

**The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury : bishop of Durham, treasurer and chancellor of Edward III / edited and translated by Ernest C. Thomas.**

**Contributors**

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Thomas, Ernest Chester, 1850-1892.

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The Philobiblon of  
Richard de Bury



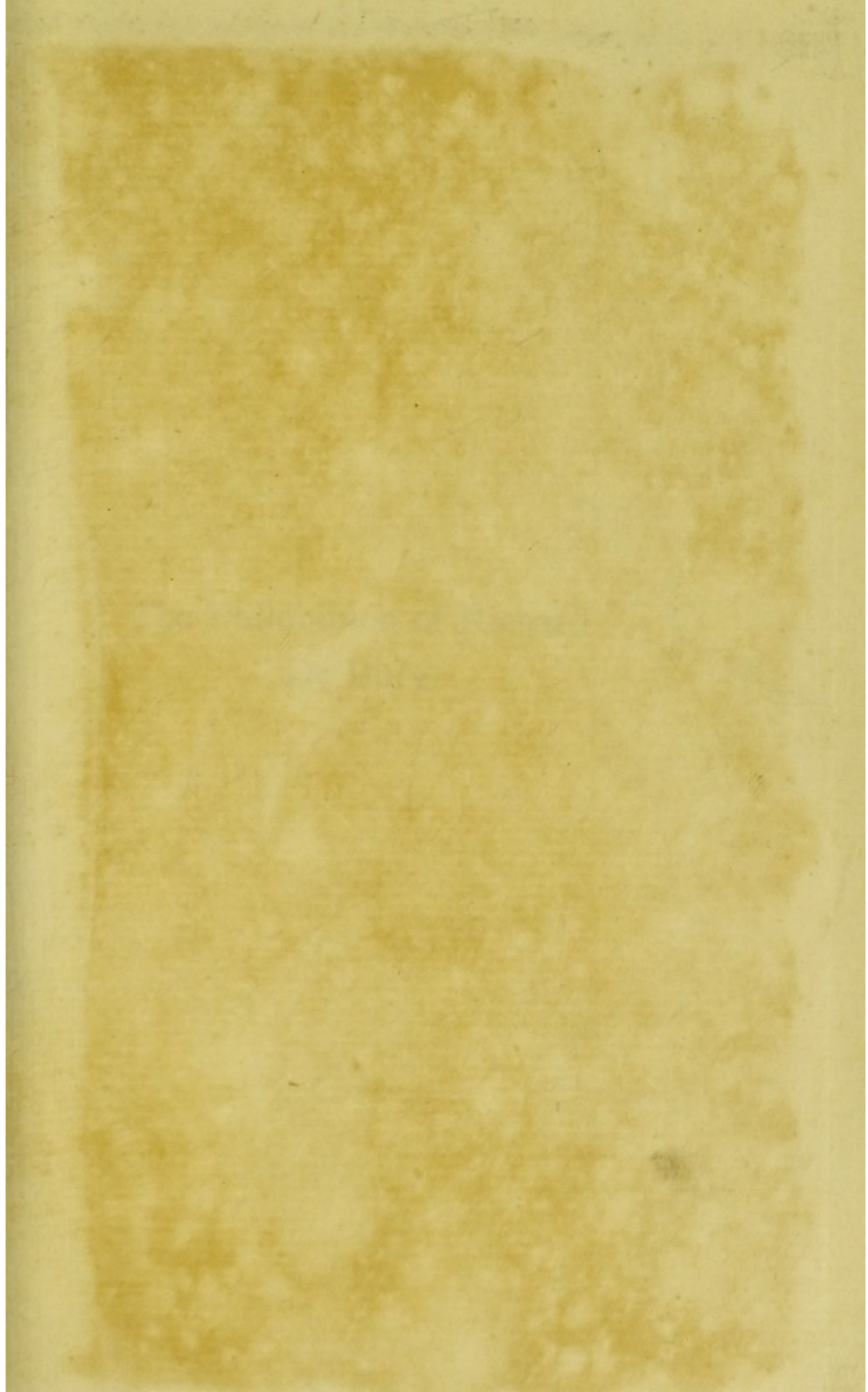
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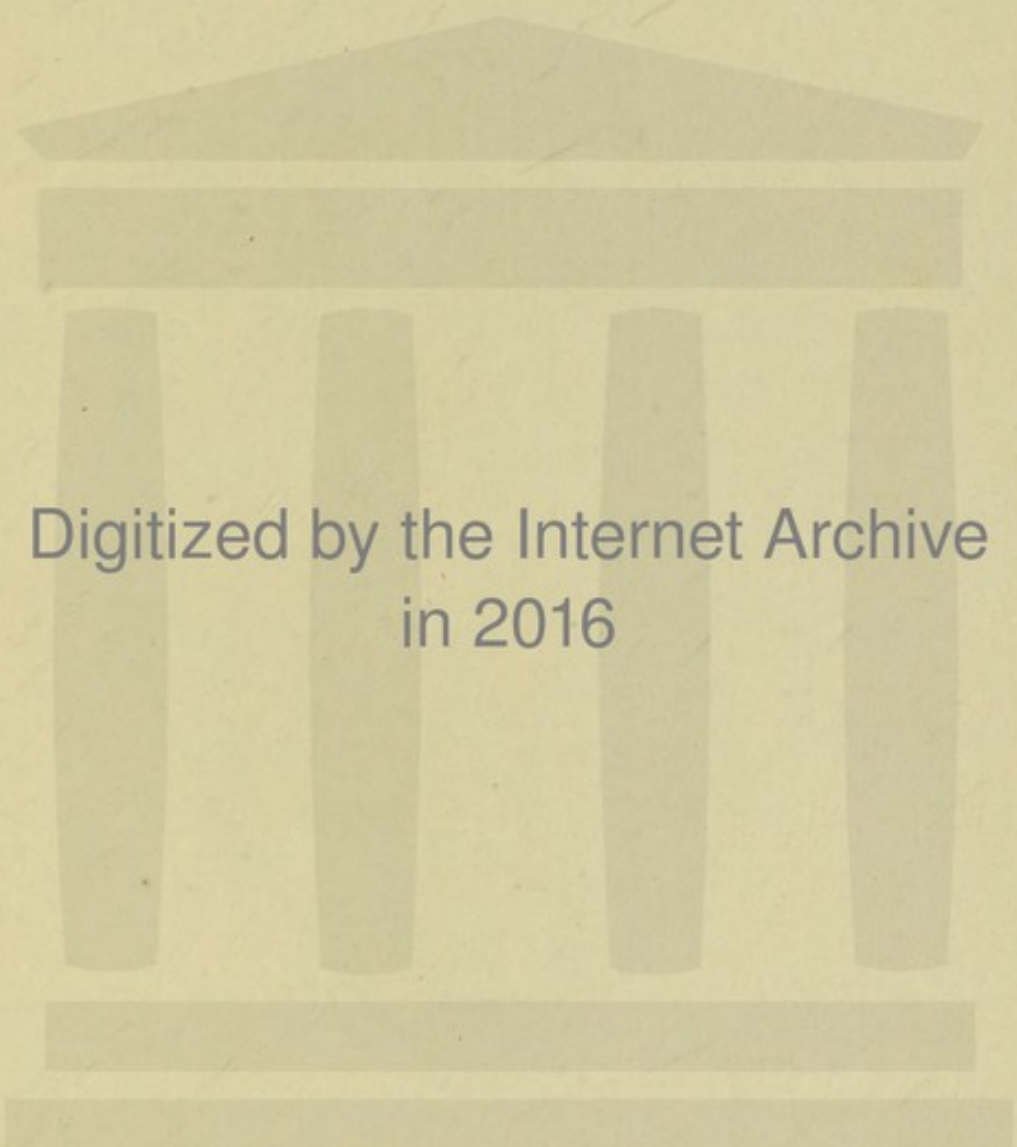
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The Religion of Richard  
De Bury

The Philobiblon of Richard  
De Bury



The History of the  
County of York



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Seal of Richard de Bury

# The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury

Bishop of Durham Treasurer and  
Chancellor of Edward III

Edited and Translated by Ernest C.  
Thomas Barrister-at-law late Scholar  
of Trinity College Oxford and Li-  
brarian of the Oxford Union



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## Preface

*Although more than five centuries have passed away since Richard De Bury wrote the last words of the Philobiblon in his 'Manor at Auckland on the 24th of January, 1345,' this is only the second occasion on which the original text of his little treatise has been printed in his native country. The editions printed abroad were based upon inferior manuscripts, and even the edition published by Thomas James, Bodley's first librarian, left much to be done with more pains and the aid of better manuscripts. The French editor Cocheris, in 1856, though he made use of three new manuscripts, printed an even less correct text than those of the earliest editions, yet, owing to the scarcity of the earlier copies, this edition is the only one that can be said to be generally accessible. The text now printed after a careful examination of twenty-eight manuscripts and of the various printed editions may claim to give for the first time a representation of the Philobiblon as it left its writer's hands.*

*The plan of the present edition has been sufficiently explained in the Introduction (see p. lxxvii), and it only remains for the Editor in this place to express his acknowledgments to those from whom he has received*



*the most liberal and valuable assistance in his undertaking.*

*He is indebted to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; to the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford; to the Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; and to the Trustees of Bishop Cosin's Library, Durham; for the liberality with which they have entrusted to him their MSS. of the Philobiblon. He also tenders his thanks to the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Warden and Fellows of All Souls' College, Oxford; and the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; who have kindly sent their MSS. to the British Museum, or to Gray's Inn Library for his use.*

*He has further to acknowledge the international comity with which the Governments of France and Bavaria have sent to this country, the former three MSS. from the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the latter, two MSS. from the Königliche Hof-und-Staatsbibliothek at Munich. He has to acknowledge a similar kindness from the University of Basel. He must express his acknowledgments to Mr. E. M. Thompson, Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum, and to Mr. W. R. Douthwaite, Librarian of Gray's Inn, for their kindness in accepting the charge of the MSS. so sent.*

*The Editor is indebted to the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College, Oxford; the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the*



*Master and Fellows of Balliol College; the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, for the facilities they have kindly afforded him for inspecting their MSS.*

*He has also to thank the Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G., who was good enough to send his copy of the editio princeps to London for his use, and Mr. W. A. Tyssen Amherst, M.P., for a similar courtesy. To Mr. Chancellor Christie he is indebted for the loan of his copy of the Oxford edition, and for several valued communications. He is especially indebted to Mr. Sam: Timmins for the loan of his MS. and of several of the early editions of the book. The greatly regretted death of Mr. Henry Bradshaw has removed one who took much interest in the present work and entrusted to the Editor a MS. of the Philobiblon which was in his custody. From the same cause, the Editor is unable to tender his thanks to M. Alvin, the Conservateur of the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, who kindly undertook to collate the three MSS. in that library, and to Mr. J. E. Bailey, of Manchester, who was specially interested in the work and career of De Bury, and lent the Editor his copy of one of the early editions.*

*Finally, the Editor has to express his acknowledgments for special courtesies or obliging communications, to His Eminence Cardinal Newman; the Lord Bishop of Chester; the Lord Charles Bruce, M.P.; the President of Trinity College, Oxford; the Deputy Keeper of the Records; [P.] Felix Rozánski;*



*M. Léopold Delisle; Dr. August Reichensperger; Dr. G. Laubmann, of Munich; Dr. Auermann, of Erfurt; Dr. L. Sieber, of Basel; Dr. F. Leitschuh, of Bamberg; Signor Castellani, of Venice; Dr. Moritz Steinschneider, of Berlin; Dr. Leopold Seligmann; M. Henri Omont; Mr. Geo. Bullen, Mr. E. M. Thompson, and Dr. R. Garnett, of the British Museum; Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Mr. F. Madan, and the Rev. W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library; the Rev. J. T. Fowler, of Durham; Mr. W. Bliss, of Rome; the Rev. S. S. Lewis; Mr. H. D. Blakiston; Mr. T. G. Law; Mr. Evelyn Abbott; Mr. J. Bass Mullinger; Mr. H. R. Tedder; Mr. C. W. Sutton; Mr. C. W. Holgate; Mr. J. H. Hessels; Mr. J. A. C. Vincent, and Mr. Bernard Quaritch.*

*Since the Bibliographical Introduction was in type, Professor Henry Morley has reprinted the translation of Inglis. Of this the Editor need say no more than that to have reprinted this version without an attempt to correct its numerous mistakes, or to make use of the materials for its improvement, which have come to light since it was published, was to do less than justice to Inglis, who did intend to revise his translation, and to do the cruellest possible injustice to the memory of Richard De Bury.*

SHERRINGHAM, NORFOLK,

October, 1888.



# Introduction

## Biographical

¶ 1. Though the account given of himself by Richard De Bury in the *Philobiblon* is far from satisfying our curiosity, it must be reckoned a fortunate circumstance that he has told us so much as he has of his career and of his pursuits. Apart from the autobiographical particulars which he has there set down, we should have had but scanty materials from which to present his portrait. The chief authority for his life is William de Chambre,<sup>1</sup> one of the Durham historians, whose sketch, however, is so slight that, although he tells us of the Bishop's great affection for books, and his wonderful collection of them, he says nothing of his project of founding a library at Oxford, and makes no mention of the *Philobiblon*.

¶ 2. Richard De Bury was born on the 24th of January, 1287, in a little hamlet near Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk, which was famed for its

<sup>1</sup> Chambre's life, first printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, is more accurately printed in the Surtees Society edition of the *Scriptores Tres*. Little is known of Chambre, who appears, however, to have been an officer of the Convent of Durham.



monastery.<sup>1</sup> His father was Sir Richard Angervile, a knight, whose ancestor had come over with the Conqueror, and settled in Leicestershire, where the family held the manor of Willoughby.<sup>2</sup> The charge of his education was undertaken by a rector-uncle, John de Willoughby, who in the fashion of the times had assumed the name of his birth-place. From the grammar-school he was sent to Oxford, where he is said to have distinguished himself in philosophy and theology. It is sometimes said that he then became a Benedictine monk in the Convent at Durham; but if this is so, it is curious that none of the Durham authorities refer to the circumstance, and it seems more likely that the story rests upon a blunder in the chronicle of Adam de Murimuth.<sup>3</sup> His university distinction appears to have attracted the attention of the Court, and he was called from his studies to become governor of Prince Edward of Windsor, afterwards Edward III., who was born in 1312. Dibdin gives De Bury credit for having com-

<sup>1</sup> The *Dictionary of National Biography*, following the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and the *Biographia Britannica*, says 1281, but this date rests upon an entirely mistaken reading of the final note in the Cottonian copy.

<sup>2</sup> Burton, *Description of Leicestershire*, p. 288, says that in the church of Willoughby, "is this only coat of arms of Angervile: Gules, a cinquefoil ermine, a border sable, bisanté." Cp. Harl. MS., 1404, f. 91 (Papworth, p. 869).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Hog., p. 73: *Chambre* says nothing of it, and the first reference to it seems to be in *Pits*. *Ziegelbauer*, *Hist. Lit. Ord. S. Benedict.* iv. 636, evidently relies upon *Pits*.



municated to his royal pupil some share of his own affection for books.<sup>1</sup>

¶ 3. In the year 1322 he was appointed Chamberlain of Chester,<sup>2</sup> having apparently already held the office of clerk to the justices of Chester, though the identity of the Ricardus de Sancto Edmundo of the Chester records with our Richard de Bury had been obscured until Mr. J. E. Bailey recently called attention to it.<sup>3</sup> He was next appointed the King's principal receiver in Gascony,<sup>4</sup> which was then an English province. In this position he became mixed up with the wretched intrigues and disturbances which ended in the deposition of Edward II. When Prince Edward and his mother Isabella were at Paris, in 1325, Richard furnished them with a large sum of money which he had received in his office. The King's lieutenant in Gascony pursued Richard with four-and-twenty lancers to Paris, where, in fear of his life, Richard had to hide himself for seven days in the Campanile of the Friars Minor.

<sup>1</sup> Dibdin, *Bibliomania*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Coke, 4th Inst. 211: "The Chamberlain of Chester hath, and time out of mind hath had, the jurisdiction of a Chancellor."

<sup>3</sup> See *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, 1880, pp. 283-288; *Academy*, 20 Mar. 1880, p. 214. In the Wells register he is called "Ricardus de Bury, alias de S. Edmundo." Wharton, *Angl. Sacra*, i. 589.

<sup>4</sup> This is Chambre's phrase; but his office was perhaps more correctly *Constabularius Burdegaliae*. Rot. claus. 15 Edw. III., p. 3, m. 18: Reg. Pal. Dunelm. iv. 248.



¶ 4. The accession to the throne, on the 14th of January, 1327, of the prince, to whom he had had such opportunities of endearing himself, was a decisive event for the fortunes of De Bury. He was appointed, in quick succession, Cofferer to the King, then Treasurer of the Wardrobe,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards Clerk of the Privy Seal. The King, moreover, repeatedly wrote to the Pope, with his own hand, recommending his "beloved clerk and secretary" for ecclesiastical promotion.<sup>2</sup>

In 1330,<sup>3</sup> and again in 1333,<sup>4</sup> De Bury was sent as ambassador to the Papal Court, which was then in 'Babylonian captivity' at Avignon.<sup>5</sup> It was an age of splendour and display, and Richard fully maintained the dignity of his office and of his master. Whenever he visited the Pope, or any of the Cardinals, he was accompanied by twenty clerks uniformly attired, and by thirty-six esquires, all wearing his livery. It is of more interest to

<sup>1</sup> His inventory of the Crown jewels on resigning their charge is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. x. p. 241 foll.

<sup>2</sup> See the King's letter of 26 Dec. 1330, in Rymer, ii. 2. 804, describing Richard as "virum in consiliis providum, conversationis et vitæ munditia decorum, litterarum scientia præditum et in agendis quibuslibet circumspectum."

<sup>3</sup> See the King's letter on his return, dated 25 Oct. 1331: Rymer, ii. 2. 827.

<sup>4</sup> The *compotus* of his expenses is at the Record Office: it extends from 20 Feb. to 20 Nov. 1333.

<sup>5</sup> Even Thomas Watts, in his account of De Bury in the *English Cyclopædia*, and Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, 4th ed., i. 192, make De Bury visit Italy.



note that during his stay at Avignon, he made the acquaintance of Petrarch, who has left upon record a brief account of his intercourse with him, the extent of which has been somewhat exaggerated. So far from a literary correspondence having been established between them, Petrarch complains that he could get no answer to his letters: "quamvis saepe litteris interpellatus exspectationi meae non aliter quam obstinato silentio satisfecit."<sup>1</sup> He so commended himself to the Pope, John XXII., that he was made his principal chaplain; and, besides other privileges, received a rochet in place of a bull for the next vacant bishopric in England. His ecclesiastical preferments<sup>2</sup> were already so numerous and valuable, that he was master of an income of five thousand marks. The most considerable of them was the Deanery of Wells, to which he was appointed in 1333 — "a goodly preferment in those daies, better I think than the Bishoprick is now," as Bishop Godwin says.<sup>3</sup> Nor had he long to wait for the promised bishopric.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Fam. iii. 1. De Sade, i. 165-9, points out that their friendship must have been formed during De Bury's first visit, as Petrarch was absent from Avignon in 1333.

<sup>2</sup> See the long list of them in Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*, 1748, p. 57; which, however, may be supplemented from Browne Willis, *Cathedrals*, ii. 437. Dr. Hook, *Archbishops*, iv. 82, gives a highly imaginative account of De Bury as a prebendary of Chichester, but there is no evidence that he held a stall there.

<sup>3</sup> *Bishops of England*, 1601, p. 524.



¶ 5. On the 25th of September in the same year, the See of Durham became vacant by the death of Bishop Louis de Beaumont.<sup>1</sup> The vacancy led to an unfortunate conflict of interests, in which, however, the King appears to have been more to blame than De Bury. On the 7th of October Edward issued his license to the Prior and Convent of Durham to elect a new Bishop, and the choice of the electors fell upon their learned sub-prior, Robert de Graystones. Having received letters proclamatory from the Archbishop of York, Graystones proceeded to the King at Ludgershall, to ask for the temporalities. Meantime the King had written to the Prior and Convent and also to the Pope, to secure the appointment of Richard De Bury; and his answer to Graystones on his arrival was, that he did not wish to offend the Pope, who had already provided De Bury to the See, and could not, therefore, consent to his election. Graystones returned to York, and after taking advice, was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, and duly installed at Durham, after which he made another ineffectual attempt to see the King. It was impossible for Graystones and

<sup>1</sup> Beaumont was the Bishop who could not pronounce a Latin word at his consecration, and preferred to take it as read: "Seyt pur dite! Par Seynt Lowys, il ne fu pas curteis que ceste parole ici escrite!" He was a relative of the Queen, who is said to have begged the appointment for him on her bare knees: *Scriptores Tres*, pp. 98 and 118.



the Convent to withstand the King further, and Graystones returned to his cloister—*sine episcopatu episcopus*.<sup>1</sup> He has left upon record a temperate statement of his case, in which he refrains from throwing any of the blame upon De Bury.<sup>2</sup>

¶ 6. Richard was on his return from Avignon while these things were happening, and the temporalities were only restored to him on the 7th of December.<sup>3</sup> On the 19th of the same month, the Sunday before Christmas Day,<sup>4</sup> he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Abbey of the Black Friars of Chertsey, the Bishop of Lincoln paying all the expenses at the King's direction. Richard was installed by proxy on the 10th of January following, but was not enthroned in person until the 5th of June,<sup>5</sup> amid great festivities, attended by the King and Queen, the Queen-mother, the King of Scots, two archbishops, five bishops, seven earls

<sup>1</sup> Adam de Murimuth, *Chronica sui Temporis*, ed. Hog, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> See his Chronicle in the *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, p. 120 ff. Abp. Melton's letters to the Prior and Convent and to the Pope add some curious details: Raine's *Historical Letters from Northern Registers*, p. 368.

<sup>3</sup> Pat. 7 Edw. III., p. 2. m. 6; Reg. Pal. Dunelm. iv. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Hardy makes a curious slip in translating "Dominica ante Natale" as "the Sunday preceding *his* birthday"; which has misled Mr. J. E. Bailey, *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, 1885, p. 402.

<sup>5</sup> The Dict. of Nat. Biography, following the blunder of the B. B., puts these festivities at Chertsey at the time of the consecration, 19 Dec. 1333.



with their countesses, and all the magnates north of the Trent, together with numbers of knights and esquires, and still more abbots, priors, and religious persons, and an innumerable multitude of common folk. The Bishop was present at Newcastle, on the 19th of June, when Edward of Balliol did homage to the King.<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop had already on the 3rd of February in the same year been appointed Lord Treasurer, and on the 28th of September following he exchanged the Golden Keys for the Great Seal.<sup>2</sup> A few days before his appointment as Lord Chancellor he was made a commissioner, with the Bishops of Coventry and Norwich, to visit Oxford to inquire into the grave disturbances which had led to a secession of a large number of the students to Stamford.<sup>3</sup> In 1332 Bury had visited the sister university of Cambridge as one of the commissioners to inquire into the state of the King's scholars there; and it was perhaps upon this occasion that he became a member of the Gild of S. Mary<sup>4</sup>—one of the two gilds which founded Corpus Christi College.

<sup>1</sup> Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Le Neve, Foss, and Hardy all state the date of his treasurership quite correctly; yet the Dictionary of National Biography, again relying upon the B. B., says, "In 1334 he was made high chancellor of England and treasurer in 1336." Lord Campbell also seems to have been misled by the B. B.—See Pat. 7 Edw. III. p. 2, m. 20; 8 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 892; Maxwell Lyte, Hist. U. Oxford, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> Masters-Lamb, Corpus Christi College, p. 16.



¶ 7. De Bury did not long occupy the Marble Chair of the Chancellor, whether because its duties were not very congenial to one who has spoken so disparagingly of the law, or perhaps more probably because his services were even more urgently required elsewhere. At all events on the 6th of June, 1335, at York he restored the Great Seal to the King, who transferred it to John Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> The attention of the King and nation was at this time chiefly concentrated upon foreign politics and the claim put forward by Edward to the French Crown. The keenest and coolest intellects of the age were required for the tasks of diplomacy, and the choice of the sovereign again fell upon De Bury. The next few years of the Bishop's life were mainly devoted to this service, in the course of which he thrice visited Paris and spent some time in Flanders, Hainault, and Germany.

¶ 8. Before proceeding abroad, however, the Bishop was called upon to put his Palatinate into a condition to resist a threatened attack from the Scottish border. The King spent great part of the year 1335-6 in the north, and appears to have been at Auckland from the 12th to the 21st of December 1335,<sup>2</sup> where he was no doubt the guest of the man whom he delighted to honour.<sup>3</sup> A truce having

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 909.

<sup>2</sup> Surtees, *Hist. of Durham*, i. p. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> See Rymer, ii. 2 pp. 927ff.



been made with the Scotch, Richard De Bury was appointed a special ambassador with the Bishop of Winchester and two others to the King of France with full powers to treat as to a proposed crusade, and as to all questions in dispute between Edward and Philip, and also to treat for peace with David Bruce. Their appointment was on the 6th of July, 1336,<sup>1</sup> and they returned on the 29th of September,<sup>2</sup> the result of the mission being unfavourable.<sup>3</sup> In October the King appears to have been again at Auckland.<sup>4</sup> During the year 1337 Richard De Bury was three times put at the head of commissioners nominated to lay the King's intentions before assemblies of magnates at York and Newcastle, as to an invasion of Scotland.<sup>5</sup>

¶ 9. All the energies of the King were engaged in pushing forward preparations for the struggle with the French King. But in deference to the Pope he consented to make another attempt to agree with his adversary; and on the 21st June, 1338, full powers were given to John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard De Bury and

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, i. 2, pp. 941, 942.

<sup>2</sup> The order for payment of De Bury's salary of 5 marks per diem and of his expenses is dated 4 Nov.; Rymer, ii. 2, p. 950. His *comptus* is at the Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 944.

<sup>4</sup> See documents in Rymer, ii. 2, pp. 947-9; cp. Gibson, *Miscellanies*, 1863, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, pp. 963 (24 March), 979 (28 Jun.), 1000 (6 Oct.).



others, to treat of all causes of difference.<sup>1</sup> On the 16th of July the King himself sailed for Antwerp, where he landed on the 22nd, and on the same day revoked the powers conferred upon his ambassadors,<sup>2</sup> and they were not renewed until the 15th November.<sup>3</sup> Edward was busily engaged in procuring allies and engaging assistance in the Low Countries and Germany. De Bury accompanied his master on his magnificent progress up the Rhine in August and September to that stately meeting between Edward and the Emperor Lewis at Coblenz, which must have rivalled in the splendour of its pageantry the more famous meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold.<sup>4</sup> Edward and Lewis sat on thrones surrounded by more than 17,000 barons and knights, and Edward was appointed Vicar-General of the Empire. The task of negotiating with Edward's allies proceeded slowly, and we find Richard named as one of the hostages for the observance of a treaty made with the Duke of Brabant on 22nd June, 1339.<sup>5</sup> Edward was so pressed for money that he was obliged to pledge his crowns. In September a commission was issued to the Prince, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and De Bury, to lay the King's pecuniary

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 1043.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1051.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 1065.

<sup>4</sup> See Pauli, *Pictures of Old England*, pp. 146 ff., for an account of this progress from the Wardrobe accounts.

<sup>5</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 1083.



difficulties before his people,<sup>1</sup> and Richard seems to have returned to England on the 10th of October in that year,<sup>2</sup> and by December was again in his bishopric. His dread and dislike to the war which had now begun is clearly visible in his letter to the Prior of Durham, ordering thanksgiving for the naval victory of Sluys in 1340.<sup>3</sup> Though he was appointed with others to treat of peace with Philip on the 10th of April, 1341,<sup>4</sup> there seems to be no record of his expenses; and, as a fresh commission was issued for the same purpose to other ambassadors on the 24th of July,<sup>5</sup> it is probable that De Bury did not proceed upon the embassy: at all events we find him attending parliament at Easter, and appointed with others to consider the charges of treason preferred by the King against the Archbishop of Canterbury and other ministers of the Crown.<sup>6</sup>

¶ 10. This appears, accordingly, to have been De Bury's last visit to the Continent. Henceforward, save for his attendances in Parliament, he seems to have spent his time in the care of his diocese and in communion with his books, a communion less interrupted, doubtless, than the peace-loving Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 1091.

<sup>2</sup> His *compotus* is at the Record Office and extends from 11 July, 1338, to 10 Oct. 1339, or 457 days.

<sup>3</sup> Depositions, etc. (Surtees Soc.), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 1156.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 1168.

<sup>6</sup> Rot. Parl. ii. 129.



would have wished, by the more military duties imposed upon him in the protection of the Palatinate.

On 28th April, 1340, he was appointed a commissioner with others to treat with the Scotch for peace,<sup>1</sup> and a truce was concluded in September. But in the following July, De Bury and others were directed to take measures for the defence of the realm against the Scotch,<sup>2</sup> and in September a commission of array was directed to De Bury.<sup>3</sup> In December Edward was again at Newcastle to invade Scotland, and granted an indemnity to De Bury, who had furnished forty men-at-arms at his own personal expense.<sup>4</sup> The expedition effected little, and in April, 1342, De Bury was again appointed to treat for peace or a truce with Bruce.<sup>5</sup> In the following years we find De Bury enjoining the Prior of Durham not to absent himself from the Convent, in anticipation of an inroad of the Scotch.<sup>6</sup>

Meantime Edward was devoting all his efforts to the preparations for the great conflict with France, which was to exhaust the energies of both peoples during the next hundred years. In 1344 the peers called upon the King to cross the sea and appeal to the judgment of God by battle, and the representa-

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, ii. 2, p. 1122.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 1171.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 1175.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 1183.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 1191.

<sup>6</sup> *Scriptores Tres*, App. p. cxxix (20 Aug.).



tives of the clergy eagerly voted him three years' supplies.<sup>1</sup>

De Bury therefore saw and heard quite enough of the temper and circumstance of war to sharpen the pen with which—probably about this very time—he was describing the injuries inflicted upon literature, in the *Querimonia Librorum contra Bella*. He does not present to us, however, that curious combination of the soldier and the bishop which was familiar to the age of chivalry; and we are not called upon to picture him, like his predecessor Anthony Bec, leading a host of “140 knights, 500 horsemen and 1000 foot” to war under the sacred banner of S. Cuthbert. On the contrary, Chambre tells us not only that the Palatinate enjoyed reasonable tranquillity during his pontificate,<sup>2</sup> but that his maintenance as Lord Palatine of the rights of the liberty of Durham despite his frequent absences caused the lot of his subjects to contrast favourably with the burdens and exactions imposed upon the rest of the country.

¶ 11. How soon De Bury felt the attack of the disease from which he died we do not know, but Chambre tells us that he died *longa infirmitate decoctus*, and it appears that he was not in parliament

<sup>1</sup> Rot. Parl. ii. 147 foll.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the sack of Durham and massacre of its inhabitants, told by Froissart (c. 71) as having happened in 1341, is accepted by Cocheris (Introd. p. xiv), but has been rejected by historians.



in 1344. To this period we are to assign the writing of the *Philobiblon*, which was completed, according to the concluding note, on the Bishop's fifty-eighth birthday, the 24th of January, 1345. The latest documents in his Register are dated the 5th of April of the same year at Durham Castle, and on the 14th of April, at his manor of Auckland, in the words of the memorandum entered on the rolls of his Chancery: *Dominus Ricardus de Bury migravit ad Dominum*.<sup>1</sup> He was buried on the 21st of April, honourably indeed, but in the judgment of his warm admirer Chambre, not with all the honour he deserved—*quodammodo honorifice non tamen cum honore satis congruo*—before the altar of St. Mary Magdalene in the western angle of his Cathedral. The place of his sepulture was marked by “a faire marble stone, whereon his owne ymage was most curiously and artificially ingraven in brass, with the pictures of the twelve Apostles of either side of him, and other fine imagery work about it, much adorninge the marble stone.”<sup>2</sup> Chambre records that after his death one

<sup>1</sup> According to Gervase of Tilbury, this *elegantissimum dictandi schema* is derived from S. Athanasius; *Otia Imper.*, ii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Surtees, *Hist. Durh.* i. p. xxxiv, says “It does not appear that any monument was erected to the memory of Bury;” but the account of his tomb in the text is taken from a “Description of all the ancient monuments, etc. in the church of Durham,” written in 1593 and printed by the Surtees Soc., p. 2. The tomb appears to have been destroyed during the Civil Wars.



of his chests which was supposed to contain treasure was found full of linen, shirts, and hair breeches : so that his abundant charities and his expenditure upon books had left him but little. His benefactions to the Cathedral during his lifetime had been considerable. The horses which bore his body to the grave and his ecclesiastical vestments, were the admitted perquisites of the sacrist, who, however, had some difficulty in obtaining them. Other rich vestments which De Bury intended for the Cathedral, he had been obliged to pledge to Lord Neville, who ultimately presented them to the Church. In accordance with ancient usage, his four seals of silver were broken up and dedicated to S. Cuthbert ; a silver-gilt cup was made of them with the inscription :

“ Hic ciphus insignis fit presulis ex tetra signis  
 Ri : Dunelmensis quarti, natu Byriensis.<sup>2</sup> ”

¶ 12. De Bury's passion for the collection of books was not selfish, and he intended to bestow them so as to promote the advancement of learning and the interests of the students of his old University. It has been assumed that this intention was duly

<sup>1</sup> His seals have been engraved in Surtees' Hist. of Durham, vol. i., pl. iv. and an extremely beautiful example is figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. pp. 401-2. Yet another is in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxii. p. 389. See also B. M. Cat. of Seals, i. 402.

<sup>2</sup> *Signis* is obviously the right reading for *sigillis* in Chambre : compare the appendix to the Surtees Soc. edition of the *Scriptores Tres*, p. ccclxxxviii.



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carried out and it may appear unreasonable to doubt the truth of the tradition to this effect. But apart from the fact that there is little early or positive evidence that the library was really established, there are one or two circumstances which confirm rather than allay our doubts. We have seen that De Bury actually died in debt, and we know that his executors sold at least some portion of his books. It has already been noticed that de Chambre says nothing of a library at Oxford; and the language of Leland is quite consistent with the idea of a scheme that was never carried into effect. If now we look into the sixth chapter of the *Philobiblon*, we find that in the best MSS., instead of naming the Hall to which his books are to be presented, the Bishop leaves a capital letter N in the text—which was the common fashion of indicating a place left for the insertion of a proper name. In the xviiiith chapter he speaks of his long nourished design of founding a Hall, but so as clearly to imply that this intention had yet to be fulfilled—and it must be remembered that De Bury died less than four months after finishing the *Philobiblon*. That the Bishop had more than an intention to found a college we know, because he had in fact entered into an agreement with King Edward for himself and his successors under the following circumstances. The Crown and the Bishop each claimed the right of presentation to the Church of Symondburn and an action was pending



in the King's Bench to decide the matter when the battle of Halidon Hill was fought. On the eve of the conflict Edward vowed that if victorious he would found a house for thirteen monks of S. Benedict. He won the battle and was bound to carry out his vow, and accordingly agreed with De Bury to resign the advowson in question on condition that the Bishop or his successors should found a Hall for a Prior and twelve Monks of Durham at Oxford, on the site of the house established by Prior Hoton in 1290.<sup>1</sup> The formal brief issued by the King, and dated at Walton on the 25th of June, 1338, is one of the earliest documents appearing in De Bury's Register.<sup>2</sup> It is quite evident that the Bishop in the xviiiith chapter of his book refers to this intended foundation, which was only carried into effect by his successor Bishop Hatfield,<sup>3</sup> who founded Durham College, where Trinity College now stands. Unfortunately De Bury's will has not been preserved, so that we are deprived of any light which it might have afforded us upon this question.

The traditional account of the library is that the Bishop's books were sent in his life-time or after

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. U. Ox.* 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.* iii. 210. The first four years of the Register in De Bury's time are missing. Dibdin has engraved in the *Bibl. Decameron*, vol. iii. 229, what he assumes to be De Bury's autograph signature from the first folio of his register, but this is very doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> De Chambre in *Scriptores Tres*, p. 138.



his death to the house of the Durham Benedictines at Oxford, and there remained until the dissolution of the College by Henry VIII., when they were dispersed, some going into Duke Humphrey's (the University) Library, others to Balliol College, and the remainder passing into the hands of Dr. George Owen, who purchased the site of the dissolved college. That a library belonging to the college was then dispersed is probable enough, but it is far from clear that it contained any of De Bury's books.<sup>1</sup>

It has been assumed by Cocheris, who has been followed by more recent writers,<sup>2</sup> that the regulations laid down by De Bury for the management of his intended library were taken directly from the regulations made for the library of the Sorbonne in 1321. The cardinal points of the Sorbonne rules are, according to Cocheris, the system of pledges, and the election of keepers by the *socii*. It is true that we find these two points in De Bury's regulations, but it is not necessary to suppose that he borrowed them from the Sorbonne. The practice of taking a pledge for the loan of a book had long been exceedingly common ;<sup>3</sup> and the appointment

<sup>1</sup> Gutch's Wood, ii. 911 ; cp. Some Account of Durham College, Oxford, Durh. 1840.

<sup>2</sup> Le Clerc, État des lettres au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, i. 345 ; Bass Mullinger, Univ. Cam. i. 204 ; Maxwell Lyte, Hist. Univ. Ox. 158 ; Egger, Hist. du livre, 272.

<sup>3</sup> See Botfield's Preface to the Durham Catalogues, p. xxxvi ff. ; Merryweather, Bibliomania in the Middle Ages, 10, 27.



of keepers by the *scholares* was but a natural extension to the case of books of the general system of government in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> The regulations of the Sorbonne, which are only partly quoted by Cocheris, have since been printed by M. Alfred Franklin,<sup>2</sup> and the rules prescribed by De Bury will be found to be more minute and complete than those of the Sorbonne. Among other important variations, De Bury does not direct that any of his books are to be chained, which is a main feature of the system of the Sorbonne.

The "special catalogue" of his collection, which De Bury tells us he had prepared, has unfortunately not survived. No doubt from his own book and from the books cited in the works of his friends and house-mates, who may reasonably be supposed to have drawn largely from the Bishop's collections, it would be possible to restore a hypothetical but not improbable *Bibliotheca Ricardi de Bury*. The difficulty would be with that contemporary literature, which they would think below the dignity of quotation, but which we know the Bishop collected. How considerable the contemporary literature was in point of quantity, we may learn from Le Clerc, who has registered no less than ten thousand productions for the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

¶ 13. Chambre's account of De Bury exhibits him

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. Univ. Ox.*, pp. 77, 79, 83.

<sup>2</sup> *La Sorbonne*, 2 ed. 1875, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *État des lettres au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle*, i. 542.



as an excellent bishop, and an amiable and warm-hearted man. He was discreet in the government of his household, hospitable to strangers, and zealous in dispensing charity. Every week he distributed to the poor eight quarters of wheat, besides the fragments that were left, and any who were too late for this distribution received a halfpenny. On his journeys from place to place in his diocese, he would bestow in alms between Newcastle and Durham, twelve marks; between Durham and Stockton, eight marks; between Durham and Auckland, five marks, and between Durham and Middleham, a hundred shillings—all which sums must of course be multiplied many times to represent the difference in the value of money then and now.

He was quick of temper, but easily appeased, and he delighted to have about him, besides his chaplains and friends, the sons of the gentlefolk in his diocese, so that he was much beloved by his people, and he always showed great regard for the monks of his Cathedral church. *Chambre* tells a couple of anecdotes which illustrate the Bishop's character. He was at Paris when the news reached him of the death of his predecessor, Beaumont, and one of his clerks, William de Tykall, rector of Stanhope, urged him to write to the Cardinals and other friends at the Curia, urging his claim to the Bishopric, but he answered that he would not ask for that Bishopric or any other. Again, when the news was brought to him of the death of Graystones, his unlucky rival on



that occasion, as he was sitting in company at York, he was so much affected that he could not bear the presence of the messenger. And when his companions asked why he grieved so greatly, he answered: "If you had known his worth as I do, I believe that you would grieve as much as I; for he was fitter for the Papacy than I or any of my fellows for the smallest dignity in Holy Church."

¶ 14. Chambre's account of his book-loving propensities adds something to the Bishop's own account of them in his book. *Iste summe delectabatur in multitudine librorum*; he had more books, as was commonly reported, than all the other English bishops put together. He had a separate library in each of his residences, and wherever he was residing so many books lay about his bed-chamber, that it was hardly possible to stand or move without treading upon them. All the time he could spare from business was devoted either to religious offices or to his books. Every day while at table he would have a book read to him, unless some special guest were present, and afterwards would engage in discussion on the subject of the reading. The haughty Anthony Bec delighted in the appendages of royalty—to be addressed by nobles kneeling, and to be waited on in his presence-chamber and at his table by knights bare-headed and standing;<sup>1</sup> but De Bury loved to surround himself with learned men. Among

<sup>1</sup> Surtees, *Hist. Durh.* i. p. xxxv.



these were such men as Thomas Bradwardine, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and author of the *De Causa Dei*, Richard Fitzralph, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, and famous for his hostility to the mendicant orders,<sup>1</sup> Walter Burley, the "Plain and Perspicuous Doctor," who dedicated to him a translation of the Politics of Aristotle made at his suggestion,<sup>2</sup> John Mauduit the astronomer, Robert Holkot, author of many books, Richard de Kilvington, Richard Benworth, afterwards Bishop of London, and Walter Seagrave, who became Dean of Chichester.

The *Philobiblon* may be supposed to represent the fruit of the Bishop's intellectual converse with these and other learned men, as well as of his own reading and experience. It is unnecessary to present any summary or analysis of a treatise which is so short, and which every reader will prefer to peruse for himself. De Bury tells us that he designed it to justify his all-absorbing devotion to books in the eyes of those who had condemned it as excessive, by indicating their supreme value, and the disinterestedness of his own love for them, as shown by his ultimate purpose in their collection. But he felt that it was not enough to provide the books, unless he

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer suggests that De Bury shared the liberal views of Bradwardine and Fitzralph: Lechler's *Life of Wiclif*, i. 118. A too fanciful writer in the *Boston Review*, 1863, iii. 94, regards him as the Erasmus of Wiclif's movement.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MS. Burney, 304.



could kindle in the hearts of those for whom they were intended the love that burned so warmly in his own. And so he gives his treatise a name which expresses the central theme of his discourse<sup>1</sup>—the love of books.<sup>2</sup>

¶ 15. Widely varying judgments have been passed upon the intellectual position of De Bury. It was long the fashion to speak of him with Sir Henry Savile as the learnedest man of his age. More recent critics have regarded him as not a scholar himself, but a patron and encourager of scholarship.<sup>3</sup> The truth lies perhaps midway between these different verdicts. There is no reason to suppose that he was a sustained or original thinker like Occam or Bradwardine; nor did he share the literary productiveness of Burley or Holkot. He has left us nothing of his own but what may be described in his own phrase as a “panfletus exiguus.” But we must bear in mind

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Prol. s. 12, and c. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Even Fabricius uses the unauthorised form *Philobiblion*, which is of course quite impossible, while τὸ φιλόβιβλον is at least defensible. It is, perhaps, just possible that it was suggested to him by the article in Suidas (whose book is said to have been translated by Grosteste) on Philo Biblios the grammarian, who wrote a treatise Περὶ κτήσεως καὶ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων. The adjective φιλόβιβλος, of course, occurs in Strabo, xiii. p. 608, who says of Apellikon, the purchaser of Aristotle's library, that he was φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Mr. Bass Mullinger, Univ. Camb., i. 201; Dr. Creighton in the Dict. Nat. Biog., s.n.



that De Bury was essentially a man of affairs, and that his official preoccupations left him comparatively scanty intervals of time to devote to literature. The judgment of Petrarch may be sufficient to satisfy us as to the extent of his knowledge and the width of his literary interests.

We must not indeed look in De Bury for cultivated taste or historical criticism. The age in which he lived was, in the phrase of Savile, "aetas minime omnium critica,"<sup>1</sup> and he shares its defects. Not to speak of his faith in books and sciences "before the Flood," he cites, in common with Holkot and Bradwardine, Hermes Trismegistus and the Pseudo-Dionysius, quotes the *De Pomo* as Aristotle's and seems to have no suspicion that the miserable verses of the *De Vetula* are not Ovid's own. His knowledge of Greek was probably slender enough, but is unduly depreciated by Hallam.<sup>2</sup> He was anxious to see the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic more zealously prosecuted, and prepared grammars of the two former languages, as well as glossaries of grammatical terms and "exotic" words. On the other hand, I find nothing in De Bury to justify the view of

<sup>1</sup> In Pref. to the *De Causa Dei*. So Leibniz says of the thirteenth century, "quod ego cum proximo omnium saeculorum post Christum natum ineptissimum esse comperi."—Intro. to the *SS. Rerum Brunsv.* lxiii. When James, in his letter to Lord Lumley, called it "illud aureum saeculum," he was thinking of it, no doubt, as an age of *faith*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. of Europe, i. 94.



one of his recent critics, that he was "penetrated with the principles of humanism,"<sup>1</sup> and I fear that he would have felt little sympathy with Petrarch's enthusiasm for the "new learning," or at least with his continual invectives against the aims and methods of scholasticism. This is evident enough from his complaint that the dialecticians of Paris produced no new authors. It was in his days that the University of Oxford was the scene of the last effort of scholasticism, before the revival of classical culture which was to revolutionize the studies of Europe. Again, he does not rise above the view that the liberal arts and the writings of the poets are to be studied only in order to assist the understanding of the Scriptures and of the Fathers. He is not free from a certain ecclesiastical narrowness, which leads him to forbid even the handling of books by the laity; and there is nothing in his book to show that he felt any interest in the vernacular literatures which were springing up in France, in Italy, and in his own country.

The style of De Bury is exactly what the foregoing considerations would lead us to expect. There is no attempt, as in the case of Petrarch, to return to a classical standard, which he had not learned to appreciate. His models are not the purest writers of the purest age of Latinity, but the late grammarians and the Fathers of the Church. His style is stiff with a heavy embroidery of scrip-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Creighton in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*



tural quotation and allusion ; like that of many among the mediæval writers, it is "made of the Scriptures."<sup>1</sup> Though he affects to write "in the lightest style of the moderns," he has none of the ease and fluency of such writers as John of Salisbury, and his rhetoric, genuine as no doubt it is, is too often clumsy and overlaboured. Although his book can scarcely claim to rank as a masterpiece of literature, the text now printed will show that his style is much more correct than has been hitherto supposed.

