

Apokalypse
Ars moriendi
Medizinische Traktate
Tugend- und Lasterlehren

Codices illuminati medii aevi 39

**Apokalypse
Ars moriendi
Medizinische Traktate
Tugend- und Lasterlehren**

Die erbaulich-didaktische Sammelhandschrift
London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Ms. 49

Farbmikrofiche-Edition

Introduction to the Manuscript,
Descriptive Catalogue
of the Latin and German Texts and Illustrations,
Index of Incipits
by Almuth Seebohm



Edition Helga Lengenfelder
München 1995

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme
**Apokalypse, ars moriendi, medizinische Traktate, Tugend- und
Lasterlehren** : die erbaulich-didaktische Sammelhandschrift
London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS
49. - Farbmikrofiche-Ed. / introd. to the ms., descriptive
catalogue of the Latin and German texts and ill., index of
incipits by Almuth Seebohm. - München : Ed. Lengenfelder,
1995

(Codices illuminati medii aevi ; 39)

3 Mikrofiches & Beil.

ISBN 3-89219-039-9

NE: Seebohm, Almuth [Hrsg.]; GT

Copyright 1995 Dr. Helga Lengenfelder, München

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Ohne Genehmigung des Verlages ist es nicht gestattet, dieses Werk oder Teile
in einem photomechanischen oder sonstigen Reproduktionsverfahren
oder unter Verwendung elektronischer oder mechanischer Systeme
zu verarbeiten, zu vervielfältigen und zu verbreiten

Photographische Aufnahmen: The Wellcome Centre Medical Photographic Library, London

Herstellung der Farbmikrofiches: Herrmann & Kraemer, Garmisch-Partenkirchen

Layout und DTP: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, München

Binden: Buchbinderei Robert Ketterer, München

Printed in Germany

ISSN 0937-633X

ISBN 3-89219-039-9

Content

THE MANUSCRIPT 49 OF THE WELLCOME INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, LONDON

Introduction	7
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 1404 and other related manuscripts	8
Completeness	9
Script	10
Illustrations	11
Layout	12
Sequence of production	16
Colour	18
Emphasis on Illustration	20
Literature and Art	21
Identification of Sources of Texts and Pictures	23
Purpose and Audience	24
Notes	28
CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION	29
CONTENTS	
Apocalypse	30
<i>Ars moriendi, Memento mori</i>	34
Political Prophecy	36
Medical and Scientific Subjects	36
Verses Condemning Women, Money, Drunkenness	40
Allegorical, Moralizing Subjects: Verses, Proverbs, Exempla	40
Schemata and Verses: Virtues, Vices, Liberal Arts	41
Verses, Exemplum: <i>Memento mori, Vanitas</i>	43
<i>Etymachia</i>	43
Exempla, Treatise on Predestination, Treatise on the Church, Verses about Monastic Life	44
Preaching, The Mass, The Host, Simony	49
Virtues and Vices, Schematic Diagrams	50
Ages of Man, Liberal Arts	56

INDICES	
Index of Incipits and Verses	57
Index of Medical and Scientific Incipits	67
Subject Index	68
Author Index	72
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 73
 COLOUR MICROFICHE EDITION	
Inside Cover, fol. I*, 1r - 28v	Fiche 1
fol. 29r - 57r	Fiche 2
fol. 57v - 69v, I*, Binding	Fiche 3

**THE MANUSCRIPT 49
OF THE WELLCOME INSTITUTE
FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE,
LONDON**

Introduction

Wellcome MS 49 (hereafter W) is a miscellany containing over one hundred different texts or groups of texts and almost three hundred pictures on a wide variety of subjects. The contents are mainly didactic and moralizing, and include the Apocalypse, an *Ars moriendi*, *memento mori* poems and tracts, political prophecies and commentaries, medicine and science, proverbs and verses on moralizing subjects, preachers' exempla, schematic diagrams and memory images of virtues and vices, rhetoric and monastic life, as well as *etymachia* texts, and preaching instructions. The manuscript consists of sixty-nine large vellum leaves, which usually combine texts and illustrations in equal proportions. It dates from the early fifteenth century, probably around 1420-30.¹ Judging from the style of the illustrations and script, and from its subject-matter, W was made in southeastern Germany, Bohemia, Silesia or Austria. Most of the texts are in Latin and a few are in German, in a Thuringian dialect.²

The manuscript was first published by Fritz Saxl in 1942, with an appendix on the medical section by Otto Kurz. Many of Saxl's findings and observations are still valid today. Also in 1942, the close relationship between several works in W and contemporary or slightly later block-books was discussed by Gertrud Bing. She wrote that manuscripts such as W were models for the block-books. My 1982 thesis on W was followed and partially superseded by articles about individual images. A few iconographical studies by other scholars have also been published. L. von Wilckens was the only author to deal with style, though with an unconvincing proposal for a Heidelberg provenance. N. F. Palmer deduced a Thuringian provenance from a thorough examination of linguistic, palaeographical, and codicological evidence in all known manuscripts by W's

scribe. The relation of the Apocalypse to block-books was once again the subject of scholarly attention recently in studies by E. Purpus.³

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense MS 1404 and other related manuscripts

W is unique, but there is a very similar manuscript in Rome, MS 1404 in the Biblioteca Casanatense (hereafter C). Unlike W, it is made of paper and although the pages are slightly larger than W, they are fewer.⁴ C has most texts and illustrations in common with W (though in a completely different sequence), but it lacks the Apocalypse, the *Ars moriendi*, and the medical and scientific section. Instead, it contains a number of items not present in W. The script and the style of the drawings are so much like W that both manuscripts were probably made in the same scriptorium at the same time. Although it is difficult to prove which is the earlier manuscript, it is evident from numerous similarities and differences that one was not copied from the other. The texts and pictures in C are more complete and correct than in W, thus disqualifying W as an exemplar, but other differences prove that W is not copied from C either.⁵ Because they are so similar and repeat the same mistakes even though they are not copied from each other they probably had a common exemplar. Compared to W, C is inferior in quality of script and illustration, and disorderly in layout. C is repetitive and unfinished, and yet it has also received several vellum additions to its paper core, one of them even duplicating material already in the book. C and W were not produced according to the same procedure: W was laid out as a whole, but C grew (while parts of it remained incomplete) as miscellaneous items were assembled. Nevertheless both manuscripts diminish in quality towards the end. Perhaps the reason for the more careful planning and production of W is the fact that it was made entirely of vellum, and was thus a more precious book than the paper C.

Such production would postulate the existence of a workshop, as does the presence of the vellum foldouts in C. These may have been available in their completed state because they were originally intended for other manuscripts. In any case, manuscripts of this magnitude and quality must have been products of a sizeable workshop. As for their later vicissitudes, since they both contain writing in eighteenth-century Italian hands, they may have left German-speaking lands for Italy together.

Other probably contemporary works apparently by the same artist and scribe(s) known today are in Basle, a private collection in England, and New York. Their presence further confirms the existence of a scriptorium. The first is a parchment fragment (eventually used as a book binding) of a pen drawing of a view of Jerusalem with fantastic buildings and a few people (men, an Augustinian canon, the hanged Judas with a devil, the crucified Christ). On it are inscriptions in a hand similar to the textura in W. Also in Basle is a parchment herbal, *Circa instans* in Latin with some German, with coloured drawings by the same artist. The text is by the same scribe; of two hundred chapters the first is in textura, the rest in cursive. It is unfinished.⁶ Another *Circa instans* herbal by the same team of scribe (cursive script) and artist (coloured drawings) is in a private collection in England. It is of paper, in Latin with additions and glossary in German, has a different layout and is more complete.⁷

Finally, there is an Apocalypse on vellum in the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library with coloured drawings remarkably similar to the Apocalypse in W in both style and iconography.⁸ They are also by the same artist, although those in W seem more spirited and confident, as well as being more carefully executed and of higher artistic quality. The text and illustrations are laid out more like the block-books than W is, with the pictures given precedence over the texts, which are squeezed in afterwards. The New York text is in a hand probably identical with the textura in W (where the whole Apocalypse is in this script). The cycle of illustrations displays many of the same iconographical deviations from the Morgan Apocalypse cycle and the Block-book IV version as W does.⁹ Nevertheless, the two Apocalypses are not identical; they differ from each other in many details, and from the Morgan and Block-book IV in different ways. Moreover, W has about twice as many pictures and much more text than the New York Apocalypse. Besides containing fewer Apocalypse pictures, the New York manuscript lacks some of the St John scenes, and all of the Life of Antichrist.

Completeness

W appears complete in its present form, but because of its miscellaneous contents, it could begin or end at any point and continue indefinitely. Only the blank folios 32v-33v are obviously incomplete.¹⁰ They follow the two pages of prophetic texts and terminate the third quire, and they are succeeded by the medical and scientific section, which begins a new quire on f34r. Additional

political and prophetic material (as in C, ff30v-32v) may have been planned for these blank pages. At the end of the medical quire (f45v) the scribe was similarly left with blank space (presumably after reaching the end of his exemplar), and he added verses to fill it before beginning a new quire with different subject-matter. These trail over onto the first page of that quire (f46r), where verses on drinking are squeezed in the midst of unrelated moralizing material.

The omission of texts to accompany illustrations was probably intentional, given the emphasis on illustration evident throughout W and the fact that some pictures are memory images and mnemonic diagrams.¹¹ Thus, apart from the blank folios and a few minor oversights in the execution of the work, such as an occasional blank scroll or some omitted or overlooked rubrication (which only creates difficulties in one case, the rhetoric schema on f48v-49r, where many inscriptions were thus left out), the manuscript is complete. It was probably all assembled at one time without later additions, because the style of the illustrations and most of the script are the same throughout, and all the quires (except one) are of the same size.

Script

W may have been written by two scribes whose hands differ only slightly. It is, however, possible that both scripts are by the same scribe. The first scribe wrote the Apocalypse as well as the political and prophetic pages (ff2v-32r). These are in a retardaire Gothic textura script with small, square, unflourished letters. The "a" is square and double-chambered; the "g" and the "d" are square. The ascenders are not looped, and the minims have tiny, inconspicuous feet. Round "s" is used at the ends of words. The second scribe wrote the rest of the manuscript from the medical section on (ff34r-69v). He has a tiny, scratchy early Humanistic script, evenly written with a very fine-nibbed pen. It is a cursive script with textualis features. The pen is lifted between minims (which are all identical vertical strokes without feet). The single-chambered "a" and the "r" are cursive, as are the looped ascenders (on "l", "h", "d", and "b"). The "g" with the square upper half and round descender is the same as that of the first scribe. Both scribes make the same round "s". The vertical "s" of the second scribe descends below the line of writing, while the first scribe's remains above it.

The only noticeable variation in the hand of the second scribe is on f60v (halfway down the right-hand column), where the letters are awkwardly formed

and more spread out than usual. Abbreviations, such as *ꝥ* for "cum" (sometimes *ꝥ*, as on f32r, 48r, and 48v) and *ꝑ* for "pro" are made in the same way by both scribes. In one instance the second scribe wrote the letter "d" in the square form of the first scribe instead of in his usual round form with a looped ascender (beside the second bellows from the top on f62r). This is the only evidence for identifying the scribes with each other besides the similarity of their cramped, crowded, vertical aspect. The rubrication was probably by the same scribes since it is in the same script (e.g., f42r). There are very few scribal errors. The texts are heavily abbreviated, and most of the abbreviations used are typical for the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

In the family of manuscripts all presumably from the same workshop the distinctive cursive script in most of W is to be found throughout C and in both herbals; these therefore appear to be by the same scribe. The Basle fragment, chapter one in the Basle herbal, and the New York Apocalypse are in the textura of W's Apocalypse, the *Ars moriendi*, and the rest of the *memento mori* section. Other manuscripts made in what is probably the same area and period exhibit a more flourished, flowing cursive, with more horizontal, wider, and rounder letters. Their script is larger and has fewer pen lifts between minims, and is never written with such a fine nib. Copies written in Bohemia of works by Jan Hus, though in a hand differing from that of W and C, are close in style to the cursive script in our manuscripts. The scribes make fewer pen lifts between minims but use the same form of "a" and square "q". Moreover, one scribe writes with a very thin nib.¹² However, his script has a more rounded, solid aspect than that of W and C. This resemblance would indicate that the cursive script in W and C was influenced by a Bohemian style, or vice versa.

Illustrations

The drawings are in dark brown ink, coloured with watercolour wash in pale tones applied along the drawn lines and outlines. The unrefined quality of the drawings is typical for such non-luxury manuscripts of the early fifteenth century. The human figures are short and stocky. They have ugly profiles (large, round overhanging noses and drooping mouths), and make lively expressive gestures. Everything is clearly shown with minimal detail, but there is no skimping on what is required for identification. The attention paid to variety is striking: in two groups of men each wears a different kind of hat (f28r), and when there are several devils together, they all have different feet (ff30r, 30v) or

different heads and horns (ff30v, 52r, 66r). The same is true for the colouring, e.g., in the Apocalypse the angels have differently-coloured wings and robes, and the riders differently-coloured horses and clothes. However, the care taken with both the drawing and the colouring diminishes towards the end of the manuscript. This is a phenomenon found in many other contemporary manuscripts. For example, by f62r the artist no longer drew the individual feathers on the wings as he had done on f32r. On f61v he left out the strands of hair on the tonsured priest at the upper right, only drawing the outline for the tonsure, while he detailed the hair on the other three religious on the same page, as earlier on, e.g., f31r. Folios 28v and 61v both have the same picture of the priest elevating the host. The latter is messy and disjointed, and the attendant appears suspended in mid-air. The spectrum of yellow, green, red, blue, brown, etc., reduces to one of predominant yellow and green, and by the last folios these are so sloppily applied that they obscure the details drawn in the figures (as in the animals in the tree of vices, f66r).

The style of the drawings in W and related manuscripts can be localized to the area of Bohemia, Silesia, southern and eastern Germany, and some western parts of Austria. It is notoriously difficult to differentiate between local styles in this period, causing art historians to invent the term International Style. Due to the cosmopolitan and interrelated nature of the courts of Europe and to the Hussite Wars, changes in location of artists and scribes and dispersals of workshops were common. Artists and scribes travelled for political and economic reasons, often accompanying courts, but also alone. They would take their home styles with them wherever they settled. Most similar to our manuscripts amongst contemporary identified, dated, and localized manuscripts are the pen drawings from Metten in Bavaria of 1414, and from Wroclaw in Silesia in a life of St Hedwig of 1451.¹³

Layout

The compiler paid careful attention to layout throughout the manuscript. Pages with related or continuous subject-matter are laid out in a similar way to distinguish the different works from each other, e.g., most pages of the Apocalypse, as well as the life of St John included with it (ff2v-28v), have one illustration on the upper half of the page and one on the lower; the life of Antichrist has three illustrations per page, one below the other on the right-hand side, with a column of text along the left (ff10v-13r); the *etymachia* treatise

beginning "Misit Saul apparitores ut raperent David" (ff52v-56r) has three illustrations per page, one in each column; the section containing mainly exempla usually has three illustrations per page (ff56r-61r).

Pictures illustrating texts extending over several pages are distributed with an eye to variety, sometimes at the expense of comprehensibility: e.g., the arrangement of the illustrations of the *etymachia* treatise forms a diagonal extending from upper left to lower right on the facing pages ff52v-53r, and from lower left to upper right on the following facing pages ff53v-54r; the subsequent pair of facing pages displays the miniatures in a diagonal, from lower left to upper right on the upper part of f54v and in the same diagonal, though on the lower part of the page, on f55r; the final illustrated page of the treatise, f55v, has the two miniatures side by side along the bottom of the page. The text, in order to accommodate this arrangement, does not always succeed in placing the description of each picture under the appropriate illustration, as in the case of the third virtue, f54v, and the sixth and seventh virtues, ff55v-56r. Other examples of variety in layout include the Apocalypse, where some pages have one column of text (ff4r, 5v, 8r, 8v, 24r, etc.), others two (ff5r, 22v, 26r), or three (ff4v, 17r, 20v), some only a few sentences beside the pictures (ff7r, 25r, 27v), and some are almost completely covered with text (ff2v, 3r, 3v). Variety appears as well on the exempla pages, where the three illustrations per page are distributed to form a balanced composition of alternating texts and pictures on the pairs of facing pages (e.g., ff59v-60r, 60v-61r).

Subject-matter covering two pages was placed on facing pages in order to be seen and apprehended together: e.g., the schema of virtues and artes and that of vices, evil sciences, and abuses (ff47v-48r), the foetal positions (ff37v-38r), the prophetic and political material (ff32v-32r), the trees of virtues and vices (ff65v-66v), the wagons of Aminadab and Pharaoh (ff68v-69r), the rhetoric diagram (ff48v-49r), and the Tower of Wisdom and its concomitant text (ff64v-65r). Related subjects are also placed on facing pages, for instance the cherubim and seraphim (ff62v-63r), the good and bad churchmen preaching, celebrating mass, and making agreements (ff61v-62r), and the poem beginning "O vos omnes qui transitis" and its German translation "O ir alle die hie vorgan" (ff51v-52r).

With few exceptions, the beginning of a new text falls at the beginning of a new page, and a text seldom extends over onto a new page if it cannot cover at least half of it. The Apocalypse (ff2v-27r), the life of Antichrist (ff10v-13r), the life of St John (ff27r-28v), the *Ars moriendi* (ff29r-30v), the medical and scientific section (ff34r-45v), the poem on the vices (ff49v-50v), the *Visio Philiberti* (ff51r-

51v), and the *etymachia* treatise (ff52v-56r) all start at the beginning of a new page. Of these, only the life of Antichrist and the life of St John end at the bottom of a page; the others end at a point halfway or just over halfway through a page, the *etymachia* treatise just under halfway through a page. This indicates that the layout was carefully planned to permit the reader a clear prospect of the contents of the manuscript without any undue turning of pages to find the beginnings and ends of works.

Two pages include verses which have been added to fill in leftover blank space (f45v following the medical and scientific section; f65r following the text of the Tower of Wisdom), and several exempla are augmented by verses or further moralizations which are apparently also space-fillers (e.g., Cambises, f56v; Jupiter, f57v; *Prudencia* f59r; *Paciencia*, f59v; *Penitencia*, f60v).

Comparison with other manuscripts and printed editions of the same exempla demonstrates that some of them have been lengthened or shortened in W in order to fit into the space allotted for them between the illustrations: e.g., Ulysses and the Sirens, f56v, is longer than in the 1515 (Paris, Jehan Petit) and 1586 (Basle) editions of Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*; *Fortuna* with wilting flowers, f57r, is condensed compared to Holkot's 1515 and 1586 editions; two-faced *Fortuna*, f57r, is longer than in the two Holkot editions; Jupiter with three wings, f57v, was expanded compared to Vat. Pal. lat. 1066 (f242r) and C (f11r); *Caritas*, f58r, is incomplete because it lacks the usual moralization, but comparison with Vat. Pal. lat. 1066 (f243v) shows the same incompleteness; *Amor*, f58v, is shorter than in Holkot's 1515 and 1586 editions; *Oracio*, f60v, was shortened compared to these two editions. The texts of these exempla are very unstable, but it is remarkable that the variations in W are mainly in the length.

The two longer treatises included amongst the exempla are both incomplete, judging from their illustrations, which depict additional material beyond that taken *verbatim* from the treatises (Predestination, f57v; the Church, f60v). These texts were shortened to conform to the layout of the exempla with which they appear. The verses pertaining to the good monk included amongst the exempla (f61r), also laid out to conform to the appearance of these pages, were written in continuous paragraph form instead of one verse per line (as were verses elsewhere in the manuscript, as on f45v and ff51r-51v, except where space-saving considerations prevented it, as on f50v in the right column).

A discrete unit in the layout can be formed by a pair of facing pages, the individual page, or a subdivision of it, such as the upper or lower half, or the left or right side, depending on the extent of the subject-matter it contains. The framework of such a unit is seldom broken. There are only two instances of this in W: the text on the subdivisions of the host begun on the previous page overlaps for a few lines onto f62r; and on f68r the top of the page, which illustrates Alanus ab Insulis's *Prudentia* travelling to heaven, contains the continuation of the definitions of virtues from f67v. All other texts and/or groups of illustrations are kept within the unit of space planned for them, and because they do not extend beyond it, they are clear and comprehensible, whether a pair of facing pages (ff31v-32r, political and prophetic material; ff48v-49r, rhetorical diagram; ff68v-69r, the wagons of Aminadab and Pharaoh), an individual page (f63v, the crucified monk; f62r, simony; f66v, the vines), the upper half of a page (f62v, seraphim; f63r, cherubim), the lower half (f62v, the crucifix and the balance; f63r, the tree of penitence and the ladder to heaven), the left half (f61v, the good and bad preacher), or the right half of a page (f61v, the good and bad priest; f52r, the *Vanitas* exemplum).

In most of W the layout is determined by the distribution of the illustrations, as can be seen in the examples given above to demonstrate the compiler's attention to variety. It is only in some cases in the medical and scientific section, with its predominance of textual material, that illustrations are fitted around the text. The pages usually have a well-balanced composition of texts and pictures. If the written space is not evenly distributed all over the page, it is more often at the bottom of the page than at the top, and more often at the left than at the right, presumably because these arrangements are more pleasing to the eye. There is more visual material than textual on the pages of W, except in the medical and scientific section (which contains the only pages in the manuscript consisting entirely of text: ff34r-34v, 40v, 41v, 42v, 44r-44v). The highest percentage of the pages in W have less than one quarter of a page of text. Less than half of these pages contain full-page diagrams and other visual material. Most of these are in the Apocalypse, which has the least text of all the sections of the manuscript.¹⁴

Sequence of production

The sequence of steps in the preparation of the pages can be determined from evidence in the manuscript itself. The procedure may have varied, depending on the subject-matter, but for most of the manuscript it was as follows: pricking, ruling, drawing, freehand framing of the drawing, writing, freehand framing of the text, colouring, rubrication. The last two may have been in reverse order in some instances, and not all steps were necessary for all sections of the manuscript. This order of procedure applies to all sections of the manuscript apart from the medical and scientific section, where, because of the predominance of the text, some illustrations were added after the writing. Even in this section, however, there are pages which were produced in the usual sequence, because they consist mainly of drawings (e.g., the wound man, f35r; organs, f36v; the foetal positions and the pregnant woman, ff37v-38r; zodiac man, f41r; the circle of urine glasses, f42r) with the texts disposed around them in the remaining blank space.

The pricking and ruling, done after the manuscript was assembled into quires, varies throughout the manuscript depending on the layout of the section or of the individual page. The pricking in the third quire, for example, was as it had been in the first two quires (ff1-22) for frame ruling and a horizontal line dividing the page in half throughout the first half of the quire (ff23-27); the second half of the quire (ff28-33) was pricked for frame ruling and a vertical line down the centre of the page in addition to the horizontal one, thus dividing the page into equal quarters. The ruling, which is in lead point, was not always done according to the pricks; the first two quires divide the pages up by freehand ruling in countless different ways, and the second half of the third quire, though pricked in the same way throughout, is ruled horizontally across the middle on ff28r-28v, vertically down the centre on ff29r-30v (the *Ars moriendi* is thus set apart from other works in the quire by a distinctive layout), vertically down the centre on f31v (but this page is horizontally divided in half in the actual layout, with only the lower half in two columns), not ruled on f32r, vertically ruled down the centre on ff32v-33r (which are blank), and not ruled on f33v (also blank). The artist did not always pay attention to the ruling. Sometimes the diagrammatic trees and the crosses line up with the central column on the page (e.g., f64r); sometimes they do not (e.g., f66r). Pricking was not necessarily done through batches of half quires as in quire three (whole quires being too thick for the pin to penetrate). In the fourth quire (ff34-45) the location of the lower pricks for the narrow central column dividing the two columns of text is higher on those

pages from the folio before the middle of the quire to the end (the middle of the quire is between f39v and f40r, but the change in pricking begins on f39r).

The fact that the drawing preceded the written text on the page is evident in the layout as demonstrated by several pages in the medical section mentioned above, where the text is arranged to fit the space remaining around the drawing. The layout of the Apocalypse, the exempla pages, and the *etymachia* treatise, also discussed above, is further evidence for the same priority of the illustrations. This priority can also be seen in details such as the fox's tail on f47r, which extends into the text of the exemplum below it, dividing the word "cardanapi - dus" (incorrect form of the king's name Sardanapalus), which had to be written around it. If the text had preceded the drawing, this detour of the script around the fox's tail would not have been necessary. The disposition of the text around the illustrations, and hence the antecedence of the illustrations, are obvious in the facing page as well: on f46v the text from Proverbs 7 in the left column was interrupted by the miniature of the couple in front of a house at night, and the scribe wrote "infra" with a cross-shaped sign at the end of the upper section of text to direct the reader to its continuation below, marked with an identical cross on the scroll in the illustration; the rest of the text follows below the picture. In yet another example, the fact that the picture was already there caused the scribe to indent the lines beginning from "nobilibus" to "gravis" in the third column on f51v to avoid the handles of the bier.

On pages with diagrammatic pictures the writing of the text must necessarily have followed the drawing: e.g., the texts around the trees of virtues and vices, ff65v-66r, and the verses on the liberal arts on f47v are arranged to fit on the same page below the schemata of the virtues and *artes*. The same is true for pages with a large central illustration, e.g., f63v, where the texts relating to the crucified monk are placed on and around the drawing of him; and f66v, where the description of the vines fits into the corners of the page left empty by their picture. Writing the text after drawing the illustrations is also convenient on pages consisting mainly of illustrations, such as the Apocalypse, the prophecies on f32r, or the seraphim and the crucifix on f62v.

