

*ARS  
MORIENDI*

*HOLBEIN  
SOCIETY*

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THE ARS MORIENDI.





THE  
ARS MORIENDI

(EDITIO PRINCEPS, circa 1450).

*A Reproduction of the Copy in the  
BRITISH MUSEUM.*

EDITED BY

W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

**With an Introduction**

BY

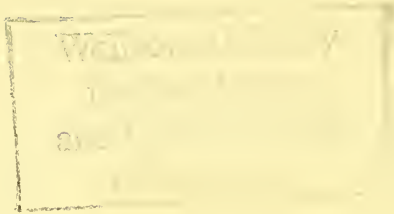
GEORGE BULLEN, F.S.A., &c. &c.

*Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum.*



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## PREFACE.



AS Editor of this, the Fourteenth Volume in the series of the publications of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY, only a few words seem to be required of me. It must not be forgotten that the original work, of which the following plates form a fac-simile, is so rare that only one perfect copy appears to have come down to us. Hence, it must be a subject of congratulation to the Council and Members of the Society, that the AUTHORITIES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM have so freely permitted a fac-simile to be made of this rare and curious work—the possession of an original copy being, in all human probability, out of the question.

To MR. GEORGE BULLEN, the Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum, the thanks of the Members of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY are due for the facilities which he has afforded to the fac-similist during his work, as well as for the Introduction,

obligingly undertaken by him at my request: this Introduction coming from one possessing so thorough a knowledge of the subject adds very materially to the interest and value of this Volume.

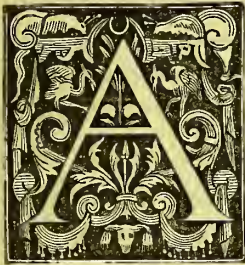
This being the first publication issued by the Society since the death of MR. ASPLAND, who for some years so satisfactorily performed the duties of Permanent Editor, a fitting opportunity is offered for placing on record the regret felt by the Council, and the loss suffered by the Society, in his unfortunate decease. MR. ASPLAND, who was one of its founders, had the good of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY thoroughly at heart, and spared no efforts to ensure its usefulness and success. Not unfrequently he purchased at his own cost valuable and expensive works solely for the purpose of their reproduction in the Society's Series,—a course, which it need hardly be said was as unusual as it was munificent.

In expressing the apologies of the Council for the unavoidable delay which has occurred in the production of the present Volume, I am requested to state that, in future, it is anticipated the publications of the Society will be more punctually issued.

W. HARRY RYLANDS.



## INTRODUCTION.



AMONG the treasures acquired by the British Museum at the Weigel Sale, at Leipsic, in 1872, by far the most important was the celebrated copy of the "Ars Moriendi," a block-book executed in the best style of art prevalent at the time of its production, perfect as to the number of its leaves, and in a marvellous state of preservation.

For this remarkable production the trustees paid the sum of £1,072. 10s., exclusive of commission, being the highest price ever paid by them for any single xylographic or printed work. It was purchased at the earnest recommendation of Mr. Rye, keeper of the printed books at the time, and soon after its acquisition was catalogued, under his direction, by Mr. Russell Martineau.

The following is a copy of the title written for it and inserted in the British Museum Catalogue:—

“ Ars.

*Begin.* [fol. 1 *verso*.:]      Ars moriendi

                                    Quamuis secundum philosophū

Tercio ethicorum, etc.

*End.* [fol. 24 *recto*.:] sepe miserabiliter piclitantūr.

G.L.                                      [Cologne? 1450?] fol.

*Note.*—A block-book, consisting of 12 separate sheets of 2 leaves each, printed on the inner side only, so that the recto of fol. 1, 3, 5, etc., and the verso of fol. 2, 4, 6, etc., are left blank, and fol. 2 and 3, 4 and 5, etc., could be pasted together to form respectively a single leaf. The impression was taken in pale brown ink by rubbing. There are eleven illustrations, each occupying a whole page, on the verso of fol. 3, 5, 7, etc.; the explanatory letterpress being given on the recto of fol. 4, 6, 8, etc. Fol. 1 verso and 2 recto contain the introduction, in 30 and 29 lines respectively. Every leaf is surrounded by a border of 3 lines, of which the top and right sides are shaded on fol. 1–13, 15, 17, 19–23, the bottom and left on fol. 14, 16, 18, and the top and left on fol. 24. Without title-page or pagination. Fol. 13 verso has in the corner the sign V, which is the only signature occurring in the book. On fol. 14, 16, 18, 24 (text), the letter u is always written ũ. This edition is believed by Weigel and others to be the first edition of this often-repeated work, by reason of the beauty and originality of the designs, and the sharpness of outline, which proves the impression to be an early one.”

It is a reproduction of this work, executed in *fac-simile* with the pen, by Mr. F. C. PRICE, and transferred to the stones, from which it has been printed, that is now offered to the members of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY. As a specimen of *fac-simile* art it is a perfect marvel, and shows at once the superiority of this kind of

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reproduction to the photographic process; as any one may see by comparing it with the photographic reproduction of the present work, published by Weigel himself in 1869.

Of the various block-books produced up to about the middle of the fifteenth century, it would be difficult to fix the exact chronological order, and equally so to determine in which country—Holland or Germany—they had their origin. It is to the former, perhaps, that the honour is due of having initiated the block-printing; while to the latter belongs the far higher invention of printing from movable metal types, discovered by Gutenberg and brought to perfection by Fust and Schoeffer at Mentz.

The block-books, there is no doubt, had their origin in those images of the saints produced early in the fifteenth century, probably in imitation of the playing-cards, which first came into vogue in Europe about the year 1350, introduced from the East. "The *positive* history of playing-cards," according to Dr. Willshire, "begins in the year 1392"; but at what time cards first came to be executed by means of wood-engraving is a problem which remains yet to be solved. According to some writers, the production of the images of saints by means of xylography preceded that of the playing-cards. The Buxheim St. Christopher of 1423, according to Dr. Willshire, is generally allowed to be authentic, and there is good ground for supposing that this was not the earliest production of the kind; whereas there are no cards of so early a date, nor nearly approaching it, extant. Still, as there must have been a large demand for cards before 1423, it is highly probable that they were produced before that year, at least, by wood-

engraving. Baron Heineken gives his opinion, "Idée générale d'une collection complete des Estampes," in favour of the playing-cards, while Mr. Chatto, in his latest-published work on the subject, corrects the opinion which he had previously given in 1836, and expresses his belief that "there were stencilled cards before there were wood engravings of saints."

The "Biblia Pauperum," a work intended for the instruction of the laity, by means of a series of illustrations of Bible history, accompanied by illustrative texts of Scripture, is generally supposed to have been the first of the block-books. It was in all likelihood produced in Holland, probably at Haarlem, between the years 1430-40. Of this there were several editions. The style of art appears to be decidedly of the Dutch School.

In the "Canticum Canticorum" there is a decided improvement both in beauty of design and execution. The designs clearly belong to the school of the Van Eycks.

The "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis" also shows an improvement upon the "Biblia Pauperum," although some writers ascribe to it an earlier date.

Of the "Ars Memorandi," the "Apocalypse," and the other block-books, there is no occasion here to speak.

The "Ars Moriendi" is evidently a later production than any of those already mentioned. The manufacture of block-books, commenced in Holland and afterwards practised in Belgium, appears to have travelled, about the middle of the fifteenth century, into Germany, and fixed itself at Cologne, where this edition was in all probability executed. Herr Weigel's copy of



the work, here reproduced, was acquired by him, as he informs us, from a private person in that city. Naturally, he does not mention what he gave for it, which it would be interesting to know, in connection with the high price paid for it at his sale. Perhaps at some future time this secret will be revealed.

The "Ars Moriendi" was an exceedingly popular work, and passed through several editions, of which the present is presumably the first. Herr Weigel, whose judgment is deserving of the highest attention, from the close study he has given to the subject, pronounces in its favour as being the very first edition.

Others, however, are of opinion that an edition of the same work in quarto is of earlier date.

The letterpress of the "Ars Moriendi" differs entirely from that of a printed work, bearing a somewhat similar title—"Speculum Artis bene Moriendi," which never appeared as a block-book, and of which the first printed edition is supposed to have been issued about 1475.

In an edition of the "Speculum Artis bene Moriendi," printed about the year 1475-80, the author of the work is stated at the end to have been Matthæus de Cracovia—"Explicit liber utilis de arte moriendi Mægri Mathei de Cracovia"; but in a German translation of the same, published in 1520, it is ascribed to a highly learned doctor of Paris, in these words:—"Gemacht durch ein höchgelertẽ Doctor zũ Paryss." This appears to refer to the celebrated Chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Charlier de Gerson, reputed author of the "De Imitatione Christi," and undoubtedly author of the "Opusculum tripartitum," of which

the third part is entitled, "De Arte Moriendi." There is much in common between this block-book and the "Speculum Artis bene Moriendi." Some writers have supposed the block-book to be a compendium of the "Speculum"; but this lacks justification. It is true that the number of temptations of the dying man—namely, five—corresponds in both works, but there is as much reason for supposing the "Speculum" to be an amplification of the block-book, as for the opposite view that the block-book was a compendium of the "Speculum." Both works had, without doubt, a common origin, which may have been the work of Gerson above-mentioned; and Gerson is quoted in both, under his title of Chancellor of Paris, but only on a particular subject—namely, the spiritual danger of the dying man being led to hope for a recovery from his malady—the quotations from other authors, especially the fathers of the church, being numerous.