The special interest to us of Richard De Bury is that he is, if not the prototype, at least the most conspicuous example of a class of men who have been more numerous in modern than in ancient or mediæval times. No man has ever carried to a higher pitch of enthusiasm the passion for collecting books. On this point, at least, De Bury and Petrarch were truly kindred spirits, and their community of feeling finds expression in a striking similarity of language. The letter in which Petrarch seeks the co-operation of his brother Gerard presents close resemblance to a well-known passage in the *Philobiblon*. Petrarch writes<sup>2</sup> :

"Aurum, argentum, gemmae, purpurea vestis, marmorea domus, cultus ager, pictae tabulae, pha-

<sup>1</sup> "The writings of the dark ages are, if I may use the expression, *made of the Scriptures*."—Maitland, *Dark Ages*, 470.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Fam., iii. 18.



leratus sonipes, caeteraque id genus, mutam habent et superficiariam voluptatem : libri medullitus delectant."

One might think that the writer had had before him the very words of De Bury in his eighth chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Again, Petrarch bids his brother employ trusty and learned men to search for books for him :

"Etruriam perquirant, religiosorum armaria evolvant caeterorumque studiosorum hominum. . . . Scias me easdem preces amicis aliis in Britanniam, Galliasque et Hispanias destinasse."

The words seem but an echo of De Bury's account, in the same chapter, of his own procedure.

There is one other point of similarity between Petrarch and De Bury : that each of them intended to bestow his books for public uses. In each case, moreover, this pious intention appears to have been frustrated by the carelessness of their successors.

¶ 16. De Bury has told us in his book a good deal of his principles and practice as a collector. He collected everything, and he spared no cost ; a book in his opinion could never be too dear—unless one might reasonably hope for an opportunity of purchasing at a cheaper rate. Besides maintaining a staff of copyists and illuminators in his own household, he was on excellent terms with "the trade"—limited as it then was—not only

<sup>1</sup> S. 123.



in England, but in France and Germany. He pressed into his service the members of the religious orders, who supplied him with books from the monastic libraries, and used in his behalf the opportunities of picking up rare volumes, which their wandering life abundantly afforded. He made use of his various offices in Church and State to gain access to every quarter whence he might expect some accession to his treasures. The gifts which were then the recognized perquisites of such exalted officers came to him in the shape of books. Let us hope that he speaks no more than the truth when he declares that meantime "justice suffered no detriment." One or two anecdotes have survived which throw a curious light on this aspect of the matter. It is recorded in the history of the Abbots of the great monastery of S. Alban's, that one of its abbots, a man himself distinguished for his literary and scientific zeal, presented to De Bury, then Clerk of the Privy Seal, four volumes, viz., Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Hieronymus against Rufinus, in the hope of securing his favourable influence in forwarding the interests of that house. Besides this, the abbot sold him thirty-two other books for fifty pounds of silver. The pious chronicler expresses his horror at this transaction, and records that after he had become Bishop, De Bury, conscience-smitten, restored several of the books, and that others were bought from the Bishop's executors by the next abbot, Michael de Mentmore, at a price below



their real value.<sup>1</sup> Richard faithfully carried out his compact; for it is recorded that by his aid the abbot obtained the right, which ordinarily appertained only to bishops, to imprison excommunicated persons as a matter of course, and not by a special writ.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that later Richard's interference in the business of the convent brought him into trouble. It happened that the abbot suffered from leprosy, and there was a cabal within the convent to have him removed. Representations were made to the Papal Court, and Richard appears to have put the Privy Seal to the letter sent to the Pope. The matter was brought before Parliament, and De Bury was censured for this use of the seal without authority. The only excuse he could offer was that pressure had been put upon him by men who were too powerful to be withstood.<sup>3</sup>

There is now preserved in the British Museum a large folio MS. of the works of John of Salisbury, which was one of the books bought back from the Bishop's executors. It bears upon it a note to the effect that it was written by Simon (who was Abbot of S. Alban's, 1167—1183), and another note, which runs as follows: "Hunc librum venditum Domino Ricardo de Biry Episcopo Dunelmensi emit Michael Abbas Sancti Albani ab executoribus

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica Mon. S. Albani*, ii. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 288.



predicti episcopi anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> XLV<sup>to</sup> circa purificationem Beate Virginis.”<sup>1</sup>

¶ 17. There seems no sufficient reason to suppose that De Bury wrote any other book than the *Philobiblon*. Boston and Leland mention only this book, but Bale<sup>2</sup> and Pits add a volume of *Epistolæ Familiares* with another of *Orationes ad Principes*. This list has been repeated by subsequent writers, and even figures to this day in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.<sup>3</sup> Bale was not a very exact bibliographer, and there seems to have been some confusion, the source of which it is perhaps not difficult to indicate. Bale gives as the initial words of the *Philobiblon*: “Thesaurus desiderabilis” and of the *Epistolæ*: “Ricardus miseratione divina.” Now the former words are the beginning of the first chapter of the *Philobiblon* omitting the prologue, and the latter words are at the beginning of this prologue or introductory letter to the reader, so that Bale has merely made the one work into two. This suggestion derives support from the fact that in at least one MS. the prologue is omitted and the *Philobiblon* begins with the *Thesaurus desiderabilis* of Chapter I.<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps a more probable explanation than to suppose, as Dr. Creighton

<sup>1</sup> Roy. 13 D. iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Bale, indeed, says: “et alia scripsit;” which is adopted by Godwin, *Cat. of Bishops*, 1601, p. 524: “he writ many things not yet perished.”

<sup>3</sup> *S.v.* Aungerville.

<sup>4</sup> The Magdalen MS. ; cp. p. lxviii. *post.*



suggests, that Bale had heard of the letter-book of Richard De Bury, which has recently been described for the Historical MSS. Commission,<sup>1</sup> and more fully by Sir Thomas Hardy.<sup>2</sup> This is not a work of literary interest, but a collection of precedents, no doubt collected by the Bishop for the use of the clerks in his chancery. It is described on the first page as *Liber Epistolaris quondam domini Ricardi de Bury, Episcopi Dunelm.*; and from another inscription, "Liber Monachorum Sancti Edmundi Regis et Martiris," appears to have for some time belonged to the Monastery of Bury S. Edmund's. Sir Thomas Hardy suggests that it was probably bought by the monastery out of consideration for its original owner. It is now in the possession of Lord Harlech. Very few of the documents transcribed into it throw any light upon the career of De Bury. It is perhaps just possible that this book may be the foundation of fact for the supposed volume of *Orationes ad Principes*, of which Bale speaks.

I need only mention that in James's Bodleian Catalogue of 1620,<sup>3</sup> and the Catalogues of 1738<sup>4</sup> and 1843<sup>5</sup> *The Contemplacyon of Sinners*, printed by De Worde in 1499, is attributed to De Bury, an error due to a confusion between Richard De Bury and Richard Fox, one of his successors in the See of

<sup>1</sup> Fourth Report, 85; Fifth Report, 379.

<sup>2</sup> In the pref. to the 4th vol. of the *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.*, pp. xxv-cxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> App. p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. i. p. 377.



Durham, at whose request this treatise appears to have been written at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

¶ 18. Some reference must be made to the attempts to deprive De Bury of the authorship of the *Philobiblon* in favour of Robert Holkot. This claim, which has the support of Tanner, Hearne, and Warton,<sup>2</sup> appears to have been first formally put forward by Altamura and Echard, the bibliographers of the Order of the Friars Preachers, who rely upon the authority of Laurentius Pignon and Lusitanus. These authorities are of course a century later than the time of De Bury and Holkot; and if this were all, there would be no difficulty in disposing of the claim. But in seven of the extant MSS. of the *Philobiblon* the book is ascribed to Holkot,<sup>3</sup> as well as in a MS. once in the possession of Fabricius,<sup>4</sup> and perhaps in another which was formerly in the Royal Library at Erfurt.<sup>5</sup> The Paris MS. has simply "Philobiblon olchoti anglici," and it does not contain the concluding note of which I have elsewhere spoken.

<sup>1</sup> See Herbert's Ames, i. 135-6. The book is "very scarce," and there is no copy in the British Museum. The Bodleian has *two* copies, in one of which is a note by Douce.

<sup>2</sup> Tanner in Holcot, p. 407; Reliq. Bodl. p. xi.; Camden, Annal., p. cxxix; Leland, Collect. vi. 299; Hist. Engl. Poetry, i. 215.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. Harl. 492; Roy. 8 F. 14; Paris, 3352; C. C. C., Oxon.; Bodl. Add. C. 108; Venice; and Escorial.

<sup>4</sup> Bibl. M. et I. Lat. i., 308.

<sup>5</sup> *Post*, p. lxxvi.



In the other MSS., in which I have found the work attributed to Holkot, the concluding note is found, but they begin with some such words as "Incipit prologus philobiblon Ricardi Dunelmens. Ep̄i quē librum compilavit Roñus Holcote de ordine predicatorum sub nomine dicti episcopi."<sup>1</sup> In the great majority of MSS. then, including the earliest, this preliminary note is not found, and in nearly all the MSS. where it does occur, it is accompanied by a final note, which is, to say the least, hardly consistent with it.

As evidence, therefore, that Robert Holkot wrote the *Philobiblon* it is not very satisfactory. In order to gain such light as can be thrown upon the matter from internal evidence, I have read through most of Holkot's own writings, and I have no hesitation in saying that so far as the evidence of style goes, there appears little reason to assign the *Philobiblon* to Holkot. Lord Campbell has already pointed out that the essentially autobiographical character of the book is all in favour of De Bury's authorship. Holkot, who was one of De Bury's chaplains, may indeed have acted as the Bishop's amanuensis in the preparation of the book. A traditional and perhaps exaggerated account of this may have reached the ears of some scribe or possessor of a MS. of the *Philobiblon*, and he may have set down the note in question. But it would

<sup>1</sup> The Harl. MS. reads *composuit* for *compilavit*; and the final note is sometimes modified: see account of MSS., *post.*



be unfair to deprive De Bury of the credit of having planned and written his own book on such shadowy evidence as can be adduced in favour of Holkot's claim.<sup>1</sup>

It is the more satisfactory to think that we are not called upon to deprive De Bury of the authorship of the *Philobiblon*, as, now that his books have been dispersed, and his tomb despoiled, it is the sole abiding memorial of one who loved books so much in an age and country that loved them so little. One who has sung his praises, in his own words, "even to raving," has truly said of Richard De Bury, that "his fame will never die."<sup>2</sup> So, too, the *Philobiblon* will ever continue to kindle the love of those silent teachers who "instruct us without rods and stripes, without taunts or anger, without gifts or money; who are not asleep when we approach them, and do not deny us when we question them; who do not chide us if we err, or laugh at us if we are ignorant."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Father Denifle, himself a member of the Order of Preachers, supports Holkot's claim in his recent work, *Die Universitäten im Mittelalter*, i. p. 727 *note*.

<sup>2</sup> Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, i. 86 *note*.

<sup>3</sup> S. 26: "words which," it has been said, "Cicero might have owned:" J. P. Andrews, *Hist. of Great Britain*, i. 428.



*Postscript.*

Since this Introduction was in type, Mr. E. Maunde Thompson has called my attention to a remarkable account of De Bury in a passage of Adam Murimuth, which has never yet been printed and has been overlooked by all the Bishop's biographers. If it is to be accepted, it not only confirms the doubt I have suggested as to the establishment of the contemplated Oxford library, but supports the view that De Bury did not himself write the *Philobiblon*, and may indeed seriously modify our estimate of his character. The passage, as found in MS. Harl. 3836, f. 49<sup>v</sup>, is as follows:—

“Hoc anno, xiiij. die Maii,<sup>1</sup> anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> CCCXLV<sup>to</sup>, regni vero dicti regis E. tertii a conquestu decimo nono, obiit Ricardus de Bury, episcopus Dunolmensis, qui ipsum episcopatum et omnia sua beneficia prius habita per preces magnatum et ambitionis vitium adquisivit, et ideo toto tempore suo inopia laboravit et prodigus exstitit in expensis, unde dies suos in gravissima paupertate finivit. Imminente<sup>2</sup> vero termino vite sue, sui familiares omnia bona sua mobilia rapuerunt, adeo quod moriens unde corpus suum cooperire poterat non habebat, nisi subtunicam<sup>3</sup> unius garcionis in

<sup>1</sup> No doubt a slip for *Aprilis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Eminente* MS.

<sup>3</sup> Altered from *supertunicam*.



camera remanentis. Et, licet idem episcopus fuisset mediocriter literatus, volens tamen magnus clericus reputari, recollegit sibi librorum numerum infinitum, tam de dono quam ex accommodato a diversis monasteriis et ex empto, adeo quod quinque magne carecte non sufficiebant pro ipsius vectura librorum."

Adam Murimuth's position as a canon of S. Pauls's and a distinguished lawyer, who was several times employed in diplomatic negotiations, no doubt gave him ample opportunities of collecting trustworthy information as to the leading men of his time. It is true that he and De Bury were engaged in similar lines of public employment, and his view of the Bishop's character may have been coloured by jealousy, and by a sarcastic temper. But it is not so easy to dispose of his allegations of fact, and his account of De Bury's poverty agrees only too well with several significant indications in Chambre's life, and in the Durham records: *sub judice lis est.*







## Bibliographical

### I.—*Printed Editions.*

We may infer from the corruption of the many existing MSS. that the *Philobiblon* was frequently copied, and from their distribution that it soon found its way into the libraries not only of our own country, but of France, Germany, the Low Countries, Italy, and Spain. In 1358 long extracts from it are found embodied in a University statute at Oxford,<sup>1</sup> yet, as has been already stated, the Bishop's biographer Chambre makes no mention of his book; and the earliest references to it that I have found are in Boston († 1410) in this country, and in Trithemius († 1516), the famous Abbot of Sponheim, on the Continent. It has been suggested that Thomas a Kempis made use of the *Philobiblon* in his *Doctrinale Iuvenum*, but I have shown elsewhere that the suggestion is unfounded.<sup>2</sup>

The book appears to have found a wider audience abroad than at home, and it was three times printed on the Continent—at Cologne in 1473, at Spire in 1483, and at Paris in 1500—and then had to wait for another century before it found an English printer. The edition of Thomas James, Bodley's first librarian, appeared in 1598-9. It was then again printed in Ger-

<sup>1</sup> This is in the Chancellor's and Proctors' book, and is printed by Anstey, *Munim. Acad.*, i. 207-8, who has not noticed the quotation. It may be a quotation in De Bury.

<sup>2</sup> *Library Chronicle*, 1885, vol. ii. 47.



many by Melchior Goldast, apparently without any knowledge of the English edition, in 1610, and reprinted in 1614 and 1674. It was also included in 1703 by J. A. Schmidt in his supplement to the collection of treatises on libraries published by J. J. Mader. There is then no edition to record until the present century, when an anonymous English translation was published in 1832. In 1856 Cocheris issued the Latin text with a French translation at Paris; and in 1861 Cocheris' text and Inglis's translation were reprinted in the United States.

The bibliography of the *Philobiblon* long remained uncertain and obscure, and indeed is hardly yet well understood. Trithemius says of the book in his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* (begun in 1487 and printed 1494) "iam impressus est," but there is nothing to show whether he was acquainted with the Cologne or Spire edition, or with both. Leland, Bale, and Pits do not mention a printed text. The Paris printer must have known that the book was in print, for he prefixes to his edition the account of De Bury from Trithemius, but carefully omits the statement that the book had been already printed. When James came to print it, he described his own impression as "editio iam secunda," and Goldast intimates on his title-page that his issue of the book was a first impression. When the incunabulists set to work to register the early productions of the press, they ignored one or other of the Cologne and Spire impressions, or, worse still, confounded them together. Thus Maittaire,<sup>1</sup> Panzer,<sup>2</sup> and Denis<sup>3</sup> mention only the Spire edition, and Hain<sup>4</sup> is the first to record the two impressions, assigning both

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Typ., i. 449.

<sup>3</sup> Ann. Typ., 177.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Typ., iii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Rep. bibliogr., i. 579.



however to 1483. Other bibliographers were no less at fault: Fabricius<sup>1</sup> and Clement<sup>2</sup> know nothing of the Cologne impression; Peignot<sup>3</sup> dates both editions 1473. Our own Dibdin believed that the supposed Cologne edition was a myth;<sup>4</sup> and it was with surprise as well as delight that he found it 'fall to his good fortune' in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*<sup>5</sup> "to describe the present rare and inestimable impression," meaning this very edition of Cologne.

There has been a good deal of confusion as to the Paris edition of 1500 and a supposed reimpression of James's edition at London in 1600. I will show presently that there was in the former case only a single impression, and that in the latter case there was no impression in 1600, but that James's book was first printed in 1598 and reissued the following year. Again, none of the bibliographers has given a full list of the several impressions of Goldast's text, and a complete account of them here appears for the first time. Finally, it has been asserted by the *Dictionary of National Biography* that the edition now in the reader's hands was published "in 1885."

I propose now to describe the various editions in their chronological order:—

1473  
Cologne      The EDITIO PRINCEPS of the *Philobiblon* was printed at Cologne in a small quarto volume of 48 leaves, without pagination, signatures, or catchwords. Its printer is said to have

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. M. et I. Lat., i. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Bibliothèque cur., v. 431-9.      <sup>3</sup> Rep. bibl. univ., 378.

<sup>4</sup> Bibliomania, 1811, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. iii. 237-8. This was in 1814; yet in 1842 he reprints the old account in the new edition of the *Bibliomania*, p. 29. Horne, *Introd. to Bibl.*, ii. 517, copies Dibdin.



been G. Gops de Euskyrchen.<sup>1</sup> It contains no indication of authorship outside the text, but begins :

Incipit prologus in librum de amore librorum qui  
dicitur philobiblon . . . . .

It ends :

Explicit philobiblon sci. liber  
de amore librorum Colonie impres  
sus anno domini Mcccc.lxxiiij. etc.

On ff. [5 v.] and [6 v.] there are indications in at least one copy of a rearrangement of the type during the process of printing. The text was no doubt printed from a single MS. without any attempt at editing. It presents a very close resemblance to the Cologne MS. described further on.<sup>2</sup> There are two copies of this impression in the British Museum, and I have had the opportunity of consulting the copies in the possession of Earl Spencer, Mr. W. Amherst T. Amherst, M.P., and Mr. Sam: Timmins. Dibdin's account of the Althorp copy is not very accurate, as I found no trace of the "copious ms. memoranda" to which he refers. According to Cocheris there are two copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Mr. Quaritch gave £45 for the copy in the Wodhull sale in 1886.

<sup>1483</sup>  
Spires      Ten years afterwards the *Philobiblon*  
was printed by the brothers John and  
Conrad Hiist in a small quarto volume of 39 leaves,  
with 31 lines to the page, without pagination, catch-  
words, or signatures. The *recto* of the first leaf is  
blank. On the *verso* is a letter from the anonymous  
editor, who simply describes himself as "minimus

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Cat. ; Ennen, Kat. d. Inkunabeln in d. Stadtb.  
zu Köln, p. 132. Peignot wrongly made Veldener the  
printer : Rep. bibl. univ., p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. lxxi.



sacerdotum,"<sup>1</sup> to the brothers Hiist, who are addressed as "studiosissimi impressores." The letter is dated "idibus Ianuarij anno xp̄i etc. lxxxiii", and the writer speaks of the difficulty he had found in performing the editorial task imposed upon him, owing to the defective state of the copy he used. On the second leaf the title is given as follows :

Phylobyblon difertissimi viri Richardi  
dilmelmeñ ep̄i. de q̄rimonijs libroꝝ om̄ib⁹  
l̄raꝝ amatorib⁹ putil' plog⁹ Incipit.

It ends with the words, after *conspectum Amen* :

Valete ⁊ sc̄iaz l̄raꝝ colite.

The book, which was no doubt printed from a single manuscript, presents a somewhat better text than that of Cologne, though both are very defective. Dibdin's suggestion that it would "be probably considered to be a mere reprint of the Cologne impression" is without foundation.<sup>2</sup> The Spires editor allowed himself the liberty of altering the opening words of the prologue to "Universis litterarum cultoribus" and of omitting the following clause. Other traces of editorship may also be noticed in the book.

This edition seems to be even rarer than the *editio princeps*.<sup>3</sup> Cocheris could find no copy in Paris. It is in the British Museum ; and I have had the use of the copy belonging to Mr. Sam : Timmins. A copy

<sup>1</sup> Weislinger, *Armament. Cathol.*, 1749, p. 274, assumed that the letter is from De Bury himself, in sending "pretiosissimum hocce opusculum" to Spires to be printed ; which misled Schelhorn, *Anleitung*, i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Spenc.*, iii. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Baur, *Primit. typ. Spir.*, p. 28 ; Hocker, *Hailsbronn. Antiquitätenschatz*, p. 156 ; Maichelius remarked in 1721 : "Liber hodie rarissimus est, nec facile comparet in bibliothecis seorsim editus : " *Introd.*, p. 132.



was sold at the Williams sale for £6 10s. ; and at the Fuller-Russell sale in 1886 I bid in vain for a copy against Mr. Quaritch, who secured it for £12 15s.

<sup>1500</sup>  
Paris Thirteen years afterwards the book was printed at Paris in a small quarto of 24 unnumbered leaves (sig. a [i]-iiii, b i-iiii, c i-iv) with the following title-page :

Philobiblion Tractatus pulcher | rimus de amore  
librorum [Then follows the printer's mark and  
name JEHAN PETIT] Venundatur in leone  
argenteo | vici sancti Iacobi.

On the *recto* of the last leaf :

Explicitum est philobiblion scilicet liber de amore  
librorum quem impressit apud parrhifios hoc anno  
secundum eosdem millesimo quingentesimo ad  
calendas martias Gaspar philippus pro Ioanne  
parvo Bibliopola parrhifiensi.

On the *verso* of the first leaf is an account of De Bury taken from Trithemius, from which however his reference to the printing of the book is significantly omitted. This is followed by a letter dated 1 March from the scholar-printer Iodocus Badius Ascensius to Laurentius Burellus, confessor of the King and Bishop of Sisteron, who appears to have sent the book to him to print. He expressly says that Jean Petit had joined him in the undertaking "hoc munus nobiscum suscepit." This I think explains and disposes of the statement of the bibliographers,<sup>1</sup> which has been repeated down to Cocheris, that there were *two* editions of 1500, one by Petit and the other by Badius Ascensius.<sup>2</sup> Cocheris himself does not say that he has

<sup>1</sup> It dates apparently from Panzer, ii. 336.

<sup>2</sup> The story told by Chevillier and repeated in Burton's Book Hunter (from Peignot's Dict. de Bibliologie, i. 38),



seen either edition, and he gives the title inaccurately. There can be no doubt that the Paris edition is simply a reimpression of that of Cologne. The spelling *Philobiblon* was however altered by Ascensius to *Philobiblion*, and he extended the title by adding a part of the phrase employed by Trithemius: "scripsit *de amore librorum et institutione dictae Bibliothecae pulcherrimum tractatum.*"

1598 & 9  
Oxford It was not until the very end of the next century that the first English edition of this English book appeared, with the following title-page :

Philobiblon | Richardi | Dvnelmensis | sive | De  
amore librorvm, et Institvtione bibliothecae |  
tractatus pulcherrimus. | Ex collatione cum  
varijs manuscriptis edi- | tio jam secunda; | cui |  
accessit appendix de manuscriptis Oxoniensibus. |  
Omnia haec | Opere & Studio T. I. Novi coll.  
in alma Academia | Oxoniensi Socij. | [B. P. N.<sup>1</sup>] |  
Non quaero quod mihi vtile est sed quod  
multis.<sup>2</sup> | Oxoniae, | Excudebat Iosephus Barne-  
sius 1598. |

The book is in quarto and consists of 62 pages, with four unnumbered pages of preliminary matter and 8 unnumbered pages of appendix. So far as I know, the copy in the Bodleian Library is the only copy extant bearing the date 1598, and Fabricius, Oudinus, that the *Philobiblion* was the first book printed by Badius Ascensius after settling in Paris, will not bear inspection.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of these letters, which appear only on the 1599 title-page, is perhaps *Bibliothecae Praefectus Novae* or *Nostrae*; but there is rather reason to believe that they were intended to mean *Bono Publico Natus*.

<sup>2</sup> From 1 Cor. x. 33.



and Tanner the only bibliographers who mention this date. The other extant copies bear the date 1599 and appear to be a mere reissue with a fresh title-page. To this reissue the editor prefixes a Latin *Epistola Dedicatoria* of four pages addressed to Thomas Bodley, in which he compares him with De Bury for his devotion to literature and his benefaction to the University. He explains how he had found his author "in membranis inter blattas et tineas semivivum, semiesum, pallentem expirantemque," and how far he was from being satisfied with his efforts to restore his author. He begs the reader to condone the "barbarisms and solecisms" in the Bishop's style and his slight lapses in matters of faith and religion, both the faults of his age.<sup>1</sup> He concludes by congratulating Bodley on the success of his plans for restoring the University library. The letter is dated "Ex Musæo meo in Collegio Novo, Julii 6. 1599", and is signed "Thomas James".

James was evidently under the impression that the book had been only once printed. It is not improbable that he had before him the Paris edition. His title-page at all events reproduces the title of that edition as borrowed from Trithemius; though he uses the phrase in a fuller form and may of course have taken it from Trithemius only. He reprints Bale's account of De Bury, together with a MS. note of T[homas] A[llen's] in his copy of Bale,<sup>2</sup> taken from Chambre's life of the Bishop, then still in manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> Dibdin speaks of this preface as "the veriest piece of old maidenish particularity that ever was exhibited! However, the editor's enthusiastic admiration of De Bury obtains his forgiveness in the bosom of every honest bibliomaniac." —*Bibliomania*, p. 185 *note*.

<sup>2</sup> This annotated Bale is now in the Bodleian. Hearne printed from it the note in question in Leland's *Itin.*, ix. 131.



Fabricius<sup>1</sup> says that the text of James was again printed at London in the following year in the *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*; but this statement appears to rest upon a misunderstanding. The *Ecloga* is an account of the MSS. at Oxford and Cambridge, and was to have been published, as James tells us, with the *Philobiblon*. As it was not finished and the printer grew impatient, James decided not to wait for it, but instead gave the appendix which is affixed to the *Philobiblon*, and which is merely an index of authors represented in the Oxford MSS. But the *Philobiblon* was *not* reprinted with the *Ecloga* issued in 1600, as Fabricius must have supposed.<sup>2</sup>

The *Ecloga* enables us to say what MSS. James had at his disposal for the purposes of his edition. The MSS. enumerated in the *Ecloga*<sup>3</sup> are: At Oxford four, viz., at All Souls', Lincoln, Magdalen, and Balliol; at Cambridge, at Benet's (now C. C. C.), and one in Lord Lumley's library. The five college MSS. are still where they were; Lord Lumley's should have passed into the Royal Library, and may be one of the MSS. now in the British Museum. There can be little doubt that James relied largely upon the Magdalen and Lincoln MSS.<sup>4</sup> James's text has been condemned by Dibdin as containing "nothing more than the Cologne impression, being sometimes, indeed, less particular,"<sup>5</sup> and Inglis, who "doubts his having looked into several MSS., but has no doubt of his having preferred his own words to those of the author."<sup>6</sup> This is not

<sup>1</sup> *Bibl. Med. et Inf. Latin.*, i. 307.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ecloga* appears in Prof. Arber's *Stationers' Register*, iii. 164 (25 June, 1600), but I find no entry of the *Philobiblon*.

<sup>3</sup> At p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> See *Library Chronicle*, 1885, ii. 132.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibl. Spenceriana*, iii. 238.

<sup>6</sup> *Notes*, p. 131.



deserved; though Hearne's language is no doubt exaggerated when he says of him "in libello perpurgando multum sudavit,"<sup>1</sup> there seems no reason to doubt that he honestly looked into several MSS. At the same time he left a good deal to be done for the text of his author. One of the copies of James's edition in the British Museum is a presentation copy to Lord Lumley, and contains an interesting autograph letter to Lumley written in James's exquisitely neat hand.<sup>2</sup>

1610            From this time until the present cen-  
1614            tury the *Philobiblon* was not again printed  
Frankfurt     by itself, but only in collectaneous works.  
1674            In 1610 was published in a small octavo  
Leipzig

volume :

Philologicarum epistolarum centuria Vna diversorum  
a renatis literis Doctissimorum virorum . . . in-  
super Richardi de BVRI Episcopi Dunelmensis  
Philobiblion & Bessarionis Patriarchae Constan-  
tinopolitani & Cardinalis Nicaeni Epistola ad  
Senatum Venetum. Omnia nunc primum edita  
ex Bibliotheca Melchioris Haiminsfeldii Goldasti  
. . . Francofurti Impensis Egenolphi Emmelii, anno  
1610.

The *Philobiblon* occupies pp. 400-500 of the book, p. 400 being a fresh title-page bearing the words "ex Bibliotheca et recensione Melchioris Haiminsfeldii Goldasti." From these words and from the "omnia haec *primum* edita" the natural inference would be that Goldast thought he was printing the *Philobiblon* for the first time, or at least that he was printing it from a MS. But the text with a few trifling variations

<sup>1</sup> Leland, *Collect. ed. alt.*, vi. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, vol. i. art. 1. It is curiously overlooked in Delepierre's *Analyse*.



is obviously that of the Paris impression of 1500, and indeed Goldast actually silently reprints from that edition the account of De Bury by Trithemius, and even the letter of Badius Ascensius already described. The edition of 1614 seems to be merely a reissue with a fresh title-page, and the reprint of 1674 at Leipzig by Conringius presents no variation to call for remark.

1703  
Helmstadt      The edition printed by J. A. Schmidt in the "Nova accessio" published by him in 1703 to the well-known collection of treatises "De Bibliothecis atque Archivis virorum clarissimorum libelli et commentationes" (sec. ed., Helmstadii, 1702, 4°), does not call for than more brief notice, as it is merely a reprint of the edition of Goldast with a few slight alterations. The *Philobiblion* (as it is called) occupies pp. 1-66.

1832  
London  
(Transl.)      In 1832 there appeared an anonymous English translation of the *Philobiblon*, "London: Printed for Thomas Rodd, 2 Great Newport Street, Leicester Square" (8vo, pp. viii. 151). Lord Campbell, in the first volume of the *Lives of the Chancellors*, published in 1845, cites it anonymously.<sup>1</sup> But it is known to have been translated by Mr. John Bellingham Inglis,<sup>2</sup> a student and collector of early printed books. The

<sup>1</sup> Fourth ed., i. 192. Campbell speaks of "that very learned and worthy bookseller, my friend Thomas Rodd." Some account of Rodd, who died in 1849, will be found in Nichols' *Illustrations*, viii. 681-4.

<sup>2</sup> Knight, *William Caxton*, 1844, p. vii; Merryweather, *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, 1849, p. 76. Allibone, *Dict. Brit. and Amer. Authors*, s.v. Richard de Bury, says Inglis "gave it to Rodd;" but I am indebted to Mr. R. F.



translation is a work of more spirit than accuracy, and Inglis has too slavishly followed the edition of 1473, under the mistaken idea that it was most likely to represent the genuine text of the author. In consequence he unduly disparages the authority of James's text. He has added "a few collations," which are however confined to printed editions, and thirty-seven pages of notes, devoted largely to what Dibdin describes as "unprovoked and unjustifiable abuse of the English Church and her Ministers."<sup>1</sup> Probably only a small edition was printed, as the work has become scarce, and Cocheris was unable to secure a copy.<sup>2</sup>

1856  
Paris      The first edition of the book professing to furnish an adequate critical apparatus and explanatory notes was issued in 1856 by M. Hippolyte Cocheris, then engaged in the *Bibliothèque Mazarine*, of which he afterwards became *Conservateur*. The book formed part of a series called "Le Trésor des pièces rares ou inédites," and bears the following title :

Philobiblion excellent traité sur l'amour des livres par Richard de Bury, Evêque de Durham, Grand-Chancelier d'Angleterre, traduit pour la première fois en français, précédé d'une introduction et suivi du texte latin revu sur les anciennes éditions et les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale : par Hippolyte Cocheris. . . . Paris : Aubry, 1856.

Butler for the following note on a copy of the book : "Published at the expense of the Rev. W. J. Jolliffe and given by him to William Routh."

<sup>1</sup> Reminiscences, i. 86, *note*. An interesting memoir of Mr. Inglis was written by his friend J. P. Berjeau for his periodical *The Bookworm*, 1870, vol. v. 178-182.

<sup>2</sup> *Introd.*, p. xxvi.



8vo, pp. xlvii. 287. [500 copies printed, of which 22 were on special papers and 2 on vellum.]

The book was dedicated to the late Prince Consort.

I have elsewhere expressed an unfavourable judgment of this edition,<sup>1</sup> and a longer acquaintance with it has only confirmed that judgment. Though the text professes on the title-page to be "revu," Cocheris has in fact left the text untouched and has only given the various readings of the three Paris manuscripts at the foot of the page. This he justifies on the curious ground that it was impossible to distinguish between the faults of the author and those of the copyists, though that is most assuredly the first business of an editor.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately his report of the readings of the manuscripts he has collated is quite untrustworthy and in many instances even wildly wrong. But this is not all: while professing to follow the text of the *editio princeps*, what he has really done is to send to the printer the text of 1703, with all the misprints, errors of punctuation, and defects of all kinds which it had accumulated in passing through the process of reproduction in 1500, 1610, and 1703. The result is that his text is in many points less genuine and even less correct than that of 1473. At the same time, Cocheris cannot fairly be denied the praise of industry, and he has brought together a great deal of matter for the illustration of his author, though he has done little or nothing to clear up the more formidable difficulties of the text.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Library Chronicle*, i. 151; ii. 130.

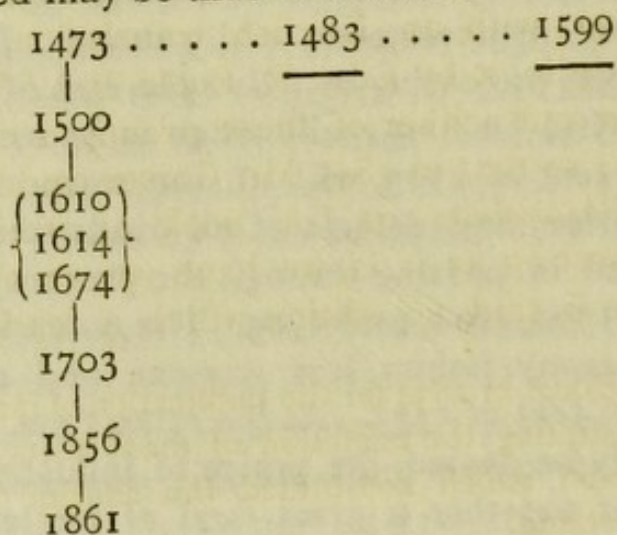
<sup>2</sup> "Comme il m'était impossible de distinguer celles que je devais respecter de celles que je devais enlever, j'ai préféré conserver à l'ouvrage son cachet barbare!" (Préf. p. ii.)

<sup>3</sup> There is a highly laudatory article on Cocheris in *Le Bibliophile français*, 1873, vii. 303-9, in which he is declared



In 1861 one Samuel Hand published in the United States a volume, which Allibone, "as an American, is glad to register;" but which, as a flagrant piece of book-making, is not very creditable either to its editor or to America. Mr. Hand reprinted the text of Cocheris and the translation of Inglis,<sup>1</sup> reproducing all the errors and inaccuracies of both. He translated also the introduction and notes of Cocheris, but his own few notes are worthless. It is an octavo of pp. x. 252, of which 230 copies were printed, 30 on large paper. I am glad to know that Prof. Andrew F. West, of Princeton, contemplates an edition more worthy of the book and of America.

The relation of the editions which have been now enumerated may be thus exhibited :



It must be considered a surprising circumstance that a book which has been so often printed abroad and so to have acquitted himself "à son honneur et à sa gloire de cette tâche reconnue généralement comme très difficile et que, le premier, il avait osé entreprendre." Scheler, a more competent critic, was evidently disappointed: *Bull. du Bibliophile belge*, 1857, xiii. 142.

<sup>1</sup> Berjeau, and no doubt Inglis, resented this proceeding and announced a new edition here: *Notes and Queries*, 4 Ser. ii. 378 (17 Oct. 1868).



frequently quoted at home should have remained so long without an English editor; and in particular that neither the Surtees Society<sup>1</sup> nor the Philobiblon Society<sup>2</sup> should have secured an adequate edition. But in fact the idea of re-editing the book has been several times entertained. In 1816 Surtees announced in his *History of Durham*<sup>3</sup> that "Messrs. Taylor and David Constable are at present employed in collating MSS. for a new edition." The announcement was repeated in the *Quarterly Review*<sup>4</sup> in 1829 and in the *Bibliographical and Retrospective Miscellany*<sup>5</sup> in 1830. In the first issue of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual* in 1834, the compiler, though he does not mention the translation published two years before, announces that "a new edition of this curious tract is preparing for publication, with an English translation, notes and various readings, by Edw. R. Poole, B.A."<sup>6</sup> But time passed on and neither of these promised editions saw the light; so that in 1845 Mr. Corser could still speak of the *Philobiblon* as "a book of which, curious and interesting as it is, we have yet, to our national shame be it said, no edition which a reader can take

<sup>1</sup> Established in 1834 for the publication of inedited manuscripts illustrating the condition of those parts of England and Scotland which constituted the ancient kingdom of Northumberland.

<sup>2</sup> Established in 1853, perhaps in consequence of Lord Campbell's suggestion in 1845: "I am rather surprised that a 'De Bury Club' has not yet been established by the Philobiblists, as he was undoubtedly the founder of the order in England."—Chancellors, 4th ed., i. 200.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. clix.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. xxxix. 372.

<sup>5</sup> At p. 158. The editor of the *Miscellany* was E. R. Poole.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. i. p. 309. Cp. Allibone, Dict. Brit. and Amer. Authors, *s.v.* Poole.



up with pleasure.”<sup>1</sup> In 1850, Mr. W. S. Gibson, M.A., of Lincoln’s Inn, read a “very elaborate” memoir of De Bury at the Oxford meeting of the Archæological Institute;<sup>2</sup> and in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for that year it was announced that “Mr. Gibson’s memoir of this Bishop is to be prefixed to a new translation of his *Philobiblon* which Mr. Gibson announces for publication.”<sup>3</sup> This work, however, had not appeared when the British Archæological Association met at Durham in 1865, where Mr. Gibson read a paper on a “Seal of Richard de Bury.”<sup>4</sup> But, despite the renewed promise, neither memoir nor translation has ever appeared,<sup>5</sup> and it has remained for the present editor at least to remove from our country the reproach of so long leaving the task of preserving De Bury’s literary legacy exclusively in foreign hands.

<sup>1</sup> Introd. to the *Iter Lancastrense*, Chetham Soc., vol. vii. p. vi., in his account of Thomas James.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæological Journ.*, vii. 310; *G. M.*, 1850, ii. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *G. M.*, ii. 346.; cp. *N. & Q.*, 1 Ser., ii. 203 (‘W. S. G.’).

<sup>4</sup> *Archæological Journ.*, xxii. 389-396. For De Bury’s seals, see *ante*, p. xxvi, note.

<sup>5</sup> A prospectus and syllabus of the proposed work is appended to Mr. Gibson’s *Miscellanies*, issued in 1863. The Philobiblon Society printed Mr. Gibson’s “Book-Hunting under Edward III., a popular Lecture founded on the life of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, the first English Philobiblist,” with an Introductory Note by Lord Houghton: *Miscellanies*, 1865-6, vol. ix. art. 3, pp. 78. The entry in Hole’s *Brief Biogr. Dict.*, s.v. Angarville, “Life by S. Gibson,” refers no doubt to the unpublished work. M. Sylvain Van de Weyer had promised a “Notice sur Richard de Bury” for the Philobiblon Society’s *Miscellanies*. The promise was not redeemed: see his *Choix d’Opuscules*, i. art. 2. p. 9.



II.—*Manuscripts.*

It has been already pointed out that the three earliest editions of the *Philobiblon* appear to have been produced from a single MS. in each case, and that James recorded the existence of six MSS. in this country. This was in 1600; and even at the end of the next century the number enumerated in the *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ* was only nine. In 1843, E. G. Vogel contributed to the *Serapeum*,<sup>1</sup> a German bibliographical journal, a very careful article on Richard de Bury, in which he registered nineteen MSS. This article appears to have dropped out of sight, and was evidently unknown to Cocheris, whose list embraces only sixteen MSS., including that of Fabricius, and omits therefore four MSS. recorded by Vogel.

The inquiries made in preparing the present work have enabled me to raise the number of MSS. known to exist to the number of thirty-five, all of which have been examined for the purposes of this edition.<sup>2</sup> It is only possible here to find space for a brief account of them, which it will be most convenient to arrange in geographical order. Unless the contrary is stated, the MSS. are all upon parchment or vellum.

London: The British Museum is in possession  
 Brit. Mus. of no less than seven MSS. of the Philo-  
 (7) biblon, of which four belong undoubtedly  
 to the fifteenth century. The remaining three belong

<sup>1</sup> Bd. iv. 129-141, 154-160: cp. 191-2.

<sup>2</sup> The number has been increased from twenty-eight, since I gave an account of them in the *Library Chronicle*, 1885, vol. ii. 129 foll.



in the judgment of the Keeper of the MSS. to the end of the fourteenth century.

Roy. 8 F. xiv (f. 70) is a folio MS. written probably between 1380-1400 and has at the beginning the following note :

“ Incipit prologus in philobiblon ricardi dūnelmensis episcopi quē librū composuit Robertus holcote de ordine predicatoꝝ sub noīe dēi episcopi ;” and at the end the usual note as to the date on which the treatise was finished.

Roy. 15 C. xvi (59<sup>v</sup>) is a large folio MS. written in double columns about 1400. It begins : Incipit philobiblon ; and has the concluding note.

Harl. 492 (f. 55) is a small 8vo. MS., written about 1425, and begins with the preliminary note in red in the same form as that in Roy. 8 F. xiv, except that it has *philibiblon*. It has also the final note, but with the blunder of *libro* for 1 (= 50) and *feciliter* for *feliciter* and adding at the end the word *Quod*.

Harl. 3,224 (f. 67) is also a small 8vo. MS., written about 1400, with no note at the beginning, and at the end the abbreviated note :

“ Explicit philobiblon dni Ricardi Almgeruile cognominati de Bury quondam Episcopi Dunelmeñ.”

Cott. App. iv (f. 103) is a folio MS. written about 1425, having no note at the beginning and at the end simply :—“ Explicit philibiblion etc.”

Arundel 335 (f. 58) is a small quarto MS. of the fifteenth century, formerly belonging to the “ Soc. Reg. Lond., ex dono Henr. Howard, Norfolciensis.”



It begins "Philobiblon Ricō de Bury Duneīm. epō authore," these words being in a later hand; it has no note at the end.

Add. MS. 24,361 (f. 4<sup>v</sup>) is a quarto MS. also of the fifteenth century, purchased at the Hunter sale in 1861. It ends: "Explicit philibiblon dñi Ricī de Aungervyle cognoīati de Bury quondam epī dunelm. Cōpletus Anno Dōi 1344<sup>to</sup> etatis nrē 58 Pont. nrī xi<sup>mo</sup>."

Oxford (9) There are altogether nine MSS. at Oxford, of which two are in the Bodleian Library and the remaining seven in the libraries of various colleges.

The most important of them is MS. Digby 147 (f. 9), a quarto MS. written in Mr. Macray's opinion about 1375. It has no note at the beginning, but has the usual note at the end. This MS. also bears a note showing that it was formerly "Liber ecclesie sancte Marie de Mertone"; it afterwards belonged to Tho. Allen, from whom it passed to his pupil Sir Kenelm Digby.

The Bodleian Add. MS. C. 108 (f. 20<sup>v</sup>) is a quarto paper MS. in double columns, written in a German hand in the second half of the fifteenth century. It begins: "Incipit Philobliblon id est tractatus de amore librorum venerabilis viri dñi Richardi de buri Epī Dunelmensis editus p venerabilem mgr̄m Robertum Holkot anglicum ordinis predicatorum," but has no note at the end. It was acquired by the Bodleian in 1868.

This MS. is followed by a glossary of some interest, as it consists chiefly of the uncommon and exotic



words found in the *Philobiblon*; of the 244 words comprised in it, no less than 212 are used in this book. If I had seen it earlier in my work, it might have been of service in suggesting clues to the explanation of some of the difficulties of the book; but as it was, I had puzzled them out for myself before I saw the glossary. It only once or twice cites any authority, and the explanations are seldom adequate and very often incorrect. It includes *asub*, *aux*, and *ellefuga*; inserts *genzahar*, but without explanation; and makes no mention of *Crato*, *Logostilios*, *comprehensor*, *invisus*, *hereos*, *lilia*, *canonium*, *viola*, *hierophilosophus*, and many other words which urgently call for explanation.

At Balliol College, there are two paper MSS. in folio written in the fifteenth century: *clxvi* (A), and *cclxiii*, the latter written in double columns, and with the usual note at the end.

At Lincoln College, No. *lxxxix* (f. 79) is a folio MS. of the early fifteenth century in double columns, with illuminated initials. It has no preliminary note and ends: "Explicit tractatus qui vocatur *Philobiblon*." There can be no doubt that it was one of the MSS. chiefly used by James.

At Magdalen College, No. *vi* (f. 164) is a small quarto MS. of the early fifteenth century. It has no title and begins with Chapter I., omitting the Prologue. At the end is a note: "Explicit *philibiblon* dñi Ricardi de Aungervile cognoīati de Bury quondam Epi dimelm̄ cōpletus anno do<sup>i</sup> 1344<sup>to</sup> etatis n<sup>re</sup> 58. pont<sup>e</sup> n<sup>ri</sup> undecio." This also was one of the MSS. upon which James mainly relied.



At All Souls' College, No. xxxi (f. 236) is a large quarto MS. of the fifteenth century, written in double columns. It begins: "Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dunolmensis episcopi." At the end is the usual note with some variations: "Explicit tractatus qui dicitur Philobiblon id est amor librorum editus a Dño Ricardi de Buri quondam Dunolm̄ epō completus est autem in manerio nostro de Ackeland in festo conversionis sancti Pauli A°. dñi m<sup>l</sup> ccc<sup>mo</sup> xliij°. etatis nostre lviii° pont vero n̄ri Anno xi°. finiente ad laudem dei feliciter et Amen."

At Corpus Christi College, No. ccxxii (f. 57) is a small quarto MS. of the fifteenth century. It begins: "Incipit prologus in Philobiblon Ricī Dunelmenfsis epī quē librum compilauit Roḡus holcote de ordine predicatoꝝ sub nomine dicti Episcopi"; and ends with the usual note.

In Mr. Coxe's catalogue of the Corpus MSS., he observes under no. clxvii (p. 68) that this MS., which contained the *Philobiblon*, has long been missing. It is, I think, apparent on comparing the entries in Bernard under nos. 167 and 222 that two volumes have been bound together, and that nothing is really "missing;" and the entry in Coxe's catalogue should be corrected accordingly.

At S. John's College, No. clxxii (f. 2) is an early fifteenth century quarto MS. with an illuminated initial. After the title *Philobiblon* follow the words in red: "Hic aurum tibi non valet vbi nitet Philobiblon." At the end is the usual note. The MS. bears a note to the effect that it was presented to the college in 1634. By an oversight, though duly catalogued by Mr. Coxe, it is not included in his index.



