

The master E.S. and the Ars moriendi : a chapter in the history of engraving during the XVth century, with facsimile reproductions of engravings in the University Galleries at Oxford and in the British Museum / by Lionel Cust.

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THE MASTER E. S.
AND
THE 'ARS MORIENDI'

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF
ENGRAVING
DURING THE XVTH CENTURY

*WITH FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS OF
ENGRAVINGS IN THE UNIVERSITY GALLERIES AT OXFORD
AND IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM*

BY

LIONEL CUST, F.S.A.

M.A. TRIN. COLL. CAMB.

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PRINTS AND DRAWINGS FROM OXFORD COLLECTIONS

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THE MASTER E.S.

AND

THE 'ARS MORIENDI'

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



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THE MASTER E. S. AND THE 'ARS MORIENDI'

THE fifteenth century of the Christian era marks an important epoch in the history of human progress in the Western world. One by one the well-guarded trenches and bulwarks of mediaeval convention and exclusion yielded to the pressure of time and to the onset of a completely new set of ideas. Not only were many inventions of the greatest importance brought to pass or to perfection, but several useful practices, especially among the fine arts, were freed from a kind of serfdom to mere utility and developed on lines considerably divergent from those on which they had hitherto been exercised. The art of painting, for instance, found a more open and far more profitable field in the easel-picture and the portrait than it had before when practised as a mere adjunct to the decoration of buildings or the embellishment of books. The sister-art of engraving, in both its branches of relief and intaglio, was gradually elevated from a mere utilitarian service to an important rank among the pictorial arts. The art of engraving was practised by the human race even before it emerged from a semi-feral existence, and from the roughly incised implements of the cave-dwellers the progress of the art can be traced through its infancy to a state of adolescence in Chaldaea and Assyria, Egypt and India, Greece and Etruria, in fact throughout the civilized world until its maturity in the fifteenth century after Christ. It was in truth an important branch of the applied arts, and owed eventually its chief expression to the goldsmiths, metal-workers, and wood-carvers of the Middle Ages. Two things were required before the art of engraving could be liberated from its

chains and take its place as a means of pictorial expression. The substance on which the block or plate could be impressed required to be both cheap and durable, and capable of resisting the indispensable friction and pressure. The earlier forms of paper were too costly or brittle to endure this process, while parchment and vellum were articles of luxury, requiring careful preparation and ill-suited for rapid and repeated printing. A vehicle too was required to carry the pigment or colouring matter necessary for the transfer of the design from the block to the surface which was ready to receive it, a vehicle fluid enough to be easily spread and siccative enough to remain permanent when the impression had been made. The ink of the scribe was ill-suited for the requirements of the press, and the ordinary pigments of the painter were equally so.

Such a paper and such an ink were hardly forthcoming before the commencement of the fifteenth century, and, given their discovery, engraving was ready to make its appearance upon the scene as a new pictorial art, one moreover which was destined after the lapse of very few years to give birth to what has perhaps proved the most important invention ever made for the benefit of the human race, that of printing with movable types.

In the history of engraving the precedence is usually given by historians to wood-engraving, though this is an assumption rather due to an absence of evidence to the contrary, than to any positive proof that the art of copper-plate engraving was a subsequent invention. The earliest dates which appear on wood-engravings are 1418, which is affixed, not without some doubt as to its authenticity, to a coloured woodcut of 'The Madonna and Female Saints' now in the Print Room of the Royal Library at Brussels, and 1423, an undisputed date, which appears on a woodcut of 'St. Christopher,' pasted in a manuscript from the convent of Buxheim in Bavaria, lately in the Althorp Library and now in the Rylands Library at Manchester. The earliest date which appears on a copper-plate engraving is 1446, which is affixed to one of a series of small engravings of 'The Passion,' now in the Royal Print Room at Berlin. Early as these dates may seem, and rude as the execution may be, especially in the case of the woodcuts, they can be only taken as suggestive of something approximate to a fixed date for the invention of engraving. There is nothing in any one of these instances to prove that they were the very earliest production of the two respective branches of the art, or

that some of the other undated engravings which are closely related to them may not be quite as old, if not actually of an earlier date.

The historians of wood-engraving have been content hitherto with the above dates as a starting-point for their narrative. The early history of copper-plate engraving remained however under an unmerited cloud of obscurity. The legend was generally accepted, in spite of evidence existing to the contrary, that the art was accidentally discovered by one Maso Finiguerra, an artist-goldsmith at Florence, about 1452, and up to a very recent date the invention of the art has been credited to Italy. It is possible that Finiguerra may in the course of his work in niello, as Vasari narrates, have discovered the art so far as he and his companions in Italy were concerned. It can however be shown that engraving on copper was practised several years before in Germany and the Netherlands, and in all probability in Italy as well. In the earlier works on engraving, such as Heineken's *Idée Générale d'une Collection Complète d'Estampes* (1771), Bartsch's *Le Peintre Graveur* (1803-1821), and Passavant's supplement to the same (1860-1864), a very large number of copper-plate engravings are catalogued as belonging to the early German or Netherlandish schools. They are all executed in a rough, dry and angular style, such as used at one time to be meant by the epithet 'Gothic.' Few bear a mark or signature by which the artist can be indicated or discovered, but the majority from internal evidence were capable of classification under certain distinct heads and dates. A very large number however remained without classification or identification of any sort, and even the learned researches of students like Willshire, Renouvier, Duchesne, and others threw but little light upon the subject. It was left to Professor Dr. Max Lehrs, the present Director of the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings in the Royal Museums at Dresden, to devote his energy and leisure, aided by unflagging industry and most careful and accurate powers of observation, to the examination and rearrangement of the copper-plate engravings of this date. In this he was largely assisted by the great advance shown in the arrangement of the engravings in the magnificent collections in the British Museum, at Berlin, Amsterdam, and elsewhere.

By dint of examining in person every known and accessible specimen in public and private collections throughout Europe, Dr. Lehrs has succeeded in elucidating and constructing an almost complete history of copper-plate engraving north of

the Alps during the fifteenth century. The result of his researches, now in course of publication, is likely to prove the final and standard work upon the subject. It is on them that the remarks in the following pages are based, Dr. Lehrs having generously placed the whole of his vast knowledge on this special subject at the service of the present writer.

The first important discovery which Dr. Lehrs may be said to have made is that among the engravers of the fifteenth century who preceded Albrecht Dürer, there are some who reveal themselves as original artists of great skill and merit, while others betray themselves as being mere mechanical copyists, their skill lying almost solely in the reproduction, or in all probability actual piracy, of the works of other artists. All the engravers of this date appear to have been workers in gold or other metals, and to have carried on this craft concurrently with that of engraving.

In the category of original artists appears an engraver who is known from his principal works as The Master of the Playing Cards (*Meister der Spielkarten*)¹. Among other fruits of Dr. Lehrs' researches has been the discovery that the engravings of the early part of the fifteenth century, even the very earliest, had sufficient vogue to be used as models for the miniaturist to copy from. In the ornamental borders of an illuminated manuscript of Livy, now in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal at Paris, and in another manuscript, '*Liber Alexandri de Proeliis*,' now in the library of St. Gall in Switzerland, Dr. Lehrs has been able to trace figures, directly copied from those in the set of playing-cards engraved on copper by the aforesaid engraver. Both these manuscripts are dated 1454, and it may be assumed that the engravings must by that time have had a wide circulation. A still earlier date can be discovered from the works of an almost contemporary engraver, known from his two principal works as The Master of the Gardens of Love (*Meister der Liebesgärten*), who, as it would appear from the costume of the figures in his engravings, was of Burgundian extraction. Two engravings by this master are evidently copies of engravings by The Master of the Playing Cards—a '*St. Anthony*,' and the bordure of flowers to a '*Flight into Egypt*,' the latter use of the original designs being curiously parallel to that of the miniaturists mentioned above. Now this engraver, who may or may not have been an original artist

¹ See Max Lehrs, *Die ältesten Deutschen Spielkarten* (Dresden, 1885).

at times, engraved a series of small prints illustrating 'The Passion,' of which eight only have survived¹.

This series of 'The Passion' appears to have been the original from which three series of *grisaille* miniature-paintings were taken, which are found in manuscripts of the period. In an undated Latin book of prayers in the Royal Library at Brussels twenty-two *grisaille* drawings appear, representing scenes from the Passion and the lives of the Saints, in which the eight known engravings by The Master of the Gardens of Love were copied. An undated Netherlandish book of prayers in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp contains fourteen *grisaille* drawings of a similar nature. In a manuscript of 'Le Miroir de la Salvation Humaine,' also in the Royal Library at Brussels, a similar series of *grisaille* engravings occur, comprising a Passion series, in which the said eight engravings are copied, and a series of Saints, among which figures the St. Anthony of The Master of the Gardens of Love. Twice are found in this manuscript animals from the set of playing-cards engraved by The Master of the Playing Cards. This last manuscript was written for Philip, Duke of Burgundy, by Jean Miellot, and is dated 1448. It is evident therefore that not only the engravings of The Master of the Playing Cards but also those of The Master of the Gardens of Love enjoyed a considerable vogue and popularity previous to 1448. The date therefore of 1446 on the Renouvier Passion series at Berlin can only be accepted as the earliest known date which appears upon a copper-plate engraving, and not as any proof of its being the actual date of invention.

The eight prints of the Passion by The Master of the Gardens of Love were pasted in a small manuscript book of prayers of the fifteenth century, which has been broken up and dispersed. Fragments of this manuscript are in the collections of engravings in the German Museum at Nuremberg, the National Library at Paris, the Royal Library at Dresden, and elsewhere. The other prints pasted in the same manuscript are by different hands, the greater number being by the engraver known as The Master of St. Erasmus, owing to the fact that an original engraved plate by him with this subject exists in the German Museum at Nuremberg².

¹ See Max Lehrs, *Der Meister der Liebesgärten* (Dresden, 1893).

² See Max Lehrs, *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindlichen deutschen Kupferstiche des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Nürnberg, 1888).

The Master of St. Erasmus was an engraver (or perhaps a school of engravers) in a very rough manner, whose very numerous works do not show evidence of any originality as an artist. He may be presumed to have been a prolific producer of copies from engravings, and perhaps from miniature-paintings, all executed in such a size as to admit of being pasted into the books of prayers which were small enough to be carried in the hand. A large number of such prints, many of them still inserted on their original pages of manuscript, are to be seen in the collections at the British Museum and in the Grand-Ducal Library at Darmstadt. This engraver copied among others the engravings of The Master of the Playing Cards, The Master of the Gardens of Love, and the still more important engraver, with whom this essay has chiefly to deal, The Master E. S. or The Master of 1466.

