. So rych pepil
 be deceyved quan þei trost in þer riches, for quan þe
 day of þer most necessite comþ, þer riches avayleþ
 þem noþing þe more to have hevyn. But suffysaunce and

1845 poverte availeþ þerto gretly. Alas, it were good to
 considre hou fortune haþ no certeynte to endure. For
 as Julius Cesur seiþ in hys Fourth Book, fortune haþe
 chosyn much pepil to gret riches to make þem þe more
 veleynli to overthrowe. And Hildebert, to þis purpos,
 1850 spekyng of his banysshment, seid: "I was the laste
 day," seith he, "riche and wel at ese, but fortune,
 þat yaf me al, haþ take al fro me. And she þat made
 me lawh, constreynþ me now to wepe." Ovide, in his
 Book of Hevynes, seiþ: "A lytil while I was with
 1855 ryches and was worchepid, and now, causeles, I am dys-
 worchepid and banysshed. Þus I se þat fortune haþe no
 sure frendelynes." And þerfor seiþ Boyce, in his
 Second Book of Consolacion, þat adverse fortune is
 better þan wordli fortune, þe which blyndeþ man and
 1860 mayntenþ him in synne. For ho so is poure may not
 overþrowe, but þe ryche is in perel to falle in ryte
 gret unhap. And yif þu aske quat þat she is, to þat
 answeriþ Boyece, seying þat þe grettest unhap þat is,
 it is after gret fortune to falle in mysfortune. As
 1865 Altibrados did, þe which was first ryte ryche, and
 f.17r after ryte gret / [un]hap was ryte unhappy, as Valeri
 rehersiþ in his Sixth Book. Also he telliþ hou Denys
 Siracusan was first ryte ryche and ryte a gret lord,
 but verili he becam so poure to get his levyng he
 1870 tau3t lessons and kept scole to þe litel children of

Corintheus. So he is ryte evil avised þat trostep in
 fortune. But þe man xuld trost to do wel, for þat is
 þe ryches þat helpiþ a man at nede and at his neces-
 site. But now mankyndeli creaturs ben so blynded þat
 1875 þei set no store but be wordely goodes. The which
 xuld take exampil of wise auncient pepil of whom we
 rede þat be wordeli goodes þei set but litil store.
 And to þis purpos Valery telleþ in his Eighth Book
 how Anaxagoras lefte his p[r]ocessiones for to goo and
 1880 study in straunge contries, and quan he retorned he
 founde his poscessiones desertes. Þan he seid: "I
 myte nat be saved yif my possessiones perysshid nat."
 As ho sey þat riches is ageyn þe salvacion of man.
 Also he telliþ of a philosophir called Socrates, þe
 1885 which put from hym al his riches, and had lever þat
 þei were lost þan þat he xuld be lost for þem. Also
 he telliþ of a wise man called Stilbon, the which lost
 al his good þrou fortune of fyer. And þan men asked
 hym yif he were wroþe for þe losse of his good. And
 1890 he answerid ageyn þat he had al his good upon hym, þat
 is to sey kunnyng and vertus, as he wolde sey the
 goodis of fortune were not his. Wherbi it appiriþ þat
 tho be wyse men that disprays þe godes of fortune, as
 Enpedocles witnessiþ. And Prosper, in his Book of
 1895 Epigramaton, seyth þat þe corage of þe coveitise man
 xal never have rest, for wordly goodis may not resiste

per cours, but þei engendyr and increas þer coveiteyse
 and þe disordenat desire. And to þis purpos Ovide
 telliþ hou Polidorus, be his covetyse, kyllid Priantes
 1900 sonn to have þe riches þat he had takyn hym to govern
 withal þe seid son. But forsoþe Hecuba, modyr to þe
 seid sonn with hym conplysshmentes perceyved þe seid
 treson. Than she cam to Polidorus, feynyng þat she
 shuld a yoven hym mony. But Hecuba and her felashepe
 1905 kyllid hym and strangelyd hym, for it was reson þat þe
 coveitise þat made hym kyllid oþer were mene and cause
 of his deþ. Wherbi it appireþ þat povertie is gode and
 covetyse kepib a man in care and in peril of hert and
 of consciens, etcetera.

1910 Here begynneth the second parte of þis book þat
 spekith of the state of men of the chirche and of
 clerkes. And þe first chapitre spekeþ how men xuld
 wurchep þe chirch and have it in reverens. Þe first
 chapitre, etcetera:

1915 The chirch is a modyr to alle Christen pepil, and
 fredom is yoven to þe same. And þerfor men xuld have
 it in gret reverens, for hyr husbond and here hed is
 Jhesu Criste, savioure of alle þe world. And to this
 purpos we rede in þe Three Partied Story how Constan-
 f.17v tyn was made Christen and loved / God so mucche, and þe
 chirche, þat he lete bere in every place where he went
 a tabernacle made lyche a chirch, and had with hym

prestes and clerkes þat served God ryte devouteli. He
 bare also in his ryte hand þe signe of þe crosse—þat
 1925 was þe baner wherbi God sent hym victory. And indede,
 quan he xuld do a bataile, þan þe aungel schewed unto
 hym in his dreame how he schuld have þe victory be the
 signe of þe cros. Also we rede in þe book aforeseid
 hou þe Emperoure Theodocius was stedefastli obeysiaunt
 1930 to þe chirch, natwithstondyng afore he had ben ryte
 vigorous. And þe story seiþ how þe seid Theodosius
 dede sle seven thousand men in þe cite called Thessa-
 lone, because þat þei had stoned somme of his officers.
 And after þat cruel dede þe seid Theodosius returned
 1935 to Myllan wenyng as he had used afore to entre into þe
 chirch. And Seynt Ambrose, þe which was Archbisshop,
 cam afore and seid to hym: "O Emperoure, goo þi wey,
 for þu xal not entre into þis chirche seeng þat þu art
 ful of blood and art nat worþi to beholde God." Than
 1940 Theodosius obeyed and departed wepyng. And it was
 eight monethis þat he cam not in the chirch. But be-
 cause þat Cristemas cam on he sent a servaunt of his
 to Seynt Ambrose called Rofyn to gete grace, but his
 prayer vayled nat. And Theodosius seyng þat, he cam
 1945 in his owne persoun to Seynt Ambrose wepyng and be-
 sechyng pardon on his knees. And þan Seynt Ambrose
 toke hym to grace and after þat he dede mych good and
 had many victories. Wherbi it appiriþ þat men xuld

worchep þe chirch. And to this purpos Valery telliþ
 1950 in his Third Book, þe eleventh chapitre, hou Julius
 Cesar defendid his pepil þat non xuld be so hardi to
 do harme to chirchis ne temples. And for þis cause it
 was two yere þat never man had victory of hym. But
 after he was oftin discoumfyete quan he had distroied
 1955 þe temple called Delphique, as Policrate telliþ in his
 Sixth Boke, þe seventh chapitre. And he seid, more-
 over, þat knytehood xuld kepe þe chirch, punyssh
 heretikes, worchep prestes, defend prestes in ryteful
 quarellis, and pese stryves. Also Egisopus telliþ how
 1960 Pompey dede never harme to templis ne to chirchis, and
 þerfor Alisaundyr was ful gracios to hym and foryaf
 hym his mystaking. Wherbi it shewiþ to us þat men
 xulde worchep and kepe þe chirche. And to þis purpos
 Vegeste seiþ in his Fourth Book of Knytehood, þe
 1965 fourth chapitre, how knytis shuld swere treuli first
 to God, secundeli to þer prince. Moreover þu xalt
 knowe þat þe chirch shuld be fre, for it is fygured be
 þe Arch Noe, in þe whiche all were sauid þat were
 withinne. As it appiriþ in the Book of Genesis, þe
 1970 seventh chapitre. In lich wise, also, we xuld be fre
 in þe chirch. And indede we rede in þe Storyes of þe
 Romaynes hou on called Marchali3et dyed a foule deþe
 because he had vilensed þe chirch and cruelli takyn þo
 þat were withinne. We rede also of one called Aquilla,

- 1975 hou he distroied al Italye. And þe pope called Leon
 bad hym leve his cruelte, þe which obeied anone.
 Whereof many were abasshed þat he obeied so sone, but
 þan he seid qwan þat þe pope spak to hym, he sawh a
 fayre olde man þat helde a knyfe in his ryte hand,
 1980 whereof he was sore aferd and durst nat dysobeye. And
 this signyfyed to us that alle schuld doute the
 chirche, and obeye it in alle ryte and reson.
- How þe pepil of þe chirche xuld leve chastli and
 f.18r vertuousli /
- 1985 <S>eynt Jerom in his Pistel seid þat þe prelate
 xuld have no concubyne, for holi chirche is his spouse.
 And þerfor in þe ryte canon it is defendid þat pre-
 latis shuld have no women in þer houses but yif þei be
 undyr age or oute of al suspeccion. And to þis purpos
 1990 we rede of Seynt Austyn, how he wold nat duel with his
 owen suster to eschewe al evil suspeccion. Moreover
 Seynt Gregori in his Dialoges, in þe Third Book, þe
 third chapitre, rehersiþ how a prelate called Andrew
 was gretli tempted with a woman of religion because
 1995 þat she dewellid with hym. Wherbi it appiriþ þat men
 of þe chirche xuld flee þe conversacion of women nat
 onli for to flee þe synne, but also for to fle þe evil
 suspiccion. And þerfor Seint Jerome seiþ in his
 Forty-third Pistel þat þe state of prelacion is ful
 2000 worþi, and þerfor prelates xuld beware þat þei do

noþing wherbi þer state xuld be slaunderid, for þe
 prelate is nat only ordeyned for to have delites, but
 also for to govern and to tech þe pepil. And þe heier
 þat þei be chosyn þe meker shuld þei be. For as Seynt
 2005 Austyn seiþ in his Fifth Book of þe Cite of God, in þe
 nineteenth chapitre, þat he is no veri prelate þat
 askiþ but his owen profite and nat þe profite of his
 sogettes. Also Seynt Gregory seiþ in his Eleventh
 Book of his Moralles þat prelates be ordeyned nat only
 2010 to receyve wurchip, but principaly to serve God and to
 enclyne his sogettes to do þe same. And þerfor Hew
 seiþ þat none xulde be ordeyned to be a prelat but yif
 he be of good levyng and of honest conversacion. And
 to þis purpos þe scripture seiþ in Exod, þe eighteenth
 2015 chapitre, þat men xuld make prelates of pepil of gode
 levyng to take exampil of þem, for men xuld nat take
 sheep to wolvis for to keep. Þat is to say to þo þat
 askiþ but þe profite of þe prelates and nat þe labour
 þat longiþ þerto. But þe tyme is come þat Ysaye pro-
 2020 phecied in þe third chapitre, seying þat princes and
 prelates be of þe condicion of children, þe which wold
 leve without care. And Zacharye, in his eleventh cha-
 pitre, seiþ þat þe prelat þe which þinkiþ not on þe
 pepils governaunce is lych an ydole which serveth of
 2025 noght. It is a gret abusyon quan þe prelate is not
 diligent to sett and to tech his pepil, as it appiriþ

in þe Book of Twelve Abusions. And indede Hew, in his
 Book of Sacrementis, seiþ þat prelates beriþ þe arch
 in tokyn of prelat, and þe ryng upon þer hand betoken-
 2030 yth þat þe chirch is þer spouse, and þe tonycle signi-
 fieþ clenness, þe coron chastite, þe stole paciens, and
 þe chesible charite. And þerfor þe prelat xuld be
 good, wise, and vertevous, for it is necessari to his
 estate, [and] as Seynt Gregory seiþ in his Pastoral,
 2035 in þe First Book of þe first chapitre. Seynt Barnard
 spekyng of prelates in his Fourth Book of Eugeny Pope:
 "I am abasshed," seiþ he, "whi many prelates commytten
 þer governauns of þer pepil to suffragans and to oþer.
 But þe ryches and þe receites þei commytten to none
 2040 oþer save in such wise as þei can þerof make non
 acompte." And yet þei be more ordeined to govern þe
 spiritualite þan þe temporalite, as Hew seiþ in his
 Second Boke of Sacramentes. For þe coron þat men of
 þe chirch weriþ signifieþ þat þei xuld have þer hartes
 2045 to þe spiritualte. And þerfor in auncient tyme vertu-
 f.18v ous men / refused bysshopriches because þei knew wel
 þat prelacie was a gret labour to þem þat wold don þer
 devoyr. And to þis purpos we rede of Seynt Ambros,
 how he refused þe archbisshoprich of Millan, natwith-
 2050 stondyng þat he was chosen of al connavente. To þe
 entent þat he xuld nat be constreyned to receyve þe
 seide archebisshoprich, hemade defouled women to

come to his hous wehyng be þat mene to a be withdrawe
 from þat prelacie. Neverþeles þe trowþe was knowen
 2055 and hym most obeying. Also we rede of Seynt Gregori
 þat quan he was chosyn to be pope he fled. But be þe
 mene of þe holi gost he was found and receyved to be
 pope. We rede also, in a book called Paradise, hou a
 good man called Martyns kyt of his thumbe because he
 2060 xuld nat be prelat, and yet he beyng chosyn. Also we
 rede of an holy man called Ammonius, how he was chosen
 to be bysshop and þerfor he kytte of his ryte ere se-
 cretli. And þan he seid to þo þat had chosyn hym:
 "Ye see wel I may not be bychop for I am not lykly."
 2065 Than þe pepil answerid and seid: "It suffisith us to
 have a good man more þan a fayr man." Moreover in þe
 Three Partied Story, in þe Third Book, we rede of a
 religios monke þat was chosyn and called to be bis-
 shop, þe which asked a delay and a tyme to be avised.
 2070 And þe said monke made his prayers to God and required
 þat he wolde alegge hym and delyver hym of þis charge.
 And þe story seiþ that in his prayers he discesid and
 yaf to God his goste. Be þe which storis it shewiþ
 þat prelacion is peynful to þo þat wil do þer devoir.
 2075 And therefor non xuld be a prelat but if he were wise,
 vertuos, and of good leving.

How prelates xuld teche and governe sogettes, and
 yef almes to pour pepil.

<T>he bysshop is an hed þat xuld redresse þe toper
 2080 membris. And to þis purpos we rede of Moises, how he
 loved his pepil rite derli and ded gret peyn to chas-
 tyse þem and to tech þem. And for al þat God promysed
 þem hym to yeve hym gretter pepil to govern. Neverþe-
 les he seid þo þat he had suffised for hym and þat he
 2085 wold no mo no gretter noumbre, as it appiriþ in þe
 twenty-third chapitre of Exode. We rede also þat for
 þe love þat he had to his [p]pepil, he desired þat
 iche of þem xuld be holi prophetes þou his name xuld
 les þerbi, as it appiriþ in þe eleventh chapitre of þe
 2090 Book of Noumbres. We rede also hou he comforted þe
 pepil quan þei were discouraged and seid to þem:
 "Abasshe yew not for God xal defend yew." As it is
 wretin in Exode, þe thirteenth chapitre. Also Elia-
 chym, somtyme prest of þe lawe, comforted þe pepil
 2095 ageyn Olofernus, as it is wretin in þe Book of Judith,
 þe fourth chapitre. Seint Poule, also, in his Pis-
 telis of Ephesiens, þe seventh chapitre, seid: "Mi
 frendis, coumfort yew in God and in his myte." So be
 þese þinges þat prelates xuld comfort and teche þe
 2100 pepil. To þis purpos Seynt Austyn seiþ in his Nine-
 teenth Book of þe Cite of God þat þe prelat xuld ever
 have hert on his pepil, for his office is to enduce
 þem to do wel. And Seynt Ambrose seiþ in his Pastoral
 þat þe prelate xuld eschewe al heresie and all evil

2105 techyng, for þe principal of þe brevat is to defend þe
 feiþ in þe which al þe feiþ is founded. Moreover, the
 prelate to his power xuld sucour þe poure, for þe
 goodis of þe chirche ben þe poure pepiles goodes. And
 f.19r to þis purpos Seynt Jerome wri/tyng to Nepocian seiþ
 2110 þat men of þe chirch xuld not take of þer benefices
 alonly þer honest levyng withoute pompe or coryouste.
 And the sourplus they schulde distrybute there where
 they see nede. And if þei do oþerwyse, þei be sacri-
 leges, þat is to sey thevis of þe chirch good. And
 2115 moreover he seyth, he þat haþe ynowgh of his patrymony
 to lyve on, he xuld noþing take of þe chirche goodis.
 Yif he do oþerwise, he is sacrilege. And þerfor Seynt
 Austyn, in one of his Sermowns to Hermites, spekyng of
 hymself seith: "I that am bysshop xuld be wel ware þat
 2120 þe goodis of þe chirch be nat yoven to ryche pepil,
 for þat is þe patrimonye of þe poure pepil. And I
 thanke God onto þis tyme he haþe yovyn me the grace
 noþing to yeve to þe ryche, but onli to þe poure. And
 yet, indede, I have kyn þat oftyn—some be manaces and
 2125 sum be flatery—askyth me the goodis of my cherch.
 But I xuld have consciens to yeve it þem, natwith-
 stondyng þat þei have inow to leve on." Whereby it
 appirip þat prelates xuld yeve to poure pepil. And
 hereof have we exaumpil in Eliseus the prophete, þe
 2130 which made his broed to be distributed to the

prophetes children, as it appiriþ in þe Fourth Book of
 Kynges, þe fourth chapitre. And the same we rede of
 Seynt Austyn, how at his deth he made no testament,
 because þat in his lyfe he had yovin al his good to
 2135 poure pepil.