Freehand frames around the drawings and texts were made in ink after completing the drawings and texts respectively (rather than earlier, as a method to establish the layout of the pages). On f7r, for example, a freehand line divides the page in half horizontally; it is lined up with the pricked hole on the right side of the page, but on the left it had to be raised to avoid the text already there. The small freehand frames around the short texts on this page and f8r were obviously

made to fit around a text that was already written. Beside the chimaera on f47r, however, there is one such small frame left blank, apparently intended to be filled with text. On f9r the green frame around the bottom of the upper drawing is staggered to avoid the text below it (neither drawing nor text adhered to the horizontal line already ruled according to the pricking). In the exempla pages the drawings usually have a single line under them as a frame. Only the predestination picture among them (f57v) has framing lines visible along the sides (they line up with the prickings for ruling the page into two columns with a narrow central space between them). The same is true for the last picture of the *Visio Philiberti* series, the man kneeling beside his bed on f51v. The *etymachia* illustrations also have framing lines under them and one of them proves that the frames were made after the drawing, because the horse's hooves overlap the line, which has been interrupted so as not to go through them (f55v, lower right).

Colour

The colouring was made after the writing, as can be seen in the example of the staggered green frame around the bottom of the upper drawing on f9r mentioned above. If the text had not been there, it would have followed the horizontal line straight across the page instead of avoiding the text. This procedure is also evident in inscribed illustrations such as the wagons of the vices on f69r, where the location of colour on the wheels varies according to the location and length of the inscriptions on them, or the tree of virtues and vices on f67r, where the colour is applied along the branches, avoiding the texts already written there. There are few instances where the colouring overlaps the written text, but one in the middle of the right side of f30v (the frame of the final *Ars moriendi* picture is painted over the inscription of the uppermost man on the Wheel of Life) and another in the lower left column of f31r (the frame of the drawing overlaps the :p sign after the word "litteris" above it) demonstrate that the colours were applied after the texts and inscriptions had been completed. On f25r in the upper drawing and on f30v in the lower right drawing the coloured frame is interrupted because it would have overlapped the text below it had it gone around the drawing. Finally, there is yellow paint spilled on the writing at the lower right of f49r, an accident which could have been erased had the writing not been there first.

It is possible that the artist and the colourist were the same man, which may be deduced from a change made in an illustration after the drawing was completed

and the colours applied. The shortening of *Amphilos's* dress-length (she is the female figure at the upper left of the illustration at the top of the right column on f58v) was done after the dresses were already coloured, as traces of the erasure show. Although there is no reason why a colourist should not make such changes in a drawing, since colourists too should be able to draw, it does seem that only the artist would take such liberties with a drawing of his own.

It is not certain whether the rubrication was made after the colouring or *vice versa*. This cannot be clearly discerned in places where rubrication and colouring overlap (e.g., the red "E" and the green frame halfway down the page on f23v; the red "H" and the frame in the centre of f28r; the red "G" and the frame at the left centre of f28v). In the Apocalypse the rubrication was made in two phases because the large "C"s preceding the sections of commentary are in a darker red than the capitals and paragraphus marks in the text. The same is probably true for the text and the commentary: the former is in black ink and in a slightly larger script, the latter dark brown and in a somewhat smaller script. The evidence for the rubrication being done after the colouring is clear only in one case: red ink was spilled onto the green ground on f38v, where it was also smudged onto the text. The rubrication is in the same script as the body of the text (see especially f42r), so both are probably by the same scribe(s).

The use of rubrication varies. Generally it is used for the first letter of the beginning of a text, of the source of a quotation, and of the names of the Lord. In the exempla the beginning of the moralization is indicated by a red "M". Paragraphus marks are used to indicate subdivisions in the text, such as numbered lists, but it is only in the text about the soul (f45r) that they are consistently used to punctuate sentences. The rubricator probably also coloured lips (ff68v-69r) and flames (throughout the Apocalypse), as well as parts of diagrams (f49r), which are all in the same red as the rubricated letters. Perhaps the palette of the colourist did not include red, since the miniatures are coloured with orange and reddish-brown, but never pure red (e.g., ff68v-69r).

Emphasis on Illustration

The emphasis on the illustrations in the layout and sequence of production is due to their contribution to the educational purpose of the manuscript. They form an integral part of the book and are not merely decorative, but didactic. They render visible the instructive content of the texts they accompany to make them clear and memorable (e.g., the *Ars moriendi* and *memento mori* pages, ff29r-31r; the Tower of Wisdom, f64v; the exempla, ff46r-47r, 52r, 56r-61r; the *etymachia* treatise, ff52v-56r; the vines, f66v). They serve the same purpose when they take the place of texts omitted from W (e.g., crucified monk, f63v; the sermon on the wagons by Peter of Blois, ff68v-69r; the sermon about the crucifix and the balance attributed to St Bernard, f62v; the rhetorical diagram, ff48v-49r; *Prudentia* according to Alanus ab Insulis, f68r), though not always successfully, because of idiosyncracies unintelligible without the texts (e.g., the wagons, the rhetorical man, *Prudentia*, and the crucified monk). Some pictures carry sufficient inscriptions not to require texts (e.g., the cherubim and seraphim of virtues, ff62v-63r; simony, f62r), and many of these cover whole pages (e.g., the diagrams and trees of virtues and vices and *artes*, ff47v-48r, 64r-67v, 69v).

Except for the short misogynous verses and those condemning drinking and money, there are no texts, not even the brief "Seven Sorrows of the State" on f47r, which are not illustrated. Yet there are numerous illustrations without accompanying texts. The comprehensibility of these pictures is often diminished due to the emphasis on illustration at the expense of explanatory text in this manuscript. If there was no space left for the text once a picture was on a page, it was omitted or only included in part. There are several incomplete texts in W (e.g., abbreviated exempla of *Fortuna* with flowers, f57r, and *Amor*, f58v, treatises on the Church, f60v, and on predestination, f57v), but no unfinished pictures. This is true for completeness in the execution of the manuscript too: e.g., the picture of the rhetorical man is complete, but its inscriptions are not; the illustrations of the wagons in Peter of Blois's sermon are finished, but only the first half-page has texts beside them.¹⁵

In this way the compiler emphasized illustrations at all costs, in some cases even at the expense of achieving their primary didactic purpose, by omitting the texts they are based on and thus leaving them incomprehensible to the reader they were intended to instruct. Even when they were intended as memory images, the texts these pictures represent would have had to be known to the reader before the images such as the rhetorical man and the crucified monk could be of any use to him.

Literature and Art

This manuscript is of special interest for the exploration of the relationship between text and image in the Middle Ages, as it represents several varieties of this relationship. Although none of the texts in W is rare (those which can be identified are found in many other manuscripts), most of the pictures are. The majority of the pictures seem to have been custom-made specifically for this manuscript. They illustrate texts which are seldom if ever illustrated, ranging in subject from rhetoric to Church doctrine. In cases where there are other examples of illustrations for these writings, the pictures differ from those in W. The prophecies according to Zachariah, for example, are never illustrated with a succession of scenes of the woman in the jar as they are in W (f32r). The five animals on f31v, which derive from Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias* III, 11, are usually shown tied to the mountains, as in her vision. This is not so in W, however, where the accompanying text is a commentary on hers and does not mention the mountains. *Visio Philiberti* illustrations show neither the figure of Death with the corpses, nor the man kneeling by his bed as in W (ff51r-51v); other illustrations have one wagon each of Aminadab and Pharaoh – W has four each (ff68v-69r); the second person of the Trinity is not customarily a baby as in the Tree of Wisdom, nor is *Natura* normally represented by an embryo as in the same tree (f69v); simony is illustrated by pictures of prelates receiving bags of money, instead of the wagon and sleigh in W (f62r).

Texts are usually illustrated *verbatim* in W. Besides the *Ars moriendi* series, there are only four pictures which illustrate texts they do not represent *verbatim*, though they are related in subject-matter. The first is the picture of Death and the plowman, illustrating a very popular *memento mori* and *vanitas* poem beginning "Ecce mundus moritur," on f50v. The second depicts a coffin containing a worm-eaten corpse surrounded by people from all different classes. The third is a picture of Death and the pilgrim, showing the man guided into an open grave by the skeleton of Death. They accompany verses on the horrors of death, also with *memento mori* and *vanitas* themes on f31r. These verses and poems are common throughout the Middle Ages (especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), and appear with numerous variations in manuscripts together with all kinds of subject-matter. They do not contain substantial descriptions of specific images that could be illustrated. The artist of W or its model, apparently with instructions to include as many illustrations as possible, probably took these from the repertoire of *memento mori* pictures, which in some cases has an older tradition than the texts. The fourth picture not adhering to a text is that of

predestination (f57v). Although it accompanies a treatise on that topic, it illustrates subject-matter not included there. The text in W, however, may be incomplete and have omitted that material from its source. The *Ars moriendi* pictures do not match the text in W, but are taken from the so-called "Picture-*Ars moriendi*", where they accompany and illustrate a text beginning "Quamvis secundum philosophum". This differs from the so-called *Speculum artis bene moriendi* in W with the incipit "Cum de presentis exilii".

Most of the pictures are accompanied by the texts they are based on, without which they would be incomprehensible. Other pictures are not accompanied by their textual sources, but can be shown to rely, again *verbatim*, on texts omitted from W. These too are virtually unintelligible without a knowledge of the texts. They include various types of memory images for didactic purposes. Some, such as the picture of the crucified monk (f63v), are memory images intended to take the place of a text. They represent the text in a visual, abbreviated form, the parts standing for the whole. Such texts already contained the "picture" in verbal form, visualizing theoretical subject-matter in a striking symbolic image according to the medieval allegorical mode. Other memory images in W are mnemonic diagrams. In this category the schematic diagram of rhetoric (ff48v-49r) and diagrams in the medical section such as the Wound-Man also take the place of texts, helping the reader memorize and recall systematically visualized subject-matter. The verbal "pictures" in Holkot's exempla, also said to be memory images, are present in both verbal and visual form. A further type of memory image is the theological "picture". W contains many of these schematic diagrams clarifying moralizing and theological teaching systematically in the form of trees, ladders, etc.

Pictures not obviously memory images and not accompanied by their textual sources either, include *Prudentia* according to Alanus ab Insulis (f68r) and the wagons according to Peter of Blois (f68v-69r). They too are meaningless to a reader unfamiliar with the texts.

The same is true for pictures or parts of pictures with as yet unidentified textual sources, such as the clothing of the rhetorical man (f48v), the good and bad preachers and priests (f61v), and the representation of simony (f62r). The latter has enough inscriptions on it to make it self-explanatory, although there is nothing to account specifically for the wagon and the sleigh. It recalls Hussite and early Reformation pictorial propaganda demanding Church reform (in manuscripts, early printed books and broadsides, in buildings and on processional banners). Such works transmitted a message entirely by means of

the pictures and their inscriptions. They were self-contained and complete and required no explanatory texts nor were they derived from any. They could be said to take the place of a text. Until the sources for these pictures in W are identified, if indeed there are any, it must seem that the artist or his patron designed his own compilations and freely interpreted subjects, e.g., to represent the slippery dealings of the simoniacs by a sleigh, and the reconciliation of opposites in rhetoric by a contrasting costume. But since most other pictures in W illustrate their textual sources *verbatim*, it can be assumed that texts exist for these pictures as well.

The textual sources of some pictures in W were themselves generated from visual origins. Some of them may have been known to the artist, helping him put the verbal "picture" back into visual form. The verbal pictures in Holkot's *exempla* and the *Imagines Fulgentii*, for instance, were probably inspired by works of art such as manuscript pictures of the gods of classical antiquity, as well as representations of traditional Christian symbolic images (e.g., the fountain of grace, the Christian knight, the lily), and imagery common to both pagan and Christian spheres but extant in visual form only in medieval art (e.g., the Wheel of Fortune, the suckling of old men, various flowers). The *memento mori* images also first existed in visual form. Similarly, various parts of the crucified monk had visual predecessors which had already inspired the texts our picture is meant to remind its viewers of. Finally, some of these visual sources for the works in W can also be traced back in turn to verbal traditions, such as the classically inspired three Graces from Seneca or the suckling old men from a Boethius commentary.¹⁶ As far as the artist of W or its model is concerned, he was evidently original and inventive in creating pictures from a variety of theological and didactic writings for which other illustrations are unknown.

Identification of Sources of Texts and Pictures

The authors of only two of the more substantial texts, and pictures derived from texts, are identified by name in W. The Tower of Wisdom is attributed to Bonacursus (f65r); the text on charity is attributed to Prosperus (f62v). The attribution to Bonacursus is under revision, and that to Prosperus has changed since the Middle Ages. The only two other authors named turn out to be writers whose works W commentates or quotes: the text referring to canon law quotes and names Bartholomeus Brixensis (f62r); Hildegard of Bingen's prophecy is named in the commentary on f31v. The text mentioning canon law is actually by

Nicholas of Dresden, a pre-Hussite polemicist.¹⁷ The other commentator has not yet been identified. The only other texts identified by author in W are short quotations on various topics from the Bible and Christian writers (mainly St Augustine, St Bernard, St Gregory, St Jerome, St Ambrose, and Isidor of Seville). The medical section quotes numerous authors as authorities, but identifies only one text by its author's name: "Johannes de burno diocesis ruthenic" (f40v).

The texts and pictures by authors not named in W range from those which are well-known, such as the *Visio Philiberti*, the cherubim of virtues according to a treatise by Alanus ab Insulis, and *Prudentia* according to *Anticlaudianus* by the same author, the exemplum of Robert Holkot, the exemplum of the crucified monk according to Caesarius of Heisterbach, and the tree diagrams, to much more rare works such as the vines on the rod of faith, or the picture of predestination. Some images, unusual if not unique, are based on familiar texts, e.g., the idiosyncratic diagram of the art of rhetoric derives from *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*, and the scene of seduction in a nocturnal street derives from Proverbs 7.

Sources of texts and pictures in W which have been identified without the help of evidence within the manuscript turn out to be the works of authors ranging in date from the patristic period (e.g., St Augustine) to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (e.g., Robert Holkot, Nicholas of Dresden), and native to French, English, and German-speaking lands (St Bernard, Hugo of St Victor, Peter of Blois, Robert Holkot, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Rupert of Deutz).

The lack of bibliographical information, such as the names of authors and titles, and the exclusion of an index or a table of contents in W may also be seen as further evidence for the intentional emphasis on visual material and the concomitant secondary status of the text.

Purpose and Audience

The purpose of W is didactic. The manuscript was possibly intended for a lay audience, but more probably for a monastic one. The emphasis on pictures is reminiscent of manuscripts such as the Holkam Bible Picture Book, a fourteenth-century English work commissioned by a Dominican friar for the spiritual instruction of educated laymen. Manuscripts of comparable quality to W (though with less theological content) were produced for laymen by the workshop of Diebold Lauber in Hagenau in the fifteenth century. It has been

shown that his clients were wealthy aristocrats, and that the apparently popular niveau of his works actually reflects the conservative taste of the upper class. To take another example, the literary activities of the fifteenth-century Bavarian doctor Hans Hartlieb, which included translating and copying texts on subjects from romance to science, were also for aristocratic patrons. Manuscripts similar to *W* were owned by educated laymen, such as the humanist Sigmund Gossembrot, who are not to be compared with the average middle class. Hence *W*, if it was intended for a layman, was probably made for an educated and aristocratic one. He must also have been wealthy to afford such a manuscript which, although it is not of the highest quality and the miniatures are not decorated with expensive body colour or gold, would nevertheless have been a costly book. The relevance of the medical and scientific section for such a patron is doubtful, but if he was an educated man they would have been of interest. N. F. Palmer has provided evidence for the origin and use of *W* and related manuscripts in the university milieu, specifically Erfurt.¹⁸

Those parts of the manuscript relating specifically to religious, however, would be of little use to the layman. This applies to items such as the precepts concerning silence and the admonition to stay in the monastery on the page of the crucified monk, who is an exemplum of the true monastic life (f63v), as well as the instructions for how to preach and how not to do so (f61v), the good priest celebrating the mass and the bad priest doing so for evil reasons (f61v), the treatise on the host (f61v-62r), the renunciation of simony in pictures and texts referring to canon law (f62r), the recommendations concerning the good monk's behaviour (f64r), and the verses about the perfect monk's activities (f61r).

If *W* was intended for use by monks, for their instruction and contemplation, it seems remarkable that it is so profusely decorated with pictures. But such books for monks were not necessarily unadorned. Contemporary manuscripts very similar to *W* are known to have been made for monks, e.g., in Metten. The fact that some of the pictures in *W* are clearly mnemonic would be consistent with its purpose to instruct monks. Yet if *W* was for monks, why does it contain so much medical, especially gynaecological, and scientific material (f34r-45v)? This is, however, not as unusual for a monastic audience as it seems at first glance. It was quite common for medieval monastic libraries to contain such books. Moreover, monks did play a role in health care, particularly for women, as evidenced by the introductions to some fourteenth-century English texts on gynaecology. They advise women to know various, possibly shameful, illnesses and remedies, in order that they may inform a monk or cleric of their needs

rather than be at the mercy of a doctor who would consider their illness the result of a lack of virtue. In this way they could also avoid the embarrassment of an examination by a man. One text concludes with the observation that to condemn the afflicted woman for her illness is to condemn God, Who sent it to her, thus implying that to help her was to serve God's will. Consequently, the only remaining part of W not directly relevant to monks seems to be the political and prophetic group of texts and pictures (ff31v-32r). Nevertheless, even if this material seems inconsistent with the didactic and moral content of the rest of the manuscript, it would be of interest to religious since it concerns reform and political events that severely affected the fate of the monasteries during the Hussite Wars. There are many manuscripts providing evidence of political, even Hussite, material in monastic libraries.¹⁹ There is much evidence in W to demonstrate that it could have been made for Cistercians or perhaps Augustinian canons.²⁰

Many parts of W would be of use to preachers: such as the preaching instructions (f61v), the exempla to be used in sermons (ff46r-47r, 52r, 56r-61r), rhetoric (ff48v-49r), the illustration of Peter of Blois's sermon on the wagons of Aminadab and Pharaoh (ff68v-69r), and of the sermon on intercession attributed to St Bernard illustrated by the crucifix and the balance (f62v), the information on the virtues and vices on almost every page, and on confession and penance (ff60r, 62v, 63r, 64r), the *vanitas* and *memento mori* themes (ff29r-31v, 50v-52r), and finally, scattered throughout the manuscript, the verses on these subjects – as well as many others against money, drinking and women – for use in sermons. The texts on the evils of women (f46v), on predestination (f57v), the Church (f60v), simony (f62r), and the heretics, the baptized, and pagans (f66v) could also provide subject-matter for sermons.

Most of W, however, is of use to both religious and laymen. Subject-matter such as the virtues and vices, confession and penance, *vanitas* and *memento mori*, constituting the majority of W, applies to the instruction and edification of both, and provides the religious with material to guide his flock. Other subjects occupying less space in the manuscript, such as rhetoric, medicine and science, the liberal arts, and the illustration from Alanus ab Insulis's *Anticlaudianus* (f68r) also pertain to both lay and religious readers.

Just as it is impossible to suit the various contents of W to a single purpose or audience, so the various contents themselves cannot be consolidated into a uniform whole. Only the fact that what appear to be inconsistencies to the modern reader abound in medieval manuscripts explains the existence in the

same book of the misogynous verses and texts (ff45v, 46v) together with the sympathetic discussion of gynaecological questions (f38v). The same is true for the inclusion of political material (ff31v-32r) with the ascetic, anti-wordly ideals of the true monk (f63v), and the similar contrast between clerical and secular appeal in the opposition of items such as the wordly young man, the fools (f46r), the seven sorrows of the state (f47r), secular abuses (f48r), and the regrets of the worldly sinner (ff51v-52r) to the activities of monks (ff61r, 63v-64r), preachers and priests (f61v), as well as prelates (f62r). In some cases in W, and even more so in C, there is even the incompatibility of Hussite with anti-Hussite with anti-imperial themes in turn (ff30v-32r).

The questions of who commissioned W, what they requested, and how it was made, must be answered by exploring different fields: spiritual instruction in the late Middle Ages, book manufacture at that time, and history and politics. Not all of them can be answered convincingly without more documentary evidence. It must be emphasized that there are countless examples of miscellanies with similar textual contents, and that the various texts in W can be found in any number of combinations in other manuscripts, though usually without pictures and never with as many as in W. These manuscripts were intended to be repositories of knowledge, as were the libraries in which they were kept; collections on various subjects within one cover were preferred to many smaller books each on one subject. They were made in monastic scriptoria for the use of monks. The wide range of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts from the Benedictine St Emmeram monastery in Regensburg, for instance, amongst which most of the material in W and C can be found, is a typical witness to this fact. That illustrated versions of these books, such as W, were instead designed for the wordly layman outside the monastery does not follow because it is known that profusely illustrated manuscripts with contents similar to W were made for the monks. The genesis and purpose of W, unknown from any documentary evidence today, can only be deduced from what is known about similar miscellanies. More often than not, they were intended for the monastic milieu.

Notes

- 1 Saxl 1942; Seebohm-Desautels 1982. The present publication is a revised version of part of my thesis.
- 2 Palmer 1991
- 3 Saxl 1942, Kurz 1942, Bing 1942, – Desautels 1982, Seebohm 1985, Seebohm in publication, Wormald 1937-38, von Wilckens 1980, Palmer 1991, Purpus 1991; see also further references in the description of the contents.
- 4 410 X 300 mm., thirty-nine leaves with three vellum interpolations: f14, one leaf; f27, one bifoliate foldout; f39, one quadruple foldout.
- 5 SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 131-134.
- 6 Fragment: Basel, Univ. Bibl. N. I. 1, p. 79, pen drawing 215 X 263 mm. (with diagonally trimmed corners); ESCHER 1917, p. 131, no. 162, pl. 44. Herbal: Basel, Univ. Bibl. MS K II 11, 335 X 250 mm., 36 leaves; PFISTER 1961; BLOME 1981; PALMER 1991.
- 7 274 X 185 mm., comprising ff4–104 in a miscellany with works by other scribes and of other dates; PALMER 1991.
- 8 It has 18 leaves (not bound in correct sequence) and measures 325 X 236 mm. (cropped). Although it is said to have come from Cîteaux, there is no documentary evidence cited for the provenance; DE RICCI 1930, 7, no. 15; idem and WILSON 1937, ii, 1318, no. 15; both incorrectly state that the MS was written in France; HENKEL 1973, 31-33, relates the MS to W.
- 9 HENKEL 1973, 31-33, and author's notes upon examination of the MS in New York in 1982.
- 10 Folios 32v and 33r are pricked and ruled in the same way as the rest of the preceding half of the quire (from f28r the pages are pricked for a vertical line down the centre and a horizontal line across the middle, intersecting the former at right angles and dividing the page into equal quarters).
- 11 SEEBOHM in publication; SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1985, 212-215.
- 12 SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 310-311, nn 8-10.
- 13 Metten manuscripts for the Abbot Peter; R. SUCKALE, unpublished Habilitation thesis, Bamberg 1982. Life of St Hedwig, Wrocław University Library MS IV F 192; KIRMEIER 1993, 245-246.
- 14 Amount of written space:
- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>less than a quarter of a page - 36 pages</p> <p>a quarter of a page - 23 pages</p> <p>a third of a page - 14 pages</p> <p>half a page - 17 pages</p> <p>two thirds of a page - 8 pages</p> <p>three quarters of a page - 14 pages</p> <p>over three quarters of a page - 13 pages</p> <p>whole page - 7 pages</p> <p>blank _____ - 6 pages</p> <p style="text-align: center;">138 total pages (69 leaves)</p> | <p>Distribution of text on page:</p> <p>top - 13 pages</p> <p>bottom - 17 pages</p> <p>right side - 22 pages</p> <p>left side - 25 pages</p> <p>all over - 55 pages</p> <p>blank _____ - 6 pages</p> <p style="text-align: center;">138 total pages (69 leaves)</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
- 15 SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, Part II, chapters I (for this chapter see also Seebohm, in publication) and VII, 154-200; 291-307.
- 16 SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 319–320, n. 87.
- 17 KAMINSKY 1965, 50–51; SEEBOHM in publication.
- 18 PALMER 1991.
- 19 SEEBOHM, in publication.
- 20 SEEBOHM, in publication.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

Number of leaves 69

Foliation Arabic numerals in pencil, 20th century

Material Vellum

Size of leaf 400 x 300 mm.

Written space Maximum 320 x 230 mm.

Layout of text Usually two columns, sometimes three (ff49v-50v), or four (ff44r, 51r-51v).

Sheets in quire 1¹², 2¹⁰, 3¹² (wants 5, probably blank), 4-6¹².

Arrangement Irregular, but flesh faces flesh in quire 6.

Pricking and ruling For frame ruling in lead point, 320 x 230 mm.; lines ruled from irregular pairs of holes (sometimes three holes, e.g., ff21-28; sometimes one, e.g., f29) in all four margins. In addition, one horizontal line divides pages in half up to f27; vertical and horizontal lines divide pages into quarters, ff28-32; two central vertical lines 150 mm. apart between two columns divide pages, ff43-69.

Binding Rebound 1966, with new natural levant morocco covering the spine and two old clasps with new cross-overs replacing the missing originals. Old binding: contemporary, possibly not original, white doeskin on wooden boards, stamped ornaments with "Maria" on scroll 22 times in centre panel (MOORAT 1962, 32).

