

MS EGE 4: A PREACHER'S COMPANION

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By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the purpose and function of a thirteenth-century dismembered manuscript, which I have labelled MS Ege 4. MS Ege 4 is one of the many manuscripts that the infamous biblioclast Otto Ege dismembered for his manuscript portfolios. One of its leaves resides at the University of Saskatchewan as a part of Otto Ege's manuscript portfolio *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts*. This manuscript contains a unique compilation of commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren of Abbeville and an alphabetical index. A careful analysis of MS Ege 4's text, textual features, physical features, and research tools (medieval information technologies), which was made possible by means of a virtual reconstruction of this manuscript using available fragments, suggests that this manuscript was a preacher's handbook. It was used by a preacher to compose sermons using Philip the Chancellor's commentaries on the Psalter as a preaching aid via the alphabetical index. This study highlights not only the widespread use of Philip's commentaries on the Psalter as a preaching aid, but it also addresses the role of individual preachers in the creation and dissemination of preaching aids alongside the professional reference tool makers.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dad. Without his love and support, I could not have written this.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE MANUSCRIPT	12
The Modern Provenance.....	12
The Contents.....	13
The Date and Origin.....	16
Commentaries on the Psalter.....	25
The <i>Reportatio</i> of Philip's <i>Summa on the Psalter</i>	30
The Preaching Revival of the Thirteenth Century.....	32
CHAPTER TWO: THE FUNCTION OF PHILIP'S SUMMA	42
The School Sermon.....	44
Reference Tools.....	49
Philip's <i>Summa</i> : A Multi-Genre Reference Tool.....	58
CHAPTER THREE: THE USE OF PHILIP'S SUMMA IN MANUSCRIPTS	65
MS li. 3. 27.....	66
MS Arundel 245.....	69
Add MS 45568.....	71
MS Bodl. 745.....	74
MS Ege 4: A Preacher's Handbook.....	74
CONCLUSION	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87
APPENDIX A: A LIST OF KNOWN MS EGE 4 LEAVES AND THEIR CONTENTS	95
APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SELECT LEAVES	144
APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPTION OF INDEX	153
APPENDIX D: A COMPARISON OF SERMON 507	163

INTRODUCTION

The inspiration for this thesis is the countless medieval manuscripts that have never been studied. Even within the University of Saskatchewan's Special Collections, there are unanswered questions about the medieval manuscripts that fill its collection. MS Ege 4 was one of those manuscripts. It is not surprising that little research has been done on this manuscript; it was dismembered into single fragments and larger sections in the 1940s, and sold to various institutions across North America, making it very difficult for scholars to conduct meaningful research on it. (Because this manuscript was dismembered it has no official shelfmark. I have given it the informal shelfmark of MS Ege 4, but each individual fragment and/or larger sections of this manuscript have their own shelfmarks or identifiers.) The University of Saskatchewan possesses only a single fragment of MS Ege 4, and it was there, during my time as an undergraduate student, that I became fascinated with understanding this manuscript.

Over the next five years, I studied as many of its scattered fragments as I could find. And I realized very early on that MS Ege 4 could provide scholars with valuable insights on the medieval world, if we could decipher its purpose and function. This thesis seeks to do just that by analyzing a virtually reconstructed MS Ege 4. But to appreciate how this manuscript ended up in pieces throughout North America, we must discuss the infamous biblioclast Otto F. Ege.

Otto Ege was born in Reading, Pennsylvania in 1888. Upon the completion of his secondary schooling at Reading High School in 1907, he attended the Philadelphia Museum School of Industrial Arts. In 1920 he moved to Cleveland where he became the department chair of Teacher Training and an art instructor at the Art Institute of Cleveland. Ege instructed students on lettering, layout, and typography, which explains his interest in medieval manuscripts and incunabula. He also taught some art history classes at the Library School of the Western Reserve

University.¹ Ege was passionate about educating teachers and students alike on art, but unfortunately his enthusiasm for art education contributed to his decision to engage in the controversial practice of book dismemberment.

Ege's book tearing began when he purchased his first manuscript in 1911. However, this initial incident appears to have been motivated by exceptional circumstances.² Ege did not begin dismantling manuscripts, the activity for which he is so infamous, on a commercial scale until 1935.³ It is then that he began to dismember complete or nearly complete manuscripts not only for financial gain but also for the "greater good."⁴

As an art instructor, Ege believed in a hands-on approach; he thought that students would learn better, if they could study and engage with medieval and early modern artwork directly. This led him to incorporate medieval manuscripts and incunabula into his teaching practice.⁵ Ege, however, was not satisfied with ensuring his own students had access to such teaching aids. He wanted students everywhere to be able to experience medieval manuscripts for themselves. And he believed that the best way to ensure this was to offer affordable manuscript fragment portfolios.

Ege began selling his first manuscript portfolios in 1936.⁶ And because they were such a success, Ege started planning his most ambitious set of manuscript portfolios, *Fifty Original*

¹ Christopher de Hamel, *Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit: The 1995 Sol. M. Malkin Lecture in Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Book Arts Press, 2011), 13–14 and Fred Porcheddu, "Otto F. Ege: Teacher, Collector, and Biblioclast," *Art Documentation: Journal of the Art Libraries Society of North America* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 4–5. Ege also taught at the Philadelphia Museum School of Industrial Arts after he graduated from there. See Scott Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts: A Study of Ege's Manuscript Collections, Portfolios, and Retail Trade with a Comprehensive Handlist of Manuscripts Collected or Sold* (Cayce: De Brailles Publishing, 2013), 12.

² In order to help pay off debts incurred while traveling in Europe, he sold half of his newly purchased manuscript to a friend. See Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 12.

³ Prior to 1935, Ege had only sold individual fragments, which he had purchased as fragments himself, and illustrative specimens from his early manuscripts to his friends; he had not yet started to dismember manuscripts for commercial sale. See Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 24.

⁴ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 25–28.

⁵ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 10–15.

⁶ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 35–39.

Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts: Western Europe XII - XVI century (hereafter FOL), sometime in 1947.⁷ To create these portfolios, Ege dismembered fifty medieval manuscripts by removing forty leaves from each manuscript. Each leaf within each set was provided with a card that contained the origin, date, language, script, and type of the manuscript from which the leaf in question was taken.⁸ Ege produced forty FOL portfolios, but he died before he could sell any of them. His wife ensured that her husband's vision was fulfilled by selling the portfolios herself in 1953.⁹ The University of Saskatchewan purchased one of these portfolios in 1957.¹⁰

MS Ege 4 is just one of the many manuscripts that Otto Ege dismembered for the "greater good."¹¹ But hope remains for these dismantled manuscripts. Fragmentology is a relatively new yet promising field of study that not only examines fragments but also attempts to reconstruct dismembered manuscripts. Ege is well-known among North American scholars of fragmentology and manuscript studies, which is not surprising given Ege fragments make up almost thirty percent of fragments in Canada and around ten percent in the United States.¹² Because of the abundance and accessibility of Ege fragments, many scholars have acknowledged the possibility and considerable probability of reassembling Ege manuscripts by means of innovative digital technologies.¹³ Various IIF compliant programs, such as *Fragmentarium* and *Broken Books*,

⁷ See Otto F. Ege, "I Am a Biblioclast," *Avocations* 1 (March 1938): 518 for Ege's personal account of the sale of his portfolios to North America, Europe, and China. See Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 41–42 for a discussion of Ege's inception of one of his most famous portfolios, *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts*.

⁸ Porcheddu, "Otto F. Ege," 8–10.

⁹ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 18.

¹⁰ David Bindle, ed, *50 Medieval Manuscript Leaves: Otto Ege Collection at The University of Saskatchewan Library* (Saskatoon: The University of Saskatchewan, 2011), 1, 5.

¹¹ MS Ege 4 fragments have been found in institutions across North America. Some of the fragments are a part of Ege's FOL portfolios, while others were sold, most likely by Ege, as individual specimens. Ege might have also sold large sections of MS Ege 4, like the University of Notre Dame's MS cod. Lat. b. 11. It is made up of sixty-five folios.

¹² Lisa Fagin Davis, "The Beauvais Missal: Otto Ege's Scattered Leaves and Digital Surrogacy," *Florilegium* 33 (2016): 145–146.

¹³ See Davis, "The Beauvais Missal," 143–166, Lisa Fagin Davis, "Manuscript Road Trip: The Promise of Digital Fragmentology," *Manuscript Road Trip (Blog)*, July 13, 2015,

allow libraries, scholars, students, and collectors to collaborate to reassemble manuscripts.¹⁴ The advancements in digital technologies have led to the development of numerous Ege reconstructions. There are at least fifteen Ege manuscripts that are currently being reconstructed or have been reconstructed.¹⁵ Some of the more famous reconstructions include the Beauvais Missal (Lisa Fagin Davis), leaf 15 of FOL, and the Wilton Processional (Alison Altstatt), leaf 8 of FOL.¹⁶ These reconstructions allow scholars to engage with Ege manuscripts in a meaningful and productive way, which is not viable in their fragmented form. The importance, therefore, of such projects cannot be understated. This thesis is a part of a larger enterprise that seeks to reconstruct, study, and share Ege manuscripts with the world, and given Ege's teaching philosophy I think he would approve.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the use and function of MS Ege 4 by virtually reconstructing it using available fragments from institutions across North America.¹⁷ In order to reconstruct our manuscript, I, with the help of numerous scholars, located and obtained digital facsimiles of MS Ege 4 fragments. Using the digital facsimiles, I transcribed each individual

<https://manuscriptroadtrip.wordpress.com/2015/07/13/manuscript-road-trip-the-promise-of-digital-fragmentology/>, Frederick Porcheddu, "Reassembling the Leaves: Otto Ege and the Potential of Technology," *Manuscripta* 53, no. 1 (2009): 29–48, Barbara Shailor, "Otto Ege: His Manuscript Fragment Collection and the Opportunities Presented by Electronic Technology," *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 60 (2003): 1–22, and Peter Stoicheff, "Putting Humpty Back Together Again: Otto Ege's Scattered Leaves," *Digital Studies/le Champ Numérique* 1, no. 3 (2009), <http://doi.org/10.16995/dscn.100>. Fred Porcheddu and Greta Smith of Denison University launched *The Otto F. Ege Collection* Web site in 2008. This website lists the location of thirty-two of Ege's FOL portfolios and provides images of fourteen leaves from each of the fifty manuscripts that appear in FOL. See <http://ege.denison.edu/index.php>.

¹⁴ See <https://fragmentarium.ms/> and <https://brokenbooks.omeka.net/>. For more information on the Broken Books Project at St. Louis University, see Debra Taylor Cashion, "Broken Books," *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 1, no. 2 (2016): 342–351.

¹⁵ See Lisa Fagin Davis, "Manuscript Road Trip: Fragmentology in the Wild," *Manuscript Road Trip (Blog)*, July 14, 2019, <https://manuscriptroadtrip.wordpress.com/tag/otto-f-ege/> for a current list of Ege projects.

¹⁶ See Lisa Fagin Davis, "Reconstructing the Beauvais Missal," <https://brokenbooks2.omeka.net/>, <https://fragmentarium.ms/overview/F-4ihz>, and Alison Altstatt, "Re-Membering the Wilton Processional," *Notes* 72, no. 4 (2016): 690–732.

¹⁷ Due to copyright issues, I cannot use a platform like *Fragmentarium* because it requires each institution's consent to use images of their leaves on a free access program. Therefore, I have virtually reconstructed it on paper and my own computer. See Appendix A. In the future, I would like to provide an interactive reconstruction of this manuscript alongside my transcriptions for others to view.

fragment (with the exception of the fragments held at the University of Notre Dame). Then, I placed the fragments in their original order using my transcriptions to correctly rearrange them according to the order of the Psalter and the folio numbers present on each fragment. Appendix A contains a list of the fragments I have identified as belonging to our manuscript. I have listed them in the order they would have appeared before this manuscript was dismembered.

An analysis of its fragments suggests that MS Ege 4, which contains a compilation of biblical commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren of Abbeville, was used as a handbook by a medieval preacher to aid him in sermon composition during the preaching revival of the thirteenth century. But this thesis offers insights not only into the purpose and function of this particular manuscript; it also highlights the role of Philip the Chancellor's commentaries on Psalter within the medieval preaching community and the role of research tools, that is medieval information technologies, in adapting Philip's text for preaching.

For the sake of clarity, it is necessary to define two important terms that will be used frequently throughout this thesis: reference tools and research tools. Reference tools are preaching aids that gathered together the same type of sermon material (there are three main types: biblical references, distinctions, and *exempla*) into one manuscript to aid the medieval preacher in the composition of sermons. For instance, biblical concordances collect all of the biblical references of words found in the Bible into one convenient location. Reference tools were designed to be searched, not read in their entirety. This was made possible by the incorporation of research tools. Research tools, such as indexes, are study aids within the manuscript itself, which could make any text/manuscript searchable (whether or not it was originally designed as a reference tool).

Due to the sheer number of pastoral manuscripts, not to mention their unappealing nature

(at least in accordance with modern sensibilities) and their inability to fit neatly into any of our current academic disciplines, scholars have been hesitant to examine these valuable sources of information on the Middle Ages.¹⁸ But in recent years there has been an increase in scholarly work on medieval preaching and sermons in the Middle Ages, which has led to the creation of the discipline of sermon studies. In this relatively new field of study, there are exceptional scholars who have paved the way for future studies, including my own. For the purpose of this study, we will focus on four authors: Richard and Mary Rouse, Louis-Jacques Bataillon, and Nicole Bériou.¹⁹

Richard and Mary Rouse's foundational works on medieval reference tools are essential to understand the function of MS Ege 4. In *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the "Manipulus florum" of Thomas of Ireland*,²⁰ "Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page,"²¹ and "The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century,"²² the Rouses discuss the reason for the creation of reference tools in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century,²³ the different types of reference tools,²⁴ and the research tools that facilitated their use.²⁵

¹⁸ Pastoral manuscripts are manuscripts that relate, in at least some capacity, to *cura animarum*. For the purpose of this study, I am focusing on model sermon collections and similar preaching aids designed to aid a preacher in sermon composition.

¹⁹ For a short historiography of sermon studies, see Carolyn Muessig, "Sermon, Preacher, and Society in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval History* 28, no. 1 (2002): 73–91.

²⁰ Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979).

²¹ Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, "Statim invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page" in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, 191–219 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

²² Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century," in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, 221–225 (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

²³ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 43–64, Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 246–249.

²⁴ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 3–26, Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 222–239, and Rouse and Rouse, "Statim invenire," 204–209.

²⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 26–42, Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 239–246, and Rouse and Rouse, "Statim invenire," 196–204.

The Rouses argue that the preaching revival that began in the twelfth century was the driving force behind the creation of reference tools.²⁶ Initially, the church launched a preaching crusade to combat the rise of heretical and unauthorized preachers.²⁷ But once the church learned that they had an eager audience ready and willing to hear the church's message, the church used preaching not only to combat heretical thinking but also reinforce the faith.²⁸ This increased desire, from the church and its flock, for preaching led to the creation of the first reference tools, which were designed specifically to help preachers carry out their sacred mission. Innovative research tools, like devices of layout and alphabetization, were employed in reference tools to allow preachers quick access to the wide assortment of sermon material located within these manuscripts. Reference tools and their research tools enabled preachers to create original sermons or modify existing ones quickly.²⁹ Preachers needed an effective way to create sermons that would convince their listeners of the church's truths, and reference tools were created to fill this pressing need.

Louis-Jacques Bataillon has written numerous works on medieval preaching, one of which helps us understand the purpose and function of MS Ege 4. Bataillon's work on biblical commentaries is especially important to my research since it provides valuable evidence concerning the possible use of biblical commentaries as preaching aids.³⁰ In his article "De la Lectio à la praedicatio," Bataillon attempts to convince his readers of the intimate relationship between biblical commentaries, which were used to train students how and what to preach, and preaching in the Middle Ages; in the minds of medieval theology masters one could not exist

²⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 6–7, 42, 63–64, and Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 246.

²⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 44.

²⁸ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 59.

²⁹ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 41–42.

³⁰ See Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "De la Lectio à la praedicatio: Commentaires bibliques et sermons au XIII^e siècle" in *La Prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie: Etudes et documents*, ed. David d'Avray and Nicole Bériou (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993).

without the other.³¹ He argues that masters intended their commentaries to be used as preaching aids; sermons and sermon outlines were added to biblical commentaries so that preachers could use them.³² The very same tools that were used to train preachers could now be used by preachers to educate the general public. In sum, biblical commentaries could not only be used to teach but also to preach.

Interestingly, Bataillon's article focuses on the adjustments made by the authors themselves. He does not explore the possibility of preachers or even knowledgeable scribes making similar adjustments to biblical commentaries.³³ Furthermore, Bataillon focuses on the masters' intention rather than preachers' use of biblical commentaries as preaching aids; that is, he does not provide evidence of their actual use within the preaching community. However, a close analysis of MS Ege 4 demonstrates not only that biblical commentaries were actually used as preaching aids but more significantly that preachers realized the potential of biblical commentaries and turned them into useful preaching aids themselves. This as we will see, was the case with Philip's commentaries on the Psalter.

Like Bataillon, Bériou has made major contributions to the field of sermon studies by focusing on preaching in Paris in the thirteenth century.³⁴ In her article "Traces écrites de la prédication effective de Philippe le Chancelier,"³⁵ Bériou specifically addresses the hypothetical

³¹ Bataillon, "De la Lectio," 574: "Si des raisons valables empêchent souvent de se spécialiser à la fois dans l'étude de la *lectio* et dans celle de la *praedicatio*, il faut toujours se rappeler que, pour un maître médiéval, l'une ne va pas sans l'autre."

³² Bataillon, "De la Lectio," 561–564.

³³ Gilbert Dahan doubts that all of the marginal annotations in the manuscripts used by Bataillon were made by the authors themselves. He argues, based on paleographic evidence, that some of the marginal annotations are the product of the reader, not the author. See Gilbert Dahan, "Exégèse et prédication au Moyen Âge: Hommage au P. Louis-Jacques Bataillon," *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 95, no. 3 (2011): 563–564.

³⁴ See Nicole Bériou, *L'Avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La Prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998) for an impressive monograph on preaching in Paris in the thirteenth century.

³⁵ Nicole Bériou, "Traces écrites de la prédication effective de Philippe le Chancelier," in *Philippe le Chancelier: Prédicateur, théologien et poète parisien du début du XIII^e siècle*, eds. Gilbert Dahan and Anne-Zoe Rillon-Marne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

use of Philip the Chancellor's commentaries on the Psalms, which she calls Philip's *Summa on the Psalter*, as *materia praedicabilis* for medieval preachers, including Philip himself. In his work, Philip discusses at length one or several words in each psalm that he analyzes. Bériou argues that these discussions, which could have been found using the mnemonic device of the Psalter, could have been inserted into any sermon that contained the same word that Philip discussed in his *Summa*.³⁶ As Bériou notes, the alphabetized index of topics found in the 1523 edition of Philip's work illustrates its usefulness for preachers.³⁷

Yet Bériou's theory, although convincing, is based on the nature of the text itself. She does not provide any evidence to suggest that preachers actually used this text as a preaching aid either in the way that she suggests or any other way.³⁸ Like Bataillon, she does not examine the record of use in the manuscripts themselves. My thesis extends beyond the theoretical nature of Bériou's work by examining multiple manuscript witnesses. A detailed analysis of MS Ege 4 and other manuscript witnesses reveals that Philip's *Summa* was, indeed, used as a preaching aid by means of the addition of various research tools, including sermon descriptions, sermon labels, and indexes.

This thesis makes an original contribution to sermon studies through a detailed analysis of MS Ege 4. First, through an investigation of its script, textual features, text, and research tools,

³⁶ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67–70.

³⁷ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 69–70: "Mais dans le cas de Philippe le Chancelier, comme dans celui de Jean d'Abbeville qui lui est contemporain, il me semble que la structure de l'ouvrage en une suite d'exposés sur des versets choisis, et souvent même sur un mot choisi dans le verset retenu, est aussi pensée pour accumuler les ressources rhétoriques qui faciliteront ensuite l'orchestration ordonnée du discours, à partir de figures autour desquelles, en bon prédicateur, lui-même construit souvent l'amplification de ses sermons. L'édition de la Somme de Philippe par Josse Bade est pourvue d'une table alphabétique de mots-clés qui met ces ressources en évidence, qu'il s'agisse de métiers (les avocats par exemple), de descriptions des réalités de la nature (les oiseaux de nuit), ou de représentations imaginaires d'êtres surnaturels (les diables *scriptiores*)... On pourrait, en se fondant sur cette observation, concevoir que les versets des psaumes, connus par cœur par les clercs, aient fonctionné comme des lieux de mémoire permettant, par le truchement d'un outil de travail comme cette somme, de trouver rapidement des morceaux de sermon en 'prêt-à-porter.'"

³⁸ The only evidence she provides is a reference to a thirteenth-century catalogue of medieval authors from the Abbey of Afflighem, which says that Philip's *Summa* was "très utile aux prédicateurs." See Bériou, "Traces écrites," 70.

I argue that our manuscript was created at Paris c. 1235 – c. 1275: s. xiii^{med} – xiii². Second, by means of a close examination of the text of Philip’s *Summa on the Psalter* and the research tools found in manuscripts containing the same text, I argue that Philip’s *Summa* was used as a preaching aid, either for model sermons, preaching material, or both. Third, on account of the context in which it was created, its utilitarian and unprepossessing nature, its research tools, and its text, I argue that our manuscript was a preacher’s handbook, designed for an individual preacher in order to aid him in sermon composition. The research tools allow this manuscript to function like a reference tool, providing its owner with a quick and efficient way to access the valuable preaching material found within Philip’s *Summa*. In short, it is the product of the preaching revival of the thirteenth century, designed specifically to aid an individual preacher by providing him with ample and easily accessible sermon material. Each chapter of this thesis seeks to substantiate these major conclusions while also building upon them.

Chapter one deals with a number of important issues. First, it provides the provenance and a basic description of MS Ege 4. Second, it discusses the date and place of production of our manuscript by analyzing the script and text. Third, it examines the genre of Philip’s *Summa on the Psalter*. Fourth, it explores the transmission of Philip’s *Summa* via *reportatio* in order to provide context for the version of the text that appears in MS Ege 4.³⁹ Fifth, it examines the context in which the manuscript was created: the preaching revival of the thirteenth century. And last, it investigates the uses of biblical commentaries in the medieval period.

Chapter two considers the “school” sermon, which incorporated the instructional and mnemonic devices of the schools to educate the laity and clergy alike on the sacraments and Christian morals and values, and the reference tools that were created in order to provide

³⁹ This section highlights the way in which medieval texts could be altered by individuals to serve a specific purpose, such as preaching.

preachers with the necessary components of the new sermon form. And it investigates the usefulness of Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* as a preaching aid through a careful examination of the text itself.

Chapter three discusses the use of Philip's *Summa* by analyzing the research tools in other manuscripts containing this text. And it addresses the purpose and function of MS Ege 4 by examining the context of its creation, its physical features, text, and research tools.

It is my hope that the study of MS Ege 4 will bring attention to the value of fragmentology. Reconstructing dismembered manuscripts provides scholars with more textual and material sources for the Middle Ages, which in turn leads to new information about the medieval world. And digitally reconstructing dismembered manuscripts offers students who do not have access to medieval manuscripts a chance to engage with manuscripts in a way that would not be possible in smaller collections, while also ensuring that dismembered manuscripts are not left unstudied. Every single manuscript is an asset to our knowledge and understanding of the medieval period and worthy of study, no matter how seemingly ordinary. MS Ege 4 is an excellent example of this. Despite its unassuming and plain appearance, it offers rich insights into the world of medieval preaching and information technologies. It allows us to better understand the use of biblical commentaries in medieval preaching and the role of medieval information technologies in facilitating their use as preaching aids, while also expanding the source material for sermons.

CHAPTER ONE: THE MANUSCRIPT

The Modern Provenance

In order to understand MS Ege 4, it is necessary to provide a brief account of its modern provenance.¹ The first known reference to MS Ege 4 appears in Erik von Scherling's *Rotulus IV* manuscript catalogue in 1937. At this point, the manuscript was nearly complete. Only one leaf out of 210 was missing.² Sadly, it was not to remain intact for much longer.

It is very likely that Ege purchased MS Ege 4 from Scherling himself sometime after Scherling put it up for sale in 1937. According to de Hamel, he was one of Scherling's best customers.³ However, someone may have bought the manuscript from Scherling, and subsequently sold it to Ege in the same condition he bought it from Scherling or in a fragmentary state, after they had removed the leaves or sections that were of interest to them. By 1944 at the very latest, Ege had purchased it, and began dismantling it for his manuscript fragment portfolios soon after.⁴

Ege used leaves from MS Ege 4 in two different sets of manuscript fragment portfolios: *Eight Original Leaves from the 12th to the 16th Centuries* and *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts, Western Europe: XII - XVI Century*.⁵ He put his *Eight Original Leaves* portfolio on the market for sale, but there is no record, as of yet, of the buyers for these portfolios or their present location.⁶ He also had plans to personally sell his FOL portfolios, but he died suddenly in 1951. His wife, Louise, ensured his vision was realized by selling the portfolios

¹ I am especially indebted to Lisa Fagin Davis, David Gura, and Peter Kidd for providing me with invaluable insights on the provenance of MS Ege 4.

² Erik von Scherling, *Rotulus IV* (Winter 1937), no. 1838.

³ de Hamel, *Cutting Up Manuscripts*, 13.

⁴ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 45, 346 (Handlist 4).

⁵ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 39, Appendix X: Handlist and Porcheddu, "Otto F. Ege," 8–9 (no. 4).

⁶ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 37–40.

herself in 1953 to various academic and public institutions across North America.⁷ Ege assembled forty FOL portfolios, and we have located thirty of them.⁸ He also sold individual leaves from many of his manuscripts.⁹ These “rogue leaves” are harder to trace since they were not a part of any portfolio, yet Gwara has done an excellent job of discovering the present location of various leaves, including two leaves from MS Ege 4.¹⁰

Sometime after MS Ege 4 left the possession of Scherling, sixty-five leaves were removed and sold to Bernard M. Rosenthal. This portion appears in Bernard Rosenthal’s *Catalogue XII* in 1961.¹¹ In May 1961, the University of Notre Dame purchased it from Rosenthal and labelled it South Bend, University of Notre Dame, MS cod. Lat. b. 11. It has remained at Notre Dame to the present day.¹²

In less than twenty-five years, MS Ege 4 went from being a nearly complete manuscript to being broken into numerous fragments scattered across North America. I have located 106 leaves out of the original 210 with the help of numerous scholars.¹³ Using these leaves, I have virtually reconstructed the manuscript to understand its purpose and function. The following analysis is based on this reconstruction. To begin, we must first discuss the contents of the manuscript.

The Contents

A comprehensive investigation of available MS Ege 4 leaves reveals that this manuscript

⁷ Gwara, *Otto Ege’s Manuscripts*, 17–18, 44.

⁸ See Appendix VIII in Gwara, *Otto Ege’s Manuscripts*, 106–107. Lisa Fagin Davis found set no. 1 in 2020.

⁹ Gwara, *Otto Ege’s Manuscripts*, 67.

¹⁰ See Handlist 4 in Appendix X: Handlist in Gwara, *Otto Ege’s Manuscripts*, 117–118.

¹¹ Bernard Rosenthal, *Catalogue XII* (1961), no. 36.

¹² David Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval And Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame and St. Mary’s College* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016), 212–213.

¹³ This number includes the sixty-five leaves found at the University of Notre Dame. The other forty-one leaves are individual fragments located in various North American institutions. Lisa Fagin Davis, Peter Kidd, Fred Porcheddu, Scott Gwara, and David Gura helped me locate these leaves. I am extremely grateful for all their help. See Appendix A for a list of these leaves.

contains a distinctive collection of commentaries on the Psalms by at least three different medieval authors: Philip the Chancellor, John Halgren of Abbeville, and one unknown author. Since it first appeared on the market, its text has puzzled cataloguers and researchers alike. Scholars have made attempts to identify the text but have met with little success, no doubt due to its fragmentary and cryptic nature. Most scholars, until recently, have been content to accept Otto Ege's description.¹⁴ However, as we shall see, his description needs correction.

Ege's description of MS Ege 4 appears to have been influenced in part by Scherling's description of it in his 1937 *Catalogue*. Scherling advertised the manuscript as a *catena* or chain of the Psalms by an unknown author.¹⁵ Ege, on the other hand, described it as a Psalter. Scherling's influence is evident in the extended description of the manuscript: "This text is from a special arrangement of the Psalms. Several Church Fathers made their own groupings for the Scriptures. Of these so-called 'chains' the most famous is that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The author of the arrangement represented by this leaf is unknown."¹⁶ Ege likely characterized the manuscript as a Psalter because he knew his audience would be familiar with Psalters, not *catenae*. He wanted his portfolios to be accessible to the general public; he wanted to provide them with texts that they could appreciate. Unfortunately, his description has led many scholars astray.

Almost all of the institutions that house MS Ege 4 leaves have used Ege's description of the text.¹⁷ This is likely due to the highly abbreviated nature of the text, which makes it difficult

¹⁴ See Yin Liu and Ariel Brecht, "Leaf 4 in Otto Ege's *Fifty Original Leaves* Portfolio – A New Identification: Sermons by Philip the Chancellor," *Florilegium* 33 (January 2016): 167–191.

¹⁵ See Michael P. Kuczynski, "An Unpublished Lollard Psalms Catena in Huntington Library MSHM 501," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 13 (2010): 103–105 for a description of a *catena*.

¹⁶ See the picture of one of Ege's Leaf 4 identification cards, which accompanied each MS Ege 4 leaf in his FOL portfolios, in Bindle, *Medieval Manuscript Leaves*, 30.

¹⁷ Some institutions have provided a different description than Ege's, but only the University of Iowa has correctly identified the contents of its leaf. Dr. Heather Wacha, as a graduate student, independently identified the text of the University of Iowa's Leaf 4 as sermons on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor in 2014. See

and time-consuming to transcribe. Bernard Rosenthal, however, disregarded Scherling's and Ege's description. He discovered that his sixty-five leaves actually contained commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor. And because of Rosenthal's identification, the University of Notre Dame also correctly identified the text of their portion of the manuscript, MS cod. Lat. b. 11, as commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor.¹⁸ But even Rosenthal's description is incomplete.

A thorough examination of the reconstructed manuscript reveals a complex, unique, and deliberately produced text, which, as we shall see, was composed for a very particular purpose: preaching. It contains a compilation of commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor, John Halgren of Abbeville, and at least one unknown author, and an alphabetical index located at the back of the manuscript.¹⁹ Both Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren wrote their own commentaries on the Psalms, but the redactor of MS Ege 4 decided to combine the two related texts into one manuscript. Philip's and John's commentaries do not appear one after the other as one might expect; they are, in fact, intertwined. Also of note is the way in which the commentaries themselves have been altered. The commentaries have been intelligently edited by means of additions, subtractions, and restructuring. There is more going on here than scribal corrections or mistakes; the redactor chose to edit these commentaries to serve a specific purpose.²⁰ MS Ege 4's text is not a simple copy of two or more different texts; it is a distinctive compilation of modified commentaries on the Psalms by multiple medieval authors. And if we

<https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2019/07/otto-eges-chain-of-psalms-manuscript.html> for Wacha's comments. Some cataloguers working for private sellers, like Bernard Quaritch, have also correctly identified the text on their leaves as sermons on the Psalms by Philip.

¹⁸ See James A. Corbett, *Catalogue of the Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 66–74 and, more recently, Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 204–213. Both Corbett and Gura provide a list of the commentaries found in MS cod. Lat. b. 11. Corbett and Gura, not Rosenthal, are responsible for identifying the commentaries of each leaf.

¹⁹ See Appendix A for a description of the contents of all 106 leaves. I have used Gura's description for the first sixty-folios.

²⁰ There is also the possibility that MS Ege 4 is based on an earlier original composition.

want to know how these commentaries were used, we need to explore the context in which the manuscript was made. To do this, we must first establish its date and origin.

The Date and Origin

MS Ege 4's script, textual features, text, and research tools strongly suggest that this manuscript was created in Paris c. 1235 – c. 1275: s. xiii^{med} – xiii². Ege claims that it was created at the end of the twelfth century.²¹ But the evidence confirms that it could not have possibly been made in the twelfth century; the text alone makes this an impossibility. Only through a thorough analysis of the entire manuscript can we establish its temporal context. I will start by exploring the likely reasons for Ege's early date and proceed to discuss the evidence for a thirteenth-century date.

Ege's claim that MS Ege 4 was created at the end of the twelfth century likely stems from his interest in representative specimens for his FOL portfolios. Since he intended his portfolios to be used as teaching aids, he wanted them to contain specimens that were representative of manuscripts produced in different centuries; he also wanted representative examples for various medieval scripts, as we shall see later. If we look at the manuscripts listed in his FOL portfolio, we can see that Ege wanted at least one representative specimen for the beginning, middle, and end of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, one specimen for each part of each century. Ege had multiple examples for the beginning, middle, and end of the thirteenth century but only one specimen for the end of the twelfth century.²² MS Ege 4 could be made to fit into the end of twelfth century since its script contained features

²¹ Unfortunately, Ege did not have “any extensive academic training in bibliography, textual criticism, or librarianship” according to Porcheddu. This likely affected his ability to accurately identify the paleographic features of his manuscripts. See Porcheddu, “Otto F. Ege,” 5.

²² Porcheddu, “Otto F. Ege,” 8–9. Ege had fourteen specimens for the thirteenth century: four specimens for the beginning of the century, five for the middle, and five for the end. But he only had four specimens in total for the twelfth century: one for the beginning of the century, two for the middle, and one for the end, namely MS Ege 4.

reminiscent of Caroline minuscule, which was still in use at this time.²³ The twelfth-century date seems to be a matter of convenience rather than of substantiated evidence.

Unlike Ege, Scherling, Rosenthal, Corbett, and Gura all agree that MS Ege 4 was created at some point in the thirteenth century.²⁴ But they provide little or no evidence for their conclusions.²⁵ We cannot blindly assume that their theory is correct; that has been done with Ege's description for far too long. Scherling is the only one that provides some explanation for his thirteenth-century date, c. 1270 to be exact. Scherling argues that the manuscript came from the latter half of the thirteenth century based on certain features of its Gothic script; he states that "the "thick broad tops of the b & l, the long final s. etc fully justify an attribution to the second half of the 13th century."²⁶ Scherling's theory appears to be based on this one paleographic piece of evidence.²⁷ Fortunately, we can look to other aspects of the script, as well as textual features, text, and research tools for evidence.

Paleographic evidence suggests that MS Ege 4 was created sometime within 1000 and 1300. Contrary to Ege's identification of Caroline minuscule, its script is better described as a

²³ Michelle Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts: From Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 66–67. According to Brown, the duration of Caroline minuscule in most of western Europe was s. viii^{ex} – xiiiⁱⁿ. Interestingly, the duration of this script in France was shorter: s. viii^{ex} – xi.

²⁴ In 1978, James Corbett catalogued the University of Notre Dame's medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, including MS cod. Lat. b. 1 l. David Gura provided an updated catalogue of Notre Dame's manuscript holdings in 2016. Both of them dated MS cod. Lat. b. 1 l to the thirteenth century, echoing Rosenthal's findings. Gura does provide a general overview of Notre Dame's portion of our manuscript. His rationale for a thirteenth-century date is not clear, although he does mention that the script is written in a hand of a Northern Textualis of the thirteenth century. I have not included those institutions that have also questioned Ege's date and provided their own. For example, some private cataloguers have also dated fragments of MS Ege 4 to the thirteenth century, but like the scholars listed above they have not provided any rationale or evidence for their conclusions.

²⁵ See von Scherling, *Rotulus IV* (Winter 1937), no. 1838, Rosenthal, *Catalogue XII* (1961), no. 36, Corbett, *Catalogue of the Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts*, 66, and Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 204.

²⁶ von Scherling, *Rotulus IV* (Winter 1937), no. 1838. See Albert Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscripts: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 48, 58–59, 79 for a discussion on the bifurcation of the ascenders of the letters b, h, k, and l in the Carolingian and Gothic scripts.

²⁷ Scherling may have had other reasons for dating MS Ege 4 to c. 1270, but he does not disclose them. This seems to be a common problem in the dating of medieval manuscripts since cataloguers are not required or expected to provide a rationale for their dates. See Donald Yates, "Latin Paleography and the Dating of Late Medieval Manuscripts 'by the Date,'" *Codices manuscripti* 9, no. 2 (1983): 49–65 for a discussion on the problem of dating manuscripts.

transitional form, namely some sort of early Gothic, as it contains features of both Caroline minuscule and Gothic minuscule.²⁸ Before we can discuss the implications of an early Gothic script, we must try, once again, to understand Ege's classification.

Like Ege's decision to place MS Ege 4 in the twelfth century, in particular, to identify its script as Caroline minuscule was likely due to lack of specimens. One might defend Ege's identification on the grounds that he made a mistake; the script does contain Caroline features. But he probably had seen Scherling's identification. Scherling listed it as a manuscript written in a "early small Gothic script of charter-type."²⁹ It seems Ege was willing to fudge the description to suit his purposes. He was interested in providing educators with different specimens that could be used to teach students about the different kinds of art and scripts used in the medieval period to inspire them in their own work.³⁰ The comparative rarity, not to mention considerable expense, of manuscripts of Caroline minuscule would have made it hard to include an appropriate specimen of this script for his portfolio. In this way, he could provide at least one example that looked something like Caroline minuscule in a collection otherwise dominated by the Gothic hand.³¹

There appear to be at least two early Gothic hands in MS Ege 4, which suggests at least two different scribes. The first hand (S1), which spans fol. 1 to fol. 110 r, is professional looking in appearance. It is precise and bold.³² S1 is larger and less laterally compressed than the second

²⁸ Bindle, *Medieval Manuscript Leaves*, 30.

²⁹ Erik von Scherling, *Rotulus IV* (Winter 1937), no. 1838.

³⁰ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 14–15.

³¹ See Porcheddu, "Otto F. Ege," 8–9 for Ege's description of each leaf in his FOL portfolio.

³² Here it would seem Ege's evaluation of the scribe's hand is correct; concerning its quality, he writes "the scribe of the XIIth century often came close to achieving perfection. The symmetry of his letters, the unerring accuracy of his practised hand, and his ideals for letter forms have rarely been equaled and have never been surpassed." See the picture of one of Ege's Leaf 4 identification cards, which accompanied each MS Ege 4 leaf in his FOL portfolios, in Bindle, *Medieval Manuscript Leaves*, 30. We will come back to this discussion later. See also David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23: "The second dichotomy is between 'professional' looking manuscripts and personal or

hand (S2). This means that there is more space between individual letters and words and less words per line than S2. S1 uses the abbreviation for *est* that looks like a semicolon with a squiggly line through it.³³ And S1 almost always leaves the Tironian note for *et* (it looks like the number seven) uncrossed. (Tironian notes are a form of shorthand reportedly developed by Cicero's secretary, Tiro, that were used by medieval scribes.) In addition, the words in the margins appear on the right side of the text when on the recto and on the left side of the text when on the verso. S1 also writes below the top line except for the recto of fol. 110. There were only three words left (*et virtutis amore*) in the commentary from the previous folio; it is likely that the scribe did not want to waste valuable space, so he decided to write the three words above the top line in this one instance. This uncharacteristic shift to writing above top line is indicative of transitional scribal practices in the thirteenth century, when some scribes were writing below the top line, some above, and some even above and below.³⁴

S2 is less precise. It is smaller, thinner, and more laterally compressed than S1, which means there is less space between individual letters and words and more words on average per line.³⁵ But the script still looks professional. S2 uses the letter e with a macron above it for *est*. And he almost always crosses the Tironian note for *et* in contrast to S1's uncrossed ones. S2 writes the words in the margins on the left side of the text on the recto and on the right side on the verso, reversing the order of S1. S2 writes above the top line. I suspect this is due to S2

individual manuscripts. The former are in a neat and regular script. The page is laid out symmetrically. The manuscript is public property in the sense that it could be used easily by anyone who had it his possession. The overall impression can be rather like that of 'black letter' incunabular printed book."

³³ It looks similar to this ÷.

³⁴ N. R. Ker, "From 'Above Top Line' to 'Below Top Line': A Change in Scribal Practice," *Celtica* 5 (1960): 14–16, especially 14: "The evidence for usage c. 1230 and later is perhaps best set out in the form of notes on particular manuscripts. It shows that 'below top line' was used by many professional scribes before and in the middle of the thirteenth century and that 'above top line' continued to be used by non-professionals until a much later date."

³⁵ The transcriptions give a sense of this lateral compression as there are more words per line in the transcriptions of leaves from the verso of fol. 110 onward.

copying S1, who wrote above top line for the recto of fol. 110. S2 might have only looked at the recto of fol. 110 before starting to write on the verso of the same leaf; in order to match S1, he also wrote above top line.

The professional quality of this manuscript and the intelligent changes to its text, which was used as a preaching aid, suggest that MS Ege 4 was created by mendicant preachers. d'Avray argues, based on paleographic and textual grounds, that Franciscans and Dominicans played a large role in the creation and circulation of model sermon collections. Mendicants produced and sold professional quality manuscripts.³⁶ And many professional looking manuscripts containing model sermons have intelligent improvisations in their texts. Commercial copyists, according to d'Avray, were unlikely to make such drastic and intelligent changes to sermons. It is more likely that a friar or someone similar, that is a "user of sermons," would make these improvisations. Thus, d'Avray argues that friars were responsible for the creation of professional looking model sermon collections.³⁷ I have applied his theory here to preaching aids in general, including biblical commentaries, not just model sermon collections. We will revisit this in chapter three.

Since both Caroline and Gothic features exist, MS Ege 4's script is best described as a transitional form, informally referred to as either late Caroline or early Gothic.³⁸ For the sake of

³⁶ Interestingly, the friars' production of manuscripts was notable, so much so, that they were banned, either entirely or partially, from selling manuscripts but not from making them for themselves. See K.W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964), 26, 53.

³⁷ See d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, 15–34, especially 24–25: "Now the manuscripts which contain variations of this sort are usually 'professional'-looking. They would be hard to distinguish from the work of a commercial scribe. But would commercial scribes have been encouraged to vary the text *ad libitum*? To do so would involve a much higher level of attention and engagement than mechanical copying, and would earn no thanks. In the twentieth century, when scholars had their works typed by professional secretaries, they expected mistakes but would have been enraged by intelligent rewriting on the secretary's part. Would a friar [or a preacher] commissioning a copy of a manuscript want a commercial scribe to make changes at will? Perhaps if the scribe were an exceptional person whose intellectual qualities were well known to the friar who gave the commission – but as a general rule it seems unlikely. It is much more likely that a friar would introduce such changes in a manuscript he himself was copying for his own use and that of his *confrères*."

³⁸ Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, 72.

brevity, I will not discuss the various Caroline and Gothic attributes here, but there is sufficient evidence to defend an early Gothic classification.³⁹ Early Gothic, which has also been described as Protogothic or Praegothica by paleographers that place early Gothic into its own class, was in use from 1075 to 1275.⁴⁰ This timeframe is far too broad to be useful, but it does provide us with a rough *terminus ante quem* for the creation of this manuscript.⁴¹ We will return to this later. Fortunately, the textual features, text, and research tools of this manuscript are more revealing.

Certain textual features in MS Ege 4 make it clear that this manuscript was made sometime after the end of the twelfth century. First, the text begins variously below and above the top line, which indicates a mid-thirteenth-century date.⁴² Second, it contains biblical references that include chapter numbers, which was not standard practice until the thirteenth century.⁴³ In fact, Philip the Chancellor is credited with bringing biblical chapter numbers into popular practice by 1225.⁴⁴

Philip the Chancellor's commentaries on the Psalms, which make up most of the text in

³⁹ For Gothic features see Liu and Brecht, "Leaf 4 in Otto Ege's," 170. And for Caroline minuscule, there are numerous examples. Sometimes the letter *a* appears with a slanted shaft, which is characteristic of the Caroline minuscule *a*, alongside the straight shafted Gothic *a*. The long Caroline minuscule *r* is another individual letter form present in the manuscript. The presence of certain ligatures suggests an early Gothic hand as well. In MS Ege 4, the *ct* ligature strongly resembles the Caroline form of the ligature in that the bow of the *t*, which connects directly to the *c* in Caroline minuscule, is curved to form a loop that almost touches the *c*. The manuscript also contains the unique *ta* ligature, which is distinctive of early Gothic. Additionally, the *st* ligature in the manuscript mirrors the Caroline minuscule version in that the bow that connects the two letters is not flattened or made concave like in fully developed Gothic scripts. The analysis above was made possible by Derolez, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscripts*, 48–49, 51, 53, 60, 63, 66, 84, 96, pls. 3, 6.

⁴⁰ Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts*, 2–3, 72–73. Brown lists the duration of Protogothic as s. xi^{ex} – s. xiii^{med}.

⁴¹ I am all too aware of the dangers of using paleographic evidence as a dating mechanism. But I think it is safe to assume that a scribe would not be using an early Gothic script more than fifty years after the alleged end of the script. This would push back the date to c. 1325.

⁴² Ker, "From 'Above Top Line,'" 14.

⁴³ Paul Saenger and Laura Bruck, "The Anglo-Hebraic Origins of the Modern Chapter Division of the Latin Bible," in *La fractura historiográfica: Las investigaciones de Edad Media y Renacimiento desde el tercer milenio*, eds. Francisco Javier Burguillo and Laura Meier (Salamanca, 2008), 177–178, 202.

⁴⁴ Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 333. MS Ege 4 also contains paraphs. Paraphs first appeared at the end of the twelfth century, and they were used regularly in all kinds of manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards. See M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1992), 43–44.

MS Ege 4, prove beyond a doubt that this manuscript was created in the thirteenth century at the very earliest. Our manuscript could not have possibly been created in the twelfth century since, according to Robert Lerner, Philip the Chancellor's commentaries on the Psalms had not yet been written. Lerner argues that Philip's *Summa* was created sometime between c. 1219 and c. 1224 based on certain revealing remarks, including one about the survival of the newly founded Dominican order. According to Lerner, the existence of the Dominican order was in doubt between c. 1219 and c. 1223.⁴⁵ In his commentary on Psalm 77:19, Philip reports a rumour concerning the survival of the Dominicans: "As I heard someone saying that the order of preachers would not be able to endure for long. As if one were to say, by what means would they be able to be sustained?"⁴⁶ Lerner argues, based on this passage, that Philip must have written his commentaries while the fate of the Dominican order was still uncertain, sometime between c. 1219 and c. 1223. Moreover, the reference to the Dominican order alone makes a twelfth-century date impossible since the order was not founded until 1215.⁴⁷ This piece of valuable evidence clearly demonstrates that the thirteenth century is the earliest plausible date for the creation of this manuscript.

MS Ege 4's system of referencing different parts of a folio provides us with both the Parisian origin and rough *terminus post quem* of c. 1235 for this manuscript. There is a general consensus among Scherling, Ege, Rosenthal, and Gura that the manuscript was likely made in

⁴⁵ Robert E. Lerner, "Philip the Chancellor Greets the New Dominicans in Paris," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 77 (2007): 6–11. Lerner provides two more pieces of internal evidence.

⁴⁶ This passage comes from Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ji. 3. 27, fol. 160r: "Sicut audiui quendam dicentem quod ordo predicatorum non posset diu permanere. quasi. dicat. vnde possent sustentari." The translation above is mine. This passage also appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 137v, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 745, fol. 674v, Oxford, St. John's College Library, MS 118, fol. 93v, and in two manuscripts examined by Lerner as well as the incunabula containing his commentaries. It does not appear in Paris, BnF, MS 14594, London, British Library, Add MS 45568, or MS Ege 4.

⁴⁷ Philip mentions the Dominican order more than once. See Lerner, "Philip the Chancellor Greets," 11–14 for additional examples. One of the references that Lerner mentions can be found in one of our leaves. See MS Ege 4, fol. 101r: "vnde cum quidam diceret fratribus ordinis predicatorum bonum esset ut haberetis terras vineas et huiusmodi ut sustentaremini. respondit unus ex eis. nolite coram ponere uiscos et laqueos ut capiamur ab eis."

France.⁴⁸ As we have already seen with the dating of this manuscript, they do not disclose their reasoning. The distinctive indexing technique in our manuscript, however, suggests that it was manufactured in Paris. Each entry in the index refers to a numbered folio and one or more of the first seven letters of the alphabet. The letters correspond, from top to bottom, to sections of the page mentally divided into sevenths. The Rouses have labelled this the “Parisian Method,” a reference system originally employed in the first biblical concordance quite unlike those employed at Oxford where they relied on line-numberings for each folio, since it was used predominately in Paris.⁴⁹ The presence of a distinctively “Parisian” system of indexing strongly suggests that this manuscript was made in Paris or, perhaps, by someone who was educated there.

Modern scholarship dates the first biblical concordance, also known as the St. Jacques Concordance, to 1230. The Rouses, however, argue that this early date is unlikely.⁵⁰ They state that “In fact, the earliest precise *terminus ad quem* is 1247; a copy of the St. Jacques Concordance was made at Jumièges at the behest of William Rouen during his term as prior (ca. 1239-1247), and another copy was bequeathed to Jumièges by Walter Cloel (d. 1249) who retired to the abbey at the end of his life, bringing his books with him.”⁵¹ Unfortunately, the *terminus ad quem* of the St. Jacques Concordance is not particularly useful for determining the

⁴⁸ Scherling states that MS Ege 4 was produced in England or Northern France. However, the indexing method in our manuscript makes England an unlikely place for its creation as we shall see. See von Scherling, *Rotulus IV* (Winter 1937), no. 1838, Bindle, *Medieval Manuscript Leaves*, 30, Rosenthal, *Catalogue XII* (1961), no. 36, Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, 204. Rosenthal also argues that this manuscript was created at or for the university of Paris.

