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The Use of *Exempla* in *Fasciculus Morum*

by

Sarah A. Gray

Bachelor of Arts, University of Waterloo, 1993

Thesis
Submitted to the Department of Religion & Culture
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1995

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Abstract

Among the many pastoral aids compiled for parish priests in the late Middle Ages, *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacer's Handbook*, is among the more important but is surprisingly litt e studied. In this thesis I focus direct attention on its use of the preaching *exemplum*. Although it is not an *exempla* collection *per se*, a study of the *exempla* in the work offers many insights into other such collections. This thesis examines these *exempla* -- the types of characters found in them, their sources, and their function within the context of *Fasciculus morum* proper.

As the literary review which opens Chapter 1 indicates, studies of the work are limited and the first chapters thus set the work in its historical context, introducing problems of authorship, date, and genre. Chapter 2 demonstrates how the author's likely Franciscan origin affected the book's distribution and content and how the development of sermons in the period before *Fasciculus morum* was written affected the manual.

Chapter 3 looks directly at the *exempla* of *Fasciculus morum*, developing a working defintion of the term, and problems in *exempla* studies. Earlier scholars have stressed the need to discuss *exempla* in context. Commentaries on *exempla* collections are precluded from doing this because the *exempla* are provided as material for preachers, but the preachers provide the context which defines the way the *exempla* function. Editors of major *exempla* collections have tended to discuss such topics as the characters, situations, sources, and other occurences of the *exempla*. I have included sections covering both of these approaches to *exempla*, first commenting on the number, distribution, length, and language of the *exempla*, and their characters and sources, including the large number of classical *exempla*, and then looking at the purpose and function of the *exempla*, the way they relate to the material found before and after them in the chapters of *Fasciculus morum*.

The appendices include a full catalogue of all *exempla* in the work with sources and other indexes to *Fasciulus morum*.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Among the many pastoral aids compiled for parish priests in the late Middle Ages, one of the most interesting but surprisingly little studied is *Fasciculus morum*,[1] an early 14th century collection of material for preachers, compiled by, it seems, an English Franciscan friar. This treatise, whose title translates as "a little bundle of morals," is arranged into seven sections, each of which looks at one of the seven deadly sins and its opposing virtue. Although popular, unfortunately it has only recently been edited, and thus has not been readily available for examination. *Fasciculus morum* is an important manual for the understanding of expected or desired 14th century morality and piety. It provides an insight into the popularity of other literary works available during this time period and shows how preachers might organize this material in sermons. In this paper, I focus directly on its implications for preachers and direct attention particularly to its use of the preaching *exemplum*. Although it is not an *exempla* collection *per se*, a study of the *exempla* in the work offers many insights into such collections. *Fasciculus morum* differs from an *exempla* collection in that, along with the 230 *exempla*, the author provided relevant passages from the Bible, citations from both pagan and Christian authors, similitudes, Latin and Middle English verses, and examples from everyday life to illustrate the vices and virtues he was describing. The author thus made available tales which could be inserted in sermons in order to either provide concrete examples of behaviours to follow or avoid, to help explain ideas which otherwise may have remained obscure, to provide authority for statements made by preachers, or to lighten the tone of the sermon. This thesis examines these *exempla* -- the types of characters found in them, their sources,

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[1]*Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989).

and their function within the context of *Fasciculus morum*. The significance of *Fasciculus morum* for the study of *exempla* is that it contains more *exempla* than other manuals which treat similar subject matter. Peraldus' popular *Summa de vitiis*, for example, contains only 125 *exempla*, and Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* contains only 67.[2]

In Chapter 1 of the thesis, the reader is introduced to *Fasciculus morum*. The historiography shows that most of the work done has concentrated on its Middle English verses. However, the number of brief references to *Fasciculus morum* by modern scholars in many works on sermon studies shows that it is worthy of further study. Following the historiography I have provided information on the texts and Wenzel's editing and translating principles.[3] The authorship and date of *Fasciculus morum* are uncertain, and the reasons for thinking that the author was a Franciscan from the custody of Worcester writing in the early 14th century are given next. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the content and structure of the manual, both of which are necessary to give the reader an understanding of the type of work within which the *exempla* are found.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the historical background of *Fasciculus morum*. It is shown how the author's likely Franciscan origin affected the book's distribution and content. I have given a brief outline of the vices and virtues tradition within the Christian church to show where *Fasciculus morum* fits within this tradition. Church councils had an important effect on preaching and, therefore, on the content of manuals for preachers. The Fourth Lateran Council and the Lambeth Council are discussed in Chapter 2 as two of the more influential councils regarding preaching in England. The last section

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[2]J.-Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Âge* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, [1927] 1973), 167, 171.

[3]This information has been abridged. For complete details, see Wenzel's introduction to *Fasciculus morum* (*FM*: 1-27).

of Chapter 2 discusses the development of sermons in the period before

Fasciculus morum was written. As the style of sermons changed, manuals

of all kinds were written to aid preachers. A number of these are

described, and *Fasciculus morum* is placed within the various types.

Chapter 3 looks at the *exempla* of *Fasciculus morum*. In their 1982

study, Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt define

an *exemplum* as

> un récit bref donné comme véridique et destiné à être inséré
> dans un discours (en général un sermon) pour convaincre un
> auditoire par une leçon salutaire.[4]

However, the word *exemplum* is used in various ways in the Middle Ages,

and rendering a precise definition is difficult. These problems are

discussed, along with the problem of trying to categorize *exempla*. I

have also included a discussion of Frederic Tubach's *Index Exemplorum*,[5]

which, although it is used by many scholars to identify *exempla*, has

drawbacks and limitations.

Fritz Kemmler has stressed the need to discuss *exempla* in

context.[6] In order to discover how *exempla* function, Kemmler studies

the way they support or prove the statements made in *Handlyng Synne*.[7]

Commentaries on *exempla* collections are precluded from doing this

because the *exempla* are provided as material for preachers, but the

preachers provide the context which defines the way the *exempla*

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[4]Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt,
L'<<Exemplum>>. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, ed. L.
Genicot. Fasc. 40 (Brepols Turnhout-Belgium, 1982), 37-38.

[5]Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval
Religious Tales*, FF Communications No. 204 (Helsinki: Suomalainen
Tiedeakatemia Akademia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969).

[6]Fritz Kemmler, *'Exempla' in Context: A Historical and Critical
Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'* (Studies & Texts in
English 6; Tübingen: Narr, 1984), 182.

[7]Peter Von Moos has similarly examined how John of Salisbury used
exempla in the *Policraticus* to teach medieval readers through classical
examples. "The use of *exempla* in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury,"
The World of John of Salisbury, ed. Michael Wilks (Oxford: Basil
Blackwell, 1984), 207-262.

function. Editors of major *exempla* collections tend to discuss such
topics as the characters, situations, sources, and other occurrences of
the *exempla*.[a] I have included sections covering both of these
approaches to *exempla*, first commenting on the number, distribution,
length, and language of the *exempla*, and their characters and sources,
including the large number of classical *exempla*, and then looking at the
purpose and function of the *exempla*, the way they relate to the material
found before and after them in the chapters of *Fasciculus morum*.

In addition to the commentary on the *exempla* of *Fasciculus morum*,
I have included in Appendix A a modified print-out of the database file
I used while preparing Chapter 3. This is important for the reader
since Wenzel's edition does not list all the *exempla* in the work, and,
in the thesis which follows, I refer to a number of those *exempla*. For
each *exemplum*, the file lists its location in *Fasciculus morum*, the
major characters, its source, indicator words which introduce it, and
the language used. This work is also available on disk, consisting of
two files. The first, readme.txt, explains the difference between the
printed version which appears here and the actual file and gives the
parameters for setting up the database. The second file, exempla.dbf,
contains the actual data. Anyone who is interested can contact the
Department of Religion and Culture for more information at the following
address:

Department of Religion and Culture
Wilfrid Laurier University
75 University Avenue West
Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3C5
(519) 884-1970 ext. 3330

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[a]See for example the introductions to Thomas Frederick Crane, *The
Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques De
Vitry* (New York: Burt Franklin, [1890] 1971), *Liber Exemplorum ad usum
praedicantium saecula XIII compositus a quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de
Provincia Hiberniae*, ed. A. G. Little (Farnborough, UK: Gregg, [1908]
1966), and J. Welter, *Le <<Speculum Laïcorum>>. Édition d'une collection
d'<<exempla>> composée en Angleterre à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris,
1914).

Appendix B contains a detailed outline of *Fasciculus morum*, shows its division into chapters, and places a brief synopsis of each *exemplum* within this outline. Appendix C shows where and how often in *Fasciculus morum* the author discusses the seven principle virtues. Appendix D contains a list of animal stories which do not fit the definition of *exempla* as I use it in this thesis but are found in other popular *exempla* collections. Appendix E shows the line length and number of *exempla* for each chapter, arranged in descending order by number of *exempla*.

Finally, I would like to thank the many people who made this thesis possible: my advisors -- Peter Erb, Harold Remus, and Michel Desjardins for their support, encouragement, and thoughtful comments and corrections; my family and friends for their love and support; and Siegfried Wenzel for his patience in answering all my questions about the text.

Chapter 1

***Fasciculus morum*: Its Author, Content, and Structure.**

The earliest examination of *Fasciculus morum* was written by A. G.
Little in 1917,[9] a published version of his lecture "Popular Preaching:
The '*Fasciculus Morum*,'" delivered at the University of Oxford, on
popular preaching in medieval England. In it, he discusses the
importance and effect of Franciscan friars as preachers, as well as some
of the books written by Franciscans available for preachers. After a
brief summary of three such books, Little spends the rest of the article
discussing *Fasciculus morum*. According to Little, there are twenty-one
extant manuscripts, the original one having been written by a Francis-
can. Little gives a brief listing of the contents of the book, followed
by a discussion of the dating of the original. He comments that the
author was an educated man, but shows through examples that "he is
careful to confine himself to passages and ideas which could be
understanded [sic] of the people."[10] Following this, Little points out
similarities between the various teaching manuals, such as the
importance of confession and the worship of Mary.[11] He also notes that
the manuals all show "their sympathy with the poor and condemnation of
their oppressors."[12] The essay is an overview of the importance of
preaching in medieval England. Until Wenzel's *Verses in Sermons*, this
remained the only extensive study of *Fasciculus morum*.

The scholar who has written the most about *Fasciculus morum* is
Siegfried Wenzel. In addition to his translation of the manual, which

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[9]A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester:
University of Manchester Press, 1917), 123-157.

[10]146.

[11]For a discussion of the importance of Mary in *Fasciculus morum*,
see below, chapter 2, p. 6.

[12]155.

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is examined in greater detail later in this chapter, he has written two
other works whose primary focus is *Fasciculus morum*. *Verses in Sermons:
Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems*[13] examines briefly the
content and organization of *Fasciculus morum*. More attention is given
to the number and location of the manuscripts, the date and authorship
of the original version, and che manual's influence and uses. The
greater part of the book contains a discussion of the verses embedded in
the Latin text. Wenzel includes a lengthy chapter on the uses of verses
as an illustrative device in sermons and concludes with a discussion of
each individual Middle English verse found in *Fasciculus morum*. In this
chapter he elaborates on the context in which each verse is found and
comments on its origins. He also gives the textual variants found in
all the manuscripts.

Wenzel's article, "Vices, Virtues, and Popular Preaching,"[14]
examines the relationship between the seven deadly sins and preaching in
Engla. 1 in the later Middle Ages. He outlines the major church statutes
and constitutions in thirteenth century England and the subsequent
increase in the number of manuals for preachers, then discusses
Fasciculus morum as an example of such a work. In addition to examining
the date, authorship and distribution of the book, Wenzel looks at the
way in which *Fasciculus morum* provides the catechetical material
preachers needed for their sermons. By looking at the author's use of
biblical citations, quotations from pagan and Christian authors,
similitudes, *exempla*, and Middle English verses, Wenzel shows how the
book was authoritative, easy to use, and interesting. He concludes that
the importance of *Fasciculus morum* lies in revealing "what fourteenth

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[13]Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its
Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1978).

[14]Siegfried Wenzel, "Vices, Virtues, and Popular Preaching," in
Dale B. J. Randall, ed., *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Proceedings
of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies,
Summer, 1974.*, 28-54 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1976).

century Englishmen were most likely to hear from their pulpits, the topics that lay at the center of their faith, their ethics, their devotion."[15] Wenzel's works are valuable because they give the most thorough account of the manuscripts to date. His main interest throughout these works lies in the study of the Middle English verses which are found in the text and the way in which they relate to the sermon material.

There are also works which, although not focusing primarily on the sermon manual, refer to *Fasciculus morum*. *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*[16] is a study of the relationship between preaching and Middle English lyrics. Wenzel examines the lyrics preserved in sermon collections, preaching tools, preacher's notebooks, miscellanies, poetic anthologies, and non-preaching books. In his analysis of lyrics found in preaching tools, he refers often to the verses of *Fasciculus morum*. Similar treatment is given to *Fasciculus morum* in his study of the fool in medieval *exempla* and their relationship to the fool in Shakespeare's *King Lear*.[17]

The only other work I have found which includes more than one or two brief references to *Fasciculus morum* is *The Early English Lyric & Franciscan Spirituality* by David Jeffrey.[18] Like Wenzel, Jeffrey is most interested in the Middle English verses. His writing focuses on the influence of the Franciscans on these poems; consequently, he provides much useful information on Franciscan spirituality and its application in the material written by the friars. Many of the examples

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[15]Wenzel, "Vices, Virtues," 49.

[16]Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[17]Siegfried Wenzel, "The Wisdom of the Fool," *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1989), 225-240.

[18]David L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric & Franciscan Spirituality* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

of lyrics that he includes are from *Fasciculus morum*, but because the book was written before Wenzel's study of the text, he relies on Little's assessment of the date and authorship of the text.

This brief historiography illustrates that the studies of *Fasciculus morum* focus largely on the content and context of the Middle English lyrics. There has been little discussion of the content or context of the sermon material itself. Richard Newhauser, for example, in his study establishing the genre of the vices and virtues manual, refers to *Fasciculus morum* only once[19] and does not include the manual in his select bibliography, since it is based on the treatises he discusses. This is somewhat surprising, given that "printed copies of the treatise on vices and virtues are relatively limited in number."[20] Moreover, the survival of twenty-eight extant manuscripts would indicate that this work was extremely popular (Jeffrey states that it "was the most widely used collection expressly designed as a preaching aid in its time"[21]). It is certainly worthy of greater exploration.[22]

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[19]Richard Newhauser, *The Treatice on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, ed. L. Genicot, Fasc. 68 (Brepols Turnhout-Belgium, 1993), 84.

[20]Newhauser, 18.

[21]Jeffrey, 190.

[22]The importance of *Fasciculus morum* can be shown by the number of scholars who have referred to it, albeit briefly, in their works on many aspects of sermon studies. Works which I have been able to examine are Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 131; D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 228; G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 227 n6, 234 n3, 272 n3, 273 n3, 300 n4, 306 n1, 322 n3; G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell [1933], 1966), 181 n4, 284 n5, 595 n5; H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 88, 90, 313; Welter, 390 n25; Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 167, 174, 232 n95, 239 n97, 243 n29; Siegfried Wenzel, "The Three Enemies of Man," *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967), 57, 61-62, 66 n107; Siegfried Wenzel, "The 'Remedia' of the Parson's Tale," *Traditio* 27 (1971), 452 n71; Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 16, 38, 48, 94, 107. For references to works referring to

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The Text of *Fasciculus morum*

According to Wenzel, there are twenty-eight known manuscripts of *Fasciculus morum* (*FM*:1). Earlier works reported fewer editions; Jeffrey states that "it exists in at least twenty-one manuscripts."[23] Wenzel accounts for these differences by pointing out that four of the copies are abbreviated and therefore may not have been recognized as versions of *Fasciculus morum*. In the introduction to his translation, Wenzel outlines the differences between the texts, giving examples. For his translation, he has used a base text, emended as required from six other control texts. In choosing a base text, he selected one that he feels "reflects the state of the text closest to the original version" (*FM*:23). The manuscript he chose has the fewest unique textual variants and the fewest scribal corrections. Although it retains only four of the Middle English verses, Wenzel has inserted the missing verses from one of the control texts. This does not mean that he ignores those texts which are not part of the control group; he refers to them if they help clarify the other texts (*FM*:24-6).

Other changes to the text of the base manuscript in this edition include the standardization of some spellings, the normalization of capitalization and punctuation, and the expansion of abbreviations. Standardization of the spellings includes normalizing the "u/v distinction and regularly print[ing] *Iesus*, etc., for *Ihesus*, etc." (*FM*:25). Where the base manuscript contains variant spellings, they are corrected only if found in the control manuscripts. Wenzel follows modern practice for the normalization of capitalization and punctuation. The expansion of abbreviations is a more complicated procedure. Where the base manuscript uses only one spelling of a word, the abbreviation

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Fasciculus morum that I have not had the opportunity to examine, see the introductions by Wenzel to *Fasciculus morum*, 27-28, and to *Verses in Sermons*, 1-7.

[23]Jeffrey, 190.

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is expanded in that form. Where the base manuscript contains several spellings of an abbreviated word, Wenzel has retained the variant spellings for the full form of the word and standardized the expansion. For example, the spellings *aput* and *apud* are both given in their full forms, but all abbreviations of the word are expanded by Wenzel to the form *apud* (*FM*:25).

In addition to the textual editing, Wenzel has also identified many of the sources of the quotations but his identifications are sporadic and at times incomplete. This makes it difficult for someone reading the text always to know the source of a particular quotation. In the introduction to Part 7, on lechery, the author states, "a fourth definition, according to Bernard, declares: 'Lechery is drunken thirst'" (*FM*:649). Wenzel gives no indication which work of Bernard contains this definition. Neither does he state that the reference is not found in any works of Bernard. For other passages which do not acknowledge the source, Wenzel has given us a complete annotation. Often there is a reference in the text to the source of the quotation and also an annotation by Wenzel for that source. Sometimes, where the author refers to the source of the quotation, Wenzel gives a reference to another work in which the quotation is used, instead of the one the author cites. At the end of 7.10, the author writes, "Therefore Jerome says: 'A professed Christian monk is either like an angel or like a devil'" (*FM*:687). Instead of telling the reader where in Jerome's works this is found, Wenzel notes that this quotation is also found in the vices and virtues manual of a Dominican named Peraldus. Although the annotations are numerous and definitely useful, the omissions can be frustrating. Wenzel himself recognizes that his notes are not comprehensive, (*FM*:27), but his remarks do not acknowledge the full extent of his omissions.

The original manuscripts were written in Latin and for the most part included Middle English verses. The Latin itself is fairly simple

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and uncomplicated in structure. The introductory sentences of each chapter are particularly short and straightforward. The opening sentence of 7.8, for example, reads: "*Secunda species luxurie est stuprum, et est illicata defloraci virginum*" (*FM*:677). The sentences become more complex once the author develops the ideas, but the structure of the sentences remains clear.

Wenzel's translation of the Latin is smooth and readable. Usually it remains faithful to the Latin text he has established, but there are exceptions. For example, 7.1 (*FM*:649) contains an outline of the section on lechery. The author has used the words *primo, secundo, tercio, quarto* in his description of the outline. These Wenzel has translated as first, second, third and fourth. In the very next paragraph, regarding the definitions of lechery which are found in various sources, the author has used the same four Latin words in his listing of the definitions. This time, however, Wenzel has translated them differently. He has translated "*Quidam enim dicunt primo sic*" as "Some say"; "*secundo alius sic*" as "Another author says"; "*Tercio per alium sic*" as "Yet another definition is this"; and "*Quarto, Bernardus*" as "And a fourth definition, according to Bernard, declares". What Wenzel gains by adding variety to his English translation, he more than loses by ignoring the author's organizational technique. The variety thus provided in the translation is at the expense of precision and faithfulness to the original.

In addition to translating the Latin texts, Wenzel has provided translations of the Middle English verses. Some of the verses are easily transferable to modern English, such as this one found in 7.7:

> That lawe hath noo ryghte,[24]
> That trewthe hath no myght,
> That wysdom is foly,
> And holynysse is trechery. (*FM*:670)

Wenzel has rewritten this as:

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[24]In the verses reproduced here, the Middle English characters have been standardized as follows: =th,   =gh, and æ=ae.

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>   That law has no right,
>   Truth has no might,
>   Wisdom is folly,
>   And holiness is treachery. (FM:671)

Although Wenzel has removed two words, thus simplifying the verse
slightly, it is still virtually the same as the original Middle English
version. The main difference between the two verses is the spelling of
individual words.

Other verses are not as recognizable in their original form. An
example of this is found in 7.17:

>   Who-so leuth in flescly wyll
>   And hit ne woll noght lete,
>   Aftur hym schall like ille
>   That he so thowte hym so swete (FM:706).

Wenzel's translation adds considerable clarity to this verse:

>   Who always will follow his fleshly will
>   And never from it retreat,
>   Hereafter it shall please him ill
>   What once he thought so sweet. (FM:709).

The only time that Wenzel does not translate the Middle English verses
is when they follow a Latin verse which has essentially the same
meaning. In places where this occurs, Wenzel provides both the Latin
and the Middle English verse, but translates only the Latin version
(FM:27). The verses throughout *Fasciculus morum* vary greatly as to how
understandable they are in their Middle English form, and Wenzel's
translations into modern English are sometimes necessary for someone
with no special training in Middle English.

Authorship of *Fasciculus morum*

The author of *Fasciculus morum* has not yet been positively
identified. There is evidence in the text itself that suggests he was a
Franciscan friar. In 1.1, the author states:

>   As is said in the *Rule* of blessed Father Francis and has
>   also been decreed elsewhere, we are held to show and preach
>   to the people, in short words, the vices and virtues,
>   punishment and glory (FM:33).

The part of the *Rule* referred to is in Chapter 9, which states:

> I also exhort these same brothers that, in the preaching
> which they do, these expressions shall be chaste and chosen,
> to the utility and edification of the people; announcing to
> them the vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with
> briefness of discourse; for the words were brief which the
> Lord spoke upon earth.[25]

As well as this reference to the rule of St. Francis, there are six references to St. Francis or the Franciscans throughout the book, but only two references to St. Dominic or the Dominicans, and only one reference to Benedict. Although the difference in the number of references is not large, St. Francis and the Franciscans seem to have been more important to the author.

The likely Franciscan roots are borne out by the manuscripts which actually name the author. Three different friars are credited with writing the treatise. Four manuscripts from the fifteenth century ascribe the work to Robert Selke (also spelt Selk, Silke) and identify him as a Franciscan. A fifth manuscript, which is only an excerpt, also credits "*frater Robertus Selke de ordine fratrum Minorum.*"[26] In addition, one of the manuscripts which credits Selke has an additional inscription, possibly of a later date, which credits a John Spiser. This particular edition, however, is written in at least six different hands. Therefore, Wenzel believes that Spiser might have been an individual scribe, or was possibly the "friar who physically gathered the quires written by a number of scribes into one volume."[27] The third person credited with writing the treatise was a Brother Ricardus de Pissis, a master of theology affiliated with Shrewsbury. Since no mention of a Ricardus de Pissis has been found among the masters of

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[25]"The Rule of Saint Francis of Assisi," in *Readings in Medieval History*, ed. Patrick Geary (Peterborough, O: Broadview Press), 488. According to Wenzel, this kind of introduction was common in medieval preaching material (*Verses in Sermons*, 10.).

[26]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 37.

[27]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 37.

theology at Oxford, Cambridge, or Paris, Wenzel is reluctant to accept Ricardus as a possible author.[28]

Equally as difficult as ascribing an author to the text is determining a date of composition. The surviving manuscripts were copied between the late fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries. Little believed that the latest possible date for the original is 1340, because of a reference to the coat of arms of England that excludes symbols of the French territory won by Edward III in 1340.[29] Wenzel narrows the date by noting that the latest works referred to by the author are the *Breviloquium* of John of Wales, who died in 1285, and the *Summa confessorum* of the Dominican John of Freiburg, which was written before 1298.[30] Little speculates that the original may have been written before the canonization of Thomas Aqinas in 1323, since some of the manuscripts do not refer to him as 'Saint.'[31] With caution, Wenzel makes the case that *Fasciculus morum* was probably written before 1317, which was when the Franciscan counterpart to the *Summa confessorum* was written. Wenzel argues that had the Franciscan *Summa Astesana* been available, the author would have quoted it instead of the Dominican work. He also cites evidence found in the *exempla* which "serve to show that *Fasciculus morum* is more closely related to late thirteenth-century works than to ... popular fourteenth-century authorities."[32] His preference for a date in the early 1300's is more precise than that of others who merely attribute the book to a date before 1340, following the example of Little.

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[28]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 38.

[29]Little, 143.

[30]*Verses in Sermons*, 28.

[31]Little, 144-145.

[32]*Verses in Sermons*, 28-29.

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No specific place of authorship is given in the text. Little concludes that the author was from Coventry or Shrewsbury, based on examples in the text.[33] One of the *exempla* begins: "Further, in the house of the Franciscans at Shrewsbury it happened that a friar by the name of Warren South lay dying and was cared for by another friar called Thomas of Whitchurch *(FM:233)*." Another *exemplum* is credited as having been "told to the friars of Coventry, asking them to make it known in their sermons" *(FM: 497)*. Wenzel cites another example of a tale told to the bishop of Worcester *(FM: 419)*, and argues that other cities referred to by name are either changed throughout various manuscripts or are held up as merely examples of a big city.[34] He believes that "the references to Salopia and Coventry appear to be peculiar to *Fasciculus morum* and thus make it very probable that the treatise originated in the Franciscan custody of Worcester."[35]

Content and Structure of *Fasciculus morum*

The handbook is consistently organized and concrete in structure. In 1.1, after stating that he is bound to preach about the vices and virtues, the author describes how he will do this:

> But since I consider seven chief vices and seven virtues that are opposed to them, this treatise is entitled *Fasciculus morum* and divided into seven parts. In each of them, after the description of a vice there follows in the end a virtue, as a force that uproots every evil; for that whose end is good is itself wholly good *(FM:33)*.