Provenance Paper slip listing contents and shelf number in an Italian 18th-century hand; another slip in a somewhat later Italian hand; was bought from the estate of Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1806) by Walter Sneyd (1809-1888), whose armorial ex-libris used to be pasted inside upper cover; Sotheby's catalogue of Sneyd library sale, Dec. 1903, Lot 35; bought by Messrs. Quaritch; Sotheby's catalogue of I.T. Adams of Sheffield library sale, Dec. 7, 1931, Lot 3; purchased by Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (MOORAT 1962, 37).

CONTENTS

Unidentified authors and titles are in square brackets. Quotations from *W* are in quotation marks. Transcriptions reproduce the orthography, punctuation, and capitalization in *W*; abbreviations have been expanded. Asterisks indicate descriptions of illustrations. (For more detail and fuller bibliography see SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 6-52)

- 1r-2r Blank
 1r Rough drawing of a seated woman in late sixteenth-century dress with a dog.

2v-28v Apocalypse

(BING 1942, 143-158; HENKEL 1973, *passim*; PURPUS 1991, 16-19 *et passim*)

2v-10r, 13v-27r [Apocalypse]

"Apokalypsis Iesu Christi quem dedit illi dedit illi deus (sic) palam facere servis suis que oportet" [with gloss from *Glossa ordinaria* and Berengaudus commentary] "Per has vii ecclesias una catholica ecclesia designatur" [and an unidentified gloss on the four horsemen, referring to "falsos fratres"] "Equus albus mater ecclesia est".

87 Apocalypse illustrations, some containing more than one scene, usually two on each page:

- 2v * St John on Patmos – Vision of the Son of Man, with seven lamps – Angel with the church of Ephesus.
 3r * Four pictures, each of an angel with a church (of Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, and Sardis, respectively).
 3v * Two pictures, each of an angel with a church (of Philadelphia and Laodicea, respectively) – Christ knocking at the gate.
 4r * Vision of the glory of God, surrounded by the four living creatures, seven lamps, and twenty-four elders, with the angel asking who is worthy to break the seal of the book.
 4v * Vision of the Lamb, who alone is worthy of opening the book, worshipped by the elders; God and the Lamb in mandorla above with three angels on either side.
 5r * Opening the first seal: the first apocalyptic horseman – Second seal: the second horseman, "Diabolus" and "Tyrannus in martiribus".
 5v * Third seal: the third horseman, "Equus ipocrisis est" – Fourth seal: the fourth horseman, "malum exemplum Doctorum", followed by hell.

- 6r * Fifth seal: the souls of the martyrs under the altar are clothed in white – Sixth seal: chaos, "terre motus".
- 6v * Four angels restrain the four winds – The multitude of the redeemed martyrs, in white robes with palm branches, singing before the throne of the Lamb.
- 7r * Seventh seal: angels receiving seven trumpets – Sacrifice of incense on the altar; the angel throws the censer on the earth, causing "terre motus".
- 7v * First trumpet: thunder, lightning, hail, fire, and blood, burning grass and trees (sent down by six devils in a cloud) – Second trumpet: a burning mountain falls into the sea, the sea becomes blood, and creatures in it die.
- 8r * Third trumpet: a burning star falls into the water, which is poisoned – Fourth trumpet: eclipse of one third of the moon, sun, and stars; an eagle laments "ve ve ve".
- 8v * Fifth trumpet: opening the well of the abyss, causing smoke and locusts to issue forth – Abaddon, the angel king of the abyss, and his army, all locusts, looking like horses arrayed for battle.
- 9r * Sixth trumpet: freeing the four (armed) angels from the Euphrates – Army of horsemen (horses with tails like serpents) kills one third of mankind; seven thunders.
- 9v * The angel, under a rainbow, makes St John eat the book and gives him a rod with which to measure the temple of God – Enoch and "Helias", the two witnesses, before Antichrist.
- 10r * Antichrist has Enoch and Elijah beheaded – Enoch and Elijah ascend to heaven in a cloud; earthquake killing 7,000.

10v-13r [Life of Antichrist]

"Antichristus nascetur in Babilonia secundum autenticus De meretrice et nebulone Ex tribu Dan".

Eighteen scenes, three per page on six pages:

- 10v * Antichrist has Solomon's temple in Jerusalem reconstructed – Miracles of Antichrist: he raises winds, makes the sea rise up, defoliates trees or makes dry ones green, turns water into dry land – Miracles cont'd.: a giant is hatched from an egg, a deer from a stone, a castle hangs from a thread, the dead rise from their graves.
- 11r * Conversion of Jews, who are given signs on their foreheads and hands – Antichrist sends his preachers all over the world – A disciple preaches to the King of Egypt, another to the King of Libya, a third to the Jews and The Queen of the Amazons (Gog and Magog).
- 11v * After the disciples' preaching to all Christianity, all peoples come to see Antichrist – Ethiopians and "Marvels of the East" peoples come to see Antichrist – Antichrist gives them gold and crowns.

- 12r * All who believe in Antichrist have a sign made on their hands – Those who deny Antichrist are martyred: they are sawn apart and their pieces thrown into an oven – Others are boiled in a kettle, flogged, and dragged over nails by a horse.
- 12v * Some are taken outdoors to be devoured by wild animals, one gets a hole drilled into his head, another is strapped to a table and skinned alive – Elijah and Enoch are beheaded - People come from the mountains; Antichrist pretends to die.
- 13r * "Ascension" and slaying of Antichrist – Followers of Antichrist banqueting, having devoted themselves to a depraved life; Enoch and Elijah preach to convert them – Antichrist's followers mourn and fear Judgement Day; an abandoned plow and goats (plagues).
- 13v-27r [Apocalypse cont'd]
- 13v * Seventh trumpet: elders and angels praise God – "Templum dei" with "Archa testamenti" inside; lightning, thunder, hail, earthquake, voices.
- 14r * Woman clothed in the sun gives her newborn to an angel to save him from the dragon – Michael, helped by angels, battles the dragon (devil and Satan), helped by devils.
- 14v * Proclamation of the kingdom of God; fall of the devils – Woman is given wings to flee; she is pursued by the dragon, spewing water; the river it produces is swallowed up by the earth.
- 15r * The dragon, standing on the sand, makes war on the rest of the woman's offspring – St John sees the beast rise from the water.
- 15v * The dragon gives his power to the beast from the sea – People worship the dragon.
- 16r * People worship the beast from the sea – The beast from the sea makes war on the saints.
- 16v * The horned beast (false prophet) rises from the earth, makes fire come down from heaven and forces people to worship the beast from the sea – Beast from the earth makes people adore the image of the beast from the sea.
- 17r * The followers of the beast are marked on their foreheads and hands - Singing a new song before the Lamb on Mount Zion and the one hundred and forty-four thousand redeemed (with musical notation and text: "Jhesu criste nostra salus ad te clamant").
- 17v * The angel with the eternal Gospel proclaims the hour of judgement – The second angel points out the fall of Babylon.
- 18r * The angel warns followers of the beast of the threatening wrath of God – Those who died believing in God are blessed.
- 18v * The Son of Man reaping – Gathering the vintage, treading the winepress of the wrath of God, from which blood flows as high as a horse's bridle.

- 19r * Vision of seven angels and seven vials (seven plagues) – Those who conquered the beast, carrying harps and standing on a sea of glass and fire.
- 19v * Seven golden vials full of the wrath of God are distributed to seven angels by the lion, one of the four living creatures – Pouring out the first vial: bearers of the mark of the beast are afflicted with sores.
- 20r * The second vial: seas turn to blood and everything in them dies – Third vial: streams and wells turn to blood – The angel of the water and the altar proclaim the justice of divine retribution.
- 20v * The fourth angel pours his vial on the sun, which scorches people with fire, and they curse instead of repenting – The fifth angel pours his vial on the throne of the beast; there is darkness in the kingdom of the beast and people bite their tongues in anguish and curse.
- 21r * The sixth vial is poured on the Euphrates, which dries up, preparing the way for the kings from the East, and from the mouths of the dragon, beast and false prophet issue unclean spirits, like frogs.
- 21v * The seventh vial is poured into the air, a voice from the temple says "It is done!", there are lightning, thunder, voices, and an earthquake which splits the city into three.
- 22r * The Whore of Babylon sits by the many waters – The Whore, carrying a golden cup (here chalice and paten) sitting on the beast, while an angel holds the child.
- 22v * The angel throws a millstone into the sea – Fall of Babylon.
- 23r * Song of praise and thanksgiving in heaven for the fall of the Whore, who lies burning in the sea – The marriage supper of the Lamb.
- 23v * The angel telling St John, seated and writing, what to write; St John kneels before the angel, who forbids John to worship him – The rider called "faithful and true", whose name is "the Word of God" (Christ), in a blood-stained gown and many diadems; he treads grapes in the winepress of the wrath of God.
- 24r * The angel in the sun calls the birds to eat; they pick at the dead – Battle of the rider (as on f23v) against the beast and the kings of the earth.
- 24v * Victory of Christ and the heavenly armies; the beast and the false prophet are thrown into hell – The dragon, who is the devil and Satan, is chained and imprisoned in the abyss.
- 25r * Judgement and first resurrection of the just believers – After 1000 years, the loosing of the dragon Satan, who deceives the nations (Gog and Magog); the final battle, in which they attack the city of the saints but fire from heaven consumes them.
- 25v * The mouth of hell: the dragon (devil) is thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur, where the beast and false prophet are with the sinners – Last Judgement: resurrection of the dead and their judgement according to the books of life.

- 26r * The new Jerusalem – One of the seven angels describes the new Jerusalem to St John.
- 26v * St John, with a measuring rod, and the angel; the stream from the water of life flows from the throne of God and the Lamb into the new Jerusalem; twelve trees (instead of one with twelve kinds of fruit) – The angel refuses to be worshipped by St John and points God out to him instead; God addresses him.
- 27r * Christ, holding the Apocalypse, addressing St John and the angel.
- 27r-28v [Life of St John the Evangelist according to Ps. Abdias and Jacobus da Voragine, *Legenda aurea*] "Conversi ab ydolis per predicacionem beati johannis drusiana et ceteri".
- Twelve scenes in two pictures per page, some pictures containing more than one scene, on three pages; the scene of St John on Patmos is at the beginning of the Apocalypse on f2v:
- 27r * St John preaching; baptism of Drusiana; the pagans spy on them.
- 27v * St John before the prefect; St John, having been sent to Rome, getting into a boat – St John welcomed back to Ephesus; St John raises Drusiana from the dead.
- 28r * Miracles of St John: he converts branches and pebbles into gold and jewels – St John destroys the temple of Diana in Ephesus.
- 28v * St John drinks from the poisoned goblet and is unharmed – Death of St John; St John celebrates his last Mass.

29r–31r *Ars moriendi*, *Memento mori*

29r-30v [*Speculum artis bene moriendi*]

"Cum de presentis exilii miseria mortis transitus propter moriendi"
(incomplete: contains only the introduction and the second part. RUDOLF 1951; RUDOLF 1957, 75; PALMER 1992 & in print)

Eleven illustrations of a dying man in bed, alternating six scenes of virtuous dying, accompanied by angels, the Trinity and saints, with five of sinful dying, along with devils and vices (these pictures do not match the accompanying text but illustrate and constitute part of a different *Ars moriendi*, the so-called "Picture-*Ars moriendi*", which begins "Quamvis secundum philosophum", not in W: PALMER 1992, 20–21):

- 29r "...sunt autem huius temptationi v principales Quam prima est in fide".
* Three devils tempt the dying man's faith with idol worship, suicide, self-flagellation; a fourth hides the Trinity and Virgin Mary at the head of the bed behind a cloth – The angel brings the Trinity, Virgin and the blessed to his bedside; four devils scramble under the bed.

- 29v "Secunda temptatio est contra spem atque confidentiam".
 * Devils offer the dying man sinful activities such as a lustful couple, bags of money, and murder – The angel brings converted sinners to the man's bedside: Sts Peter, Mary Magdalene, and Paul.
- "Tercia temptatio est impaciencia que est contra caritatem".
 * The man kicks his visitors and upsets the table where a woman, with the help of a devil, serves him food.
- 30r * Angel with Sts Lawrence, Barbara, Catherine, and Stephen with attributes of their martyrdom, two Christ figures with scourges, switch, and arrow of plague.
- "Quarta temptatio est sui ipsius complacencia...que est superbia spiritualis".
 * Five devils urge crowns on the man in bed – Three angels point out the Book of Life, the mouth of Hell below, and the Trinity and Virgin in a cloud above; St Anthony Abbot, representing humility, is at the foot of the bed.
- "Quinta temptatio que magis seculares atque carnales magis infestat est nimia occupatio rerum temporalium atque exteriorem".
 * Three devils tempt the man with his family (father, wife, child), and a well-stocked large house with horse and groom.
- 30v * The man is ready to leave his family and possessions (the people and animals represent what he is leaving behind) to follow Christ: an angel indicates the Virgin beside the crucified Christ; another angel hides a couple with a sheet from the man in the bed – The man is dead, his eyes closed and mouth open; five angels receive his soul (small child); a multitude of saints and the Virgin Mary and St John stand on either side of the crucified Christ; nine devils gesticulate desperately on the opposite side of the bed, the first one reaching up for the man's soul.
- 30v-31r [179 verses about death with two lines of musical notation] "Ad mortem festinamus" (PICKERING 1970, 168-222; WENZEL 1978, 177; RUDOLF 1957, 50-51)
- 30v * Blindfolded *Fortuna* turns Wheel of Life, "Rota vite alias rota fortune", on which there are six people and a skeleton representing six ages of man, an angel at the bottom holds onto the feet of the infant and the skeleton. (WEINHOLD 1892, 21; PICKERING 1970, 168-222; SEARS 1986, 151)
- 31r cont'd.; [twelve quotations about death from St Augustine, Bede, etc.].
 * Men of all classes standing around an open tomb with a rotting corpse in it – Death and the pilgrim, who is about to walk into an open grave.

31v–32r Political Prophecy

31v [Sibyl's prophecy: "ShALKUM" acrostic with the name of a Holy Roman Emperor above each capital letter, the final one being *Malignus*; gloss on the letter "m"] "Nota quod illum secundum litteram 'm' descripsi malignum" ("Dictum Sibille" is written beside this acrostic in C, f. 31v. SAXL 1942, 87-89; VON WILCKENS 1980, 39-40)

* He-goat with six horns, the first broken – Antiochus-Antichrist enthroned, wearing crown over turban.

[Commentaries on visions of Daniel, Revelations, Jeremiah, Hildegard of Bingen (*Scivias* III, xi)] "Per hunc canem designatur prelati" [and Zachariah, all dealing with eschatology and Antichrist; nine punishments of hell] "Flamma gelu fetor".

* Five animals: dog, lion, horse, pig wolf – Flaming cauldron; flaming mouth of hell.

32r cont'd.

* Woman in jar, a hand issuing from clouds putting lead into her mouth, Zachariah, angel – Two winged women in jar – Two winged women carrying jar – Antichrist (horned, crowned devil wearing cowl and holding prongs) and Emperor (crowned and with halo) on thrones – Five pairs of horses, all but one pulling four-wheeled axle-shafts for wagons.

32v-33v Blank

34r–45v Medical and Scientific Subjects

(MOORAT 1962, 32-35; HILL 1959, 13-19; HILL 1963; MACKINNEY 1965, 144; KURZ 1942, 137-142; KEIL 1975)

34r-34v [List of remedies in German, numbered 1-43 (a second 13 comes after 23; there are two 25's, 35's and 42's)]
"Vor fliegen stoß germar Und bertram wol zesammen und butel daz pulver".

35r cont'd.

* Wound man with injuries [inscriptions in German and Latin] "Herba per menta in ore retenta...1. Kolbletter saff und alt smer undirenander" (Ketham group, *Fasciculus medicinae*).

35v [remedies in German cont'd.]

* Vein man [with Latin inscription] "Nota in se putrida pulsus est maior constrictio" (Sudhoff's 'Fünfbilderserie').

- 36r [Texts accompanying Sudhoff's 'Fünfbilderserie' vein man] "Apertus in quo solum diastole aliqua mota "; "Hec est historia arteriarum que procedunt ex corde"; "Ista ymago ostendit venas principales"; [text on pain] "Sub hec graves contumelie xii speciesque considerantur penes quantitatem divisi; [text on physical properties] "Longus quis extenditur in longum plus quam in alias partes".
* Tree trunk, with bust of man at top and roots below, along which inscriptions in ten circles classify types of pain – Vein man (Ketham group).
- 36v [Anatomy treatise (Sudhoff's 'Fünfbilderserie')] "In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Incipit figura incisionis sicut Galienus incidit peritissimus medicorum" [interspersed with various medical texts:] "Hec est historia stomachi divisa ab historia incisionis"; "Sex modis conservatur sanitas totius corporis ut dicit ipocratis primus preparationem aeris Quia dicit Avicenna"; "Versus Vipera famem frenat oculos utriusque serenat"; "Lapis qui de ventre hominis excisus fuerit alios lapides frangit".
* Organ man (Sudhoff's 'Fünfbilderserie').
- 37r [Verse beside skeleton] "Triste cor ira frequens mens raro iocunda"; [treatise cont'd.] "Hec est historia ossium divisorum ab invicem secundum quod instruxit ea faber et plasmator earum"; "Hec est historia nervorum qui sunt ligamina corporis et ossium et venarum"; "Membrorum quattuor sunt principalia et fundamentum vel materia"; "Sequitur historia lacertorum quia fecit dominus ut vacuum repleant".
* Skeleton (with one less rib on the left, from the creation of Eve) – Nerve man (Sudhoff's "Fünfbilderserie"), both figures with verses.
- 37v [Short texts accompanying drawings] "Scias volo duobus modis fetus in vltra duplicari".
* Muscle man (Sudhoff's "Fünfbilderserie") – Twelve drawings of foetal positions in utero, two of them of twins – Two diagrams of female abdominal anatomy, one with foetus in utero.
- 38r [Gynaecological prescriptions] "Ad menstrua provocandum" [including measures to take in church to ensure quick delivery] "Cum mulier sit in partu vadat ad proximam ecclesiam".
* Four foetal positions in utero – Full-figure anatomy of pregnant woman labelled with ailments (Ketham group).
- 38v [Gynaecological texts, including information about conception, pregnancy, and childbirth] "Quomodo mulieres volentes concipere se debeant habere", [and a woman-to-woman discussion about the dangers of sexual intercourse during pregnancy] "Sepius enim constrictata sum soror propter

- magnitudinem et longitudinem virilis membri", [and remedies for female ailments].
- * Woman who died in childbirth on operating table, with doctor holding knife after delivering baby by Caesarian section, and nurse holding swaddled baby – Seated nude woman (unnecessarily shown with Caesarian section) talking to standing, dressed woman.
- 39r cont'd. "Patior frequenter dissurina et strangiurina" (text is repeated in picture), "Signa matricis prolapse...Sequitur nausea Nausea lassitudo corporis...quod suffit suffumigatio...Signa idropice matricis" (illustrated by hanging woman); "De complexionibus Nota omnes homines habentes duos crines et nigros sunt colerici".
- * Woman and doctor talking; texts from the accompanying treatise on scrolls – Woman and doctor hanging a nude woman upside down by her feet from a scaffold over a bucket for suffumigation (which is mentioned several times in the accompanying text) – Disease man.
- 39v cont'd.; [Text about humours] "Hi quattuor humores pulsus suos habent..Nota quattuor sunt regiones corporis humani...In vere fiunt iste infirmitates manie melancolie" [continues with seasons and ages of man].
- * Man labelled with the four regions of the human body – Disease man (Ketham group).
- 40r cont'd.; "Instrumenta medicorum Anum clisteria purgant"; "Anglorum regi scripsit tota scola salerni Si vis incoluminem si vis te reddere sanum"; [signs of death according to Hippocrates] "Hec sunt signa mortis inventa per ipocratem".
- * Death prognostic: man labelled with spots showing appearance of signs of death.
- 40v cont'd.; [Text on phlebotomy] "Incipit compendium sive sui manifestum et expertum de fleubotomia per Iohannem de burno diocesis ruthenie agregatum a diversis auctoribus...Galieno Avicenna Rasaro..Item est quadam arteria in manus".
- 41r cont'd.
- * Bloodletting man in centre of circle of the zodiac, showing influence of zodiac and planets.
- 41v "Avicenna in corporibus fortibus"; "Item avicenna secundum primos versus lepra febris"; "Hiis certis signis moriturus noscitur".
- 42r [Text on urinomancy] "Hi sunt colores qui coniunguntur cum substantia pingwi...Vesica quattuor ex quattuor humoribus".

* Circle of twenty differently coloured urine-glasses (Ketham group) issuing from a tree with seven branches and seven fruits inscribed with kinds of diseases.

- 42v cont'd. "De urina cognoscenda 19 partes scilicet Circulus".
- 43r cont'd.; [Texts and tabular diagrams of humours, of fevers according to Galen] "Omnis homo quolibet anno dato quod non multum indigerit"; "Febris secundum Galienum est calor innaturalis".
* Man showing anatomy of intestinal tract.
- 43v cont'd.; [verses and texts about astrological influence on the body] "Ut celum signis prefulgens est duodenis"; "Credo quod ignorat medicorum constitutio tota"; "Calida sicca Aries leo sagittarius"; "Ventosa sine scarificatione inter spaculas ventositatem".
* Man with signs of the zodiac on respective parts of his body (phlebotomy table, Ketham group).
- 44r cont'd.; [verses with dietary information from *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* and Macer's *De virtutibus herbarum*] "Testatur sapiens quod deus omnipotens".
- 44v cont'd.; [text about disease] "Caducorum tria genera sunt scilicet unum caprinum secundum porcinum tertium demoniacum".
- 45r [Text on the soul, seasons, etc.] "Anima est angelica creatura"; [verses on seasonal regimen] "Quomodo se regere debet uniusquisque quilibet mense quid vitanda aut facienda per versus sequentes Estas per janum calidas est sumere bonum"; [how to calculate one's hour of death] "Item Si vis scire horam minucionis".
* Diagram of concentric circles with phases of the moon.
- 45v [Texts and verses on the dimensions and constitution of the earth, climates, etc.] "Refertur Ambrosius terrarum continet orbis"; "Ambitus terre"; "Est quater in palmo digitus quater in pede"; "Nota filii noe dividunt totam terram in tres partes"; "Secundum veros astrologos sunt 7 climata mundi"; "Ventus est vapor terreus aeris superiora transcendens".
* Tetradic diagram.

45v Verses Condemning Women, Money, Drunkenness

- 45v (lower half of page) "Crescit amor mundi quantum pecunia crescit".

**46r–47r Allegorical, Moralizing Subjects: Verses;
Proverbs 7; Exempla**

- 46r [Verses on personification of seven deadly sins] "Sertum pavonis alas verperitilonis"; [warning against sin] "Convertantur peccatores" (based on Psalm 9, 18); [four verses on virtues, including a short verse in German] "Bekenne dich klein halt dich reyn"; [17 verses on drunkenness] "Bis sex credatis sunt species ebrietatis". (BALTRUSAITIS 1960, 310; SCHMIDT 1956, 25ff)
- * Personification of seven deadly sins ("Lasterweib"): one-legged woman with claw-foot stands on globe; she has bat wings, peacock-feather hat; a dragon ("mors"), instead of a left leg, bites into the right; she holds a chalice and an inverted torch; a dog and a donkey are on her skirt; coins fall from her dress; all items are labelled with vices on scrolls – Personification of worldliness (man): one-legged young man holding inverted torch stands on globe, which Death pushes into flaming mouth of hell, over which stands a devil; five texts on scrolls label parts of picture: "Movebo globum tunc mox cadas in infernum".
- [Exemplum of Infatuation, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Amor fatuus depingitur sic apud Athenienses puer nudus"; [two verses and three proverbs about fools] "Non valet in stultis intencio stulta latere". (TUBACH 1969, no.201; LIEBESCHÜTZ 1926, 54; DUNN 1934, 34; BERTHALOT 1910, 97)
- * *Amor fatuus*: nude, winged boy with sword in right hand and torch in left, inscriptions on scrolls – Two fools in shirts and caps, one wearing boots, with their arms raised, hitting each other.
- 46v [Misogyny: Proverbs 7, 6–22] "De fenestra domus mee per cancellos perspexi"; [six misogynous quotations about female ruses from St Augustine, etc.] "Sampson validus et fortis leonem suffocavit"; [three texts condemning prostitutes and adultery] "Nota quod circa foveam basilisci".
- * Man in his house looks out the window at two youths in the street, one holding a flowering branch, the other gesturing towards the ground – Woman seduces a man at night in front of her house.
- [Exempla: Worldly Deceit, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Refertur in historia tripartita Quod ab antiquis phylosophis mundana deceptio depingebatur"; [Flattery, *Imagines Fulgentii* and Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Adulatio ab antiquis depingitur in forma unius puelle" (begins with text from *Imagines*, followed by extracts from moralization by Holkot); [four verses on flattery] (TUBACH 1969, no.2079)
- * Flattery: woman with mirror in right hand, wine beaker in left – Deceit: woman with three children at whose feet are three sirens with fish tails, one

singing, another playing a drum (she has a bird's head), the third a hurdy-gurdy (cf. identical sirens on f56v); the children are labelled with verses on scrolls.

