

Jacques Legrand (Jacobus Magni)

† 1425

I. HIS LIFE.

Since the history of our French Provinces has not yet been written ¹⁾, it is not surprising that very few of their great men have found a modern biographer. Jacques Legrand is, deservedly, one of the exceptions ²⁾. His book *Sophilogium* made his name known throughout the Christian world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And his fearless preaching before the royal court of France entitles him to be called « The Great » (*Magnus*); the name however is not *Magnus* but *Magni*, the Latinized form of his surname Legrand.

He is called *Tolosanus* (not *Toletanus*) and was, therefore, either a native of Toulouse or a member of the Augustinian monastery there ³⁾. We are unable to learn more from the monastery

¹⁾ For the condition of the Order in France during the Great Schism see my forthcoming article in this review.

²⁾ A. COVILLE, *De Jacobi Magni vita et operibus* (Paris 1889). This doctoral thesis of Coville (who later gained a considerable reputation as an historian) has many shortcomings, some of which A. Combes points out in the succeeding article. It was written at a time when the understanding of scholasticism was at a very low ebb. Coville's disparaging judgment of Legrand and his works has led to a completely undeserved underestimation of Jacques. The page numbers within the text refer to this thesis.

³⁾ The history of this house was written by the Augustinian Simplicien DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Mémoires qui peuvent servir à l'histoire du monastère de l'Ordre des Hermites de Saint-Augustin de la ville de Tolose* (Toulouse 1653). The monastery still stands and is now known as the Musée des Augustins, the church has just been renovated. In the rich modern literature the history by A. DU MÊGE, *Monastère des Ermites de Saint-Augustin de Toulouse* in *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi*, III, pp. 141-182 is still the best. — The word 'Tolosanus' was also used for men who had attained the magisterium at this university as we

records, which were lost in the disaster of May 7, 1463 when a great fire destroyed the whole section of the city where the monastery was located ⁴⁾. He seems to have been « Bachalarius » in 1402 : since that degree was generally granted to candidates thirty-five years old or older, we can assume that Legrand was born between 1360 and 1370. If he remained in Toulouse during his early years he probably entered the Order at the age of twelve or fourteen, and very likely he prepared himself for ordination at the *studium generale* of the Austins in Toulouse. If the Constitutions of the Augustinians were followed strictly he could not have been ordained before the age of twenty-four ⁵⁾.

French chroniclers of this period cannot praise enough his zeal for learning, his constant poring over the codices, his untiring efforts in excerpting famous authors. The diligent gathering of *florilegia* typifies a whole section of his manuscripts. His intimate knowledge of the classical writers and his constant use of their works must have endeared him to men like John Montreuil, « the Prince of the French humanists ». But Legrand did not reciprocate this esteem, because classical learning was for him a means to uplift the morals of his people ; it was not an end in itself, as it was for most humanists.

He continued his higher studies in Paris. The year in which he obtained the magisterium is uncertain. In an official document of May, 1412, he is called « Professor in sacra pagina » ⁶⁾. In any case,

know from Robert Waldeby OESA. GWYNN A., *The English Austin Friars at the time of Wyclif* (London 1940), 272. Legrand, however, adds ' Parisius ' so often to his signature that this explanation lacks foundation.

⁴⁾ Monsieur Paul Salies who has made a detailed study of the Augustinian Archives in Toulouse assures me that Legrand's name does not appear in any of the extant documents.

⁵⁾ For the life of a Parisian student of the Augustinian Order see A. ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre* (Wuerzburg 1941), 40 sqq. and the important publication of the statutes of the Parisian studium generale OESA by E. YPMA in *Augustiniana*, VI (1956), pp. 275-321.