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

Be prechyng þe chirche is susteyned and þe lawe
 reised and þe pepil converted. And þerof have we many
 2140 examplis of Aron, the which somtyme to þe pepil
 preched þe word of God. And þerfor þe pepil beleved
 in God, and setteþ þem to serve hym, as it appiriþ in
 Exode, þe fourth chapitre. Also we rede in þe Boke of
 þe Postelis Dedis how þe chirch was multiplied and
 2145 mored be þe preching of þe postelis. And indede Seynt
 Poule and Seynt Barnabe, bi þer prechyng, converted
 much pepil, as it appiriþ in þe forseid book, þe thir-
 teenth chapitre. And þerfor þe pepil of þe chirch,
 and inespecial þe religious, xuld preche þe trowth.
 2150 And to þis purpos we rede in þe Seconde Booke of þe
 Three Partyed Story, þe eighth chapitre, how a good
 man, be his prechyng, converted many myscreauntes, to
 whom he seid: "My frendes, be not coryous in mankendli
 sciencis, þe which conteyniþ deceites and vanitees.
 2155 But have þe hert to the feiþ and to þe holy gospel, þe
 which conteynyth but trowth." But yif þu sey þu art

no clerk to preche, to þat I answere to þe, and þat
 yif þu be good in thyn affeccion, the Holi Goste xal
 mynystere to þe good wordis and profitable. And to
 2160 þis purpos we rede in þe forseid book how sumtyme ryte
 a gret philosophir þe which was a mysbelever disputed
 ageyns our feith. And a good auncient man seyng þat,
 þe which coud no lecture, come to hym to converte hym.
 And þe Holi Goste mynysterd to hym suche wordis þat he
 2165 converted þe seid philosophir to the feiþ. And þerfor
 seiþ þe scripture þat þe worde of þe prechoure of
 troupe is þe word of þe Holi Gost. It is ful trewe
 þat þe prechyng is ryte profitable quan þe prechoure
 is of good levying, as Seynt Gregori seith in þe thir-
 2170 tieth Book of his Moralles. And yif prechyng profyete
 f.19v nat, it is for þe / defaute of þe prechoure, þe which
 is of evil levying, or of mystrostyng, þe which hath
 non affeccion. Neverþeles Jhesu Criste seiþ in þe
 Gospel þat men xuld preche þe word of God, for it may
 2175 not be al lost, as þe seed þat is cast in þe myddis of
 þe wey it makeþ no frute yet þe birdes of hevin at þe
 last eteth it. Who converted þe pepil of Nenyve, but
 þe prechyng of Jonas þe prophet, as it appiriþ in þe
 third chapitre? Who converted Ynde but þe prechyng of
 2180 Seint Thomas? Who converted Samarye but be þe pre-
 chyng of Seynt Phelip? But somme fareth as þe jewis
 þat stoppid þer herys quan [seint] Seint Stephin

preched. And somme mocked Seynt Poule quan he preched,
 as it appirip in þe Book of the Apostelis Dedes. These
 2185 be of þe condicion of þe serpent called aspis, þe
 which stoppiþ his eerys with his tayl because he xuld
 nat here. And who so drynkeþ of his venym, he slepiþ
 and dieþ slepyng. There be many also þat wil not here
 þe troupe and deyen in þer synnes withoute repentauns.
 2190 Moreover mesemyþ many be wrope quan men in prechyng
 repreve þer synnes. And thei seme þat men spoke spe-
 ciali for þem, þe which in som wise be disceyved, for
 þe Holi Goste mynysteriþ oftin to þe prechoure þe
 which he haþe not tawght on afore. And to þis purpos
 2195 Seynt Austyn rehersiþ in his Sixth Book of his Confes-
 sions how on a tyme he preched in his sermon of a
 creature. And menetyme cam on called Alipius, þe
 which was a player of þe dees and gretli enclnyed to
 voide occupaciones. Than Seynt Austyn began to preche
 2200 ageyn suche vanitees, and Alipius, seeng þat, he wend
 Seynt Austyn had spoken of hym. And after þe sermon
 he asked Seint Austyn whi he spak so ageyns hym. He
 answerid þat þe Holi Gost had don it, for he knew hym
 nat, ne wist nat þat he was non such. And þan the
 2205 seid Alipius repented hym and left al vaniteis. Also
 on þe same wise Seynt Austyn converted many be þe
 wordes þat he seid at his borde. Wherbi it appirip
 þat it is ryte profitable to here trowthe and

predicaciones.

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

To study, it is a þing rite behoveli and profitable
to men of þe chirch. And þerfor Aristipus, to one þat
asked hym quat studi availed hym, he answerid þat be
2215 study þe man lyveþe þe more sewirli, and can þe better
eschew many inconveniencences. And þerfor Boece, in his
Book of Disciþlyne of Scolers, seiþ þat non may be a
maister but yif he have kunnyng and vertu. And so
auncient pepil studied ever, as Valeri telliþ in his
2220 Eighth Book, þe seventh chapitre. And indede þu xalt
see how a man þat is a clerke is wel at ese in besynes
and be himself, for he wote wherupon to employe hym
and to occupie him. But þe ignoraunt man wote nat
quat to do yif he be not in felaschep to here vaniteis
2225 and plesaunt langage of þem þat loviþ ignorauns, þe
which þinkin þat þei be lost quan þei fynd nat to whom
to spek, and nameli at all houres. But þe clerk þat
can studi is ryte glad quan he is owt of þe felaschep
of þo þat can ryte noght, þe which loveth noþing but
2230 ydelnes. And þerfor a man xuld lern somþing, and in-
especial in his youghte, for þe rodde plieth not esili
but men use it þerto whil it is yonge and grene. Also
f.20r þe man takiþ gladli plesure to þat / þe which he is
used to in youghth. Forsope principally þu xuldest

2235 study in holi scripture, and in that þe whiche is
 necessary to þi salvacion. For as Seynt Austin seiþ
 in his Second Book of Christen Doctryne, al þe good-
 nes þat is first and principally in oþer sciencis is
 founde in theologe, for þat is þe moder of all wytt
 2240 and of all konnyng. And þerfor þu xuldest dispraise
 all sciencis þe which arn contrarye to holy scripture.
 For as Averrois seiþ in þe Third Book of Methaphesike,
 tho þat usen to here and to lere fabules be gretly
 enclyned to lerne falsnes for trouþe. And þei wene
 2245 þat þer is noþing but þat whereinne þei have be nor-
 ysshed. And I am gretly abbashed of many men of þe
 cherche þe which ben ydel and lerne nat, and þerfor
 þei fynde þemself in many inconveniences. For natur-
 elly þe man wold be occupied and quan he knoweþ nat
 2250 quat to do because of ignoraunce þan he besyeth hym in
 unleful gamys and in many synnes. And oftin tymes al
 þat comeþ because of ignorauns. Moreover þe man xuld
 avise hym þat undirstondyng is yovyn to hym to enplye
 it wel, þe which settiþ a differens betwen us and
 2255 bestes. Þus it is gret shame quan þe man þat may
 amend hym norissheth hym in ignorauns and behavith
 hym as a dome best. Thu may sey to me þat all may not
 be clerkis, and to þat I answer to the and sey þat þo
 the which folowip þe actife lyfe, in þat wyse þei may
 2260 be excused. But mesemyþ þe pepil of þe chirche may

nat wel excuse þem; þei have sesoun and tyme inowh to
stody and to get sciens. And yif þei wold set þer
tyme in study þe which þei set in vaniteis þei xuld be
clerkes and have gretter joye and plesauns in þe studi
2265 þan þei have in vaniteis, þe which þe maynteyn. And
of þis mater þu mayst see in þe next book where þu
xalt fynde many þinges þat is to sei to þe same purpos.

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

NOTES

A note on the footnotes

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

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

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

4. Gap in GH.

4-6. <H>ere begynneth ... *Wysdam*. GH does not name

the author, nor does BM. H f.183r attributes it to "ffrere Jaques the grete of þe relygioñ of Saynt Augustyn;" C f.1v to "the venerable and dyscrete persone Frere Jaques le graunt lycēcyat in Theologye religyous of the ordre of saynt augustyn of the conuent of parys."

14. Gap in GH.

42. Gap in GH.

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

55. Gap in GH.

70. Gap in GH.

96. Gap in GH.

113. Gap in GH.

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

120-122. *resisteth ... Lucifer.* C f.3r, "resysteth ayenst the proude folke whyche ben fallen vylanly. Emonge whome the fyrst was lucyfer;" H f.184v, "resysteth ayenst pryde. for he made yt falle out of heuene whan lucyfer"

felle;" F f.5r, "Pour tant dit le prophete que dieu resiste aux orgueilleux. Et a ce propos nous lisons pluseurs exemples des orgueilleus qui sont chu3 villiainement."

122. *he<vyn>*. Blot on GH.

123-129. *On the same wise ... Adam ... Genesis.*
Gen. 3, 1-24.

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

129. *Sare chaumberer*, Sarai's handmaid.

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

151-154. *And ... Pharao ... Exode.* Ex. 5, 2.

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

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

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

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

168-170. *And Nabugodonosor ... Danyel.* Dan. 4, 27-30.

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

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

174. *lowned*, brought low, overthrown. This is a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

189-191. *Heroude ... Dedys.* Acts 12, 21-23.

191-200. *And ... Criste ... Luke.* Luke 10, 17-20.

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

195. *the ennemyes*, the devils.

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

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

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

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

214-217. *Manasses ... Genesis*. Gen. 48, 15-21.

225. Gap in GH.

227-230. *And ... the prophite ... hyr*. Ps. 73, 18-23.

233-246. *And ... Gregory ... Constantius ... "me."*

Greg., Dialog., 1, 5:

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

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

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

Quid igitur, Fratres, quare ista dixi? Claudite aures cordis vestri adversus dolos inimici: intelligite quia Deus fecit omnia, et in suis gradibus collocavit. Quare autem patimur multa mala a creatura quam fecit Deus? quia offendimus Deum? Nunquid hæc Angeli patiuntur? Fortassis et nos in vita ista illa non timeremus. De pœna tua peccatum tuum accusa, non iudicem. Nam propter superbiam instituit Deus istam creaturam minimam et abjectissimam, ut ipsa nos torqueret: ut cum superbus fuerit homo, et se jactaverit adversus Deum; et, cum sit mortalis, mortalem terruerit; et, cum sit homo, proximum hominem non agnoverit; cum se erexerit, pulicibus subdatur. Quid est, quod te inflas humana superbia? Homo tibi dixit convicium, et tumuisti, et iratus es: pulicibus resiste ut dormias, cognosce qui sis. Nam ut noveritis, Fratres, propter superbiam nostram domandam creata ista, quæ molesta nobis essent, populum Pharaonis superbum potuit Deus domare de ursis, de leonibus, de serpentibus: muscas et ranas illis immisit, ut rebus vilissimis superbia domaretur.

248. *grutche*, to murmur, complain. See OED, s.v. *grutch*. BM f.102v, "mekenes is no murmur ne other mens displeasance;" C f.4v, "is nothyng to grutche;" H f.186r, "very hymylytee ys no murmur nor dysplesyr to othyr."

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

Huic te, mi Dioscore, ut tota pietate subdas velim, nec aliam tibi ad capessendam et obtinendam veritatem viam munias, quam quæ munita est ab illo qui gressuum nostrorum tanquam Deus vidit infirmitatem. Ea est autem prima, humilitas; secunda, humilitas; tertia, humilitas et quoties interrogares hoc dicerem: non quo alia non sint præcepta, quæ dicantur, sed nisi humilitas omnia quæcumque bene facimus et præcesserit et comitetur et consecuta fuerit, et proposita quam intueamur, et apposita cui adhæreamus, et imposita qua reprimamur, jam nobis de aliquo bono facto gaudentibus totum extorquet de manu superbia. Vitia quippe cæterea in peccatis, superbia vero etiam in recte factis timenda est, ne illa quæ laudabiliter facta sunt, in ipsius laudis cupiditate amittantur. Itaque sicut rhetor ille nobilissimus cum interrogatus esset quid ei primum videretur

in eloquentiæ præceptis observari oportere, Pronuntiationem dicitur respondisse; cum quæreretur quid secundo, eamdem pronuntiationem; quid tertio, nihil aliud quam pronuntiationem dixisse: ita si interrogares, et quoties interrogares de præceptis christianæ religionis, nihil me aliud respondere nisi humilitatem liberet, etsi forte alia dicere necessitas cogeret.

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

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

Recapitulatio graduum humilitatis.

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

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

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

De Grad. Humil., 1, 2:

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

velut in Sion, id est in speculatione, positi. veritatem prospiciant.

274-278. *Pe which ... Seynt Austyn ... lytel.* Aug.,
In Joan., 24, 16:

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

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

278-280. *And þerfor ... Criste.* C f.5r has a version which makes more sense: "And therfor yf thou wyl not ensue and folowe thy humble servaunt atte leste. thou oughtest to folowe thyn humble maister and lord Jhesu Cryste."

285-287. *There is ... Seynt Jerome Ninety-seventh Pystil.* Jer., Ep., 12 (PL, 22, 345-346):

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

287. *Ninety-seventh Pystil.* GH, "pystil ^{x x x}iiii vii," BM f.103v :Epistilos ^{x x}the iiii vi," C f.5r "epistle lxxxvii," and H f.186v ^{x x}"iiii and vii." From this we can see that the scribe probably read this as the "four score and seventeenth pystil," but I have taken the liberty of modernizing it.

290-294. *Rede ... Athaly ... chapetre.* 4 Kings 11, 1-16. I believe the author has confused Ptolemee (1 Mac. 16, 4-17) with Athalia. GH, BM f.103v, H f.187r, and C f.5r all agree on 1 Mac. 15, which makes me think the confusion lies with the author, not the scribe. Ptolemee slays his father-in-law Simon and two of Simon's sons. Athalia was the mother of Ochozias, who after her son's death attempted to kill all his children so that she could rule. After seven years, the sole survivor of the massacre, Joas, was taken from hiding and crowned, following which Athalia was slain. BM f.103v, "Achille;" C f.5r, "Athalie;" H f.196v, "Achylee."

291. No gap in GH.

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

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

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

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

307. *King Anthirtus.* BM f.104r, "kyng Anthiocus;" H f.187r, "kyng Antthyocus;" C f.5v, "Anthiocus."

307. *three hundred and seventy.* GH, "iii C. lxx;" C f.5v, "CCC.lxix;" H f.187r, "thre hondred .lxix.;" BM f.104r, "fff hove."

309. *mene*, means, intermediary. See OED, s.v. *mean*.

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

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

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

330. Gap in GH.

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

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

338-340. *And þerfor Abraham ... Genesis*. Gen. 18, 27.

340-344. *And ... Seynt Barnard ... "myself."* Bern.,
Serm. sup. Cant., 36, 5:

Advertisne jam quam verum sensit Apostolus, quia *scientia inflat?* Volo proinde animam primo omnium scire seipsam, quod id postulet ratio et utilitatis, et ordinis quidem, quoniam quod nos sumus primum est nobis: utilitatis vero, quia talis scientia non inflat, sed humiliat, et est quædam præparatio ad ædificandum.

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

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

347-350. *And Polierate ... hymself.* Joan. Sares., Polycrat., 3, 2 (PL, 199, 480): "Oraculum Apollinis est, et descendisse de coelo creditur, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, id est *scito te ipsum.*" The author is John of Salisbury, or after the short title of his major work, Policraticus.

350-352. *And ... Juvenal ... þiself."* Juv., Sat., 11, 27-30: ... e caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus esse velis ...

353-358. *And Seynt Austyn ... "frelnes."* Aug., De Trin., 4, Prooemium, 1:

Scientiam terrestrium cœlestiumque rerum magni æstimare solet genus humanum: in quo profecto meliores sunt qui huic scientiæ præponunt nosse semetipsos; laudabiliorque est animus cui nota est vel infirmitas sua, quam qui ea non respecta, vias siderum scrutatur etiam cogniturus, aut qui jam cognitans tenet, ignorans ipse qua ingrediatur ad salutem ac firmitatem suam.

358-362. *"Allas" ... Seynt Barnard ... "vertues."* Bern., Serm. sup. Cant., 37, 6:

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

362-368. *And ... Seynt Gregory ... vertues,* Greg., Moralia, 32, 22:

Quid enim per cartilaginem, nisi simulatio ejus accipitur? Cartilago namque ossis ostendit speciem, sed ossis non habet firmitatem. Et sunt nonnulla vitia quæ ostendunt in se rectitudinis speciem, sed ex pravitatis prodeunt infirmitate. Hostis enim nostri malitia tanta se arte palliat, ut plerumque ante deceptæ mentis oculos culpas virtutes fingat, ut inde quisque quasi exspectet præmia, unde dignus est æterna invenire tormenta. Plerumque enim in ulciscendis vitiis crudelitas agitur, et justitia putatur, atque immoderata ira justis zeli meritum creditur; et cum a distortis moribus peccantes dirigi caute debeant, violenta inflexione franguntur. Plerumque dissoluta remissio quasi mansuetudo ac pietas habetur; et dum plus quam decet delinquentibus temporaliter parcitur, ad æterna supplicia crudeliter reservantur. Nonnunquam effusio misericordia creditur, et dum male servare culpa sit, pejus spargi quod acceptum est non timetur. Nonnunquam tenacia parcitas putatur, et cum grave sit vitium non tribuere, virtus creditur accepta retinere. Sæpe malorum pertinacia constantia dicitur, et dum mens a pravitate sua flecti non patitur, quasi ex recti defensione gloriatur. Sæpe inconstantia quasi tractabilitas habetur, et quo quisque fidem integram nulli servat, eo amicum se

hominibus æstimat. Aliquando timor incompetens humilitas creditur, et cum temporali formidine pressus quisque a defensione veritatis tacet, arbitratur quod juxta Dei ordinem humilem se potioribus exhibeat. Aliquando vocis superbia veri libertas æstimatur, et cum per elationem veritati contradicitur, loquendi procacitas veritatis defensio putatur. Plerumque pigritia quasi continentia quietis attenditur, et cum gravis culpæ sit recta studiose non agere, magnæ virtutis meritum creditur a prava tantum actione cessare. Plerumque inquietudo spiritus, vigilans sollicitudo nominatur; et cum quietem quisque non tolerat, agendo quæ appetit, virtutis debitæ implere se exercitium putat. Sæpe ad ea quæ agenda sunt incauta præcipitatio laudandi studii fervor creditur; et cum desideratum bonum intempestiva actione corrumpitur, eo agi melius quo celerius æstimatur. Sæpe accelerandi boni tarditas consilium putatur; et cum exspectatur ut ex retractatione proficiat, hoc insidians mora supplantat. Igitur cum culpa velut virtus aspicitur, necessario pensandum est quia tanto tardius mens vitium suum deserit, quanto hoc quod perpetrat, non erubescit; et tanto mens tardius vitium deserit, quanto, per virtutis speciem decepta, præmiorum etiam de eo retributionem quærit. Facile autem culpa corrigitur quæ et erubescitur quia esse culpa sentitur. Quia itaque error cum virtus creditur difficilius emendatur, recte dicitur: *Cartilago ejus quasi laminæ ferreæ*. Behemoth enim iste quo sub prætextu boni calliditatem suam fraudulentius exhibet, eo in culpa mentem durius tenet.

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

368-371. *And þerfor ... Hewe ... Soule.* Hugh, De Claustro Animæ, 3, 6:

Duæ siquidem sunt species disciplinæ, interior scilicet et exterior. Interior disciplina est per districtiorem cordis, correctio morum; exterior vero per afflictionem carnis, correctio actionum. Exterior quandoque generat interiorem; quia, dum mens non spargitur ad exteriora, revertitur ad quietis amorem.

371-374. *And ... Ysaye ... "pou3tes."* Isaias 46, 8: "Remember this, and be ashamed: return ye transgressors, to the heart."

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

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

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

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

384. *salved*. We are probably dealing with a problem in translation which will have to await the publication of an edition of the French MSS. 2 Kings 12, 16 reads: "And David besought the Lord for the child: and David kept a fast, and going in by himself lay upon the ground." This is probably a confusion of two definitions of "salve." See OED, s.v. *salve*, where these two definitions, among others,

appear: "To heal, remedy; mend, make good, make up, smooth over (something amiss, a troubled state of affairs, a defect, offence, disgrace, dispute, etc.);" and "to anoint."

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

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

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

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

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

404-406. *Ezechias ... chapitre.* 2 Par. 32, 26.

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

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

414-417. *In lyche wyse Mari Magdalene ... synnes.*
 Luke 7, 37-50; John 12, 3. He is probably referring to Luke, which specifically mentions the remission of sins.