- 47r [Exempla: Venus-Lechery, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Venus sub qua depingitur luxuria"; [Lechery, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Magister grecorum dicit quod sardania paulus rex grecie" (unfinished; TUBACH 1969, no.3100); [Chimaera-Mutability of Love, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Chymera dicitur quasi chimeran id est amoris fluctuatio" (unfinished?; PARAVICINI 1979, 17; RIGG 1968, 61); [seven sorrows of the state] "Septem sunt tribulationes civitatis" (BERTHALOT 1910, 97); [verse about bribery] "Flammis nocet unda"; [sixteen proverbs written as one sentence with variations] "Noli dicere omnia que scis" (also on f31r).
 * Venus, nude, sits on conch shell in the water; two maidens adorn her hair with flowers, a third holds cosmetics – Lechery: man in bed surrounded by four foxes; all figures are labelled with verses in scrolls – Chimaera: lion's head, goat's horns, front half of a goat's body, rear half of a dragon's body with a dragon's tail – Walled town.

**47v–50v Schemata and Verses:
 Virtues, Vices, Liberal Arts**

- 47v [Schematic diagram of virtues and liberal arts] (Virtues: based on William of Conches, *Moralium dogma philosophorum*; PL 171, 1011-1034; TUVE, 1963, 268, n.5; liberal arts: based on Hugo of St Victor, *Didascalicon* II; PL 176, 751-766; WIRTH 1983, 317-321); [text on Gifts of the Holy Spirit and Beatitudes] "Nota quod dona spiritus sancti sunt dispositiones"; [twenty-three verses about learning] "Mens humilis studium querendi"; [forty-six verses about the liberal arts] "Gramatica monstrat auctorum utilitates".
 * Schematic diagram with names of virtues and liberal arts inscribed in circles, connected by wavy red lines, emanating from a circle at the top of the page containing Christ, inscribed "Virtutes procedentes a domino iesu christo Qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris".
- 48r [Schematic diagram of vices, magic and abuses] Twelve *abusiones claustr*: "Prelatus negligens", etc.; eight *abusiones seculi*: "Juvenis ociosus", etc. (WIRTH 1983, 318-321; vices: LANGOSCH 1931, 125-127; magic: based on Hugo of St Victor, *Didascalicon* VI, xv; PL 176, 810-812; abuses: for various attributions see DICTIONNAIRE IV, 69; Ps.-Augustine, *De xii abusiva saeculi*; PL 40, 1079-1088; Hugo of Folieto, *De claustro animae* II, xi-xxii, *De xii abusioibus claustr*; PL 176, 1058-1086; BERTHALOT 1910, 97; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* IV, lxiii).

- * Schematic diagram with names of seven vices, their subdivisions, sophistry, its subdivisions, magic, its subdivisions, twenty abuses (twelve monastic, eight secular), inscribed in circles, connected by wavy red lines, emanating from a circle at the top of the page containing the devil, who holds prongs and a snake.
- 48v-49r [Schematic diagram of the art of rhetoric with schema of the subdivisions of the soul] (based on *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De inventione* and Alcherus of Clairvaux, *De spiritu et anima*; PL 40, 779ff; SEEBOHM 1985)
 * Schematic diagram combined with a mnemonic image of crowned man with three faces (young, mature, old), two differently dressed halves of his body, one winged and one over-sized foot, holding a staff in one hand and a vine-like growth issuing from his side in the other; all parts of the image, which continues in the vine-like schemata on the facing page, are inscribed with the divisions and subdivisions of the art of rhetoric and of the soul.
- 48v [Definitions of the seven virtues (naming the attributes of only "Temperancia" and "Prudencia")] "Spes est virtus qua speramus".
 * Seven female personifications of virtues with attributes: "Spes" holding an anchor; "Caritas" with beams of light radiating from behind her; "Prudencia" with a third eye on her forehead and carrying a lamp; "Temperancia" wearing a bridle; "Fides" with flowers on her crown;
- 49r [Definition of virtue] "Virtus est animi habitus"; [subdivisions of the cardinal virtues] "Quattuor virtutes cardinales dicuntur a cardine".
 * (Illustration cont'd.): "Fortitudo" wearing a helmet and strangling a lion; "Justicia" holding a sword and scales.
- 49v-50v [Ninety-two dactylic hexameter verses on the seven vices, most with biblical, patristic, etc., glosses above the line of verse] "Ocia si tollis periere libidinis arma" (Incipit is from Ovid, *Remedium amoris*, 139).
 * Seven female personifications of the vices riding various animals: f49v *Superbia*, arranging her headdress and holding a mirror, rides a lion – *Avaricia*, holding bags of money, rides a pig; f50r *Ira*, driving a sword through her child, rides a bear – *Invidia*, gesturing, rides backwards on a dog with a bone in his mouth – *Acedia*, letting her idle spindle fall, slouches on a donkey; f50v *Gula*, eating a chicken leg and carrying a chicken on a skewer, rides a wolf with a fowl in his jaws – *Luxuria*, holding a shirt on a pole, sits on two crouching animals (cat and dog?).

50v-52r Verses, Exemplum: *Memento mori* and *Vanitas*

- 50v [Thirty-nine-verse poem about death and vanity] "Ecce mundus moritur viciis sepultus". (RUDOLF 1957, 20 n.20 & 21, 28; WALTHER 1920, 74, 211; see also bibliography for *Visio Philiberti* below); [forty-verse poem about death and vanity] "Nudum matris utero deus te infudit".
* Death with bow and arrow shoots the plowman at work in the field.

- 51r-51v [*Visio Philiberti*, poem about death and vanity in 332 goliardic verses, a dialogue between the poet and his soul] "Noctis sub silencio tempore brumali" (WALTHER 1920, 63ff, 211; ZATOČIL 1974, 25-40); f51r [eight dactylic hexameters about death and vanity interpolated after line 13] "O saccus stercorum fetens et fragilis".

- 51r * Poet sleeping in bed; half-figure of an angel in a cloud above; blank scroll – Corpse of poet in shroud on bier; soul (naked child) with raised arms stands above foot of bier; open grave beside bier; blank scroll – Death with scythe mows down three bodies lying at its feet; blank scroll.

- 51v * Corpse sits up in bier to talk to soul standing on ground behind foot of bier; each figure with inscribed scroll – Poet, dressed, kneels in prayer beside bed, heavenly cloud above emits beams of light.

[Eight verses about death and vanity] "Ut placeas christo mundo dum vivis in isto" (also on f67r in W); [twenty-two-verse poem about death and vanity ("Planctus animae damnatae")] "O vos omnes qui transitis".

- 52r [German literal translation of above poem ("Jammerruf des Toten")] "O ir alle die hie vorgan". (PALMER *VL*; EIS 1964, 278-285)

* A naked man, being devoured by worms, stands with arms akimbo in the flaming mouth of hell, which is fanned by two devils with bellows; two bat-winged devils fly above and snatch the departing soul (small naked child) with prongs.

[Exemplum of Vanity, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Fulgencius in libro de contemptu mundi ponit virginem" [followed by two verses on vanity].

* Woman, wearing a net dress and headdress, standing with upraised arms; five inscribed scrolls.

52v-56r *Etymachia*: Treatise on Virtues and Vices

- 52v-56r [*Etymachia* treatise on seven vices and seven virtues] "Misit Saul apparitores ut raperent david...et in suo tempore modestus" (This explicit should be that of the sixth virtue; W reversed the order of the final sixth and seventh virtues, making the correct explicit of the seventh virtue, "quia modum et ordinem non habent," fall at the top of f56r. Incipit is from I Kings 19, 4). (HARRIS 1994)

* Two personifications per page of seven vices and seven virtues, riding on animals, and in armour with (mainly) animal attributes on the helmet, shield, tunic, and in their hands, respectively, as follows: f52v "Superbia" dromedary, peacock, eagle, lion sword – "Luxuria" bear, roses, siren, basilisk, goblet; f53r "Avaricia" gazelle, mole, unicorn, squirrel, chicken (not in text) – "Ira" camel, hawk, rabid dog, "forca", club (not in text); the following personifications have no attributes in their hands: f53v "Invidia" dragon, beehive, bat, serpent – "Gula" cat, fox, fish, panther; f54r "Accidia" donkey, monkey, ox, leopard – "Humilitas" panther, flowering vine, two ladders, griffon; f54v "Castitas" unicorn, white lilies and flowers, angel, wolf – "Largitas/Liberalitas" "eale", "jaspidus", lark, stork; f55r "Paciencia" elephant, bird, "letophica", lamb – "Caritas" "orasius", lark, pelican, harpy; f55v "Abstinencia/ Temperancia" stag, crows' nest, otter, serpent – "Devocio" "caupulus", nightingale, lamb, phoenix.

**56r–61r 27 Exempla. Treatise on Predestination.
Treatise on the Church. Verses about Monastic Life**

56r [Exempla: Pride] "Fulgentius et Honorius fertur in libro deorum Quod socrates depinxerat ymaginem superbie"; [Diogenes and Alexander] "Refert jeronymus contra jovinianum quod diogenes amore studii omnia reliquit" (both Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*).

* Standing man in short gown with wide sleeves and jewelled belt, epaulets, and collar, wears three crowns on top of each other; inscriptions on each crown and in three scrolls – Diogenes, lying in a barrel, gestures to Alexander, standing before him in a short tunic, cape, jewelled belt, and crown, gesturing with his hands; three men stand behind Alexander, two in knee-length gowns and two different caps; two scrolls beside Diogenes and Alexander inscribed with their words.

56v [Exempla: Ulysses and Circe] "Refert boetius in libro 4 quod quidam miles ulixes nomine"; [Ulysses and the Sirens] "Ovidius narrat de transformatis quod tres sunt syrene" (both Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*); [Cambises – the just judge, *Gesta Romanorum*] "Erat quidam imperator nomine Ambises (sic) qui statuit" [with four verses on justice interpolated].

* Circe, crowned and wearing a long gown with wide sleeves and scalloped trim at shoulders and neck, holds cup in right hand and raises left. She faces Ulysses and three of his companions. Ulysses, in short armour, holds a flower up to her in his right hand and his shield beside him in his left. Of the companions, only the first is armed; he holds his shield in the same way as Ulysses and grasps his sword, removing it from the sheath at his hip. He has a monkey's head. The second man has a beaked bird's head with ears (intended to be an owl). The man behind him, also gripping his sword, has a donkey's head – In a ship at sea in high waves, Ulysses is tied by his

hands to the mast from which billows a sail; a small triangular flag flutters above. Ulysses's companion clutches the side of the boat with one hand and gestures with the other, turning to look at Ulysses, who looks upward and away from him. In the water beside the boat are three sirens: women with fish tails, the middle one with a bird's head; two play a hurdy-gurdy and a drum while the third sings – A judge, wearing a cap and holding a staff, sits on a human skin (facial features are visible) draped over a seat; two men in knee-length tunics stand before him, the first (an emperor) is crowned, the second wears a cap; the emperor has an inscribed scroll, the judge's scroll is blank.

57r [Exempla: Pride, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Refert fulgencius quod superbia ab antiquis depingebatur una mulieris ymago"; [Fortuna with flowers, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Depingebatur domina fortune secundum Ovidium in fallaciis fortune"; [Fortuna with two faces, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Pictura fortune secundum plinium Matrone romanorum dedicaverunt templum fortune".

* A woman, riding a lion and wearing a long gown with wide sleeves, carries a drum and a sceptre; the crown on her head contains four towers; a long inscribed scroll arcs over the picture – A woman, in a long gown with wide sleeves and a headdress, sits on a wheel and holds three flowers in each hand, petals dropping from those on her right; a large medallion with painted flowers hangs on her chest (both the wheel and the *memento mori* verse inscribed on it are not mentioned in the text; same verse is on Wheel of Life on f30v) – A two-faced woman (both faces in profile; one dark, the other light; eyes shut) riding in a wagon pulled by three horses; four long inscribed scrolls wind in all directions.

57v [Treatise on predestination] "Est autem divina predestinatio gratuita liber 14 de civitate dei" (consists mainly of quotations from St Augustine).

* Two young men in short robes standing with arms akimbo, left man labelled "predestinatus", right "reprobatus"; God, half-length in cloud above them, blesses with His right hand with upraised fingers, His left is obscured by the cloud.

[Exemplum: Jupiter with three wings, *Imagines Fulgentii*, ending with a moralization of the three powers based on the story of Darius's banquet, 1 Esdras, 3-4] "Refert fulgencius de ornatu orbis quod cum romani multos deos coluissent".

* Young man, in knee-length tunic with wide sleeves and jewelled belt, has three inscribed wings, two at his right shoulder, one at his left.

58r [Exempla: Janus – the image of Christ, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Imago Christi narrat Varro de braris (sic) edibus deorum"; [Goddess of Love with four

wheels, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Secundum Ovidium de arte amandi amor efficit readamantes unanimes in honore"; [Charity, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Caritas a quibusdam sic depingitur in forma pulcherrime mulieris".

* Boy in knee-length tunic, standing on a pedestal, holds a scroll inscribed with numbers 1-3 – Standing woman, in long gown with wide sleeves, is surrounded by four wheels, two of which she holds in her hands, covered with verse inscriptions – A standing woman wears a long gown which is divided in half down the centre, the left half shaded (it should be red, according to the text), the right white, and has wide sleeves with scalloped trim. She holds in her right hand an apple, a lily, and a mirror; in her left hand a gold coin, a white rose, and a spindle; each of these objects has a short inscribed scroll next to it.

58r-58v [Exemplum: Love with four wings, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Secundum fulgencium et isidorum ymago amoris fuit puer alatus quattuor aliis".

58r * Naked young boy with four inscribed wings.

58v [Exemplum: Love (or Friendship) with exposed heart, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Narrat fulgencius in quodam libro de gestis Romanorum Quod cives romani descripserunt ymaginem amoris".

* Barefoot, standing man in a knee-length gown with wide sleeves trimmed with scallops; the tunic is slit at the left side to expose his heart; inscribed scrolls are at his forehead and heart; a third inscription is on the hem.

58v-59r [Exemplum: Wisdom, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Narrat magister wilhelmus arragonensis quod athenienses tripliciter descripserunt sapientiam".

58v * Naked woman, covered with a blanket up to her waist, in litter carried by four women in long dresses; each woman has inscribed scroll – Enthroned, crowned woman in long dress suckling two bearded old men at her feet.

59r * Pilgrim, in ankle-length gown and wide-brimmed pilgrim's hat, carrying an open book, stands in front of church; inscribed scroll beside man.

59r-59v [Exempla: Prudence, *Imagines Fulgentii*; variant of the triumph of a Roman emperor in *Gesta Romanorum*] "Prudencia secundum aliquos sic depingitur In statu cuiusdam philosophi" (last seven lines of exemplum are *memento mori* moralizations including the three philosophers at Alexander's tomb; also in Holkot's *Convertimini*); ff59r-59v [Piety or Compassion, *Imagines Fulgentii* and Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*; the exemplum is told twice, once in each version] "Narrat Valerius (sic) in speculo historie Quod pietas vel compassio depingebatur sic".

59r * A scholar (philosopher), wearing a tasselled cap, is seated at a desk with three open inscribed books and a small white horse – Barefoot, standing man, with a halo and wearing a long gown, holds a large heart, broken

down the middle and surrounded by four inscribed scrolls. A second, larger heart with three inscribed scrolls around it is supported by a disembodied arm issuing from a cloud.

- 59v [Exempla: God of Clemency] "Refert plinius ad maximum Quod inter romanos erat quedam controversia" (very similar to, but distinct from, exemplum of the same by Holkot, *Moralitates*); [Patience] "Paciencia secundum antiquos philosophus sic depingebatur Virgo quedam nobilis" [with two verses on patience interpolated] (both *Imagines Fulgentii*).
* Standing man in knee-length tunic crosses his arms across his chest and has four inscribed wings – Standing woman in long gown with wide sleeves holds a triangular shield (*scutum fidei*) in front of her chest; it has scrolls with inscriptions at each of its three corners, a T-shaped cross painted on it, and beams of light issuing from its upper right hand corner.
- 59v-60r [Exemplum of Humility, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Imago humilitatis Refert titus livus (sic) quod rome fuit inventa mensa aurea".
- 59v * Man in knee-length tunic bends towards table on ground; he has five wings: one at each shoulder, one on his chest, one on each foot.
- 60r [Exempla: Penitence as armed man, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Penitencia depingitur in templo de veste ad similitudinem militis bene armati" [the second part of the exemplum includes a description of four wheels on which life should run and ends with two verses on penance]; [Grace, *Imagines Fulgentii*] "Dixit quidam commentator nomine servius quemdam librum virgilio".
* Man in full armour has anchor on helmet, cross on shield, and holds lance with banner on it; three inscribed scrolls: at helmet, arm, and shield – Three women in long gowns standing side by side with their arms intertwined; inscriptions above their heads.
- 60r-60v [Exemplum: Penitence with whips, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Imago penitentie quam depinxerunt sacerdotes de veste secundum Remigium" [followed by eleven mnemonic verses on penance, with two penitential texts beside the illustration].
- 60r * Naked man holds nail scourge and large whip with inscriptions along each strand.

- 60v-61r [Treatise on the Church] "Ecclesia materialis constructa ex lapidibus representat ecclesiam Christi militantem" (based on Hugo of St Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae*, I); [Exempla: Illiterate lay brother, *Gesta Romanorum*; there are many variants of this exemplum] "Erant duo fratres carnales unus clericus alter laicus" [ending with a verse]; ff60v-61r [Prayer, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Commentator juvenalis super illud juvenalis de celo nothi dicit quod oraculum appollonis fuit nothi solitus" (unfinished).
- 60v * Church with bell tower, five tall windows along the nave, and a round, domed apse with three tall windows; three steps lead up to the entrance, where Christ, nimbed and holding a staff, is seated with a dog lying at His feet; around the church is a wall inside which are a cemetery and trees; inscriptions are on all parts of the picture – A tonsured monk in a cuculla, carrying a book, standing next to a bearded lay brother in a cape, holding a scroll inscribed with a black "P" and a white "C" (the blank space between the two letters was intended to contain a red "S", according to the text) – Standing man in knee-length tunic, his arms raised in prayer, is surrounded by four angels, two kneeling on the ground and two in half-figure in the clouds; each figure has a long inscribed scroll.
- 61r [Exempla: Devil Tutivillus collecting words dropped at mass; there exist many variants of this exemplum] "Quidam abbas ordinis cisterinensis (sic) vir bone vite quadam nocte cum esset cum monachis suis in choro"; [poem about Tutivillus] "D. non iram si sit mal. vel lecta. Littera neglecta vel sillaba minima tecta"; [verses on prayer; thirteen verses about monastic life] "Ut fugias Sathanam presentem inspice formam"; [Fountain of Grace, Robert Holkot, *Moralitates*] "Narrat solinus de mirabilibus mundi Quod in India erat unus mons".
- * Horned devil with many faces on his body carries a basket (containing a blank scroll) on his back and speaks to a Cistercian abbot carrying a book; both have inscribed scrolls – Seated monk beads over a book open on his knee; an angel holding a wreath flies above; both have inscribed scrolls – At the top of a mountain beside a group of trees is a pool from which three streams flow towards three walled towns (a fourth is visible partly concealed by the mountain); a girl in a long dress sits beside the pool; a blank scroll is in her hand.

61v–62r Preaching. The Mass. The Host. Simony

- 61v [Eight quotations from the Bible and the Fathers about preaching] "Gregorius in moralia Etsi est vilis predicator non est despiciendus"; [six verses about preaching] "Sunt qui conveniunt bene predicare volenti"; [five verses about sinners] "perfidus aspiciat petrum predoque latronem"; [preaching instructions] "Dum sermonem facis non debes protenta manu"; [five subjects for sermons] "Quinque sunt predicanda in ecclesia dei". (CAPLAN 1934, 12, no. 51, 100; CHARLAND 1938, 98)
- * A good and a bad preacher: The good preacher, in a square pulpit, holds a sword with which he pierces and lifts up a fish around which a snake, held by a devil, tried to wind itself; inscriptions in scrolls beside preacher and devil, but without a scroll below sword. Christ, in half-figure in a cloud above, gestures in blessing towards the preacher – The bad preacher, in a curved pulpit, holds a broken sword; the snake held by the devil coils itself firmly twice around the fish (for references to the preacher handling God's word like a sword, able to separate the soul from the flesh if he is virtuous, the preacher's battle against the devil, and sermons about good and bad preachers, see SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 37-38).
- [Six effects of the Mass] "Instigat cor gratia supernorum"; [five causes of corruption in priests] "Propter pecunie lucrum".
- * A good and a bad priest: The good priest stands at the altar elevating the host; two acolytes are behind the priest, one ringing a bell, the second holding a candle and lifting the hem of the priest's cope; a half-figure of an angel appears in a cloud above – The bad priest kneels at the altar, his hands raised in prayer; behind him, a devil operates a series of five bellows to blow at the priest; each bellows has one of the causes of corruption (see text) written beside it.
- 61v-62r [Three verses about the Host] "Tres partes fracte Christi de corpore signant" (based on a longer poem by Hildebert of Le Mans, *Loci ex Novo Testamento*; PL 171, 1280); [treatise about the Host] "Prima particula sanctificatur et offertur pro destinatis".
- 61v * A diagram of the Host divided into three numbered parts: the first is the right semicircle, the second the lower left quarter, and the third the left upper quarter.
- 62r [Excerpt from Nicholas of Dresden, *Tabulae veteris et novi coloris seu Cortina de Anticristo* about simony and adulterous clerics] "Semen chanaan et non iuda species deceptit te" (none of the inscriptions on the picture appear in this text; Seebohm in publication; Nicholas's text is published in KAMINSKY 1965)

* Canonical regularity and simony: Canonical regularity: A Church, "Ecclesia vacans". God, in half-figure in a cloud above, holds out wreaths to the men below. They are "Collator" and "Acceptor" (who is tonsured), riding in a four-wheeled cart (the wheels are "equitas", "pax", "veritas", and "justicia"), and shaking hands ("Gratia"). The horses pulling the cart are "Dilectio proximi" and "dilectio dei"; the driver "Consciencia" prods the "Acceptor" with the goad "Stimulus rectitudinis" – Simony: A church, "Ecclesia vacans". The "Collator" and "Acceptor" shake hands ("Pactum") while riding in a sleigh "Castile symonie" (with the runners "mentis dolositas" and "verborum subtilitas", and the shaft "Futa necessitas"), pulled by the horses "Timor penurie" and "Ambicio". The driver "Cecitas mentis" points the goad "Stimulus presumptionis" at the "Acceptor". They are propelled by the air from a series of five bellows ("Consangwinitas", "vel donum", "aut servitum", "complacencia", "seu nobilitatem") operated by a devil, leading them straight into the open flaming mouth of hell containing a devil beckoning them welcome.

62v–69r Virtues and Vices, Including Schematic Diagrams

62v "Seraphin" (sic) [Thirty-six inscriptions of six virtues and their subdivisions] "Timor domini deo servire pacem unire".

* Seraphim with halo, stigmata, wearing long, cowed gown, carries an orb surmounted by a cross; each of the six wings, as well as each of the five feathers in it, are inscribed with virtues.

[Julianus Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa*, III, xiii: *De laude caritatis*] "Sententiae beati prosperi de laudi caritatis Caritas est ut mihi videtur recta voluntas" (*PL* 59, 493. Incorrect attribution to Prosperus Aquitanus is based on Chrodegang of Metz, see SCHANZ 1920, viii, iv, 2, 498); [seven quotations from the Fathers, etc., and two petitions concerning penance, intercession, and the imitation of Christ] "Albertus magnus Simplex cogitatio passionis christi plus valet et utilior est" (the first is similar to "Albertitafeln"; STAMMLER 1957).

* The crucified Christ, with a balance hanging from the left arm of the Cross, in which the arma Christi weigh more than the books a devil is trying to make heavier; below the Crucifixion a man carries a cross, another bears the stigmata, a third touches the feet of the Crucified, and a fourth sits up praying in bed to Christ standing at the foot of his bed and interceding for him (based on a sermon attributed to St Bernard and St Gregory's *Moralia in Job*; WORMALD 1937–8. See also AUGUSTYN 1992).

- 63r "Cherubin" (sic) [Thirty-six inscriptions of six virtues and their subdivisions] "Dilectio dei se ipsum negare".
 * Cherubim with halo, wearing long, cowled gown, carries a scroll inscribed "Cherubin", and makes a gesture of benediction; each of the six wings, as well as each of the five feathers in it, are inscribed with virtues.
- [Thirty verses about confession and penance] "Sis simplex humilis tibi despiciatus"; "Arbor penitencie cuius radix est cordis contritio"; [twelve quotations from the Fathers, etc., concerning confession and penance] "Chrysostom peius est nolle confiteri quam legem transgredi"; [four hexameters on the sixteen qualities of confession] "Qualiter debet fieri confessio" (based on Petrus Pictaviensis, (*Summa de confessione*) *Compilatio praesens*, of which W lists all but Petrus's seventeenth, "obediens"; ed. LONGERE CC li, 1980, 3); [four hexameters on the eight qualities of the confessor; five actions of the confessor] "Qualis debet esse confessor" (cf. Petrus Pictaviensis, (*Summa de confessione*) and *Poeniteas cito*; PL 207, 1155); [eight circumstances of sin] "Quis quid ubi quibus" (based on Petrus Pictaviensis, (*Summa de confessione*), XL); "Scala celi" [twelve precepts concerning virtuous conduct for monks] "Ut confessionem sive de preteritis sive de presentibus".
 * Tree of penitence with its parts labelled according to the accompanying text: roots: "cordis contritio", leaves: "bona confessio", branch: "bonorum operum affectio", flowers: "bone fame opinio", fruits: "sanctificacio" (which should be "satisfactio") – Ladder of twelve virtues with twelve steps numbered from bottom to top corresponding to the twelve precepts in the accompanying text; a scroll inscribed "Scala celi" is at the top.
- 63v [Twenty-five quotations from the Fathers, etc., and the Bible concerning the mortification of the senses, the imitation of Christ, and monastic life] "Gregorius Non licet aspicere quem non licet concupiscere"; [four verses about mortification of the senses] "Custodi visum vehementer comprime risum"; [seven virtues through which the religious attain heaven] "Septem virtutes per quas homo religiosus consequitur regnum dei"; [exemplum: The Good Samaritan is the custos who helps the monks resist the temptation of wandering from the monastery] "Homo quidam descendebat ab ierusalem in iericho Homo iste signat quemlibet religiosum"; [two verses discouraging wandering monks] "Sicut piscis moritur"; [six preparations for divine contemplation] "Sex sunt qui preparant hominem ad divinam contemplationem"; [verse discouraging willfulness in monks] "Nulla lepra peior in leproso"; [a critique of the taxation exacted by the Church] "Exemplum quedam vetula cuidam monacho dixit Domine vos non comeditis carnes vaccinas" (SEEBOHM in publication).

