

John Capgrave, O. E. S. A. (1393-1464)

Bibliography

II CAPGRAVE'S WORKS

N. B. — All numbers within brackets () refer to the list of biographers ¹⁾.

Since most of Capgrave's works are lost and as it is almost impossible to reconstruct the chronology of his writings — because of lack of information — we think it best to follow the traditional list drawn up by BALE (3), and completed by HINGESTON (43). At the end of the enumeration of Capgrave's works separate lists will be given both of the writings still extant, and those which are now lost, as well as a tentative chronological arrangement.

I COMMENTARIUS IN GENESIM

Date — 1437-1438 ^{a)}

Dedicated to — Humphrey, duke of Gloucester ^{b)}

MS-extant — Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Oriel 32, ff. 181 ^{c)}

MS-missing — Cambridge, Library of Austin Friars ^{d)}

Incipit-Dedicatory epistle — 'Gloriosissimo christiane fidei defensori' ^{e)}

Incipit-Commentary — 'Arduum namque et supra vires nostras opus sumpsimus' ^{f)}

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (26), (29), (31), (32), (33), (36), (43), (44), (46), (48), (50), (52), (66), (68), (82), (92), (101), (102) ^{g)}.

Edited — The dedicatory epistle only : it is Appendix iv in Hingeston's edition of the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* (London, 1858), pp. 229-232 ^{h)}.

¹⁾ See the first part of this bibliography — Capgrave's biographers — which has been printed in *Augustiniana*, vii (1957), 118-148.

²⁾ There are a few errors in Hingeston's transcript of this letter.

^{a)} The colophon of this work runs —

'Feliciter per Capgrave. Incepit frater iohannes capgrave hoc opus in translatione sancti augustini doctoris, que occurrit mense octobris [i. e. 11 Oct.] anno domini m.cccc.xxxvij. et fecit finem eiusdem in festo mathei apostoli et evangeliste [i. e. 21 Sept.] anno domini m.cccc.xxxvij' ³⁾.

^{b)} Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) brother of King Henry V. Capgrave dedicated several works to him as we shall see below. After Capgrave's colophon Duke Humphrey wrote —

'Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre du don frere Jehan Capgrave quy le me fist presenter a mon manoir de Pensherst le jour de lan lan [m] cccc.xxxvij' ⁴⁾.

^{c)} This MS, the dedicatory copy, is the only extant. Formerly it

³⁾ '*Feliciter per Capgrave*' is Capgrave's usual way of ending his writings. Sometimes we find *feliciter* with his monogram &, a combination of the letters J and C, or simply *per Capgrave*, cf. what Bannister says about *Feliciter per Capgrave* and the monogram in the Introductory note to *Ye solace of pilgrimes*, pp. xviii-xix.

The feast of the translation of St Augustine which was celebrated on 11 Oct. is the so-called first translation of St Augustine's relics from Africa to Sardinia. FURNIVALL (48), p. viii, corrects Capgrave by stating that the translation of St Augustine in reality occurred on 6 Sept. But this latter date in fact concerns the translation of St Augustine of Canterbury. Capgrave made the distinction between the two Augustines by adding *doctoris* to signify St Augustine, bishop of Hippo.

⁴⁾ '*Le jour de lan*' means the 1st of January. Though the beginning of the year during the Middle Ages varied in different countries — owing to the use of the chanceries — in civil life 1 Jan. always has been considered as the first day of the new year, cf. H. Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Hannover⁹, 1948), p. 11. In fifteenth-century England the new year began on 25 march (*mos Anglicanus*). '*Le jour de lan*' 1438 for England is according to the Roman calendar 1 January 1439.

Duke Humphrey presented this book together with Capgrave's commentaries on *Exodus* and *Kings* to the Library of Oxford University in 1444, as is to be seen in *Registrum F (Epistolae Academicæ Oxonienses)*, f. 67b. H. Anstey edited this Register for the Oxford Historical Society, vols. 35-36 in 1898. In vol. i, pp. 232-33 we read —

'Hec identura, facta Oxonie, vicesimo quinto die mensis Februarii anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo tertio [i. e. 25 Febr. 1444] et regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum vicesimo secundo, inter serenissimum et illustrissimum principem et dominum, inclitissimum dominum Humfridum, regum filium, fratrem et patruum, ducem Glocestrie, comitem Pembrochie et magnum camerarium Anglie ex una parte, ac suam humillimam et perpetuam oratricem universitatem oxoniensem ex altera parte, testatur, quod dicta universitas, de summa et magnificentissima liberalitate predicti inclitissimi principis, centum et triginta quinque volumina, per dilectos

belonged to the Library of Oriel College, Oxford, but the old MSS of that College now are deposited in the Bodleian Library, as Mr J. Gough, librarian of Oriel College, kindly informed us. WHARTON (26), and after him GANDOLFO (29), and OUDIN (31) give Oriel MS 20. H. M. Bannister in the introduction to the *Solace of pilgrimes* erroneously has MS 132, while LE LONG (32) places it in Balliol College as MS 884 which STEGMÜLLER (68) borrows from him. A description of the codex is to be found in O. COXE, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie asservantur*, i, Coll. Oriel (Oxford, 1852), p. 11, and in Appendix iv of the *Liber de illustribus Henricis*, pp. 225-26.

^{d)} Another MS, now lost, was seen by Leland which belonged to the library of Austin Friars at Cambridge. Leland states 'Ioannes, Capgrave forsan, Augustinensis frater, et doctor theol. — Super Genesim, justum volumen ad Humfredum ducem Glocestriae. Arduum namque et supra vires. Erat hic non infelicitur eruditus' ⁵⁾.

^{e)} The first lines of this letter run —

'Gloriosissimo christiane fidei defensori nephandorumque heresum studioso extirpatori ac pauperum qui sub christo militant devoto defensori, domino humfrido duci glovernie suus humilis in christo et orator sedulus frater johannes inter doctores minimus tituloque heremitarum sancti augustini enutritus obsequia preces et subiectionem'.

The initial contains a miniature of the author presenting the present volume to the duke sitting in his throne. A facsimile has been reproduced as a frontispice of the edition of the *Solace of pilgrimes* ⁶⁾.

^{f)} The *incipit* of the commentary is different in BALE (3), PITS (12), TANNER (33), and HINGESTON (43), who read —

et speciales nuncios suos, magistrum Willelmum Say et Radulphum Drew, ad ipsam universitatem destinata recepit; quorum utique voluminum nomina cum iniciis secundorum foliorum inferius describuntur...

Item, Capgrave 'Super Regum' primum... sec. fol. fuit vir

Item, Capgrave 'Super Regum' tertium... sec. fol. fulgorem

Item, Capgrave 'Super Genesim'... sec. fol. arduum

Item, Capgrave 'Super Exodum'... sec. fol. et beatitudinem.

The whole passus has been printed also by Hingeston in the edition of *The chronicle of England*, pp. xiv-xv. TANNER (33) mentions the fact of the donation. In 1439 Duke Humphrey presented 129 volumes to the said Library, and in 1441 another 10, cf. ULLMAN (102), pp. 349-350.

⁵⁾ *Ioannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, iv (London², 1770). 15.

⁶⁾ In 1897 somebody seems to have examined this commentary, for in Madan's

'Arduum namque et supra vires est'. POSSEVINO (13), GRATIEN (14), and ELSEN (20) have — 'Arduum namque et super vires est'.

The initial has also a miniature representing Capgrave at his desk.

^g) Only the authors who expressly mention this commentary are given here. The same applies to the other books of the Pentateuch.

2 COMMENTARIUS IN EXODUM

Date — 1439-1440 ^a)

Dedicated to — Humphrey, duke of Gloucester ^b)

MS-extant — Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Duke Humphrey b. 1, ff. 186 ^c)

Incipit-Dedicatory letter — 'Litterature profundissime' ^d)

Incipit-Commentary — 'Andreas. Quia historiam' ^e)

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (33), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68), (102).

^a) In the colophon we read —

'Incepit hoc opus frater iohannes capgrave in festo sancti antonii confessoris que occurrit mense ianuarii anno domini m.cccc.xxxviii. [i. e. 17 Jan. 1439] et fecit finem in festo sancti iohannis ante portam latinam [i. e. 6 May] anno domini m.cccc.xl. ^f).

^b) In the dedicatory epistle of the *Commentarius in Genesim* Capgrave wrote to Duke Humphrey —

'Si enim placuerit et ad noticiam meam pervenerit tunc sub protectione maiorum meorum ad exodum festino et deinde ad reliquos moisei libros ut habeat obliviosus mundus opuscula solito paratiora' ^g).

That Humphrey liked the Genesis-commentary and that its author heard about it, may be deduced from the fact that Cap-

Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library, vi, pt. i (*Accessions 1890-1904*), Oxford 1906, p. 148, there is the next item, n^o 32385 —

'Four photographs taken in 1897 from MS Oriel Coll. 32 (Capgrave on Genesis...). The first photograph is a list of contents, the second is the preface by Capgrave, the third gives the first page of the text of the exposition, the fourth the last page of the text with the colophon (A. D. 1438) and the duke's note of the presentation of the volume to him in the same year. Now MS Duke Humphrey b. O'.

^f) January 1438 is according to the Roman calendar January 1439.

^g) Cf. *Liber de illustribus Henricis*, Appendix iv, p. 231.

grave began this commentary almost a fortnight after he had presented his first book on the Pentateuch to the duke.

- c) This MS also is the dedicatory copy and the only one extant. It was in the possession of Sir Robert Throckmorton († 1791), and was bought in Jan. 1897 by the Bodleian Library, Oxford. A description is given in *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vi, pt. i (*Accessions 1890-1904*) Oxford, 1906, pp. 148-49 (= n° 32386)⁹⁾.

It did not come to light until after Hingeston's research, so he does not mention the MS.

- d) The dedicatory letter is badly damaged. At several places the script is unreadable. The first lines run —

'Litterature profundissime excellentissimo domino ac omni recte philosophantium benignissimo principi domino humfrido duci glovernie suus ut olim iohannes (...) inter doctores minimus obsequia et quicquid (...) valet...'

The first letter contains a miniature of the author presenting his book to the duke¹⁰⁾.

- e) The *incipit* of the commentary after the first lemma which begins — 'Hec sunt nomina' — reads:

'Andreas. Quia historiam quam hic prosequi intendit auctor...'

At the end of this paragraph: 'Hec andreas'¹¹⁾.

Then Capgrave starts his commentary —

'Hec sunt. Sicut sepius commemoravimus in priori libro...'

3 COMMENTARIUS IN LEVITICUM

Date — after 1440^{a)}

Incipit-Commentary — 'Occultissimorum mysteriorum sunt'.

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (36), (43), (44), (48), (68).

^{a)} See n° 2^{b)}.

4 COMMENTARIUS IN NUMEROS

⁹⁾ The MS was presented by Duke Humphrey to the Library of Oxford University, cf. note 5.

¹⁰⁾ On fol. 186v is a plan and description of the temple.

¹¹⁾ This *Andreas* is the English-born Augustinian Canon Andrew of St Victor in Paris who is said to have been abbot of Wigomord, dioc. of Hereford. He died c. 1175. Many commentaries on the Holy Scripture came from his hand and are still preserved mostly at Cambridge and in the Vatican Library. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum Medii Aevi*, ii (Madrid, 1950) has 36 items (nos 1295-1329). We checked two Mss of Andrew's commentary on Exodus, preserved in the Vatican Library, where we found the passus — 'Quia historiam quam hic prosequi intendit' (MS Vat. Lat. 1053, f. 18v, and MS Barb. Lat. 693 f. 120v).

Date — after 1440

Incipit-Commentary — 'Ex Nicolao de Lyra super libro'.

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (36), (43), (44), (48), (68).

5 COMMENTARIUS IN DEUTERONOMIUM

Date — after 1440

Incipit-Commentary — 'In hoc ultimo libro Moysi qui'.

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (36), (43), (44), (48), (68).

6 COMMENTARIUS IN HISTORIAM IOSUAE

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68).

7 COMMENTARIUS IN IUDICES ^{a)}

References — (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68) ^{b)}.

^{a)} BALE (3) mentions this commentary in the *Catalogus* together with that on Ruth but adds : in two books. So do most biographers after him. PITS (12), FABRICIUS (34), JÖCHER (35), FURNIVALL (48), D. N. B. (52), and STEGMÜLLER (68) list them separately.

^{b)} MS CHIGI R. II. 62 (10) has : in Iudices et Ruth, lib. 1.

8 COMMENTARIUS IN RUTH

References — (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68).