⁶⁾ RYMER, *Foedera*, IV (2), 14. According to H. DENIFLE, *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, IV, no. 1998 note, Legrand was licensed only on December 25, 1413 and is not mentioned among the doctors of the following year. But the source from which Denifle drew his information is a compilation of the 17th century and faulty in many instances. Though Coville brings the documents of 1412 on p. 32, he doubted that Legrand ever obtained the doctorate. He should have been warned by the fact that in the same document Jacques' companion Peter de Vesallis is

before a young Augustinian obtained the magisterium it was the custom of the Order to send him to some studium generale abroad. Pamphilus reports that Legrand was sent as *praelector publicus* to Padua. « I remember », he says, « that I saw his excellent *Quaestiones in libros Aristotelis de anima* where it was stated in the foreword that he published them in Padua and disputed them while he was *praelector publicus* at that university » ⁷⁾. Despite Pamphilus, it is hard to believe that a member of the Avignonese obedience would have been granted a salaried professorship at Padua ⁸⁾.

The entire literary production of Legrand fell into the time before the Magisterium. His University Sermons and some of his *Principia* (solemn introductory lectures of a bachalarius) are still preserved, a great rarity among scholastic writers of the Augustinian Order ⁹⁾. Michel Creney, Bishop of Auxerre (1390-1409), proved a generous patron. He financed Legrand's works, which were accordingly dedicated to him. Three surviving volumes have this dedication, which is designated as customary (*more solito*) in Legrand's *Compendium Philosophiae*. Among the works thus honoring Creney is the famous *Sophilogium* (or Sophologium), which was completed in 1400 and which spread the author's reputation to the four corners of Europe ; for two centuries this was one of the most widely distributed ascetical tracts, and it undoubtedly exercised a great influence on the minds of men.

While in Paris Jacques became one of the outstanding preachers of the capital. The Order recognized these gifts early and selected him to preach the important sermon before the election of a new Prior General at Paris in 1396 ¹⁰⁾. John Montreuil extolls his oratorical gifts in almost extravagant terms ; he was so captivated by them that on a certain Good Friday he listened to Jacques' preaching for six continuous hours ! He was so eager to meet the famous

given his exact title 'in sacra pagina bachalarius formatus'. Titles were not recklessly bandied about but jealously guarded and given only to those who were entitled to them.

⁷⁾ See the following list of works, no. 13.

⁸⁾ G. BROTTI and G. ZONTA, *La facoltà teologica dell'università di Padova* (Padova 1922) do not mention him.

⁹⁾ See *Augustiniana*, VI, 289 n. 36.

¹⁰⁾ See list of his works, Sermon 9.

Augustinian that he addressed to him a number of importunate letters, none of which appears to have been answered by Legrand ¹¹⁾).

As official Court Preacher ¹²⁾ Legrand was absolutely devoid of human respect. Preaching before the Queen on Ascension Day, 1405, he took her court publicly to task for their extravagant mode of life in a time of great want. Not content with having administered such a rebuke, he excoriated them for their scandalous immorality :

« Vellem equidem tibi placere, generosa regina, sed multo malens te salvare, qualicunque erga me animo futura sis. In tua curia domina Venus solium occupans, ipsi etiam obsequuntur ebrietas et commessatio, quae noctes vertunt in diem, continuantes choreas dissolutas. Haec maledictae et infernales pedisecae, curiam assidue ambientes, mores viresque enervant plurimum, et impediunt saepius vel milites vel scutiferi delicati adeant expeditiones bellicas, ne in aliqua parte corporis deformentur.... Haec et multa alia, o regina, in opprobrium tuae curiae dicuntur. Quae si non velis credere, in habitu mulieris pauperulae eundo per civitatem, audies ab infinitis personis... ».

The Queen and her retinue were furious ; but when the King was informed of this « insult » he was more pleased than indignant, and ordered Jacques Legrand to preach before him on the following Pentecost. Rumor had it that Jacques would be even more outspoken than he had been before the Queen (p. 14), and as a consequence everyone was eager to attend. Charles VI was accompanied by the King of Navarre, the Dukes of France, and many other nobles. Choosing as his theme the words, « Spiritus Sanctus docebit vos omnem veritatem », Legrand spoke with great eloquence on the outpouring of the Spirit and the shameful disregard of His teaching in France. Finally he turned directly to the King and told him that in former times taxes had been used to defend the country against the enemy ; now two additional heavy taxes had been imposed in one year, and nothing had been done to improve the military preparedness of the Kingdom :

¹¹⁾ He might have relaxed after a while and sent Montreuil his *Collectio sententiarum ex quibusdam philosophis* or a similar work. See the third letter Combes publishes in the following article.