Cambridge (3) There are three MSS. at Cambridge, in the libraries of as many colleges.

At Trinity College, is a MS. (R. 9, 17, f. 48) in small quarto of the early fifteenth century. A preliminary note or title has unfortunately been cropped by some careless binder. At the end it has the usual note.

At Corpus Christi, College, among Archbishop Parker's books is a quarto MS., on f. 127 of which is the *Philobiblon*, written in the fifteenth century. There is no preliminary note, and the concluding note is very inaccurately given. It is catalogued by Nasmith, *Catal. librorum MS.orum*, 1777, at p. 416.

At Sidney Sussex College, is a MS. partly on parchment and partly on paper, poorly written in the fifteenth century; which was presented to the college by William Pratt, Vicar of Bossel, Yorkshire. It has the concluding note.

Durham (1) In Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham is a fifteenth century octavo MS., which found its way into the Bishop's collection through the Rev. George Davenport, its first Keeper, who presented seventy MSS. to the library. An account of Davenport is in Surtees' *Hist. of Durh.*, i. 153, 170. The MS. is catalogued in Rud's catalogue, at p. 177 of Botfield's *Durham Catalogues*. Though very neatly written, the MS. presents numerous omissions of single words. It is without preliminary note and ends: "Explicit *philobiblon Dñi Riċi Almgeruile cognoīati de Buri quōd ēpi Dunelmenþ.*"

It may be noted that the *Philobiblon* is not found in any of the earlier catalogues of Durham books printed by the Surtees Society.



In private hands Two MSS. have been lent me out of private custody. The first of them is a very small quarto Flemish MS. of the not very early fifteenth century. It has no preliminary note, and ends : "Explicit phylybyblon Richardi de Bury ep̄i de amore librorum et scientiarum : Deo gratias." It contains several interpolations, including one of about a dozen lines.

The other is an octavo fifteenth century German MS. in a stamped leather binding, on which the figures of the "Three Kings," besides the half-erased entry at the beginning "Liber domus sancte Barbare . . .", clearly point to Cologne. This would at once suggest an association with the EDITIO PRINCEPS, and a close examination of its text shows that it is very nearly identical with that of the first edition. It is, however, hardly safe to say that we have here what is so rarely met with—the actual MS. original of a fifteenth century book. But there can be no doubt of the very close relationship. It begins : "Incipit prologus in librū de amore librorū qui philobiblon dicitur," in red ; but has no concluding note. It belonged to David Laing and I have called it L.

Paris (3) An account was given by Cocheris of the three MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, used by him for the purposes of his edition, which requires to be supplemented in some important particulars.

The MS. formerly numbered 797, now 15,168, forms part of the Fonds de St. Victor, and is a small quarto containing several treatises, of which the Philobiblon is the first. It has a note at the foot of fol. 1<sup>r</sup> : "Iste liber est sancti Victoris parisiensis—quicumque eum, etc. ;" at the foot of fol. 1<sup>v</sup> : "Ihs . m̄ . S ." [A shield



with the arms of Navarre] "Victor . S Aug<sup>9</sup>tin<sup>9</sup>" in red letters ; and again at the foot of fol. 4<sup>r</sup> this note : "Iste liber est sancti Victoris parisiensis. quicumque eum furatus fuerit vel celaverit vel titulum istum deleverit anathema sit amen . O." At the end of the Philobiblon is a note : "Hunc librum adquisiuit monasterio sancti victoris prope parisius frater Johannes lamasse dum esset prior eiusdem ecclesie." Lamasse was Prior from 1448 to 1458.<sup>1</sup> This MS., which is in a poor handwriting, begins : "Incipit prologus Philobiblon."

The MS. numbered 3,352 C. is a well written folio MS., which formerly belonged to Colbert, whose arms are on its red morocco covers. Cocheris by an almost incredible oversight has not noted that it bears at the top of fol. 1<sup>r</sup> the words in red letters : "Philobiblon olchoti anglici." It begins nevertheless : "Incipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi dunelnensis episcopi," and ends : "Explicit Philobiblon."

Both these MSS., which I have called respectively A and B, present a fairly good text. M. Léopold Delisle is of opinion that they may have been written between 1375 and 1400, but Mr. E. M. Thompson thinks that they are not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The third Paris MS. is a folio MS. on paper numbered 2,454 of the Ancien Fonds latin. It was written pretty late in the fifteenth century and presents a very inferior text.

The concluding note as to the date and authorship of the book is not found in any of the Paris MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Gallia Christiana, vii. 686.



Brussels      In the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique  
(3)      are three copies, of which the late Conservateur en chef, M. Alvin, sent me the following account: "Notre Bibliothèque possède trois manuscrits du *Philobiblion* de Richard de Bury: le No. 738, transcription du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, provenant du prieuré du Val St. Martin à Louvain; le No. 3,725, daté de 1492 et ne se composant que du primum manuale relatif aux livres sacrés; le No. 11,465 du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, provenant de l'abbaye des Prémontrés de Parc. Ces trois transcriptions sont trop récentes pour avoir quelque valeur paléographique et ne semblent pas contenir des variantes à signaler."

Catalogued in Catal. des MSS. de la bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne, Brux., 1842, tom. i. p. 15.

Munich      In the Royal Library at Munich are  
(2)      two paper MSS. numbered 4,705 and 5,829, written in the first half of the fifteenth century. No. 5,829 is actually dated by the scribe 1426, and the other was written somewhat later and was indeed not improbably transcribed from the former. Both MSS. begin in the same way: "Incipit tractatus greco vocabulo philobiblon (No. 4,705 has phylobiblon) amabiliter nuncupatus de amore valore et conseruacione librorum."

Bamberg      In the Royal Library of Bamberg is a  
(1)      quarto paper MS. entitled: "Tractatus de amore librorum grece dictus philobiblon. Phybylon magnifici disertissimique viri Richardi dilmelensis episcopi de querimonijs librorum." A letter is prefixed to it from "Johannes Abbas in Ebrach" to Friedrich Creussner, the Nuremberg printer. From



this letter, which is dated 17 September, 1484, it appears that the Abbot, who was from 1456 to 1474 professor of theology at Vienna, had read the book when a student there. He complains bitterly of the corrupted text of the Spires edition, which had appeared the year before, and he had accordingly carefully corrected it, and now sends his work to Creussner to print. So far as we know, Creussner did not print it. The Abbot's letter was published by Jaeck in the *Serapeum* in 1843, Bd. iv. 191-2.

Basel  
(1) In the University Library at Basel is a quarto paper MS. of the fifteenth century beginning: "Incipit prologus in librum de amore librorum qui dicitur philobiblon" (in red). It is without the concluding note, and belongs to the inferior group of MSS. It is catalogued in Haenel, *Catal. Libror. MSS.*, Lips. 1830, p. 527.

Venice  
(1) In 1650 Tomasini recorded the existence of a MS. in the library of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo at Venice, belonging to the Dominicans, adding: "quem miror hic Gesnerum non observasse."<sup>1</sup> It was more fully catalogued in 1778 by Berardelli, the librarian,<sup>2</sup> who as a good Dominican maintains that it was written by Holkot. Since the collection has passed into the Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco, it has been catalogued by Valentinelli,<sup>3</sup> who assigned it to the fourteenth century. The present librarian, Signor Castellani, has been good enough to send me

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae . . . Utini*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuova Raccolta d'opuscoli . . . xxxii*. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*; Venet. 1868, vol. i. p. 257.



some account of the MS., which enables me to correct that of Valentinelli. He has also sent a tracing of the handwriting, which appears to be of the fifteenth century.

The title appearing in the MS. must, I think, have been added after the edition of Paris : "Philobiblon seu de amore librorum ac de institutione bibliothecarum." The MS. ends : "Explicit philobiblon magistri Roberti Holkot<sup>1</sup> ordinis Praedicatorum."

Rome (1) In May, 1885, M. Delisle, on returning from Italy, was good enough to write to me :—"Le hazard m'a récemment fait passer sous les yeux le MS. 259 au fonds Ottoboni au Vatican. C'est un volume copié au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont la première partie est le *Philobiblon* de l'évêque de Durham." Mr. W. Bliss has kindly sent me an account of this MS., which he assigns to the "end of the fourteenth century, or later." From a note upon it, it appears to have belonged to "Daniel Aurelius, 1564." It does not give the note at the end, and has no reference to Holkot.

Escorial (1) There is a MS. at the Escorial (Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo), which was catalogued by the late G. Löwe in the *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis*, ed. by W. von Hartel, Wien, 1887, p. 86 (cp. p. 537), who attributes the volume of which it forms part to the fourteenth century. According to Denifle, *Die Universitäten im Mittelalter*, 1885, i. 797 n., the book is attributed in this MS. to Holcot, but of this Löwe says nothing. Father Felix Rozánski, late librarian at the Escorial, has, however, kindly sent me the following account of the MS. :

<sup>1</sup> Not Kolkot, as Valentinelli has printed it.



“Cod. sec. xv., II. J. 25. Inter alia fol. 157 incipit :  
 “Incipit libellus dictus Philobiblon editus a fratre . . .  
 [*nomen auctoris avulsum*] predicator[e] sacre pagine  
 preclarissimo professore ad petitionem domini Ricardi  
 dimelinensis (*sic*) episcopi in cuius persona ipse  
 magister Robertus loquitur in libello presenti.—In-  
 cipit prologus in philobiblon Ricardi Dimelinensis  
 episcopi . . .”

“Continet hoc opusculum xix. capitula finitque fol.  
 186 : faciei conspectum. Amen. Explicit philobiblon  
 Ricardi.”

Missing It may be of interest to record such  
 manuscripts traces as I have met with of the existence  
 of other MSS., which may perhaps some day be found.

There was a MS. in the *Bibliotheca Amploniana* at  
 Erfurt, as appears by the catalogue published by  
 Dr. Schum in 1887, p. 382. In a paper MS. (Q. 123),  
 described as of the end of the fourteenth century, the  
 twenty-fifth work was the Philobiblon. This MS. was  
 sent to London for my use, but I found on examination  
 that the portion containing the Philobiblon had been re-  
 moved, as in fact appears from Dr. Schum's catalogue.

I cannot identify the MS. mentioned by Fabricius in  
 the *Bibliotheca M. et Inf. Latinitatis*<sup>1</sup> as being in his  
 possession with any extant MS. Cocheris<sup>2</sup> suggests  
 that it may be the Cottonian copy, but in the first  
 place this does not correspond to the description of  
 Fabricius, and in the next place the MS. was in the  
 Cottonian Library in 1696<sup>3</sup> and can never have been in  
 the possession of Fabricius.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Introd., p. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, Catalogue, p. 158.



J. F. Reimmann, the German bibliographer, had a MS. in his possession, which he described in his *Bibliotheca Histor.-Lit.*, ed. sec., 1743, p. 147. He declares it to contain a text very much superior to any of the printed editions. He mentions also that it was followed by a "carmen leoninum de re bibliothecaria," which was not to be found in any of the published texts. I do not know to what this refers; it is certain, however, that the poem never formed any part of the *Philobiblon*.<sup>1</sup>

The most interesting, perhaps, of the missing MSS. is that which Dr. Thomas Kay (or Caius) tells us he saw and read at Durham College, Oxford, towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, and which he supposed to be the copy given to the college by the Bishop himself—"eundem ipsum indubie, quem ipsemet bibliothecae illi vivus contulerat:" see Hearne's ed. of the *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxon. Academiae*, ii. 433.

His opponent in the controversy as to the respective priority of the two universities, Dr. John Caius, boasts of the possession of a MS. of the *Philobiblon*, which he says was accompanied by a copy of the foundation-deed of Durham College: *loc. cit.*, i. 242.

Present edition      A very few words must suffice to explain the use I have made of the MSS. in forming the text of the present edition. Of the whole number of MSS. here enumerated I have personally examined or collated *twenty-eight*. I have not indeed in the critical notes attempted to give a collation of all these MSS. Nor even of the four MSS. of which

<sup>1</sup> At the end of his notes, Inglis printed three elegiac couplets, which Lord Campbell quotes as De Bury's, but this is of course a mistake.



I have recorded all the important variants, does the printed collation profess to be absolutely complete. In an edition intended primarily for the general reader, it seemed unnecessary to burden the notes with a mass of various readings due to the errors of copyists or to unsettled orthography. A complete collation of the best MSS. and the important variations of all the MSS. must be reserved for a more elaborate critical edition, if there should appear to be a demand for it. That will also furnish a more suitable occasion for a discussion of the relationship of the various MSS.

The MSS. which appeared to be for my present purpose the most important were the two Paris MSS. which I have called A and B ; Digby 147, which I have denoted D, and Royal 8 F. xiv, which I have called E.

I have felt myself bound in consequence of the unfavourable judgment I had formed of the critical work of Cocheris to give the variants of the two former MSS., because he has affected to give them, and I have also given the various readings of D and E in all important places. In a few places of special difficulty or interest I have occasionally given the readings of other MSS. The readings of the Cologne MS. I have given pretty frequently, in order to exhibit its close relationship to the text of the *editio princeps*; and for a similar reason I have given the readings of the Magdalen MS., to indicate the extent to which James seems to have used it in forming his text.

Occasionally I have given the readings of the early printed texts, when they differ from what may be almost called the *textus receptus*. Where I have recorded this current text, as it is found in the successive editions down to Cocheris (comp. the pedigree on p. lx.), it may be assumed that except in the matter



of orthography and accidental errors of the press it reproduces the readings of the *editio princeps*.

I have thought it right to reduce the orthography of the MSS. to a classical standard. While I accept the general soundness of the view that mediæval writers should be reproduced in their own orthography, I justify my deviation from this rule on two grounds: first, that the *Philobiblon* is a work of literature and not of philology, and secondly, that I feared to repel many readers who feel no interest in mediæval Latinists generally, but will be led to take up the present work from the interest of its subject and its claim upon all to whom

“Books are a passion and delight.”

The explanatory and illustrative notes are mainly directed to the establishment of the text. The Bishop's style is made of scriptural and liturgical quotation and allusion; and a reference to the Vulgate frequently determines the probable reading in a doubtful passage, as well as explains its meaning. I have been more sparing in references to previous or contemporary writers, a kind of illustration which it would be easy to multiply. I have tried to leave nothing really difficult unexplained, without burdening the reader with irrelevant or superfluous annotation, and can only hope, in the words of S. Augustine: *quibus parum vel quibus nimium, nobis ignoscant.*



PLATE I  
Richard Coeur de Lion



Philobiblon  
Ricardi de Bury



Incontinentia Caritatis

Quod thesaurus sapientie potest

esse in filia

Qualis amor filie reconducit

beator

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas

Quid sit filia dicitur et propter

causas



## Incipiunt Capitula

1. Quod thesaurus sapientiae potissime sit in libris.
2. Qualis amor libris rationabiliter debeat.
3. Qualiter in libris emendis sit pretium aestimandum.
4. Querimonia librorum contra clericos iam promotos.
5. Querimonia librorum contra religiosos possessionatos.
6. Querimonia librorum contra religiosos mendicantes.
7. Querimonia librorum contra bella.
8. De multiplici opportunitate quam habuimus librorum copiam conquirendi.

*1 potissimum Ja. || 5 iam p. B || 8 conquirendi D conquirendi E ||*



9. Quod licet opera veterum amplius amaremus, non tamen damnavimus studia modernorum.
10. De successiva perfectione librorum.
11. Quare libros liberalium litterarum praetulimus libris iuris.
12. Quare libros grammaticales tanta diligentia curavimus renovare.
13. Quare non omnino negleximus fabulas poetarum.
14. Qui deberent esse librorum potissimi dilectores.
15. Quot commoda confert amor librorum.
16. Quam meritorium sit libros novos scribere et veteres renovare.
17. De debita honestate circa librorum custodiam adhibenda.
18. Quod tantam librorum collegimus copiam ad communem profectum scholarium et non solum ad propriam voluptatem.

9 *damnamus* B Ja. || 12 *curamus* B *renovare* om. E ||  
13 *neglexerimus* Ja. *poetarum renovare* E || 14 *debent*  
A B *potissime* Ja. || 18 *voluntatem* A Ja. ||



19. De modo communicandi studentibus  
omnes libros nostros.
20. Exhortatio scholarium ad rependen-  
dum pro nobis suffragia debitae  
pietatis.

19 *omnibus A B om. Ja. || 20 repetendum D pietati  
D pietatis etc. B ||*



## Abbreviations

- A = Paris MS. 15168 : see Introd. p. lxxi.  
B = Paris MS. 3352 : see Introd. p. lxxii.  
D = Bodleian MS. Digby 147 : see Introd.  
p. lxvii.  
E = Brit. Mus. MS. Roy. 8 F. xiv. : see In-  
trod. p. lxvi.  
L = Cologne MS. : see Introd. p. lxxi.  
M = Magdalen Coll. MS. ; see Introd. p. lxviii.  
1 = Editio princeps, Cologne, 1473 : see In-  
trod. p. li.  
2 = Edition of Spires, 1483 : see Introd. p. lii.  
3 = Edition of Paris, 1500 : see Introd. p. liv.  
Ja. = Edition of James, Oxford, 1598-9 : see  
Introd. p. liv.  
Gold. = Edition of Goldast, 1610 (1614, 1674) :  
see Introd. p. lviii.  
Schm. = Edition of Schmidt, 1703 : see Introd.  
p. lix.  
Coch. = Edition of Cocheris, 1856 : see Introd.  
p. lx.  
edd. = The editions representing the current  
text, including all except those of Spires  
and James : cp. table in Introd. p. lxii.  
vulgo = the current text and inferior MSS.



## Incipit Prologus.

- 1 Vniversis Christi fidelibus, ad quos tenor prae-  
sentis scripturae pervenerit, Ricardus de Bury,  
miseratione divina Dunelmensis episcopus, salutem  
in Domino sempiternam, piamque ipsius praesentare  
memoriam iugiter coram Deo in vita pariter et post 5  
fata.
- 2 Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retri-  
buit mihi? devotissimus investigat psalmista, rex  
invictus et eximius prophetarum: in qua quaes-  
tione gratissima semetipsum redditorem volun- 10  
tarium, debitorem multifarium et sanctiorem optan-  
tem consiliarium recognoscit, concordans cum  
Aristotele, philosophorum principe, qui omnem de

*See Introduction* || 1 *litterarum cultoribus Ricardus* 2 || 3  
*Dunolmensis A Dunelmensis E* || 4 *representare Ja.* || 8 *deuo-*  
*tissimis A devotissime vulgo* || 9 *inunctus D Ja. inuictissimus*  
*E* || 11 *saniorem L* 1 || 13 *ad omnem Ja.* ||

Universis C. f.] The common form of introduction or  
*salutatio* in formal documents. The Spires editor altered the  
words C. f. to *litterarum cultoribus*.

Dunelmensis] The MSS. vary between Dunelm. and  
Dunolm. The latter form appears to have been that com-  
monly used at Durham: cp. the Boldon Buke (Surtees  
Society), *pass.*; and Sir T. D. Hardy's edition of Bishop  
Kellawe's Register (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. ci.

Quid retribuam] Ps. cxvi. 12.



agibilibus quaestionem consilium probat esse : 3° et 6° Ethicorum.

3 Sane si propheta tam mirabilis, secretorum praescius divinorum, praeconsulere volebat tam sollicite quomodo grate posset gratis data refundere, quid nos rudes regratiatores et avidissimi receptores, onusti divinis beneficiis infinitis, poterimus digne velle? Proculdubio deliberatione sollerti et circumspectione multiplici, invitato primitus spiritu septiformi, quatenus in nostra meditatione ignis illuminans exardescat, viam non impedibilem providere debemus attentius, quo largitor omnium de collatis muneribus suis sponte veneretur reciproce, proximus relevetur ab onere et reatus contractus per peccantes cotidie eleemosynarum remediis redimatur. 15

4 Huius igitur devotionis monitione praeventi ab eo

3 *m. futurus p.* Ja. || 5 *gratis grata* Ja. || 7 *dignius* edd. || 8 *circumspicione D* || 11 *non om.* Coch. *redibilem* Ja. || 13 *reueletur D* 2 || 14 *ab . . . redimatur om. D* ||

consilium] The *προαίρεσις* of Aristotle. The reference to Aristotle, as Inglis has remarked, is not very happy.

septiformi] This word, which is first used by S. Augustine (*e.g.* De Serm. Dom. 1, 4), refers to the seven gifts of the Spirit (Is. xi. 23). Cp. John of Salisbury, De Septem Septenis, s. 5, and the *septem spiritus Dei* in Rev. i. 4.

exardescat] Ps. xxxviii. 4, in meditatione mea exardescet ignis : cp. Ps. xlix. 3 ; Eccli. ix. 9.

impedibilem] Not in the dictionaries, but used by Bradwardine, De Causa Dei, i. 1 ; it was no doubt suggested by the *viam sine impedimento* of Wisd. xix. 7, and the use of *impedire* in such passages as Rom. xv. 22, Gal. v. 7, 1 Thess. ii. 18.

eleemosynarum remediis redimatur] Cp. Dan. iv. 24.



qui solus bonam hominis et praevenit voluntatem  
 et perficit, sine quo nec sufficientia suppetit cogi-  
 tandi solummodo, cuius quicquid boni fecerimus  
 non ambigimus esse munus, diligenter tam penes  
 nos quam cum aliis inquirendo discussimus quid  
 inter diversorum generum pietatis officia primo 5  
 gradu placeret Altissimo, prodessetque potius  
 5 Ecclesiae militanti. Et ecce mox nostrae considera-  
 tionis aspectibus grex occurrit scholarium elegorum  
 quin potius electorum, in quibus Deus artifex et  
 ancilla natura morum optimorum et scientiarum 10  
 celebrium plantaverunt radices, sed ita rei fami-  
 liaris oppressit penuria, quod obstante fortuna con-  
 traria semina tam fecunda virtutum in culto iuven-  
 tutis agro, roris debiti non rigata favore, arescere  
 6 compelluntur. Quo fit ut lateat in obscuris condita 15  
 virtus clara, ut verbis alludamus Boetii, et ardentis

3 solo modo A || 4 qui B || 5 diuinorum D || 7 cogitationis  
 Ja. || 11 ita eos edd. || 13 tam om. Ja. || in inculto A E ||

bonam voluntatem] Phil. i. 15 : *perficit* ; *ib.* ii. 13.

elegorum] This word is used in classical Latin only of  
 verses : cp. note on Elifuga in ch. xiii. s. 182.

in culto] A quotation from the anonymous author of the *De  
 varietate carminum*, who says, "Tria sunt seminum genera  
 quae *in culto iuventutis agro* absque comitantibus zizaniis  
 rarissime conualescunt." Cp. Holkot, in Sap. 151 b., 247 b.  
 The date assigned to this work in Warton, H. E. P., iii.  
 125, requires correction.

lateat] A quotation from Boetius, De Consol. Phil. i. m. 5,  
 "Latet obscuris condita virtus Clara tenebris, justusque tulit  
 Crimen iniqui."



lucernae non ponantur sub modio, sed prae defectu  
 olei penitus exstinguantur. Sic ager in vere floriger  
 ante messem exaruit, sic frumenta in lollium et vites  
 degenerant in labruscas, ac sic in oleastros olivae  
 silvescunt. Marcescunt omnino tenellae trabeculae et 5  
 qui in fortes columnas Ecclesiae poterant excrevisse,  
 subtilis ingenii capacitate dotati, studiorum gym-  
 7 nasia derelinquunt. Sola inedia novercante, repel-  
 luntur a philosophiae nectareo poculo violenter,  
 quam primo gustaverint, ipso gustu ferventius 10  
 sitibundi: liberalibus artibus habiles et scripturis  
 tantum dispositi contemplandis, orbatu necessario-  
 rum subsidiis, quasi quadam apostasiae specie ad  
 artes mechanicas, propter victus solius suffragia ad  
 Ecclesiae dispendium et totius cleri vilipendium 15  
 8 revertuntur. Sic mater Ecclesia pariendo filios

1 *nunc C ponuntur* codd. *ponantur* Ja. *pro* Ja. || 2 *exstin-*  
*guuntur* codd. *exstinguantur* Ja. || 10 *gustaverunt* edd. *gustave-*  
*rant* Ja. *frequentius* D ||

non ponantur] Cocheris absurdly says that the reading  
*nunc* "est la seule admissible." The reference is of course  
 to Matt. v. 15.

labruscas] Cp. Is. v. 2, "exspectavit ut faceret uvas et fecit  
 labruscas."

oleastros] Cp. Rom. xi. 24.

nectareo poculo] Cp. the *De disciplina Scholarium*, c. ii. :  
 'Multos autem artes mendicare prospeximus, nullis eis pocula  
 philosophiae administrantibus'; c. v. : 'Nullum vero vehe-  
 menter obtusorum vidimus unquam philosophico nectare  
 vehementer inebriari.' For the *De disciplina*, see note on  
 ch. xiii. s. 182.



abortiri compellitur, quinimmo ab utero foetus infor-  
 mis monstruose dirumpitur, et pro paucis mini-  
 misque quibus contentatur natura, alumnos amittit  
 egregios, postea promovendos in pugiles fidei et  
 athletas. Heu quam repente tela succiditur, dum 5  
 textentis manus orditur! Heu quod sol eclipsatur  
 in aurora clarissima et planeta progrediens regiratur  
 retrograde ac naturam et speciem verae stellae  
 9 praetendens subito decedit et fit assub! Quid  
 poterit pius homo intueri miserius? Quid miseri- 10  
 cordiae viscera penetrabit acutius? Quid cor con-  
 gelatum ut incus in calentes guttas resolvat facilius?  
 Amplius arguentes a sensu contrario, quantum pro-

1 abortire L 1 || 2 monstruose 1 menstruoso 2 monstrose Ja.  
 7 aura Ja. || 9 decidens fit Ja. a sub 1 2 || 12 minus 1 in-  
 tus E 2 calescentes D || 13 arguentes om. D ||

pro paucis] Cp. Boet., De Cons. Ph. ii. pr. 5: "Paucis  
 enim minimisque natura contenta est."

athletas] Athleta Dei is a common phrase for a Christian;  
 as for instance in John of Salisbury's life of Becket. It is no  
 doubt based on S. Paul's references to the arena, 2 Tim. iv.  
 7, 1 Cor. ix. 26, etc. Cp. Tertull., Ad martyres, 3.

succiditur] Cp. Job, iii. 6, "a texente tela succiditur," and  
 Is. xxxviii. 12.

assub] This word, which has been found unintelligible by  
 the editors, is derived from the translations of Aristotle made  
 from the Arabic, in which it means a falling star. Cp. Roger  
 Bacon, Op. Maj., iii. 1, "impressiones inflammatae in aere  
 ex vaporibus ignitis in similitudinem stellarum, quae vocantur  
 Arabice Assub;" and Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Nat. ii. 84;  
 iv. 72 ("De Asub, id est stella cadente"); see also Jourdain,  
 Traductions d'Aristote, pp. 367, 414. I have even found the  
 word used in poetry: see *Anonymi chronicon rhythmicum*



fuit toti reipublicae Christianae, non quidem Sardana-  
 pali deliciis, neque Croesi divitiis enervare studentes,  
 sed melius mediocritate scholastica suffragari pau-  
 10 peribus, ex eventu praeterito recordemur. Quot  
 oculis vidimus, quot ex scripturis collegimus, nulla 5  
 suorum natalium claritate fulgentes, nullius haere-  
 ditatis successione gaudentes, sed tantum proborum  
 virorum pietate suffultos, apostolicas cathedras me-  
 ruisse! subiectis fidelibus praefuisse probissime!  
 superborum et sublimium colla jugo ecclesiastico 10  
 subiecisse et procurasse propensius Ecclesiae liber-  
 tatem!

11 Quamobrem perlustratis humanis egestatibus  
 usquequaque caritativae considerationis intuitu, huic  
 tandem calamitoso generi hominum, in quibus 15  
 tamen tanta redolet spes profectus Ecclesiae, prae-  
 elegit peculiariter nostrae compassionis affectio pium  
 ferre praesidium et eisdem non solum de necessariis  
 victui, verum multo magis de libris utilissimis  
 studio providere. Ad hunc effectum acceptissimum 20

2 enarrare B enumerare D enutrire L 1 || 10 et humilium  
 edd. || 15 tandem om. E tam caliginoso edd. || 16 ecclesiae om.  
 A || 20 affectum A Ja. ||

*Austriacum*, printed in Pertz, *Scriptt.* xxv. p. 364. The word  
 occurs in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* and the *Catholicon  
 Anglicum*, as the rendering of 'sterre-slyme,' the star-jelly  
 supposed to be deposited by falling stars: see Way's note,  
 P. P., p. 474.

superborum et sublimium] This, which is the reading of the  
 better MSS., may also be supported by John of Salisbury,  
*Pol.* iv. 6, *ad fin.* But cp. 1 Pet. v. 5.



coram Deo nostra iam ab olim vigilavit intentio indefessa. Hic amor ecstaticus tam potenter nos rapuit ut, terrenis aliis abdicatis ab animo, acquirendorum librorum solummodo flagraremus affectu.

12 Vt igitur nostri finis intentio tam posteris pateat 5 quam modernis, et ora loquentium perversa quantum ad nos pertinet obstruamus perpetuo, tractatum parvulinum edidimus stilo quidem levissimo modernorum—est enim ridiculosum rhetoricis quando levis materia grandi describitur stilo; qui tractatus 10 amorem quem ad libros habuimus ab excessu purgabit, devotionis intentae propositum propalabit et circumstantias facti nostri, per viginti divisus capitula, 13 luce clarius enarrabit. Quia vero de amore librorum principaliter disserit, placuit nobis more veterum 15 Latinorum ipsum Graeco vocabulo Philobiblon amabiliter nuncupare.

### Explicit Prologus. Incipiunt Capitula.

2 excitus D || 4 flagremus I effectu D || 8 parvulum D Ja. || 9 ridiculum edd. || 10 scribitur edd. || 13 divisi edd. || 16 ipso E a greco B philobiblon B || 17 amicabiliter edd. ||

luce clarius] Cp. ch. vi. 85, xv. 196. The phrase may have been derived from Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, v. 13.

more Latinorum] Cp. what is said of Vergil in Macrobius, Saturn. V. xiii, "Omnia carmina sua Graece maluit inscribere, Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis."

Philobiblon] This is De Bury's word, though some of the editors have altered it to Philobiblion without sufficient authority. The phrase "de amore librorum" probably represents nearly enough what he intended it to mean.



## Capitulum I.

Quod thesaurus sapientiae potissime  
sit in libris.

- 14 Thesaurus desiderabilis sapientiae et scientiae,  
quem omnes homines per instinctum naturae desi-  
derant, cunctas mundi transcendit divitias infinite :  
cuius respectu lapides pretiosi vilescunt ; cuius  
comparatione argentum lutescit et aurum obryzum 5  
exigua fit arena ; cuius splendore tenebrescunt  
visui sol et luna ; cuius dulcore mirabili amarescunt  
15 gustui mel et manna. O valor sapientiae non mar-  
cescens ex tempore, virtus virens assidue, omne

2 *n. scire d.* Ja. || 6 *fuit E* || 9 *omne . . . habente om.* Ja. ||

Thesaurus desiderabilis] Cp. Prov. xxi. 20.

omnes . . . desiderant] From Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, i. 1 :  
*Πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἶδέναι ὀρέγονται φύσει.*

transcendit divitias] Cp. *Wisdom*, vii. 8, 9: "divitias nihil  
esse duxi in comparatione illius ; nec comparavi illi lapidem  
pretiosum, quoniam omne aurum in comparatione illius arena  
est exigua, et tanquam lutum aestimabitur argentum in con-  
spectu illius."

tenebrescunt visui sol et luna] Cp. *Wisdom*, vii. 29: "Est  
enim haec speciosior sole et super omnem dispositionem  
stellarum."

amarescunt] Cp. *Wisdom*, viii. 16: "non enim habet  
amaritudinem conversatio illius."

non marcescens] Cp. *Wisdom*, vi. 13: "quae nunquam  
marcescit sapientia."



virus evacuans ab habente ! O munus caeleste libera-  
 litatis divinae, descendens a Patre luminum, ut men-  
 tem rationalem provehas usque in caelum ! Tu es  
 intellectus caelestis alimonia, quam qui edunt adhuc  
 esurient, quam qui bibunt adhuc sitient, et langu- 5  
 entis animae harmonia laetificans, quam qui audit  
 16 nullatenus confundetur. Tu es morum modera-  
 trix et regula, secundum quam operans non pecca-  
 bit. Per te reges regnant et legum conditores  
 iusta decernunt. Per te deposita ruditate nativa, 10  
 elimatis ingeniis atque linguis, vitiorum sentibus  
 coeffossis radicitus, apices consequuntur honoris,  
 fiuntque patres patriae et comites principum, qui  
 sine te conflasset lanceas in ligones et vomeres,  
 vel cum filio prodigo pascerent forte sues. 15  
 17 Quo lates potissime, praelecte thesaure ! et ubi  
 te reperient animae sitibundae ?

In libris proculdubio posuisti tabernaculum tuum,  
 ubi te fundavit Altissimus, lumen luminum, liber

3 in om. A B E ad edd. || 5 esuriunt A languentium  
 animas edd. || 11 signis A dentibus D || 12 confossis B ||  
 13 comitum D || 16 preeffecte A || 18 t. desiderabile t. edd. ||

Patre luminum] From James, i. 17.

adhuc esurient] From Eccl. xxiv. 29 : cp. John, vi. 35.

languentis animae] Cp. Wisdom, xvii. 8.

nullatenus confundetur] Cp. Ps. xxxvi. 20 ; Phil. i. 20.

Per te reges] Prov. viii. 15.

in ligones] Cp. Joel, iii. 10. Cocheris thinks the copyists  
 have blundered and absurdly proposes to read *ligones et  
 vomeres in lanceas*. The point is that those who might have  
 become rustics are soldiers of the Church.



vitae. Ibi te omnis qui petit accipit, et qui quae-  
rit invenit, et pulsantibus improbe citius aperitur.  
In his cherubin alas suas extendunt ut intellectus  
studentis ascendat, et a polo usque ad polum  
prospiciat, a solis ortu et occasu, ab aquilone et 5  
18 mari. In his incomprehensibilis ipse Deus altissi-  
mus apprehensibiliter continetur et colitur; in his  
patet natura caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum;  
in his cernuntur iura quibus omnis regitur politia,  
hierarchiae caelestis distinguuntur officia et daemo- 10  
num tyrannides describuntur, quos nec ideae Pla-  
tonis exsuperant nec Cratonis cathedra continebat.

3 et studentium ascendunt—prospiciunt edd. || 5 comprehen-  
sibilis A E edd. || 11 quas Ja. || 12 Catonis A E Ja. in mg.  
Crathonis B ||

qui petit] The source is of course Matt. vii. 7, not, as  
Cocheris suggests, Prov. viii. 17.

cherubin] Cp. Exod. xxv. 20; 1 Kings, vi. 27.

a solis ortu, etc.] Schmidt unnecessarily alters "a mari"  
to "ad meridiem." The quotation is from Ps. cvi. 3.

incomprehensibilis] Cp. Jer. xxxii. 19.

caelestium terrestrium et infernorum] From Phil. ii. 10.

Cratonis] The name occurs also in c. xiii. s. 182, where it  
is clearly the true reading. Here the sense would rather re-  
quire *Catonis*, as more worthy to be coupled with Plato: cp.  
S. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, ii. 7; "quid docuerit Plato vel  
censuerit Cato." The Crato of the Golden Legend, ed.  
Graesse, p. 56, and Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* xi. 39,  
or the fictitious Crato of the Pseudo-Boetius (s. 182 *note*) seems  
too obscure for this distinction. But the phrase *Cratonis*  
*cathedra* is perhaps conclusive; and very possibly De Bury  
thought they were the same person. Crato is mentioned in  
several liturgical hymns: cp. York Missal, ii. 212; Daniel,  
Thesaur. Hymnol. i. 93.



19 In libris mortuos quasi vivos invenio ; in libris  
 futura praevideo ; in libris res bellicae disponuntur ;  
 de libris prodeunt iura pacis. Omnia corrumpuntur  
 et intabescunt in tempore ; Saturnus quos generat  
 devorare non cessat : omnem mundi gloriam operiret 5  
 oblivio, nisi Deus mortalibus librorum remedia pro-  
 20 vidisset. Alexander, orbis domitor, Iulius et urbis et  
 orbis invasor, qui et Marte et arte primus in unitate  
 personae assumpsit imperium, fidelis Fabricius et  
 Cato rigidus hodie caruissent memoria, si librorum 10  
 suffragia defuissent. Turres ad terram sunt dirutae ;  
 civitates eversae ; putredine perierunt fornices tri-  
 umphales ; nec quicquam reperiet vel Papa vel Rex  
 quo perennitatis privilegium conferatur commodius  
 21 quam per libros. Reddit auctori vicissitudinem 15  
 liber factus, ut quamdiu liber supererit auctor  
 manens athanatos nequeat interire, teste Ptolemaeo  
 in prologo Almagesti : non fuit, inquit, mortuus qui  
 scientiam vivificavit.

4 *tabescunt* A B E || 6 *oblivioni* B || 8 *in arce et arte* edd.  
*deiectae* Ja. || 12 *fornices* om. edd. || 13 *reperiret* D 2 *reperit*  
 Ja. || 14 *perhenniter* edd. || 15 *auctori* om. edd. *actori* 2 || 16  
*actor* edd. ||

omnia corrumpuntur] Cp. Arist. Phys. iv. 12 : *κατατήκει  
 ὁ χρόνος καὶ γηράσκει πάνθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου*. The quotation  
 occurs also in Holkot, Super Sap., f. 317.

Fabricius et Cato] Cp. Boet. De Cons. Phil., ii. m. 7 :  
 Ubi nunc *fidelis* ossa Fabricii iacent? Quid Brutus aut  
*rigidus* Cato?

Almagesti] The Astronomy, or *Μεγάλη Σύνταξις*, was pro-  
 bably so called to distinguish it from the *Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις*,  
 or Mathematics of Ptolemy. It was preserved and communi-



- 22 Quis igitur infinito thesauro librorum, de quo scriba doctus profert nova et vetera, per quodcunque alterius speciei pretium limitabit? Veritas vincens super omnia, quae regem, vinum et mulierem supergreditur, quam amicis praehonorare officium 5 obtinet sanctitatis, quae est et via sine devio et vita sine termino, cui sacer Boetius attribuit triplex esse, in mente, voce et scripto, in libris videtur manere utilius et fructificare fecundius ad profectum.
- 23 Nam virtus vocis perit cum sonitu; veritas mente 10 latens est sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus; veritas vero quae lucet in libris omni se disciplinabili sensui manifestare desiderat. Visui dum legitur, auditui dum auditur, amplius et tactui se commendat quodammodo, dum transcribi se sus- 15
- 24 tinet, colligari, corrigi et servari. Veritas mentis clausa, licet sit possessio nobilis animi, quia tamen

2 et quodcunque D || 5 superare dicitur Ja. || 9 effectum D || 10 veritas vocis edd. || 11 abscondita Ja. || 12 disciplinabili edd. || 14 tactu A || 16 collocari 2 || 17 animi tamen cum caret edd.||

cated to Europe by the Arabs, and the name *Almagest* is formed of the Arabic article and the Greek *μεγίστη*.

nova et vetera] From Matt. xiii. 52.

veritas vincens] Cp. 3 Esdras, iii. and iv.

amicis praehonorare] This seems to refer to Aristotle, Eth. i. 6. 1: ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντων φίλοι ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

Boetius] On the De Interpret., Migne, lxiv. p. 297.

virtus vocis] Cp. 1 Cor. xiv. 11; though we should, perhaps, rather have expected *veritas*.

sapientia absconsa et thesaurus invisus] Cp. Eccl. xx. 32.



caret socio, non constat esse iocunda, de qua nec visus iudicat nec auditus. Veritas vero vocis soli patet auditui, visum latens, qui plures nobis differentias rerum monstrat, affixaque subtilissimo  
 25 motui incipit et desinit quasi simul. Sed veritas 5  
 scripta libri, non successiva sed permanens, palam se praebet aspectui et per sphaerulas pervias oculorum, vestibula sensus communis et imaginationis atria transiens, thalamum intellectus ingreditur, in cubili memoriae se recondens, ubi aeternam men- 10  
 tis congenerat veritatem.

26 Postremo pensandum, quanta doctrinae commoditas sit in libris, quam facilis, quam arcana. Quam tuto libris humanae ignorantiae paupertatem sine verecundia denudamus! Hi sunt magistri 15  
 qui nos instruunt sine virgis et ferula, sine verbis et cholera, sine pannis et pecunia. Si accedis,

1 *jocundam* vulgo || 4 *ostendit* edd. *affixaque* A || 5 *similiter* Ja. || 7 *spirituales vias oculorum* edd. *speculia pervia* 2 || 8 *ac sensus* edd. || 10 *cubile* vulgo || 11 *cognoverat* 2 || 15 *O libri hi E Hi libri* Ja. || 16 *et ferula sine verbis* om. Ja. ||

sensus communis] See Roger Bacon's account of *Scientia perspectiva*, Op. Maj., pars. v, for the part played in perception by "imaginatio et sensus communis" (p. 192). John de Garlandia says in his *Dictionarius*: "In cerebro sub craneo tres sunt cellulae. Prima est ymaginaria, secunda rationalis, tertia memorialis," ed. Scheler, p. 22.

pannis] There may be some reference to the distribution of robes, which was expected in mediæval times from an instructing master at the Universities: cp. Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, 215; Anstey, *Mun. Acad.*, *passim*.



non dormiunt ; si inquirens interrogas, non abscondunt ; non remurmurant, si oberres ; cachin-  
 27 nos nesciunt, si ignores. O libri soli liberales et  
 liberi, qui omni petenti tribuitis et omnes manu-  
 mittitis vobis sedulo servientes, quot rerum millibus 5  
 typice viris doctis recommendamini in scriptura  
 nobis divinitus inspirata ! Vos enim estis profun-  
 dissimae sophiae fodinae, ad quas sapiens filium  
 suum mittit ut inde thesauros effodiat : Proverbio-  
 rum 2° ; vos putei aquarum viventium, quos pater 10  
 Abraham primo fodit, Isaac eruderavit, quosque  
 28 nituntur obstruere Palestini : Genesis 26°. Vos estis  
 revera spicae gratissimae, plenae granis, solis apos-  
 tolicis manibus confricandae, ut egrediatur cibus  
 suavissimus famelicis animabus : Matt. 12°. Vos 15  
 estis urnae aureae, in quibus manna reconditur,  
 atque petrae mellifluae, immo potius favi mellis,  
 ubera uberrima lactis vitae, promptuaria semper  
 plena ; vos lignum et quadripartitus fluvius para-

*I se abscondunt* edd. || 4 *omnipotenti I* || 7 *modo* edd. || 10 *quinto* edd. || 15 *sanissimus A B gratissimus* edd. *fidelibus* codd. dett. || 16 *in om. A B E* || 17 *favi om. D* || 19 *atque q.* edd. ||

divinitus inspirata] Cp. 2 Tim. iii. 16.

urnae aureae] Cp. Heb. ix : 4, "urna aurea habens manna."

petrae mellifluae] Cp. Deut. xxxii. 13 ; Ps. lxxx. 17.

promptuaria plena] Cp. Ps. cxliii. 13.

lignum vitae] Cp. Gen. ii. 9 ; Rev. xxii. 2.

quadripartitus fluvius] Cp. Gen. ii. 10. Cocheris notes in this an allusion to the Quadrivium and quotes Godefroi de Saint-Victor :

"Hujus quoque fluminis partes sunt bis binae,  
 Quas vulgus quadrivium nominat Latine."



disi, quo mens humana pascitur et aridus in-  
 29 tellectus imbuitur et rigatur; vos arca Noae et  
 scala Iacob, canalesque quibus foetus intuentium  
 colorantur; vos lapides testimonii et lagenae ser-  
 vantes lampadas Gedeonis, pera David, de qua lim- 5  
 pidissimi lapides extrahuntur ut Goliath prosterna-  
 tur. Vos estis aurea vasa templi, arma militiae  
 clericorum, quibus tela nequissimi hostis destruun-  
 tur, olivae fecundae, vineae Engadi, ficus sterilesce-  
 nescientes, lucernae ardentes, semper in manibus 10  
 praetendendae,—et optima quaeque scripturae  
 libris adaptare poterimus, si loqui libeat figurate.

### Capitulum 2.

#### Qualis amor libris rationabiliter debeatur.

30 Si quidlibet iuxta gradum valoris gradum merea-  
 tur amoris, valorem vero librorum ineffabilem  
 persuadet praecedens capitulum; palam liquet 15  
 lectori quid sit inde probabiliter concludendum.

3 *canalesve* Ja. || 5 *lampades A B E* Ja. || 8 *hostis om. A B E*  
 Ja. || 10 *semper in m. p. om. edd.* ||

canalesque] Cp. Gen. xxx. 38.

lapides testimonii] Cp. Joshua, iv. 7.

lagenae servantes lampadas] Cp. Judges, vii. 16.

limpidissimi lapides] From 1 Kings, xvii. 40.

arma militiae] Cp. 2 Cor. x. 4, and s. 129 *note*.

tela nequissimi] Cp. Eph. vi. 16.

lucernae ardentes] Cp. Luke, xii. 35.



Non enim demonstrationibus in morali materia nitimur, recordantes quoniam disciplinati hominis est certitudinem quaerere, sicut rei naturam perspexerit tolerare, archiphilosopho attestante, 1° Ethicorum. Quoniam nec Tullius requirit Euclidem, 5 nec Euclidi Tullius facit fidem; hoc revera sive logice sive rhetorice suadere conamur, quod quaecunque divitiae vel deliciae cedere debent libris in anima spiritali, ubi spiritus, qui est caritas, ordinat  
 31 caritatem. Primo quidem quia in libris sapientia 10 continetur potissime, plus quam omnes mortales naturaliter comprehendunt; sapientia vero divitias parvipendit, sicut capitulum antecedens allegat. Praeterea Aristoteles, De problematibus, particula 3<sup>a</sup>, problemate 10°, istam determinat quaestionem 15 propter quid antiqui, qui pro gymnasticis et corporalibus agoniis praemia statuerunt potioribus, nullum unquam praemium sapientiae decreverunt. Hanc quaestionem responsione tertia ita solvit: in gymnasticis exercitiis praemium est melius et eli- 20

2 *utimur B E intimur D* || 3 *prospexerit A* || 4 *archipresbitero D testante B* || 6 *hec D* || 9 *spiritali vulgo* || 18 *Hac responsione tertia A Hanc rñōnē tertia D E* || 20 *melius et om, D* ||

disciplinati] The *πεπαιδευμένον* of Aristotle: Eth. i. 3, 4.  
 ordinat caritatem] Cp. Cant. ii. 4, "ordinavit in me caritatem."

spiritali] The early ecclesiastical writers appear to have used *spiritalis* and *spiritalis* indifferently. The *Catholicon Anglicum* (p. 355) makes a distinction: "spiritalis pertinet ad bonum vel ad malum, spiritalis pertinet ad bonum tantum."