* Memory image of a crucified monk, symbolically representing the perfect behaviour of a monk. He is tonsured, barefoot, wears a long, cowled robe; his eyes are blindfolded and his mouth padlocked shut. Four nails, labelled with virtues, fasten his hands and feet to the cross. An opening in his robe over his right breast exposes a wound; a large serpent approaches it from the left. Two small children with crossed halos fly on either side, aiming at the monk with a scourge and a bow and arrow. An arc over the cross is filled with texts, the cross and the nails have inscriptions (The image of the monk is based on an exemplum by Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Pars II, Distinctio vii, cap. 19; the serpent on St Bernard, *Sermo ad clericos de conversione*, v, 7 and St Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, xxi, 4-5; SEEBOHM in publication).

64r [Cross/Tree of Life with four cardinal virtues, five items concerning penance, twenty further virtues] "Arbor in medio id est longitudo que omnia portat est consilium"; [two quotations from the Fathers about the imitation of Christ] "vii Gradus crucis prima castitatis secunda mundi contemptus"; [six precepts for virtuous conduct for monks] "Ut omnia opera sua videantur sibi in perfecte et in devote agere".

* Cross/Tree of Life with six arms (four inscribed with cardinal virtues), four roots (virtues), five flowers (virtues), five leaves (virtues), six fruits (virtues), a spear, a sword ("Custos arboris oracio", perhaps referring to the flaming sword guarding the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden), and three animals at the roots, each labelled "Mala bestia devorans arborem": a lion ("reputacio sui"), a hare ("Palliata confessio"), a boar ("Amor sui"); five further inscriptions concern penance.

64v * Tower of Wisdom inscribed from the foundation to the crenellated summit with 57 virtues and 108 subdivisions according to the accompanying text on the facing page; the parts of the tower labelled A – Y along the left side from the ground to the summit correspond to the divisions in the text. The tower has four columns, seven steps, one door, and four windows; the walls are divided into 120 squares (twelve virtues and their nine subdivisions); five personified virtues, crowned women with swords and inscribed scrolls identifying them, guard the tower from the crenellated battlement (SANDLER 1983).

- 65r "Tria sunt genera fidelium in ecclesia militante ad triumphante per incrementa virtutum sperantium pervenire Scilicet incipientes proficientes et perficientes"; [Tower of Wisdom] "Frater bonacursus quondam tyrenensis archiepiscopus de ordine fratrum predicatorum eis edificavit turrin sapientie per quam tela demonum ignes valeant extingwere et ad deum feliciter pertransire Est autem turris sapientie moralis ad modum turris materialis edificata" (incomplete: the sixth and final custodian was omitted); [seven quotations from the Fathers, etc., and the Bible concerning virtues, *memento mori*] "Bernardus Miror de religiosis qui in adquisicione rerum temporalium se habent"; "Tria faciunt cordis mundiciam leccio scripturarum"; [eighty-one verses concerning *memento mori*, virtues, religion, misogyny] "Sis iustus prudens fortis discretus et urens"; [six steps of virtue] "Per hunc gradum ascenditur in celum" (based on Alanus ab Insulis, *Sermo II de sancta cruce*; PL 210, 224); [fifteen steps of virtue, identical with virtues in verse above] "Sis iustus prudens"; "vii gradus obediencie" (based on St Bernard, *Sermo XLI de virtute obedientiae*; PL 183, 656–658; his seventh virtue, "indesinenter obtemperare", is an error in W, where there is only the word "indeficienter"); "xii gradus paciencie" (numbers 9, 10, and 11 agree with numbers 31, 32, and 29, respectively, of the 74 good works in the Rule of St Benedict, iii).
* Four sets of steps inscribed with names of virtues; from left to right, the first, third, and fourth are to be read from top to bottom, and the second from the bottom up.
- 65v [Tree of Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit] "Fructus spiritus" [with names of sixty-five virtues and seven groups of virtuous people] "Aspiciebam et ecce arbor in medio terre" (Incipit is from Daniel 4, 7); [three verses about a tree of virtues; three ascending levels of humility] "Virtus humilitatis"; [Ecclesiasticus 24, 26] "Transite ad me omnes qui concupis etc. (sic)"; [seven kinds of humility] "In vii modis diversificatur humilitas".
* Tree with seven branches, each bearing a haloed dove of the Holy Spirit and seven to fifteen fruits (circles inscribed with names of Gifts of the Holy Spirit and virtues; one is blank); Christ, holding the Gospels and blessing with his right hand, sits enthroned at the root.
- 66r [Tree of Seven Vices] *Fructus carnis* [with sixty-two subdivisions] "Hec est bestia quam vidit beatus johannes in apokalypsi sicut ipse dixit Vidi bestiam de mari ascendentem habentem capita sex cornua decem" (based on the Apocalypse 13, 1, where the beast has seven heads); [four verses about a tree of vices]; [fourteen verses about evil animals and their vices].

* Same tree as Tree of Virtues on the facing page, but with different leaves, fruits of vices, a large, horned devil's head flanked by six small ones at the root, and devils and animals on the branches as follows. Pride: a devil with horns and a mirror; peacock. Sloth: empty-handed slouching devil; donkey. Anger: devil armed with a sword and shield; hedgehog. Avarice: devil holding money bags; otter with fish in its mouth. Envy: devil pointing to his long nose; barking dog. Gluttony: devil stuffing food into his mouth; crow. Lechery: devil making indecent gestures; sparrow.

- 66v [Three vines of heretics, pagans, and the Church Militant] "Vitis illa hereticam geneloyam significat que dissimulis est aliis vitibus in hac figura apparentibus" (SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 272-290).
* Three vines, all originating from the same root (of human nature), on a post (staff of faith). They are the vines of the Gentiles, or pagans, of the baptized, dividing to form the vine of the heretics and the vine of the militant church with the fruits of the elect.
- 67r [Tree with 106 verses on virtues and vices, *Conflictus virtutum et viciorum*, missing the incipit "Vos qui sub Christo mundo certatis in isto"; see B6544] "Superbia Quis michi laude pari vel honore potest sociari".
* Tree of twenty vices and twenty virtues, seven branches on either side of the trunk; branches have three fruits, except the uppermost with two, which are inscribed circles (vices on the left; virtues right).
- 67v-68r [Sixty-two definitions of virtues and sacraments] "Caritas est virtus qua ardens dei dilectione" (based on William of Conches, *Moralium dogma philosophorum*; PL 171, 1009–1026, with variations, and on Alanus ab Insulis, *De virtutibus*; ed. LOTTIN 1960, vi, 27-92).
- 67v * Tree of Virtues with nine branches and seven fruits (virtues inscribed in circles; one blank) on each branch; the text is disposed around the illustration so that the definitions are as near as possible to the corresponding fruits on the tree, those in the left column for the left side of the tree, and those on the right for the right side (which is also maintained in the continuation of the text on f68r).
- 68r [Eight verses on the liberal arts] "Dextra manus librat namque singula pensat" (based on Alanus ab Insulis, *Anticlaudianus*, I, vi; PL 210, 494).

* The crowned "Prudencia", carrying scales, rides a wagon (wheels are inscribed with verses about the *quadrivium*), "Concordia" puts the finishing touches on the wagon (*Anticlaudianus* IV, i), of which Grammar makes the shaft (III, i) and which is pulled by five horses (the senses; IV, ii-iii) with one driver (who is Ratio; IV, iv). They ride through the heavens – concentric circles with the sun, moon, and five planets – to the door of heaven, where there are two crowned women (*Prudentia* and *Fides*; VI, i ff). Once inside, "Prudencia" rides alone, on one horse, towards the enthroned God, "Natura naturans" (VI, v) – "Prudencia", with a book, addresses eight young women seated on the ground, "Ancille prudentie sunt vii artes liberales" (the first woman, kneeling before "Prudencia" as if to receive her book, is probably not one of the *artes*) – *Prudentia* (?), enthroned, with "Natura naturata" inscribed above her in the arc framing the picture, speaks to eleven young women seated on the ground before her; in the arc is written "Natura virtutum concilium vocat ad se suas sorores".

68v-69r [Four wagons of Aminadab (the Creed) and four wagons of Pharaoh (four vices), with eight verses on articles of the Creed; eight verses on the evangelists; five verses on the four senses of Scripture; three hymns for which to stand at Mass; the allegory of the wagon and the Creed; eight verses on vices] (based on Peter of Blois, *Sermo II de uno confessore*; *PL* 207,709-713; SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS 1982, 291-307).

* Two sets of four wagons each, all proceeding towards the right, on two facing pages: f68v four wagons contain four scenes from the life of Christ: Incarnation (Madonna and Child), the Passion (Flagellation), the Resurrection, and the Ascension. They are pulled by the symbols of the four evangelists, which are assisted by four prophets; f69r four wagons contain women representing four vices: "Superbia", "Malicia", "Luxuria", and "Mammon" (for avarice) with their attributes, and pulled by two horses each, a man sitting on the first three teams, a woman on the last. The wheels are covered with inscriptions, the wagons with verses; more verses are beside the first two evangelist's wagons; biblical quotations are beside the prophets.

69v Ages of Man, Liberal Arts

- 69v [Eight verses on seven Ages of Man and "Natura", eight verses on liberal arts and philosophy, one verse each on the Trinity and Eternal Wisdom] "Omnia dispono creo singula cunctaque dono" (the verses on the Ages derive from *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*; SEARS 1986, 115, 140–144).
- * Tree of Wisdom with seven branches inscribed with verses on either side off the trunk, each ending in circles (fruits), containing male representatives of the seven ages of man and Nature on the left side (from the bottom up: "Natura" shown as "Embrio" in utero as in the medical illustrations on ff37v–38r, "Infans" in a cradle, "Puer" with a pushcart, "Adolescens" with bow and arrow beside a tree, "Iuuenis" with hawk and bait, "Vir" with a sword, "Senex" bent over, with a walking stick, "Decrepitus" in bed, with a doctor holding up a urine glass), and male practitioners of the seven liberal arts and Philosophy on the right (from the bottom up: "Philozophia" a man contemplating the head of Christ, "Grammatica" reading the alphabet in a book, "loyca" holding two snakes, "rethorica" with flowers issuing from his mouth and holding a scroll, "Musica" singing "ut re mi" and striking a bell with a hammer, "Geometria" holding a ruler and measuring the ground with calipers, or drawing with compasses, "Arismetria" with numbers 1-6 on a scroll, "Astrologia" measuring the stars with an astrolabe); circles containing the Trinity ("Sancta trinitas" with the second Person as a baby) and Eternal Wisdom ("Eterna sapiencia", left blank) are above and below, respectively.

INDICES

Abbreviations: B = BLOOMFIELD 1979; CC = *Corpus Christianorum*; I = WALTHER 1969; P = WALTHER 1963–1969; PL = *Patrologia latina*. J. P. Migne, ed.

Index of Incipits and Verses (excluding Medical Section)

- A factore datis cur non epulis saciatis 67r
 A falsum vero doceo cognoscere clerum 47v
 A geometria rota tertia sit fabricata 68r
 Ad loycam pergo que mortis non timet ergo 63r
 Ad mortem festinamus peccare desistamus 30v
 Ad primum potum me tangunt gaudia totum 46r
 Adulacio ab antiquis depingitur in forma unius
 puelle pulcherrime simulatum gerens vultum
 46v
 Alea bachus amor meretricum reddit egenum
 (P764; I747) 65r
 Alsaticum vinum nummus bibit atque marinum 45v
 Amicitia est bona voluntas erga aliquem causa illius
 et sistit in inimici(tia) 67v
 Amor est mentis diversitas iugis dolor cordis
 asperitas 68r
 Amor fatuus depingitur sic apud Athenienses puer
 nudus in cuius capite erat scriptum 46r
 Amor mundanus cernit omnia lumine ceco 45v
 An labor an requies sic transit gloria mundi
 (P22258) 31r, 52r
 Angelicque chori miranda voce sonori 65r
 Anima mea conturbavit me propter quadrigas
 aminadab 69r
 Annus penitentialis est ieiunare per integrum
 annum ter in septima scilicet feria secunda 60r
 Ante tuos oculos in cunctis previa sit mors (P1165)
 30v
 Antichristus nascetur in Babilonia secundum
 autenticus De meretrice et nebulone ex tribu dan
 10v
 Apocopo vitam studium cum nomine perdo
 (P11708) 45v
 Apokalippsis iesu christi quem dedit illi deus palam
 facere servis suis que oportet fieri 2v
 Arbor in medio id est longitudo que omnia portat
 est consilium 64r
 Arbor ingentem naturam si speculeris 65v
 Arbor penitentie cuius radix est cordis contricio 63r
 Argue coge roga thimothee sagaciter insta 67r
 Ars est finitum et finitatis compendium
 imperiosum 67v
 Arta est via vite 65v
 Artes septene sunt bene mechanice dicte 47v
 Artus sustento baculo gradiens pede lente 69v
 Asperius nichil est humili dum crescit in altum
 (P1565) 30v
 Aspicebam et ecce arbor in medio terre et altitudo
 eius nimia arbor magna et fortis 65v
 Astra viasque poli dubias michi vendico soli 69v
 Attende quanta est caritas que si desit 62v
 Audi doctrinam si vis vitare ruinam (P1711; PL
 171, 1684; I1695) 47v
 Averte oculos meos ne videant vanitatem 63v
 Axis adornat reser hic quadriviale rote 68r
 Baptismus est exterior aque ablucio per
 invocacionem sancte trinitatis 67v
 Bekenne dich klein halt dich reyn 46r
 Benignitas est impetum aliquod interius refrenandi
 68r
 Bis sex credatis sunt species ebrietatis (I2197) 46r
 Bonum est scire propriam infirmitatem que est
 assiduitas deficiendi 31r
 Brevia festa sunt hec mundi gaudia (PL 184, 1316)
 31r
 Canonicas horas si devote legis vel oras (P2299) 61r
 Cantibus insisto presum vocesque ministro 47v
 Cantores et scriptores iuvenes et mulieres (P2314)
 45v
 Caritas a quibusdam sic depingitur in forma
 pulcherrime mulieris induta una tunica cuius una
 pars est alba altera rubea 58r
 Caritas est ut mihi videtur voluntas ab omnibus
 terrenis separata ac presentibus prorsus adversa
 62v
 Caritas est virtus cum qua voluntas ascendit ad
 diligendum deum 48v
 Caritas est virtus qua ardens dei dilectione et pro
 christo que amanda amantur 67v
 Carorum tristis discessus tristior istis 31r
 Casta fit incesta reprobam reddit honesta 69r
 Cauti pro dispensacione divini misterii 65v
 Ceca est fortuna quia non est omnibus una 30v
 Cesarus pandens olimque lumina flectens (P20421)
 45v

- Cetera beneficia invitant nos ad diligendum deum
62v
- Ceu luter servat cupidus res et coacervat 66r
- Chymera dicitur quasi chimeran id est amoris
fluctuatio ideo triceps pingitur 47r
- Claude miser aures virtutibus ut cor in aures 63r
- Claudatur incestus paradisi omnipotentis 67r
- Clerice te fallis tibi pandet ignea vallis 61r
- Commentator juvenalis super illud juvenalis de celo
nothi dicit quod oraculum appollinis fuit nothi
solitus id est nosci te ipsum Unde oratio
depingebatur ad modum hominis 60v
- Concordia est virtus concives et compatriotas in
eodem iure 67v
- Condiat ardentem simplex intentio mentem 63r
- Conditia decrescit vulgata scientia crescit (P3053)
47v
- Confessio humilitas perfecta et completio firmitas
spei et corroboratio 63r
- Confessio initium sanitatis est 63r
- Confessor dulcis affabilis atque suavis prudens
discretus (P3067; I3135; B0903) 63r
- Confidencia est speratio de munificentia in bonis
67v
- Confirmatio est exterior frontis unccio 67v
- Constantia est stabilitas animi firma 68r
- Conversi ab ydolis per predicacionem beati
iohannis drusiana et ceteri 27r
- Convertantur peccatores in infernum omnes gentes
46r
- Convertetur rex babilonis et preparabit
multitudinem malicie 32r
- Cor dependatur oculis nisi corde regatur 63r
- Cor quod cuncta notat semper quasi rota rotat
30v
- Cor rapit et tollit et pectora ferrea mollit 65r
- Corporis mundicia visus pudicia auditus castimonia
63r
- Credendum numquam est rebus fallacibus 31r
- Crescit amor mundi quantum pecunia crescit
(P3731) 45v
- Crimina cuncta parit virtutum germina perdit
(I3449) 49v
- Crimine mundatus semper transire paratus 67r, 30v
- Cui venter deus est velud ursus gluto vorax 66r
- Cum carnem macero peccata repellere quero 63r
- Cum de presentis exilii miseria mortis transitus
propter moriendi inpericiam multis non solum
laycis verum etiam religiosiis (B1076) 29r
- Cum domino psallis psallendis tria serves (P4128)
61r
- Cum femina esse et feminam non cognoscere
nonne plus est quam mortuos suscitare 46v
- Cum legas ewangelium sit quadruplex tibi signum
68v
- Cum neutrum durat nemo comprehendere curat
65r
- Cum nil dives sed totum pauper habebit 65r
- Cum paucis esto semper mortis memor esto
(P4302) 65r
- Cum recordor quod sum cinis et quod cito venit
31r
- Cuncta manent lete sunt omnia plena quiete 65r
- Cunctis te dona tua pauperibus quoque dona 63r
- Cur cito non fugitis ruituri rem ruituram 65r
- Cur modo contristat quod post gaudia tibi prestat
67r
- Cur mundus militat sub vana gloria (I3934; PL 184,
1314; B1287) 31r
- Cur non obsistis hiis que tibi fieri non vis 67r
- Cur sodomam colitis perituri rem perituram 65r
- Custodi visum vehementer comprime risum 63v
- Da vinum docto layco de flumine cocto (P4865,
33464) 45v
- Dant tibi spem venia peccata remissa marie 67r
- Dat mihi prima locum constructio congrua votum
(I4064) 47v
- De fenestra domus mee per cancellos perspexi et
video parvulos 46v
- De nummo quidem maiora prioribus edam (P5106)
45v
- Deicit infatuat condempnit deprimit inflat (I4225;
B1507) 49v
- Deicit occidit excecatur vulnerat urit (B1508) 50r
- Deliciis pleni constat virtutis egeni 31r
- Depingebatur domina fortune secundum Ovidium
in fallaciis fortune habere in manu sinistra tres
flores 57r
- Desere festinus mundum transi peregrinus (P5433)
65r
- Desiderium est operatio cum potencia ex appetitu
naturali 68r
- Despice labentem mundum fugito fugientem
(P5484; I4289) 65r
- Destruit annihilat necat eripit orbat cerbat (P9007,
9224a, 21870) 45v
- Dextra manus librat namque singula pensat 68r
- Dic ubi salomon olim tam nobilis (PL 184, 1315)
31r
- Dic viri ubi sunt amatores mundi huius qui ante
pauca tempora nobiscum erant 31r
- Dilectio dei se ipsum abnegare aliena non
concupiscere 63r
- Dilectio pro christo nulli nocere verbo et opere
omnibus prodesse in misericordiam 63r
- Disce quid sit amor amor est insania mentis 45v
- Disciplina est circa mora correctio quam discit
discipulus a magistro 67v
- Discreti pro miseris huius seculi 65v
- Dives divicias non congregat absque labore (P6059)
31r
- Dixit quidam commentator nomine servius super
quemdam librum virgillii Quod apud aliquos
gentiles qui virtutum picturas pro libris laicorum
habebant Quod gratia ex quo omne bonum
procedere debet depingebatur 60r
- Doctos infatuat homines animalibus equat 50v
- Doctrina est sermo audibilis ab ore magistri
progrediens 67v
- Doctrina pater est usus doctrinae scolares (P6201)
47v
- Domine vim pacior responde pro me id est fide
iussor vitam emendabo 62v
- Domine vos non comeditis carnes vaccinas sed vos
vivus comeditis 63v

- Dulce malum mala dulcendo gratissimus error (P6331) 45v
 Dulcis concentus formosa canora iuventus 65r
 Dum canis os rodit socium quem diligit odit 66r
 Dum captivatur miser in misera babilone 65r
 Dum cor non orat in vanum lingua laborat (P6476) 61r
 Dum dire premittitur dum servit sub pharaone 65r
 Dum sermonem facis non debes protenta manu quasi verba in faciem populi iactare 61v
 Dum vagus incertus exulat a regione 65r
 Duodecim gradus paciencie dolor in flagellis non sentire 65r
- Ebrietas aufert memoriam dissipat sensum confundit intellectum 45v
 Ebrietas frangit quidquid sapientia tangit (P6874; I5059) 45v
 Ebrietas prodit amat cor sive odit (P6883) 46r
 Ebrietas verenda nudavit incestum commisit filium regis occidit 45v
 Ebruius atque satur multis modis variatur (P6888; I5063) 46r
 Ebruius fetet in ore tremit in corpore loquitur stulta 45v
 Ebruius ille nimis dimissus semper in ymis 65r
 Ecce mundus moritur vicis sepultus (I5114; B1862) 50v
 Ecce patet cuique quod nummus regnat ubique (P6917) 45v
 Ecclesia est deo confitencium congregatio et sacramentorum subsidium 68r
 Ecclesia materialis constructa ex lapidibus representat ecclesiam Christi militantem 60v
 Ecclesia vacans instigat proficiencie abilitas 62r
 Efficit affectum virtutis linea rectum 63r
 Effuge res miles christi fortissime viles (P6991) 65r
 Ego stigmata domini nostri iesu christi in corpore meo porto 63v
 Elemosina est res sancta augens penitentiam minuens peccata 68r
 Elevor in primis regno ruo vertor in ymis (P7035) 30v
 En ego fortuna si starem sorte sub una (P7087) 30v
 Erant duo fratres carnales unus clericus alter laicus qui ambo ad quoddam claustrum sunt recepti ad habitum 60v
 Erat quidam imperator nomine Ambises (sic) qui statuit pro lege et sub pena gravi 56v
 Erici more senis homo stulte furore 66r
 Erigit ad plenum de stercore nummus egenum (P7152, 8229) 45v
 Eripit omne bonum facit os ad mendacia pronum 50v
 Erubescat humana pigricia prius enim ille vult dare quam nos accipere 61v
 Est autem divina predestinatio gratuita liber 14 de civitate dei capitulum 26 Omnipotenti summo deo ac summo bono creatori 57v
 Est autem turris sapientie moralis ad modum turris materialis edificata habens nobile fundamentum 65r
 Est homo nascendo sed vitulus es moriendo 68v
- Est homo res fragilis et durans tempore parvo (P7486) 31r
 Est ibi solempnis iocunda diesque perhempnis 65r
 Est in hac vita nil quod ametur ita 45v
 Est iohannes avis vitulus lucas leo marcus 68v
 Est iter ad celum tali curru peramenum 68v
 Est iter angustum quod ducit ad ethera iustum (P7539, 10619) 65r
 Est leo surgendo volucrum rex astra petendo 68v
 Est meretrix ista si circumpexerit illa (P7643) 45v
 Est meretrix pura sic testantur sua iura (P20421) 45v
 Est michi dicendi ratio cum flor loquendi 69v
 Est michi sors munda nature purior unda 69v
 Est nil peccati perplurima si bona fari 67r
 Est nil quod tribuas furtu vel fraude requiras 67r
 Est sine virtute quem decipit f simul u t (P7917) 45v
 Est tumide rane simulata plane 66r
 Est ut asellus iners omnique boni piger et expers 66r
 Estimacio est virtus apprehendens intenciones occultas 67v
 Esto ut sis sed ego suspicione non careo 46v
 Et merito sileris flori qui crescit in arvo 31r
 Et nichil esse putat quod totum labile mutat 65r
 Et non mutarer numquam fortuna vocarer 30v
 Et rex austri provocabitur ad bellum 32r
 Et subridebat populum quia decipiebat (P5106) 45v
 Etsi angelus descenderet de celo et aliud ewangelizaret non est credendus 62r
 Etsi est vilis predicator non est despiciendus propter dignitatem officii 61v
 Eukaristia est essentialis corporis et sanguinis christi 67v
 Evomat ad plenum leso de corde venenum 63r
 Ex verbis fatuos asinos cognoscere per aures (P8356) 45v
 Excecat mentes de christi munere tabet (I6036) 50r
 Exemplum quedam vetula cuidem monacho dixit Domine vos non comeditis carnes vaccinas (See also Domine vos non comeditis) 63v
 Exercitium est motus animi vel corporis 68r
 Exitus ostendit quo mundi gloria tendit (P8486) 31r
 Explico per numerum que sit proportio rerum 69v
 Extinguit munus discreti iudicis iram 56v
 Extollit plana quasi pavo gloria vana 66r
- Fac congaudere socios risumque movere 67r
 Facile contempnit omnia qui se semper cogitat moriturum 31r
 Facile est sine ullo labore vel sumptu vel malicia fieri 67v
 Factus sum sicut homo non audiens 63v
 Febribus arreptus jaceo iam factus ineptus 69v
 Fel latet in melle nec mel bibitur sine felle (P8906) 65r
 Felices illi quos non ligat illa kathena 45v
 Felix quem laqueus non capit ille 45v
 Femina corpus opes animam vim lumina voces (P9007, 9224a) 45v
 Femina dum iurat errat qui credere curat (P9041) 45v