The words in the block-book are:—"Et ergo nullatenus infirmo detur spes nimia corporalis sanitatis consequendæ. Nam secundum Cancellarium Parisiensem, 'sæpe per talem falsam consolationem et fictam sanitatis confidentiam certam incurrit homo damnationem.'" These words occur in the preface to the block-book on the first page. In the "Speculum," however, they appear far on in the work, after the description of the five temptations, in a chapter headed "Sequitur quinta particula de exhortationibus circa infirmos in agone mortis." In this the passage introducing the Chancellor's words is fuller than in the block-books—namely, as follows:—"Nullatenus autem detur infirmo spes nimia corporalis sanitatis consequendæ; *cujus tamen contrarium tam frequenter fieri*

*solet a multis in periculum animarum circa justos qui actu agonizant; ita quod nullus eorum aliquid audire vult de morte.* Unde Cancellarius Parisiensis—‘sæpe per unam talem inanem gloriam et falsam consolationem, et fictam sanitatis corporis confidentiam certam incurrit homo damnationem.’”

Referring to the “Opusculum tripartitum” itself, an early-printed edition, we find the words given exactly as follows :—“Sæpe namque per unam talem inanem et falsam consolationem et incertam sanitatis corporeæ confidentiam certam incurrit homo damnationem.” Here it is perceived that in the “Speculum” the monkish redundancy of *unam* (that sort of false Latinity so ridiculed in the “Epistolæ obscurorum virorum”) is preserved and the word *gloriam* is introduced; while *fictam* is substituted for *incertam*, and *corporis* for *corporeæ*. Hence, it is probable that the author of the block-book had a MS. before him of the “Opusculum tripartitum,” which slightly differed from that used by the author of the “Speculum.” Hence also, it may be inferred that the author of the block-book was a different person from the author of the “Speculum,” since, if it were one and the same person, the words of the MS. quoted from would have been exactly the same. Altogether, considering the simplicity of the block-book letterpress, it would appear to be earlier than the amplified treatise of the “Speculum ‘de arte bene Moriendi.’”

Referring to any MSS. that there might be in the British Museum, bearing on the subject of the block-books, we find that although there are some of the “Biblia Pauperum” and of the “Speculum humanæ Salvationis,” there appear to be none of the “Ars Moriendi,” except a version in some Catalan dialect (3183

Harl.), with miniatures of some of the temptations, unfortunately much defaced. In this also the Chancellor of Paris is quoted.

The pictorial illustrations of the "Ars Moriendi" are of the lower Rhenish school of art, practised at Cologne up to about the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when, according to Weigel and Zestermann ("Die Anfänge der Buchdruckerkunst in Bild und Schrift"), the native German art is shown to have been much influenced by the school of Roger Van der Weyde. They mention also a certain Petrus Christus as having been resident at Cologne about 1438, to whom, without absolutely saying as much, they seem to hint that the execution of the "Ars Moriendi" may be due. Mr. Weale, however, an authority of the highest order, who has studied Flemish art and antiquities perhaps more extensively than any one, has shown, in an article in "Le Beffroi," an antiquarian journal published in Bruges, that this Petrus Christus, who was a pupil of the Van Eycks, continued to reside at Bruges, and that there is no evidence of his ever having resided at Cologne.

The illustrations in the "Ars Moriendi," eleven in number, embrace the following subjects:—

In the first the dying man is represented on his bed, naked; except that the bed-clothes from his breast downwards cover him. (It appears, from various sources, that it was not the custom at the time generally to wear bed-dresses.) He is emaciated in appearance, and his thin right arm is extended over the coverlet. In all the engravings, except the last, this figure on the bed occupies the right hand of the picture. Above this, reckoning from the left

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to the right, are three figures, namely, of the Virgin Mother, of Jesus Christ, and of the Almighty Father. Next to the Virgin, on the left, are two pictures of demons, between which is a scroll with the words "Infernus factus est." These, perhaps, should more properly be "*Infirmus* factus est," which is the reading given in the French translation occurring in "L'Art de bien Viure et de bien Mourir," to be hereafter mentioned. Weigel and Zestermann suggest "fractus" for "factus," which would make no sense whatever. Below this scroll are figures of three doctors, one apparently "with good capon lined" and forming a remarkable contrast to the dying man, discussing the state of the case; next to these on the right, and nearer to the dying man, is a demon bearing a scroll with the inscription "Fac sicut Pagani." This advice is illustrated by a king and a queen on the left hand side adoring an image on a pedestal. On the extreme right is another demon, touching the dying man's shoulder with his right-hand, while in his left he bears a scroll with the inscription "Interficias te ip̄m" (kill thyself). Below this there are two figures, the one on the left being that of a female, naked except round the loins, holding in her right hand a bunch of rods and in her left a scourge; the one on the left being that of a man represented in the act of cutting his own throat with a knife.

With all this variety of figures the composition of the subject is harmonious and impressive; the figures of the demons are at once grotesque and hideous; while that of the kneeling queen on the left, adoring the Pagan image and in flowing drapery, is exceedingly graceful. The picture of the dying man, thus exposed to the assaults of his ghostly enemies, is well calculated to call forth the sympathy

even of a generation like ours: how much more so, when contemplated by men and women who actually believed, as taught by their spiritual advisers, in the personality of Satan and the malignant demons that worked under his direction? This first temptation of the dying man, in which he is assailed on the matter of "Faith," is followed by an explanatory page of text headed by the words "Tentacio dyaboli de fide."

It is followed by picture 2, in which the dying man's good angel comes to his rescue. He stands in front of him with wings outspread, a full-length figure in graceful drapery, and bearing a scroll with the words "Sis firmus ĩfide (in fide)." Above, ranging from the left to the right, are figures of the Virgin, Jesus, God the Father, and Moses with horns. The last mentioned is foolishly supposed by Sotheby to represent Judas Iscariot. Still farther above these is a troop of saints and angels. Below are three figures of discomfited demons; one exclaiming "Fugiamus;" another "Victi sumus;" and a third "Frustra laboravim<sup>9</sup>." This is followed by a page of text, headed "Bona inspiracio angeli de fide." The figure of the dying man, under this encouragement, is represented in a somewhat more cheerful aspect.

In his second temptation, that of "Despair," he is again assaulted by demons. There are six of them, all hideous. One bearing a scroll, "Ecce pčta (peccata) tua," holds up a list of his many sins to his view; another tells him that he is a perjurer, "Perjurus es;" a third that he has been a fornicator, "Fornicatus es;" a fourth that he has been avaricious, "Avare vixisti;" and a fifth that he has been a man-slayer, "Occidisti." What can the poor man do? He has done

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all this, and perhaps more, and his countenance falls accordingly. At the top of the picture are two figures, one of a man, towards whom he has been guilty of perjury, and the other of a woman, with whom he has sinned in fornication. The devils point to them both. At the foot are representations of a man whom he has killed, and of another whom he has ruined by his avarice. These are both pointed at by the accusing spirits; the one who accuses him of murder holding a drawn dagger upright in his left hand. In the left of the picture is a devil holding a full-weighted purse in his right hand, and with a shirt hanging from his right arm, while with his left hand he points to the figure of a naked man sitting below him on the ground. Here the demon exhibits no scroll, but the naked figure on the ground may well be supposed to represent another victim of the dying man's avarice. The page of explanatory text which follows has for its heading the words, "Temptaco dyaboli de despacione."

In the fourth engraving, followed by a page of letterpress, headed "Bona ispiratio angli contra despatione," the dying man's guardian angel is again seen by the side of his bed, exhibiting a scroll bearing the words "Nequaquã desperes." In the upper part of the picture are represented three figures; namely, on the left that of the penitent thief on the cross; next to him that of St. Mary Magdalen, holding in her hand the pot of spikenard; and next to her that of St. Peter, holding in his right hand a large key and accompanied by the cock that crew when he denied his Saviour, the latter being perched on the canopy of the bedstead. At the foot of this, on the left-hand side of the picture, is a representation of Saul of Tarsus and his horse, both cast to the ground while journeying to Damascus. These, being all examples of

eminent sinners who had their sins forgiven them, are exhibited to the dying man with a view to rouse him from a state of despair, and indulge in a hope of like forgiveness, whatever may have been his sins. The successful result of the guardian angel's exhortation is shown in the hasty flight of a hideous demon in the right-hand corner, at the foot of the picture, bearing a scroll with the words "Victoria michi nulla;" while another demon just above him, but shown only by his hinder parts, makes his escape under the bedstead.

Still the evil spirits will not allow the dying man to depart in peace. They assail him with a third temptation, namely, that of impatience under his sufferings.

In the fifth engraving he is represented with both arms exposed, and with his right leg kicking a male figure, presumably his medical attendant, who seems to be astonished at and to resent such strange behaviour. Another figure, however, just above, probably that of the dying man's wife, compassionately extends her hand towards the patient, and excuses him in the words of the scroll, "Ecce quãtam (quantam) penã patit" (See what suffering he endures!) In front of the bedstead, and towards the left of the engraving, is a full-length figure of a female, handsomely dressed, probably the dying man's daughter, holding in her right hand a plate containing the leg of a goose or a fowl, or some such thing, and in her left a cup. At the extreme right, about the middle of the picture, is seen the head of a demon with a lolling tongue, and a scroll issuing from his mouth, bearing the words "quã bene decepi eum." Below this, on the right, is shown a table, from which various articles have fallen on the ground; namely, a knife, a cup, a spoon, and two other undistinguishable



articles. The letterpress accompanying this engraving is headed "Temptacio dyaboli de ipaciēcia."

Again, however, the dying man's angel comes to his rescue, and we see him standing with wings outspread, about the centre of the picture (No. 6), administering spiritual consolation to his charge; the accompanying page of letterpress being headed with the words "Bona inspiracio angeli de paciencia." The dying man is represented with his hands folded as in prayer. Above him, on the right, are figures of the Eternal Father and of Jesus Christ; and on the left of St. Barbara, with a tower surmounted by a steeple; of St. Catherine, with the wheel and sword; and of St. Laurence, with the gridiron; the last-mentioned being elevated above the two female saints. Below these, on the left-hand side of the picture, is a full-length figure of St. Stephen, exhibiting the stones with which he had been martyred. On the right is shown a demon tumbling headlong, with the scroll "labores amisi," while on the left are shown the hinderparts of another escaping under the bedstead, with the scroll, "Sum captivatus."