9 COMMENTARIUS IN REGUM I ^{a)}

Date — before 1437 ^{b)}

Dedicated to — Humphrey, duke of Gloucester ^{c)}

MS-missing — Oxford, University Library ^{d)}

Incipit-Commentary — 'Vires prolum' (?) ^{e)}

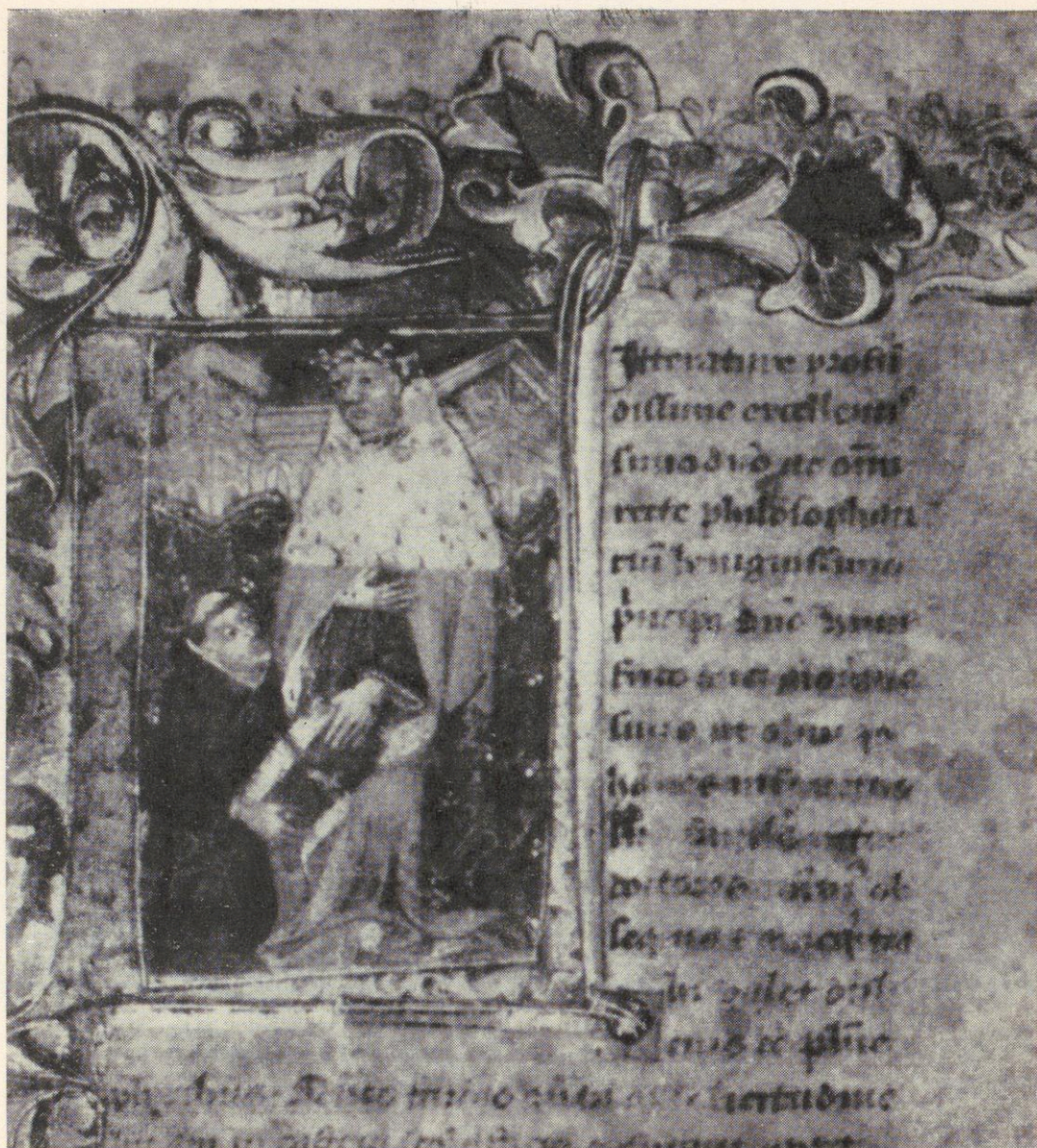
Cited in — The dedicatory letter of the Genesis-commentary ^{f)}

References — (1), (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68) ^{g)}.

^{a)} All biographers record the commentaries on the four books of Kings.



Initial of the dedicatory letter of the *Commentarius in Genesim*
 (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Oriel 32).



Initial of the dedicatory letter of the *Commentarius in Exodum*
 (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Duke Humphrey b. 1, f. 1).

- b) At the end of the dedication letter of the Genesis- commentary Capgrave refers to his method of commenting on the Pentateuch —

'... in quibus [libris] sicut in libris regum vires prolium triplex expositio inveniatur' ¹²⁾.

He began the Genesis-commentary on 11 Oct. 1437; hence his commentary on Kings appeared before 1437.

- c) We have already seen that Duke Humphrey presented two commentaries 'Super Regum' to Oxford University Library, among them 'Super Regum I' which is listed before the Genesis-commentary ¹³⁾.
- d) This MS as well as the commentary 'Super Regum III' is missing.

e) *Reg. F (Epistolae Academicæ Oxonienses)* ¹⁴⁾ mentions as *incipit*: 'fuit vir'. This is the beginning of the first book of Kings. BALE gives the *incipit*: 'Quod in regnorum libris iam' which obviously follows after the first lemma either of the dedicatory epistle or of the commentary. He borrowed this from Leland ¹⁵⁾. But LELAND (I) records the *Commentarii in libros Regum* dedicated to John Lowe, bishop of St Asaph. The commentary on Kings I was certainly not one of these as it was dedicated to Duke Humphrey.

What about the mysterious words *vires prolium* in the dedicatory letter of the Genesis-commentary? ¹⁶⁾. Are they perhaps the *incipit* of this commentary on Kings I? It is impossible, however, to decide, for the MS is missing.

¹²⁾ See under b.

¹³⁾ These authors refer to the four commentaries.

10 COMMENTARIUS IN REGUM II

Date — between 1433 and 1437 ^{a)}

Dedicated to — John Lowe, O. E. S. A., bishop of St Asaph

MSS-missing —

Cambridge, Library of Austin Friars ^{b)}

¹²⁾ The text continues —

'Primo litteralis ex augustino in questionibus aut ieronimo sive doctore de lira. Deinde sequetur allegoria ex veterum opusculis secundum assignacionem tabule que dicitur septem custodiarum que quidem michi magnam occasionem dedit exponendi. Postremo quasdam morales notulas adnexas copulavi sparsim ea colligens ut sit summa expositio opusculum hoc auctore quidem sicut sibi convenit ex omni doctorum libris materiam mendicante'.

¹³⁾ See note 5.

¹⁴⁾ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁾ See n° 10, b.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. n° 9, b.

Walsingham Monastery ^{c)}*Incipit* — 'Quod in regnorum libris iam' ^{d)}

^{a)} We know that the commentaries on Kings I and III were dedicated to the Duke of Gloucester. Leland records commentaries on Kings dedicated to John Lowe. We may therefore suppose that the latter commentaries were those on Kings II and IV. John Lowe became a bishop of St Asaph in 1433. Capgrave mentions commentaries on these books in 1437, so they must have been composed between 1433 and 1437 ¹⁷⁾.

^{b)} Leland saw these commentaries in the former library of Austin Friars at Cambridge —

'Corona Ioannis Capgrave (duo justa volumina) fratris Augustinensis de Lino Norvolgiae, super libros Regum : «Quod in regnorum libris » ¹⁸⁾.

^{c)} In the library of Walsingham Monastery he saw another copy — 'Ioannes Capgravius, frater Augustinensis, de Lino super libros regum ad Ioannem, episcopum Assavensem « Quod in regnorum libris ». Floruit circa tempore Henrici Sexti' ¹⁹⁾.

^{d)} As Leland three times gives the same *incipit* we think this to be the *incipit* of this commentary.

11 COMMENTARIUS IN REGUM III ^{a)}

Date — before 1437

Dedicated to — Humphrey, duke of Gloucester

MS-missing — Oxford, University Library

Cited in — the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* ^{b)}

^{a)} See n° 9, b, c, and d.

^{b)} Speaking of King Solomon Capgrave says —

'... ipse pacificus, conspiratores ad regnum et pacis [perturbatores] aut morte multavit, aut eos in sedibus propriis et ne vagarent in populo manere constrinxit. Patet hoc in tertio Regum, quod manifestius ibi declaravi, nunc solam litteralem annotationem tangens' ²⁰⁾.

12 COMMENTARIUS IN REGUM IV ^{a)}

Date — between 1433 and 1437

Dedicated to — John Lowe, O. E. S. A., bishop of St Asaph

¹⁷⁾ Cf. the note on John Lowe in our biography of Capgrave in *Augustiniana*, v (1955). 412, note 53.

¹⁸⁾ *Ioannis Lelandi... collectanea*, iv, p. 15.

¹⁹⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

²⁰⁾ In Hingeston's edition, p. 14.

MSS-missing —

Cambridge, Library of Austin Friars
Walsingham Monastery

^{a)} See n° 10, a, b, and c.

13 COMMENTARIUS IN PSALTERIUM

Incipit — 'Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio'.

References — (1), (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68).

14 COMMENTARIUS IN ECCLESIASTEN ^{a)}

References — (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68).

^{a)} PANFILI (9) wrongly gives *in Ecclesiasticum* which is followed by MS CHIGI (10), POSSEVINO (13), GRATIEN (14), ELSESEN (20), GANDOLFO (29), and LANTERI (44).

15 COMMENTARIUS IN ISAIAH

References — (2), (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68).

16 COMMENTARIUS IN DANIELEM

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), (14), (20), (25), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (37), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68) ^{a)}.

^{a)} LIPEN (25) mentions an edition of this commentary at Venice 1463 but this is an error. This is also pointed out by SCHIER (37).

17 COMMENTARII 12 IN XII PROPHETAS MINORES

References — (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68) ^{a)}.

^{a)} ELSESEN (20) gives the commentaries in one book.

18 COMMENTARII 4 SUPER IV EVANGELIA

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (36), (44), (68) ^{a)}.

^{a)} Several authors, mentioned in previous numbers, refer to commentaries on the New Testament. Here and in the following

numbers only those are listed who record separately the different books ²¹⁾).

19 COMMENTARIUS IN ACTUS APOSTOLORUM

Date — soon after 1457 ^{a)}

Dedicated to — William Grey, bishop of Ely ^{b)}

MS-extant — Oxford, Balliol College, MS 189, ff. 178 ^{c)}

Incipit-Dedicatory epistle — 'Domino suo venerabili et in christi visceribus summe dilecto' ^{d)}

Incipit-Commentary — 'Hic incipit' ^{e)}

References — (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (26), (29), (31), (32), (33), (36), (43), (44), (46), (48), (50), (52), (55), (66), (68) ^{f)}.

Edited — The dedicatory letter only : it is Appendix iii in Hingeston's edition of the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* (London, 1858), pp. 221-24.

^{a)} In the beginning of the dedicatory letter, after the address, Capgrave remembers the visit Bishop Grey paid to him in Rome when he was ill. That was in 1450. Capgrave had the intention to dedicate one of his writings as a *quid pro quo* when Grey became bishop of Ely in 1454. However, he was unable to carry out his intention owing to his occupations as Provincial of his Order. As soon as he had finished the second term of his provincialate 1455-57 he set about fulfilling his project. Here is the passus —

'Reminiscor sancte antistes quanta pia visitacione vestra in me miserum peregrinum atque rome infirmum dileccionis exenia tribuistis, et nunc a solitudine officii mei penitus absolutus licet tarde veniens munus possibilitatis mee vobis decrevi mittendum'.

^{b)} For William Grey, see our biography of Capgrave, pp. 430-31.

^{c)} The only extant MS is the dedicatory copy given by Bishop Grey among other volumes to Balliol College which regards him as one of its greatest benefactors. A description of the codex is given in O. COXE, *Catalogus codicum...*, i, Coll. Balliol (Oxford, 1852), p. 62, and by Hingeston, *l. c.*, pp. 219-20 ²²⁾.

²¹⁾ ELSÉN (20) has: Super IV Evangelia, lib. I. In Hingeston's list (43) this item is missing. This omission is followed by FURNIVALL (48), and D. N. B. (52). STEGMÜLLER (68) makes a division into four numbers for the four Gospels.

²²⁾ The press-mark of this MS may have been changed. WHARTON (26) gives: Balliol, cod. 171 which is repeated by GANDOLFO (29), OUDIN (31), and TANNER (33). LE LONG (32) has: Balliol MS 267.

- ^{d)} The initial letter of the dedicatory epistle in the MS has been cut off no doubt because of the miniature which it contained. Therefore the *incipit* of the letter is only partly preserved. The *incipit* as given by BALE (4) agrees with the remaining words. That given by HINGESTON is not correct ²³). We give here the address as reconstructed from the original, using also Bale and Hingeston —

'[Domino suo] venera[bili et in christ]i visce[ribus summe] dilecto [domino guillelm]o divina [providentia Eliensi] episcopo su[us iohannes inter] doctores [minimus ti]tulo here[mitarum sancti augustini insign]itus omnem [subiectio] nem mentis [et] quicquid aut dici aut cogitari melius possit. Reminiscor sancte antistes...'

The *incipit* given by most of the biographers is —

'Reminiscor sancte antistes quanta' ²⁴).