The engraver, who is known sometimes by his initials E. S., which appear on a few engravings, sometimes by the date of 1466, which appears on others, is the first artist of real importance in the history of art who devoted his skill to engraving. In his hands the art of copper-plate engraving reached a high level, both in actual technical execution and in pictorial creation and sentiment. He did not however succeed in liberating it from the cramped and dry angularity which is so characteristic of Northern art at this date.* There can be little doubt but that he was a working goldsmith, and practised in his craft, yet he shows a painter's eye in the new appearance of colour and relief, which he gives by shading in his engravings those portions of the composition which earlier engravers or miniature-painters had been content to leave open, to be completed by the addition of colour. In this The Master E. S. showed the way for the more advanced productions in 'black and white' of such famous artists as Martin Schongauer and Albrecht Dürer.

The art of The Master E. S. shows many traces of the influence of the famous painter of Bruges, Rogier Van der Weyden. The gentle suavety of the types combined with the lean angularity of the figures is characteristic of the great Fleming, but in the case of The Master E. S. they are enlivened by an unexpected vivacity and realism, which is sometimes carried even to audacity, and appears as the precursor of the subsequent realistic art of the Netherlands and the districts of Lower or Western Germany. Such a spirit is found in some of

the works of Martin Schongauer, and still more so in those of the great original 'dry-point' engraver who is known as The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or of the 'Hausbuch.'

The subjects depicted by The Master E. S. in his engravings are of the most varied description, sacred and secular, ranging from the Bible and the Saints to scenes from every-day life, sometimes of a very free description, with heraldry, playing-cards, and designs for goldsmiths. Upwards of 320 distinct original engravings by The Master E. S. have been identified, and some forty more can be recognized as copies made by other engravers from originals by The Master E. S., of which no impressions are as yet known to exist.

Many attempts have been made to localize the home of this engraver, but it is difficult to prove anything more than that he seems to have belonged to the region of the Upper Rhine between Alsace and the Black Forest, probably somewhere about Freiburg or Breisach¹. It is noteworthy that his great successor, Martin Schongauer, was a native of Colmar in Alsace and died at Breisach in 1491. It is not impossible, and it is at all events pleasing to conjecture, that Schongauer's early studies in the art of engraving were made under the superintendence of The Master E. S., with whose works he could hardly have failed to have been acquainted. It would appear from the most recent researches that the engraver known as The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet was one of a group of artists working at Mayence. As the Rhine was the great highway of all traffic at this date, it is not surprising to find the chief works in printing and engraving issuing from such important riverside towns as Breisach, Mayence, and Cologne. The engravers in one town can hardly have escaped familiarity with the works of their contemporaries in other Rhenish cities.

A feature common to the engravings of these three great artists is that their work is always entirely original. In no case can they be shown to have stooped to copy or even borrow the designs of another artist. Copies innumerable are known of the works of The Master E. S., as of those of Schongauer, but his designs with their good and their bad points are invariably his own. The works of The Master E. S. show also a gradual and steady progress both in technical skill and artistic conception. His earlier works are so much rougher and so immature

¹ See Max Lehrs, *Die Spielkarten des Meisters E. S.* (Intern. Chalcogr. Soc. Publications, 1891).

that they have been separated by some writers from his later works and classified as the work of a separate engraver, known as The Master of the Sibyl.

Among the earlier copyists or pirates of The Master E. S.'s engravings was The Master of St. Erasmus, whose copies cease at an early date in the career of The Master E. S. As The Master of St. Erasmus was also busied in copying the works of The Master of the Playing Cards and The Master of the Gardens of Love, it is almost safe to attribute the early work of The Master E. S. to a date contemporary with that of the two last-named engravers. It would appear that later on, when the engravings of The Master E. S. attained greater finish and excellence, the frequent piracies of them by such industrious goldsmith-engravers as Wenzel von Olmütz and Israhel van Meckenem caused The Master E. S. to protect himself by adding on his plates his initials and the date of the year in which the engraving was executed. The dates 1465, 1466, 1467, all occur on engravings by him, and as the engravings bearing these dates show him at the height of his skill, it can be assumed that his work and probably his life terminated about 1467, and when his powers were still in full maturity.

In the University Galleries at Oxford there is a remarkable and extremely valuable collection of early engravings, bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Mr. Francis Douce, F.S.A.¹ The collection contains several important examples of the engravings by The Master E. S., some of great beauty and many of extreme rarity. Among them is a series of eleven small prints, measuring $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 3 inches (95×72 millimetres), illustrating the *Ars Moriendi*, or 'Art of Good or Evil Dying.' This series of engravings is complete at Oxford alone, and of only three prints in the series are other impressions known, in each case a single one and scattered as far apart as London, Berlin, and Schloss Wolfegg in South-west Bavaria.²

The importance of this series was hardly recognized by any authority prior to Dr. Lehrs. Duchesne³ and Renouvier⁴ ascribed them rightly to The Master E. S. Bartsch did not know them, but Passavant saw them, and, confusing them with

¹ It is understood that these engravings will probably be rearranged under a proposal made by Mr. T. W. Jackson, Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College and one of the Visitors of the University Galleries, to whom the author is indebted for both assistance and advice in the preparation of this work.

² See Max Lehrs, *Der Künstler der Ars Moriendi und die wahre Erste Ausgabe derselben* (*Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1890, Heft iii).

³ *Voyage d'un Iconophile*, p. 364.

⁴ *Histoire de l'origine et des progrès de la Gravure*, p. 136.

sets of copies at Cologne and Vienna, classed them all as the same thing under the general heading of 'School of The Master E. S.' Passavant's error, once published to the world in print, was followed by such well-known writers as Dutuit¹ and Willshire². To any student of the works of The Master E. S. it is at once evident that these prints are from his hand, and, apart from internal evidence, the fact of their having been copied by The Master of St. Erasmus would point to their being among his earlier works.

The *Ars Moriendi*, or *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the 'Art of Good or Evil Dying,' was a religious treatise, used with conspicuous force and authority by the Church during its long ascendancy in the Middle Ages. At this date the keys of knowledge as of salvation were entirely in the hands of the Church, and the lay public, both high and low, were, generally speaking, ignorant and illiterate. One of the secrets of the great power exercised by the Church lay in its ability to represent the life of man as environed from the outset by legions of horrible and insidious demons, who beset his path throughout life at every stage up to his very last breath, and are eminently active and often triumphant when man's fortitude is undermined by sickness, suffering, and the prospect of dissolution. From such attacks and pitfalls only the continuous presence and protection of the Church could protect the hapless pilgrim through life. In aid of such a mission certain doctrines were adopted by the leaders of the Church, and inculcated in treatises drawn up by the most eminent divines of the day, such as the famous Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. In this teaching the *Ars Moriendi*, linked as it was with the doctrine of eternal punishment, played a most important part. It was on his deathbed that a man was most amenable to advice, and in need of consolation to give him hope at the moment when his soul was about to depart into the unknown.

When pictorial art began to lend its aid to the minister of religion, it was of great service, for often, when the mind was too illiterate to understand or the

¹ *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*, vol. i. p. 28.

² *A Descriptive Catalogue of Early Prints in the British Museum*, by William Hughes Willshire, M.D. (London, 1879).

ear too feeble to comprehend the good doctrine which was being expounded at the bedside, the eye could follow in the print or illuminated page the subject to which the patient's thoughts were to be directed. According to the treatise for which the series of engravings by The Master E. S. was probably executed, there are five stages of danger, which the dying man must survive before the triumph of the Church is assured. These stages are—

- I. Infidelity.
- II. Despair.
- III. Impatience.
- IV. Vainglory.
- V. Avarice.

The purport of the treatise is to reveal to the sufferer the temptations to which he will be subjected, and also the way in which he will be aided by Divine intervention to overcome them. Hence the prints, eleven in number, contain five pairs of subjects, representing the temptation and the protection afforded by angelic assistance, leading up to the general triumph of the Christian religion at the final moment of death. The eleven prints therefore represent—

- I. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Fide* (Versuchung im Glauben).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli de Fide* (Ermuthigung im Glauben).
- II. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Desperatione* (Versuchung durch Verzweiflung).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Desperationem* (Trost gegen Verzweiflung).
- III. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Impatentia* (Versuchung durch Ungeduld).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli de Patientia* (Trost gegen die Versuchung durch Ungeduld).
- IV. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Vana Gloria* (Versuchung durch Hoffahrt).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Vanam Gloriam* (Eingebung der Demuth gegen die Hoffahrt).
- V. A. *Temptatio Diaboli de Avaritia* (Versuchung durch Geiz).
B. *Bona Inspiratio Angeli contra Avaritiam* (Eingebung der Freigebigkeit gegen den Geiz).

Leading up to No. VI, the final Triumph over all Temptations at the Hour of Death (Triumph über alle Versuchungen in der Todesstunde).

As stated before, the only complete set of these illustrations by The Master E. S. to the *Ars Moriendi* is that in the Douce Collection, now in the University Galleries at Oxford. A single example of No. I. A is in the royal Print Room at Berlin¹, one of I. B in the British Museum, and one of II. B in the remarkable collection preserved in the castle of Wolfegg-Waldsee in South-west Bavaria. No person, who is acquainted with the engravings of The Master E. S., could fail to recognize the *Ars Moriendi* engravings as the work of his hands. The thin dry figures, with their irregular and incorrect proportions, the stiff and angular contours of the drapery, the arrangement of the hair in both male and female figures, the grotesque antics of the demons, the homely vivacity of the domestic scenes, coupled with a certain pleasingness in the whole effect, are all characteristic of the Master E. S. The very evident faults to be discerned in the technique, perspective and composition all point to an early stage in his career before he had attained his full powers as an engraver.

It could not be likely that so important a series of engravings as the *Ars Moriendi*, illustrating a subject for which there must have been a frequent demand, should have escaped the notice of a copyist. The earliest engraver to lay hands upon them was The Master of St. Erasmus, who executed two sets of copies, one apparently copied directly from the originals by The Master E. S., the other copied from this set of copies. The copies by The Master of St. Erasmus are very rough and free renderings of the originals, containing divers omissions and alterations. The first set of copies is in reverse to the originals, showing the engraver to have been a mere mechanical engraver and not an artist; the second set, being copied in reverse from the first set of copies, brings the subjects round to the same positions as in the original series.