The fourth temptation of the dying man (engraving No. 7) is on the score of "vainglory," which forms a most horrible picture. He is assailed by five hideous demons, one of whom, with a crown in his hand, exhorts him to boast—"Gloriare"; another says, "Tu es firmus in fide;" another also bears a crown with the scroll, "Coronã meruisti;" while a third, on the right hand, appears to thrust a crown into the dying man's left hand, accompanying it with the words, "In paciencia perseverasti." The fifth demon bears for his scroll the words, "Exaltate ipsum." Above all these are figures of the Eternal Father, of Jesus, and the Blessed Virgin; and a little below these are three

figures of innocent children in the attitude of prayer. This picture is followed by a letterpress description headed "Temptacio dyaboli de vana gloria."

In the eighth engraving there are three angels who come to administer advice and consolation to the dying man. The principal one, occupying the centre of the picture, points with his right hand to a scroll on the right bearing the words "Superbos punio;" beneath which is a representation of the mouth of hell, signified by flames, in which three figures are writhing in torture; one of them being a priest. Immediately above the principal angel is another, bearing in his left hand a scroll with the words "Sis humilis," to which he points with his right. The third angel is a full-length figure on the left, holding up his right hand as if in exhortation. Above this is a figure of St. Anthony, bearing in his left hand a bell, and in his right a crozier. At the top of the picture is a representation of the Holy Trinity, accompanied by the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Ghost being symbolized under the form of a dove, with outspread wings. The hideous head of a demon on the right, just below the bedstead, is probably intended for Satan himself, or perhaps only the conventional representation of the "mouth of hell," showing two huge teeth, almost closing round the neck of one of his victims, namely, one of the three figures, before-mentioned as plunged into hell flames, from their having indulged in the deadly sin of pride. At the foot of the picture is the figure of a demon lying prostrate, and bearing the scroll "Victus sum;" the hinder-parts of another being shown, as previously, in the act of escaping under the bedstead. This engraving is followed by a page of letterpress, headed with the words, "Bona inspiracio angli contra vanã gloriã."

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In the fifth temptation (engraving No. 9), the dying man is exhibited as assailed by the sin of avarice. Three demons occupy themselves with this office. One, standing at the top of his bed, slightly on the right, points significantly to a group on his left, showing a male figure and three females, the last on the left having the figure of a child just below her; these being evidently relations or friends of the dying man, as shown by the scroll, bearing the words "Provideas amicis." Below this group is a devil pointing towards them with the same end in view. At the right hand of the picture is a demon from whom issues a scroll, bearing the words, "Intende thesauro," and pointing towards a house, in the lower compartment of which is a cellar containing four casks of wine, with a servant filling a jug from one of them. This is evidently intended by the demon to distract the dying man's mind from all thought of heaven, to a consideration of the worldly enjoyment that he is called to leave behind him. The same idea is carried out by the two figures down below, one of a steed, and the other of his attendant groom. The page of letterpress accompanying this is headed by the words, "Temptacio dyaboli de avaricia."

Following this is an engraving (No. 10) of the good angel who comes to support and console the dying man, while thus tempted to endanger his salvation through indulging in the sin of avarice; the accompanying letterpress being headed, "Bona inspiracio angli contra auariciã." In this engraving the guardian angel stands, as before, in front of the dying man, with his right hand raised in exhortation, and with a scroll on the right of the picture bearing the words, "Non sis

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auarus." Above the canopy of the bedstead, on the right, is a representation of the Blessed Virgin, and next to this, on the left, is a full-length figure of the Holy Jesus stretched on the cross. Next to this, on the left, somewhat lower down, are three figures of sheep, shown principally by their heads. Next to these, on the left, are three figures, namely, of a man and two women; just below the second woman is the figure of a maiden, and above her, on the extreme left, is the head of a man. What this group of figures is intended to symbolize it would be difficult to conjecture. The man, standing as he does, next to the sheep, and with a staff in his hand, is perhaps a representation of a good shepherd. They all of them, however, appear to look towards the dying man with feelings of compassion. Below this group is the figure of an angel, with a scroll bearing the words, "Ne intendas amicis" (Do not concern thyself for thy friends). This angel holds with both hands an outspread curtain, intended to conceal from the dying man's view two full-length figures, one of a woman on the right, and the other of a man on the left; both possibly being disappointed expectants of sharing in the dying man's wealth; or else the female figure representing his wife and the male figure that of his physician. The latter appears to be exhorting his female companion to depart from the scene. At the foot of the picture, on the right, is the figure of an ugly demon with a scroll bearing the words "Quid faciam."

The final picture in the series (No. 11), represents the dying man in his last agony. In this engraving his position is different from that in the other engravings, being on the left hand of the picture instead of on the right, where he is

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shown lying on his bed. In his right hand is a lighted candle, which a Monk, standing on his right, supports with his left hand, using the right for exhortation. The dying man has now drawn his last breath, and with it the soul, in the shape of a child, has escaped from the body and is received by an angel, the foremost of a group of four, shown high up in the picture on the left-hand side. To the right of this group, and just above the Monk, are three figures—namely, of St. Peter, with the sword; of Mary Magdalene, with the cup of spikenard; and of the Blessed Virgin. Behind these are the nimbi of eight other saints, with the heads of two of them slightly depicted. To the right of this group is a full-length figure of the Saviour extended on the cross. On the right of this is a figure of St. John, almost full length, with his hands closed in the attitude of prayer; while above him are shown the heads of two other male figures, probably apostles, each with a nimbus, with the nimbi alone of two others just above. In the lower part of the picture are the figures of six hideous demons, raging with disappointment at not gaining possession of the dying man's soul by the cunningly-devised temptations above represented.

In the last page of letterpress directions are given as to the prayers which the dying man should utter while awaiting the stroke of death. First, he is exhorted to implore Almighty God, of His ineffable mercy and by the virtue of His passion, to receive him to Himself. Next, he is directed to implore the mediation of the glorious Virgin Mary. Next, to invoke the aid of all the angels, especially his guardian angel; and then of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; addressing himself

chiefly to any among them whom he had formerly held in particular veneration. Particular prayers and sentences are then mentioned which the dying man is exhorted to repeat. If he cannot do this himself, then the bystanders are exhorted to do it for him. And here a recommendation is given that everyone, when expecting the approach of death, should secure the presence of some faithful friend to assist him in his last hours by his prayers and exhortations. "But, alas!" says the writer, "how few are there, who, in the hour of death, faithfully assist their neighbours with interrogations, admonitions, and prayers! Hence, it happens that as the dying persons themselves do not (in general) wish to die quite yet, their salvation is often miserably imperilled." The original Latin is as follows:—"Sed heu, pauci sunt qui in morte proximis suis fideliter assistant, interrogando, monendo, et pro ipsis orando: præsertim cum ipsi morientes nondum mori velin, et animæ morientum sæpe miserabiliter periclitantur." With these words the "*Ars Moriendi*" concludes.

Similar advice is given as to the presence of a faithful friend, and the same complaint is made, slightly amplified, in the "*Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*"; not at the end, however, but about the middle of the work.

The same is the case in a work published by our own Caxton, in 1490, with the title, "Here begynneth a lytill treatise shorte and abredged spekyng of the arte and craft to know well to dye." The five temptations are here briefly enumerated, and the advice given occurs on the last leaf, in the words:—"To this myght

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moche well serve a felawe and trewe frende devoute and convenable whiche in his laste ende assyste hym truly," etc. This appears to be an abridgment of the "Speculum." In the colophon it is stated to have been "translated oute of frenshe in to englysshe by Willm Caxton."

In another little treatise, likewise printed by Caxton, but without name, place, or date, under the title, "Here begynneth a lytyll treatise schortely compyled and called ars moriendi, that is to saye the craft for to deye for the healthe of mannes sowle," the same advice is given at the very commencement of the work. The words (in the dear old black letter and quaint spelling) are as follows:—"Whan ony of lyklyhode shal deye, thenne is most necessarye to haue a specyall frende, the whiche wyll hertly helpe and praye for hym and therwyth counseyll the syke for the wele of his sowle, and more ouer to see that alle other so do aboute hym, or elles quickly for to make hem departe. Thenne is to be remembred the grete benefeytes of god done for hym unto that tyme and specyally of y<sup>e</sup> passyon of our lorde, and thenne is to be rede somme story of sayntes or the vii psalmes wyth y<sup>e</sup> letanye or our lady psalter in parte or hole wyth other. And euer the ymage of the crucyfyxe is to be hadde in his syght wyth other. And holy water is oftymes to be cast upon and about hym for auoydyng of euyll spirytes y<sup>e</sup> whiche thene be full redy to take theyr auauntage of the sowle yf they may," etc.

It should be noticed that while the busy work of the evil spirits is thus alluded to, there is no mention made of the five particular temptations of the block-book and the "Speculum."

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This unique tract of Caxton was found in the middle of a volume of black-letter tracts in the Bodleian Library, and was reprinted by Mr. Blades in 1869. He conjectures that it was printed in 1491, the very year in which Caxton died, and that it was translated from the Latin by the printer himself; "but no other copy," he says, "in any language, in print or manuscript, appears to be known."

In a treatise entitled "Tractatus brevis ac valde utilis de arte et scientia bene moriendi," printed at Venice in 1478, the five temptations are enumerated, as in the "Speculum," of which this appears to be a compendium.

The five temptations are also mentioned in a treatise entitled, "Tractatus brevis et utilis pro infirmis visitandis et confessionem eorum audiendis," printed at Passau, by J. Alakraw and B. Mair, in 1482, in the same order as in the block-book and the "Speculum."