- ^{e)} The beginning of the commentary after the first lemma: 'Primum quidem sermonem' must have been — 'Hic incipit' according to Leland ²⁵). It was on the back of the miniature. The work ends with Capgrave's common subscription: 'Feliciter per Capgrave'.
^{f)} STEGMÜLLER (68) gives this item twice which is apparently an error substituting the second citation for the Commentary on the Apocalypse which is not listed.

20 COMMENTARII 14 SUPER EPISTOLAS PAULI

Date — before 1447 ^{a)}

Dedicated to — Humphrey, duke of Gloucester

Incipit-Dedicatory letter — 'Domino suo honorabili Humfrido' ^{b)}

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (66), (68).

- ^{a)} According to the *incipit* as given by BALE (3) these commentaries were dedicated to Duke Humphrey who died in 1447 ²⁶). So they must have been written before this year.
^{b)} The *incipit* is different in POSSEVINO (13) who has: 'Domino Humfrido honorabili'. ELSEN (20) omits the *incipit*.

²³⁾ Cf. our biography, p. 431.

²⁴⁾ In the *Catalogus* of BALE (3) there is a printer's error: *quanto* instead of *quanta* (which is repeated by PITS (12) and TANNER (33). OSSINGER (36) has: *Reminiscere sancte antistes*.

²⁵⁾ *Ioannis Lelandi... collectanea*, iv, p. 61 (= MSS in Balliol Coll. Oxford).

²⁶⁾ See the note on Duke Humphrey in our biography, p. 419.

21 COMMENTARIJ 7 IN EPISTULAS CANONICAS

References — (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (68).

22 COMMENTARIUS IN APOCALYPSIM IOANNIS

Date — circa 1460

Dedicated to — William Grey, bishop of Ely ^{a)}

Incipit-Dedicatory epistle — 'Venerabili domino suo in christo' ^{b)}

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (32), (33), (36), (43), (44), (48), (52), (55) ^{c)}.

^{a)} HINGESTON (43) says: 'this work also appears to have been dedicated to Bishop Grey' ²⁷⁾. The MS no longer exists so that it is not possible to find out the name of the *venerabilis dominus*. However, Hingeston's opinion becomes acceptable when we compare this *incipit* with that of the commentary on Acts and on the Symbols. This work should, therefore, be dated after the commentary on the Acts but before the *Chronicle*, that is to say circa 1460 ²⁸⁾.

^{b)} The *incipit* is different in POSSEVINO (13) who wrongly copied: 'Venerabili suo domino in christo'. He also mentions the commentary written in two books.

^{c)} This item is not listed in STEGMÜLLER (68) ²⁹⁾.

23 MANIPULUS DOCTRINAE CHRISTIANAE

Date — circa 1452

Dedicated to — John Cardinal Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury ^{a)}

MS-missing — Oxford, Library of Thomas Key ^{b)}

Incipit-Dedicatory letter — 'Devotissimo in christo patri ac venerabiliter'

Incipit-Manipulus — 'Inter cetera ocii mei secreta persepe'

References — (3), (4), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (30), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52).

^{a)} BALE in his *Index* (4) has a precious note —

'Idem (i. e. Capgrave) scripsisse fertur ad Ioannem Kempe cardinalem divae Balbinae ac archiepiscopum Cantuariensem
« Manipulum doctrinae christianae lib. I ».

²⁷⁾ FURNIVALL (48) and D. N. B. (52) share this opinion.

²⁸⁾ See n° 41, a, where Capgrave says that he has finished his commentaries on the Bible.

²⁹⁾ Cf. n° 19, f.

John Kemp was created cardinal of St Balbina in 1439. He became cardinal bishop of St Rufina on 28 July 1452, and was translated on the same day from the see of York to Canterbury. If Bale is right we have to date this work to about 1452³⁰⁾.

^{b)} BALE adds to the above mentioned statement: 'ex domo Magistri Thomae Caii'. This Thomas Caius or Key († 1572) was a friend of Leland and a bibliophile at Oxford whose name occurs several times in Bale's notebook.

Moreover Bale tells us that Capgrave refers in this work to the famous Florentine humanist Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459).

24-DE FIDEI SYMBOLIS libri tres

Date — circa 1462^{a)}

Dedicated to — William Grey, bishop of Ely

MSS-extant —

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 190, ff. 116^{b)}

Oxford, All Souls College, MS 17, ff. 113^{c)}

Incipit-Dedication — 'Domino suo singulari'^{d)}

Incipit-Text — 'Simbolum quod vocatur apostolorum'^{e)}

References — (1), (3), (4), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (26), (29), (30), (31), (33), (34), (35), (36), (41), (43), (44), (46), (48), (50), (52), (53), (54)^{f)}.

Edited — The dedicatory epistle only: it is Appendix ii in Hingeston's edition of the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* (London, 1858), pp. 213-17.

^{a)} This work bears no date but from the dedicatory epistle we may judge that Capgrave composed it about 1462. Possibly it was his last work, for he speaks of his approaching death — 'Quoniam psalmigraphus ait: secundum nomen tuum ita et laus tua, michi quoque ut reor loquitur cui animum iam ebes est corpus fatescit et iuxta sancti iob eloquium: Spiritus meus attenuabitur dies breviantur et solum michi superest sepulcrum'³¹⁾.

^{b)} The dedicatory copy is preserved in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford; it was donated by Bishop Grey. A full description is given by O. COXE, *Catalogus codicum...*, i, Coll. Balliol., pp. 62-63³²⁾.

³⁰⁾ See the note on John Kemp in our biography, pp. 426-27.

³¹⁾ MS Balliol 190, f. 4.

³²⁾ See also *Ioannis Lelandi... collectanea*, iv, p. 61.

The initial has been cut off, as has happened in the case of the commentary on the Acts. The work ends: *Feliciter per Capgrave*.

- c) The second codex in which this work has come down to us is preserved in All Souls College, Oxford ³³). It ends: *Feliciter per Capgrave* with the monogram &. Both MSS have each two fly-leaves containing fragments of the *Solace of pilgrimes* discovered by Hingeston as a work of Capgrave of which we shall speak later ³⁴).

- d) The first lines of the dedicatory letter run —

'Domino suo singulari et super ceteros magis sibi propicio domino Willelmo eliensis episcopo suus ut olim orator sedulus quidam iohannes inter doctores minimus tituloque heremitarum sancti augustini insignitus de monumento pileato vulgariter nominatus, honores preces vota et quicquid melius tam rudis zelator cogitare possit'.

This is the only work in which Capgrave is known to have latinised his name: *de monumento pileato*. 'Monumentum' is interpreted as 'grave', and 'pileatum' is derived from 'pileum' which means 'cap'.

This is the second work — possibly the third — which Capgrave dedicated to Bishop Grey after the commentary on the Acts, as may be seen from the words: 'suus ut olim orator sedulus'.

- e) These are the Symbols of Faith as collected by Capgrave —

1. De Symbolo Apostolorum
2. De Symbolo Nicaeno
3. De Symbolo Nicaeno altero
4. Symbolum Athanasii
5. Aliud Symbolum eiusdem
6. Symbolum Chrysostomi
7. Symbolum Hieronymi
8. Symbolum Toletanum
9. Symbolum Carthaginiense
10. Symbolum Augustini
11. Aliud eiusdem
12. Item aliud eiusdem
13. Item aliud
14. Symbolum Maximi
15. Symbolum Boethii

³³) Cf. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum...*, ii, *Coll. Omnium Animarum*, p. 5. H. M. Bannister examined the codex, and says in the Introductory note to the edition of *Ye solace of pilgrimes* that it is not the autograph. There are some corrections in the margin probably from Capgrave's hand.

³⁴) See n° 43 of the biographers list. A description of both MSS is also given by Hingeston, Appendix ii, pp. 211-12.

16. Symbolum Rhabani
17. Symbolum cuiusdam auctoris
18. Quatuor libelli Augustini de Symbolo
19. Item Symbolum Hugonis

^{f)} PITS (12) wrongly gives the letter to William Grey as a separate MS. This error has been noted already by HINGESTON (43). The latter is the first to mention the All Souls College MS. WHARTON (26) has for the Balliol codex press-mark n^o 172 ³⁵⁾. which is repeated by CANDOLFO (29) who lists the work twice : *De symbolo* and *De fidei symbolis* ; and by OUDIN (31) who erroneously mentions another codex at Oriel College, MS 32 ; and TANNER (33) who corrects WHARTON saying that it is not *De symbolo* but *De symbolis*, for there are 19 symbols.

25 DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS libri tres

Date — 1446-1447 ^{a)}

Dedicated to — Henry VI, king of England

MSS-extant —

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 408, ff. 72 ^{b)}

London, Br. Museum, Cottonian MS Tiberius A. viii, ff. 101 ^{c)}

Incipit-Dedicatory letter — 'Henrico dei gratia regi anglie et francie dominoque hibernie' ^{d)}

Incipit-Text — 'De Henrico imperatore primo' ^{e)}

References — (1), (3), (4), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (17), (20), (23), (24), (26), (27), (29), (30), (31), (33), (34), (35), (36), (37), (39), (42), (43), (44), (46), (48), (49), (50), (52), (53), (54), (56), (57), (58), (59), (60), (61), (62), (63), (64), (66), (67), (70), (71), (72), (74), (75), (77), (82), (91), (93), (98), (100), (103) ^{f)}.

Edited — by F. C. Hingeston-Randolph in the Rolls Series (London, 1858), pp. lvii, 319 ^{g)}

The Life of Henry le Despenser has been edited by H. Wharton in *Anglia Sacra*, ii (London, 1691) pp. 359-61.

Translation — *The book of the Illustrious Henries*, transl. by F. C. Hingeston (London, 1858).

^{a)} The last historical event mentioned in this work is the visit of King Henry VI to the Austin Friary at Lynn which occurred on 1 August 1446. There is no mention of the death of Capgrave's patron Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who is recorded among the sons of King Henry IV, which took place in February 1447. So we may conclude that the work was finished between these two dates ³⁵⁾.

³⁵⁾ Cf. our biography, p. 417, note 72.

- ^{b)} This is the autograph which is preserved among Archbishop Parker's MSS. It would seem that this codex was originally in the possession of John Bale ³⁶⁾. Earlier it had belonged to the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford ³⁷⁾. In the dedication after the words *frater iohannes* the word *Capgrave* has been inserted in Bale's handwriting. The work ends with the common expression *ffeliciter per Capgrave*. An ample description of this codex is given by Hingeston in the introduction to the edition of the present work, pp. l-liii ³⁸⁾.
- ^{c)} The Cotton MS is the presentation copy to King Henry. It contains illuminations of the first letter of each chapter, representing the different Henries. The MS has been badly injured by the fire of 1731 which destroyed so many codices in the Cottonian Library. The prologue is wholly missing; the remains, however, have been most carefully preserved. A description is to be found in the above mentioned introduction by Hingeston, p. 1 ³⁹⁾. This is the MS which has been used for the text of Hingeston's edition.
- ^{d)} The address of the prologue runs as follows —
 'Henrico dei gratia regi anglie et francie dominoque hibernie
 suus infimus servulus frater iohannes <capgrave> ⁴⁰⁾ docto-
 rum minimus fratrumque heremitarum sancti augustini exi-
 guus potestatem firmam consilium secundum et regimen
 solidatum'.
- ^{e)} The work is divided into three parts —
 Part 1 contains the lives of six emperors Henry I-VI
 Part 2 those of six kings of England, Henry I-VI
 Part 3 contains the lives of twelve other Henries. They are:
1. Henry [= Eric] VI, king of Denmark
 2. Henry I, king of France
 3. Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans
 4. Henry, count of Champagne, who became king of Jerusalem
 5. Henry [Sanglier], archbishop of Sens
 6. Henry, duke of Lancaster
 7. Henry Bohun, earl of Hereford
 8. Henry de Beaumont

³⁶⁾ See *Augustiniana*, vii (1957). 120, note 8, n° 41.

³⁷⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 124.

³⁸⁾ See also for the Cambridge MS: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ii (Cambridge, 1911). 293-94.

³⁹⁾ See also: Th. Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), p. 20, and *A Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), p. 33.

⁴⁰⁾ Inserted by Bale.

9. Henry le Despenser, bishop of Norwich
10. Henry of Huntingdon, the Chronicler
11. Henry of Ghent
12. Henry of Friemar, O. E. S. A.

^{f)} The press-mark of the Cambridge MS was formerly : MS 296 of the Library of St Benedict's College which is the same as Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This is reported by WHARTON (26), who saw the codex, and repeated by GANDOLFO (29). OUDIN (31) gives MS 295, and TANNER (33) : MS Corp. Christi V. i.

^{g)} Hingeston's edition comprises the following —

Introduction, pp. xi-lvii

The *Liber*, pp. 1-186

Appendices, pp. 189-232, they are :

- I. Of the Nova Legenda Anglie with the prologue
 - II. Of the Commentary on the Greeds with the prologue
 - III. Of the Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles with the prologue
 - IV. Of the Commentary on Genesis with the prologue
- Glossary and General Index, pp. 233-319.

