Apokalypse
Ars moriendi
Medizinische Traktate
Tugend- und Lasterlehren
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of the Latin and German Texts and Illustrations,
Index of Incipits
by Almuth Seebohm

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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. 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.

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 My 1982 thesis on W was followed and partially superseded by articles about individual images.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. 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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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 minimis 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 minimis (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 \( \rotatebox{90}{\text{2}} \) for "cum" (sometimes \( \rotatebox{90}{\text{2}} \), as on f32r, 48r, and 48v) and \( \rotatebox{90}{\text{p}} \) 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.\(^\text{12}\) 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 Wrocław in Silesia in a life of St Hedwig of 1451.

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 vices 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* (ff29v-30v), the medical and scientific section (ff34r-45v), the poem on the vices (ff49v-50v), the *Visio Philiberti* (ff51r-
51v), and the etymachia treatise (f52v-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.

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 etymologia 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 prickings). 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 

\[ \text{p} \]

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 (f51r-51v); other illustrations have one wagon each of Aminadab and Pharaoh – W has four each (f68v-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 a 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. 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 dioecesis ruthenie" (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 exempla 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. There is much evidence in W to demonstrate that it could have been made for Cistercians or perhaps Augustinian canons.

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 (ff51v-52r) with the ascetic, anti-worldly ideals of the true monk (f63v), and the similar contrast between clerical and secular appeal in the opposition of items such as the worldly 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 worldly 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
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.
7 274 X 185 mm., comprising f4–104 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 Chartres, 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.
10 Folios 32v and 33r are pricked and ruled in the same way as the rest of the preceding half of the quire (from f28v 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.
14 Amount of written space: Distribution of text on page:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of written space:</th>
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<tr>
<td>less than a quarter of a page</td>
<td>- 36 pages top - 13 pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>a quarter of a page</td>
<td>- 23 pages bottom - 17 pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>a third of a page</td>
<td>- 14 pages right side - 22 pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>half page</td>
<td>- 17 pages left side - 25 pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>two thirds of a page</td>
<td>- 8 pages all over - 55 pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>three quarters of a page</td>
<td>- 14 pages blank - 6 pages</td>
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<tr>
<td>over three quarters of a page</td>
<td>- 13 pages 138 total pages (69 leaves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whole page</td>
<td>- 7 pages blank - 6 pages</td>
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</table>

138 total pages (69 leaves)
15 Seebohm-Desautels 1982, Part II, chapters I (for this chapter see also Seebohm, in publication) and VII, 154-200; 291-307.
17 Kaminsky 1965, 50-51; Seebohm in publication.
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., ff29) 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-DESÁUTELS 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 sui quo aporter" [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 "Tyranus in martiribus".
* Fifth seal: the souls of the martyrs under the altar are clothed in white – Sixth seal: chaos, "terre motus".

* 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.

* Seventh seal: angels receiving seven trumpets – Sacrifice of incense on the altar; the angel throws the censer on the earth, causing "terre motus".

* 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.

* 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".

* Fifth trumpet: opening the well of the abyss, causing smoke and locusts to issue forth – Abadon, the angel king of the abyss, and his army, all locusts, looking like horses arrayed for battle.

* 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.

* 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.

* Antichrist has Enoch and Elijah beheaded – Enoch and Elijah ascend to heaven in a cloud; earthquake killing 7,000.

[Life of Antichrist]

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

Eighteen scenes, three per page on six pages:

* 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.

* 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).

* 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.
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.

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.

"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).

Seventh trumpet: elders and angels praise God – "Templum dei" with "Archa testamenti" inside; lightning, thunder, hail, earthquake, voices.

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.

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.

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.

The dragon gives his power to the beast from the sea – People worship the dragon.

People worship the beast from the sea – The beast from the sea makes war on the saints.

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.

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").

The angel with the eternal Gospel proclaims the hour of judgement – The second angel points out the fall of Babylon.

The angel warns followers of the beast of the threatening wrath of God – Those who died believing in God are blessed.

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.
**The new Jerusalem** – One of the seven angels describes the new Jerusalem to St John.

**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.

**Christ**, holding the Apocalypse, addressing St John and the angel.

[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:

**St John** preaching; baptism of Drusiana; the pagans spy on them.

**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.

**Miracles of St John**: he converts branches and pebbles into gold and jewels – St John destroys the temple of Diana in Ephesus.

**St John** drinks from the poisoned goblet and is unharmed – Death of St John; St John celebrates his last Mass.

**Ars moriendi, Memento mori**

"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 "Quanvis secundum philosophum", not in W: PALMER 1992, 20–21):

"...sunt autem huius temptationi v principals 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.
"Secunda temptatio est contra spem atque confidenciam".
* 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 temptacio 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.

"Quarta temptacio 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 temptacio 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.

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.

[179 verses about death with two lines of musical notation] "Ad mortem festinamus" (Pickering 1970, 168-222; Wenzel 1978, 177; Rudolf 1957, 50-51)

* 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. (Wienhold 1892, 21; Pickering 1970, 168-222; Sears 1986, 151)

* 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, xii)] "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 german 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).
[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).

[Anatomy treatise (Sudhoff's 'Fünfbilderserie')]] "In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Incipit figura incisionis sicut Galienus incidit perpetissimus 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"; "Wersus Vippa famen frenat oculos utriusque serenat"; "Lapis qui de ventre hominis excisus fuerit alios lapides frangit".

* Organ man (Sudhoff's 'Fünfbilderserie').