Thus it appears, from the various publications mentioned, and others which might be named, that the intent and ascetic contemplation of death was a favourite subject with writers of the fifteenth century and earlier. When the revival of learning commenced, and the masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature came to be studied, death was not regarded by reasonable persons with the same morbid feelings that prevailed during the Middle Ages.

Confirmation is given of the numerous treatises on the subject of death extant during the fifteenth century, in a French work entitled "Le Liure intitule lart de bien viure; et de bien mourir



et cet.," published at Paris by Verard, in 1493, and of which a second edition by the same printer appeared in 1496. Of this second edition there is a magnificent copy on vellum in the British Museum, formerly belonging to King Henry VII., from whose library it passed with the other books in the royal collection given to the nation by George II., in 1759.

In this treatise the writer expressly informs us that there had been several works published previously on the contemplation and preparation of death, and he then proceeds to specify particularly the block-book, which is the subject of the present investigation. From the terms in which he speaks it is clear that he was not aware who was the author of the work. His words (quoting from the second edition) are:—"Ont compille plusieurs traitez de contemplacion iouxte les consideracions de la mort. Et specialement ung duquel ie ignore le nom, mais ay trouue son liure intitule, "Ars Moriendy," commencant: Quamuis secundũ philozophum tercio ethicorum ꝑc. Omnium terribilium ꝑ cetera." Then follows a complete translation into French of the letterpress of the block-book, accompanied by copies of all the wood engravings, illuminated and coloured in this particular copy in the best art of the time.

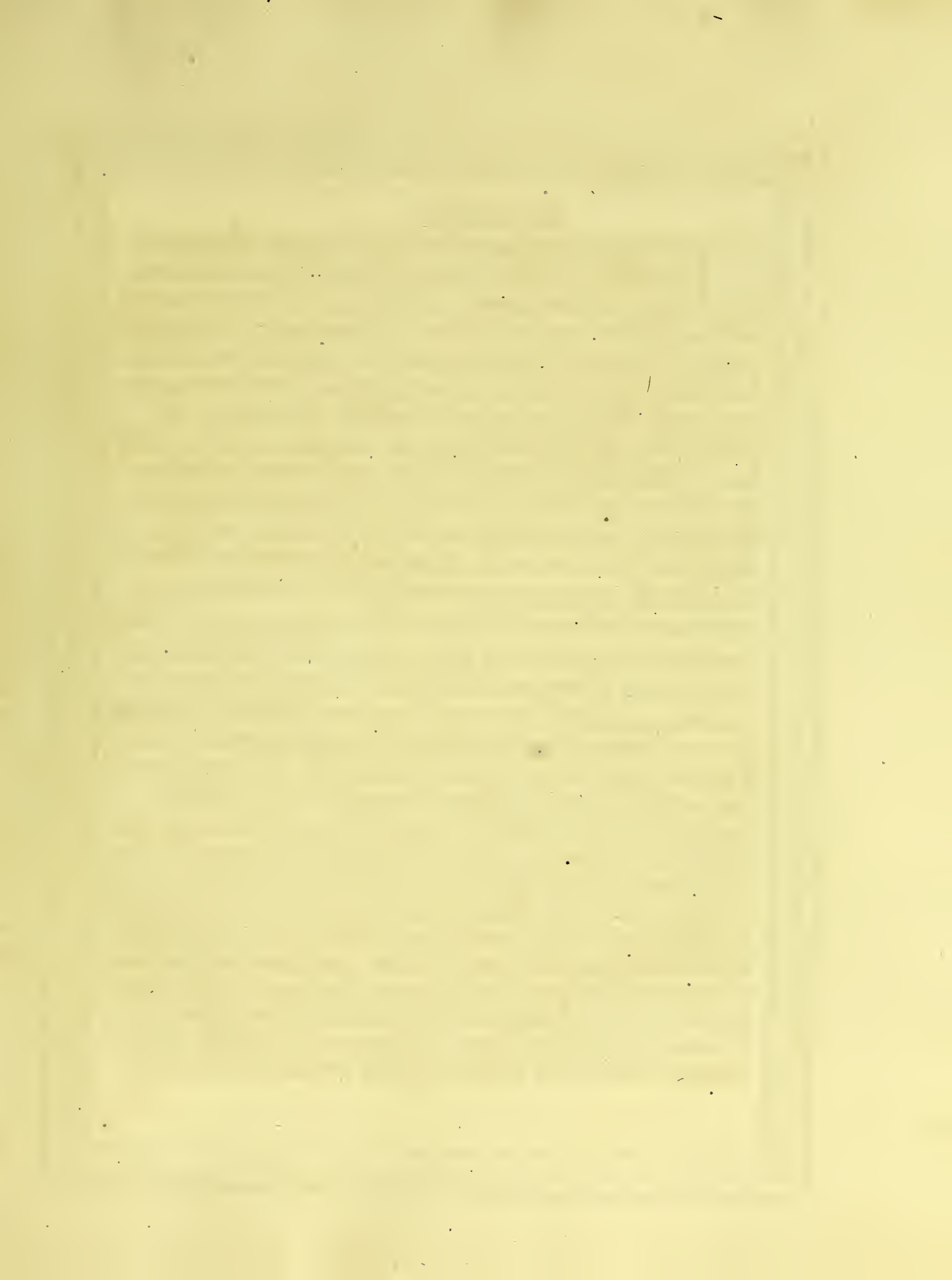
Verard also printed, at Paris, an uncouth translation of this work into English (the vilest spelling that can be imagined), in 1503, under the title of "Traytte of god lyuyng and good deyng et of paynys of hel et the paynys of purgatoyr," etc. It has the same wood-cuts as the two French editions. There is a copy in the library of Emanuel College, Cambridge; and

another (unfortunately imperfect) in the British Museum, presented to that Institution by Mr. Maskell, in 1852. Wynkyn de Worde also printed an English translation of the same work in 1505.

Enough perhaps has now been said to justify the Council of the HOLBEIN SOCIETY in adding this reproduction of one of the most remarkable of the block-books to the Society's publications.

GEORGE BULLEN.

LONDON, *July*, 1881.