26 CONCORDIA or DE AUGUSTINO ET SUI SEQUACIBUS ^{a)}

Date — circa 1440 ^{b)}

Dedicated to — John Watford, abbot of St. James's Abbey, Northampton

MS-missing — Oxford, Library of Thomas Key from which it passed into the possession of John Bale ^{c)}

Incipit-Dedicatory letter — 'Domino vere dilecto patrique suo charissimo. Testatur graecorum ille eloquentissimus Ioannes et propter hoc oris' ^{d)}

Incipit-Text — 'Alexander episcopus Lanfranco generali'.

Cited in — *Ye solace of pilgrimes*, and twice in the *Tretis* ^{e)}

References — (1), (3), (4), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (30), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52), (53), (54), (66), (83), (84) ^{f)}.

^{a)} Capgrave's biographers give different titles for this work e. g., 'Vita S. Augustini', 'De Augustino et suis sequacibus', 'De sequacibus S. Augustini'. Nobody records the title Capgrave himself gave it, that is to say : *Concordia*. This title is to be found three times in Capgrave's works ⁴¹⁾.

^{b)} Capgrave dedicated his *Concordia* to the abbot of the Canons

⁴¹⁾ See under e.

Regular at Northampton. According to LELAND (1), and BALE (4) this abbot was John Watford who ruled his abbey from 1430 until his death in 1445 ⁴²). Hence it must have been composed about 1440.

^c) This work was in the possession of John Bale ⁴³). In the *Catalogus* he entitles it : 'De sequacibus Augustini', but in his notebook (4) it is called : 'De Augustino et suis sequacibus' to which he added : ex domo magistri Thomae Caii ⁴⁴).

^d) In the *incipit*, as noted by BALE (4), there is no break between the beginning of the dedication and that of the text itself. Thus only the first six words of the dedication have been preserved, and so the name of the addressee does not appear. We suppose the words : *Alexander episcopus* [i. e. Pope Alexander IV] to be the beginning of the text.

^e) As we already said the *Concordia* has been cited three times by Capgrave.

1. In *Ye solace of pilgrimes* when dealing with the translation of St Monica's relics from Ostia to St Augustine's in Rome, where he says —

'who wil rede it [i. e. the translation] he may se it a book that I mad titiled to seynt austin which is cleped *Concordia* because it is a maner of a concord be twix chanonys and us' ⁴⁵).

2. In the *Tretis of tho orderes that be undyr the reule of oure fader Seynt Augustin*, speaking about the Hermits of St Augustine —

'This mater [i. e. the foundation of the Hermits by St Augustine] is proved with grete evydens in the book which I mad to a gentil woman in Englisch and in the book which I mad to the abbot of Seynt lames at Northampton in Latin, wech boke I named *Concordia*, be-cause it is mad to reforme charite be-twix Seynt Augustines heremites and his chanones' ⁴⁶).

3. In the same *Tretis* where he says that the Canons Regular were not founded by St Rufus —

'Many evydens have I mad [and here he adds in the margin : in my book *Concordia*] that seint Ruffus not be-gan this ordre, but that he reformed this ordre' ⁴⁷).

^f) There is much confusion among Capgrave's biographers regarding this work. They give it either separately as *Vita S. Au-*

⁴²) W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley-Ellis, ii (London, 1830). 115.

⁴³) See *Augustiniana*, vii (1957). 120, note 8, n° 42.

⁴⁴) Cf. n° 23, b.

⁴⁵) In Mills's edition, p. 92.

⁴⁶) In Munro's edition, p. 146.

gustini and *De sequacibus S. Augustini*, or identify the *De sequacibus S. Augustini* with the *De illustribus viris Augustinianis*, or else think the latter to be a continuation of the first ⁴⁸⁾).

27 NOVA LEGENDA ANGLIE ^{a)}

MSS-extant —

York, Minster Library, MS xvi.c.i

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 15, ff. 301

London, Br. Museum, Cotton MS, Tiberius E. i, ff. 341 ^{b)}

MS-lost — London, Br. Museum, Cotton MS, Otho D. ix ^{c)}

Incipit — 'Sancti patres qui priscis fuere' ^{d)}

References — (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (16), (17), (19), (20), (24), (25), (26), (27), (28), (29), (30), (31), (33), (34), (35), (36), (37), (38), (39), (41), (42), (43), (44), (46), (48), (49), (50), (52), (53), (54), (55), (56), (58), (59), (60), (62), (63), (64), (69), (70), (71), (72), (73), (74), (75), (76), (77), (89), (96), (98), (100), (111) ^{e)}.

Editions —

London, 1516. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde ^{f)}

London, 1527. Second edition by the same

London, 1516. An abridged translation printed by Richard Pynson ^{g)}

Oxford, 1901. Edited by Carl Horstman in two vols. ^{h)}

The prologue has also been published by Hingeston: it is Appendix i of the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* (London, 1858), pp. 195-209.

^{a)} This work, by Bale entitled *Catalogus Sanctorum Angliae* or *Vitae Sanctorum Angliae*, is Capgrave's most famous work. In reality it is not from his pen, though he appears to have edited it. John of Tynemouth is the real author, and he completed the work in the second quarter of the fourteenth century ⁴⁹⁾. Capgrave rearranged the 'Sanctilogium' (originally made according to the calendar) on an alphabetical basis and is said to have added some new lives of saints ⁵⁰⁾.

⁴⁷⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 147.

⁴⁸⁾ See n^o (33), (34), (35), (43), (48), (50), (52), (53), and (54).

⁴⁹⁾ It is commonly stated to have been completed in 1366, but according to Horstmann the life of John of Tynemouth has to be assigned to the period 1290-1349, cf. *Nova legenda Anglie*, i, p. liii.

⁵⁰⁾ See our biography, pp. 435-36.

- b) The first of these MSS is described by RAINE thus —

'Bibliothecae Decani and Capituli Ebor., a very fine MS in large folio in a fifteenth or early sixteenth century hand' ⁵¹).

The second was written in 1499. At the end of the MS the colophon reads like this —

'Perfectum est hoc opus vulgariter intitulatum De Sanctis Angliae, ad laudem et honorem omnipotentis Dei, ac sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie, ex impensis Reverendi in Christo patris domini Thome Goleston [† 1517] eiusdem ecclesie prioris, ac sacrarum litterarum professoris egregii, per me Iacobum Neell, Normannum, ac Rothomagi natum, anno Verbi Incarnati 1499. Deo gratias' ⁵²).

The third is the only extant MS known to have the series arranged according to the calendar. It was a MS of St Alban's, and is one of the first MSS of this collection, if not the original itself. In the fire of 1731 it was badly damaged, and the fragments are now preserved in a case. The MS is described as follows —

'The remains of a folio volume on vellum burnt to a crust, and preserved in a case. It formerly consisted of 341 leaves, and contained 157 articles, enumerated in Smith's catalogue, being all lives of British Saints, said to have been collected by John of Tynemouth in the year 1366, and to have been extracted by John Capgrave' ⁵³).

- c) This MS disappeared in the above mentioned fire of 1731.

It was written before 1450.

Which of these four MSS was formerly in the possession of John Bale is uncertain ⁵⁴).

- d) The prologue certainly was added long after Capgrave ⁵⁵).

- e) OUDIN (31) mentions a MS Bibl. Norfolciana cod. 386 written in English. The Bibliotheca Norfolciana was that of Thomas, duke of Norfolk whose grandson, Thomas, earl of Arundel possessed the famous collection which bears his name. The MSS are deposited in the British Museum. In the catalogue we could not find the MS mentioned by OUDIN nor a similar one.

- f) The colophon of this edition runs —

⁵¹) J. Raine, *The historians of the church of York and its archbishops*, i (London, 1879). 1.

⁵²) A description of this codex may be found in *Catalogi codicum MSS bibliothecae Bodleianae pars iv, MSS Tanner, curavit A. Hackman* (Oxford, 1860), p. 18.

⁵³) *A Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library...*, p. 40.

The MS is furthermore described in Th. Smith, *Catalogus librorum MSS bibl. Cotton.*, p. 28-29; *Nova legenda Anglie*, i, pp. xi-xiv, and *Liber de illustribus Henricis*, pp. 191-93.

⁵⁴) Cf. *Augustiniana*, vii (1957). 120, note 8, n° 43.

⁵⁵) Cf. *Augustiniana*, v (1955). 436, note 142.

'Explicit (Nova legenda Anglie). Impressa Londonias in domo Winandi de Worde, commorantis ad signum solis in vico nuncupato the Flete strete, Anno domini MCCCCxvi, xxvii die Februarii.

Itaque omnes hystorie hic collecte merito dicuntur nove, quia licet quedam de istis etiam reperiuntur apud plures, non tamen ita emendate et correcte sicut in hoc volumine continentur'.

It contains 6 preliminary leaves and cccxxxiii numbered leaves with 2 col. per page. There are 168 lives of saints. A few copies of this edition are still extant. In the library of Syon Monastery there were two copies, one of them was presented by the printer himself ⁵⁶⁾.

- ⁵⁶⁾ The book starts with — 'Here begynneth the kalendre of the newe Legende of Englande'. Horstman says about this translation —

'It contains, in the same order, all the items of the Latin edition, with all the additional lives, but all epitomized — hence the name Kalendre. To it is prefixed a new Prologue, which states that the book was « taken out the newe Legende of the sayntys of Englande, Irelande, Scotlande, and Wales for theym that understande nat the Laten tonge », and refers the reader for more information to the « hole Legende » which was « but of late tyme gathered together in suche maner as it is now » ; expressing « the pryncypall intent of this treatyse to be as a Kalendre, to shewe the names of the seyntes, of theyr countrey, & where they lye, to shewe also some lytell thyng of theyr vertues & myracles, with some parte of theyr storyes shortlye towched », everything being « shortly touched more lyke to a Kalendre then a Legende ». Some copies of the book are still extant ⁵⁷⁾.

- ⁵⁷⁾ The full title of this edition runs —

Nova legenda Anglie : as collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and others, and first printed with New Lives by Wynkyn de Worde a.d. m.d.xui. Now re-edited with fresh material from MS and printed sources by Carl Horstman (Oxford, 1901), 2 vols.

Also here there are 168 lives and a certain number of new lives contained in three appendices.

The volumes are composed thus —

1. Introduction, pp. ix-lxviii

Nova Legenda Anglie, pp. 1-506

⁵⁶⁾ See *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth*, ed. M. Bateson (Cambridge, 1898), p. 103.

⁵⁷⁾ *Nova legenda Anglie*, i, p. xxi. In POLLARD-REDGRAVE (76) this item is n° 4602.

2. *Nova Legenda Anglie*, pp. 1-531

Appendices I-III (Additional lives), pp. 532-731.

The *Acta Sanctorum* by the Bollandists borrow many of the lives of English Saints from the *Nova legenda Anglie* under Capgrave's name.

Many lives also are to be found in several books dealing with one saint or a group of saints where Capgrave's name occurs as the author or collector.

J. LEWIS, who calls himself : minister of Margate, has collected some criticism on the *Legenda aurea* of Giacomo da Varazze, and the *Nova legenda Anglie* which we will print here in conclusion —