¹²⁾ We draw this conclusion from the sentence: ' donec quidam Augustinianensis, vocatus Jacobus Magni predicationem assumpsit coram regina peragendam ' (p. 12).

« Summa, inquit, ingenuitas hiis temporibus reputatur balnea frequentare, luxuriose vivendo, et indui preciosis loricatis, fimbriatis et manicatis vestibus ; et cum tibi etiam commune sit, dico quod simile est te induere substantia, lacrimis et gemitibus miserrimae plebis, quae continue, quod compatiendo referimus, ad summum regem ascendunt, pro injusticiis sibi factis ».

Then he spoke of a young man (obviously the Duke of Orleans), who had shown every promise in his youth :

« sed nunc propter inhonestam malam vitam et insatiabilem cupiditatem maledictiones plebis incurrebat, cum omnes ab eo et sibi similibus intollerabiliter premerentur, et in finalibus concludens, quod si diu continuarentur tot nephanda, non timebat quin Deus, qui potens est discingere balteum regum, quando placet, aut regnum in brevi transferret ad extraneos, aut propter mala principum divideretur in se ipso ». (p. 16).

Historians tell us nothing about the effects of the sermon. One reason may be that the illness of the King and his death in the following July overshadowed all that had happened before. The sermons, however, have not been forgotten, and dramatists still make use of them ¹³).

In his own time they not only endeared him to the populace but also established him as an important figure in ecclesiastical and state affairs. In 1408 he was one of the delegates sent to Avignon by Salmo, the Secretary of the University, to persuade Benedict XIII to resign at the forthcoming General Council. (The written consent of the Pope, by the way, was carried to the leading French nobles by another Augustinian, Master Giles of Orleans ¹⁴). In worldly politics he was at first a moral reformer without party affiliation. In 1409 Salmo recommended to the new King, Charles VII, a panel of men he deemed suitable counselors on account of their wisdom and virtue ; Legrand was numbered among them (p. 18), but obtained no promotion. Earnestly desirous of reform and unable to get the King's ear, he gradually became a party politician.

The transition is observable from 1409, the death year of Legrand's literary patron, Bishop Michael Creney. The Duke of Berry, a leader of the Armagnac faction, took his place, and in 1410 we

¹³) For example P. MORAND, *Isabeau de Bavière* (Paris 1938), 153-158.

¹⁴) N. VALOIS, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, IV (Paris 1902), 43 and 19 note.

find Legrand dedicating to him his *Livre de bonnes mœurs*, a partial translation of the Sophilogium. It is not to be thought that the Duke purchased Legrand's services with his patronage. He did cultivate him, for he recognized Legrand as a valuable ally in the city of Paris; the fact remains that he needed Legrand more than Legrand needed him. And Legrand cast his lot with the Duke of Berry because he knew of no one else who might succeed in restoring the peace and order of the city.

The turbulence into which Legrand was drawn really began with the assassination of the Duke of Orleans when he was returning from a nocturnal visit with the Queen in 1407¹⁵). This was the beginning of thirty years of civil war. The Duke of Orleans had been in effect the supreme political authority in the city, and his death opened the way for his enemies, the Burgundians, to take over all of Paris. They organized the butchers and skinnners of the city into a paid gang of cutthroats committed to supporting them. When the skinner Cabochet began to instigate riots the Duke of Burgundy neglected to intervene. The people grew daily more restive under the special burdens imposed by a society without law.

The popularity of the Burgundians finally diminished to the point where even many of their former supporters were against them. The change was no doubt hastened by Legrand, who was very influential with the people; he was « the great speaker of the Armagnacs within the city », while they were making a desperate effort without to take it by force of arms in 1411. For this attempt all the Armagnac leaders, including Legrand, were put under a heavy excommunication. Such political excommunications, however, were not taken very seriously, and in any case they were sure to be lifted as soon as the fortunes of war smiled on the offenders. In 1413 when the Armagnacs entered the city with a great show of pomp and force, they were no doubt reconciled by the Church. Meanwhile the hope for this happy future constrained them to make preparations that were no less careful than extensive.