The seven vices and virtues discussed are pride and humility, wrath and patience, envy and charity, avarice and poverty, sloth and holy activity, gluttony and soberness, and lust and chastity. The author of *Fasciculus morum* gives a logical reason for the appearance of the sins in this particular order. Pride, wrath, and envy are the offspring of

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[33]Little, 145.

[34]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 41-42.

[35]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 42.

the devil and serve the evil spirit, while avarice serves the wretched
world (*FM*:313). The remaining three vices "spring from the stinking and
corrupt flesh as its evil and damnable offspring" (*FM*:399). The devil,
the world, and the flesh were originally conceived of as a triad by
Augustine,[36] but were popularized only in the 12th century by such
writers as St. Bernard and Hugh of St. Victor.[37] The division of the
book into these three sections is echoed in part 5. The remedy for
sloth is holy activity, one part of which is the sacrament of penance,
another the battle against humankind's three traditional enemies, where
charity and fortitude fight against the devil, faith and prudence fight
against the world, and hope and temperance overcome the flesh.

The unity of the book as a carefully planned, systematic whole is
seen in the author's practice of referring the reader to another section
of the manual if relevant material can be found there. A good example
of this practice is found in 5.34. In discussing continence, the first
aspect of temperance, the author refers the reader to three separate
sections of his manual:

> Continence has three meanings. One is the virtue that
> controls gluttony and lechery, of which I shall speak later,
> in parts 6 and 7. The second controls covetousness and
> avarice, of which I have spoken earlier, in part 4, chapter
> 5. And the third controls overbearing and pride, of which
> see above in part 1 (*FM*: 599).

Doing this not only avoids duplication of material, which would make the
manual larger and more costly, but also allows the preacher to notice
related topics.

The introduction to the sin of pride is typical of the way the
author has structured his manual. At the beginning of each topic, he
sets out a list of what he will discuss, such as the one given here:

> Concerning pride I shall proceed as follows: first I shall
> indicate what its nature and character is; second, where its

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[36]Wenzel, "Three Enemies," 48.

[37]Wenzel, "Three Enemies," 50-53.

wickedness comes from; third, why it should be detested; and
fourth, what its members are (*FM*:37).

Most of the sections on the vices discuss these particular topics. The
sections discussing the virtues tend to list the nature of the virtue,
its branches, and the rewards which come from fostering it.

Individual chapters are as carefully constructed as the entire
manual. 1.6 asks why pride must be scorned. The author has given two
answers to this question: 1) "it destroys and demolishes the dwelling-
place of the soul," and 2) "it harms the eyes of the soul" (*FM*: 59).
For each reason, three separate proofs are offered, backed up by
scriptural references, citations from classical and patristic authors,
and similitudes.[18] Similarily, 2 2 asks what the evil consequences of
wrath are. Here, three answers are given, each with proofs similar to
those listed above. These chapters are both only 30 lines long, and
their structure is fairly simple.

5.31 and 5.34 are longer (86 and 87 lines respectively), but
although they are more complicated, the structure is still clear. 5.31,
"How Prudence Fights against the World," starts with a statement of
intent and a statement of procedure. The author states that he will
show "first, what prudence is; second, what it consists in; and third,
how it flourished among the ancients" (*FM*: 589). This is followed by a
definition of prudence and its three aspects, each of which is
subsequently examined. After then showing how prudence flourished in
classical times, the author presents a concluding statement to the
entire chapter. 5.34, "How Temperance fights against the Flesh," is
arranged in a similar manner. Temperance is defined and divided into
its three parts: continence, clemency, and modesty. Next, the author
discusses the three meanings of continence, the four aspects of
clemency, and the definition of modesty. Once again, there is a summary
sentence at the end of the chapter.

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[18]For a more complete description of sermon devices, see below,
Chapter 2.

The table of contents reproduced in Appendix B, taken from the divisions given by Wenzel in his translation and divided into books and chapters, shows the the overall structure of the manual. Each part of the book is logically and carefully broken down into chapters which would make it easy for a preacher to find the topic for which he was looking. Similarly, the statements of intent in the chapters beginning the discussion of each vice and virtue, and the introductory sentence to each individual chapter would quickly help the user decide whether that section contained the information sought. The author has not concerned himself with giving each vice and virtue equal treatment as far as length and detail are concerned, but rather has written what he feels is adequate treatment of the subject.

Chapter 2

Fasciculus morum and its Historical Background

The Order of Friars Minor, or the Franciscan order, to which the author of *Fasciculus morum* belonged, was built on the tenets of humility, simplicity, poverty, and prayer. Its founder was Francesco Bernadone, the son of a wealthy merchant from Assisi.[39] After a number of 'divine visitations'[40] Francis renounced his earthly possessions and dedicated his life to serving God. He began a life in imitation of Christ, following the commands of Matthew 10:7-10:

> As you go, proclaim the good news, 'The kingdom of heaven
> has come near.' Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the
> lepers, cast out demons. You received without payment; give
> without payment. Take no gold, or silver, or copper in your
> belts, no bag for your journey, or two tunics, or sandals,
> or a staff; for laborers deserve their food (NRSV).

In 1209 he was joined by two other Italians, and the Franciscan order was begun.[41] Attracted by the sincerity and simplicity of the Franciscan way of life, more men joined the order. It was given papal approval in 1210 from Innocent III. We no longer have the Rule which Francis composed and Innocent approved at that time; the earliest surviving Rule is that of 1221, the second revision of the original.

The order expanded rapidly after its General Chapter of 1217. The friars took their ministry to France, and founded the first Franciscan houses there ca. 1220.[42] The order then spread into Germany, Spain, and Portugal. The first Franciscans to bring their mission to England

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[39]For a complete history of the Franciscans, see, among others, John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), and Malcolm D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty* (London: Allenson, 1961).

[40]Moorman, 6.

[41]Moorman, 11.

[42]Moorman, 65.

landed at Dover on September 10, 1224.[43] From there, they travelled to
Canterbury, London, and Oxford, establishing their first three houses in
those cities. From there the order spread rapidly. Little's account of
the growth of the order is not always clear regarding dates, but he
estimates that in the period before the Black Death, when the order was
at its height, there were 59 houses in England and Scotland, containing
approximately 2,000 friars.[44]

The fact that the text was likely written by a Franciscan affects
the distribution of the manual. Franciscans were a mendicant order, and
one would expect the distribution of the book to be widespread. An
examination of the location of extant manuscripts and references to it
in medieval booklists and wills indicates that this indeed is the case.
Copies or mention of a copy can be found in Durham, Yorkshire,
Cambridge, Oxford, Canterbury, and Worcester, to name a few. In
addition, three of the manuscripts found their way to continental Europe
in the fifteenth century.[45]

The content of *Fasciculus morum* was also influenced by the
author's evident Franciscan affiliation. The Franciscans were keenly
interested in religious education, and their libraries

> soon grew to include a magnificent spectrum of classical and
> medieval writings.... The library of one small Franciscan
> friary possessed a worthy representation of the great
> exegetical works and commentaries in the Augustinian
> tradition.... In the classics of Greek and Latin literature
> and philosophy the library was scarcely less adequate.[46]

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[43]For a contemporary account of the first friars in England, see
Thomas of Eccleston, "The Coming of the Friars Minor to England," *XIIIth
Century Chronicles*, trans. Placid Hermann (Chicago: Franciscan Herald
Press, 1961), 91-192. For an extensive study of the history of
Franciscans in England, see David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in
England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [1948], 1969),
Vol. 1.

[44]Little, 69-71.

[45]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 26.

[46]Jeffrey, 84.

The education of the author himself and the library upon which he could draw are evident in the variety of books to which he refers. In Part 7, there are examples from the Bible, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Albertus Magnus, Aristotle, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, as well as many others. Indeed, in Wenzel's bibliography of sources cited by the author more than ninety books appear.

The greater number of biblical quotations in comparison to those from other sources agrees with Jeffrey's statement that Franciscans were predominantly concerned with Scripture.[47] This interest in Scripture is linked to morality, which can be seen already in the writings of St. Bonaventure:

> all of Sacred Scripture teaches these three truths: namely,
> the eternal generation and Incarnation of Christ, the
> pattern of human life, and the union of the soul with God.
> The first regards *faith;* the second *morals;* the third, the
> *purpose of both.* To the study of the first, the doctors
> should devote themselves; on that of the second, the
> preachers should concentrate; and to the attainment of the
> third, the contemplatives should aspire.[48]

This statement illustrates how the main emphasis of Franciscan preaching lay in matters of morality, with which the author of *Fasciculus morum* was clearly concerned. He gave his reasons for writing *Fasciculus morum* in the prologue:

> ... I have, at your request, collected from various trea-
> tises and woven together as well as I could a small and
> unpretentious bundle of vices and virtues, to comfort you
> and to help the unlettered (*FM*:31).

The Franciscans differed from the Dominicans in that the former preached mainly to the common people whereas the latter preached more to the nobility.[49] It would seem likely, then, that this difference should be reflected in the text. An examination shows that the Franciscans' concern with the peasants and merchants can be found in the

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[47] 84.

[48] Cited in Jeffrey, 88.

[49] Jeffrey, 203.

examples used by the author to illustrate his sermons. Many of these examples come from everyday life, using characters such as butchers (*FM:* 327), cooks (*FM:* 633), nurses (*FM:* 633), and blacksmiths (*FM:* 697). Children are seen playing -- girls dress up in fine clothes (*FM:* 55), and boys make toy water mills out of wood and ovens out of clay (*FM:* 195). The author also shows considerable sympathy for the poor, stating that the world is full of greedy merchants, courtiers, and great lords who rob the lower class (*FM:* 557-9).

Fasciculus morum exhibits many of the elements of Franciscan theology and spirituality. Along with their emphasis on Scripture, as noted above, the Franciscans stressed the humanity of Christ, particularly as shown by his life and passion. The passion of Christ was the "font of effectual grace in the sacraments,"[50] and meditating on Christ's humanity and suffering clarified their surrogative nature.[51] In *Fasciculus morum*, twelve chapters of the section on love are devoted to the life, death, and resurrection of Christ (*FM:* 201-289). By meditating on the life of Christ, one can rediscover the love explained in the previous four chapters. This love could be recovered

> ... if man would diligently consider and intently weigh within him what love Christ has shown us, not only in his blessed incarnation but also in his cruel Passion, from which nothing could hold him back that he might hear or see or understand or fear so that he would not want to suffer death for us in order to free us from eternal death and the power of the devil.... Therefore, if we were to reflect on this love intently with our mind and heart, if indeed we are true children of God, we shall naturally find that love again that has been driven away (*FM:* 201)

By shedding his blood, Christ leads "the sinner to the sorrow of contrition, to the shame of confession, and to the labor of satisfaction" (*FM:* 201). The emphasis placed on these topics by the Franciscans is shown by the twenty-one chapters in part 5 devoted to penance, contrition, confession, and satisfaction (*FM:* 429-555). The passion of

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[50]Jeffrey, 54.

[51]Jeffrey, 31.

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Christ was directly linked to sin and confession in that "by repeating their sins, [people] crucify God again" (*FM*: 487). In order to give one's heart back to Christ (to whom it belongs because of his great love) it "must first be cleansed with the waters of our tears and cut into pieces with the knife of sharp contrition" (*FM*: 439). Anyone who does not have this knife can gain it by meditating on the suffering of Christ before his crucifixion, which the author describes quite vividly (*FM*: 439-441). Overall, the scenes describing Christ's passion seem more emotionally charged.

One element of Franciscan spirituality which is not emphasized in *Fasciculus morum* is the importance of the Virgin Mary. Wenzel believes this is a

> characteristic trait of *Fasciculus morum* and its author, for while the Virgin's compassion for mankind is mentioned here and there, it usually appears as only a constituent part of a larger issue and is never truly highlighted.[52]

Jeffrey notes that the Middle English verses are more complete in the sections on the passion of Christ and the reasons for repentance, both central to Franciscan spirituality.[53] That only one of the Middle English verses is about Mary, then, would also indicate that Mary was not of particular importance to the author of *Fasciculus morum*.

Fasciculus morum and the Tradition of the Vices and Virtues

The history of these seven vices, also commonly referred to as the seven deadly sins, is long and involved. Bloomfield describes this history in detail in the first half of his book. The seven sins which became standardized in medieval times had their origins in Evagrius Ponticus (34-399) and Cassian (360-435). Cassian's list of eight vices included six (gluttony, lechery, greed, wrath, sadness, and sloth) which were linked in such a way that an overindulgence in one vice led a

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[52]*Verses in Sermons*, 124.

[53]Jeffrey, 193.

person to commit the next. The last two vices in Cassian's system (vainglory and pride) arose through overcoming any or all of the other six.[54] Cassian also supplied a remedy to overcome each vice.[55]

Gregory the Great (540-604) reduced the list of sins to seven (pride, anger, envy, avarice, sloth, gluttony, and lechery), and his version, although not necessarily his order, remained the most influential in the West.[56] Pride was considered the root of all sins because of the statement of Ecclesiasticus 10:13:

> For the beginning of pride is sin, and the one who clings to it pours out abominations. Therefore the Lord brings upon them unheard-of calamities, and destroys them completely. (NRSV).

Gregory's reduction of the vices to seven also made it possible for writers to connect them with other "sevens". One Middle English sermon advises that each of the seven phrases in the "Our Father" can be used to overcome one of the seven deadly sins.[57] Saying the first phrase, for example, is acknowledging that "God is oure aldur fadur, so we shill be all bretheren and susters and loue to-gedur in charite in mekenes of herte."[58] Thus, charity and meekness overcome the sin of pride. The author of *Fasciculus morum* also saw the "Our Father" as a remedy for all seven sins, although the phrases in his explanation counter the sins differently. In the chapter on prayer as a part of satisfaction, he writes that the first phrase should have the words "in us" added, "so that through [God's] grace and help we may be holy and clean vessels, against lechery" (*FM*: 513). The fourteenth century *Book*

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[54]Siegfried Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum* 24 (1968) 4.

[55]Bloomfield, 69.

[56]Bloomfield, 72-73.

[57]*Middle English Sermons*, ed. Woodburn O. Ross, Early English Text Society, 209 (London et al.: Oxford University Press, [1940] 1960), 46-59.

[58]*Middle English Sermons*, 49.

of Vices and Virtues compares the seven deadly sins to the seven heads of the beast seen by John in Revelation 13:1.[59]

There were two systems of virtues operating in the Middle Ages. The virtues discussed in *Fasciculus morum* (humility, patience, charity, poverty, holy activity, soberness, and chastity) are known as the remedial virtues, as each one was directly applicable to one of the seven vices. The other system of virtues, known as the principal virtues, consisted of the three theological virtues (*fides, spes, caritas*) and the four cardinal virtues (*fortitudo, temperatio, iustitia, prudentia*). The theological virtues were directed towards God, and the cardinal ones towards a person and his or her neighbours.[60] These seven virtues were to be cultivated for their own sakes, not to remedy any specific faults.

The two systems were distinct but not mutually exclusive. The fact that the two systems were acknowledged as separate is seen by their treatment in the *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* of Guilielmus Peraldus.[61] The first book, after a section on virtues in general, discusses the seven principal virtues. The second book is a treatise on the seven vices and their remedial virtues in a manner similar to *Fasciculus morum*. Often, however, the two systems were intertwined. Charity was the remedy for envy, and each of the other principal virtues is discussed at least once in *Fasciculus morum*. Their distribution and frequency throughout the work are, however, very uneven (see Table 1). The section on sloth contains references to all seven virtues, and that on envy to five of the seven. The virtues are mentioned infrequently in

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[59]*The Book of Vices and Virtues,* ed. W. Nelson Francis, Early English Text Society, 217 (London et al.: Oxford University Press, [1942] 1968), 9.

[60]"Lambeth Council," *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church,* ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), Vol. 2, 904-905.

[61]Guilielmus Peraldus, *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum,* ed. Rodolphus Clutus (Moguntiae: A. Boetzeri, 1618) (microfilm).

the sections on pride, anger, avarice, and gluttony, and are not found
in the chapter on lechery. These findings are somewhat surprising,
since one would think that temperance and fortitude would be necessary
virtues for resisting the temptations of lechery and gluttony. Aspects
of temperance and fortitude (as discussed in chapters 5.34 and 5.37),
however, are found throughout the manual. Temperance in its aspect of
continence is found in parts 1, 4, 6, and 7. Fortitude is represented
by patience in parts 2 and 7 and by perseverance in part 3. Therefore,
the references to the seven principal virtues are not as uneven as they
appear at first glance. The number of occurrences of the virtue charity
is skewed because charity is also a remedial virtue. In general,
however, the author seems to have preferred the theological to the
cardinal virtues. Of the four cardinal virtues, he has referred to
justice the most.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the seven deadly sins and their
remedial virtues played a large role in popular literature, as can be
seen in the "Parson's Tale" from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*,[62] the
vision of *Piers Plowman*,[63] and Dante's *Divine Comedy*,[64] and in medieval
art.[65]

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[62]Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, ed. A. C. Cawley (London: J.
M. Dent and Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, [1958] 1992).

[63]Walter Skeat, ed., *The Vision of William concerning Piers
Plowman, Together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet, et Dobest, secundum Wit en
Resoun*, 3 vols. [Early English Text Society. 28, 38, 54] (London: Oxford
University Press, 1959-1968).

[64]Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, 3 vols. trans. John D. Sinclair
(London: Bodley Heat, 1958-1964).

[65]See Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices
in Medieval Art*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick, Studies of the Warburg
Intstitute, 10 (London: Warburg Institute, 1939) and Emile Mâlé, *The
Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans.
Dora Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, [1913] 1972), 98-130.

Fasciculus morum and Church legislation

In the twelfth century, there were two church councils which had great importance for both preachers and laypersons.[66] Innocent III summoned the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to

> eradicate vices and to plant virtues, to correct faults and
> to reform morals, to remove heresies and to strengthen
> faith, to settle discords and to establish peace, to get rid
> of oppression and to foster liberty, to induce princes and
> christian people to come to the aid and succour of the holy
> Land.[67]

Innocent recognized that, especially in large or scattered dioceses, bishops alone were not capable of bringing the word of God to the people, as had been the custom. Therefore, c. 10 provides that

> Bishops are to appoint suitable men to carry out with profit
> this duty of sacred preaching, men who are powerful in word
> and deed and who will visit with care the peoples entrusted
> to them in place of the bishops.[58]

Furthermore, the bishops were to provide the preachers with the necessary means to ensure that they could carry out their duties.

Innocent's plan of reform carried with it a new emphasis on the function of priests. Chapter 21 (known by its Latin phrase *Omnis utriusque sexus*) provided that "all the faithful of either sex ... should individually confess all their sins in a faithful manner to their own priest at least once a year."[69] The priests were to consider carefully the circumstances surrounding the sin, in order to determine the appropriate penance. Any person who wanted to confess to someone other than his or her own priest had to gain his permission first in order for the second priest's decision to be binding.

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[66]For a more complete account of influential English councils, see for example D. W. Robertson, "Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 24 (1949) 376-386.

[67]"Introduction" to "Lateran IV," trans. Norman Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, 2 vols.* ed. Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward and Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), Vol. 1, 227.

[68]"Lateran IV," 240.

[69]"Lateran IV," 245.

Because of the new requirement to confess at least once a year, and because the aims of the council were to reform the spirituality of the faithful, there was a new awareness in the church regarding the role of priests, and a new responsibility was placed on them.[70] Therefore, many kinds of pastoral literature arose to prepare priests and preachers better for their new duties. These will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The other church council which was particularly influential in England was the Lambeth Council held in 1281, called by John Pecham, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Although York was not directly under the control of the province of Canterbury, the two provinces had "innumerable ties of common conditions and problems, common race and speech, and so forth."[71] Because of these close ties, Wenzel concludes that the constitutions of the Lambeth Council "would have been binding for the clergy of nearly all the dioceses in medieval England."[72] Canon 9 required that

> quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet, gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales, ac septem gratie sacramenta.[73]

Following this list, Pecham goes on to give a brief description of all these subjects, so that no priest would remain ignorant of what precisely he was supposed to preach. Many of the manuals which came

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[70]Leonard E. Boyle, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," *The Popular Literature of Medieval England,* ed. Thomas J. Heffernan, Tennessee Studies in Literature, 28 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30.

[71]W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 4.

[72]"Vices, Virtues, and Popular Preaching," 29.

[73]"Lambeth Council," 900-901.

after this Council fulfilled the needs of their prospective users by
including these topics in their sermon material.

The author of *Fasciculus morum* acknowledged that church legisla-
tion required preachers to include these matters in their sermons.[74]
He skilfully wove most of the material required by Pecham into the
structure of his manual, in such a way that the topics logically belong
where he has placed them.

The fourteen articles of faith are discussed in 5.28, "Faith."
The author discusses the difference between the twelve articles of faith
as given by the apostles and the fourteen articles of faith as taught by
the church. These fourteen articles are the "fundamental subject matter
of our belief, ... seven of which relate to Christ's divinity and seven
to his humanity" (*FM*: 563). Each article is then listed, explained, and
connected with the appropriate apostle. Following this, the benefits of
faith are listed and explained. The Ten Commandments are mentioned
throughout the work, but are given special emphasis in 3.7, "The Love of
God." The two kinds of love (of God and neighbour) are explained in 3.7
and 3.8. The seven works of mercy are listed in 5.22 on almsgiving.
The seven principal virtues are found throughout, as discussed above,
but are given a logical system in part 5. Justice is connected to
satisfaction, one of the components of penance. Faith and prudence
together aid in the fight against the world, hope and temperance are
necessary for the fight against the flesh, and charity and fortitude
help defeat the devil. The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, not required
by Pecham's decrees but a popular topic in the Middle Ages, are listed
in 3.22, "The Sending of the Holy Spirit."

The only subjects required by Pecham which the author of
Fasciculus morum has not treated in full are the seven sacraments.
Baptism is briefly mentioned in 3.10, "Humbling oneself before the
Church." The Eucharist is referred to a number of times, most

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[74]See the quotation of *FM*:33 cited above in Chapter 1.

explicitly in 5.2, on "The Spiritual Power of the Mass and of Blessed Bread and Holy Water." The sacrament to which the most attention is given is penance, which, as one of the holy activities is a remedy for sloth, is discussed in chapters 5.6 to 5.26. The sacrament of marriage is praised briefly at the beginning of 7.9, "Adultery." Why the author of *Fasciculus morum* did not see fit to discuss the other sacraments is not evident. However, the bulk of the material required by Pecham can be found in *Fasciculus morum*, easily retrieved because of the construction of the book as discussed in chapter 1.

Fasciculus morum and the Sermon Tradition

Structure and Development of Sermons

In the Middle Ages, two kinds of sermon forms were prevalent: the ancient and the modern. The ancient form of sermon was, as its name implies, the style which had come down from patristic times. These sermons were relatively unstructured, based on an entire passage of scripture, and interspersed with commentary on the individual clauses a preacher wanted to explain. "Because of its simplicity, ancient form was thought to be the most effective means of communication, whether the information be scriptural commentary, or 'good behaviour'."[75] Since it lacked the rigid structure of the modern form, the ancient form of preaching was more emotional; because of this, however, it was also seen as unsophisticated, and subsequently diminished in popularity.

The modern form, which developed in the thirteenth century, was also known as the "university" or "thematic" sermon.[76] There were generally six parts to the modern sermon: "(1) the theme, (2) the protheme, (3) the introduction of the theme, (4) the division, (5) the

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[75]Spenser, 234.

[76]For a discussion of the relative merits of each term, see Spenser, 231.

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subdivision, and (6) the discussion."[77] Unlike the ancient sermon, the modern was based on a single line of biblical text, called the theme. This was taken from the gospel for the day, unless the sermon celebrated a feast day, in which case any appropriate text might be chosen. On Christmas and Palm Sunday, the theme was chosen from any place in the Bible.[78] Following the theme came the protheme, or antetheme, which introduced either a new theme or explained some aspect of the theme which was not going to be discussed in the main body of the sermon. After this, the preacher reintroduced the main theme. In the division, the preacher stated the subdivisions into which he would divide the theme. Generally, three was seen as the appropriate number of subdivisions for one text; however, the preacher was free to choose as many as he felt appropriate. These parts could then be divided once more, or could be discussed straight away in the body of the sermon. Generally, if the preacher felt he did not have enough material for a complete sermon from the topics in the division, he would subdivide those topics. The sermon usually ended with a biblical text which included the idea of the main text and the ideas of one or more of the divisions.[79]

Aids to Preaching

The modern sermon, because of its rigid structure, was much more difficult for preachers to write. Therefore, many different kinds of preaching aids were developed. These works not only provided the necessary tools which would allow a preacher to divide and subdivide a topic, but also instructed him in the appropriate method. Many of the manuals that developed also provided the preacher with the new material

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[77]Ross, xliv

[78]Ross, xliv.

[79]Ross, xliv-lviii.

he was now supposed to preach, based on Church councils such as Lateran IV (1215) and the Lambeth council (1281). The following list is not meant to be exhaustive but gives a general idea of the kinds of aids available and their functions.[80]

Artes Praedicandi: According to classical rhetorical theory, which was still practised in medieval times, there were "three parts to the creation of a work: conceptualization or invention (*inventio*), arrangement of parts (*dispositio*), and expression or delivery (*elocutio*)."[81] *Artes praedicandi* are treatises which teach the writing and delivery of sermons following these principles. The first comprehensive preaching manual of this sort was written by Alan of Lille. His *Summa de arte praedicatoria* became the prototype for all other manuals of its kind.[82] It "outlines tne role of the preacher and the importance of preaching ..., and the the structure and method of constructing a sermon."[83] Another treatise, ascribed to William of Auvergne, serves as a good example of the type of instruction provided for preachers, particularly for use in expanding the sermon theme. William provides a list of nineteen different techniques a preacher can use following this method. The items reproduced here pertain strictly to the rhetorical devices used; those referring to the manner of delivery or types of topics have been omitted

> 1. *Contrariorum consideratio* - discussing the opposite of a word in the theme.
> 2. *Conveniens rerum similitudo* - bringing together ideas through similes, generally those already established in

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[80]For a more detailed breakdown of the types of *pastoralia* and an example of each, see Boyle, 38-43.