415-416. *wipyng and <drying> hys feet with hir heer.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

434-439. *And to have ... third book. Matt. 3, 1-11.*

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

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

456. Gap in GH.

462-465. *For Aristotil ... togedyr.* We are obviously referred to Ar., Nic. Eth., 9, where the idea of mutual benefit in friendship is discussed at length. In all probability we are referred to Nic. Eth., 9, 1: "In all dissimilar friendships, it is proportion, as has been said, that establishes equality and preserves the friendship." I do not dismiss the possibility that we are referred to the closing argument, Nic. Eth., 9, 12. The corrupt state of the text makes exact identification difficult. It is probable that the second sentence is also part of the Aristotle citation; however, our scribe's rendering of this passage is different than the other MSS. BM f.107v, "for as sath *Aristotell* in the ix boke of [passage obscured by a calculation] frenship requireth semblance or elles wise equalite bitwene hem that shold love;" C f.7v, "Amytie or frendshyp requireth semblance and somme equalite bytwene them that so owen to love;" H f.189r, "for as Arystoty1 seyth yn hys .ixth. booke

of *Etyques*. con good turne requereth a nothyr. as egally as yt can be ymagyned. namely amonge hem whych ought to loue eche othyr/."

465-466. *Alas ... paradyse*. Gen. 3, 22-24. Cf. 108-116.

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

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

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

476-479. *And þerfor Senek ... hye*. I am not sure either of the two references given here is correct, but they are close enough to the original to warrant mention. Sen., Ep., 69, 18, "Quod non dedit fortuna, non eripit;" Sen., Ep., 98, 13, "Honores reppulit pater Sextius, qui ita natus, ut rem publicam deberet capessere, latum clavum divo Iulio dante non recepit. Intellegebat enim quod dari possit, et eripi posse."

479-480. *Seyth ... Lyon ... hym.* White, *The Book of Beasts*, 9: "The compassion of lions, on the contrary, is clear from innumerable examples—for they spare the prostrate."

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

480-481. *and þe bore ... erþe.* This has not been traced.

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

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

489-494. *And ... naturel pepil ... aforeseid.* This

has not been traced.

485-494. *And ... þe þing aforeseid.* C f.8r and H f.189v agree with the account in GH, but BM f.108r has peculiarities: "And to this porpus sayne the naturell wise men that thundres lightynynges and wyndes been the causes that the erthly thynges ascenden sodenly more hye than thay shuld bot nature that wlnot suffre þem. hem sendith hem ayayne full lawe. And so thay"

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

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

498. *Book of Subjeccion of Vices.* BM f.108r, "boke of tarrysyng of prynces and of vices;" C f.8r, "book of subjection of vyces;" H f.189v, "*booke of subieccyon̄ of vyces.*"

500. *moyen*, of middle or moderate quality. See OED,

s.v. *moyen*. H f.189v, "humylyte redresseth a man and maketh hym to lyve meenely;" C f.8r, "humylite addressst a man. and maketh his lyf move in a moyen."

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

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

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

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

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

However all this may be, it was Helena, the mother of Constantine, who led the search which ended in the Invention of

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

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

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

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

514. *Where is þe myte of Pharaon?* Exodus 15, 3-6. BM f.108v omits this.

514-515. *þat was so namyd, that was so famous.* C f.8r, "whyche was so renomd;" H f.190r, "whyche was somtyme made of merveyulous heyghte."

515-516. *Where ... Babylone ... hie.* Gen. 11, 1-8.

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

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

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

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

529. *And wyse Caton, kyllled he not hyself.* This is Cato the Younger, who committed suicide following Caesar's victory at Thapsus (46 B.C.). He is to be distinguished from Cato the Elder, who is cited extensively later in the text.

529-530. *And wyse Caton, kylled he not himself?*
And Demoritus also. H f.190r, "Also the wyse Catoun dyd he
 nat kylled Democratus;" BM f.109r, "And the wise Caton was
 he not slayne / and democritus also;" C f.8r, "/ And the wyse
 cathon. slewe he not hymself. and democritus also;" GH, "and
 wyse caton kylled he not himself. And demoritus also;" F
 f.12r, "Et le sage caton. ne se tua il pas. Democritus
 aussi."

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

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

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

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

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

539-543. *And King 3erches ... "but erthe."* Poss-
 ibly Xerxes, King of Persia, 485-465 B.C. He was the son of

Darius I and he was involved in a series of wars against the Greeks in the last years of his reign. He was ultimately assassinated by Artabanus.

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

543. *Jerome.* GH, "Johun;" BM f.109r, "*Jerome*;" C. f.8v, "Jherome;" H f.190v, "*Jerom*."

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

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

548-549. *And ... Gracyen ... his.* Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, Roman emperor 260-268 A.D. After his

father was captured (see preceding note), he made no efforts to obtain his release. His reign was marked by invasions, rebellion, and pestilence. He was finally cut down by his own troops while beseiging Mediolanum.

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

554-556. *And therfor Oraces ... lytilness.* Hor. Ep., 1, 10, 32-33:

Fuge magna; licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.

562. Gap in GH.

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

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

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

570-583. *And ... Vegetius ... deþe.* Veg., Rei

Milit., 2, 5: "Iurant autem milites omnia se strenue facturos, quae praeceperit imperator, numquam deserturos militiam nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica."

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

574-576. *For as scripture ... apostel.* Rom. 13, 1-7.

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

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

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

arbiter puer qui ereptus est; nam dicebat: Ego cum ex aqua traherer, super caput meum melotem abbatis videbam, atque ipsum me ex aquis educere considerabam.

581-582. *þe first and þe seventh chapters.* BM f.110r agrees with GH. C f.9r, "the fyrst book the seventh chapytre;" H f.191r, "yn hys fyrst booke yn the .viith. chapytre."

586-591. *Seynt Gregori ... yere.* I have not found this in Gregory, but there is something similar in Cassian., *De Coenobiorum Instit.*, 4, 24:

Sumpsit namque de lignario suo senex virgultum, quod olim excisum usibus foci fuerat præparatum: dumque coctionis retardat occasio, non modo aridum, sed prope putre jacebat temporis vetustate. Cumque hoc coram ipso fixisset in terram, præcepit advecta aqua quotidie bis rigari, ut scilicet diurnis humoribus radicatum, atque in antiquam arborem reviviscens, diffusis ramis amœnitatem oculis atque umbraculum in æstu ferventi subter residentibus exhiberet. Quod præceptum veneratione solita sine ulla impossibilitatis consideratione suscipiens adolescens, ita quotidianis diebus explevit, ut aquam per duo ferme millia indesinenter apportans, nullatenus lignum rigare cessaret, atque per totum anni spatium non infirmitas corporis, non festivas solemnitatis, non occupatio necessitatis ullius, quæ illum etiam honeste excusaret ab executione mandati, non denique hiemis asperitas intercedens ab hujus observatione præcepti poterit impedire. Cumque ejus hanc sedulitatem tacitus senex latenter diebus singulis exploraret, et videret eum simplici cordis affectu mandatum suum velut divinitus emissum sine ulla permutatione vultus, vel rationis discussione servare, sinceram humilitatis ejus obedientiam comprobans, pariter etiam miserans tam longum laborem, quem per totum anni spatium studio devotionis impenderat, ad virgultum aridum accedens, o, inquit, Joannes, misitne radices hæc arbor, an non? Cumque ille se nescire dixisset, Senex velut inquirens rei veritatem, et tamquam tentans utrum jam suis radicibus niteretur, evulsit coram ipso levi commotione virgultum, sicque projiciens illud præcepit ut deinceps rigare desineret.

Alardus Gazaeus notes in his commentary, which accompanies this text on PL, 49, 184:

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

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

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

596. *pouere*, power.

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

This has not been traced.

601-602. *On ... bestes ... kyng*. White, *The Book of Beasts*, 155: "Bees observe such a tremendous reverence of respect that none dare leave the nest to swarm to other pastures unless the king shall have gone forth in front of them and claimed the first rank of flight for himself."

601-602. *On þe same wyse bestes obey to þer kyng.*
 BM f.110v, "in the same wise the bees that maken hony obeyne
 thare kyng;" C f.9v, "Semblably the bees that maken hony
 obeye to theyr kyng / and the Cranes also;" H f.191v, "Sem-
 blably the hony flyes othyr wyse called Bees obbeyen to her
 kyng / and Cranes yn lyke wyse."

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

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

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

611-612. *And þerfor ... hevyn.* Matt. 19, 27-28.

612-617. *Also Abrahaum ... þe worlde.* Gen. 22, 1-18.

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

624-627. *We rede also of seven breþirn ... com-
 maunde it.* This has not been traced.

628. *ascusith them, excuse themselves.*

629-632. *But þis ascusacion ... Dedis. Acts 5, 29.*

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

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

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

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

639-642. *And ... Thobyne. Tob. 5, 1.*

642-645. *And Cornelius seid to Seint Petyr ...*
Dedis. Acts 10, 22 and 33. H f.192r, Acts 10; C f.10r,

Acts 10. BM f.111v cites only "the x chapitre."

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

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

649-654. *And indede po ... Noumbres.* Num. 14, 20-45.

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

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

663. Gap in GH.

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

Disce in referendo gratiam non esse tardus aut segnis, disce ad singula dona gratias agere. *Diligenter*, inquit, *considera quæ tibi apponuntur ut* nulla videlicet Dei dona debita gratiarum actione frustrentur, non grandia, non mediocria, non pusilla. Denique jubemur colligere fragmenta ne pereant, id est nec minima beneficia oblivisci. Numquid non perit quod donatur ingrato. Ingratitudo inimica est

animæ, exinanitio meritõrum, virtutum dispersio, benefici-
orun perditior. Ingratitudo ventus urens, siccans sibi fon-
tem pietatis, rorem misericordiæ, fluenta gratiæ.

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

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

Lectio sancti Evangelii, fratres charissimi, solícite consi-
derare nos admonet, ne nos, qui plus cæteris in hoc mundo
accepisse aliquid cernimur ab auctore mundi, gravius inde
judicemur. Cum enim augentur dona, rationes etiam crescunt
donorum. Tanto ergo esse humilior atque ad serviendum promp-
tior quisque debet ex munere, quanto se obligatiorem esse con-
spicit in reddenda ratione.

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

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

Vox admonentis est. Mundus dicit: Vide homo quomodo amavit
te, qui propter te fecit me. Servio tibi, quia factus sum
propter te, ut et tu servias illi, qui fecit et me, et te.
Me propter te, et te propter se. Si sentis beneficium, red-
de debitum. Accipis benignitatem, redde charitatem. Hoc
tribuit, et hoc exigit Deus.

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

673-677. *Rede ... Genesis.* Gen. 28, 20-21.

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

679-682. *And ... Daniel.* Dan. 2, 20-24.

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

686-690. *Rede we nat ... Exode.* Ex. 15, 1-26.

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

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

696. *Pistel of Lucille, Eightieth.* GH, "pistel of

lucille ^{x x}iiii;" H f.193r, "*Senek* in hys pystyl seyth;" BM f.112v, "*Senek* sath in his epistel;" C f.10v, "Seneke in his four score and one epystle to Lucylle."

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

702-705. *And after þat ... Juges.* Judges 5, 1-30. BM f.112v, H f.193r, C f.10v, and F f.14v cite Judith 4.

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

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

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

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

721-724. *And zacharye ... "people."* Luke 1, 67-68.

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

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

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

743. *receyvid.* The scribe probably means revived. F f.15v, "resusata."

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

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

755-758. *Also Saul ... chapitre.* 1 Kings 18, 9.

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

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

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

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

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

778. <those>. No gap in GH. H f.194r, "And of suche we have storyes whych have dyspreysed god;" BM f.114v,

"And herof we have many stores of hem that have desprased god;" C f.11v, "And herof have we many hystories of them that have."

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

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

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

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

790. *Ananyas, Amasias.*

798. Gap in GH.

798-799. *The sovereyn meen ... paciens.* Luke 21, 14-19.

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

Philosophi quidem, qui alicujus sapientiæ animalia deputantur, tantum illi subsignant, et cum inter sese variis sectarum libidinibus et sententiarum æmulationibus discordent, solius tamen patientiæ in commune memores, huic uni studiorum suorum commiserint pacem. In eam conspirant, in eam fœderantur, illam in affectatione virtutis unanimiter student, omnem sapientiam ostentationem de patientia præferunt. Grande testimonium ejus est, cum etiam vanas sæculi disciplinas ad laudem et gloriam promovet.

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

800-804. *And ... Senek ... "encres it."* This has not been traced.

804-807. *And ... Valery ... Seventh Book.* Val. Max., Fact., 2, 2, Ext 2:

Age, quam prudenter Solo neminem, dum adhuc viveret, beatum dici debere arbitrabatur, quod ad ultimum usque fati diem ancipiti fortunæ subjecti essemus. Felicitatis igitur humanæ appellationem rogas consummat, qui se incursui malorum objicit. Idem, cum ex amicis quemdam graviter mærentem videret, in arcem perduxit hortatusque est ut per omnes subjectorum ædificiorum partes oculos circumferret. Quod ut factum animadvertit: "Cogita nunc tecum, inquit, quam multi luctus sub his tectis et olim fuerint et hodieque versentur et insequentibus sæculis sint habitaturi; ac mitte mortalium incommoda tanquam propria deflere." Qua consolatione demonstravit urbes esse humanarum cladum consæpta miseranda. Idem aiebat, "si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent,

futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." Quo colligebat non oportere nos quæ sortito patiamur præcipuæ et intolerabilis amaritudinis iudicare.

805. *Salamon*. H f.194v, "*Salon*;" C f.12r, "*Syllen*." BM f.115r has "*plon*," and above it, in lighter letters, "*Sollow*."

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

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

Recogitate ea etiam pro brevitæ supplicii cuiuslibet, non tamen ultra mortem remansuri. Sic et Epicurus omnem cruciatum doloremque depretiat, modicum quidem contemptibilem pronuntiando, magnum vero non diuturnum.

808. *Tarquilian*, Tertullian.

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

811-812. *And ... Prudens ... book*. Prud., Psych., 155-159:

quam super adsistens Patientia "vicimus," inquit,
 "exultans Vitium solita virtute, sine ullo
 sanguinis ac vitae discrimine; lex habet istud
 nostra genus belli, furias omnemque malorum
 militiam et rabidas tolerando extinguere vires."

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

813-815. *Pat paciens ... noye hym.* Luc., Phar., 9,
 402-404:
 serpens sitis ardor harenae
 dulcia uirtuti: gaudet patientia duris.
 laetius est quotiens magno sibi constat honestum.

A reference has been omitted here. H f.194v, "And *Lucan* yn
 hys thyrde booke seyth that pacyence reioysseth yn advercyte
 and maketh a man come to gret goodnes. ynsomoche that no man
 can noye him;" BM f.115v, "and *Lucan* sath hit in his iii
 boke that pacience reioisthe in his aduersite and maketh man
 to come to grete gode in somuch that no man may greve hym;"
 C f.12r-12v, "And *Lucan* in his thyrd boke sayth that paci-
 ence enioyeth in aduersite. and maketh a man to come to
 grete good in so moche that no man may greve ne noye hym."

815-817. *As Marrobe ... velanyes.* Macr., Sat., 2,
 4, 19: Soleo in Augusto magis mirari quos pertulit
 jocos quam ipse quos protulit, quia major est
 patientiae quam facundiae laus, maxime cum aequanimiter
 aliqua etiam jocis mordaciora pertulerit.

818-824. *And Valery ... "opir abyden."* Val. Max.,
Fact., 4, 1, Ext. 3:

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

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

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

826-829. *And indede ... Alixsandrydos.* Gault.,

Alexand., 3, 538-543 (PL, 209, 484):

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

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

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

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

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

835-838. *And hereof ... Collacions.* Cassian., Col-
 lation., 13, 5 (PL, 49, 905):

Denique famosissimus ille ipsorum Socrates, hoc ut ipsi con-
celebrant, de se non erubuit profiteri. Nam cum intuens eum
quidam physiognomon dixisset, γυμνατα παιδερασοῦ, id est,
Oculi corruptoris puerorum, et irruentes in eum discipuli
ejus, ulcisci illatum magistro vellent convicium indignatio-
nem eorum hac dicitur compressisse sententia: Παύσασθε
ἑταῖροι, εἰμὲ λαράλλ' ἀπέχω, id est, Quiescite, o sodales:
etenim sum, sed contineo me. Apertissime igitur, non solum
assertione nostra, sed etiam ipsorum professione monstratur,
consummationem tantummodo impudicitiae, id est, commixtionis
turpitudinem, violenta ab illis necessitate compressam; non
tamen desiderium de cordibus eorum, et oblectationem illius
passionis exclusam.

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

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

843-846. *Rede we nat ... Genesis.* Gen. 22, 7-9.

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

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

838-842. *And Seynt Jerome ... Socrates ... turment.* Jer., Adv. Jov., 1, 48 (PL, 23, 291):

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

838. *Seynt Jerome.* "seynt johun" in GH. BM f.116r, "sant Jorome;" C f.12v, "saynt Jherome;" H f.195r, "Saynt Jerome."

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

857-860. *Also ... Abigail pesid David ... chapitre.* 1 Kings 25, 24-31.

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

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

868. Gap in GH.

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

Quibusdam, ut ait Sextius, iratis profuit aspexisse speculum; perturbavit illos tanta mutatio sui; velut in rem praesentem adducti non agnoverunt se. Et quantum ex vera deformitate imago illa speculo repercussa reddebat? Animus si ostendi et si in ulla materia perlucere posset, intuentis nos confunderet ater maculosusque et aestuans et distortus et tumidus.

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

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

at vero cum aliquid clementer, mansuete, iuste, moderate, sapienter factum, in iracundia praesertim, quae est inimica consilio, et in victoria, quae natura insolens et superba est, audimus aut legimus, quo studio incendimur, non modo in gestis rebus, sed etiam in fictis, ut eos saepe, quos numquam vidimus, diligamus!

873. *to his purpos.* It appears that the scribe has mis-read "in the process," process taking the French meaning of trial. H f.195v, "yn þe processe that he made for marciel;" BM f.116v, "in the processe;" C f.13r, "in the processe that he made for marcell."

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

875. *Espicure.* The Greek philosopher Epicurus (c. 341-270 B.C.), who taught that man's duty was to attain personal happiness and peace of heart by overcoming irrational desires and fears. Although he appears to have been a prolific writer, and, according to Diogenes Laertius, was the author of some 300 volumes, there remain only some fragments of his great work *On Nature* on mutilated papyri extant from Herculaneum. Apart from this, three letters and a set of moral maxims, which appear in the 10th book of Diogenes Laertius, and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* account for all we can safely attribute to Epicurus. My research is based solely on Diogenes Laertius and Geer's translation of

the letters and sayings because my knowledge of Greek does not permit further scrutiny.