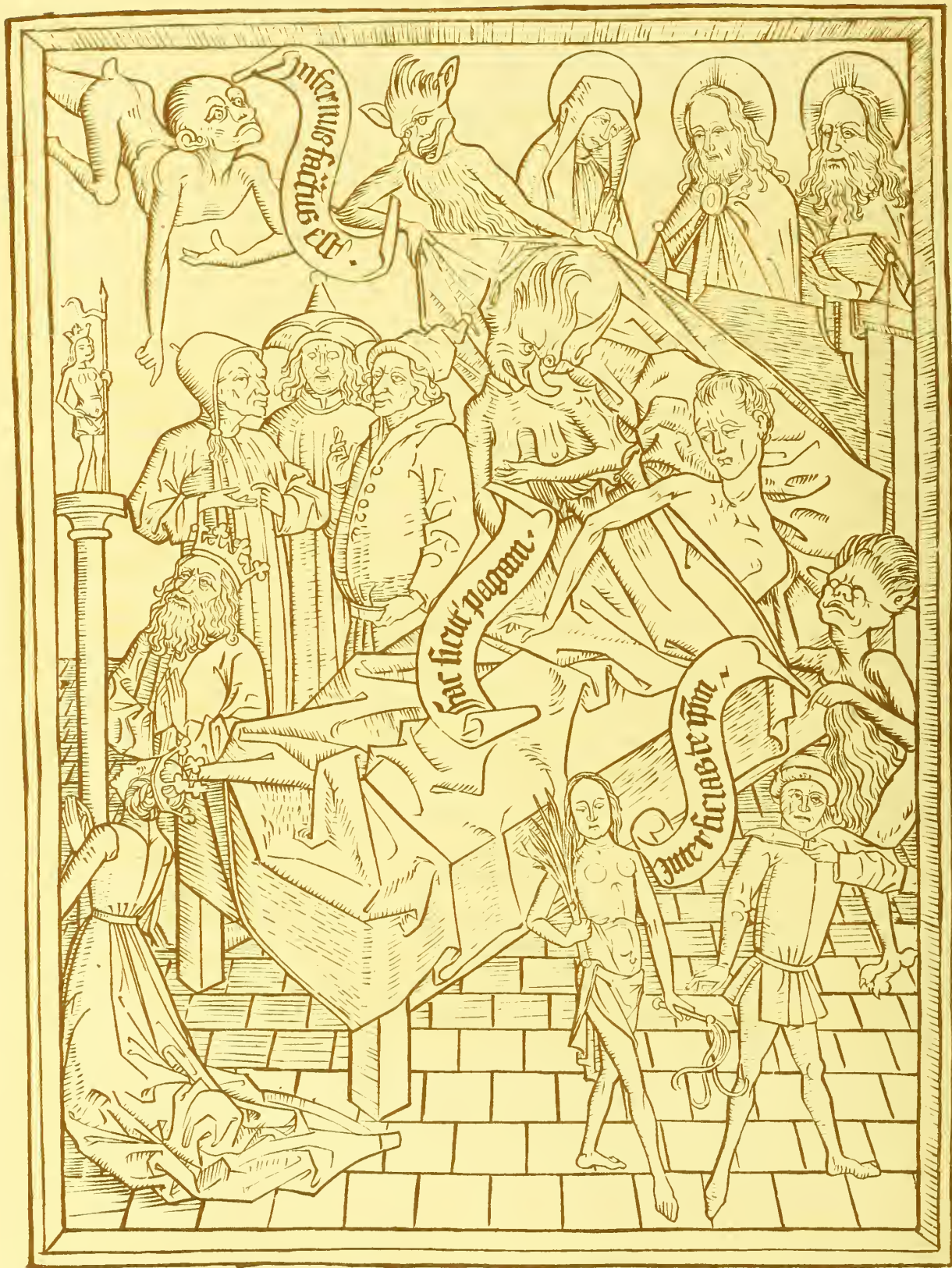
### Ars moriendi

**O**vanus secundum philosophum Tercio ethicorum  
Dicitur terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima  
morti tamen anime nullatenus est comparanda  
Teste Augustino qui ait minus est dampnum in amissio-  
ne viuis anime q̄ nulle corporū teste etiam Bernardo qui  
dicit Totus iste mundus ad viuis anime precium estimari  
non potest. Mors ergo anime tanto est horribilior atq̄  
detestabilior q̄to anima corpore est nobilior atq̄ preciosior  
Cum ergo anima tante preciositatis existat et dyabolus  
pro morte ipsius eterna hominem in extrema infirmitate  
maximis temptationibus infestet Ideo summe necessari-  
um est ut homo anime sue provideat ne morte illa p̄da-  
tur. Ad qd maxime expediens est ut quilibet artem  
bene moriendi de qua est p̄ns intentio frequenter per oca-  
lus habeat atq̄ extremam infirmitatem mente sua reuoluat  
quia ut ait Gregorius. Valde se sollicitat in bono ope  
qui seip̄ cogitat de extremo sine Nam si futurum malum  
preconferatur. facilius tollerari potest. Juxta illud.  
Futura si presciantur leuius tollerantur. Sed rarissime  
abquis se ad mortem disponit temp̄tue eo q̄ quilibet  
diuinus se victurum existimet neq̄ credens se tam cito mo-  
riturum. qd insinuatu dyaboli fieri certum est. Nam plures p̄  
talem vanam sp̄m seip̄os neglexerunt indispoliti morientes  
Et ergo nullatenus inferno detur spes inna corporis sanita-  
tis consequende Nam secundum cancellarium parisiensem sepe p̄  
talem falsam consolationem et fictam sanitatis confidentiam  
certam incit ut homo damnationem. Ante omnia ergo induca-  
tur moriturus ad ea que necessario ad salutem requiruntur.  
Primo ut credat sicut bonus xpianus credere debet letus  
quoq̄ q̄ in fide xp̄i et ecclesie morietur unitate et obedientia.

Secundo ut recognoſcat ſe deū grauiter offendit et  
inde doleat. Tercio ut pponat ſe veraciter emendare ſi ſup-  
vixerit et nūq̄ amplius peccare. Quarto ut indulgeat  
ſuis offenſoribus ppter dam̄ et remitti petat ab hys quos  
ipſe offendit. Quinto ut ablata reſtituat. Sexto ut cognoſ-  
cat pro ſe mortuū eſſe xp̄m et q̄ aliter ſaluari non poteſt  
nisi p̄ meritū paſſionis xp̄i de quo agat deo gr̄as inq̄tū  
valct. Ad que ſi bono corde reſponderit. ſignū eſt q̄ ſit de mi-  
mero ſaluandoz. Deinde ſtudioſe videt̄ur ad debitū vſum  
ſacramentozū ecclēſie. Primo ut p̄ veram contricionem in-  
tegram faciat confeſſionē. alia eciam ecclēſie ſacramēta deuote  
recipiendo. Quilibet vero de p̄uillis ab alio interrogatus  
ī informatus nō ſit ſep̄m̄ interroget conſiderando ſi ſit  
diſpoſitus ut preſertur. Qui autem ſic diſpoſitus eſt ſe  
totū paſſionē xp̄i cōmittat. continue eam reuivando  
atq; meditando. nam per hoc omnes temptationes  
dyaboli et in fide maxime ſuperantur. Unde nota-  
dum q̄ morturi grauiores habent temptationes  
q̄ vniquam prius habuerunt. Et ſunt quinq; ut poſ-  
tea patebit. Contra quas angelus ſuggerit eis quin-  
q; bonas uſpirationes. Sed ut omnibus iſta materia  
ſit fructuoſa et nullis ab ipſius ſpeculatione ſecudant̄  
tur ſed inde mozi ſalubriter diſcat tam litteris tantum  
l̄r̄ato deſeruentibus q̄ p̄maginibus laico et litterato  
ſimul deſeruentibus cunctozum oculis obicitur. Que  
duo ſe mutuo correſpondentes habent ſe tamq̄ ſpeculum  
in quo preterita et futura tamq̄ preſentia ſpeculantur.  
Qui ergo bene mozi velit iſta cum ſequentibus diligen-  
ter conſideret.









### Tentacio dyaboli de fide

**Q**uo fides est focus salutis fundamentum et sine ea  
nulli omnino potest esse salus teste Augustino qui ait  
fides est bonorum omnium fundamentum et hu-  
mane salutis incunus. Et bernardo dicente. fides est hu-  
mane salutis incunus siue hac nemo ad filiorum dei munere-  
rum potest pertinere sine hac omnis labor hominis est  
vacuus. Ideo dyabolus totius humane generis inimicus to-  
tis viribus hominem in extrema infirmitate ab illa totali-  
ter auertere nititur vel saltem ad deuiandum in ea ipse  
inducere laborat dicens. tu miser in magno stas errore.  
non est sicut credis vel sicut predicatur. Infernus fractus  
est. quicquid homo agat licet aliquem vel seipsum occidat  
tum indiscreta punita sicut aliqui fecerunt vel ydola adorati  
ut reges paganorum et plures pagani faciunt. nomine in  
finem idem est quia nullus reuertitur dicens tibi verita-  
tem et sic fides tua nichil est. Hys et similibus dyabo-  
lus maxime laborat ut hominem in extremis agentem  
a fide auertat quia bene scit. Si fundamentum ruat.  
omnia superedificata necessario ruent.

Secundum tamen quod dyabolus in nulla temptatione  
hominem cogere potest nec etiam aliquo modo preualere  
ut sibi consulat quod diu vltimam rationis habuerit. nisi  
sponte voluerit consentire. quod certe super omnia ca-  
uendum est. Vnde apostolus. fidelis deus qui non pa-  
tietur vos temptari super id quod potestis sed faciet cum  
temptatione prouentum ut possit sustinere.