[81]Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes Praedicandi*. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental. ed. L. Genicot. Fasc. 61 (Brepols Turnhout-Belgium, 1992), 72. <u>Peter</u> -- if Genicot is the editor of the whole series, does he come before or after the fascicule #?

[82]Briscoe, 27.

[83]Briscoe, 27.

Scripture, such as the likeness of a lamb and the sun insofar as both are used to describe Christ.

9. *Exemplificatio* - introducing *exempla*.

12. *Distinctio* - considering the different contexts and meanings of a word, e.g., *pax peccatoris, pax precatoris, pax temporis, pax eternitatis*.

13. *Divisio* - Examining the genus of a term and ordering its various sub-species, e.g. venal vs. mortal sins.

14. *Derivatio* - discussing the derivation of a word.

15. *Compositio* - analyzing a word by the meanings or associations of its various letters or syllables.

16. *Interpretatio* - examining the etymology or sources of a word in other languages.

17. *Diffinitio sive descriptio* - presenting the meaning of a word, possibly through analysis of its genus and species.

18. *Relatio* - moving from consideration of one word in the theme to another related word, e.g. from master to servant or from father to child.

19. *Virtutis verbi expressio* - considering the sound or pronunciation of a word and its grammatical characteristics, sometimes used to distinguish the term from words or ideas the preacher wants to use for contrast.[84]

Many of the other aids to preaching that developed in the Middle Ages were designed using these methods and providing this kind of material on many subjects.

Distinctiones: Distinctions were alphabetical subject lists that provided the "figurative or symbolic meanings of a noun found in the scriptures, illustrating each meaning with a scriptural passage."[85] They were originally used for scholarly exegesis, but were later more largely used for developing the theme of a sermon. The following example provides four meanings of the word "horse," which a preacher could use if his theme contained that word.

> Horse = Preacher. Job 39. 'Hast thou given the horse strength, or encircled his neck with whinnying?' Gregory's gloss on this says that the horse means a preacher, to whom God first gives strength to conquer his own vices, and then a whinny -- a voice to preach to others. Horse = Temporal dignity, as in Ecclesiastes 10: 'I have seen servants upon horses....' Horse = The easy life; thus in the Psalm: 'Be ye not as the horse or as the mule, which have no understanding.' Horse = The present age; Genesis 49: 'Dan shall

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[84]Cited in Briscoe, 30-31.

[85]Richard Rouse, and Mary Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieaeval Studies, 1979), 7.

be a serpent by the way ... that biteth the horse's heels so that his rider shall fall backward.'[86]

If a preacher were to look up each word in his scriptural text, he would easily find the divisions he needed for the body of the sermon.

Biblical Concordances and Florilegia: These two types of manuals began to appear in the first half of the thirteenth century. Concordances listed each appearance of a word in the Bible by book and chapter number, sometimes citing the words in context. They became "the main tool for the compilation of biblical distinctions."[87] Many of the *artes praedicandi* assumed that the preacher would have access to a concordance while composing a sermon. *Florilegia* are alphabetical subject indexes to a variety of works. Some concentrated on a particular work, such as Aristotle's *Ethics*. Still others, like Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum*, contained excerpts from a variety of works, such as "extracts from the writings of the Fathers and doctors of the Church, along with acceptable ancients."[88] An important feature of medieval sermons was the *auctoritas* of an idea. Statements or ideas brought forth by a preacher were backed up by citations from, in order of preference, the Bible, patristic writers and church doctors, and appropriate material by pagan authors. These two kinds of aids to preaching allowed a preacher to quote from the Bible and other influential works with ease.

Exempla collections: The *exemplum* was another accepted method of proof in medieval sermons. As the popularity of *exempla* increased, they were

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[86]Cited in Rouse and Rouse, 8.

[87]Rouse and Rouse, 11.

[88]Rouse and Rouse, 117.

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put into collections such as the *Liber Exemplorum*.[89] Written ca.

1279,[90] the *Liber Exemplorum* is divided into two parts. The first, *"De rebus superioribus,"* contains *exempla* on subjects in order of their importance, e.g. "Christ, the Blessed Virgin, Angels, St. James."[91] The second section, *"De rebus inferioribus,"* is arranged alphabetically by subject. Unfortunately, this section is not complete, as the last part of the treatise has been lost. The subjects remaining in the second part are those from *accidia* to *mortis memoria*. The arrangement of subject matter in both sections of the work would facilitate the location of a required *exemplum*.

Sermon/Sermon Outline Collections: The types of manuals listed above were designed to help the preacher learn the method to be used in writing a sermon and locate the necessary proofs for his discussion. Collections of sermon outlines or complete sermons gave preachers concrete examples to examine and either use or adapt to their own purposes. One collection of sermon outlines, *Dormi Secure*, derived its name from the idea that, because of the outlines it provided, preachers "thereby might sleep out their Saturday nights in peace, in sure and certain knowledge that a message needing no prolonged preparation lay ready for them on the morrow."[92] John Mirk's *Festial*[93] is an example

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[89]*Liber Exemplorum ad usum praedicantium saecula XIII compositus a quodam Fratre Minore Anglico de Provincia Hiberniae,* ed. A. G. Little (Farnborough, UK: Gregg, [1908] 1966). Other examples of medieval *exempla* collections are *An Alphabet of Tales. An English 15th Century Translation of the Alpabetum Narrationum of Etienne de Besançon,* ed. Mary Macleod Banks. Early English Text Society, 126,127 (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, [1904, 1905] 1972); and *Gesta Romanorum,* ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872).

[90]*Liber Exemplorum,* ix.

[91]*Liber Exemplorum,* vi.

[92]Owst, *Preaching,* 237.

[93]*Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies,* ed. Theodor Erbe, Early English Text Society, 96 (London: Oxford University Press, [1905]).

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of a collection of sermons, arranged for the ecclesiastical year, that circulated in England at the end of the fourteenth century.[94] For the preachers who chose not to use these collections, the manuals described below contain much of the necessary subject matter.

Penitentials: Penitentials "attempted to summarize the information necessary for a priest to carry out his duties in the confessional."[95] Such works as Raymond de Pennafort's *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio*[96] are academic works, designed to help the priest in the new emphasis that the church councils placed on the sacrament of penance, that of considering the circumstances of the sin in light of "current theology, law, and society."[97] Although not strictly intended as an aid to preaching, penitentials were a source for preachers to consult if they wanted to compose a sermon about particular transgressions and their circumstances.

Vices and Virtues Manuals: Newhauser defines the treatise on vices and virtues as

> a genre devoted exclusively to the subject matter of a
> system of moral constructs which are analyzed in a discur-
> sive manner by means of a structure placing the members and
> sub-members of the system in hierarchic relationship to each
> other.[98]

A wide variety of works falls within this definition. Some, like the *Summae virtutum ac Vitiorum* of Peraldus, are extensive treatments of the

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[94]W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 217.

[95]Judith Shaw, "The Influence of Canonical and Episcopal Reform on Popular Books of Instruction," *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. HeffernanTennessee Studies in Literature, 28 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 46.

[96]Raymundus de Peniafort, *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio* ([Rome, 1603] Farnborough, UK: Gregg, 1967).

[97]Boyle, 34.

[98]Newhauser, 58.

theological and canonical virtues, the seven deadly sins, and their

remedial virtues. Others treat only one particular vice or virtue, or

vices and/or virtues different from the popular sets of sevens. They

were written in prose or verse, in Latin or in the vernacular. Middle

English versions of the vices and virtues treatise include *Handlying

Sin*,[99] a verse translation of the French *Manuel de Pechiez*, and *The

Book of Vices and Virtues*, a translation of *Somme le roi*.[100] Although

both of them contain some of the catechetical material required by

Pecham, they remain within the genre of vices and virtues manuals

because the largest sections of the works are dedicated to these topics.

Catechetical works: Another source of information for preachers was the

various works I have labelled "catechetical." Peter Quivil of Exeter's

Summula, written ca. 1287, is an expanded version of some of the

articles Pecham required preachers to speak on four times a year.[101]

It contains an explanation of each of the Ten Commandments and the seven

deadly sins, the circumstances of sins, a few sections regarding special

penitential circumstances, and the fourteen articles of faith. Many

works were written in Middle English also. Raymo's study of writings of

religious instruction shows the broad topics discussed.[102] Treatises

were written on individual elements of the faith, such as the Pater

Noster, Ave Maria, the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Gifts of the Holy

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[99]*Robert Mannyng of Brunne. Handlyng Synne*. ed. Idelle Sullens
(Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983).

[100]*Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience*, ed.
Pamela Gradon, Early English Text Society, 23 (London: Oxford University
Press, [1866] 1965), is another translation of this work.

[101]"Summula of Bishop Peter," *Councils & Synods with Other Documents
Relating to the English Church*, 2 vols., ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R.
Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II, 1060-1078.

[102]Robert R. Raymo, "Works of Religious and Philosophical
Instruction," *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, 8
vols., ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts
and Sciences, 1986), VII, 2255-2381.

Spirit. Although many could have been intended for laypersons, as they were written in the vernacular, they were still a source of material for preachers.

Fasciculus morum contains many of the elements described in these aids to preaching. It belongs to the genre of vices and virtues, yet the inclusion of so many of the catechetical matters and the statement of the author himself testify to its purpose as a preaching manual. It also contains material from some of the penitentials, such as John of Freiburg's *Summa confessorum* (*FM*: 363, 467, 529).

It has already been shown that the structure of *Fasciculus morum* makes it easy to locate needed materials. The divisions and subdivisions provided subject matter in a manner which would easily conform to the format of a modern sermon. One example of this is found in 1.1.

> As regards the description of vices or sins in general, we should know that some sins are venial and others mortal. According to Augustine, venial sin is a diminished love of God, namely when some creature is loved too much, yet still less than the Creator -- for when a creature is loved as much or even more than its Creator, this love would be considered plainly a mortal sin. "Sin" is a turning away from the unchangeable good to some changeable good; that is to say, sin means turning away our desire from God, who is altogether unchangeable, to something changeable, and to some transitory action which God does not wish us to do and which does not please him. Mortal sin, according to Augustine in *Against Faustus*, "is any word, deed, or desire which is contrary to God's law." By "word" he refers to sin of the mouth, by "deed" to sin in deed, and by "desire" to sin in the heart. For just as a guest is led by the doorkeeper to the gate and thus into the house, so sin proceeds from the heart to the mouth, from the mouth to the deed, and lastly -- alas -- from the deed to the devil (*FM*: 33).

Within this passage are many of the recommended techniques for developing a topic. Sin is divided into two categories, venial and mortal, both of which are defined. Mortal sin is then divided into three elements. The ideas are given *auctoritas*, with two quotations from Augustine and a similitude comparing a guest being led into the house from the gate by a doorkeeper to sin and the person committing it being led to the devil by the occasions of sin. A preacher who wished

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to include a section on the types of sin would find most of the material and methods needed in this passage and the ones following it.

That *Fasciculus morum* was used as a preacher's manual is shown by, among other things, the sets of sermon outlines included with several of the manuscripts.[103] The following outline was for the Second Sunday after Easter. According to Wenzel, it is shorter than many, but representative of the structure of all.

> "You should follow in His footsteps," I Peter 2:21. With our physical sight we observe that masons, carpenters, writers, and in brief craftsmen of almost any trade, if they want to work well and rightly and achieve the due result of their work, have need of examining and following a trustworthy model, so that by it they may be guided the better in their own labors. Now, all Christians who wish to come to eternal happiness have need of a like model. But none better can be found than the life of Christ. Hence, after the advice of blessed Peter, "You should follow in His footsteps." Concerning this we must notice that Christ, like a good leader, has gone before us on a threefold way: that of humility and obedience, for which see Part I, chap. 8; that of poverty and patience, for which see Part IV, chap. 5; and that of purity and continence, for which see Part VII. Hence for all these things we can say with Genesis 33:14: "Let my Lord pass before His servant, and I will softly follow in His footsteps."[104]

These sermon outlines, intended for use in a modern style sermon, provided the preacher with a quick guide to *Fasciculus morum*. In order to prepare a sermon, he had only to look up the chapters referred to in the outline, and fill in his discussion with the material presented there.

The vast amount of material in *Fasciculus morum* is "a combination of abstract doctrinal matter with concrete images and illustrative stories which were to be used in preaching."[105] It is these illustrative stories, the *exempla*, which become the focus of the remainder of this thesis.

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[103]Wenzel, "Vices, Virtues," 37.

[104]Cited in Wenzel, "Vices, Virtues," 38.

[105]Wenzel, "Vices, Virtues," 37.

Chapter 3

The *Exempla* of *Fasciculus morum*

The *exemplum* which became so popular in the Middle Ages was an
inheritance from the classical world. By the Middle Ages, definitions
of the term vary extensively because of its diverse literary use. That
most commonly used by medieval authors was taken from *Ad herennium*,
believed to have been written by Cicero.[106] It states: *Exemplum est
alicuius facti aut dicti praeteriti cum certi auctoris nomine
propositio*.[107] However, the word was used in a variety of settings by
medieval authors, thus rendering a precise definition difficult. Crane,
in his work on the *exempla* found in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry,
writes: "The word *exemplum* is employed by ecclesiastical writers in two
meanings, first our word 'example' in a general sense; second, an
illustrative story."[108] Welter applied the term *exemplum* to "tout le
fond narratif et descriptif du passé et du présent."[109] This
definition has been criticized by Tubach as being too general.[110]
According to Mosher, "the *exemplum* may be briefly and conveniently
defined as a short narration used to illustrate or confirm a general
statement."[111]

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[106]Bremond et al., 29.

[107][Cicero] *Ad herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan (Loeb Classical
Library) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), IV.xlix.62.

[108]Crane, xviii.

[109]Welter, 2.

[110]Frederic C. Tubach, "Exempla in the Decline," *Traditio 18* (1962)
408.

[111]Joseph Albert Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and
Didactic Literature of England* (New York: AMS Press [1911] 1966), 1.

The most recent comprehensive study of the *exemplum* is that of

Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, written in 1982.[112] In this work, they

examine the definitions of the *exemplum* given by Crane, Welter, Mosher,

and others to arrive at the one I have used in chapter 2. While

acknowledging that the term was applied to various devices used by

medieval authors in their sermon material, they concern themselves with

the second meaning, the illustrative story, which developed as a genre

of literature.

After examining various features of *exempla*, they arrived at four

criteria by which *exempla* can be classified, dividing each class into a

number of categories. These are presented in the following table.

Criterion	Categories
Source	Judeo-Christian, Early Christian
	Classical Pagan
	Contemporary
Transmission	Literary
	Oral
Characters	Supernatural beings
	Human beings
	Animals
Form and Logic	Analogy
	Generalizing metonymy[113]

These classifications, however useful they may be, are not without

problems. The first category depends upon the source of the *exemplum*

being accurately identified. *Exemplum* #12, about the son who bit off

his father's nose on the way to the gallows, is taken from *De disciplina*

scolarium, ascribed to Boethius. As such, it should fall into the

classification of early Christian sources. However, according to

Whitesell, it is an adaptation of an old Greek fable.[114] Should the

tale then be classified by its Christian origin, since it is found in *De*

disciplina scolarium, or by its earlier Greek origin, even though the

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[112]Because this work and Welter's contain extensive information
about the history and development of *exempla*, I have not included those
topics here.

[113]Bremond et al., 41-2.

[114]Frederick R. Whitesell, "Fables in Medieval Exempla," *Journal of*
English and Germanic Philology 46 (1947) 353.

author of *Fasciculus morum* was not aware of this version? A similar example is found in #29. This story about a Welshman who promised to light a tall candle to the Virgin Mary when his ship was endangered would seem to come from a contemporary source. However, it also is adapted from a classical fable.[115]

Classifying *exempla* by their mode of transmission becomes extremely difficult if the author does not indicate how he learned the story. The author of *Fasciculus morum* has not given sources for eighty of the *exempla*. Forty-five of these are introduced by "*narratur*," an ambiguous term which he uses for *exempla* which come from literary sources as well as those which come from personal sources such as the anchoress in #113 or the prince's daughter in #90. Only one of the *exempla*, #214, about how a goblin leads people astray, is clearly a tale which has been passed on orally, as it is introduced by "*audivi*." Forms of the verb "*dico*" also refer to written sources, not oral. Other *exempla* collections which are more specific as to their mode of transmission[116] might benefit from this type of classification, but *Fasciculus morum* does not.

Another difficulty arises when *exempla* are classified according to their characters. Many of the *exempla* have more than one character, and they frequently come from different categories. For instance, mortals are tempted by devils, visited by angels, have visions of deities, or interact with animals. In *exempla* which have more than one main character, all main characters are necessary to the plot and the moral of the story. Therefore, it seems somewhat arbitrary to classify these *exempla* as belonging to one category or the other.

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[115]Whitesell, 354.

[116]See for example the analysis of the *exempla* of Jaques de Vitry which shows that in this collection, 158 are introduced by *audivi*, 68 by *legimus*, 44 by *dicitur*, and 34 by *memini* (Bremond et al., 121). Here, it is possible to examine whether there is any correlation between the word used to introduce the *exemplum* and the characteristics of the *exemplum*.

An additional problem is faced when trying to classify *exempla* about the Blessed Virgin Mary and/or the saints. If the story is about them during their lifetimes, then they would classify as human characters. If they appear in an *exemplum* after death in a vision, then they would be considered supernatural.

The most useful means of classifying *exempla* seems to me to be the last one in the list, that of classifying by form and logic. In an analogy, two seemingly different things are compared, and the moral is drawn from this comparison. Therefore, it is very close to the similitude.[117] In a generalizing metonymy, an individual (or group of individuals) learns a lesson which can be understood and applied by all. This classification offers more information about the way *exempla* were used and understood; in *Fasciculus morum*, however, it is often impossible to determine the form or logic of an *exemplum* because of its brevity.

Frederic Tubach has categorized the *exempla* in yet another way. According to him, one class of *exemplum* takes its form and content from the early Christian *exempla* based on the classical definition. This "proto-exemplum," as he calls it, portrays

> the Christian *par excellence*, without individual character-
> ization, and [presents] perfect ethical behavior according
> to the precepts of Christianity and apart from the social
> environment ... [and thereby] illustrated man's sole means
> of relationship with the divine order.[118]

In these *exempla*, the characters are symbols of either good or evil, with no overlapping traits.

Tubach argues that the *exemplum* underwent a change in the early thirteenth century. It became "more and more a *mirror of life*, a

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[117] "*Similitudo est oratio traducens ad rem quampiam aliquid ex re dispari simile.*" *Ad herennium* IV.xlv.59.

[118] Frederic C. Tubach, "Exempla in the Decline," *Traditio 18* (1962) 409.

personalized expression, and a literary tradition."[119] Social rather than divine forces affect the action within the *exempla*. One such example is #72, the judge who accepts two bribes. The moral of this story is not clear. Taken at face value, it would appear that the story is preaching that a bribe has to be larger than all others in order for the proper verdict to be given. The story, however, is in the section on avarice and serves to prove how greed has taken away wisdom. The judge is the ultimate example of this; a man who should deliver justice by weighing each person's case is so corrupt that he accepts not only a bribe from the guilty party (which could be expected) but also one from the innocent. In contrast, in #74 the false judge was found strangled by a demon because of the injustices he had performed. The moral here is clear and easy to understand, so the *exemplum* falls into Tubach's category of "proto-exemplum." Because of the shift in emphasis from "a coherent *summa* of religious principles [to] an eloquent *speculum* of the world,"[120] Tubach has judged that *exempla* have declined because they have lost their moral purpose.

Tubach has been criticized by Fritz Kemmler for this view. Kemmler observes that "Tubach clearly failed to observe the entertaining elements, as well as the social elements, present in the collections of 'proto-exempla'."[121] Although the stories in the *exempla* may have changed, the distinction Tubach makes between the two is not necessarily justified. Therefore, this classification would not seem readily applicable to all *exempla*.

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[119]Tubach, "Exempla in the Decline," 412.

[120]Tubach, "Exempla in the Decline," 416.

[121]Kemmler, 164.

Tubach has also been criticized for the preparation of his *Index Exemplorum.*[122] The index is a listing of 5400 *exempla* from major medieval *exempla* collections and *exempla* collected by modern scholars ordered alphabetically by brief headings representative of the *exempla.* Part of the problem with the index lies in the selection of works analyzed. The use of modern collections does not give a representative sampling of *exempla.* Tubach has used Herbert's *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*[123] as one of his sources. This kind of survey has never been done for the other major British libraries, so *exempla* in those manuscripts are not represented. Only two of the twenty-eight manuscripts of *Fasciculus morum* are at the British Museum. One of these is abbreviated; the other in poor condition, starts at 1.9, and ends at 5.35.[124] Therefore many of the tales in *Fasciculus morum* are not found in Tubach's index.[125]

The index has come under the most criticism for being poorly indexed and containing omissions. It is not always evident when looking up an *exemplum* in the cross-reference index what word Tubach felt was a key word to the story. As stories changed with retelling the characters sometimes also changed. Thus, if an *exemplum* Tubach indexed was about a king, and the *exemplum* in *Fasciculus morum* is about an emperor, the listing is easily missed. This is probably one reason why Wenzel failed to identify some of the *exempla* by their Tubach number. Two *exempla*

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[122]For criticisms, see Bremond et al. 75-76, and Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "*Exempla*: A Discussion and a Case Study," *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History,* ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 40.

[123]J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum,* vol. 3 (Bath, UK: Pitman Press, [1910] 1962). In this volume, Herbert has listed over 8,000 tales found in the British Museum. The book is not very useful because these tales were not indexed.

[124]*Verses in Sermons,* 18.

[125]See Appendix A for the corresponding Tubach references for those which are found in Tubach's index.

which should be in Tubach's index because they are found in *An Alphabet of Tales*,[126] a source Tubach used, I have been unable to locate. Either the key words used by Tubach are too obscure, or he has omitted this story.

Sometimes it is difficult to tell what number to assign to an *exemplum*. One instance of this occurs regarding #48.

> Further, Pope Innocent III reports that after the Emperor Octavian had subdued the entire world, he pleased the senate so much that they wanted to worship him as a god. But the emperor, who was prudent and judged himself but mortal, did not want to usurp the title of immortality. Now, as on the birthday of Christ the prophetess Sibyl was brought to the Capitol (in which place now the Franciscans have a church) so that through her prophesying the emperor might learn whether anyone greater than himself would at any time be born, behold at midday a golden ring appeared around the sun, and in the center of the ring a most beautiful virgin on an altar who carried a child on her lap. When the Sibyl saw this, she told the emperor: "This child is greater than you; it is he, therefore who should be honored." Hearing this the emperor refused to be called a god. And he had that hall at once made into a church in honor of the Blessed Virgin and her son, Christ, which still today is called Santa Maria in Ara Celi (*FM*: 238).

There are three Tubach entries which contain references to this story.

> Tubach 3518 *Octavius Augustus and vision of Virgin and Child.* Emperor Octavius Augustus heard the prediction of a Sybill [sic] and had a vision of the Virgin with the Christ-Child.

> Tubach 4675 *Sun, golden ring around.* At the birth of Christ a golden ring appears around the sun, in the middle of which is a woman and child. The Sibyl tells the Roman emperor that this child is greater than he.

> Tubach 993 *Christ, birth of, three prophecies before.* Three events prophesy the birth of Christ: 1) ring around sun; 2) talking lamb at Babylon; 3) spring running with oil instead of water.

After #4675, Tubach refers the reader to #993, but not to #3518 which is a closer version of the story. The first two stories are so similar that Tubach possibly should have listed one as a variant of the other, as he has done in other such cases.

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[126]Entry #548 in *An Alphabet of Tales* contains the stories of #50 and #51 in *Fasciculus morum*.

Another problem is that some of the entries contain such a brief synopsis that it is hard to tell whether the story is the same as the *exemplum* being considered. For example, the *exemplum* about Caesar weeping when he sees Pompey's head, #159 in *Fasciculus morum*, could be Tubach #3837. It is impossible to determine this without looking up one of the sources Tubach lists, because the entry for this number says only *Pompey and Caesar.* There is no way to tell from this to which episode in the lives of Caesar and Pompey Tubach refers.

Even given these problems and limitations, the Tubach index is a very convenient way to identify *exempla.* Scholars writing since its appearance tend to give the Tubach number when referring to an *exemplum.* Many scholars provide different synopses of *exempla* in their discussions, and it is difficult sometimes to recognize stories as being the same. For example, #153, about the witch of Berkely, is Tubach #2461, where it is described as *Harlot, sons of, watch corpse.* This tale is also found in *Handlyng Synne,* but Kemmler's description of it is "Priest's Concubine."[127] Without the common Tubach reference, there would be no way to know that the two tales are the same without reading both of them. Previous studies of *exempla* usually contained lists stating other occurrences of the stories.[128] By giving the Tubach number, modern scholars can now consult the index to find these occurences and compare versions more easily.

Number of Exempla

There are 230 *exempla* in *Fasciculus morum,* some of which are told more than once, and some which are brief references to other *exempla.* The story of Dionysius of Syracuse plundering the temple is told twice

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[127]Kemmler, 203.