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

876. *Unodius.* H f.195v, "*Burdyus*;" C f.13r, "*burdius*;" BM f.116v, "*Unodius.*"

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

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

878-883. *for as ... evyl.* H f.195v, "ffor as Catoun seyth angre engendreth dyscorde and al enmyte. and reson to be lost as yt Appereth yn hys second booke of *Eneydos* / and therfor Tybulle seyth;" BM f.117r, "Eneydes in his secunde booke sath that trouble is an horribil thyng and to hem that first founde werre for be werre;" C f.13r-13v, "For as sayth cathon Ire engendereth dyscorde and al enemyte and causeth reson to perysshe. in the second boke of eneydos. Therefore sayth thibulle that they were moche horryble that first fonde warres / many ben dede evylly."

880-881. *As <also> Virgyle seyth ... Eneydos.* I take it that our author is citing Verg., Aen., 2, where the carnage and chaos of the fall of Troy is described, as an example of the consequences of ire.

880. No gap in GH.

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

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

881. *Sibile*, Albius Tibullus.

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

Ochus autem, qui postea Darius appellatus est, sanctissimo Persis jurejurando obstrictus, ne quem ex conjuratione, quæ septem Magos cum eo oppresserat, aut veneno aut ferro aut ulla vi aut inopia alimentorum necaret, crudeliorem mortis

rationem excogitavit, qua hostes visos sibi non perrupto religionis vinculo tolleret. Sæptum enim altis parietibus locum cinere complevit, superpositoque tigno prominente, benigne cibo et potione exceptos in eo collocabat, e quo somno sopiti in illam insidiosam congeriem decidebant.

Ext. 9:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cf. Eph. 4, 25-26.

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

Noli in homine amare errorem, sed hominem: hominem enim Deus fecit, errorem ipse homo fecit. Ama illud quod Deus fecit, noli amare quod ipse homo fecit. Cum illud amas, illud

tollis: cum illud diligis, illud emendas. Sed etsi sævis aliquando, propter correctionis dilectionem.

This reference is omitted on C f.13v.

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

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

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

905-908. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... þem.* Aug., En. in Ps. 105, 32:

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

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

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

911-914. *And ... childre of Israel ... chapitre.* 4 Kings 10, 29-32.

914-917. *And ... Joas ... chapitre.* 2 Par. 24, 20-23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The text seems to have some difficulty with this part of
Valerius Maximus. If I am right in my identification, the
inventor, not a judge, did not make a vessel of brass, but a
brass bull. As well, people were roasted to death in it,

not starved to death. Furthermore, it was not Hannibal who made this genius try his own machine, but the tyrant Phalarides. See n. 884-890 and n. 929-935 for more material.

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

929-935. *And neverpeles ... salary*. Val. Max., Fact., 9, 1, Ext. 2:

Eorum dux Hannibal, cuius maiore ex parte uirtus saeuitia constabat, in flumine *Vergello* corporibus Romanis ponte facto exercitum transduxit, ut aequae terrestrium scelestum Karthaginensium copiarum ingressum terra quam maritimarum Neptunus experiretur. idem captiuos nostros oneribus et itinere fessos iam prima pedum parte succisa relinquebat. quos uero in castra perduxerat, paria fere fratrum et propinquorum iungens ferro decernere cogebat neque ante sanguine explebatur quam ad unum uictorem omnes redegisset. iusto ergo illum odio, uerum tamen tardo supplicio senatus Prusiae regis factum supplicem ad uoluntariam mortem compulit.

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

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

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

941. *yeve*, *if*. See OED, s.v. *yeve*.

941-945. *Rede we nat ... Judges*. Judges 11, 1-21.

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

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

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

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

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

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

chylidren of ysrael"

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

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

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

968. Gap in GH.

969-971. *And þerfor Caton ... "þerbi."* Cato, Dist., 2, 11: Adversum notum noli contendere verbis: his rebus minimis interdum maxima crescunt.

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

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

for many a man hath had moche harme for spekyng. but for holdyng her pees. fewe men haue had harme."

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

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

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

Juvenal's Fourth Book includes Satires 10-12.

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

976. *maistri*, mastery. See OED, s.v. *mastery*. The word has the sense of "the skill or knowledge which constitutes a master," the command of "a department of skill or

knowledge; an art or science."

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

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

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

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

990-991. *And Senek ... man.* Sen., De Ira, 34: "Cum
 pare contendere anceps est, cum superiore furiosum, cum in-
 feriore sordidum." Cf. Sen., Ep., 109, 11; 117, 1.

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

993-995. *Therfor þe wise man ... had.* Prov. 25, 8-10.

997-999. *We rede ... Exode.* Ex. 17, 8-13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1017-1019. *And to þis purpos Agelle ... lyve.* Gell., Noct. Att., 2, 1, 4: "Temperantia quoque fuisse eum tanta traditum, ut omnia fere vitae suae tempora valitudine inoffensa vixerit."

1017. *Agelle*. The Latin author and grammarian Aulus Gellius (123-165 A.D.). Curtius (p. 52) notes that "through a misreading of the name A. (=Aulus) Gellius, an Agellius was created."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Qui scientiam summum bonum fecit, aliquid homini proprium dedit: sed scientiam alterius rei gratia homines appetunt, non propter ipsam. Quis enim scire contentus est, non expetens aliquem fructum scientiæ? Artes ideo discuntur, ut exercentur: exercentur autem, vel ad subsidia vitæ, vel ad voluptatem, vel ad gloriam. Non est igitur summum bonum, quod non propter se expetitur. Quid ergo interest utrum scientiam summum bonum putemus, an illa ipsa, quæ scientia

ex se parit, id est, victum, gloriam, voluptatem? quæ non sunt homini propria, et ideo ne summa quidem bona. Nam voluptatis et victus appetentia non homini solum, sed etiam mutis inest. Quid cupiditas gloriæ? nonne in equis deprehenditur, cum victores exultant, victi dolent?

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

1023-1026. *And þerfor Senek ... letcherye.* Sen. Ep., 83, 20:

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

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

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

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

1027. *Seynt Jerome*. GH, "Seynt Johun;" H f.198r, "Seynt *Jerome*;" BM f.120v, "saynt Jherome;" C f.15v, "saynt Jerome."

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

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

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

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

1035-1039. *And ... Valeri ... for þe same cause*. Val Max., Fact., 2, 1, 5:

Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam uenerem esse consuevit. ceterum ut non tristis earum et horrida pudicitia, sed [et] honesto comitatis genere temperata esset, — indulgentibus namque maritis et auro abundantis et multa purpura usae sunt — quo formam suam concinniorefficerent, summa cum diligentia capillos cinere rutilarunt: nulli enim tunc

subsectorum alienorum matrimoniorum oculi metuebantur, sed pariter et uidere sancte et aspici mutuo pudore custodiebatur.

1039-1041. *And Agelle ... nocht.* Gell., Noct., Att., 2, 24, 1: "Parsimonia apud veteres Romanos et victus atque cenarum tenuitas non domestica solum observatione ac disciplina, sed publica quoque animadversione legumque complurium sanctionibus custodita est." The rest of the chapter is a discussion of those laws. Cf. Macr., Sat., 3, 17.

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

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

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

1051-1055. *And perfor Lucan ... hym.* Luc., Phar., 2, 380-385:

hi mores haec duri immota Catonis
secta fuit, seruare modum finemque tenere
naturamque sequi patriaeque impendere uitam,
nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
huic epulae uicisse famem; magnique penates
submouisse hiemem tecto.

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

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

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

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

1059. *Water*, Walter of Châtillon (ca. 1135-1189).

1061-1064. *And Ovide ... dedis.* Ov., Rem. Am.,

803-810:

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

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

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

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

1067-1069. *For with þis ... Genesis*. Gen. 3, 6.

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

1073-1076. *Moreover gloteny ... Genesis*. Gen. 19, 30-38.

- 1077-1081. *And perof ... Genesis.* Gen. 9, 20-23.
- 1081-1084. *Alas, be gloteny ... Exode.* Ex. 16, 20-28.
- 1084-1086. *And be gloteny ... Genesis.* Gen. 25,
29-34.
- 1086-1089. *Moreover rede we ... chapitre.* 1 Kings
14, 27.
- 1090-1093. *And indede ... Juges.* Judges 16, 25-30.
- 1093-1095. *The same ... Job.* Job 1, 13-19.
- 1095-1097. *Hou was ... Judith.* Judith 13, 2-10.
- 1097-1100. *Hou was Symon ... chapitre.* 1 Mac. 16,
15-16.
- 1100-1102. *And Naman ... Hester.* Esther 7, 1-10.
Aman was not crucified, he was hanged.
1107. Gap in GH.
- 1109-1112. *And ... Diogenes ... praised.* Val. Max.
mentions Diogenes only in connection with the story of

Alexander's casting a shadow on him (Val. Max., Fact., 4,3, Ext. 4):

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

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

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

1113-1115. *And as Bernard Savage ... "wastibe it."*
Bern. Silv., De mundi uni., 2, 13, 110-117:

Caput tamquam arcem, tamquam totius corporis capitolium tollit et erigit in excelso. regionem capitis eam, cum decuit, supra attolleret, ubi sinceræ rationis divinitas habitaret. Optimam corporis et deputatam intelligentiæ portionem ab esculentis membris grossioribus longissime relegavit, ne ab ea quæ cibo alimentisque nascitur sensus illuvie tardarentur.

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

1121-1123. *We rede ... Exode*. Ex. 34, 28.

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

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

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

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

1135. *as, GH "and."*

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

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

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

1141. *longegostis and sautereves.* A firm solution to the meaning of this will have to await an edition of the French MSS. Matthew tells us the saint ate "locusts and wild honey." My guess is that the French was subjected to

doubling and the original contained the medieval equivalent of *sauterelle*, f., a locust, and *langouste*, f., a spiny lobster or crayfish, a beast which has the appearance of a sea-going locust. H f.199v, "wylde hony and anothis certyn herbe;" BM f.123r, "ete monussheromis and wilde hony;" C f. 17r, "ete only hony sokles."

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

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

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

1162-1163. *And therfor Thobye ... fastyng.* Tob. 12, 8.

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

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

1166. *Achat*, Achab. BM f.123v, "Agab;" C f.17v, "agab;" H f.200r, "Achat."

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

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

1171-1173. *And Aristotyl ... "hymself."* Ar., De. Part. Anim., 2, 5:

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

1173-1175. *For gret gres ... Constantyne wytnessip*. This has not been traced.

1181. Gap in GH.

1182-1184. *And þerfor Dedimus ... clenness*. RG, 172, 12-14: "Libidini membra debilitanda non tradimus. Nocte

non utimus ad tegenda flagitia."

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

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

1188. *Seynt Jerome.* "Seynt Johun;" BM f.124r, "Sant Jerome;" C f.17v, "saynt Jerome;" H f.200r, "*Saynt Jerome.*"

1190. *Achadeyn, Academe.*

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

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

1197. *pe Pitagoriens.* A sect of Greek philosophers named after Pythagoras. Pythagoras was born at Samos but emigrated to Croton in Magna Graecia around 531 B.C. There he established a religious society whose aim was to liberate

the soul from the corruption of the body by study and the practice of asceticism. A conspiracy of his enemies forced Pythagoras to withdraw to Metapontum, where he died. Since Pythagoras wrote nothing, though various works were attributed to him, his central beliefs are gleaned from the casual references of later writers.

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

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

1205-1206. *And Josephes ... synne.* Gen. 39, 6-9.

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

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

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

1210-1213. *And hoo ... Daniel.* Dan. 13, 7-8.

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

est. aliis tradidit in parentum sanguinem luxuria ferrum — luxuria videntium crimen —, aliis meretriculae amor inmodica poscentis, amor cui renuntiant oculi." Cf. Quint., Decl., 15, 11.

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

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

1220-1223. *And ... Valeri ... a fayre child called Spuryyn ... synne.* Val. Max., Fact., 4, 5, Ext. 1:

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

1220. *Spuryyn.* H f.200v, "Spironim;" BM f.125r, "Spirim;" C f.18r, "spureyn." Kempf spells it "Spurinna" in his edition, and lists only one variation, "Spurimna."

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

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

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

Quartum et vicesimum annum agens Scipio, cum in Hispania Carthagine oppressa majoris Carthaginis capiendae sumpsisset auspicia multosque obsides, quos in ea urbe Pœni clausos habuerant, in suam potestatem redegit, eximia inter eos formae virginem ætatis adultæ et juvenis et cælebs et victor, postquam comperit illustri loco inter Celtiberos natam nobilissimoque gentis ejus Indibili desponsam, arcessitis parentibus et sponso inviolatam tradidit; aurum quoque, quod pro redemptione puellae allatum erat, summæ dotis adjecit. Qua continentia ac munificentia Indibilis obligatus, Celtiberorum animos Romanis applicando meritis ejus debitam gratiam rettulit.

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

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

1260-1267. *The which ... þe women of Ceteynques ... hyng hemsself.* Val. Max., Fact., 6, 1, Ext. 3:

Teutonorum vero conjuges Marium victorem orarunt ut ab eo virginibus Vestalibus dono mitterentur, affirmantes æque se atque illas virilis concubitus expertes futuras; eaque re non impetrata laqueis sibi nocte proxima spiritum eripuerunt. Dii melius, quod hunc animum viris earum in acie non dederunt. Nam, si mulierum suarum virtutem imitari voluissent, incerta Teutonicæ victoriæ tropæa reddidissent.

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

1271. Gap in GH.

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

Quid autem de corporis uoluptatibus loquar, quarum appetentia quidem plena est anxietatis, satietas uero poenitentiae? Quantos illae morbos, quam intolerabiles dolores quasi quendam fructum nequitiae fruendum solent referre corporibus! Quarum motus quid habeat iucunditatis, ignoro. Tristes uero esse uoluptatum exitus, quisquis reminisci libidinum suarum uolet, intellet. Quae si beatos explicare possunt, nihil causae est quin pecudes quoque beatæ esse dicantur quarum omnis ad explendam corporalem lacunam festinat intentio. Honestissima quidem coniugis foret liberorumque iucunditas, sed nimis e natura dictum est nescio quem filios inuenisse tortorem; quorum quam sit mordax quaecumque condicio, neque alias expertum te neque nunc anxium necesse est admonere. In quo Euripidis mei sententiam probo, qui carentem liberis infortunio dixit esse felicem.

1274-1276. *For lecheri ... Valery ... Book*. Val. Max., Fact., 9, 1, Prol. and 9, 2, Prol. 9, 1, Prol.:

Blandum etiam malum luxuria, quam accusare aliquanto facilius est quam vitare, operi nostro inseratur, non quidem ut ullum honorem recipiat, sed ut se ipsam recognoscens ad

pænitentiam impelli possit. Jungatur illi libido, quoniam ex iisdem vitiorum principiis oritur; neque aut a reprehensione aut ab emendatione separentur, gemino mentis errore conexas.

9, 2, Pro1.:

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

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

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

1277. *Saphodes*. C f.19r, "Sophonydes;" H f.201v, "sophodes;" F f.25v, "sophodes."

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

1285-1288. *Rede ... Juges*. Judges 20, 34-46.

1286. *forty thousand and fifty*. GH, xl N; H f.201v,

".xl. thou3ande;" C f.19r; "lx.M.;" Judges 20, 35, "and they slew of them in that day five and twenty thousand, and one hundred, all fighting men and that drew the sword."

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

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

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

1294-1295. *Quat ... flood ... letchery.* Gen. 6, 5.

1295-1297. *What ... Sodom and Gomorre ... Genesis.* Gen. 19, 12-13.

1297-1298. *Who ... Mastres.* Gen. 39, 7-20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This idea and these instances illustrative of it are common-places in poetry, alike satirical, burlesque and moral, throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, and innumerable passages similar to those above might be quoted.

1302-1303. *wyse Salomon was deceyved.* 3 Kings 11, 4.

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

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

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

1304-1305. *þe philosopher Aristotel.* "Le Lai D'Aristote," *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Gaston Raynaud, Vol. 5 (1883; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), pp. 243-262. This is the story of Aristotle and Alexander's wife. The philosopher winds up with a saddle on his back, and the wife in the saddle.

1311-1313. *The which ... Fulgence ... worshepe.*
Fulg., *Mitolog.*, 2, 1:

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

Cf. Fulg., *De fide*, 34:

... ubi cum eo etiam fornicarii, idolis seruietes, adulteri, molles, masculorum concubitores, fures, avari, ebriosi, maledici, rapaces, et omnes qui opera carnis agunt [de

quibus beatus dicit Apostolus, *quia regnum Dei non consequentur* (Gal. v, 21)], si ante hujus vitæ terminum a viis suis malis conversi non fuerint, æternis ignibus exurentur. Omnis enim homo qui in hoc sæculo usque ad finem in iniquitatum delectatione et cordis obduratione permanserit, sicut hic eum noxia criminum delectatio tenuit, sic eum sine fine sempiterna cruciatio retinebit.

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

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

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

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

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

et nihil est quod non effreno captus amore
ausit nec capiunt inclusas pectora flammas.

1321-1324. *And versifuour ... nou3t.* This has not been traced.

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

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

Scripserunt Aristoteles et Plutarchus et noster Seneca de matrimonio libros, ex quibus et superiora nonnulla sunt, et ista quæ subjicimus: Amor formæ, rationis oblivio est, et insaniæ proximus; foedum minimeque conveniens animo sospiti vitium. Turbat consilia, altos et generosos spiritus frangit, a magnis cogitationibus ad humillimas detrahit; querulos, iracundos, temerarios, dure imperiosos, serviliter blandos, omnibus inutiles, ipsi novissime amori facit. Nam cum fruendi cupiditate insatiabilis flagrat, plura tempora suspicionibus, lacrymis, conquestionibus perdit: odium sui facit, et ipse novissime sibi odio est.

1324. *Seynt Jerome.* GH, "seynt Johun;" BM f.127v, "saynt Jerome;" C f.19v, "saynt Jherome;" H f.202r, "*Saynt Jerome.*"

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

1332-1335. *And therfor Senek ... "holly lost."* The subject of this letter is moral reflections on excess, but

primarily the excess is confined to food and drink; Sen., Ep., 24, 16: "Ipsae voluptates in tormenta vertentur, epulae cruditatem adferunt, ebrierunt nervorum torporum tremoremque, libidines pedum, manuum articulorum omnium, depravationes."

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

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

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

1345. Gap in GH.

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

1348-1351. *And doctours seyn ... Seynt Gregori ... dome.* Other doctors are closer to this sentiment (cf. S.