Aristoteles] Probl., ed. Bekker, iii. 10, p. 956.



gibilius illo, pro quo datur; sapientia autem nihil melius esse potest; quamobrem sapientiae nullum potuit praemium assignari. Ergo nec divitiae nec  
 32 deliciae sapientiam antecellunt. Rursus amicitiam  
 divitiis praeponebam solus negabit insipiens, cum 5  
 sapientissimus hoc testetur; amicitiae vero veritatem hierophilosophus praehonorat et verus Zorobabel omnibus anteponit. Subsunt igitur divitiae veritati. Veritatem vero potissime et tuentur et continent sacri libri, immo sunt veritas ipsa scripta; 10  
 quoniam pro nunc librorum asseres librorum non asserimus esse partes. Quamobrem divitiae subsunt libris, praesertim cum pretiosissimum genus divitiarum omnium sint amici, sicut secundo de Consolatione testatur Boetius, quibus tamen 15  
 librorum veritas est per Aristotelem praefenda.

5 esse praeponebam Ja. || 7 hierophilosophus A B D hierophilosophus E  
 arciphilosophus I hierophilosophus Ja. || 10 scriptura D || 14  
 sicut et de D || 15 attestatur B ||

sapientissimus] No doubt Solomon: cp. Eccli. vi. 15, "Amico fideli nulla est comparatio, et non est digna ponderatio auri contra bonitatem fidei illius." Whether Solomon is also meant by the "hierophilosophus" is not quite so clear. The sentiment that truth is to be honoured before friendship is more like Aristotle's ὄσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν (Eth. i. 6, 5). The word "hierophilosophus" I have not found elsewhere.

Zorobabel] The reference is of course to the story told in 3 Esdras, iii. 10-12, iv. 13; and also in Josephus, xi. 3.

amici] De Cons. Phil., ii. pr. 8: "Desine nunc et amissas opes quaerere; quod pretiosissimum divitiarum genus est, amicos invenisti."



- 33 Amplius cum divitiae ad solius corporis subsidia primo et principaliter pertinere noscantur, virtus vero librorum sit perfectio rationis, quae bonum humanum proprie nominatur, apparet quod libri sunt homini ratione utenti divitiis cariores. Prae- 5  
 terea illud quo fides defenderetur commodius, dilataretur diffusius, praedicaretur lucidius, diligibilius  
 34 debet esse fideli. Hoc autem est veritas libris inscripta, quod evidentius figuravit Salvator, quando contra tentatorem praeliaturus viriliter scuto se cir- 10  
 cumdedit veritatis, non cuiuslibet immo scripturae, scriptum esse praemittens quod vivae vocis oraculo erat prolaturus : Matth. 4°.
- 35 Rursus autem felicitatem nemo dubitat divitiis praeponendam. Consistit autem felicitas in opera- 15  
 tione nobilissimae et diviniore potentiae quam habemus, dum videlicet intellectus vacat totaliter veritatis sapientiae contemplandae, quae est delectabilissima omnium operationum secundum virtutem, sicut princeps philosophorum determinat 10°. Ethi- 20  
 corum, propter quod et philosophia videtur habere admirabiles delectationes puritate et firmitate, ut  
 36 scribitur consequenter. Contemplatio autem veritatis nunquam est perfectior quam per libros, dum

2 *veritas* A edd. || 11 *scripte* A B E || 7 *est* B || 13 *probaturus* B || 16 *nobilioris* D || 17 *veritati* edd. || 19 *veritatem* Ja. ||

secundum virtutem] James writes "veritatem," but it is of course the *κατ' ἀρετήν* of Aristotle.

puritate et firmitate] Ar. Eth. x. 7, 3 : *δοκεῖ γοῦν ἡ φιλοσοφία θαυμαστάς ἡδονὰς ἔχειν καθαριότητι καὶ τῷ βεβαίῳ.*



actualis imaginatio continuata per librum actum intellectus super visas veritates non sustinet interrumpi. Quamobrem libri videntur esse felicitatis speculativae immediatissima instrumenta, unde Aristoteles, sol philosophicae veritatis, ubi de eligendis 5 distribuit methodos, docet quod philosophari est simpliciter eligibilis quam ditari, quamvis in casu ex circumstantia, puta necessariis indigenti, ditari quam philosophari sit potius eligendum: 3°. Topicorum. 10

37 Adhuc cum libri sint nobis commodissimi magistri, ut praecedens assumit capitulum, eisdem non immerito tam honorem quam amorem tribuere convenit magistralem. Tandem cum omnes homines natura scire desiderent ac per libros scientiam 15 veterum praeoptandam divitiis omnibus adipisci possimus, quis homo secundum naturam vivens 38 librorum non habeat appetitum? Quamvis vero porcos margaritas spernere sciamus, nihil in hoc prudentis laedetur opinio, quominus oblatas com- 20 paret margaritas. Pretiosior est igitur cunctis opibus sapientiae libraria, et omnia quae desiderantur huic

5 *physicae* edd. || 8 *circumstantiis* A edd. || 11 *sint* om. B ||  
16 *omnibus* om. B || 20 *leditur* D Ja. || 21 *enim* B ||

philosophari] Ar., Top. iii. 2. 22 : Τὸ γοῦν φιλοσοφεῖν βέλτιον τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχ αἰρετώτερον τῷ ἐνδεεῖ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

scire desiderent] See ch. i. s. 19, *note*.

margaritas] Cp. Matt. vii. 6.

pretiosior cunctis opibus] Cp. Prov. viii. 11.



non valent comparari: Proverbiorum 3°. Quisquis igitur se fatetur veritatis, felicitatis, sapientiae vel scientiae, seu etiam fidei zelatorem, librorum necesse est se faciat amatorem.

### Capitulum 3.

#### Qualiter in libris emendis sit pretium aestimandum.

39 Corollarium nobis gratum de praedictis elicimus, 5  
paucis tamen (ut credimus) acceptandum: nullam  
videlicet debere caritiam hominem impedire ab  
emptione librorum, cum sibi suppetat quod petitur  
pro eisdem, nisi ut obsistatur malitiae venditoris,  
vel tempus emendi opportunius expectetur. Quo- 10  
niam, si sola sapientia pretium facit libris, quae est  
infinite thesaurus hominibus, et si valor librorum  
est ineffabilis, ut praemissa supponunt, qualiter pro-  
babitur carum esse commercium, ubi bonum emitur  
infinite? Quapropter libros libenter emendos et 15  
invite vendendos sol hominum Salomon nos hortatur,

4 *est ut se* Ja. *fateatur* edd. || 5 *corelarium* D *corrolarium*  
E || 9 *suppetatur* *obsistatur* A ||

infinite thesaurus] From Wisdom, vii. 14; Eccl<sup>us</sup>. xx. 32.

Sol hominum Salomon] This phrase occurs in Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, iv. 3; the reference is perhaps to Eccli. xxvii. 12.



Prov. 23<sup>o</sup>: veritatem, inquit, eme et noli vendere sapientiam.

- 40 Sed quod rhetorice suademus vel logice, adstruamus historiis rei gestae. Archiphilosophus Aristoteles, quem Averroes datum putat quasi regulam 5 in natura, paucos libros Speusippi post ipsius decessum pro septuaginta duobus millibus sestertiis statim emit. Plato, prior tempore sed doctrinis posterior, Philolai Pythagorici librum emit pro decem millibus denariorum, de quo dicitur Timaei dialo- 10 gum excerpisse, sicut refert A. Gellius, Noctium Atticarum libro tertio, capitulo 17<sup>o</sup>. Haec autem 41 narrat A. Gellius, ut perpendat insipiens quam nihilipendant sapientes pecuniam comparatione librorum. Et e contrario, ut omni superbiae stulti- 15 tiam cognoscamus annexam, libet hic Tarquinii Superbi stultitiam recensere in parvipensione librorum, quam refert idem A. Gellius, Noctium Atticarum libro primo, cap. 19<sup>o</sup>. Vetula quaedam omnino incognita ad Tarquinium Superbum, regem 20

11 *A. Gellius* om. *A. A. Gellius . . . narrat* om. *B* || 12 17<sup>o</sup> om. *B c<sup>o</sup>* 16<sup>o</sup> codd. || 15 *E contrarie* *D* || 17 *impensione* *E impensione* *Ja.* ||

regulam in natura] On the De Anima, iii. ed. 1550, f. 169. The passage is quoted by Albertus Magnus, Opp. iii. 135 and Aegidius Colonna, Quodlibeta, iii. qu. 13, and is referred to by Roger Bacon, Op. Maj., p. 27: see Rénan, Averroès, p. 55 f.

prior tempore] Cp. Aristot. Met. i. 3 of Empedokles and Anaxagoras: τῆ μὲν ἡλικία πρότερος ὢν τούτου τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος.



Romanum septimum, dicitur accessisse, venales offerens novem libros, in quibus (ut asseruit) divina continebantur oracula, sed immensam pro eisdem poposcit pecuniam, in tantum ut rex eam diceret delirare. Illa commota tres libros in ignem proiecit 5 et pro residuis summam quam prius exegit. Rege negante, rursus tres alios in ignem proiecit et adhuc pro tribus residuis primam summam poposcit. Tandem stupefactus supra modum, Tarquinius summam pro tribus gaudet exsolvere, pro qua novem 10 poterat redemisse. Vetula statim disparuit, quae 43 nec prius, nec postea visa fuit. Hi sunt libri Sibyllini, quos quasi quoddam divinum oraculum per aliquem de quindecim viris consulebant Romani, et quindecimviratus creditur officium ori- 15 ginem habuisse. Quid aliud haec Sibylla prophetissa tam vafro facto superbum regem edocuit, nisi quod vasa sapientiae, sacri libri, omnem humanam aestimationem excedunt, et sicut de regno caelorum dicit Gregorius: Tantum valent, quantum 20 habes.

6 *exigit E* || 11 *potuerat B* || 15 *originem* om. edd. *origiñes D*  
 || 17 *vario B* edd. || 19 *sic E* || 20 *valent A B* ||

Tantum valet] Gregory, XL. Homiliarum in Evangelia, lib. i. Hom. 5: "Aestimationem quippe pretii non habet, sed tamen regnum Dei tantum valet, quantum habes." The phrase may remind us of Cordelia's answer to King Lear in Gervase of Tilbury, Otia Imper., ii. 17: "Quantum habes, tantum valet et tantum te diligo."



## Capitulum 4.

Querimonia librorum contra clericos iam  
promotos.

- 44 Progenies viperarum parentes proprios perimens  
atque semen nequam ingratisissimi cuculi, qui, cum  
vires acceperit, virium largitricem nutriculam suam  
necat, sunt clerici degeneres erga libros. Redite  
praevaricatores ad cor et quid per libros recipitis 5  
fideliter computetis et invenietis libros totius nobi-  
lis status vestri quodammodo creatores, sine quibus  
proculdubio defecissent caeteri promotores.
- 45 Ad nos nempe rudes penitus et inertes reptastis,  
ut parvuli loquebamini, ut parvuli sapiebatis, ut 10  
parvuli eiulantes implorastis participes fieri lactis  
nostri. Nos vero protinus lacrimis vestris tacti

3 *acceperint*—*necant* A *nutricem* D || 4 *circa* B || 6 *com-  
putate* Ja. || 8 *promotores*. *Ex persona librorum vulgo* ||

Progenies viperarum] Cp. Matt. xii. 34.

nutricem suam necat] Cp. Pliny, H. N. x. 11, who says  
that the young cuckoo robs the other young birds of their  
food, and growing fat engrosses the affection of his nurse, *in se  
nutricem convertit*, until after she has seen him devour her own  
young, at last when he is able to fly he makes her his prey.

Redite praevaricatores ad cor] From Is. xlvi. 8.

ut parvuli] Cp. I Cor. xiii. 11.

participes lactis] Cp. Heb. v. 13.



mamillam grammaticae porreximus exsugendam,  
 quam dentibus atque lingua contrectastis assidue,  
 donec dempta nativa barbarie nostris linguis  
 46 inciperetis magnalia Dei fari. Post haec philoso-  
 phiae vestibus valde bonis, rhetorica et dialectica, 5  
 quas apud nos habuimus et habemus, vos indui-  
 mus, cum essetis nudi, quasi tabula depingenda.  
 Omnes enim philosophiae domestici sunt vestiti  
 duplicibus, ut tegatur tam nuditas quam ruditas  
 47 intellectus. Post haec, ut alati more seraphico 10  
 super cherubin scanderetis, quadrivialium pennas  
 vobis quatuor adiungentes, transmisimus ad ami-  
 cum, ad cuius ostium, dum tamen improbe pul-

3 *natura B D direpta nota* edd. || 5 *vestra* Ja. *vestris* sec.  
 manu A Ja. || 10 *seraphin E* || 11 *scandentes transmisimus* edd. ||

magnalia Dei] Cp. Eccl. xviii. 5 ; Acts ii. 11.

vestibus valde bonis] From Gen. xxvii. 15. For the  
 "vestes philosophiae" cp. Boëtius, De Cons. Phil. i. pr. 1 ;  
 Holkot in Sap. 153 b. foll., explains these to be the seven  
 liberal arts.

tabula depingenda] The phrase reminds us of the familiar  
 "tabula rasa," which, according to Prantl, G. der Logik, iii.  
 261, is first found in Aegidius Colonna, and goes back of  
 course to Aristotle, De Anima, iii. 4.

domestici sunt vestiti duplicibus] From Prov. xxxi. 21.

more seraphico] Cp. Is. vi. 2 ; 2 Sam. 22. 11 ; Ps. xvii. 11.

quadrivialium] The Trivium included Grammar, Dialectic  
 and Rhetoric—the introductory arts ; the Quadrivium, the  
 four sciences—"quatuor pennas"—of Music, Arithmetic,  
 Geometry, and Astronomy.

ad amicum] Cp. Luke xi. 4, "Amice, commoda mihi tres  
 panes."

improbe pulsaretis] *ib.* 8 : "Si ille perseveraverit pulsans  
 . . . propter improbitatem tamen ejus surget."



saretis, tres panes commodarentur intelligentiae Trinitatis, in qua consistit finalis felicitas cuiuslibet viatoris. Quod si vos haec munera non habere dixeritis, confidenter asserimus, quod vel ea per incuriam perdidistis collata, vel in principio desides  
 48 respuistis oblata. Si huiusmodi videantur ingratis pusilla, adicimus his maiora. Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, vos populus peculiaris in sortem Domini computati, vos sacerdotes et ministri Dei, immo vos antonomatice ipsa

3 nos A || 8 gens sancta et populus acquisitionis vos Ja. ||  
 10 domini D ipsius D ||

viatoris] "Viator" was a common mediæval term for a Christian, especially frequent in Wiclif. It dates back to S. Augustine: cp. Sermones, clxix. 18 (1 Cor. viii. 2).

genus electum] Cp. 1 Pet. ii. 9: "Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis," etc.

populus peculiaris] Cp. Deut. vii. 6; Exod. xix. 6.

sortem Domini] With reference to the derivation of *clericus*. Cp. S. Jerome, *Ad Nepotianum*, Ep. 3: "Igitur clericus, qui Christi servit Ecclesiae, interpretetur primo vocabulum suum, et nominis definitione prolata nitatur esse quod dicitur. Si enim κληρος Graece sors Latine appellatur, propterea vocantur clerici, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars clericorum est;" Gerv. Tilb., *Otia Imperialia*, prolog.: "Rex ille summus simul et sacerdos Christus secundum ordinem Melchisedech suo sacerdotium consecravit imperio, sortem suam in clero constituens, cuius merito clerici velut in sortem Domini vocati nuncupantur."

antonomatice] Formed from *ἀντονομασία* (cp. Quintil. viii. 6. 29), though often written *autonomatice*, and supposed to be connected with *ἀυτονομῶς*. Whether the latter form is any-



- Ecclesia Dei dicimini, quasi laici non sint ecclesiastici nuncupandi. Vos, laicis postpositis, psalmos et hymnos concinitis in cancellis et altari deservientes, cum altario participantes, verum conficitis corpus Christi, in quo Deus ipse vos non solum laicis, immo paulo magis angelis honoravit.
- 49 Cui enim aliquando angelorum dixit: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech? Vos crucifixi patrimonium dispensatis pauperibus, ubi iam quaeritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur. Vos estis pastores gregis dominici tam exemplo vitae quam verbo doctrinae, qui vobis tenentur rependere lac et lanam.
- 50 Qui sunt istorum omnium largitores, O clerici, nonne libri? Reminisci libeat, supplicamus, quot per nos clericis sint concessa egregia privilegia libertatum. Per nos siquidem vasa sapientiae et

*1 ipsi etiam dii 2 || 2 postponitis A D || 5 nos A || 11 diversi edd. || 12 vitae om. edd. || 13 nobis A tenetur D || 16 sunt A B E sint scripsi cum Ja. egregia om. D || 17 sacerdotum A ||*

thing but a clerical error is, perhaps, doubtful; but Mr. Lumby's article, in his glossary to Higden, is certainly wrong. Cp. Adam Murimuth of Edward III. "dictus antonomatice gloriosus," though Hog (p. 225) alters the text to "autonomatice."

altari deservientes] From 1 Cor. ix. 13: qui altari deserviunt cum altari participant; cp. Heb. xiii. 10.

corpus Christi] Cp. S. Jerome, *Ad Heliodorum*, Ep. 1: 'Apostolico gradui succedentes, Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt.'

paulo magis angelis] From Heb. ii. 7, with a difference.

Tu es sacerdos] From Ps. cix. 4.

ubi iam quaeritur] Cp. 1 Cor. iv. 2: "Hic iam quaeritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur."



intellectus imbuti cathedras scanditis magistrales,  
 vocati ab hominibus Rabbi. Per nos, in oculis  
 laicorum mirabiles velut magna mundi luminaria,  
 dignitates ecclesiae secundum sortes varias possi-  
 51 detis. Per nos, cum adhuc careatis genarum lanu- 5  
 gine, in aetate tenera constituti tonsuram portatis  
 in vertice, prohibente statim ecclesiastica sententia  
 formidanda: Nolite tangere Christos meos et in  
 prophetis meis nolite malignari; et qui eos teti-  
 gerit temere violenter anathematis vulnere ictu 10  
 proprio protinus feriat.

52 Tandem aetate succumbente malitiae, figurae  
 Pythagoricae bivium attingentes ramum laevum  
 eligitis et retrorsum abeuntes sortem Domini prae-  
 assumptam dimittitis, socii facti furum; sicque 15  
 semper proficientes in peius, latrociniis, homicidiis  
 et multigenis impudiciis maculati, tam fama quam  
 conscientia tabefacta sceleribus, compellente iustitia,  
 in manicis et compedibus coarctati, servamini morte

1 *induti* Ja. || 3 *lumina* D || 5 *carebatis* edd. || 7 *statum* E ||

vocati ab hominibus Rabbi] From Matt. xxiii. 7.

luminaria] Cp. Phil. ii. 15: "Lucetis sicut luminaria in mundo;" and Gen. i. 16.

nolite tangere] From Ps. civ. 15.

figurae Pythag.] The letter Y as emblematic of the broad and narrow paths of vice and virtue. Cp. Gervas. Tilb., Otia Imper., i. 20: "Y litteram Pythagoras invenit, ad exemplum humanae vitae, cuius prior virgula primam significat aetatem incertam: bivium, quod superest, ab adolescentia incipit, cuius dextera pars ardua, sed ad beatam vitam tendit; sinistra facilior a luce ad interitum ducens."

retrorsum abeuntes] Cf. Jer. xv. 6; socii furum; Is. i. 23.



53 turpissima puniendi. Tunc elongatur amicus et  
 proximus, nec est qui doleat vicem vestram.  
 Petrus iurat se hominem non novisse: vulgus  
 clamat iusticiario: Crucifige, crucifige eum! quoni-  
 am si hunc dimittis, Caesaris amicus non eris. 5  
 Iam periit omnis fuga, nam ante tribunal oportet  
 assisti, nec locus suppetit appellandi sed solum  
 54 suspendium exspectatur. Dum sic tristitia com-  
 plevit cor miseri et solae Camenae lacerae fletibus  
 ora rigant, fit balatus angustiis undique memor 10  
 nostri et ut evitet mortis propinquae periculum  
 antiquatae tonsurae, quam dedimus, parvum prae-  
 fert signaculum, supplicans ut vocemur in medium  
 et collati muneris testes simus. Tunc misericordia  
 statim moti occurrimus filio prodigo et a portis 15  
 55 mortis servum eripimus fugitivum. Legendus liber

7 appetit D || 9 lachrymae Ja. || 10 valatus A B vallatus D E ||

morte turpissima] From Wisd. ii. 20.

elongatur amicus] From Ps. lxxxvii. 19: 'elongasti a me amicum:' cp. *elongati*, s. 88. It would seem difficult to doubt the meaning of the word, but Mr. Lumby, in his glossary to Higden's Polychronicon, explains *elongati* to mean 'encouraged by persuasive language, cheered.'

Petrus iurat] Cp. Matt. xxii. 72: "non novi hominem."

Crucifige] Cp. John xix. 6, 12.

periit omnis fuga] Cp. Ps. cxli. 5: periit a me fuga.

ante tribunal] Cp. 2 Cor. v. 10.

Camenae] From Boetius, De Cons. Phil., i. metr. 1: "Ecce mihi lacerae dictant scribenda Camenae Et veris elegi fletibus ora rigant."

a portis mortis] Cp. Ps. cvi. 18.

legendus liber] The claim to the *privilegium clericale*, or



porrigitur non ignotus et ad modicam balbutientis  
 prae timore lecturam iudicis potestas dissolvitur,  
 accusator subtrahitur, mors fugatur. O carminis  
 empirici mira virtus! O dirae cladis antidotum  
 salutare! O lectio pretiosa psalterii, quod meretur 5  
 56 hoc ipso liber vitae deinceps appellari! Sustineant  
 laici saeculare iudicium, ut vel insuti culleis  
 enatent ad Neptunum, vel in terra plantati Plutoni  
 fructificent, aut Vulcano per incendia holocaustum  
 se offerant medullatum, vel certe suspensi victima 10  
 sint Iunoni; dum noster alumnus ad lectionem  
 unicam libri vitae pontificis commendatur custodiae  
 et rigor in favorem convertitur, ac dum forum  
 transfertur a laico, a librorum alumno clerico mors  
 differtur. 15

57 Caeterum iam de clericis, qui sunt vasa virtutis,  
 loquamur. Quis de vobis pulpitem seu scabellum  
 praedicaturus ascendit nobis penitus inconsultis?  
 Quis scholas lecturus vel disputaturus ingreditur,  
 qui nostris conatibus non fulcitur? Primum 20

4 *imperiti E* || 5 *quae vulgo* || 7 *insuti B in fictis D* || 9 *holo-  
 causta—medullata* edd. || 18 *ascendet* Ja. || 20 *comatibus* edd. ||

benefit of clergy, was established by the reading of a verse  
 from the Bible by the prisoner. From Piers Plowman, xv.  
 127, it seems already to have been usual to set one particular  
 verse.

insuti] The classical phrase is *insuere aliquem in culeum*  
 (Cic. Rosc. Am. 25). All these punishments were used in  
 medieval times: cp. *Archaeologia*, xxxviii. 54.

holocaustum] Cp. Ps. lxxv. 15: "Holocausta medullata  
 offeram tibi."



- oportet volumen cum Ezechiele comedere, quo  
 venter memoriae dulcescat intrinsecus et sic more  
 pantherae relectae redoleat extrinsecus concep-  
 torum aromatum odor suavis, ad cuius anhelitum  
 coanhelent accedere omnes bestiae et iumenta. 5
- 58 Sic nostra natura in nostris familiaribus operante  
 latenter, auditores accurrunt benevoli, sicut adamas  
 trahit ferrum nequaquam invite. O virtus infinita  
 librorum iacent Parisius vel Athenis simulque  
 resonant in Britannia et in Roma! Quiescentes 10  
 quippe moventur, dum ipsis loca sua tenentibus,  
 auditorum intellectibus circumquaque feruntur.
- 59 Nos denique sacerdotes, pontifices, cardinales  
 et papam, ut cuncta in hierarchia ecclesiastica  
 collocentur in ordine, litterarum scientia stabilimus. 15  
 A libris namque sumit originem quicquid boni  
 provenit statui clericali. Sed haec hactenus:

3 refertae vulgo || 4 fanus A sanus B E || 5 homines A B  
 || 7 occurrant D || 9 librorum quinimmo multitudo jacet edd.  
 jacet E similiterque Ja. || 14 in om. A ||

cum Ezechiele] Cp. Ezech. iii. 1-3.

pantherae] Cp. Pliny, H. N. viii. 23, who says that the  
 smell of the panther attracts all quadrupeds: "quadrupedes  
 cunctas." I have corrected the text accordingly.

virtus] For *virtus* in the sense of a host, cp. the Vulgate,  
*e.g.* 1 Macc. i. 4; Judith iii. 7.

Parisius] The mediaeval Latin name of Paris, which was  
 treated as indeclinable; cp. Barthius, *Advers.* 2111.

dum ipsis] This sentence looks like a grammatical slip, and  
 the only bad one in the book, unless "cernitur" vii. 103,  
 is another.



piget enim reminisci quae dedimus populo clericorum degeneri, quia magis videntur perdita quam collata, quaecumque munera tribuuntur ingratis.

- 60 Deinceps insistemus parumper recitandis iniuriis quas rependunt, vilipensionibus et iacturis, de quibus 5 nec singula generum recitare sufficimus, immo vix proxima genera singulorum. Inprimis de domiciliis clericorum nobis iure haereditario debitis vi et armis expellimur, qui quondam in interiori cubiculo cellulas habebamus quietis, sed proh dolor! 10 his nefandis temporibus penitus exsulantes im-
- 61 properium patimur extra portas. Occupant etenim loca nostra nunc canes, nunc aves, nunc bestia bipedalis, cuius cohabitatio cum clericis vetabatur antiquitus, a qua semper super aspidem et basiliscum 15 alumnos nostros docuimus esse fugiendum;

4 *deinde D* || 5 *rependere A* || 6 *genera* edd. || 7 *singularum* edd. || 9 *compellimur D* || 10 *quietas* edd. || 11 *temporibus om.* *A* || 14 *bipedalis scilicet mulier* edd. *vitabatur a c.* edd. || 16 *esse om.* *A B Ja. fugere Ja.* ||

improperium extra portas] Cp. Heb. xiii. 13.

nunc aves] Probably hawks, the monks of medieval times being greatly addicted to hunting and hawking. Cp. Chaucer's Monk, and see John of Salisbury's Policrat. i. 4.

bestia bipedalis] This sufficiently contemptuous reference to the fair sex was accentuated by some scribe, who added the words *scilicet mulier*, which the editors have printed in the text. We must remember that the Bishop is referring to the *focariae*, whose association with the clergy was forbidden by a long series of ecclesiastical prohibitions *ne clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti focarias habeant*: cp. Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 176 foll.

super aspidem et basiliscum] From Ps. xc. 13.



quamobrem ista nostris semper studiis aemula, nullo die placanda, finaliter nos conspectos in angulo iam defunctae araneae sola tela protectos, in rugam fronte collecta, virulentis sermonibus detrahit et subsannat, ac nos in tota domus suppellectili supervacaneos hospitari demonstrat et ad unumquodque oeconomiae servitium conqueritur otiosos, mox in capitegia pretiosa, sindonem et sericum et coccum bis tinctum, vestes et varias furraturas, linum et lanam, nos consulit commutandos: et quidem merito, si videret intrinseca cordis nostri, si nostris privatis interfuisset consiliis, si Theophrasti vel Valerii perlegisset volumen, vel saltem capitulum Ecclesiastici auribus intellectus audisset.

I *istius E istis* Ja || 3 *defuncto arenae* Ja. *arene E* || 6 *supervacuos L I semper vacuos* Coch. *et oeconomiae D* || 8 *capitologia E* || 9 *fulraturas B* || 13 *volumen . . . audisset om. D* ||

sindonem] *Sindon*, sendal or cendal, appears to have been used for a rich thin fabric, whether of silk or linen: cp. *Catholicon Angl.*, p. 329 n.

coccum bis tinctum] Cp. Vulgate, e.g. Ex. xxvi. 1.

furraturas] Perhaps the word here means furs, but see Ducange under the various forms of the word: in this passage I notice the forms *farraturas*, *folraturas*, *ferraturas* and *foderaturas*. Originally it does not seem to have meant any particular stuff, but stuffing or lining of any sort.

Theophrasti] This does not refer to the *Characters*, as Cocheris supposes, but to a book against marriage attributed to him by S. Jerome, who quotes it at some length, Adv. Jovinian, i. 28: "fertur aureolus Theophrasti liber de nuptiis, in quo quaerit an vir sapiens ducat uxorem." John of Salisbury, Policrat. viii. 11, quotes the passage.

Valerii] This refers not to Valerius Maximus, as Cocheris



- 62 Quapropter conquerimur de hospitiiis nobis iniuste ablati, de vestibus, non quidem non datis sed de datis antiquitus, violentis manibus laceratis. Adhaesit pavimento anima nostra, conglutinator est in terra venter noster, et gloria nostra in 5 pulverem est deducta. Morbis variis laboramus, dorsa dolentes et latera, et iacemus membratim paralyti dissoluti, nec est qui recogitet, nec est
- 63 ullus qui malagma procuret. Candor natus et luce perspicuus iam in fuscum et croceum est 10 conversus, ut nemo medicus dubitet ictericia

3 *laceratis in tantum quod* edd. || 6 *redacta est* edd. || 15 *benigne malagma* edd. || 10 *a luce A* || 11 *medicus qui nos reperiat* edd. ||

says, but to the *Valerius ad Rufinum de uxore non ducenda*, which was one of the most popular of medieval books, and seems even to have been printed as S. Jerome's. It is claimed by Walter Map as his own, and incorporated in the *De Nugis Curialium*, iv. 3, where he explains that he wrote it to a love-sick friend: "me, qui Walterus sum, Valerium vocans, ipsum, qui Johannes est et rufus, Rufinum." It must not be confounded with the poem *Goliath de conjuge non ducenda*, which was, perhaps, also written by Map: see Wright's edition of his Poems, p. 77. There is some confusion in Wright's references to the *Valerius*, and also in the notices in Warton, ed. Hazlitt, i. 250, ii. 353. Cp. Chaucer in the Wife of Bath's prologue.

adhaesit pavimento anima nostra] From Ps. cxviii. 25.

conglutinator est in terra venter noster] Ps. xliiii. 25.

gloria nostra in pulverem est deducta] Ps. vii. 6.

nec est qui recogitet] From Jer. xii. 11.

luce perspicuum] Cp. Durh. Ritual, p. 64: "luce conspicuum."

ictericia] The jaundice, said to be so called from the belief



nos infectos. Arthriticam patiuntur nonnulli de nobis, sicut extremitates retortae insinuant evidenter. Fumus et pulvis, quibus infestamur assidue, radiorum visualium aciem hebetarunt et iam lippientibus oculis ophthalmiam superducunt. 5  
 64 Ventres nostri duris torsionibus viscerum, quae vermes edaces non cessant corrodere, consumuntur et utriusque Lazari sustinemus putredinem, nec invenitur quisquam, qui cedri resina nos liniat vel qui quatrividuo iam putrido clamans 10 dicat, Lazare veni foras! Nullo circumligantur medicamine vulnera nostra saeva, quae nobis innoxiiis inferuntur atrociter, nec est ullus qui super

1 archeticam A artheticam B D E || 3 Fumus aut fimus ac pulvis L edd. || 8 lazari 2 et viriusque B lateris edd. || 10 quatrividuo A || 12 ligamine edd. || 13 inseruntur edd. ||

that it was cured by the sight of the icterus, a bird mentioned by Pliny, H. N. xxx. 11, 29: cp. xx. 9, 34. In classical Latin only the adjective *ictericus* is found.

utriusque Lazari] Most of the printed texts read *utriusque lateris*, which Cocheris translates, 'nous portons la corruption dans nos flancs,' and Inglis, 'we suffer corruption inside and out.' But the true reading is undoubtedly *Lazari*, referring to the *Lazarus ulceribus plenus* of Luke (xvi. 20) and the *Lazarus mortuus* of John (xi. 14), the one suffering the corruption of disease, the other that of death.

quatrividuo] Cp. John xi. 39: 'jam faetet, quatrividuanus est enim.'

cedri resina] Holkot, Super Sap. l. cxci, quotes Isidorus, Etym. xvii. 8: "de cedro, quod resinam quandam habet quae cedria dicitur, quae in servandis libris adeo est utilis ut perliniti ex ea nec tineas patiantur nec tempore senescant."

Lazare veni foras!] From John xi. 43.



nostra ulcera cataplasmet ; sed pannosi et algidi in angulos tenebrosos abicimur, in lacrimis cum sancto Iob in sterquilinio collocamur, vel, quod nefas videtur effatu, in abyssis abscondimur  
 65 cloacarum. Pulvinar subtrahitur evangelicis sup- 5  
 ponendum lateribus, quibus primo deberent de sortibus clericorum provenire subsidia et sic ad nos suo famulatu deputandos pro semper communis victus necessarius derivari.

66 Rursus de alio genere calamitatis conquerimur, 10  
 quae personis nostris crebrius irrogatur iniuste. Nam in servos vendimur et ancillas et obsides in tabernis absque redemptore iacemus. Macellariis crudelibus subdimur, ubi mactari tam pecora quam iumenta sine piis lacrimis non videmus et 15  
 ubi millesies morimur ipso metu, qui cadere posset in constantem. Iudaeis committimur, Sarracenis, haereticis et paganis, quorum super omnia toxicum formidamus, per quos nonnullos de nostris parentibus per venenum pestiferum constat esse 20

1 *vulnera* edd. || 2 *laternis L vel cum* edd. || 4 *affatu B mihi effari* edd. || 12 *nos D* || 12 *venundamur* edd. || 13 *redemptione* edd. *in cellariis* vulgo || 17 *constantem virum A virum om. B D E* Ja. *in virum posset* vulgo ||

Iob in sterquilinio] Cp. Job ii. 8.

in servos vendimur et ancillas] From Deut. xxviii. 68.

in constantem] Referring to the legal maxim which, derived no doubt through Azo from the Digest, is in Bracton, ii. 5. 14: "Debemus accipere metum non . . . vani vel meticulosi hominis sed talem qui cadere possit in virum constantem." In the Digest, iv. 2, it is cited from Gaius.



- 67 corruptos. Sane nos, qui architectonici reputari debemus in scientiis et subiectis nobis omnibus mechanicis imperamus, subalternatorum regimini vice versa committimur, tanquam si monarcha summe nobilis rusticanis calcaneis substernatur. 5 Sartor et sutor et scissor quicumque ac cuiuslibet artifex operis inclusos nos custodit in carcere pro superfluis et lascivis deliciis clericorum.
- 68 Iam volumus prosequi novum genus iniuriae, quo tam in nostris personis laedimur quam in fama, qua 10 nihil carius possidemus. Generositati nostrae omni die detrahitur, dum per pravos compilatores, translatores et transformatores nova nobis auctorum nomina imponuntur et, antiqua nobilitate mutata, regeneratione multiplici renascentes degeneramus 15 omnino. Sicque vilium vitricorum nobis nolentibus affiguntur vocabula et verorum patrum nomina 69 filiis subducuntur. Versus Vergilii, adhuc ipso vivente quidam pseudoversificus usurpavit, et Martialis Coci libellos Fidentinus quidam sibi menda- 20 citer arrogavit, quem idem Martialis redarguit merito sub his verbis :

3 *imperavimus* Ja. *subalternorum* D edd || 6 *saltor* Ja. || 7 *carceris* D || 10 *quia* A || 16 *victricorum* D *victritorum* Ja. *auctorum* in mg. || 19 *quidem* A B || 21 *arrogavit merito* D ||

Martialis Cocus] Cocus or Coquus appears to have been long regarded as a cognomen of Martial, and in the middle ages he was constantly referred to as Martialis Cocus, or merely as Cocus, *e.g.* by John of Salisbury, Policrat. vii. 12 *et al.* The origin of the mistake was probably a misreading of Martialis totus : but see Smith's Dict. Biogr., *s. v.*



Quem recitas, meus est, O Fidentine ! libellus ;  
Sed male quum recitas, incipit esse tuus.

Quid ergo mirum, si defunctis nostris auctoribus  
suas per nos fimbrias simiae clericorum magnificent,  
cum eisdem superstitionibus nos recenter editos rapere  
70 moliantur. Ah, quoties nos antiquos fingitis nuper  
natos, et qui patres sumus filios nominare conamini, 5  
quique vos ad esse clericale creavimus studiorum  
vestrorum fabricas appellatis ! Revera de Athenis  
exstitimus oriundi, qui fingimur nunc de Roma,  
semper namque Carmentis latruncula fuit Cadmi,  
et qui nuper nascebamur in Anglia cras Parisius 10  
renasceremur, et inde delati Bononiam Italicam  
sortiemur originem, nulla consanguinitate suffultam.  
71 Heu, quam falsis scriptoribus nos exarandos com-  
mittitis ; quam corrupte nos legitis et medicando  
necatis, quos pro zelo corrigere credebatis ! Inter- 15

8 *extimus D* || 10 *contra A* 14 *meditando E* edd. Ja || 15 *pio*  
*A E* *debebatis* edd. ||

Quem recitas] Mart., i. 39 ; cp. i. 30. The epigram is quoted by Holkot, Super Sap., l. ccxii., in a passage not unlike the present.

Carmentis latruncula fuit Cadmi] See viii. 128 note.

Bononiam] Bologna was one of the great universities of the middle ages.

falsis scriptoribus] We may comp. Petrarch's complaint of copyists, De Remed. Utr. Fortunae, i. 43 : " Ut ad plenum auctorum constet integritas, quis scriptorum inscitiae inertiaeque medebitur, corrumpenti omnia miscentique ? . . . . An si redeat Cicero aut Livius multique alii veterum illustrium, ante omnes Plinius secundus, sua scripta relegentes



pretes barbaros sustinemus multotiens et qui linguarum idiomata nesciunt nos de lingua ad linguam transferre praesumunt ; sicque proprietate sermonis ablata fit sententia contra sensum auctoris turpiter mutilata. Bene gratiosa fuisset librorum conditio, 5 si turris Babel nullatenus obfuisset praesumptio, si totius humani generis unica descendisset sermonis species propagata.

72 Ultimam nostrae prolixae querelae, sed pro materia quam habemus brevissimae, clausulam subiungemus. 10 In nobis etenim commutatur naturalis usus in eum usum qui est contra naturam, dum passim pictoribus subdimur litterarum ignaris et aurifabris, proh dolor ! commendamur nos, qui sumus lumen fidelium animarum, ut fiamus, ac si non essemus sapientiae 15 sacra vasa, repositoria bractearum. Devolvimur indebite in laicorum dominium, quod est nobis amarius omni morte, quoniam hi vendiderunt populum nostrum sine pretio et inimici nostri iudices nostri sunt. 20

73 Liquet omnibus ex praedictis quam infinita possemus in clericos invectiva conicere, si non hones-

5 *maculata* edd. || 9 *nostrae* om. *A* || 11 *enim* *D* || 22 *commiscere* *A* *convertere* 1 *committere* 2 *convitari* edd. ||

intelligent et non passim haesitantes nunc aliena credent esse, nunc barbara ?”

usum qui est contra naturam] From Rom. i. 25, 26.

amarius omni morte] Cp. Eccl. vii. 27.

vendiderunt populum nostrum sine pretio] Ps. xliii. 13.

inimici nostri iudices] From Deut. xxxii. 31.

miles emeritus] This seems to be a hexameter, but I cannot find it elsewhere.



tati propriae parceremus. Nam miles emeritus clipeum veneratur et arma gratusque Corydon aratro tabescenti, bigae, trahae, tribulae ac ligoni, etiam omnis artifex manualis hyperduliam propriam suis exhibet instrumentis. Solus ingratus clericus 5 parvipendit et negligit ea, per quae sui honoris auspicia semper sumit.

### Capitulum 5.

#### Querimonia librorum contra religiosos possessionatos.

74 Religionum veneranda devotio in librorum cultu solet esse sollicita et in eorum eloquiis sicut in omnibus divitiis delectari. Scribebant namque non- 10 nulli manibus propriis inter horas canonicas; inter-

3 *tepescenti* edd. || 4 *hypoduliam* edd. || 6 *ea* om. *per* om. *B* || Tit. *iam possessionatos B* || 8 *et librorum A* || 11 *intervallis captatis A B E* Ja. edd. ||

hyperduliam] *Hypoduliam* would certainly seem to be a more suitable term, but the MSS. are unanimous, and James also reads *hyperdouliam*.

possessionatos] 'Possessioners,' as it is sometimes translated, as opposed to the *fratres mendicantes*; cp. Anstey, *Mun. Acad.*, pp. 400, 480.

Religionum] The word occurs in this sense, *i.e.* a religious order, in Innocent III.'s prohibition of the founding of new religious orders in 1215: "ne quis de caetero novam religionem inveniat."

horas canonicas] The *horae canonicae* are due to S. Bene-



valla captata et tempora pro quiete corporis com-  
 modata fabricandis codicibus concesserunt. De  
 quorum laboribus hodie in plerisque splendent  
 monasteriis illa sacra gazophylacia, cherubicis libris  
 plena, ad dandam scientiam salutis studentibus 5  
 75 atque lumen delectabile semitis laicorum. O labor  
 manualis, felicior omni cura georgica! O devota  
 sollicitudo, ubi nec meretur Martha corripitur nec  
 Maria! O domus iocunda, in qua Racheli formosae  
 Lya fecunda non invidet, sed contemplatio actione 10  
 gaudia sua miscet. Felix providentia pro futuro

7 *O devota . . . Maria* om. *B* || 8 *corrumpi* edd. || 10 *actione*  
 om. *A cum activa B E Ja.* edd. || 11 *sua* om. *Ja.* ||

dict, who divided the twenty-four hours into eight periods of  
 three hours, marked by as many acts of devotion.

cherubicis libris] The epithet may perhaps refer to the  
 brilliant miniation of monastic books: so the Sompnoour in  
 Chaucer "hadde a fire-red cherubines face." (Prol. v. 626.)

lumen delectabile] Cp. Eccl. xi. 7.

cura georgica] Cp. Peter the Venerable: "Pro aratro con-  
 vertatur manus ad pennam, pro exarandis agris divinis litteris  
 paginae exarentur, seratur in cartula verbi Dei seminarium:"  
 Bibl. Clun. 647.

devota sollicitudo] The copying of books is regarded as a  
 union of the active and contemplative life, of which Martha  
 and Mary, and Rachel and Leah were treated as types. The  
 distinction is sometimes said to be based on James i. 27,  
 but is more likely to have been derived from Aristotle. See  
 Thomas Aquinas, Summa II. ii., qu. 179 ff.

Martha corripitur] Coch. reads *corrumpi* and translates "O  
 sollicitude dévotieuse par laquelle Marthe et Marie sont à  
 peine dignes d'être séduites!" Inglis: "O devout sollicitude  
 from which neither Martha nor Mary would have earned the  
 wages of corruption!"



infinitis posteris valitura, cui nulla virgultorum  
 plantatio, nulla seminum satio comparatur, nulla  
 bucolica curiositas quorumlibet armentorum, nulla  
 76 castrorum constructio munitorum! Quamobrem  
 immortalis debet esse patrum illorum memoria, 5  
 quos solius sapientiae delectabat thesaurus, qui  
 contra futuras caligines luminosas lucernas artificio-  
 sissime providerunt et contra famem audiendi  
 verbum Dei panes non subcinericeos neque hor-  
 deaceos nec muscidos, sed panes azymos de puris- 10  
 sima simila sacrae sophiae confectos accuratissime  
 paraverunt, quibus esurientes animae feliciter ciba-  
 77 rentur. Hi fuerunt probissimi pugiles Christianae  
 militiae, qui nostram infirmitatem armis fortissimis  
 munierunt. Hi fuerunt suis temporibus vulpium 15  
 venatores cautissimi, qui iam nobis sua retia re-  
 liquerunt, ut parvulas caperemus vulpeculas, quae  
 non cessant florentes vineas demoliri. Vere, patres  
 egregii, benedictione perpetua recolendi, felices

10 *neque A* || 16 *veneratores* 3 Ja. Gold. Schm. Coch. ||

virgultorum plantatio] Cp. Alcuin in the lines *Ad musaeum*:  
 “Fodere quam vites melius est scribere libros:” Migne, ci.  
 745.

subcinericeos] From Ezech. iv. 12: “Et quasi subcinericium  
 hordeaceum comedes illud;” cp. Judges, vii. 13.

venatores] Coch. leaves “veneratores” in the text, and  
 though he remarks “il faut certainement *venatores*,” he has  
 not observed that it is found not only in *all* his MSS., but  
 in the ed. princeps, which he professes to follow.

vulpeculas] From Cant. ii. 15: “capite nobis vulpes par-  
 vulas quae demoliuntur vineas.”



merito fuissetis, si vobis similem sobolem genuisse, si prolem non degenerem nec aequivocam reliquisse ad sequentis temporis subsidium licuisset.

- 78 Sed, quod dolentes referimus, iam Thersites ignavus arma contrectat Achillis et dextrariorum phalerae praelectae pigritantibus asinis substernuntur, aquilarum nidis caecutientes noctuae dominantur et in accipitris pertica residet vecors miluus. Liber Bacchus respicitur et in ventrem traicitur nocte dieque; Liber codex despicitur et a manu reicitur  
10  
79 longelateque. Tanquam si cuiusdam aequivocationis multiplicitate fallatur simplex monachica plebs moderna, dum Liber pater praeponitur libro patrum, calicibus epotandis non codicibus emendandis in-

2 non om. edd. || 7 dominantur . . . nocte om. B D || 12 ples D proles Ja. || 13 Liber potacionum D ||

dextrariorum] Dextrarius, Fr. destrier, was a warhorse; palafridus, a riding-horse, runcinus, a packhorse: v. Duncange.

Liber Bacchus respicitur] This appears to be the first verse of a piece of rhyming doggerel. The repetition of the verbal play in "Liber pater—Liber patrum" might suggest that the lines were scribbled in the margin by a copyist or reader and then found their way into the text. The middle ages were very fond of these word-plays: cp. *post*, s. 123; and the complaint of Giraldus Cambrensis, of his too philoprogenitive clergy: "Non libris intendunt sed liberis, non foliis sed filiis, non librorum lectioni sed liberorum dilectioni;" ed. Brewer, ii. 329.

monachica plebs] So Bacon, *Op. Maj.*, p. 114, speaks of "plebs studentium."



dulget hodie studium monachorum ; quibus lasciviam musicam Timothei pudicis moribus aemulam non verentur adiungere, sicque cantus ludentis non planctus lugentis officium efficitur monachale.