Fugamus

Dicitur sumus

Sic firmis ihc

Frustra laboramus

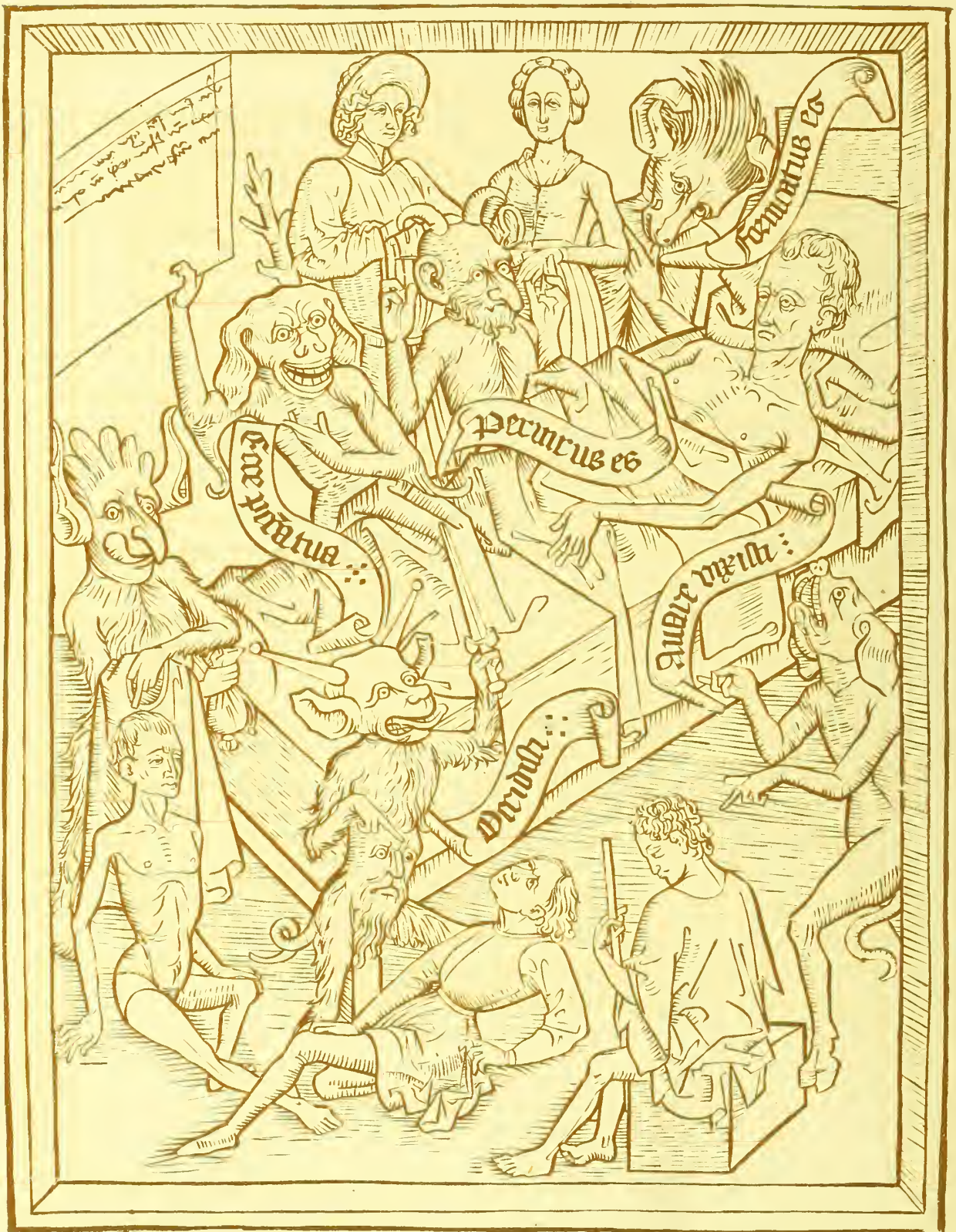
### Bona inspiracio angeli de fide

**Q**uoniam prima temptacionem dyaboli dat angelus bona  
inspiracionem dicens. **D** homo ne credas peccabis suggestio-  
nibus dyaboli cum ipse sit incudax. Nam menciendo prothopa-  
rentes decepti nec aliquo modo infide dubites licet sensu vel intel-  
lectu comprehendere non valeas quia si comprehendere posses  
nullatenus esset meritoria iuxta illud gregozij. fides non habet  
meritum cum humano ratio prebet experientiam. Sed memento  
verba sanctorum patrum salicet sancti pauli ad hebreos xl. dicens  
Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. Et iohannis tercio. Qui  
non credit iam iudicatus est. Et bernardi dicens. fides est  
primogenita inter virtutes. Et iterum. Beatior fuit maria perci-  
piendo fidem xpi quam carcerem xpi. Considera etiam fidem antiquo-  
rum fidelium. abraham ysaac et iacob et quorundam gentilium scilicet  
iob raab meretricis et similibus similiter fidem apostolorum nec  
non inimitabilem martirum confessorum atque virginum. Nam per  
fidem omnes antiqui et moderni placuerunt. Per fidem sanc-  
tus petrus super aquas ambulavit. Sanctus iohannes venerunt  
sibi per uinum sine uocamento bibit montes caspij orante alex-  
andero per fidem adiuuati sunt. Et ideo fides ad eum merito be-  
nedita. propterea uiriliter debes resistere dyabolo et firmiter  
credere omnia mandata ecclesie. quia sancta ecclesia errare  
non potest cum a spiritu sancto regatur. . .

**N**ota quod infirmus sentit se temptari contra fidem cogitet  
primo quia necessaria est fides quia sine ea nullus saluari po-  
test. Secundo cogitet quod utilis est quia potest omnia dicente  
domino. Omnia possibile sunt credenti. Et iterum. Quod  
cumque orantes petieritis credite quia accipietis. Et sic infirmus  
faciliter dei gratia dyabolo resistet. Quare etiam bonum est ut  
symbolum fidei circa agonizantem alta voce dicatur pluri-  
esque repetatur ut per hoc infirmus ad fidei constantiam am-  
uetur et demones qui illud audire abhorrent abigantur.







View of a landscape through a window in the upper left corner of the illustration.

Invidia

Avaritia

Gula

Sloth

Ira

Lust

Superbia



### Temptatio dyaboli de despacione

**S**ecundo dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum p despacionem que est contra spem atqz confidentiam quam homo debet habere in deum. Cum enim infirmus doloribus cruciatur in corpore tunc dyabolus dolorem dolori supaddit obiciendo sibi pccata sua presertim non confessa ut eum in despacione inducat dicens. Tu miser vide pccata tua que tanta sunt ut unquam veniam acquirere possis ita ut dicere possis cum caym. Maior est mea iniquitas quam ut veniam merear. Ecce quomodo dei precepta transgressus es. nam deum super omnia non dilexisti hominibus iuriam intulisti. et tamen bene scis quod nullus potest saluari nisi seruauerit mandata dei quia dominus dicit. Si uis ad vitam ingredi serua mandata. sed superbe auare luxuriose gulose iracunde inuide accidiose uixisti attamen predicari audisti quod propter unum peccatum mortale homo potest dampnari. Tu super septem opera misericordie non implesti. que tamen dominus precipue inquit in extremo die uti ipse uet testatur. dicens his qui a sinistris sunt. Ite in ignem eternum. Nam etiam et non dedisti in mandatum et non dedisti michi potum etc. Et ideo iacobus dicit. Iudicium sine misericordia erit illi qui sine misericordia fuit super terram. Vides etiam quod plures nocte et die in lege dei vigilantissime laborantes qui tamen nullatenus de salute sua presumere audent quia nullus scit an odio vel amore dignus est et ergo nulla spes salutis tibi relinquitur. Per ista et similia inducat hominem in despacionem que super omnia mala est vitanda cum misericordiam dei offeudat que sola nos saluat teste propheta. Misericordie domini quia non consumpti sumus. Et augustinus dicit. Quisquisqz positus in peccato si de uenia uera despauerit misericordiam funditus perdit nichil enim sic deum offeudit quam despacio







Bona inspiratio angli contra desparationē

**C**ontra eandem temptationē dyaboli dat' euangl's bona inspirationē  
dicens o homo quare desparas licet eū tot' latroctua fuxta et  
homicidia perpetrasses quot' sunt' maris gutte et arene. etiā si sol' 9  
totus mundi p'ca quilibet' sciam si de eisdem unq' p'uis pe-  
nitentiā egisses. nec ea confessus fuisses. nec etiā modo ad con-  
fitendū ea facultatē haberes nichilominus despare nō debes.  
quia ī tali casu sufficit sola contritio interior. Nescit' p' s. Sor contri-  
tū et humiliatū deus nō despicies. Et ezechiel ait. Quacūq' ho-  
ra p'cor' īgenuerit. saluus erit. Unde Bernardus ait. Maior  
est dei pietas q' quīs īiquitas. Et augustinus. Plus potest  
deus misereri q' homo peccare. In casu etiā quo tibi constaret  
q' de numero dampnātorū esses neq' quā adhuc despare debes  
eo q' p' desparationē nichil aliud agitur nisi q' p' eam p'issimus  
deus multo magis offenditur et alia p'ca fortius aggrauant'  
pena quoq' eterna vsq' īnitū augmētatur. Xpūs etiā pro  
p'coribus crucifixus ē et nō pro uictis ut ip'emet' testatur di-  
cens. Nō ueni uocāe iustos sed p'cores. Exemplū hēas ī petro  
xpū negāte. paulo eccl'iaz p'leg'ate. matheo et zacheo publicanis.  
maiā magdalena peccāte ī muliere de phēla ī adult'io Juliane  
uxora xpū ī cruce pendente. maria egyptiaca &c.  
Nō q' cito infirmus scitit' se temptari p' desparationē cogitet' q'  
p'ca est peior et dampnabilior oīmbus p'cis. et q' nūquam debet'  
admitti p'pter' quecūq' etiā p'ca. Nam ut dicit' augustinus.  
Plus peccauit' iudas desparando q' iudei crucifigendo xpū.  
Sedō cogitet' q' utilis et necessaria ē spes. quia scdm' celostruū  
est salufis nrē anchora uite nrē fundamentū. dux itineris quo  
itur ad celū. Et ideo nūquā ē relinquēda p'pter' etiā quecūq' p'ca







Eum istam penam patitur

qui bene decepti eunt



### Temptatio dyaboli de impaciencia

**T**emptatio dyaboli temptat hominem infirmum per impacienciam que oritur ex magna infirmitate dicens sicut tu patieris istum dolorem gravissimum qui est intolerabilis omnium creature et tibi peius utilis nec etiam tuis exigentibus de meritis dolor tantus tui deberet causari Nam scriptum est In peius benignior temptatio facienda Etiam quod multum gravat nullus tibi compatitur quod contra omnem rationem fieri nemo dubitat licet autem amici ore compatiantur tamen maxime propter bona relinquenda tuam mortem mente desiderant. anima quidem corpore exuta vix per paucos dies spaciū pro omni substantia relicta corpus tuum hospitari volunt Istis et similibus ad impacienciam que est contra caritatem qua tenemur deum diligere super omnia vitatur dyabolus hominem ducere ut sic merita sua perdat. Nota quod mortuus maximus dolor corporis accidit his precipue qui non morte naturali que raro est sicut docet experientia manifesta sed frequenter ex accibus puta febre vel apostemate vel alia infirmitate gravi et afflictiva atque longa dissolvuntur que quidem infirmitas plerisque et precipue ad mortem indispositos et iuste morientes a deo reddunt impacientes atque murmurantes ut plerumque ex nimio dolore in impacientia amentes atque insensati videtur sicut sepe visum est in vultibus. Ex quo vere constat quod tales vitiose in vera deficiunt caritate teste Hieronymo qui ait. Si quis cum dolore egrotudinem vel mortem patitur seu accipit huiusmodi cum quod sufficienter deum non diligit. Et paulus ait. Caritas paciens in benigna est.









## Bona inspiratio angeli de paciencia

**C**ontra terciam temptationē dyaboli dat angelus bonā in-  
spirationē dicens **D** homo auerte ab impaciā animi tuū p quā  
dyabolus tuus mortiferis instigationibus nichil aliud q̄ anime  
tuē detrimētum querit, nā p impaciā et uirumū anima p̄ditur.  
sicut p paciencia possidetur. teste Gregorio qui ait Reguū relorū  
nullus murmurans accipit. Te igitur infirmitatis que respectū  
meritorū tuorū leuis est. non tedeat cum ip̄a ante mortem sit quasi  
quoddam purgatoriu cum tolleratur ut oportet uidelicet pacien-  
ter et libenter cum gratitudine. quia nō solum gratitudine opus  
est in hys que sunt ad consolationē sed etiam que sunt ad afflic-  
tionē. quia ut gregorius ait. Misericorditer deus temporalē adhibet  
scueritatē ne eternam inferat uolunt. Et aug⁹. Dūe hic uere et sera  
ut metū michi p̄cas. Nulle ergo tribulationes te p̄turbent quia  
xp̄i nolle te relinquere oūdiunt iuxta illud Aug⁹. Mala que nos  
hic p̄uiūt ad deū nos ire opellunt. Non igitur anime salus  
approbatur in carnis beneplacitis sed potius eterna dampnatio  
iuxta illud Aug⁹. Signū manifeste dampnationis est beneplacita  
assensū et a mūdo diligi. Et iterū mirū est q̄ omnibus ieteruū dāp-  
uandis om̄s lapides nō surgūt ī solaciū. sed magis mirū est  
q̄ omnibus ieteruū saluandis om̄s lapides nō surgūt in piculū  
Repelle ergo a te impaciā t̄q̄ pestē uirulentā et assume paciā  
scutū fortissimū quo om̄s inimici anime facilliter supantur et respice  
xp̄m patientissimū et om̄s sanctos usq̄ ad mortem.