Joan Chrs., Hom. sup. Joān., 54: "Fera venenosa invidia est, fera immunda, et morbus voluntatis omni venia et excusatione indigna, omnium malorum et mater et auctor"), but the design of the chapter as a whole, particularly in terms of the exempla and the physical description of envy which Legrand attributes to Martial, seems to owe something to Greg., *Moralia*, 5, 46:

Et parvulum occidit invidia

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

85. *In invidia serpens antiquus totum virus suum concutit ac vomit. Invidi descriptio.* Sed inter hæc sciendum est quia quamvis per omne vitium quod perpetratur, humano cordi antiqui hostis virus infunditur, in hac tamen nequitia, tota sua viscera serpens concutit, et imprimendæ malitiæ pestem vomit. De quo nimirum scriptum est: *Invidia diaboli mors intravit in orbem terrarum.* Nam cum devictum cor livoris putredo corruperit, ipsa quoque exteriora indicant, quam graviter animum vesania instigat. Color quippe pallore afficitur, oculi deprimuntur, mens accenditur, et membra frigescent, fit in cogitatione rabies, in dentibus stridor: cumque in latebris cordis crescens absconditur odium, dolore cæco terebrat conscientiam vulnes inclusum. Nil lætum de propriis libet, quia tabescentem mentem sua poena sauciat, quam felicitas torquet aliena; quantoque extranei operis in

altum fabrica ducitur, tanto fundamentum mentis lividæ profundius suffoditur; ut quo alii ad meliora properant, eo ipse deterius ruat; qua ruina videlicet etiam illud destruitur, quod in aliis actibus perfecto opere surrexisse putabatur. Nam invidia cum mentem tabefecerit, cuncta quæ invenerit bene gesta consumit. Unde bene per Salomonem dicitur: *Vita carniū, sanitas cordis; putredo ossium invidia*. Quid enim per carnes, nisi infirma quædam ac tenera; et quid per ossa, nisi fortia acta signantur? Et plerumque contingit ut quidam cum vera cordis innocentia in nonnullis suis actibus infirmi videantur; quidam vero jam quædam ante humanos oculos robusta exerceant, sed tamen erga aliorum bona, intus invidiæ pestilentia tabescant. Bene ergo dicitur: *Vita carniū, sanitas cordis*, quia si mentis innocentia custoditur, etiam si qua foris infirma sunt, quandoque roborantur. Et recte subditur: *Putredo ossium invidia*, quia per livoris vitium, ante Dei oculos pereunt etiam fortia acta virtutum. Ossa quippe per invidiam putrescere, est quædam etiam robusta deperire.

86. *Invidiæ imminutio et mors, inchoatus aut perfectus amor æternitatis*. Sed cur hæc de invidia dicimus, si non etiam qualiter eruatur intimemus? Difficile namque est ut hoc alteri non invidet, quod adipisci alter exoptat; quia quidquid temporale percipitur, tanto fit minus singulis, quanto dividitur in multis; et idcirco desiderantis mentem livor excruciat, quia hoc quod appetit, aut funditus alter accipiens adimit, aut a quantitate restringit. Qui ergo livoris peste plene carere desiderat, illam hæreditatem diligat, quam cohæredum numerus non angustat; quæ et omnibus una est, et singulis tota; quæ tanto largior ostenditur, quanto ad hanc percipientium multitudo dilatatur. Imminutio ergo livoris est affectus surgens internæ dulcedinis et plena mors est ejus, perfectus amor æternitatis. Nam cum mens ab ejus rei appetitu retrahitur, quæ accipientium numero partitur, tanto magis proximum diligit, quanto minus ex propectu illius sua damna pertimescit. Quæ si perfecte in amore cœlestis patriæ rapitur, plene etiam in proximi dilectione sine omni invidia solidatur; quia cum nulla terrena desiderat, nihil est quod ejus erga proximum charitati contradicat. Quæ nimirum charitas quid est aliud quam oculus mentis; qui si terreni amoris pulvere tangitur, ab internæ lucis mox intuitu læsus reverberatur? Quia autem parvulus est qui terrena diligit, magnus qui æterna concupiscit, potest etiam sic non inconvenienter intelligi: *Parvulum occidit invidia*, quoniam hujus pestis languore non moritur, nisi qui adhuc in desideriis infirmatur.

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

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

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

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

1384-1385. *Þrou þe ... Genesis.* Gen. 4, 3-8.

1385-1388. *Be þe ... aforeseyd.* Gen. 37, 1-28.

1388-1391. *Be envy Saul ... chapitre.* 1 Kings 18, 7-30.

1391-1392. *How made ... Danyel.* Dan. 6, 4.

1393-1396. *How made ... chapitre.* Luke 20, 1-7.

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

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

1400. *Jesi*, Chusai. BM f.129r, "cusye;" C, "chusi;" H f.203v, "Cusel."

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

1407-1410. *How made ... chapitre.* 1 Kings, 20, 27-33.

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

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

1420-1427. *And þerfor Marcial ... wel.* Possibly Mart., Epig., 8, 61:

Livet Charinus, rumpitur, furit, plorat
 et quaerit altos unde pendeat ramos:
 non iam quod orbe cantor et legor toto,
 nec umbilicis quod decorus et cedro
 spargor per omnes Roma quas tenet gentes,
 sed quod sub urbe rus habemus aestivum
 vehimurque mulis non ut ante conductis.
 quid inprecabor, o Severe, liventi?
 hoc opto: mulas habeat et suburbanum.

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

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

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

1429. *Achym*, Alcimus. C, "Alchiin;" H f.204r,
 "Alchyn."

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

1450-1455. *To þis purpos Valery ... oper*. Val.
 Max., Fact., 7, 3, 4:

Quod sequitur narrandum est. Q. Fabius Labeo, arbiter a
 senatu finium constituendorum inter Nolanos ac Neapolitanos
 datus, cum in rem praesentem uenisset, utrosque separatim
 monuit ut omnia cupiditate regredi modo controuersia quam
 progredi mallent. idque cum utraque pars auctoritate uiri
 mota fecisset, aliquantum in medio uacui agri relictum est.
 constitutis deinde finibus, ut ipsi terminauerant, quidquid
 reliqui soli fuit populo Romano adiudicauit. ceterum etsi
 circumuenti Nolani ac Neapolitani queri nihil potuerunt

secundum ipsorum demonstrationem dicta sententia, improbo tamen praestigiarum genere nouum ciuitati nostrae uectigal accessit. eundem ferunt, cum a rege Antiocho, quem bello superauerat, ex foedere icto dimidiam partem nauium accipere deberet, medias omnes secuisse, ut eum tota classe priuaret.

1460. No gap in GH.

1461. Gap in GH.

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

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

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

effluis amens,
contemnere: sonat vitium, percussa maligne
respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.
udum et molle lutum es, nunc nunc properandus et acri
fingendus sine fine rota.

1465. *Sauters*. BM f.130v, "Sautiers;" C, "satyres;" H f.204v, "satures;" F f.29v, "perse en se satures."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1492-1496. *And þerfor ... "world."* A reading of

Timothy does not reveal an exact reference, although there are similar exhortations: 1 Tim. 4, 14-16; 1 Tim. 5, 17-18; 1 Tim. 6, 12-19; 2 Tim 4, 5-8. Cf. Ecclesiasticus 32, 18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another possibility is Cato, Dist., 1, 2.

1510-1512. *Rede ... Thobye ... Book.* Tob. 2, 10-11.

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

1513-1518. *Sampson ... Kynges.* Judges 16, 19-31.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1532-1535. *For as ... receyvyd.* Matt. 25, 1-13.

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

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

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

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

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

it or in the notes at the front of the MS.

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

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

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

Deinde "Catalepton" et "Pripaea" et "Epigrammata" et "Diras," item "Cirim" et "Culicem," cum esset annorum XVI. Cuius materia talis est. Pastor fatigatus aestu cum sub arbore condormisset et serpens ad eum proreperet, e palude culex provolavit atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit pastori. At ille continuo culicem contrivit et serpentem interemit ac sepulchrum culici statuit et distichon fecit:

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

1584-1586. *Liberalite ... þerof.* Matt. 5, 15; Luke 11, 33.

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

1587-1589. *þe which Alisaundyr ... strenght.* Quintus Curtius, Hist. of Alex., 10, 5, 28: "...liberalitas saepe maiora tribuens quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos,

tot regna aut reddita quibus ademerat bello aut dono data."

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

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

1599. No gaps in GH.

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

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

Cato, Dist., 3, 9:

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

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

Sed in collocando beneficio et in referenda gratia, si cetera paria sunt, hoc maxime officii est, ut quisque maxime opis indigeat, ita ei potissimum opitulari; quod contra fit a plerisque; a quo enim plurimum sperant, etiamsi ille iis non eget, tamen ei potissimum inserviunt.

1609-1611. *And ... Macrobe ... Saturnelles.* Macr. Sat., 2, 7, 11: "Beneficium dando accepit qui digno dedit."

1611-1613. *But ... Marcial witnessip.* Mart., Epig., 5, 81:

Semper pauper eris, si pauper es, Aemiliane.
dantur opes nullis nunc nisi divitibus.

See also: Mart., Epig., 11, 68; 12, 13 and 81.

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

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

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

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

1621-1633. *And hereof ... offeryng.* Luke 21, 1-4.

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

1622. *Seynt Jerome.* "seynt johun" in GH.

1625-1626. *King Cressus, which was ryte rych, or of þe Kynge of Lyde.* There is a curious doubling here: both these men are Croesus, the last king of Lydia, who reigned 560-546 B.C. Legend has it that Croesus was saved from the stake by Apollo because of his previous generosity to Delphi.

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

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

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

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

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

1649-1650. *Also ... Hester.* Esther 5, 3.

1651. *named, renowned.* See OED, s.v. *name*. BM f.133v, "that many were renowned; C f.24r, "how many were ryght renowned;" H f.207v, "dyvers folkes somtyme had gret renown."

1657. *septimum decimum.* GH, "xviii."

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

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

1671-1673. *Throu coveitise Judas ... himself.*
Judas betrays Christ: Matt. 26, 14-16; Mark 14, 10-11; Luke 22, 3-5. Judas hangs himself: Matt. 27, 5; Acts 1, 18.

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

1675. *she.* "he" in GH.

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

1679-1682. *O coveitise ... togeder.* Gen. 13, 1-12.

1681. No gap in GH.

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

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

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

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

1691-1692. *Who made Achor ... Josue.* Josue 7, 1-26.

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

1695-1699. *Why was Semey ... chapitre.* 3 Kings 2,
36-46.

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

1699-1702. *And whi ... chapitre*. Luke 16, 20-26.

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

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

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

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

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

1716-1718. *For as Saluste ... cruelnes*. Sall. Cat., 10, 3-4:

Igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit.

1720-1725. *And ... Senek ... hym.* Sen., Ep., 115,

16:

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

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

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

1728-1732. *And indede ... Septimulus ... remnaunt.*

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

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

1735. *anger.* BM f.135v, "opynyon;" C f.25r,

"oppynyon;" H f.209r, "oppynyoun."

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

1753-1757. *And suche poverté ... wil.* Matt. 5, 3; Luke 6, 20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1780-1785. *Be þes þingis ... chapitre.* Matt. 19,

21. GH, BM f.136v, C f.26r and H f.209v all attribute this to Matt. 17.

1786. *auncient.* GH, "amycient."

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

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

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

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

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

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

"wyssche the leekes that he schuld eete."

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

Refert Satirus, qui illustrium virorum scribit historias, quod Diogenes palliolo duplici usus sit propter frigus: peram pro cellario habuerit: secumque portarit clavam ob corpusculi fragilitatem qua jam senex membra sustentare solitus erat, et ἡμερόσολος vulgo appellatus sit, in præsenti-temhoram poscens a quolibet, et accipiens cibum. Habitavit (A7. habitabat) autem in portarum vestibulis et porticibus civitatum. Cumque se contorqueret in dolio, volubilem se habere domum jocabatur, et se cum temporibus immutantem. Frigore enim os dolii vertebat in meridiem; æstate ad septentrionem, et utcunque sol se inclinaverat, Diogenis simul prætorium vertebatur. Quodam vero tempore habens ad potandum caucum ligneum, vidit puerum manu concava bibere, et elisisse illud fertur ad terram, dicens: Nesciebam quod et natura haberet poculum. Virtutem ejus et continentiam mors quoque indicat.

1800-1801. *Seynt Jerome. "Seynt Johun"* in GH. BM. f.136v, C f.26r and H f.210r all agree it is St. Jerome.

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

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

1814-1815. *And ... Espicure ... poverté.* See n.

875 for problems with Epicurus. We could be looking at E, LM (Geer), pp. 56-57:

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

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

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

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

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

1820. No gap in GH.

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

1825-1830. *Is nat Anthiocus ... justice.* Val. Max., Fact., 9, 1, Ext. 4:

Antiochus quoque Syriae rex nihilo continentioris exempli. cuius caecam et amentem luxuriam exercitus imitatus magna ex parte aureos clauos crepidis subiectos habuit argenteaque uasa ad usum culinae comparauit et tabernacula textilibus

sigillis adornata statuit, auaro potius hosti praeda optabilis quam ulla ad uincendum strenuo mora.

1828-1829. *he made his hors to be arayed with golde.*
 In some versions his extravagance is coupled with idolatry:
 BM f.137v, "he worshipped his horses of golde and shodde hem with nales of golde;" H f.210v, [he] "made worschyppe the horse of golde and the same horse he made to be nayled with golden nayles." C f.26v agrees with GH.

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

1832-1834. *Where is Pompey become? And Netos wyfe, þe which ... golde.* The scribe in GH has made a false division. The two people here are in reality Poppaea Sabina, mistress and later wife of Nero. She was married first to Rufus Crispinus, and secondly to M. Salvius Otho, one of the companions of Nero. After Otho had been sent to govern Lusitania, she gained control over Nero and had him first murder his mother, and then divorce and put to death Octavia, his then wife. In 65 A.D., while pregnant, she died from a kick given her by Nero. BM f.137v, "What is also

become of Pompeya the wife of Nero the whiche made the hors
 that droughe in his chare shodde with yren naye but with
 golde forto drawe his chare fulle of golde charged in his
 fight;" C f.26v, "What is become of the pompe of the wyf of
 Neron whyche made hyr horses semblably to be shoed wyth gold
 / and made chariottes to be ledde tofore [f.27r] hyr ful gold
 and sylvery;" H f.210v, "What ys befallle also of Ponpeys that
 was wyfe to Neroo whych yn lyke wyse made mares of golde and
 charesful of golde and syluer to be schewed be for her."

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

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

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

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

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

1841. *trostep to þe tre whereupon he restith*. C
 f.27r, "trusteth to the tree to whiche he leneth;" H f.210v,
 "trusteth yn þe tree that he leneth unto."

1846-1849. *For as Julius Cesur ... overthrowe.*

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

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

1849-1853. *And Hildebert ... "wepe."* Hild., *Carmina Misc.*, 75 ("Hildeberti de exsilio suo liber"), 10-49 (PL, 171, 1419):

Agger opum, tranquilla quies, numerosus amicus
 Delicias, somnos, consiliumque dabant.
 Cætera quid referam mæstos solantia vultus,
 Omnia captatæ prosperitatis erant.
 Jurares superos intra mea vota teneri,
 Et res occasum dedidicisse pati.
 Mirabar sic te, te sic, fortuna, fidelem;
 Mirabar stabilem, quæ levis esse soles.
 Sæpe mihi dixi: Quorsum tam prospera rerum?
 Quid sibi vult tantus, tam citus agger opum?
 Si mihi nulla fides, nulla est constantia rebus.
 Res ipsæ quid sint mobilitate docent.
 Res hominum atque homines levis alea versat in horas,
 Et venit a summo summa ruina gradu.
 Cuncta sub ancipiti pendent mortalia casu,
 Et spondent propria mobilitate fugam.
 Quidquid habes hodie, cras te fortasse relinquet,
 Aut modo, dum loqueris, desinit esse tuum.
 Has ludit fortuna vices, regesque superbos,
 Aut servos humiles non sinit esse diu.
 Illa dolosa comes, sola levitate fidelis,
 Non impune favet, aut sine fine premit.
 Illa mihi quondam risu blandita sereno
 Mutavit vultus, nubila facta, suos.
 Et velut æternam misero conata ruinam,
 Spem quoque lætitiæ detrahit illa mihi.
 Illa professa dolum, submersit, diruit, ussit

Culta, domos, vites, imbris, igne, gelu.
 Insuper exhaustit, excussit [discussit], debilitavit
 Hoste, noto, morbis, horrea, poma, gregem.
 Accessit damnis novus ille gravisque tyrannus
 Quo Cenomanorum consule jus periit.
 Cujus avos pudit scelerum genuisse patronum,
 Fortunæque parem mobilitate, dolis.
 Ille pudor patriæ me non impune tuentem
 Justitiæ leges, expulit a patria.
 Inde ratem scando, vitam committo procellis,
 Uda [f. vela] tument, gemina cymba juvatur ope.
 Portus erat longe, cum ventus fortior æstum
 Movit, et in tumulos Auster aravit aquas.

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

denique securus fama, liber, ire memento,
 nec tibi sit lecto displicuisse pudor.
 non ita se nobis præbet Fortuna secundam,
 ut tibi sit ratio laudis habenda tuæ.
 donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore,
 quaerendique mihi moninis ardor erat.
 carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod obfuit, odi,
 sit satis; ingenio sic fuga parta meo.

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

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

1862-1864. *And ... Boyece ... mysfortune.* Boeth.,
Consol., 2, pr. 4: "Nam in omni aduersitate fortunæ, in-
felicissimum est genus, infortunii fuisse felicem."

1864-1867. *As Altibrados did ... Book.* Val. Max.,
Fact., 6, 9, Ext. 4:

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

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

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

Dionysius autem, cum hereditatis nomine a patre Syracusanorum ac paene totius Siciliae tyrannidem accepisset, maximum opum dominus, exercituum dux, rector classium, equituum potens, propter inopiam litteras puerulos Corinthi docuit eodemque tempore tanta mutatione maiores natu ne quis nimis fortunae crederet magister ludi factus ex tyranno monuit.

1878-1883. *And ... Anaxagoras ... man.* Val. Max.,
Fact., 8, 7, Ext. 6:

Quali porro studio Anaxagoran flagrasse credimus? qui cum e diutina peregrinatione patriam repetisset possessionesque desertas uidisset, 'non essem' inquit 'ego saluus, nisi istae perissent'. uocem petita sapientiae compotem! nam si praediorum potius quam ingenii culturae uacasset, dominus rei familiaris intra penates mansisset, non tantus Anaxagoras ad eos redisset.

1879. BM f.138v, "possessions;" C f.27v, "possessionons."

1884-1886. *Also ... lost for þem.* Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 1:

Socrates, humanæ sapientiæ quasi quoddam terrestre oraculum, nihil ultra petendum a diis immortalibus arbitratur quam ut bona tribuerent, quia ii demum scirent quid unicuique esset utile; nos autem plerumque id votis expetere, quod non impetrasse melius foret. Etenim densissimis tenebris involuta, mortalium mens, in quam late patentibus erroribus cæcas preces tuas spargis! Divitias appetis, quæ multis exitio fuerunt; honores concupiscis, qui complures pessum dederunt; regna tecum ipsa volvis, quorum exitus sæpenumero miserabiles cernuntur; splendidis conjugibus injicis manus; at hæc ut aliquando illustrent, ita nonnunquam funditus domos evertunt. Desine igitur, stulta, futuris malorum tuorum causis quasi felicissimis rebus inhiare teque totam cælestium arbitrio permittite, quia qui tribuere bona ex facili, etiam eligere aptissime possunt.

1884. *Socrates.* GH, "Oraces;" C f.27v, "socrates;" H f.211v, "Orace."