80 Greges et vellera, fruges et horrea, porri et olera 5  
 potus et patera, lectiones sunt hodie et studia monachorum, exceptis quibusdam paucis electis, in quibus patrum praecedentium non imago sed vestigium remanet aliquale. Rursus nulla nobis materia ministratur omnino, qua de nostro cultu 10  
 vel studio commendentur hodie canonici regulares, qui licet a geminata regula nomen portent eximium, Augustini tamen regulae notabilem neglexere versiculum, quo sub his verbis suis clericis commendamur : Codices certa hora singulis diebus 15  
 81 petantur ; extra horam qui petierit, non accipiat.

1 *lasciviam E* edd. || 3 *causatus E* ||

*lasciviam*] The form *lascivius* was probably that used by the writer ; it is found several times in Holkot, Super Sap., e.g. ff. 93c, 151b. The reference to the voluptuous music of Timotheus may be taken, as Coch. suggests, from Boetius, De Musica, lib. i. c. 10.

*planctus lugentis*] Cp. S. Jerome, contra Vigilantium, 15 : "Monachus non doctoris sed *plangentis* habet officium."

*canonici regulares*] Opposed to *canonici saeculares*. The former observed not only the 'canones' or rules imposed upon all the clergy, but also the 'regulae' of St. Augustine ('*geminata regula*') : see Ducange *in v.*

*codices*] See S. Augustine's 109th letter, to his sister : "Codices certa hora singulis diebus petantur ; extra horam quae petiverint, non accipiant."



Hunc devotum studii canonem vix observat aliquis post ecclesiastica cantica repetita, sed sapere quae sunt saeculi et relictum aratrum intueri summa prudentia reputatur. Tollunt pharetram et arcum, apprehendunt arma et scutum, eleemo- 5  
synarum tributum canibus tribuunt non egenis, inserviunt aleis et taxillis et his quae nos saecularibus inhibere solemus, ut non miremur, si nos non dignentur respicere, quos sic suis cernerent moribus contraire. 10

- 82 Patres igitur reverendi, patrum vestrorum dignemini reminisci et librorum propensius indulgete studio, sine quibus quaelibet vacillabit religio, sine quibus ut testa virtus devotionis arescet, sine quibus nullum lumen poteritis mundo praeberere. 15

I canonem . . . post om. A || 9 cernunt A sec. manu suis om. A B || 13 sine . . . religio om. A vacillat B ||

sapere quae sunt saeculi] Cp. Phil. iii. 19 ; Gratian, Decret. i. 88 : "Episcopus aut sacerdos aut diaconus nequaquam saeculi curas assumat."

relictum aratrum] Inglis refers to Eccli. xxxviii. 25: "Qua sapientia replebitur, qui tenet aratrum," etc., but it is perhaps better to take *aratrum* as typical of the secular pursuits, which have been abandoned, but not forgotten.

aleis et taxillis] Cp. ch. xviii. s. 235, and John of Salisbury, Policrat. i. 5. The clergy were forbidden these games at the Council of Worcester in 1240: "Ne ludant ad aleas vel taxillos ;" Wilkins, Concilia, i. 673.

vacillabit] Cp. Job, iv. 4 ; Is. xxix. 9.

ut testa] Inglis tr. "as a watering-pot," but the reference is clearly to Ps. xxi. 16 : "aruit tanquam testa virtus mea."

lumen . . . praeberere] Cp. Wisdom, xvii. 5.



## Capitulum 6.

Querimonia librorum contra religiosos  
mendicantes.

83 Pauperes spiritu sed in fide ditissimi, mundi perip-  
sema et sal terrae, saeculi contemptores et hominum  
piscatores, quam beati estis, si penuriam patientes  
pro Christo animas vestras scitis in patientia possi-  
dere. Non enim vos ultrix iniquitatis inopia, nec 5  
parentum adversa fortuna, nec ulla violenta neces-  
sitas sic oppressit inedia, sed devota voluntas et  
electio Christiformis, qua vitam illam optimam aesti-  
mastis, quam Deus omnipotens factus homo tam  
84 verbo quam exemplo optimam praedicavit. Sane 10  
vos estis semper parientis ecclesiae novus fetus, pro  
patribus et prophetis noviter substituti divinitus, ut

*2 sol E || 6 nec ulla violenta nec parentum aduersa fortuna  
nec ulla violenta necessitas D ulla om. B || 7 voluptas B ||  
8 aestimastis . . . optimam om. D || 11 semper post parentes  
novi fetus edd. ||*

Pauperes spiritu] From Matt. v. 3: "pauperes spiritu;" and  
James, ii. 5: "divites in fide."

mundi peripsema] From 1 Cor. iv. 13.

sal terrae] Cp. Matt. v. 13.

hominum piscatores] From Matt. iv. 19.

patientia] Luke, xxi. 19: "in patientia vestra possidebitis  
animas vestras."



in omnem terram exeat sonus vester, et nostris instituti salutaribus doctrinis coram gentibus et regibus promulgetis inexpugnabilem fidem Christi.

- 85 Porro fidem patrum potissime libris esse inclusam secundum capitulum supra satis asseruit, quo constat luce clarius quod librorum deberetis esse zelotypi prae caeteris Christianis. Seminare iube-  
mini super omnes aquas, quoniam non est personarum acceptor Altissimus nec vult mortem peccatorum Piissimus, qui occidi voluit pro eisdem, 10  
sed contritos corde mederi desiderat atque lapsos  
86 erigi et perversos corrigi spiritu lenitatis. Ad quem effectum saluberrimum alma mater Ecclesia vos plantavit gratuito, plantatosque rigavit favoribus, et rigatos privilegiis suffulcivit, ut cum pasto- 15  
ribus et curatis coadiutores essetis ad procurandum salutem fidelium animarum. Unde et Praedicatorum ordinem propter sacrae scripturae

6 *debetis* Ja. edd. || 13 *gratuite* B *gratuitos* edd. || 16 *procurandam* edd. || 17 *fidelium* om. Ja. ||

exeat sonus] Cp. Ps. xviii. 5; Rom. x. 18.

zelotypi] The word occurs Eccli. xxvi. 9.

omnes aquas] From Is. xxxii. 20: "Beati qui seminatis super omnes aquas."

personarum acceptor] Cp. Acts, x. 34.

nec vult] Cp. Ezech. xxxiii. 11: "Nolo mortem impii."

spiritu lenitatis] From Gal. vi. 1.

gratuito] Cp. Dan. xi. 39; Mal. i. 10.

plantatosque rigavit] Cp. 1 Cor. iii. 6.

salutem animarum] Cp. 1. Pet. i. 9.

Praedicatorum] The order of *Fratres Praedicanter* was



studium et proximorum salutem principaliter institutum constitutiones pronunciant eorundem, ut non solum ex regula reverendi praesulis Augustini, quae codices singulis diebus iubet esse petendos, verum mox cum earundem constitutionum pro-  
 5 logum legerint ex ipsius libri capite ad amorem librorum se noverint obligatos.

87 Sed proh dolor! tam hos quam alios istorum sectantes effigiem a paterna cultura librorum et studio subtrahit triplex cura superflua, ventris vide-  
 10 licet, vestium et domorum. Sunt enim, neglecta Salvatoris providentia, quem psalmista circa pauperem et mendicum promittit esse sollicitum, circa labentis corporis indigentias occupati, ut sint epulae

*3 regula praesulis beatissimi Augustini B ||*

founded by S. Dominic, who obtained the Papal sanction from Honorius III. in 1216, on condition of adopting the Rule of S. Augustine. He prescribed other ordinances in his Constitutiones, where in the Prologue, c. 5, we find the words here referred to: "Ordo noster specialiter ob praedicationem et animarum salutem ab initio noscitur institutus fuisse, et studium nostrum ad hoc debet principaliter intendere ut proximorum animabus possimus utiles esse." Holstenius, Codex Regularum, iv. 10.

codices] Cp. s. 80, *note*.

cura superflua] Cp. Eccli. ii. 26. "Divers Acts of Parliament have been made against the excess of Apparell in the reign of E. 3," says Lord Coke: and he goes on, "Three costly things there are that do much impoverish the subjects of England, viz. Costly apparell, costly diet, and costly building:" 3 Inst. 199.

pauperem et mendicum] From Ps. xxxix. 18.



splendidae, vestesque contra regulam delicatae, nec-  
 non aedificiorum fabricae et castrorum propugna-  
 cula tali proceritate, quae paupertati non convenit,  
 88 exaltatae. Propter haec tria nos libri, qui semper  
 eos proveximus ad profectum, et inter potentes et 5  
 nobiles sedes honoris concessimus, elongati a cordis  
 affectibus quasi inter supervacanea reputamur, ex-  
 cepto quod quibusdam quaternis parvi valoris insis-  
 tunt, de quibus Hiberas naenias et apocrypha delira-  
 menta producunt, non ad refocillativum animarum 10  
 edulium, sed ad prurimum potius aurium auditorum.  
 89 Sacra scriptura non exponitur, sed omnino seponi-  
 tur; quasi trita per vicos et omnibus divulgata  
 supponitur, cuius tamen fimbrias vix paucissimi  
 tetigerunt; cuius etiam tanta est litterarum pro- 15  
 funditas, ut ab humano intellectu, quantumcunque  
 invigilet, summo otio et maximo studio nequeat

I *necnon et E* Ja. || 2 *ut B E* Ja. || 7 *superna creanea A*  
*superna cauea B superuacanes D supervacua* Ja. || 9 *Hiberas*  
 om. edd. *venias D* Ja. || 10 *refocillationem* Ja. || 12 *deponitur*  
*D* Ja. || 16 *humano intellectu* om. *A* || 17 *invigilet* om. *D*  
*vigilet B* ||

Hiberas naenias] The phrase, which has puzzled the editors, comes from S. Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch: "Quod multi ignorantes, apocryphorum deliramenta sectantur et Hiberas naenias libris authenticis praeferunt?" It is a favourite phrase with Jerome, and is usually explained to refer to the errors of certain heretics in Spain.

refocillativum] Cp. Judith, vii. 7: "ad refocillandum potius quam ad potandum," and Jer. i. 11: "ad refocillandam animam."

fimbrias] Cp. Matt. xiv. 36.



comprehendi, sicut sanctus asserit Augustinus. De hac mille moralis disciplinae sententias enucleare poterit qui indulget assidue, si tamen ostium aperire dignetur Ille, qui condidit spiritum pietatis, quae et recentissima novitate pollebunt et sapidis-  
 5  
 90 Quamobrem paupertatis evangelicae professores primarii, post utcunque salutatas scientias saeculares, toto mentis ingenio recollecto, huius se scripturae laboribus devoverunt, nocte dieque in  
 10  
 lege Domini meditantes. Quicquid vero poterant a famescente ventre furari, vel corpori semitecto surripere, illud lucrum praecipuum arbitantes, vel

2 *mortalis E* || 3 *tum Ja.* || 5 *sapientissima Coch.* || 7 *paupertatis om. E* || 8 *utrumque edd.* || 10 *devenerunt edd.* ||

asserit Augustinus] The reference is not, as Coch. says, to the Conf. xii. 14, but rather to Epp. cxxxvii. 1, 3: "Tanta est enim Christianarum profunditas litterarum, ut in eis quotidie proficerem, si eas solas ab incunte pueritia usque ad decrepitam senectutem maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio conarer addiscere."

salutatas scientias] Cp. the Constitution of the *Praedicatorum*, ii. 14: "In libris gentilium philosophorum non studeat, et si ad horam suscipiat saeculares scientias, non addiscat, nec artes quas liberales vocant . . . sed tantum libros theologicos tam iuvenes quam alii legant. Ipsi vero in studio taliter sint intenti, ut de die, de nocte, in domo, in itinere legant aliquid vel aliquid meditentur." So Abelard declared of secular learning: "non debemus in eis consenescere sed potius a liminibus *salutare*:" cited in Denifle, *Univ. des Mittelalters*, p. 99.

nocte dieque] Cp. Ps. i. 2: and previous note.



emendis vel edendis codicibus adscripserunt. Quorum contemporanei saeculares, tam officium intuentes quam studium, libros eis, quos in diversis mundi partibus sumptuose collegerant, ad totius aedificationem ecclesiae contulerunt.

- 91 Sane diebus istis, cum sitis tota diligentia circa quaestus intenti, praesumptione probabili credi potest, si per anthropospatos sermo fiat, Deum circa vos minorem sollicitudinem gerere, quos de sua promissione perpendit diffidere, in humanis providentiis spem habentes. Corvum non consideratis nec lilia, quos pascit et vestit Altissimus; Daniele et Habacuc cocti pulmenti discophorum non pensatis, nec Eliam recolitis nunc in torrente per corvos, nunc in deserto per angelum, nunc in Sarepta per viduam, largitate divina, quae dat escam omni carni tempore opportuno, a famis inedia liberatum. Climate miserabili, ut timetur, descenditis, dum divinae pietatis diffidentia pru-

8 *anthropospatos* codd. ἀνθρωποπάθειαν Ja. Dei Ja. || 15 *angelum in A* || 19 *cum* edd. ||

*anthropospatos*] The word occurs in this form in Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol., in Gen. c. xxxi., who explains it: "scilicet humana propassio, quando attribuitur Deo quod hominis est."

*spem habentes*] Cp. 2 Cor. iii. 12; x. 15.

*corvum*] Cp. Luke, xii. 24, 27.

*cocti pulmenti*] Cp. Dan. xiv. 32. The word *discophorus* comes from S. Jerome's preface to Daniel.

*Eliam*] 1 Kings, xvii. 4, 9.

*dat escam*] From Ps. cxxxv. 25 and cxlv. 15.



dentiae propriae producit innisum, innisus vero prudentiae propriae sollicitudinem generat terrenorum, nimiaque terrenorum sollicitudo librorum adimit tam amorem quam studium, et sic cedit paupertas hodie per abusum in verbi Dei dispensium, quam propter ipsius solum adminiculum elegistis.

- 93 Vincinis pomorum, ut populus fabulatur, puerulos ad religionem attrahitis, quos professos doctrinis non instruitis vi et metu, sicut exigit aetas illa, sed mendicativis discursibus sustinetis intendere atque tempus quo possent addiscere, in captandis favoribus amicorum consumere sinitis, in offensam parentum, puerorum periculum et ordinis detrimentum.
- 94 Sicque nimirum contingit quod qui parvuli discere minime cogebantur inviti, grandiores effecti docere

*I innisum innisus A E in visum inuisus B in visum Innisus D invisum invisus Ja. propriae . . . propriae om. edd. || 4 studiorum edd. || 5 usum A || 6 ipsius om. D*  
*II medicativis A D mendicaturis Ja. || 12 in quo Ja. ||*

innisum] This word seems not to occur elsewhere, and the editors have left the passage in great confusion: even James, though he observes in the margin "legendum arbitror innisum," leaves the text unaltered, which he would hardly have done, if he had seen that the reference is to Prov. iii. 5: "Habe fiduciam in Domino ex toto corde tuo et ne innitaris prudentiae tuae." For *diffidentia* cp. Ephes. ii. 2.

vincinis pomorum] From Amos, viii. 1. The phrase is translated in the A.V. "a basket of summer fruit," in the Douay V. "a hook to draw down fruit."

sustinetis] Cp. 2 Cor. xi 20.



praesumunt, indigni penitus et indocti, et parvus error in principio maximus fit in fine. Succrescit namque in grege vestro promiscuo laicorum quaedam multitudo plurimum onerosa, qui tamen se ad praedicationis officium tanto improbius ingerunt, 5 quanto minus ea quae loquuntur intelligunt, in contemptum sermonis divini et in perniciem animarum.

95 Sane contra legem in bove aratis et asino, cum indoctis et doctis culturam agri dominici committitis pari passu. Scriptum est: Boves arabant et 10 asinae pascebantur iuxta eos; quoniam discretorum interest praedicare, simplicium vero per auditum sacri eloquii sub silentio se cibare. Quot lapides mittitis in acervum Mercurii his diebus! quot

2 *Est sic namque* edd. || 4 *plurimis* edd. ||

praesumunt] Cp. Jerome's letter to Paulinus, Epp. 50.  
 parvus error] From Aristot., De Caelo, i. 5: τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ μικρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ γίνεται παρμέγεθες. Cp. Bacon, Op. M., p. 40.  
 in bove] Cp. Deut. xxii. 10: "Non arabis in bove simul et asino."

Boves arabant] From Job, i. 14.

acervum Mercurii] From Prov. xxii. 8. The meaning of this phrase is very uncertain, but we may perhaps assume that De Bury had in his mind the explanation which we find in Holkot, Super Sap., f. 133 b: "Mercurius est deus mercatorum. Acervus computi vel ratiocinii vocatur acervus Mercurii. Computatur autem quandoque cum lapidibus. Sicut igitur ibi ponitur unus lapillus pro decem libris, ita ponitur in ecclesia quandoque unus idiota vel insipiens loco praelati et loco Dei." It would mean, therefore, that they are merely worthless counters.



eunuchis sapientiae nuptias procuratis ! quot caecos speculatores super Ecclesiae muros circumire praecipitis !

- 96 O piscatores inertes ! solis retibus alienis utentes, qui rupta vix imperite reficitis, nova vero nulla- 5  
 tenus connodatis, aliorum labores intratis, aliorum studia recitatis, aliorum sapientiam superficialiter repetitam theatriali strepitu labiatis. Quemadmo-  
 dum psittacus idiota auditas voces effigiat, sic tales recitatores fiunt omnium sed nullius auctores, asinam 10  
 Balaam imitantes, quae licet esset intrinsecus insensata, lingua tamen diserta facta est, tam domini  
 97 quam prophetae magistra. Resipiscite pauperes Christi et nos libros inspiciate studiose, sine quibus in praeparatione evangelii pacis nunquam poteritis 15  
 debite calceari. Paulus apostolus, praedicator veritatis et doctor eximius gentium, ista sibi per Timotheum pro omni supellectile tria iussit afferri, paenulam, libros et membranas, 2<sup>a</sup>. ad Tim. ul<sup>o</sup>., viris evangelicis formam praebens, ut habitum deferant 20

5 quae 2 resuitis A Ja. || 6 connoditatis B commodatis edd. || 13 respicite A B D Ja. pauperes . . . inspiciate om. B || 15 praeparationem A B E Ja. || 20 ecclesiasticis D Ja. et B ||

caecos speculatores] Cp. Is. lvi. 10.

aliorum studia] Cp. Holkot in Sap., f. 328 b.

tam domini] The meaning seems plain enough ; yet Coch. prints ' Domini.'

resipiscite] Cp. 2 Tim. ii. 26 : "resipiscant a diaboli laqueis."

in praeparatione] Cp. Eph. vi. 15 : "calceati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis."



ordinatum, libros habeant ad studendi subsidium et  
 membranas, quas apostolus maxime ponderat, ad  
 98 scribendum: maxime, inquit, membranas. Revera  
 mancus est clericus et ad multorum iacturam  
 turpiter mutilatus, qui artis scribendi totaliter est 5  
 ignarus. Aerem vocibus verberat et praesentes  
 tantum aedificat, absentibus et posteris nihil parat.  
 Atramentarium scriptoris gestabat in renibus vir qui  
 frontes gementium Tau signabat, Ezechiel. 9<sup>o</sup>; in-  
 sinuans figurate quod, si quis scribendi peritia careat, 10  
 praedicandi paenitentiam officium non praesumat.  
 99 Tandem in praesentis calce capituli supplicant  
 vobis libri: Iuvenes vestros aptos ingenio studiis  
 applicate, necessaria ministrantes, quos non solum-  
 modo bonitatem verum etiam disciplinam et scien- 15  
 tiam doceatis, verberibus terreatis, attrahatis blan-  
 ditiis, molliatis munusculis et poenosis rigoribus  
 urgeatis, ut et Socratici moribus et doctrinis Peri-  
 100 patetici simul fiant. Heri quasi hora xi<sup>a</sup> vos dis-  
 cretus paterfamilias introduxit in vineam; ante sero 20  
 penitus pigeat otiari. Utinam cum prudenti villico  
 mendicandi tam improbe verecundiam haberetis!  
 Tunc enim proculdubio libris et studio propensius  
 vacaretis.

4 ille clericus D Ja. || 13 apto D || 15 veritatem edd. || 22 im-  
 proba D || 23 enim om. D nobis libris E edd. ||

aerem vocibus verberat] From 1 Cor. ix. 26.

paterfamilias] Cp. Matt. xx. 1, 6.

prudenti villico] Cp. Luke, xvi. 3, 8.



## Capitulum 7.

## Querimonia librorum contra bella.

101 Pacis auctor et amator Altissime! dissipa gentes  
 bella volentes, quae super omnes pestilentias libris  
 nocent. Bella namque carentia rationis iudicio  
 furiosos efficiunt impetus in adversa et dum rationis  
 moderamine non utuntur, sine differentia discreti- 5  
 102 onis progressa, vasa destruunt rationis. Tunc pru-  
 dens Apollo Pythoni subicitur et tunc Phronesis  
 pia mater in phrenesis redigitur potestatem. Tunc  
 pennatus Pegasus stabulo Corydonis includitur et  
 facundus Mercurius suffocatur. Tunc Pallas pru- 10  
 dens erroris mucrone conciditur et iocundae  
 Pierides truculenta furoris tyrannide supprimuntur.

2 quia Ja. || 7 *Plutoni* edd. || 9 *pennatus* om. *A* *stacublo*  
*corridens B* || 11 *tunditur* edd. ||

dissipa gentes] Ps. lxxvii. 31: "Dissipa gentes quae bella  
 volunt."

Pythoni] In reference to the classical myth of Apollo and  
 the Python: we may note also the use of Python in the  
 Vulgate; thus the witch of Endor is described as "mulier  
 pythonem habens," 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; cp. Lev. xx. 27, Deut.  
 xviii. 11, Acts, xvi. 16.

Phronesis] Phronesis is personified in Martianus Capella,  
 De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii (ii. 27), which was a  
 familiar book of instruction in the middle ages, as the mother  
 of Philology.



103 O crudele spectaculum! ubi Phoebum philoso-  
 phorum, archisophum Aristotelem, cui in orbis  
 dominum Deus ipse commisit dominium, scelerosis  
 manibus vinculatum, ferramentis infamibus com-  
 peditum lanistarum humeris a sacratis aedibus 5  
 asportari, et qui in mundi magistratum magis-  
 terium atque super imperatorem imperium meruit  
 obtinere, iniustissimo belli iure videres subici vili  
 104 scurrae. O potestas iniquissima tenebrarum! quae  
 Platonis non veretur pessumdare deitatem probatam, 10  
 qui solus conspectui Creatoris prius quam bellantis  
 chaos placaret litigium, et ante quam hylen ente-

2 *archisophum* E om. edd. *cui in omnibus* edd. *cui omni  
 domini* Schm. Coch. || 5 *Socratis* D E edd. || 6 *cernitur  
 asportari* edd. *magistratu* edd. || 8 *iniustissime* B || 10 *divini-  
 tatem* edd. *approbatam* D || 11 *aspectui* edd. || 12 *entelechiam*  
 codd. *hylen entelechiam* Coch. ||

orbis dominum] Alexander, whose tutor and adviser he  
 was. Roger Bacon professes to show, "quomodo per vias  
 sapientiae potuit Aristoteles mundum tradere Alexandro:"  
 Op. Maj., p. 361.

sacratis] Coch. prints *Socratis* and reports this to be the  
 reading of the Paris MSS. and of James: but they all have  
*sacratis*. There seems to be a reference to some legendary  
 story, which I have not been able to find; and *Socratis* may  
 be right. But it is perhaps safer to assume that De Bury  
 was thinking of the phrase *sacratis aedibus* in 2 Macc. vi. 4.

potestas tenebrarum] Cp. Luke, xxii. 53; Coloss. i. 13.

deitatem probatam] Cp. the *De disciplina Scholarium*, c.  
 iv: "Platonis probata divinitas."

hylen entelechia] Cp. Arist. Met. xi. 8, 13: τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι  
 οὐκ ἔχει ὄλην τὸ πρῶτον · ἐντέλεια γάρ. This is the famous  
 word which so puzzled Hermolaus Barbarus that he is said to



lechia induisset, species ideales obicere dignus fuit, ut mundum archetypum demonstraret auctori, quo de superno exemplo mundus sensibilis duceretur. O lacrimosus intuitus! quo moralis Socrates, cuius actus virtus et sermo doctrina, qui de naturae 5 principiis politicae produxit iustitiam, vitiosi vispilionis addictus cernitur servituti. Pythagoram 105 plangimus, harmoniae parentem, bellorum incentricibus furiis flagellatum atrociter vice cantus gemitus edere columbinos. Miseremur Zenonis, principis 10 Stoicorum, qui ne consilium proderet linguam

5 *sermo est doctrina E* || 7 *videtur* edd. || 8 *bellorum* om. edd. *libellorum B cum cantricibus furiis* edd. || 11 *perderet* Ja. ||

have summoned the devil to his assistance, who thereupon "voce praetenui et paene subsibilante . . . responsitavit."

vispilionis] The account of this word in Ducange is not very satisfactory. It occurs in the forms *vespilio*, *vispilio*, *vispillus* and *vispiliator* (*inspiliator*, which Ducange also gives, is doubtless a mis-reading). It is no doubt connected with the classical *vespillo*, a pauper's undertaker. The word is common in Matthew Paris, and appears to have passed from the sense of "fossarius mortuos sepeliens," as it is glossed in L, into that of a robber.

incentricibus furiis] Cocheris and Inglis translate "flagellé par les furies irritées," "scourged by furious female singers," as though Pythagoras had shared the fate of Orpheus. The mistake is due to the corruption of the text; the reference is to the death of Pythagoras in consequence of political disturbances at Crotona.

gemitus columbinos] Cp. Is. lx. 8; Nahum ii. 7.

Zenonis] De Bury has confounded Zeno the Stoic, who died of old age, with Zeno of Elea, of whom the story mentioned



morsu secuit et expuit in tyrannum intrepide,  
Heu, iam rursus a Diomedonte tritus in mortario  
pistillatur !

106 Certe non sufficimus singulos libros luctu lamen-  
tari condigno, qui in diversis mundi partibus bel- 5  
lorum discrimine perierunt. Horribilem tamen  
stragem, quae per auxiliares milites secundo bello  
Alexandrino contigit in Aegypto, stilo flebili  
memoramus, ubi septinginta millia voluminum  
ignibus conflagrarunt, quae sub regibus Ptolemaeis 10  
per multa curricula temporum sunt collecta, sicut  
recitat Aulus Gellius, Noctium Atticarum lib. 6°,  
107 cap. 16°. Quanta proles Atlantica tunc occubuisse

2 nam D || adiomedonta A 2 a diomedonta B E a dyometita  
L Adimerita edd. Adimeritatritus Schm. Anaxarchus Ja. ||  
tortario A || 8 Aegypto om. A || 9 decem millia edd. septuaginta  
codd. mll. || 12 retractat A E ||

in the text is told. But the confusion is not peculiar to  
De Bury : cp. Hauréau, Philosophie Scol., ii. 56.

a Diomedonte] The reading Adimerita has caused the  
editors much trouble, and James boldly changes it to Anaxar-  
chus, of whom a similar story is told (*e.g.* Cic. Tusc. ii. 22).  
De Bury, however, is clearly referring to the story of Zeno's  
death told by Hermippus (quoted in Diog. L. ix. 27), who  
says that he was brayed in a mortar by the tyrant Diomedon,  
of whom no mention is found elsewhere. The MSS. point  
plainly enough to the true reading, which I have restored.

secundo bello] Aulus Gellius (vi. 17) says " bello priore  
Alexandrino," and speaks of the number of volumes as  
" millia ferme septinginta," and I have corrected it.

proles Atlantica] Cp. S. August., De Civ. Dei, xviii. 8 :  
" Atlans magnus fuisse astrologus dicitur, unde occasionem



putabitur, orbium motus omnes, coniunctiones planetarum, galaxiae naturam et generationes prognosticas cometarum ac quaecunque in caelo fiunt vel aethere, comprehendens ! Quis tam infaustum holocaustum, ubi loco cruoris incaustum offertur, 5 non exhorreat? ubi prunae candentes pergameni crepitantis sanguine vernabantur, ubi tot innocentium millia, in quorum ore non est inventum mendacium, flamma vorax consumpsit, ubi tot scrinia veritatis aeternae ignis parcere nesciens in faetentem 10  
108 cinerem commutavit. Minoris facinoris aestimatur tam Jeptae quam Agamemnonis victima, ubi pia filia virgo patris gladio iugulatur. Quot labores celebris Herculis tunc periisse putabimus, qui ob astronomiae peritiam collo irreflexo caelum descri- 15 bitur sustulisse, cum iam secundo flammis Hercules sit iniectus.

1 *putabatur* Ja. || 2 *natura* Ja. *prognosticae* Ja. || 4 *comprehenduntur* Ja. *comprehendentes* edd. || 6 *primum* 2 *prime* 3 *pruinae* edd. *cadentes* 1 || 14 *putamus* edd. || 15 *reflexo* *D flexo* edd. ||

fabula invenit, ut eum caelum portare confingerit," a passage cited by Bacon, Op. Maj., p. 24.

generationes] Cp. Gen ii. 4: "generationes caeli et terrae." mendacium] From Rev. xiv. 5.

filia virgo] *Filia* looks like a gloss transferred to the text, but cp. Is. xlvii. 1.

collo irreflexo] The reading *irreflexo* is supported by Boetius, De Cons. Phil., iv. metr. 7: "Ultimus caelum labore irreflexo Sustulit collo," which again is derived from Seneca, Herc. Fur., 71: "Nec flexit humeros molis immensus labor."

secundo flammis] The first time being, of course, when



109 Arcana caelorum, quae Ionithus non ab homine  
 neque per hominem didicit sed divinitus inspiratus  
 accepit; quaeque Zoroastes germanus eiusdem, im-  
 mundorum servitor spirituum, Bactrianis disseruit;  
 quae etiam sanctus Enoch Paradisi praefectus prius 5  
 quam transferretur de saeculo prophetavit; immo  
 quae primus Adam filios docuit, sicut raptus in ec-  
 stasi in libro aeternitatis praeviderat, flammis illis  
 110 nefandis probabiliter aestimantur destructa. Aegyp-  
 tiorum religio, quam liber Logostilios sic commendat 10

1 *ioni et thus ab A Ionathas* Ja. *Ionanchus* edd. || 3 *quem*  
*Rosoastes A quem Zoroastres* Ja. || 4 *Bachianis B D Brach-*  
*mannis* Ja. || 6 *deferretur* edd. || 10 *Logostilius* Ja. *Logos-*  
*talios sic L I Logostaliosiae* edd. ||

Hercules, poisoned by the shirt of Nessus, ascended a pile of wood, and ordered it to be set on fire.

Ionithus] According to Methodius, a fourth son of Noah, who was supposed to have invented astronomy: cp. Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, i. 271.

non ab homine] From Gal. i. 12.

Zoroastes] Cp. Gervas. Tilb., *Otia Imper.*, i. 20: "Zoroaster alio nomine Cham filius Noae vocabatur."

immundorum servitor spirituum] Cp. Matt. x. 1.

sanctus Enoch] Cp. Eccli. xlv. 16: "Enoch . . . translatus est in Paradisum ut det gentibus poenitentiam."

raptus in ecstasi] Cp. 2 Cor. xii. 4.

liber Logostilios] Inglis supposed this to refer to the lost *Logistoricus* of Varro. Cocheris has made hopeless confusion throughout the passage and confesses his inability to understand this phrase, which he proposes to explain as *Logos Tales* (sic) "c'est à dire le traité de Thalès." But the reference is clearly to the lost treatise of the quasi-mythical Hermes Trismegistus, extant only in the Latin translation of Apuleius,



egregie, politia veterum Athenarum, quae novem millibus annorum Athenas Graeciae praecesserunt ; carmina Chaldaeorum ; considerationes Arabum et Indorum ; caerimoniae Iudaeorum ; architectura Babyloniorum ; Noe georgica ; Moysis praestigia ; 5 Iosuae planimetria ; Samsonis aenigmata ; Salomonis problemata, a cedro Libani usque ad hysopum planissime disputata ; Aesculapii antidota ; Cadmi grammatica ; Parnasi poemata ; Apollinis oracula ; Argonautica Iasonis ; strategematon Pala- 10

I *polios* edd. *que cum* edd. || 4 *Medorum caerimoniae Indorum* A || 5 *praesagigia* L *presagia* edd. || 10 *strategemata* edd. Ja. ||

which was entitled *Λόγος τέλειος*, or as S. Augustine renders it, *Verbum Perfectum: Adv. quinque haereses*, c. viii. The title was written as one word in medieval times, e.g. Jo. Sarisb. *De Septem Septenis*, c. vii.

sic commendat] In the *Asclepius*, the translation of the *Λόγος Τέλειος* by Apuleius, Hermes says of Egypt, c. 24, "Terra nostra mundi totius est templum," and again speaks of it as "sedes religionum ;" ed. Hildebrand, pp. 307, 308.

veterum Athenarum] See the *Timaeus* and *Crito* of Plato for the account of the Egyptian Athens supposed to be given to Solon by a priest of Sais.

Noe georgica] James remarks, "Hic Episcopus non teneatur, nisi sano modo intelligantur verba eius." The remark may be extended to the whole passage, though in the last century several learned Germans wrote treatises on science and learning before the flood. It would be easy to accumulate references to these mythical writers from medieval literature, if it were worth while to do so. Cp. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Testamenti*, 1713-33.

Salomonis problemata] Cp. 3 Kings, iv. 33.



medis ; et alia infinita scientiarum secreta huius incendii tempestate creduntur sublata.

- 111 Numquid Aristotelem de circuli quadratura syllogismus apodicticon latuisset, si libros veterum methodos naturae totius habentium permisissent 5 nefanda praelia superesse? Nec enim de mundi aeternitate problema neutrum fecisset, nec de intellectu humanorum pluralitate eorundemque perpetuitate, ut verisimiliter creditur, dubitasset ullatenus, si perfectae scientiae veterum invisorum 10
- 112 bellorum pressuris obnoxiae non fuissent. Per bella namque ad patrias peregrinas distrahimur, obtruncamur, vulneramur et enormiter mutilamur, sub terra suffodimur, in mari submergimur, flammis exurimur et omni necis genere trucidamur. Quan- 15 tum sanguinis nostri fudit Scipio bellicosus, cum eversioni Carthaginis, Romani imperii impugnatricis et aemulae, anxius incumberebat ! Quot millia
- 113

4 *apodicticus* Ja. || 5 *promisissent* D || 8 *eorumque* edd. || 11 *obnixae* E || 16 *effudit* edd. || 18 *quot . . . . . transmisit* om. D ||

syllogismus apodicticon] This is the reading of the MSS., which I have retained ; for the apodeictic syllogism cp. Ueberweg, Hist. of Phil., E. T. 1, 155.

Aristotelem] Cp. Bacon, Op. Maj., p. 7 : " Ad haec reprehenditur de mundi aeternitate, quam nimis inexpressam reliquit, nec mirum, cum ipsemet dicit se non omnia scivisse. Nam quadraturam circuli se ignorasse confitetur, quod his diebus scitur veraciter."

problema neutrum] Neutral, apparently, in the sense of doubtful, rather than 'open' in the Catholic sense. Cp. Lange, Hist. of Materialism, i. 228 of my translation.



millium praelium decennale Troianum ab hac luce  
transmisit! Quot per Antonium, Tullio iam occiso,  
externarum provinciarum latebras adierunt! Quot  
de nobis per Theodoricum, exulante Boetio, in  
diversa mundi climata, sicut oves pastore percusso, 5  
sunt dispersi! Quot Seneca succumbente Neronis  
malitiae, cum et volens et nolens portas mortis  
adiret, ab eo divisi retrocessimus lacrimantes et  
in quibus partibus hospitari possemus penitus  
ignorantes!

10

114 Felix fuit illa librorum translatio, quam in Persas  
de Athenis Xerxes fecisse describitur, quos rursus  
de Persis in Athenas Seleucus reduxit. O post-  
liminium gratiosum! O mira laetitia! quam  
tunc cerneres in Athenis, cum proli suae genitrix 15  
obviaret tripudians matricemque thalamum senes-  
centi iam soboli denuo demonstraret. Reassignatis  
hospitiis veteribus inquilinis, mox tabulata ce-

7 *malitia D nolens et volens* edd. || 13 *O gaudium graciosum*  
edd. *postliminium salutare et gratiosum* Ja. || 16 *matrisque*  
edd. *demonstrasset D M Ja. resignatis M Ja.* ||

sicut oves] Cp. Ezech. xxxiv. 5; Zach. xiii. 7.

portas mortis] From Ps. cvi. 18.

librorum translatio] This is awkwardly expressed, as though  
the felicity of the 'translation' was in the carrying away, and  
not in the return. The story is taken from A. Gellius, N.A.,  
vi. 17, 1.

postliminium] A technical term of Roman law, which Co-  
cheris appears to have found so unintelligible, that he could  
not even read it in his MSS., but prints it as *post liminum*.  
The MSS. are quite clear.



drina cum lignis et trabibus levigatis aptissime complanantur; auro et ebore epigrammata designantur camerulis singulis, quibus ipsa volumina reverenter illata suavissime collocantur sic, ut nullum alterius ingressum impediatur vel propinquitate 5 nimia fratrem laedat.

- 115 Caeterum infinita sunt dispendia quae per seditiones bellorum librorum generi sunt illata. Et quoniam infinita nullatenus pertransire contingit, hic statuemus finaliter querimoniae nostrae 10 Gades, et ad preces a quibus incepimus regiramus habenas, rogantes suppliciter ut rector Olympi ac mundi totius dispensator altissimus firmet pacem et bella removeat ac tempora faciat sua protectione tranquilla. 15

3 *singulis* om. edd. || 7 *ceterum quidem* edd. || 8 *librorum* om. *E* || *quippe sunt* 1 *sunt* om. Coch. || 9 *quoniam quidem* edd. *contigit A* || 11 *gaudes B a* om. edd. ||

tabulata cedrina] From 1 Kings, vi. 15.

lignis levigatis] From Gen. vi. 14.

propinquitatenimia] In the statutes of S. Victor, it is directed that the books in the library should be arranged "ne vel nimia compressio ipsis libris noceat:" Martene, De ant. eccl. ritt., iii. 733.

Gades] This word, originally from the Punic word *gadir*, a boundary, is familiar in classical Latin as the name of a Phoenician colony on the site of the modern Cadiz. By a reversion to its original sense, it was used in mediæval Latin for a fence or boundary, of which see numerous instances in Duncange. Cp. Geoffrey Vinesauf, in the Epilogue to his *Poetria Nova*: "Iam mare transcurri, Gades in littore fixi."

rector Olympi] From Ovid, Met. ix. 498.



## Capitulum 8.

De multiplici opportunitate quam habuimus librorum copiam conquirendi.

116 Cum omni negotio tempus sit et opportunitas, ut testatur sapiens Ecclesiastes, 8<sup>o</sup>, iam progredimur enarrare multiplices opportunitates, quibus in acquisitione librorum, nostris propositis divinitate propitia, iuvabamur. 5

117 Quamvis enim ab adolescentia nostra semper socialem communionem cum viris litteratis et librorum dilectoribus delectaremur habere, succedentibus tamen prosperis, regiae maiestatis consecuti notitiam et in ipsius acceptati familia, facultatem 10 accepimus ampliolem ubilibet visitandi pro libito et venandi quasi saltus quosdam delicatissimos, tum privatas, tum communes, tum regularium, tum saecularium librarías. Sane dum invictissimi principis ac semper magnifice triumphantis regis Angliae 15 Eduardi Tertii post conquestum, cuius tempora

1 sit ut B || 11 libitu E edd. || 14 principis . . . triumphantis om. Ja. || 16 Edouardi A Edwardi E Ja. ||

succedentibus tamen prosperis] From Gen. xl. 23.  
magnifice triumphantis] Cp. Durham Ritual, p. 122, et al.:  
"Deus . . . rex ac semper magnificus triumphator."



serenare dignetur Altissimus diutine et tranquille,  
 primo quidem suam concernentibus curiam, deinde  
 vero rempublicam regni sui, cancellarii videlicet ac  
 thesaurarii, fungeremur officiis, patescebat nobis  
 aditus facilis, regalis favoris intuitu, ad librorum 5  
 119 latebras libere perscrutandas. Amoris quippe nostri  
 fama volatilis iam ubique percrebuit, tantumque  
 librorum et maxime veterum ferebamur cupiditate  
 languescere, posse vero quemlibet nostrum per  
 quaternos facilius quam per pecuniam adipisci 10  
 favorem. Quamobrem cum supra dicti principis  
 recolendae memoriae bonitate suffulti possemus  
 obesse et prodesse, officere et proficere vehe-  
 menter tam maioribus quam pusillis, affluerunt  
 loco xeniorum et munerum locoque donorum et 15  
 iocalium caenulenti quaterni ac decrepiti codices,  
 nostris tam aspectibus quam affectibus pretiosi.  
 120 Tunc nobilissimorum monasteriorum aperiebantur  
 armaria, reserabantur scrinia et cistulae solveban-

*1 seruare A B conservare edd. || 3 regni om. D || 8 ferebatur  
 D || 9 quilibet D || 12 bonitati D || 15 enceniorum B exennio-  
 rum D exeniorum A eximiorum E || 16 temulenti Ja. || 17 nostris  
 tamen tam E || 19 referebantur Coch. ||*

tam maioribus] Cp. Ps. cxiii. 13: "pusillis cum majori-  
 bus."

xeniorum] The Greek *ξένια*: cp. Eccli. xx. 31; "Scenia et  
 dona." The word is exceedingly common in medieval Latin  
 and is written in various forms.

armaria] *Armarium* was a monastic term for a library,  
 and the librarian was called *armarius*. Cp. the well-known



tur, et per longa saecula in sepulcris soporata  
 volumina expergiscunt attonita, quaeque in locis  
 tenebrosis latuerant novae lucis radiis perfunduntur.  
 Delicatissimi quondam libri, corrupti et abomina-  
 biles iam effecti, murium quidem foetibus cooperti et 5  
 vermium morsibus terebrati, iacebant exanimes; et  
 qui olim purpura vestiebantur et bysso, nunc in cinere  
 et cilicio recubantes oblivioni traditi videbantur do-  
 121 micilia tinearum. Inter haec nihilominus, captatis  
 temporibus, magis voluptuose consedimus quam fe- 10  
 cisset medicus delicatus inter aromatum apothecas,  
 ubi amoris nostri obiectum reperimus et fomentum.  
 Sic sacra vasa scientiae ad nostrae dispensationis pro-  
 venerunt arbitrium, quaedam data, quaedam vendita  
 122 ac nonnulla pro tempore commodata. Nimirum cum 15  
 nos plerique de huiusmodi donariis cernerent con-

2 *expurgiscuntur* A Ja. Coch. *attonita* edd. *lucis* E || 3  
*statuerant* E || 5 *quidem* om. E || 10 *concedimus* E edd. ||  
 13 *pervenerunt* B E edd. || 15 *acomodata* edd. ||

saying of Geoffrey, the Sub-prior of St. Barbara in Normandy  
 in the 12th century: "Clastrum sine armario, castrum  
 sine armamentario."

corrupti et abominabiles] From Ps. xiii. 1 (cp. lii. 2).

murium quidem foetibus] Coch. translates this "couverts  
 de la fiente des souris" and Inglis agrees with him! Watten-  
 bach suggests *quidam* or *quippe*, instead of *quidem*, but no  
 change seems to be required: *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*,  
 329.

purpura et bysso] Cp. Ex. xxxv. 6; Luke, xvi. 20.

cinere et cilicio] Cp. Matt. xi. 21.

oblivioni traditi] Cp. Ps. xxx. 13.

aromatum apothecas] Cp. Is. xxxix. 2.



tentatos, ea sponte nostris usibus studuerunt tribuere, quibus ipsi libentius caruerunt, quam ea quae nostris assistentes servitiis abstulerunt. Quorum tamen negotia sic expedire curavimus gratiose, ut et eisdem emolumentum accresceret, nullum tamen detrimen- 5  
 123 tum iustitia sentiret. Porro, si scyphos aureos et argenteos, si equos egregios, si nummorum summas non modicas amassemus, tunc temporis dives nobis aerarium instaurasse possemus. Sed revera libros non libras maluimus, codicesque plus dileximus 10 quam florenos, ac panfletos exiguos incrassatis

1 contentos E || 2 quae om. A B D E quam . . . abstulerunt om. Ja. || 4 et om. B edd. || 11 panfletos D phaleratis edd. ||

amassemus] Inglis translates, "if we would have amassed;" but the word is from *amare*, not *amassare*.

libros non libras] Cp. Alanus, De Arte praedicatoria, c. 36: "Potius dediti gulae quam glossae, potius colligunt libras quam legunt libros, libentius intuentur Martham quam Marcum, malunt legere in salmone quam in Salomone."

florenos] The first gold florins were issued at Florence in 1252. In 1343, Edward III. issued a gold florin to be current at 6s. It is an extremely scarce coin, only two specimens being known, which were found together in the Tyne; it was replaced by a noble of the value of 6s. 8d. in 1344: see Kenyon, Gold Coins of England, pp. 14, 15. The Continental florins were extensively used in international intercourse.

panfletos] This appears to be the earliest instance yet noticed of this word, which is apparently the origin of our 'pamphlet.' It is not in Ducange: but see Mr. Skeat's account of the word in his Dictionary.

incrassatis] Cp. Deut. xxxii. 15.



- 124 praetulimus palefridis. Ad haec eiusdem principis  
 illustrissimi sempiternae memoriae legationibus cre-  
 bris functi, et ob multiplicia regni negotia nunc ad  
 sedem Romanam, nunc ad curiam Franciae, nunc  
 ad mundi diversa dominia, taediosis ambassiatibus 5  
 ac periculosis temporibus mittebamur, circumferentes  
 tamen ubique illam, quam aquae plurimae nequi-  
 125 verunt extinguere, caritatem librorum. Haec  
 omnium peregrinationum absinthia quasi quaedam  
 pigmentaria potio dulcoravit. Haec post perplexas 10  
 intricaciones et scrupulosos causarum anfractus ac  
 vix egressibiles rei publicae labyrinthos ad respi-  
 randum parumper temperiem aurae lenis aperuit.
- 126 O beate Deus Deorum in Sion, quantus fluminis  
 impetus voluptatis laetificavit cor nostrum, quotiens 15  
 paradisum mundi Parisius visitare vacavimus mora-  
 turi, ubi nobis semper dies pauci prae amoris mag-

5 *sediciosus E* || 7 *tum ubique Ja.* || 9 *omnia peregrinarum  
 nationum Ja.* || 13 *levis Ja.* || 16 *ibi moraturi Ja.* ||

circumferentes] Cp. 2 Cor. iv. 10.

extinguere caritatem] Cp. Cant. viii. 7.

pigmentaria potio] *Pigmentum* or piment was a mixture of  
 wine, honey, and spices, much affected in medieval times :  
 see Ducange. The word *dulcoravit* is said to be peculiar to  
 S. Jerome : cp. Prov. xxvii. 9.

aurae lenis] John of Salisbury says in one of his letters  
 on returning to France : "Ex quo partes attigi cismarinas,  
 visus sum mihi sensisse lenioris aurae temperiem : " Ep. 134.