These sets of copies are almost as rare as the originals. Of the first series of copies only two sets are known, one in the British Museum², much disfigured by its having been coloured by hand, the other in the Hofbibliothek at

¹ Purchased at the Firmin-Didot sale in 1877 for 980 francs.

² Bought in 1845 at the Heywood-Bright sale; described by Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, i. 309. Transferred in 1892 from the Library to the Print Room.

Vienna¹. Of the second series only one set is known, that in the Stadt-Archiv at Cologne².

Another set of copies from the original prints was executed at a later date by an engraver who is known by his initials of M. Z. This engraver has been sometimes classed with the primitive engravers of the fifteenth century, but it is clear from his works that he really belonged to the latter part of the sixteenth century, and worked sometimes in imitation of the archaic manner. Such an engraver was Matthes Zündt, but this engraver M. Z. appears to be distinct from him. He must also be carefully distinguished from the fifteenth-century engraver with the same initials, who is sometimes known as Martin Zäsinger. The copies by the engraver M. Z. are not uncommon, and they were subsequently published with a German text in 1623 by a bookseller named Peter König in Munich.

One of the results of the careful examination of the engravings executed in Germany during the fifteenth century, initiated by Dr. Lehrs and continued by Dr. Lippmann of Berlin and other independent experts, has been to show that many engravings on wood or on metal, which from their rude method of execution have been attributed to the infancy of the art, are really nothing more than unskilful copies of better engravings. It follows therefore that mere roughness of execution can no longer be taken as a criterion of antiquity. Among such engravings are some of the *Helgen*, or prints of Saints, and some of the so-called Schrotblätter, or prints in the *manière criblée*, which had been regarded as the *incunabula* of the art, whereas they are really nothing but copies from early copper-plate engravings which in many instances have not survived.

The same remark applies to the famous Block-books, so well known to bibliographers, and of such extreme importance in themselves, owing to their having led the way to the invention of printing with movable types. These Block-books have been allotted a special place in the early history of both bibliography and xylography, and have been treated with a deference, to which it

¹ Fully described by Friedrich von Bartsch, *Die Kupferstich-Sammlung der K. K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, pp. 124-128, No. 1503 a-m. In 1853 this set was in the possession of the antiquary Fidelis Butsch at Augsburg.

² See *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vols. x. p. 137, xi. pp. 51, 52, xiv. p. 110.

would appear, especially as regards their artistic value, that they are but partially entitled. They served as compendiums of moral and religious instruction, compiled in their well-known illustrative form as a handy one for conveying the precepts which they contained before the eyes of the sick or the illiterate, much in the same way as the frescoes, sculptures or painted windows did in the cathedral or the parish church. The best known of the Block-books are the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Canticum Canticorum*, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the *Ars Memorandi*, and others. In most cases it would appear that the designs were taken from drawings of an earlier date or from the illuminations in manuscripts.

In 1872 the Trustees of the British Museum acquired at the great Weigel sale in Leipzig a Block-book of the utmost rarity, for which the large sum of £1072 10s. was paid, exclusive of commission. This book has always excited great interest for its text and its illustrations, and in the British Museum Catalogue it is described as 'believed to be the first edition of this often-repeated work, by reason of the beauty and originality of the designs, and the sharpness of outline, which proves its impression to be an early one.' All that is known about its history is that it was purchased by Herr Weigel for a moderate price from a private owner at Cologne. In 1881 the Block-book of the *Ars Moriendi* was selected for reproduction by the Holbein Society, being published in lithographic facsimile from carefully drawn copies made by Mr. F. C. Price, and edited by Mr. W. Harry Rylands, with an Introduction by Mr. George Bullen, at that time Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum. The title of this work describes the Block-book as the *Ars Moriendi (Editio Princeps, circa 1440)*. In the Introduction Mr. Bullen gives some valuable bibliographical information concerning the *Ars Moriendi* as a treatise, but with regard to the illustrations he has been content to adopt the views of Dr. Willshire, who had himself done little more than transcribe the statements, erroneous as will be seen, of other and earlier authorities.

The designs of the illustrations to the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book are very different from those in the *Biblia Pauperum*, the *Canticum Canticorum*, and others. They show a great advance in composition and pictorial sentiment. No student of the engravings by The Master E. S. can fail to recognize in the designs of

the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book the style of this engraver, with the peculiar types and mannerisms which are so characteristic of his work.

At the time when this Block-book was acquired by the British Museum, the history of early copper-plate engraving had hardly been studied at all in England, and but imperfectly on the Continent. The works of The Master E. S. were not unknown nor their merit unrecognized, but their number, their originality, and their important position in the history of Art still remained unrevealed. Since that date the researches of Dr. Lehrs, aided by the immense assistance given by the advance in photographic reproduction, have rendered it possible to classify the works of this engraver, even without immediate access to the originals. In this way the individual characteristics of The Master E. S. have become as easy to discern as those of an Albrecht Dürer, a Rembrandt, a Claude Mellan, or a Whistler. It is also possible to trace the distinct progress in both artistic and technical skill throughout the immense series of engravings by The Master E. S. Duchesne, who had seen the *Ars Moriendi* engravings in the Douce Collection, recognized in the designs of the Block-book the hand of The Master E. S. The originality however of these latter designs was generally maintained. Passavant, who saw not only the Douce prints at Oxford but also the copies by The Master of St. Erasmus at Cologne and Vienna, not only mistook these three series for different impressions of the same set of engravings, attributing them to the school of The Master E. S., but pronounced them all to be copies from the well-known and highly-esteemed designs in the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book. In this he was followed by Willshire, Dutuit, and other experts, whose knowledge of the whole series of engravings seems to have been confined to some indifferent photographs, on a reduced scale, from six of the Oxford engravings, which happened to have been done for the British Museum as far back as 1871.

It was left to Dr. Lehrs to show that the much-vaunted designs of the *Ars Moriendi* Block-book are little more than enlarged copies from the set of engravings by The Master E. S., of which original engravings the only complete series at present known is in the University Galleries at Oxford.

A description of the designs in the prints by The Master E. S. will explain the subjects of the *Ars Moriendi* as a didactic treatise. The differences in the designs when copied by The Master of St. Erasmus and by the draughtsman

of the British Museum Block-book are immaterial so far as the meaning of the designs is concerned, but in some cases the errors or imperfections in the original designs of The Master E. S. have been corrected or improved by the later artists.

In the following descriptions the series referred to are denoted as—

- (a) The prints of The Master E. S. in the Douce Collection at Oxford.
- (b) The copies by The Master of St. Erasmus in the Print Room at the British Museum.
- (c) The designs of the Block-book in the Library at the British Museum.

I. A. TEMPTATIO DYABOLI DE FIDE (*Versuchung im Glauben*)¹.

(a) The dying man lies in bed, the head of which is directed towards the right. He is much emaciated, and his naked chest with one arm is seen above the bed-clothes. Four demons assail him. One is drawing away the sheet from behind his head. A second, on his right behind the bed, points to a group of learned men engaged in animated discussion, evidently heretics. A third, in the air in the left upper corner of the print, points downwards to a group of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba adoring idols. A fourth demon, on the right-hand side of the bed, points to two figures, of a woman, semi-nude, who holds a scourge in her left hand and a bundle of rods in her right, and a man who is represented in the act of cutting his throat with a knife. Behind the bed are seen figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary.

(b) The composition is the same, but in reverse, and the third demon in the air has been omitted.

(c) The composition is similar to (a), but to the second demon is attached a scroll with the words *fac sicut pagani*², to the third a scroll with the words *infernus factus est*, and to the fourth a scroll with *interficias te ipm*.

I. B. BONA INSPIRATIO ANGELI DE FIDE (*Ermuthigung im Glauben*).

(a) The dying man lies on a bed, directed towards the right, with a wooden canopy to it. An angel stands in front of the bed in an attitude of exhortation.

¹ The Latin titles are taken from the Block-book; the German from Dr. Lehrs's descriptions.

² These inscriptions are cut in type similar to that used for the text of the Block-book.

Behind the bed stand God the Father, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, with Moses and a company of Saints with halos, numbering nineteen in all. The dove of the Holy Spirit rests on the canopy of the bed. On the ground are three demons in an attitude of despair.

(b) The same composition very roughly executed in reverse. The caterpillar-shaped demon in the foreground is omitted. Only seven distinct halos seen in the background.

(c) Similar to (a) : the angel holds a scroll with the words *sis firmus i fide*. By the three demons on the floor are three scrolls with the words *fugiamus, Victi sumus, frustra laborauim*⁹. The dove of the Holy Spirit has been shifted from the right corner of the canopy to the left, and is barely recognizable. The number of halos in the background is twenty-one.

II. A. TEMPTACIO DYABOLI DE DESPERACIONE (*Versuchung durch Verzweiflung*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed, the head of which is directed towards the right. His left arm rests upon the coverlet. He is tormented by six demons. They point to various figures of men and women denoting the sins of fornication, perjury, murder, robbery, &c., while one holds up a sheet of paper, on which may be supposed to be inscribed a list of the dying man's misdeeds.

(b) The same composition in reverse, but some alterations in the characters of the figures.

(c) The same composition as (a), on an enlarged scale; the demons are accompanied by scrolls with the words *fornicatus es, periurus es, ecce pcca tua, occidisti, auare uixisti*. A wooden head has been added to the bed.

II. B. BONA INSPIRATIO ANGELI CONTRA DESPERATIONEM (*Trost gegen Verzweiflung*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed towards the right, his arms under the bed-clothes. An angel stands in front of the bed pointing to various typical instances of repentant sinners—Mary Magdalene, St. Peter (whose emblem, the cock, is perched on the head of the bed), the Penitent Thief on the Cross, and the Conversion of St. Paul. Two defeated demons lie on the floor by or under the bed.

(b) The same composition in reverse, with a few alterations in the figures; St. Peter especially being made much younger in appearance.

(c) The same composition as (a), with scrolls attached to the defeated demons inscribed *Nequaquã desperes, Victoria michi nulla.*

III. A. TEMPTACIO DYABOLI DE IMPACIENCIA (*Versuchung durch Ungeduld*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed towards the right, both arms disengaged above the bed-clothes; a demon with bat's wings is near the bed on the floor to the right. With his left foot the dying man is kicking away his medical attendant, while a woman (his wife?) stands in a deprecating attitude. In front of the bed is a maid-servant with food and drink, looking in astonishment at a table, which with its contents has been capsized, evidently by another kick of the dying man's foot.

(b) The same composition in reverse.