⁴⁹ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 230–231, 234–236. The Rouses provide an interesting example of the lack of exposure of the Oxford method in Paris. It concerns the Paris master Gerald of Abbeville. It seems that one of the manuscripts in Gerard’s library was made in Oxford. This Oxford manuscript numbered its lines in case the owner of the manuscript wanted to make his own index. Apparently, the owner did, but he used the Parisian method of marginal letters being unfamiliar with the Oxford method. He completely disregarded the already-made reference system.

⁵⁰ Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974): 7–8.

⁵¹ Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 8.

date of MS Ege 4; instead, it is necessary to establish a plausible *terminus post quem*. The Rouses present a convincing suggestion. Hugh of St. Cher appears to have been involved in some capacity in the creation of the first biblical concordance during his time as one of the two chairs of theology at St. Jacques, a position he held from 1230–1235. The Rouses argue that the St. Jacques Concordance was likely under way, if not already completed, by 1235 when Hugh's position at St. Jacques ended.⁵² As a result, it is unlikely that MS Ege 4 was created before 1235, since it contains the same method of referencing that was first employed in the St. Jacques Concordance. Moreover, this reference system did not become common until the second half of the thirteenth century.

The widespread application of the “Parisian method” of referencing in the latter half of the thirteenth century suggests that MS Ege 4 was made sometime after the first half of the thirteenth century. Although this method of dating is less precise, it does provide us with valuable evidence that we should not ignore. According to the Rouses, the A–G system of referencing was used in the second half of the thirteenth century on texts other than the Bible. The Cistercians at Burges, for instance, applied the A–G system in their manuscripts irrespective of contents.⁵³

The index of MS Ege 4 also suggests that this manuscript was created after the first half of the thirteenth century. The Rouses state that “by the date of Gerald's death [1272], and more and more toward the end of the century, one began to employ at Paris a different order of alphabetical index. This was the personal index, drafted by the owner of a manuscript for his own individual use.”⁵⁴ The index of our manuscript is best described as a personal index since the text it seeks to make accessible is a unique compilation of two contemporary works.

⁵² Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 8.

⁵³ Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 22.

⁵⁴ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 231.

According to the Rouses, personal indexes were made to access the contents of contemporary works in contrast to the professionally designed indexes, created to make older, more traditional texts, like the writings of the Fathers and Aristotle, accessible.⁵⁵

Using all of the different pieces of evidence assembled here, we can provide a plausible geographical origin and date for the creation of MS Ege 4. If we acknowledge that our manuscript could not have been created before the invention of the first biblical concordance in c. 1235 and that it could not have been made after the end of Protogothic in c. 1275, then it was likely produced sometime between 1235 and 1275. In addition, the “Parisian method” of referencing in the manuscript makes Paris a reasonable candidate for its geographical origin. To sum up, the combined evidence from MS Ege 4’s script, textual features, text, and research tools strongly suggests that it was made in Paris c. 1235 – c. 1275.

Commentaries on the Psalter

Now, we will shift focus and examine the text of MS Ege 4. To begin, we will briefly discuss the two main authors, Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren of Abbeville; then, we will turn our attention to their biblical commentaries on the Psalter. It should be noted that the commentaries of Philip and John have often been called “sermons.” The discussion that follows will provide evidence that demonstrates that Philip’s and John’s work on the Psalms are best characterized as commentaries since they were originally given as lectures in the classroom, not as sermons from the pulpit.

Philip the Chancellor was born sometime between 1160 and 1185. He became a master of theology possibly as early as c. 1206, after he finished his studies in theology and canon law at the University of Paris. In 1217, he became the chancellor of Notre Dame, a position which he held until his death on December 23, 1236. Philip retained his position of master during his

⁵⁵ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 231–232.

chancellorship of Notre Dame, and he continued to teach at the university until his death.⁵⁶ In addition to his teaching and administrative duties, he also found time to preach. Almost four hundred sermons have survived as a testament to his preaching ability and popularity.⁵⁷

John Halgren of Abbeville was born in the last quarter of the twelfth century in the Picardy region of France and died in 1237. He also studied theology at Paris, and sometime before c. 1217, he achieved the position of regent master of theology there.⁵⁸ John held multiple ecclesiastical offices during his lifetime: he was the dean of Amiens' cathedral chapter 1218–1225, and he was appointed the archbishop of Besancon in 1225 and the cardinal-bishop of St. Sabina in 1227.⁵⁹ Like Philip, John was a passionate preacher, especially concerning the crusades.⁶⁰ Over four hundred of his sermons have survived to the present day.⁶¹

During their time at Paris, Philip and John gave lectures in the form of commentaries on the Psalms to their students. Biblical commentaries were common sources of university lectures by Parisian masters.⁶² And commentaries on the Psalter were especially popular among the Parisian masters of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.⁶³ Both of their biblical commentaries were subsequently written down and published. Philip's commentaries have

⁵⁶ Spencer E. Young, *Scholarly Community at the Early University of Paris: Theologians, Education, and Society, 1215-1248* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 213. See also John W. Baldwin, "Philippe, chancelier de Notre-Dame," in *Philippe le Chancelier: Prédicateur, théologien et poète parisien du début du XIII^e siècle*, eds. Gilbert Dahan and Anne-Zoe Rillon-Marne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017) for additional background on his life.

⁵⁷ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 64. See Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, vol. 4, Autoren: L - P (Münster, Westf.: Aschendorffsche, 1972), 818–868 for a list of all his sermons.

⁵⁸ According to Smalley, John was still teaching at Paris in 1216. See Beryl Smalley, "Robert Bacon and the Early Dominican School at Oxford," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1948): 4.

⁵⁹ Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 4 and Young, *Scholarly Community*, 214–215.

⁶⁰ Nicole Bériou, *L'Avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La Prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), 1:145.

⁶¹ See Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, vol. 3, Autoren: I - J (Münster, Westf.: Aschendorffsche, 1971), 510–566.

⁶² Young, *Scholarly Community*, 88.

⁶³ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 197, 209 and Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 4.

survived in thirty-four manuscripts, including MS Ege 4, and numerous incunabula.⁶⁴ And John's exist in, at least, nineteen manuscripts and many incunabula.⁶⁵ Philip's and John's commentaries have been labelled as "sermons," a habit extending back to the medieval period.⁶⁶ But some historians argue that these writings on the Psalms are better described as commentaries or distinctions.⁶⁷

References to the lecturer and school "textbooks" in both Philip's and John's works on the Psalms reveal that both authors' writings are not sermons, which would have been given from a pulpit presumably, but biblical commentaries, the kind which were originally presented in medieval universities as lectures. It is true that sermons and commentaries are very similar in terms of content and structure. But the biblical commentary was created for the classroom to train future preachers, the sermon for the pulpit to educate the masses on the principles of their

⁶⁴ See Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, vol. 4, Commentaria, Auctores N - Q (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), n. 6952, pp. 429–430 for a list of manuscripts containing Philip's commentaries on the Psalms. There are two editions that the incunabula are based on: Philip, the Chancellor, *In Psalterium Davidicum. CCCXXX. Sermones*, 2 vols. (Paris: Badius, 1523) and Philip, the Chancellor, *In Psalterium Davidicum tercentum ac triginta Sermones vere aurei* (Brixia/Brescia: Petrus Maria Marchettus, 1600). The 1523 edition was actually created in 1533 according to E. Bettoni. See Lerner, "Philip the Chancellor," 5–6, footnote 3.

⁶⁵ See Fridericus Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, vol. 3: Commentaria, Auctores H - M (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), n. 4541, pp. 342–343 for a list of manuscripts containing John's commentaries on the Psalms. Here are two modern editions of John's commentaries: Anthony, of Padua, *Sermones in Psalmos ex autographo nunc primum in lucem editi* (Bologna: Ex Typographia Laelii a Vulpe, 1757), https://books.google.ca/books?id=Vt7fLulWNnIC&source=gbp_navlinks_s and Anthony, of Padua, *Expositio in Psalmos*, vol. 1, *Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica*, vol. 6 (Paris: La Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, 1880), 1:575–1226. John's commentaries in the 1880 edition are based on the ones found in the 1757 edition. Until recently, John's commentaries were ascribed to St. Anthony of Padua, but modern research has shown this attribution to be incorrect. See A. Callebaut, "Les Sermons sur les Psaumes: Imprimés sous le nom de S. Antoine restitués au Cardinal Jean D' Abbeville," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 25 (1932): 161–174, especially 169.

⁶⁶ See Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 1: title page, Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67 for a medieval manuscript, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 16468, that refers to Philip's text as "sermons," and N. Häring, "Two Catalogues of Medieval Authors," *Franciscan Studies* 26 (1966): 204 for a medieval catalogue of authors that lists Philip's text on the Psalms as "sermons." See also Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, title page and Anthony, *Expositio in Psalmos*, 1:575 for two incunabula that list John's commentaries as sermons. These questionable labels are actually very valuable; they can show us how their commentaries were adapted to serve a new purpose outside of their original university setting.

⁶⁷ Bériou and Lerner argue that Philip's writings on the Psalter are similar to distinctions. See Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67–68 and Lerner, "Philip the Chancellor," 6, n. 5. Smalley argues that both Philip's and John's writings on the Psalms are commentaries. See Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 3–5.

faith.⁶⁸ Textual evidence suggests that Philip's and John's writings on the Psalms fall into the former category, the classroom commentary.

Philip's and John's writings on the Psalms contain subtle indications of a university setting. University lectures sometimes include references to the *magister* that led the lecture using certain phrases, including *inquit*, and *dicit magister*.⁶⁹ There are no irrefutable references to Philip as the magister of the classroom. But there is one tenuous reference to him. Reporting a discussion on unclean animals, one of Philip's students writes: "the crow is white: it is true, he [the magister, that is Philip] says."⁷⁰ The lack of concrete references to Philip is not surprising, since these types of unnecessary references may have been removed by Philip himself prior to publication. John's commentaries, on the other hand, contain at least one undeniable reference to John as the magister; one of John's students refers directly to the *magister*, writing "the teacher says to have found in a certain old book that the damned are afflicted with nine punishments, because they have refused to be united with the nine orders of the angels."⁷¹ These examples suggest that Philip's and John's writings on the Psalms are, in fact, biblical commentaries, the kind that were given as lectures in front of live student audiences.⁷² Not only do these kinds of expressions suggest a classroom setting, but references to certain school "textbooks" do too.

University students were required to read certain texts, like the *Historia Scholastica*,

⁶⁸ See Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 3.

⁶⁹ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 205: "The glosses of the Comestor and the Chanter that I have examined are easily recognizable as *reportationes*. They contain expressions such as *inquit*, *dicit magister*, *his addit magister*, *magister his non acquiescit*, where 'magister' cannot refer to anyone but the lecturer. Sometimes he is referred to in the first person, and sometimes in the same sentence we have a combination of first and third: 'I don't remember, he says, to have read this anywhere but in the Gloss on this text.'"

⁷⁰ Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 68: "Cornicula est alba: verum, inquit, est." Philip is in the midst of discussing what animals are unclean according to Leviticus 11. But he stops to tell his students that the *cornicula* is, in fact, white.

⁷¹ Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, 118: "Magister dicit in libro quodam antiquo reperisse, quod novem poenis affliguntur damnati, quia novem ordinibus Angelorum renuerunt sociari."

⁷² These examples were all taken from the 1523 edition of Philip's commentaries. It would be interesting to see how, if at all, the individual manuscripts refer to the teacher. Unfortunately, I do not have the time to examine each individual manuscript.

Gloss (Ordinaria/Interlinearis), and *Sentences*. These texts functioned as “textbooks” since they were essential for a student’s education.⁷³ According to Smalley, references and quotations from these textbooks are highly suggestive of a text performed in the classroom of a medieval university.⁷⁴ It seems unlikely that a preacher would refer to the *Gloss* in a sermon. But because students were required to read the *Gloss* as a part of their education, its inclusion within a school lecture would be meaningful and relevant.

Philip references these textbooks throughout his commentaries; Philip uses the *Gloss (Ordinaria/Interlinearis)* on various books of the Bible: “Vbi dicit glossa non quod non habuit: sed quia scriptura prouide non memorat in figura Christi,”⁷⁵ “Vnde ibi dicit glossa, quod tot de se fecit holocausta quot in ea fuerant oblectamenta,”⁷⁶ and “Vnde. Glossa. Frustra existimat poenas malorum terminari.”⁷⁷ Philip also references a passage from Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholasticus*: “Super hoc dicitur in historia quod Samuel primus instituit conuentus religiosorum qui dicebantur prophete: & dicitur conuentus quasi cuneus seu conus aut counus, quia sunt vnum.”⁷⁸

John’s commentaries are also full of references to the *Gloss*, even more so than Philip’s. John used both the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the *Glossa Interlinearis* frequently throughout his commentaries as we can see here: “ubi dicit Glossa: *Oves, amissa lana manent, sic semper in istis sine consumptione substantiae poena invenit quod cruciet*,”⁷⁹ “Quam commendabilis sit effusio lacrymarum, ostendit Glossa super Tobiam, ubi dicitur: *Lacryma pungit, oratio ungit*,”⁸⁰ “Super quem locum dicit Glossa: Qui enim fuerunt incentores culpa eorum, erunt exactores

⁷³ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 200.

⁷⁴ Smalley, “Robert Bacon,” 3.

⁷⁵ Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 105r. This is a reference to the *Gloss* on Hebrews 7:3.

⁷⁶ Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 122r. This is a reference to the *Gloss* on Luke 7:38.

⁷⁷ Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 209v. This is a reference to the *Gloss* on Hebrews 8:13.

⁷⁸ Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 98r. This is a reference from the *Historia Scholastica*.

⁷⁹ Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, 118. This passage is from the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Psalm 48:15.

⁸⁰ Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, 133. This passage is from the *Glossa Interlinearis* on Tobit 3:11.

poenae.”⁸¹

These examples provide sufficient evidence to argue that Philip’s and John’s writings on the Psalms were originally commentaries, presented as lectures in front of a student body. In conclusion, Philip’s and John’s works on the Psalms are best described as commentaries since they contain references that situate them within the classroom of a medieval university.

The Reportatio of Philip’s Summa on the Psalter

In order to understand how the version of Philip’s *Summa on the Psalter* found in MS Ege 4 has come down to us, and thereby to have a greater understanding of its purpose and function, we must examine the two main methods of recording university lectures: personal note taking and *reportationes*.⁸² We will start by examining both methods of recording lectures, before discussing the potential source of MS Ege’s version of Philip’s *Summa on the Psalter*.

Textual evidence suggests that the version of Philip’s *Summa* found in MS Ege 4 is based on a *reportatio* of Philip’s lectures on the Psalms. Both personal lecture notes and *reportationes* were used in the medieval period as records of lectures, but the former were meant to be used by the student that wrote them, while the latter were recorded in such a way that anyone could use them. The version in MS Ege 4 is not haphazard or idiosyncratic as one would expect from a student’s personal notes. Instead, it is well organized and intelligible, allowing anyone to use it.

In both *reportationes* and personal notes, students were the “reporters” of their masters’ lectures. Personal notes were for a student’s own use; they were likely to make sense only to the student that wrote them. These crude notes reminded the student of the main points of the lecture so that he could recreate it later. On the other hand, *reportationes* aimed to provide others with a complete and accurate account of a lecture, attempting to record the exact words of the master,

⁸¹ Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, 172. This passage is from the *Glossa Interlinearis* on Luke 12:58.

⁸² From this point onwards, I will be focusing on Philip’s commentaries on the Psalter. This is due to manuscript availability. I was only able to examine one manuscript witness of John’s commentaries.

that anyone could understand and use. Smalley states that “the ‘reporter’ [of a *reportatio*] is not a professional stenographer but a pupil, who instead of merely taking notes, tries to get down a full, consecutive account of the lecture.”⁸³ In order to ensure this, masters were required to correct *reportationes* of their lectures before they were published.⁸⁴ We see this same approach in MS Ege 4’s version of Philip’s *Summa* and, in fact, in all the versions that I have examined.⁸⁵ All of them are clearly written and organized and provide a thorough account of Philip’s lectures. On another but related note, it is, statistically speaking, highly unlikely that a student’s personal notes would be used as an exemplar when there were *reportationes* of the same text readily available.

We can also identify *reportationes* by their rough and unpolished nature, which is reflective of a live presentation, and their references to the lecturer in the third person.⁸⁶ Because masters did not edit *reportationes* for style (they only fixed mistakes and filled in missing references), they retained their natural, unrefined characteristics unlike literary compositions, which were carefully crafted and edited to create a distinct literary style. As a result, one can find references to the lecturer in the third person. All of the manuscript witnesses of Philip’s *Summa* that I have personally examined, including MS Ege 4, and both incunabula exhibit the raw and unpolished quality of a *reportatio*. It has been harder, however, to trace references to Philip in

⁸³ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 201.

⁸⁴ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 200–202, 204 and Charles Burnett, “Give him the White Cow: Notes and Note-Taking in the Universities in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *History of Universities* 14 (1995): 3–5, 9. There is also evidence that suggests there were official and unofficial *reportationes*. According to Smalley, official *reportationes* were the ones that university masters themselves edited for mistakes and references but not style. Unofficial *reportationes*, on the other hand, were not checked over by masters, which means there could be mistakes and/or missing references, but the text is still intelligible and organized, which separates them from personal lecture notes. See Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 203–207. MS Ege 4’s version of Philip’s *Summa* might be based on an unofficial *reportatio* since there are mistakes in the references (most often it is a mistake in the chapter number) that do not appear in any of the manuscripts that I have examined. See Appendix B for transcriptions of some of the sermons found in our manuscript.

⁸⁵ I have personally examined the following manuscripts: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, London, British Library Arundel 245, London, British Library, Add MS 45568, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 745, Oxford, St. John’s College, MS 118, and Paris, BnF, MS 14594.

⁸⁶ Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 203.

the manuscript witnesses. As we saw earlier, there is only one potential reference to Philip in the 1523 Bade incunabulum, so it is not surprising that I have not found any references in MS Ege 4 or in any of the other manuscript witnesses, especially considering that I have not examined every single sermon. Nevertheless, the raw, unrefined style of MS Ege 4's version in combination with its clear and thorough report of Philip's lectures suggests that Philip's commentaries in our manuscript were based on a *reportatio* of Philip's lectures.

Although MS Ege 4's version of Philip's *Summa* seems to be based on a *reportatio* of Philip's lectures, it is not a simple copy of it. By comparing the version in our manuscript to six other manuscripts and the 1523 incunabulum,⁸⁷ we can see that the redactor edited MS Ege 4's version by means of contraction, expansion, and rearrangement.⁸⁸ The nature of the changes suggests a personal touch; it is not the work of a professional scribe. Of course, scribes often made their own changes to the text, but more often than not they fixed mistakes that they noticed in the text.⁸⁹ The changes made in MS Ege 4 do not fit within the boundaries of simple scribal corrections. The changes are substantial, intelligent, intentional, and original. They were made to serve a very specific purpose: preaching.⁹⁰

The Preaching Revival of the Thirteenth Century

In order to understand why commentaries would be repurposed to serve the needs of a

⁸⁷ Incunabula are valuable because they likely represent the authoritative version of a text, one that has not been altered. According to Eva Odelman, incunabula, since they are printed, are more likely to represent a "more widespread tradition" of a text in question. Odelman is talking about model sermon collections, but I believe her argument can be applied to university lectures as well. See Eva Odelman, "Editing the Sermones Moralissimi de Tempore by Nicolaus de Aquaevilla," in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 167.

⁸⁸ See Appendix D for a comparison of a sermon from our manuscript with five other manuscripts and the 1523 incunabulum.

⁸⁹ David d'Avray, "Contamination, Stemmatology and Editing of Medieval Latin Texts," in *Ars Edendi: Lecture Series*, vol. 2, ed. Alessandra Bucossi and Erika Kihlman (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2012), 66, 72–76, especially 75.

⁹⁰ See Callebaut, "Les Sermons sur les Psaumes," 167, no. 2 for a similar situation with Monte Cassino, MS 192, which contains an edited version of John's commentaries on the Psalms: "Les *Incipit* et *Explicit* du MS 192 du Mont-Cassin, d'après le Catalogue, présentent quelques modifications et transpositions; ils sont abrégés, écourtés etc., comme par un prédicateur qui copierait pour sa propre utilité un ouvrage de ce genre."

preacher, we must discuss the preaching revival of the church. Beginning at the end of the twelfth century and continuing into the thirteenth century, the church began to take a renewed interest in the spiritual education of its members. The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 highlights the church's belief that the souls of the faithful needed to be continually fed by the word of God in order to obtain salvation, which was of paramount concern for the church and its congregation:

Among other things that pertain to the salvation of the Christian people, the food of the word of God is above all necessary, because as the body is nourished by material food, so is the soul nourished by spiritual food, since "not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4:4).⁹¹

The church's concern for the spiritual safety of its members arose due to a number of heretical sects, including the Albigenses/Cathari and Waldensians, that were emerging in Europe and were eager to spread their beliefs. The church also had to deal with wandering preachers who were not sanctioned by the church. Although these wandering preachers were not necessarily a part of a particular heretical group, they could still lead Christian communities astray by spreading unorthodox beliefs and/or making false assertions, often to make a profit. The popularity of unsanctioned preachers made the church realize that the laity was an eager and receptive audience.⁹² The church exploited this desire and fought heresy and strengthened the laity's faith at the same time using an old and effective method: the sermon.⁹³

⁹¹ The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in H.J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), 251.

⁹² Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 44–46. See also the sixty-second canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 286–287; "From the fact that some expose for sale and exhibit promiscuously the relics of the saints, great injury is sustained by the Christian religion. That this may not occur hereafter, we ordain in the present decree that in the future old relics may not be exhibited outside of a vessel or exposed for sale. And let no one presume to venerate publicly new ones unless they have been approved by the Roman pontiff. In the future prelates shall not permit those who come to their churches *causa venerationis* to be deceived by worthless fabrications or false documents as has been done in many places for the sake of gain. We forbid also that seekers (*quaestores*) of alms, some of whom, misrepresenting themselves, preach certain abuses, be admitted, unless they exhibit genuine letters either of the Apostolic See or of the diocesan bishop, in which case they may not preach anything to the people but what is contained in those letters."

⁹³ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 56, 59.

In the past, the sermon had been used by missionaries, both at home and abroad, to convert unbelievers to the Christian faith. But once Europe converted to Christianity, there seemed little need for the sermon, and the church used it as a teaching tool for the laity quite sparingly. The sermon retreated into the monasteries, except for the occasional sermon on the Crusades or a sermon by the local bishop. Bishops were only expected to preach once a week in every diocese, and, by admission of the church itself, it is unlikely that they faithfully fulfilled that requirement.⁹⁴ And even if they did, the current system would not ensure the entire population was reached.⁹⁵ Once the church discovered that their flock was in danger of being led astray by heretics and wandering preachers, they decided to implement some much-needed changes at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁹⁶

The canons of the Fourth Lateran Council sought to ensure that the church's flock would be regularly educated by those who were qualified and trained to do it. The third canon makes it very clear that unsanctioned preachers were as dangerous as heretics, and they needed to be eliminated by the Christian communities in which they appeared.⁹⁷ The church also believed that the clergy needed to pay more attention to matters concerning the *cura animarum*, like hearing confessions and imposing penances. The tenth canon tells us the measures that the church imposed to deal with these new concerns; the church ordered that

bishops provide suitable men, powerful in work and word, to exercise with fruitful result

⁹⁴ The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 251–252.

⁹⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 43–44, especially 43: “Furthermore, the location and number of dioceses failed to keep abreast of the rapid social and demographic changes in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.”

⁹⁶ According to Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 44–45 the church had attempted to stem the tide of unsanctioned preaching in Western Europe prior to the Fourth Lateran Council.

⁹⁷ The third canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 242–244: “But since some, under ‘the appearance of godliness, but denying the power thereof,’ as the Apostle says (II Tim. 3 : 5), arrogate to themselves the authority to preach, as the same Apostle says: ‘How shall they preach unless they be sent?’ (Rom. 10 : 15), all those prohibited or not sent, who, without the authority of the Apostolic See or of the Catholic bishop of the locality, shall presume to usurp the office of preaching either publicly or privately, shall be excommunicated and unless they amend, and the sooner the better, they shall be visited with a further suitable penalty.”

the office of preaching; who in place of the bishops, since these cannot do it, diligently visiting the people committed to them, may instruct them by word and example. And when they are in need, let them be supplied with the necessities, lest for want of these they may be compelled to abandon their work at the very beginning. Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls. If anyone neglect to comply with this, he shall be subject to severe punishment.⁹⁸

Clearly, the church was not willing to take any chances as long as its members' souls were at risk of being contaminated by heretical beliefs.⁹⁹ Ordering men to preach the word of God was only half the battle, however.

In order to preach effectively, the church knew that the men chosen to spread the church's teachings needed to be properly trained in both "work and word," that is they needed to be sufficiently educated in the holy scriptures and properly trained in the art of preaching. Unfortunately, spiritual education and training were lacking even among the bishops, so much so that this deficiency in education was addressed directly in the tenth canon:

It often happens that bishops, on account of their manifold duties or bodily infirmities, or because of hostile invasions or other reasons, to say nothing of lack of learning, which must be absolutely condemned in them and is not to be tolerated in the future, are themselves unable to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and widespread dioceses.¹⁰⁰

Ultimately the church looked to the Parisian school masters to ensure preachers were adequately prepared to educate the laity.

The schools in Paris during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries played a vital role in

⁹⁸ The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 251–252.

⁹⁹ The men appointed by the bishops are also instructed to hear confession and impose penances on their congregations. Preaching and hearing confession are very closely connected in the eyes of the church since both are necessary for salvation. Many preachers, especially friars, heard confessions in addition to preaching. This aspect of preaching is attested to in many pastoral manuscripts, and it is a topic we will examine in the next chapter. See D.L. d'Avray, "The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1977), 12–13: "In practice of course, preaching and the hearing of confession would tend to go together, since a central object of preaching was to persuade sinners to do penance."

¹⁰⁰ The tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 251–252.

the church's preaching crusade by educating preachers. Masters of theology asserted explicitly and implicitly that one of their duties was the training and education of preachers.¹⁰¹ Not only did the school masters teach their students theology, they also taught their students the art of preaching by means of exposition of the holy scriptures.¹⁰² Both Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren were masters of theology in Paris who taught students the art of preaching via their own exegesis of the Psalms.

Biblical commentaries that were given as lectures at the schools (Smalley calls them lecture-commentaries) were designed to teach students what and how to preach through the spiritual exposition of scripture.¹⁰³ As we have already seen, Philip and John's commentaries on the Psalter fall into this same category. Both of them taught their students to preach by expounding the spiritual meaning of the Psalms.¹⁰⁴ In other words, their commentaries were designed as teaching tools to be used within the confines of the university classroom by the master himself. However, they may have been designed from the very beginning as multipurpose tools that could be used for teaching and preaching.

Preaching in the thirteenth century was nothing more than commentating and interpreting scripture. It is probable, therefore, that university masters were aware that their biblical

¹⁰¹ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 48–51. Many masters, being avid preachers themselves, also offered assistance outside of the classroom setting by creating reference tools that helped preachers compose sermons, including alphabetized collections of *distinctiones*, subject indexes, and biblical concordances, which we will examine in detail in chapter two. The school masters' original intent concerning the creation of collections of *distinctiones* remains in doubt. Some scholars argue that some distinction collections may have been created for teaching purposes only, not for preaching. However, I find this distinction meaningless since tools that were designed to teach preachers could also be used to help preachers create their own sermons using the examples of their teachers. Rouse and Rouse also make a good point in that since the students themselves realized how valuable these tools were for preaching by incorporating them into their sermons, masters must have also been aware of the invaluable nature of these tools to their students. Alphabetized collections of *distinctiones* were the first to appear, but they were followed by collections of *exempla* and *florilegium*. See Rouse and Rouse, "Statim invenire," 202.

¹⁰² For a concise explanation of the role of lectures in teaching students what and how to preach see Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 3. For a detailed explanation see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 198–218, esp. 213.

¹⁰³ Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early XIVth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960), 30: "His pupils therefore learned what to preach and how to illustrate and support their statements." See also Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 266 and Bataillon, "De la Lectio."

¹⁰⁴ They taught their students the method of scriptural exegesis, which was necessary to create sermons.

commentaries would also be useful for the task.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Bataillon argues that masters created biblical commentaries with this in mind; they intended their commentaries to be used as preaching tools by their students, and they composed their commentaries in such a way to facilitate their use as preaching aids. In order to make their commentaries useful in this way, masters added sermons and sermon outlines into their published commentaries.¹⁰⁶ These additions would enable a preacher to use his master's commentaries (or portions of them) as models for his own compositions outside of the confines of the classroom.¹⁰⁷

When we look at Philip's *Summa on the Psalter*, it is not obvious that Philip intended his commentaries to be used as models, but, perhaps, he intended them to be used like a reference tool for a variety of preaching materials.¹⁰⁸ His commentaries do not contain sermons or sermon

¹⁰⁵ L.J. Bataillon, "Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture," in *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1992), 165–166.

¹⁰⁶ Bataillon, "De la Lectio," 563–564. Sermon outlines provided preachers with the basic outline of a sermon, which included the major themes and arguments of a sermon. From these sermon plans, a preacher could create his own sermon using the basic outline. Sermon plans also enabled preachers to pick for themselves a sermon that they thought was appropriate for their audience and occasion, if the sermon did not already have a note about its usage, which indicated the audience or occasion the sermon could be used for (as we see in the example below). Preachers could use the outline to determine the contents of the sermon at a glance to ascertain its appropriateness and/or applicability. An example of a sermon outline can be seen in Bonaventure's commentaries on the Gospel of John; see Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* (Paris: A.C. Peltier, 1867), 11:302: "*Lux venit in mundum, et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras*, posset esse thema in Adventu: in quo tria figurantur, quorum primum, Filii Dei communicativa bonitas: *Lux*, quae summe et unidique et sine defectione se communicat, supra: *Erat lux vera*. Secundum est dignativa ejusdem in assumendo humanitatem humilitas, ibi: *Venit in mundum*, quod fuit humanitatem assumere. Unde Glossa: 'Verbum venit in carnem.' 'Venit desideratus cunctis gentibus.' Tertio figuratur hominum perversitas, ibi: *Dilexerunt homines magis tenebras*, id est, opera peccatorum. Unde ait Apostolus: 'Opera tenebrarum,' etc. Et ideo dilexerunt, quia erant tenebrae. Supra: 'Lux in tenebris lucet.' Et ibi bene de hoc." This sermon outline reveals a three-part sermon. Each part of the sermon is related to a section of the *thema*, and each section has one or two authorities to validate it. This sermon outline also has a suggestion on its use; apparently it is a good sermon for Advent. See also pages 382 and 387 for additional examples. A variation of sermon outlines are sermon distinctions; they look like diagrams with words or phrases being connected by lines. We will look at sermon distinctions in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁷ See the entire article of Bataillon, "De la Lectio," for numerous examples, including full and condensed sermons and sermon plans, that showcase masters' desires for students to use their commentaries for preaching. Bataillon argues that these useful additions were added by the authors themselves and not by intelligent scribes or preachers; however, sermon plans could have just as easily been added by intelligent scribes or, more likely, preachers copying the text for themselves and their colleagues. See also Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 48–49 for other kinds of teaching tools that were designed by masters for preaching as well as teaching.

¹⁰⁸ Bériou has also noticed that the majority of verses that Philip has chosen from the Psalter as the source of his commentaries do not match the thematic verses (these are the verses that entire sermons are based upon) used in the usual model sermon collections for Sundays, feasts and saints. See Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67.

outlines. The incunabula of his commentaries, however, contain descriptions for each commentary. These descriptions are not the same as sermon outlines.¹⁰⁹ They simply tell the reader the topic of each commentary.¹¹⁰ And it is very likely that these descriptions were not added by Philip.¹¹¹ Based on this evidence, it is highly unlikely that Philip intended his students to use his commentaries as models. Philip's own use of his commentaries may hold the clue to his intentions.

In one of his sermons, Philip makes an explicit reference to his commentary on Psalm 79:16. He explains that the section of his commentary on the word *vinea* could be inserted into this sermon.¹¹² In this way, Philip demonstrates how his commentaries could be employed as a reference tool to obtain a variety of different preaching related materials. Philip's commentaries contain discussions, which Bériou calls "developments," on one or more words found in each of the psalms that he discusses.¹¹³ These discussions, as we saw in Philip's own sermon, could be

¹⁰⁹ I have used the incunabula of Philip's commentaries because they likely represent a copy of a *reportatio* that is authoritative.

¹¹⁰ As we will see in the second chapter, these descriptions could be useful for preachers using Philip's commentaries as a reference tool for sermon material. Preachers could also use these descriptions to determine for themselves, if a commentary was appropriate for a certain occasion, audience, or theme/topic, allowing them to use it as a model. In order for a preacher to use these descriptions effectively, one would need to create a table of the commentaries and their descriptions. There is no table that lists all of the commentaries in Philip's *Summa* in either incunabulum. But there is one in two of the manuscripts I have examined: MS Digby 45 and MS Ii. 3. 27. John's commentaries are a different matter. The 1757 incunabulum contains a table of the commentaries based on a general description. Also of interest, is the inclusion of notes, in addition to the descriptions, on certain commentaries that indicate the particular occasion or audience that a commentary could be used for. See Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, 367–374 (index), 1: "Ad Praelatos"; 45: "In festo unius Martyris"; 50: "Thema in passione Christi, vel Martyris"; 53: "In festo Martyris, vel Confessoris Pontificis"; 219: "Ad religiosus"; 222: "In festo apostolorum"; 353: "In die Epiphaniae"; etc.

¹¹¹ This seems more likely, especially since the descriptions are not embedded in the text itself. A medieval scribe or even the creators of the 1523 incunabulum could have added them.

¹¹² See Bériou, "Traces écrites," 68: "Dans un bloc de sermons transmis dans la collection des Homélies sur les Évangiles et portant sur le verset thématique *Simile est regnum celorum* (Mt 20, 1) qui ouvre la parabole évangélique des invités au festin de noces, on trouve, après plusieurs alternatives de développement, un texte dans lequel, au bout de quelques lignes, un renvoi explicite est fait par la formule 'in sermone illo super psalmo *Perfice eam quam plantavit dextera...*' au commentaire sur ce verset (Ps 79, 16) qui est la 173^e pièce (RLS 566) de la Somme sur le Psautier: ce développement, selon Philippe, pourrait donc prendre place à cet endroit et servir à bâtir une partie du sermon. Il pourrait même servir à faire un sermon entier, puisque le point de départ du développement réside dans le mot *vinea*."

¹¹³ These discussions contain authorities, distinctions, and *exempla*, all of which are essential components of the school sermon as we shall see in chapter two. According to Bériou, these "developments" are similar to

added to any sermon that contained the same word in the verse chosen as the *thema* for that sermon.¹¹⁴

By examining the 1523 incunabulum, we can see how someone might actually locate relevant information. The 1523 edition contains an alphabetized index of topics covered in Philip's *Summa*.¹¹⁵ The index notes the location of each entry by means of folio numbers and marginal letters, which would allow someone to use Philip's commentaries as an effective reference tool.¹¹⁶ It should be noted that Philip was likely not responsible for this index since it does not appear in any of the manuscript witnesses that I have examined. Surely, if the index, or the descriptions for that matter, were a part of the authoritative version of Philip's commentaries, it would be corroborated in multiple manuscript witnesses.¹¹⁷ Instead, Philip might have relied on the mnemonic device of the Psalter itself to locate information.

The Psalter was one of the most popular texts in the Middle Ages; a committed cleric would have known it by heart.¹¹⁸ Interestingly, MS Ege 4 highlights this skill; passages from the Psalms are heavily abbreviated so that there is often only one letter for each word in the Psalm. For example, Psalm 115:6 is represented as *p̄ciosa. ī 9s. do. m. s. e.*, which becomes *preciosa in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius* when expanded. The clergy used mnemonic devices to

distinctiones since the words are analysed and classified according to their various meanings. These "developments" form the structure of Philip's commentaries in the same way that *distinctiones* form the structure of a sermon. See Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67.

¹¹⁴ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67–68. Of course, one could choose to incorporate the entire discussion or only a part of it into a sermon.

¹¹⁵ See the *Tabella* in Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), vol. 1 and 2. *Tabella* and *index* are used interchangeably.

¹¹⁶ The 1757 edition of John's commentaries also provides an alphabetized index of topics; it lists the location of each entry via the sermon number, page number, and column. See the *Index Rerum, Quae In His Sermonibus Continentur* in Anthony, *Sermones in Psalmos*, 405–419.

¹¹⁷ Of course, this would not stop someone else from creating an index that would allow them access to the information in Philip's commentaries. MS Ege 4 has such an index, which would facilitate the use of Philip's commentaries as a reference tool. See Smalley, *English Friars*, 35.

¹¹⁸ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67, 70.

help them remember the entire Psalter, so they could recall it whenever necessary.¹¹⁹ Bériou argues that if someone wanted to use one of Philip's discussions in a sermon, they could follow the sequence of the Psalter to find a discussion on the word they needed. An intimate knowledge of the Psalter could be used to help preachers find relevant information.¹²⁰ This would make commentaries on the Psalter very useful tools for preachers, and Philip almost certainly understood its value for his students. He might have chosen to comment on the Psalter for this very reason; to ensure his commentaries could be used for teaching as well as preaching. The evidence suggests that Philip did not intend his commentaries to be used as models; it is more likely that he intended them to be used as a reference tool to obtain material for sermons.¹²¹

Many of the words and/or topics that one finds in the thematic verses of model sermons can be found in the Psalter and, more importantly, within the verses chosen by Philip for his commentaries. Thus, it would be possible for a preacher to add new content to a model sermon using material from Philip's commentaries.¹²² For instance, if a preacher picked a *thema* that contained the word *thronus*, he could locate the same word in Philip's commentaries by following the sequence of the Psalter. Then, he could insert the discussion on the word *thronus* into the model sermon. Bériou cleverly describes the valuable information in Philip's commentaries as "prêt-à-porter" sermon material.¹²³ As we can see with this example, Philip's commentaries could work like reference tools that were designed to aid preachers in the composition of sermons. But even if Philip did not intend his commentaries on the Psalms to be

¹¹⁹ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 100–106, 112.

¹²⁰ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 69–70.

¹²¹ Lerner also argues that Philip composed his commentaries for preachers, but he does not believe they were meant to be used as models. See Lerner, "Philip the Chancellor," 11. See also Bataillon, "Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching," 166 for his opinion that Philip might have intended his commentaries to be used as a reference tool.

¹²² Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67.

¹²³ Bériou, "Traces écrites," 70.

used by preachers, MS Ege 4 makes clear that medieval preachers had other plans.

CHAPTER TWO: THE FUNCTION OF PHILIP'S *SUMMA*

So far, we have examined the various aspects of MS Ege 4, including its provenance, origin and date, and its contents. Now, it is time to take a closer look at the function of its main text, Philip the Chancellor's *Summa on the Psalter*, outside of the confines of the university classroom. In chapter one, we explored, albeit briefly, the possibility of Philip's *Summa* being used as a preaching aid. Here we will explore it in much more detail by examining the connection between Philip's commentaries and the school sermon. A close examination of this text reveals that it contains all of the key elements and structure of the school sermon, making it an ideal preaching aid, especially where resources were limited. It could serve as a modest collection of *distinctiones*, *auctoritates*, *exempla*, and even model sermons, fulfilling the role of four different reference tools or preaching aids.

Pecia copies and surviving *pecia* lists offer insights into the function of Philip's *Summa* in the academic community at Paris. At the university, there were four or five stationers that provided secular clerics with the latest school texts, which they could copy themselves via the *pecia* system for a fee. Stationers rented out the quires or *peciae* (that is, "pieces" or "parts") of their unbound exemplars to students so that they could copy manuscripts piece by piece. Destrez has shown that Philip's commentaries were disseminated using this method, which is significant because of the close connection between the *pecia* system and preaching as evidenced by the sermon-related marginalia in many *pecia* copies.¹ The evidence suggests that the *pecia* system played an important role in the supply and dissemination of preaching aids. The *pecia* lists of 1275 and 1304 from the university stationers also show a preoccupation with preaching. Both lists not only include the textbooks from the university's curriculum, they also contain

¹ Bériou, *L'Avènement des maîtres*, 188–189 and Alison Joan Ray, "The Pecia System and Its Use in the Cultural Milieu of Paris, c1250-1330" (PhD. diss., University College London, 2015), 30–31, Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7, 245–246.

contemporary popular works and an assortment of preaching aids, including biblical commentaries, model sermon collections, collections of *distinctiones* and *florilegia*, and other preaching-related texts, such as the *Legenda aurea*.² Interestingly, biblical commentaries are included in the same section as model sermon collections.³ Bériou concludes, based upon the contents of these two lists, that there was a section at the stationers devoted specifically to the *cura animarum*, which included preaching and the hearing of confessions. It is here one would find various preaching aids, including Philip's commentaries, according to Bériou. She sees Philip's *Summa* as a collection of *distinctiones*, calling them "les *Distinctiones* de Philippe le Chancelier," rather than biblical commentaries.⁴ But in this case, the distinction is unimportant since both of them were common preaching aids. Philip's *Summa* may have originally appeared on *pecia* lists as one of the required reading materials for the university's curriculum, but this biblical commentary on the Psalms soon became a popular preaching aid (as we shall see) on account of its accessibility and functionality. Apparently, someone at the university, likely the masters or stationers, thought Philip's work would be invaluable to preachers, and they were not the only ones.

A monk from Afflighem talks about the usefulness of Philip's commentaries as a preaching aid in a thirteenth-century catalogue of medieval authors.⁵ He writes that "many of those who wish to devote themselves to preaching make use of his [Philip's] work."⁶ This

² See Ray, "The Pecia System," 26, Appendix 2 (263–344) for the contents of the two *pecia* exemplar lists. Although Philip's commentaries do not appear on either of these lists, which is not surprising since the lists do not provide a full account of those works disseminated by the *pecia* system, three other works by Philip do: *Sermones de festis*, *Sermones de dominicales et sanctis*, and *Summa de bono*. See pages 340–341.

³ See Ray, "The Pecia System," 140.

⁴ Bériou, *L'Avènement des maîtres*, 188–189: "Deux listes des *exemplaria* faisant partie du fonds de l'un ou l'autre de ces libraires, l'une des alentours de 1275, l'autre de 1304, permettent de vérifier qu'une place de choix y était réservée aux ouvrages de pastorale à l'intention d'un clergé qualifié, formé par la faculté de théologie à ses futures tâches de prédication et de confession."

⁵ See Häring, "Two Catalogues of Medieval Authors," 195–206.

⁶ Häring, "Two Catalogues of Medieval Authors," 204.

catalogue is valuable because it shows us what authors and works were popular and, presumably, influential within the cataloguer's circle. Furthermore, it lends credence to the argument that Philip's work was made available and popularized as a preaching aid by the stationers' shops. It seems that medieval preachers realized the value of Philip's commentaries as an aid to sermon making, whether as models or ready-to-use reference material that could be inserted into any sermon. But the real question is why medieval preachers found Philip's commentaries useful for preaching. The answer lies in the new sermon form, which began to emerge in second half of the twelfth century.

The School Sermon

As heresy spread throughout Western Europe, a new sermon was created to restore the misguided laity to the fold of the Catholic church; it has been variously labelled by academics as the *sermo modernus*, thematic, scholastic, university, and school sermon.⁷ Like the older homily, it was based on a *thema*, which was exemplified by a passage of scripture. But, according to the Rouses, its form and content differed from the homily-style sermon:

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the older sermon style of phrase-by-phrase exegesis on a passage of Scripture was gradually replaced by discussion of a fixed topic, organized with a logical structure and "justified" by means of exegesis, *exempla*, and quotations from authorities. Subjects having to do with the sacraments, ethics, and morals replaced the questions of doctrine and dogma that dominate the structure of the Sentences.⁸

Both sermon forms aimed to persuade their audience, but they did so in very different ways. The homily used rhetorical devices, which were designed to stir the emotions of its members, while

⁷ For a comparison of the homily-style sermon with the school sermon see Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 66–67 and d'Avray, "The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon," 94–98. The Rouses believe that the term "scholastic" sermon has fourteenth-century connotations, which makes it unsuitable for describing earlier sermon forms. The Rouses also dislike the term "university" sermon because it is only one type of sermon that was given at the university. The Rouses prefer the term "school" sermon, which they created to avoid any unwanted connotations. For this reason, we will also adopt the Rouse's term. See d'Avray, "The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon," 111–123 for a historiographical account of the study of the school sermon.

⁸ Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 248.

the school sermon used proven instructional and mnemonic devices, which were used to ensure comprehension and retention of material.⁹

The school sermon relied on organization, signposts, documentation, and examples to convince its listeners.¹⁰ It was organized by means of numbered parts, which were explicitly identified to guide the audience. Examples or evidence for the sermon's argument were documented; each piece of evidence was cited by means of the author's name and/or title of the work. And evidence from the Bible was often cited by the relevant book and chapter number.

One of the major issues that the school sermon sought to address was the lack of a clear and organized structure within the old homily-style sermon. This is the reason for the division into numbered parts, which was a major structural change. The school sermon was divided into a few broad parts, and additional divisions were made within each of these broader sections. For example, a preacher could give a sermon on the seven vices and virtues. In this sermon, there would be two broad parts, one on vices and the other on virtues. Then, within both of these broad parts, the sermon would be further divided into seven parts in order to discuss each of the seven vices and virtues. These divisions, which were announced at the beginning and periodically throughout the rest of the sermon, acted as signposts for the congregation, assisting them to follow and understand the rationale of the preacher's exegesis of scripture and functioning as mnemonic devices, helping the audience to retain key points of the sermon.

As far as scholastic educators were concerned, it was not enough to preach more frequently in order to stop the uneducated and impressionable laity from falling into the trap of heresy. They also considered it necessary to introduce some instructional devices into the school

⁹ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 67–68. It should be noted that these same techniques were used in the schools to train future preachers; thus, the school sermon was mainly an exercise in teaching. The tried-and-tested methods of the schools were being used in the real world to educate the laity.

¹⁰ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 68.

sermon: *distinctiones*, *auctoritates*, and *exempla*. These devices, which constituted the major components of the school sermon, were supposed to persuade the laity of the truth of the word of God as presented by the Catholic church.¹¹ They also came naturally to preachers. They had been trained through the use of these devices in the schools and subsequently used them to educate the laity.¹²

The *distinctio* “distinguished” the different meanings of a word and was used in a variety of different ways according to the needs or purposes of the individual. A traditional *distinctio* provided four meanings of a word based on the four biblical senses: the literal, allegorical, anagogical, and tropological. Each of these meanings were supported by a scriptural example that validated that particular interpretation of the word. However, many *distinctiones* do not conform to this limited definition. In reality, one could include as many or as few meanings as desired, and the meanings did not have to be confined to the four biblical senses. For instance, the meanings could be metaphorical or rhetorical in nature. And the example for each meaning did not have to come from scripture; one could also use moralized bestiaries or patristic and classical references.¹³ Thus, *distinctiones* could be shaped to the needs of a preacher to ensure the sermon had the greatest possible impact on his audience.

Distinctiones had two distinct functions within the school sermon.¹⁴ Firstly, they comprised part of the actual material of the sermon. In this capacity, a *distinctio* was used by a preacher to explain the various meanings of a word found in the *thema*. Secondly, and perhaps

¹¹ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 68, 85.

¹² See Smalley, *English Friars*, 30 and Richard and Mary Rouse, “Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century,” *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 41 (1974): 29–31.

¹³ Rouse and Rouse, “Biblical Distinctions,” 27–28. *Distinctiones* could also be validated by collections of *proprietates rerum*, which were a popular choice, or the author’s own personal statement.

¹⁴ The following argument is based on a survey of thirteenth-century school sermons by the Rouses.

more importantly, they were used to create part or all of the structure of the sermon.¹⁵ A medieval preacher could pick a word from the verse that he was using as his *thema* and use a *distinctio* on that word as the structure for that sermon. Articulating the *distinctio* would allow him to use the various meanings of the word as his topics or subtopics for his numbered divisions or subdivisions.¹⁶

A sermon by a Dominican preacher, John of Saint-Giles, showcases this use of a *distinctio*.¹⁷ The *thema* for his sermon is Job 25:3: “Numquid est numerus militum eius? et super quem non surget lumen illius?” (Surely, there is not a number of his soldiers? And upon whom his light will not rise?) These two independent clauses form the two major divisions of his sermon, and the second half of his sermon is built entirely around a *distinctio* of the word *lumen* (light). John uses four different meanings of the word *lumen*, *lumen gratiae* (the light of grace), *rationis* (reason), *intentionis* (purpose), and *fidei* (faith), to provide the structure of the second half of his sermon. They divide the second half of the sermon into four distinct sections. The *distinctio* introduces the congregation to the exposition of the themes of the sermon, that is the light of grace, reason, purpose, and faith.¹⁸ Using a *distinctio* in this way provides the sermon with a clear and organized structure that the audience can follow. And it helps the audience remember the main themes of the sermon.

¹⁵ The use of the *distinctio* in this fashion became prominent in the second half of the thirteenth century. However, it should be noted that these two uses of *distinctiones* could blend together; thus, a *distinctio* could function as both content and structure. See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 77.

¹⁶ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 224: “At the beginning of the century, preachers would select two or three senses of each word that occurred, in turn, in the biblical passage on which the sermon was based, and recite these distinctions without elaboration to illustrate the ‘theme.’ By about mid-century, preachers tended to choose from the collection three ‘distinguished’ meanings of just the principal word in the sermon’s theme, and use these individually as the bases for a sermon divided into three parts.” See M.M. Davy, *Les Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1250-1251* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1931), 153–160 for an example of a sermon by Philip the Chancellor that uses a *distinctio* to form part of the content of the sermon itself. Philip the Chancellor on his sermon for Maundy Thursday provides a traditional *distinctio* on the words *cena* and *panis*.