Deus Deorum in Sion] This phrase occurs twice in Petrarch,  
 De Otio Religios., sig. c. iii., *verso*.

fluminis impetus] From Ps. xlv. 5.



nitudine videbantur! Ibi bibliothecae iocundae  
 super cellas aromatum redolentes, ibi virens viri-  
 darium universorum voluminum, ibi prata acade-  
 mica terrae motu trementia, Athenarum diverticula,  
 Peripateticorum itinera, Parnasi promontoria et 5  
 127 porticus Stoicorum. Ibi cernitur tam artis quam  
 scientiae mensurator Aristoteles, cuius est totum  
 quod est optimum in doctrinis, in regione dum-  
 taxat transmutabili sublunari; ibi Ptolemaeus epi-  
 cyclos et eccentricos auges atque geuzahar plane- 10  
 tarum figuris et numeris emetitur; ibi Paulus arcana

4 *diversicula* A || 9 *sublimari* A B 1 2 || 10 *auges* 3 Gold.  
 Schm. *Genzachar* edd. Ja. || 11 *emitur emetatur* D ||

cellas aromatum] From Is. xxxix. 2.

diverticula] This word seems to be an attempt to render the *λέσχαι*, of which we hear so much in Greek literature.

sublunari] I have noticed this word, which has not yet found its way into Ducange, in Jo. Sarisb., Policrat. ii. 19; Gerv. Tilb., Otia Imp., i. 1. Cp. Bacon, Op. M., p. 84: "Dicit enim Avicenna in ix. Metaphysicae quod ea quae sunt sub circulo lunae sunt fere nihil in comparatione eorum, quae sunt supra."

auges] Cp. Neckam, De N. R., p. 311: "Non eris philosophiae laribus educatus nisi scias quid horoscopus, quid decanus, quid augis solis." Bacon, Op. M., p. 62, uses *aux* as the nominative; cp. pp. 89, 90, 109, 138, 144. The word was long used in English: see the new English Dictionary s. v. Auge.

geuzahar] This word has been treated by the editors and translators as a proper name, though in that case the order of the words would be obviously wrong. It is a Perso-Arabic astronomical term meaning dragon, and refers to the re-



revelat; ibi Dionysius convicinus hierarchias coor-  
 128 dinat et distinguit; ibi quicquid Cadmus gram-  
 mate recolligit Phoeniceo, totum virgo Carmenta  
 caractere repraesentat Latino; ibi revera, apertis  
 thesauris et sacculorum corrigiis resolutis, pecuniam 5  
 laeto corde dispersimus, atque libros impretiabiles  
 129 luto redemimus et arena. Nequaquam malum est,  
 malum est, insonuit omnis emptor; sed ecce quam  
 bonum et quam iocundum arma clericalis militiae

1 *convincinus* om. Coch. *corinthios* codd. dett. || 2 *gram-*  
*mate A E* pr. manu *grammaticus B grammaticae D* Ja. ||  
 3 *recollegit A* Ja. *grammaticae recollegit et phenices* edd. ||  
 6 *libros* om. Ja. || 7 *redimimus* Ja. *nequaquam malum est* edd.

lation between the equator and the ecliptic, their points of intersection, or *nodes*, being respectively called the head and tail of the dragon. The word was written *genzahar* or *geuzahar*, with the common confusion of *n* and *u* in medieval MSS. See Dr. Moritz Steinschneider in the *Zeitsch. d. d. morgenl. Ges.*, xviii. 195; xxv. 418.

Dionysius] To Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts xvii. 34) were attributed a number of treatises, now believed to be the much later productions of some Christian Neo-Platonist, which had a high reputation in the middle ages.

virgo Carmenta] Cadmus the Phœnician is supposed to have introduced the alphabet into Greece, whence it was carried into Italy by Evander, the Arcadian. His mother Carmenta accompanied him, and she is said to have turned the Greek into Roman characters.

apertis thesauris] From Matt. ii. 11.

malum est, malum est] From Prov. xx. 14.

quam bonum] From Ps. cxxxi. 1.

arma clericalis militiae] See s. 29 *note*. The phrase is used of the books of the Greek fathers by the Dominican Humbert in 1274: Mart. and Durand, *Ampl. Coll.* vii. 194.



congregare in unum, ut suppetat nobis, unde  
 130 haereticorum bella conterere, si insurgant ! Amplius  
 opportunitatem maximam nos captasse cognoscimus  
 per hoc, quod ab aetate tenera magistrorum et  
 scholarium ac diversarum artium professorum quos 5  
 ingenii perspicacitas ac doctrinae celebritas clariores  
 effecerant, relegato quolibet partiali favore, exquisi-  
 tissima sollicitudine nostrae semper coniunximus  
 comitivae, quorum consolativis colloquiis confortati,  
 nunc argumentorum ostensivis investigationibus, 10  
 nunc physicorum processuum ac catholicorum doc-  
 torum tractatum recitationibus, nunc moralitatum

5 *professores A B D E* Ja. || 7 *quomodolibet* Ja. || 8 *nostra  
 semper coniunximus commercia* Ja. || 11 *phīcorum* codd. *philo-  
 sophicorum* Ja. ||

professorum] Coch. saw that this was required, and I have made the correction with several MSS.

ostensivis] A word not recorded in the dictionaries.

physicorum processuum] If we read *philosophicorum* with James, the phrase would merely repeat "argumentorum investigationibus;" *physicorum* is probably right and refers to treatises on science. Roger Bacon, *Op. Maj.*, p. 116, mentions *catholici doctores* in a similar connexion: "postquam in ecclesia fuit evacuata falsitas magicae mathematicae, venit in usum catholicorum doctorum consideratio mathematicae verae." By *mathematica* he means, of course, astronomy and astrology.

moralitatum] This perhaps refers to the moralizations not merely of sacred and secular histories and naratives, but even of science and philosophical subjects, which were so common in medieval times; see Hazlitt's *Warton*, i. 297, *sqq.* That a knowledge of these allegorical meanings was considered necessary for theologians, we may gather from



excitativis collationibus, velut alternatis et multipli-  
 131 catis ingenii ferculis, dulcius fovebamur. Tales in  
 nostro tirocinio commilitones elegimus, tales in tha-  
 lamo collaterales habuimus, tales in itinere comites,  
 tales in hospicio commensales, et tales penitus in 5  
 omni fortuna sodales. Verum quia nulla felicitas  
 diu durare permittitur, privabamur nonnunquam  
 luminum aliquorum praesentia corporali, cum eis-  
 dem promotiones ecclesiasticae ac dignitates debi-  
 10 tae, prospiciente de caelo iustitia, provenerunt.  
 Quo fiebat, ut incumbentes sicut oportuit curae  
 propriae se a nostris cogherentur obsequiis absentare.  
 132 Rursus compendiosissimam semitam subiunge-  
 mus, per quam ad manus nostras pervenit librorum  
 tam veterum quam novorum plurima multitudo. Re- 15  
 ligiosorum siquidem mendicantium paupertatem sus-  
 ceptam pro Christo nunquam indignantes horruimus,  
 verum ipsos ubique terrarum in nostrae compassionis  
 ulnas admisimus mansuetas, affabilitate familiaris-  
 20 sima in personae nostrae devotionem alleximus,  
 allectosque beneficiorum liberalitate munifica fovi-  
 mus propter Deum; quorum sic eramus omnium  
 benefactores communes, ut nihilominus videremur

16 *mendicantium* om. edd. || 21 *allectasque* E || 23 *bene-  
 factor communis* E ||

Bacon, Op. Maj., pp. 104, 112, where he says that they should  
 know all about arithmetic and music: *propter sensus mysticos  
 infinitos praeter literales.*

prospiciente de caelo] Cp. Ps. xiii. 2.



- quadam paternitatis proprietate singulos adoptasse.
- <sup>133</sup> Istis in statu quolibet facti sumus refugium, istis  
nunquam clausimus gratiae nostrae sinum ; quam-  
obrem istos votorum nostrorum peculiarissimos zela-  
tores meruimus habere, et tam opere quam opera <sup>5</sup>  
promotores. Qui circueuntes mare et aridam ac  
orbis ambitum perlustrantes, universitates quoque  
diversarumque provinciarum generalia studia per-  
scrutantes, nostris desideriis militare studebant cer-  
<sup>134</sup> tissima spe mercedis. Quis inter tot argutissimos <sup>10</sup>  
venatores lepusculus delitesceret? Quis pisciculus  
istorum nunc hamos, nunc retia, nunc sagenas  
evaderet? A corpore sacrae legis divinae usque  
ad quaternum sophismatum hesternorum, nihil istos  
praeterire potuit scrutatores. Si in fonte fidei <sup>15</sup>  
Christianae, curia sacrosancta Romana, sermo de-  
votus insonuit, vel si pro novis causis quaestio  
ventilabatur extranea, si Parisiensis soliditas, quae

*6 circueuntes A || 8 diuersarum D || 11 delitcret E || 13 dominice  
D S. Legis Dominicae Ja. || 14 esternorum B externorum edd. ||*

facti sumus refugium] Cp. Ps. ix. 10.

mare et aridam] Cp. Ps. lxxv. 6.

generalia studia] *Studium generale* was a medieval term for a University, and is said by Mr. Maxwell Lyte to be of English origin: *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, p. 5. But Denifle shows that it was first used of Vercelli; *Univ. des M.* p. 2 ff.

nunc retia, nunc sagenas] Cp. Ezech. xii. 13.

extranea] The word which originally meant, of course, outside or foreign, passed into the sense of strange or novel: see Ducange.

Parisiensis soliditas] Cp. c. ix. s. 157.



plus antiquitati discendae quam veritati subtiliter  
 producendae iam studet, si Anglicana perspicacitas,  
 quae antiquis perfusa luminaribus novos semper  
 radios emittit veritatis, quicquam ad augmentum  
 scientiae vel declarationem fidei promulgabat, hoc 5  
 statim nostris recens infundebatur auditibus nullo  
 denigratum seminiverbio nulloque nugace corrup-  
 tum, sed de praelo purissimi torcularis in nostrae  
 memoriae dolia defaecandum transibat.

135 Cum vero nos ad civitates et loca contingeret 10  
 declinare, ubi praefati pauperes conventus habe-  
 bant, eorum armaria ac quaecunque librorum re-  
 positoria visitare non piguit; immo ibi in altissima

*I quam om. D || 4 quicquid Ja. Coch. || 6 auribus edd. || 7 de virgatum B deuirginatum E semiverbo edd. seminiverbo Ja. semiverbio Gold. semi verbio Coch. nugacitate edd. || 9 dolium Ja. deferendum A defaecandum B ||*

auditibus] Cp. Ps. l. 10.

seminiverbio] Even James appears not to have seen that this is simply the Vulgate rendering of *σπερμολογος* in the Acts, xvii. 18. Coch. and Inglis make a great mess of the translation.

eorum armaria] One of the chief complaints made against the mendicant orders by Abp. Fitzralph, at Avignon in 1357, was that they monopolized books: "omnes emuntur a Fratribus, ita ut in singulis conventibus sit una grandis ac nobilis libraria;" see the *Defensorium Curatorum*, printed in Brown's *Fasciculus*, iii. 474.

altissima paupertate] From 2 Cor. viii. 2. Cp. the Rule of S. Francis, c. 6: "Haec est illa celsitudo altissima paupertatis quae vos carissimos fratres meos haeredes et reges regni caelorum instituit." (Holstenius, Codex Regg. iii. 32).



paupertate altissimas divitias sapientiae thesaurizatas invenimus, et non solum in eorum sarcinulis et sportellis micas de mensa dominorum cadentes repperimus pro catellis, verum panes propositionis absque fermento panemque angelorum omne 5 delectamentum in se habentem, immo horrea Ioseph plena frumentis totamque Aegypti suppellectilem atque dona ditissima, quae regina Saba detulit Salomoni.

136 Hi sicut formicae continue congregantes in 10 messem et apes argumentosae fabricantes iugiter cellas mellis. Hi successores Bezeleel ad excogitandum quicquid fabrefieri poterit in argento et auro ac gemmis, quibus templum Ecclesiae coretur. Hi prudentes polymitarii, qui superhumerales et rationales 15 pontificis sed et vestes varias efficiunt sacerdotum. Hi cortinas, saga pellesque arietum rubricatas resar-

*I sapientiae om. edd. || 8 ditissima D altissima Ja. Sibilla DE || 10 sunt edd. quotidie Ja. in messe edd. || 13 affrabe fieri Ja. || 14 decoraretur E ||*

micas de mensa] Cp. Matt. xv. 27.

omne delectamentum] Cp. Wisd. xvi. 20.

congregantes in messe] Cp. Prov. vi. 8 ; xxx. 25.

apes argumentosae] Cp. the office of S. Caecilia : "Caecilia, famula tua, Domine ! quasi *apis* tibi *argumentosa* deservit." Argumentosae thus became a standing epithet of *apes* : see passages cited in Ducange.

quicquid fabrefieri] Cp. Ex. xxxi. 4.

polymitarii] Cp. Ex. xxxv. 35.

superhumerales et rationales] Cp. Ex. xxviii. 4.

cortinas, saga] Cp. Ex. xxvi. 1, 7.

pellesque arietum r.] Cp. Ex. xxvi. 14.



ciunt, quibus Ecclesiae militantis tabernaculum con-  
 tegatur. Hi agricolae seminantes, boves triturantes,  
 tubae buccinantes, pleiades emicantes et stellae  
 manentes in ordine suo, quae Sisaram expugnare  
 137 non cessant. Et ut veritas honoretur, salvo prae- 5  
 iudicio cuiuscunque, licet hi nuper hora undecima  
 vineam sint ingressi dominicam, sicut amantissimi  
 nobis libri cap<sup>o</sup>. 6<sup>o</sup>. supra anxius allegabant, plus  
 tamen in hac hora brevissima sacratorum librorum  
 adiecerunt propagini quam omnes residui vinitores; 10  
 Pauli sectantes vestigia, qui vocatione novissimus  
 praedicatione primus, multo latius aliis evangelium  
 138 Christi sparsit. De istis ad statum pontificalem  
 assumpti nonnullos habuimus de duobus ordinibus,  
 Praedicatorum videlicet et Minorum, nostris assis- 15  
 tentes lateribus nostraeque familiae commensales,  
 viros utique tam moribus insignitos quam litteris,  
 qui diversorum voluminum correctionibus, exposi-

2 *Hi sunt* edd. om. *A B D E* Ja. || 4 *qui* *D* || 5 *iudicio*  
 edd. || 9 *hac* om. *A* || 10 *pagini* *D* *paginae* Ja. || 14 *assumptis*  
 Coch. || 17 *moribus quam scientia quam litteris* *B* ||

boves triturantes] Cp. 1 Cor. ix. 9.

stellae manentes] Cp. Judges v. 20.

undecima hora] Cp. Matt. xx.

hora brevissima] Cp. 1 Jo. ii. 18. For Roger Bacon's  
 opinion of their biblical labours, see Op. Maj., p. 37.

Minorum] For the *Praedicatores* see note on c. vi. s. 86.  
 The *Fratres Minores* were founded by S. Francis in 1210  
 and were a mendicant order: cp. his Regula, c. 6: "Nullus  
 vocetur prior, sed generaliter omnes vocentur Fratres Mi-  
 nores." (Holstenius, Codex Regularum, iii. 24).



tionibus, tabulationibus ac compilationibus inde-  
 139 fessis studiis incumbabant. Sane quamvis omnium  
 religiosorum communicatione multiplici plurimorum  
 operum copiam tam novorum quam veterum asse-  
 cuti fuerimus, Praedicatores tamen extollimus merito 5  
 speciali praeconio in hac parte, quod eos prae cunc-  
 tis religiosis suorum sine invidia gratissime commu-  
 nicativos invenimus, ac divina quadam liberalitate  
 perfusos sapientiae luminosae probavimus non  
 avaros sed idoneos possessores. 10

140 Praeter has omnes opportunitates praetactas,  
 stationariorum ac librariorum notitiam, non solum  
 infra natalis soli provinciam, sed per regnum  
 Franciae, Teutoniae et Italiae dispersorum com-  
 paravimus, faciliter pecunia praevolante, nec eos 15  
 ullatenus impedivit distantia, neque furor maris  
 absterruit, nec aes eis pro expensa defecit, quin ad  
 nos optatos libros transmitterent vel afferrent.  
 Sciebant profecto quod spes eorum in sinu nostro  
 reposita defraudari non poterat, sed restabat apud 20  
 nos copiosa redemptio cum usuris.

5 *merito* om. *D* || 7 *gratissimae communicationis* Ja.,  
 vulgo || 13 *intra* edd. || 14 *compauimus* *D* || 17 *eos eis* *D* ||  
 19 *sciebant enim pro certo* edd. ||

tabulationibus] The word is not found in the dictionaries,  
 but it means probably indexes or summaries.

stationariorum] For the *stationarii* of the middle ages, who  
 were originally rather lenders than sellers of books, cp.  
 Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 294, 307.

copiosa redemptio] From Ps. cxxix. 7.

cum usuris] Cp. Luke xix. 23.



- 141 Denique nec rectores scholarum ruralium puero-  
rumque rudium paedagogos nostra neglexit com-  
munio, singulorum captatrix amoris; sed potius  
cum vacaret, eorum hortulos et agellos ingressi, flores  
superficietenus redolentes collegimus ac radices 5  
effodimus obsoletas, studiosis tamen accommodas et  
quae possent, digesta barbarie rancida, pectorales  
142 arterias eloquentiae munere medicari. Inter  
huiusmodi pleraque comperimus renovari dignis-  
sima quae, solerter elimata robigine turpi, larva 10  
vetustatis deposita, merebantur venustis vultibus  
denuo reformari. Quae nos, adhibita necessari-  
orum sufficientia, in futurae resurrectionis ex-  
emplum resuscitata quodammodo redivivae red-  
didimus sospitati. 15
- 143 Caeterum apud nos in nostris maneriis multitudo  
non modica semper erat antiquariorum, scriptorum,

1 *scholarium* edd. || 6 *accomodatas* Ja. Coch. || 8 *meditari*  
Ja. *medicare* edd. || 10 *robigine* om. edd. || 13 *futurum* B D  
*futurus* E || 16 *atriis* edd. ||

paedagogos] The schoolmasters of the fourteenth century  
were much looked down upon; the degree of master of  
grammar was the lowest at the universities, requiring only a  
three years' course, instead of the seven needed for the study  
of the trivium and quadrivium. The degree was conferred  
by the delivery of a rod and birch, after which the incepting  
master proceeded to flog a boy publicly: see Bass Mullinger,  
Univ. Cam., 344; Maxwell Lyte, Hist. Univ. Oxf., 235.

sospitati] Cp. Job, v. 11.

antiquariorum] Cp. Sueton., De Viris illust., ed. Reiffers-  
scheid, p. 134: "Librarii sunt, qui nova et vetera scribunt,



correctorum, colligatorum, illuminatorum et generaliter omnium, qui poterant librorum servitiis utiliter insudare. Postremo omnis utriusque sexus omnisque status vel dignitatis conditio, cuius erat cum libris aliquale commercium, cordis nostri ianuas 5 pulsu poterat aperire facillime et in nostrae gratiae 144 gremio commodum reperire cubile. Sic omnes admisimus codices afferentes, ut nunquam praecedentium multitudo fastidium posterorum efficeret, vel hesternum beneficium praecollatum praeiudicium pareret hodierno. Quapropter cum omnibus memoratis personis quasi quibusdam adamantibus attractivis librorum iugiter uteremur, fiebat ad nos desideratus accessus vasorum scientiae et volatus multifarius voluminum optimorum. Et hoc est 15 quod praesenti capitulo sumpsimus enarrare.

3 omnes Ja. Coch. || 6 pulsi D poterant Ja. Coch. || 8 et D || 9 posteriorum edd. ||

Antiquarii qui tantummodo vetera." In practice, however, the two terms had come to be synonymous, according to Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 244. But see c. xvi. s. 207 *post*.

adamantibus] *Adamas*, the Greek ἀδάμας, which in classical Latin meant (1) steel, (2) the diamond, was used in medieval Latin for the loadstone, being erroneously connected with *adamare*; cp. c. iv. s. 58.



## Capitulum 9.

Quod licet opera veterum amplius amaremus non tamen damnavimus studia modernorum.

145 Licet nostris desideriis novitas modernorum nunquam fuerit odiosa, qui vacantes studiis ac priorum patrum sententiis quicquam vel subtiliter vel utiliter adicientes grata semper affectione coluimus, antiquorum tamen examinatos labores securiori aviditate cupivimus perscrutari. Sive enim naturaliter viguerunt perspicaciori mentis ingenio, sive instantiori studio forsitan indulserunt, sive utriusque suffulti subsidio profecerunt, hoc unum comperimus evidenter, quod vix sufficiunt successores 10

Tit. *damnamus B inuidimus studiis E* || 3 *semitis Ja. quicquid Ja.* || 5 *libros vel labores D Ja.* || 6 *aviditate A B cupimus D Ja.* || 8 *sive . . . indulserunt om. D Ja. adulserunt E* || 9 *perfecerunt Ja.* ||

vix sufficiunt] Roger Bacon takes a view more favourable to the moderns. Though he admits that "sapientissimi et maxime experti multotiens maximam difficultatem in libris reperiunt antiquorum" (Op. Maj. i. 4); he adds "semper posteriores addiderunt ad opera priorum et multa correxerunt," and quotes Seneca with approval, "quanto iuniores tanto perspicaciores, quia iuniores posteriores successione temporum ingrediuntur labores priorum" (i. 6).



priorum comperta discutere, atque ea per doctrinae captare compendium, quae antiqui anfractu-  
 146 osis adinventionibus effoderunt. Sicut enim in  
 corporis probitate praestantiores legimus praeces-  
 sisse, quam moderna tempora exhibere noscantur, 5  
 ita luculentioribus sensibus praefulsisse plerosque  
 veterum opinari nullatenus est absurdum, cum  
 utrosque opera quae gesserunt, inattingibiles posteris  
 aequae probent. Unde Phocas in prologo  
 Grammaticae suae scribit : 10

Omnia cum veterum sint explorata libellis,  
 Multa loqui breviter sit novitatis opus.

147 Nempe si de fervore discendi ac diligentia studii fiat  
 sermo, illi philosophiae vitam totam integre devove-  
 runt; nostri vero saeculi contemporanei paucos 15  
 annos fervidae iuventutis, aestuantis vicissim incen-  
 diis vitiorum, segniter applicant, et cum, sedatis  
 passionibus, discernendae ambiguae veritatis acu-  
 men attigerint, mox externis implicati negotiis

*2 dispendium* Ja. || *7 veterum* om. edd. *nitimur* Coch. ex  
 digitis suis suxit || *8 posteros* E || *9 praebent* edd. || *16 estuantes*  
 E edd. || *19 exterius* E ||

inattingibiles] Ducange quotes this word from Gervase of  
 Tilbury: "caelum Trinitatis, ubi sola Trinitas habitat non  
 localiter sed incircumscripte et inenarrabili et *inattingibili*  
 gloria."

Phocas] One of the favourite grammatical text books of the  
 middle ages: see Keil, *Gramm. Lat.*, v. 410.

implicati negotiis] Cp. 2 Tim. ii. 4.



retrocedunt et philosophiae gymnasiis valedicunt.  
 148 Mustum fumosum iuvenilis ingenii philosophicae  
 difficultati delibant, vinumque maturius defaecatum  
 oeconomicae sollicitudini largiuntur. Amplius  
 sicut Ovidius, primo De Vetula, merito lamentatur : 5

Omnes declinant ad ea, quae lucra ministrant,  
 Utque sciant discunt pauci, plures ut abundant ;  
 Sic te prostituunt, O virgo Scientia ! sic te  
 Venalem faciunt castis amplexibus aptam,  
 Non te propter te quaerentes, sed lucra per te, 10  
 Ditarique volunt potius, quam philosophari ;

et infra :

sic Philosophia  
 Exilium patitur, et Philopeunia regnat,

quam constat esse violentissimum toxicum dis- 15  
 ciplinae.

149 Qualiter vero non alium terminum studio pos-

2 *philosophiae* edd. || 8 *O* om. *E* || 12 *et* om. *D* ||

gymnasiis] One of the commonest of medieval words, though there is a mistaken notion that it came into use with the Renascence. The medieval spelling was, of course, *gignasium* ; and Mr. Lumby, in his glossary to Higden, innocently observes "gignasia, perhaps an error for gymnasia !"

De Vetula] This poem, in three books of wretched hexameters, was regarded in medieval times as the genuine work of Ovid. It is cited, for instance, by Bacon, Burley, Bradwardine, and Holkot, though the last-named observes : "An sit liber Ovidii, Deus novit" (Super Sap., f. 103a). Warton attributes it on the authority of Leyser to Leo Protonotarius (H. E. P. iii. 107 n. : cp., however, *ib.* 136 n., where it is assigned to Pamphilus Maurilianus). Cocheris,



uerunt antiqui quam vitae, declarat Valerius ad Tiberium, lib. 8, cap. 7, per exempla multorum. Carneades, inquit, laboriosus ac diutinus sapientiae miles fuit; siquidem expletis nonaginta annis idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit. Isocrates 5 94<sup>m</sup>. annum agens nobilissimum librum scripsit; Sophocles prope centesimum annum agens; Simonides 80. anno carmina scripsit. A. Gellius non affectavit diutius vivere, quam esset idoneus ad scribendum, teste seipso in prologo Noctium 10 Atticarum.

150 Fervorem vero studii, quem habebat Euclides Socraticus, recitare solebat Taurus philosophus, ut iuvenes ad studium animaret, sicut refert A. Gellius lib. 6, cap. 10 voluminis memorati. Athenienses 15 namque cum Megarenses odirent, decreverunt quod si quis de Megarensibus Athenas intraret, capite

5 *Isocratas A consocrates B D et Socrates* Ja., vulgo ||  
7 *agens edypodeaon id est librum de gestis edypodis scripsit*  
L 1 || *Oedipodem*, etc. edd.

who has edited Jean Lefevre's French version of the poem, attributes it to Richard Furnivalle, the author of the *Biblionomia*, and Chancellor of Amiens in the thirteenth century.

Isocrates] The editors, including James, have printed *Et Socrates*, though of course Socrates wrote no books and did not live to be ninety-four. It does not seem to have occurred to them even to look at the passage in Valerius Maximus. This is also quoted by Holkot, *Super Sap.*, f. 93a, where the same mistake of Socrates for Isocrates is found. Walter Burley, in his *Vitae*, tells the story of "Ysocrates," c. 27, and also of Socrates, c. 30.



plecteretur. Tunc Euclides, qui Megarensis erat et ante illud decretum Socratem audierat, muliebri ornamento contectus de nocte, ut Socratem audiret, ibat de Megaris ad Athenas viginti millia passuum  
 151 et redibat. Imprudens et nimius fuit fervor Archi- 5  
 medis, qui geometricae facultatis amator nomen edisserere noluit nec a figura protracta caput erigere, quo vitae mortalis fatum poterat prolongasse, sed indulgens studio plus quam vitae studiosam  
 figuram vitali sanguine cruentavit. 10  
 152 Quam plurima huius nostri propositi sunt exempla, nec ea quidem transcurrere brevitata permittit. Sed, quod dolentes referimus, iter prorsus diversum incedunt clerici celebres his diebus. Ambitione siquidem in aetate tenera laborantes, ac 15

1 *Megaridis E* || 3 *contentus D contectus MS.* Dunelm. *contentus est Ja.* 5 *Archimedis A B Athimenes D* || 6 *geometriae Schm. Coch.* || 7 *edissere B* || 15 *in om. D Ja.* ||

Archimedis] The story is told by Valerius Maximus, viii. 7, Ext. 7.

Ambitione siquidem] The passage beginning with these words and ending with the words "vix faucibus humectatis," preceded by the passage beginning "Uncinis pomorum" (c. vi. s. 93)—which words, however, are altered to "pomis et potu"—to "perniciem animarum," and the passage (s. 96) "Quemadmodum psittacus" to "prophetae magistra," appear, though in a very corrupt form, in a curious memorandum in the Oxford Chancellor's and Proctors' book, under the year 1358. The memorandum is directed against the *cerei doctores*, that is, persons who secured a degree by influence, and it is noted that such doctors were always of the mendicant orders. See Anstey, *Mun. Acad.* i. 207, who has



praesumptionis pennas Icarias inexpertis lacertis  
 fragiliter coaptantes, pileum magistralem immaturi  
 praeripiunt, fiuntque pueruli facultatum plurium  
 professores immeriti, quas nequaquam pedetentim  
 pertranseunt, sed ad instar caprearum saltuatim 5  
 ascendunt; cumque parum de grandi torrente  
 gustaverint, arbitrantur se totum funditus sorbuisse,  
 153 vix faucibus humectatis; et quia in primis rudi-  
 mentis tempore congruo non fundantur, super debile  
 fundamentum opus aedificant ruinosum. Iamque 10  
 provectos pudet addiscere, quae tenellos decuerat  
 didicisse, et sic profecto coguntur perpetuo luere  
 quod ad fasces indebitos praepropere salierunt.  
 154 Propter haec et his similia, tirones scholastici soli-  
 ditatem doctrinae, quam veteres habuerunt, tam 15

1 *ineptis et inexpertis* edd. || 3 *proripiunt* Ja. || 5 *saltuatim*  
*A saltatim* edd. || 12 *decuerat A E dosuerat D* || 13 *salierint*  
 Ja. || 14 *aliis D alia* Ja. ||

not observed the quotation. It may be, perhaps, that it is a  
 quotation in De Bury, the sentiments occurring in many  
 medieval writers: cp. Holkot, Super Sap. l. ccix, ccxii.

pileum magistralem] See ch. vi. s. 94; and cp. Petrarch,  
 De Vera Sap., i.: "Iuvenis . . . cathedram ascendit cuncta  
 iam ex alto despiciens et nescio quid confusum murmurans.  
 Tunc maiores certatim ceu divina locutum laudibus ad caelum  
 tollunt; tinniunt interim campanae, strepunt tubae, volant  
 annuli, figuntur oscula, vertici rotundus ac magistralis bonne-  
 tus apponitur; his peractis descendit sapiens qui stultus as-  
 cenderat, mira prorsus transformatio nec Ovidio cognita!"

debile fundamentum] "Debile fundamentum fallit opus"  
 is a well-known legal maxim: Broom, Legal Maxims, 174.



paucis lucubratiunculis non attingunt, quantum-  
 cunque fungantur honoribus, censeantur nominibus,  
 auctorizentur habitibus, locenturque solemniter in  
 cathedris seniorum. Prisciani regulas et Donati  
 statim de cunis erepti et celeriter ablactati per- 5  
 lingunt; Categorias, Perihermenias, in cuius scrip-  
 tura summus Aristoteles calamum in corde tinxisse  
 confingitur, infantili balbutie resonant impuberes et  
 155 imberbes. Quarum facultatum itinera dispendioso  
 compendio damnosoque diplomate transmeantes, 10

1 quamcunque A || 5 sic celeriter edd. || 6 cathegoricas E ||  
 7 in . . . infantili om. A tinxit infantuli edd. infantuli  
 Ja. || impubens B impubes D || 9 quorum E ||

cathedris seniorum] Cp. Ps. cvi. 32.

Perihermenias] The *De Interpretatione* of Aristotle, usually called in the middle ages by the name here given.

in corde] Cp. Isid. Etymol. ii. 27, Aristoteles, "quando perihermenias scriptitabat, calamum in mente tingebat." Suidas applies it to all his writings: Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς φύσεως γραμματεὺς ἦν, τὸν κάλαμον ἀποβρέχων εἰς νοῦν. According to Plutarch, Phocion, p. 743, the phrase was applied by Zeno to philosophers generally.

dispendioso compendio] *Compendia sunt dispendia* is a maxim cited by Lord Coke, 3 Inst. 133.

diplomate] The phrase *usus diplomate* came to mean merely "post-haste," and is so used in R. de Diceto, ed. Stubbs, i. 351, 433, ii. 23. Originally no doubt it referred to the written authority enabling the bearer to make use of the government system of communication under the empire: see the passages collected in Brissonius, s. v. including Venuleius, Dig. xlv. 1, 137. Here perhaps there is a further play intended upon the university diploma or license to teach. Ducange cites also passages from John of Salisbury and Peter



in sacrum Moysen manus iniciunt violentas, ac se tenebrosis aquis in nubibus aeris facialiter aspergentes, ad pontificatus infulam caput parant, nulla decoratum canitie senectutis. Promovent plurimum istam pestem iuvantque ad istum phantasticum 5 clericatum tam pernicious passibus attingendum papalis provisio seductivis precibus impetrata necnon et preces, quae repelli non possunt, cardinalium et potentum, amicorum cupiditas et parentum, qui aedificantes Sion in sanguinibus, prius suis 10

2 *faciliter A feraliter* Ja. || 7 *seductoris* Ja. ||

of Blois : he says *duploma* is the only correct form, but all my MSS. here read *diplomate*.

In Moysen] The reference seems to be to the sedition of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram (Num. xvi.), and the passage may be a reminiscence of Jo. Sarisb., Policrat., vii. 17 : "Alius . . . seditionem concitabit in Moysen ;" and 20 : "Irruunt in Moysen . . . nisi ad sacerdotium permittantur accedere." Cp. Matt. xxiii. 2 : "Super cathedram Moysi sederunt scribae et pharisaei." Petrus Blesensis, Ep. 175, compares a grammar master to Moses : "de tenebrosis et confusis Prisciani tractatibus educens lucem . . . et quasi de caligine montis Sinai alter Moyses legifer a Deo et non ab homine sibi scriptam grammaticam reportavit."

tenebrosis aquis] From Ps. xvii. 12, "tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris."

papalis provisio] One of the abuses of the Church in the middle ages was the practice of obtaining from the Pope the promise of a bishopric or some other ecclesiastical dignity on the next vacancy. The Statute of Provisors was directed against the practice in 1350, and was followed shortly afterwards by the first Statute of *Praemunire*. De Bury was himself provided to the See of Durham. See the Introduction.

aedificantes Sion in sanguinibus] From Micah iii. 10.



nepotibus et alumnis ecclesiasticas dignitates anticipant, quam naturae successu vel doctrinae temperie maturescant.

156 Isto, pro dolor! paroxysmo, quem plangimus, Parisiense palladium nostris maestis temporibus 5 cernimus iam sublatum, ubi tepuit, immo fere friguit zelus scholae tam nobilis, cuius olim radii lucem dabant universis angulis orbis terrae. Quiescit ibidem iam calamus omnis scribae, nec librorum generatio propagatur ulterius, nec est qui 10 incipiat novus auctor haberi. Involvunt sententias sermonibus imperitis, et omnis logicae proprietate privantur; nisi quod Anglicanas subtilitates, quibus palam detrahunt, vigiliis furtivis addiscunt.

157 Minerva mirabilis nationes hominum circumire 15 videtur, et a fine usque ad finem attingit fortiter,

1 aucupant edd. || 2 successus doctrine tempore in rasura E || 4 iste D || 6 immo ubi fere friguit edd. || 15 mirabiles edd. ||

incipiat novus auctor haberi] The phrase is from Cato, Disticha, i. 12: "Rumores fuge, ne incipias novus auctor haberi"; it is quoted by Bonaventura, *Speculum Disciplinae*, i. 36.

Anglicanas subtilitates] Cp. c. viii. s. 134, for 'Anglicana perspicacitas' as opposed to 'Parisiensis soliditas.' Wood says "that the most subtle arguing in school divinity did take its beginning in England and from Englishmen; and that also from thence it went to Paris:" *Hist. Oxf.* i. 159. The remark comes from Alexander Minutianus, quoted in Pits, p. 341.

palam detrahunt] Cp. St. Jerome, praef. in Paralip., "in publico detrahentes et legentes in angulo."

attingit] From *Wisd.* viii. 1: "attingit ergo a fine usque ad finem fortiter (sapientia)."



ut se ipsam communicet universis. Indos, Babylonios, Aegyptios atque Graecos, Arabes et Latinos eam pertransisse iam cernimus. Iam Athenas deseruit, iam a Roma recessit, iam Parisius praeterivit, iam ad Britanniam, insularum insignissimam 5 quin potius microcosmum, accessit feliciter, ut se Graecis et barbaris debitricem ostendat. Quo miraculo perfecto, conicitur a plerisque quod, sicut Galliae iam sophia tepescit, sic eiusdem militia penitus evirata languescit. 10

## Capitulum 10.

### De successiva perfectione librorum.

158 Sapientiam veterum exquirentes assidue, iuxta sapientis consilium, Ecclesiastici 39<sup>o</sup>: Sapientiam inquit, omnium antiquorum exquiret sapiens, non in illam opinionem dignum duximus declinandum, ut primos artium fundatores omnem ruditatem eli- 15 masse dicamus, scientes adinventionem cuiusque

7 *gregis E* || 8 *perfecto A B D E perfecte* Ja. edd. ||  
15 *primum D* ||

debitricem] Cp. Rom. i. 14: "Graecis ac barbaris, sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum."

militia languescit] This, it may be noticed, was written not long after the naval victory of Sluys, and only a year or two before the Battle of Cressy.



fideli canonio ponderatam pusillam efficere scientiae  
 portionem. Sed per plurimorum investigationes sol-  
 licitas, quasi datis symbolis singillatim, scientiarum  
 ingentia corpora ad immensas, quas cernimus,  
 quantitates successivis augmentationibus succre- 5  
 runt. Semper namque discipuli, magistrorum sen-  
 tentias iterata fornace liquantes, praeneglectam  
 scoriam excoxerunt, donec fieret aurum electum  
 probatum terrae purgatum septuplum et perfecte,  
 nullius erronei vel dubii admixtione fucatum. 10

159 Neque enim Aristoteles, quamvis ingenio giganteo  
 floreret, in quo naturae complacuit experiri quantum  
 mortalitati rationis posset annectere, quemque paulo  
 minus minoravit ab angelis Altissimus, illa mira  
 volumina, quae totus vix capit orbis, ex digitis suis 15

1 *fidelis canonio* ult. litt. deleta *A canonico E canone* Ja.  
*conamine* edd. || 4 *quas* om. *E* || 6 *semperque* *D* || 9 *probatum*  
*terrae* om. Ja. || 9 *perfecte* om. edd. || 12 *gigantis* Ja. || 13 *im-*  
*mortalitati* Ja. *admittere* *A* edd. *committere* Ja. ||

canonio] Nearly all the best MSS. read *canonio*, although  
 I find no trace of the word elsewhere.

dati symbolis] *Symbolam dare* is a classical phrase for con-  
 tributions to a joint entertainment; for its metaphorical use  
 we may compare A. Gellius, vi. 13, and *συμβάλλονται* in the  
 passage quoted below from Aristotle.

electum] Cp. Ps. xi. 7: "Argentum igne examinatum pro-  
 batum terrae purgatum septuplum."

paulo minus ab angelis] From Heb. ii. 7, 9.

vix capit orbis] Cp. a sequence in the York Missal, ii. 80:  
 "Virgo Dei genetrix, quam totus non capit orbis"—and the  
 well-known hyperbole of S. John in the last verse of his



suxit. Quinimmo Hebraeorum, Babyloniorum, Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Persarum etiam et Medorum, quos omnes diserta Graecia in thesauros suos transtulerat, sacros libros oculis lynceis penetrando perviderat. Quorum recte dicta recipiens, 5  
 160 aspera complanavit, superflua resecauit, diminuta supplevit et errata delevit; ac non solum sincere docentibus sed etiam oberrantibus regratiandum censuit, quasi viam praebentibus veritatem facilius inquirendi, sicut ipsemet 2°. Metaphysicae clare 10  
 docet. Sic multi iurisperiti condidere Pandectam,

1 *Hebraeorum* om. Coch. || 6 *resecauit* edd. || 7 *erronea* edd. || 8 *et* Ja. ||

Gospel: "nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere posse eos qui scribendi sunt libros."

oculis lynceis] This phrase, which is used by Aristotle (*e. g.* De Generat. et Corrupt., i. 10) and is not uncommon in classical Latin, originally referred to Lynceus, the Argonaut, who was famed for the keenness of his vision. But it was then transferred to the lynx, and gave rise to the fable that it could see through a wall. Cp. Boet., De Cons. Phil., iii. pr. 8; Bacon, Op. M., f. 223, "de lynce, qui videt per mediam parietem;" Holkot, Super Sap., f. 151c, 247a.

oberrantibus regratiandum] Lib. i. brev., 1: Οὐ μόνον δὲ χάριν ἔχειν δίκαιον τούτοις ὧν ἂν τις κοινωνήσαι ταῖς δόξαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι ἐπιπολαιότερον ἀποφηνάμενοις. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι συμβάλλονται τι· τὴν γὰρ ἔξιν προήσκησαν ἡμῶν.

Pandectam] The term Pandects from the Greek Πανδέκται was applied to encyclopedic works, and the term is used by Justinian in referring to the digest of Roman law made by his orders from the writings of the Roman jurists. In medieval times it was also applied to the Bible.



sic medici multi Tegni, sic Avicenna Canonem, sic Plinius molem illam Historiae Naturalis, sic Ptolemaeus edidit Almagesti.

- 161 Quemadmodum namque in scriptoribus annalium  
considerare non est difficile quod semper posterior 5  
praesupponit priorem, sine quo praelapsa tempora  
nullatenus enarrare valeret, sic est in scientiarum  
auctoribus aestimandum. Nemo namque solus  
quamcunque scientiam generavit, cum inter vetus-  
tissimos et novellos intermedios reperimus, antiquos 10  
quidem si nostris aetatibus comparentur, novos vero  
si ad studiorum fundamenta referantur, et istos  
162 doctissimos arbitramur. Quid fecisset Vergilius,  
Latinorum poeta praecipuus, si Theocritum, Lu-  
cretium et Homerum minime spoliasset et in 15

2 *violam illam* D Ja. || 3 *Almagestum* Ja. || 9 *quamque* Ja.  
*generavit tamen inter* A E Ja. *veterrimos* edd. || 12 *studiorum*  
in rasura B *studiosorum* D *fundamina* A E Ja. edd. ||

Tegni] The writings of Galen were known in the middle ages through the Arabian physicians, and the title of his *Τέχνη Ἱατρική*, the best-known of his works, was corrupted into *Tegni* or *Tegne*.

Avicenna Canonem] Avicenna or Ibn-Sina, the famous Arabian philosopher and physician of the eleventh century, drew largely from the writings of the Greeks.

molem illam] *Violam* may, perhaps, be due to a misreading of *volumina illa*, a very common way of referring to Pliny's work (*e.g.* Holkot, *Super Sap.*, f. cxviii.), and the phrase he himself uses in speaking of Aristotle, H. N. viii. 16: "quinquaginta ferme volumina illa praeclara de animalibus condidit."

Almagesti] See ch. i. s. 21, *note*.



eorum vitula non arasset? quid nisi Parthenium  
 Pindarumque, cuius eloquentiam nullo modo potuit  
 imitari, aliquatenus lectitasset? Quid Sallustius,  
 Tullius, Boetius, Macrobius, Lactantius, Martianus,  
 immo tota cohors generaliter Latinorum, si Athe- 5  
 narum studia vel Graecorum volumina non vidis-  
 163 sent? Parum certe in scripturae gazophylacium  
 Hieronymus, trium linguarum peritus, Ambrosius,  
 Augustinus, qui tamen Graecas litteras se fatetur  
 odisse, immo Gregorius, qui prorsus eas se 10

1 vincula *E errasset* Sch. Coch. || 10 *se om.* *E* edd. *describitur* edd. ||

non arasset] From Judges, xiv. 18.

Parthenium] A Greek poet, of whom a single line has come down to us in consequence of its adoption by Virgil into the Georgics (i. 437). He was Virgil's tutor in Greek. De Bury probably owed his knowledge of him either to Macrobius (v. 17) or Aulus Gellius (xiii. 26).

Pindarumque] Cp. Quintil., Inst. Orator., x. 1. 61: "Horatius eum merito credidit nemini imitabilem," referring to Hor. Carm. iv. 2. Inglis suggests that we should read "Quid Horatius nisi Parthenium Pindarumque," which is ingenious but not convincing, though we might certainly have expected to find some mention of Horace.

gazophylacium] Cp. Luke, xxi. 1. So Peter Lombard begins the *Liber Sententiarum*: "Cupiens aliquid . . . cum paupercula in gazophylacium Domini mittere."

Hieronymus] Cp. Aug., De Civ. Dei, xviii. 44: "Hieronymus homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus."

Augustinus] Conf. i. 13, 14: "Quid autem erat causae cur Graecas litteras oderam, quibus puerulus induebar, ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratum est."

Gregorius] Epp. vii. 32., "quamvis Graecae linguae nescius;" xi. 74: "nam nos nec Graece novimus, nec aliquod



nescisse describit, ad doctrinam ecclesiae contulissent, si nihil eisdem doctior Graecia commodasset? Cuius rivulis Roma rigata, sicut prius generavit philosophos ad Graecorum effigiem, pari forma postea protulit orthodoxae fidei tractatores. Sudores 5 sunt Graecorum symbola quae cantamus, eorundem declarata consiliis et multorum martyrio confirmata.

164 Cedit tamen ad gloriam Latinorum per accidens hebetudo nativa, quoniam sicut fuerunt in studiis 10 minus docti, sic in erroribus minus mali. Ariana nempe malitia fere totam eclipsarat ecclesiam, Nestoriana nequitia, quae blasphema rabie debacchari praesumpsit in virginem, tam nomen quam definitionem Theotokos abstulisset reginae non 15 pugnando sed disputando, nisi miles invictus Cyril-

1 nescire Ja. || 3 rivuli D || 12 eclipsaret B eclipserat E eclipsavit edd. || 15 Theochotos codd. Θεοτόκον Ja. || 16 non pugnando sed disputando om. A insimiles E ||

opus aliquando Graece conscripsimus." The story of the burning of the Palatine Library by Gregory rests upon the statement of John of Salisbury, Policrat. ii. 26, and viii. 19, and is now discredited. Buckle has pointed to the fact that De Bury does not mention it: Misc. Works, ii. 314.

Theotokos] Nestorius, the Bishop of Constantinople, refused to apply the name Θεοτόκος, "the Mother of God," to the Virgin Mary, and this heresy led to his deposition and to the separation of the Eastern and Western churches.

reginae] Cp. Jer. xliv. 17: "reginae caeli."