(c) The same composition as (a). By the women is a scroll with the inscription *Ecce q̃lam penã patib̃s*, and by the demon one inscribed *q̃ bene decepi eum.*

III. B. BONA INSPIRACIO ANGELI DE PACIENCIA (*Trost gegen die Versuchung durch Ungeduld*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed towards the right, his hands in an attitude of prayer. An angel stands in front of his bed, round which are seen figures of four martyrs, St. Stephen, St. Catherine, St. Lawrence, and St. Barbara, with God the Father holding an arrow and a scourge, and Jesus Christ crowned with thorns and holding a scourge and a bundle of rods. A demon is seen creeping under the bed, and another is lying prostrate on the floor.

(b) The same composition in reverse.

(c) A similar composition to (a), scrolls accompanying the demons, with the words *sum captiuatus* and *labores amisi.*

IV. A. TEMPTACIO DYABOLI DE VANA GLORIA (*Versuchung durch Hoffahrt*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed to the right, tormented by four demons, three of whom offer him crowns. Behind the bed stand God the Father with three little

children, typical of simplicity, and Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary as types of humility. Portions of the figures of three other Saints are seen behind them.

(b) The same composition in reverse, with no traces of the additional Saints and a more decorative head to the bed.

(c) The same composition as (a). To the figure of God the Father is attached a scroll with the inscription *Tu es firmus in fide*, and to three of the four demons scrolls with *Gloriare, Coronã meruisti, Exallate ipsum, Inpatiẽcia p̄seuerasta*.

IV. B. BONA INSPIRACIO ANGELI CONTRA VANAM GLORIAM (*Eingebung der Demuth gegen die Hoffahrt*).

(a) The dying man lies on a bed to the right, his arms under the bed-clothes: three angels attend him, one of whom holds up a blank sheet of paper to show that his sins have been wiped out. In the sky behind float figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary with the dove of the Holy Spirit, and on the left stands St. Anthony the Hermit, as a type of humility. Two demons lie defeated on the floor, and in the lower corner on the right are seen the jaws of hell, in which three figures are being engulfed, including one of a monk and a woman in an embrace.

(b) The same composition in reverse, but the figures of the monk and woman have been greatly modified.

(c) The same composition as (a), but the angel behind the bed holds, instead of the empty paper, a scroll inscribed *Sis humilis*. By the prostrate demon in front is a scroll inscribed *Victus sum*, and by the jaws of hell one inscribed *Superbos punio*.

V. A. TEMPTACIO DYABOLI DE AVARICIA (*Versuchung durch Geiz*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed to the right, both his arms under the bed-clothes. He is tormented by three demons, one of whom points to a group of people representing his family and relatives, and the other two to his house, which occupies the lower part of the print, showing a man leading a mule into a stable, and a cellar stored with barrels, three of which are seen.

(b) The same composition in reverse; five barrels are seen in the cellar.

(c) The same composition as (a), but not only are five barrels seen in the cellar, but also a man drawing wine from one of them. Attached to the demons are scrolls inscribed *Provideas amicis* and *Intende thesauro*.

V. B. BONA INSPIRACIO ANGELI CONTRA AVARICIAM (*Eingebung der Freigebigkeit gegen den Geiz*).

(a) The dying man lies in bed to the right, exhorted by an angel. Behind the head of the bed are seen the crucified Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and in the background stands God the Father (?) as the Good Shepherd between a flock of sheep and a group of female Saints. In the foreground to the left an angel is enveloping a man and woman in a cloak, and on the floor to the right is seated a demon in an attitude of despair.

(b) The same composition in reverse, very roughly rendered.

(c) The same composition as (a). The angel by the bedside has a scroll inscribed *Non sis avarus*, and the other angel one inscribed *Ne intendas amicis*. The demon on the floor holds a scroll inscribed *Quid faciam*.

VI. The last print represents the final Triumph over all Temptations at the Hour of Death (*Triumph über alle Versuchungen in der Todesstunde*).

(a) The composition is a very crowded one. The dying man lies in bed to the right, holding a taper in his *left* hand, which is crossed over the right. A monk is placing the taper in his hand. His soul in the shape of a child issues from his mouth and is received by a company of angels. In the background on the left is seen the crucified Saviour with St. John the Evangelist standing on the *right* of the Cross and the Virgin Mary on the *left* of it. Behind St. John are seen portions of four Saints, and behind the Virgin Mary St. Mary Magdalene, St. Paul, and portions of eight other Saints. Six demons stand in angry derision at the foot of the bed.

(b) The same composition, but in reverse, thus correcting the faults of (a), in which the taper is held in the dying man's wrong hand, the Virgin and St. John stand on the wrong side of the Cross, and the Redeemer's head leans to the left instead of to the right shoulder, as accepted by tradition.

(c) The same composition as (b), with which the draughtsman of the Block-book would seem to have been acquainted, for he has followed the engraver of (b) in correcting the errors into which The Master E. S. had been betrayed. Five scrolls are attached to the demons, inscribed *Heu insanio, Confusi sumus, Furore consumor, Animā amisimus, Spes nobis nulla.*

It will be noticed that in the last subject especially certain mistakes have been made by The Master E. S., which have been rectified by the draughtsman of the Block-book, but at the expense of reversing the whole composition, thus destroying the symmetry of the position of the dying man throughout the scenes. As Dr. Lehrs has pointed out¹, such defects are not unfrequent among the earlier works of The Master E. S., and those in the *Ars Moriendi*, together with the imperfections of the technique, help to prove that these engravings belong to his earlier work. The Master of St. Erasmus copied the whole series simply in reverse. The sixteenth-century engraver M. Z. copied the whole series by The Master E. S. in the same direction as the originals, and all the mistakes of the originals are repeated in this last version.

Another noteworthy difference in the Block-book series is the addition of the scrolls with the inscriptions in large cursive letters described above. When the crowded and cramped designs of The Master E. S. were copied on a larger scale the increased spaces left room for the introduction of these scrolls, which are introduced without much regard for the beauty of the composition, but serve to elucidate the meaning of the designs, a meaning which is not always quite evident at first sight. In IV. B (c) especially the substitution of the scroll for the empty paper points to an alteration by a later hand.

All subsequent wood-cut copies have been taken from the Block-book², and through constant translation by various hands some of the designs in the later copies are hardly to be recognized as the same.

To the eye of the ordinary observer the designs of the Block-book, in their enlarged and more intelligible form, may appear to be more pleasing and attractive and of greater artistic merit than the cramped and crowded compositions of the

¹ Lehrs, *Der Künstler der Ars Moriendi*, &c.

² See Dutuit, *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*, vol. i., for a list of editions of the *Ars Moriendi*, some of which are there stated to be earlier than the British Museum Block-book.

copper-plate engravings. It is impossible however for any student of German engraving in the fifteenth century to fail to recognize in the designs of the Block-book the style of The Master E. S. Should there be any hesitation as to determining the priority of the Block-book or the Oxford series of copper-plate engravings, the only alternative to the conclusion already arrived at would be to attribute the wood-cuts themselves to The Master E. S., in which case the anomaly would be presented of this great and original artist, among whose numerous engravings no copy of any other artist's work is known, having for one occasion only laid down his graver for the knife, and then translated his own designs for the more easily printed and more popular language of wood-engraving into the more difficult and obscure version on copper. Such a supposition can hardly be entertained, and there is little reason for not accepting the conclusion of Dr. Lehrs, that the unique series of engravings in the Douce Collection at Oxford are the real *editio princeps* of the famous *Ars Moriendi*. The dates fixed by conjecture for the publication of the Block-book, either 1440 or 1451, approximate to the date in the career of The Master E. S. at which it would appear from their *technique* that the series of copper-plate illustrations to the *Ars Moriendi* were executed.

‘ARS MORIENDI’

FACSIMILES OF ENGRAVINGS

IN THE

UNIVERSITY GALLERIES AT OXFORD

AND IN

THE BRITISH MUSEUM



I. A



I. B



II. A



II. B

ORIGINAL PRINTS BY THE MASTER E. S.

[In the University Galleries, Oxford]



III. A



III. B



IV. A



IV. B

ORIGINAL PRINTS BY THE MASTER E. S.

[In the University Galleries, Oxford]



V. A



V. B



VI

ORIGINAL PRINTS BY THE MASTER E. S.

[In the University Galleries, Oxford]



I. A



I. B



II. A



II. B

COPIES BY THE MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

[In the Print-Room of the British Museum, 1892, 12. 1 (1-12)]



III. A



III. B



IV. A



IV. B

COPIES BY THE MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

[In the Print-Room of the British Museum, 1892, 12. 1 (1-12)]



V. A



V. B



VI

COPIES BY THE MASTER OF ST. ERASMUS

[In the Print-Room of the British Museum, 1892, 12. 1 (1-12)]