1886-1892. *Also ... Stilbon ... not his.* Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 3:

Bias autem, cum patriam ejus Prienum hostes invasissent, omnibus, quos modo sævitia belli incolumes abire passa fuerat, pretiosarum rerum pondere onustis fugientibus, interrogatus, quid ita nihil ex bonis suis secum ferret: "Ego vero," inquit, "bona omnia mea mecum porto." Pectore enim illa gestabat, non humeris; nec oculis visenda, sed æstimanda animo; quæ domicilio mentis inclusa nec mortalium nec deorum manibus labefactari queunt, et, ut manentibus præsto sunt, ita fugientes non deserunt.

1887. *Stilbon.* BM f.138v, "Saloun;" C f.27v, "styllon;" H f.211v, "styllon;" F f.36v, "Stilbon." Both Solon (mentioned in Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 2 [see n. 804-807]) and Bias were members of the Seven Sages. Perhaps

Stilbon is a mixture of the two.

1892-1894. *Wherbi ... Empedocles witnessip.* See DL, 2, 8, 63-64, 377-379, where Xanthes relates in his account of him that he declined the kingship when it was offered to him, obviously because he preferred a frugal life.

1894-1898. *And Prosper ... desire.* Prosper., Lib. Sent. ex S. Aug., 136 (PL, 51, 415):

De pravīs cupiditatibus

Omnes pravæ cupiditates sunt portæ inferi, per quas itur in mortem, cujus dominatum subit, qui adeptum se ad perfruentum lætatur, quod perdit concupivit.

1898-1907. *And ... Ovide ... dep.* Ov., Met., 2, 13, 429-575. Because the story is long and the version we have here is confused, I will give a summary here. Polydorus is the son of Priam and Hecuba. He is sent to the court of Polymester, with a large treasure to pay his expenses, at the beginning of the Trojan War. Polymester was a king of Thrace as well as the husband of Ilione, the daughter of Priam. Polymester murders Polydorus to obtain the treasure, and throws his body on the seashore. Hecuba discovers the body, and then deceives Polymester using the strategem outlined here. She does not strangle Polymester, but rather performs a frontal lobotomy through the eyes without the benefit of surgical instruments.

1899. *Priantes*. BM f.139r, "Priamus;" C f.27v, "priamus;" H f.211v, "pryamus."

1902. *conplysshmentes*. BM f.139r, "consentours;" C f.27v, "complyces;" H f.211v, "such as wer of her counseyl;" F f.36v, "complices."

1910-1912. *Here ... and of clerkes*. F f.37r, "Cy commence la seconde qui parle de tous estas."

1918-1928. *And ... Constantyn ... cros*. Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 1, 5 (PL, 69, 888-889):

Cumque jam opus non esset interprete, sed aperte imperatori monstratum fuisset quid de Deo credere conveniret, mox die facta sacerdotes Christi convocans, de dogmate consulabat. At illi sacros libros offerentes, de Christo loquebantur, suaque dicta ex propheticis comprobabant. Signum vero quod apparuerat ei, dicebant tropæum esse victoriæ adversus infernum, quam victoriam ascendens in cœlos egit Christus, crucifixus et mortuus, et tertia die resurgens, secundum quod sperandum esse dixerunt: quia post hujus vitæ terminum circa finem sæculi præsentis, omnes homines resurgant, et immortales existant: alii quidem ad præmia rerum, quibus bene vixerunt; alii ad supplicia, eo quod ab eis mala sint gesta. Esse tamen etiam in delictis quæ committuntur hic occasionem salutis purificationemque peccati: nondum initiatis quidem baptismatis adeptionem secundum ecclesiasticam legem, initiatis autem custodiam, ne delinquant. Sed quia hoc agere omnino paucorum sanctorumque virorum est, docebant quoque purificationem secundam ex pœnitentia constitutam; clementem enim esse Deum, et veniam tribuere delinquentibus, si pœnitentiam agentes studeant eam operibus roborare. Hæc sacerdotibus explanantibus, admiratus imperator prophetias de Christo ita promissas, jussit viros eruditos ex auro et lapidibus pretiosis in vexillum crucis transformare siguum quod Labarum vocabatur. Hoc enim siguum bellicum inter alia pretiosius erat, eo quod imperatorem præcedere, et adorari id a militibus moris esset. Unde præcipue Constantinum reor nobilissimum decus imperii Romani in siguum mutasse crucis;

ut frequenti visione atque cura desuescerent a priori more subjecti; et eum solum arbitrarentur Deum quem eoleret imperator, vel quo duce atque auxiliatore uteretur adversus hostes. Semper enim hoc signum proponebatur ante ordines universos, quod maxime laborantibus aciebus in præliis adesse præcipiebat. Constituit itaque certos, signiferos, qui in eo laborarent; quorum opus erat ut vicibus humeris veherent illud, et omnes acies ita lustrarent. Fertur enim quidam, eo quod aliquando ferens hoc signum, repente hostibus invadentibus expavisset, dedissetque illud alteri devehendum; eumque se de prælio subtraxisset et jacula declinasset, subito percussus interiit; ille vero qui sacrum suscepit tropæum, multis se jaculantibus permansit illæsus. Mirabiliter eniur divina regente virtute, sagittæ hestium ligeantur in signo; a signifero autem inter pericula protinus evolabant. Dicitur autem neque alium unquam hujus signi ministrum, ut solet, in bello vulnere mortuum, aut cladem captivitatis pelipessum.

1928-1948. Also ... *Theodosius* ... *victories*. Casiod., *Hist. Tripart.*, 9, 30 (PL 69, 1144-1146):

Non est itaque facile hominibus universas vitare hostis insidias. Nam dum quispiam libidinis effugerit passionem, incurrit in avaritiam. Qua declinata, invidiæ fovea præparatur. Hanc si transcenderit, vitium furoris incurrit; et alios plurimos ponit laqueos inimicus, quibus capere possit incautos. Et corporis quidem passiones habet facile ministrantes, ut animam possit occidere. Sed mens divino solatio vigilans machinationum ejus destruit argumenta. Humanam namque naturam participatus Theodosius imperator, habuit passionum quoque communionem, justoque furori immensam permiscens crudelitatem, injustam operatus est passionem. Quam rem narrare necessarium est et pro utilitate legentium, et pro memorabili virtutum opinione. Thessalonica civitas est grandis et populosa, in qua dum fuisset orta seditio, quidam judicum lapidati sunt atque trucidati. Hinc indignatus Theodosius, iracundiæ non refrenavit infirmitatem; sed jussit injustos gladios super omnes evaginari, et una cum nocentibus innocentes interimere. Septem millia etenim hominum, sicut fertur, occisa sunt, non præcedente judicio; sed tanquam in messibus omnes simul cæsi sunt. Hujusmodi cladem, plenam valde gemitibus, audiens Ambrosius, cum princeps Mediolanum venisset, et solemniter in sacrum voluisset intrare templum, occurrit feris ad januas, et ingredientem his sermonibus a sacri liminis incesso prohibuit. Nescis, inquit, imperator, perpetratæ a te necis quanta sit magnitudo, neque post causam tanti furoris mens tua molem præsumptionis agnoscit;

sed forte recognitionem peccati prohibet potestas imperii. Decet tamen ut vincat ratio potestatem. Scienda quippe natura est, ejusque mortalitas, atque resolutio, et pulvis progenitorum ex quo facti et ad quem redigendi sumus, et non flore purpureo confidentem infirmitates operati corporis ignorare. Coæqualium hominum princeps es, o imperator, et conservorum. Unus enim est omnium Dominus, rex omnium et creator. Quibus igitur oculis aspicias communis Domini templum? Quibus palpabis pedibus sanctum illius pavementum? Quomodo manus extendes, de quibus adhuc sanguis stillat injustus? Quomodo hujusmodi manibus suscipies sanctum Domini corpus? Qua præsumptione ore tuo poculum sanguinis pretiosi percipies, dum furore verborum tuorum tantus injuste sit sanguis effusus? Recede igitur, recede, ne secundo peccato priorem nequitiam augere contendas. Suscipe vinculum quo te omnium Dominus nunc ligavit; est enim medicina maxima sanitatis. His sermonibus imperator obediens (erat enim divinis eruditionibus enutritus, et aperte sciens quæ sunt propria sacerdotum, quæ regum), gemens et deflens ad regalia remeavit. Cumque octo mensium continuum transisset tempus, propinquavit Nativitatis Salvatoris nostri festivitas. Imperator autem lamentationibus assiduis in palatio, residens, continuas lacrymas incessabiliter expendebat. Ingressus autem Rufinus tunc magister, et singularem apud principem fiduciam habens, et videns principem in lamentationibus prostratum, accessit ut lacrymarum causas inquireret. At ille amarissime ingemiscens, et vehementius lacrymas fundens: Tu, inquit, Rufine, ludis, et mea mala non sentis. Ego autem lamentor et gemo calamitatem meam: quia servis quidem et mendicantibus aperta sunt templa Dei, et proprium Dominum ingredienti licenter exorant, mihi vero ingressus ad eum non est. Insuper etiam cœli sunt mihi clausi. Hæc dicens, verba singula singultibus interrumpibat. Tunc Rufinus: Curro, inquit, si tibi placet, pontificique precibus persuadeo ut solvatur vinculum quod ligavit. Ait imperator: Non suadebis Ambrosio. Novi ego decretum illius esse judiam. neque reverebitur imperialem potentiam, ut legem possit prævaricari divinam. Cumque Rufinus verbis plurimis uteretur, et promitteret Ambrosium esse flectendum, imperator eum pergere cum festinatione præcepit. Ipse vero spe data post paululum est secutus, credens Rufini promissionibus. Porro vir mirandus Ambrosius mox ut vidit Rufinum, ait: Impudentiam canum imitatus es, o Rufine, tantæ videlicet necis auctor existens, pudorem ex fronte detergens, nec erubescis, nec metuis contra imaginem latrare divinam. Cumque Rufinus supplicaret, et imperatorem diceret esse venturum, superno zelo accensus Ambrosius ait: Ego vero, inquit, Rufine, prædico, quoniam eum ingredi sacra limina prohibebo; si vero imperium in tyrannidem mutaverit, necem libenter et ego suscipiam. Hæc et alia plurima Rufinus audiens, nuntiavit imperatori votum antistitis, monens ne de palatio forte

procederet. At imperator hæc in media jam platea cognoscens: Pergo, inquit, et justas in facie suscipio contumelias. Cumque ad sacra limina pervenisset, in sanctam quidem basilicam non præsumpsit intrare; sed veniens ad anlistitem, et inveniens eum in saluatorio residentem, supplicabat ut ejus vincula resolveret. At ille tyrannicam dicebat ejus vincula resolveret. At ille tyrannicam dicebat ejus esse præsentiam, et contra Deum vesanire Theodosium, ejusque calcare leges. Verum imperator: Non, inquit, insurgo adversus ecclesiasticas sanctiones, nec inique ingredi limina sacra contendo; sed te solvere mea vincula depono, et communis Domini pro me exorare clementiam, nec mihi januam claudi, quam cunctis pœnitentiam agentibus Dominus noster aperuit. Tunc antistes: Quam, inquit, pœnitentiam ostendisti post tantas iniquitates? Quibus medicaminibus incurabilia vulnera plagasque curasti? At imperator: Tuum, inquit, opus est et docere, et medicamina temperare; meum vero oblata suscipere. Tunc sanctus Ambrosius: Quoniam furori, inquit, tuum judicium commisisti, et non ratio protulit sententiam, sed potius iracundia: scribe legem quæ decreta furoris evacuet, ut triginta diebus sententia necis atque proscriptionis in litteris tantummodo maneat, et judicium rationis exspectet; quibus transactis diebus, ira videlicet jam cessante, ratio causam judicans, apud semetipsam quæ cognoverit sub veritate disponat. In his enim diebus agnoscetur an justa sit quam protuleris, an injusta sententia. Et siquidem ratio probaverit injusta quæ sunt prolata, disrumpet; si vero justa, firmabit. Dierum vero numerus ad hæc examinanda sufficiet. Hanc admonitionem imperator animo lubenti suscipiens, et optimam esse confitens, legem conscribi repente præcepit, et propriæ manus litteris confirmavit. Quo facto, vinculum ejus solvit Ambrosius. Quæ lex hactenus observatur. Est enim hujusmodi.

Cf. LA, 57, 8, 256-258 (GL, 32-33).

1943. *Rofyn*. BM f.140r, "Pussin;" C f.28v, "Ruf-fyn;" H f.212r, "Russyn;" Cassiod., "Rufinus."

1949-1953. *And ... Valery ... Julius Cesar ... victory of hym*. This has not been traced; see following note.

1953-1956. *But after he ... chapitre*. Joan.,

Sares., Polycrat., 6, 17 (PL, 199, 612-613):

Verum quod a nostris nunc quaerimus, jampridem præteriit, et eo usque majorum nostrorum virtus manavit ad alios, ut plenitudo divitis venæ a fonte videatur in rivulos deficisse. Neque enim a Romanis, et Græcis tantum nobis sunt exempla virtutis, nam et domesticis abundam us. Tradunt historiæ Brennum ducem Senonum, qui exercitum Romanorum apud flumen Alliam confecit, ipsamque urbem Romam irrupit et cepit, et cæsis patribus, et subacta Italia invasit Græciam, vastans omnia, universisque terribilis, usque ad Delphici Apollinis templum, quod situm est in monte Parnasso, processit, ipsiusque Apollinis appetens spolia, scurriliter jocatus ait: Locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere, hunc, inquam, tradunt de majori Britannia, quæ ab adventu Saxonum in insulam, appellatur Anglia oriundum. Apud Trogum Pompeium in vice simo reperitur, quod Senones Galli, commilitones Brenni, cum in Italiam venissent, Tuscos a suis sedibus expulerunt, in ea condiderunt urbes egregias, Mediolanum, Cornum, Brixiam, Veronam, Bergamum. Tridentum atque Vincentiam. Nam quod urbem Senensium senibus suis, et valetudinariis, armentariisque construxerint, non modo fides historiæ, sed celebris traditio est, ex eo quidem validior, quod Senenses et lineamentis membrorum, venustate faciei, et coloris gratia, moribus quoque ipsis ad Gallos et Britones, a quibus originem contraxerunt, videntur accedere, licet eos vetustas temporis orbis plaga, situs regionis, convictus finitimorum, quibus sanguine et moribus diu permisti sunt, ex magna parte mutaverit. Nondum tamen colorem Gallicum, candorem scilicet, hæc omnia ad vicinorum similitudinem exterminasse sufficiunt Græci namque lac γάλα dicunt, unde et γαλαζύας lactens appellatur, et Galli quasi colore lactei et Galatæ, qui quandoque dicti sunt Gallo-græci, in finibus Græciæ, quod Gallorum militia occupavit. Mansit autem exercitus ille Brenno duce triumphator et semper invictus, donec insurgere ausus est in deos, ipsum Apollinis Delphici invadens templum. Ubi cum incolæ Dei opem suppliciter implorarent juvenem supra humanum modum insignis pulchritudinis in delubri culmine conspexerunt. Auditus est etiam stridor arcus et strepitus armorum. Subito etiam terræmotu pars montis abrupta, Gallorum stravit exercitum. Insecuta deinde tempestas est, quæ grandine et frigore saucios absumpsit. Dux ipse Brennus, cum dolorem vulnerum ferre non posset, pugione vitam finivit. Nec moveat quemquam (ut dictum est) in templo visum esse Apollinem, ad ducis invicti audaciam coercendam, delendumque exercitum, qui permittente Deo, exigentibus culpis hominum, multas deleverat nationes, cum certum sit aereas potestates plurimum nequitiae suæ exercere in illos, qui sanæ fidei expertes sunt, et veræ religionis ignari. Eis namque gratia subtrahitur, daturque malignis spiritibus licentia nocendi, cum, nisi Domino permittente, omnino

nocere non possunt, nec si velint: et sicut evangelico docetur testimonio, non impetrata licentia non audeant, aut queant irruere in gregem porcorum.

1954. *he.* GH, BM f.140r, C f.28r, and H f.212v all seem to think this is Caesar.

1956-1959. *And ... stryves.* Joan. Sares., *Polycrat.*, 6, 8 (PL, 199, 600):

Sed quis est usus militiæ ordinatæ? Tueri Ecclesiam, perfidiam impugnare, sacerdotium venerari, pauperum propulsare injurias, pacare provinciam, pro fratribus, ut sacramenti docet conceptio, fundere sanguinem, et, si opus est, animam ponere.

1958-1959. *defend prestes in ryteful quarellis.* C f.28v, "deffende the poure;" H f.212v, "dyffende the poore peple."

1959-1962. *Also Egisopus ... mystaking.* This reference has not been traced. Roy J. Deferrari in his translation, *Eusebius Pamphili: Ecclesiastical History*, 1, 253, notes:

The five books of St. Hegesippus (Roman Martyrology, April 7) are lost. A few fragments have been preserved by Eusebius, and one by Photius. His work appears to have been a collection of reminiscences of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. They were drawn from written and oral sources, and in part also from personal observation. They were put together unsystematically and in no way represent historical composition. The date of Hegesippus is established by his statement that the death and deification of Antinous took place in his own day (130), that he came to Rome under Anicetus (154-7 to 165-8), and wrote in the time of Eleutherus (174-6 to 189-91).

DTC, 6, 2117, discusses the six excerpts of Hegesippus which survive in Eusebius and Photius; none match this reference. Deferrari notes in *Eusebius*, 1, 57, that "Pompey, in 63 B.C., could not resist the temptation of entering the Holy of Holies. He was very much impressed by its simplicity, and failed to disturb its treasures, wondering at a religion without a visible God."

1959. *Egisopus*. BM f.140v, "Egisipus;" C f.28v, "Egesippus;" H f.212v, "Egyspus."

1963-1966. *And ... Vegeste ... prince*. Veg., *Rei Milit.*, 2, 5: "Iurant autem per Deum et Christum et sanctum Spiritum et per maiestatem imperatoris, quae secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda."

1966-1969. *Moreover ... chapitre*. Gen. 7, 21-23.

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

1972. *Marchalisset*. BM f.140v, "mesabeleth;" C f.28v, "macelisset;" H f.212v, "macelyreche."

1974-1980. *We rede ... Aquilla ... dysobeye*. LA, 88, 368 (GL, 231):

Eo quoque tempore Attila Italiam devastabat, igitur sanctus Leo in ecclesia apostolorum tribus diebus et tribus noctibus orationi vacans post hoc dixit ad suos: qui vult me sequi, sequatur. Cum igitur ad Attilam appropinquasset, ille ut beatum Leonem vidit, de equo descendit ejusque pedibus pro-volutus rogavit, ut peteret, quidquid vellet. Qui petiit, ut ab Italia discederet et captivos relaxaret, et dum argu-eretur a suis, quod triumphator orbis a sacerdote victus es-set, respondit: providi mihi et vobis, vidi enim a dextris ejus fortissimum militem evaginato gladio stantem mihique dicentem: nisi huic parueris, cum omnibus tuis interibis.

1981. *doute*, fear. See OED, s.v. *doubt*.