Cyrellus] A great part of the life of S. Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, was devoted to a vehement and unscrupulous



lus, ad monomachiae congressum paratus, eam  
favente consilio Ephesino in spiritu vehementi  
165 penitus exsufflasset. Innumerabiles nobis sunt  
Graecorum haeresium tam species quam auctores;  
nam sicut fuerunt sacrosanctae fidei primitivi cul- 5  
tores, ita et primi zizaniorum satores produntur  
historiis fide dignis. Sicque posterius profecerunt  
in peius quod, dum Domini inconsutilem tuni-  
cam scindere molirentur, claritatem doctrinae prae-  
habitam perdiderunt totaliter ac novis tenebris 10  
excaecati decidunt in abyssum, nisi ille sua  
occulta dispenset potentia, cuius sapientiam nu-  
merus non metitur.

166 Haec hactenus; nam hic nobis subducitur iudi-  
candi facultas. Unum tamen elicimus ex praedictis, 15  
quod damnosa nimis est hodie studio Latinorum  
Graeci sermonis inscitia, sine quo scriptorum vete-  
rum dogmata sive Christianorum sive gentilium  
nequeunt comprehendi. Idemque de Arabico in  
plerisque tractatibus astronomicis, ac de Hebraico 20  
pro textu sacrae bibliae, verisimiliter est censendum,

5 fuerunt om. D Ja. || 6 prout dicitur et producantur  
edd. || 8 dum lucentur claritatem A inconsubilem B || 9 proha-  
bitam prodiderunt D Ja. || 11 ceciderunt E || 17 inscientia D  
Ja. || 19 apprehendi Ja. ||

contest with Nestorius, whose deposition he finally effected at  
the Council of Ephesus in 431.

inconsutilem tunicam] From Jo. xix. 23.

sapientiam numerus] Cp. Ps. cxlvi. 5: "Sapientiae eius  
non est numerus."



quibus defectibus proinde Clemens quintus occurrit, si tamen praelati quae faciliter statuunt, fideliter  
 167 observarent. Quamobrem grammaticam, tam Hebraeam quam Graecam, nostris scholaribus providere curavimus cum quibusdam adiunctis, quorum 5  
 adminiculo studiosi lectores in dictarum linguarum scriptura, lectura necnon etiam intellectu, plurimum poterunt informari, licet proprietatem idiomatis solus auditus aurium animae repraesentet.

7 *scriptura necnon intellectu D scriptura immo et intellectu*  
 Ja. *etiam om.* edd. || 9 *auris animo* edd. ||

Clemens quintus] At the Council of Vienne in 1312, Raymond Lully obtained from the Council a decree for the establishment of professorships of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, at the expense of the Pope and the prelates: Rohrbacher, *Hist. Univ. de l'Église Cath.*, x. 356. Roger Bacon had urged Clement IV. to cause Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic to be taught in the Universities: see preface to the *Op. Majus*, ed. 1750, xxxi.

grammaticam] These grammars have unfortunately not been preserved: it need not be assumed from the phrase *providere curavimus* that De Bury wrote them himself. It is more likely that he did not. But it is pretty obvious that Hallam has under-estimated his knowledge of Greek: *Lit. of Europe*, i. 73. The *adjuncta* were probably the glossaries of exotic words and technical terms referred to in ch. xii. s. 176.



## Capitulum 11.

Quare libros liberalium litterarum prae-  
tulimus libris iuris.

168 Iuris positivi lucrativa peritia dispensandis terrenis accommodata, quanto huius saeculi filiis famulatur utilius, tanto minus ad capescenda sacrae scripturae mysteria et arcana fidei sacramenta filiis lucis confert, utpote quae disponit peculiariter ad amicitiam 5 huius mundi, per quam homo, Iacobo attestante, Dei constituitur inimicus. Haec nimirum lites humanas, quas infinita producit cupiditas, intricatis

1 *In libris iuris codd. dett. positiva lucra A* || 2 *accomodata D* || 7 *Hinc Ja.* || 8 *tepiditas Ja.* ||

lucrativa peritia] Cp. Wiclif, De Septem Donis, c. vi. : "Monachi dicuntur artibus humanis, iuri civili atque canonico patenter vel private intendere. Cuius causa videtur, quia ipsa est sciencia lucrativa." With De Bury's opinion of law we may cp. Petrarch's "reason for abandoning the study" in his letter to Posterity : "quia earum (sc. legum) usus nequitia hominum depravatur ; itaque piguit perdiscere, quo inhoneste uti nollem et honeste vix possem, et si vellem, puritas inscitiae tribuenda esset" (Ep., ed. Fracassetti, i. 5).

huius saeculi filiis] From Luke, xii. 8 : "filii huius saeculi prudentiores filiis lucis in generatione sua sunt."

Iacobo attestante] James, iv. 4 : "quicumque ergo voluerit amicus esse saeculi huius inimicus Dei constituitur."



legibus, quae ad utrumlibet duci possunt, extendit crebrius quam exstinguit; ad quas tamen sedandas a iurisconsultis et piis principibus noscitur emanasse.

169 Sane cum contrariorum sit eadem disciplina potentiaque rationalis ad opposita valeat, simulque 5 sensus humanus proclivior sit ad malum, huius facultatis exercitatoribus accidit, ut plerumque litibus intendendis indulgeant plus quam paci, et iura non ad legislatoris intentum referant sed ad suae machinationis effectum verba retorqueant violenter. 10

170 Quamobrem, licet mentem nostram librorum amor \*hereos possideret a puero, quorum zelo

1 *utrumque* D *dici* Ja. || 2 *sedendas* D || 3 *propriis* Ja. || 5 *similisque* D Ja. || 6 *huius autem* D || 12 *herous* MS. Bas L in mg. *ereus* 2 *haeres* Ja. om. edd. || 12 *zelus* D ||

eadem disciplina] A commonplace in Aristotle: cp. Eth. v. 1: δύναμις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπιστήμη δοκεῖ τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ αὐτὴ εἶναι.

amor hereos] Nearly all the MSS. read *hereos*, a word of which no trace is to be found in the dictionaries. The reading of one MS. *herous* would make sense, but the weight of authority is so overwhelming that it is not safe to adopt it. The phrase *amor heroicus* indeed occurs in an ecclesiastical sequence: York Missal, ii. 217. *Haerens*, which would appear in the MSS. as *herens*, might be supported by the common use of *haereo* in Cicero: cp. ad Att. xiii. 40, 2: "in libris haereo." Inglis translates "master love," as though it were *herus*; Cocheris takes absolutely no notice of the word. The difficulty seems to be in the termination *os*, and I am inclined to suggest that De Bury may have written δεινός. The passage would then be a nearly verbatim repro-



languere vice voluptatis accepimus, minus tamen librorum civilium appetitus nostris adhaesit affectibus minusque huiusmodi voluminibus acquirendis concessimus tam operae quam impensae. Sunt enim utilia, sicut scorpio in theriaca, quemadmodum libro de Pomo Aristoteles, sol doctrinae, de  
 171 logica definivit. Cernebamus etiam inter leges et scientias quamdam naturae differentiam manifestam, dum omnis scientia iocundatur et appetit quod suorum principiorum praecordia, introspectis visceribus, pateant et radices suae pul-  
 lulationis emineant suaeque scaturiginis emanatio luceat evidenter; sic enim ex cognato et consono lumine veritatis conclusionis ad principia ipsum

I languescere D Ja. || 4 opera quam impensis Ja. || 5 scorpionum tiriaca A scorpio et tiriaca D Ja. || 7 diffinit D || 7 inter se leges D Ja. || 8 differentiam habere D Ja. || 9 oclusionis E ||

duction of a sentence in the letter of the Emperor Julian to Ecdikios, Ep. 9: ἐμοὶ βιβλίων κτήσεως ἐκ παιδαρίου δεινὸς ἐντέτηκε πόθος. Whether the Bishop can be supposed to have heard of this passage or not, he doubtless knew the word δεινὸς; the word δεινωσις occurs in Quintilian, Macrobius and Martianus Capella.

languere] Cp. I Tim. vi. 4: "languens circa quaestiones."  
 scorpio in theriaca] Aristot., Opp. Lat., 1496, f. 373: "Haec scientia utilis est, ut est utilis scorpio in tyriaca; quae licet sit toxicum tamen si datur patienti dolorem minuit et praestat remedium." The *De Pomo*, a treatise on the immortality of the soul, was falsely attributed to Aristotle, being really translated from the Hebrew by Manfred, son of the emperor Frederick II. The quotation occurs in Holkot, Super Sap., f. 154c.



corpus scientiae lucidum fiet totum, non habens  
 172 aliquam partem tenebrarum. At vero leges, cum  
 sint pacta et humana statuta ad civiliter conviven-  
 dum vel iuga principum superiecta cervicibus subdi-  
 torum recusant reduci ad ipsam synteresim, aequi- 5  
 tatis originem, eo quod plus habere se timeant de  
 voluntatis imperio quam de rationis arbitrio. Qua-  
 propter causas legum discutiendas non esse suadet  
 173 in pluribus sententia sapientum. Nempe consuetu-  
 dine sola leges multae vigorem adquirunt non neces- 10  
 sitate syllogistica, sicut artes, prout 2°. Politicorum  
 adstruit Aristoteles, Phoebus scholae, ubi politiam

2 leges om. E || 3 et fortasse secludendum || 5 synderesim  
 codd. veritatis ac equitatis edd. equitatis exigue D || 6 eoque  
 Ja. timent Ja. || 11 artes provenire 2°. Ja. ||

lucidum fiet] From Luke xi. 34, 36.

convivendum] Cp. Wisd. viii. 9.

synteresim] The correct spelling of this word, though it is frequently written synderesis (cp. endelechia for entelechia). *Συντήρησις* was used by the early Christian moralists, and adopted into scholastic ethics. In the Doctor and Student, dialog. i. c. 13, it is explained: "a naturall power of ye soule, set in the highest part thereof mooving and stirring it to good, and abhorring euil." Sanderson explains it: "Habet enim se synteresis ad conscientiam proprie dictam, sicut se habet habitus intellectus ad scientiam." Jeremy Taylor distinguishes conscience into *synteresis* and *syneidesis*, of which Whewell, Elem. of Moral., i. 235, observes: "We may term the former, conscience as law; the latter, conscience as witness." Cp. Stephanus, s.v., and Ueberweg, Hist. of Phil. E. T. i. 440, 474.

adstruit] Cp. s. 40. Here the word is used in the sense of



redarguit Hippodami, quae novarum legum inventoribus praemia pollicetur, quia leges veteres abrogare et novellas statuere est ipsarum, quae fiunt, valitudinem infirmare. Quae enim sola consuetudine stabilitatem accipiunt, haec necesse est de- 5  
suetudine dirimantur.

174 Ex quibus liquido satis constat quod, sicut leges nec artes sunt nec scientiae, sic nec libri legum libri scientiarum vel artium proprie dici possunt. Nec est haec facultas inter scientias recensenda, quam 10  
licet geologiam appropriato vocabulo nominare. Libri vero liberalium litterarum tam utiles sunt scripturae divinae, quod sine ipsorum subsidio frustra ad ipsius notitiam intellectus aspiret.

3 sunt edd. || 5 est ut E sec. manu, Ja. || 6 dimittantur Ja. || 9 proprie om. E || 11 a proprio D ||

*affirmare*, which is rejected in the lexicons; see, however, De Vit's Forcellini.

Hippodami] Pol. ii. 8, 24: τὸ ῥαδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων εἰς ἑτέροους νόμους καινοὺς ἀσθενῆ ποιεῖν ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου δύναμιν. Holkot also refers to this passage, Super Sap., f. 310, sq.

geologia] A curious anticipation of this modern word, of course in a very different and merely metaphorical sense.



## Capitulum 12.

Quare libros grammaticales curavimus  
tanta diligentia renovare.

- 175 Cum librorum lectionibus foveremur assidue, quos  
moris erat cotidie legere vel audire, perpendimus  
evidenter quantum impediatur intellectus officium  
vel unius vocabuli semiplena notitia, dum nullius  
enuntiationis sententia capitur, cuius pars quanta- 5  
176 libet ignoratur. Quapropter exoticorum verborum  
interpretationes mira sedulitate iussimus annotari  
antiquorumque grammaticorum orthographiam, pro-  
sodiam, etymologiam ac diasyntheticam incon-  
cussa curiositate consideravimus terminosque vetus- 10  
tate nimia caligantes descriptionibus congruis  
lucidare curavimus, quatenus iter planum nostris  
studentibus pararemus.
- 177 Haec est sane summa totalis quare tot gram-

Tit. *curamus* B || 2 *impendimus* D || 5 *capiatur* D || 7 *subtili-*  
*tate* Ja. || 9 *diasintasacam* A et *dyasenteticam* B *diasintasim*  
D E || 10 *consideramus* D ||

diasyntheticam] The Greek *διασυνθετικὴν* = syntax. The  
word is not in Ducange, but Diefenbach in his *Supplementum*  
has *diasenteticus*. The form *diasentetica* is found in For-  
tescue, *De Laud. Legum Angliae*, c. vii. (ed. Clermont, p.  
344).



maticorum antiquata volumina emendatis codicibus renovare studuimus, ut stratas regias sterneremus, quibus ad artes quascunque nostri futuri scholares incederent inoffense.

### Capitulum 13.

Quare non omnino negleximus fabulas poetarum.

- 178 Omnia genera machinarum quibus contra poetas 5  
solius nudae veritatis amatores obiciunt duplici  
refelluntur umbone, quia vel in obscena materia  
gratus cultus sermonis addiscitur vel, ubi ficta sed  
honestata tractatur sententia, naturalis vel historialis  
veritas indagatur sub eloquio typicae fictionis. 10
- 179 Quamvis nimirum omnes homines natura scire  
desiderent, non tamen omnes aequaliter delectantur

7 *obscena ingratus* Ja. || 10 *tepise E* || 11 *naturaliter D* Ja.

stratas regias] In the later Latin the feminine *strata* was commonly used—*strata regia*, the regular term for what we still call the “king’s highway.” *Via regia* occurs in the Vulgate, Num. xxi. 22. Cp. Jo. Sarisb., Metalog., i. 18: “Ars itaque est quasi strata publica qua ire, ambulare . . . omnibus ius est.”

Cap. 13] With this chap. cp. Jo. Sarisb., Policrat., vii. 10. scire desiderent] Cp. ch. i. s. 14, *note*.



addiscere, quinimmo studii labore gustato et sensuum fatigatione percepta plerique nucem abiciunt inconsulte prius quam testa soluta nucleus attingatur. Innatus est enim homini duplex amor, videlicet propriae libertatis in regimine et aliquantae voluptatis in opere; unde nullus sine causa alieno se subdit imperio vel opus quodcunque exercet cum taedio sua sponte. Delectatio namque perficit operationem, sicut pulcritudo iuventutem: sicut Aristoteles verissime dogmatizat 10<sup>o</sup> Ethicorum. Idcirco prudentia veterum adinvenit remedium, quo lascivium humanum caperetur ingenium quodammodo pio dolo, dum sub voluptatis iconio delicata Minerva delitesceret in occulto. Muneribus parvulos assolemus allicere ut illa gratis velint addiscere, quibus eos vel invites intendimus applicare. Non enim natura corrupta eo impetu, quo prona se pellit ad vitia, transmigrat ad virtutes. Hoc

2 *inuicem* M Ja. || 4 *hominum* 2<sup>x</sup> *annorum* M *hominum* 24 *annorum* Ja. || 10 *verisimile* E || 11 *Incirco* E || 12 *lascivium* A B E || 14 *munera* M Ja. *delitescerent* Ja. || 15 *parvulos* A *parvos* B || 17 *eo impetitur* edd. || 18 *hoc enim* edd. ||

duplex amor] James, who seems to have relied mainly upon the MS. M, has here been strangely misled by it into his extraordinary reading, as though the love of liberty and pleasure were confined to men of twenty-four. The copyist of M appears to have read 2<sup>x</sup>, representing *duplex*, as standing for 24. See *Library Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 132 f.

lascivium] See the note on ch. v. s. 79.

delicata] Cp. Is. xlvi. 8.



in brevi versiculo nobis declarat Horatius, ubi artem tradit poeticam, ita dicens :

Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae.

Hoc idem in alio versu eiusdem libri patenter insinuat, ita scribens :

5

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

182 Quot Euclidis discipulos retroiecit Elefuga, quasi scopulus eminens et abruptus, qui nullo scalarum suffragio scandi posset ! Durus, inquiunt, est hic

7 *elifuga D Eleofuga Ja. Ellefuga* edd. || 8 *scalarum A Ja. scolarium B scolarum D* ||

Horatius] A. P., 333 and 343. These two lines quoted just in the same connexion, were hackneyed even before De Bury.

Euclidis] Cocheris takes this to be Euclid the philosopher, but as the following note shows, there is no doubt that the reference is to the geometer.

Elefuga] A barbarous name for what we call the *pons asinorum*, which is explained by Roger Bacon, Op. Tert., ii. 21 : "Quinta propositio geometriae Euclidis dicitur Elefuga, id est fuga miserorum." This would point to its derivation from the Greek ἔλεος and fuga, but it may perhaps be from the Arabic, just as *Dulcarnon*, a similar term for the 47th prop., was usually but incorrectly explained as *δουλία* *carnis* (cp. Neckam, De N. R., p. 295), but is really Arabic (see Selden, Opp., iii. 1730). Ducange, s.v. *Eleufuga*, cites a passage from Alanus, Anticlaudianus, iii. 6, but without offering any explanation of the word : "Huius tyrones cur artis Eleufuga terret, Atque prius cogit illos exire, profundum Quam littus subeant, labique quam in arte laborent."

Durus est hic sermo] From Jo. vi. 61.



sermo ; quis potest eum audire? Filius inconstantiae, qui tandem in asinum transformari volebat, philosophiae studium nullatenus forsitan dimisisset, si eidem contacta voluptatis velamine familiariter occurrisset. Sed mox Cratonis cathedra 5 stupefactus et quaestionibus infinitis, quasi quodam fulmine subito percussus, nullum prorsus videbat refugium nisi fugam.

183 Haec in excusationem adduximus poetarum; iam studentes intentione debita in eisdem ostendimus inculpandos. Ignorantia quidem solius 10

2 tantum D || 4 contenta D ||

Filius inconstantiae] This passage, and particularly the name Crato, have been an insoluble puzzle to the editors. But I believe that the source is the *De disciplina scholarium*, which was long attributed to Boetius. The writer says (c. iii.) of the *filius inconstantiae*: "Cratonis studiis tutius inhiabat, cuius semicirculi capacitas multis formidabat quaestionibus," so that at length the unhappy listener exclaims: "Miserum me esse hominem! utinam humanitatem exuere possem et asinitatem induere!" Gervaise tried to show that the book was written by a certain Boëce Epo, a professor at Douai in the 16th century (see Migne, vol. lxiv. p. 1554). But the work is quoted not only by De Bury, but also by Holkot (Super. Sap., l. li.), and earlier still by Roger Bacon (Op. Maj., i. 7); and is recorded in the *Biblionomia* of Richard de Furnivalle (f. 18 v.). Thomasius has shown that it was written by Thomas Cantimpratensis (n. 1201, m. 1263). Thomas Aquinas wrote a commentary upon it. Cp. c. i. s. 15.

inculpandos] The sense requires *non inculpandos*, or, perhaps we should read *non culpandos*. But *inculpare* is found in a letter cited in Ralph de Diceto, Imag. Histor., ii. 127.



unius vocabuli praegrandis sententiae impedit intellectum, sicut proximo capitulo est assumptum. Cum igitur dicta sanctorum poetarum figmentis frequenter alludant, evenire necesse est ut nescito poemate introducto tota ipsius auctoris intentio penitus obstruatur. Et certe, sicut dicit Cassiodorus libro suo, De institutione divinarum litterarum, non sunt parva censenda sine quibus magna constare non possunt. Restat igitur ut ignoratis poesibus ignoretur Hieronymus, Augustinus, Boetius, Lactantius, Sidonius et plerique alii, quorum litaniam prolixum capitulum non teneret.

184 Venerabilis vero Beda huius dubitationis articulum distinctione declaravit dilucida, sicut recitat compiler egregius Gratianus, plurimum repetitor auctorum, qui sicut fuit avarus in compilationis materia, sic confusus reperitur in forma. Scribit tamen sic distinctione 37, *Turbat acumen*: saeculares

3 ergo B saepe E || 4 eveniet codd. evenire scripsi cum Ja.  
|| 13 vir B ||

proximo capitulo] See *ante*, ch. xii. s. 175.

Cassiodorus] The passage quoted by De Bury from Cassiodorus is in S. Jerome's letter to Laeta on the education of her daughter, Ep. 7: "Non sunt contemnenda quasi parva, sine quibus magna constare non possunt."

Gratianus] Gratian collected the decrees and constitutions of the Popes into a body of canon law.

*Turbat acumen*] Before books were paged the usual method of citing was to give two or three words, as here, to indicate the reference more exactly.



litteras quidam legunt ad voluptatem, poetarum figmentis et verborum ornatu delectati; quidam vero ad eruditionem eas addiscunt, ut errores gentium legendo detestentur et utilia, quae in eis invenerint, ad usum sacrae eruditionis devoti convertant: tales laudabiliter saeculares litteras addiscunt. Haec Beda.

85 Hac institutione salutifera moniti sileant detrahentes studentibus in poetis ad tempus, nec ignorantes huiusmodi connescientes desiderent, quia hoc 10 est simile solatio miserorum. Statuat igitur sibi quisque piae intentionis affectum et de quacunque materia, observatis virtutis circumstantiis, faciet studium Deo gratum; et si in poeta profecerit, quemadmodum magnus Maro se fatetur in Ennio, non 15 amisit.

3 *gentilium* edd. || 4 *errendo* B || 5 *inwertant* B E *innecant* edd. || 10 *quaestiones* Ja. *quod* D || 11 *igitur* om. AB edd. *sibi* om. E || 12 *qualicunque* Ja. || 13 *virtutum* Ja. *fiet* D *faciat* edd. || 15 *Marro* B *Varro* in mg. Ja. *studium non* 3 ||

solatio miserorum] The well-known proverbial phrase, which is first found versified in Marlowe's *Faust* as "Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris," may have been derived from Seneca, *De Consol.*, 31.

in Ennio] Referring to the story told in Donatus' life of Vergil, c. xviii: "Cum is aliquando Ennium in manu haberet, rogareturque quidnam faceret, respondit se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii."



## Capitulum 14.

## Qui debent esse librorum potissimi dilectores.

186 Recolligenti praedicta palam est et perspicuum qui deberent esse librorum praecipui dilectores. Qui namque sapientia magis egent ad sui status officium utiliter exsequendum, hi potissimum sacris vasis sapientiae propensio<sup>5</sup>rem proculdubio exhibere tenentur sollicitum grati cordis affectum. Est autem sapientis officium bene ordinare et alios et seipsum: secundum Phoebum philosophorum, Aristotelem, primo Metaphysicae, qui nec fallit nec fallitur in humanis. Quapropter principes et <sup>10</sup> praelati, iudices et doctores et quicumque rei publicae directores, sicut prae aliis sapientia opus habent, ita prae aliis vasis sapientiae zelum debent.

1 et om. Coch. || 4 *potissimi D* || 9 *prooemio* edd. Ja. *E* || 12 *aliis vasis sapientiae* Ja. || 13 *debent habere* vulgo ||

Aristotelem] Met. i. 2: οὐ γὰρ δεῖν ἐπιτάττεσθαι τὸν σοφόν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτάττειν, καὶ οὐ τοῦτον ἐτέρῳ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ τὸν ἥττον σοφόν.

nec fallit] Cp. Macrobius, C. in Somn. Scip., i. 6. 64, of Hippocrates: "qui tam fallere quam falli nescit." The phrase occurs again, post, s. 195: "quae nec fallit nec fallitur veritas."



187 Philosophiam nimirum conspexit Boetius in sinistra quidem sceptrum et in dextra libros gestantem, per quod universis evidenter ostenditur nullum posse rempublicam debite regere sine libris. Tu, inquit Boetius loquens Philosophiae, hanc sententiam Platonis ore sanxisti beatas fore respublicas si eas vel studiosi sapientiae regerent vel earum rectores studere sapientiae contigisset. Rursus hoc nobis insinuat ipse gestus imaginis, quod quanto dextra sinistram praecellit, tanto contemplativa dignior est activa, simulque sapientis interesse monstratur nunc studio veritatis, nunc dispensationi temporalium indulgere vicissim.

188 Philippum legimus diis regratiatum devote, quod Alexandrum concesserant temporibus Aristotelis esse natum, cuius instructionibus educatus regni paterni moderamine dignus esset. Dum Phaethon ignarus regiminis fit currus auriga paterni, nunc

1 respexit Ja. || siquidem D Ja. || 8 hoc nomen D || 10 contemplativa vita edd. || 11 sapientissime D Ja. || 13 temporibus A B || 15 Alexandro E ||

conspexit Boetius] See the *De Cons. Phil.*, i. pr. 4.

sententiam Platonis] Referring to the well-known passage in the 5th book of the *Republic*, p. 473 D, cited by Boetius, *loc. cit.*

contemplativa dignior] The editors have inserted *vita*, but *contemplativa* and *activa* are used, as here, without the substantive by S. Bonaventura in a letter quoted in Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 247, *note*.

Philippum] The story is told in Jo. Sarisb., *Policrat.*, iv. 6; and the letter is given in Burley's *Vitae*, c. 53.

currus auriga] From the epitaph on Phaethon in Ovid, *Met.*



vicinitate nimia nunc remota distantia infeliciter administrat mortalibus aestum Phoebi ac, ne omnes periclitarentur subiecti propinquo regimine, iuste meruit fulminari.

189 Referunt tam Graecorum quam Latinorum his- 5  
toriae, quod nobiles inter eos principes non fuerunt, qui litterarum peritia caruerunt. Sacra lex Mosaica, praescribens regi regulam, per quam regat, librum legis divinae sibi praecipit habere descriptum, Deut. 17<sup>o</sup>, secundum exemplar a sacerdotibus exhi- 10  
bendum, in quo sibi legendum esset omnibus diebus vitae suae. Sane labilitatem humanae memoriae et instabilitatem virtuosae voluntatis in homine satis noverat Deus ipse, qui condidit et qui fingit cotidie  
190 corda hominum singillatim. Quamobrem quasi 15  
omnium malorum antidotum voluit esse librum, cuius lectionem et usum tanquam saluberrimum

*2 administret E ac om. B || 3 pro iniquo A || 4 sublimari A pr. manu, B E || 9 dominice D || 13 virtuosa E ||*

ii. 327: "Hic situs est Phaethon, currus auriga paterni, Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis."

litterarum peritia] This phrase and the reference to Deuteronomy are taken from John of Salisbury, Policrat. iv. 6.

librum legis] Deut. xvii. 18, 19: "describet sibi Deuteronomium legis huius in volumine, accipiens exemplar a sacerdotibus Leviticae tribus . . . legetque illud omnibus diebus vitae suae."

instabilitatem] Cp. Thomas a Kempis, Doctrinale Iuvenum, iv. 1: "cor hominis est instabile et memoria multum vaga et labilis."

qui fingit] From Ps. xxxii. 15.



spiritus alimentum cotidianum iugiter esse iussit, quo refocillatus intellectus nec enervis nec dubius trepidaret ullatenus in agendis. Istud eleganter Ioannes Saresberiensis pertractat in suo Policraticon, libro 4°. Caeterum omne genus hominum, 5 qui tonsura vel signo clericali praefulgent, contra quos libri 4° 5° et 6° capitulis querebantur, libris tenentur veneratione perpetua famulari.

### Capitulum 15.

Quot commoda confert amor librorum.

191 Humanum transcendit ingenium, quantumcunque de fonte fuerit Pegaseo potatum, instantis capituli 10 titulum explicare perfecte. Si linguis angelorum et hominum quis loquatur, si in Mercurium transformetur aut Tullium, si dulcescat Titi Livii eloquentia lactea, si Demosthenis suavitate peroret, aut Moysi balbutiem allegabit, vel cum Ieremia se puerum 15

2 *dubiis D* || 6 *nomine c. E* || 9 *excedit vulgo quodcunque Ja. fuerit om. edd.* || 11 *si om. Ja.* || 12 *transformaretur edd.* ||

linguis angelorum] From I Cor. xiii. 1.  
eloquentia lactea] Cp. Quint. Inst. Orator., x. 132: "illa Livii lactea ubertas." So S. Jerome describes him as "lacteo eloquentiae fonte manantem:" Opp. i. 269.

cum Ieremia] Jer. i. 6: "A, a, a, Domine Deus, ecce nescio loqui, quia puer ego sum."



nescientem fatebitur adhuc loqui, vel imitabitur resonantem in montibus altis echo. Amorem namque librorum amorem sapientiae constat esse, sicut  
 192 2°. cap°. est probatum. Hic autem amor philosophia Graeco vocabulo nuncupatur, cuius virtutem 5  
 nulla creata intelligentia comprehendit, quoniam vere creditur bonorum omnium esse mater : Sap. 7°. Aestus quippe carnalium vitiorum quasi caelicus  
 ros extinguit, dum motus intensus virtutum animalium vires naturalium virtutum remittit, otio 10  
 penitus effugato, quo sublato periere Cupidinis arcus omnes.

193 Hinc Plato in Phaedone : In hoc, inquit, manifestus est philosophus, si absolvit animam a corporis

1 *confitebitur* edd. || 4 *compertum* Ja. || 5 *appellatur* B || 6 *creatura* Ja. || 7 *vere* om. edd. || 11 *artes* A omnes om. M Ja. || 12 *fedrone* codd. ||

montibus altis echo] Cp. Wisd. xvii. 18 : "resonans de altissimis montibus Echo."

esse mater] Wisd. vii. 12 : "laetatus sum in omnibus, quoniam antecedebat me ista sapientia, et ignorabam quoniam horum omnium mater est."

vires remittit] Apparently from Avicenna : cp. Holkot, Super Sap., f. 155c. *Animalis* = quod animam spectat : see Ducange.

arcus omnes] From Ovid, Remed. Am., 139 : "Otia si tollas periere Cupidinis arcus Contemtaeque jacent et sine luce faces." The reading in Ovid was uncertain. See Robinson Ellis, in Journ., of Phil. xv. 246, who notes that it is cited in Neckam as 'artes.' I find it quoted in Holkot, Super Sap., f. 174a, with *arcus*, and f. 208b with *artes*.

in Phaedone] 64E : δῆλός ἐστιν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπολύων ὄτι



communione differentius aliis hominibus. Ama, inquit Hieronymus, scientiam scripturarum et carnis vitia non amabis. Demonstravit hoc Xenocrates, deiformis in constantia rationis, quem nobile scortum, Phryne nomine, statuam definivit non 5 hominem, cum nullus eum valeret illecebris evirare, quemadmodum Valerius li<sup>o</sup>. 4<sup>o</sup>, c<sup>o</sup>. 3<sup>o</sup>. plene refert. Hoc ipsum noster Origenes ostendit, qui ne eum ab omnipotenti femina effeminari contingeret, utriusque sexus medium per abnegationem extremorum elegit: 10 animosum quippe remedium, nec naturae tamen consentaneum nec virtuti, cuius est hominem non insensibilem facere passionum sed subortas a fomite rationis enecare mucrone.

194 Rursus mundanas pecunias parvipendunt ex 15 animo, quotquot amor affecit librorum, dicente Hieronymo contra Vigilantium, epistola 54: non

1 *differentiis* edd. || 6 *nullis* edd. || 9 *omni petenti* E ||  
15 *mundana et* edd. *ex animo* om. edd. || 16 *afficit* Ja. Coch. ||

μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κοινωνίας διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. The passage is quoted by Holkot, Super Sap., f. 300 d.

Hieronymus] Epp. 125 and again Epp. 130. The saying is quoted by Jo. Sarisb., Policrat., vii. 10, and Holkot, Super Sap., f. 155a. It rests of course on Gal. v. 16.

Xenocrates] Coch. makes the thoroughly French remark: "Richard oublie d'ajouter que son héros était pris de vin, et que s'il ne succomba pas à la tentation, ce fut probablement plus par caducité que par chasteté."

dicente Hieronymo] *Loc. cit.* "Non est eiusdem hominis et aureos nummos et scripturas probare, et degustare vina et prophetas vel apostolos intelligere."



est eiusdem hominis aureos nummos et scripturas probare. Unde a quodam metrico sic dictum est :

Nulla libris erit apta manus ferrugine tincta,  
 Nec nummata queunt corda vacare libris.  
 Non est eiusdem nummos librosque probare ; 5  
 Persequitur libros grex, Epicure, tuus.  
 Nummipetae cum libricolis nequeunt simul esse ;  
 Ambos, crede mihi, non tenet una domus.

Nullus igitur potest libris et Mammonae deservire.

195 Vitiorum deformitas in libris maxime reprobatur, 10  
 ut inducatur omnimode vitia detestari, qui libros  
 dilexerit perscutari. Daemon, qui a scientia nomen  
 habet, per librorum scientiam potissime triumphatur,  
 cuius fraudes multipliciter flexuosae milleque  
 perniciosi maeandri per libros panduntur legenti- 15

2 dictum est om. E || 5 non . . . tuus om. Coch. ||  
 7 nummicolae Ja. || 9 ergo E edd. servire edd. || 11 et inducatur B ut inde dicatur edd. ||

Nulla libris] The lines are from the *Eutheticus*, or introductory verses to the *Policraticon* of John of Salisbury, 269-272, 281, 282. This work must be distinguished from the *Entheticus*, *De dogmate philosophorum*, though they are confounded by Hardy in his *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii. 418. Both occur in the volume described in the introduction as once belonging to De Bury.

Mammonae] Cp. Matt. vi. 24.

a scientia] Cp. Aug. De Civ. Dei, ix. 20 : “Δαίμονες enim dicuntur, quoniam vocabulum Graecum est, ob scientiam nominati.”

maeandri] Cp. Wiclif, De Septem Donis, ed. Buddensieg, p. 556 : “meandri mille anticristi.”



bus, ne se transfigurans in angelum lucis dolis circumveniat innocentes. Divina nobis per libros reverentia revelatur, virtutes quibus colitur propalantur expressius, atque merces describitur, quam quae nec fallit nec fallitur veritas pollicetur. 5

196 Imago simillima futurae beatitudinis est sacrarum contemplatio litterarum, in quibus nunc Creator nunc creatura conspicitur, ac de torrente perpetuae iocunditatis hauritur. Fides fundatur potentia litterarum; spes librorum solatio confirmatur, ut 10 per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus. Caritas non inflatur sed aedificatur per veram notitiam litterarum; immo super libros sacros constat luce clarius Ecclesiam stabilitam.

197 Delectant libri, prosperitate feliciter arridente, con- 15 solantur individue, nubila fortuna terrente: pactis humanis robur attribuunt, nec feruntur sententiae graves sine libris. Artes et scientiae in libris consistunt, quarum emolumenta nulla mens sufficeret enarrare. Quanti pendenda est mira librorum 20

5 quaeque Ja. || 7 scripturarum litterarum E || 16 nubilia B nubula E torrente Ja. || 19 quorum edd. || 20 quanta Ja. ||

se transfigurans] From 2 Cor. xi. 14.

nunc Creator, nunc creatura] Cp. Wisd. xiii. 5; Rom. i. 25. According to Avicenna, the perfection of the rational soul is to become the mirror of the universe: Rénan, Averroès, p. 95.

iocunditatis hauritur] Cp. Prov. xviii. 22.

caritas non inflatur] From 1 Cor. xiii. 4.



potentia, dum per eos fines tam orbis quam  
 temporis cernimus, et ea quae non sunt, sicut ea  
 quae sunt, quasi in quodam aeternitatis speculo  
 198 contemplantur. Montes scandimus, abyssorum vo-  
 ragines perscrutamur, species piscium quos com- 5  
 munis aer nequaquam similiter continet, intuemur  
 codicibus; fluviorum et fontium diversarum ter-  
 rarum proprietates distinguimus; metallorum atque  
 gemmarum genera et minerae cuiusque materias  
 de libris effodimus, herbarumque vires, arborum 10  
 et plantarum addiscimus, prolemque totam pro-  
 libito cernimus Neptuni, Cereris et Plutonis.

199 Quod si nos caelicolas visitare delectat, suppedi-  
 tantes Taurum, Caucasum et Olympum, Iunonis  
 regna transcendimus, ac septena territoria planeta- 15  
 rum funiculis et circulis emetimur. Ipsum tandem  
 firmamentum supremum, signis, gradibus et imagini-

*I eos potentes fines D || 2 terminum Ja. || 4 s. et a. edd. ||*  
*6 aer . . . continet om. A salubriter B E edd. || 7 f. et d.*  
*edd. || 9 munera E || 11 planetarum Ja. || 12 libitu E edd. ||*  
*14 Iovis E in rasurar edd. || 15 et septem edd. ||*

fines tam orbis] Cp. Job, xxviii. 24.

ea quae non sunt] From Rom. iv. 17.

aeternitatis speculo] In the *Anti-Claudianus* of Alanus, Faith gives Phronesis a mirror: "Hic videt ingenitas species, speculatur ideas Caelestes, hominum formas, primordia rerum, Causarum causas, rationum semina, leges Parcarum, fati seriem, mentemque Tonantis."

similiter] It is not easy to say whether *similiter* or *salubriter* gives the feebler sense. The remark recalls the burlesque lines of the *Anti-Jacobin*: "The feather'd race with pinions skim



bus varietate maxima decoratum, lustramus. Ibi  
 polum antarcticum, quem nec oculus vidit nec  
 auris audivit, inspicimus; luminosum iter galaxiae  
 et animalibus caelestibus picturatum zodiacum de-  
 200 lectabili iocunditate miramur. Hinc per libros ad 5  
 separatas transimus substantias, ut cognatas in-  
 telligencias intellectus salutet primamque causam  
 omnium ac motorem immobilem infinitae virtutis  
 oculo mentis cernat et amore inhaereat sine fine.  
 Ecce per libros adiuti beatitudinis nostrae merce- 10  
 dem attingimus, dum adhuc existimus viatores.

2 articum *E* || 6 ut om. *D* et *E* et ut edd. || 9 et . . . dum  
 om. *E* || 10 *adducti* edd. ||

the air; Not so the mackerel and still less the bear" (Progress  
 of Man, 34). Holkot, however, has something not unlike it,  
 Super Sap., f. 327d.

varietate decoratum] Cp. Esther, i. 6.

nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit] From 1 Cor. ii. 9.

separatas substantias] This probably means the angels; cp.  
 S. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, i. 79: "In quibus-  
 dam libris de Arabico translatis substantiae separatae, quas  
 nos angelos dicimus, intelligentiae vocantur;" or it may  
 mean the super-sensible essences, which according to S.  
 Thomas are the proper study of the angels: *ibid.* i. 84:  
 "Intellectus angelici, qui est totaliter a corpore separa-  
 tus, obiectum proprium est substantia intelligibilis a corpore  
 separata, et per huiusmodi intelligibile materialia cognoscit;  
 intellectus autem humani, qui est coniunctus corpori, pro-  
 prium obiectum est quidditas sive natura in materia cor-  
 porali existens."

mercedem attingimus] Cp. Hugo de S. Victor, Erudit.  
 didasc., i. 9, speaking of *contemplatio*, "in qua . . . in hac  
 vita etiam quae sit boni operis merces futura praegustatur."



- 201 Quid plura? proculdubio, sicut Seneca docente didicimus, otium sine litteris mors est et vivi hominis sepultura, ita revera a sensu contrario litterarum seu librorum negotium concludimus hominis esse vitam. 5
- 202 Rursus per libros tam amicis quam hostibus intimamus, quae nequaquam secure nuntiis commendamus: quoniam libro plerumque ad principum thalamos ingressus conceditur, quo repelleretur penitus vox auctoris, sicut Tertullianus in principio 10 Apologetici sui dicit. Carceribus et vinculis custoditi, ademptaque penitus corporis libertate, librorum legationibus utimur ad amicos, eisque causas nostras expediendas committimus, atque illuc transmittimus, quo nobis fieret causa mortis accessus. Per 15 libros praeteritorum reminiscimur, de futuris quodammodo prophetamus, praesentia quae labuntur et fluunt scripturae memoria stabilimus.
- 203 Felix studiositas et studiosa felicitas praepotentis

*I docente octogesima quarta epistola quæ incipit Desii iam de te esse sollicitus* edd. || *2 didicimus A E addiscimus B* om. edd. *dicimus* Coch. || *5 hominis* om. edd. *vita E* || *7 principium E* || *10 primo* Ja. || *11 custoditionibus utimur E* || *14 atque illuc transmittimus* om. edd. || *19 preponentis D* ||

Seneca docente didicimus] See Epp. 82. 3.

Tertullianus] Apol. c. i.: "... liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum litterarum ad aures vestras pervenire" (Romani imperii antistites).

studiosa felicitas] The phrase reminds us of the *curiosa felicitas* of Petronius (c. 118).



eunuchi, de quo Actuum 8°. narratur, quem amor propheticae lectionis succenderat tam ardentem, quod nec ratione itineris a legendo cessaret, reginae Candacis regiam populosam oblivioni tradiderat, gazas quibus praeerat a cura cordis semoverat, et tam 5 iter quam currum quo ferebatur neglexerat. Solus amor libri totum sibi vindicaverat domicilium castitatis, quo disponente mox fidei ianuam meruit introire. O gratiosus amor librorum, qui Gehennae filium et alumnum Tartari per gratiam baptis- 10 malem filium fecit regni!

204 Cesset iam stilus impotens infiniti negotii consummare tenorem, ne videatur aggredi temere, quod in principio fatebatur impossibile cuiquam esse.

*I quoniam Ja. || 4 r. speciosam A regna populosa L pro-  
plasam I palatium edd. oblivioni om. E. Gazasque Ja. Coch. ||  
7 vendicarat A B E || 10 gloriosus E generosus Ja. ||*

reginae Candacis] Roger Bacon, Op. Maj., p. 146, cites Pliny to show that the name Candax was a name of dignity like Cæsar: H. N., vi. 35.

gazas] Cp. Acts, viii. 27.

domicilium castitatis] Cp. Walter Map, De Nug. Cur., iv. 3, who calls Solomon "sapientiaë singulare domicilium."



## Capitulum 16.

Quam sit meritorium libros novos scribere et veteres renovare.

- 205 Sicut necessarium est reipublicae pugnaturis militibus arma providere Vulcania et congestas victualium copias praeparare, sic Ecclesiae militanti contra paganorum et haereticorum insultus operae pretium constat esse sanorum librorum multitudine 5 communiri.
- 206 Verum quia omne quod servit mortalibus, per prolapsum temporis mortalitatis dispendium patitur, necesse est vetustate tabefacta volumina innovatis successoribus instaurari, ut perpetuitas, quae naturae 10 repugnat individui, concedatur privilegio speciei. Hinc est, quod signanter dicitur (Ecclesiastes, 12) : faciendi plures libros nullus est finis. Sicut enim librorum corpora, ex contrariorum commixtione compacta, suae compositionis continuum sentiunt 15

1 *propugnaturis* Ja. || 2 *Volcana* B *Vulcana* D *militaria* edd. || 5 *seniorum* E Ja. || 7 *omne* om. A || 8 *lapsum* Ja. ||

arma Vulcania] The phrase occurs in Cic. Tusc. ii. 14, 33 ; "si tectus Vulcaniis armis, id est fortitudine, resiste." The reference here is doubtless to arms forged by the armourer, and not to fire-arms.



detrimentum, sic per prudentiam clericorum reperiri debet remedium, per quod liber sacer, solvens naturae debitum, haereditarium obtineat substitutum et simile semen fratri mortuo suscitetur verificeturque statim illud Ecclesiastici 30: Mortuus est pater 5 illius et quasi non est mortuus, similem enim sibi 207 reliquit post se. Sunt igitur transcriptiones veterum quasi quaedam propagationes recentium filiorum, ad quos paternum devolvatur officium, ne librorum municipium minuatur. Sane huiusmodi transcrip- 10 tores antiquarii nominantur, quorum studia inter ea quae complentur labore corporeo plus sibi placere Cassiodorus confitetur, De institutione divinarum litterarum, capitulo 30, ita subdens: Felix, inquit, intentio, laudanda sedulitas, manu 15 hominibus praedicare, linguas digitis aperire, salutem mortalibus tacitam dare, et contra diaboli surreptiones illicitas calamo et atramento pugnare.

4 *suscitet* Ja. || 7 *relinquit* Ja. *transcriptores* A edd. || 8 *propagatores* edd. || 9 *patrum* Ja. || 10 *scīe* B *huius* D || 12 *plus* om. edd. *plinius* I || 14 *scribens* Ja. || 15 *scientia* edd. || 17 *tacitum* A E *tacit* B *tactu* M Ja. ||

naturae debitum] The phrase is quite classical, though it does not seem to be found in Cicero. It occurs in inscriptions: Orelli, nn. 3453, 4482.

semen fratri] Cp. Deut. xxv. 5; Matt. xxii. 24.

antiquarii] See c. viii. s. 143, *note*.

plus sibi placere Cassiodorus] The editor of the ed. pr. took *plus* for a contraction of Plinius, and omitted *Cassiodorus*, which was restored in the Paris edition, omitting *plus*.



Haec ille. Porro scriptoris officium Salvator exercuit, dum inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra, Ioh. 8°, ut nullus quantumcunque nobilis dedignetur hoc facere, quod sapientiam Dei patris intuetur fecisse. 5

208 O scripturae serenitas singularis, ad cuius fabricam inclinatur artifex orbis terrae, in cuius tremendo nomine flectitur omne genu! O venerandum artificium singulariter prae cunctis praxibus, quae hominis manu fiunt, cui pectus Dominicum incur-<sup>10</sup> vatur humiliter, cui digitus Dei applicatur vice calami functus! Sevisse Dei filium vel arasse, texuisse vel fodisse non legimus; nec quicquam aliud de mechanicis divinam decebat sapientiam humanatam, nisi scribendo litteras exarare, ut<sup>15</sup> discat quilibet generosus aut sciolus, quod hominibus digiti tribuuntur divinitus ad scribendi negotium potius quam ad bellum. Unde librorum sententiam plurimum approbamus, qua clericum inertem scripturae censuerunt quodammodo fore mancum,<sup>20</sup> cap°. 6°. supra.

209 Scribit iustos in libro viventium Deus ipse; lapideas quidem tabulas digito Dei scriptas Moyses accepit. Scribat librum ipse qui iudicat, Iob pro-

3 *indignetur A E Ja.* || 9 *fraxibus D practicibus E* ||  
12 *ceterum edd.* || 14 *dicebat E* || 23 *quidem om. E* ||

omne genu] From Rom. xiv. 11; Phil. ii. 10 (cp. Is. xlv. 24).

scribit iustos] Cp. Exod. xxxii. 32.