One of these preparations has caused Coville to brand Legrand as a traitor to his country. Now, it is to be remembered that greater matters than the peaceful government of Paris were at stake; the Armagnacs wished to secure the royal succession for their own

¹⁵) We follow the narrative in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII (New York 1932), 384 sqq.

kin and the Burgundians had different plans ; the struggle that was taking shape touched the dynasty itself. The English, who were planning a new invasion, were leagued with the Burgundians through a treaty that had been negotiated by Henry IV of England. A realignment of forces, with England on the side of the Armagnacs, seemed all but indispensable. In January, 1412, the Duke of Berry sent Legrand together with other emissaries to London. The legation failed, necessitating a new attempt at the beginning of April. This time the messengers were waylaid before they were able to leave France. Although they escaped with their lives they were robbed of the sealed letters containing the proposals to the English government. These incriminating documents were read at the great meeting of nobles on April 6. They offered not only military and financial alliance but also the whole territory of Aquitaine, which was to be delivered to the English in perpetuity. However desirable English assistance might be, the price seems to our modern minds rather higher than a patriot could contemplate paying.

To call Legrand unpatriotic, however, is to judge him by standards which did not exist in his time. Loyalty had little to do with abstractions like France and England ; it was only a principle governing a good man's behavior to certain persons, in particular to his feudal lords. Certainly the contemporary judgment of Legrand's actions was not harsh, for he went unpunished and was even able to undertake a third mission to England in May, 1412. And even by our somewhat artificial modern standards we ought to judge Legrand as an astute negotiator who sought to avoid the devastation of war by grandly offering to the enemy, who could hardly fail to conquer such a divided country as France, a reward much smaller than he could seize by force of arms. Compromise would have avoided the terrible defeat administered by Henry V at Agincourt. In any case, when the Armagnacs entered Paris in 1413 Legrand walked beside the King of Sicily, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Archbishop of Saon. He was even offered the Archbishopric of Bordeaux ; tradition tells us that he refused this promotion, although more probably it was prevented by shifts of the scene brought about by the conflicting forces of the Great Schism.

Nothing is known of the life of Jacques Legrand after 1413. He is generally reported to have died in 1422 or 1425 and to have been buried in the Augustinian church of Paris. According to some ma-

nuscripts, however, he was buried before the main altar of the Augustinian church in Poitiers (p. 36/7).

II. HIS WORKS.

The necessary detailed study of Legrand's still available manuscripts must be left to the future. For the manuscripts located in Paris we relied on Coville's not always satisfactory description and added only some new material for those not located at the French capital.

I. COMPENDIUM PHILOSOPHIAE

Genoa, *Bibl. Publ. Beriana* CF. 53.

225 × 145 mm. Cc235.

Dedicatio : « Illustrissimi principis regis Francorum devotissimo confessori D. Michaeli, divina providente gratia Episcopo Antisiodorensi, humilis sui patrocinii capellanus Frater Jacobus Magni, Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini continuum famulandi affectum Compendium philosophiae, quod studentium sociorumque meorum contemplatione compegeram, vestrae paternae dominationi solito more decrevi adscribere, quod etiam nulli hominum hucusque adscripseram ».

Incipit : « Quia textus aristotilis nimia prolixitate verborum que difficultate sepius... ».

col. 235 v *Explicit* : « ... voluntariam tueri. Explicit praesens opus complete scriptum in vigilia Nativitatis B. Mariae Virginis anno domini M^oCCCC^o2^o. Deo gratias ».

The only notice Coville could find of this manuscript was in GANDOLPHUS D., *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus* (Romae 1704), 193, who had seen it in the Aprosiana of Ventimiglia, once a famous library of the Augustinian Order. Since the Aprosiana was united at the time of the French Revolution with the so-called Beriana or Public Library of Genoa, we made inquiries and to our pleasant surprise found the MS still extant. The director of the Beriana, Dr. J. Piersantelli, kindly added from the rare catalogue of the Aprosiana the following passage :

« Agostino Nibbio di Vintimiglia de' FF. Minori Conventuali, di cui è il ritratto in fondo della parte destra occidentale, per dove s'entra in Libreria, donò (avendo però promesso altro) al creder di molti un minuzzolo : mà disprezzato da F. Angelico (Aproscio), a cui è ben noto, che :

Bacchus racemo munerari se cupit
Ceres maniplo, thus merumque Iuppiter
Salisque micam non gravatus accipit.