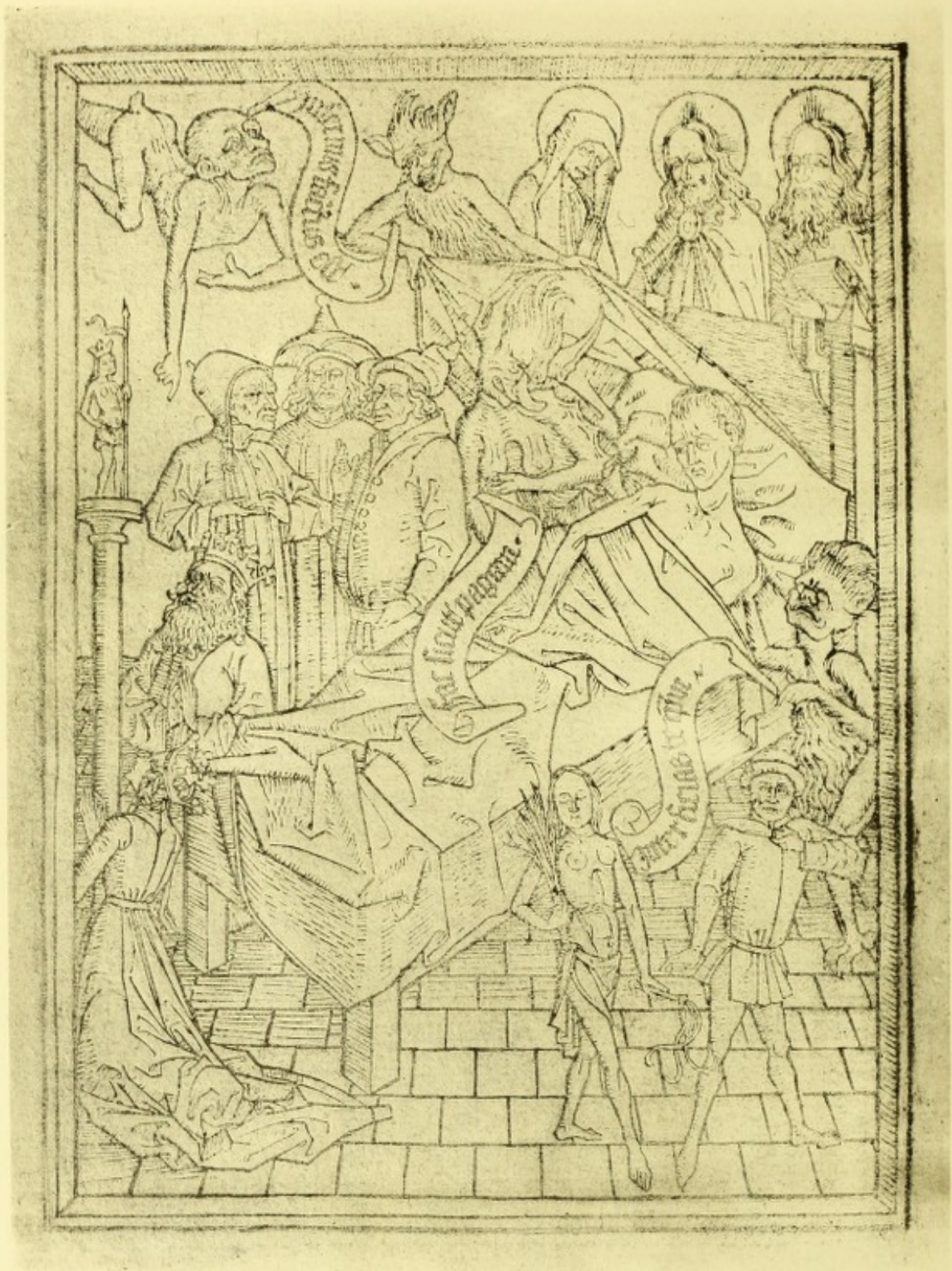
'ARS MORIENDI' BLOCK-BOOK

[*In the Library of the British Museum, c. 21. d. 34*]

De moriendi

Omnis secundum philosophum Tertio ethicorum
omnium terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima.
quod tamen anime nullatenus est comparanda
teste Augustino qui ait paucius est deumina in amasio
ne virtus anime quam mille corporum. teste etiam Bernardo qui
dicit Totus iste mundus ad virtus anime precium estimari
non potest. Mors ergo anime tanto est horribilior atque
detestabilior quanto anima corpore est nobilior atque preciosior.
Sunt ergo anime tante preciositatis existat et dyabolus
pro morte ipsius eterne hominem in extrema infirmitate
maximis temptacionibus insidat. Ideo sume necessari
um est ut homo anime sue providentia ne morte illa pda
tur. Ad quod maxime expediens est ut quilibet certum
habeat moriendi de qua est pms intentio. frequenter per oca
lus habeat atque extremam infirmitatem mente sua renovat
quia ut ait Gregorius. Valde se sollicitat in bono cogit
qui seipsum cogitat de extremo sine. Nam si futurum malum
merito consideretur. facilius tollerari potest. Iuxta illud.
Futura si presentantur. lenius tolluntur. Sed rarissime
aliquis se ad mortem disponit temperate. eo quod quilibet
dum se victurum existimat. usque credens se tam cito mo
rturum. quod insidiat dyabolus fieri. certum est. Nam plures p
talia tenem spes seipsum negligenter. in illis positum momentis
sternunt nullatenus vitium detur spes humana corporis sancta
tis consequente. Nam secundum cancellarium periculum sepe p
talem falsam consolationem et fictam sanitatis confidentiam
certam inquit homo damnationem. Ante omnia ergo induca
tur impetratio ad ea que necessaria ad salutem requiruntur.
Primo ut credat sicut homo pmanens credere debet. letus
quoque in fide pper ecclesie morietur unitate et obedientia.

Secundo ut recognoscat se deū grauitē offendisse et
uide dolere. Tercio ut proponat se veraciter emendare si sup-
peditet unquam amplius peccare. Quarto ut indulgeat
suis officioribus propter deum et remissa petat ab his quos
ipse offendit. Quinto ut ablata restituat. Sexto ut cognoscat
pro se mortuum esse xpm. et quod aliter saluari non potest
nisi per meritum passionis xpi. de quo agat deo gratias inquit
valeat. Ad que si homo crede responderit. Siquis est. quod sit de mi-
mero saluandorum. Deinde studiose traditur ad deum vbi
sacramentorum ecclesie. Primo ut per veram contritionem in-
teram faciat confessionem. alia etiam ecclesie sacramenta deuote
repleat. Quisquis vero de parvulis ab alio interrogatus
si informatus non sunt. seipsum interroget. considerando si sit
dispositus ut prefertur. Nam autem sic dispositus est se
totum passioni xpi committat. continue eam retinendo
atque meditando. nam per hoc omnes temptationes
dyaboli. et in fide maxime superantur. Unde nota-
dum quod mortui grauius habent temptationes.
quod unquam prius habuerunt. Et licet quilibet ut pos-
tea patebit. Contra quas angelus suggerit eis quin-
que bonas inspirationes. Sed ut omnibus ista misteria
sit fructuosa. et nullus ab ipsius speculatione se elidat
sed inde magis salubriter discat tam ludis tantum
hæreticis desertoribus quam pugnatoribus laico et litterato
sicut desertoribus. cum eorum oculis obicitur. Hinc
duo se mutuo correspondentes habent se tanquam speculum.
in quo peccata et futura tanquam presentia speculantur.
Nam ergo bene magis vult. ista cum scripturis diligenter
consideret.



Tentatio dyaboli de fide

Fides quoque fides. est totius salutis fundamentum. et sine ea
nulla omnino potest esse salus. teste Augustino qui ait
fides est honorum omnium fundamentum et hu-
mane salutis incamum. Et bernardo dicente. fides est hu-
mane salutis incamum. sine hac. nemo ad filiorum dei minue-
rium potest peruenire. sine hac. omnis labor hominis. est
vacuus. Ideo dyabolus. totius humane generis inimicus to-
tis viribus. hominem in extrema infirmitate. ab illa totali-
ter auertere nititur. vel saltem ad deiciendum in ea. vitam
inducere laborat. dicens. tu miser in magno es errore.
non est sicut credis. vel sicut predicatio. Infernus fractus
est. quicquid homo agat. licet aliquem vel scriptum occidat.
cum indiscerta p[er]na sicut aliqui fecerunt. vel ydola adorant.
ut reges paganorum. et plures pagani faciunt. nonne in
finem. idem est. quia nullus inuenitur. dicens tibi verita-
tem. et sic fides tua nichil est. Ihs et similibus. dyabo-
lus maxime laborat. uti hominem in extremis agentem.
a fide auertat. quia bene scit. Si fundamentum ruat.
omnia superedificata necessario ruunt.

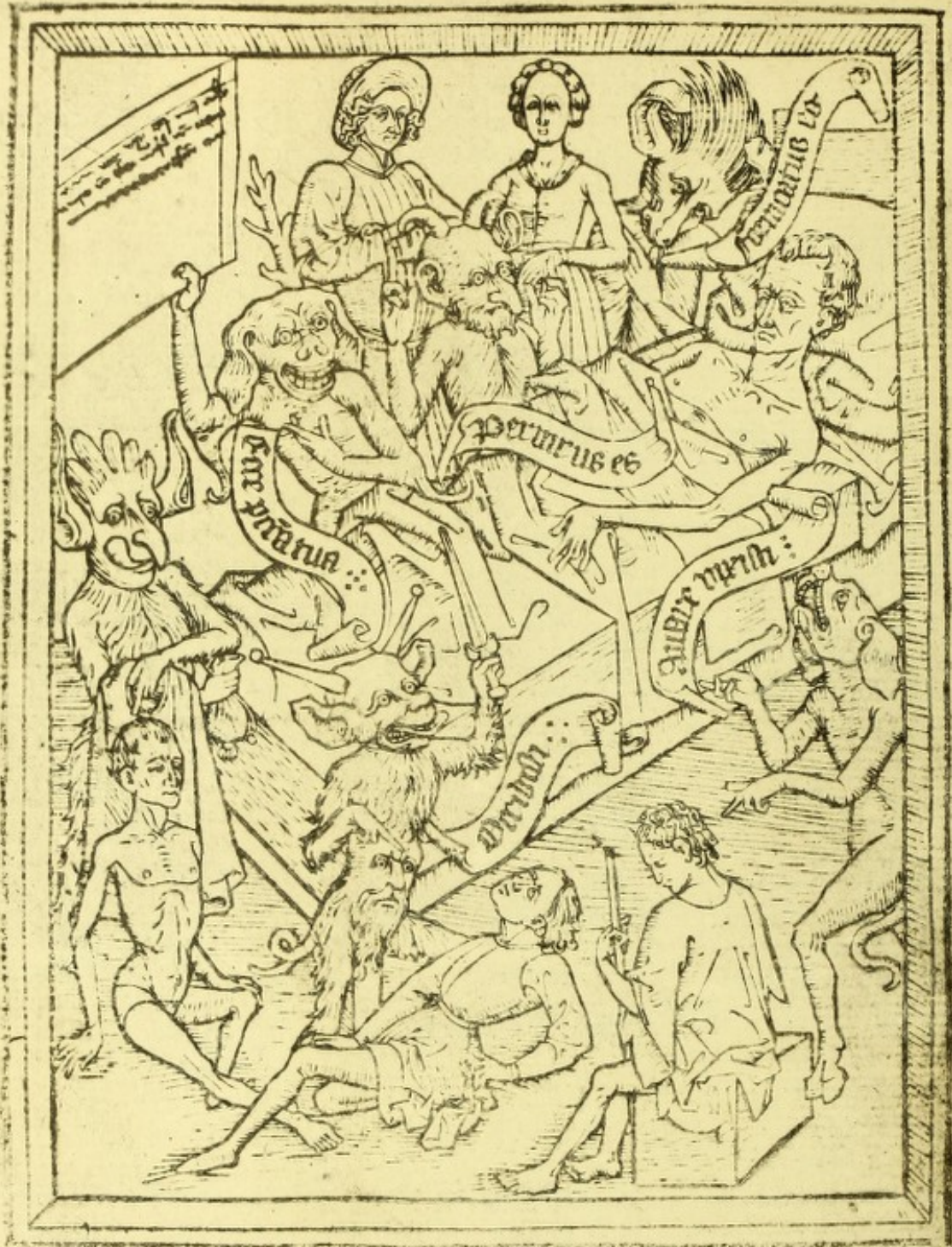
Secundum tamen. quod dyabolus in nulla temptatione.
hominem cogere potest. nec eam aliquo modo prevalere.
ut sibi consciant. quod diu illum rationis habuerit. nisi
sponte voluerit. consentire. quod certe sicut omnia ca-
uendum est. Unde apostolus. fidelis deus qui non pe-
fictur vos temptari super id quod potestis. sed faciet cum
temptatione prouentum. ut possit sustinere.