¹⁷ This example is from Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 75–76.

¹⁸ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 75–76, 85–86, Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 209–210, and Rouse and Rouse, “Biblical Distinctions,” 36–37.

Exempla also featured prominently in the school sermon. Medieval *exempla* were models or examples of behaviours and/or virtues that one should follow or not; they were stories, real or fictitious, that provided moral lessons. *Exempla* were used in the school sermon as instructional devices to help prove or illustrate the preacher's exposition of scripture in a more tangible way.¹⁹ They could come from a variety of sources including the Bible, classical and medieval literature, local folklore, and even personal anecdotes.²⁰ They were extremely useful for preaching because they had the power to persuade and entertain and, as a result, provide a lasting impression (it was the one part of the sermon the audience was unlikely to forget).²¹ *Exempla* could convince people that they needed to worry about their immortal souls.

In order to persuade their audience, medieval preachers tried to include as many quotations from *auctoritates* (authorities) as possible. *Auctoritates* were trusted and influential sources whose quotations were used to bolster a preacher's argument.²² These authorities gave a preacher's opinions added weight, which was of paramount importance, while also informing the public about who the authorities were and their place in the Christian tradition. According to the Rouses, citations from authorities were particularly important and valuable for illiterate and uneducated members of society. They provided them with a firsthand education on the scriptures and the tradition of Christian thought, which they could receive nowhere else at this point in time.²³ *Auctoritates* could come from a variety of sources, including the Bible and classical and

¹⁹ J.-T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Âge*, Paris-Toulouse, 1927 (repr., Geneva, 1973), 110–149 and Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 68, 85–87.

²⁰ Welter, *L'Exemplum*, 83–108. See also Jacques Berlioz, “Exempla” in *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez (Cambridge: James Clark, 2002) for a concise explanation.

²¹ In this way, exempla functioned as both instructional and mnemonic devices.

²² There is a distinction between *auctoritates* proper, which support the preacher's conclusions in each division, and *auctoritates* that simply showcase the various meanings of a *distinctio*.

²³ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 86.

patristic works.²⁴ The type of *auctoritates* used (the three most common being biblical, patristic, and classical) depended entirely upon the preacher's preference, availability of material, and undoubtedly, in part, upon the audience.²⁵ A preacher would have to decide what *auctoritates* would make the most impact on his audience in order to convince them of the truth of the Catholic faith.

One might question the efficacy of such instructional and mnemonic devices and by extension the school sermon itself, but the continuing use of the school sermon's devices in public speaking today demonstrates its potency. Skilled public speakers make sure that their presentations are well organized and divided into coherent segments. They also provide a general overview of the entire presentation at the start to ensure that their audience will be able to follow along. And although there is no modern-day equivalent of the *distinctio*, as far as we are aware, anecdotes and authorities abound in modern public speaking. Anecdotes are frequently used to persuade an audience because they are tangible and compelling. And it is a common practice in the art of persuasion to quote important and/or influential people whose statements agree with our own. There is a reason that these devices are still used today, and the answer is obvious: they work.²⁶

Reference Tools

The effectiveness of the school sermon cannot be doubted; it was created specifically to convince even the most skeptical using the tried and tested methods of the schools. But its new form and instructional devices left preachers searching for readily available material for their sermons. To ensure preachers had access to not only effective but also approved sermon

²⁴ Scripture was also used in the old homily-style sermons, but preachers used the Bible to elegantly express their thoughts, not as an authority to substantiate their own arguments. See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 66.

²⁵ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 74, 83, 86.

²⁶ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 84–85. For a medieval testimony of the efficacy of divisions as instructional and mnemonic aids, see d'Avray, "The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon," 130.

material, school masters and prominent preachers created reference works that were designed specifically to aid preachers in the creation of sermons. Many masters, being avid preachers themselves, offered assistance outside of the classroom setting by creating reference tools, including alphabetized collections of *distinctiones*, *exempla* and *florilegia*, biblical concordances, and subject indexes.²⁷ These reference tools were designed to be searched in order to gather material for the creation of sermons.²⁸

Reference works were expertly designed to facilitate a new kind of interaction with the text, one that we take for granted today. These works were meant to be searched for specific pieces of information, not read in their entirety.²⁹ In order to facilitate this, reference works implemented innovative research tools, including devices of layout, alphabetization, and a method of referencing, which permitted a preacher to loot manuscripts, quickly and efficiently, for useful material.³⁰ As a reminder, I have defined reference works as texts that gathered together the same type of sermon material into one convenient manuscript to aid preachers in the composition of sermons. And research tools are study aids within the manuscript itself, which could make any text/manuscript searchable.

The simplest research tools employed in reference works were devices of layout.³¹ These included tables of numbered chapter headings either at the beginning or end of the manuscript and running headings on every folio or two-page opening. The tables allowed readers to locate which chapter or chapters contained the information they wanted, and the running headings

²⁷ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 48–51.

²⁸ Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 197.

²⁹ This is referred to as “reference reading” or “extrinsic reading.” See also Jacqueline Hamesse, “The Scholastic Model of Reading,” in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 103–19.

³⁰ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 240–246.

³¹ These particular research aids were used before the twelfth century, but they were never employed consistently. During the end of the twelfth century, we see an increased use of these tools. In fact, they were expected. See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 26–32.

ensured that they were looking at the right section. But readers also needed a way to find material within the actual text, and that required altering the layout of every single page. Running headings, chapter titles in red, alternating red and blue initials and graduation in the size of the initials, paraph (paragraph) marks, cross-references, and citation of authors quoted³² were added to every folio or two-page opening in order to organize the individual page. They aided the reader by drawing their eye to essential sections of the text using the visual aids, like colour and size.³³ While these innovations allowed readers to navigate every page, their use was extremely limited.³⁴ They were only useful for highlighting different parts of the text. Reference tools needed to implement topically focused devices in addition to the simpler structurally focused ones.

Reference works frequently employed alphabetical order to ensure anyone could locate and use the information provided with ease and speed. Before alphabetical order, rational order, which was based on the logical arrangement of the interconnected and harmonious universe, was used almost exclusively to organize information.³⁵ A good example of this system is the *Speculum maius*, a thirteenth-century encyclopedia made up of three parts (*Speculum naturale*, *doctrinale*, and *Speculum historiale*), all of which were organized according to the six days of creation.³⁶ This system, however, proved problematic in the eyes of some reference makers as

³² After the eleventh century, there were two main methods of indicating quotations from other authors and texts: one could reference the author and/or text in the text itself and underline the quotation in red, or one could put the author's name in the margins of the manuscript. See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 31.

³³ Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 196–201 and Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 244–246. One should note that these research tools were created/revived in response to the needs of the schools in the second half of the twelfth century, but creators of reference tools realized that they could use them, in addition to more advanced research tools, in their own works to help preachers locate the information that they needed.

³⁴ Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 201.

³⁵ Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 240–241 and Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim invenire*," 201–204.

³⁶ Mary Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012), 95–128. It should also be noted that Vincent of Beauvais, the author of the

they recognized that, despite having established a more or less conventional order via tradition, rational order could not be standardised, a fact that could prove problematic for the average preacher.³⁷ Alphabetical order ensured that any preacher could more easily find the information he sought. He only had to remember the alphabet. Interestingly, alphabetical order never replaced rational order in the Middle Ages. In fact, rational order remained the dominant form of organizing information.³⁸ And its usefulness as a method of organizing information is attested by its continued use in the present day.³⁹ It should also be noted that both of these methods could be combined (and were) to provide greater access to a wider array of material than was possible by themselves.⁴⁰ We see this today in our own cataloguing systems, which contain both primary and secondary systems of organizing information.

Reference works also required a method of referencing different parts of a text or manuscript in order for readers to find information. The creators of reference tools used Arabic numbering, as Roman numerals were far too cumbersome.⁴¹ There were a number of ways in which a text/manuscript could be referenced. One could simply reference the divisions of the text, such as book and chapter that were already present. One could also reference artificially created divisions in the text. For example, letters of the alphabet could be used to divide a text where no natural divisions occurred in the text. Or one could divide the physical manuscript itself into numbered folios or numbered two-page openings, allowing one to reference the page

Speculum maius, had originally planned to use an alphabetical order for his encyclopedia, but he changed his mind in favour of hexameral order. See Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World*, 98–99.

³⁷ There was an implicit understanding that each person could have their own preconceived idea about rational order. See Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 204: “Rather, the use of alphabetical order was a tacit recognition of the fact that each user of a work will bring to it his own preconceived rational order, which may differ from those of other users and from that of the writer himself.”

³⁸ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 240–241 and Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 201–204.

³⁹ The Library of Congress and Dewey Decimal systems for library organization are good examples.

⁴⁰ Two good examples are Peter of Cornwall’s *Pantheologus* and Peter of Capua’s *Alphabetum*. See Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 207–209, 211–214.

⁴¹ Roman numerals are used in MS Ege 4. And S1 uses an unusual formula for the 90s. S1 transcribes them as JC, JCI, JCII, etc instead of the standard XC.

as well as the column and/or line.⁴² As the Rouses have observed, this particular method of reference was an informed and deliberate decision to meet the needs of readers: “One should note, as well, that the practice of foliating manuscripts and of numbering lines and columns is not a chance occurrence in *vacuo*, but a direct response to the desire of readers and users of manuscripts to be able to refer precisely to any given passage in a text.”⁴³ As discussed above, it was also possible to divide both natural and artificial chapters and numbered folios into smaller sections to allow even more precise referencing; each chapter of a text or each folio of a manuscript could be mentally divided into sevenths, using the first seven letters of the alphabet.⁴⁴ This system of referencing via Arabic numbering and the division of the text or manuscript provided preachers with an effective method of retrieving information from a variety of reference tools.

Collections of *distinctiones*, *exempla*, and *florilegia*, biblical concordances, and subject indexes are reference tools that were designed and used as aids for the creation of sermons.⁴⁵ They allowed preachers to construct their own original sermons or modify existing ones by providing them with the raw materials of sermon construction, *distinctiones*, *exempla* and *auctoritates*, in one convenient location.⁴⁶ The importance of these reference works cannot be overstated. Without them, most preachers would not have had the means nor time to create sermons. They also ensured preachers could create effective and captivating sermons that were

⁴² This system allows for the most precise referencing possible, which would be especially attractive to preachers. So attractive in fact, that they might want to emulate it in their own manuscripts.

⁴³ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 243.

⁴⁴ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 242–244.

⁴⁵ These reference tools listed in alphabetical order the different words or topics covered in the collection and where to find them. It should also be noted that any preacher could create his own preaching aid that incorporated one or more of the aforementioned preaching aids.

⁴⁶ These preaching aids allowed and encouraged preachers to use instructional devices in their sermons. Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 206: “Such a pattern of development is reflected in all the searchable tools of the thirteenth century: the needs of users motivate the making of the tool which, by virtue of its accessibility, increases the use.”

theologically sound and allowed and perhaps even encouraged preachers to engage in personal spiritual reflection via the devotional act of sermon composition, guaranteeing their continued spiritual development and training long after their formal education. Both of these reasons would have been especially important given the earlier lack of education and training among the clergy. It should also be noted that without these tools most preachers would have to rely solely on the sermons of more experienced teachers or preachers, which would not enable a preacher to tailor the sermon to his audience. How could a preacher reach his audience, if a sermon was not, at least in some way, tailored to its needs? The clergy and laity dealt with different vices and temptations. Certain topics would be appropriate for the clergy but not the laity and vice versa. Their spiritual education also differed. Some sermons might be too complex for the laity. In this case, they would need to be simplified before they could be given to the laity. These reference tools enabled preachers to make lasting and powerful impressions on every audience.

Collections of *distinctiones*, which appeared at the end of the twelfth century, were the first reference tools that were created to aid in the construction of sermons. They were also the first reference tools to employ alphabetization, aside from glossaries.⁴⁷ Since *distinctiones* were key components of the school sermon, in terms of content and structure, collections of *distinctiones* were invaluable to preachers. Preachers could simply look up a word that appeared in their *thema* in a collection. From there, they could select the meanings they desired from those provided to use as either content or structure in their sermon. These collections might have also been used by preachers to find biblical *auctoritates* on words, especially before the creation of biblical concordances.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Rouse and Rouse, "The Development of Research Tools," 223–224. All the research tools that follow also employ alphabetical order.

⁴⁸ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 75 and d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 75.

Soon after collections of *distinctiones* appeared, collections of *exempla* and *florilegia* did as well.⁴⁹ *Exempla* could be found in medieval texts such as the *Vitae patrum* and the *Dialogues* of Gregory. But these texts were not designed as reference works; they were not meant to be searched for relevant information.⁵⁰ They did not provide preachers with method of finding *exempla* that matched their specific needs. Collections of *exempla* were created to solve this problem. They were designed specifically to be searched so that a preacher could look up a topic in a collection and find *exempla* that dealt specifically with their topic. Collections of *florilegia* did the same, except they provided preachers with quotations from classical and patristic *auctoritates* on various preaching-related topics.

During the thirteenth century, alphabetized biblical concordances were created to make it possible to find multiple biblical passages on the same word.⁵¹ The first one was created circa 1235. However, the verbal concordance to the scriptures remained virtually unknown in Europe until the third version was disseminated via the *pecia* system in 1286.⁵² Biblical concordances supplied preachers with biblical *auctoritates* for their sermons.⁵³ They were also used in part to create new collections of *distinctiones*.⁵⁴ In theory, a preacher could even use a concordance to create his own *distinctiones*. That is a collection that was meant for his own personal use. It was not meant for publication. These personal collections usually only survive in one manuscript copy.

⁴⁹ Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 35–36.

⁵⁰ Thomas Frederick Crane, introduction to *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967), lxx.

⁵¹ Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 5.

⁵² Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 19, 21.

⁵³ Rouse and Rouse, “*Statim invenire*,” 209, Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, 11, and Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 24–25.

⁵⁴ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 224 and Rouse and Rouse, “The Verbal Concordance,” 23–24.

At the same time biblical concordances appeared, so too did free-standing alphabetical subject indexes.⁵⁵ According to the Rouses, they were designed to aid preachers in locating information for sermons from “texts hallowed by tradition,” like the texts of the early church fathers.⁵⁶ Specific information for a sermon would be almost impossible for a preacher to find given the time constraints placed upon him to create a sermon. They did not have time for contemplative engagement with these texts. And, perhaps just as important, many of them did not have the time to achieve full creative and orthodox mastery of scripture and theology. Alphabetical subject indexes immediately told the reader where they needed to look to find the information they wanted. Toward the end of the thirteenth century a new type of subject index appeared in Europe: the personal index.⁵⁷ This type of index was not created by experts, that is the creators of reference works, but by the owners of manuscripts for their own personal use. This allowed the owner to retrieve information for sermons from contemporary works, like the writings and lectures of current school masters. The owner of a personal index created a list of topics from a contemporary text that met his own needs and interests and recorded their location in the index section of the manuscript.⁵⁸ The personal index permitted any manuscript to be used like a reference work.

Alongside the reference tools that allowed preachers to create their own “original” sermons, that is sermons not based on existing models, masters and prominent preachers also created model sermon collections.⁵⁹ These provided preachers with models for their own sermon

⁵⁵ These manuscripts were indexes only. They did not contain the actual text itself.

⁵⁶ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 226, 231.

⁵⁷ According to the Rouses’ analysis of Parisian manuscripts, these personal indexes were created and used in Paris, but it is very likely that this technique spread to other academic centers in Europe, such as Oxford. These personal indexes function like research tools. They are tools within a manuscript itself. They do not make up the actual content of the manuscript unlike the free-standing indexes.

⁵⁸ Rouse and Rouse, “The Development of Research Tools,” 231–232.

⁵⁹ Model sermon collections can be considered a type of reference tool. The Rouses do not discuss model sermon collections, and d’Avray does not focus on the research tools that model sermon collections employed in

compositions. The models could be preached exactly as they appeared, or they could be modified (by means of adding and subtracting information that could be found in reference tools) by the preacher in order to suit the needs of his audience. They often included a note that specified when or to whom the sermon should be given, and they could also contain sermon outlines or distinctions, which provided preachers with the main topics and arguments of the sermons.⁶⁰ There were different types of model sermons, including *sermones ad status* (sermons directed at specific groups or types of people),⁶¹ *sermones de tempore* (sermons for specific temporal events, namely Sundays and great feast days),⁶² and *sermones de sanctis* (sermons about the saints, which were given on the particular saint's feast day).⁶³

Model sermon collections could be both public, that is “published,” and private. According to d’Avray, we can think of these public model sermon collections as being “published” since they were made available to the public via the stationers at the university of Paris. “Published” model sermon collections were widely circulated and appear in multiple manuscript copies. They were meant to be copied in a standardized or authoritative form, and they were often copied in this manner. However, nothing prevented individuals from altering these published collections; they could alter the model sermon collection itself by combining model sermons from different collections to form a unique compilation or modify the individual sermons themselves while keeping the collection intact or both. On the other hand, private model sermon collections were created for a single individual. They were not meant for other people’s use. This, however, would not prevent people from copying private collections for themselves. In

order to make the models accessible for preachers. However, I suspect that model sermon collections would employ some or all of the research tools employed in the reference tools.

⁶⁰ These notes are research tools; they guide the reader to appropriate sermons.

⁶¹ These sermons were directed at “a variety of sorts and conditions of men,” like members of various religious orders, crusaders, soldiers, merchants, farmers, men, women, etc. See d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 80.

⁶² Christmas is an example of a great feast day.

⁶³ d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 78–80.

this way, private model sermon collections could still circulate, but one would expect the circulation to be much smaller than public model sermon collections.⁶⁴ Whether “published” or private, model sermon collections were designed to aid preachers by providing them with models, which they could adapt to their own purposes using the multitude of reference tools at their disposal or perform them exactly as they appeared.

Philip’s *Summa*: A Multi-Genre Reference Tool

As we have seen, a wide array of professionally produced preaching aids were created to support preachers: collections of *distinctiones*, *exempla*, and *florilegia*, biblical concordances, subject indexes, and model sermon collections. But not all preachers had access to such a rich assortment of sermon aids, making it necessary for them to create their own based on the resources that were available to them. Philip’s commentaries, and biblical commentaries in general, seem like an excellent candidate for a makeshift preaching aid.⁶⁵ Since biblical commentaries (or lecture commentaries) were a part of the university curriculum, preachers would have had access to such texts, and since they were used to teach preachers how and what to preach, it is no small wonder that preachers might find them useful for preaching, even if the author had not anticipated this potential. Furthermore, preachers would have known how to use commentaries and how they functioned. Smalley encapsulates the potential of biblical commentaries for preaching perfectly: “The lecture-commentary, when copied and circulated, would serve a public far outside the schools. It was now a source-book for sermon making at any reader’s disposal. The doctor had woven the cloth which would later be cut to the pattern of the individual sermon.”⁶⁶

⁶⁴ See d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 96–104.

⁶⁵ In order for these lecture-commentaries to be useful for preachers, one required the help of annotators and indexers, as we shall see later.

⁶⁶ Smalley, *English Friars*, 34.

When we look closely at Philip's commentaries, we can begin to understand their appeal for preachers. They contain all the essential components of the school sermon: numbered divisions, *distinctiones*, biblical, classical and patristic *auctoritates*, and *exempla*. There are, of course, subtle differences, but the essential components remain the same. In this sense, we could argue each commentary is a "type" of sermon, one tailored specifically to students in the classroom instead of the laity from the pulpit. Because preaching in the thirteenth century never strayed far from teaching, it makes sense that preachers might think to use commentaries employed in their own education to teach the laity. Adjustments might need to be made to make them suitable for settings outside the classroom, but commentaries could serve, in theory, as model sermons. In chapter one, we saw how biblical commentaries could be used in a similar fashion. Some authors personally added tools, like sermon outlines, to facilitate the use of commentaries as preaching aids, while others did not. However, this did not prevent others from making additions to commentaries that would allow preachers to use them for models (or preaching material), regardless of the author's original intent, as we shall see shortly. In sum, Philip's collection of commentaries on the Psalms could function just like a model sermon collection.

Philip's commentaries could also be used as a makeshift multi-genre reference tool. As I mentioned earlier, this would be especially useful for preachers who had limited resources or for those who simply wanted to maximize the amount of information while minimizing the amount of space required. Ordinarily, a preacher would have to consult a different reference tool for each kind of instructional device. But if a preacher used Philip's commentaries as a reference tool, he would have access to *distinctiones*, *auctoritates*, and *exempla* on those words and topics covered in his commentaries in one text. Furthermore, as Bériou has observed, those very same words

appear in the biblical passages that model sermons use as their *themata*, making this text a valuable addition to a preacher's repertoire. Philip's commentaries would not in any way be exhaustive in terms of its reference material, but preachers would have enough material that they could manipulate to allow for some originality in their sermons. It should also be noted that the same preacher could use Philip's *Summa* for models and instructional devices. Philip's commentaries, in effect, could function like a modest collection of *distinctiones*, *auctoritates*, and *exempla*. Let us look at this in more detail.

Philip's commentaries contain at least one *distinctio* or "development" per commentary, and there are 330 commentaries in his collection. This would provide preachers with over 330 *distinctiones*. Quotations of *auctoritates* are even more plentiful in Philip's commentaries. At least twenty references to *auctoritates* appear in each commentary, providing preachers with over 6,000 quotations from various *auctoritates*.⁶⁷ And Philip's sources for his *auctoritates* are diverse. Philip uses biblical *auctoritates* most often, which would have been especially useful prior to the popularization of the verbal concordance in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, but patristic, medieval, and classical *auctoritates* also appear. For example, he quotes Gregory the Great, Augustine of Hippo, Prudentius, Boethius, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Hugh of St. Victor. He also quotes from Greek and Latin authors, such as Aristotle, Seneca, Persius, Vergil, Juvenal, Horace, Statius, Lucan, and Ovid. Ovid is a particular favorite of Philip, which is not surprising given Ovid's popularity among the clergy and theologians.⁶⁸ Philip also includes some

⁶⁷ Based on the sermons that I have examined, I would estimate that there are at least twenty citations of *auctoritates* per commentary. This is a very rough estimation, but it demonstrates the usefulness of Philip's commentaries as a source of quotations of *auctoritates* for preachers.

⁶⁸ See Siegfried Wenzel, *Monastic Preaching in the Age of Chaucer* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993), 20 and Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 373.

exempla, although he uses them sparingly in comparison to *distinctiones* and *auctoritates*.⁶⁹ The majority of his *exempla* come from Scripture, but some of them come from classical sources as well. For example, Philip uses the story of Crates of Thebes, a Greek philosopher who threw away his earthly possessions, to prove that humans have the strength to resist sin: “Crates of Thebes, while he is throwing gold into the sea, says, ‘Sink, most evil riches: I will submerge you in order that I might not be submerged by you.’”⁷⁰ The similarity of Philip’s commentaries to the school sermon, in terms of content and structure, explains their popularity as a preaching aid since they could be used for models, preaching material, or both.

Philip’s commentary on Psalm 89:15 provides us with a useful example of this utility. He employed numbered sections based on a *distinctio* on the word *fructus* to divide his sermon into twelve smaller parts.⁷¹ Each of these parts is validated by *auctoritates*.⁷² There are thirty-eight quotations from *auctoritates* in this commentary alone, of which thirty-four are biblical and four are classical. The closing statement is also worth noting. It is a useful example of a mnemonic device that would help one remember the key points. A preacher could use this commentary as a model for his own sermon, or he could use the individual components of the sermon to create his own “original” sermon, depending on the preacher’s time constraints and desires.

Theme: We rejoiced on account of the days through which you humbled us (Psalm 89:15 Vulg.).	Laetati sumus pro diebus quibus nos humiliasti.
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⁶⁹ I am aware that the usefulness of Philip’s commentaries as a source of *exempla* may be called into question. One would need to examine every sermon to determine the usefulness of Philip’s *Summa* as a source of *exempla*.

⁷⁰ See Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 123v: “Unde Crates Thebanus proiciens aurum in mare inquit. Itē pessum pessime divitiē: ego submergam vos ne submergar a vobis.” There is another about Demosthenes and two famous Corinthian courtesans; see Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 212r. There is also an interesting but short one about a dog and an ape; see Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 1: fol. 14r. See the transcriptions in Appendix B for examples of biblical *exempla*.

⁷¹ With a school sermon we would likely see two or more broad parts. However, nothing would prevent a preacher from using Philip’s commentary on Psalm 89:15 as one of the broad parts of his sermon.

⁷² Philip does not seem to provide a scriptural illustration to authorize each meaning of *fructus*; instead, he goes straight to providing *auctoritates* that support his discussion of each of the different fruits of discipline.

<p>Opening: But every discipline in the present circumstance does indeed not appear to be of joy, but of sorrow, but afterwards it will yield the most peaceful fruit of righteousness for those having been trained by it (Hebrews 12:11).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. But there are, however, many fruits.⁷³ <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The first is purification. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Psalm 9:23 B. Ecclesiasticus 2:5 C. Jeremiah 6:27 D. Psalm 88:45 2. The second is the annihilation of carnal passions. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Exodus 14:28 B. Ecclesiastes 10:4 3. The third is the safety against judgement. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Psalm 45:2 B. Nahum 1:9 C. Job 6:8 4. The fourth is the sign of divine love. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Tobit 12:13 B. Hebrews 12:8 C. Genesis 27:21 D. Psalm 89:12 5. The fifth fruit is the guarantee of eternal salvation. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. II Maccabees 6:12 B. Jeremiah 46:28 C. Baruch 4:29 D. Ephesians 1:13 6. The sixth is spiritual joy. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Acts 5:41 B. Isaiah 61:3 C. Hebrews 12:2 D. Hebrews 10:34 7. The seventh is the consolation of hope. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. Job 6:10 	<p>Omnis autem disciplina in presenti quidem videtur non gaudi, sed moeroris, postea autem fructum pacatissimum exercitatis per eam reddet justitie.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sunt autem interim multi fructus. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Primus est purgatio. 2. Secundus est extinctio carnalium passionum. 3. Tertius est securitas contra iudicium. 4. Quartus est signum diuine dilectionis. 5. Quintus fructus est pignus salutis eterne. 6. Sextus est gaudium spirituale. 7. Septimus est consolatio spei.
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⁷³ Here, we can see one of the “developments” that Bériou refers to in her discussion of the structure of Philip’s commentaries. In this commentary there is one “development” on the word *fructus*. *Fructus* does not appear in the psalm that Philip is discussing, but he does mention, in the first sentence of his commentary, a verse from Hebrews that does include the word *fructus*.

<p>B. Psalm 22:4 C. Romans 12:12</p> <p>8. The eighth is the well being of the soul. A. Job 5:8 B. Ecclesiasticus 31:2</p> <p>9. The ninth fruit is the wakening of prayer. A. Isaiah 26:16 B. Psalm 15:4</p> <p>10. The tenth is the act of giving life. A. Seneca, <i>Epistles</i>, 2, 4.⁷⁴ B. Seneca, <i>Epistles</i>, 13, 3. C. Vergil, <i>Georgics</i>, 3, 83-85. D. Vergil, <i>Georgics</i>, 3, 87-88. E. I Maccabees 6:34</p> <p>11. The eleventh is learning. A. Isaiah 28:19 B. Ecclesiasticus 24:37</p> <p>12. The twelfth is the similarity or conformity to our head (Jesus). A. John 15:18 B. I Peter 4:1 C. I Peter 2:20</p> <p>Closing: Concerning these twelve fruits of discipline, there are the following verses in order for them to be committed to memory. It, that is discipline, purifies, destroys, saves, expresses love, guarantees, rejoices, comforts, heals wounds, arouses, and gives life, teaches, and gives us a resemblance to our head.⁷⁵</p>	<p>8. Octauus est sanitas spiritus.</p> <p>9. Nonus fructus est excitatio deuotionis.</p> <p>10. Decimus est animatio.</p> <p>11. Vndecimus est eruditio.</p> <p>12. Duodecimus est assimilatio siue conformatio ad caput nostrum.</p> <p>De his duodecim discipline fructibus vt memorie mandentur sunt sequentes versiculi. Purgat, et extinguit, securat, signat amorem, pignorat, exultat, solatur, vulnera sanat, excitat, ac animat, docet, et capiti similem dat.</p>
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Whether preachers needed models or preaching material, Philip's commentaries provided preachers with both, making his *Summa on the Psalter* highly useful. The only obstacle was that lecture-commentaries like Philip's could not be used in their original published state; the work of

⁷⁴ I am very wary about this assignation to this epistle by Seneca. The incunabula only provide a tiny portion of the text: "Hunc volo." This is the closest I came. Context may or may not be helpful for this.

⁷⁵ See Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 45r–46v. The rest of Philip's commentaries have a similar structure to the one above. Since Philip's commentaries are not technically sermons, they do not conform to a fixed structure like one would expect of a school sermon. However, a preacher could easily modify Philip's commentaries to conform to the established structure of the school sermon, enabling him to use them like model sermons. And if a preacher were using Philip's commentaries for preaching material, their structure would be irrelevant.

annotators and indexers was necessary to make these commentaries accessible to the preacher. Three different techniques were employed in commentaries to facilitate this. Firstly, annotators would add marginal notes and headings to certain passages to indicate that they could be used as the *thema* for special days, occasions, or seasons of the church calendar, like feast or saint days.⁷⁶ Secondly, indexers would add tables and indexes to the commentaries. And thirdly, one would rearrange the commentaries so that they would serve as material for sermons according to the liturgical year.⁷⁷ Two of these methods appear in manuscripts containing Philip's commentaries on the Psalms, including MS Ege 4.

⁷⁶ The master himself could have given the annotator the idea by mentioning the day or time in question, or the annotator could have provided his own suggestion, after reading the commentary himself.

⁷⁷ Smalley, *English Friars*, 34–36. One would expect that the first and third techniques could be both used in combination with the second.

CHAPTER THREE: THE USE OF PHILIP'S *SUMMA* IN MANUSCRIPTS

In the previous chapter, we examined the appeal of Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* for preachers given its similarity to the school sermon in terms of structure and content. Now, we will turn to its use in the preaching community by examining manuscripts containing this text, allowing us to understand how it was used in MS Ege 4. The existence of research tools, many of which were designed and employed specifically to aid preachers in the location and extraction of appropriate models and/or preaching material, in manuscripts containing Philip's commentaries suggests that medieval preachers used Philip's commentaries as a preaching aid. If Philip did not include these research tools in the original text, then we must conclude that later copyists, which could include individual preachers, added these tools. MS Ege 4 is one of multiple manuscripts containing Philip's commentaries that employ research tools to help preachers locate and extract the valuable models and/or preaching material that Philip's commentaries provide.

Manuscripts containing Philip's commentaries use the research tools found in reference tools – devices of layout, alphabetization, and a method of referencing – to enable preachers to use the text like a multi-genre reference work and/or model sermon collection. These research tools show an aggressive desire to access the material in Philip's commentaries. Surely, if Philip's commentaries were copied to be read at one's leisure for one's personal edification such research tools would not be strictly necessary. It seems unlikely that someone would go through all the work of including these research tools, if the intention was not, at least in part, to help people locate and retrieve information. And given what we know about this text, it is very probable that the creators of these manuscripts had preachers in mind or were preachers themselves. What is even more telling is the fact that the creators of these manuscripts refer to Philip's commentaries as *sermones*, and they included research tools that would only be relevant for preachers, such as sermon descriptions, notes that indicate when or to whom a sermon should

be given (I refer to them as sermon labels), and sermon distinctions. We will take a closer look at a handful of manuscripts to get a better understanding of how Philip's commentaries were turned into functioning preaching aids by means of research tools.

MS Ii. 3. 27

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27 is a fifteenth-century English copy of Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* that employs devices of layout,¹ a method of referencing, and sermon descriptions and labels to facilitate searchability and retrievability of information found in Philip's commentaries in order to aid preachers in sermon composition.² More specifically, it appears that Philip's commentaries were meant to be mined for model sermons as well as preaching material.³ It should be noted that this manuscript appears to be based on the same exemplar as a thirteenth-century copy, namely Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45.⁴ I chose MS Ii. 3. 27 because it is in better condition.

MS Ii. 3. 27 contains a table of numbered chapter headings at the end of the manuscript. Each one of the chapter headings corresponds to one of Philip's commentaries. The table is not alphabetized, but instead follows the order of the Psalter. To ensure preachers did not have to

¹ The manuscript itself is organized by a table of chapter headings at the end of the manuscript. And each individual page is organized by means of color, size and symbols. Each commentary is marked by means of majuscule letter written in blue and surrounded by a red floral/feather/filigree design. This immediately tells the reader where each commentary begins and ends. This manuscript also contains words in the margins of the text that indicate the theme/topic of the commentary in that particular section. These words are written in red and preceded by a blue paraph to help the reader quickly locate information on the page.

² See Cambridge University Library, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge: Edited for the Syndics of the University Press*, Vol. 3 (Munich: Kraus-Thomson Organization GmbH, 1980), 429–430 (reprint of 1856–1867) for the assignation of this manuscript to the fifteenth century.

³ Another manuscript that I have not looked at personally also appears to have used Philip's commentaries in this fashion. See Lerner, "Philip the Chancellor Greets," 6: "While the work surely is not a collection of sermons, some evidence exists that it was at any rate mined for sermons. See the marginal notations in MSM 1 (Paris: Grands Augustins): f. 119^{va}: 'sermo in nativitate Domini'; f. 119^{vb}: 'sermo in epyphania'; f. 121^{vb}: 'sermo in adventu'; etc."

⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45 is a thirteenth-century manuscript containing a collection of sermons by various authors, including Philip the Chancellor. Philip's commentaries on the Psalter are referred to as sermons in this manuscript. This manuscript was likely used as a model sermon collection by a preacher. Its small size is indicative of a *vademecum* book, measuring 18.5 cm x 13 cm. See W.D. Macray, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues IX: Digby Manuscripts* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1999), 41 for a basic description.

read the entire text to find what they were looking for, this manuscript employed a system of referencing different parts of the text using chapter numbers. Each commentary in the table includes a chapter number (or commentary number) written in Roman numerals that corresponds to the same chapter number found at the top of the page on which the commentary begins.⁵ This would allow readers to quickly find the commentary they were looking for within the manuscript itself. The chapter headings include a portion of the Psalm being analyzed as well as a description of the sermon (Philip's commentaries are referred to as *sermones* in the table). These descriptions indicate the topic, which can be specific or general, of each sermon. This would allow a preacher to find a commentary that could function as an appropriate model or help him locate pertinent preaching material. For example, if a preacher wanted to talk about the sins of avarice or lust, Philip's commentary on Psalm 8:4 would be an appropriate sermon according to its description: "¶xv.⁶ ¶Since I will reflect upon your heavens. etc. Against greedy and lecherous people. Concerning those who are contemplative and those who are active."⁷ And if a preacher wanted to talk about the Eucharist or excommunication, Philip's commentary on Psalm 88:13 would be fitting: "¶Thabor and Hermon in.⁸ Concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist and excommunication. It answers the question what do these sacraments have the power to do. Against greedy priests. Against those who on account of greed excommunicate."⁹ All of Philip's

⁵ MS Digby 45 does not use chapter numbers (the table is numbered using Arabic numerals for the first fifty commentaries, but they do not correspond to a system of referencing in the manuscript proper) as a system of referencing. Instead, it relies solely on the order of the Psalter and the layout of the individual page. Each commentary is identified by means of alternating red and blue initials surrounded by a filigree design.

⁶ This is the chapter number.

⁷ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 287v: "¶Quoniam videbo celos tuos. etc. ¶xv. Contra auaros et cupidos. de contemplatiuis et actiuis." This is a reference to the different walks of life: the active and contemplative. The active life was lived in society, while the contemplative life was lived in isolation, whether as a hermit or as a member of the regular clergy. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 51r.

⁸ The rest of this Psalm has been removed: "Thabor et Hermon in nomine tuo exultabunt." The scribe forgot to number this sermon, but it should be clxxij.

⁹ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292v: "Thabor et Hermon in. De sacramento eucharistie et excommunicationis. Quid valeant haec sacramenta. contra cupidos sacerdotes. contra eos qui propter cupiditatem excommuicant." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53v.

commentaries are labeled in this fashion, which would allow preachers to quickly locate appropriate material.¹⁰

In addition to sermon descriptions, the chapter headings also include sermon labels, which indicate to whom or when the sermon should be given, when applicable. These are the same types of labels that appear in model sermon collections to indicate to preachers what occasion or audience each model sermon could be used for. These labels speak directly to the needs of preachers; they provided preachers with a quick and efficient way of finding sermons that were appropriate for special occasions or particular groups of people. There were many feasts in the church calendar that warranted a special sermon dedicated especially to that feast, and the sermon labels found in MS Ii. 3. 27 address this need. Philip's commentaries could be used for Christmas, Advent, Annunciation,¹¹ Epiphany,¹² Easter,¹³ the Feast of the Passion,¹⁴ Pentecost,¹⁵ the Feast of the Apostles,¹⁶ and other saints' feast days.¹⁷ Preachers also needed sermons that addressed specific types of people, and Philip's commentaries could be used as models for particular audiences according to the labels provided by the scribes of this

¹⁰ Many of the descriptions focus on vices and virtues, like greed, envy, hatred, charity, compassion, etc. And they also mention confession and repentance. See Digby 45, fol. 51 v: "De fortitudine. temperantia. castitate. De superbia et luxuria;" fol. 52r: "De temptatione carnis et spiritus. contra temptationem gula. luxurie. superbie. cupiditatis. contra ypocritas. contra gulam ypocritarum. contra debitosos;" fol. 52r: "Contra inanem gloriam. contra carnales et cupidos;" fol. 51 v: "Quod confessio bona sit propter multas causas."

¹¹ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 291r: "Nativitate domini. adventu. annuntiatione." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 51 v (sermon 50), 52r, 53r, 54v, 55r.

¹² Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 291r: "In epiphania domini." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53r.

¹³ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292v: "In paschali vel pentecoste." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 51r (sermon 37), 52r, 54r, 54v.

¹⁴ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 291r: "Sermo in natiuitate et passione." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 51r (sermon 37), 53r, 54r.

¹⁵ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292v: "In paschali vel pentecoste." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53v, 54r.

¹⁶ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 295r: "In festo apostolorum." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 55r.

¹⁷ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 291r: "In natiuitate beate virginis;" fol. 292r: "Potest esse sermo. De beata virgine." See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 52r: "In natiuitate beati johannis baptiste;" fol. 52v: "In natiuitate beate uirginis;" fol. 53v: "Potest esse sermo de beata uirgine;" fol. 54r: "Potest esse thema. de magdalena."

manuscript: “ad penitentes;”¹⁸ “ad clericos et claustrales;”¹⁹ “ad claustrales;”²⁰ “ad sacerdotes;”²¹ “ad religiosos;”²² “ad claustrales qui fiunt seculares;”²³ “ad prelatos;”²⁴ “ad solitaires.”²⁵ These sermon labels would allow preachers to use Philip’s commentaries like a model sermon collection made up of regular sermons, *sermones de tempore* and *sermones ad status*. There can be no doubt that this manuscript was created with preachers in mind; someone, most likely a preacher himself, realized the potential of Philip’s commentaries for the purposes of preaching, and he made sure that its useful information was accessible by means of innovative research tools.

MS Arundel 245

London, British Library, MS Arundel 245 is a thirteenth-century copy of Philip’s commentaries that also utilizes sermon descriptions for the purpose of preaching.²⁶ This manuscript includes a variety of different preaching aids, including a unique compilation of commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren,²⁷ excerpts from a

¹⁸ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 291 v. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53r, 55r.

¹⁹ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292r. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53r, 55r.

²⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 55r.

²¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 55r.

²² Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292r. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53r, 53v, 54r, 54v, 55r.

²³ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292r. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 53v.

²⁴ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 295r. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 54r.

²⁵ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 295r. See also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, fol. 55r. Some sermons also state that the theme can be used for anyone. See MS Ii. 3. 27, fol. 292r and MS Digby 45, fol. 53r; fol. 55r: “Thema generale ad omnes.”

²⁶ It looks like part of this manuscript is missing. It might have been removed (perhaps when it was rebound) or fallen apart due to use. The manuscript starts in the middle of a commentary on Psalm 101:4–5 by John Halgren. See sermon 580 in Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones*, vol. 3, Autoren: I – J (Munster, 1971), 551–552.

²⁷ This is interesting in and of itself since MS Ege 4 is also a compilation of commentaries on the Psalter by these two authors.

collection of *distinctiones* by Peter the Chanter,²⁸ a small collection of *auctoritates* specifically on the punishments of the damned,²⁹ and “definitions of words to create very useful sermons.”³⁰ Both Philip’s and John’s commentaries have been edited. Without examining each commentary in detail, it is hard to say the extent of the revisions. But it is clear they have been shortened considerably. These revisions were likely made by a preacher. I do not think it is a coincidence that Philip’s commentaries appear alongside other preaching aids. It is likely that a preacher realized the value of Philip’s commentaries, and he purposefully included other preaching aids to supplement the material found in Philip’s *Summa*. Yet again we can see a clear connection between Philip’s commentaries and preaching. Whoever created and used this manuscript was almost certainly a preacher. And more importantly, he used Philip’s commentaries as a preaching aid.

Like MS Ii. 3. 27, MS Arundel 245 contains descriptions for Philip’s commentaries; however, these descriptions appear in the margins of the text instead of in a table.³¹ The rubricated descriptions are made up individual words cascading down the page and linked together with wavy lines so that they span the entire commentary (or the corresponding sections of that commentary).³² These descriptions would help preachers find relevant preaching material on specific words that appeared in their chosen *thema* or topics that they wanted to address in

²⁸ London, British Library, MS Arundel 245, fol. 99v: “Excerpta ex distinctionibus magistri petri cantoris parisiensis.” These excerpts would have been taken from Peter the Chanter’s *Summa Abel*, the earliest collection of alphabetized *distinctiones* known. See Rouse and Rouse, “Biblical Distinctions,” 28–29. See <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cy895rg0439> for a digitised manuscript containing Peter Chanter’s collection of *distinctiones*.

²⁹ London, British Library, MS Arundel 245, fol. 147r: “De penis dampnorum [dampnatorum] auctoritates.”

³⁰ London, British Library, MS Arundel 245, fol. 149v: “vocabulary diffinitiones ad sermones faciendos valde utiles.” Numerous words are defined: *studium, factio, contumelia, industria, memoria, ingenium, ethimologia, singrapha, sapientia, reuerentia, obedientia, beneficentia, misericordia, clementia, beneuolentia, humilitas, frugalitas, odium, superbia, crudelitas*, etc.

³¹ However, it is important to remember that some folios are missing. A table might have been among them.

³² Only the first twenty-nine commentaries contain descriptions.

their sermon.³³ For instance, if a preacher picked a theme with the word *leo* in it, he could consult Philip's commentary on Psalm 103:21, "Leoni ~ comparatur ~ uir ~ iustus ~ propter ~ leonis ~ proprie ~ tates ~ uiro ~ iusto ~ conue ~ nientes" (A righteous man is compared to a lion on account of the lion's qualities agreeing with a righteous man).³⁴ Or if *navis* appeared in a preacher's theme, the commentary on Psalm 103:26 would be most helpful:³⁵ "Nauis ~ dicitur anima ~ fidelis ~ propter ~ plures ~ nauis ~ et anime ~ similitudines. Descriptio ~ nauis ~ spiritualis" (A ship is considered a faithful soul on account of the many similarities of a ship and soul. A description of a spiritual ship).³⁶ And if a preacher wanted to examine the vice of avarice, a section of the commentary on Psalm 111:5 would have been pertinent to his discussion: "Contra ~ diuites ~ auaros" (Against greedy rich men).³⁷ These descriptions enabled the owner of this manuscript to quickly scan Philip's commentaries for relevant preaching material, saving him valuable time and energy. This manuscript provides us with irrefutable evidence of the use of Philip's commentaries as a preaching aid; both its contents and research tools directly address the needs of a preacher.

Add MS 45568

London, British Library, Add MS 45568 is another thirteenth-century copy of Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* that employs a distinctly preaching-related research tool: the sermon distinction. This manuscript appears to have been, at one point, a part of a much larger manuscript; the medieval foliation for this manuscript begins at 179, which strongly indicates this manuscript was divided in two or more parts and rebound. Unfortunately, I suspect that

³³ The nature of these descriptions (and the editing of the commentaries themselves) suggests that Philip's commentaries were used like a collection of distinctions or prêt-à-porter preaching material.

³⁴ London, British Library, MS Arundel 245, fol. 7r–8r.

³⁵ This particular commentary has two descriptions. Each description is placed in the margins in relation to its discussion in the manuscript.

³⁶ London, British Library, MS Arundel 245, fol. 8r–8v.

³⁷ London, British Library, MS Arundel 245, fol. 20v.

some folios from the section on Philip's commentaries were removed, namely a numbered table of chapter headings. This manuscript is not only foliated using Arabic numerals, but there are also chapter numbers written in Roman numerals for every commentary. Strictly speaking, it would not be necessary to include folio or chapter numbers, if there was not a table and/or index, unless a scribe provided these numbers so that the owner could create his own index and/or table. And if a manuscript does contain either or both of these devices, numbering parts of the text or manuscript is essential in order to be able to use them. Both of these arguments tend to suggest a missing table of contents. And as we have seen, tables of numbered chapter headings could also include descriptions and labels, which indicate that the creators of these manuscripts intended preachers to mine Philip's commentaries for models and/or preaching material. Thus, the loss of these folios is considerable, but the sermon distinctions found in MS 45568 point to the same conclusion.

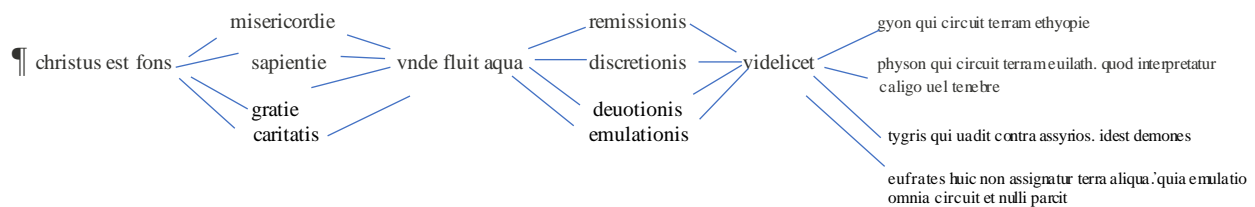
Sermon distinctions or sermon summaries are very similar to sermon outlines in that they provide the reader with the outline of the sermon. However, the main difference is that sermon distinctions are presented in schematic diagram. Appearing in universities during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, distinctions³⁸ were first used as a method of analysis in order to show the reader how a subject would be treated. School masters and preachers alike borrowed this method in order to visually demonstrate how a sermon would be handled. One or several of them could be used to summarize an entire sermon.³⁹ Sermon distinctions were useful for preachers for the following reasons; they provided preachers with a brief summary of the contents of the sermon while also giving them a clearer picture of how the sermon was

³⁸ These are different than *distinctiones*, but they are related. See Mary E. O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 175–191 for a discussion of *distinctiones* and distinctions.

³⁹ One could also decide to provide a sermon distinction for only a portion of a sermon.

organized, and they enabled preachers to create a modified sermon that differed from the written form. This would reduce preparation time while still permitting a preacher to tailor the sermon to his own needs.⁴⁰

One particularly elaborate sermon distinction is found in the margins of MS 45568 on Philip's commentary on Psalm 129:7:⁴¹



In fact, this is only one of three sermon distinctions used to summarize this sermon. This is a particularly long commentary, and the scribe of MS 45568 needed to provide multiple sermon distinctions to accurately summarize it. Using the sermon distinction above, a preacher could quickly create a sermon based on the theme of Christ as a fountain of compassion, wisdom, grace, and charity. It would give him the freedom to manipulate the model sermon more quickly.

Sermon distinctions would be of little interest or value to anyone but a preacher. Thus, their inclusion in manuscripts strongly suggests that copyists intended preachers to use Philip's commentaries as a preaching aid. They thought that these biblical commentaries would prove useful for preachers, and they did what they could to make them accessible. The presence of such sermon distinctions in our manuscripts firmly situates Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* in the world of medieval preaching.⁴²

⁴⁰ O'Carroll, *Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, 184.

⁴¹ London, British Library, Add MS 45568, fol. 25v/202v (this is the medieval foliation). This is sermon 683 in Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones*, vol. 4, Autoren: L - P (Munster, 1972), 866.

⁴² See London, British Library, MS 45568, fol. 24v (201) for another example of a sermon distinction.

MS Bodl. 745

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 745 is a late thirteenth-century copy of Philip's *Summa* that employs all of the previously mentioned preaching-related research aids: sermon descriptions, labels, and distinctions.⁴³ Interestingly, this manuscript also includes Robert Bacon's lecture-commentaries on the Psalter, which are based on John Halgren's, as well as works by Hugh of Folieto (*De clauastro animae*), Hugh of St. Victor (*De archa Noe*), and Bonaventura (*Breviloquium*). Both Philip's and Bacon's commentaries contain sermon descriptions, labels, and distinctions, highlighting the prominence of Psalter lecture-commentaries as preaching aids in addition to their original function as teaching aids.⁴⁴ This manuscript is also an excellent example of the ways in which multiple research tools could be combined to allow greater access to the material. After careful observation of multiple manuscripts, there can be little doubt that Philip's commentaries were used as a preaching aid by means of the addition of various preaching-related research tools.