[128]See for example *Gesta Romanorum,* ed. Hermann Oesterley, 714-749; and *La Tabula Exemplorum Secundum Ordinem Alphabeti: Recueil d'<<exempla>> compilé en Angleterre à la fin du XIIIe siècle,* ed. J. Th. Welter (Geneva: Slatkine. [1926] 1973), xxxi-xxxvii.

(#32, #86), as are the ones about the hydra of Lerna (#36, #172), Crates of Thebes (#103, #156), the pregnant woman and the badly made shirt (#124, #202), and the youth who disfigured his own face (#191, #225). One story, that of the hermit, the angel and the dead body, is told twice (#167, #212) and referred to a third time (#215). The story of the lawyer condemned in his dream is told in full in #24 and referred to in #68. Similarily, the story about the knight found with golden letters on his heart is given in #39 and mentioned briefly in #63. In both these cases, the *exempla* are used in different chapters to illustrate different morals.

Brief references are also given to *exempla* which are not provided elsewhere. This is seen in #17 and #18, the first of which is given in full, the second only briefly. The first story tells about Dionysius always sad, the second is a reference to the King of Greece who was always sad.[129] In this case, the two *exempla* are told in a row, the second reinforcing the first and reminding the preacher of a similar version of essentially the same story. There are three other brief references to *exempla* not given anywhere else -- #46, #60, and #152. Presumably, these tales were well-known during the lifetime of the author of *Fasciculus morum*, and so he did not feel it necessary to include the whole story.

Altogether, then, there are 216 separate stories in *Fasciculus morum* that are given in full, although some are greatly abbreviated from their original version. I have included all the repetitions and the brief references in Appendix A because it is interesting to know which tales were so well known that a full description was not needed and to see how the same tales could be applied in different situations.

An examination of the variety of devices employed in *Fasciculus morum* and the way in which the word *exemplum* was used shows the

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[129]These two stories are commonly referred to as "The Sword of Damocles" and "The Trumpet of Doom." For the connection between the two stories, see Crane, 150-152.

difficulties inherent in deciding what is or is not an *exemplum*.[130]
Generally, if the author of *Fasciculus morum* uses the word *exemplum*,
what he provides is Crane's first meaning of the word: an example in the
general sense.[131] For instance, in 4.10, the author states that
avarice "deserves our contempt because it defiles, dirties and poisons
its followers in every way" (*FM*: 376). This statement is backed up by
exemplum #91, about a saint who advises someone to leave the world and
live a pure life, and then it is followed by the words "*Exemplum ad
hoc*." The next passage is an account of how boys who have stolen a
neighbour's apples compete to see who can steal the most. This example
is then interpreted spiritually, as are many of the *exempla*. The
orchard is compared to the world, full of temporal goods (apples). The
rivalry of the boys parallels the rivalry of avaricious men to outdo
each other in the amount of riches they possess. What makes this
passage different from an *exemplum* is that it is not about a specific
group of boys, or a specific point in time. It is an observation of the
behaviour of boys in general, out of which a moral can be drawn. As
such, it is classified as a similitude.

Similitudes can be seen as distinct from *exempla*. Many of the
similitudes are shorter than this example, and often contain the words
"sicud...sic." For instance, this passage occurs in 1.1:

> Sicud contingit in exercitu regis ubi ex adverso bella
> imminent mortalia: submisso principe cum vexillo omnes sui
> exponuntur mortis periculo. Sic certe homines adversus
> demonum potestates bellantes Christum principem habent dum
> armis virtutum et bone vite viriliter resistunt se sub-
> mittunt, quorum vexillum peccatum mortale est (*FM*: 34).

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[130]The debate over whether the term *exemplum* should include all
illustrative material or only the narrative stories is greatly debated
by modern scholars. For modern scholarship on the various approaches to
the study of *exempla*, see Von Moos, 211-213 and notes.

[131]The exceptions to this are *exempla* number 58, 122, 140, 168, 195,
and 217, which are introduced by the word *exemplum*.

In contrast, the words which most commonly introduce *exempla* are words such as "unde narratur," "narrat," "dicitur."[132] The relationship between an *exemplum* and a similitude, however, is easy to see -- both are illustrations out of which a moral is drawn. The analogous *exemplum* which is followed by a spiritual explanation could even be considered a specific type of similitude.

Bataillon discusses the similarity between the two devices and notes that it was easy for a similitude to become an actual *exemplum*.[133] An instance of this is seen in 2.4.

> But I fear that with some people it goes as it does with sailors who in calm weather play dice and have no thought of danger, but when a storm comes call to God and the saints and offer vows; yet when they are out of danger, they forget all these things. In the same way, some people fail to make good their promises when their sickness is over. There is a story about a Welshman who, in danger at sea, promised the Blessed Virgin a candle as tall as the mast of his ship; but when he had escaped the danger, he said that on his account she would not get anything bigger than a bedside candle (*FM*: 141).

The first half of this passage is a similitude, comparing shipwrecked sailors and sick people; the second half is *exemplum* #29. The difference between them is that the similitude contains a statement about people in general, whereas the *exemplum* describes what one man did in the same circumstances. The author of *Fasciculus morum* reinforces the idea that the *exemplum* is about a specific person by either naming him or her or by using some form of the word "*quidam*" when introducing a character. General examples do not contain this qualifying pronoun.

Another category of tales which are difficult to classify are those concerning animals. #127 and #205 are included in the list of

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[132]See Appendix A for the full list of indicator words which introduce the *exempla*. These words do not necessarily mean that the passage which follows is an *exemplum*, but they are quite noticeable and make the *exempla* easier to spot. They are not as noticeable in the English translation because of the variety used by Wenzel when translating, as discussed in Chapter 1.

[133]Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "*Similitudines* et *exempla* dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle," *The Bible in the Medieval World*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 192.

exempla in *Fasciculus morum* because they are stories about what happened to two particular animals -- the dog couldn't decide which dinner horn to answer and so went hungry; the stork was unable to wash herself after committing adultery and so was discovered by her mate and reviled.

The animal tales not included are those concerning animal lore. For instance, in 1.5, the author writes:

> Unde narrat Vincencius in *Speculo hystoriali* si lupus velit
> hominem invadere et homo ponat signum aliquod inter eos,
> quod statim lupus timet fraudem, eo quod credit illud
> erectum esse ad sui captivitatem, et fugit (*FM*: 50).

This story has many of the features of an *exemplum*. The Latin words introducing it are similar to those introducing many of the *exempla*, as are those which introduce the interpretation. The author of *Fasciculus morum* has provided authority for the story by giving both the author and the work from which the *exemplum* came. But, as in the case of a similitude, the tale concerns the behaviour of wolves in general, not of a specific wolf, and so has been excluded from the list of *exempla*.

One tale that Wenzel has included under "*exempla*" in the index to *Fasciculus morum* I have left out for the same reason.

> Est autem de diabolo hominem invadente et ad plus instigante
> sicut de venatore pullos tigridis furanti inventos. Venator
> autem ille sibi tri pecula providit magna et rotunda et
> vadit ad locum ubi pulli commorantur. Cum ergo mater
> illorum perrexerit pro alimento querendo, venator illos
> capit et fugit. Set timens adventum matris cum sit animal
> velocissimum et forte, unum speculum proicit in via. Ad
> quod cum ipsa venerit et similitudinem in illo viderit,
> credit pullos secum habere. Set postea sciens se deceptam
> venatorem persequitur. Et ille secundum speculum, similiter
> et tercium in via proiciens ipsam ut prius decipit et sic
> occidendo pullos illesus ab ea transit (*FM*: 609).

The way the author of *Fasciculus morum* has used this tale is no different from many other examples of animal lore. However, it is found among the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry (# 7) and is included in Tubach's index (#4865). Altogether, there are seventeen tales of animal lore (two of which are repeated) in *Fasciculus morum* which are also found in Tubach's list. Appendix D contains a list of these references, along with their index number in Tubach and a brief description of the

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passages. However, as they do not seem to qualify as *exempla* in the definition I am using, I have left them out of the inventory of *exempla*.

Many of the *exempla* collections include biblical narratives. However, I have omitted them from my list, partly because there are so many biblical references in *Fasciculus morum*, and they are extensively indexed by Wenzel. Also, there are so many potential *exempla* in the Bible, and only a certain amount of them show up in Tubach's index. Tubach did not include popular sources for the *exempla* (such as the *Vitas Patrum* or the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great) in the works he examined, nor did he catalogue all the potential *exempla* in the Bible. I have chosen to exclude them all rather than to include only those which made their way into other collections. They also belong to a different class of *auctoritas* and as such should be considered separately.

Distribution

As we have seen, *exempla* are not the only illustrative device provided in *Fasciculus morum*. In fact, the *exempla* take up only about 15% of the work, based on line length, and 37 of the 121 chapters do not contain any.[134] In these chapters, the author has relied on similitudes, quotations, verses etc. to illustrate and prove the ideas he presents. After examining the structure and content of the chapters both with and without *exempla*, there does not seem to be a discernible pattern to their distribution. Chapter length does not seem to have been a determining factor in the number of *exempla* used in a chapter, as the longest chapter, 3.10, and 7.13, one of the shortest, both contain two. The chapter on fortitude contains thirteen *exempla* but, at only 115 lines long, is less than half the length of the longest chapter.

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[134]See Appendix E for a list of chapters by line length and number of *exempla*.

Just as distribution of the *exempla* throughout the book is uneven, so is their distribution within the chapters. Often, the *exempla* appear in pairs, one following right after the other. The largest groupings of *exempla* are found in the chapters containing many *exempla*. In 4.12, "Voluntary Poverty," there are three distinct clumps. The first, comprising #94-#97, concerns four saints, the second, #98-#102, contains stories mainly about Diogenes, and the third, #103-#107, includes tales about other classical characters. In fact, in the five chapters containing the highest numbers of *exempla*, 52 of the 56 *exempla* are classical. The *exempla* which occur in pairs are generally unrelated except by topic. Thus, it is possible to say that the classical *exempla* tend to come in clumps. Usually, this occurs where one of the four cardinal virtues is being praised. However, it is not apparent why the author has provided so many positive classical examples for each topic. In sections where more than one *exemplum* is given, the author has provided the preacher with more variety. This would allow a preacher to reuse a sermon but change the *exemplum*, either to suit a different audience or to keep the sermon fresh.

The author of *Fasciculus morum* seems not to have worried about what kind of illustrations to provide for each topic. Rather, as he says in his prologue, he collected relevant material from various treatises. The setting of #28 shows the type of material usually presented before and after an *exemplum*. Taken from 2.6, "The Need for Patience," the paragraph is one division of the author's first topic, the four situations in which patience is needed.

> In the third place patience is necessary when we lose
> temporal goods, as Job did, of whom we read that when he
> lost all his belongings he said patiently: "The Lord has
> given, the Lord has taken away; as it has pleased the Lord,"
> etc. Hence we read in *The Lives of the Fathers* of a hermit
> from whom a thief took his donkey, giving him a blow in the
> face. The hermit endured this patiently, offered him the
> other cheek, and gave him the bridle so that he could lead
> the donkey away more easily. Whereupon a demon went out of
> the robber with a loud cry and said: "By patience alone have
> I been overcome." Such a patient person can be compared to
> a diamond. According to Isidore, it is harder than any

> other material, such as iron, cannot be broken by fire, and
> never heats up; whence it is called *adamas* in Greek, *vis
> indomita*, "untamed power" in Latin. But while it thus
> resists iron or fire unabated, it yet becomes weakened by
> the blood of a goat. Similarly, a patient person cannot be
> broken or dissolved by the iron or fire of injuries, and yet
> out of love for the blood of Jesus Christ he will grow soft
> in compassion; Romans 12: "Be not overcome by evil, but
> overcome evil with good" (*FM*: 137).

In this passage, the author has reinforced one message three times: once

with a biblical quotation, the second time with an *exemplum*, the third

with a similitude which combines mineral lore, etymology, and a Biblical

quotation. All of these are common sermon devices as discussed in

Chapter 2. Here, the ideas are smoothly linked; each idea flows into

the next.

Not all the paragraphs are like this; some are merely lists of

quotations. In 6.4, the author describes bad company, the second thing

one must abstain from.

> Second we must abstain from bad companionship. For the
> popular proberb says: "He who touches pitch gets dirty."
> And the Psalmist declares: "With the holy, you will be
> holy," and so forth. And Wisdom 2: "The wicked say of the
> just man: 'He abstains from our ways as from filthiness.'"
> And in Proberbs 4 it is written: "Take no delight in the
> paths of the wicked, neither let the way of evil men please
> you. Flee from it and do not pass on it." And in Ecclesi-
> asticus 7: "Depart from the unjust, and evils will depart
> from you" (*FM*: 641)

This passage contains no connecting sentences; the passage is very

choppy. Throughout the entire work, the author has shown no preference

for any type of illustrative material he provided. It seems as though

he has given *exempla* when he found stories appropriate to his theme; if

none were available to him, he did not.

Length

The *exemplum* is a brief narrative. In *Fasciculus morum*, the tales

range from one line to 44 lines long, with an average of eight

lines.[115] The shortest *exempla*, however, still contain all the
essential elements of an *exemplum* despite their brevity. This is seen
in #140.

> For Aurelius forced his son to serve in the infantry because
> he had not carried out his command (*FM*: 501).

It is about a specific character, Aurelius, who performed a specific
action, that of forcing his own son to serve in the infantry. The
authority for this story, Valerius Maximus, is given two lines before
the *exemplum*. The lesson for the *exemplum* is taken from the reason
given for Aurelius' action -- that his son had not carried out his
command. This *exemplum* is taken from 5.15, "Satisfaction as Justice."
According to the author of *Fasciculus morum*, citing Aristotle's *Ethics*,
justice is the noblest of the virtues, and flourished amongst the
ancients. This *exemplum* proves that Aurelius possessed this virtue,
because he punished his son rather than overlook his son's transgression
because of their relationship.

The longest *exemplum*, #90, shows all these characteristics as
well. However, in this story, the elements are more complex.

> To warn people who in this way sacrilegiously offend the
> Church and harm its members and ministers, a story is
> reported about a great prince who, during his life, not only
> raved against his poor neighbors but also, and especially
> so, against God's Church and her servants. After his death
> a cleric that had been brought up in his court and had been
> advanced by him, worried passionately if the prince, who had
> led such a cruel life, was damned or saved. One day he and
> others happened to pass through a forest in which his prince
> had used to hunt, and as he was thinking of him with great
> concern, a thick cloud came over them, in which he got
> separated from his companions. As he was wandering about
> like a lost wayfarer, a rider on a large black horse came
> toward him and said: "If you want to know what you desire,
> get off your horse quickly and climb on mine, which will
> safely carry you to the door of some hall. When you get
> there, dismount and enter that chamber, and you shall see
> what you desire. But if you want to escape with your life,
> as soon as you hear this horse neigh and a horn blow, get on
> the horse and flee from that danger." He did all as he had
> been commanded. When he then entered the chamber, he saw a
> burning chair set up, on which two devils put a wretched man

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[115]This number is taken by subtracting the first line number from
the last line number in Wenzel's edition. Because of the existence of
part lines, the figure could be off by one line.

who was tormented by all kinds of pain and put a fiery crown
on his head. When this was done, a large stag with very
sharp antlers entered, flung the man fiercely from the
chair, and gashed his whole body with his antlers. Then he
disappeard. But the man was set back into the chair by the
two devils. And behold, two horrible black hunting dogs
came and pulled him again from his chair and tore him into
many pieces. When they had gone, he was once more placed on
the chair. Then a young man entered with a sharp sword
drawn, pulled him by his hair from the chair, and sank his
sword into the top of his head to the brain, and then with a
motion as if he were shaving him cut off the top of his head
completely. And after he had flung the top at his feet, he
quickly left at once. When the wretched man was once again
on his chair, he looked at the cleric and said: "I am the
one you are looking for." As the cleric wanted to know what
those things were he had seen tormenting him thus, he
replied: "The fiery crown which I wear on my head is heavier
in its pain than all this earth. And because I always hated
God's Church and the clergy, and oppressed and destroyed it
as much as I could, and because I once cut off the crown of
a cleric in contempt as if I were tonsuring him, I now
suffer this punishment by being thus crowned in my head.
Likewise, once when I went hunting in this forest, I had two
men hanged for keeping two hounds against my will; for that
I am now tortured by them in this way twice daily. And
because I scorned Mass and the divine office and failed to
attend because I loved hunting more, that stag now gashes
and punishes me thus in my whole body. In the things I
delighted in most, I am now justly tormented and punished."
And when he had said this much, the cleric heard the horse
neigh and a horn blow, and he mounted the horse at once and
hardly escaped with his life, for as he was quickly flying
away, he heard a terrible tumult of demons following him
from behind. The daughter of this said prince told this
story to a religious, whose names, however, I think it would
be more helpful to pass in silence than to mention openly
(FM: 369,371).

The fate of the prince is not told directly but is seen through the eyes

of his cleric. The authority for the story is deliberately not named;

rather, the prince's daughter remains anonymous for her protection. The

punishments the prince undergoes are described vividly and graphically.

The prince himself gives the moral of the story: he has deserved these

punishments for the injuries he did to God and the church. Taken from

4.9, "Sacrilege," this tale serves as a strong warning for anyone

tempted to commit this sin to refrain from doing so in the future, and

to prevent someone from falling into this sin if he or she has not

previously been guilty of it.

Language

Some of the *exempla* contain phrases or verses of languages other than Latin, the most common of which is Middle English. *Exempla* #41, 66, 69, 70, 86, 88, 108, 124, 139, and 144 all contain Middle English verses. They are therefore discussed by Wenzel in *Verses in Sermons*.[136] *Exempla* #68 and #124 (which is repeated in #202) contain Middle English phrases, although Wenzel has included the two separate Middle English lines of #64 as a verse, so discusses it with the other Middle English verses. The phrase in #124/202 is discussed in a supplementary section of the same chapter. Wenzel also examines exemplum #15 which contains a Middle French verse and its Middle English translation. Finding these two languages among the exempla of *Fasciculus morum* is not surprising, given that English was the vernacular and that French was for a time the language of the nobility.

The language which does seem unusual is found in #7, which contains a Greek phrase, although Wenzel appears not to have identified it properly. The story is about how it was the custom for a Roman general celebrating a triumph to receive a threefold honour and a threefold shame. The second shame was "*quod hic servus eum colaphizaret dicens, 'Nothos olitos: id est cognosce teipsum.'* (FM: 78)" Wenzel's translation reads "second, this slave was to strike him and say, 'Gnothi seauton,' that is, 'Know thyself' (FM: 79)". In it, he has translated the phrase "Nothos olitos" into the Greek phrase "Gnothi seauton", which is the literal meaning of the Latin "cognosce teipsum." However, the phrase "Nothos olitos" means "dirty bastard" in Greek. Wenzel's reading of this sentence unfortunately underplays the second shame to which the person was subjected.

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[136]133-206.

Characters

The characters in the *exempla* of *Fasciculus morum* come from all three categories as distinguished earlier in the chapter. Among the supernatural characters are demons or devils (the two terms seem to be used interchangeably), angels, pagan gods (both anonymous or specifically named), and the Christian God. In one story, all three members of the Trinity appear (#24/67), but more often the tales refer only to Christ. Sometimes God appears as a disembodied voice from heaven (#119).

The human characters come from most levels of society, both religious and secular. The religious life furnishes examples of popes, bishops, priests, clerics, abbots, monks, an abbess, nuns, hermits, an anchoress, and saints. The secular characters also demonstrate the hierarchical structure of medieval society. Most social levels seem to be represented, from kings and emperors through princes and knights, to common criminals. Sometimes the characters are identified by their professions, such as lawyers, judges, a juggler, legates, consuls, senators, prostitutes, reeves, and philosphers. At other times, characters are identified by their relationships to each other, i.e. father/son, brothers, friends, master/servant, man/wife, pupil/teacher.

Fewer animal characters are found in *Fasciculus morum* than in other collections. Those which appear are dragons, a stork, a lion, a hunting dog, a basilisk (a serpent or lizard which could kill people by its smell or by looking at them[137]), the serpent of Lerna, an ass, and a weeping bitch. In a story such as #127, the dog is the main character, and the lesson is drawn from his actions. In other *exempla*, such as #73, the animal is a minor character. The lesson of the story is not taken from the action of the animal. The reader does not even meet the ass in #73; the vicar has already buried it. However, it is a

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[137]*The Book of Beasts*, ed. T. H. White, (New York: Dover, [1954] 1984), 168-9.

necessary element in exposing the greed of the bishop to whom it supposedly left an inheritance.

One kind of character present in a few *exempla* is not mentioned by Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt. These *exempla* have inanimate objects or personifications as main characters. The inanimate objects include the cross (#46), three suns (#47), a fountain of oil (#49), a statue (#50), idols (#51), and two vats of wine (#185). The personifications depict the world as a woman with three heads (#80) and Prayer as a beautiful man (#145).[118] Even though the characters do not belong to the three classifications listed above, each story still fits all other qualifications of an *exemplum.*

With the exception of the classical characters, which I will discuss further below, most of the characters are not named. Their actions and the morals which can be learned from those actions are more important than the identities of the individuals [139] The characters are chosen according to the theme of the *exemplum,* and the amount of individualization given to them varies. As Kemmler notes, the degrees of individualization "extend from the 'quidam homo' over 'quidam senex/pastor/miles' etc. to a precise location of the agents in (historical) space and time."[140] Where characters are named, the names provide *auctoritas* for the story. In the case of saints, identification would allow a preacher to include the *exemplum* in a sermon for that saint's feast day.

Classical Exempla

A large number, 99 or 43%, of the *exempla* in *Fasciculus morum* are about classical characters. This is considerably higher than many of

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[118]See Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons,* 58-59, for more examples of this type of personification not found in the *exempla.*

[139]Bremond et al., 45

[140]Kemmler, 187.

the *exempla* collections, with the exception of the *Gesta Romanorum*. In the *Tabula exemplorum*, about 20% are classical, and in the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, only about 2% are. The author of the *Liber Exemplorum* does not credit any classical authors with his *exempla*, nor does he use the popular medieval works about classical characters.[141] About 21% of the *exempla* in the *Libro de los enxienplos por a.b.c.* are from classical sources or about classical figures.[142] The classical characters in *Fasciculus morum* come from both myth and history and, with few exceptions, are named. Stories about Alexander, Diogenes, Julius Caesar, and Augustus were very popular. Beryl Smalley credits, in part, the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth for this popularity. His account of how Brutus the Trojan came to Britain and became the first ruler made British history a part of classical history.[143] Medieval works such as the *Gesta Alexandri* and the *Gesta Romanorum*, although largely fictional, were considered historical accounts and enjoyed great circulation. The author of *Fasciculus morum* used these sources as well as ancient ones for his versions of the classical *exempla*. As Wenzel has noted, the author of *Fasciculus morum* could be considered as belonging to Smalley's group of "classicizing friars" because of his interest in classical stories and quotations.[144]

The use of classical pagan stories and quotations was approved of in varying degrees by religious authors. Augustine's belief that

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[141]See the list of sources given by Little in the Introduction, x-xi.

[142]Clemente Sánchez de Vercial, *The Book of Tales by A.B.C.*, trans. John E. Keller, L. Clark Keating, and Eric M. Furr, (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).

[143]Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (New York: Barnes & Noble. 1960), 16.

[144]Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 59.

relevant pagan material should be adapted to Christian use[145] was

followed by many medieval authors. Peraldus used this reasoning in the

prologue to his *Summa*.

> Nec de solis Scripturis Sacris testimonia volui assumere in
> opere isto: sed etiam de Scripturis Philoso[phorum]. Iuxta
> verbum Senec. In aliena castra transiens non tanquam
> transfuga, sed tanquam explorator. Nec hoc reprehensi-
> biliter: Sicut enim dicit Augustin. in lib. de doctr.
> Christiana: Si Philosophi aliqua forte vera & fidei nostra
> accommoda dixerunt, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed etiam
> ab eis tanquam ab iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum
> vendicanda. Et. Exod. 12. AEgyptii ab Hebraeis praecepto
> Domini spoliantur.

The characters chosen by the author of *Fasciculus morum* were generally

virtuous ones, models of good behaviour. The message given with these

exempla was that if even the pagans could act virtuously, Christians

should be able to do better. For example, #10 praises the Egyptians'

silence in church.

> Cassiodorus reports that among the Egyptians, in the solemn
> service they call Synaxes, all keep absolute silence, so
> much so that besides the one who recites the psalms no one
> else seems to be present until the service is completed; no
> one spits or coughs or yawns or sighs or sobs, no voice is
> heard except that of the person who recites the palms [sic],
> no noise except that perhaps someone in ecstasy quietly
> emits some pious sound in his manner (*FM*: 85).

After this, the author says, "If therefore those infidels honor their

pagan church so much, how much more must we Christians revere the Church

of God and its service, and not disturb it" (*FM*: 85).

Sources

In classifying the *exempla* of *Fasciculus morum* by source, I have

used those which the author has named, giving additional sources as

noted by Wenzel. I have not attempted to classify the *exempla* in which

the sources are not identified. The sources fall into the three

categories given in the table above.

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[145]Augustine, *Christian Doctrine*. trans. J. F. Shaw (A Select
library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church;
Vol. III). ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature, 1887),
II.40. sec. 60.