Bona inspiratio angelus de fide

Contra primam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bonam
inspiracionem dicens homo ne credas vestireis suggestio-
nibus dyaboli. cum ipse sit uicidax. Nam mendacando prope-
rentes decipit. nec aliquo modo turbide dubites. licet sensu vel intel-
lectu comprehendere non valeas. quia si comprehendere posses.
nullatenus esset meritoria. iuxta illud gregory fides non habet
meritum. cui humana ratio prebet experimentum. Sed merente
verba sanctorum patrum. scilicet sancti pauli ad hebreos et dicens
Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. Et iohannis tertio. Qui
non credit. iam iudicatus est. Et bernardi dicens fides est
innocentia inter virtutes. Et iterum Beatus hieronimus per ce-
pido fidem xpi. et carissimi xpi. Considera etiam fidem antiquo-
rum fidelium. abraham. ysaac. et iacob. et quorundam gentium. scilicet
ioh. raab meretricis. et similia. Similiter fidem apostolorum. nec
non inimitabilem martirum. confessorum. atque uirginum. Nam per
fidem omnes antiqui et moderni placuerunt. Per fidem san-
ctus petrus super aquas ambulauit. Sanctus iohannes uenenam
sibi propinatum. sine uocamento bibit. uiuente calpe. orante alex-
audero. per fidem aduersari uincit. Et ideo fides adeo merito be-
uedicta. propterea uiriliter debes resistere dyabolo. et firmiter
credere omnia mandata ecclesie. quia sancta ecclesia errare
non potest. nisi a spiritu sancto regatur. . .

Nota quod infirmus seipsum se temptari contra fidem. cogitet
primis. quia uersaria est fides. quia licet ea nullas saluari po-
test. Secundo cogitet. quod utilis est. quia potest omnia dicente
dominus. Quia uersaria sunt credenti. Et iterum. Quod
omnes orantes perueniunt. credite quia accipietis. Et sic infirmus
facilita dei gratia. dyabolo resistit. Quare etiam bonum est. ut
similium fidei. circa agnitionem. alta uoce dicatur. pluri-
esque repetatur. ut per hoc infirmus. ad fidei constantiam ani-
metur. et diabolus qui illud audire abhorret. abigatur.



Sumptio dyaboli de despacione.
 Secundo dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum p despacione
 que est contra spm scti confidentiam quam homo
 debet habere in deum. Cui est infirmus doloribus cruciatur i
 corpore. tunc dyabolus dolorem dolori sup addit agitando sibi pna
 sua peccati non confessa. ut eum i despacione inducat dicens.
 Minus vide pna tua que tanta sunt. ut nunq veniam acquiri
 possis. ita ut dicere possis cum caym. Maior est mea iniquitas.
 q ut veniam merear. Scire quomodo dei precepta transgressus
 es. nam deum super omnia non dilexisti. hominibus iura
 intulisti. et tamen bene scis. q nullus potest salvari nisi seruaue
 rit mandata dei quia dñs dicit. Si vis ad vitam ingredi serua
 mandata. sed superbe. auare hyurose. guloze. iracunde. inuide
 accidiose. vixisti attamen predicari audisti. q ppter vnu peccatum
 mortale. homo potest damnari. Iulius per septem opa vltimi
 cordie non impleti. que tamen dominus percipue inquit
 iextremo die. ut ipse uet testatur. dixit. hys qui a suis uis
 sunt. Ite in ignem eterum. Nam eum et non dedisti in mi
 sericordiam et non dedisti michi potum etc. Et ideo iacobus
 dicit. Iudicium sine misericordia. erit illi. qui sine misericordia
 fuit super terram. Vides etiam q plures nocte et die. in lege
 dei vigilanti sine laborantes. qui tamen nullatrans de sa
 lute sua presumere audent. quia nullus scit an odia vel eano
 re dignus est. et ergo nulla spes salutis tibi relinquatur.
 Per ista et similia inducit hominem in despacionem. que super
 omnia mala est vitanda. cum i misericordiam dei offeudat. que
 sola nos saluat. teste propheta. Misericordie donum. quia non
 conuicti sumus. Et Augustinus dicit. Quisquisq. positus
 in peccato. si de venia vera despauit. misericordiam finidit. et
 perdit. nichil enim sic deum offeudit. q despacio



Bona Inuentionis angli contra desolationem

Quoniam secundam temptationem dyaboli dicitur angli bona inspirationem
dicere. o homo. quare despondas. licet enim tot latro crucifixerit. et
homicidia perpetrasset. quot sunt maris gutte et arcus. etiam si solus
totus mundi peccata quassisset. sicut dicitur de eisdem unquam prius pe-
nitentiam egisset. nec ea confitibus fuisset. nec etiam inodo ad con-
fessionem ea facultatem haberet. tamen hominum despondere non debet.
quia in tali casu. sufficit sola contritio. et dolor. Nolle per hoc contri-
tum et humiliatum deus non despondere. sicut etzechiel ait. Quia cum ho-
ra peccator ingemuerit. saluus erit. Unde Bernardus ait. Maior
est dei pietas quam quibus iniquitas. sicut Augustinus. Plus potest
deus misereri quam homo peccare. In casu etiam quo tibi constaret.
quod de manere dampnandorum esses. nequam adhuc despondere debes
eo quod per desolationem nichil aliud arguitur nisi quod per eam pessimum
deus multo magis offenditur. et alia peccata fortius aggravantur.
pena quoque eterna. usque in uitium augmentatur. Quis etiam pro
peccatoribus crucifigens est. et non pro uultis ut ipsemet testatur de-
cretis. Non ueni uocare iustos sed peccatores. sicut etiam beatus in petro
christum uocante paulo etiam per matheo et zacheo publicanis.
maria magdalena peccatrice in uulnere depheta iaductio. In latere
iuxta christum in cruce pendente. maria egyptiaca &c.
Non quod cito infirmus sciat se temptari per desolationem. cogitet quod
peius est. peior et dampnabilior omnibus peccatis. et quod nunquam debet
admitti propter quodcumque etiam peccata. Nam ut dicit Augustinus.
Plus peccauit iudas despondendo quam iudei crucifigendo christum.
Sed cogitet quod utilis et necessaria est spes. quia secundum celo stratum
est salubris uire anchora. uire uire fundamētum. dux itineris quo
itur ad celum. sicut ideo nunquam est relinquenda. propter etiam quodcumque peccata



Temptatio dyaboli de impatiencia

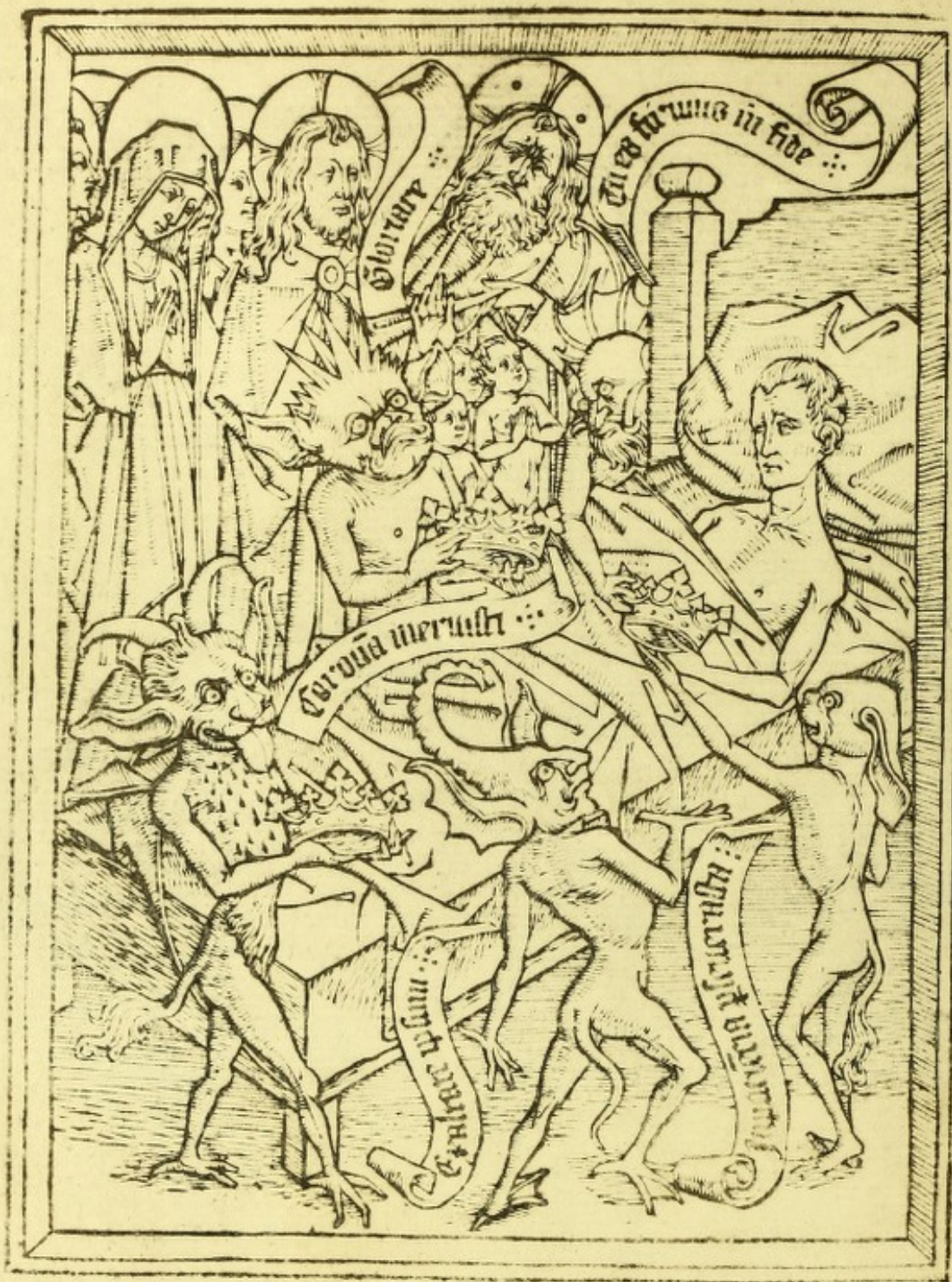
Tercio dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum per impatienciam que oritur ex magna infirmitate dicens sicut tu patieris istum dolorem grauius quam qui est intollerabilis omnium creature et tibi pariter utilis nec etiam tuis exigentibus de meritis dolor tantus tui deberet cessare. Nam scriptum est In peras benignior temptatio facienda. Sciam quod uultum grauat nullus tibi compatitur quod contra omnem rationem fieri nemo dubitat licet autem amici ore compatiantur tamen maxime propter bona relinquenda tuam mortem mente desiderant. anima quidem corpore exuta ut per prius diei spiritum pro omni substantia relicta corpus tuum hospitari uoluit. Illis et similibus ad impatienciam que est contra caritatem qua tenemur deum diligere super omnia uolunt dyabolus hominem ducere ut sic merita sua perdat. Nota quod mortuus maximus dolor corporis accidit hijs precipue qui non morte naturali que raro est sicut docet experientia manifesta sed frequenter ex accitibus puta febre vel apostemate vel alia uoluntate graui et afflictissima atque longa dissoluitur que quidem infirmitas plerisque et precipue ad mortem indispotitas et rursus morientes a deo redit impatiens atque inuenerantes ut plerumque ex nimio dolore in impatiencia amittentes atque insensati uideantur sicut sepe visum est in uultibus. Ex quo uere constat quod tales utique in uera deficiunt caritate teste Hieronymo qui ait. Si quis cum dolore egritudinem uel mortem patitur seu accipit signum est quod sufficienter deum non diligit. Et paulus ait. Caritas patiens in benigna est: ~