[Verse beside skeleton] "Triste cor ira frequens mens raro iocunda";

[Organ 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 lacerorum 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.

[Short texts accompanying drawings] "Scias volo duobus modis fetus in vulva 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.

[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).

[Gynaecological texts, including information about conception, pregnancy, and childbirth] "Quomodo mulieres volentes concipere se deceant habere", [and a woman-to-woman discussion about the dangers of sexual intercourse during pregnancy] "Seiptus enim constristata sum soror propter
magnitudinem et longitudinem virilis membra", [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. "Piator frequenter dissurina et strangurina" (text is repeated in picture), "Signa matricis prolapse...Sequitur nausea Nausea lassitudo corposis...quod suffit suffumigatio...Signa idropice matricis" (illustrated by hanging woman); "De complexionibus Nota omnes homines habentes duro 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] "Hii quattuor humores pulsus suos habent..Nota quattuor sunt regiones corporis humani...In vere finit 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 incolumnem 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"; "Hii certis signis moriturus noscitur".

42r [Text on urinomancy] "Hii 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 quilibet 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 constitucio tota"; "Calida sicca Aries leo sagittarius"; "Ventova sine scarificatione inter spaculars 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 Salernitum 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 debeat 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.] "Refrertur 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 transcedens".
* 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 verpertilionis"; [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 tuno 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 philosofius 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


* 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".

* 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 a 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, 25-49); 51r [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.

52r [German literal translation of above poem ("Jammerruf des Toten") ] "O ir alle die hie vorgan". (PALMER 1/L; EIS 1964, 278-285)

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; 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 – "Langitas/Liberalitas" "cale", "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.

* 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.

* 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.

* 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.

* 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.

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

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

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

* 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 alis".

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 * 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 alios 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 dee 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 virgilii".

* 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 depininxerunt sacerdotes dee 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.
[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, *Getta 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  [Eight quotations from the Bible and the Fathers about preaching]
"Gregorius in moralia Etsi est vilis predicator non est despicciendus"; [six verses about preaching] "Sunt qui convenienti 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.

62r  [Three verses about the Host] "Tres partes frate 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".

* 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 decepit 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 presumpcionis" 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, cowled 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 voluptas" (PL 59, 493. Incorrect attribution to Prosperus Aquitanus is based on Chrodegang of Metz, see SCHANZ 1920, vii, 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 "Albertitaefeln"; 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 Moralba in Job; WORMALD 1937–8. See also AUGUSTYN 1992).
"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 despicatus"; "Arbor penitentie cuius radix est cordis contricio"; [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) Complutens praecepta, 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), XI); "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 contricio", 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.

[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 religiousus 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 mortitur"; [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*, xxii, 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).
"Tria sunt genera fidelium in ecclesia militante per incrementa virtutum speranciae pervenire Scolici incipientes proficientes et perficientes"; [Tower of Wisdom] "Frater bonacursus quondam tyrenensis archiepiscopus de ordine fratrum predicatorem eis edificavit turrim sapientie per quam tela demonum ignes valeant extingvere et ad deum feliciter pertransire Est autem turris sapientie moralis admodum 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 acquisicione rerum temporalium se habent"; "Tria faciunt cordis mundiciam leccho scripturamur"; [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 obedientiae" (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.

[Tree of Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit] "Fructus spiritus" [with names of sixty-five virtues and seven groups of virtuous people] "Aspiebam 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.

[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 slothing 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.

* 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 (Anticludianus 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 prudencie 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.
Ages of Man, Liberal Arts

[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, "Iuvenis" 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: "Philosophia" a man contemplating the head of Christ, "Grammatica" reading the alphabet in a book, "Logica" holding two snakes, "Rhetorica" 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.
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Prudentia est rerum divinarum humanarum prout datum est scientia. Prudentia est scire distinguere bonum et malum. Prudentia secundum aliquos sic depingitur: In statu cuiusdam philosophi in manu sinistra equum proprium tenentis.


Quantumvis habeas nil hic possidendo requiras. Quattuor ut fantur sunt: Quae numquam satiantur. Quattuor virtutes cardinales dicuntur: A cardine per similitudinem quia sicut hostium per quod intratur in domum.


Qui nescit partes frustra tendit ad artes. Qui non asswescit virtuti dum iuvenescit. Qui perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit. Qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris. Qui sibi non parcit michi vel tibi quando parcit. Qui superstes videbit illum philosophiam. Qui spernant munus non est in milibus unus.

Quid caro vilis humus quid carnis gloria fumus. Quod non pro christo paternis pro te crucifixo. Quid sit predestinacio dicit Augustinus: De predestinacione libro secundo et de perseverancia sanctorum post medium. Quidam abbas ordinis cistercensis (sic) vir bone vite quadam nocte cum esset cum monachis suis in choro vidit quemdam diabolam obliqua. Quia quidagunt artes semper preddicto partes (P25259; 119573) 47v. Quia quidagunt homines intentio iudicat omnes (P25260) 60v. Quia quidad habes tribuas ut sic tua laus gratiosa 67v. Quinque sunt predicanda in ecclesia dei scilicet credenda supercunda 61v. Quis michi laude pari vel honore positum sociari (I16081; B6544) 67v. Quis quid ubi quibus cur quomodo quando (P25432; I16103) 63r. Quis tolerat silentium malum quod perpetrat ille 67r. Quo gaudere potes qui gratias tot mala perfert 67r.

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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 meditacionis passionis Quod si fideliter in corde teneatur 62v

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