- Femina fax sathane fetens rosa dulce venenum (P9049, 9081; I5352) 50v
 Femina mors iuvenum partat sompnile venenum (P9109) 45v
 Femina quem superat numquam vivit sine pena (P9186c) 45v
 Femina rara bona sed que bona digna corona (P9192) 45v
 Femina res abilis sunt omnia dulcia dulcis 45v
 Femina res fragilis lubrica res puerilis (P9202; I6399) 65r
 Femina sampsonem fregit david et salomonem (P9216, 28585) 65r
 Femina vas sathane rosa fetens dulce venenum (See also Femina fax sathane) 45v
 Fertur avaricia per doma queque rapinis 69r
 Fides est percipio veritatis cum rerum dilectione 67v
 Fides est virtus a deo data ut per ipsam credamus 48v
 Fiducia est speracio perducendi ad finem debitum rem inchoatam 67v
 Firma donatum te non iterare reatum 63r
 Fixa sit in celis meditacio sancta fidelis 63r
 Flamma gelu fetor verens caligo flagella 31v
 Flammis nocet unda nivibus sol floribus auster 47r
 Fletus tria operatur deum placat meritum cumulat 62v
 Flos feni vermis pulvis cinis unde superbis 67r
 Forma est que dat esse rei et conservat rem in esse 68r
 Fortitudo est illecebras refrenandi et licito cohortendi 67v
 Fortitudo est prospera et adversa equo animo portare 49r
 Fortitudo habet eciam tria in se scilicet agressum ardorum 49r
 Fracto cornu qui erat grande inter oculos eius orta sunt quatuor cornua 31v
 Frater bonacursus quondam tyrenensis archiepiscopus de ordine fratrorum predicatorum eis edificavit turrim sapientie 65r
 Fraudem celatam tege per speciem simulatam 67r
 Fulgencius et Honorius fertur in libro deorum Quod socrates depinxerat ymaginem superbie coronatam tribus coronis 56r
 Fulgencius in libro de contemptu mundi ponit virginem in hunc modum Puellam vultu placabilem indutam rethe 52r
 Gaphirus sanguinem restringit intelligitur temperancia habet in se sobrietatem 48v
 Gaudet luxuriosus coitu quasi porco lutosus 66r
 Glorificate et portate deum in corde et corpore vestro propter ista tria 63v
 Gra loquitur dia vera docet re verba colorat (P10354) 47v
 Gramatica cura recte loquor absque figura 69v
 Gramatica monstrat auctorum utilitates 47v
 Gramaticam demo opus hic loicam notat 68r
 Hec est amphora egrediens hic est oculus in universa terra 31v
 Hester Aristoteles Socrates seu Plato tacebit 65r
 Heu stolidie mentes perivit peritura sequentes (P10790) 65r
 Hic a me varia procedit philozophia 69v
 Hic canit hic orat hic sua crimina plorat 46r
 Hic est prima rota facit hanc arismetria tota 68r
 Hic laudant quod amant hic secula per omnia clamant 65r
 Hic nitet eternum tempus sine tempore vernum 65r
 Hic non algores nebule nox atque calores 65r
 Hic omnes iusti iuvenes formaque venusti 65r
 Hic sol iusticie radiat splendorque zephire 65r
 Hilaritas est animi leticia ex felicitate proveniens aliena 67v
 Hoc est gibbosum surdum cecumque morosum 31r
 Hoc est nescire sine christo plurima scire (P10997) 31r
 Hoc pauci querunt paucique sequi poterunt 65r
 Homo deus est omnium in homine ratio 68v
 Homo quidam descendebat ab ierusalem in iericho Homo iste signat quemlibet religiosum qui quamdiu tenet se in silencio 63v
 Huc cito festina res exul res peregrina 65r
 Huc gressus urge mundi de stercore surge 65r
 Huius arboris plantacio fructificat maliciam 66r
 Humiles pro recordatione peccati 65v
 Humoremque bonum proprio de corpore fundo (P11708) 45v
 Iacinctus signat iusticiam que tria habet in se scilicet reverenciam 49r
 Id est quintus status pessimus sequens quartum statum 31v
 Ideo fratres ad sepulcra divitum aspice ubi illorum divicie 31r
 Ignis et os vulve mare baratrique vorago (P11398, 23696) 45v
 Illic cunctorum riseratur vis viciorum 67r
 Imago Cristi narrat Varro de braris (sic) edibus deorum Quod mos erat Romanis simulacrum solis ut deum colere 58r
 Imago humilitatis Refert titus livus (sic) quod rome fuit inventa mensa aurea et consulabatur apollo quibus esset danda 59v
 Imago penitentie quam depinxerunt sacerdotes dee veste secundum Remigium Depingebantur ad modum hominis nudati per totum corpus 60r
 Impius ut moritur numquam mors ipsa finitur 30v
 In accione secularium confunditur accio religiosorum dum illi promittendo 63v
 In coitu sex dampna luo quia denarium do (P11708) 45v
 In cuius laqueum ceciderunt milia mille 45v
 In facie bella est mihi visa puella (P11763c) 45v
 In mundi que statu cum preclaro comitatu 67r
 In mundo mira faciunt nummus et ira (P11883) 45v
 In nimis escis quasi corvus glutu quiescis 66r
 In numero forma mensura pondere causa 68r
 In nummi mensa sunt plurima fercula densa (P11910) 45v
 In quorum signis paciencia fulget ut ignis 67r
 In se quisque probet cui nunc victoria 67r

- In septem modis diversificatur humilitas primi in depositione temporalium possessionum 65v
- In terra summus rex est hoc tempore nummus (P12105; I9133) 45v
- Infans absque dolo matris fruor ubere solo 69v
- Infelix gaudens in valle iacens lacrimarum 65r
- Infima tempnamus ardentem summa petamus (P12324) 65r
- Infortunatus homo ad tres obulos natus (P12338) 30v
- Ingenium mores famam res corpus honores (P12372) 45v
- Ingenium nisi sit studium flos est sine fructu (P12376; I9340) 47v
- Ingenium simul et studium dat philozophiam 47v
- Iniuste non debes reprehendere quemquam 67r
- Innocentia virginitatem servare mundiciam amare 62v
- Inquinat infatuat condempnat pneumatis almi (I9366) 50r
- Inquinat omne bonum facit os ad iurgia pronum 49v
- Instigat cor gratia supernorum caritas divinorum 61v
- Intellectus est rerum intelligibilium mediante similitudine per opinionem 67v
- Intratu mortis nimis est angustia fortis (I9139) 30v
- Inveniens penam si laudem queris alienam 67r
- Invenire locum per me modulamina vocum 69v
- Ira velud pica rixis est semper amica 66r
- Irretit inquinat infestat federa rumpit 50v
- Ista figura per Zacharia visa capitulo VI concordat secundum situm climatis cum Daniele 32r
- Ista figura sive conscripcio ex tribus visionibus nunc prenoscitacionibus trium personarum componitur 31v
- Isti equi fortes et robusti signant apostolos antichristi qui vinci nequamquam possunt 32r
- Isti equi signant motum carnalem 32r
- Iusticia est unicuique reddere quod suum est 49r
- Iustus prudens fortis discretus urens (See also Sis iustus) 65r
- Iustus ridebit reprobis sine fine dolebit 65r
- Lata est via ad mortem 66r
- Laudo omnes ordines et diligo ubi pie et iuste vivitur in ecclesia 63v
- Lege et relege omnia dicta omnia scripta et nichil invenies horribilius quam hominem manere 31r
- Legem quo vives si fratrem diligis imple 67r
- Libertas est naturalis facultas qua cuique facere licet 67v
- Libertate carens turpi constrictus habena 45v
- Lingua meretricis comparare sirene qui trahit ad perdicionem suos auditores 46v
- Linquo cloax ranis cras corus vanaque vanis (P13864; I10349) 63r
- Longanimitas est virtus qua pacienter vite eterne premium exspectamus 67v
- Ludens cunctura vel fricans posteriora (P20421) 45v
- Luxuriam gingnit anime munimina frangit (I10528; B2999) 50r
- Magis appropinqua igni ardenti quam mulieri iuveni 46v
- Magis delinquit qui contempnit regnantem in celis 63r
- Magister grecorum dicit quod sardania paulus rex grecie scilicet cardanapidus fuit quid in sepulcro suo fecit scribi illum versum 47r
- Magnanimitas est difficilium spontanea et rationalis aggressio qua difficilia aggrediuntur rationabiliter 68r
- Magnificentia est difficilium et (blank) consumacio 68r
- Maiores est meriti adversa pacienter tollerare 65r
- Mansuetudo est virtus per quam aliquis tractabiliorem se reddit 67v
- Marcus surgentem de morte dat omnipotentem 68v
- Materia est que est tantum in potentia ut ex ipsa fiat aliquid 68r
- Matrimonium est maris et femine legitima coniunctio 67v
- Maturi pro desiderio regni 65v
- Me sine doctores frustra coluere sorores 69v
- Medicina te mihi substituo dum morbida corpora curo 47v
- Meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo 63v
- Melius est coram uno iudice erubescere verecundia que ducit ad vitam 63r
- Melius est in malefactis pura confessio quam in bonis operibus 63r
- Memento homo quis te fecit de quo te fecit qualem te fecit 65r
- Memoria est perceptio eorum que ymaginacio percipit ratio discernit 67v
- Mens humilis studium querendi vita quieti (P14683; PL 176, 773) 47v
- Mentes corruptas excecatur blanda voluptas (P14774, 14775) 65r
- Miror de religiosis qui in acquisitione rerum temporalium 65r
- Misericordes pro compassione proximi 65v
- Misericordia est virtus per quam animus movetur super calamitatem afflictorum 68r
- Misit saul apparitores ut raperent david I Reges 9 David interpretatur desiderabilis cuius conversacionem tota celestis curia desiderat (B3084, 3085, 3930) 52v
- Monachus si indiget et accipit bene facit 63v
- Mori male times et vivere male non times 31r
- Mors est futura que non curat tua iura (first of 12 verses beginning Mors est futura) (I11242-11245) 31r
- Mors est ventura transibis ad altera rura (P15144) 31r
- Mors fera mors nequam mors nulli parcis et equam (P15151; I11246) 31r
- Mors stet ante fores tibi dico corrige mores (P15203, 15132) 46r
- Mors venit absque mora tu die noctuque labora 67r
- Mortem corde tene si vis te noscere plene (P15241) 30v
- Mortuus sum ut deo vivam christo crucifixus sum cruce 63v
- Movebo globum tunc mox cadas in infernum 46r

- Multa tibi queras ne te consumat egestas 67r
 Multis prodesse adolens et nullis obesse 63r
 Multis res tribuas cum ratione tuas 63r
 Multo magis fugeres peccatum quam colubrum 31r, 65r
 Mundo ne redas quia nescis quando recedas (P15628) 65r
 Mundus transibit sua vana gloria peribit (P15649) 65r
- Narrat fulgencius in quodam libro de gestis romanorum Quod cives romani descripserunt ymaginem amoris tali modo Erat namque ymago amoris ut quidam juvenis pulcher 58v
 Narrat magister wilhelmus arragonensis quod athenienses tripliciter descripserunt sapientiam quidam enim depinxerunt eam iacentem in lecto 58v
 Narrat solinus de mirabilibus mundi Quod in India erat unus mons magnus et altus et in illo monte erat unus fons 61r
 Narrat valerius (sic) in speculo historie Quod pietas vel compassio depingebatur sic in similitudinem hominis habentis in manu sua cor scissum in duas partes 59r
 Natura est quedam vis usitata rebus ex similibus similia procreans 68r
 Nature decore juvenili gaudeo flore 69v
 Ne portes neri tantum peccata facere 63r
 Ne quid confundas ne quid sententiae crimine fundas 63v
 Nec sine doctrina portum petit ulla carina (followed by 8 verses beginning Nec sine doctrina) (P18444b-18456) 47v
 Nec tibi sint cure res ad nichilum rediture (PL 184, 1307) 30v, 67r
 Nil deformatur nil transit nil variatur 65r
 Nil ibi decrescit nil langwet nilque senescit 65r
 Nil ibi deficiet deus omnibus omnia fiet 65r
 Nil proprium retine si vivere vis sine fine 63r
 Nil valet ebrietas per quam perit omnis honestas (P16889, 18675) 45v, 46r
 Nititur in vitium nomen commutat honestum (I11813) 50v
 Niveo frigeo palleo rigeo torveo tremo 31r
 Nobile genus vincendi est patientia vinci (P16974) 59v
 Noctis sub silencio tempore brumali (I11894, 20421) 51r
 Noli dicere omnia que scis (followed by 4 proverbs in the same pattern Noli...omnia que...) 31r, 47r
 Noli per cras cras longas tibi ponere metas (P17109; I11900) 31r, 60r
 Nolite audire verba prophetarum qui prophetant et decipiunt 61v
 Non dampnum dicere nolo causa quod fit amici 63r
 Non erit caro subiecta anime nec vicia rationi 63v
 Non es sampson maior david et salomone 65r
 Non est culpa quevis gravis pollucio carnis 67r
 Non ibi memores omnes procul inde dolores 65r
 Non lacrimas perdo lacrimis cum crimina tergo 63r
 Non licet aspicere qui non licet concupiscere 63v
- Non michi det deus aliam visionem quam peccata mea cognoscere 63r
 Non mirum si contristatur malus quia consciencia accusat ratio iudicat 31r, 65r
 Non nimis valet apud deum humilima confessio 63r
 Non nisi sancta volo quando per alta volo 63r
 Non surges penitus peccati mole gravatus 67r
 Non valet in stultis intencio stulta latere 46r
 Non vult peccatoribus inferre vindictam qui dare querit confitencibus veniam 63r
 Normam destruitis qui gramaticam sepelitis 47v
 Nota dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nobis cum clamore valido et lacrimis obtulit semetipsum 58v
 Nota quattuor stultitias invenio in hoc mundo
 Prima quod homo audet vivere 60r
 Nota quod dona spiritus sancti sunt dispositiones quibus mens humana promptificantur 47v
 Nota quod illam secundam litteram "m" descripsi malignum 31v
 Nota quod circa foveam basilisci nichil remanet viride 46v
 Nudum matris utero deus te infudit 50v
 Nulla lepra peior in leproso quam propria voluntas in religioso 63v
 Nullum solacium dulcius in pressura tribulacionis quam memoria dominice passionis 64r
 Nummus in abbatum veneratur turba priorum (followed by 33 verses beginning Nummus (P19142-19216) 45v
 Numquam nummorum dominus valet esse duorum 30v
 Numquam qui sequitur hec tria dives erit 65r
 Numquam vitabis culpam si multa loquaris 67r
 Nunc lege nunc ora nunc cum fervore labora (P19348) 61r
- O esca vermium o massa pulveris 31r
 O fons equalis et quantus gramaticalis 47v
 O gens mortalis gens ferrea gens animalis (I12673) 65r
 O ir alle die hie vorgan schawet dise figure 52r
 O peccator videt te iudex in ierusalem videt te adversarius qui flagella suggerit 31r, 65r
 O saccus stercorum fetens et fragilis 51r
 O vos omnes qui transitis figuram hanc inspicite (I13068; B3560) 51v
 Obediencia religiose vivere seipsum aliis subicere 62v
 Obmutui humiliatus sum (consilii) 63v
 Occupacio est modo debite (sic) virtus continua morandi qua continuatur continuanda 68r
 Ocia si tollis periere libidinis arma (P20513; B3720) 49v
 Oculi tui vias tuas custodiunt 63v
 Oculus meus depredatus est animam meam 63v
 Offendoque deum dum turpi sorde redundo (P11708) 45v
 Officium symoniacorum et in fornicacione iacentium nullo modo recipiatis 62r
 Olla succensa et facies eius a facie aquilonis 31v

- Omne perit quod est et erit memorare perhenne 30v
- Omnes exultant omnes laudando resuscitant 65r
- Omnes ut aqua labimur deficientes ita (See also Velud aqua labimur) 30v, 57r
- Omnia cernentes eciam sua corda videntes 65r
- Omnia dispono creio singula cunctaque dono 69v
- Omnia mundana scis quod sint gloria vana 30v
- Omnia nummus emit vendit revendita demit (P20021) 45v
- Omnibus horrori sum plurima mihi seniori (I13304) 31r
- Omnipotens deus quos in eternum diligit 63v
- Omnis honor fluxus rerum perit illico luxus 65r
- Omnis natura per me recipit sua iura 69v
- Omnis vita sapientis meditacio est mortis 31r
- Optamus senium cum venit est male ventum (P20286) 31r
- Ordo est rationalis unius cuiuscumque rei dispositio proprium et debitum locum attribuens 67v
- Ori pone seram verbis impone stateram 63v
- Ornatu florem sermonem reddo decorem 47v
- Os molliens rodens pede fodens pallia pandens (P20421) 45v
- Os quod mentitur animam necat hec bene scitur 67r
- Ossa sepulorum sint tibi suffragia morum (P20461) 31r
- Ovidius narrat de transformatis quod tres sunt syrene in quadam insula maris quarum una cantat cum cithara 56v
- Paciencia iram evitare neminem turbare 62v
- Paciencia est virtus contumeliarum et omnis adversitatis impetum cum tranquillitate substinens 67v
- Pacientes pro consideratione periculi 65v
- Pacientia secundum antiquos philosophus sic depingebatur Virgo quedam nobilis et placidi vultus impavidi et constantis aspectus 59v
- Pagani dixerunt tot esse deos quod sunt virtutes diis appropriate Deus igitur pietatis depingebatur ad similitudinem hominis tenentis in manu sua cor scissum 59r
- Parce quibusque cibis pereas ne tu sodomitis 67r
- Partum virgineum credo stirpsisse mattheum 68v
- Parvulus in pannis deus est sermone johannis 68v
- Passer ut alatur libidine non saciatur 66r
- Passio christi est meditanda tibi ad imitandum ad compaciendum ad quiescendum 62v
- Passio tua o domine iesu criste ultimum refugium 64r
- Passum christum cruce narrat leccio luce 68v
- Pax est mentium in bono concordancium ordinata tranquillitas 67v
- Pax ibi iocundans quasi flumen ubique redundans 65r
- Peccanti semper sis durus amarus et asper 67r
- Peius est nolle confiteri quam legem transgredi 63r
- Penitencia depingitur in templo dee veste ad similitudinem militis bene armati in cuius galea scribebatur 60r
- Penitencia est mala preterita plangere 67v
- Per has septem ecclesias una catholica ecclesia designatur 2v
- Per hunc canem designatur prelati et clerus secularis qui latrare debent 31v
- Per hunc gradum ascenditur in celum misericordia humilitas obediencia 65r
- Per hunc leonem designatur reges et principes et alii nobiles qui debent esse pii 31v
- Per istum equum designatur laici mechanici omnes rustici 31v
- Per istum lupum griseum designatur religiosi 31v
- Per porcum nigrum designatur qui sunt in actu carnali 31v
- Per studium fugit obprobrium stulte levitatis (followed by 3 verses beginning Per studium) (P21255; I13966) 47v
- Perfice fallendo quod non potes a te loquendo 67r
- Perfidus aspiciat petrum predoque latronem (P21349; I13982) 61v
- Pictura fortune secundum plinium Matrone romanorum dedicaverunt templum fortune Cuius imago fuit mulier habens faciem binam 57r
- Plaustrum salutis sunt quatuor ewangeliste Unde scriptum est quadrigae tue salvaccio 68v
- Plus amat exilium miseri miser orbis amator (P21671) 65r
- Plus mare quam portum miseri miser incola mundi 65r
- Post regnum illorum cum creverint iniquitates surget rex impudens facie intelligens propositiones 31v
- Postquam migrabis huc postea non remeabis 65r
- Posui ori meo custodiam ut non delinquam in lingua mea 63v
- Potius sequenda est propria consciencia quamquam ecclesie sententia 61v
- Prelatus negligens discipulus inobediens juvenis ociosus (B1839, 1838) 48r
- Prestat nil tribui quam furtim fraude reperiri 67r
- Preterit ista dies nescitur origo secundi (P22258) 31r, 52r
- Preteriti moris veteris recordor amoris 45v
- Prima particula sanctificatur et offertur pro destinatis et iam salvatis 61v
- Prima virum primum mulier deiecit ad ymum (P22377) 65r
- Primo blanditur post querit postea terret Quarto solatur 63r
- Primo in Genesis iacob designando antichristum vocavit eum colubrum 31v
- Principe dampnato baratro mortis viciato 68v
- Prohibe linguam tuam a malo 63v
- Propter fetorem qui celi perdit honorem 65r
- Propter pecunie lucrum aut complacencia hominum 61v
- Prospera sic leviter et per aspera si gradieris (P22700) 30v
- Providi pro compassione christi 65v
- Prudencia carbunculo signatur habet tria in se 48v
- Prudencia est habitus anime dirigens unam accionem hominis in ultimam faciem hominis 68r

- Prudencia est rerum divinarum humanarum prout datum est scientie 49r
 Prudencia est scire distingvere bonum et malum 48v
 Prudencia secundum aliquos sic depingitur In statu cuiusdam philosophi in manu sinistra equum proprium tenentis 59r
 Psalmis insisto vicis orando resisto 63r
 Puritas mentis voluntas sacra simplex intencio et pura 63r
- Qua gaudere possit peregrinus homo ratione 65r
 Qualis debet esse confessor Versus Confessor dulcis affabilis 63r
 Qualis in hac vita fuerit tunc quisque videbit 65r
 Qualiter debet fieri confessio Versus Sit simplex humilis 63r
 Qualiter hunc quis amat sibi qui contrarius exstat 67r
 Quando tremens mundus christo veniente pavebit 64r
 Quantumvis habeas nil hic possidendo requiras (P23645) 67r
 Quattuor ut fantur sunt que numquam satiantur (P23696) 45v
 Quattuor virtutes cardinales dicuntur a cardine per similitudinem quia sicut hostium per quod intratur in domum 49r
 Que magis infestat vitanda superbia restat 69r
 Que stulta sunt mundi elegit deus ut confundat sapientes 61v
 Quem gens infamat nummus probus est homo clamat (P23728, 22987) 45v
 Quem nummus gignat numerum per me cifra signat 47v
 Quem tu gustare nec oportet te dubitare 30v
 Quem vult exaltat quem vult fortuna recalcat (P23794) 30v
 Qui bibit absque bria fugit illum philosophia 45v
 Qui christi sunt carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vicis et concupiscenciis 63v
 Qui claudit oculos suos ne videat malum 63v
 Qui cupidus cumulat ut avara monedula celet 66r
 Qui custodierit ista beatus erit 63r
 Qui dulci vita valet venustius ista 67r
 Qui nescit partes frustra tendit ad artes (P24333; I15572a) 47v
 Qui non assuescit virtuti dum iuvenescit (P24381) 31r
 Qui perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit 65r
 Qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris 47v
 Qui sibi non parcat michi vel tibi quando parcat 46r
 Qui sim vel qualis dominetur dic michi talis 67r
 Qui spernat munus non est in milibus unus 56v
 Quia habes in fine nec tunc prosunt medicine 30v
 Quia nisi mors faciat non solvitur illa kathena (P10750) 45v
 Quid caro vilis humus quid carnis gloria fumus (P24985) 65r
 Quid est meretrix aliud nisi sagena diaboli 46v
 Quid genus et species quam opes et fama valebit (P25047) 65r
- Quid non pro christo pateris pro te crucifixo (P25116b) 67r
 Quid sit predestinacio dicit Augustinus De predestinacione libro secundo et de perseverancia sanctorum post medium 57v
 Quidam abbas ordinis cisterinensis (sic) vir bone vite quadam nocte cum esset cum monachis suis in choro vidit quemdam diabolum 61r
 Quidquid agunt artes semper predico partes (P25259; I15973) 47v
 Quidquid agunt homines intentio iudicat omnes (P25260) 60v
 Quidquid habes tribuas ut sic tua laus gratiosa 67r
 Quilibet peccator conversus in fletibus iam iustus esse inchoat 63r
 Quinque sunt predicanda in ecclesia dei scilicet credenda supervenda 61v
 Quis michi laude pari vel honore possit sociari (I16081; B6544) 67r
 Quis quid ubi quibus cur quomodo quando (P25432; I16103) 63r
 Quis tolerat sileat malum quod perpetrat ille 67r
 Quo gaudere potes qui graciis tot mala perfers 67r
- Radices quorum comitantur facta bonorum 67r
 Ratio est gerendorum discretio 67v
 Rationabilitas est virtus opinionones humanas ducens secundum regimen rationis 68r
 Rectus odoratus coniuncta inolescencia gratus 63r
 Refert Boetius libro 4 quod quidam miles Ulixes nomine cum sociis suis rediret de bello trayano errando per mare depulsus est 56v
 Refert fulgencius de ornatu orbis quod cum romani multos deos coluissent tandem elegerent solum Jovem eo quod omnes deos excederet benignitate 57v
 Refert Fulgencius quod superbia ab antiquis depingebatur una mulieris ymago cum corona aurea quattuor turribus gemmatis insignita 57r
 Refert jeronymus contra jovinianum quod diogenes amore studii omnia reliquit 56r
 Refert plinius ad maximum Quod inter romanos erat quedam controversia de quibusdam dominus famosus videlicet Quis et qualis dici deberet 59v
 Refertur in historia tripartita Quod ab antiquis phylosophis mundana deceptio depingebatur sic 46v
 Regnabo regno regnavi sum sine regno (P7035, 10344, 26495; I7251) 30v
 Regnum celorum requies est plena bonorum (P26512; I16542) 65r
 Religio est virtus qua deo religantur terrestria despiciendo 67v
 Religio humilitate fecundatur paupertate construitur 63v
 Religio non principio sed fine laudatur (P26535–26537; I16564) 65r
 Religio te despicio si mundus amat (P26535) 65r
 Religio te non sapio si mens adulatur (P26535–26537; I16566) 65r
 Remissio est humiliter et perfecte confitentium iusta absolutio delictorum 67v