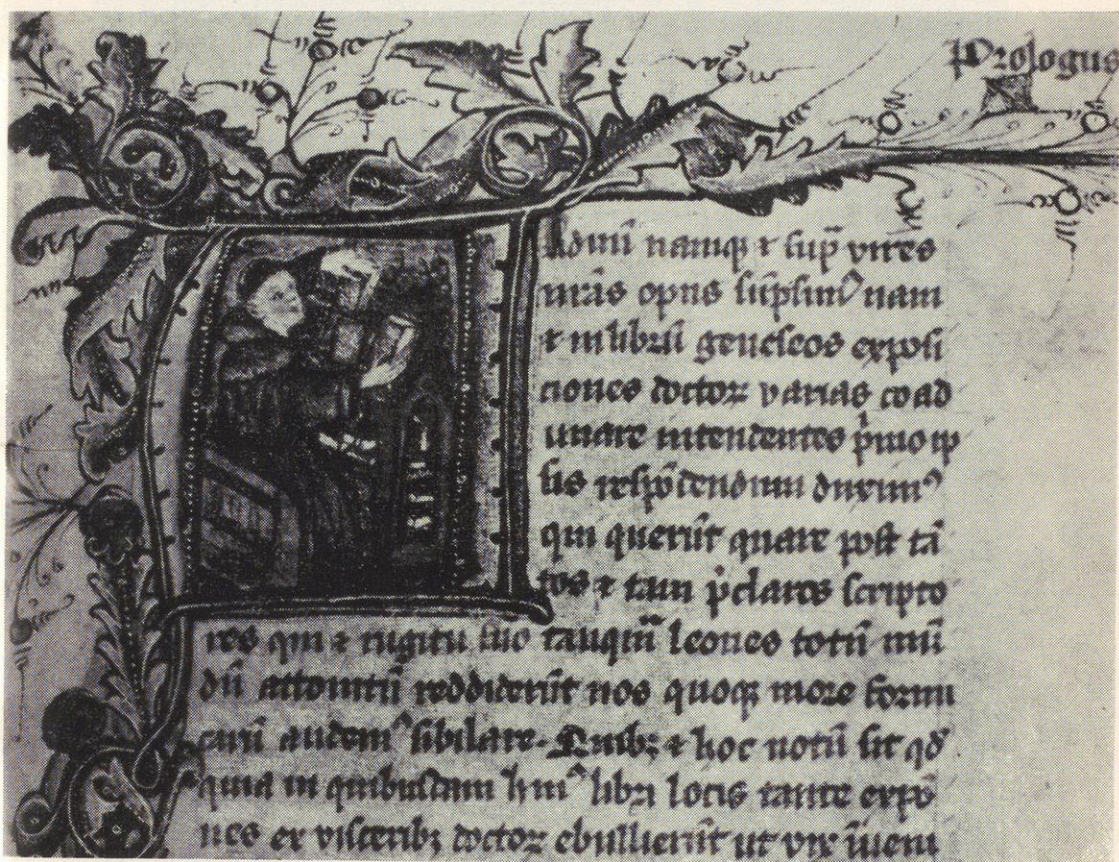
'Of these Lives [i. e. *Legenda aurea*, and the *Nova legenda Anglie*] we have the following character given by a Cardinal of the Romish Church ⁵⁸) : « *Historiae Sanctorum quaedam tam incultae, et tam sine delectu scriptae habentur — ut nec auctoritatem habere videantur nec gravitatem* ». Our learned Mr. *Wharton* thus described them : « *Fabulous Legends which in this respect only differed from the fables of the ancient Heathen poets, that they were more incredible and less elegant* ». To the same purpose *Melchior Canus*, « *Dolenter hoc dico potius quam contumeliose multo a Laertio vitas Philosophorum severius scriptas quam a christianis vitas sanctorum ; longaque incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Caesarum exposuisse, quam exposuerunt catholici non res dico Imperatorum, sed Martyrum, Virginum, et Confessorum. — Nostri enim plerique, vel adfectibus inserviunt, vel de industria quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non solum pudeat, sed etiam taedeat* ». Much the same complaint of the manner of writing these Legends or Histories of the Saints is made by *Ludovicus Vives*, « *Quae de iis, Apostolis, Martyribus, &c. sunt scripta, praeter pauca quaedam, multis sunt commentis foedata, dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, et non quae egit divus, sed quae ille egisse eum vellet exponit, ut vitam dictet animus scribentis non veritas* » ⁵⁹).

28 COMMENTARII 4 SUPER SENTENTIAS

Date — circa 1425 ^a)

⁵⁸) Francisco card. Quiñones († 1540) in the Preface to the *Breviarium Romanum* (Rome, 1535). In J. Wickham Legg's edition, i (Henry Bradshaw Society, xxxv, London, 1908), p. xxv.

⁵⁹) J. Lewis, 'Of the books used in churches and monasteries, &c. here in England before the Reformation', in *Collectanea curiosa. Miscellaneous tracts, relating to the history and antiquities of England and Ireland*, ed. J. Gutch, ii (Oxford, 1781). 166-67.



Initial of the prologue of the Genesis-commentary
 (Oxford, Bodl. Libr., MS Oriel 32).

[illegible]

John Capgrave's handwriting

References — (1), (2), (3), (5), (7), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (23), (24), (29), (30), (33), (34), (35), (36), (38), (40), (41), (43), (44), (48), (49), (50), (52).

^{a)} After having been promoted to the degree of lector Augustinians had to expound the Sentences and the Bible in the University in order to obtain the bachelorship in divinity ⁶⁰). Capgrave was appointed on 13 April 1422 to read the Sentences in the University of Cambridge ⁶¹). Four years later (1426) he was to do his opponency. Between these years, 1422-1426, he probably composed his commentaries on the Sentences.

29 DETERMINATIONES THEOLOGIAE

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (23), (29), (30), (33), (34), (35), (36), (38), (40), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52).

30 ORDINARIAE DISPUTATIONES

References — (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52), (55).

31 AD POSITIONES ERRONEAS

References — (2), (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (29), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (48), (50), (52).

32 ORATIONES AD CLERUM

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (29), (30), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52), (53), (54), (66).

33 SERMONES PER ANNUM

References — (2), (3), (5), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (24), (29), (30), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (50), (52), (53), (66).

⁶⁰⁾ E. Ypma, OESA, *La formation des professeurs chez les Ermites de Saint-Augustin de 1256 à 1354* (Paris, 1956), p. 84: 'Pour obtenir le grade de bachelier, on exigeait que le candidat enseignât pendant quelques années sous la direction d'un Maître en Théologie. Le futur bachelier devait expliquer l'Ecriture Sainte et les Sentences de Pierre Lombard'.

⁶¹⁾ General Archives O. E. S. A., Register Dd 4, f. 75v: 'Arimini. 13 Aprilis 1422. Assignavimus fratri Iohanni Capgrave, lectori formato provinciae Anglie, proximum bacchalariorum, promoti locum alienigenis debitum in universitate Canta-

34 DE ILLUSTRIBUS VIRIS AUGUSTINIANIS ^{a)}

References — (3), (12), (21), (23), (25), (35), (38), (40), (43), (47), (48), (50), (52), (53), (54), (66), (84).

^{a)} Cf. what we have said about this work in connection with the *Concordia*, n° 26, f.

35 VITA HUMPHRIDI DUCIS GLOUCESTRIAE ^{a)}

Date — after 1447

References — (3), (4), (9), (10), (13), (14), (17), (20), (29), (33), (35), (36), (42), (43), (47), (48), (50), (52), (53), (54), (63), (64), (66), (67), (100), (101) ^{b)}.

^{a)} When dealing with the children of King Henry IV Capgrave says in the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* —

'Quartus filius, qui adhuc superest, dux est Glovernie, Humfridus, vir quidem inter omnes mundi proceres litteratissimus, cuius laudes ad alia tempora, et ad aliam vacationem ideo differendam puto, quoniam *specialem tractatulum super commendatiuncula eius quandoque me facturum existimo*.

Insuper, quoniam constrinxi me in hoc opere solos illustres Henricos commendare; ad rem non pertinet alterius nominis viros hic inducere, ne onerosus fiam, ne insuper, regularum a me superius positarum transgressor existam' ⁶²⁾.

Whether or not Capgrave kept his promise is uncertain. BALE (4) mentions the *Vita* but his information is simply based on the above reported proposal.

^{b)} VICKERS (101) says that Pits saw it in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford — Pits makes no such statement.

36 LECTURAE SCHOLASTICAE

References — (2), (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (29), (33), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52), (53).

37 EPISTOLAE AD DIVERSOS

References — (2), (3), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (20), (29), (30), (34), (35), (36), (43), (44), (48), (50), (52), (66).

briggensi eiusdem provincie, ita quod cum promotus pro limite Cantabriggensi debeat commutari et quartus annus ab anno presenti pro oppositione sibi deputetur in eadem universitate'.

⁶²⁾ In Hingeston's edition, p. 109.

38 THE LIFE OF ST AUGUSTINE ^{a)}

Date — before 1451 ^{b)}

Dedicated to — 'a gentill woman' ^{c)}

MS-extant — London, Br. Museum, MS Add. 36704, n° 1, ff. 5-45 ^{d)}

Incipit-Prologue — 'A grete reule to all lerned men' ^{e)}

Incipit-Life — 'Of the cuntr & the town where he was bore'

Cited in — *The Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham*, and in the *Tretis* ^{f)}

References — (60), (67), (77), (83), (84), (85), (96), (98).

Edited — by J. J. Munro for the Early English Text Society (E. T. S. Original series, n° 140, London, 1910) together with *The Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham*, and the *Tretis*.

St Augustine's Life occupies pp. 1-60.

^{a)} For some chapters Capgrave used the text of Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita S. Augustini* ⁶³⁾.

^{b)} In the prologue of *The Life of St Gilbert* which was written in 1451 ⁶⁴⁾, Capgrave refers to this English life of the Bishop of Hippo ⁶⁵⁾ which would therefore appear to have been written shortly before that date.

^{c)} The name of this 'gentill woman' is not reported by Capgrave. The only thing we know about her is that she was born on St Augustine's feastday, 28 August. Capgrave tells us this in the prologue where he explains why he undertook the writing of this book —

'The cause of this writyng which meved me moost now will I telle. A noble creatur, a gentill woman, desired of me with ful grete instauns to write on-to hir, that is to sey, to translate hir treuly oute of Latyn, the lif of Seynt Augustyn, grete doctour of the cherch.

Sche desired this thing of me rather than of a-nother man be-cause that I am of his profession, for sche supposed verily that I wold do it with the bettir wil. Sche desired eke this lif of this Seynt more than of any othir for sche was browt forth in-to this world on his solempne feste' ⁶⁶⁾

^{d)} This autograph MS is the only one known to exist. It contains three works of Capgrave, namely, the *Life of St Augustine*,

⁶³⁾ See ARBESMANN (83), SANDERLIN (84), and Jordanus de Saxonia, *Liber Vitas-fratrum*, ed. Arbesmann-Hümpfner (New York, 1943), p. xxv, note 3.

⁶⁴⁾ See n° 39, b.

⁶⁵⁾ *Ibidem*, f.

⁶⁶⁾ In Munro's edition, p. 1.

that of St Gilbert, and a Sermon (Tretis). The Br. Museum purchased it at Sotheby's in June 1902. A description is given in the *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the British Museum in the years 1900-1905* (London, 1907), pp. 191-92; and in the introduction to the edition, pp. ix-x. On fly-leaf f. 2 is a cypher: 'Cpnstbbbt sfmfl sprfl Thpmf', i. e. 'Constabat semel Sorel Thome', and on fly-leaf f. 3 is written: 'Magister Iohannes Capgrave conventus linn fecit istum librum ex precepto unius generose'.

^{e)} The first lines of the prologue run —

'A grete reule to all lerned men was sette be Seint Paule in the first capitle Ad Romanos, where he saide that he was dettour on-to wise men and on-wise' ⁶⁷⁾.

^{f)} The two places where this work is cited by Capgrave are —

1. In the prologue to *The Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham* ⁶⁸⁾

2. In the *Tretis* mentioned together with the *Concordia* ⁶⁹⁾

39 THE LIFE OF ST GILBERT OF SEMPRINGHAM ^{a)}

Date — 1451 ^{b)}

Dedicated to — Nicholas Reysby, master-general of the Order of Sempringham ^{c)}

MSS-extant —

London, Br. Museum, MS Add. 36704, n° 2, ff. 46-116 ^{d)}

London, Br. Museum, Cotton MS, Vitellius D.xv.4 ^{e)}

Incipit-Prologue — 'To my wel-beloved in our Lord God maystir of the order of Sempyngham' ^{f)}

Incipit-Life — 'This man was bore in that same place cleped Sempingham'

Cited in — the *Tretis* ^{g)}

References — (26), (31), (33), (34), (37), (43), (46), (50), (52), (60), (64), (65), (67), (77), (83), (96), (98), (100) ^{h)}.

Edited — by J. J. Munro for the E. E. T. S., original series, n° 140 (London, 1910), pp. 61-142.

^{a)} St Gilbert of Sempringham (1083 / 9-1189) founded two Orders, one for nuns under the rule of St Benedict, another for canons regular following St Augustine's rule. He was canonized in 1202 ⁷⁰⁾.

⁶⁷⁾ Rom., i, 14.

⁶⁸⁾ See n° 39, f.

⁶⁹⁾ See n° 26, e, 2.

⁷⁰⁾ For St Gilbert and his Orders, see R. Graham, *St Gilbert and the Gilbertines* (London, 1901).

^{b)} The colophon runs —

'Thus endith the lif of Seint Gilbert, translāt in-to our moder tonge, the yere of the incarnation of our Lord a Mccccij' ⁷¹⁾.

^{c)} The name of the 'Maystir' to whom Capgrave dedicated this work has been added in the margin : Nicholas Reysby. Reysby was known to have been head of this Order in 1445 and again in 1463 ⁷²⁾. We have no further information concerning him.

^{d)} This Life forms the second part of the codex, cf. n° 38, d.

^{e)} The Cotton MS was burnt in the fire of 1731. Only seven small fragments were saved. These are now mounted on paper, and constitute folios 29-35 ⁷³⁾. Smith's *Catalogus* has the following description —

'The Life of Gilbert, Founder of the order of Sempringham : translated by Frere John Capgrave 1432, in old English' ⁷⁴⁾.

The year 1432 is probably a misreading or misprint for 1452. The existence of a MS of the Life of St Gilbert is reported in MS Harley 980 in the Br. Museum, a volume of notes collected by Thomas Gybbons. He adds after a short note on St Gilbert —

'Vide Joh. Capgrave in Vita Sti. Gilberti manuscript. ex museo Roberti Kemp, militis de Gissing'.