1985. Gap in GH.

1985-1986. <S>*eynt Jerom ... spouse*. Jer., Ep., 52, 5 (PL, 22, 531-532):

Hospitiolum tuum aut raro aut numquam mulierum pedes ter-ant. Omnes puellas et virgines Christi aut aequaliter igno-ra aut aequaliter dilige. Ne sub eodem tecto manseris; ne in praeterita castitate confidas. Nec David sanctior nec Salomone potes esse sapientior; memento semper, quod para-disi colonum de possessione sua mulier eiecerit. Aegrotanti tibi sanctus quilibet frater adsistat et germana vel mater aut probatae quaelibet apud omnes fidei. Quod si huiusce modi non fuerint consanguinitatis castimoniaeque personae, multas anus nutrit ecclesia, quae et officium praebent et beneficium accipiant ministrando, ut infirmitas quoque tua fructum habeat elemosynae.

1987. *in þe ryte canon*. C f.29r, "in the lawe of Canon;" H f.213r, "aftyр þe ryght lawe of Canon."

1989. *undyр age or oute of al suspeccion*. BM f.141r, "bot yf they be aged and out of al susspeession."

1989-1991. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... suspeccion.*
 LA, 124, 557-558 (GL, 494):

Feminarum nullam unquam nec etiam germanam sororem aut fratris sui filias, quae Deo pariter serviebant, secum habitare permisit. Dicebat enim, quod, etsi de sorore et nepotibus nulla mali posset oriri suspicio, tamen quia tales personae sine aliis sibi necessariis esse non possent et ad eas etiam alii adventarent, ex illis possent infirmiores aut humanis tentationibus commoveri aut certe malis hominum suspicionibus infamari. Nunquam cum muliere solus loqui volebat, nisi secretum aliquod interesset. Consanguineis sic bene fecit, non ut divitias haberent, sed ut aut non aut minus egerent.

1991-1995. *Moreover Seynt Gregori ... suspeccion.*
 Greg., Dial., 3, 7:

Hic namque venerabilis vir cum vitam multis plenam virtutibus duceret, seque sub sacerdotali custodia in continentiae arce custodiret, quamdam sanctimoniam feminam, quam secum prius habuerat, noluit ab episcopi sui cura repellere, sed certus de sua ejusque continentia, secum hanc permisit habitare. Ex quare actum est ut antiquus hostis apud ejus animum aditum tentationis exquireret. Nam coepit speciem illius oculis mentis ejus imprimere, ut illectus nefanda cogitaret.

1992. *Seynt Gregori.* GH, "Seynt Johun;" BM f.141r, "saint Gregorie;" C f.29r, "saynt austyn;" H f.213r, "*Saynt Gregory.*"

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

1993. *Andrew.* BM f.141v, "Adrian;" C f.29r, "audrien;" H f.213r, "audrien."

1998-2003. *And þerfor Seynt Jerome ... pepil.* Jer., Ep., 52, 5 (PL, 22, 532): "Caveto omnes suspiciones et, quidquid probabiliter fingi potest, ne fingatur, ante devita."

1998. *Jerome.* GH, "Johun."

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

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

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

Magna sacerdotis gloria est rectitudo subditorum. Unde bene egregius prædicator discipulis dicit: *Quæ enim est nostra spes, aut gaudium, aut corona gloriæ? nonne vos ante Dominum?* Sed cum sacerdotes vitam discipulorum negligunt, et nullum de eorum propectibus ante Dominum fructum ferunt, quid aliud quam inglorii dicuntur? quia ante districtum iudicem nimirum gloriam tunc non inveniunt, quam modo in subditorum suorum moribus prædicationis studio non exquirunt.

2008. *Seynt Gregory.* GH, "Seynt Johun;" BM f.14lv, "sainte Gregorye;" C f.29r, "saynt Gregory;" H f.213r, "Saynt Gregory."

2008-2009. *Eleventh Book of his Moralles*. C f.29r, "xxi book of hys moralles;" H f.213r, "the .xxi.^{ti} booke of hys morales."

2011-2013. *And þerfor Hew ... conversacion*. Hugh, De Sacrament., 2, 3, 23:

De vita autem et conditione eorum qui ad sacros ordines eliguntur multa nobis patres documenta reliquerunt.

Nam quid a sacris ordinibus non impediatur eos qui probatæ fuerint conversationis placuit definire. Qui a medicorum incisione forte claudi efficiuntur, vel pro ægritudine sive per violentiam absciduntur; et qui non sponte, sed casu aliquod membrum sibi amputaverunt; si tamen tale fuerit ut ab opere administrationis non impediatur, et laici qui non concubinam nec pellicem norunt, nec bigami exstiterunt, et in cæteris sine crimine vixerunt; liberi quoque qui a dominis suis ita manumissi sunt, ut in eis nullum obsequii jus aut potestatem observaverint et sine crimine vixerint, hos in clerum assumi posse sine contradictione sanxerunt. Publice vero pœnitentes, criminosos, illiteratos, bigamos, repudiarum maritos, ex adulterio natos, ab hæreticis baptizatos, et qui seipsos absciderunt, a sacris ordinibus arcendos, et energumenos in clerum non recipiendos. Sed et filios presbyterorum ad sacros ordines non admittendos, nisi quos vel habitus religionis, vel spiritualis vitæ honestas commendat. Pœnitentes vero si necessitas exegerit inter ostiarios deputari, vel inter lectores, ita ut Evangelium vel Epistolam non legant. Si autem ordinarii sunt inter subdiaconos haberi concedunt, ita ut manum non imponant, nec sacra contingant. Pœnitentes autem dicimus eos qui post baptismum pro homicidio, aut pro diversis criminibus, aut gravissimis peccatis, publicam gerentes pœnitentiam sub cilicio, divino fuerint altario reconciliati. Similiter transmarinos et incognitos homines, sive clericos aliarum ecclesiarum, neque ordinari neque ordinatos recipi concedunt, sine commendatiis litteris episcoporum suorum.

2013-2017. *And to þis purpos ... keep*. Ex. 18, 19-21. This is a questionable identification, although all MSS name this chapter, except C f.29v, which names Ex. 28.

2019-2022. *But þe tyme ... care.* Is. 3, 4.

2022-2025. *And 3acharye ... noght.* Possibly Zac. 13, 2.

2024. *serveth.* GH, "semyth;" BM f.142r, "serveth of noght;" C f.29v, "serveth of nothyng;" H f.213v, "serueth of nothyngge."

2025-2027. *It is ... Abusions.* Cyprian. (?), De duodecim abus., 10 (PL, 4, 957): "Decimus gradus abusionis est episcopus negligens; qui gradus sui honorem inter homines requirit, sed ministerii sui dignitatem coram Deo, pro quo legatione fungitur, non custodit."

2027-2032. *And indede Hew ... charite.* With the exception of the tonsure (n. 2041-2045), clerical clothing is discussed in Hugh, De Sacrament., 2, 4, "De indumentis sacris" (PL, 176, 433-438). The bulk of this material makes it impossible to quote at length.

2028-2029. *prelates berip þe arch in tokyn of prelat.* BM f.142r, "prelates beren a crosse and croke in token of a shepard;" C f.29v, "prelates beren the croche in signefyaunce of an herdman or pastour;" H f.213v, "bereth the crucche yn hys honde yn tokenyngge of a scheparde."

2031. *þe coron chastite.* C f.29v, "the gyrdle chastyte;" H f.213v, "gyrdye."

2032-2035. *And þerfor þe prelat ... Gregory ... chapitre.* Greg., Past., 1, 10:

Ille igitur, ille modis omnibus debet ad exemplum vivendi pertrahi, qui cunctis carnis passionibus moriens jam spiritaliter vivit, qui prospera mundi postposuit, qui nulla adversa pertimescit, qui sola interna desiderat. Cujus intentioni bene congruens, nec omnino per imbecillitatem corpus, nec valde per contumeliam repugnat spiritus. Qui ad aliena cupienda non ducitur, sed propria largitur. Qui per pietatis viscera citius ad ignoscendum flectitur, sed nunquam plus quam deceat ignoscens, ab arce rectitudinis inclinatur. Qui nulla illicita perpetrat, sed perpetrata ab aliis ut propria deplorat. Qui ex affectu cordis alienæ infirmitati compatitur, sicque in bonis proximi sicut in suis propectibus lætatur. Qui ita se imitabilem cæteris in cunctis quæ agit insinuat, ut inter eos non habeat quod saltem de transactis erubescat. Qui sic studet vivere, ut proximorum quoque corda arentia doctrinæ valeat fluentis irrigare. Qui orationis usu et experimenta jam didicit, quod obtinere a Domino quæ poposcerit, possit, cui per effectus vocem jam quasi specialiter dicitur: *Adhuc loquente te, dicam, Ecce adium.* Si enim fortasse quis veniat, ut pro se ad intercedendum nos apud potentem quempiam virum, qui sibi iratus, nobis vero est incognitus, ducat, protinus respondemus: Ad intercedendum venire non possumus, quia familiaritatis ejus notitiam non habemus. Si ergo homo apud hominem de quo minime præsumit fieri intercessor erubescit, qua mente apud Deum intercessionis locum pro populo arripit, qui familiarem se ejus gratiæ esse per vitæ meritum nescit? Aut ab eo quomodo aliis veniam postulat, qui utrum sibi sit placatus ignorat? Qua in re adhuc aliud est sollicitius formidandum, ne qui placare posse iram creditur, hanc ipse ex proprio reatu mereatur. Cuncti enim liquido novimus, quia cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum mittitur, irati ad deteriora provocatur. Qui ergo adhuc desideriis terrenis astringitur, caveat ne districti iram judicis gravius accendens, dum loco delectatur gloriæ, fiat subditis auctor ruinæ.

2035-2041. *Seynt Barnard ... "acompte."* Bern.; De Consid., 4, 6, 20:

Mira res! Satis superque episcopi ad manum habent, quibus animas credant; et cui suas committant facultatulas, non inveniunt. Optimi videlicet aestimatores rerum, qui magnum de minimis, parvam aut nullam de maximis curam gerant. Sed, ut liquido, datur intelligi, patientius ferimus Christi jacturam, quam nostram. Quotidianas expensas quotidiano reciprocamus scrutinio, et continua dominici gregis detrimenta nescimus.

2036. *spekyng of.* H f.213v, "spekyng to."

2041-2045. *And yet ... Hew ... spiritualite.* Hugh, De Sacrament., 2, 3, 1:

Spiritualis potestas in clero ordinatur habens gradus et ordines dignitatum differentes. Primum signaculum clerici est corona, qua signatur ad partem sortis ministerii divini; cui servire regnare est. Corona quippe regale decus significat. Sic dicit beatus Petrus apostolus: *Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium.* Propter hoc igitur coma capitis clerico in modum coronæ tondetur, et ipsa capitis summitas desuper nudatur et revelatur, ut per hoc detur intelligi, quod ad regiam in Christo potestatem assumitur; et quod inter ipsum et Deum deinceps velamen esse non debet, ut revelata facie, et pura mente Domini sui gloriam contempletur. Summum capitis summum est mentis. Denudatio capitis illuminationem significat mentis.

2048-2055. *And ... Seynt Ambros ... obeying.* LA, 57, 1, 250-251 (GL, 25-26):

Liguriam Emiliamque provinciam directus est, cumque Mediolanum venisset et ibidem episcopus tunc deesset, convenit populus, ut sibi de episcopo provideret. Sed cum inter Arianos et catholicos de eligendo episcopo seditio non modica oriretur, illuc Ambrosius causa sedandae seditiois perrexit et statim vox infantis insonuit dicens Ambrosium episcopum, cujus voci omnes unanimiter consenserunt Ambrosium episcopum acclamantes. Quo ille cognito et eos a se terroribus removeret, ecclesiam exiens tribunal conscendit et contra consuetudinem suam tormenta personis adhiberi jussit. Quod cum faceret, populus nihilominus acclamabat: peccatum tuum super

nos. Tunc ille turbatus domum rediit et philosophiam profiteri voluit. Quod ut ne faceret, revocatus est. Publicas mulieres publice ad se ingredi fecit, ut his visis ab ejus electione populum revocaret, sed cum nec sic proficeret, sed semper populum peccatum tuum super nos acclamare videret, fugam media nocte concepit, cumque Ticinum se pergere putaret, mane ad portam civitatis Mediolanensis, quae Romana dicitur, invenitur. Qui inventus cum custodiretur a populo, missa relatio est ad clementissimum imperatorem Valentinianum, qui summo gaudio accepit, quod iudices a se directi ad sacerdotium peterentur. Laetabatur enim probus praefectus, quod verbum suum fuerat in eo adimpletum; dixerat enim, cum proficiscenti maudata donaret: vade, age, non ut iudex, sed ut episcopus. Pendente relatione iterum absconditur, sed inventus cum adhuc esset catechumenus, baptizatur et VIII die in episcopalem cathedram sublimatur. Cum autem post annos IV Romam ivisset et soror sua, sacra virgo, ejus dextram oscularetur, sibi ridens ait: ecce, ut dicebam tibi, sacerdotis manum oscularis.

2050. *connavente*. C f.30r, "comune assent;" H f.214r, "by the hole voyce."

2055. *hym most obeying*. C f.30r, "he must nedes obeye;" H f.214r, "and nedes muste obeye."

2055-2058. *Also ... Seynt Gregori ... pope*. LA, 46, 4, 191 (GL, 179):

Finita processione fugere voluit, sed nequivit, quia die noctuque portas urbis propter cum vigiles observabant. Tandem mutato habitu a quibusdam negotiatoribus obtinuit, ut in quodam dolio super quadrigam de urbe educeretur. Qui mox sylvam expetiit, cavernarum latibula requisivit ibique tribus diebus latuit. Verumtamen dum sollicite quaereretur, columna lucida perfulgida a coelo dependens super locum, in quo latitabat, apparuit, in qua columna angelos descendentes et ascendentes quidam reclusus aspexit, moxque ab universo populo capitur, trahitur et summus pontifex consecratur.

2058-2060. *We rede ... chosyn.* This reference has not been traced.

2059. *Martyrs.* BM f.143r, "mauricius;" C f.30r, "marsius;" H f.214r, "marcyus."

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

Fuit autem et alius vir mirabilis inter monachos, cui nomen Ammonius, qui tanto sine ulla curiositate fuit, ut cum Athanasio Romam veniens, nullum opus civitatis inspiceret, nisi tantum ut videret Petri et Pauli basilicas. Is Ammonius ad episcopatum tractus, atque diffugiens, dextram sibimet amputavit aurem, ut semi corpore ordinationis opus effugeret. Cumque posterior tempore etiam Evagrius a Theophilo Alexandrino pontifice ad episcopatum tenius, nihil amputans de corpore suo fagisset, veniens ad Ammonium cum joco dicebat, quasi male fecisset, ut aurem amputaret, et de eo reus existeret. Ad quem Ammonius: Tu, inquit, Evagri, ignoras te puniendum quoniam abscidisti linguam. Et ne tibi arrogare videaris, non uteris gratia Dei. Plurimi siquidem eo tempore digni fuerunt viri, quorum si quis velit verba miraculaque cognoscere, et quemadmodum illis fuerint etiam bestiae subjugatae, librum legat Palladii monachi, qui discipulus fuit Evagrii. Omnia namque de istis subtiliter explanavit, in quo etiam feminarum imitationem conversationemque memoravit. Evagrius igitur atque Palladius mortuo Valente post paulum floruerunt.

2066-2074. *Moreover in þe Three Partied Story ... goste.* This has not been traced in Cassiod., *Hist. Tri.*; however, a version appears in LA, 138, 618 (GL, 143), of which Jacobus de Voragine asserts (LA, 138, 620) "Haec omnia de hystoria tripartita extracta sunt":

Qui cum Hierapolim advenisset, mortuus est ejusdem civitatis episcopus et ibi Lamon sanctissimus monachus est electus.

At ille cum crebro refugeret, ei Theophilus suadebat, ut suae electioni consensum praeberet. Tunc ille promisit dicens: cras, quod domino placet, implebitur. Crastina ergo die venientes ad cellam suam eum, ut episcopatum susciperet, instanter rogabant; qui ait: oremus primo ad dominum. Qui, dum oraret, mox cum illa oratione terminum vitae suscepit.

2071. *allegge*, to lighten (of a burden). See OED, s.v. *allege*.

2079. Gap in GH.

2080-2086. *And to þis purpos ... Exode*. A confused reference. Some possibilities include: Moses loves his people and chastises them, Ex. 32, 11-35; God promises to increase the number of the people, Lev. 26, 9; Moses feels the burden of leadership, Num. 11, 10-12.

2086. *þe twenty-third chapitre of Exode*. BM f.143v and C f.30v agree with GH. H f.214v cites "*þe .xxiiii.^{te} chapytre of Exode*."

2086-2090. *We rede also ... Noumbres*. Num. 11, 11-17.

2090-2093. *We rede also ... chapitre*. Ex. 14, 13-14.

2093. *in Exode, þe thirteenth chapitre*. H f.214v

agrees with GH. BM f.144r and C f.30v cite Ex. 14.

2093-2096. *Also Eliachym ... chapitre.* Jud. 4,
10-13.

2096-2098. *Seint Poule ... "myte."* Eph. 6, 10.

2097. *Ephesiens, þe seventh chapitre.* BM f.144r
and C f.30v, Eph. 6; H f.214v, Eph. 16.

2100-2103. *To ... Seynt Austyn ... wel.* Aug., Civ.
Dei, 19, 14:

Jam vero quia duo præcipua præcepta, hoc est, dilectionem
Dei et dilectionem proximi, docet magister Deus; in quibus
tria invenit homo quæ diligat, Deum, se ipsum, et proximum;
atque ille in se diligendo non errat qui diligit Deum: con-
sequens est, ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum consulat,
quem jubetur sicut se ipsum diligere.

2102. *on.* GH, "un."

2103-2106. *And Seynt Ambrose ... founded.* Ambrose,
De Offic. Minist., 1, 26:

Itaque tractant in veri investigatione tenendum illud deco-
rum, ut summo studio requiramus quid verum sit, non falsa
pro veris ducere, non obscuris vera involvere, non superflu-
is vel implexis atque ambiguis occupare animum. Quid tam
indecorum, quam venerari ligna, quod ipsi faciunt? Quid tam
obscurum, quam de astronomia et geometria tractare, quod
probant: et profundi aeris spatia metiri cœlum quoque et
mare numeris includere: relinquere causas salutis, errores
quærere.

Cf. Greg., Reg. Past., 2, 11.

2103. *Seynt Ambrose*. GH, "Seynt Gregori;" BM f.144r, "saint Ambros;" C f.30v, "saynt Ambrose;" H f.214v, "*Saynt Ambrose*."

2105. *brevat*, possibly the office of priesthood. See OED, s.v. *brevet*, "an official document granting privileges from a sovereign or government."

2105. *þe principall of þe brevat*. BM f.144r, "the principall of theire clepyng;" C f.30v, "the pryncypal of theyr vocacyng;" H f.214v, "þe pryncypal cause that they be chosen for. ys for to dyffende the lawe."