**N**ota cum infirmus sentit se temptari p impaciā glideret p̄mo q̄  
uocia ē impaciā. quia ip̄m inquietando et p̄turbando a deo auertit  
quia dñs dicit Sup quē requiescet sp̄s meus nisi sup quietū et  
humilē corde Secundo glideret q̄ paciā ē solhate seruanda. p̄mo  
quia ē uocia. Unde paulus paciā est uobis nōcia. Et dñs. Nunc  
oportuit pati xp̄m et ita irare in gloriā suā. Et gregorius.  
Nūq̄ seruari concordia nisi p paciā ualeat Secundo quia ē uocia  
Unde dñs In paciā uā possidebitis aīas uāas. Et gregorius. Me-  
lioris meriti est aduersa tollere q̄ bonis opibus insidare.  
Idem Sine ferro martires esse possimūsi paciā in animo  
ueraciter seruamus. Et salomon Melior est paciens uero forti  
et qui dñatur animo suo xp̄u gualtoze uzbium.









### Temptatio dyaboli de vana gloria

**Q**uarto dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum p  
sumptius complacenciam que est supbia spiritualis  
p qua deuotis et religiosis atqz pfectis magis est infel-  
tius. Cum em homine ad deiciendum a fide aut in despacio-  
nem aut ad impacencia non potest inducere tunc aggre-  
ditur cum p sui ipius complacencia tales teium iaculans  
cogitaciones. **Q**uod si firmus es in fide qz fortis in spe et qz con-  
stanter pacies in tua infirmitate oquam multa bona opatus  
es maxime gloriari debes quia non es sicut ceteri qui infi-  
uita mala petrarunt et tamen solo gemitu ad celestia reg-  
na perueniunt. igitur regnum celozum tibi uire negari  
non potest quia legitime certasti. Accipe ergo coronam  
tibi paratam et sedem excellenciozem pre ceteris optinebis  
Per ista et similia dyabolus instantissime laborat homi-  
nem inducere ad spirituaalem superbiam sicut ad sui ipius  
complacenciam.

**P**ro quo notandum qz ista superbia multu est vitanda  
primo quia per eam homo efficitur similis dyabolo nam  
per solam superbiam de angelo factus est dyabolus.  
Secundo quia per ipsam homo videtur committere blas-  
phemiam per hoc qz bonum qd a deo habet a se presumit  
habere. Tercio quia tanta possit esse sua complacencia  
qz per hanc dampnaretur. Vnde gregorius Sermones  
do quis boni qd gessit dum se apud se erigit apud auc-  
tozem humilitatis cadit. Et augustinus. Homo si se  
iustificauerit et de iusticia sua presumpserit cadit.







Sub humilis...

Superbos punito

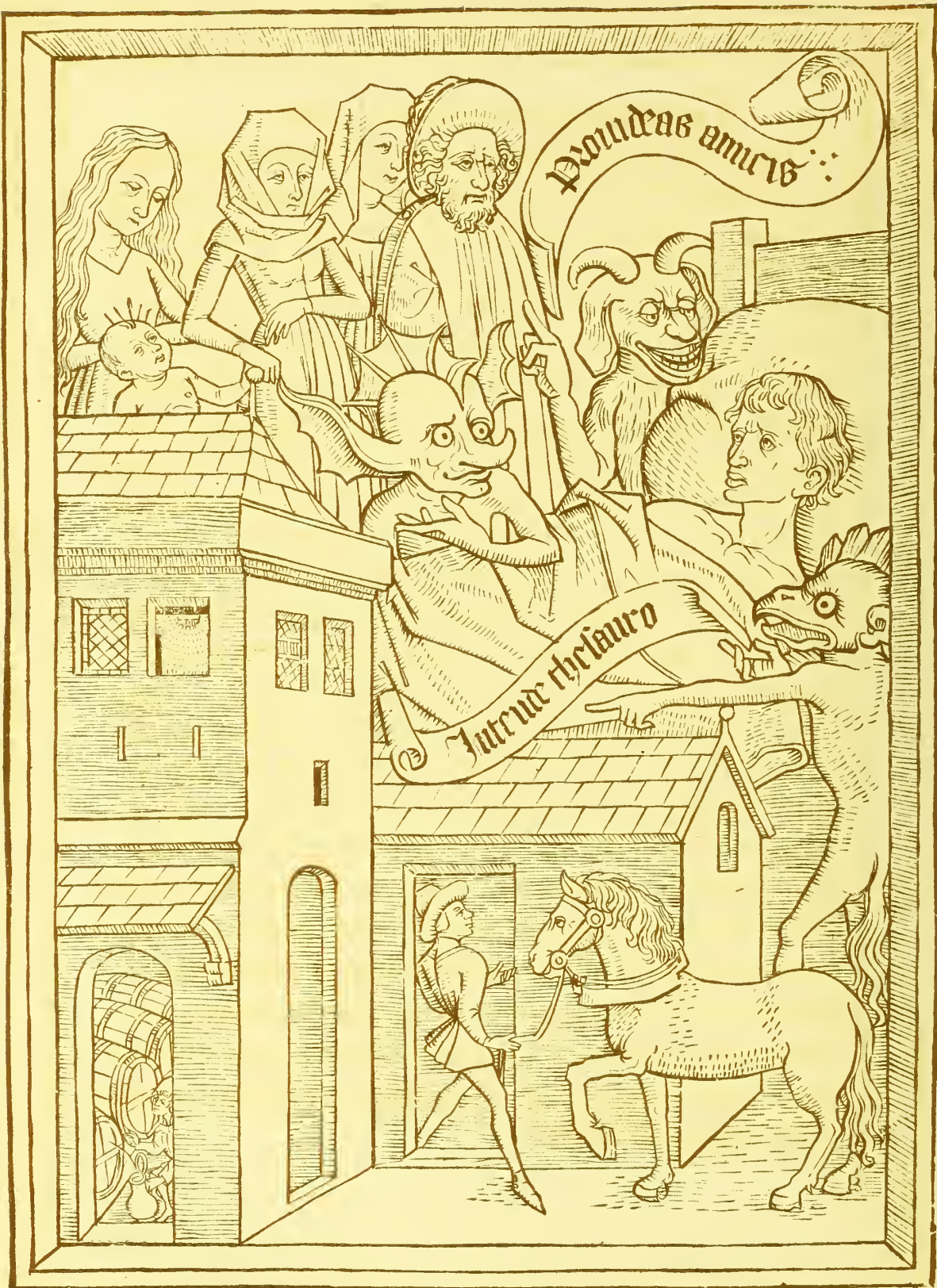
Victus sum...

**B**ona inspiratio angeli contra vanā gloriā.  
**C**ontra quā tā temptacionē dyaboli dat angelus bonā  
inspiracionē dicens. Miser cur tu superbis ascribendi  
tibi ipsi constanciā in fide spe et paucicia quic tu soli deo as-  
scribenda est cum nichil boni a te habeas dño dicente. Sive me  
nichil potestis facere. Et alibi scriptū est. Non tibi arroges nō  
te iactes non te insolenter extollas nichil de te psumas nichil  
boni tibi tribuis. Et dñs ait qui se exaltat humiliabitur.  
Et iterum. Nisi efficiamur sicut pūilis iste nō intrabitis  
in regnū celozum. Humilia ergo te et exaltaberis dicente  
dño. Qui se humiliat exaltabitur. Et ang. Site humilias  
deus descendit ad te, si te exaltas deus recedet a te. Aute ergo  
mentē tuā a supbia quic luciferū quondā anglozū pulcherri-  
mū fecit dyabolozū defouillimū et de alta celozum proiecit  
ad infernū profūnda quic etiam fuit causa omniū peccatoz.  
Vnde bernardus. Inicū omnis peccati et causa totius pdi-  
cionis est supbia. Idem. Volle hoc vicium et sine labore omnia  
vicia resceantur.

Vnde singulariter notandum q̄ quicūq; moriturus sentit  
se temptari per supbiā debet primo cogitare q̄ supbia tau-  
tū deo displicuit q̄ sola ipius occasione nobilissimam crea-  
turarū luciferū cum omib; sibi adherentibus de celis  
relegauit in eteruū dampnando. Et sic ex tali consideracio-  
ne se humiliat atq; deprimat sua recogitando peccata  
quia ignorat an odio vel amore dignus sit. Vnde debet  
precipue capere exemplū a sancto anthonio cui dyabolus dixit.  
V anthoni tu me vicisti cū cū volo te exaltare tu deprimis  
cū te volo deprimē tu te erigis. Sedo debet cogitare q̄ hūilitas  
tū deo placuit q̄ p̄cipue ipius occasione gloriosa virgo ma-  
ria deū concepit et sup choros angelozum exaltata est.