The classical pagan sources to whom the author of *Fasciculus morum* refers are Agellius (#135), Cicero (#100, #181), Claudian (#229),[146] Diascorides (#24/67), Frontinus (#59, #60, #62, #79), Hesiod and Horace (#66), Juvenal (#145), Ovid (#42, #58, #61, #65, #201, #229), "poets" (#35, #36, #80, #172),[147] Satyrus (#99, #101), Seneca (#69, #105, #182, #183, #210, #220), Servius (#64, #209),[148] Valerius Maximus (#6, #86, #102, #107, #138, #142, #143, #155, #156, #158, #159, #161, #162, #163, #165, #173, #174, #179, #180, #184, #204, #221, #222, #223, #224, #225, #226),[149] Vegetius (#139, #194), and Virgil (#41).[150] In addition to this list, Wenzel has identified classical sources for four other *exempla*: Cicero (#17), Ovid (#16), Suetonius (#57) and Valerius Maximus (#140).[151] Another possible classical source is Helymandus (#137). According to Wenzel, this story is also told by Vincent of Beauvais, who lists Helinandus as the source.[152]

Approximately one fifth of the *exempla* come from Judeo Christian and Early Christian sources. The sources the author of *Fasciculus morum* has named are Ambrose (#190), Augustine (#78, #134, #136), Bede (#70, #112, #129), Boethius (#12, #185, #191, #228), Cassiodorus (#10), Eusebius (#47), Gregory (#20, #44, #110, #154, #195), Jerome (#32, #103, #104, #216, #217), Josephus (#43), Orosius (#160, #204), and *Vitas*

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[146]Ovid is also named as a source for this story.

[147]Wenzel has compared #35 to Virgil's *Eclogues* X.69.

[148]In both cases, as the commentator on Virgil.

[149]In #162, #175, #181, #223, #224, and #226 the source is implied by the use of the words ibid. or item.

[150]Virgil is named as a source along with "the commentator on Alexander the Great." The Latin verse at the end of the *exemplum* is credited as having been taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

[151]For *exempla* where Wenzel has identified a source which is different from the one given by the author of *Fasciculus morum*, see Appendix A.

[152]See FM:505, note for lines 54-58.

Patrum (#3, #5, #19, #28, #30, #77, #117, #118, #120, #128, #157, #167, #168, #170, #189, #192, #207, #212). Wenzel has identified two more *exempla* from *Vitas Patrum* (#4, #194) and one from Jerome (#27).

The contemporary sources identified by the author are Albertus Magnus (#196, 197), *Gestis Alexander* (#13), *Gestis Britonum* (#25), *Gestis Romanorum* (#7, #150, #164, #171), *Historia Bragmanorum* (#82), John of Salisbury (#106, #175, #176, #177, #178, #198, #219, #227, #2301),[153] Martin of Troppau (#49, #50, #51, #52, #53, #54, #55), Innocent III (#48), *Speculo historiali* (#92), William of Malmesbury (#153), *Vita beati Andree* (#169), *Vita beati Bernardi* (#126), *Vita beati Germani* (#206), *Vita beati Ignasii* (#37), and *Vita sancti Goderici* (#38). Wenzel has also located contemporary sources for the following *exempla*: Aelred of Rievaulx (#121), Bonaventure (#146), Damiani (#144), Etienne de Bourbon (#122), *Gesta Romanorum* (#18), John of Salisbury (#166, #218), *Legenda Aurea* (#21, #203), and Matthew of Paris (#89). In addition to these sources, the author has referred to individuals from whom the stories originated: an anchoress (#113), a knight present at the siege of Kenilworth Castle (#132), a Lombard named Hubert de Lorgo (#34), and a prince's daughter (#90). In each of these tales, the source of the story was in some way personally involved with the incident.

One of the problems faced when trying to identify the source of *exempla* is their popularity. Many of the tales are found in more than one *exempla* collection. Since these collections often identify a source for the tales, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether an *exemplum* was taken from the original source or from a collection which named that source. One instance of this problem is the story of the hermit and the angel burying or encountering dead bodies in the wilderness, which was a very common tale in the Middle Ages. The story is originally told in *Vitas Patrum*.

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[153]Referred to as either Policraticus or *De nugis philosophorum*.

Dicebant Patres de aliquo sene magno quia cum ambularet in
eremo, vidit duos angelos comitantes secum, unum a dextris,
et alium a sinistris suis. Dum vero ambularent, invenerunt
cadaver in via jacens. Et cooperuit ille senex nares suas
propter fetorem; fecerunt autem et angeli similiter. Et
profecti pusillum, dixit senex: Et vos hoc odorastis? Qui
dixerunt ei: Nequaquam, sed propter te cooperuimus et nos,
nam immunditiam mundi hujus non odoramus nos, neque appro-
piat nobis; sed animas, quae fetorem peccatorum habent,
ipsarum odorem nos odoramus.[154]

Three versions of the story are told in *Fasciculus morum*. Two are

actual *exempla*, the third is a reference only. The text of #167 reads:

Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* de quodam sancto sene ut
corpora mortuorum sepeliret transeunte, cui comitabantur
quidam angelus et quidam iuvenis lascivus. Cum ergo ad
quoddam corpus fetidum pervenissent et senex nares obtur-
asset, ait angelus: "Quare hoc corpus non sepelis?" Et ille:
"Non possum, inquit, pro fetore." Cui angelus: "Quantum
fetet corpus illud in oculis tuis, tantum et multo amplius
fetet iuvenis iste peccator in conspectu Dei" (*FM*: 604).

When the story is repeated in #212, it is substantially different.

Quod idem patet de bonis angelis in illa narracione in *Vitas
Patrum* de angelo corpora mortuorum cum quodam sene sepelien-
te. Nec de fetore illorum horrebat sicut senex, set
transeunte quodam iuvene luxurioso, nares suas obturavit
dicens quod in centuplum plus fetebat coram Deo et angelis
quam quodcumque aliud cadaver corruptum (*FM*: 702).

This story is also found among the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry.

Unde legimus quod cum angelus Dei diceret heremite: "Eamus
et sepeliamus quemdam peregrinum quem latrones in hoc nemore
occiderunt." Cum appropinquarent cadaveri, quod jam per
dies aliquod super terram jacuerat, heremita cepit obturare
nares suas. Cui angelus ait: "Quare nares tuas cons-
tringis?" At ille: "Non valeo fetorem sustinere." Paulo
post juvenis quidem pulcher corpore et ornatus sertis
floreis cum phaleris et sella aurea equitando transibat et,
cum adhuc longe esset, angelus abhominari cepit et obturare
nares corporis quem ad tempus assumpserat. Cui heremita
valde admirans ait: "Quare nares tuas ita stringis et a
pulchro juvene illo faciem evertis qui cum esses juxta
fetidum cadaver talia non fecisti?" Angelus autem respon-
dit: "Quia infracturam lascivus ille superbus juvenis magis
fecit coram Deo et angelis ejus quam cadaver illud quod
sepelivimus fecerat coram hominibus, et cum universi
peccatores fetorem suum non sentiunt nec lepram suam
abhorrent vel agnoscunt."[155]

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[154]*Vitas Patrum*. Ed. Rosweyde, in *Patrologiae cursus
completus...Series Latina*. 221 volumes (Paris, 1844ff.) VI.18 (PL
73:1014).

[155]#104.

The version found in the *Alphabet of Tales* reads:

> We rede in 'Vitis Patrum' how, on a tyme, ane angell in a
> mans lyknes come & went with ane hermett a grete way. So
> thaim happend com be a caryon that had liggen dead many day,
> & it stynkid ill; and this herme.t helde his nece, at he
> sulde nott fele savur therof. And this aungell askid hym
> whi. he helde his nece, and he ansswerd hym agayn & said;
> "Becauce I may not fele this savur." And thai went on
> furth, & omone thai mett a fayr yong man cled in gay
> clothyng, that had a fayr garland on his head, that rade
> opon a gay hors in a sadle all of gold & sylver. And when
> thai wer a gude way fro hym, this angell in a mans liknes
> stoppyd his nease-thrillis. And when this hermett saw, he
> had grete mervall therof, & said unto hym; "whi stoppis thou
> thi nece so, & stoppid thaim noght right now?" And he
> ansswerd agayn & said; "yone yong man that is so prowde &
> full of syn, stynkis mor uglie in the sight of God & all his
> aungell, than done all the carion of this werld in sight or
> felyng of crysten men."[156]

This *exemplum* was also used in one of the Middle English sermons printed

by Ross.

> I rede in Vitis Patrum that ther was an herimett dwellynge
> in a wildurnes. And every day ther com an angell from heven
> for to comforte hym. So uppon a dey the herymytt romed in
> the wildernes. And the angell com vn-to hym, and as thei
> vente to-thethur thei com to place ther-as careyn lay, and
> all stynkand. This ermytt anon for the stynche of this
> foule careyn held is noyse, but the angell did not so. And
> as thei com forth ferthermore, thei mett with a fayre man,
> well arayed at all poyntes, but he was in dedely synn. And
> anone as the angell sawe hym, he stoppett is noyse and wold
> not ons loke on hym. Than whan thei were passed, the ermett
> spake to the angell and seid, "Why heldest thou thi noyse
> when thou mett with this yonge man and wolde not holde thi
> noyse at yendur fowle careyn?" Than the angell answerd and
> seid, "Thou heldest thi noyse for the stynche of yendur
> fowle careyn, and this man that we mett was in dedely synne
> and that stynketh a thousand-fold more a-fore God and is
> angels than dothe this fow.e careyn a-fore the."[157]

The story was also drawn on for a similitude in one of the sermons in

Mirk's *Festial*.

> For takethe in certeyne: ryght as non of you woll goo ynto a
> place theras stynkyng caren ys, but stoppythe his nase and
> hythe hym thens; ryght soo the Holy Gost flethe from the
> soule that ys combryd wyth dedly synne, and all angeles,
> wyth stoppyng hor nosys, for moche more and fouler st/nketh

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[156]68.

[157]156-7.

The *exempla* written in the Middle Ages have changed the original story so that the hermit was not accused of having sins on his soul. Instead, a new character, the worldly young man, was introduced for this role. Possibly the version of *Vitas Patrum* the medieval writers drew on was different from that edited by Migne. It is equally possible that the writers preferred a clear contrast between the hermit, who would have been viewed as virtuous, and the ordinary person faced with all the temptations of living in the world.

The different versions also show how individual authors embroidered or abbreviated the tales to suit their own needs and writing styles. The versions found in *Fasciculus morum* are much shorter and not nearly as descriptive as the others. In those, details have been added regarding the young man's attire and dialogue has been changed. The situation surrounding how the angel and the hermit met also varies. These differences are not important as far as the moral of the story is concerned. Each one lets the audience know that the smell of a person's unconfessed sins is displeasing to angels. The similitude, which also effectively presents this lesson, is a good example of how an *exemplum* can be changed into a similitude rather than the other way round, as we have seen earlier.

Although the author of *Fasciculus morum* identified a large number of the sources, he was not always consistent or accurate. Some of the *exempla* which are repeated are credited to different authors. Regarding the story of Dionysius, the author has credited Jerome (#32) and Valerius (#86). However, no letter by Jerome contains this story; ther is only a brief reference to Dionysius in *Epistle 58*.[159] The version in #32 is inaccurate when compared to that in Valerius, but is told

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[158]*Middle English Sermons*, 156.

[159]See Wenzel, notes for this chapter.

accurately in #86. The story is also found in the *Gesta Romanorum*,[160] but the version there is different. In it, the bearded statue is not named; therefore the author of *Fasciculus morum* could not have taken #32 from this source, as the statue in #32 is named, albeit incorrectly.

The same thing has happened in #103 and #156. In #103 the author credits Jerome, letter 35, as the source.

> Fertur eciam a Ieronimo *Epistola 35* quod Crates Thebanus,
> homo quondam ditissimus, cum ad philosophandum Athenas
> pergeret, magnum auri pondus abiecit, non putans se simul
> virtutes posse et divicias possidere, non plus quam vicia et
> virtutes (*FM*: 390).

The wording is in fact very close to that found in letter 58, so it is probably the source of the story.

> Cr⸱tes ille Thebanus, homo quondam ditissimus, cum ad
> philosophandum Athenas pergeret, magnum auri pondus abiecit
> nec putauit se posse et uirtutes simul et diuitias possi-
> dere.[161]

However, in #156 the author credits Valerius, with wording that again is similar. I could not find this tale in Valerius.[162] It is quite possible that the author of *Fasciculus morum* took this *exemplum* from a source which has incorrectly credited Valerius with the story.

Sometimes the author of *Fasciculus morum* has clearly adapted, reworded and edited the original source. This can be seen in #62.

> Ad idem aciam narrat Sextus Iulius de quodam duce Zenophilus
> nomine, qui dum excercitum per ardua itinera incedere
> precepisset et illi murmurando dixerunt facile esse sedentem
> precipere difficilia, statim equum ascendens in dictis
> itineribus precessit alios animans ut eum constanter
> sequerentur (*FM*: 278).

The version found in Frontinus reads:

> Xenophon, cum equo ueheretur et pedites iugum quoddam
> occupare iusisset audissetque unum ex eis obmurmurantem quod
> diceret facile tam laboriosa sedentem imperare, desiluit et

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[160]*The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. F. Madden, Early English Text Society, Extra Series 33 (London: Oxford University Press), #8.

[161]Jerome, Ep. 58.2 (CSEL 54, p.529-30) Ad Paulinum Presbyterum

[162]Valerius Maximus. *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*. Ed. C. Kempf (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner. [1888] 1966).

> gregalem equo imposuit, cursu ipse ad destinatum iugum
> contendens. cuius facti ruborem cum perpeti miles non
> posset, inridentibus commilitonibus sponte descendit:
> Xenophontem uix uniuersi perpulerunt ut conscenderet equum
> et laborem suum in necessaria duci munera resuaret.[163]

The version presented in *Fasciculus morum* is very different from the

original. The Latin is much simpler and the story has been shortened.

At other times, the wording is almost identical to the original

source. This is especially noticeable in #106, taken from the

Policraticus of John of Salisbury.

> Narrat Policraticus libro 4 quod cum Alexander Magnus gentem
> Bragmannorum debellare proposuisset, responderunt: "Quid
> erit homini satis cui totus non sufficit mundus? Divicias
> enim non habemus quarum cupiditate nos debeas expugnare.
> Omnia bona nobis communia sunt. Esca est nobis pro di-
> viciis; pro cultibus et auro, vilis et rara vestis. Femine
> enim nostre non ornantur ut placeant, quarum ornamentorum
> cultum pocius oneri deputant quam honori, et eas nesciunt in
> augenda pulcritudine amplius affectare quam quod nate sunt.
> Antra autem duplicem usum prestant, scilicet tegumentum in
> vita, et in morte sepulturam. Regem habemus non pro
> iusticia set pro nobilitate conservanda. Quem ergo locum
> haberet vindicta, ubi nulla iusticia?" Hiis ergo verbis
> motus, Alexander nullam ratus victoriam si eorum pacem
> turbaret, eos in quiete sua dimisit, et forte, si contra eos
> bellum aggressus fuisset, minime prevaluisset, eo quod
> innocencia facile non superatur a nocentibus. Hec ille (*FM*:
> 390, 392).

The version in *Policraticus* reads

> Fertur enim quod, cum magnus Alexander ultimum litus Occeani
> perlustraret, Bragmannorum insulam debellare parabat. Ad
> quem illi in his uerbis epistolam miserunt: Audiuimus,
> inuictissime re, praelia tua et felicitatem uictoriae ubique
> subsecutam. Sed quid erit homini satis, cui totus non
> sufficit orbis? Diuitias non habemus, quarum cupiditate nos
> debeas expugnare; omnium bona omnibus communia sunt. Esca
> est nobis pro diuitiis, pro cultibus et auro uilis et rara
> uestis. Feminae autem nostrae non ornantur ut placeant;
> quem quidem ornamentorum cultum potius oneri dequtant quam
> decori. Etenim nesciunt in augenda pulchritudine plus
> affectare quam quod natae sunt. Antra nobis duplicem usum
> praestant, tegumentum in uita, in morte sepulturam. Regem
> habemus non pro iustitia sed pro nobilitate conseruanda.
> Quem enim locum haberet uindicta, ubi nulla fit iniustitia?

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[163]Iulius Sextus Frontinus, *Strategemata*. Recensvit Robert I.
Ireland (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana),
(Leipzig: Teubner. 1990), IV.vi.2

> His uerbis motus Alexander nullam ratus uictoriam, si eorum
> pacem perpetuam turbaret, in quiete sua dimisit.[164]

After examining various *exempla* and their sources where available, it

seems that the author of *Fasciculus morum* does not hesitate to adapt the

exemplum to his own needs. However, if the *exemplum* he uses contains

dialogue, and he keeps it in that format, the wording of the dialogue

remains relatively unchanged. A good example of this is #182.

> Ibidem eciam dicitur de Diogene causam agente cum Lentulo,
> et ipse attracta saliva in fronte eius media quantum poterat
> spuisset, pacienter faciem abstersit dicens: 'Affirmabo,
> inquit, omnibus, o Lentule, falli eos qui te os habere
> negant."

This is taken from Seneca, *De ira*.

> Qui, cum agenti causam in frontem mediam quantum poterat
> attracta pingui saliva insquisset Lentulus ille patrum
> nostrorum memoria factiosus et impotens, abstersit faciem
> et: "Adfirmabo," inquit, "omnibus, Lentule, falli eos qui te
> negant os habere."[165]

Here it is clear that the story is the same one, but modified. The

dialogue is practically unchanged.

Purpose and Function

Mosher has identified six purposes which *exempla* fulfill:

> (1) to furnish a concrete illustration of the result of
> obeying or disobeying some religious or moral law; (2) to
> give proof or confirmation of the truth of an assertion; (3)
> to arouse fear in the sinful or to stimulate the zeal of the
> godly; (4) to make clear the meaning of some abstract
> statement; (5) to revive languid listeners, evoke interest
> or laughter; (6) to eke out a scant sermon by "farsing" it
> with tales.[166]

The author of *Fasciculus morum* has provided *exempla* which could be used

to fulfill any of these purposes. However, given the serious nature of

Fasciculus morum, I find it hard to believe that its author intended the

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[164]John of Salisbury. *Policraticus*. Ed. Clement C. J. Webb. 2 vols
(Frankfurt a. M.: Unveränderter Nachdruck, [1909], 1965) IV.xi. (I:270-
271).

[165]Seneca, "De Ira," *Moral Essays*, 3 Vols. (Loeb Classical Library)
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press [1928], 1970) Vol. I, 3.38.2.

[166]Mosher, 8.

tales to be used to "farse" any sermon. His purpose in writing the manual was to provide "a small and unpretentious bundle of vices and virtues, to comfort [the preacher] and to help the unlettered (FM:31)." There is a difference between the use of an *exemplum* in the sermon manual and its use in its final destination, the sermon. As Kemmler notes, the author of a piece chooses the *exempla* included by considering the nature of the intended audience. In a piece such as *Handlyng Synne*, this audience is fairly easy to define.[167] In *Fasciculus morum* and other manuals of its type, there are two potential audiences; the preacher for whose use the book is intended, and the congregation to whom he will be preaching. Thus, despite whatever function an *exemplum* plays in *Fasciculus morum*, it could be used in a completely different way by the preacher. When considering the ways in which the *exempla* of *Fasciculus morum* are used, it is important to keep in mind that the author has only recommended these usages and that their actual usage could, and did, vary.

One of the main functions of the *exempla* in *Fasciculus morum* is to provide characters whose actions are evaluated. Sometimes the character is one whose actions should be emulated, as in #193.

> Vegetius in book 6 tells us that Alexander was given an extremely beautiful maiden who had earlier been betrothed to some prince. Alexander observed the greatest degree of abstinence in that he did not even look at her and sent her back to her husband (FM: 653).

Here, Alexander demonstrates the restraint from lust that all should possess. In other *exempla*, the characters are not as virtuous as Alexander, but become virtuous by the end of the *exemplum*. An example of this is seen in #115.

> There is a story about a powerful person who was rich but lived a bad, disorderly life. Yet one day, as he passed through a forest, by the grace of the Holy Spirit he reflected on how wretched he was in his sins and thought he should amend his life and do something good. Among various good works he chose one in particular, namely to build a house for good and religious men in God's honor, so that he

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[167]Kemmler, 191.

might have intercessors for himself and his family both in
life and in death. When he had thought about these things,
he drew out the sword he was carrying and after his fashion
drew a plan of the religious house he was thinking of with a
church and other buildings. After that he returned home
with these holy plans in his mind. But he happened to be
overcome by sudden death and died on the way. Then both
good and bad angels came and began to dispute which of them
should take his soul, the bad angels reciting his evil
deeds, the good angels his good ones. Now, the good angels
said that with his last act of will he had wept for his sins
and intended to leave them, in sign of which he planned the
religious house in God's honor. But when the bad angels
asserted that he had not yet built it, the good angels, as
it seemed, opened his heart, in order to overcome the
others. And lo, in the middle of his heart they found
something like a golden house for religious with all that
belongs to it, a church and other buildings. When the
demons saw that, they drew back and shouted: "Woe to us
wretches, woe! In such a short time we have lost what we
had worked for so hard and so long!" With these words the
body was taken away by the angels, and the evil spirits
withdrew (*FM*: 427).

The message of this story is clear -- if one repents and endeavours to

do good, even late in life, one can be saved. Although the man's

lifestyle as it is presented in the beginning is not one people should

follow, his later actions are.

The characters in the *exempla* are not all good. The author of

Fasciculus morum has provided numerous examples of characters whose

actions are to be avoided. One instance of this occurs in #23.

There is another story about such a person who confidently
sinned in lechery. When he was taken to task by some holy
churchman, he answered: "God has died for me as well as for
you; therefore he won't damn me any more than he will you.
So, I trust so much in his mercy that as long as I can say
these three words 'Have mercy, Lord' before I die, I shall
be saved." It happened that one day when he crossed a
bridge and began to reel off backwards, he forgot his three
words and instead said: "Devil take it" (*FM*: 127).

This is taken from a long paragraph on the consequences of "presumption

or sinning with confidence that stems from overly relying on God's

mercy, (*FM*:125)" as God's wrath is sudden, and death is unexpected.

Similarly, in #31, neighbours who argued all their lives are seen in a

vision fighting in hell, living in eternity as miserably as they did

while on earth. The messages from these *exempla* are that, no matter

what one's sins, one should repent and confess regularly, or risk eternal damnation.

When giving *exempla* concerned with people's behaviours, the author uses a variety of emotions to ensure the correct behaviour is followed. In #33, a backbiter is seen

> with a very long tongue of fire hanging from his mouth down
> to the earth, which he constantly gnawed off and spat out
> and took back again and spat out, and thus a third and
> fourth time (*FM*: 165).

Here, the motivating force is fear of punishment after death. *Exempla* which show actions to be imitated encourage good behaviour by showing the rewards which come to the virtuous. This is seen in #39, about a devout knight who went on a pilgrimage.

> He had visited all the places where Christ had walked on
> earth and finally came to the spot where Christ ascended
> into heaven. There he burst out with tears in these words:
> "O sweetest Jesus, you know how I have sought you on earth
> with my whole heart, soul, and mind, loving you and wanting
> you before anything else; nor do I know any place where you
> have been and I have not, and thus I know of no other place
> on earth where I can seek you further. I ask you then that
> you will take me to you here." And when he had said this, he
> fell to the ground and died in the Lord. But when they
> opened his heart, they found these words in golden letters
> in the middle of his heart: "Whom I have loved I have found,
> Jesus my love" (*FM*: 181).

Because the knight was pious and virtuous, he achieved his heart's desire, to be with Jesus in heaven. The two consequences of people's behaviour, the punishment and the glory, are indeed what the author of *Fasciculus morum* said he would talk about in the beginning of 1.1.

Other emotions were also used to elicit proper behaviour. By holding up a woman in fancy dress with a devil riding her train as a picture of ridicule in #5, the author hoped to prevent others from having similar pride in clothing. In #10, the story of how the Egyptians can keep quiet in church is meant to shame Christians into doing likewise.

The author of *Fasciculus morum* used some *exempla* as proof for statements made by the preacher. An example of this is #19. The author states that wrath destroys the soul, which is the image of God in man.

This is part of a similitude; in the same way, turbulent water does not hold the image of a reflection (*FM*: 117). This similitude is proven by the *exemplum*, which is given next.

> Whence we read in *The Lives of the Fathers* about a desert father who put a denarius in a bowl full of clear water, and as he saw its image he said to his brother: "Thus does the image of God appear in tranquil hearts." After saying that he moved the water, and the image of the denarius disappeared, and he said: "Thus is the image of God destroyed in troubled hearts" (*FM*: 117,119).

Here, the *exemplum* expands the idea presented in the similitude. The image of something in the bottom of a bowl of water is easy to picture, so it works well to prove the author's statement.

Exempla are also used to illustrate ideas. In 3.13, the author discusses how Christ cried over the coming destruction of Jerusalem. The *exemplum* which follows, #43, does not prove that Christ cried on this occasion; rather, it gives a graphic account of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.

> Josephus tells us that Jerusalem was besieged by the emperor Titus for two years; among other sufferings which heavily afflicted the besieged citizens, such a great famine arose that parents tore away the food not only from the hands but even the very teeth of their children, and vice-versa, and husbands from their wives, and vice-versa. Young men, the strongest in their age, walked by the ways like shadows and fell down dead, made lifeless by hunger. And those who buried the dead upon dead, themselves often fell dead on top of them. Unable to stand the stench of the corpses, they buried them at public expense, but when the public funds ran out and the number of corpses grew, they were compelled to toss them over the wall. When Titus, passing around the city, noticed the ditches filled with corpses and the entire land infected with their stench, he washed his hands with his tears and looking up to heaven said: "God, you see that I am not doing this." So great was the famine then that they ate their shoes with the strings. Finally, in the second year of Vespasian, Titus took Jerusalem and destroyed it and razed the Temple. And as the Jews had sold Christ for thirty denarii, so Titus sold thirty Jews for one denarius. As Josephus reports further, they then sold 97,000 Jews, and 1,100,000 perished (*FM*: 227).

After hearing this *exemplum*, the audience would understand the nature of the destruction and learn the depths of Christ's compassion.