2109-2117. *And ... Seynt Jerome ... sacrilege*. Jer., Ep., 52, 16 (PL, 22, 539):

Procuratores et dispensatores domorum alienarum atque villarum quomodo esse possunt, qui proprias iubentur contemnere facultates? Amico quippiam rapere furtum est, ecclesiam fraudare sacrilegium est. Accepisse pauperibus erogandum et esurientibus plurimis vel cautum esse vel timidum aut—quod apertissimi sceleris est—aliquid inde subtrahere omnium praedonum crudelitatem superat.

2109. *Seynt Jerome*. GH, "Seynt Johun;" BM f.144r, "saint Jerome;" C f.30v, "Saynt gregory;" H f.214v, "*Saynt Jerome*."

2110. *benefices*, ecclesiastical livings. See OED, s.v. *benefice*.

2115. *patrymony*, inheritance.

2117-2127. *And þerfor Seynt Austyn ... "leve on."*

I find nothing which exactly parallels this. Perhaps we are referred to Aug., Sermon, 355, 1:

Apprehensus, presbyter factus sum, et per hunc gradum perveni ad episcopatum. Non attuli aliquid, non veni ad hanc Ecclesiam, nisi cum iis indumentis quibus illo tempore vestiebar. Et quia hoc disponebam, in monasterio esse cum fratribus, cognito instituto et voluntate mea, beatæ memoriæ senex Valerius dedit mihi hortum illum, in quo nunc est monasterium. Cœpi boni propositi fratres colligere, compares meos, nihil habentes, sicut nihil habebam, et imitantes me: ut quomodo ego tenuem paupertatulam meam vendidi et pauperibus erogavi, sic facerent et illi qui mecum esse voluissent, ut de communi viveremus; commune autem nobis esset magnum et uberrimum prædium ipse Deus. Perveni ad episcopatum: vidi necesse habere episcopum exhibere humanitatem assiduam quibusque venientibus sive transeuntibus: quod si non fecisset episcopus, inhumanus diceretur. Si autem ista consuetudo in monasterio permissa esset, indecens esset. Et ideo volui habere in ista domo episcopii mecum monasterium clericorum.

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

2130. *broed*, bread.

2132-2135. *And ... Seynt Austyn ... pepil. LA, 124, 1, 560 (GL, 496): "Testamentum nullum fecit, quia, unde faceret, pauper Christi non habuit. Floruit circa annos*

domini CCCC.

2139-2143. *And þerof ... chapitre.* Ex. 4, 30-31.

2143-2145. *Also we rede ... postelis.* Acts 4, 19-33.

2143-2145. *Also we rede ... postelis.* BM f.145r, "In the same wise we rede in the boke of the dede of the Appostoles in the iiiith chapitoure that the church was gretely multiplied and wexe grete by the predicacions of the appostoles;" C f.31r, "Sembably we rede in the book of actes of thapostles the fourth chapytre how the chyrche was multeplyed and made grete by the predycacion of thapostles." H f.215r/v is unclear, since the top of the folio has been trimmed.

2145-2148. *And indede ... chapitre.* Acts 13, 12; 13, 43; 13, 48.

2150-2156. *And ... Three Partyed Story ... "trowth."* Cassiod., Hist. Tri., 2, 3 (PL, 69, 923):

Cumque plurimi disputationis delectatione traherentur, unus quidam ex confessoribus laicis simplicem habens sensum, dialecticis obviavit, dicens: Audite igitur, Christus et apostoli non nobis artem dialecticam tradiderunt, vanamque verborum fallaciam, sed puram scientiam fide et operibus bonis observandam. Haec dicente juvene et animo sene, praesentes quidem mirati sunt, dictumque probaverunt. Dialectici vero satisfactione suscepta cessarunt, rationem quippe simplicem veritatis audientes.

2159-2165. *And ... feip.* Cassiod., *Hist. Tri.*, 2,
3 (PL, 69, 923):

Fertur enim et aliud: dum quidam eorum magnificentia sermonum extolleretur, et illuderet sacerdotibus, non pertulit ejus fastum quidam senex simplex et innocens ac probatissimus confessorum; sed accessit adversus eum proferre sermonem. Hoc itaque factum petulantibus quidem et simplicem scientibus confessorem risum movit, maturioribus vero formidinem: providentibus ne a viro verbis artifice deduceretur ad risum; verumtamen cedentibus, ut quod vellet ediceret; resistere namque ei cum talis esset, nimium verebantur. In nomine, inquit, Jesu Christi, o philosophe, audi dogmata veritatis: Unus est Deus cœli et terræ, omniumque visibilium et invisibilium Creator, qui hæc omnia Verbi sui virtute fecit, et Spiritus sui sanctitate firmavit. Hoc itaque Verbum quod nos Filium Dei nominamus, habita misericordia super homines, ab errore eos et ferali religione liberavit, passus ex muliere nasci, et cum hominibus conversari, et mori pro eis, venietque denuo judicaturus singulorum vitam. Hæc ita se habere sine perscrutatione credimus. Noli igitur inaniter laborare, quærens destruere ea quæ fide percepimus. Noli investigare modum quo fieri hæc aut non fieri potuerunt. Si enim credis consulenti mihi, ad ista responde. Obstupefactus vero philosophus: Credo, inquit. Tunc gratias pro devictione persolvens, eadem quæ senior æque sectatus est, et prioribus consecratoribus, ut unanimes sibimet essent, persuadebat: non improvide mutatum se jurans, sed ineffabili quadam virtute ad Christianitatem protinus invitatum.

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

2165-2167. *And þerfor ... Holi Gost.* Acts 2, 4.

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

Sancti igitur viri, cum se ad prædicandum parant, prius se interius virtutibus innovant, ut ad hoc quod loquendo docent, vivendo concordent. Prius sua interna considerant, atque a cunctis se vitiorum sordibus emundant, curantes summpere ut

contra iram patientiæ luce resplendeant, contra carnis luxuriam etiam cordis munditia fulgescant, contra torporem zelo candeant, contra confusos præcipitationis motus serena gravitate rutilent, contra superbiam vera humilitate luceant, contra timorem radiis auctoritatis clarescant. Quia ergo tanta in se prius studia congerunt, quasi in conceptu sanctæ prædicationis menses virtutum fiunt. Quos menses Dominus solus dinumerat, quia eadem bona in eorum cordibus non nisi qui dedit pensat. Et quia juxta mensuram virtutum effectus etiam subsequitur fructuum, recte subjungitur:
Et scisti tempus partus earum?
Virtutem mensuram fructus ratio sequitur.

2171-2173. *it is ... þe prechoure ... affeccion.*

There seems to be compression in GH. C f.31v, "it is for deffaulte of the prechour whyche is of evyl lyf. or of the herar whyche hath non affection;" H f.215v, "yt ys a dyf-faute yn the prechour whyche ys of euel lyunge. or elles yt ys faute yn þe herers that haue non affecyon yn hys sermon."

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

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

2179-2180. *Who converted ... Thomas.* LA, 5, 3, 35

(GL, 42):

Post haec autem apostolus et Abbanes ad regem Indiae pervenerunt. Designato vero ab apostolo mirabili palatio et copioso thesauro accepto rex in aliam provinciam proficiscitur et apostolus universum thesaurum populo elargitur. Per totum autem biennium, quo abfuit rex, apostolus prædicationi institit et innumerabilem populum ad fidem convertit.

2180-2181. *Who converted ... Phelip.* Acts 8, 5-9.

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

2182. *herys, ears.*

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

2184-2189. *These ... aspis ... repentauns.* White,
The Book of Beasts, 173-174:

The asp gets its name because it injects and spreads poison with its bite. For the Greeks call venom '*Ios*', and hence comes '*Aspis*', since it destroys with a venomous sting. Indeed, it always runs about with its mouth wide open and steaming, the effect of which is to injure other sorts and kinds and species of animals.

Now, it is said, when an Asp realizes that it is being enchanted by a musical snake-charmer, who summons it with his own particular incantations to get it out of its hole, that the Asp, being unwilling to come out, presses one ear to the ground and closes the other ear by sticking its tail in it, to shut it up. Thus, not hearing the magical noises, it does not go forth to the chanting.

Such indeed are the men of this world, who press down one ear to worldly desires, and truly by stuffing up the other one they do not hear the voice of the Lord saying 'He who will not renounce everything which he possesses cannot be my disciple or servant'. Apart from men, asps are the only other creatures which do such a thing, namely, refuse to listen. Men make their own eyes blind, so that they do not see heaven, nor do they call to mind the works of the Lord.

2194. *tawght, thought.* BM f.146r, "wer. never forethought tofore;" C f.32r, "they have not thought tofore;" H f.216r, "he had not purposed haue spoken of before."

2194-2205. *And ... Seynt Austin ... vanities..*
Aug., Conf., 6, 7:

Sed enim de memoria mihi lapsum erat agere cum illo, ne vanorum ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio tam bonum interimeretur ingenium. verum autem, domine, tu, qui praesides gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti, non eum oblitus eras, futurum inter filios tuos antistitem sacramenti tui: et ut aperte tibi tribueretur eius correctio, per me quidem illam, sed nescientem, operatus es. nam quodam die cum sederem loco solito, et coram me adessent discipuli, venit, salutavit, sedit, atque in ea quae agebantur intendit animum. et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem et oportune mihi adhibenda videretur similitudo circensium, quo illud quod insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret, et cum inrisione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivasset insania, scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverim. at ille in se rapuit, meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credidit; et quod alius acciperet ad suscensendum mihi, accepit honestus adulescens ad suscensendum sibi, et ad me ardentius diligendum. dixeras enim tu iam olim et in-nexueras litteris tuis: corripe sapientem, et amabit te.

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

2196-2197. *he preched in his sermon of a creature. And menetyme cam on called Alipius. H f.216r, "how on a tyme he preched. and of aventure came oon yn that was named Allypius."*

2203-2204. *for he knew hym nat, ne wist nat þat he was non such. H f.216r, "þe holy goost had don yt. for he knew not that he was suche a man."*

2206-2207. *Also ... Seynt Austyn ... borde. This*

has not been traced.

2206. *Austyn converted many*. BM f.146v, "Austin converted a marchaunde;" C f.32r, "converted a manichean;" H f.216r, "converted a magycean."

2211. *behoveli*, useful, profitable. See OED, s.v. *behovely*.

2213-2216. *And þerfor Aristipus ... many inconveni- ences*. This has not been traced.

2215. *sewirli*, surely, certainly.

2216-2218. *And þerfor Boece ... vertu*. Boeth., *De Disciplina Scholarium*, 6 (PL, 64, 1234-1238) has a long discussion of the qualities of the teacher, much of which focuses on "kunnyng and vertu." PL, 64, 1235, a typical passage, reads:

Alii ratione intelligentiæ ignorantia eorum ne confundantur. Tertii subtilius speculantes propter utriusque partis incrementa magistralia contrahunt paludamenta. Talium namque quicumque venustatis assumptæ debitive officii velit emolumenta prosequi; in universa morum honestate oportet ut polleat præclarius, ut si utique in sermone verax, in iudicio justus, in consilio providus, et in commisso fidelis, constans in vultu, pius in affatu, virtutibus insignitus, bonitateque laudabilis existat; si quid vero contrarii acciderit, humanæ fragilitatis appetitu accidere solet.

2218-2220. *And ... Valeri ... chapitre*. The whole

chapter is an illustration of this, and all of it is more or less relevant. I have chosen Val. Max., Fact., 8, 7, Ext. 3 as an example of the material here:

Platon autem patriam Athenas, praeceptorem Socratem sortitus, et locum et hominem doctrinae fertilissimum, ingenii quoque diuina instructus abundantia, cum omnium iam mortalium sapientissimus haberetur, eo quidem usque, ut, si ipse Iuppiter caelo descendisset, nec elegantiore nec beatiore facundia usurus uideretur, Aegyptum peragrauit, dum a sacerdotibus eius gentis geometriae multiplices numeros *et* caelestium observationum rationem percipit. quoque tempore a studiosis iuuenibus certatim Athenae Platonem doctorem quaerentibus petebantur, ipse Nili fluminis inexplicabiles ripas uastissimosque campos, effusam barbariam et flexuosos fossarum ambitus Aegyptiorum senum discipulus lustrabat. quo minus miror in Italiam transgressum, ut ab Archyta Tarenti, a Timaeo et Arione et Echecrate Locris Pythagorae praecepta et instituta acciperet: tanta enim uis, tanta copia litterarum undique colligenda erat, ut inuicem per totum terrarum orbem dispergi et dilatari posset. altero etiam et octogesimo anno decedens sub capite Sophronis mimos habuisse fertur. sic ne extrema quidem eius hora agitatione studii uacua fuit.

2236-2240. *For as Seynt Austen ... all konnyng.*

Aug., De Doctr. Christ., 2, 52:

... tanta fit cuncta scientia, quæ quidem est utilis, collecta de libris Gentium, si diuinarum Scripturarum scientiæ comparetur. Nam quidquid homo extra didicerit, si noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile est, ibi invenitur. Et cum ibi quisque invenerit omnia quæ utiliter alibi didicit, multo abundantius ibi inveniet ea quæ nusquam omnino alibi, sed in illarum tantummodo Scripturarum mirabili altitudine et mirabili humilitate discuntur.

2242-2246. *For as Averrois ... be norysshed.* Aver.,

On Plato's Rep., 1, 11, 1:

Plato says that the most pernicious thing for children is to hear in their childhood untrue stories, for they are at that period <of their lives> easily disposed to accept those

forms which they desire to accept. It is therefore proper during that period to guard against letting them hear false representations. In general, one must watch with the utmost vigilance at the beginning of their training, since beginnings in everything are so important.

Although Legrand's attribution might make us think we are being guided to Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle. E.I.J. Rosenthal, in the thorough notes to his translation of *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, finds no similar passage there.

2244. *to lerne falsnes for troupe*. I believe "fables," which appears before "falsnes" in our text, has been crossed out, and the other MSS support this interpretation: BM f.147r, "to love falsenes for trouth;" C f.32v, "to lerne falsnes for trouthe;" H f.216v, "to lerne falshed for trowthe."

2266. *þe next book*. C f.33r, "the fyrst book;" H f.217r, "And of thys mater thou mayst knowe yn the fyrst booke wheryn þu schalt fynde dyvers thynges consernynge the same purpos." If the other MSS are correct, the question arises whether the reference is to the first part of this MS, or to Jacques Legrand's other work, *The Sophologium*.

CORRIGENDA

I became aware of Jean Rychner, "Les sources morales des *Vigiles de Charles VII: le Jeu des échecs moralisé* et le *Livre de bonnes moeurs*," *Romania*, 77(1956), 39-65; 446-487, in early December 1977, after the footnotes to this thesis were at the typist. His work on the sources of the *exempla* in *Livre des bonnes moeurs* allows the identification of some of the material which had not been traced in my original work and the correction of some inadequacies in my work on other references.

518-519. *Where is Arphaxat ... smoke.* Judith 1, 1-5.

539-543. *And King Zerches ... "but erthe."* Jer., Ep., 60, 18 (PL, 22, 346): "Xerxes, ille rex potentissimus, qui subvertit montes, maria constravit, cum de sublimi loco infinitam hominum multitudinem et innumerabilem vidisset exercitum, flesse dicitur, quod post centum annos nullus eorum, quos tunc cernebat, superfuturus esset."

544-545. *For ... Jovynien ... Perse.* Jer., Ep., 60, 15 (PL, 22, 343): "Iovianus gustatis tantum regalibus bonis fetore prunarum suffocatus interiit ostendens omnibus, quid

sit humana potentia."

546-547. *And Valentyne ... choked.* Jer., Ep., 60, 15 (PL, 22, 343): "Valentinianus vastato genitali solo et inultam patriam dereliquens vomitu sanguinis extinctus est."

548-549. *And ... Gracyen ... his.* Jer., Ep., 60, 15 (PL, 22, 343): "Gratianus ab exercitu suo proditus et ab obviis urbibus non recptus ludibrio hosti fuit cruentaeque manus vestigia parietes tui, Lugdune, testantur."

624-627. *We rede also of seven breþirn ... commaunde it.* 2 Mac. 7, 1-42.

804-807. *And ... Valery ... Seventh Book.* There is a proofreading error in the citation; it should read: Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext. 2.

1728-1732. *And indede ... Septimulus ... remnaunt.* I failed to note that this is a contamination of two references. The other is Val. Max., Fact., 9, 4, 3:

Ceterum auaritia ante omnes L. Septimulei praecordia possedit, qui, cum C. Gracchi familiaris fuisset, caput eius abscidere et per urbem pilo fixum ferre sustinuit, quia Opimius consul auro id se repensurum edixerat. sunt qui tradant liquato plumbo eum cauatam partem capitis, quo ponderosius esset, explesse. fuerit ille seditiosus, bono perierit exemplo, clientis tamen scelesta famis in has usque iacentis iniurias esurire non debuit.

1884-1886. *Also ... lost for pem.* Rychner believes the philosopher is Democritus, and Legrand is referring us to Sen., De Provid., 6, 2: "Democritus devitias proiecit onus illas bonae mentis existimans." Given the corrupt state of the MSS, both solutions are possibilities.

1886-1892. *Also ... Stilbon ... not his.* Sen., De Constant., 5, 6:

Megaram Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilbon philosophus interrogatus, num aliquid perdidisset: "Nihil," inquit, "omnia mea mecum sunt." Atque et patrimonium eius in praedam cesserat et filias rapuerat hostis et patria in alienam dicionem pervenerat et ipsum rex circumfusus victoris exercitus armis ex superiore loco rogabat.

In my opinion, contamination with Val. Max., Fact., 7, 2, Ext 3 should be considered.

1949-1953. *And ... Valery ... Julius Cesar ... victory of hym.* Rychner suggests that this and 1953-1956 are the result of the contamination of two passages in *Polycratius*. The passage I missed is Joan. Sares., Polycrat., 6, 14 (PL, 199, 610), where Julius Caesar's respect for religion is described: "Principibus metu, non pudore vel religione parent."

1959-1962. *Also Egisopus ... mystakyng.* Rychner suggests "Hégésippe, Histoire I, XVII, 2," (p. 471). I have not been able to locate this text.

1971-1974. *And ... Marchaliet ... withinne.* Oros.,
Hist., 7, 36 (PL, 31, 1157-1158):

Nullae aguntur insidiae, nulla corruptio, septuaginta millia hostium vincuntur pene sine pugna: fugit victus ad tempus, ne pius audeat victor iratus. Transportatur in diversum locum, ut nesciat frater occidi, quo vindicatur occiso. Sane idem Mascezil elatus rerum secundarum insolentia, posthabito sanctorum consortio, cum quibus antea Deo militans vicerat, etiam ecclesiam temerare ausus est, atque ex ea quosdam non dubitavit extrahere. Secuta est poena sacrilegum. Nam iisdem superstitibus atque insultantibus, quos ab ecclesia ad poenam protraxerat, post aliquantam tempus et ipse solus punitus est: probavitque in se uno, ad utrumque semper divinum vigilare iudicium: quando et cum speravit, adjutus, et cum contempsit, occisus est.