MS Ege 4: A Preacher's Handbook

Now that we have examined the use of Philip's commentaries in the medieval period, we can once again return to the purpose and function of MS Ege 4. When examining an individual leaf of MS Ege 4, it is impossible to fully comprehend its purpose; but when examined as a part of a larger manuscript and in turn as part of a larger genre, its purpose becomes clear. An

⁴³ See Falconer Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 532–533 for a description of this manuscript. Madan places the creation of this manuscript in the beginning of the fourteenth century. See Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 2–3 for a late thirteenth-century date.

⁴⁴ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 745, 225, 227, 237, 252, 259, 268, 277, 543, 551, 652, 657, 663, 664 for sermon distinctions in Bacon's and Philip's commentaries. This manuscript is paginated using Roman numerals. See the following pages for examples of sermon labels in Philip's commentaries: 656: "sermo in annuntiatione domini uel in aduentu"; 664: "sermo de cruce. uel in passione domini"; 672: "hic potest elici sermo ad clericos"; 696: "ad religiosos"; 720: "De natali. uel pentecoste." See also Smalley, "Robert Bacon," 3 for Smalley's comment about sermon labels in Bacon's commentaries: "The *tractatus* itself contains about 300 pieces, each with its own separate heading. The rubricator has generally called them 'sermons.' They are noted as suitable to various days in the Christian year, or to various occasions, 'in time of war,' for example, or to various types of audience."

analysis of MS Ege 4's physical attributes, text, and research tools suggests that it was created for and used by a preacher to aid in the creation of sermons; in other words, it is a preacher's handbook.

We will begin by examining the physical attributes of MS Ege 4. MS Ege 4's utilitarian and unprepossessing nature in combination with its preaching-related contents suggests that it was designed for a preacher.⁴⁵ Both its size and the lack of decoration or colour evoke the approach and requirements of a preacher. If a preacher decided to create a pastoral manuscript, he would need a manuscript that he could easily carry and use wherever he needed. MS Ege 4 measures 21 cm x 15.5 cm. This is a manuscript that could be kept in a satchel and carried on one's person, if necessary. It could be comfortably held in one's hands, allowing it to be read wherever and whenever the owner desired, making it an ideal manuscript for a preacher. As for decoration, it contains only one rubricated initial.⁴⁶ The rest of the initials are in the same colour as the text itself.⁴⁷ In fact, only the first two folios contain any colour at all. The scribe used red ink to underline the words in the margins and the biblical references in the text but only on the first two folios. The rest of the manuscript is in entirely black ink.⁴⁸ The scribe focused on making MS Ege 4 practical and functional, not beautiful. No practical purpose would be served by covering a preacher's handbook in illuminated or elaborate rubricated initials. Even the use of colour was not strictly necessary in order for a preacher's manuscript to function properly. The creators of reference tools and other manuscripts relating to preaching did use colour to help organize the individual page of a manuscript. But there were other ways, although perhaps less

⁴⁵ Similar to the *vademecum* books of the friars. See d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 57–62. See also D.L. d'Avray, "Portable *Vademecum* Books Containing Franciscan and Dominican Texts," in *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard Hunt* (1908-1979), ed. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford: Exhibition Catalogue, Bodleian Library, 1980), 61–64.

⁴⁶ And this initial is not even completely red. Only one side of the initial is red. The other is black.

⁴⁷ There are also empty spaces for initials that were never entered.

⁴⁸ Obviously, it is not possible for me to examine every folio of this manuscript, but I suspect that this trend would be observed throughout the entire manuscript. Some of the black ink has faded so that it appears brown.

effective, to organize the page, like paraphs, graduation of letter forms, etc. MS Ege 4 was created for one purpose: to aid a preacher in sermon composition. Its simplicity and size reflect that need.

The unique text and index of MS Ege 4 suggests that a preacher (or preachers), likely the owner, played a part in the creation of this manuscript. Our manuscript contains a unique compilation of commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren. What is interesting about this compilation is that the commentaries of both authors are intertwined; they are not placed one after the another as one would normally expect. It should also be noted that only a select number of John's were used. Someone purposefully picked commentaries on Psalms that Philip did not cover in order to create one text that was more comprehensive. The revisions in Philip's *Summa* and the index, which would allow one access to the information in this text, also suggest that a preacher was involved in its creation. The commentaries have been edited by means of adding and subtracting information. Someone took Philip's commentaries and edited them in order to suit his own needs. He only used the parts that he wanted while also adding his own information.⁴⁹ And in order to find and retrieve information from these revised commentaries, an index was added. It is highly unlikely that commercial scribes would have done any of these things on their own without instruction. It is far more likely, given the precedent of using Philip's commentaries as a preaching aid, that a preacher made these changes in order to make Philip's commentaries more useful for preachers, including himself. The unique compilation of commentaries, modifications in the commentaries themselves, and index suggest that a preacher, maybe even a friar, was responsible for the creation of MS Ege 4. This would likely mean that either a preacher composed a rough draft of the distinct text found in our

⁴⁹ There is also the possibility that MS Ege 4 was copied from an exemplar that already contained these revisions. But someone at some point made these changes to Philip's commentaries, and that person was most likely a preacher.

manuscript himself and hired professional scribes to copy it or mendicants both composed and copied the text themselves. Given the professional appearance of our manuscript, in terms of layout and script, and the unique preaching-related modifications, mendicants are a strong possibility.

The text and research tools of MS Ege 4 speak to the particular needs of a medieval preacher. The existence of Philip's commentaries, which were often used by preachers as a preaching aid, alongside research tools, which were designed to aid in the location and extraction of information, strongly suggests that MS Ege 4 was a preacher's handbook designed to aid a preacher in sermon composition. As we saw earlier, Philip's commentaries were transformed into a preaching aid by means of research tools. The research tools allowed preachers to access the valuable preaching material that Philip's commentaries contained. Since our manuscript contains not only Philip's commentaries, which are full of distinctions, authorities, and *exempla* (all the essential elements required in the school sermon), but also research tools that would allow a preacher to access these raw preaching materials, it is very likely that MS Ege 4 was used by a preacher to compose sermons.

To fully understand how MS Ege 4 was used to aid a preacher and realize its limited value to anyone but a preacher, it is necessary to examine its research tools in detail. MS Ege 4 employs many of the same research tools found in the manuscripts we previously examined, like devices of layout and a reference system. However, it contains one research tool not found in any of the other manuscripts I examined: an alphabetized personal index.

Over 600 topics appear in this alphabetized index, allowing the owner of this manuscript to access information quickly and efficiently on an astonishing number of subjects ranging from

Abire to Zelus.⁵⁰ As we saw earlier, mendicants were fond of adding indexes to biblical commentaries to turn them into functioning preaching aids. We see exactly the same thing happening in our manuscript. To locate each one of the words found in the index, a system of referencing different parts of the manuscript and individual folios was employed. Roman numerals were placed on the recto of each folio. And each individual folio was mentally divided into seven parts, which were referenced in the index by the first seven letters of the alphabet, A–G. Thus, each entry of the index has one or more Roman numerals that correspond to the folio or folios on which the word can be found in the manuscript and one or more letters that correspond to the different section or sections of that same folio or folios. Here is the entry on the word *peccator* (sinner): “Peccator. xliij. c. d. xlix. a. b.”⁵¹ If we went to folio forty-two and looked in sections c and d of the folio or folio forty-nine in sections a and b, we would find a discussion of the word *peccator*. This system provides an efficient way of finding information within the manuscript, but the copyists went one step further to ensure accessibility. Where the word appeared on the folio, they inscribed it in the margins of the manuscript directly beside the line in which it occurred.⁵² But there might be another explanation. We might be seeing the process by which the index was created in the first place, which suggests that the scribes were also responsible for the composition of our manuscript’s unique text and index.⁵³ In short, there are at least two levels of referencing in MS Ege 4: folio and section. Someone was determined to make Philip’s commentaries accessible and useable.

⁵⁰ See the index in Appendix B. There are 700 entries in the index that deal with over 600 different topics/themes. Each entry has one or more references.

⁵¹ South Bend, Notre Dame Library, MS lat. b. 11, fol. 64r.

⁵² It is interesting to note that not every word that appears in the margins of the text appears in the index. And every entry in the index does not provide an exhaustive list of references for each entry.

⁵³ If the scribes were also the authors of this manuscript, then we must ask ourselves who would have the ability to write in professional hands and possess a keen interest and knowledge of preaching. Preaching friars seem like strong candidates.

It should be noted, however, that this specialized index would be of no real use to anyone but a preacher. Given their education, preachers would know how to use biblical commentaries and how they functioned, permitting them to use Philip's commentaries as a reference work. Preachers also needed to be able to quickly find information, and the index in our manuscript serves this need well. Both of these reasons in combination with the contents of the index itself, which reflect the concerns of preachers as we can see in the numerous entries on sin, sinners, confession, repentance, and virtues and vices, etc., suggest that such an idiosyncratic index would only be really useful to a preacher.⁵⁴

The index allowed a preacher to modify model sermons or create original ones by giving him access to the basic building blocks of sermon construction – distinctions, authorities, and *exempla* through a secondary system, focussed on words rather than specific psalm passages. In effect, MS Ege 4 could function like a multi-purpose reference tool – a collection of *distinctiones*, a collection of varied *auctoritates*, and a collection of *exempla* – since the index permitted the reader to access the instructional devices that Philip provided on many of the words that appear in the Psalms he discusses (*themata*) or on topics he covered in his commentaries. A preacher could use Philip's entire discussion of a word or topic in his sermon, or he could include any number of the instructional devices that might appear on that word/topic. This secondary system would have been especially valuable to a preacher because it would allow him to find words or topics that did not appear in the *themata* but did appear in Philip's commentaries, opening up a richer array of preaching material.

⁵⁴ There are fourteen entries having to do with sin and sinners. Most words or topics only have one entry. This does in some way reflect the content of Philip's commentaries, but it also reflects the indexer's own desires. He picked words or topics that he thought would be of the most use. Confession and repentance also feature prominently in the index. *Confessio* has seven entries, and *penitentia* has five. As we read earlier, hearing confession was an important part of a preacher's job.

The entry on the word *thronus* (throne) provides us with a good example of the power of the index to quickly locate valuable preaching material on a great number of topics.⁵⁵ The word *thronus* is located on the left margin in the ninth line of the recto side of the University of Saskatchewan's leaf. Directly across, there is a scripture reference, Psalm 88:38, which contains the same word.⁵⁶ The tenth line also contains the word "throne," but this time it is being explained or "distinguished." Philip gives his readers a *distinctio* on the throne, which also provides more biblical references to validate the different meanings. This fact was likely not lost on the owner of this manuscript. Philip explains that the throne is the seat of justice because the son of God will judge the world in the flesh; then, Philip provides a biblical authority, John 5:22, that supports this significance of the throne. Philip goes on to provide three additional meanings of the throne. Thus, when the owner of this manuscript looked up the word "throne" in his index, he would be led to this folio, among others, where he would find a biblical reference and a *distinctio* on this word in one convenient location. Depending on how the owner wanted to use the word "throne," he might use the biblical reference and/or the *distinctio* in his own sermon. The owner of this manuscript could perform this same exercise on any word in the index in order to provide himself with ample sermon material on a variety of fascinating subjects, making MS Ege 4 an excellent preacher's handbook.

It is clear that the contents of MS Ege 4 were meant to be searched, which raises the question why one would go to such great lengths to access its content. In order to answer this question, we must return once again to the preaching revival of the thirteenth century. Due to the church's desire to see an increase in preaching, preachers were in desperate need of readily available preaching material. Not surprisingly, they turned to their own education for help. Since

⁵⁵ This is the entry in the index: "Thronus dicitur maria. cxxij. a."

⁵⁶ "et thronus eius sicut sol in conspectu meo."

they contained the basic building blocks of the school sermon, preachers turned biblical commentaries, including Philip's *Summa on the Psalter*, into preaching aids by incorporating innovative research tools into their manuscripts, such as tables of numbered chapter headings, methods of referencing, indexes, sermon descriptions, sermon labels, and sermon distinctions. MS Ege 4 seems to follow this same trend; all of the evidence suggests that it is product of the preaching revival of the thirteenth century, a preacher's handbook designed to be searched in order to provide a preacher with ample sermon material so he could answer the church's call to arms.

CONCLUSION

This project began with a single unassuming manuscript fragment, the University of Saskatchewan's Ege Leaf 4. I came across it while on a tour of the Special Collections Library as an undergraduate student. For my Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies (CMRS) honours paper, I decided to investigate the validity of its date and text, both of which had been assigned by the infamous biblioclast Otto Ege. Ege claimed that it was a fragment from a twelfth-century Psalter, which he dismembered himself for his *Fifty Original Leaves* portfolios. After my analysis of the University of Saskatchewan's fragment, it was clear that Ege was wrong. But in order to gain a complete and nuanced picture of this manuscript, which I have labelled MS Ege 4, I needed to examine more than one of its numerous leaves.

Digital fragmentology is an extremely effective approach for mitigating the damage done by biblioclasts, both past and present. It is especially appealing and appropriate for students and scholars who do not have access to institutions with manuscripts. It is becoming more common for institutions to digitize their manuscripts. But we are still a long way from relying solely on digitized manuscripts for our research. Many institutions, however, are digitizing their fragments as it takes considerably less time and effort than digitizing an entire manuscript. Digital fragmentology also ensures that dismembered manuscripts can be reconstructed and studied without removing fragments from their host institutions. Many institutions, including the University of Saskatchewan, use manuscript fragments as teaching aids. The loss of such fragments, therefore, would be detrimental to students. More importantly, fragmentology provides scholars with additional manuscripts for study, advancing our knowledge of the past.

To accurately describe, date, and identify MS Ege 4, as I have done in this thesis, it was necessary to reconstruct it using digital facsimiles of available fragments. My virtual

reconstruction confirmed that MS Ege 4 was not a twelfth-century Psalter. Its script, text, textual features, physical features, and research tools strongly suggest it is a thirteenth-century preacher's handbook, containing a collection of commentaries on the Psalms by Philip the Chancellor and John Halgren of Abbeville and an alphabetical index to allow one to search for and locate pertinent information within the commentaries, that was used as an aid to sermon making. This study, however, not only addresses the purpose and function of this particular manuscript. It offers new insights into the world of medieval preaching. It demonstrates preachers' use of Philip the Chancellor's commentaries on the Psalter as a sermon aid while highlighting the dynamic process by which preachers themselves turned his commentaries into highly useful preaching aids via research tools.

Some studies have investigated the connection between biblical commentaries and preaching. But they do not address the role of Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* in sermon composition or focus on the research tools that make this possible. Previous research is focused mainly on the role of the masters in encouraging the use of biblical commentaries in preaching, not the use of biblical commentaries within the preaching community itself.¹ Moreover, the research specifically on Philip's *Summa* and preaching is mostly speculative since it is based on the text itself rather than surviving manuscript witnesses.²

My thesis specifically examines the usefulness of Philip's *Summa on the Psalter* as a preaching aid and looks at its use within the preaching community by examining multiple manuscript witnesses. Not only does this text, as a lecture-commentary, teach preachers how and what to preach, it also contains all of the elements that are required in a sermon, namely distinctions, authorities, and *exempla*. The research tools in the manuscripts themselves suggest

¹ See Bataillon, "De la Lectio," and Smalley, *English Friars*, 34–36.

² See Bériou, "Traces écrites," 67–70.

that preachers used this text as a preaching aid, for model sermons and preaching material. They used it as a reference work for different kinds of preaching material, namely distinctions, authorities, and *exempla*, on a wide assortment of topics from virtues and vices to flora and fauna, as we can see in the index of MS Ege 4. Preachers turned biblical commentaries into useful preaching aids by means of various research tools, including sermon descriptions, sermon labels, sermon distinctions, and alphabetical indexes combined with a system of referencing. Furthermore, different methods of organizing information, specifically rational and alphabetical order, could be used in combination to find different kinds of material quickly about a large range of subjects. MS Ege 4 is an excellent example of the symbiotic relationship that could be possible between rational and alphabetical means of access. The order of the Psalter could work in tandem with the alphabetical order of the index.³ Since our manuscript's alphabetical index focuses mainly on issues of morality and salvation, a preacher could use it to find preaching material on these themes. But if a preacher wanted to find preaching material on a particular word that appeared in his chosen *thema*, he could use the order of the Psalter to see if Philip talked about a certain word in one of his commentaries so that he could use Philip's discussion on that particular word in his own sermon.

The creation and dissemination of preaching aids was the result of an organic process driven by multiple factors, including the education system, availability and accessibility of material, the existing genres, and the needs of individual preachers, alongside the formal and calculated process of professional writers who created and disseminated these tools on a much larger scale (for mass consumption). Although the impact of individual preachers would

³ Bériou is the one who suggested that information from Philip's commentaries might be accessed in this way.

undoubtedly be smaller than the work of professional reference tool makers, it is no less important as it provides us with unique insights into the thought process of individual preachers.

While this thesis does make an original contribution to the study of medieval preaching and information technologies, it also creates more questions. One question worth pursuing is to what extent were individual preachers responsible for developing, spreading, and popularizing information technologies. The study of MS Ege 4 has clearly highlighted at least one preacher's contribution to the spreading and popularization of medieval information technologies. The great reference tools played a large part in introducing the western world to new information technologies and by extension new ways of accessing and using information, but these tools were made largely in response to the needs of preachers. A thorough examination of preachers' handbooks might reveal their role in encouraging the use and the development of the mechanics of information technologies. It would also be profitable to examine in more detail the link between teaching and preaching by investigating the use of other biblical commentaries, such as John Halgren's commentaries on the Psalter, in the preaching community. How prevalent was the use of biblical commentaries in preaching? Do we need to consider placing biblical commentaries alongside other common pastoral literature, like collections of distinctions and *exempla*, verbal concordances, and *florilegia*? By examining the manuscripts themselves, we can get closer to understanding the importance of biblical commentaries to preaching.

It is strange to think that this project would not be possible, if it were not for Otto Ege. In an odd way, I am indebted to him. Ege believed and wanted others to believe that what he was doing was justifiable and even commendable. And upon consideration of his motivations, it is hard to condemn him for his well meaning but ultimately misguided actions. It should be noted that there is a possibility that Ege did not disclose any practices that would put him in an

unfavorable light since he was trying very hard to convince his readers of the merits of his biblioclasm.⁴ However, the evidence suggests Ege's biblioclasm was motivated not only by financial gain but by his love of education and learning.⁵

Unfortunately, due to Ege's lack of knowledge and expertise of medieval manuscripts apart from their artistic features, Ege was not aware of the damage he was doing.⁶ He dismantled manuscripts that he thought were unimportant or common.⁷ Ege failed to realize that each manuscript is unique and valuable in its own right. Each manuscript provides historians with a record of the past, making each one invaluable. A perfect example is MS Ege 4. And as I hope this thesis has shown, reconstructions of dismembered manuscripts are not only valuable in and of themselves, but they can provide insights in other fields of study. Manuscript fragmentology allows us to recreate the past, one fragment at a time.

⁴ Gwara discusses one instance where Ege broke his vow "never to take apart a 'museum piece' book." Ege auctioned a leaf from the Beauvais Missal as "a museum item." See Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 43. See also <https://brokenbooks2.omeka.net/> for Lisa Fagin Davis' digitally reconstruction of the Beauvais Missal.

⁵ See Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 25–34 for a discussion on Ege's motivations for dismantling manuscripts and incunabula. Gwara mentions that the Depression might have affected Ege's decision to start selling leaves on a commercial sale, but he also concedes that Ege did have a genuine interest in educating people on art, art history, and the history of the book. We can see this desire to instruct and inspire in the way that Ege put together his portfolios and by the specimens that he used in them.

⁶ One might also argue that the time in which Ege lived did not help either since the manuscript he picked for dismemberment might not have attracted much attention even from historians from that period.

⁷ Gwara, *Otto Ege's Manuscripts*, 26 and Appendix X: Handlist for a list of the manuscripts and fragments Ege collected or sold. See also Ege, "I Am a Biblioclast," 517: "Book-tearers have been cursed and condemned, but have they ever been praised or justified? I present my record for your consideration: 1. Never to take apart a 'museum piece' book or unique copy if it is complete."

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APPENDIX A: A LIST OF KNOWN MS EGE 4 LEAVES AND THEIR CONTENTS

The sermon numbers are from Schneyer. The number in brackets is the sermon number in the 1523 Bade incunabulum (Philip) or the 1757 Typographia Laelii incunabulum (John).

*fol. 1 University of Notre Dame: South Bend, University of Notre Dame, MS cod. Lat. b. 11*¹

Sermon 392[Third Preface]: “Prooem. III *Exurge psalterium et cithara* (Ps. 56,9) – Prov. 11 dicitur: Bene consurgit diluculo . . . Quae sunt haec bona . . . a potiori enim fit denominatio.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: “iocundum psalterium et cithara et cetera [Ps 56.9] prouerbia .xi. bene consurgit diluculo qui inquit bona [Prv 11.27] que sunt hec bona intelligere quid sit . . . ; EXPL.: . . . nominari uel a digniori nominatur.” (Gura: 205, no. 1, recto and verso)²

Anonymous sermon on Psalm 1:1: “Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit.”³

This anonymous sermon appears in BnF, Paris, MS nat. lat. 2519.⁴

“INC.: eatus uir et cetera [Ps 1.1] iohannis in fine hec scripta sunt ut credatis et credentes . . . ; EXPL.: . . . sic confirma precedentia per auctores.” (Gura: 206, no. 2, verso)

fol. 2 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Anonymous sermon on Psalm 1:1: “Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit.”

This anonymous sermon seems to appear in Paris, BnF, MS nat. lat. 2519.

“INC.: eatus uir et cetera [Ps 1.1] iohannis in fine hec scripta sunt ut credatis et credentes . . . ; EXPL.: . . . sic confirma precedentia per auctores.” (Gura: 206, no. 2, recto)

Sermon 393[1]: “*Et erit tamquam lignum* (Ps. 1,3) – Hoc lignum, quod sic plantatur, potest dici vir spiritualis . . . Luc. 13,6 cui maledixit Dominus, quia non inuenit in ea fructum.” (Schneyer 4: 848)

¹ None of the leaves from Notre Dame are available online.

² All incipits and explicits from South Bend, University of Notre Dame, MS cod. Lat. b. 11 come from David Gura, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval And Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame and St. Mary's College* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016), 205–212.

³ Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

⁴ Interestingly, this manuscript contains anonymous sermons on the Psalms and sermons on the Psalms by John Halgren. Our redactor might have used this manuscript as an exemplar.

“INC.: et erit tamquam lignum et cetera [Ps 1.3] hoc lignum quod sic plantatur potest dici uir spiritualis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . maledixit in qua fructum non inuenit .luc. iij.” (Gura: 206, no.3, recto and verso)

Sermon 394[2]: “*Novit Dominus viam justorum* (Ps. 1,6) – Via haec est via iusti, quae est transire de miseriis ad delicias . . . non est vestigium invenire.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: nouit dominus uiam iustorum et cetera [Ps 1.6] uia haec est uiri iusti . . . ; EXPL.: . . . lassati sumus in uia perditionis et iniquitatis.” (Gura: 206, no.4, verso)

fol. 3 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 394[2]: “*Novit Dominus viam justorum* (Ps. 1,6) – Via haec est via iusti, quae est transire de miseriis ad delicias . . . non est vestigium invenire.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: nouit dominus uiam iustorum et cetera [Ps 1.6] uia haec est uiri iusti . . . ; EXPL.: . . . lassati sumus in uia perditionis et iniquitatis.” (Gura: 206, no.4, recto and verso)

Sermon 395[3]: “*Quare fremuerunt gentes* (Ps. 2,1) – Quattuor increpantur a propheta, quae nos infestant . . . Job 38,22 Numquid ingressus thesauros nivis . . in die pugnae et belli.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: quare fremuerunt gentes et cetera [Ps 2.1] quattuor hic increpantur a propheta quae nos infestant . . . ; EXPL.: . . . destruimus in redemptorem delinquimus.” (Gura: 206, no. 5, verso)

Sermon 396[4]: “*Dirumpamus vincula eorum* (Ps. 2,3) – Videamus primo, quae sunt ista vincula . . . Marc. 10,50 de caeco . . projecto vestimento suo.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: dirumpamus uincula eorum et cetera [Ps 2.3] uideamus primo quae sint uincula . . . ; EXPL.: . . . projecto uestimento exiliens uenit ad eum.” (Gura: 206, no. 6, verso)

fol. 4 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 396[4]: “*Dirumpamus vincula eorum* (Ps. 2,3) – Videamus primo, quae sunt ista vincula . . . Marc. 10,50 de caeco . . projecto vestimento suo.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: dirumpamus uincula eorum et cetera [Ps 2.3] uideamus primo quae sint uincula . . . ; EXPL.: . . . projecto uestimento exiliens uenit ad eum.” (Gura: 206, no. 6, recto and verso)

Sermon 398[6]: “*Apprehendite disciplinam* (Ps. 2,12) – Flagellum Domini et disciplina sive sit infirmitatis sive aduersitatis comparari potest nuntio . . . aeterna poena convertitur in temporalem.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: apprehendite disciplinam et cetera [Ps 2.12] flagellum domini quia disciplina aduersitas siue infirmitas . . .; EXPL.: . . . pena eterna in temporalem conmutatur.” (Gura: 206, no. 7, verso)

fol. 5 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 398[6]: “*Apprehendite disciplinam* (Ps. 2,12) – Flagellum Domini et disciplina siue sit infirmitatis siue aduersitatis comparari potest nuntio . . . aeterna poena convertitur in temporalem.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: apprehendite disciplinam et cetera [Ps 2.12] flagellum domini quia disciplina aduersitas siue infirmitas . . .; EXPL.: . . . pena eterna in temporalem conmutatur.” (Gura: 206, no. 7, recto and verso)

Sermon 397[5]: “*Servite Domino in timore* (Ps. 2,11) – Timor Domini bonus est servus . . . Eccli. 1,21 Omnem domum illius replebit . . et thesauris illius.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: seruite domino in timore et cetera [Ps 2.11] timor domini bonus est seruus . . .; EXPL.: . . . nisi te tenueris in timore domini cito corruiet domus tua.” (Gura: 206, no. 8, verso)

fol. 6 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 397[5]: “*Servite Domino in timore* (Ps. 2,11) – Timor Domini bonus est servus . . . Eccli. 1,21 Omnem domum illius replebit . . et thesauris illius.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: seruite domino in timore et cetera [Ps 2.11] timor domini bonus est seruus . . .; EXPL.: . . . nisi te tenueris in timore domini cito corruiet domus tua.” (Gura: 206, no. 8, recto)

Sermon 399[7]: “*Ego dormivi et soporatus sum* (Ps. 3,6) – Nota, quod duplex est somnus scil. culpa et gratiae . . . Exurgit per mentis excessum, suscipitur per raptum.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: ego dormiui et soporatus sum et cetera [Ps 3.6] nota quod duplex est sompnus culpe et gratie . . .; EXPL.: . . . exurgit per mentis excessum suscipitur per raptum.” (Gura: 206, no. 9, recto and verso)

Sermon 400[8]: “*Filii hominum, usquequo gravi corde* (Ps. 4,3) – Duplex est gravitas bona et mala . . . Superbi habebunt in inferno inferiorem.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: <f>ilii hominum usquequo graui corde et cetera [Ps 4.3] duplex est grauitas bona et mala . . .; EXPL.: . . . in infernum locum habebunt inferiorem.” (Gura: 206, no. 10, verso)

fol. 7 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 400[8]: “*Filii hominum, usquequo gravi corde* (Ps. 4,3) – Duplex est gravitas bona et mala . . . Superbi habebunt in inferno inferiore infimum (carcerem).” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: <f>ilii hominum usquequo graui corde et cetera [Ps 4.3] duplex est grauitas bona et mala . . .; EXPL.: . . . in infernum locum habebunt inferiorem.” (Gura: 206, no. 10, recto and verso)

Sermon 402[10]: “*Mane exaudies vocem meam* (Ps. 5,4) – Nota, quod hic bis ponit mane . . . cumque incaluisset sol, liquefiebat. Hoc dictum est de manna.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: mane astabo tibi et cetera [Ps 5.5] notandum quod hic bis ponatur mane . . .; EXPL.: . . . per bonum exemplum illuminare.” (Gura: 206, no. 11, verso)

fol. 8 MS cod. Lat. b.11

Sermon 402[10]: “*Mane exaudies vocem meam* (Ps. 5,4) – Nota, quod hic bis ponit mane . . . cumque incaluisset sol, liquefiebat. Hoc dictum est de manna.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: mane astabo tibi et cetera [Ps 5.5] notandum quod hic bis ponatur mane . . .; EXPL.: . . . per bonum exemplum illuminare.” (Gura: 206, no. 11, recto)

Sermon 403[11]: “*Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum* (Ps. 5,11) – Est sepulcrum clausum scil. occultus peccator et simulator . . . Ps. 31,1 Beati, . . . quorum tecta sunt peccata.” (Schneyer 4:848)

“INC.: sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum [Ps 5.11] est sepulcrum clausum occultus peccator et simulator . . .; EXPL.: . . . beati quorum remisse iniquitates et cetera [Ps 31.1].” (Gura: 206, no. 12, recto and verso)

Sermon 404[12]: “*Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me* (Ps. 6,2) – Quattuor hic notantur: furor, ira, argutio, correptio . . . Ps. 132,2 sicut unguentum, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: domine ne in furore tuo arguas et cetera [Ps 6.2] quattuor hic notantur furor ira argutio correctio . . .; EXPL.: . . . hoc nota contra sodomitas.” (Gura: 206, no. 13, verso)

fol. 9 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 404[12]: “*Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me* (Ps. 6,2) – Quattuor hic notantur: furor, ira, argutio, correptio . . . Ps. 132,2 sicut unguentum, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: domine ne in furore tuo arguas et cetera [Ps 6.2] quattuor hic notantur furor ira argutio correctio . . .; EXPL.: . . . hoc nota contra sodomitas.” (Gura: 206, no. 13, recto)

Sermon 405[13]: “*Laboravi in gemitu meo* (Ps. 6,7) – Loquitur de poenitente parturientis, in quo quattuor attenduntur: Dolor seu labor . . . Job 3,12 cur exceptus genibus et lactatus uberibus.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: laboravi in gemitu meo et cetera [Ps 6.7] loquitur de penitente ad modum parturientis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . cur exceptus genibus cur lactatus uberibus.” (Gura: 206, no. 14, recto and verso)

fol. 10 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 405[13]: “*Laboravi in gemitu meo* (Ps. 6,7) – Loquitur de poenitente parturientis, in quo quattuor attenduntur: Dolor seu labor . . . Job 3,12 cur exceptus genibus et lactatus uberibus.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: laboravi in gemitu meo et cetera [Ps 6.7] loquitur de penitente ad modum parturientis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . cur exceptus genibus cur lactatus uberibus.” (Gura: 206, no. 14, recto)

Sermon 406[14]: “*Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala* (Ps. 7,5) – Tria sunt, quae nos obligant: beneficia, quae recipimus ab aliis . . . quia vasa vacua receperam, quae implere poteram et non implevi.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala et cetera [Ps 7.5] tria sunt que nos obligant beneficia . . . ; EXPL.: . . . per impatientiam factus sim sterilis et inanis.” (Gura: 206, no. 15, recto and verso)

Sermon 407[15]: “*Exurge Domine, Deus meus in praecepto* (Ps. 7,7) – Licet iste versus in glossa exponatur de praecepto humilitatis . . . amor spiritualis . . de terrenis enim non curat.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: exurge domine in precepto quod mandasti et cetera [Ps 7.7] licet iste uersus in glosa exponatur de precepto humilitatis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . de quibus magis curant quam de spiritualibus et ideo uolare non possunt.” (Gura: 207, no. 16, verso)

fol. 11 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 407[15]: “*Exurge Domine, Deus meus in praecepto* (Ps. 7,7) – Licet iste versus in glossa exponatur de praecepto humilitatis . . . amor spiritualis . . de terrenis enim non curat.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: exurge domine in precepto quod mandasti et cetera [Ps 7.7] licet iste uersus in glosa exponatur de precepto humilitatis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . de quibus magis curant quam de spiritualibus et ideo uolare non possunt.” (Gura: 207, no. 16, recto)

Sermon 408[16]: “*Convertetur dolor eius in caput eius* (Ps. 7,17) – Potest istud legi convenienter de cupido et avaro . . . Convertetur dolor eius . . .” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: conuertetur dolor eius in caput eius . . . [Ps 7.17] potest istud conuenienter legi cupido et auaro . . . ; EXPL.: . . . per uerticem signatur ad caritatem amplius inflammatur.” (Gura: 207, no. 17, recto and verso)

Sermon 409[17]: “*Quoniam uidebo caelos tuos* (Ps. 8,4) – Astrologorum est contemplari caelos . . . 1. Cor. 15,41 Stella enim differt a stella in claritate.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: quoniam uidebo celos tuos et cetera [Ps 8.4] astrologorum est contemplari celum et lunam et stellas . . . ; EXPL.: . . . hii sunt qui a se uerum gaudium peccando excluserunt.” (Gura: 207. no. 18, verso)

fol. 12 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 409[17]: “*Quoniam uidebo caelos tuos* (Ps. 8,4) – Astrologorum est contemplari caelos . . . 1. Cor. 15,41 Stella enim differt a stella in claritate.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: quoniam uidebo celos tuos et cetera [Ps 8.4] astrologorum est contemplari celum et lunam et stellas . . . ; EXPL.: . . . hii sunt qui a se uerum gaudium peccando excluserunt.” (Gura: 207. no. 18, recto)

Sermon 410[18]: “*Quid est homo, quod memor es eius* (Ps. 8,5) – Quantum Deus fecerit hominem pretiosum, manifestum est . . . ne faciat Deo injuriam . . . circa depositum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: quid est homo quod memor es eius [Ps 8.5] quantum deus fecerit hominem preciosum manifestum est . . . ; EXPL.: . . . contumeliam fraudem circa depositum natale passio.” (Gura: 207. no. 19, recto and verso)

fol. 13 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 410[18]: “*Quid est homo, quod memor es eius* (Ps. 8,5) – Quantum Deus fecerit hominem pretiosum, manifestum est . . . ne faciat Deo injuriam . . . circa depositum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: quid est homo quod memor es eius [Ps 8.5] quantum deus fecerit hominem preciosum manifestum est . . . ; EXPL.: . . . contumeliam fraudem circa depositum natale passio.” (Gura: 207. no. 19, recto)

Sermon 411[19]: “*Quoniam fecisti iudicium meum* (Ps. 9,5) – Plerumque contingit, quod quis in causa licet sit justa, non potest inuenire patronum . . . et vincerem contra diabolum in causa.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: quoniam fecisti iudicium meum et causam meam et cetera [Ps 9.5] plerumque contingit quod aliquis in causa sit iusta . . .; EXPL.: . . . iudicant et uincam contra diabolum.” (Gura: 207, no. 20, recto and verso)

fol. 14 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 412[20]: “*Annuntiate inter gentes studia eius* (Ps. 9,12) – Tria studia Domini possumus admirari. Primum videtur in hominis creatione . . . Matth. 18,10 angeli enim eorum semper vident faciem patris mei, qui in caelis est.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: annuntiate inter gentes studia eius [Ps 9.12] tria domini studia possumus mirari . . .; EXPL.: . . . constitui custos et cetera.” (Gura: 207, no. 21, recto and verso)

Sermon 413[21]: “*Cuius maledictione os plenum est* (Ps. 9,7[recte 28]) – Notantur hic tria vitia linguae scil. lingua maledica, amara, dolorosa . . . Job 5,21 A flagello linguae absconderis.” (Schneyer 4:849)⁵

“INC.: cuius maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolo et cetera [Ps 9.28] hic notantur tria uicia lingue primum quod est maledica . . .; EXPL.: . . . hic est a detractore ex adulatore.” (Gura: 207, no. 22, verso)

fol. 15 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 413[21]: “*Cuius maledictione os plenum est* (Ps. 9,7[recte 28]) – Notantur hic tria vitia linguae scil. lingua maledica, amara, dolorosa . . . Job 5,21 A flagello linguae absconderis.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: cuius maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolo et cetera [Ps 9.28] hic notantur tria uicia lingue primum quod est maledica . . .; EXPL.: . . . hic est a detractore ex adulatore.” (Gura: 207, no. 22, recto)

Sermon 414[22]: “*Tibi derelictus es pauper* (Ps. 10,14) – Pauper dicitur dupliciter. Primo dicitur pauper spiritu humilis . . . et unctionem olei Spiritus Sancti et varietatem virtutum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“INC.: tibi derelictus est pauper orphano tu eris adiutor . . . [Ps 9.35] pauper dicitur dupliciter pauper spiritu . . .; EXPL.: . . . et uarietatem uirtutum de perseuerantia.” (Gura: 207, no. 23, recto and verso)

⁵ Schneyer made a mistake on the verse in question. Gura is correct.

Sermon 416[24]: “*In Domino confido* (Ps. 10,2) – Duo commendabilia sunt praecipue. Confidentia in Deo, et stabilitas et constantia . . . Ps. 21,30 cadent omnes, qui descendunt in terram.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: in domino confido quomodo dicitis anime mee transmigra in montes sicut passer [Ps 10.2] duo commendabilia in uiro sancto confidentia in deo . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . cadent omnes qui descendunt in terram [Ps 21.30].” (Gura: 207, no. 24, verso)

fol. 16 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 416[24]: “*In Domino confido* (Ps. 10,2) – Duo commendabilia sunt praecipue. Confidentia in Deo, et stabilitas et constantia . . . Ps. 21,30 cadent omnes, qui descendunt in terram.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: in domino confido quomodo dicitis anime mee transmigra in montes sicut passer [Ps 10.2] duo commendabilia in uiro sancto confidentia in deo . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . cadent omnes qui descendunt in terram [Ps 21.30].” (Gura: 207, no. 24, recto and verso)

Sermon 417[25]: “*Dominus in templo sancto suo* (Ps. 10,5) – Anima templo comparatur . . . Ps. 73, 7 Incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: dominus in templo sancto suo et cetera [Ps 10.5] anima templo comparatur quia que solent fieri . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum [Ps 73.7].” (Gura: 207, no. 25, verso)

fol. 17 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 417[25]: “*Dominus in templo sancto suo* (Ps. 10,5) – Anima templo comparatur . . . Ps. 73, 7 Incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: dominus in templo sancto suo et cetera [Ps 10.5] anima templo comparatur quia que solent fieri . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . incenderunt igni sanctuarium tuum [Ps 73.7].” (Gura: 207, no. 25, recto and verso)

Sermon 419[27]: “*Illumina oculos meos* (Ps. 12,4) – Per hoc, quod dicit oculos meos, innuit se habere oculos obtenebratos . . . hoc factum est Sedechiaie in Reblata, idest post multitudinem peccatorum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: illumina oculos meos et cetera [Ps 12.4] per hoc innuit dauid se habere oculos . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . uero sampson et sedechie de quibus supradictum est.” (Gura: 207, no. 26, verso)

fol. 18 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 419[27]: “*Illumina oculos meos* (Ps. 12,4) – Per hoc, quod dicit oculos meos, innuit se habere oculos obtenebratos . . . hoc factum est Sedechiae in Reblata, idest post multitudinem peccatorum.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: illumina oculos meos et cetera [Ps 12.4] per hoc innuit dauid se habere oculos . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . uero sampson et sedechie de quibus supradictum est.” (Gura: 207, no. 26, recto)

Sermon 418[26]: “*Eloquia Domini eloquia casta* (Ps. 11,7) – Sunt eloquia Domini sicut legis divinae . . . Prov. 19,11 Doctrina viri per patientiam noscitur.” (Schneyer 4:849)

“**INC.**: eloquia domini eloquia casta argentum igne examinatum [Ps 11.7] castitas proprie est uirtus coniugatorum . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . unde proueria .xix. doctrina uiri per patenciam noscitur [Prv 19.11].” (Gura: 207, no. 27, recto)

Sermon 421[29]: “*Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo* (Ps. 14,1) – Prius factum est Moyse tabernaculum . . . Sap. 4,11 raptus est, ne malitia mutaret intellectum eius.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: domine quis habitabit in tabernacula tuo aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo [Ps 14.1] per montem intelligimus templum quod factum fuit in monte . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . ne malitia peruerteret sensum illius et cetera [Sap 4.11].” (Gura: 207, no. 28, recto and verso)

fol. 19 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 421[29]: “*Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo* (Ps. 14,1) – Prius factum est Moyse tabernaculum . . . Sap. 4,11 raptus est, ne malitia mutaret intellectum eius.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: domine quis habitabit in tabernacula tuo aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo [Ps 14.1] per montem intelligimus templum quod factum fuit in monte . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . ne malitia peruerteret sensum illius et cetera [Sap 4.11].” (Gura: 207, no. 28, recto)

Sermon 422[30]: “*Dominus pars hereditatis meae* (Ps. 15,5) – Duplex est hereditas, hereditas spiritualium et hereditas mundanorum . . . Matth. 25,36 In carcere fui . . .” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: domine pars hereditatis mee at cetera [Ps 15.5] duplex est hereditas spiritualium et mundanorum . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . in carcere fui et cetera [Mt 25.36].” (Gura 208, no. 29, recto and verso)

Sermon 423[31]: “*Ignem me examinasti* (Ps. 16,3) – Quaedam in igne consumuntur ut paleae . . . Joh. 15,13 Majorem hac dilectionem . . .” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: igne me examinasti et cetera [Ps 16.3] quedam in igne consumuntur ut palee et stupa et stipula . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ut in luca .xv. de filio prodigo.” (Gura: 208, no. 30, verso)

fol. 20 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 423[31]: “*Igne me examinasti* (Ps. 16,3) – Quaedam in igne consumuntur ut paleae . . . Joh. 15,13 Majorem hac dilectionem . . .” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: igne me examinasti et cetera [Ps 16.3] quedam in igne consumuntur ut palee et stupa et stipula . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ut in luca .xv. de filio prodigo.” (Gura: 208, no. 30, recto and verso)

fol. 21 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 423[31]: “*Igne me examinasti* (Ps. 16,3) – Quaedam in igne consumuntur ut paleae . . . Joh. 15,13 Majorem hac dilectionem . . .” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: igne me examinasti et cetera [Ps 16.3] quedam in igne consumuntur ut palee et stupa et stipula . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ut in luca .xv. de filio prodigo.” (Gura: 208, no. 30, recto)

Sermon 425[33]: “*Praeoccupaverunt me laquei mortis* (Ps. 17,6) – Laqueus mortis dicitur quicquid trahit vel ligat nos ad mortem temporalem vel aeternam . . . (Samson) . . non potuit vincula rumpere Judic. 16.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: preocupauerunt me laquei mortis [Ps 17.6] laqueus mortis dicitur quicquid nos trahit aut ligat . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ante uero poterat que sunt septem dona spiritus sancti.” (Gura: 208, no. 31, recto and verso)

Sermon 426[34]: “*Ascendit fumus in ira eius* (Ps. 17,9) – Duplex fumus in iusto, primus fumus compunctionis . . . Per desertum ascendit, qui de solitudine contemplationis ad aeternorum consurgit speculationem.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: ascendit fumus in ira eius et cetera [Ps 17.9] dupliciter est fumus in uiro iusto . . . ; EXPL.: . . . qui per solitudinem contemplationis ad eternorum surgit speculationem.” (Gura: 208, no. 32, verso)

fol. 22 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 426[34]: “*Ascendit fumus in ira eius* (Ps. 17,9) – Duplex fumus in iusto, primus fumus compunctionis . . . Per desertum ascendit, qui de solitudine contemplationis ad aeternorum consurgit speculationem.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: ascendit fumus in ira eius et cetera [Ps 17.9] dupliciter est fumus in uiro iusto . . . ; EXPL.: . . . qui per solitudinem contemplationis ad eternorum surgit speculationem.” (Gura: 208, no. 32, recto)

Sermon 427[35]: “*Et eduxit me in latitudinem* (Ps. 17,20) – Novus ergo homo et vetus homo, spiritus et caro semper adinvicem adversantur . . . eduxit me in latitudinem.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: eduxit me in latitudinem et cetera [Ps 17.20] nouus homo et uetus homo spiritus . . . ; EXPL.: . . . extirpatis igitur uitiiis sentiens se spiritus dilatari dicit eduxit me in latitudinem et cetera [Ps 17.20].” (Gura: 208, no. 33, recto and verso)

fol. 23 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 427[35]: “*Et eduxit me in latitudinem* (Ps. 17,20) – Novus ergo homo et vetus homo, spiritus et caro semper adinvicem adversantur . . . eduxit me in latitudinem.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: eduxit me in latitudinem et cetera [Ps 17.20] nouus homo et uetus homo spiritus . . . ; EXPL.: . . . extirpatis igitur uitiiis sentiens se spiritus dilatari dicit eduxit me in latitudinem et cetera [Ps 17.20].” (Gura: 208, no. 33, recto)

Sermon 428[36]: “*Quoniam in te eripiar in tentatione* (Ps. 17,30) – Circa murum, de quo loquitur hic tria considerata sunt: Quare peccatorum congeries muro comparatur . . . ignis caritatis, quem cum Dominus immittit, totum consumit.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: quoniam in te eripiar a temptatione et in deo meo transgrediar murum [Ps 17.30] per murum intelligitur congeries peccatorum . . . ; EXPL.: . . . inmittit totum consumit.” (Gura: 208, no. 34, recto and verso)

Sermon 429[37]: “*Et praecinxisti me uirtute ad bellum* (Ps. 17,40) – Solet ita distingui. Succingimur ituri, praecingimur ministraturi . . . Is. 62,10 et elevate signum ad populos.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: et precinxisti me uirtute ad bellum [Ps 17.40] solet ita distingui succingimur ituri . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et eligit lapides et eleuate signum ad populos [Is 62.10].” (Gura: 208, no. 35, verso)

fol. 24 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 429[37]: “*Et praecinxisti me uirtute ad bellum* (Ps. 17,40) – Solet ita distingui. Succingimur ituri, praecingimur ministraturi . . . Is. 62,10 et elevate signum ad populos.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: et precinxisti me uirtute ad bellum [Ps 17.40] solet ita distingui succingimur ituri . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et eligit lapides et eleuate signum ad populos [Is 62.10].” (Gura: 208, no. 35, recto)

Sermon 430[38]: “*Filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi* (Ps. 17,46) – Quattuor sunt attendenda, quare scil. dicit filios alienos . . . 3. Reg. 18,21 Dixit Elias: Usquequo claudicatis in duas partes.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: filii alieni mentiti sunt . . . [Ps 17.46] hic reprobatur tria genera filiorum quod mendaces sunt . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . mitti in gehennam ignis [Mt 18.9].” (Gura: 208, no. 36, recto and verso)

Sermon 431[39]: “*Lex Domini immaculata* (Ps. 18,8) – Triplex est lex. Lex servi, timor . . . quia Petrus fides, Jacobus luctator spes, Joannes est caritas.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: lex domini immacula conuertens animas [Ps 18.8] lex ista dupliciter est ita est serui ista non est immaculata . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . sed ubi non sperant deprehenduntur in miseriis scilicet angustiis infirmitatibus.” (Gura: 208, no. 37, verso)

fol. 25 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 431[39]: “*Lex Domini immaculata* (Ps. 18,8) – Triplex est lex. Lex servi, timor . . . quia Petrus fides, Jacobus luctator spes, Joannes est caritas.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: lex domini immacula conuertens animas [Ps 18.8] lex ista dupliciter est ita est serui ista non est immaculata . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . sed ubi non sperant deprehenduntur in miseriis scilicet angustiis infirmitatibus.” (Gura: 208, no. 37, recto)

Sermon 433[41]: “*Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui* (Ps. 19,4) – Hic docemur, qualiter debemus esse memores passionis Christi . . . Tren. 1,15 Vocavit aduersum me tempus.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: memor sit omnis sacrificii tui et cetera [Ps 19.4] dominus christus obtulit se sacrificium in sartagine . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . uocauit aduersum me tempus. in natali.” (Gura: 208, no. 38, recto and verso)

Sermon 434[42]: “*Quoniam praeuenisti eum in benedictionibus* (Ps. 20,4) – Hic quinque sunt attendenda. Unde principium maledictionis . . . Ps. 17,6 Praeoccupauerunt me laquei mortis.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“**INC.**: domine praeuenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis et cetera [Ps 20.4] hic primo attendum est unde principium maledictionis . . .; **EXPL.**: . . . benedictio illius quasi fluuius inundabit [Sir 39.27].” (Gura: 208, no. 39, verso)

fol. 26 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 434[42]: “*Quoniam praeuenisti eum in benedictionibus* (Ps. 20,4) – Hic quinque sunt attendenda. Unde principium maledictionis . . . Ps. 17,6 Praeoccupaverunt me laquei mortis.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: domine p<re>uenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis et cetera [Ps 20.4] hic primo attendum est unde principium maledictionis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . benedictio illius quasi fluuius inundabit [Sir 39.27].” (Gura: 208, no. 39, recto)

Sermon 435[43]: “*Quoniam pones eos dorsum* (Ps. 20,13) – Nota Dominus ponit aliquos dorsum diversis modis, quantum ad semetipsos . . . sicut Domino terga verterunt, sic Dominus faciet eis.” (Schneyer 4:850)

“INC.: quoniam pones eos dorsum [Ps 20.13] dominus ponit aliquos dorsum diuersis modis quantum ad semet ipsos . . . ; EXPL.: . . . quasi dicat qui domino terga uertunt sit deus fatiet eis.” (Gura: 208, no. 40, recto and verso)

Sermon 436[44]: “*Ego sum vermis* (Ps. 21,7) – Inter diversa genera vermium quattuor notanda sunt scil. tinea . . . prudentia spirtus: bombix.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: ego sum uermis et non homo [Ps 21.7] tria sunt genera uermium quibus deus se ipsum comparat . . . ; EXPL.: . . . nescio utrum dicatur bomber uel bombix uermis ille.” (Gura: 208, no. 41, verso)

fol. 27 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 436[44]: “*Ego sum vermis* (Ps. 21,7) – Inter diversa genera vermium quattuor notanda sunt scil. tinea . . . prudentia spirtus: bombix.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: ego sum uermis et non homo [Ps 21.7] tria sunt genera uermium quibus deus se ipsum comparat . . . ; EXPL.: . . . nescio utrum dicatur bomber uel bombix uermis ille.” (Gura: 208, no. 41, recto)

Sermon 438[46]: “*Edent pauperes et saturabuntur* (Ps. 21,27) – Considera quattuor circa mensam Domini. Primo debent esse convivae scil. pauperes . . . discipuli Christi, qui agunt et ideo spiritualiter reficiuntur.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: edent pauperes et saturabuntur et cetera [Ps 21.27] quatuor consideranda sunt circa mensam domini . . . ; EXPL.: . . . qui statuam suam ab aliis adorari uolebat.” (Gura: 209, no. 42, recto and verso)

Sermon 441[48]: “*Parasti in conspectu meo mensam* (Ps. 22,5) – Circa mensam vitae aeternae consideranda sunt tria. Quid prosit in praesenti . . . Is. 64,4 Oculi non viderunt . . . quae praeparasti expectantibus te.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: parasti in conspectu meo mensam et cetera [Ps 22.5] mensa est uita eterna circa quam tria sunt considerata . . . ; EXPL.: . . . unde quod oculos non uidit et cetera [Is 64.4].” (Gura: 209. no. 43, verso)

fol. 28 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 441[48]: “*Parasti in conspectu meo mensam* (Ps. 22,5) – Circa mensam vitae aeternae considerata sunt tria. Quid prosit in praesenti . . . Is. 64,4 Oculus non vidit . . . quae praeparasti expectantibus te.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: parasti in conspectu meo mensam et cetera [Ps 22.5] mensa est uita eterna circa quam tria sunt considerata . . . ; EXPL.: . . . unde quod oculos non uidit et cetera [Is 64.4].” (Gura: 209. no. 43, recto)

Sermon 442[49]: “*Haec est generatio quaerentium eum* (Ps. 23,6) – Quattuor principaliter attendenda sunt circa generationem quaerentium Dominum . . . Joh. 11,7 Eamus in Iudaeam iterum.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: hec est generatio querentium . . . [Ps 23.6] quattuor sunt attendenda circa generationem querentium . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et iohannis .xi. eamus in iudeam iterum [Io 11.7].” (Gura: 209, no. 44, recto and verso)

Sermon 443[50]: “*Attolite portas principes vestras* (Ps. 23,7) – Sunt portae caeli et sunt portae inferi . . . unde ad portam vallis regreditur, quia per hoc ipsum humiliatur.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: tollite portas principes uestras [Ps 23.7] hoc quidam intelligunt de portis concupiscentie que a nobis tollende sunt . . . ; EXPL.: . . . defixe sunt in terra porte eius id est senus ad terrena.” (Gura: 209, no. 45, verso)

Sermon 445[52]: “*Firmamentum est Dominus timentibus eum* (Ps. 24,14) – Timor Domini securitatem praestat et mentis iocunditatem . . . et testamentum ipsius, ut manifestetur illis.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: firmamentum est deus omnibus timentibus eum [Ps 24.14] timor domini securitatem praestat et mentis iocunditatem . . . ; EXPL.: . . . quia qui timet dominum nihil negligit.” (Gura: 209, no. 46, verso)

fol. 29 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 445[52]: “*Firmamentum est Dominus timentibus eum* (Ps. 24,14) – Timor Domini securitatem praestat et mentis iocunditatem . . . et testamentum ipsius, ut manifestetur illis.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: firmamentum est deus omnibus timentibus eum [Ps 24.14] timor domini securitatem prestat et mentis iocunditatem . . . ; EXPL.: . . . quia qui timet dominum nihil negligit.” (Gura: 209, no. 46, recto and verso)

Sermon 446[53]: “*Odivi ecclesiam malignantium* (Ps. 25,5) – Ecclesia malignantium habet fundamentum, tectum et parietes . . . Is. 10,1 Vae, qui condunt leges iniquas.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: odiui ecclesiam malignantium et cetera [Ps 25.5] ecclesia ista fundamentum habet malum . . . ; EXPL.: . . . quando enim uolunt dicunt esse consuetudinem contra quos iacobi decimo ue qui dicunt leges iniquas et cetera [Is 10.1].” (Gura: 209, no. 47, verso)

fol. 30 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 447[53]⁶: “*Dominus illuminatio mea* (Ps. 26,1) – Dominus illuminat caecum, Dominus sanat infirmum . . . Luc. 10,40 quod soror mea relinquit me solam ministrare.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: hec dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea quem timebo [Ps 26.1] dominus illuminat cecum sanat infirmum protegit . . . ; EXPL.: . . . luca decimo domine non est tibi cure et cetera [Lc 10.40].” (Gura: 209, no. 48, recto and verso)

Sermon 448[55]: “*Unam petii a Domino* (Ps. 26,4) – Secundum leges humanas plus petitur quattuor modis, tempore, loco, causa, re ipsa . . . Sap. 7,11 Venerunt mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: unam petii a domino et cetera [Ps 26.4] unam id est beatitudinem eternam . . . ; EXPL.: . . . unam petii et luca .x. porro unum est necessarium [Lc 10.42].” (Gura: 209, no. 49, verso)

fol. 31 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 448[55]: “*Unam petii a Domino* (Ps. 26,4) – Secundum leges humanas plus petitur quattuor modis, tempore, loco, causa, re ipsa . . . Sap. 7,11 Venerunt mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa.” (Schneyer 4:851)

“INC.: unam petii a domino et cetera [Ps 26.4] unam id est beatitudinem eternam . . . ; EXPL.: . . . unam petii et luca .x. porro unum est necessarium [Lc 10.42].” (Gura: 209, no. 49, recto)

Sermon 450[57]: “*Ad te Domine clamabo* (Ps. 27,1) – Scriptum est Exod. 25,17 Facies et propitiatorium de auro purissimo . . . sed per se exire non potest.” (Schneyer 4:851)

⁶ This should be 54.