Points of theology are another idea explained by *exempla*. An example of this is found in #151. Here, a pious man gave a bishop some

money for the poor and received a promissory note for it. Upon the man's death, his heirs brought the note to the bishop for redemption. Upon going to the man's grave, they found a note from the man acknowledging that he had received a hundredfold return on the money he had given the bishop -- the remission of his sins and, therefore, eternal life. This example provides concrete proof of Jesus' statement in Luke 14:13-14:

> But when you give a banquet, invite the poor, the crippled,
> the lame, and the blind. And you will be blessed, because
> they cannot repay you, for you will be repaid at the
> resurrection of the righteous (NSRV).

Anyone who did not understand how almsgiving would be repaid at the resurrection would understand after the *exemplum* that the repayment is a spiritual one of remission of sins and eternal life. After understanding this, there is also the implied lesson that all other people should follow this pious man's example. The author of *Fasciculus morum* has also used *exempla* to illustrate, among other things, the power of the cross (#44), the sending of the Holy Spirit (#66), and the significance of the crucifixion (#58).

Sometimes the messages of the *exempla*, generally those which are not allegorized, are clear. For example, in #186, the devil appears to a man and offers him rewards if he commits only one sin. The bargain is sealed, and the devil gives the man four choices: he can get drunk, sleep with his mother, kill his father, or be hanged. The man chooses the first and then while drunk commits the next two sins and is hanged. The message here is easily understood -- even the slightest sin can lead one astray.

In the case of *exempla* which are allegorized,[168] the meaning of the *exemplum* is usually not clear without its interpretation. This is

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[168]I am using this term in its general sense, that is, where one thing in a story stands for another, not as it is sometimes used in medieval studies to refer to one of the levels of the four-fold method of biblical interpretation.

seen in #116, about how a peony around the neck of a child saves it from
falling.

> Diascorides tells us that a peony tied around the neck of
> children keeps them from falling. He reports that he once
> saw a child around whose neck a peony had been tied; when
> the peony fell off, the child also fell, but when it was
> tied back on his neck, the child stood up again (*FM*: 431).

The interpretation the author gives is:

> Spiritually speaking, by this grain, which is black outside
> and has a white kernel within, I understand true penance.
> Although it is hard and, as it were, black and contemptible
> on the outside, it yet has a white kernel within, namely its
> effect, which is such that, if a person bears it, he will
> not fall into mortal sin (*FM*: 431).

If a person falls into sin because he or she loses true penance, then
going to confession again puts the kernel around the neck, and the
person can stand again.

Sometimes, the *exempla* have meanings on more than one level. On a
simple level, #205 is a warning not to commit adultery, and the *exemplum*
is indeed found in the chapter on adultery.

> In his book *On the Nature of Things* Alexander reports that
> once there were two storks; the female sat on her eggs in
> the nest to hatch them, and the male flew about the country
> to seek food for himself and his mate. It so happened that
> while she was left behind in her nest she committed adultery
> with other storks. Out of her natural instinct then, lest
> her husband on his return should notice the smell of
> adultery, she washed herself in a spring that was in front
> of the gate of a knight. After she had done so twice of
> three times, the knight, who had noticed this, had the
> spring closed off. When she came as usual to wash herself
> but could not, she returned to her nest unclean. Upon his
> return at night, her mate perceived her smell and tore her
> completely to pieces in revenge for her adultery (*FM*: 679).

The author of *Fasciculus morum* also gives it a spiritual interpretation.
The male stork is God, the female is the human soul whom God as taken as
a spouse. The fountain in which the stork washed herself is the
fountain of penance, which removes the smell of sin from the soul.
However, the knight, who is death, can close off the fountain at any
time. Therefore, the moral becomes a warning not to sin, because the
time of death is uncertain, and God will exact vengeance for the
unconfessed sins.

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After examining the purpose and functions of the *exempla*, I
decided not to include the allegories in the line numbers in Appendix A
because the *exempla* sometimes had different interpretations in other
collections, i.e., they were severable and changeable. The story of how
Hypomenes won Attalanta in a race by throwing three golden apples in
front of her is told in #65. In the interpretation which follows,
Attalanta stands for human nature which runs from sin to sin. Hypomenes
is God, and the three apples are the Mosaic Law, Christ, and the Holy
Spirit, which God cast to prevent continued sinning. Because of these
three things, God overcame human nature and became its spouse. The
story is interpreted differently, however, in the *Gesta Romanorum*.[169]
Here, the maiden stands for the human soul which is so swift in running
that it cannot be overcome by sin. The suitor is the devil who throws
the sins of pride, lechery, and covetousness in order to trap the soul.
These three sins overcome the human soul, so it is lost to the devil
forever. The lesson here changes from positive in the first explanation
to negative in the second.

Another example of how the interpretation and/or situations found
in an *exemplum* could change can be seen regarding the man with three
friends, as told in #92.

> In a city of the Roman region a law had been given that,
> although someone was legally condemned for his crime, if he
> could find a friend who was willing to go with him to jail
> or to the judge's hall before the judge and could answer
> sufficiently for the condemned man, then this friend would
> save the guilty man from death because of his faithfulness.
> It happened that such a condemned criminal had three
> friends; one of these he loved more than himself, the other
> as much as himself, and the third less than himself.
> Wanting to try them in his need, he approached the first for
> help, who said to him: "You have been foolish to love me
> more than yourself. I will not place myself into such
> danger for your sake. But I will do this much: I will give
> you this cloak with which you may cover and defend yourself
> if you can; for the rest, you must learn to act more
> cautiously." Upon these words the condemned man went
> grieving and sad to his second friend, the one he had loved
> as much as himself, and asked for his help. But this one

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[169]*English Gesta Romanorum*, #32. The story is radically different,
but is still recognizable as the same tale.

> replied curtly that he could not do it; he would do as much
> as go to the judge's place with him, but enter he would not
> -- that he did not dare for great fear. Having heard this,
> the condemned man went to his third friend, the one he had
> loved less, and he found him alone to be a true friend, for
> he freed him from death before the judge (*FM*: 379).

The interpretation given is that the first friend is the world, which in the end offers only a cloak for burial. The second friend is a person's family, which although it sympathizes, still worries about itself more than the other person. The third friend is good works, such as prayers and fasting, which will save a person from eternal damnation. In the *Gesta Romanorum*, the interpretation differs only in that the third friend stands for Christ.[170] This *exemplum* is also found in two Middle English sermons. In one, three friends refuse to answer before the judge for the condemned man. They are the world, relatives, and the devil. The fourth friend, who saves the condemned man, is Christ.[171] The biggest difference in interpretation is found in the other sermon, where the condemned man is Adam, and the three friends are Righteousness, Truth, and Mercy. Righteousness could not help Adam because he deserved to be punished. Truth could not help him because he did commit the crime. Only Mercy could overturn the punishment deserved, in the person of Christ, who came down to earth and saved humanity. The moral given afterwards is that if we wish to have God's mercy, we should be merciful to others. In all of these versions, the final message is that a person can be saved from eternal damnation, but the means by which this is accomplished differ in each, as do the obstacles to salvation.

Sometimes, the *exempla* were changed in order to teach a different lesson. In #109, a father decided to leave his inheritence to the laziest of his three sons. The first son said he would rather have his feet and legs burnt than draw them back from the fire. The second said he would rather drown by having water drop into his eyes than close them

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[170]*English Gesta Romanorum*, #33.

[171]*Middle English Sermons*, 86.

or turn his head. The third said he would rather be hanged than lift a sword to cut the rope around his neck. In the spiritual interpretation, the oldest son is compared to a lecher who would rather burn with lust than remove himself from the source of the lust. The second son is a covetous man who would rather go blind than close his eyes to the worldly goods he covets. The third son is a proud man who would rather be led to hell by his sins than free himself in confession by the sword of his tongue. Of the three sins discussed, lechery is the most active, pride, the chief sin, the least active. The brother committing the sin of pride was given the option of freeing himself by confessing and thus sharing in the eternal inheritance offered by God. The story is told differently in the *Gesta Romanorum*.[172] In this version, the second and third sons are reversed, so that the laziest one is the one who would not shut his eyes. The first son is interpreted as a person who would rather live in a wicked city than leave the flame of sin commonly found there. The second son is a person who knows he or she is bound by the cords of sin but will not cut them with the sword of the tongue in confession. The third son is one who hears of the joys of paradise and the punishments of hell but will not turn away from sin and is therefore damned. In the version found in *Fasciculus morum*, the three levels of laziness are thus compared to sins which belong to each of humanity's three enemies. In the version from the *Gesta Romanorum*, the three levels of laziness are compared to different levels of lack of repentance. These three examples show how a preacher could change the *exemplum* or its interpretation in order to suit the subject of the sermon being given.

<div align="center">*****</div>

The *exemplum* discussed above provides an apt ending to a discussion of *Fasciculus morum*. Here, as elsewhere in the text, the reader of *Fasciculus morum* is made aware of the author's continual care

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[172]*English Gesta Romanorum*, #56.

for maintaining his central theological themes and his primary pastoral concern in each of the pieces that he brings together in his compilation. As noted above in Chapter 1, he was deeply concerned with the three enemies of humankind -- the devil, the world, and the flesh -- which have never been far from his mind at any point. In the *exemplum* above, they are depicted again -- the first son with his feet in the fire suffers from lecher, a sin of the flesh; the second son with the water dripping in his eyes commits avarice, a sin of the world, and the third son with the noose around his neck suffers from pride, a sin of the devil. Through the *exempla*, the preacher guides his flock through the everpresent struggle which is literally for them a life and death situation, the fate of one's soul hanging in the balance.

Appendix A

**Database of Information about the *Exempla*
of *Fasciculus morum***

Terms used

Number: The order in which the *exempla* appear in *Fasciculus morum*.
Page: The page on which the Latin text starts.
Lines: The line numbers which the Latin text occupies.
Total: The total number of lines the Latin text occupies, calculated by
     subtracting the beginning line from the end line.
Chapter: The chapter in which the *exemplum* appears, by book and chapter
     number.
Vice or Virtue: The vice or virtue which is the subject matter of that
     chapter.
Summary: A brief synopsis of the *exemplum*.
Character 1: The main character of the *exemplum*.
Character 2: An important secondary character or characters.
Tubach #: The index number of the *Index Exemplorum* for the exemplum. An
     asterix indicates those for which Wenzel was unable to locate an
     index number.
Source in FM: The source the author of *Fasciculus morum* ascribes to the
     exemplum.
Source in notes: The source Wenzel attributes to the *exemplum*, as found
     in the notes for each chapter. Full notes and citations are not
     given here. Where no book or author is named, it is the same as
     listed under Source in FM.
Indicator: The words with which the author introduces the *exemplum*.
     Where none are given, there are no discernable words of introduc-
     tion.
Other language: Any language present in the *exemplum* other than Latin.
     Omitted if not needed.
Comments: Additional information about the *exemplum*, including other
     occurrences as I have found them. Omitted if not needed.

Number: 1   Page: 34   Lines: 38-43   Total: 5
Chapter: 1.1   Vice or Virtue: pride
Summary: Blessed Virgin offers drink in dirty dish
Character 1: cleric   Character 2: Virgin Mary
Tubach #: 3077   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: also found in Brinton pp. 130, 214, 350, 443

Number: 2   Page: 42   Lines: 80-95   Total: 15
Chapter: 1.3   Vice or Virtue: pride
Summary: prophecy about the word COR
Character 1: man   Character 2: angel
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 3   Page: 44   Lines: 97-102   Total: 5
Chapter: 1.3   Vice or Virtue: pride
Summary: cannot prevent thoughts from entering mind
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: abbot
Tubach #: 4841/2*   Source in FM: *Vitas patrum*
Source in notes: V.55
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 4   Page: 48   Lines: 39-43   Total: 4
Chapter: 1.4   Vice or Virtue: pride
Summary: angels rejoice when man talks about God, he carried stone in
mouth to learn about silence
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: angels
Tubach #: 4627   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Vitas Patrum* 3.36 and 5.7
Indicator: unde legitur
Comments: combination of tales

Number: 5   Page: 50   Lines: 32-37   Total: 5
Chapter: 1.5   Vice or Virtue: pride
Summary: demon on woman's train
Character 1: saint   Character 2: demon
Tubach #: 1660   Source in FM: *Vitis patrum*
Source in notes: 3.36, 5.7
Indicator: unde legitur
Comments: Tubach version has devils as mice

Number: 6   Page: 70   Lines: 65-77   Total: 12
Chapter: 1.9   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: son plotted to kill father
Character 1: father   Character 2: son
Tubach #: 4485   Source in FM: Valerius[173] book 3
Source in notes: Valerius 5.9.4
Indicator: unde refert
Comments: author of FM mentions wrong book in Valerius

Number: 7   Page: 76   Lines: 220-229   Total: 9
Chapter: 1.9   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: Roman triumph for three victories
Character 1: champion   Character 2: slave
Tubach #: 5084   Source in FM: *Gesta Romanorum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: legitur   Other language: Greek
Comments: part of story also in *Mirk's Festial*, p. 116

Number: 8   Page: 82   Lines: 58-59   Total: 2
Chapter: 1.10   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: barn overflows after tithing
Character 1: saint, Anselm   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 488   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 9   Page: 82   Lines: 59-67   Total: 8
Chapter: 1.10   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: incorrect tithe, barn burnt by devil
Character 1: saint, Ignatius   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 489   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

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[173]Refers to Valerius Maximus. *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium
libri novem.*

Number: 10   Page: 84   Lines: 89-95   Total: 6
Chapter: 1.10   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: Egyptians quiet in Church
Character 1: Egyptians   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Cassiodorus
Source in notes: Cassian 2.10.1
Indicator: unde refert

Number: 11   Page: 90   Lines: 84-93   Total: 9
Chapter: 1.11   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: sons, like twigs, can only be bent when young
Character 1: father   Character 2: son
Tubach #: 4488   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 12   Page: 90   Lines: 95-97   Total: 2
Chapter: 1.11   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: son bit off father's nose
Character 1: son   Character 2: father
Tubach #: 3488   Source in FM: Boicius, *De disc. scol.*
Source in notes:
Indicator: narrat
Comments: Greek fable (Weinert ET 493, ST 365, 499)

Number: 13   Page: 94   Lines: 52-58   Total: 6
Chapter: 1.12   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: Alexander and basilisk
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: Aristotle
Tubach #: 495   Source in FM: *Gesta Alexandri*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 14   Page: 98   Lines: 50-60   Total: 10
Chapter: 1.13   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: Alexander asks Aristotle 4 questions
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: Aristotle
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 15   Page: 100   Lines: 61-84   Total: 23
Chapter: 1.13   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: the three executors
Character 1: cleric   Character 2: executors
Tubach #: 4896   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur   Other language: English, French

Number: 16   Page: 102   Lines: 104-108   Total: 4
Chapter: 1.13   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: boy died at sight of own face
Character 1: son   Character 2: philosopher
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: indexed under "Narcissus" by Wenzel

Number: 17   Page: 108   Lines: 76-86   Total: 10
Chapter: 1.14   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: Dionysius always sad
Character 1: Dionysius   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 4994   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Cicero *Tusculan disputations* 5.21
Indicator: narratur
Comments: also found in Brinton, pp. 74, 99, 347, 464

Number: 18   Page: 108   Lines: 86-88   Total: 2
Chapter: 1.14   Vice or Virtue: humility
Summary: king of Greece sad
Character 1: king   Character 2: brother
Tubach #: 4994   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Gesta Romanorum* 143
Indicator: nota narracionem
Comments: brief reference, addition to previous story, full story in
Mirk's Festial, p. 122

Number: 19   Page: 116   Lines: 4-8   Total: 4
Chapter: 2.2   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: image of coin in water
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: hermit
Tubach #: 1139*   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 20   Page: 118   Lines: 19-22   Total: 3
Chapter: 2.2   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: confession takes away marks of devil
Character 1: man   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 2414   Source in FM: Gregory
Source in notes: -
Indicator: exemplum...narrat

Number: 21   Page: 124   Lines: 7-11   Total: 4
Chapter: 2.4   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: Thais saved by remorse and penance
Character 1: prostitute   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Legenda aurea*
Indicator: sicut patet

Number: 22   Page: 124   Lines: 11-15   Total: 4
Chapter: 2.4   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: knight forgives father's death
Character 1: knight   Character 2: crucifix
Tubach #: 1375   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota eciam
Comments: also in *Mirk's Festial*, p. 122

Number: 23   Page: 126   Lines: 48-55   Total: 7
Chapter: 2.4   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: sinner forgot to confess and was damned
Character 1: lecher   Character 2: cleric
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 24   Page: 128   Lines: 101-136   Total: 35
Chapter: 2.4   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: lawyer condemned in dream
Character 1: lawyer   Character 2: lawyer, Trinity
Tubach #: 2862   Source in FM: Diascorides
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narracio, refert

Number: 25   Page: 130   Lines: 140-156   Total: 16
Chapter: 2.4   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: Cassibelanus fights Androgeus in Kent
Character 1: Cassibelanus   Character 2: Androgeus
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Gesta Britonum*
Source in notes: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae* 4.8-9
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 26   Page: 132   Lines: 170-177   Total: 7
Chapter: 2.4   Vice or Virtue: wrath
Summary: knight appeals for mercy
Character 1: knight   Character 2: emperor, Roman
Tubach #: 3268   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: sicut fecit

Number: 27   Page: 136   Lines: 27-30   Total: 3
Chapter: 2.6   Vice or Virtue: patience
Summary: philosopher cursed by wife
Character 1: philosopher   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* 1.48
Indicator: narratur
Comments: probably Socrates and Xanthippe

Number: 28   Page: 136   Lines: 42-45   Total: 3
Chapter: 2.6   Vice or Virtue: patience
Summary: hermit gives thief donkey also
Character 1: monk   Character 2: thieves
Tubach #: 4810/3364   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: 5.14
Indicator: unde legitur
Comments: conflation of 3 different stories

Number: 29   Page: 140   Lines: 102-105   Total: 3
Chapter: 2.6   Vice or Virtue: patience
Summary: candle promised in danger later denied
Character 1: Welshman   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: sicut narratur
Comments: Greek fable (Weinert ET 493, ST 365, 499)

Number: 30   Page: 140   Lines: 108-110   Total: 2
Chapter: 2.6   Vice or Virtue: patience
Summary: hermit misses frequent illness
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 4364*   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: 7.20.2
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 31   Page: 144   Lines: 64-76   Total: 12
Chapter: 2.7   Vice or Virtue: patience
Summary: argumentative neighbours fight in hell
Character 1: neighbours   Character 2: priest
Tubach #: 2509   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 32   Page: 152   Lines: 82-96   Total: 14
Chapter: 3.1   Vice or Virtue: envy
Summary: Dionysius plunders temple
Character 1: Dionysius   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 4614   Source in FM: Jerome, *Ep. ad Paulinus*
Source in notes: Ep. 58 mentions Dionysius
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: See also #86 for a slightly different version

Number: 33   Page: 162   Lines: 83-90   Total: 7
Chapter: 3.3   Vice or Virtue: envy
Summary: backbiter with tongue of fire
Character 1: sinner   Character 2: acquaintance
Tubach #: 4907   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne* ll. 3553-3613

Number: 34   Page: 166   Lines: 42-57   Total: 15
Chapter: 3.4   Vice or Virtue: envy
Summary: Christ child injured by oaths
Character 1: squire   Character 2: Blessed Virgin
Tubach #: 5103   Source in FM: Hubertus de Lorgo
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narravit
Comments: also in Brinton, pp. 191, 367, *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 689-758,
Mirk's Festial, p. 114

Number: 35   Page: 174   Lines: 32-36   Total: 4
Chapter: 3.6   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Pan conquered by love
Character 1: Pan   Character 2: girl
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: poets
Source in notes: cf. Virgil *Eclogues* 10.69
Indicator: fingebatur

Number: 36   Page: 174   Lines: 37-45   Total: 8
Chapter: 3.6   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: hydra of lerna
Character 1: shepherd   Character 2: Mercury
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: poets
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narrant
Comments: same story as #173, slightly different wording

Number: 37   Page: 178   Lines: 30-37   Total: 7
Chapter: 3.7   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: letters on heart of St. Ignatius
Character 1: saint, Ignatius   Character 2: infidels
Tubach #: 2498*   Source in FM: *Vita beati Ignatii*
Source in notes: *legenda aurea*
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 38   Page: 178   Lines: 43-54   Total: 11
Chapter: 3.7   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: St. Godric overcomes devil
Character 1: saint, Goderic   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Vita Sancti Goderi⌐i*
Source in notes: *2 Lives of St. Goderic*
Indicator: unde legitur
Comments: Tubach #2335 describes a different struggle

Number: 39   Page: 180   Lines: 58-70   Total: 12
Chapter: 3.7   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: letters on heart of knight
Character 1: knight   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 2497   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: sicut contigit

Number: 40   Page: 190   Lines: 88-96   Total: 8
Chapter: 3.8   V⌐⌐e or Virtue: charity
Summary: three companions given partially spoiled apples
Character 1: friends   Character 2:
Tubach #: 318   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 41   Page: 204   Lines: 90-101   Total: 11
Chapter: 3.10   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Aeneas fights for lady
Character 1: Aeneas   Character 2: girl
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Virgil +
Source in notes: Ovid, *Amores* 3.8.19ff
Indicator: unde narrat

Number: 42   Page: 208   Lines: 188-206   Total: 18
Chapter: 3.10   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Acontius sends marriage vow in apple
Character 1: Acontius   Character 2: girl
Tubach #: 44*   Source in FM: Ovid
Source in notes: *Heroides* 30-31
Indicator: narrat   Other language: English

Number: 43   Page: 224   Lines: 31-49   Total: 18
Chapter: 3.13   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: seige and destruction of Jerusalem
Character 1: Titus   Character 2: Jerusalem
Tubach #: 2775*   Source in FM: Josephus
Source in notes: *De bello Judaico* 6
Indicator: unde narrat

Number: 44   Page: 232   Lines: 62-71   Total: 9
Chapter: 3.14   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Jew protected by cross
Character 1: Jew   Character 2: devils
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Gregory, *Dialogi*
Source in notes: 3.7
Indicator: narrat

Number: 45   Page: 232   Lines: 72-90   Total: 18
Chapter: 3.14   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: dying friar protected by cross
Character 1: friar   Character 2: devils
Tubach #: 1387*   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: contigit

Number: 46   Page: 232   Lines: 92-93   Total: 1
Chapter: 3.14   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: the power of the cross
Character 1: cross   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: multiple
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota
Comments: reference to *V. S. Cipriani, Dialogi, V. Patrum*

Number: 47   Page: 238   Lines: 79-82   Total: 3
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: three suns foretell Christ's birth
Character 1: three suns   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Eusebius
Source in notes: *Legenda aurea*
Indicator: narrat

Number: 48   Page: 238   Lines: 83-94   Total: 11
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Octavian denies immortality after vision
Character 1: Octavian   Character 2: Sibyl
Tubach #: 3518*   Source in FM: Innocent III
Source in notes: *Legenda aurea*
Indicator: refert
Comments: also in *Mirk's Festial*, p. 25

Number: 49   Page: 238   Lines: 95-97   Total: 2
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: fountain of oil at Christ's birth
Character 1: fountain   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 2163*   Source in FM: *Chronica fratris Martini*
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau p.408
Indicator: habetur
Comments: also in *Mirk's Festial*, p. 26

Number: 50   Page: 238   Lines: 97-100   Total: 3
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: bronze statue fell at Christ's birth
Character 1: statue   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Chronica* (ibid)
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 51   Page: 238   Lines: 100-103   Total: 3
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: idols fell when Christ entered Egypt
Character 1: -   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Chronica*
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 52   Page: 238   Lines: 103-108   Total: 5
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Christ child found water in desert
Character 1: Christ   Character 2: Mary, Joseph
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Chronica*
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 53   Page: 240   Lines: 108-112   Total: 4
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: dragons obeyed Christ child
Character 1: dragons   Character 2: Christ
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Chronica*
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau
Indicator: narratur

Number: 54   Page: 240   Lines: 112-113   Total: 1
Chapter: 3.15   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: lion served Holy Family
Character 1: lion   Character 2: holy family
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Chronica*
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau
Indicator: -

Number: 55   Page: 248   Lines: 138-149   Total: 11
Chapter: 3.16   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Caesar receives 3 warnings of death
Character 1: Caesar, Julius   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 832*   Source in FM: *Chronica*
Source in notes: Martin of Troppau
Indicator: legitur

Number: 56   Page: 250   Lines: 205-214   Total: 9
Chapter: 3.16   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Emperor's son born with one hand closed, the other open
Character 1: emperor, Valerius   Character 2: son
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde...narratur

Number: 57   Page: 258   Lines: 69-71   Total: 2
Chapter: 3.17   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Julius Caesar's motto: Veni, vidi, vici
Character 1: Caesar, Julius   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 831*   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum* 1.37
Indicator: unde...narratur

Number: 58   Page: 264   Lines: 8-22   Total: 14
Chapter: 3.19   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Achilles disguised as maid
Character 1: Achilles   Character 2: Ulysses
Tubach #: 43   Source in FM: Ovid
Source in notes: *Ars amatoria* 1.689f
Indicator: narrat

84

Number: 59   Page: 268   Lines: 38-42   Total: 4
Chapter: 3.20   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Hannibal feigns flight
Character 1: Hannibal   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Sextus Iulius
Source in notes: Frontinus, *Strategemata* 3.10
Indicator: unde...narrat

Number: 60   Page: 268   Lines: 48-50   Total: 2
Chapter: 3.20   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: warrior who pretended to flee
Character 1: warrior   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Frontinus
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narrat
Comments: brief reference to noble warrior

Number: 61   Page: 268   Lines: 62-65   Total: 3
Chapter: 3.20   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: twins, one mortal, other immortal
Character 1: twins   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Ovid
Source in notes: *Mythographus Vaticanus III* 3.7
Indicator: exemplum ... narrat