Il libro è questo : Iacobi Magni, Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini, Caroli VII Francorum Regis a sacris confessionibus, Compendium Philosophiae, Ms. in membr. in. 4. Segn. C. f. » (*La biblioteca aprosiana... di Cornelio Aspasio Antivigilmi... Bologna, Manolessi, 1671, p. 304*).

Angelico Aprosio either found or made the mis-statement which has often been repeated, that Jacques Legrand was confessor to the king.

2. INTRODUCTORIUM SERMOCINANDI

Bordeaux Ms 306, ff. 91 ; 195 × 135 mm.

This work was unknown to Coville. It is now in the Public Library of Bordeaux. We quote from its catalogue :

« Incipit Introductorium sermocinandi compositum a Fratre Jacobo Magni, bachalario ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini conventus Parysiensis. Dilectis Parysius constudentibus humilis frater Jacobus Magni ordinis sancti Augustini sinerum pro viribus proficienti affectum contingit ».

fol. 25 sequitur practica operis. A pro I, quia Deus est A, Apoc. I(8), Ego sum alpha etc. This second part is arranged in alphabetical order. Its last words are fol. 91^v : Zozobabel (sic) ubi altitudo... quia interpretatur princeps translationis. Item ubi confusio quia interpretatur... confusionis. Explicit. Amen.

Th. CHARLAND, *Artes predicandi. Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Paris-Ottawa 1936), 51 only remarks : « c'est un autre ouvrage que le Sophologium de notre auteur, imprimé plusieurs fois au XV^e siècle » !!

3. POSTILLA TAM LITTERALIS QUAM MYSTICA SUPER LIBRUM GENESIS (1400)

Angelica 370, Bordeaux 18, Munich clm 26903, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 530 (F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, III (Matriti 1951), n° 3976).

Dedication to Bishop M. Creney as in n° 1.

Incipit : « Sacri eloquii dogmata cum cernerem... ».

Explicit (fol. 137 v) : « ... ut in littera presenti a filiis Jacob explicatum est ».

Angelica 370 has this colophon « Explicit Postilla tam litte-

ralis quam mystica super librum Genesis compilata a fratre Jacobo Magni conventus Parisiensis ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini » with the addition in a more recent hand : « 1545. Opus elaboratum anno circiter 1400 ». 338 × 242 mm. ff. 201, sec XV ineuntis, double columns.

The clm 26903 (not 18025 as Coville writes) has 114 ff, 270 × 203 mm. and adds to the explicit : « Scriptum per manus fratris Michaelis Kreudel de Novoforo [Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz] cursoris ejusdem ordinis anno domini MCCCCLXXI die 21 mensis Julii et hoc in sollemni studio ac conventu Tholosano ». On fol. 1 « ad Augustinienses Ratisbonenses ». Communication of Dr. Jos. Hemmerle, Munich.

4. LIBRI GENESEOS VERSIO GALLICA 2 vols.

Paris, Bibl. Mazarin MSS 630-631.

This Ms is probably identical with the copy which formerly belonged to the College of Navarre. STEGMÜLLER, *Rep. Bibl.* III n° 3977.

This MS was not written by Legrand, but is, according to the foreword, compiled « selon l'exposicion de maistre Nicole de Lira, selon aussy l'exposicion que fist ung vénérable docteur maistre Jacques le Grant, qui translata ce livre de Genesis de latin en françois avec son exposicion, de qui la manière de procéder, j'ai entencion de tenir » (COVILLE, p. 39).

5. ARISTOTELIS, SENECAE, BOECII DICTA COMMUNIORA

Paris, Arsenal 481

Dedication : « Predilecto socio ac constudenti fratri Laurentio Anglici (Langlois) ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini humilis studens ejusdem ordinis frater Jacobus Magni sincerum in Christo salutis affectum ».