Bona uispiratio augth de paciencia

Quarta tertia temptacione dyaboli dat angelis bonam
 temptacionem dicitur **D** homo auerte ab impacia animi tunc per quam
 dyabolus suis mortiferis uisitationibus inibi aliquid quod anime
 tue detruat querit. nam per impaciam et uirum animam uolunt.
 sicut per paciencia possidetur. teste Gregorio qui ait Regum celorum
 nullus murmurans accipit. Ne igitur uisitationis que respectu
 meritorum tuorum laus est. non tedeat cum ipa ante mortem sit quasi
 quoddam purgatorium cum tolleratur ut oportet uidelicet pacien-
 ter et libenter cum gratitudine. quia non solum gratitudine opus
 est in his que sunt ad consolationem sed etiam que sunt ad afflic-
 tionem. quia ut Gregorius ait. Misericorditer deus temporale adhibet
 seueritate ne eternam inferat uolunt. Et aug. Dne hic uer et sem-
 ut metum michi pias. Nulle ergo tribulationes te perturbent quia
 xpm uolle te relinquere omdunt iuxta illud Aug. Mala que uos
 hic puniunt ad deum uos ire opellunt. Non igitur anime salus
 approbatur in carnis beneplacitis sed potius eterna dampnatio
 iuxta illud Aug. Signum manifeste dampnationis est beneplacita
 assensum et a mundo diligi. Et iterum uerum est quod omnibus eternum damp-
 nandis omnes lapides non lingunt in solacium. sed magis mirum est
 quod omnibus eternum saluandis omnes lapides non lingunt in periculum.
 Repelle ergo a te impaciam tunc pestem uirulentam et assume paciam
 scilicet fortissimum quo omnes inimici anime facilliter superantur et respice
 xpm patientissimum et omnes sanctos usque ad mortem.
Nota cum intirius sentit se temptari per impaciam quidert pinc quod
 uocatur impacia. quia ipm inquietando et perturbando a deo auertit
 quia dicitur Sup que requiescet sps meus in hiis qui quieti et
 humile corde. Secundo quidert quod pacia est sollicitate seruanda. primo
 quia est uicia. Unde paulus Pacia est uobis uicia. Et dicit. Nonne
 oportuit pati xpm et ita irare in gloriam suam. Et Gregorius.
Nunc seruari concordia nisi per paciam ualet. Secundo quia est uicium
 Unde dicitur In pacia uia possidebitis animas uias. Et Gregorius. Mle-
 uoris meriti est aduersa tollerare quod bonas opibus inuidare.
Idem Sicut ferro martires esse possumus si paciam in animo
 ueraciter seruamus. Et salomon Michoz est paciens uero fortis
 et qui dicitur animo suo expugnatores urbium.



Temptatio dyaboli de vana gloria

Quarto dyabolus temptat hominem infirmum p
simplicis complacentiam que est superbia spiritualis
p qua deuotis et religiosis atq; perfectis magis est infel-
tius. Cum enim homine ad deuiandum a fide aut in despacio-
nem aut ad impacientiam non potest inducere tunc aggre-
ditur cum p sui ipsius complacentiam tales seium iaculans
cogitationes. **Q**uod firmiter es in fide q; fortis in spe et q; con-
stanter pacies in tua infirmitate oquam multa bona operatus
es maxime gloriari debes quia non es sicut ceteri qui infi-
mita mala perpetrarunt et tamen solo gemitu ad celestia reg-
na peruenierunt. igitur regnum celorum tibi uire negari
non potest quia legitime certasti. Accipe ergo coronam
tibi paratam et sedem excellentiorem pre ceteris optinebis
per ista et similia dyabolus instantissime laborat homi-
nem inducere ad spirituales superbiam. **Q**uod ad sui ipsius
complacentiam.

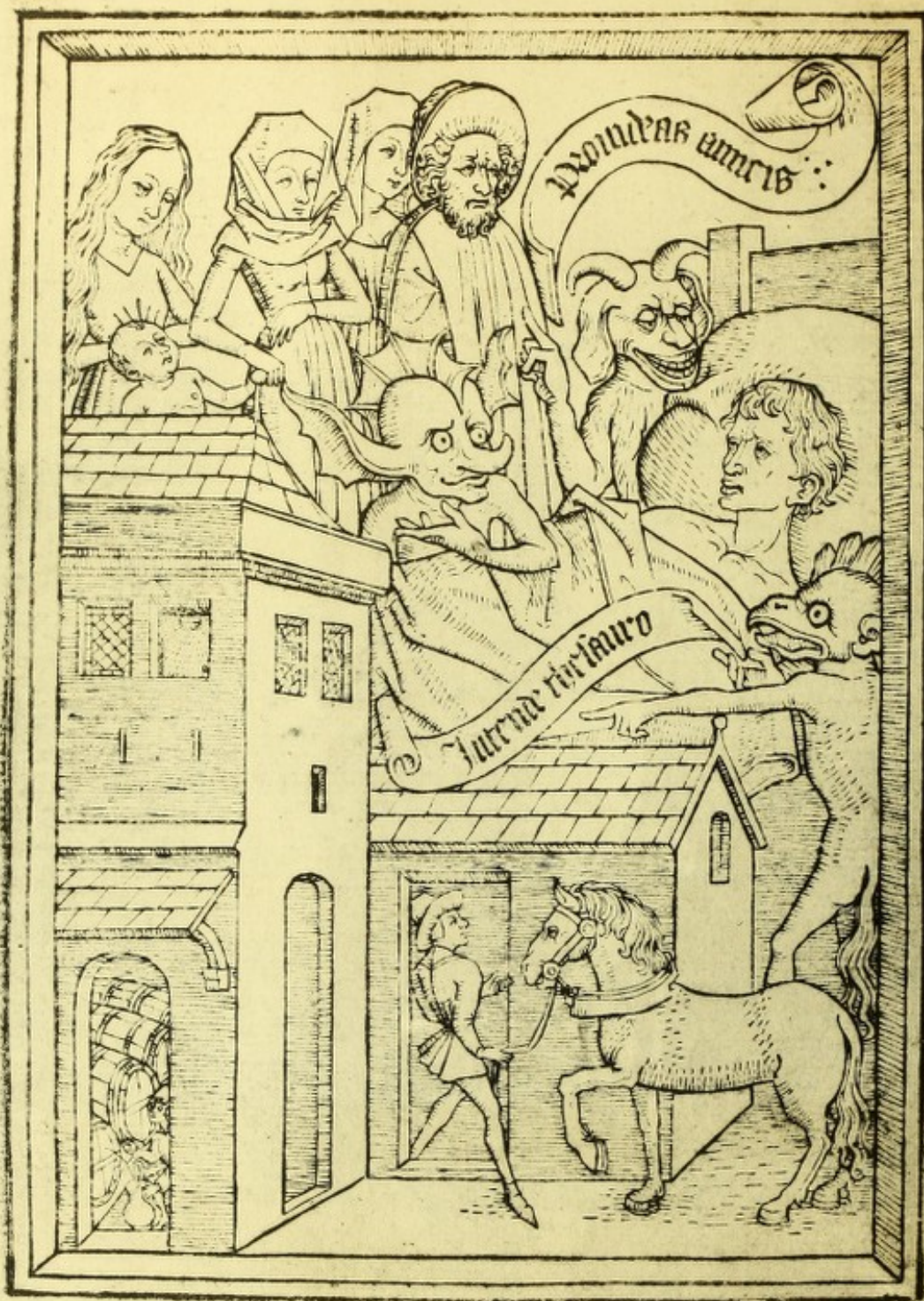
Quo quo notandum q; ista superbia multum est vitanda
primo quia per eam homo efficitur similis dyabolo nam
per solam superbiam de angelo factus est dyabolus.
Secundo quia per ipsam homo videtur committere blas-
phemiam per hoc q; bonum qd a deo habet a se presumpsit
habere. Tertio quia tanta potest esse sua complacentia
q; per hanc dampnaretur. Vnde gregorius Reminiscen-
do quis boni qd gessit diuin se apud se erigit apud auc-
torem humilitatis cadit. Et augustinus. Homo si se
iustificauerit et de iusticia sua presumpserit cadit.



Bona inspiratio angeli contra vanā gloriā

Quoniam quā tū temptacionē dyaboli dat angelus bonā
inspiracionē dicens. Misere autē tū superbis ascribendi
tibi ipi constanciā in fide spe et paciēcia quic tū soli deo as-
scribenda est cum nichil boni a te habens dño dicunt. Sine me
nichil potestis facere Et alibi scriptū est Non tibi arroges nō
te iactes non te insolenter extollas nichil de te psumas nichil
boni tibi tribuis. Et dñs ait qui se exaltat humiliabitur.
Et iterum. Nisi efficiamur sicut pūilis iste nō intrabitis
in regnū celozum. Humilia ergo te et exaltaberis dicente
dño Qui se humiliat exaltabitur. Et aug. Sic humilias
deus descendit ad te, si te exaltas deus recedet a te. Aute ergo
mentē tuā a supbia que luciferū quondā anglozū pulcherri-
mū fecit dyabolozū deformissimū et de alta celozum proiecit
ad infernū profunde que etiam fuit causa omniū peccatoz
Vnde bernardus Inuā omnis peccati et causa totius pō-
tionis est supbia. Idem. Tolle hoc vicium et sine labore omnia
vicia reserantur.