“INC.: ad te domine clamabo et cetera [Ps 27.1] legitur in exodo .xxv. faties propitatorium auro mundissimo . . . [Ex 25.17]; EXPL.: . . . sed per se redire non potest.” (Gura: 209, no. 50, recto and verso)

Sermon 452[59]: “*Vox Domini concutientis desertum* (Ps. 28,8) – Post genera tentationum prosequitur dona gratiarum . . . quod est irriguum superius et inferius, de quo Jos. 15,19.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: uox domini concutientis desertum et cetera [Ps 28.8] desertum est malum desideria carnalia et sceleraria . . .; EXPL.: . . . hoc est irriguum superius et inferius ut habetur iudic. duo.” (Gura: 209, no. 51, verso)

Sermon 453[unnumbered]: “*Vox Domini praeparantis cervos* (Ps. 28,9) – Postquam deflevimus mala nostra decens est, ut attingamus ad bona . . . dans eloquia pulchritudinis, idest intelligentiae purioris Gen. 19,21.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: uox domini preparantis ceruos [Ps 28.9] ceruus est animal uelox pauidum . . .; EXPL.: . . . ceruus emissus dans eloquia pulchritudinis [Gn 49.21] id est intelligentie purioris.” (Gura: 209, no. 52, verso)

fol. 32 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 453[unnumbered]: “*Vox Domini praeparantis cervos* (Ps. 28,9) – Postquam deflevimus mala nostra decens est, ut attingamus ad bona . . . dans eloquia pulchritudinis, idest intelligentiae purioris Gen. 19,21.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: uox domini preparantis ceruos [Ps 28.9] ceruus est animal uelox pauidum . . .; EXPL.: . . . ceruus emissus dans eloquia pulchritudinis [Gn 49.21] id est intelligentie purioris.” (Gura: 209, no. 52, recto)

Sermon 454[60]: “*Exaltabo te Domine, cum suscepisti me* (Ps. 29,2) – Tria sunt, quae revocare nos debent a peccato, laetitia daemonum . . . Luc. 15. quam super nonagintanovem justis.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: exaltabo te domine quem suscepisti me [Ps 29.2] tria sunt que nos reuocare dicunt a peccato . . .; EXPL.: . . . luca .xv. gaudium est in celo et cetera [Lc 15.7].” (Gura: 209, no. 53, recto)

Sermon 455[61]: “*Ego dixi, in abundantia mea* (Ps. 29,7) – Domine in voluntate tua (Ps. 29,8) – Duo sunt, quae maxime administrant occasiones ad peccatum, divitiae et pulchritudo . . . Domine, in voluntate tua . . .” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: ego dixi in habundantia mea non mouebor et cetera . . . [Ps 29.7] duo sunt que maxime subministrant occasiones ad peccandum . . . ; EXPL.: . . . nisi ab alio et miserum est aliene incumbere fame.” (Gura: 209, no. 54, recto and verso)

Sermon 456[62]: “*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum* (Ps. 30,6) – Sap. 3,1 Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt – Anima comparatur fructui arboris, qui quandoque est maturus, quandoque acerbus . . . Is. 28,4 statim ut manu tenuerit, vorabit illud.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum et cetera [Ps 30.6] dicitur sapientie .iij. iustorum anime in manu domini sunt et cetera . . . [Sap 3.1]; EXPL.: . . . dicitur iob .xl. sub umbra dormit in secreto calami in locis humentibus [Iob 40.16].” (Gura: 210, no. 55, verso)

fol. 33 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 456[62]: “*In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum* (Ps. 30,6) – Sap. 3,1 Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt – Anima comparatur fructui arboris, qui quandoque est maturus, quandoque acerbus . . . Is. 28,4 statim ut manu tenuerit, vorabit illud.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum et cetera [Ps 30.6] dicitur sapientie .iij. iustorum anime in manu domini sunt et cetera . . . [Sap 3.1]; EXPL.: . . . dicitur iob .xl. sub umbra dormit in secreto calami in locis humentibus [Iob 40.16].” (Gura: 210, no. 55, recto)

Sermon 457[63]: “*Odisti observantes vanitates* (Ps. 30,7) – Omnis creatura et quidquid temporale est et transitorium est, dicitur vanitas . . . Veritas enim vanitatem non amat.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: odisti omnes observantes uanitates et cetera [Ps 30.7] uanitas dicuntur omnia temporalia et mutabilia . . . ; EXPL.: . . . timeant ergo diuites.” (Gura: 210, no. 56, recto and verso)

Sermon 458[64]: “*Qui videbant me, foras fugerunt a me* (Ps. 30,12) – Tria sunt, quae maxime in interiore aspectione intuenda sunt, scil. Christus . . . Nah. 3,14 et subigens tene laterem.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: qui uiderunt me foras fugerunt a me at cetera [Ps 30.12] tria sunt que maxime interiori aspectione intuenda sunt . . . ; EXPL.: . . . dicitur in naum tertio omnis qui uiderit te resiliet a te [Na 3.7].” (Gura: 210, no. 57, verso)

fol. 34 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 458[64]: “*Qui videbant me, foras fugerunt a me* (Ps. 30,12) – Tria sunt, quae maxime in interiore aspectione intuenda sunt, scil. Christus . . . Nah. 3,14 et subigens tene laterem.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: qui uiderunt me foras fugerunt a me at cetera [Ps 30.12] tria sunt que maxime interiori aspectione intuenda sunt . . . ; EXPL.: . . . dicitur in naum tertio omnis qui uiderit te resiliet a te [Na 3.7].” (Gura: 210, no. 57, recto)

Sermon 459[65]: “*Quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tuae* (Ps. 30,20) – Duplex est dulcedo Domini, prima gratiae, secunda gloriae . . . Eccli. 2,10 Qui timetis Deum, diligite eum . . .” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tue domine quam abscondisti timentibus te [Ps 30.20] dulcedo ista duplex est gratie et glorie . . . ; EXPL.: . . . parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi deus [Ps 67.11].” (Gura: 210, no. 58, recto and verso)

Sermon 460[66]: “*Retribuēt Dominus abundanter* (Ps. 30,24) – Quia superbia specialia habet in culpa, singularitatem meretur in poena . . . Os. 5,5 Respondebit Israel arrogantia sua in facie eius.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: retribuet dominus habundanter facientibus superbiam [Ps 30.24] superbia singularis est in culpa . . . ; EXPL.: . . . unde osee quinto respondebit israel arrogantia sua [Os 5.5].” (Gura: 210, no. 59, verso)

fol. 35 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 460[66]: “*Retribuēt Dominus abundanter* (Ps. 30,24) – Quia superbia specialia habet in culpa, singularitatem meretur in poena . . . Os. 5,5 Respondebit Israel arrogantia sua in facie eius.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: retribuet dominus habundanter facientibus superbiam [Ps 30.24] superbia singularis est in culpa . . . ; EXPL.: . . . unde osee quinto respondebit israel arrogantia sua [Os 5.5].” (Gura: 210, no. 59, recto)

Sermon 461[67]: “*Dixi confitebor adversum me* (Ps. 31,5) – Confessio est necessaria propter multas causas. Primo quia differentia est inter forum civile et forum spirituale . . . dum pro aeterna (poena) succedit transitoria.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: dixi confitebor et cetera [Ps 31.5] differenita est inter forum ciuile et penitentiale . . . ; EXPL.: . . . qui nudat archana amici fidem perdit [Sir 27.17].” (Gura: 210, no. 60, recto and verso)

Sermon 462[68]: “*Nolite fieri sicut equus* (Ps. 31,9) – Qui emit equum vel mulum vix effugiet, quin decipiatur . . . nisi quia ad dissuetum et solitarium abusum.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: nolite fieri sicut equus et multus et cetera [Ps 31.9] est equus fortitudinis de quo iob . . . ; EXPL.: . . . id est ad insolitum opus et nefandum abusum.” (Gura: 210, no. 61, verso)

fol. 36 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 462[68]: “*Nolite fieri sicut equus* (Ps. 31,9) – Qui emit equum vel mulum vix effugiet, quin decipiat . . . nisi quia ad dissuetum et solitarium abusum.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: nolite fieri sicut equus et multus et cetera [Ps 31.9] est equus fortitudinis de quo iob . . . ; EXPL.: . . . id est ad insolitum opus et nefandum abusum.” (Gura: 210, no. 61, recto)

Sermon 463[69]: “*Congregans sicut in utre aquas* (Ps. 32,7) – Nota tria circa hoc verbum. Primo quod Dominus hic suis tribulationem immittit . . . Quia quanto plus amabit, tanto plus cognoscet, et e converso.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: congregans sicut in utre aquas maris [Ps 32.7] aque maris sunt tribulationes quas dominus in hoc mundo . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et conuentus uirtutum confessionem comitatur.” (Gura: 210, no. 62, recto)

Sermon 464[70]: “*Beata gens, cuius est Dominus Deus eius* (Ps. 32,12) – Alibi: *Beatus populus, cuius Dominus Deus eius* (Ps. 143,15) – Hic populus est triplex, saeculares ut laici . . . ut non nisi sola simulatio religionis per hypocrisim superesset.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: beata gens cuius est dominus deus eius [Ps 32.12] et alibi beatus populus cuius est dominus deus eius [Ps 143.15] hic populus triplex est seculares ut laici . . . ; EXPL.: . . . claustrales ergo quando peccant ortum domini excirpant.” (Gura: 210, no. 63, recto and verso)

fol. 37 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 464[70]: “*Beata gens, cuius est Dominus Deus eius* (Ps. 32,12) – Alibi: *Beatus populus, cuius Dominus Deus eius* (Ps. 143,15) – Hic populus est triplex, saeculares ut laici . . . ut non nisi sola simulatio religionis per hypocrisim superesset.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“INC.: beata gens cuius est dominus deus eius [Ps 32.12] et alibi beatus populus cuius est dominus deus eius [Ps 143.15] hic populus triplex est seculares ut laici . . . ; EXPL.: . . . claustrales ergo quando peccant ortum domini excirpant.” (Gura: 210, no. 63, recto)

Sermon 467[73]: “*Custodit Dominus omnia ossa eorum* (Ps. 33,21) – Noster interior homo suo modo sicut exterior cutem habet . . . Mich. 3,2 Qui comederunt carnem populi mei . . .” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: custodit dominus omnia ossa eorum [Ps 33.21] habet homo interior sicut exterior pellem carnem neruos et ossa . . . ; EXPL.: . . . plaga autem lingue conminuit ossa [Sir 28.21].” (Gura: 210, no. 64, recto)

Sermon 465[71]: “*In Domino laudabitur anima mea* (Ps. 33,3) – Ad contemptum laudis mundanae considerata sunt quattuor. In laude vanitas . . . Os. 12,1 Epraim pascit ventum et sequitur aestum.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“**INC.**: in domino laudabitur anima mea at cetera [Ps 33.3] ad contemptum laudis humane considerata sunt aut enim laudatur de bonis . . . ; **EXPL.**: . . . pulcrum est monstrari digito dicior hic est.” (Gura: 210. no. 65, recto and verso)

fol. 38 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 465[71]: “*In Domino laudabitur anima mea* (Ps. 33,3) – Ad contemptum laudis mundanae considerata sunt quattuor. In laude vanitas . . . Os. 12,1 Epraim pascit ventum et sequitur aestum.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“**INC.**: in domino laudabitur anima mea at cetera [Ps 33.3] ad contemptum laudis humane considerata sunt aut enim laudatur de bonis . . . ; **EXPL.**: . . . pulcrum est monstrari digito dicior hic est.” (Gura: 210. no. 65, recto)

Sermon 466[72]: “*Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus* (Ps. 33,9) – Eccli. 36,20 Omnem escam manducabit venter, et est cibus cibo melior . . . Satiabor, cum apparuerit gloria tua, Ps. 16,15.” (Schneyer 4:852)

“**INC.**: gustate et uidete quem suavis est dominus et cetera [Ps 33.9] est cibus cibo melior spiritualis scilicet quam carnalis . . . ; **EXPL.**: . . . unde psalmus saciabor cum apparuerit gloria tua [Ps 16.15].” (Gura: 210, no. 66, recto and verso)

Sermon 468[73]⁷: “*Fiant tamquam pulvis* (Ps. 34,5) – Quattuor notantur hic circa malos, ut eorum quam sit periculosus status ostendatur . . . Tren. 4,18 Lubricaverunt vestigia nostra in itinere.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“**INC.**: fiant tamquam pulvis ante faciem uenti et cetera [Ps 34.5] quattuor hic notantur hic circa malos . . . ; **EXPL.**: . . . lubricauerunt uestigia mea et cetera [Lam 4.18].” (Gura: 210, no. 67, verso)

fol. 39 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 468[73]⁸: “*Fiant tamquam pulvis* (Ps. 34,5) – Quattuor notantur hic circa malos, ut eorum quam sit periculosus status ostendatur . . . Tren. 4,18 Lubricaverunt vestigia nostra in itinere.” (Schneyer 4:853)

⁷ This should be 74.

⁸ This should be 74.

“INC.: fiant tamquam pulvis ante faciem uenti et cetera [Ps 34.5] quatuor hic notantur hic circa malos . . . ; EXPL.: . . . lubricauerunt uestigia mea et cetera [Lam 4.18].” (Gura: 210, no. 67, recto and verso)

Sermon 469[75]: “*Ego autem cum mihi molesti essent* (Ps. 34,13) – Instruimur, quid facere debeamus cum temptationibus quasi hostibus molestamur . . . Ideo jejunium et eleemosyna orationem comitantur.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: ego autem cum mihi molesti essent induebar cilicio humiliabam in ieiunio animam et oratio mea in sinu meo conuertetur [Ps 34.13] in hoc instruimur quid facere debeamus cum temptationibus quasi quibusdam hostibus molestamur . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ut sic aptius uolet ideoque ieiunium et eleemosyna orationi sociantur.” (Gura: 211, no. 68, verso)

fol. 40 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 469[75]: “*Ego autem cum mihi molesti essent* (Ps. 34,13) – Instruimur, quid facere debeamus cum temptationibus quasi hostibus molestamur . . . Ideo jejunium et eleemosyna orationem comitantur.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: ego autem cum mihi molesti essent induebar cilicio humiliabam in ieiunio animam et oratio mea in sinu meo conuertetur [Ps 34.13] in hoc instruimur quid facere debeamus cum temptationibus quasi quibusdam hostibus molestamur . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ut sic aptius uolet ideoque ieiunium et eleemosyna orationi sociantur.” (Gura: 211, no. 68, recto)

Sermon 470[76]: “*Quoniam apud te est fons vitae* (Ps. 35,10) – Scriptum est Is. 12,3 Haurietis aquas in gaudio . . . Legitur Gen. 2,10 quod fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis . . . fulgor pertinet ad intellectum.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: apud te est fons uite et cetera [Ps 35.10] scriptum est uersa haurietis aquas in gaudio . . . ; EXPL.: . . . fulgor pertinet ad intellectum.” (Gura: 211, no. 69, recto and verso)

fol. 41 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 470[76]: “*Quoniam apud te est fons vitae* (Ps. 35,10) – Scriptum est Is. 12,3 Haurietis aquas in gaudio . . . Legitur Gen. 2,10 quod fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis . . . fulgor pertinet ad intellectum.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: apud te est fons uite et cetera [Ps 35.10] scriptum est uersa haurietis aquas in gaudio . . . ; EXPL.: . . . fulgor pertinet ad intellectum.” (Gura: 211, no. 69, recto)

Sermon 473[79]: “*Custodi innocentiam* (Ps. 36,37) – Duplex est mensa. Mensa consolationis . . . Is. 51,22 Non adjiciam, ut bibas illum ultra.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: custodi innocentiam et uide equitatem et cetera [Ps 36.37] duplex est mensa consolationis . . .; EXPL.: . . . reliquie homini pacifico.” (Gura: 211, no, 70, recto and verso)

fol. 42 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 473[79]: “*Custodi innocentiam* (Ps. 36,37) – Duplex est mensa. Mensa consolationis . . . Is. 51,22 Non adjiciam, ut bibas illum ultra.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: custodi innocentiam et uide equitatem et cetera [Ps 36.37] duplex est mensa consolationis . . .; EXPL.: . . . reliquie homini pacifico.” (Gura: 211, no, 70, recto)

Sermon 474[80]: “*Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt* (Ps. 37,5) – Progressus tentationis comparatur tribus. Primo aquarum inundationi . . . Gal. 6,17 Stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: quoniam iniquitates mee supergresse sunt capud meum [Ps 37.5] supergresse dicit quasi aquarum inundationes . . .; EXPL.: . . . stigmata domini et cetera [Gal 6.17].” (Gura: 211, no. 71, recto and verso)

fol. 43 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 474[80]: “*Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt* (Ps. 37,5) – Progressus tentationis comparatur tribus. Primo aquarum inundationi . . . Gal. 6,17 Stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: quoniam iniquitates mee supergresse sunt capud meum [Ps 37.5] supergresse dicit quasi aquarum inundationes . . .; EXPL.: . . . stigmata domini et cetera [Gal 6.17].” (Gura: 211, no. 71, recto and verso)

Sermon 472[78]: “*Mutuabitur peccator* (Ps. 36,21) – Duo sunt creditores a quibus mutuatur peccator. Deus et diabolus . . . Eccli. 29,13 et non abscondas illam (pecuniam) sub lapide in perditionem.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: quod mutuabitur peccator et non soluet et cetera [Ps 36.21] duo sunt creditores a quibus peccator mutuatur . . .; EXPL.: . . . ingratus sensu delinquit liberantem se [Sir 29.22].” (Gura: 211, no. 72, verso)

fol. 44 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 472[78]: “*Mutuabitur peccator* (Ps. 36,21) – Duo sunt creditores a quibus mutuatur peccator. Deus et diabolus . . . Eccli. 29,13 et non abscondas illam (pecuniam) sub lapide in perditionem.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: quod mutuabitur peccator et non soluet et cetera [Ps 36.21] duo sunt creditores a quibus peccator mutuatur . . . ; EXPL.: . . . ingratus sensu delinquit liberantem se [Sir 29.22].” (Gura: 211, no. 72, recto and verso)

fol. 45 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 475[81]: “*Cor meum conturbatum est* (Ps. 37,11) – In his verbis peccati processus ostenditur. Primo in tentatione contingit animam turbari . . . virtutes, quae spirituales nequitas prosternunt.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: cor meum conturbatum est dereliquit me uirtus mea et lumen oculorum meorum et cetera [Ps 37.11] tria genera temptationis denotat . . . ; EXPL.: . . . hoc est quod dicit dereliquit me uirtus mea et lumen oculorum meorum et ipsum non est mecum [Ps 37.11].” (Gura: 211, no. 73, recto and verso)

Sermon 476[82]: “*Dixi custodiam vias meas* (Ps. 38,2) – Prov. 4,23 Omni custodia serva cor tuum . . . Omni dicit . . . bona opera . . . per sequentia peccata corrumpunt.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: dixi custodiam vias meas et cetera [Ps 38.2] omnia custodia custodi cor tuum . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et claude hostia tua super vias tuas id est sensus.” (Gura: 211, no. 74, verso)

fol. 46 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 476[82]: “*Dixi custodiam vias meas* (Ps. 38,2) – Prov. 4,23 Omni custodia serva cor tuum . . . Omni dicit . . . bona opera . . . per sequentia peccata corrumpunt.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: dixi custodiam vias meas et cetera [Ps 38.2] omnia custodia custodi cor tuum . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et claude hostia tua super vias tuas id est sensus.” (Gura: 211, no. 74, recto)

Sermon 477[83]: “*Thesaurizat et ignorat* (Ps. 38,7) – Considerandum, de quibus faciendus thesaurus et de quibus non faciendus est . . . Abac. 2,9 Vae, qui congregat avaritiam malam domui suae.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea et cetera [Ps 38.7] considerandum [*sic*] de quibus faciendus est thesaurus . . . ; EXPL.: . . . quam speciosa est ueteranis sapientia [Sir 25.7].” (Gura: 211, no. 75, recto and verso)

fol. 47 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 477[83]: “*Thesaurizat et ignorat* (Ps. 38,7) – Considerandum, de quibus faciendus thesaurus et de quibus non faciendus est . . . Abac. 2,9 Vae, qui congregat avaritiam malam domui suae.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea et cetera [Ps 38.7] considerandum [sic] de quibus faciendus est thesaurus . . .; EXPL.: . . . quam speciosa est ueteranis sapientia [Sir 25.7].” (Gura: 211, no. 75, recto)

Sermon 478[84]: “*Et immisit in os meum canticum novum* (Ps. 39,4) – Quattuor considerata sunt. Quid sit canticum novum . . . Luc. 24,18 Tu solus peregrinus es in Jerusalem . . .” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: immisit in os meum canticum nouum et cetera [Ps 39.4] quatuor hic considerata sunt quid sit canticum nouum . . .; EXPL.: . . . de ierusalem percusso philisteo.” (Gura: 211, no. 76, recto and verso)

Sermon 479[85]: “*Ego autem mendicus sum* (Ps. 39,18) – Ex quibus causis Dominus sollicitus sit nostri, perpendere possumus ex natura animalium . . . Prov. 27,26 Agni sunt in vestimentum tuum . . .” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: ego autem mendicus sum et pauper dominus sollicitus est mei [Ps 39.18] multe cause sunt pro quibus necesse habemus . . .; EXPL.: . . . nolite timere pusillus grex [Lc 12.32].” (Gura: 211, no. 77, verso)

fol. 48 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 479[85]: “*Ego autem mendicus sum* (Ps. 39,18) – Ex quibus causis Dominus sollicitus sit nostri, perpendere possumus ex natura animalium . . . Prov. 27,26 Agni sunt in vestimentum tuum . . .” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: ego autem mendicus sum et pauper dominus sollicitus est mei [Ps 39.18] multe cause sunt pro quibus necesse habemus . . .; EXPL.: . . . nolite timere pusillus grex [Lc 12.32].” (Gura: 211, no. 77, recto)

Sermon 480[86]: “*Homo pacis meae* (Ps. 40,10) – Videtur hic Dominus conqueri de quocumque poenitente ad peccatum redeunte . . . Luc. 22,21 Ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: homo pacis mee in quo speraui et cetera [Ps 40.10] uidetur dominus conqueri de quocumque penitente . . .; EXPL.: . . . manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa [Lc 22.21].” (Gura: 211, no. 78, recto and verso)

fol. 49 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 480[86]: “*Homo pacis meae* (Ps. 40,10) – Videtur hic Dominus conqueri de quocumque poenitente ad peccatum redeunte . . . Luc. 22,21 Ecce manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: homo pacis mee in quo speravi et cetera [Ps 40.10] uidetur dominus conqueri de quocumque penitente . . .; EXPL.: . . . manus tradentis me mecum est in mensa [Lc 22.21].” (Gura: 211, no. 78, recto and verso)

Sermon 481[87]: “*Fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panes* (Ps. 41,4) – Ad hoc, ut aliquis laute et splendide accipiatur, exigitur multa diversitas ferculorum . . . Eccli. 32,7 et comparatio musicorum in convivio vini.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: fuerunt mihi lacrimae mee panes et cetera [Ps 41.4] ad hoc quod animus laute et splendide . . .; EXPL.: . . . in uoce exultationis et confessionis sonus epulantis [Ps 41.5].” (Gura: 211, no. 79, verso)

fol. 50 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 481[87]: “*Fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panes* (Ps. 41,4) – Ad hoc, ut aliquis laute et splendide accipiatur, exigitur multa diversitas ferculorum . . . Eccli. 32,7 et comparatio musicorum in convivio vini.” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: fuerunt mihi lacrimae mee panes et cetera [Ps 41.4] ad hoc quod animus laute et splendide . . .; EXPL.: . . . in uoce exultationis et confessionis sonus epulantis [Ps 41.5].” (Gura: 211, no. 79, recto)

Sermon 482[88]: “*Effudi in me animam meam* (Ps. 41,5) – Dura et solida fusibilia non sunt . . . Unde: Transibo in locum tabernaculi . . .” (Schneyer 4:853)

“INC.: effudi in me animam meam et cetera [Ps 41.5] quidam effunduntur in malum extra se per luxuriam . . .; EXPL.: . . . de uase contumelie in uas honoris et glorie.” (Gura: 211, no. 80, recto and verso)

Sermon 483[89]: “*Et introibo ad altare Dei* (Ps. 42,4) – Primo considerandum, quid significetur per altare . . . Eccli. 1,10 et praebet illam (sapientiam) diligentibus se.” (Schneyer 4:853–854)

“INC.: introibo ad altare domini et cetera [Ps 42.4] considerandum est qui [*sic*] significantur per altare . . .; EXPL.: . . . ergo ad hec spirituali semper iuuenes sumus.” (Gura: 212, no. 81, verso)

fol. 51 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 483[89]: “*Et introibo ad altare Dei* (Ps. 42,4) – Primo considerandum, quid significetur per altare . . . Eccli. 1,10 et praebet illam (sapientiam) diligentibus se.” (Schneyer 4:853–854)

“INC.: introibo ad altare domini et cetera [Ps 42.4] considerandum est qui [*sic*] significantur per altare . . .; EXPL.: . . . ergo ad hec spirituali semper iuuenes sumus.” (Gura: 212, no. 81, recto and verso)

Sermon 485[91]: “*Quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die* (Ps. 43,22) – Duplex est mortificatio hominis scil. propter diabolum et propter Deum . . . et tales mortuae animae suscitationem non impetrant.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die et cetera [Ps 43.22] dupliciter est mortificatio hominis propter diabolum . . .; EXPL.: . . . et tales mortue anime suscitationem non impetrant.” (Gura: 212, no. 82, verso)

fol. 52 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 485[91]: “*Quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die* (Ps. 43,22) – Duplex est mortificatio hominis scil. propter diabolum et propter Deum . . . et tales mortuae animae suscitationem non impetrant.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die et cetera [Ps 43.22] dupliciter est mortificatio hominis propter diabolum . . .; EXPL.: . . . et tales mortue anime suscitationem non impetrant.” (Gura: 212, no. 82, recto and verso)

fol. 53 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 485[91]: “*Quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die* (Ps. 43,22) – Duplex est mortificatio hominis scil. propter diabolum et propter Deum . . . et tales mortuae animae suscitationem non impetrant.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: quoniam propter te mortificamur tota die et cetera [Ps 43.22] dupliciter est mortificatio hominis propter diabolum . . .; EXPL.: . . . et tales mortue anime suscitationem non impetrant.” (Gura: 212, no. 82, recto)

Sermon 486[92]: “*Lingua mea calamus scribae* (Ps. 44,2) – Dominus habet scribas suos et calamos et pergamentum . . . Omnes isti sunt notarii diaboli et de eius cancellaria.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: lingua mea calamus scribe uelociter scribentis et cetera [Ps 44.2] dominus habet scribas suos et calamum . . .; EXPL.: . . . omnes isti sunt scribe et notarii et de cancellaria diaboli.” (Gura: 212, no. 83, recto and verso)

fol. 54 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 486[92]: “*Lingua mea calamus scribae* (Ps. 44,2) – Dominus habet scribas suos et calamos et pergamenum . . . Omnes isti sunt notarii diaboli et de eius cancellaria.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: lingua mea calamus scribe uelociter scribentis et cetera [Ps 44.2] dominus habet scribas suos et calamum . . .; EXPL.: . . . omnes isti sunt scribe et notarii et de cancellaria diaboli.” (Gura: 212, no. 83, recto)

Sermon 487[93]: “*Sedes tua Deus in saeculum* (Ps. 44,7) – Primo considerandum, quae sit diversitas sedium . . . 1. Reg. 2,30 qui autem contemnunt me, erunt ignobiles.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: sedes tua deus in seculum seculi et cetera [Ps 44.7] primo considerandum que sit diuersitas sedium . . .; EXPL.: . . . non enim bene sedem suam regebat.” (Gura: 212, no. 84, recto and verso)

fol. 55 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 487[93]: “*Sedes tua Deus in saeculum* (Ps. 44,7) – Primo considerandum, quae sit diversitas sedium . . . 1. Reg. 2,30 qui autem contemnunt me, erunt ignobiles.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: sedes tua deus in seculum seculi et cetera [Ps 44.7] primo considerandum que sit diuersitas sedium . . .; EXPL.: . . . non enim bene sedem suam regebat.” (Gura: 212, no. 84, recto)

Sermon 488[94]: “*Astitit regina a dexteris tuis* (Ps. 44,10) – Regina virtutum est caritas . . . Eccli. 34,16 Qui timet Dominum, nihil trepidabit.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: astetit regina a dextris tuis et cetera [Ps 44.10] regina uirtutum est caritas regina . . .; EXPL.: . . . et sic nota aliis uirtutibus.” (Gura: 212, no. 85, recto and verso)

Sermon 489[95]: “*Omnis gloria filiae regis ab intus* (Ps. 44,14) – Primo ostendendum est, quod non est gloriandum de exterioribus bonis . . . Matth. 23,5 Magnificant fimbrias suas et dilatant phylacteria sua.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus et cetera [Ps 44.14] primo ostenditur quod non est glorificandum de exterioribus . . .; EXPL.: . . . magnificant fimbrias suas et dilatant phylacteria sua [Mt 23.5].” (Gura: 212, no. 86, verso)

fol. 56 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 489[95]: “*Omnis gloria filiae regis ab intus* (Ps. 44,14) – Primo ostendendum est, quod non est gloriandum de exterioribus bonis . . . Matth. 23,5 Magnificant fimbrias suas et dilatant phylacteria sua.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: omnis gloria eius filie regis ab intus et cetera [Ps 44.14] primo ostenditur quod non est glorificandum de exterioribus . . . ; EXPL.: . . . magnificant fimbrias suas et dilatant philacteria sua [Mt 23.5].” (Gura: 212, no. 86, recto and verso)

Sermon 491[97]: “*Elegit nos hereditatem suam* (Ps. 46,5) – Primo videndum est, quare dicit speciem Jacob . . . et se et sua dant religioni.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: elegit nobis hereditatem suam speciem iacob quam dilexit [Ps 46.5] ad speciem iacob pertinet prudentia spiritualis negociationis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . foriter aget id est religio que semper prosperatur.” (Gura: 212, no. 87, verso)

fol. 57 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 491[97]: “*Elegit nos hereditatem suam* (Ps. 46,5) – Primo videndum est, quare dicit speciem Jacob . . . et se et sua dant religioni.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: elegit nobis hereditatem suam speciem iacob quam dilexit [Ps 46.5] ad speciem iacob pertinet prudentia spiritualis negociationis . . . ; EXPL.: . . . foriter aget id est religio que semper prosperatur.” (Gura: 212, no. 87, recto and verso)

Sermon 492[98]: “*Ibi dolores ut parturientis* (Ps. 47,7) – Ibi idest in poenitendo. Primo describitur, qualis dolor sit in poenitentia . . . praedones . . et subtiliter et suaviter incidunt bursas.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: ibi dolores ut parturientis et cetera [Ps 47.7] ibi id est in penitente primo uidendum est qualis dolor sit in penitente . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et occasiones aliorum bursas emungunt.” (Gura: 212, no. 88, verso)

fol. 58 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 492[98]: “*Ibi dolores ut parturientis* (Ps. 47,7) – Ibi idest in poenitendo. Primo describitur, qualis dolor sit in poenitentia . . . praedones . . et subtiliter et suaviter incidunt bursas.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: ibi dolores ut parturientis et cetera [Ps 47.7] ibi id est in penitente primo uidendum est qualis dolor sit in penitente . . . ; EXPL.: . . . et occasiones aliorum bursas emungunt.” (Gura: 212, no. 88, recto)

Sermon 493[99]: “*Ponite corda vestra in virtute eius* (Ps. 47,14) – Ponendum est cor in virtute per conatum, per exemplum, per affectum . . . Matth. 23,4 et digito suo movere nolunt.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: ponite corda uestra in uirtute eius et cetera [Ps 47.14] ponendum est cor nostrum in uirtute domini per conatum . . .; EXPL.: . . . palliant sue uite enormitatem.” (Gura: 212, no. 89, recto and verso)

Sermon 494[100]: “*Tabernacula eorum in progenie* (Ps. 48,12) – Mundus vult suos nomen habere et nominari in terra . . . Pro quo rogamus: Pater noster, sanctificetur nomen tuum.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: tabernacula eorum in proienie [*sic*] et proienie [*sic*] uocauerunt nomina sua in terris suis [Ps 48.12] mundus uult suos nominari in mundo . . .; EXPL.: . . . cum eo gloria do. eius [Ps 48.18].” (Gura: 212, no, 90, verso)

fol. 59 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 494[100]: “*Tabernacula eorum in progenie* (Ps. 48,12) – Mundus vult suos nomen habere et nominari in terra . . . Pro quo rogamus: Pater noster, sanctificetur nomen tuum.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: tabernacula eorum in proienie [*sic*] et proienie [*sic*] uocauerunt nomina sua in terris suis [Ps 48.12] mundus uult suos nominari in mundo . . .; EXPL.: . . . cum eo gloria do. eius [Ps 48.18].” (Gura: 212, no, 90, recto and verso)

Sermon 495[101]: “*Quoniam cum interierit* (Ps. 48,18) – Carnalis et mundanus duplici morte moritur . . . pecuniae reservatae vix bonum finem consequuntur, ut mobilia furum.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: diues cum interierit non sumet omnia et cetera [Ps 48.18] carnalis et mundanus duplici morte moritur . . .; EXPL.: . . . ita sepe contingit de diuitiis clericorum.” (Gura: 212, no. 91, verso)

fol. 60 MS cod. Lat. b. 11

Sermon 495[101]: “*Quoniam cum interierit* (Ps. 48,18) – Carnalis et mundanus duplici morte moritur . . . pecuniae reservatae vix bonum finem consequuntur, ut mobilia furum.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: diues cum interierit non sumet omnia et cetera [Ps 48.18] carnalis et mundanus duplici morte moritur . . .; EXPL.: . . . ita sepe contingit de diuitiis clericorum.” (Gura: 212, no. 91, recto)

Sermon 496[102]: “*Congregate illi sanctos eius* (Ps. 49,5) – Dominus Christus testamentum suum fecit . . . sapphyri confessores, qui dispersi per annum hodie colliguntur.” (Schneyer 4:854)

“INC.: congregare illi sanctos eius qui ordinat testamentum eius super sacrificia [Ps 49.5] dominus christus suum fecit testamentum . . . ; EXPL.: . . . quia non intrant nisi.” (Gura: 212, no. 92, recto and verso)

fol. 67 Private Collection

Sermon 505[111]: “*Et non defecit de plateis eius usura* (Ps. 54,12) – Usura dicitur quidquid ex spe vel certo pacto accipitur . . . Non enim sunt ab usuris immunes, qui ab eis accipiunt usuras in damnum pauperum.” (Schneyer 4:855)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . quem cum cepisset rex babilonie et exosculasset dedit ei potionem laxatiuam et effusus est. ¶ seqvjtvr. (recto)

Sermon 506[112]: “*Non est illis commutatio* (Ps. 54,20) – Est mutatio naturalis et est mutatio voluntaria sive gratuita . . . titulus psalmi: pro his, qui commutabuntur (Ps. 44,1).” (Schneyer 4:855)

Inc.: *non est commutatio et non timuerunt deum* [Ps. 54.20] est enim mutatio naturalis et mutatio uoluntaria siue gratuita . . . ; Expl.: . . . titulus psalmi pro his qui inmutabuntur [Ps. 59.1] siue per gratiam siue per gloriam. (verso)

fol. 68 Ohio State University, Thompson Library (Columbus, Ohio)

<http://ege.denison.edu/osu_leaf_04.php>

This leaf is from set no. 2 of FOL.

Sermon 507[113]: “*Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaneum suum* (Ps. 55,7) – Diabolus insidiatur fini vitae propter multas causas . . . Jam cras hesternum con-sumpsimus, ecce aliud cras.” (Schneyer 4:855)

Inc.: *inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaneum meum obseruabunt* [Ps. 55.7] diabolus maxime insidiatur circa finem . . . ; Expl.: . . . jam cras consumpsimus ecce aliud cras.⁹ (recto and verso)

Sermon 508[114]: “*Deus vitam meam annuntiavi tibi* (Ps. 55,9) – Primo considerandum, quare dixit: Vitam meam annuntiavi tibi . . . Unde Luc. 22,44 Factus est sudor eius tamquam guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram.” (Schneyer 4:855)

Inc.: *deus uitam meam annuntiaui tibi posuisti lachrymas meas in conspectu tuo* [Ps. 55.9] annuntiaui dicit quasi plane plene *et* palam nuntiaui tibi . . . ; Expl.: . . . on following folio. (verso)

⁹ See Appendix C for a comparison of this same sermon in the following manuscripts: 1523 Bade incunabulum, MS Ii. 3. 27, MS 45568, MS Digby 45, MS Bodl. 745, and MS 118.

fol. 77 Rochester Institute of Technology, Wallace Center

<https://albert.rit.edu/record=b1426766>

This leaf is from set no. 35 of FOL.

Sermon 522[128]: “*Sagittae parvulorum* (Ps. 63,8) – Parvulos suos habet Dominus et parvulos suos habet diabolus . . . hoc est, gladius eorum intret in corda ipsorum.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . hoc est quod alibi dicitur gladius eorum intret in corda ipsorum [Ps. 36.15]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 524[130]: “*Pinguescent speciosa deserti* (Ps. 64,13) – Duplex est pinguedo, exterior et interior . . . Colles sunt proficientes et montes perfecti ut supra: sicut adipe . . .” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *pinguescent speciosa deserti et cetera* [Ps. 64.13] duplex est pinguedo exterior et interior . . . ; Expl.: . . . jdeoque subditur et exultatione colles accingentur [Ps. 64.13]. (verso)

fol. 78 Denison University, William Howard Doane Library

<http://exhibits.denisonarchives.org/items/show/28>

This leaf is from set no. 30 of FOL.

Sermon 524[130]: “*Pinguescent speciosa deserti* (Ps. 64,13) – Duplex est pinguedo, exterior et interior . . . Colles sunt proficientes et montes perfecti ut supra: sicut adipe . . .” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *pinguescent speciosa deserti et cetera* [Ps. 64.13] duplex est pinguedo exterior et interior . . . ; Expl.: . . . jdeoque subditur et exultatione colles accingentur [Ps. 64.13]. (recto and verso)

fol. 82 University of Toronto, Massey College, Robertson Davies Library

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/sindark/sets/72157632826138884/>

This leaf is from set no. 17 of FOL.

Sermon 527[133]: “*Deus misereatur nostri* (Ps. 66,2) – Duplex est miseria, scil. culpa et poenae . . . Et misereatur nostri auferendo nobis poenam.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . sequitur et misereatur nostri aufendo penam. (recto)

Sermon 528[133]¹⁰: “*Turbabuntur a facie patris orphanorum* (Ps. 67,5s) – Per hos designantur miserabiles personae, quas ecclesia debet protegere . . . Dominus in ira sua conturbabit eos.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *turbabuntur a facie patris oprhanorum iudicis uiduarum* [Ps. 67.5–6] per istos designantur miserabiles persone quas ecclesia debet protegere . . . ; Expl.: . . . pones eos ut clibanum ignis in tempore uultus tui idest uultuositatis [Ps. 20.10]. (recto and verso)

¹⁰ This should be 134.

Sermon 529[135]: “*Pluviam voluntariam segregabis* (Ps. 67,10) – Primo considerandum est, quid sit haec pluvia voluntaria . . . ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *pluuia uoluntariam segregabis deus et* [Ps. 67.10] primo considerandum est que sit haec pluua uoluntaria . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde tu uero perfecisti eam [Ps. 67.10]. (verso)

fol. 83 Private Collection¹¹

This leaf is from set no. 1 of FOL.

Sermon 529[135]: “*Pluviam voluntariam segregabis* (Ps. 67,10) – Primo considerandum est, quid sit haec pluvia voluntaria . . . ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *pluuia uoluntariam segregabis deus et* [Ps. 67.10] primo considerandum est que sit haec pluua uoluntaria . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde tu uero perfecisti eam [Ps. 67.10]. (recto and verso)

fol. 84 New York State Library¹²

This leaf is from set no. 8 of FOL.

Sermon 529[135]: “*Pluviam voluntariam segregabis* (Ps. 67,10) – Primo considerandum est, quid sit haec pluvia voluntaria . . . ex his enim in dilectione firmaberis.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *pluuia uoluntariam segregabis deus et* [Ps. 67.10] primo considerandum est que sit haec pluua uoluntaria . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde tu uero perfecisti eam [Ps. 67.10]. (recto)

Sermon 530[136]: “*Si dormiatis inter medios cleros* (Ps. 67,14) – Hic videndum est, qui sint duo cleri . . . 2. Cor. 4,11 ut et vita Jesu manifestetur in carne nostra mortali.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *si dormiatis inter medios cleros pinne columbe deargentate et cetera* [Ps. 67.14] vidndum¹³ est quid sunt duo cleri . . . ; Expl.: . . . vt uita ihesu manifestetur in carne nostra mortali [II Cor. 4.11]. (recto and verso)

fol. 85 Cleveland Institute of Art, Gund Library¹⁴

This leaf is from set no. 4 of FOL.

Sermon 530[136]: “*Si dormiatis inter medios cleros* (Ps. 67,14) – Hic videndum est, qui sint duo cleri . . . 2. Cor. 4,11 ut et vita Jesu manifestetur in carne nostra mortali.” (Schneyer 4:856)

¹¹ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The images of this leaf are courtesy of Lisa Fagin Davis.

¹² There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

¹³ *videndum*

¹⁴ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The images of this leaf are courtesy of Lisa Fagin Davis.

Inc.: *si dormiatis inter medios cleros pinne columbe deargentate et cetera* [Ps. 67.14] videndum est quid sunt duo cleri . . .; Expl.: . . . vt uita ihesu manifestetur in carne nostra mortali [II Cor. 4.11]. (recto)

Sermon 531[137]: “*Dixit Dominus: Ex Basan convertam* (Ps. 67,23) – Primo considerandum, quomodo anima per peccandi consuetudinem duplicem incurrit confusionem . . . convertam quantum ad interiorem hominem, convertam quantum ad exteriorem.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *dixit dominus ex basan conuertam conuertam in profundis maris* [Ps. 67.23] dupliciter est in hoc mundo peccati confusio desperationes scilicet et auersionis . . .; Expl.: . . . ex basan conuertam corde conuertam et operatione. (recto and verso)

fol. 86 Lima Public Library (Lima, Ohio) <http://ege.denison.edu/lima_leaf_04.php>
This leaf is from set no. 29 of FOL.

Sermon 531[137]: “*Dixit Dominus: Ex Basan convertam* (Ps. 67,23) – Primo considerandum, quomodo anima per peccandi consuetudinem duplicem incurrit confusionem . . . convertam quantum ad interiorem hominem, convertam quantum ad exteriorem.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *dixit dominus ex basan conuertam conuertam in profundis maris* [Ps. 67.23] dupliciter est in hoc mundo peccati confusio desperationes scilicet et auersionis . . .; Expl.: . . . ex basan conuertam corde conuertam et operatione. (recto)

Sermon 532[138]: “*Principes Juda duces eorum* (Ps. 67,28) – Primo considerandum est, quomodo tres principales virtutes duces nostrae sunt . . . Phil. 2,2 unanimes idipsum sentientes.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *principes iuda duces eorum principes zabulon principes nepthali* [Ps. 67.28] hij tres principes tres sunt principiæ uirtutes . . .; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (recto and verso)

fol. 87 Pierpont Morgan Library
This leaf is from set no. 28 of FOL.