« Ut Aristotelis, Senece, Boecii dicta communiora promptius occurrant hoc modo redacta suscipe ».

The work contains in alphabetical order sayings of philosophers under 375 titles. Coville gives samples p. 44. It was probably a preparatory work for the *Sophilogium*.

6. ABBREVIATIO DITIONARII MORALIS-BIBLICI PETRI BERCHORII

Paris, Bibl. Nat. 15137 ; Toulouse MS. 745.

« Prima pars abbreviationis primae partis libri dicti : Dic-

tionarium compilata a fratre Jacobo Magni ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, scilicet ab ejus inicio usque ad vocabulum custodire ».

Dedication : « Sacre pagine dignissimo professori, fratri Bernardo Puialis, priori generali ordinis fratrum heremitarum S. Augustini humilis ejusdem voti obediencie filius frater Jacobus Magni cum affectu famulandi presens obsequium... ».

Since the valuable « *Dictionarium seu Repertorium Morale-Biblicum* » of Peter Berchorii (Bersuire O. S. B.) was too bulky and expensive Legrand tried to reduce it to a more concise and practical form. He dedicated it to Bernard Pugalís (Pughal, Pojau) who ruled the Avignonese obedience of his Order from 1389-1402. — Coville read 'provincialis' instead of Pugalís. The work is not mentioned by Stegmüller either under J. Legrand or Peter Berchorii. It is unknown to all Augustinian bibliographers. The Toulouse MS comprehends the letters A to E of the Dictionary.

7. SERMONES XV seu EPILOGIUM

Bordeaux MS 331 ff. 108-148 ; Paris, Arsenal 542, ff. 1-39, Toulouse MS 872, ff. 232-247.

None of these MSS contains all fifteen sermons. That of Paris is the most complete, but probably not the original. Ms 872 of Toulouse is a later and poor copy of MS 321 of Bordeaux, both use the word *actus* for *sermo*, a sure sign that these writings formed part of required university activities. Fol. 148 of the Bordeaux MS adds : « *Iste liber est fratris Arnaldi de Fontequentino ut profertur in primo istarum collationum etc. Sancte Augustine, ora pro nobis* ». Arnaldus had also owned MSS 73, 135 and 127 which he bought in Paris in 1409, and brought along to Bordeaux, where he was vicar general in 1419 (Dd-4 fol. 1^v).

The Paris MS contains 14 sermons, Bordeaux 12 and Toulouse 4. Coville gives the following list from MS Arsenal 542 :

1. « *Confide, fili...* »
Ad clerum, dominica VIII^a post Penthecosten
2. « *Confide, fili, remittuntur tibi peccata tua...* »
Sermo ad clerum. dominica prima Adventus
3. « *Ecce rex tuus venit tibi...* »
Sermo ad clerum eadem dominica
4. « *Gaudete in Domino semper* »
Sermo ad clerum dominica II^a vel III^a Adventus

5. « Illud erat mutum »
Sermo ad clerum, dominica III^a Quadragesime
6. « De sancto patre Augustino : Lux in tenebris lucet »
Collacio ad clerum, in die B. Augustini
7. « Ascendisti cubile patris tui »
Collacio ad clerum in die Ascensionis Domini
8. « Ab eterno ordinata sunt »
Collacio ad clerum die natalitatis B. Mariae
9. « Mandata mea servate » Collacio ad capitulum generale, sancta in vigilia Penthecostes
10. « Videns civitatem flevit super illam » — Collacio ad capitulum provinciale (exhortacio ad fratres Augustinianos, ut optimum presidentem eligant)
- (11. Sermo ad clerum dominica tertia post Penthecostes *deest*)
12. « Venit plenitudo temporis » Sermo ad clerum, dominica infra octabas(!) nativitatis Domini.
13. Lectio de sentiis Petri Lombardi : « Reverendi magistri dominique mei prestantissimi... »
14. Lectio super Bibliam : « Reverendi magistri et domini patresque prestantissimi... »
15. Lectio de laudibus apostolorum Simonis et Jude circa predictam lectionem.