There is no internal evidence to show from which of the two Gilbert MSS Gybbons made his annotation.

^{f)} The beginning of the prologue, where Capgrave mentions *The Life of St Augustine*, explains the cause of writing this Life, and promises the *Tretis*, sounds like this —

'To my wel-beloved in our Lord God maystir [in the margin : Nicholas Reysby] of the order of Sempyngham, which ordre is entytled on-to the name of Seynt Gilbert, I, ffrer I. C. [in the margin a later hand added : John Capgrave] amongis doctouris lest, send reverens as to swech dignyte, desiring clenness to your soule and helth to your body. Now with-inne fewe dayes was notyfied on-to me that the lyf of our fader Seynt Augustyn, which that I translāt in-to our tunge at instauns of a certeyn woman, was browt to your presens, which lykyd yow wel, as it is told, save ye wold I schul adde therto alle thoo relygyous that lyve undyr his reule. But to this I answer that it was not my charge, but if men like for to knowe this mater diffusely thei may lerne it in a sermon that I seid at Cambrig the yer be-for myn opposicion, which sermon unphap I wil sette in Englisch in the last ende of this werk. Than aftir ye had red this lyf

⁷¹⁾ In Munro's edition, p. 142.

⁷²⁾ Cf. our biography, p. 424, note 97.

⁷³⁾ See Munro's introduction to the edition, p. xi.

⁷⁴⁾ Th. Smith, *Catalogus librorum MSS bibl. Cotton.*, p. 94.

of Seynt Augustyn ye sayde to on of my frendes that ye desired gretly the lyf of Seynt Gilbert schuld be translat in the same forme. Thus mad he instaunce to me, and I graunted both your peticion, this for I wold not frustrate him of his mediacion. To the honour of God and of all seyntis than, wil we begynne this tretys, namelych for the solitarye women of your religion which unneth can undyrstande Latyn, that thei may at vacaunt tymes red in this book the grete vertues of her maystyr. For her may thei loke as in a glasse, who thei schal transfigure her soules lych on-to that exemplary in which thei schul loke' ⁷⁵).

^e) Capgrave refers to *The Life of St Gilbert* in the *Tretis* when dealing with the seventh group of religious following the rule of St Augustine —

'The vij son of Iacob, he hite Simeon, which soundith in our tonge hevynesse or pencifnesse, and this may be applyed with grete conveniens on-to that ordre that was founded at Sempyngham be the solitude of Seynt Gilbert, of which Seynt, be-cause I mad a special tretis on-to the maystir of that ord, therfor in this place I touch no mor of him' ⁷⁶).

^h) BALE has an allusion to this MS in the *Catalogus*, v. i, p. 225. In his account of Gilbert of Sempringham, he says in reference to the founding of his Order: 'Gilbertinorum sectae quam ille primus inchoavit anno Domini 1148, ut auctores sunt Scopus et Capgravius'.

TANNER (33) mentions a MS Norwic. More xl. HINGESTON (43) thinks this is probably a mistake. It is the MS of the *Chronicle*, which is preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge, where there is no MS of *The Life of St Gilbert*.

40 TRETIS OF THO ORDERES THAT BE UNDYR THE REULE OF OURE FADER SEYNT AUGUSTIN ^a)

Date — 1451 (1422) ^b)

Dedicated to — Nicholas Reysby, master-general of the Order of Sempringham ^c)

MS-extant — London, Br. Museum, MS Add. 36704, n° 3, ff. 116v-119.

Incipit — 'We may likne our fader Seynt Augustyn on-to the holy patriark Iacob for many causes' ^d)

Cited in — *The Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham* ^e)

References — (43), (48), (60), (77), (84), (95), (98).

⁷⁵) *The Lives of St Augustine, etc.*, p. 61.

⁷⁶) *Ibidem*, p. 147.

Edited — by J. J. Munro for the E. E. T. S., original series,
n° 140 (London, 1910), pp. 145-148 ¹⁾

^{a)} The full title of this treatise reads —

'And here begynnyth a tretis of tho orderes that be undyr
the reule of oure fader Seynt Augustin, drawe out of a
sermon seyde be frer Ion Capgrave at Cambrige, the yere of
our Lord a Mccccxxij'.

^{b)} The date of the composition of this work is 1451. It follows
immediately *The Life of St Gilbert* in the prologue of which
Capgrave promised to add this *Tretis* ⁷⁷⁾. It has been extracted
from a sermon which Capgrave preached in 1422, the year
before his opponency ⁷⁸⁾.

^{c)} See n° 39, f.

^{d)} Capgrave draws a comparison between St Augustine and the
patriarch Jacob. Just as Jacob has twelve sons so, Capgrave
explains, are there twelve religious institutions which claim
St Augustine as their spiritual father. He analyses the Hebrew
names of Jacob's sons, and applies their characteristics to the
twelve religious families. The comparison is as follows —

Judas	— Hermits of St Augustine
Ruben	— Canons Secular
Gad	— Canons Regular
Aser	— Dominicans
Nephtali	— Knights of St John
Manasses	— Teutonic Knights
Simeon	— Gilbertines
Levi	— Premonstratensians
Issachar	— Canons Regular of the Holy Cross
Zabulon	— Order of St Bridget
Joseph	— Canons Regular of St Victor
Benjamin	— Order of Petirston ⁷⁹⁾ .

⁷⁷⁾ Cf. n° 39, f.

⁷⁸⁾ This year seems to be in contradiction with the year fixed by the Prior
General for Capgrave's opponency (cf. note 61). Perhaps the Prior General was
not aware of the statutes in the English Universities. For B. D. candidates (Ad-
missio ad lecturam libr. Sentent.) a period of two-years study with certain oppo-
nencies was required, cf. H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle
Ages*, ed. Powicke-Emden, iii (Oxford, 1936). 158-59. There is a similar case in
the General Archives O. E. S. A., that of Blessed Giovanni da Fabriano (8 July,
1385), but here it is stated clearly —

'... primum locum [tibi] dedimus lecture sententiarum in universitate oxo-
niarum alienigenis assignatum, sic quod presenti anno opponere debeas et
sequenti immediate sententias legere' (Dd 2, f. 43v).

⁷⁹⁾ See our biography, pp. 425-26. In this small work Capgrave refers to four
of his writings: *The Life of St Augustine*, *The Concordia*, *The Life of St Gilbert*,
and *The Life of St Norbert*.

^{e)} Cf. n° 39, f.

^{f)} In Munro's edition these three works are preceded by an Introduction, pp. i-xxi, and followed by Notes, Glossary, and Index, pp. 149-183.

41 THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND ^{a)}

Date — about 1462

Dedicated to — Edward IV, king of England ^{b)}

MSS-extant —

Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. iv. 12, pp. 204 ^{c)}

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 167, pp. 196 ^{d)}

Incipit-Dedicatory letter — 'To my Sovereyn Lord Edward, be the grace of God Kyng of Ynglond' ^{e)}

Incipit-Chronicle — 'Anno mundi l. — The first man Adam was mad on a fryday' ^{f)}

References — (12), (17), (20), (31), (33), (34), (35), (41), (42), (43), (46), (47), (48), (49), (50), (52), (53), (54), (55), (56), (57), (58), (59), (60), (61), (62), (63), (64), (65), (66), (67), (69), (70), (71), (72), (74), (75), (77), (80), (82), (83), (84), (85), (86), (90), (91), (93), (94), (97), (98), (100).

Edited —

by F. C. Hingeston-Randolph in the Rolls Series (London, 1858), pp. xxix, 482 ^{g)}

Part of the *Chronicle* has been printed in : *The Oxford Book of English Prose*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (Oxford 1940), pp. 17-18 (= n. 14) ^{h)}

^{a)} This is possibly the most important of Capgrave's writings. Capgrave himself has not given a name to this work, but speaks of it as 'a schort remembrauns of elde stories'. It is the first history of England not written in Latin, and has the further interest that it was composed in the dialect of Norfolk. The occasion of its composition Capgrave explains in the dedication —

'It is somewhat divulgid in this lond, that I have aftir my possibilite be occupied in wryting, specially to gader eld exposiciones upon Scripture into o colleccion ; and thoo that were disparplied in many sundry bokis, my laboure was to bringe hem into o body, that thei which schal com aftir schal not have so mech laboure in sekyng of her processe. Now is age com, and I want ny al that schuld longe to a studier : yet is plesed me, as for a solace, to gader a schort remembrauns of elde stories, that whanne I loke upon hem, and

have a schort touch of the writing, I can sone dilate the circumstaunes' ⁸⁰⁾).

- ^{b)} Shortly after 1461 the *Chronicle* was dedicated to King Edward IV who came to the throne of England on 4 March 1461 —

'Ye entered in the sexti yere of Crist, aftir that a MCCCC were complet' ⁸¹⁾.

- ^{c)} This is the autograph MS which belonged to Bishop John More of Norwich, later of Ely (1646-1714), from whose library it came to its present home — Cambridge University Library, and which was used by Hingeston for his edition. There is no colophon, and the MS ends very abruptly in the middle of a column. It was evidently left by the author in an incomplete state. A description is given by the editor in the introduction, pp. xxv-xxvii, and in *A Catalogue of the MSS preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, iii (Cambridge, 1858) 152.

- ^{d)} The second MS is a copy of the 16th century. The prologue is missing. Hence it is stated to be anonymous, cf. J. NASMITH, *Catalogus librorum manusccriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensi legavit R. mus Matthaeus Parker* (Cambridge, 1777), p. 236. The last owner before it came to Cambridge University was therefore Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury (1504-1575). The codex is described in M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, i (Cambridge, 1912). 378, and in Hingeston's introduction to the edition, p. xxvii. There is in the University Library at Cambridge a MS Mm.1.44 (Baker 33) which has on pp. 23-25 : 'A Specimen of Capgrave's *Chronicle* dedicated to Edward the 4th' ⁸²⁾.

⁸⁰⁾ In Hingeston's edition, p. 1.

⁸¹⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁸²⁾ Cf. *A Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, v (Cambridge, 1867). 370.

It may be interesting to give here the item from Nasmith's *Catalogus* —

'CLXVII — A paper book in folio, written in the xv. century containing: An old English chronicle from the creation to the calling of the council of Basle, written by a monk of the order of the friars Eremites of St. Augustin. Beginning: « The first man Adam was mad on a fryday without thought modyr withoute fadyr in the field of damask ».

The former catalogues have attributed this *Chronicle* to a Gilbertine, but it appears from the 96 page that the author was of the order of the Hermits of St Augustin, and as he elsewhere informs us, was born in the 17. Ric. II. His account of the later reigns appears minute and judicious'.

e) The whole address reads —

'To my Sovereyn Lord Edward, be the grace of God Kyng of Ynglond and of Frauns, Lord of Yrland, a pore Frere of the Heremites of Seynt Austyn, in the convent of Lenne, sendith prayer, obediens, subjeccion, and al that evir, be ony deute, a prest schuld offir onto his Kyng' ⁸³).

Leaving aside the criticism directed against Capgrave's attitude towards Edward IV and his opinion about Henry IV ⁸⁴), we reproduce instead from the dedicatory epistle the paternal exhortations of the Austin friar to the young king (he was in his early twenties) —

'Make in youre soule to ternaries, on in feith anothir in love : beleve in God — Fadir, and Son, and Holy Gost : love God in al youre hert, al youre soule, and al youre mynde. Make eke thre binaries. As for the first, think that ye be mad of to natures: body and soule. Loke that youre soule have evyr the sovereynte, and that the bestial mevyng of the body oppresse not the soule. The secunde bynarie is to think that there be to weyes in this world, on to lyf, anothir to deth. That wey that ledith to evyrlastyng lyf, though it be streite, kepe it. Tho men that renne the large weye clepe hem ageyn be youre power. The third bynarie is love of God, and love of youre neyboure. For evene as it is youre deute to love God with drede, so is it youre offise for to se that men love you with drede. The Apostil, whan he spekith of potestates, « He bereth not his swerd », he seith, « withouten cause » ⁸⁵). The Romaines lawe was, « to spare hem that asked grace, and to smyte down the proude » ⁸⁶).

Capgrave's monogram & is affixed to the letter which is signed — 'yours servaunt — Capgrave'.

f) The *Chronicle* starts with the creation of the first man 'onto the yere of oure Lord Crist a MCCCC and xvii' ⁸⁷). From 1216 until 1417 Capgrave follows the facts year by year, and forms, at least for the last century, an important source for English history. It is also in this work that Capgrave mentions the day and the year of his birth. Coming up to the year 1393, he says —

'In this yere, in the xxi day of Aprile, was that Frere bore wechch mad these anotaciones' ⁸⁸).

⁸³) In Hingeston's edition, p. 1.

⁸⁴) Cf. our biography, pp. 439-40.

⁸⁵) Rom., xiii, 4.

⁸⁶) 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos', Vergilius, *Aeneidos*, vi, 853. In Hingeston's edition this passage is to be found on p. 3.

⁸⁷) *Ibidem*, p. 1.