Sermon 532[138]: “*Principes Juda duces eorum* (Ps. 67,28) – Primo considerandum est, quomodo tres principales virtutes duces nostrae sunt . . . Phil. 2,2 unanimes idipsum sentientes.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *principes iuda duces eorum principes zabulon principes nepthali* [Ps. 67.28] hij tres principes tres sunt principiæ uirtutes . . .; Expl.: . . . unknown. (recto)¹⁵

¹⁵ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The partial identification of its contents is based on the Morgan’s online database description. See <http://corsair.themorgan.org/vwebv/search?searchType=7&searchId=451&maxResultsPerPage=50&recCount=50&recPointer=0&resultPointer=0&headingId=340859>.

fol. 91 University of Massachusetts, W. E. B. Du Bois Library

<http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums570-i004>

This leaf is from no. 6 of FOL.

Sermon 520 by John Halgren[126]: “*Non me demergat tempestas aquae* (Ps. 68,16) – Tria ponit hic propheta in persona cuiuslibet iusti. Primum non demergi in tempestate aquae . . . neque urgeat super me puteus os suum.” (Schneyer 3:547)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: *non me demergat et cetera* [Ps. 68.16]. (recto and verso)

fol. 93 Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Central Library

<http://digital.buffalolib.org/document/1671>

This leaf is from set no. 11 of FOL.

Sermon 521 by John Halgren[127]: “*Quaerite Dominum et vivet anima vestra* (Ps. 68,33) – Docemur hic quaerere Dominum, ut vivamus secundum Deum . . . Prov. 8,36 Qui autem in me peccaverit, laedet animam suam. (Schneyer 3:547)

Inc.: *qverite dominum et uiuet anima uestra* [Ps. 68.33] docemur querere dominum ut viuamus . . . ; Expl.: . . . qui autem in me peccauerit ledet animam suam [Prv. 8.36]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 537[143]: “*Aedificabuntur civitates Judae* (Ps. 68,36) – Primo considerandum, quae sunt civitates Aegypti . . . Unde Jer. 31,21 Virgo Israel revertere ad civitates tuas.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *edificabuntur ciuitates iude et cetera* [Ps. 68.36] primo considerandum est que sint ciuitates egypti . . . ; Expl.: . . . de hijs ciuitatibus dixit jeremias xxxi uirgo isrel reuertere ad ciuitates tuas. [Jer. 31.21]. (verso)

fol. 94 Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Main Library

<https://cdm16998.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16998coll24/id/3550/rec/1>

This leaf is from set no. 9 of FOL.

Sermon 537[143]: “*Aedificabuntur civitates Judae* (Ps. 68,36) – Primo considerandum, quae sunt civitates Aegypti . . . Unde Jer. 31,21 Virgo Israel revertere ad civitates tuas.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *edificabuntur ciuitates iude et cetera* [Ps. 68.36] primo considerandum est que sint ciuitates egypti . . . ; Expl.: . . . de hijs ciuitatibus dixit jeremias xxxi uirgo isrel reuertere ad ciuitates tuas [Jer. 31.21]. (recto)

Sermon 522 by John Halgren[128]: “*Deus in adiutorium meum intende* (Ps. 69,2) – Clamat propheta in persona cuiuslibet viri iusti, a Domino petens auxilium festinanter . . . Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina.” (Schneyer 3:547–548)

Inc.: <d>*deus in adiutorium meum intende domine ad adiuuandum me festina* [Ps. 69.2] clamat propheta in persona cuiuslibet uiri iusti petens a domino auxilium festinatum . . .; Expl.: . . . ne ergo per leuitatem culparum uir ueniat ad exactionem penarum clamat propheta deus in adiutorium. (recto and verso)

*fol. 95 Yale University, Beinecke Library*¹⁶

Sermon 522 by John Halgren[128]: “*Deus in adiutorium meum intende* (Ps. 69,2) – Clamat propheta in persona cuiuslibet viri iusti, a Domino petens auxilium festinanter . . . Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina.” (Schneyer 3:547–548)

Inc.: <d>*deus in adiutorium meum intende domine ad adiuuandum me festina* [Ps. 69.2] clamat propheta in persona cuiuslibet uiri iusti petens a domino auxilium festinatum . . .; Expl.: . . . ne ergo per leuitatem culparum uir ueniat ad exactionem penarum clamat propheta deus in adiutorium. (recto)

Sermon 523 by John Halgren[129]: “*Esto mihi in Deum protectorem* (Ps. 70,3) – Petit hic generaliter iustus, ut Deus sit ei in protectorem, et bene expedit, quia contra eum cotidie erigitur diabolus inimicus . . . et quotidianis peccatorum spinis obsitis est refugium.” (Schneyer 3:548)

Inc.: <e>*sto michi in deum protectorem et in locum munitum* uel secundum aliam litteram *et in domum refugii ut saluum me facias* [Ps. 70.3 and 30.3] petit hic generalis iustus ut deus sit ei in protectorem et bene expedit quia contra erectus est inimicus et cotidie erigitur scilicet diabolus . . .; Expl.: . . . unknown.¹⁷ (recto and verso)

Sermon 541[146]: “*Quoniam non cognovi negotiationem* (Ps. 70,15) – Triplex est negotiatio, saeculorum seu laicorum . . . qui per contemptum percutit scientiam saecularem.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: unknown . . .; Expl.: . . . quidam tamen sunt regratier predicantes pro lucro uel mala intentione.¹⁸ (verso)

fol. 96 University of North Carolina, Jackson Library

<<http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/ref/collection/MSS/id/14650>>

¹⁶ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The images of this leaf are courtesy of Lisa Fagin Davis. She was only able to provide me with an image of the recto.

¹⁷ It is on the verso, which I do not have access to.

¹⁸ It is on the verso, which I do not have access to.

Sermon 541[146]: “*Quoniam non cognovi negotiationem* (Ps. 70,15) – Triplex est negotiatio, saeculorum seu laicorum . . . qui per contemptum percutit scientiam saecularem.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: unknown . . .; Expl.: . . . quidam tamen sunt regratier predicantes pro lucro uel mala intentione. (recto)

Sermon 525 by John Halgren[131]: “*Quantas ostendisti mihi tribulationes* (Ps. 70,20) – Quot et quantas tribulationes passus fuerit iste sanctus pro nomine Jesu commemorat . . . Joh. 16,7 Nisi ego abiero, Paraclitus . . . mittam eum ad vos. (Schneyer 3:548)

Inc.: *quantas ostendisti michi tribulationes multas et malas* [Ps. 70.20] quot et quantas tribulationes passus fuerit sanctus iste commemorat . . .; Expl.: . . . on the following leaf. (recto and verso)

fol. 98 Kenyon College, Olin Library <<https://digital.kenyon.edu/mdv1manuscripts/18/>>
This leaf is from set no. 23 of FOL.

Sermon 543[149]: “*Reges Tharsis et insulae* (Ps. 61[recte 71],10) – Hi sunt tres reges, de quibus Matth. 2,1 Ecce Magi veniunt ab oriente . . . hoc est quod dicitur: Reges Tharsis . . .” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . item aurum thus et mirra domino offeruntur dum per gratiarum actionem bona predicta domino ascribuntur. (recto)

Sermon 527 by John Halgren[133]: “*Erit firmamentum in terra in summis montium* (Ps. 71,16) – Terra ista est ecclesia, cuius firmamentum debent esse presbyteri et praelati . . . Prov. 10,25 velut tempestas transiens non erit impius.” (Schneyer 3:548)

Inc.: *erit firmamentum in terra in summis montium et cetera* [Ps. 71.16] terra ista ecclesia est cuius firmamentum debent esse prelati presbyteri . . .; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (recto and verso)

fol. 101 Case Western Reserve University, Kelvin Smith Library
<<http://hdl.handle.net/2186/ksl:ege004r1>>
This leaf is from set no. 37 of FOL.

Sermon 545[151]: “*Ideo convertetur populus meus hic* (Ps. 72,10) – Antequam convertatur de culpa ad gratiam, de errore ad veritatem . . . Is. 9. non occidet ultra sol tibi, et lumen tuum non minuetur.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . dies huius mundi non sunt meri quia habent interpolationem culpe et pene. (recto)

Sermon 546[152]: “*Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est* (Ps. 72,28) – Adhaerere carni, non est bonum, quia hoc est paleam appropinquare igni . . . Col. 3,14 Super omnia caritatem habete, quod est vinculum perfectionis.” (Schneyer 4:857)

Inc.: *michi autem adherere deo bonum est* [Ps. 72.28] adherere carni bonum non est quia hoc est paleam associare igni . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde ad colossenses iij super omnia caritatem habentes quod est uinculum perfectionis [Col. 3.14]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 531 by John Halgren[137]: “*Memor esto congregationis tuae* (Ps. 73,2) – Orat propheta, ut Deus memor sit congregationis suae. Haec autem congregatio ecclesia est . . . ut de mortali homo fieret immortalis.” (Schneyer 3:548)

Inc.: *memor esto congregationis tue dominus quam possedisti ab initio* [Ps. 73.2] orat propheta ut deus memor sit sue congregationis . . . ; Expl.: . . . ut homo de colubro uirga fieret vnde venit. (verso)

fol. 102 Newark Public Library, Main Library

<<https://digital.npl.org/islandora/object/medieval%3A0aa42c9a-561a-4e3e-9be6-b817d682640c#page/1/mode/2up>>

This leaf is from set no. 34 of FOL.

Sermon 531 by John Halgren[137]: “*Memor esto congregationis tuae* (Ps. 73,2) – Orat propheta, ut Deus memor sit congregationis suae. Haec autem congregatio ecclesia est . . . ut de mortali homo fieret immortalis.” (Schneyer 3:548)

Inc.: *memor esto congregationis tue dominus quam possedisti ab initio* [Ps. 73.2] orat propheta ut deus memor sit sue congregationis . . . ; Expl.: . . . ut homo de colubro uirga fieret vnde venit. (recto)

Sermon 547[153]: “*Posuerunt signa sua signa* (Ps. 73,4) – Dominus signa sua habet in suis . . . Is. 3,9 Agnitio vultus eorum respondebit eis.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *posuerunt signa sua signa* [Ps. 73.4] dominus habet signa sua in suis . . . ; Expl.: isaias iiii agnitio uultus eorum respondebit eis [Is. 3.9]. (recto and verso)

fol. 103 University of South Carolina, Hollings Library

<<http://digital.tcl.sc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/pfp/id/1666>>

This leaf is from set no. 27 of FOL.

Sermon 547[153]: “*Posuerunt signa sua signa* (Ps. 73,4) – Dominus signa sua habet in suis . . . Is. 3,9 Agnitio vultus eorum respondebit eis.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *posuerunt signa sua signa* [Ps. 73.4] dominus habet signa sua in suis . . .; Expl.: *isaias iiij agnitio uultus eorum respondebit eis* [Is. 3.9]. (recto)

Sermon 548[154]: “*Dixerunt in corde suo cognatio eorum simul* (Ps. 73,8) – Quattuor sunt festa Dei. Nativitas, quod festum magnum est . . . Prov. 30,15 Sanguisugae duae sunt filiae, dicentes: Affer, affer.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *dixerunt in corde suo cognatio eorum quiescere faciamus omnes dies festos dei a terra* [Ps. 73.8] quattuor sunt festiuitates dei primus est festum natiuitatis secundum passionis . . .; Expl.: . . . vnde proueria xxx sanguisugae due sunt filie dicentes affer affer [Prov. 30.15]. (recto and verso)

fol. 104 Ontario College of Art and Design (OCAD), Dorothy H. Hoover Library¹⁹

This leaf is from set no. 36 of FOL.

Sermon 516[122]: “*Inhabitabo in tabernaculo tuo* (Ps. 60,5) – Primo considerandum, quare se dicat inquilinum . . . Emor asinus, quia stultus est labor talium.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *cum inferno pactum fecimus* [Is. 28.15] sed quid faciendum ecce consilium . . .; Expl.: . . . nota de fatuis uirginibus. (recto and verso)

Sermon 518[124]: “*Nonne Deo subiecta erit anima mea* (Ps. 61,2) – quasi dicat ita: Et potissimam assignat rationem, quare Deo debeat esse subiecta anima eius . . . Abac. 3,4 Cornua in manibus eius.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *nonne deo subiecta erit anima mea et cetera* [Ps. 61.2] quasi immo erit quia ab ipso salutare meum ecce potentissima ratio licet multe alie sint . . .; Expl.: . . . amos vi ve qui letamini in nichilo [Am. 6.14]. (verso)

fol. 105 University of Colorado (Boulder), Norlin Library

<<https://cudl.colorado.edu/luna/servlet/s/38o004>>

This leaf is from set no. 32 of FOL.

Sermon 518[124]: “*Nonne Deo subiecta erit anima mea* (Ps. 61,2) – quasi dicat ita: Et potissimam assignat rationem, quare Deo debeat esse subiecta anima eius . . . Abac. 3,4 Cornua in manibus eius.” (Schneyer 4:856)

Inc.: *nonne deo subiecta erit anima mea et cetera* [Ps. 61.2] quasi immo erit quia ab ipso salutare meum ecce potentissima ratio licet multe alie sint . . .; Expl.: . . . amos vi ve qui letamini in nichilo [Am. 6.14]. (recto and verso)

¹⁹ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The images of this leaf are courtesy of Lisa Fagin Davis.

fol. 106 Kent State University (Kent, Ohio), Main Library

[<http://ege.denison.edu/kent_leaf_04.php>](http://ege.denison.edu/kent_leaf_04.php)

This leaf is from set no. 15 of FOL.

Sermon 549[155]: “*Tu fecisti omnes terminos terrae* (Ps. 73,17) – Primo considerandum, quomodo solus Deus peccato terminum imponit . . . Cant. 7,12 si flores fructus parturiunt.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *tu fecisti omnes terminos terre estatem et uer tu plasmasti ea* [Ps. 73.17] primo considerandum est quomodo solus deus peccato terminum posuit . . .; Expl.: . . . idem vi mane surgamus ad uineas et uideamus si floruerit uinea et si flores fructus parturiunt [Ct. 7.12]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 550[161]²⁰: “*Liquefacta est terra* (Ps. 74,4) – Terra significat cor peccatoris terrenum et obstinatum . . . juxta quod pondus sustentat, significat fortitudinem.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *liquefacta est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea ego confirmaui columnas eius* [Ps. 74.4] terra significat cor penitentis peccatoris terrenum et obstinatum . . .; Expl.: . . . jn eo quod pondus sustentat fortitudinem notat. (verso)

fol. 107 Ohio University (Athens, Ohio), Vernon R. Alden Library

[<https://cdm15808.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15808coll19/id/27/rec/4>](https://cdm15808.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15808coll19/id/27/rec/4)

This leaf is from set no. 5 of FOL.

Sermon 550[161]²¹: “*Liquefacta est terra* (Ps. 74,4) – Terra significat cor peccatoris terrenum et obstinatum . . . juxta quod pondus sustentat, significat fortitudinem.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *liquefacta est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea ego confirmaui columnas eius* [Ps. 74.4] terra significat cor penitentis peccatoris terrenum et obstinatum . . .; Expl.: . . . jn eo quod pondus sustentat fortitudinem notat. (recto and verso)

Sermon 551[158]: “*Et factus est in pace locus eius* (Ps. 75,3) – Pax non est, ubi bellum est, sed finis belli pax est . . . In pace factus est . . .” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *jn pace factus est locus eius et habitatio eius in syon ibi confregit et cetera* [Ps. 75.3–4] pax non est ubi bellum est quia per bellum pax acquiritur hostibus superatis . . .; Expl.: . . . hijs igitur malis expulsis facta est habitatio eius pacifica et uide in syon in speculatione celestium. (verso)

fol. 108 Smith College, Neilson Library²²

This leaf is from an unnumbered set of FOL.

²⁰ This should be 156.

²¹ This should be 156.

²² There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

Sermon 551[158]: “*Et factus est in pace locus eius* (Ps. 75,3) – Pax non est, ubi bellum est, sed finis belli pax est . . . In pace factus est . . .” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *jñ pace factus est locus eius et habitatio eius in syon ibi confregit et cetera* [Ps. 75.3–4] pax non est ubi bellum est quia per bellum pax acquiritur hostibus superatis . . .; Expl.: . . . hijs igitur malis expulsis facta est habitatio eius pacifica et uide in syon in speculatione celestium. (recto)

Sermon 552[159]: “*Quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi* (Ps. 75,11) – In anima, quae justificatur, triplices ordinantur cogitationes . . . hoc est vere festum animae et corporis exultatio.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi reliquie cogitationis diem festum agent tibi* [Ps. 75.11] jñ anima quae iustificatur triplices ordinantur cogitationes . . .; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (recto and verso)

fol. 110 Stony Brook University, Frank Melville Jr. Library

<<https://exhibits.library.stonybrook.edu/oem/items/show/486#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-790%2C-216%2C4511%2C4305>>

This leaf is from set. no. 19 of FOL.

Sermon 553[160]: “*Meditatus sum nocte* (Ps. 76,7) – Primo considerandum, in quibus consistit animae rationalis perfectio . . . Cant. 5,1 Bibite, amici, et inebriamini, carissimi.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . et uirtutis amore. (recto)

Sermon 554[161]: “*Redemisti in brachio tuo populum tuum* (Ps. 76,16) – Dominus Christus dicitur brachium et manus patris . . . Ps. 76,4 Renuit consolari anima mea, memor fui Dei.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: *redemisti in brachio tuo populum filios iacob et ioseph* [Ps. 76.16] dominus ihesus christus dicitur brachium et manus patris . . .; Expl.: . . . renuit consolari anima mea et cetera [Ps. 76.3]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 555[162]: “*Multitudo sonitus aquarum* (Ps. 76,18) – Aquae dicuntur scientiae, maxime sacrae scripturae . . . Rom. 12,1 Rationabile sit obsequium vestrum.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: <m>*ultitudo sonitus aquarum et cetera* [Ps. 76.18] aque sunt scientie et maxime diuine scripture . . .; Expl.: . . . quia rationabile sit obsequium uestrum [Rm. 12.1]. (verso)

fol. 111 Toledo Museum of Art <<http://emuseum.toledomuseum.org/objects/51235/manuscript-leaf-from-a-psalter?ctx=a19e9526-3b6d-418a-8f76-cd44d5f78e27&idx=8>>

This leaf is from set no. 12 of FOL.

Sermon 555[162]: “*Multitudo sonitus aquarum* (Ps. 76,18) – Aquae dicuntur scientiae, maxime sacrae scripturae . . . Rom. 12,1 Rationabile sit obsequium vestrum.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: <m>*ultitudo sonitus aquarum et cetera* [Ps. 76.18] aque sunt scientie et maxime diuine scripture . . .; Expl.: . . . quia rationabile sit obsequium uestrum [Rm. 12.1]. (recto)

Sermon 556[163]: “*Filii Ephrem intendentes* (Ps. 77,9) – Arcus est sacra scriptura . . . Filii Ephrem intendentes . . .” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: <f>*ilii ephraym intendentes et mittentes arcum* [Ps. 77.9] arcus est sacra scriptura . . .; Expl.: . . . filii effrem intendentes et cetera [Ps. 77.9]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 557[164]: “*Et mala locuti sunt de Deo* (Ps. 77,19) – Discipuli adhuc carnales simile verbum dixerunt, Marc. 8,4 Unde istos poterit quis saturare . . . et significantur per manna datum in deserto filiis Israel, Exod. 16.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: <m>*ale loqui sunt de deo numquid poterit parare mensam in deserto* [Ps. 77.19] discipuli adhuc carnales simile uerbum dixerunt vnde istos poterit quis saturare in solitudine [Mk. 8.4] . . .; Expl.: . . . signati per manna datum filiis isrel in deserto. (verso)

fol. 112 University of Minnesota, Elmer L. Andersen Library

<<https://umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll210:149?q=Ege+manuscript+4>>

This leaf is from set no. 13 of FOL.

Sermon 557[164]: “*Et mala locuti sunt de Deo* (Ps. 77,19) – Discipuli adhuc carnales simile verbum dixerunt, Marc. 8,4 Unde istos poterit quis saturare . . . et significantur per manna datum in deserto filiis Israel, Exod. 16.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: <m>*ale loqui sunt de deo numquid poterit parare mensam in deserto* [Ps. 77.19] discipuli adhuc carnales simile uerbum dixerunt vnde istos poterit quis saturare in solitudine [Mk. 8.4] . . .; Expl.: . . . signati per manna datum filiis isrel in deserto. (recto)

Sermon 558[165]: “*Et occidit pingues eorum* (Ps. 77,31) – Primo considerandum est, quare dicat pingues . . . ut iam non legantur caelestia, sed quae prius legebantur.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: <e>*t occidit pingues eorum et electos isrel impediuit* [Ps. 77.31] duplex est pinguedo interior et exterior . . .; Expl.: . . . ut iam non legantur celestia sed quae prius legebantur. (recto and verso)

*fol. 115 Indiana University, Lilly Library*²³

This leaf is from set no. 24 of FOL.

Sermon 563[170]: “*Elegit David servum suum* (Ps. 77,70) – Quattuor hic notantur, quae concurrunt ad hoc, ut aliquis sit dignus eligi . . . Gen. 45,5 pro salute enim vestra misit me Dominus ante vos in Aegyptum.” (Schneyer 4:858)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . pro salute enim uestra misit me dominus ante uos [Gen. 45.5]. (recto)

Sermon 564[171]: “*Ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum* (Ps. 78,10) – Hic considerandum est, qui sunt in nobis servi Domini . . . Eccli. 6,31 et alligatio eius salutaris.” (Schneyer 4:859)

Inc.: <u>ltio sanguinis seruorum tuorum qui effusus est et cetera [Ps. 78.10] primo considerandum est qui sint in nobis serui domini . . . ; Expl.: . . . decor uite in ea et alligatio eius salutaris [Sir. 6.31]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 565[172]: “*Cibabis nos pane lacrimarum* (Ps. 79,6) – Panis lacrimarum vel potus dicitur dupliciter. Primo panis lacrimarum idest quem lacrimae consequuntur . . . 2. Cor. 4,17 aeternum gloriae pondus operatur in nobis. (Schneyer 4:859)

Inc.: <c>ibabis nos pane lacrimarum et cetera [Ps. 79.6] panis lacrimarum uel potus dicitur duplex panis enim est lacrimarum quem lacrimae subsequuntur . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

*fol. 118 Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art (Hartford, Connecticut)*²⁴

This leaf is from set no. 10 of FOL.

Sermon 567[174]: “*Incensa igni et suffossa* (Ps. 79,17) – Primum considerandum est, quae sint in aedificio spirituali fundamentum murus et tectum . . . Joh. 19,34 et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.” (Schneyer 4:859)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde in iohanne xix et unus lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua [Joh. 19.34]. (recto)

Sermon 568[175]: “*Joseph cum exiret de terra Aegypti* (Ps. 80,6) – Ante aedificationem turris Babel unica erat lingua scil. hebraea . . . Eccli. 28,15 Susurro et bilinguis maledictus . . .” (Schneyer 4:859)

²³ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The images of this leaf are courtesy of Yin Liu. S2 labelled the verso fol. 116.

²⁴ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf. The images of this leaf are courtesy of Lisa Fagin Davis.

Inc.: <j>oseph cum exiret de terra egypti linguam quam non nouerat audiuit [Ps. 80.6] ante edificationem turris babel una erat lingua scilicet hebrea . . . ; Expl.: . . . de qua ecclesiastici xxv iii susurro et bilinguis maledictus mutlos enim turbauit pacem habentes [Sir. 28.15]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 569[176]: “*Ego enim sum Deus tuus* (Ps. 81[recte 80],11) – Primo considerandum, quare non sit os aperiendum, dum sumus in Aegypto . . . ubi lux est et ubi nullae sunt muscae, sicut dicitur Exod. 8,22.” (Schneyer 4:859)

Inc.: <e>go sum dominus deus tuus qui eduxi te de terra egypti dilata os tuum et implebo illud [Ps. 80.11] in egipto non est os aperiendum tamen quia non uideretur quid in os apponeretur . . . ; Expl.: . . . in futuro uero ex adipe satiabit dominus sanctos suos. (verso)

Sermon 572[179]: “*Quam dilecta tabernacula tua* (Ps. 83,2) – Primo considerandum est, quomodo anima prius sit tabernaculum in praesenti . . . Sap. 8,2 et amator factus sum formae illius.” (Schneyer 4:859)

Inc.: <q>uam dilecta tabernacula tua domine uirtutum et cetera [Ps. 80.2] anima dicitur tabernaculum atrium templum tabernaculum mobile templum fixum . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

*fol. 123 University of Saskatchewan, Murray Library*²⁵

This leaf is from set no. 25 of FOL.

Sermon 580[187]: “*Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo* (Ps. 88,2) – Primo hoc considerandum est, quomodo plures sint misericordiae, quae septem panibus comparantur . . . 2. Tim. 1,12 quoniam potens est depositum meum servare in illum diem.” (Schneyer 4:859–860)

Inc.: . . . on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde illud scio cui credidi et certus sum quia potens est et cetera [II Tim. 1.12]. (recto)

Sermon 583[190]: “*Thronus eius sicut sol* (Ps. 88,38) – Primo considerandum, quare beata virgo comparatur throno . . . quanto magis a Deo exaltata, tanto se magis humiliavit.” (Schneyer 4:860)

Inc.: <t>ronus eius sicut sol in conspectu meo et cetera [Ps. 88.38] hic considerandum est quare beata uirgo comparatur throno et soli et lune . . . ; Expl.: . . . ab eua meror et dolor ab ista gaudium et letitia. (recto and verso)

Sermon 584[191]: “*Destruxisti omnes saepes eius* (Ps. 88,41) – Anima quandoque comparatur vineae . . . Phil. 4,10 Gavisus sum in Domino . . . pro me sentire.” (Schneyer 4:860)

²⁵ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

Inc.: <d>estruixisti omnes sepes eius et cetera [Ps. 88.41] anima quandoque comparatur uinee . .
.; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

*fol. 127 Private Collection*²⁶

Sermon 593[200]: “*Populum tuum humiliaverunt* (Ps. 103[*recte* 93],5) – Dominus in nobis habet populum suum et hereditatem . . . Rom. 8,35 Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi.” (Schneyer 4:860)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . et ad romanos viii quis nos separabit et cetera [Rm. 8.35]. (recto)

Sermon 594[201]: “*Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum* (Ps. 93,19) – Tribulatio est cibus animae sed amarus . . . secundum multitudinem . . .” (Schneyer 4:860)

Inc.: <s>ecundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo et cetera [Ps. 93.19] tribulatio cibus est anime sed amarus . . .; Expl.: . . . et hoc est quod dicit secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum et cetera [Ps. 93.19]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 595[202]: “*Praeoccupemus faciem eius* (Ps. 94.2) – Christus est sponsus animae, dominus, magister et iudex . . . 1. Petr. 4,18 Et si quidem vix justus salvabitur, miseri peccatores, ubi parebunt.” (Schneyer 4:860)

Inc.: <p>raeoccupemus faciem eius in confessione et cetera [Ps. 94.2] christus sponsus est anime dominus et magister et iudex . . .; Expl.: . . . de quo prima petri iiij et si quidem iustus saluabitur impius et peccator ubi parebunt [I Pt. 4.18]. (verso)

fol. 128 Cleveland Public Library, Main Library

<http://ege.denison.edu/cleveland_leaf_04.php>

This leaf is from set no. 22 of FOL.

Sermon 595[202]: “*Praeoccupemus faciem eius* (Ps. 94,2) – Christus est sponsus animae, dominus, magister et iudex . . . 1. Petr. 4,18 Et si quidem vix justus salvabitur, miseri peccatores, ubi parebunt.” (Schneyer 4:860)

Inc.: <p>raeoccupemus faciem eius in confessione et cetera [Ps. 94.2] christus sponsus est anime dominus et magister et iudex . . .; Expl.: . . . de quo prima petri iiij et si quidem iustus saluabitur impius et peccator ubi parebunt [I Pt. 4.18]. (recto)

Sermon 596[203]: “*Cantate Domino canticum novum* (Ps. 95,1) – Est vetus homo, de quo Rom. 6,6 Scientes, quia vetus homo noster . . . Is. 26,3 vetus error abiit.” (Schneyer 4:860)

²⁶ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

Inc.:<c>*antate domino canticum nouum* [Ps. 95.1] est uetus homo de quo ad romanos vi scientes quia uetus homo noster [Rm. 6.6] . . . ; Expl.: . . . et mattheus ix nemo mittit uinum nouum in utres ueteres [Mt. 9.17]. (recto and verso)

fol. 129 University of Iowa, Parks Library

<https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui:mmc_47>

Sermon 597[204]: “*Lux orta est iusto* (Ps. 96,11) – Legitur Job 38,24 Per quam uiam spargitur lux . . . 2. Cor. 1,12 Gloria nostra haec est testimonium conscientiae nostrae.” (Schneyer 4:860-61)

Inc.:<l>*vx orta est iusto et rectis corde letitia* [Ps. 96.11] legitur job xxxviii nosti per quam uiam spargitur lux diuiditur estus super terram [Job. 38.24] . . . ; Expl.: . . . ij ad corinthios i gloria nostra hec est testimonium conscientie nostre [II Cor. 1.12]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 598[202]²⁷: “*Psallite Domino in cithara* (Ps. 97,5) – Primo considerandum est, quomodo anima ordinata est secundum dispositionem citharae . . . quia non audebant intueri faciem Moysi.” (Schneyer 4:861)

Inc.:<p>*sallite domino in cythara et cetera* [Ps. 97.5] primo considerandum est quomodo anima ordinata est secundum dispositionem cythare . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

fol. 145 Private Collection²⁸

<https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/57748357_leaf-from-philip-the-chancellor-sermons-on-the-psalms>

Sermon 630[237]: “*Memoriam fecit mirabilum suorum* (Ps. 110,4) – Primo considerandum est, quae beneficia nobis contulit Christus de seipso . . . desideravit te anima mea, o bona crux.” (Schneyer 4:863)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: on verso.

fol. 154 Vassar College, Catherine Pelton Durrell '25 Archives & Special Collections Library²⁹

Sermon 645[252]: “*Tunc non confundar* (Ps. 118,6) – Satiricus poeta Iuuenalis dicit: Descendit de caelo: gnothi seauton idest cognosce te ipsum . . . 2. Reg. 12, 16 Ingressus David seorsum jacuit super terram.” (Schneyer 4:863–64)

²⁷ This should be 205.

²⁸ There is only a recto image available. This leaf was sold to a private owner by Dreweatts.

²⁹ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . et de penitente dicitur ii samuelis xii ingressus seorsum iacuit super terram [II Sm. 12.16]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 646[253]: “*In quo corrigit adolescentior viam suam* (Ps. 118,9) – De hac via adolescentis dicitur Prov. 30,18 Ubi dicit sapientia: Tria sunt mihi difficilia . . . Prov. 22,6 cum senuerit, non recedet ab ea.” (Schneyer 4:864)

Inc.: <i>n quo corrigit adolescentior uiam suam et cetera [Ps. 118.9] de hac uia dicitur adolescentis proueria xxx dicit sapientia tria sunt difficilia mihi et quartum penitus ignoro [Prv. 30.18] . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

fol. 158 University of Minnesota, Elmer L. Andersen Library³⁰
<<https://umedia.lib.umn.edu/item/p16022coll180:101?q=MS+35>>

Sermon 650[257]: “*Et ambulabam in latitudine* (Ps. 118,45) – Multis modis dilatatur anima et interior homo per caritatem . . . Quasi talem . . . opprimit turba sollicitudinem.” (Schneyer 4:864)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . talem dum est in porta samarie et dum uacat sensibus opprimit turba sollicitudinum. (recto)

Sermon 617 by John Halgren[223]: “*Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo* (Ps. 118,49) – Illud verbum revocat propheta ad memoriam, de quo dicitur Is. 65,13s Servi mei comedent . . . Eccli. 4,26 nec adversus animam tuam mendacium.” (Schneyer 3:554)

Inc.: <m>emor esto uerbi tui seruo tuo et cetera [Ps. 118.49] jllius uerbi scilicet de quo ysaia lxv serui mei comedent et uos esuriatis bibent et uos sitiatis [Is. 65.13] . . . ; Expl.: . . . hoc de religiosis potest intelligi qui se reputant uineam et ficum et tamen propter sterilitatem cum christo non erunt. (recto and verso)

Sermon 651[258]: “*Cantabiles mihi erant iustitiae* (Ps. 118,54) – Juxta illud 2. Cor. 5,6 Dum sumus in corpore . . . Spirituales viri dicuntur peregrini . . . Visitabo super omnes, qui induti sunt veste peregrina.” (Schneyer 4:864)

Inc.: <c>antabiles mihi erant iustificationes tue in loco peregrinationis mee [Ps. 118.54] secunda ad corinthios v dum sumus in corpore peregrinamur a domino [II Cor. 5.6] spirituales uiri dicuntur peregrinj . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

fol. 173 University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center³¹
<<https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/pubnmn/details.cfm?id=281>>

³⁰ This leaf's shelfmark is Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota, Elmer L. Andersen Library, MS 35.

³¹ This leaf's shelfmark is Austin, TX, University of Texas, Harry Ransom Center, MS Leaf M1.

Sermon 666[273]: “*Erravi sicut ovis* (Ps. 118,176) – Ovis sicut columba significat simplicitatem, sed est simplicitas ficta . . . Prov. 3,32 cum simplicibus sermocinatio eius.” (Schneyer 4:865)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . vnde prouerbia iiii cum simplicibus sermocinatio sermocinatio eius [Prv. 3.32] (recto)

Sermon 635 by John Halgren[241]: “*Quid detur tibi* (Ps. 119,3) – Contra omnem infirmitatem docet nos misericordia medicinam . . . Abd. 1,8 Et prudentiam de monte Esau sive Edom, quod interpretatur terrena.” (Schneyer 3:555)³²

Inc.: <q>*vid detur tibi aut quid aponatur tibi et cetera* [Ps. 119.3] jn lxx lingua dolosa est sibilus serpentis . . . ; Expl.: . . . et hij igne caritatis uel eterne comminationis accensi ad sonitum predicationis mouentur. (recto and verso)

Sermon 667[274]: “*Cum iis, qui oderunt pacem* (Ps. 119,6 [recte 7]) – Magnae virtutis indicium est, quod hic dicitur: Cum iis . . . Is. 11,6 et puer parvus minabit eos.” (Schneyer 4:865)

Inc.: <c>*um hiis qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus* [Ps. 119.7] magne uirtutis est quod hic dicitur cum hiis et cetera . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

fol. 183 Private Collection

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/36735978@N05/47059436194/in/dateposted-public/>

Sermon 683[290]: “*Quia apud Dominum misericordia* (Ps. 129,7) – Misericordia Domini comparatur fluvio . . . 1. Cor. 13,2 caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum.” (Schneyer 4:866)

Inc.: . . . on the previous folio . . . ; Expl.: . . . caritatem autem non habuero sum nihil [I Cor. 13.2]. (recto)

Sermon 684[291]: “*Sicut ablactatus est super matrem suam* (Ps. 130,2) – Est mater sive nutrix, cuius lacte debemus ablactari . . . Prov. 6,14 omni tempore iurgia seminat.” (Schneyer 4:866)

Inc.: <s>*icut ablactatus super matre sua et cetera* [Ps. 130.2] mater siue nutrix a cuius lacte debemus ablactari . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (recto and verso)

fol. 187 Currently for sale at King Alfred's Notebook

<https://www.kingalfredsnotebook.com/manuscript/scholastic-sermons-of-philip-the-chancellor-ex-otto-f-ege/>

³² It looks like the scribe also borrowed material from the following sermon by John. Sermon 636: “*Sagittae potentis acutae* (Ps. 119,4) – Hae sunt sententiae sacrae scripturae, de quibus Is. 13,17s Suscitabo super illos Medos . . . et ignis cupiditatis devoratur in cupido.” (Schneyer 3:555)

Sermon 687[294]: “*Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum* (Ps. 132,1) – Duplex est unitas scil. confraternitatis et conventualis . . . Matth. 5,3 Beati pauperes spiritu.” (Schneyer 4:866)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . dicitur mattheus v beati pauperes spiritu et cetera [Mt. 5.3]. (recto and verso)

Sermon 691[298]: “*Educens (alias producens) nubes ab extremo* (Ps. 134,7) – Nota quattuor, quae dicit: nubes, fulgura, pluviam ventos . . . Eccli. 2,1 Sta in iustitia et timore.” (Schneyer 4:866)

Inc.: <e>*ducens nubes ab extremo terre et cetera qui producit uentos et cetera* [Ps. 134.7] nota quattuor qui dicit nubes fulgura pluuiam uentos . . .; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

*fol. 191 Private Collection*³³

Sermon 695[302]: “*Quomodo cantabimus canticum Domino* (Ps. 136,4) – Hic tria sunt consideranda. Primo quomodo in statu peccati non est canticum concordiae . . . Prov. 7,19 Abiit via longissima.” (Schneyer 4:867)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (recto and verso)

*fol. 201 The Art Gallery of Ontario*³⁴

This leaf is from set no. 16 of FOL.

Sermon 716[323]: “*Aperis tu manum tuam* (Ps. 144,16) – Aperuit manum suam Pater in Filii incarnatione . . . Eccli. 4,36 Non sit manus tua ad accipiendum porrecta, et ad dandum collecta.” (Schneyer 4:868)

Inc.: on the previous folio . . .; Expl.: . . . ecclesiasticus iiii non sit manus tua ad accipiendum porrecta et cetera [Sir. 4.36]. (recto)

Sermon 717[324]: “*Exibit spiritus eius* (Ps. 145,4) – Sunt, qui non habent fidem resurrectionis, dicentes animam interire cum corpore . . . Totum ergo redde, quia totum idea assumpsit.” (Schneyer 4:868)

Inc.: <e>*xibit spiritus eius et reuertetur in terram suam* [Ps. 145,4] hic probatur futura resurrectio . . .; Expl.: . . . et Genesis ij deus fecit hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam. (recto and verso)

³³ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

³⁴ There are no digital facsimiles available online of this leaf.

Sermon 666 by John Halgren[272]: “*Beatus, cuius Deus Jacob adiutor eius* (Ps. 145,5) – Beatus siquidem vir, cuius est adiutor Deus Jacob, per cuius adiutorium de Jacob fir Israel . . . terrenis inhaereat homo, quod est mortis occasio.” (Schneyer 3:557)

Inc.: *eatus cuius deus iacob adiutor eius et cetera* [Ps. 145.5] de hac beatitudine numeri xxiiii quam pulchra sunt tabernacula tua jacob tentoria tua o isrel [Nm. 24.5] . . . ; Expl.: . . . deserta est omnis letitia translatus est omne gaudium [Is. 24.11]. (verso)

Sermon 667 by John Halgren[273]: “*Aedificans Jersusalem Dominus* (Ps. 146,2) – De hac dispersione Zach. 7,14 Dispersi eos per omnia regna . . . Per omnia regna daemonum dispergentur . . . cum praedictis vectibus sunt muniti.” (Schneyer 3:557)

Inc.: <e>*dificans ierusalem dominus et cetera* [Ps. 146.2] de hac dispersione zacharias vii dispersi eos per omnia regna diaboli idest peccata [Za. 7.14] . . . ; Expl.: . . . on the following folio. (verso)

*fol. 206 MS cod. Lat. b. 11*³⁵

Index (recto and verso)³⁶

*fol. 207 MS cod. Lat. b. 11*³⁷

Index (recto and verso)

*fol. 208 MS cod. Lat. b. 11*³⁸

Index (recto and verso)

*fol. 209 MS cod. Lat. b. 11*³⁹

Index (recto and verso)

*fol. 210 MS cod. Lat. b. 11*⁴⁰

Index (recto and verso)

³⁵ This leaf is labelled fol. 65 in MS cod. Lat. b. 11.

³⁶ See Appendix C for a transcription of the entire index.

³⁷ This leaf is labelled fol. 66 in MS cod. Lat. b. 11.

³⁸ This leaf is labelled fol. 67 in MS cod. Lat. b. 11.

³⁹ This leaf is labelled fol. 68 in MS cod. Lat. b. 11.

⁴⁰ This leaf is labelled fol. 69 in MS cod. Lat. b. 11.

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SELECT LEAVES

Transcription Guidelines:

1. Due to the number of abbreviations, expanded abbreviations are indicated by *italics*.
2. Problematic readings or corruptions in the text are indicated by obeli or daggers: ††.
3. Scribal insertions in the margins are indicated by double slashes: \\\.
4. Letters cancelled by subpunction are indicated by square brackets and subscript dots: [..].
5. Damaged text is indicated by double square brackets: [[]]. Asterisks within the brackets indicate the estimated number of letters that are missing.
6. Missing initials are indicated by angle brackets: < >.
7. My own suggested additions are indicated by parentheses: (). For instance, S1 does not put slashes at the end of words that continue on the next line; therefore, I have inserted slashes in parentheses, (/), for the ease of the reader.
8. I have normalized c and t.

All biblical references were taken from Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

All sermon numbers were taken from Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, vols. 3 and 4, Autoren: I - J, Autoren: L - P (Münster, Westf.: Aschendorffsche, 1971, 1972).

1. ¶ *inhabitabunt et abcondent.*² ipsi *calcaneum. meum. obseruabunt.* diabolus maxime insidiatur circa
2. finem. *et laborat ut homines non curent de bona uita. sed de ꝑpom(/)*
3. *paꝑ in fine sicut legitur numeri xiiij.*³ fiant nouissima mea horum similia verba
4. *sunt balaam de filiis isrel. ita solent pigri optare. jta mater filiorum zebedei*
5. *petebat filijs suis ut unus [d] sederet ad dexteram et alius ad sinistram.*
6. *sed ad uiam ueritatis reuocat eos dominus dicens potestis bibere calicem et cetera.*
7. *docens quia per calicem peruenitur ad maiestatem. contra. tales prouerbia. xij.*⁴ piger
8. *uult et non uult. uult saturari et non uult operari. jdeoque diabolus*
9. *uult decinere homines in peccato suggerens eis quod in fine satis penitebunt* \\venatio diaboli.//
10. *et ipse quasi uenator in arto itinere. circa exitum ponit insidias. hoc est enim*
11. *artum foramen omnium hominum.*⁵ vnde job. xvij. *abscondita est in terra pedica eius*
12. *et cetera. multiplex est causa quare diabolus in fine insidiatur. prima quia si euaserit*
13. *tunc decetero in tuto erit. Sed magis dicit cum. dauid.*⁷ *Benedictus dominus qui non dedit*
14. *nos. in captionem. dentibus. eorum. et laqueus contritus est et nos. liberati. sumus et Naum.*
15. *.ii.*⁸ *Celebra iuda festiuitates tuas. idest. o confitens quia non additiet* \\gloria//
16. *ultra. ut tñseat⁹ in te belial uniuersus interijt. secundo quia si pecor¹⁰ tunc* \\belial//
17. *interceptus fuerit non poterit postea liberari: vnde ecclesiasticus. ix.*¹¹ *vbi ceciderit lignum*
18. *ibi erit siue ad austrum siue ad aquilonem et sophonias. i.*¹² *argentum eorum* \\dolos//
19. *et aurum non poterit eos liberare. vnde ecclesiastici ix.*¹³ *in die ire dominj. Tertio quia nouit* \\pena//
20. *potestatem suam modicum duraturam. et inde acrius seuit ut mali bedelli.*¹⁴
21. *vnde statius¹⁵ non parcat popullis. regnum breue et apocalypsis. xij.*¹⁶ *descendit*
22. *diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam. sciens quia modicum tempus habet*
23. *Quarto et si in nullo potest electis nocere tamen laborat de specie mali exitus infa(/)*
24. *mare. ut si moriantur intestati. uel desperati quod numquam contingit bonis.* \\mors//
25. *nec etiam habent honorem exequiarum qui quantum ad deum feliciter consummatur.*
26. *vnde sapientia.*¹⁷ *justus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio. erit. et jtem¹⁸ consumma(/)*
27. *tus in breui impleuit tempora multa. placita enim. deo. erat. anima. jllijs. propterea properauit*
28. *educere eum de medio iniquitatis. et ecclesiastici. i.*¹⁹ *Timenti. dominum bene erit*
29. *in extremis. et in die defunctionis benedicetur et psalmi²⁰ pretiosa. in conspectu. domini. mors. sanctorum. eius.*
30. *et de malis idem mors peccatorum pessima. licet multa pompa sequatur feretra.*
31. *hijs ergo diaboli insidijs occurritur per confessionem per extremam unctionem. per heu*
32. *caristiam. per testamenti ordinationem. vnde isaias. xxxvij.*²¹ *Dispone*
33. *domui tue quia morieris tu et non uiues. et ecclesiastici xxij.*²² *ne des maculam*

¹ A paraph is used here to mark the beginning of sermon 507: "*Inhabitabunt et abcondent ipsi calcaneum suum* (Ps. 55,7) – Diabolus insidiatur fini vitæ propter multas causas . . . Jam cras hestemum consumpsimus, ecce aliud cras." (Schneyer 4: 855) The length of two lines was also left for an initial (IJ), but the scribe used a letter (j) that matches the size of the surrounding text.

² *abcondent*

³ This should be Numbers 23:10, not 14. This is one of multiple mistakes in biblical references that appear in this manuscript. The 1523 Badius incunabulum, Cambridge, MS Ii. 3. 27, London, Add. MS 45568, Oxford, MS Bodl. 745, and Paris, MS 14594 have the correct chapter. Oxford, MS Digby 45 does not provide the book or chapter, and Oxford, MS 118 lists the biblical reference as Numbers 13.

⁴ Proverbs 13:4

⁵ This could also be *omnem hominem* with the accusative of respect, but this seems less likely.

⁶ Job 18:10

⁷ Psalm 123:6–7

⁸ It appears that Philip used the Hebrew numbering for the book of Nahum, which places this reference in Nahum 2:1. The Vulgate numbering places this reference in Nahum 1:15. The copyists of Philip's works in MS Ege 4, MS Ii. 3. 27, Add. MS 45568, MS Bodl. 745, MS 118, and MS 14594 follow Philip's numbering. This reference does not appear in MS Digby 45. See Nahum 1:15 (NIV), footnote a.

⁹ *transeat*

¹⁰ *peccator*

¹¹ This should be Ecclesiastes 11:3, not 9. This is another mistake that does not appear in any of the manuscripts that I examined; Ecclesiastes 11:3 appears in the 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS Ii. 3. 27, Add. MS 45568, MS Digby 45, MS Bodl. 745, MS 118, and MS 14594.

¹² Zephaniah 1:18

¹³ Here is an example of eye-skip.

¹⁴ This is the medieval word for a beadle, agent, or servant. Compare "*mali bedelli*" with "*prepositi temporales qui omnia que possunt emungunt*," which appears in the 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS Ii. 3. 27, Add. MS 45568, MS Digby 45, MS Bodl. 745, MS 118, and MS 14594.