8. CHRONICON IMPERIALE

Arsenal MS. 542 ff. 40-68.

This « Chronicon Imperiale ab origine mundi usque ad pontificatum Innocentii IV » is copied from histories of various authors, from Eusebius to his own time. « Legrand offers nothing new, nothing on his own » (COVILLE, 44).

9. ALIQUA ORIGINALIA AD LAUDEM SACRAE SCRIPTURAE

Arsenal MS 542 ff. 68-76.

« with a superabundance of names of medieval authors » (COVILLE 45) It seems that this collection like sermons 13 and 14 are part of the solemn university lectures which a baccalaureus biblicus had to give at the beginning (principium) of his lectures on the Bible and as baccalaureus sententiarius on the sentences of the Lombard.

10. TRACTATUS DE ARTE MEMORANDI

Arsenal MS 542 ff. 76-79.

Divided into five parts this tract teaches an artificial method of remembering things which Coville (p. 45) sharply rejects.

11. METRUM DE VITA SANCTI AUGUSTINI et DE VITA SANCTI PAULI, PRIMI HEREMITAE supplies artists with various inscriptions for paintings etc. on these two saints.

Arsenal, MS 542, ff. 79^v-80.

12. SOPHOLOGIUM or SOPHILOGIUM

« Sophologium cujus finis est amare scientias et virtutes ».

Dedication : To Bishop M. Creney as in 1 and 3.

Incipit : « Lecta colligere et ad summulam ordinatim redigere quam utile sit, experientia saepius didicisti ».

Explicit : « Sophilogium editum a fratre Jacobo Magni de Parisius ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini finit feliciter ».

The Sophilogium, which is the main work of Legrand, is divided into ten books. The first two books give a short introduction to classical knowledge and the great classical writers. Books 3-6 develop the Christian teaching on virtue and vice. The treatise on the seven capital sins and the remedies against them is followed in Book 7 by a contemplation of the last things, death and judgment, which have always been powerful motives to keep man on the narrow path. Books 8-10 develop the special duties of each state of life, those of the clergy first, then of the temporal rulers and finally, the 'common people'. The Sophilogium is, therefore, a handbook of the true Christian life not a commentary on the sentences of the Lombard as F. STEGMÜLLER supposed in his *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias P. Lombardi*, I (Wuerzburg 1947), n° 387. 1.

The number of Manuscripts is very large and the book was printed at least 20 times before 1500.

Translations into French.

The translation of the Sophilogium into French, made by Legrand himself, is better than the original and therefore not identical in all things with the Latin editions.

The first part appeared under the name *Archiloge Sophie*, while the second and third parts were entitled *Le livre de bonnes mœurs*. The second part was printed much oftener than the first. The edition of Lyon 1513 and Paris 1539 carried the title *Le tresor de sapience et fleur de toute bonte, remply de plusieurs bonnes authoritez des soiges philosophes et aultres... »*,

Translations into English.

At the request of William Pratt, a mercer in London, William Caxton translated the work into English and entitled it *The Book of good manners*. It was printed by Caxton, Westminster in 1487 and 1500 and by R. Pynson, London in 1494 and Wynkyn de Worde, London in 1494, 1500, 1507 and 1515. De Worde entitled the book *Here begynneth a lytell boke called good manners*, which had seven editions.

13. QUAESTIONES IN LIBROS ARISTOTELIS DE ANIMA

The only notice we have of this work is found in PAMPHILUS J., *Chronicon Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Romae 1581) fol. 72v: « Fertur alia varia opuscula edidisse, quae Bononiae e bibliotheca conventus nostri Jacobi erepta fuere et ego memini me vidisse Quaestiones optimas in libros Aristotelis de anima, quas ut in principio notatum erat, Patavii edidit et disputavit, dum ibi esset praelector publicus ».

As said above we cannot believe in Legrand's lectorship in Padua which could have taken place only during the Great Schism. Whether the *Quaestiones de anima* were, therefore, the handiwork of another Magister Legrand will ever remain a mooted question.

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