### Temptatio dyaboli de auaricia

**O**mnis uita temptatio dyaboli est auaricia magis  
seculares et caruales infestans que est inuicia  
occupatio temporalium atque exteriorum circa uxores et  
amicos caruales seu corporales diuicias atque alia que  
magis in uita sua dilexerunt per que dyabolus  
hominem maxime uexat in fine dicens. Quislet  
tu iam relinques omnia temporalia que sollicitudinibus  
et laboribus maximis sunt congregata etiam  
uxorem proles consanguineos amicos carissimos  
et omnia alia huius mundi desiderabilia quorum  
te societati adhuc interesse tibi magnum foret sola  
cum ipse quoque magnum boni occasio. Hec et simi  
lia dyabolus homini in extremis de auaricia presen  
tat ut sic per amorem et cupiditatem terrenorum  
auertat amore dei et propria salute. Unde singu  
lariter notandum quod maxime caneri debet ne cum  
quod moriente amici corporales uxor liberi diuicie et  
alia temporalia ad memoriam reducantur nisi in  
quod illud infirmi spiritualis sanitas postulet  
aut requirat quia alias maxime periculosum esset.  
tunc sic ab his que spiritus et salutis sunt quibus maxime  
tunc omnibus uiribus interioribus et exterioribus in  
tendendum est reuocaretur ad ista misera temporalia  
et carnalia tunc cum maxima sollicitudine a memo  
ria et mente remouenda in quibus certe tunc occupa  
ri est valde periculosum







Ne intradag auarig :

Ponhis auarus.

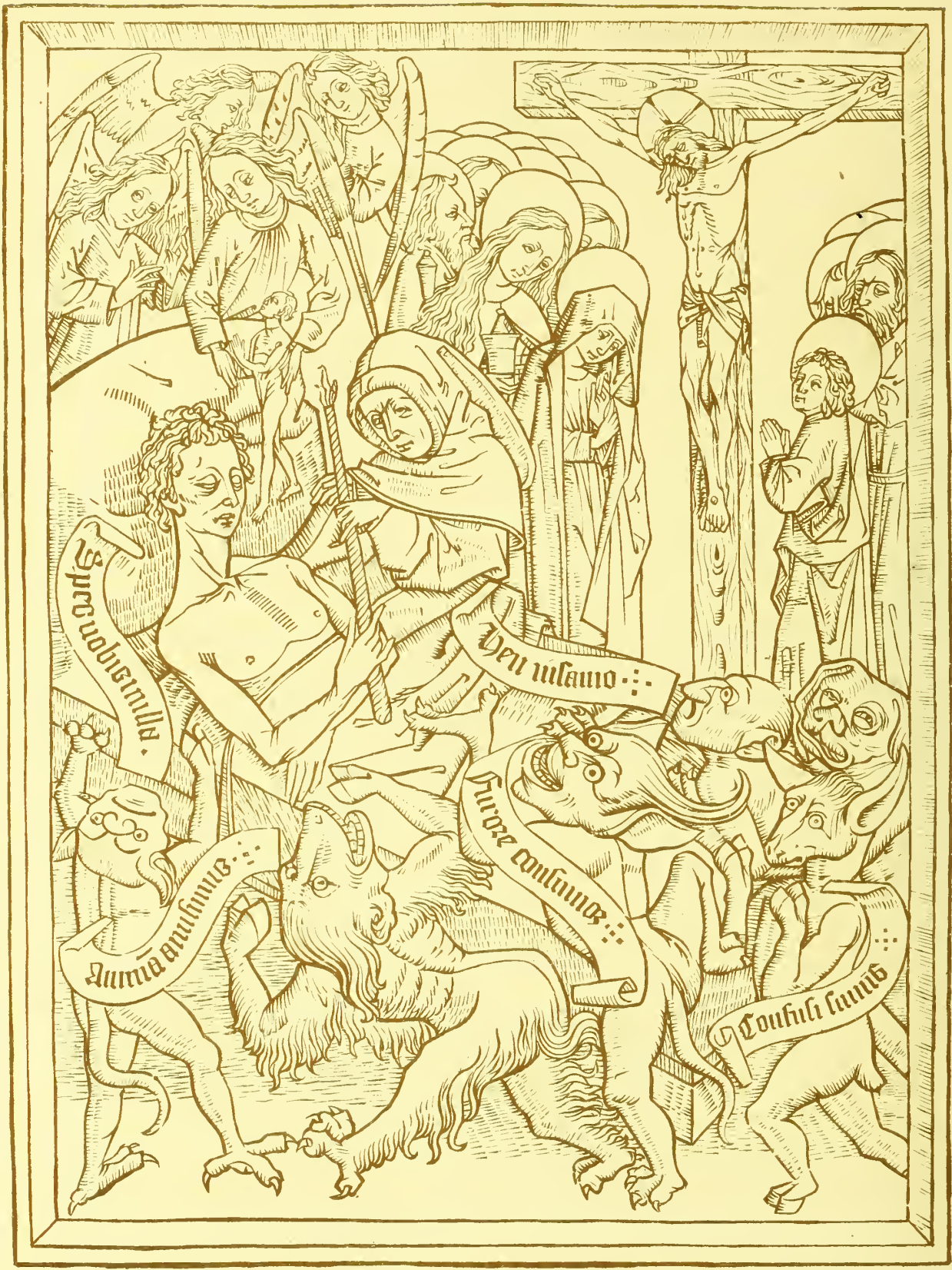
Quid faciam :

Bona inspiratio angli contra auariciā

Contra quā temptatiōē dyaboli dat' angel' bonā in-  
spiratiōē dicens. O homo aūte aures tuas a mortife-  
ris suggestiōibus dyaboli quibus te irritere et inficē cona-  
tur. Et omnia temporalia totaliter post pone quoz memoria utiqz  
nichil salutis conferre potest. sed magis impedimentū me-  
mor v'boz dñi ad eos qui illis adherent. Nihilquis renūciaue-  
rit omnibus q̄ possidet nō potest meus esse discipulus. Et ite-  
rū Si quis venit ad me et nō odit patrē suū et matrē et uxō-  
rē et filios et fr̄es et sorores adhuc nō potest meus esse disci-  
pulus. Itē ad eos qui illis renūciaut dicit. Et om̄s qui re-  
linqrit domū vel fr̄es vel sorores aut patrē aut matrē aut  
uxōrē aut filios aut agros ppter nomē meū centuplū accip-  
et et vitā eternā possidebit. Memēto etiam paupertatis xp̄i in  
cruce ptependēis. matrē dilectissimā et discipulos carissimos  
ppter tuā salutē spontissime relinquētis. Confidētia etiā q̄ tot  
viri sancti iusto contemptu rerū temporalium secuti sūt eū audiri il-  
lud. Vēte bñdicti patris mei possideat regnū patrum vobis ab  
origine mūdi. Imprimē ergo ista tue menti et omnia tributoria tip-  
vareū a te penitus repellendo cor tuū ad voluntariā paup-  
tē itegre comite. et sic regnū celoꝝ ex p'uisso tibi debetur dicēte  
dño. Bñ paup' spiritu quī ipoz est regnū celoꝝ. tēz totū deo q̄  
tibi diuitias g'fferet. seu p'ternas p'leuarie quitte totā tuā fidu-  
ciā i' eū fundens. Nō quī infirmus sentit se temptari p' auariciā  
seu amorē terrenoz. consideret p'mo q̄ amor terrenoz a deo se-  
parat. quia dei amorē secludit. teste gregorio qui ait. Tanto  
quis a supno amore distīngitur q̄to hic infirmus i' creaturis de-  
lectatur. Secundo g'sideret q̄ voluntaria paupertas hominē  
bñtificat et ad celum ducit. dicente dño. Beati paup'are  
spiritu quī ipozū est regnū celoꝝ.







Superbia munda.

Veni insano...

Furore confusio...

Confusa lamb



**S**agonizans loqui et vsuū rōis habere potuerit fundat oꝛo-  
nes deū p̄mo iūocando ut ip̄m p̄ ineffabilem unā suā et  
virtutē passionis suē suscipere dignetur. Secundo diligenter  
iūocet gloriolam virginē mariam pro sua mediatrice  
Deinde omnes angelos et p̄cipue angelum pro sua cūl-  
todia deputatū. Deinde apostolos martires confessoros  
atq; virgines specialius tamen illos quos vel quas  
p̄uis sanis ī veneratione habuit et dilexit quozū yma-  
gines cū imagine crucif̄xi et beate marie virginis  
ei p̄senteantur. Item dicat ter istū versū. Diripisti  
domine vincula mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.  
Nam iste versū secundū cassidōzū tante creditur esse  
virtutis ut p̄cā homī dimittantur si ī fine vera confessione  
dicatur. Itē dicat ter hec v̄ba vel similia que ī sūma beato  
augustino ascribūt̄. Pax dñi n̄ri ih̄u xp̄i et v̄tus passionis  
ei⁹ et signū sc̄e crucis et itegritas b̄llime v̄ginis marie et  
b̄ductio om̄i sc̄oz ac sc̄az cūstodia angloz necnō suffragia  
om̄i electoz sint iter n̄re et om̄i inimicos uicos visibiles et ī-  
visibiles ī hac hora mortis mee dñe ultimo dicat. In manus  
tuas cōmendo sp̄m meū. Si autē it̄m⁹ nō sciat oꝛones dicit  
dicat aliquis de astantib⁹ alta voce corā eo oꝛones vel historias  
deuotas ī quib⁹ p̄vidē sane delectabatur. Ip̄e vero oꝛet corde et de-  
siderio ut sc̄it et potest. Vnde nota ex quo tota salūs hoīs ī fine  
cōsultat sollicite curare debet vn̄quisq; ut sibi de loco vel ami-  
co deuoto fidei et ydoneo p̄uideat q̄ ei ī extremis fideliter as-  
sistat ad fidei cōstanciā pacienciā deuocionē cōfideciā et  
p̄seueranciā ip̄m iūcādo animādo ac magis oꝛones  
deuotas pro eo fideliter dicendo. Sed heū pauci sunt qui in  
morte p̄oximis suis fideliter assistūt interrogando mōuēdo  
et pro ip̄is oꝛando. p̄serti cū ip̄i morientes nondum mori  
velint et anime morientem sepe miserabiliter p̄chitantur.