Rerum mensuras et astrorum monstro figuras 69v
 Respice fidelis anima christum in cruce pendentem
 capitis inclinacionem ad osculandum 63v
 Respice te ipsum utique quia terra es et in terram
 ibis 31r
 Reverencia maioribus amorem deferre senes
 honorare 62v
 Rex adit incultas hoc curru prava voluntas 69r
 Ridet et exultat in carcere terrigenarum 65r
 Risus habet fletum nectarque inolescat acetum
 (P26889) 65r
 Ruffos equos in egressu propheta descriperat sed
 quo se divertant reticeat 32r

Sacramentum est res visibilis gratiam invisibilem
 67v
 Sampson validus et fortis leonem suffocavit 46v
 Sanctifica tactum res tacta nec inquiet acta 63r
 Satisfaccio oracionis devocio peccatorum
 abrenunciatio 63r
 Scientia condita decrescit (See Condita decrescit)
 47v
 Scientia est habitus anime per demonstracionem
 acquisitus eorum 67v
 Scribere perfecte doceo fari quoque recte 47v
 Scribere proposui de contemptu mundano (I17394;
 B5347) 30v
 Secundum fulgencium et isidorum ymago amoris
 fuit puer alatus quattuor alis 58r
 Secundum Ovidium de arte amandi amor efficit
 readamantes unanimes in honore participes in
 labore 58r
 Securitas est incommoditates et rei inchoate affines
 formidare 67v
 Securus est mulierem non audire 46v
 Sed carena sicut dicitur vulgo est hominem esse
 inclusum 40 diebus non exiens indutus sacco 60r
 Sed sapiens spernit quidquid mutabile cernit 65r
 Sede sedens ista iudex inflexibilis sta (I17466;
 P27839) 56v
 Semen chanaan et non iuda species decepit te et
 concupiscentia subvertit cor tuum 62r
 Semper prompta rei que prohibetur ei (P9049,
 9171) 45v
 Sepe diffundo quasi fons hec flumina mundo 47v
 Sepe recorderis bone frater quia morieris (P27254;
 I17041) 30v
 Sepi aures tuas spinis ne audiant 63v
 Septem gradus crucis prima castitas secunda mundi
 contemptus 64r
 Septem gradus obediencie libenter obedire
 obtemperare simpliciter 65r
 Septem sunt grana stultorum Qui tantum dat quod
 depauperatur 46r
 Septem sunt tribulaciones civitatis scilicet cupiditas
 sacerdotis in templo 47r
 Septem virtutes per quas homo religiosus
 consequitur regnum dei ne vanam gloriam querat
 63v
 Sepultura est licencia in cimiterio sepeliendi 68r
 Sertum pavonis alas vespertilionis 46r
 Servicium est attentio adhibendi laborem circa
 commodum dominorum 67v

Servitus est constitutio iure gencium qua quis
 domino alieno contra naturam subicitur 68r
 Sex quarum prima componit verba latina 47v
 Sex sunt qui preparant hominem ad divinam
 contemplacionem primo exercitacio in bonis
 operibus 63v
 Si aliquis sanctus tot passus est sicut Christus 46v
 Si caret talis deus tua mansio qualis 67r
 Si castus fueris vita sine fine frueris 67r
 Si christum bene scis satis est si cetera nescis 31r
 Si circumspexerit numquam te regula fallit (P7643)
 45v
 Si confiteri erubescis peccator sum sicut et tu quid
 times confiteri 63r
 Si dolor est capitis ex potu lympham bibatur
 (P28446) 45v
 Si dominum queris fuge colloquium mulieris
 (P28455; I17713) 65r
 Si ex veritate oritur scandalum utilius nasci
 permittitur 61v
 Si non occulta confiterer absconderem te mihi non
 me tibi 63r
 Si non vis labi totum te subtrahere labi 63r
 Si passiones christi debite recoluntur non est
 difficile onus 62v
 Si penses mortem vitamque instabilem voluptate
 finibilem et penam infinitam 31r
 Si quis vos spernit deus inquit me quoque spernit
 67r
 Si retrospecterit (mere)trix est vel regulam fallit
 (P29368) 45v
 Si separaveris vili a precioso quasi os meum eris
 61v
 Si sepulcra conspicias corporum mortuorum 31r
 Si videris quam et dixeris ham (P29368) 45v
 Sic animum frena ne sis cupiens aliena 63r
 Sic invenitur numerus nominis antichristi in dictis
 prophetarum et in sacris libris descriptus 31v
 Sic orati nascimur in hac mortali vita 30v
 Sic piger in strato quasi bubo cumbit in antro 66r
 Sic volo sicut iubeo sic ago iure meo (P29558d,
 29559) 69v
 Sicut piscis moritur in sicco si teneatur 63v
 Sideris atque poli cursum michi vendico soli 47v
 Simplex cogitatio passionis christi plus valet et
 utilior est ieiunium unius anni 62v
 Simplicitas mentis se fundat ab ore loquentis 63r
 Sine fine pertimesco et ut cinis refrigesco 31r
 Singula dispono bene me virtute coronato 69v
 Sis custos oris et habenam stringe furoris 63v
 Sis humilis verbis nec te defendere superbis 63r
 Sis iustus prudens fortis discretus et urens (See also
 Iustus prudens fortis) (I18271) 65r
 Sis simplex humilis tibi despiciatus tibi vilis
 (P29764a) 63r
 Sit simplex humilis confessio pura fidelis (P29832;
 I18330; B5768) 63r
 Sit tibi potus aqua cibus aridus aspera vestis
 (B5770) 60v
 Slag slegil drie oder vier si pacem gliscis habere
 (P32788, 28769) 45v
 Sollicitat turbat dampnat gravat inquinat inflat 49v

- Speracio est consolacio de dei misericordia circa
veniam viciorum 67v
- Spes est virtus qua speramus premia vite eterne
48v, 67v
- Sputa flagella mine clavis crux lancea spine 68v
- Studeat quilibet religiosus tota mente carnem
cruciare voluntates proprias frangere 63v
- Studium est vehemens applicatio animi ad aliquid
agendum cum summa diligencia 67v
- Stultum est querere regnum celorum sine labore
63r
- Stultum mendacem timidum facit atque tenacem
49v
- Summa phylosophia est assidua meditacio mortis
31r
- Summa sapientia est timere deum et sapere
crucifixum 63v
- Sunt ewangelia tria cantica stando cantare 68v
- Sunt qui conveniunt bene predicare volenti 61v
- Sunt tres stultitie maiores omnibus audi tantum
mentiri tantum 46r
- Tanta est virtus sedule meditationis passionis Quod
si fideliter in corde teneatur 62v
- Te benefactorum manifestat christi facta tuorum
67r
- Te rege sollicite fragilis reminiscere vite (P31141)
65r
- Te spernit talis qui sepius indiget alis 47v
- Temperantia est intelligere scripturas debito modo
48v
- Tempora mutantur homines deteriorantur (P31205)
46v
- Terre mensuris vigilantibus in cubo curis 47v
- Thesaurizemus dum tempus habemus 65r
- Timor domini deo servire pacem unire 62v
- Timor spei deum diligere mandata tenere 62v
- Timoracio est timor de dei iusticia iuxta modum
vivendi 67v
- Tolluntur in altum ut lapsu graviori ruant (P31457)
30v
- Tot perdit vere bonus clericus in muliere (P12372,
28209, 31487) 45v
- Transite ad me omnes qui concupis(citis) 65v
- Tres partes fracte christi de corpore signant prima
suam mortem (P31561c; I19401, 19402; B6054)
61v
- Tres sapientes requisiti fuerunt quod essent fortius
in mundo primus respondit vinum 57v
- Tres sunt stulticie quibus insipiens perhibetur qui
tantum terret quod terendo nil timetur 46r
- Tria faciunt cordis mundiciam leccio scripturarum
effusio lacrimorum 65r
- Tria sunt genera fidelium in ecclesia ad
triumphantem per incrementa virtutum
sperantium pervenire 65r
- Tu modica fossa clauderis pellis et ossa (P31669)
65r
- Tu pro fratri mori debes ipsius amore 63r
- Tunc delectatur mens cum domino famulatur 63r
- Unanimes cuncti velud uno corpore iuncti 65r
- Unccio est exterior oleo vel crismate facta corporis
linicio 67v
- Unde nota quod triplex est ecclesia scilicet
materialis militans et triumphalis 60v
- Unde nota quod vita humana bene custodita dicitur
currere per quattuor rotas 60r
- Unde scriptum est quadrige tue salvacio prima rota
est humilitas 68v
- Unde tibi risus cum sis miser et peregrinus 67r
- Unde tuos pascis tua si dispendas egenis 67r
- Undecim pene inferni (See Flamma gelu fetor) 31v
- Usus est applicatio alicuius non propter se
desideratum sed propter aliud 67v
- Ut confessionem sive de preteritis sive de
presentibus pure et frequenter facias 63r
- Ut fugias Sathanam presentem inspicere formam 61r
- Ut omnia opera sua videantur sibi in perfecte et in
devote agere 64r
- Ut placeas Christo mundo dum vivis in isto
(P32504; PL 184, 1307) 51v, 67r
- Ut sol fulgebit domino silensque manebunt 65r
- Ut vincis vere predictis firmus inherere 63r
- Utere luxuria nescisque vita futura 67r
- Utinam appenderentur peccata mea in statera
passio christi in una parte 62v
- Uxor is pellem si voveris esse rebellem (P32788,
28769) 45v
- Vado mori per longum sperans vivere tempus
(P32812; I19965; B6311) 31r
- Ve vobis abbatis qui vos tumulis sociatis 67r
- Velud aqua labimur deficientes ita (See also Omnes
ut aqua) 30v
- Verus sub qua depingitur luxuria sic depingebatur
corpore nudata equore delata vigore plantata 47r
- Verbis in opere noli cuicumque nocere 63r
- Veritas a quocumque dicatur semper est ex spiritu
sancto 61v
- Veritas est amara et qui eam annunciat
amaritudinibus replentur 61v
- Veritas est virtus per quam factum vel dictum in
causa iusticie idem profertur 67v
- Veritatem corde et ore pro inconstans animus
oculos vagos instabiles pes sunt 63v
- Verus penitens cor semper figat in quinque vulnera
christi 62v
- Verus religiosus debet esse neglector quietis fugax
voluptatis appetitor laboris 63v
- Vide cantantem nummum missam celebrantem
(P5106) 45v
- Vidi bestiam de mari ascendentem habentem capita
sex cornua decem 66r
- Vidi quod flebat dum sermonem faciebat (P5106,
33314) 45v
- Vile cadaver eris rogo super hoc mediteris (P33330;
I20328) 30v
- Vile facit carum quod dulce reddit amarum 45v
- Vinum bonum mentem letificat cor hominis
clarificat et virtutem duplicat (I20367, 20370)
45v
- Vinum hominem destruit digestionem corruiat
morbi causam constituit 45v

Vinum merum inebriat verum a vero deviat
(I20377) 45v
 Vinum virtutem exterminat melancoliam gravat et
pigrificam considerat 45v
 Virgula flos duo sunt parit hec et nascitur iste 68v
 Viribus ornatus in mundo vivo beatus 69v
 Virtus est animi habitus nature decorus vite ratione
49r
 Virtus est habitus mentis bene constitute (B6485)
67v
 Virtus est mentis habitus vite decus ratio morum
68r
 Virtus humilitatis alia bona alia maior tertia optima
65v
 Virtutis freno commedentibus ora refreno 63r
 Visu privaris si continuo lacrimaris 67r
 Vita brevis breviter in brevi finietur 30v
 Vita brevis cursus levis nec spes remeandi (P33831)
30v
 Vita brevis non pena levis sed amara jehenne 30v
 Vita brevis velud umbra levis sic annihilatur
(P33840; I20670; PL 184, 1308) 30v

Vitaque cunctorum brevis est et plena dolorum 65r
 Vite presentis sic comparo gaudia ventis (P33882;
I20702) 65r
 Vitis hec gentilicam geneloyam significat que ex
radice germinare humane nature cernitur 66v
 Vitis illa hereticam geneloyam significat que
dissimilis est aliis vitibus 66v
 Vitis que directe baculo fidei extendendo
circumclinans militantem ecclesiam designat 66v
 Vive carens vicio tanquam cras sis moriturus
(P33935, 33936) 30v
 Vive deo gratus toti mundo tumulatus (P33938;
I20722) 30v, 67r
 Voluntas est appetitus alicuius cum potencia
presequendi illud 68r
 Votum est firma mentis pollicitatio deo facta 67v
 Vox manus et species hos facit instabiles (P2314)
45v
 Vulturis invidia proprius detrudit ad yma 66r

Index of Medical and Scientific Incipits

Ad menstrua provocandum 38r
 Ambitus terre 45v
 Anglorum regi scripsit tota scola salerni Si vis
incoluminem si vis te reddere sanum 40r
 Anima est angelica creatura 45r
 Apertus in quo solum diastole aliqua mota 36r
 Avicenna in corporibus fortibus 41v
 Caducorum tria genera sunt scilicet unum caprinum
secundum porcinum tertium demoniacum 44v
 Calida sicca Aries leo sagittarius 43v
 Credo quod ignorat medicorum constitutio tota
43v
 Cum mulier sit in partu vadat ad proximam
ecclesiam 38r
 De urina cognoscenda 19 partes scilicet Circulus
42v
 Est quater in palmo digitus quater in pede 45v
 Estas per janum calidas est sumere bonum 45r
 Febris secundum Galienum est calor innaturalis 43r
 Hec est historia arteriarum que procedunt ex corde
36r
 Hec est historia nervorum qui sunt ligamina
corporis et ossium et venarum 37r
 Hec est historia ossium divisorum ab invicem
secundum quod instruxit ea faber et plasmator
earum 37r
 Hec est historia stomachi divisa ab historia
incisionis 36v
 Hec sunt signa mortis inventa per ipocratem 40r
 Herba per menta in ore retenta 35r
 Hii quattuor humores pulsus suos habent 39v

Hii sunt colores qui coniunguntur cum substantia
pingwi 42r
 Hiis certis signis moriturus noscitur 41v
 In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Incipit
figura incisionis sicut Galienus incidit
peritissimus medicorum 36v
 In vere fiunt iste infirmitates manie melancolie 39v
 Incipit compendium sive sui manifestum et
expertum de fleubotomia 40v
 Incipit figura incisionis sicut Galienus incidit
peritissimus medicorum 36v
 Instrumenta medicorum Anum clisteria purgant 40r
 Ista ymago ostendit venas principales 36r
 Item avicenna secundum primos versus lepra
febris 41v
 Item est quadam arteria in manus 40v
 Kolletter saff und alt smer undirenander 35r
 Lapis qui de ventre hominis excisus fuerit alios
lapides frangit 36v
 Longus quis extenditur in longum plus quam in
alias partes 36r
 Membrorum quattuor sunt principalia et
fundamentum vel materia 37r
 Nausea lassitudo corporis 39r
 Nota filii noe dividunt totam terram in tres partes
45v
 Nota in se putrida pulsus est maior contractio 35v
 Nota omnes homines habentes duos crines et
nigros sunt colerici 39r
 Nota quattuor sunt regiones corporis humani 39v
 Omnis homo quolibet anno dato quod non
multum indigerit 42v

- Patior frequenter dissurina et strangiurina 39r
- Quomodo mulieres volentes concipere se debeant habere 38v
- Quomodo se regere debet uniusquisque quilibet mense quid vitanda aut facienda 45r
- Refertur Ambrosius terrarum continet orbis 45v
- Scias volo duobus modis fetus in vlvā duplicari 37v
- Secundum veros astrologos sunt 7 climata mundi 45v
- Sepius enim constrictata sum soror propter magnitudinem et longitudinem virilis membri 38v
- Sequitur historia lacertorum quia fecit dominus ut vacuum replant 37r
- Sex modis conservatur sanitas totius corporis ut dicit ipocratis 36v
- Si vis incoluminem si vis te reddere sanum 40r
- Si vis scire horam minucionis 45r
- Signa idropice matricis 39r
- Signa matricis prolapse 39r
- Sub hec graves contumelie xii speciesque considerantur penes quantitatem divisi 36r
- Testatur sapiens quod deus omnipotens 44r
- Triste cor ira frequens mens raro iocunda 37r
- Ut celum signis prefulgens est duodenis 43v
- Ventosa sine scarificatione inter spaculas ventositatem 43v
- Ventus est vapor terreus aeris superiora transcendens 45v
- Vesica quattuor ex quattuor humoribus 42r
- Vippa famen frenat oculos utriusque serenat 36v
- Vor fliegen stoß germar Und bertram wol zesammen und butel daz pulver 34r

Subject Index

(* after the folio number indicates illustration)

- Abuses, 20 clerical and secular 48r
- Adalbertus, Holy Roman emperor 31v
- Adultery 46v
- Ages of man, 3, rhetorical man 48v*; 6, Wheel of Life 30v*; 7, Tree of Wisdom 69v*, verses 69v
- Alexander, and Diogenes 56r*; horn of goat, Daniel 8 31v*; sons of, horns of goat, Daniel 8 31v*; exemplum of vanitas and memento mori 59r
- Altar 28v*, 61v*; see also Apocalypse
- Aminadab see Wagon
- Anatomy 35v–39v*, 43r*
- Anchor, attribute of Hope 48v*; on helmet of Penitence 60r*
- Angel, Apocalypse 2r–27r*; Ars moriendi 29r–30v*; vision of Zachariah 32r*; Visio Philiberti 51r*; on shield, attribute of Chastity 54v*; with exemplum of Prayer 60v*; with good monk 61r*; with good priest 61v*; see also Cherubim, Seraphim
- Anger, 2 personifications 50r*, 53r*; on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*
- Antichrist, as emperor Antiochus 31v*, 32r*; life of 10v–13r*; prophecies relating to 31v
- Antiochus, as Antichrist, the emperor 31v*; exemplum of pride 56r; horn of goat, Daniel 8 31v*
- Apocalypse 2v–27r*
- Arithmetic, practitioner of, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; verses 47v, 69v
- Arma Christi, in balance 62v*
- Armour, of Penitence 60r*; rhetoric 48v*
- Arrow of plague, held by Christ 30r*; see also Bow and Arrow
- Arts, liberal schematic diagram with virtues 47v; verses 47v, 69v; practitioners of, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; personifications 68r*. magic arts: schematic diagram with vices 48r. mechanical and practical arts schematic diagram with virtues 47v
- Ascension 68v*
- Astrology, practitioner of, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; verses 47v, 69v
- Avarice, 2 personifications 49v*, 53r*; represented by Mammon 69r*; on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*
- Balance, on crucifix, weighing Arma Christi and sins 62v*; attribute of Justice 49r*, of Prudence 68r*
- Baptized, The, symbolized by vine 66v*
- Basilisc, on tunic, attribute of Lechery 52v*
- Bat, on shield, attribute of Envy 53v*; wings, on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*
- Bear, bearing Anger 50r*, Lechery 52v*
- Bed 29r–30v*, 51r–51v*, 62v*; attribute of Lechery 47r*
- Beehive, on helmet, attribute of Envy 53v*
- Bell, attribute of practitioner of music 69v*
- Bellows, operated by devils 52r*, 61v*, 62r*
- Bier 51r*, 51v*
- Blindfold, on crucified monk 63v*; on Fortuna 30v*
- Boar, symbolizing self-love 64r*
- Bow and Arrow, attribute of adolescence, 69v*, of Lechery 69r*; shot by Death at plowman 50v*, by winged figure at crucified monk 63v*
- Bridle, attribute of Temperance 48v*
- Cambises 56v*
- Camel, bearing Anger 53r*
- Cat, bearing Lechery 50v*, Gluttony 53v*
- Caupulus (horse?), bearing Devotion 56r, 55v*
- Charity, exemplum 58r*; personification 55r*, 48v*; characteristics of 62v
- Chastity, personification 54v*

- Cherubim 63r*
- Chimaera, exemplum of the mutability of love 47r*
- Christ 47v*, 65v*; symbolized by Jupiter 57v*, by Janus 58r*; 7 last words of 58v; as door of Church 60v*; Crucifixion 62v*; Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension 68v*; as child, in Trinity 69v*; see also most pictures of Apocalypse 2v–27r* and *Ars moriendi* 29r–30v*
- Church 2v–3v*, 59r*, 60v*, 62r*; pilgrim in front of, as image of Wisdom 59r*; material, militant, triumphant 60v; three kinds of faithful in 65r; militant, represented by vine 66v*. Critique of wicked clerics 31v; clerical abuses 48r; Hussite (?) precept 61v; bad preacher and priest 61v*; simony 62r*; taxation 63v
- Circe see Ulysses
- Cistercian, abbot with Tutivillus, exemplum 61r*
- Clemency, exemplum 59v*
- Clerics, symbolized by dog 31v*. See also Monastic Life, Monk, Preachers, Priests, Simony
- Coffin, attribute of Death, on Wheel of Life 30v*; surrounded by men from all walks of life 31r*
- Computus 45r
- Confession 63r*
- Cradle, attribute of infancy 30v*, 69v*
- Cross, on shield of Patience 59v*; 7 steps of 64r. See also Crucifix, Crucifixion
- Crow, in tree of vices 66r*; nest of young crows, on helmet, attribute of Temperance 55v*
- Crown, attribute of Faith, of Rhetoric 48v*, of Prudence 68r*, of Pride 69r*; 3 crowns, attribute of Pride 56r*; with 4 towers on it, attribute of Pride 57r*
- Crucifix, and balance 62v*; 7 steps of the cross 64r; tree of virtues 64r*
- Crucifixion 30v*, 62v*; see also Monk
- Cup, symbolizing Gluttony, attribute of image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; attribute of Flattery 46v*; golden, full of filth, attribute of Lechery 52v*
- Death, and the pilgrim 31r*, and the plowman 50v*, and worldliness 46r*; corpse surrounded by men of all classes 31r*; with scythe 51r*; symbolized by dragon biting leg of image of 7 deadly sins 46r*. See also *Memento Mori*
- Deception, worldly, exemplum 46v*
- Devil(s), Apocalypse 7v*, 8v*, 13r*, 14r–14v*, 16v*, 22v*, 24v*, 25v*; *Ars moriendi* 29r–30v*; with worldliness 46r*; with vices and abuses 48r*; in hell 52r*; Tutivillus collecting words dropped at mass 61r*; in balance with sins on crucifix 62v*; in tree of vices 66r*; with good and bad preacher, and bad priest 61v*; with simoniacs 62r*
- Devotion, personification 55v*, 56r
- Diagram, tetradic 45v*; phases of moon 45r*; urinomancy 42r*; schematic, see Arts, Rhetoric, Tower of Wisdom, Tree
- Diogenes see Alexander
- Doctor, after performing Caesarian section, 38v*; with women 39r*; with urine glass, attribute of decrepitude 69v*
- Dog, symbolizing clerics 31v*; in tree of vices 66r*; bearing Envy 50r*, Lechery 50v*; rabid dog on shield, attribute of Anger 53r
- Donkey, bearing Sloth 50r*, 54r*, Charity 55r*; symbolizing greed 56v*
- Dove(s), in Trinity 69v*; on tree of Gifts of the Holy Spirit and virtues 65v*
- Dragon, bearing Envy 53v*; symbolizing Death, biting leg of image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; see also Apocalypse
- Dromedary, bearing Pride 52v*
- Drum, attribute of siren-child of Worldly Deception 46v*, of siren tempting Ulysses 56v*, of Pride 57r*
- Drunkenness, verses 45v, 46r, 65v
- Eagle, on shield, attribute of Pride 52v*
- Elect, The, symbolized by grapes on vine 66v*; predestination 57v*
- Elephant, bearing Patience 55r*
- Embryo, symbolizing Nature in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; foetal positions 37v–38r*
- Envy, on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; 2 personifications 50r*, 53v*
- Etymachia 52v–56r*
- Evangelists, symbols of 4r–5v*, 6v*, 17r*, 19v*, 23r*, 68v*; verses 68v
- Exempla 46r–47r*, 52r*, 56r–61r*, 63v
- Eye, third, in forehead of Prudence 48v*
- Faith, personification 48v*; rod of 66v*
- Fever 43r–43v
- Fish, symbolizing souls, saved and not saved by good and bad preacher 61v*; on shield, attribute of Gluttony 53v*
- Flattery, exemplum 46v*
- Flowers, attribute of Fortuna 57r*, of Charity 58r*, of practitioner of rhetoric 69v*, of Venus–Lechery 47r*; symbolizing virtues on tree of virtues 64r*; garland on helmet, attribute of Chastity 54v*. See also Roses
- Fools, characteristics of 46r*; 4 foolish things in the world 60r
- Forca (sphinx?) on tunic, attribute of Anger 53r*
- Fortitude, personification, 49r*; definition, subdivisions of 49r
- Fortuna, with Wheel of Life 30v*; verses 30v; 2 exempla 57r*
- Four wheels, on which virtuous life should run 60r, on Pharaoh's wagon 69r*, on Prudence's wagon 68r*; horses of Aminadab's wagon 68v*; foolish things in the world 60r
- Fox, on helmet, attribute of Gluttony 53v*; 4 foxes surrounding bed of Lechery 47r*
- Fruit, on tree of virtues 64r*, 67v*; of virtues and vices 67r*
- Generosity, personification 54v*
- Gentiles, symbolized by vine 66v*
- Geography 45r–45v
- Geometry, practitioner of, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; verses 47v, 69v
- Giraffe, bearing Charity 55r*