¹⁵ Statius, *Thebaid*, 2.446

¹⁶ Revelation 12:12

¹⁷ Wisdom 4:7

¹⁸ Wisdom 4:13–14

¹⁹ Sirach 1:13

²⁰ Psalm 115:6

²¹ Isaiah 38:1

²² Sirach 33:24

1. jn gloria tua. jn die consummationis dierum uite tue et in tempore exitus distribue here(/)
2. ditatem. de hac die poeta²³ Omnem diem crede tibi diluxisse supremum
3. et Gregorius. sic discere quasi semper uicturus. sic uiue quasi cras moriturus. et de con(/)
4. fessione ecclesiastica v¹⁰.²⁴ Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum et ne differas de die in diem.
5. subito. enim. et cetera. Qui non est hodie²⁵ et persius²⁶ jam cras consumpsimus ecce aliud
6. cras.
7. ²⁷¶ Deus uitam meam annuntiaui tibi. posuisti. lachrymas. meas. in conspectu. tuo. Annuntiaui dicit
8. quasi plane. plene et palam nuntiaui tibi quidam enim. mastican(/)
9. do balbuciendo confitentur ut sit fenerator dicit habui de alieno et tale cir(/)
10. cuitus maxime contingit circa peccatum carnis. cuius circumstantie maiores
11. sunt quam sit ipsius peccati substantia. vnde ad ephesios. v.²⁸ Que ab ipsis in occulto
12. fiunt ab ipsis in occulto turpe est et dicere. et ad romanos. i.²⁹ propterea tradidit
13. eos deus in passiones. ignominie. hec enim uocat apostolus. jn passiones. ignominie. sed oportet quod in con(/)
14. fessione malus pudor uincatur. hoc est enim demonium. de quo lucas. xi.³⁰
15. Erat iehsus eiciens demonium. et illud erat mutum. et eiecto demonio. idest.
16. pudore. locutus est mutus. quod significatum est in iuda. de quo legitur quod primus
17. ingressus est mare rubrum. mare rubrum intrare est pudorem de peccato uin(/)
18. \\pudor// cere. Erisbescunt. enim. quidam confiteri peccatum quod uicti sint a femina. a
19. propria. scilicet. concupiscentia. vnde ovidius.³¹ quis enim. sua prelia uictus commemo(/)
20. rare uelit. hoc significatur iudicium. ix.³² vbi abimeleth dixit armigero suo Euagi(/)
21. na gladium tuum et percute me. ne forte dicatur quod a femina interfectus
22. \\jpocrisis// sim. Multi enim occulte per incontinentiam peccant. et hoc per hypocrisi(/)
23. sim celant nolentes ut eorum incontinentia percipiatur. jsti quasi ab
24. \\armiger// armigero occidi uolunt. armiger arma gerit sed armis non pugnat.
25. \\arma// sic ipocrite uirtutum armis super induuntur. ut habitu religionis sed uirtu(/)
26. tum opera non habent. sequitur quod dicit meam contra quosdam qui confitentur
27. aliena peccata et in hoc quasi se excusant dicentes per illum feci. cum potius
28. deberent dicere circumstantias que faciunt as grauamen. quam illas
29. que faciunt ad leuamen peccati. sicut habere Genesis. iiiij.³³ Mulier quam de(/)
30. disti michi decepit me de hac confessionis anuntiatione dicitur ecclesiastici
31. \\vita// xvi.³⁴ anima uitalis denuntiat ante faciem ipsius et ipsa est euersio illorum Anima
32. uitalis est anima penitentis. qui uiuit non solum uita naturali sed et uita
33. gratie vnde³⁵ viuens uiuens ipse confitebitur tibi. hec denuntiat ante faciem

²³ Horace, *Epistles*, 4.13.²⁴ Sirach 5:8²⁵ Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 94.²⁶ Persius, *Satires*, 5.68.²⁷ A paraph and a built-up initial are used here to mark the beginning of sermon 508: "Deus vitam meam annuntiavi tibi (Ps. 55:9) – Primo considerandum, quare dixit: Vitam meam annuntiavi tibi . . . Unde Luc. 22,44 Factus est sudor eius tamquam guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram." (Schneyer 4:855). The length of two lines was also left for the initial (D), but the scribe only used one line.²⁸ Ephesians 5:12²⁹ Romans 1:26³⁰ Luke 11:14³¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.4–5.³² Judges 9:54. Here is an instance when the biblical reference appears to be correct in MS Ege 4 but not in the other manuscripts I examined, except for one. MS Ege 4 and MS 118 both have Judges 9. The scribe in MS 118 appears to have corrected the reference, but I cannot tell what number it was originally. The 1523 incunabulum, MS 45568, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594 all list the reference as Judges 6, and MS li. 3. 27 lists it as Judges 5. This could be an example of an original mistake by Philip the Chancellor that was fixed by the scribes of MS 118 and MS Ege 4.³³ This should be a reference to the events of Genesis 3, where Adam explains why he ate the fruit of the tree of knowledge. The 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS 45568, MS 118, and MS 14594 all list it as Genesis 3. MS Digby 45 provides the book, Genesis, but not the chapter.³⁴ Sirach 16:31³⁵ Isaiah 38:19

1. ¹plena sunt dolo. jtem est paruulus sensu siue discretione. vnde ecclesiastici. xiiij.² noli esse
2. humilis in sapientia. ne humiliatus in stultitia seducaris quia nimia parit contem(/)
3. ptum. et i^a. ad corinthios xiiij.³ nolite fieri paruuli sensibus. et cetera. Est etiam paruulus
4. per inuidiam. vnde iob. v⁴ quia sicut \humilis/ paruulus erubescit ire iuxta maiorem se ita
5. inuidus non potest sustinere maiorem se. et sibi comparari. et dolet preponi. vnde ad galathas
6. v^o.⁵ non efficiamini inanis glorie cupidi inuicem prouocantes inuicem inuidentes. et
7. mattheus. xx.⁶ hij nouissimi una hora. fecerunt et pares. eos. nobis. fecisti. qui. portauimus. pondus. diei. et estus. jnde est quod heliab
8. maior frater dauidis.⁷ ut habete primo regum. xvi.⁸ ut audiuit probitates dauidis. doluit et inuidit.
9. vnde ibi⁹ dicitur. quare huc uenisti et dereliquisti illas pauculas oues in deserto. ego
10. noui superbiam tuam et nequitiam cordis tui quia ut uideres prelium descendisti. in quo \\prelatio//
11. significatur quod minores a paucis ouibus plexumque assumuntur ad dignitatem ut pug(/)
12. nent cum philisteo. vnde maiores natu uel religione antiquiores. uel qui
13. scientia uel dignitate excedunt inuidet et dolent. jtem inuidus dolet de perseuerantia
14. in bono sicut de augmento boni. vnde.¹⁰ jnuidus alterius. macrescit. rebus. opimis et Genesis. xxxvij.¹¹ vi(/)
15. dentes ioseph fratres et cetera et glossa. quedam super epistolam ad galathas.¹² Quanto ille cui
16. inuidetur. successu meliore processerit. tanto inuidus in maius incendium liuoris
17. exardescit. jtem impedit cursum boni propositi. vnde ouidius.¹³ nescio quis tene(/)
18. ros oculus mihi fascinat agnos qui sint paruuli diaboli et qui sint paruuli christi
19. patet quia paruuli christi crescunt per ascensionem crucis christi. vnde legitur lucas. xix.¹⁴ quod \\crucis//
20. zacheus statura pusillus erat et ascendit sichomorum ut. uideret ihesum et \\sichomorus//
21. uidit transeuntem. et tu si pusillus es statura gratie ascende sichomorum crucis
22. et penitentiae. et augebitur tibi gratia et uidere mereberis dominum. de paruulis igitur diaboli potest \\paruuli diaboli//
23. intelligi. illud. Sagitte paruulorum. facte. sunt et cetera. paruulorum. idest. inuidorum qui paru(/) \\detractio//
24. los domini sagittant detractationibus quandoque occultis. et tunc sunt sagittarij. quandoque
25. manifestis. et tunc sunt gladiatores. vnde proueria. xxvi.¹⁵ sicut noxius est qui mittit \\sagittarius//
26. lanceas et sagittas. in mortem. ita. uir qui fraudulenter nocet amico suo. \\gladiator//
27. et cum deprehensus fuerit dicit ludens feci. jnde recte inuidus significari potest
28. per ismael et esau. de ismahele. enim. dicitur. Genesis. xvi.¹⁶ hic erit homo ferus. ma(/)
29. nus eius contra omnes. et manus omnium contra eum. vere manus inuidie. contra omnes. scilicet. \\jnuidia//
30. uirtutes. quia in suo subiecto destruit omnes et in alio omnes odit. nullum
31. persequitur uitium sed omne diligit ergo pessimum est uitiorum. jtem ismael persequabatur issac \\risus//
32. qui interpretatur risus. sic et inuidus omne gaudium spirituale. vnde ouidius.¹⁷ risus
33. abest nisi quem uisi fecere dolores. de persequutione¹⁸ ismael ad yssac. ad.

4:856) ¹ This folio begins part way through sermon 522: “Sagittae paruulorum (Ps. 63,8) – Parvulos suos habet Dominus et parvulos suos habet diaboli . . . hoc est, gladius eorum intret in corda ipsorum.” (Schneyer

² Sirach 13:11

³ I Corinthians 14:20

⁴ MS Ege 4 is the only manuscript that I examined that references Job 6 as the source of this quotation. I consulted the 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594. The quotation does not appear to come from Job 6 directly; it might have been an anonymous commentary on Job or even a gloss on this chapter of Job.

⁵ Galatians 5:26

⁶ Matthew 20:12

⁷ Eliab

⁸ This should be I Samuel, not I Kings; The 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594 also list it as Kings. This might be another original mistake by Philip. The chapter also appears to be incorrect in the MS Ege 4 version. It should be I Samuel 17, not 16. It is a reference to David and his altercation with his eldest brother, Eliab. The 1523 Badius incunabulum and MS 14594 list it as chapter 17, but MS li.3.27 and MS Digby 45 do not provide the chapter.

⁹ I Samuel 17:28

¹⁰ Horace, Epistles, 1.57.

¹¹ Genesis 37; this is a reference to the story of Joseph and his brothers.

¹² This passage comes from a gloss on Galatians according to MS Ege 4, the 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594.

¹³ This actually comes from Vergil, Eclogues, 103. The 1523 Badius incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594 all list Vergil as the author of this quote. It appears that this another unique mistake.

¹⁴ A reference to Luke 19:3–4, in which Zachaeus climbs a sycamore tree to see Jesus.

¹⁵ Proverbs 26:18–19

¹⁶ Genesis 16:12

¹⁷ Ovid, Metamorphoses, 2.778.

¹⁸ persecutio

1. galathas. iiiij.¹⁹ Qui secundum carnem erat persequitur qui secundum spiritum. Esau
2. similiter persequatur iacob. vnde comminatus est ei mortem at ille fugauit. hoc idem
3. signum est in saul de quo habetur. i.^o regum. xix.²⁰ factus est spiritus domini malus in saul. por(/)
4. \\cythara// ro dauid psallebat cythara. visumque est saul dauid configere cum pariete et
5. declinauit dauid. lancea autem casso uulnere perlata est in parietem quid est
6. dauid cythara psallere. nisi doctores et predicatorum mortificationem peccatorum
7. predicare? et quid est saulem dauid cum pariete uelle configere nisi inuidos illos
8. persequi et detrahere. uel dauid psallere cythara est proprie mortificationis exem(/)
9. \\mortificatio// plo. alios ad idem inuitare. et cetera ut supra. Sed hoc in suum dampnum faciunt
10. quia sibi potius quam alij et prius obsunt et ideo bene dicitur.²¹ Sagitte paruulorum. facte. sunt. plage. eorum. infirmate. ipsorum
11. sagittantium et hoc est quod alibi dicitur.²² Gladius eorum intret in corda ipsorum
12.
13. ²³¶ Pinguescent speciosa deserti et cetera. duplex est pinguedo. exterior et interior
14. \\pinguedo// Exterior pinguedo dicitur non solum carnis. sed habundantia temporalium.
15. Corporalis pinguedo acquiritur. ex multo nutrimento et multo sompno
16. et otio. et paucio uel nullo labore. vnde dicitur in libro de natura animalium.²⁴
17. quod muta²⁵ animalia crassa sunt in uentre. quod ideo procedit quia pauci sunt motus
18. \\quies// jsti ergo pingues omnia deuorantes et uentri soli seruientes porci sunt diaboli. de
19. quibus. i.^o. ad corinthios. vi.²⁶ Esca uentri et venter escis et cetera. isti sunt dormientes
20. contra quos prouerbia. vi.²⁷ vsquequo piger dormis et cetera. Otia querentes. vnde isaia²⁸ hec fuit
21. \\otium// iniquitas sodome habundantia panis et otium. jtem parum uel nichil sunt operantes
22. vnde ad thessalonicenses in finem.²⁹ Denuntiamus uobis si quis non uult operari non man(/)
23. ducet. hij sunt pingues terre. de quibus. psalmus³⁰ manducauerunt et adorauerunt
24. .omnes. pingues. terre. pinguedo exterior et temporalium habundantia interiorem des(/)
25. \\diuitie// tituit quia plerumque ex hijs et suffocatur affectus et hebetatur uisus. et intellectus.
26. \\pinguedo// vnde de i.^o. jeremias xlvij.³¹ fertilis fuit moab ab adulescentia. sua. et cetera.
27. usque requieuit. in. fecibus. suis. de secundo dicitur quod pinguis uenter grassum generat
28. sensum. pinguedo est talium/ ignis gehenne pabulum. et sicut pinguedo est ignis
29. \\ignis// ¶ malum³² nutrimentum et pabulum sic et talium pinguedo primo tendit ad ignis luxurie³³
30. nutrimentum et postmodum ad gehenne pabulum. vnde jeremias. vij.³⁴ filij colligunt
31. ligna et patres succendunt ignem et mulieres conspergunt adipem.
32. ligna sunt occasiones peccandi. quas filij patribus prestant dum pro filiis ditandis
33. laborant. mulieres autem conspergunt adipem. in sumptuosa superfluitate

¹⁹ Galatians 4:29²⁰ Here again, the correct chapter is I Samuel 19, but the scribe of MS Ege 4 has labeled it a I Kings 19. The 1523 Badius incunabulum and MS 14594 also list it as I Kings 19. MS li. 3. 27 provides only the book, Kings, and MS Digby 45 does not provide book or chapter. The reference comes from I Samuel 19:9.²¹ Psalm 63:8-9²² Psalm 36:15²³ A paraph is used here to mark the beginning of sermon 524: "Pinguescent speciosa deserti (Ps. 64,13) – Duplex est pinguedo, exterior et interior. . . Colles sunt proficientes et montes perfecti ut supra: sicut adipe . . ." (Schneyer 4:856)²⁴ This appears to be a general reference to Aristotle's *History of Animals*.²⁵ multa²⁶ I Corinthians 6:13²⁷ Proverbs 6:9²⁸ This is actually a reference from Ezekiel 16:49, not Isaiah. The 1523 Badius incunabulum lists this reference as Ezekiel 16. MS 14594 also lists the book as Ezekiel, but the scribe did not provide the chapter; he did, however, leave a space for it. Both MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 do not contain this reference.²⁹ II Thessalonians 3:10³⁰ Psalm 21:30³¹ Jeremiah 48:11³² m^{pl}³³ luxurie³⁴ Jeremiah 7:18

1. uestium et ciborum. jtem pinguedo excitat petulantiam. vnde psalmus³⁵ prodijt quasi
2. ex adipe iniquitas eorum et deuteronomium penultima.³⁶ jncrassatus est dilectus. et recalcitrauit. et cetera. et jeremias. vi^o.³⁷
3. Saturauit eos et mechati sunt finis autem pinguium horum est infernus. vnde zacharias ||pena//
4. .iiij.³⁸ Pasce peccora occisionis et ezechiel. xxiiij.³⁹ Pone ollam eneam et
5. mitte in eam aquam et pinguisimum peccus assume. et congere frustra eius in ea. ||olla//
6. Olla enea est pena eterna et in aqua bullire est in conscientia mala feruere. vnde
7. job. x^oli^o⁴⁰ feruescere facit quasi ollam profundum mare. idest. cor amarum. scindi ||conscientia//
8. per frustra est affligi. per diuersa peccata. hij significantur per regem achat quem pinguis(/)
9. simum ut habetur. i^o. regum. xv.⁴¹ samuhel interfecit. vnde ei oblatum est achaz pinguis(/)
10. simus. et tremens et in frustra concidit eum. et per eglon quem aioth⁴² occidit.
11. ut habetur iudicum. iij.⁴³ tales in hoc mundo habent suam benedictionem. sicut
12. esau. vnde genesis. xxviiij.⁴⁴ det tibi deus de. rore. celi. et. de pinguedine. terre. habundantiam.⁴⁵ et adapta †penitentia†
13. diuitis epulonis. ¶ jnterior uero pinguedo est pinguedo spiritus qua pingues(/)
14. cunt speciosa deserti. vt dicit. psalmus.⁴⁶ pinguescent. speciosa. deserti. et exsultatione. colles. accingentur. huiusmodi specio(/) ||desertum//
15. sa deserti sunt claustra in quibus et spualis⁴⁷ pinguedo reparatur et carnalis reprimitur ||claustrum//
16. vnde ecclesiastici. xxxi.⁴⁸ vigilia honestatis tabefaciet carnes. nam quod cibus
17. educat extra. jnterior sibi sumit homo. hec pinguedo interior exteriorem ||vigilia//
18. non impedit. sicut legitur daniel. ij.⁴⁹ Tempta nos obsecro decem diebus et da nobis
19. legumina ad uescendum. et aquam ad bibendum et contemplare uultus
20. nostros. et uultus puerorum qui uescuntur cibo regio. et sicut uideris sic facias
21. nobis seruis tuis. et post decem dies apparuerunt uultus eorum meliores et corpu(/)
22. lentiores. pre omnibus pueris. jnde est quod nos miramur. pinguedinem claustra(/) ||species uultus//
23. lium. vnde johelis. ij.⁵⁰ Nolite timere animalia [bābylōnīs] regionis quia germina(/)
24. uerunt speciosa deserti. ac si. diceret. o uos qui estis animalia regionis. idest. ||desertum//
25. simplices et humiles nolite timere. quia germinauerunt. speciosa. deserti. idest. maio(/)
26. res ex pinguedine uirtutum germinauerunt fructum bonorum operum. que
27. omnia uobis cedunt in salutem et utilitatem. pinguedo ista sicut pinguedo car(/)
28. nalis ex multo sompno spiritali perficitur. Sompnus iste contemplatio
29. est. vnde canticum. ij.⁵¹ adiuro uos filie ierusalem. per capreas. ceruosque camporum
30. ne. suscitetis. neque. euigilare. faciatis. dilectam. donec. ipsa. uelit. jtem modico labore exteriori acquiritur
31. vnde ecclesiasticus.⁵² fili ne in multis sint actus tui. et seneca.⁵³ quicquid de corpore egeris.
32. cito ad animum redi. Exterior enim. occupatio multum destruit interiorem pingue(/)
33. dinem. quod significatur. genesis. x^oli^o.⁵⁴ videbam inquit septem boues. pulchras. nimis.

³⁵ Psalm 72:7³⁶ Deuteronomy 32:15³⁷ This should be Jeremiah 5:7, not 6. The 1523 Bade incunabulum and MS 14594 list the reference as Jeremiah 5. MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 do not contain this reference.³⁸ This should be Zechariah 11:4, not 4. This might be an original mistake by Philip that was corrected in the early printed editions of his work. The 1523 Bade incunabulum has the correct reference of Zechariah 11, but MS li.3.27, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594 all list the reference as Zechariah 4.³⁹ Ezekiel 24:3-5⁴⁰ Job 41:22⁴¹ Here again, I Samuel is mislabelled as I Kings in MS Ege 4, the 1523 Bade incunabulum, and MS 14594. Both MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 do not provide book or chapter for this reference. This reference comes from I Samuel 15:32-33, in which Samuel kills Agag, the king of Amalec.⁴² Ahoth/Ehud⁴³ This is a reference to the events of Judges 3:12-30, where Aioth kills Eglon, the fat king of Moab.⁴⁴ This should be Genesis 27:28, not 28. The 1523 Bade incunabulum lists this reference as Genesis 27, but MS 14594, like MS Ege 4, lists it as Genesis 27. Both MS li.3.27 and MS Digby 45 do not provide book or chapter for this reference. This verse references the blessing that Isaac gave to his son Esau, who, in reality, was Jacob disguised as his brother.⁴⁵ These short scriptural passages are part of bigger biblical narratives. In theory, these references to biblical stories and/or biblical characters/persons, like Samuel, Aioth, and Esau, could have been expanded upon by a medieval preacher during his oral delivery of a sermon in order to create biblical exempla.⁴⁶ Psalm 64:13⁴⁷ spiritualis⁴⁸ Sirach 31:1⁴⁹ This should be Daniel 1:12-13, not 2. However, this may be another original mistake by Philip. The 1523 Bade incunabulum has the correct chapter, but MS 14594 also lists this reference as Daniel 1. MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 do not provide a book or chapter for this reference: "sicut legitur daniel e et socii eius." See MS li. 3. 27, fol. 143v (modern numbering) and MS Digby 45, fol. 130v (modern numbering).⁵⁰ Joel 2:22⁵¹ Song of Songs 2:7⁵² Sirach 11:10⁵³ Seneca, *Epistles*, 15.5. This reference does not appear in the 1523 Bade incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS Digby 45, or MS 14594. This reference may be an original addition. It is possible that the original recorder of this *reportatio* added this reference, but that also seems unlikely since students probably attempted to copy their master's lessons word for word or as closely as possible.⁵⁴ Genesis 41:18-19

1. \\boues// quas sequebantur. vij. deformes. et macilente. que eas deuorabant. per vaccas pingues dulcedo et
2. pinguedo spiritualis intelliguntur. quid autem post pingues macilentas uidere. nisi
3. pinguedinem interiorum propter exteriorum curam decrescere. vnde isaïas. x.⁵⁵ mittam
4. \\tepor// in pinguibus eius tenuitatem. sic multi in principio conuersionis pingues
5. fiunt postea macilenti. contra quos ad galathas. iij.⁵⁶ Sic stulti estis o galathe
6. ut cum spiritu ceperitis carne consumamini. et hoc est quod dicitur⁵⁷ occidit pingues. eorum. et electos. isrl
7. \\oliua// impediuit. ut epos.⁵⁸ et abbates. ideo dicit oliua cum eligeretur ut regnaret super lig()
8. na siluarum. ut habetur iudicum. ix.⁵⁹ nunquid possum deserere. pinguedinem. meam. qua. dij. utuntur. et homines
9. et uenire. ut. inter. ligna. promouear. tamen mediocris labor pinguedinem istam non im()
10. pediuit. vnde proueria. xxij.⁶⁰ vult. et non. vult. piger. anima. autem. operantium. inpinguabitur. merito enim.
11. operum exteriorum actiue crescit caritas. vnde ecclesiastici. vij.⁶¹ ne desis plorantibus. in. consolatione.
12. et cetera. lugentibus. ambula. et ne te pigeat. uisitare. infirmum. ex his. enim. magis. in dilectione firma()
13. beris. vsus autem pinguedinis ualet ad tria. ad fomentum⁶² ignis. et luminis. et ad
14. condimentum saporis. hinc est quod de helia. quia spirituali pinguedine inunctus
15. \\facula// erat. dicitur ecclesiastici xlvij.⁶³ surrexit helias quasi et uerbum eius quasi facula ardebat
16. et de natan dicitur ibidem xlvi.⁶⁴ surrexit natan in diebus dauid quasi adeps. se()
17. paratus a carne. quia totus spiritualis nichil habebat carnale. jtem ualet
18. \\oleum// ad fomentum luminis. ad quod significandum oleum ad pascendas lucernas. ut habetur
19. exodus. xxvij.⁶⁵ afferant oleum de arboribus oliuarum purissimum et ardeat
20. lucerna in tabernaculo testimonij. et mattheum. xxv.⁶⁶ excluduntur fatue uir()
21. gines. eo quod non habebant oleum secum. jtem ualet ad condimentum saporis.
22. \\olus// vnde cibaria condiuntur in pinguedine. ut olera et huiusmodi. vnde
23. proueria. xv.⁶⁷ melius est uocari ad olera cum caritate. quam ad uitulum sagi()
24. \\vitulus// natum cum iurgio. vitulus saginatus carnalis petulantia est.
25. jurgium contradictio conscientie. quia dum carnalis in exterioribus delectatur animus
26. interius cruciatur. caritas autem est condimentum olerum. et hec animam re()
27. ficit et spiritualem plausum adducit. sicut carnalis pinguedo petulan()
28. tiam. plausus autem est iocunditas mentis in qua omnia fiunt aliter
29. non placent. vnde ad romanos xij.⁶⁸ Qui miseretur in hylaritate. et ouidius⁶⁹
30. super omnia uultus accessere boni. et proueria. xvij.⁷⁰ animus gaudens etatem
31. floridam facit. spiritus tristis exccat ossa. idest. spiritus inuidie uirtutes. jdeoque
32. subditur et exultatione. colles. accingentur.⁷¹
33.

⁵⁵ Isaiah 10:16⁵⁶ This should be Galatians 3:3. The 1523 Bade incunabulum and MS li. 3. 27 list this reference as Galatians 3, but MS Digby 45, like MS Ege 4, lists it as Galatians 4. MS 14594 lists only the book, not the chapter.⁵⁷ Psalm 77:31⁵⁸ episcopus⁵⁹ Judges 9:9⁶⁰ This should be Proverbs 13:4, not 22. The 1523 Bade incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, and MS Digby list the reference as Proverbs 13, but MS 14594 also incorrectly labels this reference as Proverbs 22.⁶¹ Sirach 7:38–39⁶² Versus *nutrimentum*, which is used in the Bade incunabulum, MS li. 3. 27, MS Digby 45, and MS 14594.⁶³ Sirach 48:1⁶⁴ This should be Sirach 47:1–2, not 46. The 1523 Bade incunabulum lists this reference correctly, but MS 14594 also lists this reference as Sirach 46. Both MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 do not provide the book or chapter for this reference.⁶⁵ Exodus 27:20–21⁶⁶ This is a reference to the parable of the ten virgins: Matthew 25:1–13. This reference could also be expanded in order to create a biblical *exemplum*.⁶⁷ Proverbs 15:17⁶⁸ Romans 12:8⁶⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.677–678⁷⁰ Proverbs 17:22⁷¹ Psalm 64:13

1. ⁷²*consistit in tribus in odio preteritorum. vnde psalmus.* ⁷³*perfecto odio oderam illos. et ecclesiastici xxi.* ⁷⁴*quasi. a facie colubri*
2. \\fuga// *fuge peccatum. similiter in contemptu presentium bonorum. vnde psalmus.* ⁷⁵*renuit consolari anima mea. et cetera.*
3. *et ad philippenses. iiii^o.* ⁷⁶*propter quem omnia feci detrimentum et arbitror ut stercora ut christum lucrificiem*
4. \\desiderium// *iiij^o. constat in desiderio eternorum. de quo ysaías. xxvi.* ⁷⁷*anima mea desiderauit te in nocte et cetera*
5. ¶ *septima. misericordia est spes optinendi. que in tribus consistit que sunt. caritas adoptionis. vnde joannis. iij^o.* ⁷⁸
6. \\caritas// *sic deus dilexit nos. et cetera. secundum. est ueritas promissionis. vnde. ii^a. ad timotheum.* ⁷⁹*ille fidelis*
7. *permanet. seipsum negare non potest. tertium. est potestas redditionis. vnde* ⁸⁰*illud scio. cui*
8. *credidi. et certus sum. quia potens est et cetera.*
9. \\thronus// ⁸¹*<T>ronus eius sicut sol in conspectu meo. et cetera.* ⁸²*Hic considerandum est quare beata uirgo. com/*
10. */paratur throno et soli et lune thronus est sedes iudiciaria. quia ergo filius dei. de ipsa*
11. *carnem assumens in ipsa carne iudicabit mundum. ideo recte thronus dicitur. quia sicut in. joanne.* ⁸³*dicitur.*
12. \\iudicium// *pater non iudicat quemquam et cetera De hoc throno siue solio dicitur. ieremias. xiiij^o.* ⁸⁴*recordare solii*
13. \\solium// *glorie tue ne initum facias fedus tuum nobiscum. quasi. dicat. quotiens domine peccamus. memento*
14. *salutis actor. et cetera. thronus etiam dicitur. quia ad modum sedentis. in ea se submisit et hu/*
15. */miliauit. vnde ad philippenses ii^o.* ⁸⁵*semeripsum exinanauit et cetera. de hoc dicitur. iij^o. regum x^o.* ⁸⁶*fecit sibi*
16. \\ebur// *salomon thronum de ebore grandem et cetera. ebur castitas est. quod elephas animal castissimum est*
17. \\elephas// *et draconi inimicum. ita castitas diabolo. vnde genesis. iij^o.* ⁸⁷*ponam inimicitias inter te et*
18. \\castitas// *mulierem. et cetera. elephas errantem reducit ad uiam. sic castitas beate uirginis. vnde. i^a. petri.*
19. *ii^o.* ⁸⁸*eratis sicut oues. errantes. nunc aut conuersi estis ad pastorem. et episcopum. animarum. uestrarum. Thronum ideo dicit grandem*
20. \\Grandis// *quia eius castitati et humilitati nulla alia potest comparari. ¶ sex gradus in throno. sex sunt*
21. \\Gradus// *prerogatiue beate marie ¶ primus est uoti nouitas. quia prima uouit uirginitatem*
22. \\votum// *vnde lucam. i^o.* ⁸⁹*quomodo fiet istud et cetera. ¶ secundus est castitas uirginalis. et matrimonialis*
23. \\fructus// *integritas. vnde. ecclesiastici xxiiij^o.* ⁹⁰*ego. quasi. uittis. et cetera. usque et flores mei fructus honoris. et honestatis.*
24. *honor ad uirginitatem honestas. ad matrimonium pertinet. ¶ tertius est parientis integritas.*
25. \\porta// *vnde ezechiel.* ⁹¹*porta hec clausa erit et nemo ingreditur per eam. ideo que lilio comparatur*
26. \\lilium// *quia sicut lilium ex se producit odorem sine sui lesione ita beata uirgo filium cum inte*
27. */gritate. vnde. canticis. ii^o.* ⁹²*sicut lilium inter spinas. et cetera. et de filio dicitur.* ⁹³*ego flos campi. et lilium. conuallium.*
28. \\campus// *campus est terra inarabilis. et de beata uirgine quidam ait res noua mirabilis.*
29. *terra non arabilis que fructus parturit conuallium dicit propter duplicem castitatem*
30. \\uellus// *mentis et corporis. ideo dicit psalmus.* ⁹⁴*descendit sicut pluuia in uellus et cetera. pluuia enim*
31. *exiit de compluto uellere sine eius corruptione et in maiori eius puritate. ita et*
32. \\caritas// *hic. ¶ quartus. gradus est plenitudo caritatis. quia que in aliis dispersa sunt in illa congre/*
33. */gantur. vnde proverbia. xxx^o.* ⁹⁵*omnes filie congregauerunt. diuitias. tu supergressa es uniuersas. et canticis*
34. \\venter// *vii.* ⁹⁶*venter tuus sicut aceruus tritici uallatus liliis. triticum ad martires*

⁷² This folio begins part way through sermon 580: "*Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo* (Ps. 88,2) — Primo hoc considerandum est, quomodo plures sint misericordiae, quae septem puni-bus comparantur . . . 2. Tim. 1,12 quoniam potens est depositum meum serbare in illum diem." (Schneyer 4859–60)

⁷³ Psalm 138:22

⁷⁴ Sirach 21:2

⁷⁵ Psalm 76:3

⁷⁶ This should be Philippians 3:8, not 4. The 1523 Bader incunabulum and MS 14594 also incorrectly label this reference as Philippians 4. MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 both correctly identify the book, but neither of them include a chapter number.

⁷⁷ Isaiah 26:9

⁷⁸ 1 John 4:11

⁷⁹ II Timothy 2:13

⁸⁰ II Timothy 1:12

⁸¹ An initial would have been used to mark the beginning of sermon 583: "*Thronus eius sicut sol* (Ps. 88,38) — Primo considerandum, quare beata uirgo comparatur throno . . . quanto magis a Deo exaltata, tanto se magis humiliavit." (Schneyer 4:860) The length of two lines was left for the initial (T), but it was never added.

⁸² Psalm 88:38

⁸³ John 5:22

⁸⁴ Jeremiah 14:21

⁸⁵ Philippians 2:7

⁸⁶ I Kings 10:18

⁸⁷ Genesis 3:15

⁸⁸ I Peter 2:25

⁸⁹ Luke 1:34

⁹⁰ Sirach 24:23

⁹¹ Ezekiel 44:2

⁹² Song of Songs 2:2

⁹³ Song of Songs 2:1

⁹⁴ Psalm 71:6

⁹⁵ This should be Proverbs 31:29, not 30. The 1523 Bader incunabulum, MS Bodl. 745, and MS 118 contain the correct chapter number. MS li. 3. 27 and MS Digby 45 both correctly identify the book, but neither of them include a chapter number. And MS 45568 and MS 14594 also incorrectly label the reference as Proverbs 30.

⁹⁶ Song of Songs 7:2

1.	<i>pertinet vnde. iohannem xii⁹⁷ nisi granum frumenti. et cetera. lilium ad confessores et uirgines quicquid gratie in hiis fuit</i>	<i>\\frumentum//</i>
2.	<i>totum in ipsa collatum est ¶ quintus. gradus est humilitas de qua. lucam. i⁹⁸ respexit deus humilitatem. ancille sue</i>	<i>\\humilitas//</i>
3.	<i>per hoc patet quod plus placuit deo humilitas quam uirginitas. ¶ sextus gradus est prerogatiua</i>	
4.	<i>premiorum. quia exaltata est super choros angelorum. vnde. ecclesiasticus. xl.⁹⁹ edificatio ciuitatis. confirmabit</i>	<i>\\ciuitas//</i>
5.	<i>nomen tuum et super hanc mulier immaculata computabitur. ad ultimum gradum erat scabellum</i>	
6.	<i>in quo significatur humanitas filii. que est scabellum deitatis. et hoc filius etiam secundum humanitatem precellat</i>	<i>\\scabellum//</i>
7.	<i>suam matrem. tamen ante thronum scabellum esse dicitur. tanquam inferius throno. ut per hoc significetur honor</i>	
8.	<i>et reuerentia quam exhibet matri sue vnde exodus. xx^o 100 honora patrem tuum. et matrem. tuam. ¶ jtem</i>	<i>\\sol//</i>
9.	<i>solis comparatur propter beneficii communitatem. vnde. mattheum v^o. 101 qui solem suum oriri facit et cetera.</i>	
10.	<i>et ipsa bonis et malis est sol. istis comparat gratiam. illis auget. vnde in. canticum. vi^o. 102 que est ista. que</i>	<i>\\aurora//</i>
11.	<i>progreditur. quasi. aurora consurgens. pulchra. ut luna. electa. ut sol. Tria commemorat quod est aurora. luna.</i>	<i>\\luna//</i>
12.	<i>et sol. luna peccatoribus aurora incipientibus sol perfectis. vnde ecclesiasticus. xxvi^o. 103 sicut sol</i>	
13.	<i>in altissimis dei sic mulieris bone species in ornamentum domus sue jtem beate</i>	<i>\\species//</i>
14.	<i>uirginis species illuminat et ornat domum. idest. ecclesiam dei. ¶ jtem beata uirgo</i>	<i>\\domus//</i>
15.	<i>lune comparatur cuius tamen minor est claritas quam solis. et tamen ad maiorem sui laudem</i>	
16.	<i>quia mauis est conseruare quam habere uirtutem ouidius. 104 non minor est uirtus quam querere parta tueri.</i>	
17.	<i>et hec conseruatio significatur. per lunam. luna a sole lumen accipit et ista deo. quicquid habent</i>	<i>\\lumen//</i>
18.	<i>uirtutis ascribit. et ita conseruat. hec igitur est luna de qua dicitur. in ecclesiastico. xliii. 105 a luna signum</i>	<i>\\signum//</i>
19.	<i>diei festi. ab eua meror. et dolor. ab ista gaudium et letitia.</i>	
20.	<i>106 <D>estruixisti omnes sepes eius. et cetera. anima quandoque comparatur uinee et tunc more uinee</i>	<i>\\vineae//</i>
21.	<i>clauditur sepibus. idest. penitentie asperitate que sunt cilicium ieiunium et huiusmodi quasi sepe sibi</i>	<i>\\sepes//</i>
22.	<i>circumdabat. qui dicebat. 107 ego cum mihi molesti. essent induebar. cilicio. et cecilia cilicio carnem</i>	<i>\\cilicium//</i>
23.	<i>domabat et iob xvi^o 108 saccum consui super cutem meam et operui cinere carnem meam</i>	<i>\\cinis//</i>
24.	<i>talem animam exhorret tangere dominus sicut religiosam de uero. que sibi fecerat</i>	
25.	<i>cilicium de pelle hericii ideoque de talibus dicit psalmus 109 petra refugium herinacis</i>	<i>\\herinacis//</i>
26.	<i>110 certe canes refugiunt morsum hericii non tamen leporis. quia suauis est pellis</i>	
27.	<i>sicut diabolus molles deuorat vnde ecclesiastici xiii^o 111 venatio leonis onager in heremo et cetera.</i>	<i>\\[oe] onager//</i>
28.	<i>et abachuc. 112 incrassata est pars eius cibus eius electus ¶ jtem sepes fiunt de uepribus</i>	
29.	<i>et spinis et claudunt iter porcis similiter asperitatibus penitentie clauditur</i>	
30.	<i>uia diaboli ad animam vnde osee i^o 113 sepiam uiam tuam spinis vnde</i>	<i>\\via//</i>
31.	<i>de penitentie ysaias liiij^o 114 si abstuleris de medio tui chatenam. scilicet. peccatorum</i>	
32.	<i>115 uocaberis edificator sepium et quia sepe facienda est confessio que potior pars</i>	<i>\\confessio//</i>
33.	<i>est penitentie. ideo dicitur sepes vnde in iohanne. xi. 116 eamus iterum in iudeam</i>	
34.	<i>et. job xxii^o. 117 si reuersus fueris ad ad omnipotentem edificaberis. et longe facies</i>	

⁹⁷ John 12:24⁹⁸ Luke 1:48⁹⁹ Sirach 40:19¹⁰⁰ Exodus 20:12¹⁰¹ Matthew 5:45¹⁰² Song of Songs 6:9¹⁰³ Sirach 26:21¹⁰⁴ Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 2.13. This reference from Ovid does not appear in the 1523 Bade incunabulum or any of the manuscripts I have examined (MS li. 3.27, MS 45568, MS Bodl. 745, MS Digby 45, MS 118, and MS 14594). This might be an original addition by S2.¹⁰⁵ Sirach 43:7¹⁰⁶ An initial would have been used to mark the beginning of sermon 584: "Destruixisti omnes sepes eius (Ps. 88,41) — Anima quandoque comparatur uineae . . . Phil. 4,10 Cavisus sum in Domino . . . pro me sentire." (Schneyer 4:860) The length of two lines was left for the initial (D), but it was never added.¹⁰⁷ Psalm 34:13¹⁰⁸ Job 16:16¹⁰⁹ Psalm 103:18¹¹⁰ Here is another example of a possible addition and/or adaption of the text by S2. This is what appears directly after the reference to Psalm 103:18 in the 1523 Bade incunabulum, MS 45568, and MS 14594: "Lucius autem pisces alios nullum spinositatis munimen vel defensionem habentes deuorat." A slightly revised version appears in MS li. 3.27, MS Digby 45, and MS Bodl. 745: "Lucius autem alios pisces lenes nullius spinositatis defensionem habentes uorat." Compare this passage to the one in our manuscript: "certe canes refugiunt morsum hericii non tamen leporis quia suauis est pellis." This seemingly unique addition is similar to an earlier passage that is not present in our manuscript, but it appears in the incunabula and in the manuscripts I have examined (with the exception of MS 118 as I do not have access to this particular sermon): "Canes enim non audent tangere ericium propter spinositatem eius." See Philip, *In Psalterium* (1523), 2: fol. 42.¹¹¹ Sirach 13:23¹¹² Habakkuk 1:16¹¹³ This should be Hosea 2:6, not 1. It is also incorrectly labelled as Hosea 1 in the 1523 Bade incunabulum and the manuscripts I have examined (with the exception of MS 118).¹¹⁴ This should be Isaiah 58:9, not 54. It is correctly identified in the 1523 Bade incunabulum, MS li. 3.27, MS Digby 45, MS Bodl. 745, and MS 14594. But it is also incorrectly labelled as Isaiah 54 in MS

45568.

¹¹⁵ Isaiah 58:12¹¹⁶ John 11:7¹¹⁷ Job 22:23

APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPTION OF INDEX

fol. 206r

<p>Abire. ij. a. Acingere.¹ xxiii. d. Actiua vita. cx. c. cicx. d. e. Actiui. cxxxvij. b. c. Accusatio. clxvij. b. c. Actiuus. cxxxiiij. d. Acceptio persone. clxvij. b. lxxxvj. d. Aduentus. icvij. [h] a. Aduentus. ihesu christi. clxxij. a. b. Aduentus domini. cicix. a. b. cc. b. c. Aduersitas. iiij. d. Aduersio. xxvj. c. Aduocati commendatio. xiiij. a. b. Aduocati. lxxxij. a. b. Aduocatus clxxij. b. c. Adulator. xiiij. c. d. Adulatio. xxxvij. d. lvij. a. Adulator. liij. d. Adherere. cj. a. b. aduena lxxij. d. Affectiones quattuor. lxxxvo. d. cliij. c. d. Alleg[u]atio xiiij. c. d. cxl. a. b. Altare. l. d. lxxxvj. c. Altaris ingressus. lj. a. Altare. cxxx. b. Ale due. cicij. b. lxxvj. b. Alienus lxx. d. Amici xi. cxxj. d. Anima templum dicitur. xvj. c. Anima peccatoris. lxxxv. d. Anime preparatio. cxxvij. a. b. Anima dicitur tabernaculum. cxvij. d. Anime pulcritudo. cxxxv. a. b. Anime decor. clij. a. Anime consideratio. cliij. c. d. Anime dila[t]atio. clvij. b. c. Anime curatio. clvij. b. c. Anima dicitur domus dei. clxxxiiij. c. d e f. Anima depositum dicitur. ccj. a. b. Angeli. cxxx. b. cxxij. a. Animus spiritualis. cxxxvj. b. cxxxiiij. c d.</p>	<p>Aucipiter. xj. a. Aqua benedicta. xvj. d. Aqua. xl. c. d. lxxxiiij. a. b. Aquilo. clxxvij. d. Aranea. cxxiiij. c. d. Aratrum. cl[hij]v. b. Arbor. ij. b. lix. d. Arbor anima dicitur. cxxxv. c. Arma. xvij. b. xxiiij. a. Arma contra diabolum. xxxix. d. Arcus. cxj. a. Arguere. lxj. b. c. Astrologi. xj. d. Ascensionis gradus. cxix. a. b. Auaritia. xj. b. c. Auxilium. iciiij. b. c. Auxilium clxxvij. a. b. Auium genera. cxxxj. c. d. Baculus. clvij. d. Beatitudo. j. c. d. xxx. c. d. Beatitudo. cxxxj. [c] e. Beatitudo. clxiiij. b. clxxx. b. c. Beatitudo eterna. clxxiiij. d. e. Beatitudines septem. lxxxv a. Bellum. xxij. d. clxxxj. b. Benedictio. xxv. d. xxvj. a. Beneficia domini. cl. d. e. Beneficium multiplex. clxxxij. c. d. Brachium. cx. Breuitas vite. cxxxj. e. f. Calamus. liij. c. d. Canticum multiplex. xlvij. a. b. Canticum multiplex. cic. a. b. cxxvij. c. d. Calumpnia. lxij. c. d. Campus. cxxxiiij. d. Capillus [[]]. c. Carcer multiplex. cicvij. a. b. Captiuitas. clxxix. a.² Carcer icvj. c.</p>
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¹ accingo

² There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It looks like a tilted majuscule h. According to the scribe, *captiuitas* should have been placed under *capillus*.

<p> Clamor. ix. a. b. Clamoris causa. clxix. b. c. Clamare ad deum. clxxvj. b. c. d. Caro. clxxx. c. d. lxxv. d. Cara dicitur carcer. cicvij. a. Carnis desideria. clxxiiij. b. c. Carni adherere. cj. a. b. Carnem cogere. lvij. c. Canonici lx. d. Claudus. xxiiij. c. d. Clastrum. xxxvj. d. lvij. b. Clastrum. clvj. d. Claustres. cicvj. a. b. cxij. b. Caritas. xij. d. xl. d. Caritatis commendatio. lv. a. b. Caritas. lxxxvj. b. Caritas. cxvij. d. Caritas. cxxvij. a. c. Caritas dicitur via. cxxix. a. Caritatas. clxxix. d. e. Caritas duplex. x. d. xvij. b. Castitas. xvij. a. icvij. b. Carus. lxxxv. d. ¶Creditor Casus anime. cxix. a. xliij. a. b.³ Celum. xij. a. cxxxiiij. c. d. Cecitas. xxx. b. xxxix. b. Ceruus. xxxj. d. Cena. xxxvij. a. ¶Circumcisio. Cythare sonus. j. a. cxxxij. a. b.⁴ Cythara. cxxix. c. d. Cibus. xlix. d. cxxxix. a. b. Cibus. cxlv. a. b. Ciuitas duplex. icij. d. icv. c. Ciuitas dicitur anima cxlv. d. e. Ciuitas ierusalem. clxxvij. b. Ciuitas dicitur anima.⁵ clxxij. d. Ciuis. cxxxj. e. Cymbalum cciiij. b. c. d. Cogitatio. iij. c. d. </p>	<p> Conuiuium. xxvij. d. l. a. Cognitio. lxx. a. b. Contemplatio. vj. b. c. Contemplatio. lxxvij. b. Contemplatiua. cx. c. Contemplatiua vita. cicix. d. e. Contemplatio. cxlix. a. b. Contemplatiui. cxxxvij. a. b. Conseruare. xiiij. b. Confidentia xv. d. Confessio. xxxiiij. b. xxxv. b. c. Confessionis modus. lxvij. c. d. Confessio. lxxij. b. lxxxvij. c. Confessio. cxxvij. a. b. Confessionis circumstantie. cxxxiiij. b. Confessio. cxlij. d. e. Confessio clv. b. Confidentia. clvij. d.⁶ Confidere in deo. clxxvij. d. Confusio peccati. clxxxvij. d. e. Confusio peccati. lxxxv. d. e. Commendatio⁷ viri. xv. d. Conpunctio. xxj. d. Concupiscentia. lxxxvij. b. Consideratio christi. xxxiiij. d. Consolatio. xlj. b. c. Consiliarij. icvii. d. Consolatio cxxvij. c. d. Consuetudo peccati. cxlj. d. e. Coniugium ccij. c. Concordia. cic. a. Conuentus. clxxxvj. c. d. e. f. Contrictio.⁸ clv. b. Cor peccatoris. cxl. c. d. Corpus christi mysticum. icij. a. b. Conuersio. lxxxv. c. d. Corrumpere. lxiiij. d. Cor mundum. lxiiij. a. Coniugium. xvij. a. </p>
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³ There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It should be placed beneath *casus anime*. ¶Creditor xliij. a. b.

⁴ ¶Circumcisio. cxxxij. a. b.

⁵ There is a symbol here that indicates that this word in the wrong place. It should be placed below the first *ciuitas dicitur anima* entry.

⁶ There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It should be placed under the first *confidentia* entry.

⁷ commendatio

⁸ contritio

<p> Cupiditas. xj. b. c. xxij. c. Cupiditas. lxij. c d. iciij. d. Cupiditas. cxij. d. cliij. a. Custodia. xlv. c. cxx. a. Custodit dominus. xiiij. b. Custos. clxxiiij. c. d. Crux. xvi. c. d. xxiiij. a Crux christi. lxxv. b. c. Crux christi cxxxix. b. Crux ypocritarum. lxxij. a. b Culpa. lxxxj. b. c Commixtio. cxlj. b.⁹ Debitores sumus. x. a. b. Debitum. xliij. d. Deceptio diaboli. xiiij. a. b. Decor. cxxxiiij. c Dedicatio. xvj. c. Delectatio. lxxj. d. ic. d. Denarius. cxvij. a. Depositio. cxliij. c. Depositum. ccj. a. b. Desertum. xxxj. d. Descensus. cxix. a. b. Detractor. viij. b. xiiij. c. Detractor. clxxvij. a. b. Deuotio. xl. c. d. cciiij. b. c. d. cicv. b. Dilectio. x. d. Dies multipliciter. c. c. d. Dies multipliciter. clj. b. c. Dies dicitur status iustitie. clxij. b. c. d. Dies. cicix. d.e. Digiti quinque. cc. c. d. Digiti quinque. cicvij. a. b. Dilatatio. xxij. c. d. Diabolus deceptus est a deo. xiiij. a. b. Dignitas hominis. lxx. b. Disciplina. iiij. d. Dispersio. cxxxix. a. ccij. d. Discretio. cicvij. a. b. </p>	<p> Diuitie. xxxij. c. xxxiiij. b. xj. d. Diuitie. xlvj. c. d. clxiiij. c. d. Diuitie temporales. cxxxvij. d e. Domus anima dicitur. v. c. d. Domus dei. clxxv. a. Domus domini. clxxxiiij. c d. e. f. Domum edificare. clxxix. b. c. Dolor penitentie. lvij. d. Dolor de peccato. clxxxix. c. d. Dolor. cxxvij. c. d. Dolus. lxiiij. a. Doctrine corruptio. lxv. a. Dona spiritus sancti. ij. a. Dona spiritus sancti. lxxxvj. c. d. Dona spiritus sancti. cicix. d. e. Dorsum. xxvj. b. c. Dotes corporis. j. c. d. Doctrina vel predicatio. clx. c Dulcedo. xxxiiij. b. Duplicitas cliij. b. Ebrietas. cliij. b. cxlij. a. b Ebrius. lxxj. d. e. f. xxvij. a. Ecclesia. icvij. b. xxix. c Edificum. cxvij. b. c. Edificum. clxxix. b. c. Edificatio. cxx. d Edutio¹⁰ de carcere. cicvij. b. Efusio.¹¹ l. b. lxxiiij. a. b c. d. Egiptus. cxvij. c. Egressus. xxxiiij. b. xlv. c. d. Egressus. cxxx. c. d. Elemosina. xj. c. cxlvi. b c. Elemosina. clvij. c. Electio. cxij. c d. cxiiij. c. d. Epule xlix. d. Episcopi off[[*****]]. cxliij. b. c. Eqs.¹² xxxv. d. Erubescere de peccato. clxxxix. c. d Eruca. cl. b. </p>
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⁹ The scribe acknowledges that this word does not belong here, but he does not provide an alternative position for it.