Number: 62   Page: 278   Lines: 27-31   Total: 4
Chapter: 3.21   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Zenophilus marched on foot with soldiers
Character 1: Zenophilus   Character 2: troops
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Sextus Iulius
Source in notes: Frontinus, *Strategemata* 4.6.2
Indicator: narrat

Number: 63   Page: 288   Lines: 238-239   Total: 1
Chapter: 3.21   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: letters on heart of knight
Character 1: knight   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 2497   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota
Comments: brief reference to #39

Number: 64   Page: 294   Lines: 98-105   Total: 7
Chapter: 3.22   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Phyllis and Demophon
Character 1: Phyllis   Character 2: Demophon
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: expositor Virg.
Source in notes: Servius
Indicator: narrat

Number: 65   Page: 294   Lines: 117-125   Total: 8
Chapter: 3.22   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Attalanta and Hypomenes
Character 1: Hypomenes   Character 2: Attalanta
Tubach #: 405*   Source in FM: *Metamorphoses*
Source in notes: 10.560-580
Indicator: narrat

Number: 66   Page: 296   Lines: 145-148   Total: 3
Chapter: 3.22   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: Prometheus and Minerva create men from mud
Character 1: Prometheus   Character 2: Minerva
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Hesiod, Horace
Source in notes: Servius
Indicator: fingunt

Number: 67   Page: 296   Lines: 157-158   Total: 1
Chapter: 3.22   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: lawyer condemned in dream
Character 1: lawyer   Character 2: lawyer, Trinity
Tubach #: 2862   Source in FM: Diascorides
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota
Comments: brief reference to #24

Number: 68   Page: 298   Lines: 14-20   Total: 6
Chapter: 3.23   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: traveller called for ferry
Character 1: traveller   Character 2: sailors
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur   Other language: English

Number: 69   Page: 304   Lines: 125-13J   Total: 10
Chapter: 3.23   Vice or Virtue: charity
Summary: two sons choose inheritances
Character 1: older son   Character 2: younger son
Tubach #: 2749*   Source in FM: Seneca
Source in notes: *Declamationes* VI.3
Indicator: narrat

Number: 70   Page: 314   Lines: 22-34   Total: 12
Chapter: 4.2   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: Saint Furseus carried by angels to hell
Character 1: saint   Character 2: angel
Tubach #: 2229   Source in FM: Bede
Source in notes:
Indicator: narrat
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne*, 11. 2473-2578

Number: 71   Page: 316   Lines: 49-65   Total: 16
Chapter: 4.2   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: Roman oracle: SSS PPP RRR FFF
Character 1: senator   Character 2: god
Tubach #: 1150   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: dictum erat   Other language: English
Comments: image carries throughout chapter

Number: 72   Page: 318   Lines: 79-86   Total: 7
Chapter: 4.2   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: judge accepts two bribes
Character 1: judge   Character 2: 2 men
Tubach #: 2851   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: probatur..narracionem
Other language:

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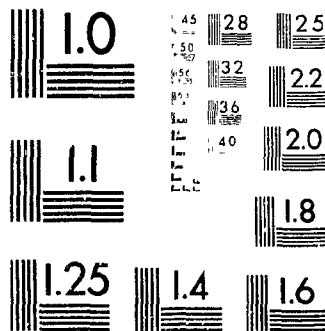
Number: 73   Page: 318   Lines: 104-109   Total: 5
Chapter: 4.2   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: vicar buried ass with bishop's approval
Character 1: vicar   Character 2: bishop
Tubach #: 376   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: legitur
Comments: longer version in *Medieval Comic Tales*, 12-14

Number: 74   Page: 320   Lines: 118-134   Total: 16
Chapter: 4.2   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: false judge called Malemorte
Character 1: judge   Character 2: friends
Tubach #: 3002   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur   Other language: English

Number: 75   Page: 320   Lines: 135-143   Total: 8
Chapter: 4.2   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: false judge Gayus punished
Character 1: judge   Character 2: demons
Tubach #: 2852*   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota narracionem   Other language: English
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 5443-5480

Number: 76   Page: 322   Lines: 4-21   Total: 17
Chapter: 4.3   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: miser and saintly wife
Character 1: miser   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: 3879   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 77   Page: 324   Lines: 35-39   Total: 4
Chapter: 4.3   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: hermit and fear of God
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: brother
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Vitas Patrum
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 78   Page: 324   Lines: 43-50   Total: 7
Chapter: 4.3   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: Egyptians deify Isis & Seraphis
Character 1: Egyptians   Character 2:
Tubach #: 2765*   Source in FM: Augustine
Source in notes: De.civ. 18.5
Indicator: narrat

Number: 79   Page: 324   Lines: 58-63   Total: 5
Chapter: 4.3   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: emperor worse than enemy
Character 1: Clearchus   Character 2: army
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Iulius Sextus
Source in notes: Frontinus, *Strategemata* 4.1.17
Indicator: narrat
Comments: Tubach #2885 tell same story about Jupiter

Number: 80   Page: 328   Lines: 18-24   Total: 6
Chapter: 4.4   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: world as woman with 3 heads
Character 1: world   Character 2: -
Tubach #:   Source in FM: poets
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde fertur

Number: 81   Page: 328   Lines: 42-69   Total: 27
Chapter: 4.4   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: juggler and magic mantle
Character 1: juggler   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde fertur

Number: 82   Page: 334   Lines: 136-143   Total: 7
Chapter: 4.4   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: Alexander and Didimus
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: Didimus
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Hist. Bragmonorum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 83   Page: 338   Lines: 22-30   Total: 8
Chapter: 4.5   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: thief confused by wealth
Character 1: thief   Character 2: man, wise
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Proverbiis philosophorum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde...narratur
Comments: Also in *De Disciplina Clericalis*, p. 158

Number: 84   Page: 338   Lines: 36-50   Total: 14
Chapter: 4.5   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: oppressive reeve seen in hell
Character 1: reeve   Character 2: son
Tubach #: 451   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 85   Page: 340   Lines: 51-64   Total: 13
Chapter: 4.5   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: boy carries reeve halfway across ford
Character 1: servant   Character 2: reeve
Tubach #: 510   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 86   Page: 340   Lines: 77-102   Total: 25
Chapter: 4.5   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: Dionysius plunders temple
Character 1: Dionysius   Character 2: guards
Tubach #: 4614   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 1.1.ext.3
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: see #32 for different version of same story

Number: 87   Page: 352   Lines: 107-119   Total: 12
Chapter: 4.7   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: userer's coins turned to toads
Character 1: userer   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: 5054b   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 88   Page: 352   Lines: 120-127   Total: 7
Chapter: 4.7   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: userer fed coins by toad
Character 1: userer   Character 2:
Tubach #: 4889   Source in FM: Master Robertus
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narracio

Number: 89   Page: 362   Lines: 186-206   Total: 20
Chapter: 4.8   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: Innocent IV condemned for simony
Character 1: Innocent IV   Character 2: Church
Tubach #: 4118   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Matthew of Paris
Indicator: narratur
Comments: Tubach story is a slight variation on this one

Number: 90   Page: 368   Lines: 27-71   Total: 44
Chapter: 4.9   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: sacrilegious prince punished
Character 1: prince   Character 2: cleric
Tubach #: 2621   Source in FM: prince's daughter
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde...narratur

Number: 91   Page: 376   Lines: 109-124   Total: 15
Chapter: 4.10   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: saint advises someone to leave world
Character 1: saint   Character 2: sinner
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde fertur   Other language: English

Number: 92   Page: 378   Lines: 163-181   Total: 18
Chapter: 4.10   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: condemned man with three friends
Character 1: man   Character 2: 3 friends
Tubach #: 2407   Source in FM: *Speculum historiae*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde...narratur
Comments: also in *Middle English Sermons*, pp. 43-44, 86-88

Number: 93   Page: 380   Lines: 206-210   Total: 4
Chapter: 4.10   Vice or Virtue: avarice
Summary: man appears after death to friend
Character 1: man   Character 2: friend
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: prov. 30764
Indicator: unde narratur   Other language: English

Number: 94   Page: 388   Lines: 48-51   Total: 3
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: St. Peter hurried after Christ
Character 1: saint   Character 2: Christ
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: revera sic

Number: 95   Page: 388   Lines: 51-53   Total: 2
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: St. Bartholomew took off tunic
Character 1: saint   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: -

Number: 96   Page: 388   Lines: 53-55   Total: 2
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: St. Lawrence allowed his fat to be fried
Character 1: saint   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: -

Number: 97   Page: 388   Lines: 55-56   Total: 2
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: St. Francis took off shoes
Character 1: saint   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: -

Number: 98   Page: 388   Lines: 67-70   Total: 3
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: Anaxagoras and possessions
Character 1: Anaxagoras   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 3292*   Source in FM: *Vitas philosophorum*
Source in notes: Valerius 8.7.x6
Indicator: narratur

Number: 99   Page: 388   Lines: 70-79   Total: 9
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: Diogenes and hardships
Character 1: Diogenes   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 1674*   Source in FM: Satyrus
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 5.17
Indicator: narratur
Comments: Tubach reference is to only half of story

Number: 100   Page: 388   Lines: 79-84   Total: 5
Chapter: 4.12   Vice or Virtue: voluntary poverty
Summary: Diogenes did not want burial
Character 1: Diogenes   Character 2: friends
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Cicero
Source in notes: *Tusculan disputations* 1.43.140
Indicator: narrat

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Number:  101     Page:  390     Lines:  84-89      Total:    5
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  Diogenes lived in a tun
Character 1:  Diogenes          Character 2:  -
Tubach #:  -            Source in FM:  Saturys
Source in notes:  Policraticus 5.17
Indicator:  -


Number:  102     Page:  390     Lines:  89-92      Total:    3
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  Diogenes, Alexander, & sun
Character 1  Diogenes          Character 2:  Alexander
Tubach #:  1673*        Source in FM:  Valerius
Source in notes:  4.3.ext.4
Indicator:  unde narrat


Number:  103     Page:  390     Lines:  105-108    Total:    3
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  Crates threw away gold for philosophy
Character 1:  Crates of Thebe    Character 2:  -
Tubach #:  2343*        Source in FM:  Jerome
Source in notes:  Ep. 58.2
Indicator:  fertur
Comments:  same as #156, author credits different author


Number:  104     Page:  390     Lines:  108-110    Total:    2
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  philosopher threw wealth into sea
Character 1:  philosopher        Character 2:  -
Tubach #:  3366*        Source in FM:  Jerome
Source in notes:  Ep. 118.5
Indicator:  recitat
Comments:  Tubach story told about Socrates


Number:  105     Page:  390     Lines:  112-118    Total:    6
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  true possessions are wisdom and poverty
Character 1:  Stilbo          Character 2:  -
Tubach #:  3745a     Source in FM:  Seneca
Source in notes:  Epistolae morales 9.18
Indicator:  unde...narrat


Number:  106     Page:  390     Lines:  119-132    Total:   13
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  Alexander taught by Brahmins
Character 1:  Alexander          Character 2:  Brahmins
Tubach #:  -            Source in FM:  Policraticus
Source in notes:  4.9
Indicator:  narrat