- Gluttony, 2 personifications 50r*, 53v*; on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*
- Goat, prophecy, Daniel 8 31v*; wild, bearing Avarice 53r*
- God 57v*, 61v*, 62r*; see also Apocalypse
- Grace, divine, 2 exempla 60r*, 61r*
- Graces, three, image of divine grace 60r*
- Grammar, practitioner of, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; verses 47v, 69v
- Grapes, symbolizing the elect 66v*
- Greed, symbolized by donkey 56v*
- Griffin, on tunic, attribute of Humility 54r*
- Gynaecology 37v–39r*
- Hare, symbolizing palliative confession 64r*
- Harpy, on tunic, attribute of Charity 55r*
- Hawk, attribute of youth 69v*; on helmet, attribute of Anger 53r*
- Heart, exposed, on image of Love 58v*; 2 broken hearts, image of Piety or Compassion 59r*; 3 things which cleanse 65r
- Hedgehog, in tree of vices 66r*
- Hell, mouth of 14v*, 24v*, 25v*, 30r*, 31v*, 46r*, 52r* 62r*; torments of 31v, 51r–51v
- Heretics, symbolized by vine 66v*
- Holy Spirit, tree of 7 Gifts of 65v*; dove of, in Trinity 69v*
- Hope, personification 48v*
- Horse(s), symbolizing labourers 31v*; attribute of Prudence 59r*; 2 pull wagon of canonical regularity, pull sleigh of simony 62r*; 3 pull wagon of Fortuna 57r*; 5 symbolizing the senses, pull wagon of Prudence 68r*, 5 pairs of, pull wagons, Daniel 8 32r*; see also Apocalypse
- Host 61v–62r*
- Humility, personification 54r*; exemplum 59v*; 7 kinds of 65v; good, better, best 65v
- Humours, four 43r
- Hurdy–Gurdy 46v*, 56v*
- Hussite, precept 61v; simony 62r*
- Imitation of Christ 62v*, 63v*
- Incarnation 68v*
- Intercession 62v*
- Janus, image of Christ 58r*
- Jaspidus (acorns?), garland on helmet, attribute of Generosity 54v*
- Jupiter, with 3 wings, image of Christ 57v*
- Justice, definition, subdivisions of 49r; personification 49r*; exemplum 56v*; destroyed by bribery, verse 47r
- Karolus, Holy Roman emperor 31v
- Kings, symbolized by lion 31v*
- Labourers, symbolized by horse 31v*
- Ladder, to heaven, 12 precepts for monks 63r*; 7 steps of the cross 64r; 7 virtues on Tower of Wisdom 64v*; 6 steps to heaven 65r*; 15 steps of confession 65r*; 7 steps of obedience 65r*; 12 steps of patience 65r*; 2 ladders on a shield, attribute of Humility 54r*
- Lamb, mystic 4v*, 6v*, 17r*, 23r*; on tunic, attribute of Patience 55r*; on shield, attribute of Devotion 55v*, 56r
- Lamp, attribute of Prudence 48v*
- Lark, on shield, attribute of Generosity 54v*; on helmet, attribute of Charity 55r*
- Lechery, 2 personifications 50v*, 52v*; on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; 2 exempla 47r*; symbolized by owl 56v*
- Leopard, on tunic, attribute of Sloth 54r*
- Letopica (animal persecuted by lions) on shield, attribute of Patience 55r*
- Lion, symbolizing kings 31v*, self–repute 64r*; attribute of Fortitude 49r*; bearing Pride 49v*, 57v*; on tunic, attribute of Pride 52v*
- Litter, bearing Wisdom, carried by 4 women 58v*
- Logic, practitioner, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*; verse 69v
- Love, exempla Infatuation 46r*; Chimaera–Mutability of Love 47r*; Goddess of Love 58r*; with 4 wings 58r*; with exposed heart 58v*
- Ludwicus, Holy Roman emperor 31v
- "M", prophetic interpretations of the letter 31v
- Magic see Arts, magic
- Malignus, emperor, prophecy 31v
- Mammon, symbolizing Avarice 69r*
- Mary, The Blessed Virgin 29r–30v*, 68v*
- Mary Magdalene 29v*, in exemplum of the Goddess of Love 58r
- Medicine 34r–45r*
- Memento mori, poems 50v–52r; verses 30v–31r*, 65r
- Mercy, exemplum 59r–59v*
- Mirror, attribute of Flattery 46r*, Rhetoric 48v*; Pride 49v*, 69r*, Charity 58r*
- Misogyny, verses and texts 45v, 46v, 65r
- Mole, on helmet, attribute of Avarice 53r*
- Monastic Life, 2 exempla 60v*, 63v; precepts 61r, 63v; crucified monk 63v*; tree of monastic virtues 64r*; ladder to heaven, with precepts 63r*; verses 61r*
- Money, verses 45v; bags, attribute of Avarice 49v*, of Mammon 69r*, of manhood, on Wheel of Life 30v*
- Monk 31r*, 60v*, 61r*; crucified 63v*
- Monkey, symbolizing Pride 56v*; on helmet, attribute of Sloth 54r*
- Moon, phases 45r*
- Music, 1 line of musical notation 17r*, 2 lines 30v*; verses 47v, 69v; practitioner of, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*
- Nature, personification 68r*; verse 69v; symbolized by embryo 69v*
- Net, dress worn by Vanity 52r*
- Nightingale, in garland of herbs, on helmet, attribute of Devotion 55v*, 56r
- Nine punishments of hell 31v
- Obedience, 7 steps of 65r*

- Orasius (donkey?), bearing Chastity 55r*
- Otter, on shield, attribute of Temperance 55v*; in tree of vices 66r*
- Owl, symbolizing Lechery 56v*
- Ox, on shield, attribute of Sloth 54r*
- Padlock, on mouth of crucified monk 63v*
- Panther, on tunic, attribute of Gluttony 53v*; bearing Humility 54r*
- Passion 68v*
- Patience, personification 55r*; exemplum 59v*; 12 steps of 65r*
- Peacock, on helmet, attribute of Pride 52v*; in tree of vices 66r*; feathers, on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*
- Pelican, on shield, attribute of Charity 55r*
- Penitence 62v; ladder to heaven 63r; 2 exempla 60r*; tree of penitence 63r*; instructions 60r; on tree of virtues 64r*
- Pharaoh see Wagon
- Philosopher, image of Prudence 59r*
- Philosophy, verses 47v, 69v; practitioner, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*
- Phoenix, on tunic, attribute of Devotion 55v*, 56r
- Pig, symbolizing the carnal 31v*; bearing Avarice 49v*
- Pilgrim, image of Wisdom 59r*. See also Death
- Pity, exemplum 59r*
- Planets 68r*; attribute of practitioner of astrology 69v*
- Political Prophecy 31v–32r*
- Prayer, exemplum 60v*
- Preachers, good and bad 61v*
- Preaching Instructions 61v
- Predestination 57v*
- Pride, on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; 2 personifications 49v*, 52v*; 2 exempla 56r*, 57r*; symbolized by monkey 56v*
- Priests, good and bad 61v*
- Prongs, held by devils 48r*, 52r*
- Prophecy, commentaries on Sibylline, Daniel's, Hildegard's of Bingen, Zachariah's, Jeremiah's 31v–32r*
- Prophets, dicta 68v*
- Prudence, personification 48v*; attributes of, on rhetorical man 48v*; definition 48v; subdivisions of 49r; exemplum 59r*
- Pulpit 61v*
- Regimen 44r–44v
- Resurrection 68v*
- Rhetoric, schematic diagram 48v–49r; verses 47v, 69v; practitioner, in Tree of Wisdom 69v*
- Roses, attribute of Venus–Lechery 47r*; on helmet, attribute of Lechery 52v*
- Rota, tetradic 45v*
- Sacraments, definitions 67v–68r
- St John the Evangelist, life of 2v*, 27r–28v*
- Sardanapalus, as image of Lechery 47r
- Sceptre, attribute of Pride 57r*
- Scourge, held by flagellant 29r*, by Christ 30r*; attribute of Penitence 60r*; Arma Christi in balance 62v*; aimed at crucified monk 63v*
- Senses, mortification of 63v*; 5, symbolized by horses 68r*
- Seraphim 62v*
- Sermons, illustrated 62v*, 68v–69r*
- Serpent(s) 14r*, held by devil 48r*, 61v*; on tunic, attribute of Envy 53v*; on tunic, attribute of Temperance 55v*; attacking crucified monk 63v*; 2, attribute of practitioner of logic 69v*
- Seven, Gifts of the Holy Spirit 65v*; kinds of humility 65v, of stupidity 46r; last words of Christ 58v; sorrows of the state 47r; steps of obedience 65r*, of the cross 64r; virtues of religious 63v
- Shield, with cross on it, scutum fidei, attribute of Patience 59v*; attribute of Penitence 60r*
- Ship 6v*, 7v*, 27v*, 56v*
- Simony 62r*; symbolized by Mammon's horse 69r*
- Siren(s), children of Worldly Deception 46v*; on shield, attribute of Lechery 52v*. See also Ulysses
- Six things which prepare man for divine contemplation 63v
- Skeleton, in coffin, with worms and toads 31r*; anatomy 37r*
- Skewer, with roast chicken, attribute of Gluttony 50v*, of Avarice 53r*
- Sleigh, of simony 62r*
- Sloth, on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; 2 personifications 50r*, 54r*
- Soul 45r; subdivisions of 48v; personification 51r–51v*; in hell 52r*
- Sparrow, in tree of vices 66r*
- Spindle, neglected by Sloth 50r*; attribute of Charity 58r*
- Squirrel, on tunic, attribute of Avarice 53r*
- Stag, bearing Temperance 55v*
- State, 7 sorrows of 47r
- Stephanus, Holy Roman emperor 31v
- Stork, on tunic, attribute of Generosity 54v*
- Study, verses 47v
- Sword, attribute of Infatuation 46r*, of Justice 49r*, of Anger, killing her own child 50r*, of Pride 52v*; symbolizing the word of God 61v*, prayer, guardian of tree of virtues 64r*; attribute of manhood 69v*
- Table, golden, for wisest man 59v*
- Taxation, by Church 63v
- Temperance, definition 48v; subdivisions 49r; personification 55v*
- Three, aspects of the Church (material, militant, triumphant) 60v; hymns for which to stand 68v; kinds of faithful in the Church 65r; letters, mediated upon 60v*; stupid things 46r; subdivisions of the host 61v*; things which purify the heart 65r; vines 66v*; wise men decide what is strongest in the world 57v
- Throne 9v*, 10v*, 27v*, 31v*, 32r*; of Wisdom 58v*
- Torch, attribute of Infatuation 46r*; inverted, in hand of Worldliness 46r*; symbolizing Sloth, in hand of

- image of 7 deadly sins 46r*; attribute of Lechery 69r*
- Tower of Wisdom 64v*, 65r
- Town, fortified 47r*, 61r*; see also Apocalypse
- Tree, of penitence 63r*; of virtues 64r*, 65v*, 67v*; of vices 66r*; of virtues and vices 67r*; of Wisdom 69v*
- Trinity 29r*, 30r*, 69v*
- Tutivillus, devil collecting words dropped at mass 62r*
- Ulysses, and Circe 56v*; and sirens 56v*
- Unicorn, on shield, attribute of Avarice 53r*; bearing Chastity 54v*
- Urinomancy 42r*, 42v–43r
- Vanity, verses 30v, 31r; exemplum 52r*
- Venus, image of Lechery 47r*
- Vice see Virtues and Vices
- Vine, flowering, on helmet, attribute of Humility 54r*; symbolizing heretics, the Church militant, Gentiles, the baptized 66v*
- Virtues and Vices 46r*, 47r–50v*, 52v–56r*, 57r* 58r–59v*, 62v–66r*, 67r–69r*. See also individual virtues and vices
- Vision of, commentary on, Hildegard of Bingen, Daniel, Zachariah 31v–32r*; of Philibertus 51r–51v*
- Wagon(s), of horses in vision of Daniel 32r*; of Fortuna 57r*; of canonical regularity 62r*; of Prudence 68r*; of Aminadab (salvation) 68v*; of Pharaoh (sin) 69r*
- Wenzeslas, Holy Roman emperor 31v
- Wheel(s) of Life 30v*; of Fortuna 57r*; 4, of Goddess of Love 58r*; 4, of good life 60r
- Wine see Drunkenness
- Winepress 18v*, 23v*
- Wings, 2 bat, on image of 7 deadly sins 46r*, on image of Infatuation 46r*, on left foot of rhetorical man 48v*, on devils 52r*; 3 on Jupiter (Christ) 57v*; 4 on Love 58r*, on Clemency 59v*; 5 on Humility 59v*; 6 on Cherubim 63r*, on Seraphim 62v*
- Wisdom, personification 48v*; exemplum 58v–59r*; Tree of Wisdom 69v*
- Wolf, symbolizing prelates 31v*; devouring fowl, bearing Gluttony 50v*; on tunic, attribute of Chastity 54v*
- Zodiac 41r*

Author Index

+ before the name indicates that it is given in W; some of the names given in W are not those of the authors, but of authorities referred to; short quotations from Church Fathers, etc., are often identified by author in W but not listed here.

- Alanus ab Insulis 63r, 65r, 67v, 68r
- Alcherus of Clairvaux 48v
- +St Ambrose 45v
- +St Augustine 57v
- +Avicenna 36v, 40v, 41v, 43v
- +Bartholomeus Brixensis 62r
- Berengaudus 2v–10r, 13v–27r
- St Bernard of Clairvaux 47v, 51v (?), 62v, 63v, 65r, 69r
- +Bible 2v–27r, 31v–32r, 46v, 63v, et passim; books of the Bible are usually named
- +Bonacursus of Tyre 64v–65r
- Caesarius of Heisterbach 63v
- Cicero 48v–49r
- +Galen 36v, 40v, 43r
- Glossa Ordinaria 2v–10r, 13v–27r
- Gregory the Great 63v
- Hildegard of Le Mans 61v
- +Hildegard of Bingen 31v–32r
- +Hippocrates 36v
- Hugo of Folieto 48r
- Hugo of St Victor 47v, 48r, 60v
- Jacobus da Voragine 27v–28v
- +Johannes de Burno Diocesis Ruthenie 40v
- Julianus Pomerius 62v
- Nicholas of Dresden 62r
- Peter of Blois 68v–69r
- Peter of Poitiers (Pictaviensis) 47v–48r, 63r
- +Ptolemy 41r
- +Prosper of Aquitaine see Julianus Pomerius
- Regimen sanitatis salernitanum 44r–44v
- Robert Holkot 46v, 47r, 56r–57r, 58r–61r
- Rupert of Deutz 68v–69r
- William of Conches 47v, 67v–68r

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AUGUSTYN, W. 'Passio Christi est meditanda tibi; zwei Bildzeugnisse spätmittelalterlicher Passionsbetrachtung', *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, eds W. Haug and B. Wachinger, Fortuna vitrea xii. Tübingen 1992, 211-240.
- BERTHALOT, L. *Humanistisches Studienheft eines Nürnberger Scholaren aus Pavia, 1460*. Berlin 1910.
- BING, G. 'The Apocalypse Block-Books and their Manuscript Models', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, 143-158.
- BLOME, J. 'Transkription, Übersetzung und systematisch-botanische Bearbeitung der in der Basler Universitätsbibliothek aufbewahrten Kräuterbuch-Handschrift *Circa instans*', D. Phil. Dissertation Würzburg University 1981.
- BLOOMFIELD, M. W. *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500*. Cambridge, MA 1979.
- CAPLAN, H. *Medieval Artes Praedicandi*. Ithaca 1934.
- CHARLAND, T. *Les Artes Praedicandi*. Paris, Ottawa 1938.
- DICTIONNAIRE *de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire*. M. Viller et al., eds. Paris, 1932-.
- DUNN, T. *The Facetiae of the 'Mensa Philosophica' (attrib. to Theobaldus Anguilbertus, ca. 1470)*. St Louis 1934.
- EIS, G. 'Eine unbekannte deutsche Bearbeitung des "Planctus animae damnatae"', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, lxxv, 1964, 278-285; rpt idem. *Altgermanische Beiträge zur geistlichen Gebrauchsliteratur*. Bern 1974, 170-174.
- ESCHER, K. *Die Miniaturen in den Basler Bibliotheken, Museen und Archiven*. Basel 1917.
- EVANS, M. 'An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's *Summa* of Vice: Harleian MS 3244', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xlv, 1982, 14-68.
- EVANS, M. W. 'The *Labyrinths* of Giles van der Hecken', *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing*, Colloquium Warburg Institute 1982, ed. J. B. Trapp. London 1983, 34-41.
- HARRIS, N. *The Latin and German 'etymachia'*. Textual History, Edition, Commentary. Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen, 102. Tübingen 1994.
- HENKEL, K. *The Apocalypse*. Exh. cat. University of Maryland Art Gallery. Washington 1973.
- HILL, B. H. 'Another Member of the Sudhoff Fünfbilderserie Wellcome MS 5000 (sic)', *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 43, 1959, 13-19.

- HILL, B. H. 'Fünfbilderserie in Medieval Anatomy', PhD Dissertation University of North Carolina 1963.
- KAMINSKY, H. *et al.*, ed., ann., & transl. *Master Nicholas of Dresden*, 'The Old Color and the New'; Selected Works Contrasting the Primitive Church and the Roman Church, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, N.S., lv, Pt. 1. Philadelphia 1965.
- KARAJAN, T. *Frühlingsgabe für Freunde der älteren Literatur*. Wien 1839.
- KEIL, G. 'Zum Problem lateinisch-landessprachlicher Verflechtung: Der "Wundenmann" des Kodex Wellcome 49', *Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Medizin, Naturwissenschaft und Technik e.V.*, xxv, 1975, 79–.
- KIRMEIER, J. and E. BROCKHOFF. *Herzöge und Heilige; das Geschlecht der Andechs-Meranier im europäischen Hochmittelalter*. Regensburg 1993.
- KURZ, O. 'The Medical Illustrations of the Wellcome MS', in Saxl 1942, Appendix II, 137-142.
- LANGOSCH, K. "Arbores virtutum et viciorum," in *Festschrift für Karl Strecker*. Dresden 1931.
- LIEBESCHÜTZ, H. *Fulgentius Metaforalis*. Leipzig 1926.
- LOTTIN, O. *Psychologie et morale aux XIIIe et XIIIe siècles*. Gembloux 1960.
- MACKINNEY, L. *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts*. London 1965.
- MEIER, C. 'Die Rezeption des Anticlaudianus Alans von Lille in Textkommentierung und Illustration', *Text und Bild; Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste im Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds C. L. M. and U. Ruberg. Wiesbaden 1980, 408-548.
- MOORAT, S. A. J. *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library*. London 1962.
- PALMER, N. F. 'Die Petroneller "Circa instans" Handschrift und die lateinisch-deutschen Bilderhandschriften des Wellcome-Schreibers', in N. F. Palmer and K. Speckenbach, *Träume und Kräuter; Studien zur Petroneller 'Circa instans'-Handschrift und zu den deutschen Traumbüchern des Mittelalters*, *Pictura et Poesis*, iv. Köln 1991.
- PALMER, N. F. "Jammerruf des Toten", in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters; Verfasserlexikon*. K. Ruh et al., eds. 2nd edn. Berlin 1978- .
- PALMER, N. F. 'Apokalypse – Ars moriendi – Biblia pauperum – Antichrist – Fabel vom Kranken L'wen – Kalendarium und Planetenbücher – Historia David'; *Die lateinisch-deutschen Blockbücher des Berlin-Breslauer Sammelbandes*, Berlin, StMBPK, Kupferstichkabinett, Cim. 1,2,5,7,9,10,12. Colour microfiche edn. Monumenta xylographica et typographica, 2. München 1992.
- PALMER, N. F. 'Ars moriendi und Totentanz. Zur Verbildlichung des Todes im Spätmittelalter. Mit einer Bibliographie zur Ars moriendi', in *Tod im Mittelalter*, Konstanzer Colloquium 1990, ed. A. Patschovsky. (in publication).
- PARAVICINI, A. *Carmina Ratisponensa*. Heidelberg 1979.
- PFISTER, A., ed. 'De simplici medicina'; *Kräuterbuch-Handschrift aus dem letzten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Facsimile edn. 2nd edn. Basel 1961.

- PICKERING, F. P. *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*. Coral Gables 1970.
- PURPUS, E. *Die Apokalypse. Blockbuch-Ausgabe IV E. Mainz, Gutenberg-Museum, Ink. 131*. Colour microfiche edn. Monumenta xylographica et typographica, 1. München 1991.
- DE RICCI, S. *A List of Medieval Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*. New York 1930.
- DE RICCI, S. and W.J. WILSON. *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. New York 1937.
- RIGG, A. G. *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford 1968.
- RUDOLF, R. *Ars moriendi. Von der Kunst des heilsamen Lebens und Sterbens*. Köln 1957.
- SANDLER, L. F. *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library*. London, New York 1983.
- SAXL, F. „Aller Tugenden und Laster Abbildung“. Eine spätmittelalterliche Allegoriensammlung, ihre Quellen und ihre Beziehungen zu Werken des frühen Buchdrucks: *Festschrift für Julius Schloßer zum 60. Geburtstage*, eds A. Weixlgärtner and L. Planiscig. Zürich, Leipzig, Wien 1927, 104-121.
- SAXL, F. 'A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, 82-134.
- SCHANZ, M. *Die Literatur des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts*. München 1920. Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, viii, iv, 2.
- SCHMIDT, G. „Der Codex 370“, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1956, 25ff.
- SCHNEIDER, C. in *Blockbücher des Mittelalters; Bilderfolgen als Lektüre*, eds Gutenberg-Gesellschaft and Gutenberg-Museum. Exh. cat. Mainz 1991.
- SCHREIBER, W. L. *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, iv. Leipzig 1927.
- SEARS, E. *The Ages of Man; Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. Princeton 1986.
- SEEBOHM, A. 'The Crucified Monk' (to be published by the Warburg Institute, London).
- SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS, A. 'An Early Fifteenth-Century Illustration of Rhetoric', *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte*, i, 1985, 212-215.
- SEEBOHM-DESAUTELS, A. 'Texts and Images in a Fifteenth-Century German Miscellany (Wellcome MS 49)', unpublished PhD thesis University of London, Warburg Institute 1982.
- STAMMLER, W. 'Albertitafeln', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Freiburg 1957, i, 284.
- TUBACH, F. *Index Exemplorum: a Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*. FF Communications, cciv. Helsinki 1969.
- TUVE, R. *Allegorical Imagery*. Princeton 1966.
- WALTHER, H. *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis mediæ aevi*. Göttingen 1963-1969.
- WALTHER, H. *Initia carminum ac versuum mediæ aevi posterioris Latinorum*. Göttingen 1969.
- WENZEL, S. *Verses in Sermons; 'Fasciculus morum' and its Middle English Poems*. Cambridge, MA 1978.

- WILCKENS, L. v. ‚Buchmalerei um 1410-40 in Heidelberg und in der Kurpfalz‘, *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1980, 30-47.
- WIRTH, K.-A. ‚Auf den Spuren einer frühen Heilsspiegel-Handschrift vom Oberrhein‘, *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte*, i, 1985, 115-204.
- WORMALD, F. ‚The Crucifix and the Balance‘, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, i, 1937-38, 276-280, pl. 40b.
- ZATOČIL, L. ‚Eine Brünner Handschrift der Visio Fulberti (Brno, City Archive MS 105: formerly 94 (second half of 14th cent.): 1-13)‘, *Práci Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University (Studia minora facultatis philosophicae universitatis Brunensis)*, Rada lit. 21, 1974, 25-40.

COLOUR MICROFICHE EDITION

Note

The large-sized original leaves of 40x30cm and the relatively tiny, scratchy script written in brown ink with a very fine-nibbed pen make decipherment difficult. This applies to both the original manuscript and the colour microfiches. Because of the strong reduction and high resolution, a magnification ratio of 48x is recommended.