⁸⁸) *Ibidem*, p. 259.

and in the margin appears again the monogram.

The history of England between the years 1417 and 1446 is to be found partly in the *Liber de illustribus Henricis*.

^{e)} Hingeston's edition comprises the following —

Introduction, pp. viii-xxix.

The *Chronicle*, pp. 1-317.

Appendices, pp. 321-371. They are —

I. Notices of the life and writings of Capgrave from Bale, Leland, and others.

II. Extracts from Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities*.

III. Of Capgrave's metrical Life of Saint Katharine.

IV. A fragment of Capgrave's « Guide to the Antiquities of Rome ».

Glossary, General Index, pp. 373-482.

^{h)} It contains three little chapters dealing with the Surrender of Calais (1347), and the great pestilence (1349). In Hingeston's edition the part is to be found on pp. 213-14.

42 THE LIFE OF ST KATHARINE OF ALEXANDRIA in five books

Date — circa 1445 ^{a)}

MSS-extant —

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 118, ff. x + 130

London, Br. Museum, MS Arundel 168, n° 9, ff. 15-65v

London, Br. Museum, MS Arundel 396 n° 1, ff. 1-118

London, Br. Museum, MS Arundel 20, n° 1, ff. 1-43 ^{b)}

Incipit-Prologue — 'Iesu cryst, crowne of maydenys alle' ^{c)}

Incipit-Life — 'Sumetyme ther was a grete kyng in grees' ^{d)}

References — (33), (42), (43), (46), (47), (48), (50), (52), (53), (56), (60), (64), (65), (66), (67), (77), (82), (89), (91), (96), (98), (100).

Edited — by Carl Horstmann for the E. E. T. S., original series, n° 100 (London, 1893), pp. xlv, 463 ^{e)}

^{a)} This long poem has not been dated by Capgrave, at least in the form in which it has come down to us. However, there is a contemporary witness who refers to this work in one of his writings: Osbern Bokenham, O. E. S. A., the well-known Chaucerian poet (1393-after 1464) ⁸⁹⁾. In his *Legendys of hooly wummen* he also has a Life of St Katharine which was written

⁸⁹⁾ See our Capgrave-biography, pp. 416-17, note 71. Bokenham was a member of the community of Clare-Priory on 15 Jan. 1464, cf. *Cartulary of Clare Priory*, n° 191, as Rev. dr B. Hackett, OESA kindly informed us.

after that of St Mary Magdalene (1445). Bokenham states in the prologue to his Life of St Katharine —

'But who-so lyst knowleche for to have,
and that mater envereyd to be,
My fadrys book, Maystir loon Capgrave,
Wych that but newly compylyd he,
Mote he seke, & here there shall se
In balaadys rymyd ful craftyly
All that for ignorance her nowe leve I
But for as-much as that book is rare
And straunge to gete, at myn estymacyoun,
Compendyously of al I wyl declare
No more but oonly the passyoun,
Of kateryne Howard to gostly consolacyoun,
And to comforte eek of Denstoun kateryne,
If grace my wyt wyl illumyne' ⁹⁰).

From this source it may be deduced that Capgrave finished his poem about 1445.

- b) Of these MSS the Rawlinson MS has most of Capgrave's forms; Arundel 168 has rather fewer, and Arundel 396 least of all ⁹¹). *MS Rawlinson Poetry 118* according to F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, iii (Oxford, 1895). 307, was written perhaps in the third quarter of the 15th century. The work ends —

'Per Capgrave. Iste libellus constat Willelmo Tybbe Capellano' ⁹²).

MS Arundel 168, formerly *MS Gresham 168*, as TANNER (33) calls it, is dated by Furnivall about 1450. Its colophon runs —

'Explicit vita sancte Katerine facta per Doct. Capgrave' ⁹³). *MS Arundel 396* written about 1450 belonged once to the Canonesses of St Augustine of Campsey Ash Priory, Suffolk, by a gift of Dame Katharine Babyngton subprioress of the same house. This is to be found on f. 130v —

'Iste liber est ex dono domine Kateryne Babyngton, quondam subpriorisse de Campseye; et si quis illum alienaverit sine licencia una cum consensu dictarum [sanctimonialium]

⁹⁰) Osbern Bokenham, O. E. S. A., *Legendys of hooly wummen*, ed. M. Serjeantson (E. E. T. S., original series n° 206, London, 1938), pp. 173-74.

⁹¹) This is the opinion of Mr Furnivall in the foreword to the edition, p. xxvi.

⁹²) In Horstmann's edition, p. 403.

⁹³) *Ibidem*, p. 426. The remaining folios, ff. 65-85, contain Lives of St Christina, St Dorothy, and Cato, the authorship of which Tanner claims for Capgrave but without sufficient evidence according to Hingeston, cf. Introduction to the *Chronicle*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

⁹⁴) *Ibidem*, pp. xxix-xxx.

conventus, malediccionem dei omnipotentis incurrat et anathema sit' ⁹⁴).

St Katharine's Life ends —

'Soli deo honor et gloria. Per Cappegrave' ⁹⁵).

MS Arundel 20 about 1450. The prologue is missing. The last words of the Life are —

'that after this lyve we mey cum to thy cage. Amen' ⁹⁶).

In the Library of Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge is a MS 390 which contains as n° 2 a Life of St Katharine. M. R. James says that the author may perhaps be John Capgrave, for in the prologue he speaks of having already written on the martyrdom of St Katharine. The prologue starts —

'Here begynneth the prologue made upon the lyfe and martirdom of seint kateryne virgyn and martir, sent bi a discrete maister unto the kyng henry the v^{te} made unto the honoure and worship of the saide virgine and preysung of hir'.

The fact that the work was dedicated to King Henry V (1413-1422) shows that this 'maister' cannot be John Capgrave ⁹⁷).

⁹⁶) The first stanza of the Prologue runs —

'lesu cryst, crowne of maydenys alle,
A mayde bar the, a mayde gave the soke ;
A-mong the lilies that may not fade ne falle
Thou ledyst these folk, ryth so seyth our boke,
Wyth all her hert ever on the thei loke ;
here love, her plesauns so sore is on the sette,
To sewe the, lord, & folow thei can nott lette' ⁹⁸).

Also in this Prologue, which comprises 252 lines, Capgrave explains how he came to write the Life. There was a priest, Arrek by name, who discovered after many adventures in Cyprus, in the time of Pope Urban V (1362-70), a Greek Life of the Saint written by St Athanasius. He brought it to England, and —

'he mad thi lyff in englysch tunge ful well.
But yet he deyed or he had fully doo...' (p. 6).

'he is now ded, this goodeman, this preste,
he deyid at lynne many yer a-goo...' (p. 14).

⁹⁵) *Ibidem*, p. 403.

⁹⁶) *Ibidem*, p. 450. The Arundel MSS are described in *A Catalogue of MSS in the British Museum, new series, i, The Arundel MSS* (London, 1834), pp. 46, 116, and 6 respectively.

⁹⁷) M. R. James, *A Descriptive catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, ii (Cambridge, 1908). 452-53.

⁹⁸) In Horstmann's edition, p. 2. We quote this and the following passages from the Rawlinson text.

'he was sumtyme parsonē of sent pancras
In the cete of london a full grete qwyte...' (*Ibid.*).

'Aftyr hyme nexte I take up-on me
To translate this story & set it mor pleyn...' (p. 16).

Then Capgrave tells us that he himself is from Lynn, the place where Arrek died —

'If ye wyll wete qwat that I am :
My cuntre is northfolke, of the town of lynne ;
Owt of the world to my profyte I cam
On-to the brotherhode qwech I am Inne —
Godd geve me grace nevyr for to blynne
To folow the steppes of my faders be-for,
Whech to the rewle of Austen wer swore' (p. 16).

^{a)} *The Life of St Katharine* is divided into five books each containing a different number of chapters.

Remarkable is the prologue of the third book, an appeal to the Holy Ghost —

'Sith no man may her in this lyffe present
Doo no good dede, but he enspyred be
Of that goste whech fro the omnipotent
ffader of hevyn & fro the sune so fre
Is sent to us, ryght so be-leve now we
that [it] is best that we our labour commende
On-to this gost, if we wyll have goode ende' ⁹⁹⁾.

^{c)} Horstmann's edition contains —

- I. Forewords (by F. J. Furnivall), pp. v-xlvi
- II. *The Life of St Katharine*, pp. 1-403. The text of MS Rawl. Poet. 118 has been printed opposite to that of MS Arundel 396 for the first three books, i. e. pp. 2-261. Then only the text of Arundel 396 is found, with the various readings from MS Rawl. at the bottom of the page, pp. 261-403.
- III. Various readings to the Rawl. text —
 1. From MS Arundel 168 : pp. 405-426
 2. From MS Arundel 20 : pp. 426-450
- IV. Index of names, and Glossary (both by Th. Austin) : pp. 451-463.

43 YE SOLACE OF PILGRIMES in three books ^{a)}

Date — about 1451 ^{b)}

Dedicated to — Sir Thomas Tudenham ? ^{c)}

MSS-extant —

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 423, n° 5, ff. 355-414 ^{d)}

⁹⁹⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

Fragments as fly-leaves to —

Oxford, Balliol College, MS 190

Oxford, All Souls College, MS 17^e)

Incipit-Prologue — 'Many men in this world' ^{a)}

Incipit-Solace — 'Whech wer first foundatouris of rome, cap. i' ^{g)}

References — (43), (46), (47), (48), (50), (52), (54), (60), (61), (63), (65), (66), (77), (78), (79), (83), (87), (97), (98), (100), (104).

Edited — by C. A. Mills for the British and American Archaeological Society of Rome (London 1911), pp. xxii, 190 ^{h)}

The *Fragments* were printed by Hingeston in Appendix iv of the edition of *The chronicle of England* (London, 1858), pp. 357-366.

Translation — Extracts from the *Solace* with reference to topographical aspects of Rome, together with an Italian translation in *Codice topografico della Città di Roma*, a cura di R. Valentini e G. Zucchetti, iv (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 91, Rome, 1953). 330-349.

^{a)} *The solace of pilgrimes* is a description of Rome about the year 1450. During Lent and Easter of the Holy Year 1450 Capgrave made a pilgrimage to the Eternal City, and surveyed its pagan and christian monuments. When back in England he arranged his notes in a book — 'me thinkith best to kalle it *solace of pilgrimys*' ¹⁰⁰).

^{b)} Internal evidence proves that the work was written between 1447 and 1452, and likewise that Capgrave's visit to Rome was made during the Holy Year 1450 ¹⁰¹).

^{c)} There is no sign of a dedication in this work. Yet in the prologue the name of Sir Thomas Tudenham (1399-1461) occurs; he was lord of the manor of Oxburgh, not far from King's Lynn ¹⁰²), and he paid Capgrave's expenses for the trip —

'On to all men of my nacioun that schal rede this present book and namely on to my special maystr *sir thomas tudenham* undyr whos proteccioun my pylgrimage was specially sped I recomende my sympilnesse praying hem of paciens in the redyng that thei take no hed at no craftly langage wher non is but at the good entent of the maker' ¹⁰³).

^{d)} MS Bodley 423, n° 5 is Capgrave's autograph which was identified in 1907 in the Bodleian Library as the 'Guide to the

¹⁰⁰) In Mills's edition, p. 1.

¹⁰¹) See our biography, p. 422.

¹⁰²) In Mills's edition, p. 1, note 2.

¹⁰³) *Ibidem*, pp. 1-2.

Antiquities of Rome' mentioned by HINGESTON (43). MS Bodley 423 contains five MSS bound together. Capgrave's MS is the last. It was considerably cut down both in length and breadth to match the other four hence its *marginalia* are now incomplete, and the original pagination was so cut away that it had to be newly foliated as ff. 355-414¹⁰⁴).

^e) See n° 24, c. The fragments are not in Capgrave's handwriting, as FURNIVALL (48) argues against Hingeston's opinion. They contain chapters xi, xii and xiii of the first part.

^f) The first lines are —

'Many men in this world afty her pilgrimage have left memoriales of swech thingis as thei have herd and seyn that nowt only here eres schuld ber witnesse but eke her eyne'.

Then Capgrave mentions a few of these men, Pythagoras, Plato, Livy, St Jerome, Marco Polo, and John Mandeville.

'Afty all these grete cryeris of many wonderfull thingis I wyl folow with a smal pyping of swech straunge sitis as I have seyn and swech straunge thingis as I have herd. No man blame me thow he be leve not that I schal write for I schal not write but that I fynde in auctores & that is for a principall or ellis that I sey with eye and that is for a secundari, or ellis that I suppose is soth lete that be of best auctore' ¹⁰⁵).

^g) The work is divided into three parts —

'The first part schal declare the disposicioun of rome fro his first makynge',

that is to say, it describes the gates, walls, bridges, hills, monuments, and the 'governouris in rome' all in twenty six chapters.

'The secunde part which tretith of the cherchis in rome and of the spirituale tresour conteyned in hem',

i. e. the seven main churches and forty seven stationall churches, all together fifty four chapters.