¹⁰ *eductio*

¹¹ *effusio*

¹² *equus*

<p> Excommunicatio. xxvj. a. Exercitus bonus. cxlij. d. e. Exercitus triplex. cl. a b. Expectatio. clxxij. a. b. Extensio. clvij. b. Flagellum. iiij. d Faber dicitur dominus. lxxix. d. Familiaritas angelorum. cxxj. d. Fames duplex. cxxxvij. c d. Fletus. ccij. d. e Festum multiplex. clij. a. b. Frenare carnem. lvij. c. Fercula. xlix. d. Filij mali. xxiiij. b. Filij. boni. xxvij. c Finis insidie. lxvij. a. b. Finis triplex. clxiiij. a. b. Fides. lxxxvj. b. c. lxxxvij. d. Fides. cxvij. b. c. cxlij. c. d. Fides. clxxix. b. c. clxxxv. d. Fideiussor dicitur christus cxlv. c d. Firmamentum. icvij. b. Fons christus. xl. b. c. clxxxij. b c d e Fortitudo. xv. d. Fortitudo duplex. lxxj. b c. Fortitudo duplex. cxliij. d. e. Fumus. xxj. d. Forum duplex. xxxv. b Funiculus peccati. clix. d. Fugere mundum. xxxvj. b. c. Fluuius. xl. b Flumen. cxxij. b. c. Fundamentum. cxvij. b. c. Furor. viij. c. d Fructus. ij. b. </p>	<p> Gaudium. lxxij. d. cxxvij. c d. Gaudium. clxxvij. a Gladius. clxj. e. Gratia dei. clxxxij. c. d. Gratie defectus. clxvij. a. Grauitas duplex. vj. c. d. Grauitas. clxxxix. c Generatio filiorum. xxvij. b. Generis consideratio. lxx. a b. Gloria. lxxxiiij. a. Gloria vana. c. a. b. Gloriatio. xxxvij. b c d. lvj. a b. Gustus. xxxvij. a Gulositas. lxxvij. d e Habundentia. cxij. b Hereditas duplex. xix. a. b. Hereditas. clxxx. b. c. Herere. clvj. a. Homini dignitas. xij. b. c Homo vetus. xxij. c. Homo nouus. cxxvij. b. c. Honor. j. c d. Honor sanctorum. ciciiij. c d. e Honus. vij. b. Hospes malus. lxij. d. Hospes nobilis. lxv. d. Hostiarius. v. c d. Hostium. clxvij. b. Hostes tres. cxxvij. a Humilitas. xxvij. d. l. a. Humilitas icvij. b. clij. c. Humilitatis commendatio. clxij. a b. Humilitatis dignitas. xxvij. a. </p>
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<p>Jacob. xxxvi. b c d. Jactantia. c. b. Jeunium. xl. a. Jgnis tribulationis. xix. c d. Jgnis triplex. †‡‡ cxvij. d. Jgnis spiritus sancti. xxij. a. b Jgnis proprietas. clxviiij. d e. f. g. Inclinatio cicix. a. b. Incarnatio. cicix. a. b. Jlluminat. xxx. a. Insidie. lxvij. a. b. Inuidia. lxix. c. d. clxxvij. a b. Inuidus. lxxvij. a. b Infernus. cicvij. b. c Immolatio. [c!] cxlj. b. c. Iniquitates diuerse. clxxxj. d e. Ingressus. cxxx. c. d. Incola terra. clv. b c. Impedimentum ad redeundum ad se. cicvi c. d. Ydolum. clxxxvij. b. c. Ymago. clxj. d. Intentio. cxv. b.¹³ Ypocrita. ij. b. c. ix. a. iciiij. d. Ypocrita. c. b. cxliiij. a. Ypocrita. cxli cxv clix. a. Ypocrita. clxxvij. c Ypocrisis. clxxij. c. d. Ypocrita. cicix. c. d. Jugum. iiij. d. Jra. viij. c d. Judex liiij. a Judicium. lxxxiiij. d. cxl. a. b. Judicare male. cxliij. c Judicium. clxvij. b. c. cicvij. c d Justitia. cxxxiiij. d. cxxij. b. c.</p>	<p>Labor penitentie. lxxiiij. a. b. Labor. c. a. b. Laborare. clxxx. a. b Lacrime multipliciter. lxix. a. b. Lacrima. cxlviiij. a. b. Lacrime. ccij. d e. Lac. clxj. a. b. Lacus dicitur peccator. clix. c. Laus vana. xxxvij. b. lvj. a b. Lana. icvij. a. Laqueus multiplex. xxj. a. b. Laqueus diuitie cj. b. Laqueus cxxv. b. Laqueus peccati. clx. a. Laquei. clxxvij. c. Lapides. cxxxij. a. b. Latro. clxvj. b. Lex duplex. xxiij. d Lex diuina. cliiij. a. b. Lex. clxvj. d. Leonis proprietas. cxxxvj. b. Letitia vana. clxxvij. a. b. Libatio. x. b. c. Lignum. ij. b. Ligatio. iiij. b. c Lingua vicium. xiiij. c. d. Lingua. icvj. b. Lingua multiplex. cxviiij. a. b. Lingua. clxxiiij. b. Lingua. clxxxiiij. d Locutio. icvij. c. Loquitur deus tripliciter. xxxj. a. b. Locus dei. clxxxiiij. c. d. e. Locacitas.¹⁴ l. b. ciciiij. c d Luna. ix. b. xij. a.</p>
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¹³ There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It should be placed after *impedimentum*.

¹⁴ *localitas*

<p> <i>Lux christus.</i> cxxix. a. b. <i>Luxuria.</i> xxxiij. c. l. b <i>Luxuria.</i> lxij. d. lxxxij. d. <i>Luxuria.</i> lxxxix. a. b. iciij. d. <i>Luxuria.</i> cxij. d. cl. b. <i>Luxuria.</i> cliij. b. clvi. a. <i>Magister.</i> . liiij. a <i>Macula multiplex.</i> cliij. a. b c. <i>Maledictio.</i> xxvj. a. <i>Mane.</i> vij. c <i>Manus domini.</i> xxxiij. a. <i>Manus apertio.</i> cc. b. c. <i>Mansio christi</i> [clvi] clxxxv. a. b. <i>Mare.</i> . cxxij. b. <i>Mare cor peccatoris.</i> cxl. c. d <i>Maris</i> †<i>diuisio</i>†. lxxix. a. b. <i>Memoria.</i> cxxxij. a. b. <i>Medicina.</i> xxxiiij. c. <i>Mensa duplex.</i> xxvij. b. c d. xlj. b. <i>Medicus christus.</i> xxx. a. clxxij. a. b. <i>Medicina</i> †<i>culpa</i>†. lxxxj. b. c. d. <i>Menbra</i>¹⁵ <i>christi.</i> icij. a. b. <i>Mirica</i>¹⁶ <i>in deserto.</i> xv. d. <i>Misericordia.</i> xxxiiij. b. lxxij. a. b. <i>Misericordia.</i> lxxx. d. clxxxij. b. c. <i>Misericordia domini.</i> xlix. a. b. cxxij. c. d. <i>Miseria duplex.</i> lxxx. d. clxxx[v]jx. b. c <i>Miseria huius vite.</i> cxxxj. e. <i>Minister.</i> cxxxj. c. d. <i>Mortificatio.</i> lj. c. lij. c d. <i>Monachi.</i> clxxxvj. d e. f. <i>Mons christus.</i> clxxvj. b <i>Montis proprietates.</i> cxxxiiij. d. <i>Montes prelati.</i> icvij. c. d. <i>Mons dicitur caritas</i> xvij. b. c. d. </p>	<p> <i>Mors.</i> lj. c <i>Mors duplex.</i> lix. c. d. <i>Mors preciosa.</i> cxlix. b. c. <i>Mors.</i> clxxxix. a. b. <i>Mundus.</i> xxxvj. b. <i>Mundus ciuitas dicitur.</i> iciij. b. <i>Mundi abdicatio.</i> cxlvij. a. b. <i>Mundi stimulus.</i> cxlix. b. <i>Mundi prudentia.</i> clx[x]iiij. c. d <i>Mulus.</i> xxxv. d. <i>Mulier.</i> clxxx. d. e. <i>Mutatio multiplex.</i> lxvij. c d e. <i>Mutuator.</i> xliij. d. <i>Murus.</i> xxij. a. b <i>Nauis.</i> lxxxvij. c. d. cxxxvj. d. <i>Naufragum.</i> lxxxvij. a. b <i>Negotiatio.</i> lvj. d. icv. d. <i>Nidus.</i> xvj. b. <i>Nomen multiplex.</i> lix. a. b. <i>Nouitij.</i> lxvij. c d. <i>Nox.</i> clxij. c d. <i>Nuntius fidelis</i> xxvi v. a. <i>Obstetricis officium.</i> ix. b. c. d. <i>Obligatio.</i> x. a. <i>Oblatio.</i> xx. a. b. <i>Oculi.</i> xvjj. b c. cxlvij. b. c <i>Oculos leuare ad deum.</i> clxxvj. b c d. <i>Occasio peccati.</i> xxxij. c. <i>Occupatio mala.</i> cicvj. d. <i>Odium.</i> lxix. c d. <i>Oliua.</i> lxiiij. a. b. <i>Olla.</i> ic. b. c. <i>Opus bonum.</i> cxlj. b c. <i>Operarij vinee.</i> cxvj. d. <i>Oratio.</i> xl. a. lxxxvj. c. cicij. b c. <i>Oratio.</i> cicv. a. b. c. d. </p>
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¹⁵ membra¹⁶ mirifica

Orandi modus. cicij. b c.	Peccati consuetudo. [cl]. cxlj. d e.
Orphanus [lv] xv. c. lxxxij. a.	Peccati recordatio. xx. c d.
Ornamenta sancta. clxxxvj. a. b.	Peccati absconsio. xxij. a.
Ornatus religionis. lvij. a. b.	Peccati destrutio ¹⁸ . xxij. c. xxxix. a.
Ornatus oratorij. cciiij. b. c.	Peccati reuocatio. xxxij. a.
Os. cxviiij. c.	Peccatum. xxxix. a. b. c.
Os mutum. cxlviiij. b.	Peccator. xlij. c. d. xlix. a. b.
Ossa. xxxvij. a.	Peccator dicitur latro. clx. c d.
Ossa multipliciter. cicvj. a. b.	Peccatum cogitationis. locutionis et operis. clx. a.
Ouis. clxx[v]ij. c. d.	Peccata. lj. c d.
Panis multiplex. cxvj. b. cxxxj. e	Peccati cognitio. icix. b. c.
Panis christus. cxxxv. d. ¶ Pargamenum	Peccati detestatio. cxl. a b.
Panes septem. cxij. a. b. liij. b. ¹⁷	Penitentia cxvj. c. d. cxxij. d. iij. a b.
Panis. cxliiij. c. d.	Penitentia. xxvi. d. xxxiiij. c d. cxlviiij. a b.
Patientia. x. c. lxxx. c d. clxv. b c.	Penitentia. xxxix. d. xlviii. b c. d. ix. a
Patientia. clxxiiij. a. clxxxj. b c.	Penitentia. lvij. c. d. lxvij. c. d. lxxxvij. b.
Palme proprietatis. cxxvj. b c.	Penitentia. clvj. b. clxxxix. c d. clj. a.
Passionis consideratio. cxxvij. b.	Penthecostes. ccij. d e. cxxxvj. a
Passio christi. xxv. c. xxx. b. xxxij. d	Pena eterna. cxxvij. b
Passionis modus. lxxv. a. b c d. e. f.	Pena. lxxxj. b. c. clxxxij. b.
Passio. icij. a b c d.	Penne. lxxxiiij. d.
Pascha. cxlv. a b. clj. b c.	Peregrinus. clviiij. c. d e.
Psalterij sonus. j. a. b.	Predicator. cxj. a. ix. c. xl. c
Paradysus. cxxxv. a.	Predicadores. xij. b.
Paries duplex. xix. d.	Predicatio. liij. a. b. c. cxliiij. c. d.
Pascere. xxiiij. b c.	Predicatio. clxviiij. b c. d e.
Passer. xvj. b.	Prerogatiua. cxxij. a.
Partus multiplex. xie. b c.	Precingere. xxij. d
Pauperes. xxvij. b. c.	Prelati zelus. xlj. b.
Pauper dupliciter. xv. a b.	Prelatus. xlvij. d
Plaga. icix. c d.	Prelati peccatum. xxxij. a.
Pauor. clx. a. b.	Prelatus malus. lv. a.
Paruulus dupliciter. lxxv. d e.	Prelatus lxxxvij. a. ic. a. b.
Pax multiplex. cxix. c d. clxxij. c d.	Prelati. icv. b. icviiij. b. c.
Peccator. cxiiij. c. viij. a. b.	Prelatus. cxliiij. b c d. clxxxvij. b c.
Peccatoris cor. cxl. c d.	Prelati sollicitudo. clxxxiiij. a. b.

¹⁷ ¶ Pargamenum liij. b.¹⁸ destructio

<p> Prelati cura. clxx. c. d. Preuenire <i>multipliciter</i>. clxx. a. b. <i>mus</i> clxxxv Premij <i>consideratio</i>. cxxvij. b. a b.¹⁹ Pinguedo. cxij. b. Pinguedo duplex. lxxvij. d. Pinguedinis vsus. lxxvij. d. Pilus. clxxiiij. b. c. Pisces boni. cxxxix. d. Principes. clxxj. b c. Pondus. vj. d. Populus. xxxvj. b. Possidere animam. clxv. b. c. Porta <i>multiplex</i>. ccj. d. ¶Propitiatorium. xxxj. a. Porte. clxxv. b. c. Puer <i>multipliciter</i>. cxx. b. Pueri tres. xxiij. b. Puer. cxlvij. a. b. Pluuia. lxxxiiij. a. b. icvij. a. b. Pugna. cxxvij. a Prudentia mundi. clxxxiiij. a. Prudentia. vij. a b. Querere deum. icij. a. b. Reges demones. iij. d. Regnum <i>triplex</i>. icvij. c. Religionis ornatus. lvij. a. b. Religio. cxiiij. b. cxxxviiij. b. Religio. cxl. d. [ex] clvj. c Reformatio. xiiij. a. b Reliquie peccati. xx. c Reliquie. xlij. a Recordatio peccati. xx. c d. Recidiuatio. xlix. b Reconciliatio. xlvij. b. c Redemptio. cxlv. c. clxxij. a. b. Remissio. xxxviiij. c. d. Remedium <i>contra temptationes</i>. xxxix. d Resurrectio. clj. b. ccj. a. Rex. liij. a. cxliij. b. c. Rex malus. clxxj. c d. Retributio. cxxxiiij. a. </p>	<p> Risus. clxx. c. Rubor. cxxxiiij. c Sacrificum. xix. d. xx. a. xxv. b c. Sacerdotes. icvij. b. Sacerdos. cxliij. b. c. Sacrificium. cxliij. c d. Sacerdotium. clxxxv. c. d. Salsamentum. cxxvij. b. Scala. iij. a ¶Satisfatio²⁰. clv. c. Sanat dominus. xxx. a. Sanatio anime. clvij. b c. Sapientia duplex. cxxxix. b c. Sapientia mundi. clxiiij. c d. clxxiiij. a. Sapientia dei. clxv. a. . clxj. a c Sapientia sanctorum cicij. d e. ¶Stabilis Status culpe. clxiiij. c d. xvj. b.²¹ Status triplex. cxx. b c. Stater. xxxviiij. c d. ¶Sanguis. cxxxix. c. d. Spes. lxxxvj. b. c. lxxxvj. c Spes. cxvij. c. cxliij. a. Spes. clxxix. c. Speculum. cliij. d e f. Sepes. cxxiiij. d. Separatio. cxlj. a. Semita. clvj. c d. Sensus <i>quinque</i>. cl. a b. clxxj. c d. Seruus <i>multipliciter</i>. cxxxij. c d. Sermo dei. clxix. a. b. Sensus <i>quinque</i>. lvij. d. lxxiiij. a b.²² Sedes triplex. liij. a b. Stelle. xij. b. ¶Sepulchrum. viij. a b. Simulatio. xxx. c. lvij. a b. d. Symia. lvij. a. Silentium. cicij. d. Simplicitas²³ triplex. clxxij. c d. Scientia. lxvj. b. cx. d. clx. c. Scriptura. xxxvj. c. Scriptura <i>diuina</i>. cx. d. Scribere. liij. a. b. Spine lxx. d. </p>
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¹⁹ ¶Preparatio domus clxxv a b.²⁰ satisfactio²¹ ¶Stabilis xvj. b.²² There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It should be placed after the first reference to *sensus quinque*.²³ simplicitas

<p> <i>Spiritus mundus</i>. lxij. d. <i>Spiritus sanctum</i> haurire. clxviiij. b. <i>Spiritus sancti</i> effectus. cc. c. d. Sol. ix. b. cxxxvj. d. Sodomo. clxxxij. a. Sompnus. clxxx. a. b. lxxxiiij. a Sompnus duplex. vj. a. b. Sponsa. lxxxviiij. b. Sponsa <i>christi</i> anima. cxxviiij. a. b. Sollicitudinis causa. xlvij. d. cxiiij. a. Suspendium. xxx. a. Studia. xiiij. a. Superbia. xxxiiij. d. xxxiiij. b. iciiij. d. Superbia. iciiij. c. c. b. cxiiij. c Superbia. cl. b. c. Sustentia. ciciiij c Subuersio. lxxxv. c d. Tabernaculum. cxxj. b. Taberna duplex. lxxij. a. b. Thalamus. cxx. d. Thesaurus. xvj. b. c d. Temptatio. xlij. c d Temptatio triplex. xlv. a. Temptationis remedium. xxxix. d. lxx. a. Temptatio. icj. c d. iciiij. b. c. Temptationis probatio. ciciiij. b. c. Templum anima. xvj. c. Templum. cxxx. a. b. Temporalia. xxxiiij. c. cxxxvij. d. e. Tenebre. cxviiij. c Testamentum. lx. b. c. Testis. xiiij. d. Temporis breuitas. cxxiiij. b. Terra deserta. lxxv. a b c d. Terra fructifera. cxlij. c d. Terra. clxxxix. a. Timor domini. v. d. xxv. a. b. cxxxiiij. c Timor domini. clxx. a b. clxxxvij. b c Timor domini. cij. a. b. Timor multiplex. clxvj. a. b. </p>	<p> Timoris fructus. xxviiij. d. Tribualtio. xlij. b. xix. cd Tribulationes. xxxvj. a. icvj. a Tribulatio. lxxix. a. lxxxj. a. b. Tribulatio. cxxvij. b. ciciiij. b c. Th[****]s. cicv. b. Thronus dicitur maria. cxxiiij. a.²⁴ Vanitas. xxii. c. xxxiiij. b. Vas. lxxiiij. a clxij. b. Vas duplex. clxviiij. b. Vasa domini. lxxix. d. Vasa. clxxxj. b. c. Verbum duplex. j. a. Verba quinque. christi. j. b. Vermis triplex. xxvij. a. Venatio. lvj. d. Venator. cxxv. a. b. Venatores. clxxvij. c. Verbum asperum. cxlvj. d.²⁵ Verbum dei. clxviiij. d. Ventus. clxxxviiij. a. Vestis varietas. lv. c d. Vestis sancta. clxx [[*]]. c d. Vestis. cxxxiiij. a. b. Vir. ij. b. Via multiplex ij. d. iij. a. b. cxxvj. a b. Via multiplex. clij. d e. f. cliij. a b c Via quadruplex. . cliij. c d e. Via. clvj. c d. Victoria sanctorum. ciciiij. d e. Vicia plura. cl. b. c. Violentia. lxiiij. c d. Vincula. iij. d. iiij. a. b. Vincula peccati. clxx. c d. Videre multipliciter. xxxij. b. c d. Vinea. cxvj. c d. Vinum. lxxj. d. cxxxvj. a. clxiiij. a. Virtutes tres. lxxxvj. b c. Virtutes. quattuor. clxxix. b. c. </p>
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²⁴ There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It should be placed after the last reference to *tribulatio*.

²⁵ There is a symbol here that indicates that this word is in the wrong place. It should be placed after *vermis*.

Virtutum genera. cxiiij. a.
Vi[a]ta *contemplatiua et actiua*. cicx. d e.
Visus. icix. b.
Voluptas. xxij. c.
Vsura. xliij. a.
Vsurarum detestatio. lxvij. a. b.
Vnctio. lxiiij. c.
Vnguenta. icj. c.
Vlmus. icix. b.
Vrsus. clxxvij. a. b.
Vtres. clxiiij. a.
Vxor. clxxx. c d.
Vnitas duplex. clxxxvj. c d.
Zelus. xx. a.
Zelus prelati. clxx. c d.
Zelus. lxxxviiij. a

APPENDIX D: A COMPARISON OF SERMON 507

Badius 1523	MS li.3.27	MS Bodley 745	MS 118	Add MS 45568	MS Digby 45	MS Ege 4
¶De diabolo quomodo fini vitae nostrae insidietur.	quod diabolus insidiatur homini propter multas causas. contra pigros. qualiter insidias diaboli possumus euadere.				quod diabolus insidiatur homini propter multas causas. contra pigros. qualiter insidias diaboli possumus euadere	
Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaneum suum obseruabunt. Diabolus insidiatur fini vite propter multas causas. Vult autem non percipi ad modum venatoris qui induit se veste viridi qua similis est virori foliorum. Et sicut auceps qui latet inter frutices. Vnde plerumque transfiguratur se in angelum lucis et propter claritatem dicitur daemonium meridianum. vnde ab incursu et demonio meridiano. Et. ij. ad Corinthios. ij. Vt non circumueniamur a Sathana: non enim ignoramus cogitationes eius. Diabolus etiam est sicut venator, qui laqueos abscondit et in angusto loco ponit per quam est transitus. Laqueus diaboli omnis creatura, et peccatum quod delectatione tegitur quae appetitur. Vnde Iob xviii. Abscondita est in terra pedica eius. scilicet. decipula illius super semitam. Similiter in arcto et articulo mortis insidiatur, sicut murilegus muri ad foramen. vnde quidam legitur dixisse moriens: iter para tutum. Prima autem causa est quia haec duo maxime affectant homines: bonum finem et exequiarum honorem: exemplo Balaam quod dixit Numeri. xxij. Moriatur anima mea morte iustorum, et fiant nouissima mea horum similia. Pigri ita solent sohaitter. idest. optare pro uoluntate. sed tamen	Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaneum meum obseruabunt. diabolus insidiatur fini uite propter multas causas. vult autem non percipi ad modum uenatoris. qui induit se ueste uiridi quia similis uirori foliorum et sicut auceps qui latet inter frutices. vnde plerumque transfiguratur se in angelum lucis. et propter claritatem dicitur demonium meridianum. vnde ab incursu. et demonio meridiano. et. ii. corinthios. ii. vt non circumueniamur a sathana non enim ignoramus cogitationes eius. diabolus est uenator qui laqueos suos abscondit. et in angusto loco ponit. ubi est transitus. laqueus diaboli omnis creatura. peccatum quod delectatione tegitur. vnde iob. xviii. abscondita est in terra pedica eius. et decipula eius super semitam. similiter in arto mortis insidiatur. sicut murilegus ad foramen muri. vnde legitur quidam dixisse moriens. item para tutum et cetera. prima autem causa est. quia hoc duo maxime affectant homines scilicet ad bonum finem et exequiarum honorem. exemplo balaam qui dixit. numeri. xxij. moriatur anima mea morte iustorum. et fiant nouissima mea horum similia. pigri solent optare res pro uoluntate. sed tamen pro hoc nichil laborant. similes diabolo qui dixit. dic ut	Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaneum meum obseruabunt. diabolus insidiatur fini propter multas causas. vult enim non percipi ad modum uenatoris qui induit se ueste uiridi qui similis est uirori foliorum. et sicut auceps qui latet inter frutices. vnde plerumque transfiguratur se in angelum lucis. et propter hanc claritatem dicitur demonium meridianum. vnde ab incursu et demonio meridiano. et. ii. ad corinthios. ii. vt non circumueniamur a sathana. non enim mihi sunt ignote cogitationes eius. diabolus est sicut uenator qui laqueos suos abscondit. et in angusto loco vbi transitus est. ponit. laqueus diaboli est omnis creatura scilicet peccatum quod delectatione tegitur. que appetitur. vnde xviii. abscondita est in terra pedica eius. et desipula super semitas. similiter in articulo mortis insidiatur sicut murilegus muri foramen. vnde quidam moriens legitur audiuisse dicere. jter para tutum. prima autem causa est quare diabolus insidiatur maxime fini. quia maxime hec duo affectant homines. bonum finem et exequialem honorem. exemplo balaam qui dixit. numeri. xxiii. moriatur anima mea morte iustorum. et fiant nouissima mea horum similia. piger ita solent optare et tamen	Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi vite propter multas causas. vult autem non percipi ad modum uenatoris. qui induit se ueste uiridi. quia similis est uirori foliorum et sicut auceps qui latet inter frutices. vnde plerumque transfiguratur se in angelum lucis. et propter claritatem dicitur demonium meridianum. vnde. ab incursu et demonio meridiano. et ad. corinthios. ij. vt circumueniamur a sathana. non enim ignoramus cogitationes eius. diabolus est sicut uenator qui laqueos abscondit et in angusto loco ponit. ubi est transitus. vnde job. xviii. abscondita est in terra pedica eius. et desuper se. similiter in arcto insidiatur mortis sicut murilegus muri ad foramen. vnde quidam legitur dixisse moriens. jtem para tutum. prima autem causa est quia hec duo affectant maxime homines bonum finem. et exequiarum honorem. exemplo balaam qui dixit. numeri. xiiij. moriatur anima mea morte iustroum et fiant nouissima mea horum. jta pigri soelder idest optare pro uoluntate. sed tamen nihil propter hoc laborarent. similes diabolo. mattheus. iiii. dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. sic et multi dicunt. vtinam lapis iste esset bonus salmo. et sit uetule ad heredem. vnde	Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaenum meum obseruabunt. diabolus insidiatur fini uite propter multas causas. uult autem percipi ad modum uenatoris. qui induit se ueste uiridi. quia similis est uirori foliorum. et sic auceps qui latet inter frutices. vnde plerumque transfiguratur se in angelum lucis. et propter claritatem dicitur demonium meridianum. vnde ab incursu et demonio meridiano. et. ii. ad corinthios. iii. vt non circumueniamur a sathana. non enim ignoramus cogitationes eius. diabolus est sicut uenator qui laqueos suos abscondit et in angusto loco ponit. ubi est transitus. laqueus diaboli. omnis creatura. peccatum quod delectatione tegitur que appetitur. vnde iob. xviii. abscondita est in terra pedica eius. et decipula eius super se. similiter in arto mortis insidiatur sicut murilegus muri ad foramen. vnde quidam legitur dixisse moriens. jter para tutum. prima autem causa est. quia haec duo affectant maxime homines. bonum finem et exequialem honorem exemplo balaam qui dixit. moriatur anima mea morte iustorum. et fiant nouissima mea horum similia. pigri ita solent optare. et tamen propter hoc nichil laborare solent similes diabolo. qui dixit. dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. sic optant carnales sibi bona eterna prouenire. vnde dominus temptauit filios zebedei. cum mater dixisset. dic ut sedeant hii duo filii	¶ Inhabitabunt et abscondent ipsi calcaneum meum obseruabunt. diabolus maxime insidiatur circa finem. et laborat ut homines non curent de bona uita.	

<p>nihil propter hoc laborent, similes diabolo qui dixit Matthaeus. iiij. Dic vt lapides isti panes fiant. Sic multi dicunt vtinam lapis iste esset bonus salmo. Sic et vetule de nepote herede. Vnde Persius. Hunc optent generum rex et regina: puellae hunc rapiant. quicquid calcauerit hic rosa fiat. Sic optant carnales bona eterna sibi sibi prouenire. Vnde dominus Matthaeus. xx. Increpuit filios Zebedei cum mater eorum dixisset. Dic vt hi duo filij mei sedeant et cetera. Et respondit, Nescitis quid petatis. et subiunxit terribile uerbum. potestis bibere calicem et cetera. quasi dicat. oportet uos transire per calicem. et per calicem uenitur ad regnum. Et quia pauci sunt qui laborent vt habeant bonum finem per quem perueniant ad regnum: dicitur Prouerbia xij. Vult et non vult piger. anima autem operantium impinguabitur. ¶Secunda causa est, quia nouit quod si peccator tunc euaserit nihil potest timere: in tuto enim est et hoc dicet. Benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum. Anima nostra erepta est de laqueo et cetera. Laqueus contritus est et nos liberate sumus. et Naum ij. Celebra iuda festiuitates tuas. idest. confitens quia non adiciet vltra vt pertranseat in te: Belial vniversus interijt. ¶Tertia quia si tunc fuerit interceptus non poterit liberari. Vnde Ecclesiasticus. xj. Vbi ceciderit lignum ibi erit siue ad austrum siue ad aquilonem. Et Sophonias. j. Sed et argentum eorum et aurum non potest eos</p>	<p>lapides isti panes fiant. sic multi dicunt utinam lapis iste esset bonus salmo. sic et de aliis. vnde persius. hunc optant generum rex et regina puelle hunc capiant quicquid calcauerit hic rosa fiat. sic optant carnales eterna sibi prouenire. vnde deus increpauit filios zebedei cum mater eorum dixisset. dic ut sedeant hij duo filij mei et cetera. et respondit. nescitis quid petatis. et subiunxit terribile uerbum. potestis bibere calicem et cetera. quasi dicat. oportet uos transire per calicem. et per calicem uenitur ad regnum. et quia pauci sunt qui laborent ut habeant bonum finem. per quem perueniant ad regnum: dicitur proueria. xiii. vult et non uult piger. anima autem operantium impinguabitur. secunda causa est quod nouit quod si peccator euasit nihil potest timere in futuro. sed dicet. benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum. naum. ij. celebra iuda festiuitates tuas. quia non adicies ultra ut pertranseat in te belial et cetera. tertia quod si tunc fuerit interemptus non potest liberari. vnde ecclesiastico. xi. vbi ceciderit lignum. ibi erit. siue ad austrum siue ad aquilonem. sophonias. i. argentum et aurum eorum non potest eos liberare in die ire domini. quarta quod nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam. et ita seuiunt sicut prepositi temporales qui omnia que possunt emungunt. vnde statius. non parcat populis regnum breue. apocalypsis. xiii. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam sciens quod modicum</p>	<p>propter hoc laborare solent. similes diabolo qui dixit. mattheus. iiij. dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. sic et multi dicant. vtinam lapis iste esset bonus salomon. sic uetule persuadent. persius. hunc optent generum rex et regina puelle. hunc rapiant quicquid calcauerit hic rosa fiat. sic optant carnales sibi bona eterna prouenire. vnde dominus increpauit filios zebedei cum mater dixisset. dic ut sedeant hii duo filii mei unus ad dexteram tuam. et alius ad sinistram tua in regno tuo. et respondit. nescitis quid petatis. et subiunxit triste uerbum. potestis bibere calicem et cetera. quasi dicat. oportet uos transire per calicem quo peruenitur ad regnum. dicitur proueria exemplo. vult et non uult piger. anima autem operantium impinguabitur. secunda causa est quod nouit quod si peccator euasit nihil potest timere in futuro. sed dicet. benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum. naum. ij. celebra iuda festiuitates tuas. quia non adicies ultra ut pertranseat in te belial et cetera. tertia quod si tunc fuerit interemptus non potest liberari. vnde ecclesiastico. xi. vbi ceciderit lignum. ibi erit. siue ad austrum siue ad aquilonem. sophonias. i. argentum et aurum eorum non potest eos liberare in die ire domini. quarta quod nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam.</p>	<p>persius. hunc optent generum rex regina puelle. hunc rapiant quicquid calcauerit hic rosa fiat. sic optant carnales eterna bona prouenire sibi. vnde dominus increpauit filios zebedei cum mater eorum dixit. dic ut hij duo filij mei sedeant et cetera. et respondit. nescitis quid petatis. et subiunxit terribile uerbum. potestis bibere calicem et cetera. quasi dicat. oportet uos transire per calicem. et per calicem uenitur ad regnum. et quia pauci sunt qui laborent ut habeant bonum finem. per quem perueniant ad regnum. vnde proueria. xiii. vult et non uult piger. anima autem operantium impinguabitur. secunda causa est quia nouit si peccator tunc euaserit. nihil potest timere. in tuto est. sed dicet benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum. anima nostra erepta est de laqueo et cetera. laqueus contritus est nos liberati sumus. naum. ii. celebra iuda festiuitates tuas. idest confitens. quia non adiciet ultra ut pertranseat in te belial uniuersus interit. tertia quia si tunc fuerit interceptus non poterit liberari. vnde ecclesiasticus. xi. vbi ceciderit lignum ibi est siue ad austrum siue ad aquilonem. et sophonias. j. set et argentum eorum et aurum non potest eos liberare. in die ire domini. quarta quia nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam. et ideo seuit acris sicut</p>	<p>hoc nichil laborarent similes diabolo. qui dixit. mattheus. iiij. dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. sic multi dicunt. vtinam lapis iste esset bonus salmo. sic et uetule adherent. vnde persius. hunc optent generum rex et regina. puelle. hunc rapiant quicquid calcauerit hec rosa fiat. sic optant carnales bona eterna sibi prouenire. vnde dominus increpuit filios zebedei. cum mater eorum dixisset. dic ut hii duo filii mei sedeant et cetera. et respondit. nescitis quid petatis. et subiunxit terribile uerbum. potestis bibere calicem et cetera. quasi dicat. oportet uos transire per calicem. et per calicem uenitur ad regnum. et quia pauci sunt qui laborent ut habeant bonum finem. per quem perueniant ad regnum. dicitur in proueria. xiii. vult et non uult piger. anima autem operantium impinguabitur. secunda causa est quia nouit quod si peccator euaserit. nichil potest timere in futuro. sed dicet benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem et cetera. tertia quod si tunc fuit interemptus ut potest liberari. vnde ecclesiasticus. xi. si ceciderit lignum ad austrum aut ad aquilonem in quocumque loco ceciderit ibi erit. sophonias. primo. argentum. et aurum eorum non poterit eos liberare in die ire domini. quarta quia nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam. et ideo seuit sicut propositi temporales qui omnia que possunt emungunt. apocalypsis. xiii. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam sciens quod modicum tempus habet quinta quod si in nullo posset amplius nocere. saltem conatur electos de specie mali infamare. et</p>	<p>mei et cetera. nescitis quid petatis. et subiunxit triste uerbum. potestis bibere calicem et cetera. quasi dicat. oportet uos transire per calicem. quia per calicem peruenitur ad regnum. vnde proueria. x. vult et non uult piger. anima autem operantium impinguabitur. secunda causa est quia nouit quod si peccator euaserit. nichil potest timere in futuro. sed dicet benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem et cetera. tertia quod si tunc fuit interemptus ut potest liberari. vnde ecclesiasticus. xi. si ceciderit lignum ad austrum aut ad aquilonem in quocumque loco ceciderit ibi erit. sophonias. primo. argentum. et aurum eorum non poterit eos liberare in die ire domini. quarta quia nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam. et ideo seuit sicut propositi temporales qui omnia que possunt emungunt. apocalypsis. xiii. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam sciens quod modicum tempus habet quinta quod si in nullo posset amplius nocere. saltem conatur electos de specie mali infamare. et</p>	<p>unus sederet ad dexteram et alius ad sinistram. sed ad uiam ueritatis reuocat eos dominus dicens potestis bibere calicem et cetera. docens quia per calicem peruenitur ad maiestatem. contra tales proueria. xiii. piger uult et non uult. vult saturari et non uult operari. jdeoque diabolus uult decinere homines in peccato suggerens eis quod in fine satis penitebunt et ipse quasi uenator in arto itinere. circa exitum ponit insidias. hoc est enim arum foramen omnium hominum. vnde job. xvij. abscondita est in terra pedica eius et cetera. multiplex est causa quare diabolus in fine insidiatur. prima quia si euaserit tunc decetero in tuto erit. sed magis dicet cum dauid. benedictus dominus qui non dedit nos in captionem dentibus eorum. et laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus et naum. ii. celebra iuda festiuitates tuas idest o confitens quia non additiet ultra. ut tneat in te belial uniuersus interijt. secundo quia si pecor tunc interceptus fuerit non poterit postea liberari: vnde ecclesiasticus. ix. vbi ceciderit lignum ibi erit siue ad austrum siue ad</p>
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<p>liberare, in die ire domini. ¶Quarta, quia nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam et ideo seuit acrius. Sicut praepositi temporales: qui omnia quae populis possunt emungunt. vnde Statius. Non parit populis regnum breue. Et Apocalypsis. xij. Descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam sciens quod modicum tempus habet. ¶Quinta quia et in si nullo alio nocere possit saltem conatur electos de specie mali exitus infamare: et procurat vt electi moriantur, vel intestati, vel ex insperato: quod nonnunquam contingit etiam bonis: nec habent plerumque sollempnitatem exequiarum, qui tamen quantum ad deum feliciter consummant dies suos. Vnde Sapientia. iiii. Iustus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit. Et ibidem. Consummatus in breui expleuit tempora multa. placita enim erat deo anima illius: propterea properauit educere eum de medio iniquitatis. Diabolus autem modis omnibus procurat vt in hoc saltem infamet eos, quantum ad vulgi opinionem. Vnde Ecclesiastici. xj. Bona in mala conuertens insidiatur, et in electis ponit maculam. Sed quicquid machinetur, in conspectu dei bonus est exitus iustorum eorum. vnde ecclesiasticus. i. timentis deum bene erit in extremis. Sed quicquid machinetur, in conspectu dei bonus est exitus iustorum. Vnde Ecclesiastici. j. Timentis dominum bene erit in extremis, et in die defunctionis benedicetur. Pretiosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. econtra. mors peccatorum pessima. quicquid honoris exhibeat feneratori in extremis; uirum in iustum mala capient in interitu. hinc afferuntur circa feretrum. crucis. luminaria et thuribula. ex alia parte occulte parantur ei tenebre. quia ignis sulphur et spiritus procellarum pars inferni. et sulphura. quia</p>	<p>xij. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam. sciens quod modicum tempus habet quinta' et si in nullo alio nocere possit. saltem conatur electos de specie mali exitus infamare. et procurat ut moriantur intestati. vel ex insperato. quod non nunquam etiam contingit bonis. uel ex insperato: quod nonnunquam contingit etiam bonis nec habent plerumque sollempnitatem exequiarum qui tum quantum ad deum feliciter consummant dies suos vnde sapientia. iustus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit. consummatus in breui expleuit tempora multa et cetera diabolus autem omnibus modis procurat. ut in hoc saltem diffamet eos quantum ad vulgi opinionem. ecclesiasticus xj. bona etiam mala conuertens insidiatur. et electis ponit maculam. sed quicquid machinetur' in conspectu dei bonus est exitus iustorum eorum. vnde ecclesiasticus. i. timentis deum bene erit in extremis. et in die defunctionis sue benedicetur. pretiosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. econtra. mors peccatorum pessima. quicquid honoris exhibeat feneratori in extremis; uirum in iustum mala capient in interitu. hinc afferuntur circa feretrum. crucis. luminaria et thuribula. ex alia parte occulte parantur ei tenebre. quia ignis sulphur et spiritus procellarum pars inferni. et sulphura. quia</p>	<p>tempus habet. Quinta est quid si in nullo amplius posset nocere. saltem conatur electos de specie mali infamare et procurat ut moriantur intestati uel insperati. quod nonnunquam contingit. nec habent plerumque obsequiorum sollempnia. qui tamen quantum ad deum feliciter consummant dies suos. vnde sapientia. iiii. iustus si preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit et cetera. consummatus in breui' expleuit tempora multa. placita enim erat deo anima eius. propter hoc properauit eum dominus educere de medio iniquitatis. diabolus uero modis omnibus procurat ut in hoc saltem infamet eos quantum ad vulgi opinionem. vnde job. xi. bona et mala conuertens insidiatur et in electos ponit maculam. sed quicquid machinetur in conspectu dei bonus est exitus bonorum. vnde ecclesiastico. i. timere deum bene erit in extremis. et in die defunctionis benedicetur. vnde. pretiosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. quicquid honoris exhibeat feneratori in extremis. uirum iniustum mala capient et cetera. hinc affectentur circa feretrum luminaria. et crucis. et thuribula. ex alia parte occulte parantur ei tenebre. quia ignis sulphur et spiritus procellarum pars calicis eorum. debet enim</p>	<p>et ideo seuit acrius. sicut prepositi temporales. qui omnia que possunt emungunt. vnde statius. non parit populis regnum breue. et apocalypsis. xij. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam sciens quod modicum tempus habet. quinta' quia et si in nullo alio nocere possit' saltem conatur electorum de specie mali exitus infamare. et procurat ut moriantur electi uel intestati. uel ex insperati. quod nunquam contingit etiam bonis nec habent plerumque sollempnitatem exequiarum. qui tamen quantum ad deum feliciter consummant dies suos. vnde sapientia. iustus si preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit et cetera. consummatus in breui' expleuit tempora multa. placita enim erat deo anima illius. propterea properauit educere eum de medio iniquitatis. diabolus autem modis omnibus procurat. ut in hoc saltem infamet eos. quantum ad vulgi opinionem. vnde ecclesiastici. xj. bona in mala conuertens insidiatur et in electis ponit malum. sed quicquid machinetur in conspectu dei bonus exitus est iustorum. vnde ecclesiastici. j. timentis deum bene erit in extremis. et in die defunctionis benedicetur. quia pretiosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. econuersus. mors peccatorum pessima. quicquid est honoris exhibeat feneratori in extremis. uirum iniustum mala capient in interitu. hic afferuntur circa feretrum crux' luminari. et thuribula. ex alia parte parantur ei</p>	<p>prepositi temporales qui omnia que possunt emungunt. vnde statius. non parit populis regnum breue. et apocalypsis. xii. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam. sciens quod modicum tempus habet. quinta' quia si in nullo alio nocere possit' saltem conatur electos de specie mali exitus infamare. ut procurat ut moriantur electi uel intestati uel ex insperato. quod non nunquam etiam contingit bonis. nec habent plerumque sollempnitatem exequiarum. qui tamen quantum ad deum feliciter consummant dies suos vnde sapientia. iustus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit. et iterum. consummatus in breui expleuit tempora multa. placita enim deo erat anima illius. propterea properauit educere eum de medio iniquitatis. diabolus autem modis omnibus procurat ut in hoc saltem infamet eos quantum ad vulgi opinionem. vnde ecclesiastici. xi. bona in mala conuertens insidiatur et in electis ponit malitiam. set quicquid machinetur bonus est exitus iustorum in conspectu dei. vnde ecclesiasticus. i. timentis deum bene erit in extremis. et in die defunctionis benedicetur. pretiosa est in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. econuerso. mors peccatorum pessima. quicquid honoris exhibeat feneratori in extremis' uirum iniustum mala capient in interitu. hinc afferuntur circa feretrum crux luminaria et thuribula. ex alia parte occulte parantur ei</p>	<p>procurat vt moriantur' intestati uel insperati quod non unquam contingit. nec habent plerumque sollempnia obsequiorum. qui tamen quantum ad deum feliciter complent dies suos. vnde sapientia. iiii. iustus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit et cetera. diabolus modis omnibus procurat ut in hoc saltem diffamet eos quantum ad uulgi opinionem. sed quicquid machinetur' in conspectu dei bonum est exitus bonorum. vnde ecclesiasticus. primo. timentis deum' bene erit in extremis. et in die defunctionis benedicetur. vnde pretiosa in conspectu domini et cetera. quicquid honoris exhibeat feneratori in extremis. uirum iniustum malacapiens in interitu. hinc afferuntur circa feretrum luminaria et crucis et thuribula' ex alia parte occulte ei parantur tenebre. quia ignis sulphur. et spiritus procellarum et cetera. debet autem cogitare. quomodo insidias diaboli. possit declinare iuxta illud proverbium. vi. eruere quasi dammula de manu. et quasi aus de insidiis aucupis insidias quas diabolus tendit. possumus euadere duobus modis. per confessionem. per testamenti ordinationem. vnde ysaia dispone domui tue et cetera. ecclesiasticus. xiii. ne dederis maculam in gloria tua in die conuersationis uite tue. et in temporis exitus tui distribue hereditatem. vnde oratius. omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum. et gregorius. disce quasi semper uiurus per confessionem. ecclesiasticus ii. ne tardes conuerti ad dominum. et ne differas de</p>	<p>aquilonem et sophonias. i. argentum eorum et aurum non poterit eos liberare. in die ire domini. tertio quia nouit potestatem suam modicum duraturam. et inde acrius seuit ut mali bedelli. vnde statius non parit popullis regnum breue et apocalypsis. xij. descendit diabolus ad nos habens iram magnam. sciens quia modicum tempus habet quarto et si in nullo potest electis nocere tamen laborat de specie mali exitus infamare. ut si moriantur intestati. uel desperati quod nunquam contingit bonis. nec etiam habent honorem exequiarum qui quantum ad deum feliciter consummatur. vnde sapientia. iustus si morte preoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit. et item consummatus in breui impleuit tempora multa. placita enim deo erat. anima illius propterea properauit educere eum de medio iniquitatis. et ecclesiastici. i. timentis dominum bene erit in extremis. et in die defunctionis benedicetur et psalmi pretiosa in conspectu domini mors sanctorum eius. et de malis idem mors peccatorum pessima. licet multa pompa sequatur feretra. hijs ergo diaboli insidijs occurrat per confessionem per extremam unctionem. per heu caritatem. per testamenti ordinationem vnde isaia. xxxvii. dispone domui tue quia morieris tu et non uiues. et ecclesiastici. xxiij. ne des maculam in gloria tua. in die consummationis dierum uite tue et in tempore exitus distribue hereditatem. de hac die poeta omnem diem crede tibi diluxisse supremum et gregorius. sic disce quasi</p>
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<p>interitu. Huic afferuntur circa feretrum, cruces, luminaria, et thuribula, Ex alia parte occulte parantur ei tenebrae et cruces alie. scilicet. patibulum inferni et sulphura. Quia ignis et sulphur et cetera. Debet ergo miser homo cogitare quomodo possit insidias illas declinare. Iuxta illud Prouerbia. vj. Erue quasi damula de manu et quasi auis de insidijs aucupis quae pipe id est canit quando se percipit euasisse. Insidijs autem diaboli occurritur duobus modis: per confessionem. et per testamenti ordinationem. Vnde Esaias. xxxviij. Dispone domi tuae quia morieris et non uiues. Et Ecclesiastici. xxij. Ne dederis maculam in gloria tua in die consummationis vite tue: et in tempore exitus tui distribue hereditatem: de qua dicit Horatius in epulisti Omnem crede diem tibi deluxisse supremum. et Gregorius. dicit. Disce quasi semper victurus: uiue quasi cras moriturus. Vnde Ecclesiastici. v. Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum et ne differas de die in diem. Subito enim uenit ira illius et cetera. Et Qui non est hodie cras minus aptus erit et cetera. Et quod praeteritum est et cetera. Persius. Iam cras hesternum consumpsimus, ecce aliud cras.</p>	<p>ignis sulphur et spiritus procellarum et cetera. debet ergo miser homo cogitare quomodo possit insidias declinare. vnde proueria. vj. erue quasi dammula de manu et quasi auis de insidijs aucupis que canit quando percipit se euasisse. insidijs autem diaboli occurritur duobus modis. per confessionem. per testamenti ordinationem. vnde dispone domi tue. quia morieris. et non uiues. ecclesiasticus. xxij. ne dederis maculam in gloria tua in die consummationis uite tue. et in tempore exitus tui. distribue hereditatem. oratus. omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum. grata superveniet et cetera. et gregorius dicit. disce quasi semper uiucturus. uiue quasi cras moriturus. per confessionem. vnde ecclesiasticus. v. ne tardes conuerti ad dominum et non differas de die in diem qui non est hodie et cetera. iam cras consumpsimus [unknown word]. ecce aliud cras et cetera.</p>	<p>cogitare quomodo insidias diaboli possit declinare. iuxta illud per. ----- quasi damula de manu accipitris. et quasi auis de insidijs occultis. que canit de se euasisse percipit. jnsidias quas diabolus tendit possumus euadere duobus modis. per confessionem. per testamenti ordinationem. vnde ysaia. dispone domui tue et cetera. ecclesiastico. xiii. ne dederis maculam in gloria tua in die conuersationis dierum uite tue. et in tempore exitus tui' distribue hereditatem. vnde oratus. omnem crede dicit tibi delicuisse supremum. et alibi. qui non est hodie cras unus aptus erit. et gregorius. disce quasi semper uiucturus et uiue quasi cras moriturus. per confessionem. ecclesiasticus. ii. ne tardes conuerti ad dominum. et ne differatis de die in diem. subito enim uenit ira dei et in tempore intermedio disperdet te.</p>	<p>tenebre. et cruces alie scilicet inferni. debet ergo miser homo cogitare quomodo posset insidias declinare iuxta illud proueria. vj. erue quasi damula de manu. et quasi auis de insidijs aucupis. que canit quando se percipit euasisse. jnsidijs autem diaboli occurritur duobus modis. per confessionem. per testamenti ordinationem. vnde ysaia. disponi domui tue. quia morieris. et non uiues. sic ecclesiastici xxij. ne dederis maculam in gloria. jn die consummationis dierum uite et in tempore exitus tui distribue hereditatem. de qua dicit oratus. omnem crede diem tibi defluxisse supremum. et gregorius. dicit. disce quasi semper uiucturus. uiue quasi cras moriturus. per confessionem. vnde ecclesiasticus. v. ne tardes conuerti ad deum. et ne differas de die in diem. subito enim et cetera. et qui non est hodie et cetera. et quod preteritum est et cetera. iam cras et cetera.</p>	<p>tenebre et cruces alie scilicet gibeth inferni. et sulphur. quia ignis et sulphur et cetera. debet ergo miser cogitare quomodo possit insidias declinare. iuxta illud proueria. xi. erue quasi dammula de manu. et quasi auis de insidijs aucupis. que pipe idest canit. quando percipit se euasisse. jnsidijs autem diaboli occurritur duobus modis. per confessionem per testamenti ordinationem. vnde ysaia. xxxviii. circa principum. dispone domui tue quia morieris et non uiues. et ecclesiasticus xxiii. ne dederis maculam in gloria tua in de consummationis dierum uite. et in tempore exitus tui distribue hereditatem. de qua dicit oracius. omnem crede diem tibi deluxisse supremum. et gregorius dicit. disce quasi semper uiucturus. uiue quasi cras moriturus. per confessionem' vnde ecclesiasticus. v. ne tardes conuerti ad dominum. et non differas de die in diem. subito enim et cetera. et qui non est hodie et cetera. quod preteritum est et cetera persius. jam cras consumpsimus ecce aliud cras.</p>	<p>die in diem. subito enim uenit ira dei et in tempor uindictae disperdet te.</p>	<p>semper uiucturus sic uiue quasi cras moriturus. et de confessione ecclesiastica v¹⁰. ne tardes conuerti ad dominum et ne differans de die in diem. subito enim et cetera. qui non est hodie et persius jam cras consumpsimus ecce aliud cras.</p>
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