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



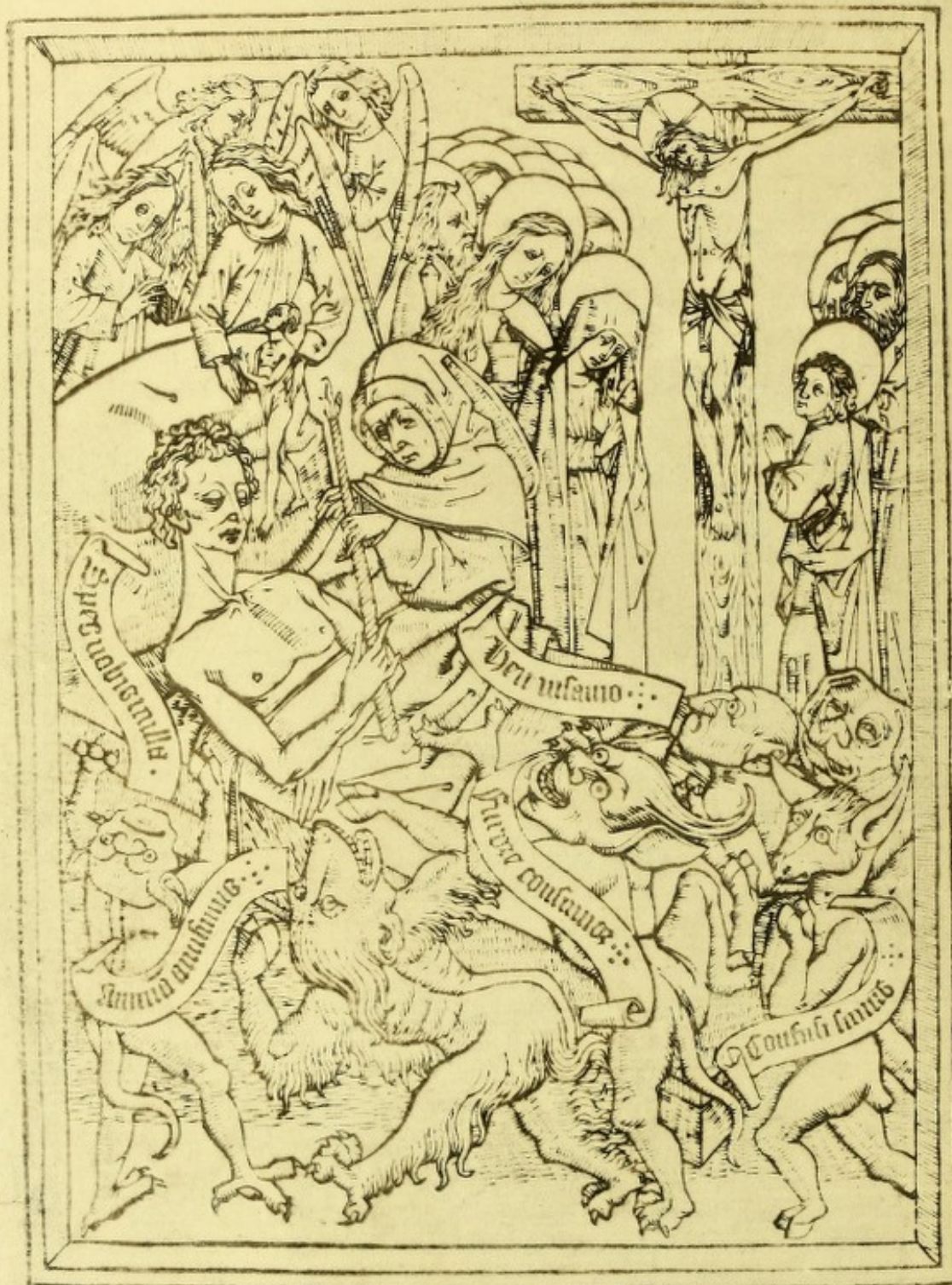
Temptatio dyaboli de auaricia

Quia temptatio dyaboli est auaricia magis
seculares et caruales infestans que est inuita
occupatio temporalium atq; exteriorum circa uxores et
amicos caruales seu corporales diuitias atq; alia q
magis in vita sua dilexerunt per que dyabolus
hominem maxime uocat in fine dicens. Quis est
tu iam relinques omnia temporalia que sollicitudinibus
et laboribus manus sunt congregata etiam
uxorem proles consanguineos amicos carissimos
et omnia alia huius mundi desiderabilia quorum
te societati adhuc interesse tibi magnum foret sola
cum ipis quoq; magnum boni occasio. Hec et simi
lia dyabolus homini in extremis de auaricia presen
tat ut sic per auariciam et cupiditatem terrenam
meritati amore dei et propria salute. Unde singu
lariter uotandum q; maxime caueri debet ne cui
q; maxime amici corporales uxor liberi diuitie et
alia temporalia ad memoriam reducantur nisi in
quittum illud infirmi spiritualis sanitas postulet
aut requirat quia alias maxime periculosum esset.
tu sic ab hijs que spūs et salutis sunt quibus maxime
tunc omnibus uiribus interioribus et exterioribus in
tendendum est reuocari ad ista misera temporalia
et carnalia tunc cum maxima sollicitudine a memo
ria et mente remouenda in quibus certe tunc occupa
ri est valde periculosum.



Bona inspiratio angeli contra auariciā

Contra quā temptatiōe dyaboli dat angelus bonā in-
spiratiōe dicens. O homo aūte aures tuas a mortife-
ris suggestiōibus dyaboli quibus te irritare et iustice conu-
tur. Et omnia temporalia totaliter post pone quoz in uozia ubiqz
uichu salutis conferre potest. sed magis impediuntū me-
mor uoz dñi ad eos qui illis adherent. Nisi quis renūciare
rit omibus q̄ possidet nō potest meus esse discipulus. Et ite-
rū Si quis uenit ad me et nō odit patrē suū et matrē et uxo-
rē et filios et fr̄es et sorores adhuc nō potest meus esse disci-
pulus. Itē ad eos qui illis renūciant dicit. Et omnis qui re-
linq̄rit domū uel fr̄es uel sorores aut patrē aut matrē aut
uoxrē aut filios aut agros p̄pter uome meū centuplū accipi-
et et uitā ceterā possidebit. Inueniō etiam paup̄tatis xp̄i in
cruce p̄te pendētis. matrē dilectissimā et discipulos carissimos
p̄pter tuā salutē spontissime relinquentes. Non sicut cetera q̄ tot
uir sancti iusto contemptu rerū temporalū seruti s̄t eū audire uel
uid. Vete b̄ndicti patris mei possidet regnū pat̄ū uobis ab
origine m̄di. Inq̄ue ergo ista tunc menti et omnia t̄laboria t̄p̄
ueniū a te p̄entius repellendo cor tuū ad uoluntariā paup̄ta-
tē iteque conuice. et sic regnū celoꝝ ex p̄missō tibi debetur dicite
dño. B̄n paupes spiritū quī ipoz est regnū celoꝝ. t̄p̄ totū deo q̄
tibi diuicias ḡfaret sempiternas pluarie quante totū tuā fidu-
ciā t̄nū f̄iducis. Nō quī infirmus sentit se temptari p̄ auariciā
seu amorē terrenoz. consideret p̄mo q̄ amorē terrenoz a deo se-
parati quia dei amorē secludit. teste gregorio qui ait. Nauto
quis a sup̄no amore dilūgitur q̄to hic infirmus i creaturis de-
lectatur. Secundo ḡsideret q̄ uoluntaria paup̄tas hominē
beneficat et ad ceterū ducit dicente dño. Beati paupes
spiritū quī ipoz est regnū celoꝝ.



Sagouizans loqui et vsuū rōis habere potuerit fundat oꝛo-
ues deū p̄uo iūocando ut ip̄ū p̄ ineffabilem uiam suā et
virtutē passionis suē suscipere dignetur. Secundo diligenter
iūocet gloriosam uirginē mariam pro sua mediatrix
Deinde omnes angelos et p̄apue angelum pro sua cul-
todia deputatū. Deinde apostolos martires confessoꝛes
atq; uirgines specialius tamen illos quos uel quas
p̄uis sanis i ueneratione habuit et dilexit quozū yma-
gines cum ymagine crucifixi et beate marie uirginis
ei presententur. Item dicat ter ultimum uerbum. Diripisti
domine uincula mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.
Nam iste uertus secundū cassidoreū tante creditur esse
virtutis ut p̄ca hominū diuittantur si i fine uera confessione
dicatur. Itē dicat ter hec uerba uel similia que i summa beato
augustino ascribunt. Pax dñi n̄ri ih̄u xp̄i et uis passionis
ei⁹ et signū sc̄e crucis et itegritas b̄llime uirginis marie et
b̄ndictio om̄ū sc̄oz ac sc̄az custodia angloꝝ uerū suffragia
om̄ū electoꝝ sint iter me et om̄is inimicos meos uisibiles et i-
uisibiles i hac hora mortis mee dñe ultimo dicat. In manus
tuas cōmendo sp̄m meū. Si autē infirm⁹ nō sciat oꝛones dice
dicat aliquis de absentib⁹ alta uoce corā eo oꝛones uel historias
deuotas i quib⁹ p̄idē laue delectabatur. Ip̄e uero oꝛet corde et de-
siderio ut sc̄t et potest. Unde nota est quō tota salus hoīs i fine
cōsistat sollicitē curare debet uniusquisq; ut libi de loco uel am-
co deuoto fidei et ydoneo prouideat q̄ ei i extremis fideliter as-
sistat ad fidei constantiā pacienciā deuociōne confidentiā et
p̄seuerantiā ip̄m iūocando animando ac magis oꝛones
deuotas pro eo fideliter dicendo. Sed heū pauci sunt qui in
morte proximo suū fideliter assistūt interrogando mouēdo
et pro ip̄is oꝛando. p̄serti cū ip̄i morientes nondum mori
uelint et anime morienti sepe miserabiliter p̄dicantur.