Number:  107     Page:  392     Lines:  133-134    Total:    2
Chapter:  4.12     Vice or Virtue:  voluntary poverty
Summary:  Fabricius and richness
Character 1:  Fabricius          Character 2:  -
Tubach #:  -            Source in FM:  Valerius
Source in notes:  4.3.6
Indicator:  narrat
```

Number: 108   Page: 398   Lines: 14-22   Total: 8
Chapter: 5.1   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: lazy servant
Character 1: servant   Character 2: master
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *De sciencia clericali*
Source in notes: p. 38
Indicator: unde...refert
Comments: Tubach #4288 tells of a different lazy servant

Number: 109   Page: 402   Lines: 74-85   Total: 11
Chapter: 5.1   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: laziest of three sons
Character 1: father   Character 2: 3 sons
Tubach #: 2896   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur
Comments: story is a mixture of Tubach #2896 and 3305

Number: 110   Page: 412   Lines: 147-154   Total: 7
Chapter: 5.2   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: captive's chains fall off
Character 1: man   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: 926   Source in FM: Gregory, *Dialogi*
Source in notes: 4.59
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne* ll. 10519-10702

Number: 111   Page: 412   Lines: 155-179   Total: 24
Chapter: 5.2   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: intercession for dead friend
Character 1: monk   Character 2: friend
Tubach #: 3388   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 112   Page: 412   Lines: 184-203   Total: 19
Chapter: 5.2   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: dead man came back to live life of penance
Character 1: man   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Bede
Source in notes: *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.12
Indicator: narrat

Number: 113   Page: 418   Lines: 39-55   Total: 16
Chapter: 5.3   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: voice from heaven condemns slothful priest
Character 1: anchoress   Character 2: priest
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: anchoress
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde...narravit   Other language: English

Number: 114   Page: 420   Lines: 14-32   Total: 18
Chapter: 5.4   Vice or Virtue: sloth
Summary: knights swore to share winnings
Character 1: knight   Character 2: knight
Tubach #: 2695   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 115   Page: 426   Lines: 72-91   Total: 19
Chapter: 5.5   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: model of monastery in heart saves man
Character 1: rich man   Character 2: angels devils
Tubach #: 3342   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 116   Page: 430   Lines: 37-40   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.6   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: peony around neck keeps children from falling
Character 1: child   Character 2:
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Diascorides
Source in notes: Galen
Indicator: unde refert

Number: 117   Page: 434   Lines: 34-37   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.7   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: thoughts like criminals'
Character 1: hermit   Character 2:
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: 5.2
Indicator: dixit

Number: 118   Page: 434   Lines: 40-43   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.7   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: abbot fears three moments
Character 1: abbot   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 2010*   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum* (ibidem)
Source in notes: appendix 97
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 119   Page: 440   Lines: 153-169   Total: 16
Chapter: 5.7   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: woman confesses and is saved
Character 1: woman   Character 2: friar
Tubach #: 2731   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 120   Page: 460   Lines: 59-65   Total: 6
Chapter: 5.10   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: written sins deleted by tears
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 4421*   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: also in *Middle English Sermons*, p. 206

Number: 121   Page: 462   Lines: 80-85   Total: 5
Chapter: 5.10   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Christ and the Good Thief
Character 1: thief   Character 2: Christ
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Aelred of Rievaulx
Indicator: patet

Number: 122   Page: 462   Lines: 97-105   Total: 8
Chapter: 5.10   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: hermit gathering herbs
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: man
Tubach #: 3026   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Etienne de Bourbon
Indicator: narratur

Number: 123   Page: 472   Lines: 78-99   Total: 21
Chapter: 5.12   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: will of fool tricked lord into repenting
Character 1: fool   Character 2: master
Tubach #: 2124*   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: for a complete discussion, see Wenzel, "The Wisdom of the
Fool"

Number: 124   Page: 476   Lines: 146-152   Total: 6
Chapter: 5.12   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: pregnant woman and badly made shirt
Character 1: woman   Character 2: friar
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: -   Other language: English
Comments: repeated in #203, wording slightly different

Number: 125   Page: 476   Lines: 172-177   Total: 5
Chapter: 5.12   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: prisoner and three true words
Character 1: man   Character 2: judge
Tubach #: 2233   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: also in *Middle English Sermons*, p. 157

Number: 126   Page: 480   Lines: 221-227   Total: 6
Chapter: 5.12   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: confession removed by tears
Character 1: cleric   Character 2: saint, Bernard
Tubach #: 1202a   Source in FM: *Vita b. Bernardi*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 127   Page: 484   Lines: 50-54   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.13   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: dog heard two dinner horns, answered neither
Character 1: dog   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 1706   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 128   Page: 486   Lines: 98-104   Total: 6
Chapter: 5.13   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Arsenius sees someone increasing his load
Character 1: man   Character 2: angel
Tubach #: 2135*   Source in FM: Vitas Patrum
Source in notes: 3.38
Indicator: exemplum
Comments: story in FM is only part of Tubach story

Number: 129   Page: 488   Lines: 139-161   Total: 22
Chapter: 5.13   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: knight delayed confession
Character 1: knight   Character 2: demons
Tubach #: 1501b-c   Source in FM: Bede
Source in notes: *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.13
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne* ll. 4365-4510

Number: 130   Page: 488   Lines: 162-176   Total: 14
Chapter: 5.13   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: virgin and unconfessed sin
Character 1: virgin   Character 2: priest
Tubach #: 1442   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur   Other language:English

Number: 131   Page: 490   Lines: 177-179   Total: 2
Chapter: 5.13   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Christ threw blood in sinner's face
Character 1: man   Character 2: Christ
Tubach #: 2960   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota narracione

Number: 132   Page: 494   Lines: 34-72   Total: 38
Chapter: 5.14   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: adulterous knight repentant
Character 1: knight   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: 1787   Source in FM: knight/friars
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 133   Page: 496   Lines: 73-82   Total: 9
Chapter: 5.14   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: hand bloodied from Christ's side
Character 1: woman   Character 2: Christ
Tubach #: 2416   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur
Comments: also in Brinton, pp. 162, 253, 296, 393, 401, *Middle English*
Sermons, p. 216, *Mirk's Festial*, p. 90, 95-6.

Number: 134   Page: 498   Lines: 30-33   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Roman sons punished for disobedience
Character 1: man   Character 2: son
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Augustine
Source in notes: *De civitate Dei* 5.18.2
Indicator: unde narrat

Number: 135   Page: 498   Lines: 36-40   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Crassus punishes subject
Character 1: priest, Crassus   Character 2: man
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Agellius
Source in notes: *Noctus Atticae*
Indicator: unde narrat

Number: 136   Page: 498   Lines: 47-52   Total: 5
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Codrus died for his people
Character 1: king, Codrus   Character 2:
Tubach #: 1136   Source in FM: Augustine
Source in notes: *De civitate Dei* 18.19
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: also in Brinton, pp. 338, 362, 479

Number: 137   Page: 500   Lines: 54-58   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: emperor refused son's succession
Character 1: emperor   Character 2:
Tubach #: 421   Source in FM: Helymandus
Source in notes: Vincent of Beauvais
Indicator: unde ... narrat

Number: 138   Page: 500   Lines: 60-65   Total: 5
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: consuls vie to be sent to Spain
Character 1: consuls   Character 2: Scipio
Tubach #: 841   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.4.2
Indicator: narrat

Number: 139   Page: 500   Lines: 67-70   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Alexander has small army but conquers world
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Vegetius
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 6.14
Indicator: aid

Number: 140   Page: 500   Lines: 73-74   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Aurelius' son in infantry
Character 1: Aurelius   Character 2: son
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Valerius 2.7.4
Indicator: -

Number: 141   Page: 500   Lines: 74-78   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Octavian's children's training
Character 1: Octavian   Character 2: children
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 6.4
Indicator: -
Comments: Tubach #5383 - King trains sons in all things

Number: 142   Page: 500   Lines: 81-84   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Cambyses punished false judge
Character 1: Cambyses   Character 2: judge/son
Tubach #: 2859   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 6.3.ext.3
Indicator: narrat

Number: 143   Page: 500   Lines: 89-94   Total: 5
Chapter: 5.15   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Curius turned down gold from Samnites
Character 1: consul - Curius   Character 2: Samnites
Tubach #: 500*   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.4.2
Indicator: narrat

Number: 144   Page: 515   Lines: 126-134   Total: 8
Chapter: 5.17   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Pope Benedict with head of ass, body of bear
Character 1: pope   Character 2: man
Tubach #: 575   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Damiani, *De abdicatione episcopatus* 3
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 145   Page: 520   Lines: 22-46   Total: 24
Chapter: 5.20   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Prayer as beautiful man
Character 1: Prayer   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 3896   Source in FM: Juvenal
Source in notes: -
Indicator: fertur   Other language: English

Number: 146   Page: 524   Lines: 89-91   Total: 2
Chapter: 5.20   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Saint Francis wept over past life
Character 1: saint   Character 2:
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: Bonaventure 3.6
Indicator: exemplum

Number: 147   Page: 538   Lines: 110-111   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.23   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: blind man carries lame
Character 1: man, blind   Character 2: man, lame
Tubach #: 690   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: nota narracionem

Number: 148   Page: 542   Lines: 18-26   Total: 8
Chapter: 5.24   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: wife too cheap to make proper winding-sheet
Character 1: wife   Character 2: husband
Tubach #: 4356   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 149   Page: 542   Lines: 27-41   Total: 14
Chapter: 5.24   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: three executors
Character 1: man, rich   Character 2: 3 executors
Tubach #: 1933var   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne* ll. 6305-6362

Number: 150   Page: 550   Lines: 117-131   Total: 14
Chapter: 5.25   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: sarcophagus with four inscription
Character 1: man, rich   Character 2:
Tubach #: 4175   Source in FM: *Gesta Romanorum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: fertur   Other language: English

Number: 151   Page: 554   Lines: 6-19   Total: 13
Chapter: 5.26   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Bishop Odo and hundredfold reward
Character 1: bishop   Character 2: man, rich
Tubach #: 176   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 152   Page: 578   Lines: 54-55   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.30   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: pilgrim saved from sorcerer by St. Peter
Character 1: pilgrim   Character 2: Saint Peter
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: ubi nota
Comments: brief reference, full story not given

Number: 153   Page: 580   Lines: 107-147   Total: 40
Chapter: 5.30   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: witch of Berkely
Character 1: witch   Character 2: many
Tubach #: 2461   Source in FM: Malmesbury
Source in notes: 1:253
Indicator: narrat
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 7987-8078

Number: 154   Page: 582   Lines: 148-149   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.30   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: excommunicated body ejected from church
Character 1: excommunicant   Character 2: -
Tubach #:   Source in FM: *Dialogi*
Source in notes: 2.23.4-5
Indicator: patet

Number: 155   Page: 592   Lines: 72-76   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.31   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: wise poor man / rich fool as husband
Character 1: philosopher   Character 2: father
Tubach #: 1444*   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 7.2.ext.9
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: identified by Tubach as Valerius 7.3.ext.5

Number: 156   Page: 592   Lines: 80-82   Total: 2
Chapter: 5.31   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Crates threw away gold for philosophy
Character 1: Crates of Thebes   Character 2:
Tubach #: 2343*   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: Jerome, *Ep.* 58.2
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: same story as #103, author lists different source

Number: 157   Page: 594   Lines: 10-15   Total: ··
Chapter: 5.32   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: devil reads lips
Character 1: saint   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 4844   Source in FM: Vitas Patrum
Source in notes: cf Augustine
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 158   Page: 598   Lines: 16-20   Total·   4
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Marcellinus wept over Syracuse
Character 1: Marcus Marcell.   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.1.4
Indicator: loquitur

Number: 159   Page: 598   Lines: 20-21   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Caesar cries over Pompey's head
Character 1: Caesar   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.1.10
Indicator: dicitur
Comments: possibly Tubach #3837 - *Pompey and Caesar*

Number: 160   Page: 598   Lines: 21-22   Total: ·
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Alexander sorry for Darius
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Orosius
Source in notes: *Historiae* 3.17
Indicator: dicit

Number: 161   Page: 598   Lines: 24-29   Total: ··
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Pompey honours defeated king
Character 1: Pompey   Character 2: king
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.1.9
Indicator: ait

Number: 162   Page: 598   Lines: 29-33   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: consul pities captive
Character 1: consul, Paulus   Character 2: captive
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius-ibidem
Source in notes: 5.1.8
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 163   Page: 600   Lines: 45-49   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Carthage and ransom money
Character 1: legates   Character 2: senate
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.1.1
Indicator: narrat

Number: 164   Page: 600   Lines: 51-54   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Trajan wants to be liked
Character 1: emperor Trajan   Character 2: friends
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Gesta Romanorum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde...legitur

Number: 165   Page: 600   Lines: 54-58   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Alexander pities old soldier
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: soldier
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 5.1.ext.1
Indicator: dicit

Number: 166   Page: 600   Lines: 81-83   Total: 2
Chapter: 5.34   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Titus did only one thing wrong
Character 1: emperor Titus   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 3.14
Indicator: unde...legitur

Number: 167   Page: 604   Lines: 41-47   Total: 6
Chapter: 5.35   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: hermit, angel, and dead body
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: angel
Tubach #: 2559   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: 6.18
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: same story as #213, #216

Number: 168   Page: 606   Lines: 72-96   Total: 24
Chapter: 5.35   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: monk tempted by devil relapses
Character 1: monk   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 3323*   Source in FM: Vitas Patrum
Source in notes: 5.24
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 169   Page: 606   Lines: 97-108   Total: 11
Chapter: 5.35   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Saint Andrew questioned by devil
Character 1: bishop   Character 2: demon
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Vita b. Andree*
Source in notes: *Legenda aurea*
Indicator: nota narracionem

Number: 170   Page: 608   Lines: 109-112   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.35   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: devil with vials for sins
Character 1: devil   Character 2: hermit
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: 3.61
Indicator: nota narracione

Number: 171   Page: 612   Lines: 13-47   Total: 34
Chapter: 5.36   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Roma = Amor
Character 1: gods   Character 2: Romans
Tubach #: 4123   Source in FM: *Gesta Romanorum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: fertur

Number: 172   Page: 614   Lines: 61-69   Total: 8
Chapter: 5.36   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: hydra of Lerna
Character 1: man, shepherd   Character 2: Mercury
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: poets
Source in notes: -
Indicator: fertur
Comments: same story as #36, slightly different wording

Number: 173   Page: 618   Lines: 40-43   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: King Philip sobered by woman
Character 1: king   Character 2: woman
Tubach #: 3737*   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 6.2.ext.1
Indicator: unde...narrat

Number: 174   Page: 620   Lines: 43-49   Total: 6
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Dionysius prayed for even though tyrant
Character 1: Dionysius   Character 2: woman
Tubach #: 1678*   Source in FM: Valerius (idem)
Source in notes: 6.2.ext.2
Indicator: narrat

Number: 175   Page: 620   Lines: 59-61   Total: 2
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Augustus called tyrant
Character 1: Augustus   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 5011*   Source in FM: *De nugis philosophorum*
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 3.14
Indicator: exemplum

Number: 176   Page: 620   Lines: 61-64   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Aristoppus is master of his ears
Character 1: Aristoppus   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *De nugis phil.* (ibid)
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 3.14
Indicator: narratur

Number: 177   Page: 620   Lines: 64-65   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Anthicanes replies to curse
Character 1: Anthicanes   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *De nugis philosophorum*
Source in notes: *Policraticus*
Indicator: legitur

Number: 178   Page: 620   Lines: 66-69   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Socrates does not chastise wife
Character 1: Socrates   Character 2: wife
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *De nugis philosophorum*
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 5.10
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 179   Page: 620   Lines: 72-75   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Theodore of Cyrene crucified
Character 1: Theodore   Character 2: Lysimachus
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 6.2.ext.3
Indicator: recitat

Number: 180   Page: 620   Lines: 75-80   Total: 5
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Leonidas of Sparta encourages troops
Character 1: Leonidas   Character 2: troops
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius (ibid)
Source in notes: 3.2.ext.3
Indicator: narrat

Number: 181   Page: 622   Lines: 81-82   Total: 1
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Julius Caesar forgets only injuries
Character 1: Caesar   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Cicero
Source in notes: *Pro Ligario* +
Indicator: unde...ait

Number: 182   Page: 622   Lines: 83-86   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Socrates hit in face
Character 1: Socrates   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Seneca
Source in notes: *De ira* 3.11.2
Indicator: unde...narrat

Number: 183   Page: 622   Lines: 86-89   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Diogenes was spat upon
Character 1: Diogenes   Character 2: Lentulus
Tubach #: 3749*   Source in FM: Seneca
Source in notes: De ira 3.38.2
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 184   Page: 622   Lines: 90-94   Total: 4
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: Archytas forgives negligence
Character 1: Archtas   Character 2: steward
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 4.1.ext.1
Indicator: unde...ait

Number: 185   Page: 622   Lines: 101-104   Total: 3
Chapter: 5.37   Vice or Virtue: holy activity
Summary: two vats of wine in temple of Jupiter
Character 1: vats of wine   Character 2: worshippers
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Boethius
Source in notes: *De consolatione Philosophiae* 2.2.13
Indicator: unde secundum

Number: 186   Page: 632   Lines: 92-101   Total: 9
Chapter: 6.2   Vice or Virtue: gluttony
Summary: devil gives choice of temptations
Character 1: man   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 1816   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 187   Page: 636   Lines: 39-50   Total: 11
Chapter: 6.3   Vice or Virtue: gluttony
Summary: blind man warned about improper food
Character 1: man, blind   Character 2: guide
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 188   Page: 636   Lines: 64-74   Total: 10
Chapter: 6.3   Vice or Virtue: gluttony
Summary: toad on dead glutton's throat
Character 1: glutton   Character 2: son
Tubach #: 4880   Source in FM: *De naturis rerum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narrat

Number: 189   Page: 642   Lines: 33-39   Total: 6
Chapter: 6.4   Vice or Virtue: abstinence
Summary: monk asks for too much penance
Character 1: monk   Character 2: abbot
Tubach #: 3690*   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: 5.10.40
Indicator: unde legitur

Number: 190   Page: 650   Lines: 27-30   Total: 3
Chapter: 7.2   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: handsome youth disfigured own face
Character 1: man   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Ambrose
Source in notes: Valerius 7.18
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: same as #226, author credits different source

Number: 191   Page: 650   Lines: 31-36   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.2   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Aristotle and the beautiful whore
Character 1: Aristotle   Character 2: whore
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Boethius
Source in notes: *De consolatione Philosophiae* 3.8
Indicator: narrat

103

Number: 192   Page: 650   Lines: 45-51   Total: 6
Chapter: 7.2   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: hermit glad to lose eye
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: friend
Tubach #: 1939*   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 193   Page: 652   Lines: 72-75   Total: 3
Chapter: 7.2   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Alexander returns captive
Character 1: Alexander   Character 2: woman
Tubach #: 138   Source in FM: Vegetius
Source in notes: book 6
Indicator: unde...narrat

Number: 194   Page: 652   Lines: 80-83   Total: 3
Chapter: 7.2   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: monk and nuns on road
Character 1: monk   Character 2: abbess
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Vitas Patrum* 5.62
Indicator: narratur

Number: 195   Page: 656   Lines: 6-11   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.4   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: priest and former mistress
Character 1: priest   Character 2: woman
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Dialogi*
Source in notes: 4.12.3
Indicator: dicitur

Number: 196   Page: 658   Lines: 55-59   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.4   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: men should flee Helen of Troy
Character 1: woman Helen   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Albertus Magnus
Source in notes: *Ethica* 2.2.11
Indicator: unde...recitat

Number: 197   Page: 658   Lines: 60-68   Total: 8
Chapter: 7.4   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Gorgon killed by youth
Character 1: Gorgon   Character 2: man
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Albertus
Source in notes: Ethica 1.7.2
Indicator: inquit
Comments: cf. Tubach #2349 -- Gorgons slain by Rex Persanum

Number: 198   Page: 660   Lines: 76-77   Total: 1
Chapter: 7.4   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: men's bodies killed by pleasure
Character 1: Caesar, Julius   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Policraticus
Source in notes: --
Indicator: ait

Number: 199   Page: 660   Lines: 8-21   Total: 13
Chapter: 7.5   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: vision of punishment for small sins
Character 1: man, learned   Character 2: couple
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 200   Page: 664   Lines: 70-90   Total: 20
Chapter: 7.6   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: weeping bitch
Character 1: woman   Character 2: girl
Tubach #: 661   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur
Comments: for longer version, see "Dame Sirith"

Number: 201   Page: 668   Lines: 45-50   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.7   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Hero and Leander
Character 1: Hero   Character 2: Leander
Tubach #: 2580*   Source in FM: Ovid
Source in notes: *Heroides* 18
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 202   Page: 670   Lines: 85-88   Total: 3
Chapter: 7.7   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: pregnant woman and shirt
Character 1: woman   Character 2: wise man
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: -   Other language:English
Comments: same as #124, slight variation in wording

Number: 203   Page: 672   Lines: 100-103   Total: 3
Chapter: 7.7   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Saint Lucia forced to brothel
Character 1: saint, female   Character 2: men
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Legenda aurea*
Indicator: exemplum

Number: 204   Page: 676   Lines: 7-11   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.8   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Hannibal overcome by lechery
Character 1: Hannibal   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Orosius, Valerius
Source in notes: *Historia*, 4.16, 10.ext.1
Indicator: refert, recitat
Comments: combination of 2 sources

Number: 205   Page: 678   Lines: 16-25   Total: 9
Chapter: 7.9   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: adulterous stork
Character 1: stork   Character 2: knight
Tubach #: 4650   Source in FM: Alexander
Source in notes: Alexander Neckam *De naturis rerum*
Indicator: refert

Number: 206   Page: 678   Lines: 44-72   Total: 28
Chapter: 7.9   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: dragon in tomb of adulteress
Character 1: bishop   Character 2: dragon
Tubach #: 4252   Source in FM: *Vita b. Germani*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: legitur
Comments: also in *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 1741-1862

Number: 207   Page: 684   Lines: 45-50   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.10   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: many devils on monastery gate
Character 1: monk   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: unde narratur

Number: 208   Page: 684   Lines: 51-55   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.10   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: devils holding chapter
Character 1: devil   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: patet

Number: 209   Page: 686   Lines: 4-11   Total: 7
Chapter: 7.11   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: Cassandra raped by Ajax
Character 1: Ajax   Character 2: Minerva
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Servius
Source in notes: on *Aeneidos* 2.414
Indicator: narrat

Number: 210   Page: 688   Lines: 16-27   Total: 9
Chapter: 7.12   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: vestal virgin wants marriage
Character 1: virgin   Character 2: -
Tubach #: 3178*   Source in FM: Seneca
Source in notes: *Declamationes* 6.8
Indicator: narrat   Other language: English

Number: 211   Page: 690   Lines: 2-6   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.13   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: lecherous cleric conjures devil
Character 1: cleric   Character 2: devil
Tubach #: 956   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: probatur narracionem

Number: 212   Page: 692   Lines: 7-11   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.13   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: hermit, angel, and dead body
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: angel
Tubach #: 2559   Source in FM: *Vitas Patrum*
Source in notes: see #167
Indicator: patet narracionem
Comments: same story as #167, 216

Number: 213   Page: 694   Lines: 20-30   Total: 10
Chapter: 7.14   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: adultery on feastday punished
Character 1: man   Character 2: woman
Tubach #: 155   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narratur

Number: 214   Page: 696   Lines: 26-39   Total: 13
Chapter: 7.16   Vice or Virtue: lechery
Summary: goblin leads people astray
Character 1: men   Character 2: goblin
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: -
Indicator: audivi

Number: 215   Page: 702   Lines: 40-41   Total: 1
Chapter: 7.17   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: hermit, angel, and dead body
Character 1: hermit   Character 2: angel
Tubach #: 2559   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: see #167
Indicator: -
Comments: repeat of #167 and 213, author refers to #213

Number: 216   Page: 706   Lines: 89-93   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.17   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Romans honoured virgins
Character 1: Romans   Character 2: virgin
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Jerome
Source in notes: *Adversus Iovinianus* 1.41
Indicator: unde...narrat

Number: 217   Page: 706   Lines: 97-104   Total: 7
Chapter: 7.17   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: three widows chose not to remarry
Character 1: widows   Character 2:
Tubach #: 3180   Source in FM: Jerome
Source in notes: *Adversus Iovinianus* 1.41
Indicator: narrat

Number: 218   Page: 708   Lines: 5-9   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Julius Caesar never said "Go"
Character 1: Caesar   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: -
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 4.3
Indicator: unde...narratur

Number: 219   Page: 708   Lines: 9-16   Total: 7
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Julius Caesar and veteran
Character 1: Caesar   Character 2: soldier
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: *De nugis philosophorum*
Source in notes: *Policraticus* 3.14
Indicator: narratur

Number: 220   Page: 710   Lines: 31-36   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Antigonus patient with grumbling soldiers
Character 1: king, Antigonus   Character 2: soldiers
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Seneca
Source in notes: *De ira* 3.12.3
Indicator: exemplum narrat

Number: 221   Page: 710   Lines: 42-47   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Scipio accused of misappropriation
Character 1: Scipio   Character 2:
Tubach #:   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 3.7.1
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: possibly Tubach #4207

Number: 222   Page: 710   Lines: 47-50   Total: 3
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Fabricio sent back gifts
Character 1: man, Fabricius   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius (idem)
Source in notes: 4.3.5
Indicator: narratur

Number: 223   Page: 710   Lines: 50-54   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Quintus Tubero declines gifts
Character 1: man, Q. Tubero   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius (ibid)
Source in notes: 4.3.7
Indicator: narratur

Number: 224   Page: 710   Lines: 58-62   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Scipio expells whores from fortress
Character 1: man, Scipio   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 2.7.1
Indicator: unde...narrat

Number: 225   Page: 712   Lines: 62-66   Total: 4
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: handsome youth disfigured own face
Character 1: youth, Spurna   Character 2: -
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius (idem)
Source in notes: 4.3.5
Indicator: narrat
Comments: same as #191, author credits different source

Number: 226   Page: 712   Lines: 67-73   Total: 6
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Xenocrates called statue by whore
Character 1: Xenocrates   Character 2: whore
Tubach #: -   Source in FM: Valerius
Source in notes: 4.3.ext.3
Indicator: exemplum narrat

Number: 227   Page: 712   Lines: 74-80   Total: 6
Chapter: 7.18   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: woman does not know husband has bad breath
Character 1: wife   Character 2: husband
Tubach #: 775*   Source in FM: De nugis philosophorum
Source in notes: *Adversus Iovinianus* 1.27
Indicator: legitur
Comments: also found in Plutarch's *Moralia*, II: 90B (7) and III:175C (3)

Number: 228   Page: 714   Lines: 5-11   Total: 6
Chapter: 7.19   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Ulysses and Circe
Character 1: Ulysses   Character 2: woman (Circe)
Tubach #: 5018*   Source in FM: Boethius
Source in notes: 4,m.3
Indicator: narrat

Number: 229   Page: 714   Lines: 41-47   Total: 6
Chapter: 7.19   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: Antaeus and Hercules
Character 1: Antaeus   Character 2: Hercules
Tubach #: 267   Source in FM: Claudian, Ovid
Source in notes: various
Indicator: unde narrat
Comments: also in *Middle English Sermons*, p. 212

Number: 230   Page: 722   Lines: 175-180   Total: 5
Chapter: 7.19   Vice or Virtue: chastity
Summary: king's worst enemy is own flesh
Character 1: king   Character 2: people
Tubach #: 2083*   Source in FM: *Policraticus*
Source in notes: -
Indicator: narrat

Outline of *Fasciculus morum* with *Exempla*

Vices which serve the devil

Pride

1 - Sins in General
      Exemplum: Blessed Virgin offers drink in dirty dish
2 - The Nature of Pride - 4 branches
3 - Pride of Heart
      Exemplum: prophecy about the word COR
      Exemplum: cannot prevent thoughts from entering mind
4 - Pride of Mouth
      Exemplum: angels rejoice when man talks about God, he carried
      stone in mouth to learn about silence
5 - Pride of Deed
      Exemplum: demon on woman's train
6 - Why Pride must be Scorned
7 - The Members of Pride

8 - Humility
9 - Humbling Oneself before God
      Exemplum: son plotted to kill father
      Exemplum: Roman triumph for three victories
10 - Humbling Oneself before the Church
      Exemplum: barn overflows after tithing
      Exemplum: incorrect tithe, barn burnt by devil
      Exemplum: Egyptians quiet in Church
11 - Humbling Oneself before One's Parents
      Exemplum: son, like twigs, can only be bent when young
      Exemplum: son bit off father's nose
12 - The Brittleness of Life
      Exemplum: Alexander and basilisk
13 - Meditating on Death
      Exemplum: Alexander asked Aristotle 4 questions
      Exemplum: the three executors
      Exemplum: boy died at sight of own face
14 - The Day of Judgment
      Exemplum: Dionysius always sad
      Exemplum: king of Greece sad
15 - The Punishment of the Wicked
16 - The Reward of the Humble

Wrath

1 - The Nature of Wrath
2 - The Evil Consequences of Wrath
      Exemplum: image of coin in water
      Exemplum: confession takes away marks of devil
3 - The Members of Wrath
4 - How to Detest Wrath
      Exemplum: Thais saved by remorse and penance
      Exemplum: knight forgives father's death
      Exemplum: sinner forgot to confess and was damned
      Exemplum: lawyer condemned in dream
      Exemplum: Cassibelanus fights Androgeus in Kent
      Exemplum: knight appeals for mercy

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5 - The Nature of Patience
6 - The Need for Patience
        Exemplum:  philosopher cursed by wife
        Exemplum:  hermit gives thief donkey also
        Exemplum:  candle promised in danger later denied
        Exemplum:  hermit misses frequent illness
7 - The Members of Patience
        Exemplum:  argumentative neighbours fight in hell
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Envy

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1 - What Envy is
        Exemplum:  Dionysius plunders temple
2 - What Things Envy can be Compared to
3 - Grumbling and Backbiting
        Exemplum:  backbiter with tongue of fire
4 - Lying
        Exemplum:  Christ child injured by oaths
5 - Flattery

6 - Charity
        Exemplum:  Pan conquered by love
        Exemplum:  Hydra of Lerna
7 - The Love of God
        Exemplum:  letters on heart of Saint Ignatious
        Exemplum:  Saint Godric overcomes devil
        Exemplum:  letters on heart of knight
8 - Love of our Neighbor
        Exemplum:  three companions given partially spoiled apples
9 - Obstacles to Charity
10 - On Christ's Passion
        Exemplum:  Aeneas fights for lady
        Exemplum:  Acontius sends marriage vow in apple
11 - The Day, Place, and Manner of Christ's Passion
12 - The Hour, Age, and Season of Christ's Passion
13 - Of What Christ was Accused and how often Taunted
        Exemplum:  seige and destruction of Jerusalem
14 - The Form and Power of the Cross
        Exemplum:  Jew protected by cross
        Exemplum:  dying friar protected by cross
        Exemplum:  the power of the cross
15 - Christ's Entrance into this World
        Exemplum:  three suns foretell Christ's birth
        Exemplum:  Octavian denies immortality after vision
        Exemplum:  fountain of oil at Christ's birth
        Exemplum:  bronze statue fell at Christ's birth
        Exemplum:  idols fell when Christ entered Egypt
        Exemplum:  Christ child found water in desert
        Exemplum:  dragons obeyed Christ child
        Exemplum:  lion served Holy Family
16 - Christ's Threefold Coming
        Exemplum:  Caesar receives 3 warnings of death
        Exemplum:  Emperor's son born with one hand closed, the other open
17 - Three Manners of Christ's Coming
        Exemplum:  Julius Caesar's motto: "Veni, vidi, vici"
18 - Christ's Pilgrimage in this Life
19 - Christ's Exit from this Life
        Exemplum:  Achilles disguised as a maid
20 - Christ's Resurrection
        Exemplum:  Hannibal feigns flight
        Exemplum:  warrior who pretended to flee
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Exemplum: twins, one mortal, other immortal
21 - Christ's Ascension
    Exemplum: Zenophilus marched on foot with soldiers
    Exemplum: letters on heart of knight
22 - The Sending of the Holy Spirit
    Exemplum: Phyllis and Demophon
    Exemplum: Attalanta and Hypomenes
    Exemplum: Prometheus and Minerva create men from mud
    Exemplum: lawyer condemned in dream
23 - The Blessed Trinity
    Exemplum: traveller called for ferry
    Exemplum: two sons choose inheritances

Vices which serve the world

Avarice

1 - The Meaning of Avarice
2 - The Properties of Avarice: Hard Work in Acquisition
    Exemplum: Saint Furseus carried by angels to hell
    Exemplum: Roman oracle: SSS, PPP, RRR, FFF
    Exemplum: judge accepts two bribes
    Exemplum: vicar buried ass with bishop's approval
    Exemplum: false judge called Malemorte
    Exemplum: false judge Gayus punished
3 - The Fear of Possession
    Exemplum: miser and saintly wife
    Exemplum: hermit and fear of God
    Exemplum: Egyptians deify Isis and Seraphis
    Exemplum: emperor worse than enemy
4 - Pain in Loss
    Exemplum: world as woman with 3 heads
    Exemplum: juggler and magic mantle
    Exemplum: Alexander and Didimus
5 - The Members of Avarice: Theft
    Exemplum: thief confused by wealth
    Exemplum: oppressive reeve seen in hell
    Exemplum: boy carries reeve halfway across ford
    Exemplum: Dionysius plunders temple
6 - Treachery, Tricks, and Lies
7 - Usury
    Exemplum: userer's coins turned into toads
    Exemplum: userer fed coins by toad
8 - Simony
    Exemplum: Innocent IV condemned for simony
9 - Sacrilege
    Exemplum: sacrilegious prince punished
10 - Why Avarice Should be Scorned
    Exemplum: saint advises someone to leave world
    Exemplum: condemned man with three friends
    Exemplum: man appears after death to friend

11 - The Contempt of the World
12 - Voluntary Poverty
    Exemplum: St. Peter hurried after Christ
    Exemplum: St. Bartholomew took off tunic
    Exemplum: St. Lawrence allowed his fat to be fried
    Exemplum: St. Francis took off his shoes
    Exemplum: Anaxagoras and possessions
    Exemplum: Diogenes and hardships
    Exemplum: Diogenes did not want burial

Exemplum: Diogenes lived in a tun
Exemplum: Diogenes, Alexander, and sun
Exemplum: Crates threw away gold for philosophy
Exemplum: philosopher threw wealth into sea
Exemplum: true possessions are wisdom and poverty
Exemplum: Alexander taught by Brahmins
Exemplum: Fabricius and richness

Vices which serve the flesh

Sloth

1 - What Sloth is
    Exemplum: lazy servant
    Exemplum: laziest of three sons
2 - The Spiritual Power of the Mass and of Blessed Bread and Holy Water
    Exemplum: captive's chains fall off
    Exemplum: intercession for dead friend
    Exemplum: dead man came back to live life of penance
3 - Sloth Among the Clergy
    Exemplum: voice from heaven condemns slothful priest
4 - Why Sloth must be Scorned
    Exemplum: knights swore to share winnings

5 - Holy Activity
    Exemplum: model of monastery in heart saves man
6 - On Penance in General
    Exemplum: peony around neck keeps children from falling
7 - Contrition
    Exemplum: thoughts like criminals'
    Exemplum: abbot fears three moments
    Exemplum: woman, great sinner, confesses and is saved
8 - What One must be Contrite for
9 - The Evils Which come from Delaying Contrition
10 - The Good Effects of True Contrition
    Exemplum: written sins deleted by tears
    Exemplum: Christ and the Good Thief
    Exemplum: hermit gathering herbs
11 - The Nature of Confession
12 - The Quality of a Good Confession and its Power
    Exemplum: will of fool tricked lord into repenting
    Exemplum: pregnant woman and badly made shirt
    Exemplum: prisoner and three true words
    Exemplum: confession removed by tears
13 - What Evils Come to Those Who Delay Confession
    Exemplum: dog heard two dinner horns, answered neither
    Exemplum: Arsenius sees someone increasing his load
    Exemplum: knight delayed confession
    Exemplum: virgin and unconfessed sin
    Exemplum: Christ threw blood into sinner's face
14 - The Good Effects of Prompt and True Confession
    Exemplum: adulterous knight repentant
    Exemplum: hand bloodied fr(hrist's side
15 - Satisfaction as Justice
    Exemplum: Roman sons punished for disobedience
    Exemplum: Crassus punishes subject
    Exemplum: Codrus died for his people
    Exemplum: Emperor refused son's succession
    Exemplum: counsels vie to be sent to Spain
    Exemplum: Alexander has small army but conquers world
    Exemplum: Aurelius' son in infantry

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16 - Lechery Renders Service to the Devil
    Exemplum: Goblin leads people astray
17 - The Virtue of Chastity
    Exemplum: hermit, angel, and dead body
    Exemplum: Romans honoured virgins
    Exemplum: three widows chose not to remarry
18 - Examples of Continence
    Exemplum: Julius Caesar never said "Go"
    Exemplum: Julius Caesar and veteran
    Exemplum: Antigonus patient with grumbling soldiers
    Exemplum: Scipio accused of misappropriation
    Exemplum: Fabricio sent back gifts
    Exemplum: Quintus Tubero declines gifts
    Exemplum: Scipio expells whores from fortress
    Exemplum: handsome youth disfigured own face
    Exemplum: Xenocrates called statue by whore
    Exemplum: woman does not know husband has bad breath
19 - How to Acquire Continence
    Exemplum: Ulysses and Circe
    Exemplum: Antaeus and Hercules
    Exemplum: king's worst enemy is own flesh
20 - The End Effect of Continence

The Seven Principle Virtues, their Frequency and Locations in *Fasciculus morum*

	Pride	Anger	Envy	Avarice	Sloth	Glutto	Leche	Total
Love	1		68		5			74
Hope	1		3		4			8
Faith	1		8		14			23
Prudence		1	1		3	1		6
Justice			2	3	6			11
Temperance					4			4
Fortitude					4			4
Frequency	3	1	82	3	40	1	0	130
Total Pages	47	16	82	43	114	11	43	356
Freq./page	0.064	0.063	1	0.070	0.351	0.091	0	0.365

Appendix D

Animal Stories in *Fasciculus morum* and *Index Exemplorum*

Page	Tubach #	Description
89	4644	storks cared for by offspring in old age
137, 707	2470[174]	goat's blood dissolves diamond
127	1362	crow bothers eagle until eagle kills it
143	4308[175]	sheep protects mate from sun and cold
163	262	ant does not eat decayed meat
209	3658	pelican kills young, revives with own blood
223	3541	ostrich chick trapped in glass vessel
275	3583	panther delightful to all except dragon
279	1834[176]	how the eagle feeds its young
281, 531	1831	eagle wards off snake by keeping stone in nest
401	1399	cuckoo lays eggs in nests of other birds
455	5392	worms not found in poisoned bodies
463	634	harpy upset when it kills human
483	5094	snake spits out poison to mate with lamprey
609	4865	hunter uses mirror to steal tiger cubs
669	5009	turtledove mates with only one female
719	4041[177]	potash prevents raven from hatching young

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[174] 1 of 5 stories appearing in this entry.

[175] slight variation - only shelter from sun mentioned

[176] possibly -- Tubach story very vague

[177] slight variation

Chapters, Number of Lines, & Exempla

# of lines	Chapter Title	Chap. #	# Ex.
188	Voluntary Poverty	4.12	14
115	How Fortitude battles against the Devil	5.37	13
137	Satisfaction as Justice	5.15	10
80	Examples of Continence	7.18	10
87	How Temperance fights against the Flesh	5.34	9
125	Christ's Entrance into this World	3.15	8
185	How to Detest Wrath	2.4	6
152	The Properties of Avarice: Hard Work in Acquisition	4.2	6
189	What Evils Come to Those Who Delay Confession	5.13	5
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230	The Quality of a Good Confession and its Power	5.12	4
158	The Sending of the Holy Spirit	3.22	4
137	The Members of Avarice: Theft	4.5	4
85	The Fear of Possession	4.3	4
80	Lechery in Touching	7.4	4
38	The Need for Patience	2.6	4
218	How to Acquire Continence	7.19	3
217	The Spiritual Power of the Mass and of Bless-ed Bread etc	5.2	3
216	Why Avarice Should be Scorned	4.10	3
214	People Who go against the Faith	5.30	3
194	Christ's Resurrection	3.20	3
174	The Love of God	3.7	3
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141	Meditating on Death	1.13	3
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