'The third part of othir cherches in Rome',

is only partly preserved, and in twelve chapters treats of twelve churches dedicated to Our Lady.

It is the last description of Rome made during the Middle Ages by an Englishman, and it is also the best. Capgrave's critical method, his keenness of observation, his soundness of interpretation, his accuracy and care not to put down a thing unless he has either seen it himself or has, in his opinion, the best authority for it, are praised by several authors ¹⁰⁶).

¹⁰⁴) A description of the codex is given by H. Craster in *A Summary catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. ii, pt. i (Oxford, 1922). 309 (= n° 2322, E), and by H. M. Bannister in the Introductory note to the edition, p. xv.

¹⁰⁵) In Mills's edition, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶) E. g. PARKS (104), GWYNN (97), McN. RUSHFORTH (78), and HUELSEN (79).

Capgrave used many sources for his work. We shall restrict ourselves to one. In the Library of Lambeth Palace, London, is preserved a MS n° 35 : Dominicus de Bandinis de Arecio, *Fons memorabilium* ¹⁰⁷). Montague Rhodes James says in a note to this MS —

'The only English writer I know who quotes the work is John Capgrave in his *Solace of Pilgrimes* (an account of Rome) : he was at Rome in 1450 (when the Lambeth copy was written) but wrote the *Solace* after his return to England. I think it not unlikely that the Lambeth and the *Corpus Christi* volumes are the copy which he used, but it is equally likely that it was Bp Gray's copy, since Capgrave knew the Bishop and dedicated books to him' ¹⁰⁸).

^h) The edition comprises —

Preface (by C. A. Mills), pp. xi-xiv

Introductory note (by H. M. Bannister), pp. xv-xxii

Ye solace of pilgrimes, pp. 1-170

Index, pp. 171-190.

In the Introductory note Bannister explains the method of reproducing the text as written by Capgrave —

'... as to punctuation I felt that the custom of the MS should be invariably retained ; it may occasionally be defective and misleading, and, to our minds, it is always incomplete, but I think that the small additional effort demanded of the reader is preferable to an arbitrary editorial trampling on the transcription of the text' ¹⁰⁹).

This method was highly praised by Friedrich Schubel who writes —

'Die Höherwertung der Originaltreue auch in der scheinbar belanglosen Interpunktion gegenüber der Bequemlichkeit des Lesers, die hier ausdrücklich vorgenommen wurde, muss schon bei den früheren Ausgaben derselben Richtung mitgesprochen haben und beweist, wie weit man sich bereits im letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts von dem ursprünglichen Standpunkt der Rücksichtnahme auf den Leser auf Kosten der Hss. entfernt hatte' ¹¹⁰).

44 THE LIFE OF ST NORBERT

Date — 1440 ^a)

¹⁰⁷) Domenico Bandino da Arezzo (1340-1415).

¹⁰⁸) M. R. James, *A Descriptive catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Lambeth Palace. The Mediaeval MSS* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 51-52.

¹⁰⁹) p. xvi.

¹¹⁰) F. Schubel, 'Die gedruckte Wiedergabe mittellenglischer Handschriften', in *Anglia*, lxvi (1942). 144.

Dedicated to — John Wygenhale, abbot of West Dereham ^{b)}
MS-extant — San Marino, Calif., Henry E. Huntingdon Library,
 MS HM 55, ff. 59 ^{c)}

Incipit — 'Joye, grace, in pees, love, feith & charite' ^{d)}

Cited in — the *Tretis* ^{e)}

References — (48), (50), (67), (100), (105), (106).

Edited — W. Clawson is preparing the edition for the E. E. T. S. ^{f)}

The first four and the last two stanzas have been printed in Munro's edition of *The Lives of St Augustine, etc.* (London, 1910). pp. xii-xiii, and in C. KIRK FLEET, *The White Canons of St Norbert* (West de Pere, Wisc., 1943), pp. 119-121.

The first and the last two stanzas are to be found in Furnivall's foreword to the edition of *The Life of St Katharine* (London, 1893), pp. xlv-xlv.

The last two stanzas also in H. M. COLVIN, *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 322-23.

- ^{a)} The metrical *Life of St Norbert* has been dated by Capgrave himself. In the last two stanzas he mentions the addressee and his abbey, his own name, and the week and the year when he finished his poem —

'Go litel book, to hem that wil ye rede
 Sey you were mad to the abbot of Derham :
 Fast be Stoke it stant, withouten drede ;
 It is to lordes and gentyls all in sam,
 And eke to por men a very Iulianes ham ¹¹¹⁾.
 The abbotes name was called at that tyde,
 The good Ion Wygnale, that never wold him hide

ffor no gestis, but rather he wold hem seke.
 The freris name that translate this story
 Thei called Ion Capgrave, wech in assumpcion weke
 Made a ende of all his rymyng cry,
 The yer of Christ our Lord, withouten ly,
 A thousand four hundred & fourty evene.
 Aftyр this lyf I pray God send us hevene.
 ffeliciter'.

Q

¹¹¹⁾ Furnivall in the foreword to the edition of *The Life of St Katharine*, p. xlv reads: 'a very piliance (? pittance) ham'.

- ^{b)} John Wygenhale ruled the Premonstratensian abbey of West Dereham, near to Stoke Ferry, Norfolk, from c. 1430 to c. 1451 ¹¹²). He asked Capgrave to make this Life, cf. note d.
- ^{c)} This autograph MS had an adventurous history. S. De Ricci mentions a series of owners: Frances Barnard (c. 1600); Richard Clark (c. 1650); Fordman Newington (1670); Rev. Ar. Hubbard (c. 1750). At Sotheby's sale (London, 6 Febr. 1861) it was sold for £ 150 to Powis. This 'Powis' seems to be the same as Sir Thomas Phillipps. It was in his collection at Cheltenham (n° 24309) till 1923. In this year it was acquired privately through Rosenbach by the Henry E. Huntingdon Library at San Marino, California ¹¹³). Besides by De Ricci the MS is also described in Munro's edition of *The Lives of St Augustine, etc.*, pp. ix-x, and by Furnivall in his foreword to *The Life of St Katharine*, pp. xlv-xlv.
- ^{d)} The stanzas as printed by Furnivall, Munro, and Kirkfleet differ at several points. Since the official edition has not yet appeared we quote the text as given by Munro ¹¹⁴).

The first stanza runs —

'Joye, grace, in pees, love, feith & charite,
 Evyr rest up-on your goodly religious breest,
 To whom that I, with moost humylite,
 Evyr recomende lowly as your preest.
 And though I be of rymeris now the leest,
 Yet wil I now, obeying your comaundment,
 Put me in daunger in this werk present'.

The initial J has a miniature in which the author kneeling presents his book to the abbot seated.

- ^{e)} Capgrave cited this *Life of St Norbert* in the *Tretis* where he says —

'The viij son of Iacob, he hite Levi, that soundeth in owre langage a moryng or a multiplying of thing that was begunne, and be this name we undirstande the ordre of Premonstracenses, wech be-gan in Fraunce undir a holy man thei cleped Norbertus, the yer of our Lord a M and a

¹¹²) Capgrave alludes to Wygenhale's recent death in 1451, see under e.

¹¹³) Cf. S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS in the United States and Canada*, i (New York, 1935). 46.

The item in Sotheby's Catalogue runs —

'80. CAPGRAVE (John). The Life, Miracles, and Visions of Saint Norbert, with the Rules of Saint Austin, written in English Verse.

The original autograph Manuscript of an hitherto unmentioned English Poem, on 59 Leaves of vellum, in the old oak covers, folio'.

quoted by Furnivall, l. c., p. xlv.

¹¹⁴) The MS was examined for Munro by H. Mac Cracken, cf. *The Lives of St Augustine, etc.*, pp. xii-xiv.

hundred, and be-cause that I mad his lyf in Englisch to the abbot of Derham that deyid last, therfor as now I wil no lenger tarie in that fundacion' ¹¹⁵).

- ¹) W. Clawson, professor of English at University College, Toronto, delivered a lecture about this MS at a meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1928. He announced at that time an edition of the work for the E. E. T. S. but it has not yet appeared ¹¹⁶). Furnivall already in 1892 asked the permission of the Librarian of the Phillipps Collection, Cheltenham, to have the MS copied and edited for the E. E. T. S. but he was answered: 'it is one of the MSS that we are not intending at present to allow being copied'. 'More's the pity!', Furnivall adds ¹¹⁷).

In conclusion we think it useful to append a survey of the works of Capgrave which have been preserved and of those which are missing.

I. EXTANT

(Those marked with * have been edited)

Commentarius in Genesim

Commentarius in Exodum

Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum

De fidei symbolis

*De illustribus Henricis

*Nova legenda Anglie

*The Life of St Augustine

*The Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham

*Tretis of tho orderes that be undyr the reule of our fader Seynt Augustin

*The chronicle of England

*The Life of St Katharine of Alexandria

*Ye solace of pilgrimes

The Life of St Norbert

¹¹⁵) *Ibidem*, p. 147.

¹¹⁶) Cf. KIRKFLEET (105), p. 121.

¹¹⁷) Furnivall, *l. c.*, p. xlv.

II. MISSING

Commentarius in Leviticum
Commentarius in Numeros
Commentarius in Deuteronomium
Commentarius in Historiam Iosuae
Commentarius in Iudices
Commentarius in Ruth
Commentarii in Regum I. II, III, IV
Commentarius in Psalterium
Commentarius in Ecclesiasten
Commentarius in Isaiam
Commentarius in Daniele
Commentarii in XII Prophetas minores
Commentarii super IV Evangelia
Commentarii super epistolas Pauli
Commentarii super epistolas canonicas
Commentarius in Apocalypsim Ioannis
Manipulus doctrinae christianae
Concordia or De Augustino et suis sequacibus
Commentarii super Sententias
Determinaciones theologiae
Ordinariae disputationes
Ad positiones erroneas
Orationes ad clerum
Sermones per annum
De illustribus viris Augustinianis
Vita Humphridi Ducis Gloucestriae
Lecturae scholasticae
Epistolae ad diversos

Lastly we will print here a tentative chronological arrangement. The numbers within brackets () refer to our list of Capgrave's works.

circa 1425	Commentarii super Sententias (28)
before 1437	Commentarius in Regum I (9)
	Commentarius in Regum III (11)
1433-37	Commentarius in Regem II (10)
	Commentarius in Regum IV (12)

- 1437-38 Commentarius in Genesim (1)
1439-40 Commentarius in Exodum (2)
1440 The Life of St Norbert (44)
circa 1440 Concordia or De Augustino et suis sequacibus (26)
after 1440 Commentarius in Leviticum (3)
Commentarius in Numeros (4)
Commentarius in Deuteronomium (5)
circa 1445 The Life of St Katharine of Alexandria (42)
1446-47 De illustribus Henricis (25)
before 1447 Commentarii super epistolas Pauli (20)
after 1447 Vita Humphridi Ducis Gloucestriae (35)
before 1450 Nova legenda Anglie (27)
before 1451 The Life of St Augustine (38)
1451 The Life of St Gilbert of Sempringham (39)
Tretis of tho orderes that be undyr the reule of
our fader Seynt Augustin (40)
circa 1451 Ye solace of pilgrimes (43)
circa 1452 Manipulus doctrinae christianae (23)
after 1457 Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum (19)
circa 1460 Commentarius in Apocalypsim Ioannis (22)
circa 1462 The chronicle of England (41)
De fidei symbolis (24)
Date uncertain Commentarius in historiam Iosuae (6)
Commentarius in Iudices (7)
Commentarius in Ruth (8)
Commentarius in Psalterium (13)
Commentarius in Ecclesiasten (14)
Commentarius in Isaia (15)
Commentarius in Daniele (16)
Commentarii in XII Prophetas minores (17)
Commentarii super IV Evangelia (18)
Commentarii super epistolas canonicas (21)
Determinaciones theologiae (29)
Ordinariae disputationes (30)
Ad positiones erroneas (31)
Orationes ad clerum (32)
Sermones per annum (33)
De illustribus viris Augustinianis (34)
Lecturae scholasticae (36)
Epistolae ad diversos (37)

At the end of our study on the life and works of John Capgrave we wish to express our heart-felt thanks to Revs. F. X. Martin, O. E. S. A., Clare, and B. M. Hackett, O. E. S. A., Rome who checked the type-script, and helped to correct and polish the text. We are indebted for assistance and information to Very Rev. F. X. Roth, O. E. S. A., New York, Mr C. B. Oldman, British Museum, London, Revs. D. Gutierrez, O. E. S. A., Rome, and E. Ypma, O. E. S. A., Paris ; to Mr R. W. Hunt, Bodleian Library, Oxford, who gave permission to have the MSS photographed ; to the Vatican Library, the Biblioteca Nazionale and the Library of the British Council, Rome, and last but by no means least to Rev. N. Teeuwen, O. E. S. A. Louvain, who accepted this study for publication in *Augustiniana*.

Alberic DE MEIJER, O. E. S. A.