Iob proclamat] Job, xxxi. 35.



clamat; digitos scribentis in pariete *Mane Thecel Phares* Nabuchodonosor tremens vidit, Danielis 5°. Ego, inquit Ieremias, scribebam in volumine atramento, Ieremiae 36°. Quod vides, scribe in libro, Christus Ioanni praecipit caro suo: Apoc. 5 primo. Sic Isaiæ, sic Iosuae officium scriptoris iniungitur, ut tam actus quam peritia futuris in posterum commendetur. In vestimento et in femore scriptum habet *Rex regum et Dominus dominantium* Christus ipse, ut sine scriptura nequeat apparere 10  
 210 perfectum Omnipotentis regum ornamentum. Defuncti docere non desinunt, qui sacrae scientiae libros scribunt. Plus Paulus scribendo sacras epistolas Ecclesiae profuit fabricandae quam gentibus et Iudaeis evangelizando sermone. Nempe per libros 15  
 cotidie continuat comprehensor, quod olim in terra positus inchoavit viator; sicque verificatur de doctoribus libros scribentibus sermo propheticus Danielis 12: qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.

1 scribentes D Ja. || 2 Balthasar edd. || 5 praecepit edd. ||  
 7 ut tantae artis peritia edd. ||

inquit Ieremias] Jer. xxxvi. (not xxx., as James prints), 18. Coch. translates "dans un livre noir!"

Rex regum] From Rev. xix. 16: cp. 1, Tim. ii. 15.

defuncti docere non desinunt] Cp. Heb. xi. 4.

comprehensor] This word, which I do not find elsewhere, is no doubt derived from such passages as 1 Cor. ix. 24:

"Sic currite ut *comprehendatis*," and Phil. iii. 12, 13.

viator] See *ante*, ch. iv. s. 47, note.



- 211 Porro polychronitudinem antiquorum, prius quam Deus originalem mundum cataclysmo dilueret, adscribendam miraculo, non naturae catholici decrevere doctores, ut Deus ipse tantum eis vitae concederet, quantum reperiendis et in libris scriben- 5  
dis scientiis conveniret: inter quas astronomiae miranda diversitas, ut experimentaliter visui subderetur, sexcentorum annorum periodum secundum  
212 Iosephum requirebat. Verumtamen non abnuunt, quin terrae nascentia illius temporis primitivi 10  
utilius alimentum praestarent mortalibus quam moderni, quo dabatur non solum hilarior corporis

1 *ppolicritudinem* A *policrotudinem* B E *pulcritudinem*  
D 2 Ja. *sollicitudinem* edd. || 4 *eis* om. Ja. || 7 *experimento*  
Ja. || 8 *videretur* A || 10 *terrena scientia* B || 11 *prestaret* E ||

polychronitudinem] The MSS. and the context point to this barbarous word, which is found in Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Scolastica*, Esther, c. vii., where in narrating the story of the Septuagint translators, he says: "diluculo egrediebantur ad optandum regi bona et polichronitudinem." A gloss on the passage explains that "polichronitudo dicitur oratio, quae fit ab ecclesia pro regibus, pontificibus, principibus terrae et optat eis bona . . . et temporis longitudinem." The word is incorporated in the new Ducange from Diefenbach, but in the incorrect form *politronitudo*, and simply with the explanation *preces pro magnatibus*. *Polychronitudinem* should no doubt be restored for *pulcritudinem* in Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imper.*, iii. 106. For the subject matter, cp. S. August. *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 9, and 23.

secundum Iosephum] Cp. Antiq. Jud., i. 3, 9: ἄπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζήσασιν ἑξακοσίους ἐνιαυτούς· διὰ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὁ μέγας ἐνιαυτὸς πληροῦται.



energia sed et diuturnior florens aetas; ad quam non modicum contulit, quod virtuti vivebant omnimode, resecato superfluo voluptatis. Igitur quisquis Dei munere scientia est dotatus iuxta consilium spiritus sancti, Ecclesiastici 38 : sapien- 5  
tiam scribe in tempore vacuitatis; ut et praemium cum beatis et spatium in praesenti augeatur aetatis.

<sup>213</sup> Caeterum, si ad mundi principes divertamus sermonem, imperatores egregios invenimus non solum artis scribendi peritia floruisse, sed et ipsius operi 10 plurimum indulgisse. Iulius Caesar, primus omnium et tempore et virtute, Commentarios reliquit tam belli Gallici quam civilis a semetipso conscriptos; item de Analogia duos libros, et Anticatones totidem, et poema quod inscribitur Iter, et opuscula 15

I *enchia* A *enechia* B *uenethia* D *enethia* E *endelechia*  
vulgo *εβεξία* Ja. *energia* scripsi || 4 *ditatus* Coch. || 14 *idem*  
Ja. ||

energia] It is not easy to make anything of the readings of the better MSS. ; the reading of the inferior MSS. and the printed texts is obviously an attempt at correction. James conjectured *εβεξία* ; but *energia* is perhaps more likely, and we may compare S. Jerome, Praef. ad Genes. : "Habet nescio quid latentis *energiae* viva vox." It may indeed be in favour of James's suggestion that Galen wrote a treatise *Περὶ Ἐβεξίας*, which is mentioned among his works in Walter Burley's account of Galen in the *Vitae* (c. 113).

sapientiam scribe] Eccli. xxxviii. 25, where the words are : "Sapientia scribae in tempore vacuitatis, et qui minoratur actu sapientiam percipiet." *Scribit* or *scribat* seems to be required to complete the sentence.



alia multa fecit. Tam Iulius quam Augustus  
 cautelas scribendi litteram pro littera adinvenit, ut  
 214 quae scriberent occultarent. Nam Iulius quartam  
 litteram proposuit loco primae, et sic deinceps  
 alphabetum expendit; Augustus vero secunda 5  
 pro prima, et pro secunda tertia, et ita deinceps  
 usus fuit. Hic in Mutinensi bello, in maxima mole  
 rerum, cotidie et legisse et scripsisse traditur ac  
 etiam declamasse. Tiberius lyricum carmen  
 215 scripsit, et poemata quaedam Graeca. Claudius 10  
 similiter, tam Graeci quam Latini sermonis peritus,  
 varios libros fecit. Sed prae his et aliis Titus in  
 scribendi peritia floruit, qui cuiuscunque volebat  
 litteram imitabatur facillime, unde se profitebatur  
 falsarium maximum, si libuisset, fieri potuisse. Haec 15  
 omnia Suetonius, De vita duodecim Caesarum,  
 annotavit.

1 *infinita* Ja. || 4 *praeposuit* Ja. || 5 *alphabetum exphabe-*  
*tum E secundam* vulgo || 6 *tertiam* vulgo || 14 *mutuavit* edd. ||

Suetonius] Cp. Julius Caesar, c. 56; Octavianus, c. 84;  
 Tiberius, c. 70; Claudius, c. 41, 42; Titus, c. 3.



## Capitulum 17.

De debita honestate circa librorum  
custodiam adhibenda.

216 Non solum Deo praestamus obsequium novorum  
librorum praeparando volumina, sed sacratae  
pietatis exercemus officium, si eosdem nunc illaese  
tractemus, nunc locis idoneis redditos illibatae  
custodiae commendemus; ut gaudeant puritate, 5  
dum habentur in manibus, et quiescant secure, dum  
in suis cubilibus reconduntur. Nimirum post vestes  
et vascula corpori dedicata dominico, sacri libri  
merentur a clericis honestius contrectari, quibus  
totiens irrogatur iniuria, quotiens eos praesumit 10  
attingere manus foeda. Quamobrem exhortari  
studentes super negligentis variis reputamus ex-  
pediens, quae vitari faciliter semper possent et  
mirabiliter libris nocent.

217 In primis quidem circa claudenda et aperienda 15  
volumina sit matura modestia, ut nec praecipiti  
festinatione solvantur, nec inspectione finita sine  
clausura debita dimittantur. Longe namque diligen-  
tius librum quam calceum convenit conservari.

6 qui exstant B requiescant edd. || 10 presumunt attingere  
manu feda edd. || 13 mutari I imitari vulgo ||



- 218 Est enim gens scholarium perperam educata communiter et, nisi maiorum regulis refraenetur, infinitis infantiis insolescit. Aguntur petulantia, praesumptione tumescunt; de singulis iudicant tanquam certi, cum sint in omnibus inexperti. 5
- 219 Videbis fortassis iuvenem cervicosum, studio segniter residentem, et dum hiberno tempore hiems alget, nasus irriguus frigore comprimente distillat, nec prius se dignatur emunctorio tergere, quam subiectum librum madefecerit turpi rore; cui 10 utinam loco codicis corium subderetur sutoris! Unguem habet fimo fetente refertum, gagati similimum, quo placentis materiae signat locum. Paleas dispertitur innumeras, quas diversis in locis collocat evidentur, ut festuca reducat quod memoria non 15

3 *infrunitis inscitiis* edd. *instantiis* A || 4 *tumescunt* om. D || 6 *fortasse* edd. || 8 *opprimente* Ja. || 9 *emunctorie* L || 12 *cacati* 2 *giganti* vulgo *Gagatisimillimum* Ja. || 13 *figurant* B ||

*infrunitis*] The reading of 'infrunitis' is tempting, and is found in most of the printed texts: cp. Eccli. xxxi. 23. Holkot, Super. Sap., f. 319a, discusses the meaning of the word, but his etymology is of course absurd.

*emunctorio*] This word, which is found in the dictionaries only in the sense of 'snuffers,' is here obviously a pocket-handkerchief.

*gagati*] This word has puzzled the editors, but it is a perfectly good Plinian word (H. N., 36, 34) for jet, with which as a product of Whitby the Bishop was no doubt familiar. Beda (i. 1) mentions it as one of the products of Britain: "gignit et lapidem gagatem." In his glossary to Higden's Polychronicon, Mr. Lumby explains it to mean agate, but the Latin for agate is *achates*.



retentat. Hae paleae, quia nec venter libri digerit  
 nec quisquam eas extrahit, primo quidem librum a  
 solita iunctura distendunt, et tandem negligenter  
 220 oblivioni commissae putrescunt. Fructus et caseum  
 super librum expansum non veretur comedere, 5  
 atque scyphum hinc inde dissolute transferre; et  
 quia non habet eleemosynarium praeparatum, in  
 libris dimittit reliquias fragmentorum. Garrulitate  
 continua sociis oblatrare non desinit, et dum multi-  
 tudinem rationum adducit a sensu physico vacua- 10  
 rum, librum in gremio subexpansum humectat  
 aspergine salivarum. Quid plura? statim duplicatis  
 cubitis reclinator in codicem et per breve studium  
 soporem invitat prolixum, ac reparandis rugis limbos  
 replicat foliorum, ad libri non modicum detrimen- 15  
 221 tum. Jam imber abiit et recessit et flores apparuerunt  
 in terra nostra. Tunc scholaris quem describimus,  
 librorum neglector potius quam inspector, viola,  
 primula atque rosa necnon et quadrifolio farciat  
 librum suum. Tunc manus aquosas et scatentes 20

6 *sollicite* E || 7 *eleemosinarum sacculum* edd. || 10 *philosophico* Ja. || 14 *reparandis* A B || 18 *violata* Ja. *quadrifoliis* Ja. ||  
 20 *scatente* E ||

eleemosynarium] The alms-bag, which "in those days answered the purpose of what we call a pocket:" Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 425. In this sense the feminine form was generally used (see Ducange, *s. v.*), and hence perhaps the reading *sacculum*.

reliquias fragmentorum] From Ps. xvi. 14.

imber abiit] From Cant. ii. 11, 12.



sudore volvendis voluminibus applicabit. Tunc pulverulentis undique chirothecis in candidam membranam impinget et indice veteri pelle vestito venabitur paginam lineatim. Tunc ad pulicis mordentis aculeum sacer liber abicitur, qui tamen vix clauditur 5 infra mensem, sed sic pulveribus introiectis tumescit quod claudentis instantiae non obedit.

222 Sunt autem specialiter coercendi a contrectatione librorum iuvenes impudentes, qui cum litterarum figuras effigiare didicerint, mox pulcherrimorum voluminum, si copia concedatur, incipiunt 10 fieri glossatores incongrui et ubi largiorem marginem circa textum perspexerint, monstruosis apparitant alphabetis; vel aliud frivolum qualecunque quod

4 *lineatam* vulgo *culicis* M Ja. || 5 *tum* Ja. || 10 *didicerunt* Ja. || 13 *prospexerint* B *monstruose appareant alphabetum* edd. *monstrosis* Ja. || 14 *aliquid* Ja. ||

chirothecis] Gloves were forbidden by the constitutions of the Friar Preachers and of the Premonstratensians; see Denifle and Ehrle's *Archiv*, i. 205.

lineatim] No doubt the true reading. Wattenbach takes the common reading *lineatam* to refer to the practice of going through the text line by line, and putting in the colours: *Schriftwesen in Mittelalter*, p. 207. But the meaning is surely that the reader runs his finger along the lines in reading.

pulicis] A word which, like *scabies* and *pustulae* in s. 225, speaks volumes. It is curious to note how at least one MS. tones the word down to *culicis*, while another (T) adds the words "taceo pediculi."

frivolum] Cp. Alcuin's lines *Ad musaeum*: "Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis; Frivola nec propter erret et ipsa manus;" Migne, ci. 745.



imaginationi occurrit celerius, incastigatus calamus protinus exarare praesumit. Ibi Latinista, ibi sophista, ibi quilibet scriba indoctus aptitudinem penae probat, quod formosissimis codicibus quo ad usum et pretium creberrime vidimus obfuisse. 5

223 Sunt iterum fures quidam libros enormiter detruncantes, qui pro epistolarum chartulis schedulas laterales abscindunt, littera sola salva; vel finalia folia, quae ad libri custodiam dimittuntur, ad varios abusus assumunt; quod genus sacrilegii sub in- 10 terminatione anathematis prohiberi deberet.

224 Convenit autem prorsus scholarium honestati ut, quotiens ad studium a refectione reditur, praecedat omnino lotio lectionem, nec digitus sagimine

*I celerius om. edd. || 4 firmissimis Ja. || 6 quidem E || 7 cedulas A E sedulas B D || 14 lectionem om. D Ja. digitis—delibutis edd. sanguine B D Ja. ||*

exarare praesumit] Cp. Boccaccio's complaint to Benvenuto da Imola, quoted in Symonds' *Revival of Learning*, p. 153.

Latinista, ibi sophista] The students of the early colleges at Oxford were enjoined to use Latin in ordinary conversation, and might therefore be called *Latinistae*. In the third year of his residence the student of the liberal arts was allowed to become a 'sophister,' and to take part in logical disputations. See Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, 86, 205.

lotio lectionem] Forks, of course, were not yet invented. The Bishop may have had in his mind the maxim of the Schola Salernitana: "Lotio post mensam tibi confert munera bina; Mundificat palmas et lumina reddit acuta."

sagimine] Sagimen was fat of any kind, which the monks of some orders were allowed, but in others forbidden, to eat: see Ducange *in v.*



delibutus aut folia prius volvat, aut signacula libri solvat. Puerulus lacrimosus capitalium litterarum non admiretur imagines, ne manu fluida polluat pergamenum; tangit enim illico quicquid videt. Porro laici, qui librum aequè respiciunt resupine 5 transversum sicut serie naturali expansum, omni 225 librorum communione penitus sunt indigni. Hoc etiam clericus disponat, ut olens ab ollis lixa cinereus librorum lilia non contingat illotus, sed qui ingreditur sine macula pretiosis codicibus minis- 10 trabit. Conferret autem plurimum tam libris quam scholaribus manuum honestarum munditia, si non essent scabies et pustulae characteres clericales. 226 Librorum defectibus, quoties advertuntur, est otius occurrendum; quoniam nihil grandescit citius 15

1 signacula E || 5 librum e converso respiciunt Ja. || 6 sic B omnium Ja. || 7 penitus om. Ja. || 9 folia edd. || 10 quia E || 11 confert D Ja. ||

signacula libri solvat] From Rev. v. 2. It is here no doubt used to mean the clasps of a book.

librorum lilia] This is the reading of the better MSS., and though I do not find any other instance of the word in this sense, it is perfectly intelligible.

ingreditur sine macula] From Ps. xiv. 2.

scabies et pustulae] These words convey a lively idea of the habits of the time. So Petrarch in the De Remed. Utri. Fortunae, ii. 85, has a chapter, 'De Scabie.' It is significantly said of Abelard in his life: "*plus solito scabie et quibusdam corporis infirmitatibus gravabatur.*"

characteres clericales] *Character clericalis* was used for *tonsura*: see Ducange.



quam scissura, et fractura, quae ad tempus negligitur, reparabitur postea cum usura.

- 227 De librorum armariis mundissime fabricandis, ubi ab omni laesione salventur securi, Moyses mitissimus nos informat, Deuteron. 31<sup>o</sup>: Tollite, inquit, librum istum et ponite illum in latere arcae foederis Domini Dei vestri. O locus idoneus et bibliothecae conveniens, quae de lignis sethim imputribilibus facta fuit auroque per totum interius et exterius circumtecta! Sed omnem in-  
honestatis negligentiam circa libros tractandos suo Salvator exclusit exemplo, sicut legitur Lucae 4<sup>o</sup>.
- 228 Cum enim scripturam prophetica[m] de se scriptam in libro tradito perlegisset, non prius librum ministro restituit, quam eundem suis sacratissimis  
manibus plicuisset. Quo facto studentes docentur clarissime circa librorum custodiam quantumcunque minima negligi non debere.

7 nostri Ja. || 8 bibliotheca E linguis E || 14 traditam D Ja. libro E ||

Moyses mitissimus] From Num. xii. 3.

lignis sethim] Cp. Ex. xxv. 10, 11; for *imputribilis*, cp. Is. xl. 20; *circumtecta* is perhaps from Heb. ix. 4.



## Capitulum 18.

Quod tantam librorum collegimus copiam  
ad communem profectum scholarium  
et non solum ad propriam voluptatem.

229 Nihil iniquius in humanis perpenditur quam quod  
ea quae geruntur iustissime malignorum obloquiis  
pervertuntur, et inde quis reportat infamiam criminis,  
unde magis meruit spem honoris. Oculo simplici  
perpetrantur quam plurima, nec sinistra dextrae se 5  
commiscet, nullo fermento massa corrumpitur, neque  
ex lino vestis lanaque contextitur. Perversorum  
tamen praestigiis opus pium mendaciter transforma-  
tur in monstrum. Haec est nimirum peccatricis  
naturae reprobanda conditio, quod non solum in 10  
factis moraliter dubiis pro peiore parte sententiat,

Tit. *voluntatem* A Ja. || 2 *eloquiis* A || 3 *pervertantur* D Ja.  
*reportet* D *reperiat* Ja. || 4 *speciem* edd. || 6 *nullo* D || 9 *Hec*  
*etiam nimirum* B || 10 *animae* vulgo ||

Nihil iniquius] Cp. Eccli. x. 10.

oculo simplici] Cp. Matt. vi. 22.

sinistra dextrae] Cp. Matt. vi. 3.

massa corrumpitur] From I Cor. v. 6; cp. Gal. v. 9.

lino lanaque] Cp. Deut. xxii. 11.



immo frequenter illa, quae speciem boni habent, nequitiosa subversione depravat.

230 Quamvis enim amor librorum in clerico ex  
 obiecti natura praeferat honestatem, miro tamen  
 modo obnoxios nos effecit iudiciis plurimorum, 5  
 quorum admirationibus obtrectati, nunc de curiosi-  
 tate superflua, nunc de cupiditate in illa dumtaxat  
 materia, nunc de vanitatis apparentia, nunc de  
 voluptatis intemperantia circa litteras notabamur,  
 quorum revera vituperiis non plus quam canicu- 10  
 lorum latratibus movebamur, illius solius testimonio  
 contentati, ad quem renes et corda pertinet per-  
 231 scrutari. Cum enim voluntatis secretae finalis in-  
 tentio homines lateat unicoque Deo pateat, cordium  
 inspectori, perniciosae temeritatis merentur redargui, 15  
 qui humanis actibus, quorum fontale non vident  
 principium, epigramma tam faciliter superscribunt  
 sinistrum. Finis enim se habet in operabilibus,  
 sicut principia in speculativis vel suppositiones in

5 *efficit* Ja., edd. || 6 *curiosa superfluitate* Ja. || 13 *voluptatis*  
*E* || 19 *supponens E* ||

curiositate] Cp. I Tim. v. 13.

renes et corda] From Ps. vii. 10.

fontale] The word is used by Roger Bacon, Op. M., p. 12, in the account of his wonderful boy: "si sano et efficaci consilio iuxta *fontalem* plenitudinem quam habet dirigeretur, nullus seniorum consequeretur eum in sapientialium profluviis rivo- rum;" *et saepius*. The phrase "virtutis et sapientiae fontale principium" is used of the University of Paris by the Cistercians in 1322: Martene, Anecd., iv. 1509.



mathematicis, teste Aristotele, 7<sup>o</sup> Ethicorum. Quapropter, sicut ex principiorum evidentia conclusionis veritas declaratur, ita plerumque in agibilibus ex honesti finis intentione bonitas moralis in opere sigillatur, ubi alias opus ipsum iudicari deberet in- 5  
differens quo ad mores.

232 Nos autem ab olim in praecordiis mentis nostrae propositum gessimus radicatum, quatenus opportunis temporibus expectatis divinitus aulam quamdam in reverenda universitate Oxoniensi, omnium 10 liberalium artium nutrice praecipua, in perpetuam eleemosynam fundaremus, necessariisque redditibus dotaremus; quam numerosis scholaribus occupatam, nostrorum librorum iocalibus ditaremus, ut ipsi libri et singuli eorundem communes fierent, 15 quantum ad usum et studium, non solum scholaribus aulae tactae, sed per eos omnibus universitatis praedictae studentibus in aeternum, secundum

I *philosophorum principe* E edd. || 4 *insigillatur opere* E || 5 *in differentiis* D || 13 *ditaremus* Ja. edd. *quam . . . ut om.* A || 14 *localibus superditaremus* I || 17 *omnibus* om. E ||

teste Aristotele] vii. 8, 4: ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι τὸ δὴ ἕνεκα ἀρχῆ, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς αἱ ὑποθέσεις.

artium nutrice] S. Augustine, De Civ. Dei, xviii. 9, calls Athens "mater aut nutrix liberalium doctrinarum." In 1254 Pope Innocent IV. spoke of the *communio* of masters and scholars at Oxford as "foecunda mater." Denifle shows that the epithet *alma* with *universitas* is not found before the fourteenth century, and the term *Alma mater* seems to have been first applied to Paris in the Statutes of Vienna in 1389: *Universitäten im Mittelalter*, p. 33.



- formam et modum, quem sequens capitulum declara-  
 233 bit. Quapropter sincerus amor studii zelusque  
 orthodoxae fidei ad aedificationem ecclesiae con-  
 firmandae pepeperunt in nobis sollicitudinem hanc  
 stupendam nummicolis, ut collectos codices unde 5  
 cunque venales neglectis sumptibus emeremus, et  
 qui venundari non debebant, transcribi honestius  
 faceremus.
- 234 Cum enim delectationes hominum ex disposi-  
 tione caelestium corporum, cui mixtorum com- 10  
 plexio frequenter obedit, diversimode distinguan-  
 tur; ut hi in architectura, illi in agricultura, hi in  
 venationibus, illi in navigationibus, hi in bellis,  
 illi in ludis eligant conversari; cecidit circa libros  
 nostrae Mercurialis species voluptatis honestae, 15  
 quam ex rectae rationis arbitrio, cuius nulla sidera

3 *confirmandam* Ja. || 7 *debeant* Ja. || 11 *ut frequenter* E ||

nummicolis] Cp. c. xv. s. 194.

mixtorum complexio] Cp. Holkot, Super Sap., f. 310b:  
 "Dixerunt enim quidam quod homines fiunt boni per naturam,  
 puta ex naturali complexione cum impressione corporum  
 supercaelestium." See Roger Bacon, Op. Maj., p. 112, *sqq.*,  
 for a defence of the true astrology and the opinions of the  
 Fathers. At p. 117 he says: "astronomus, cum videt homi-  
 nes sequi suas complexiones, quae oriuntur a caelesti operatione,  
 sicut et tota generatio, non est mirum si se extendat ad con-  
 siderationem actuum humanorum."

Mercurialis] Cp. Roger Bacon, Op. Maj., p. 121: "Mercurius  
 est significator scripturae et scriptorum et profunditatis  
 scientiarum."

nulla sidera] Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 113, *sqq.*, says that the chief  
 authorities in astrology admit that it cannot be a science of



dominantur imperio, in honorem ordinavimus maiestatis supremæ ut, unde mens nostra tranquillitatem reperit requiei, inde devotissimus cresceret cultus Dei. Quamobrem desinant obtrectantes, sicut caeci de coloribus iudicare; vespertiliones de luminibus disceptare non audeant, atque trabes gestantes in oculis propriis alienas festucas eruere non præsument. Cessent commentis satiricis sugillare quæ nesciunt et occulta discutere, quæ humanis experimentiis non patescunt; qui nos fortassis affectu commendassent benevolo, si ferarum venatui, alearum lusui, dominarum applausui vacassemus.

4 *obtrectatores* Ja. || 5 *vespertiliones* om. D || 6 *deceptare* D || 8 *satiricorum* Ja. ||

certainties, because this would be inconsistent with free will. Yet this does not exclude the influence of the stars: "quamvis enim anima rationalis non cogitur ad actus suos, tamen fortiter induci potest et excitari, ut gratis velit ea, ad quæ virtus caelestis inclinat."

alienas festucas] Cp. Matt. vii. 3, 4.



## Capitulum 19.

De modo communicandi studentibus  
omnibus libros nostros.

- 236 Difficile semper fuit sic homines limitare legibus honestatis, quin astutia successorum terminos niteretur praecedentium transilire et statutas infringere regulas insolentia libertatis. Quamobrem de prudentum consilio certum modum praefiximus, per 5 quem ad utilitatem studentium librorum nostrorum communicationem et usum volumus devenire.
- 237 In primis enim libros omnes et singulos, de quibus catalogum fecimus specialem, concedimus et donamus intuitu caritatis communitati scholarium in 10 aula · N · Oxoniensi degentium, in perpetuam elemosynam pro anima nostra et parentum nostrorum

Tit. *omnes* D || 3 *prudentum* A B || 9 *donamus* om. D *donavimus* edd. *comitati* edd. || 11 ·N· codd. mll. *nostra* Ja. om. edd. *Oxon.* D Ja. ||

-N-] The best MSS. read -N-, which probably stands for *Nomen* and signifies that some name was intended to be filled in. The ed. pr. omits it, but the Spires and Oxford editors print *nostra*, of which Hearne approves: Leland, *Collectt.*, iii. 385, vi. 299. On the question raised by the reading of the text, see the Introduction.



necnon pro animabus illustrissimi regis Angliae Edwardi tertii post conquestum ac devotissimae dominae reginae Philippae consortis eiusdem, ut iidem libri omnibus et singulis universitatis dictae villae scholaribus et magistris tam regularibus quam 5 saecularibus commodentur pro tempore ad profectum et usum studendi, iuxta modum quem immediate subiungimus, qui est talis.

238 Quinque de scholaribus in aula praefata commo-  
rantibus assignentur per eiusdem aulae magistrum, 10  
quibus omnium librorum custodia deputetur, de  
quibus quinque personis tres et nullatenus pauciores  
librum vel libros ad inspectionem et usum dumtaxat  
studii valeant commodare; ad copiandum vero vel  
transcribendum nullum librum volumus extra saepta 15  
domus concedi.

239 Igitur cum scholaris quicumque saecularis vel  
religiosus, quos in praesenti favore ad paria iudi-

2 *Eduardi* vulgo ||

qui est talis] Cocheris suggests that the following rules were borrowed by De Bury from the Regulations issued for the library of the Sorbonne in 1321, some years before the Bishop visited Paris; but they were quite as probably derived from Oxford: see Introduction.

de scholaribus] "The term 'scholar' may be regarded as nearly equivalent to 'fellow' in our early college statutes, indicating a student entirely supported by the revenues of the foundation and participating in the general government:" Mullinger, *Univ. of Cambridge*, i. 167. This applies equally to Oxford: Maxwell Lyte, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, 77.

ad paria] Cp. Bracton, *De Legibus*, ii. 37, 2: "Foemina



camus, librum aliquem commodandum petiverit, considerent diligenter custodes an librum talem habuerint duplicatum; et si sic, commodent ei librum cautione recepta, quae librum traditum in valore transcendat iudicio eorundem, fiatque statim tam de 5 cautione quam de libro commodato memorialis scriptura, continens nomina personarum quae librum tradunt et illius qui recipit, cum die et anno Domini quo continget fieri commodatum.

240 Si vero custodes invenerint, quod ille liber qui 10, petitur duplicatus non fuerit, talem librum nullatenus commodent cuicunque, nisi fuerit de comitiva scholarium dictae aulae, nisi forte ad inspectionem et usum infra saepta domus vel aulae praedictae, sed non ad ulterius deferendum. 15

241 Scholari vero cuilibet praedictae aulae liber qui-

6 *de om. E* || 9 *contingit A Ja.* || 11 *librum non codd. dett.* || 13 *inspectionem et A B inspectionem ad D Ja. et usum scripsi* || 15 *scolarium Ja.* ||

vero haeres et masculus secundum quosdam ad paria iudicantur.”

cautione recepta] The practice of taking a pledge or bond on lending MSS. was extremely common throughout medieval times. Thus the Prior and Convent of Durham made an order in 1235: “statutum est . . . ut nullus liber accommodetur alicui per Librarium vel per alium, nisi receperit memoriale aequipollens, nisi fuerit ad instanciam Domini Episcopi.” Durham Catalogues, p. 121; cp. p. 122 for the form of such a bond.

inspectionem et usum] The *inspectionem et* of the MSS. points to an omission and I have supplied *usum*: cp. s. 238.



cunque per tres de praedictis custodibus valeat commodari, nomine tamen suo cum die quo librum recipit prius annotato. Nec tamen ipse possit librum sibi traditum alteri commodare, nisi de assensu trium de custodibus supradictis, et tunc deleto 5 nomine primi nomen secundi cum tempore traditionis scribatur.

242 Ad haec omnia observandum custodes singuli fidem praestent, quando eis custodia huiusmodi deputatur. Recipientes autem librum vel libros 10 ibidem iurabunt quod eum vel eos ad alium usum nisi ad inspectionem et studium nullatenus applicabunt, quodque illum et illos extra villam Oxoniensem cum suburbio nec deferent nec deferri permittent. 15

243 Singulis autem annis computum reddent praedicti custodes magistro domus et duobus quos secum duxerit de suis scholaribus assumendos, vel si eidem non vacaverit, tres deputet inspectores alios a custodibus, qui librorum catalogum perle- 20 gentes videant quod omnes habeant vel in voluminibus propriis vel saltem per cautiones praesentes. Ad hunc autem computum persolvendum tempus credimus opportunum a kalendis Iulii usque ad

3 *primitus* E edd. || 8 *observanda* Ja. || 9 *eis* om. E || 12 *vel* edd. || 13 *ipsum vel ipsos* Ja. || 14 *non deferent* D Ja. || 15 *permittunt* E || 17 *ducibus* Ja. || 18 *duxit* Ja. *assumendos* om. 2 || 24 *opportunius* Ja. *Iunii* A E *a mense Iulii* B ||

kal. Iulii] Apart from the question of authority, this is clearly the more probable reading. The feast of the Trans-



festum sequens translationis gloriosi martyris sancti Thomae.

244 Hoc autem omnino adicimus quod quilibet, cui liber aliquis fuerit commodatus, semel in anno librum praesentet custodibus et suam si 5 voluerit videat cautionem. Porro si contingat fortuito per mortem, furtum, fraudem vel incuriam librum perdi, ille qui perdidit vel eiusdem procurator seu etiam executor pretium libri solvat et eiusdem recipiat cautionem. Quod si qualiter- 10 cunque custodibus ipsis lucrum evenerit, in nihil aliud quam in librorum reparationem et subsidium convertatur.

6 *fortuitu A B E* || 8 *perditum esse Ja.* || 11 *eveniat nihil Ja.* || 14 *Hic multas librorum condiciones circum librorum custodiam praetermitto eo quod mihi pro praesenti videatur inutile talia recitare M Ja.*

lation of S. Thomas was on July 7, and a period of seven days is much more likely for such an inspection than one of five weeks.

Hic multas] The concluding words of the chapter in James are taken from *M*, where they were doubtless written by the copyist, who stopped at *deferendum* (see 240 *ante*), omitting the rest of the chapter, to explain his doing so. Cocheris is quite wrong in saying that they occur in *A*.



## Capitulum 20.

Exhortatio scholarium ad rependendum  
pro nobis suffragia debitae pietatis.

245 Tempus iam efflagitat terminare tractatum, quem  
de amore librorum compegimus, in quo contem-  
poraneorum nostrorum admirationibus de eo quod  
tantum libros dileximus rationem reddere nisi  
sumus. Verum quia vix datur aliquid operari mor- 5  
talibus, quod nullius respergatur pulvere vanitatis,  
studiosum amorem, quem ita diuturnum ad libros  
habuimus iustificare penitus non audemus, quin  
fuerit forsitan nobis quandoque occasio alicuius negli-  
gentiae venialis, quamvis amoris materia sit honesta 10  
246 et intentio regulata. Si namque cum omnia fece-  
rimus, servos nos inutiles dicere teneamur; si Iob  
sanctissimus sua opera omnia verebatur; si iuxta  
Isaiam quasi pannus menstruatae omnes sunt iustitiae  
nostrae; quis se de perfectione cuiuscunque virtutis 15

*Tit. repetendum D E diē pietati D pietatis etc. B || 7 jam  
diuturnum Ja. diurnum D || 9 forsitan D forsitan nobis in-  
terdum Ja. || 14 sunt om. E ||*

pulvere vanitatis] Cp. Mich. i. 10.  
servos inutiles] Cp. Luke xvii. 10.  
opera verebatur] From Job ix. 28.  
pannus menstruatae] From Is. lxiv. 6.



praesumet iactare, quin ex aliqua circumstantia  
 valeat reprehendi, quae forsitan a seipso non poterit  
 deprehendi? Bonum enim ex integris causis, malum  
 autem omnifarie : sicut Dionysius, De divinis nomi-  
 247 nibus, nos informat. Quamobrem in nostrarum 5  
 iniquitatum remedium, quibus nos omnium Crea-  
 torem crebrius offendisse cognoscimus, orationum  
 suffragia petitori, studentes nostros futuros dignum  
 duximus exhortari, quatenus sic tam nobis quam aliis  
 eorundem futuris benefactoribus fiant grati, quod 10  
 beneficiorum nostrorum providentiam spiritalibus  
 recompensent retributionibus. Vivamus in eorum  
 memoriis funerati, qui in nostris vixerunt benevo-  
 lentiis nondum nati nostrisque nunc vivunt bene-  
 ficiis sustentati. Clementiam Redemptoris implorent 15  
 instantiis indefessis, quatenus negligentibus nostris  
 parcat, peccatorum nostrorum reatibus pius iudex  
 indulgeat, lapsus nostrae fragilitatis pallio pietatis  
 operiat et offensas, quas et pudet et paenitet com-  
 misisse, divina benignitate remittat. Conservet in 20  
 nobis ad sufficiens spatium paenitendi suarum  
 munera gratiarum, fidei firmitatem, spei sublimitatem  
 et ad omnes homines latissimam caritatem. Flectat  
 superbum arbitrium ad culparum suarum lamentum,

2 *semetipso* D Ja. || 17 *pius iudex indulgeat* om. A || 18 *nostris*  
*fragilitatem* Ja. || 22 *spei suavitatem* Ja. ||

Dionysius] *Op. cit.*, iv. 30 : Συνελόντι δὲ φάναι τὸ ἀγαθὸν  
 ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τῆς ὅλης αἰτίας, τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ  
 μερικῶν ἐλλείψεων.



ut deploret transactas elationes vanissimas et retractet indignationes amarissimas ac delectationes insanissimas detestetur. Vigeat sua virtus in nobis, cum nostra defecerit, et qui nostrum ingressum sacro baptismate consecravit gratuito, nostrum progressum ad statum apostolicum sublimavit immerito, nostrum dignetur egressum sacramentis idoneis  
 249 communire. Laxetur a nostro spiritu amor carnis, evanescat penitus metus mortis, desideret dissolvi et esse cum Christo, et in terris solo corpore constituti cogitatione et aviditate in aeterna patria conversemur. Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis filio prodigo de siliquis revertenti benignus occurrat, drachmam denuo repertam recipiat et in

1 et deplores *D* || 2 insuavissimas *E* Ja. || 3 urgeat Ja. || 5 sacramento baptismatis *D* Ja. || 6 immerito . . . . communire om. edd. || 10 ut in *A* || 11 conseruemur *A D E* ||

sublimavit] Cp. Ezech. xxxi. 10. The words from *immerito* to *communire* inclusive were accidentally omitted by the scribe of *L*, and added by him in the margin. The copyist of *L* took the marginal addition for a gloss or note and omitted it, and hence it is wanting in the *edit. pr.* Cocheris also omits them, though they are absolutely necessary to complete the sense.

desideret dissolvi] From Phil. i. 23.

corpore constituti] Cp. Jerome contra Vigil., c. 6; August., De Civ. Dei, xxi. 24.

conversemur] Phil. iii. 20: "Nostra autem conversatio in caelis est."

de siliquis] Cp. Luke xv. 16-17.

drachmam repertam] Cp. Luke xv. 8-9.



thesauros aeternos per angelos sanctos transmittat.  
 Castiget vultu terrifico exitus nostri hora spiritus tene-  
 brarum, ne latens in limine portae mortis Leviathan,  
 serpens vetus, insidias improvisas calcaneo nostro  
 25<sup>o</sup> paret. Cum vero ad terrendum tribunal fuerimus 5  
 advocati, ut cuncta quae corpore gessimus attes-  
 tante conscientia referamus, consideret humanitas  
 iuncta Deo effusi sui sancti sanguinis pretium  
 et advertat divinitas humanata carnalis naturae  
 figmentum, ut ibi transeat fragilitas impunita ubi 10  
 clemens pietas cernitur infinita, et ibi respiret spiritus  
 25<sup>1</sup> miseri ubi exstat proprium iudicis misereri. Amplius  
 refugium spei nostrae post Deum virginem et  
 reginam Theotokon benedictam nostri semper stu-  
 dentes salutationibus satagant frequentare devotis, 15  
 ut qui per nostra facinora replicata meruimus iudicem  
 invenire turbatum, per ipsius suffragia semper grata  
 mereamur eundem reperire placatum. Deprimat pia  
 manus brachium aequilibre, qua nostra tam parva  
 quam pauca merita pensabuntur ne, quod absit, 20  
 praeponderet gravitas criminum et nos damnandos  
 25<sup>2</sup> deiciat in abyssum. Clarissimum meritis confes-

3 *portarum* Ja. || 5 *tremendum* in rasura A Ja. || 6 *in corpore* Ja. || 14 *theochoton* A B *thothecon* D *theothecon* E || 15 *satagunt* D || 18 *reperire* om. E || 19 *aequae librae* vulgo *prava* A || 21 *nos* om. E ||

serpens vetus] Cp. Rev. xii. 9.

ad terrendum tribunal] Cp. 2 Cor. v. 10, 11.

figmentum] Cp. Ps. cii. 14.

in abyssum] Cp. Luke viii. 31; Rev. xx. 3.



sorem Cuthbertum, cuius gregem indigni pascendum suscepimus, omni cultu studeant venerari devote, rogantes assidue, ut suum licet indignum vicarium precibus excusare dignetur et quem successorem admisit in terris, procuret effici consessorem in caelis. Puris denique tam mentis quam corporis precibus rogent Deum, ut spiritum ad imaginem Trinitatis creatum post praesentis miseriae incolatum ad suum reducat primordiale prototypum ac eiusdem concedat perpetuum fruibilis faciei consessorem : Amen.

253 **Explicit** Philobiblon domini Ricardi de Aunger-vile, cognominati de Bury, quondam episcopi Dunelmensis. Completus est autem tractatus iste in

2 *communi cultu* A || 5 *amisit* B *confessorem* A B E  
Schm. Coch. ||

12 *Explicit* etc. om. A *Explicit Philobiblon* B ||

Cuthbertum] Cuthbert, the patron saint of the cathedral at Durham. He reluctantly left his seclusion to become Bishop of Lindisfarne in 685, but in less than two years returned to his hermitage, where he practised great austerity, and was so constantly engaged in prayer that a long callosity extended from his knees downwards. After his death his body was removed from place to place, until it finally rested at Dunholme, which thus became the seat of the Palatine See.

consessorem] No doubt the true reading: cp. Eph. ii. 6: "consedere fecit in caelestibus." The word *consessor* occurs several times in Cicero.

**Explicit Philobiblon]** For the questions arising in connexion with the concluding note, which is not found in any



manerio nostro de Aukeland xxiiij<sup>o</sup> die Ianuarii  
anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo  
quarto, aetatis nostrae quinquagesimo octavo  
praecise completo, pontificatus vero nostri anno  
undecimo finiente. Ad laudem Dei feliciter et 5  
Amen.

of the printed texts, see the Introduction. From the phrase  
*praecise completo* it would appear that the book was finished  
on the Bishop's birthday.

feliciter] Cp. S. Jerome, ad Marcellam, Ep. 28: "Sole-  
mus completis opusculis ad distinctionem rei alterius se-  
quentis medium interponere *explicit* aut *feliciter* aut aliquid  
eiusmodi."



I have written to you in great haste, but I have  
 written to you in love, as I always do, that I  
 may see you face to face, and that I may  
 hear from you again. I have written to you  
 in great haste, but I have written to you  
 in love, as I always do, that I may see  
 you face to face, and that I may hear from  
 you again. I have written to you in great  
 haste, but I have written to you in love, as  
 I always do, that I may see you face to  
 face, and that I may hear from you again.

The Philippians  
newly translated

I have written to you in great haste, but I have  
 written to you in love, as I always do, that I  
 may see you face to face, and that I may  
 hear from you again. I have written to you  
 in great haste, but I have written to you  
 in love, as I always do, that I may see  
 you face to face, and that I may hear from  
 you again. I have written to you in great  
 haste, but I have written to you in love, as  
 I always do, that I may see you face to  
 face, and that I may hear from you again.



The Philobiblon  
newly translated



The Philologist  
newly translated



## Prologue.

- 1 TO all the faithful of Christ to whom the tenor of these presents may come, Richard de Bury, by the divine mercy Bishop of Durham, wisheth everlasting salvation in the Lord and to present continually a pious memorial of himself before God, alike in his lifetime and after his death.
- 2 What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? asks the most devout psalmist, an invincible king and first among the prophets: in which most grateful question he approves himself a willing thank-offerer, a multifarious debtor, and one who wishes for a holier counsellor than himself: agreeing with Aristotle, the chief of philosophers, who shows (in the 3rd and 6th books of his Ethics) that all action depends upon counsel.
- 3 And indeed if so wonderful a prophet, having a foreknowledge of divine secrets, wished so anxiously to consider how he might gratefully repay the blessings graciously bestowed, what can we fitly do, who are but rude thanksgivers and most greedy receivers, laden with infinite divine benefits? Assuredly we ought with anxious deliberation and abundant consideration, having first invoked the Sevenfold Spirit, that it may burn in our musings



as an illuminating fire, fervently to prepare a way without hinderance, that the bestower of all things may be cheerfully worshipped in return for the gifts that he has bestowed, that our neighbour may be relieved of his burden, and that the guilt contracted by sinners every day may be redeemed by the atonement of almsgiving.

- 4 Forewarned therefore through the admonition of the psalmist's devotion by Him who alone prevents and perfects the goodwill of man, without Whom we have no power even so much as to think, and Whose gift we doubt not it is, if we have done anything good, we have diligently inquired and considered in our own heart as well as with others, what among the good offices of various works of piety would most please the Almighty and would  
5 be more beneficial to the Church Militant. And lo! there soon occurred to our contemplation a host of unhappy, nay rather of elect scholars, in whom God the Creator and Nature his handmaid planted the roots of excellent morals and of famous sciences, but whom the poverty of their circumstances so oppressed that before the frown of adverse fortune the seeds of excellence, so fruitful in the cultivated field of youth, not being watered by the rain that they  
6 require, are forced to wither away. Thus it happens that "bright virtue lurks buried in obscurity," to use the words of Boethius, and burning lights are not put under a bushel, but for want of oil are utterly extinguished. Thus the field, so full of



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flower in spring, has withered up before harvest-time; thus wheat degenerates to tares, and vines into the wild vine, and thus olives run into the wild olive; the tender stems rot away altogether, and those who might have grown up into strong pillars of the Church, being endowed with the capacity of a subtle intellect, abandon the schools of learning.

7 With poverty only as their stepmother, they are repelled violently from the nectared cup of philosophy, as soon as they have tasted of it and have become more fiercely thirsty by the very taste. Though fit for the liberal arts and disposed to study the sacred writings alone, being deprived of the aid of their friends, by a kind of apostasy they return to the mechanical arts solely to gain a livelihood, to the loss of the Church and the degradation of the

8 whole clergy. Thus Mother Church conceiving sons is compelled to miscarry, nay some misshapen monster is born untimely from her womb, and for lack of that little with which nature is contented, she loses excellent pupils, who might afterwards become champions and athletes of the faith. Alas, how suddenly the woof is cut, while the hand of the weaver is beginning his work! Alas, how the sun is eclipsed in the brightness of the dawn, and the planet in its course is hurled backwards, and while it bears the nature and likeness of a star suddenly

9 drops and becomes a meteor! What more piteous sight can the pious man behold? What can more sharply stir the bowels of his pity? What can more



easily melt a heart hard as an anvil into hot tears? On the other hand, let us recall from past experience how much it has profited the whole Christian commonwealth, not indeed to enervate students with the delights of a Sardanapalus or the riches of a Croesus, but rather to support them in their poverty with the frugal means that become the scholar.

10 How many have we seen with our eyes, how many have we read of in books, who distinguished by no pride of birth, and rejoicing in no rich inheritance, but supported only by the piety of the good, have made their way to apostolic chairs, have most worthily presided over faithful subjects, have bent the necks of the proud and lofty to the ecclesiastical yoke and have extended further the liberties of the Church?

11 Accordingly, having taken a survey of human necessities in every direction, with a view to bestow our charity upon them, our compassionate inclinations have chosen to bear pious aid to this calamitous class of men, in whom there is nevertheless such hope of advantage to the Church, and to provide for them not only in respect of things necessary to their support, but much more in respect of the books so useful to their studies. To this end, most acceptable in the sight of God, our attention has long been unweariedly devoted. This ecstatic love has carried us away so powerfully, that we have resigned all thoughts of other earthly things, and have given ourselves up to a passion for acquiring books.



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12 That our intent and purpose, therefore, may be known to posterity as well as to our contemporaries, and that we may for ever stop the perverse tongues of gossipers as far as we are concerned, we have published a little treatise written in the lightest style of the moderns; for it is ridiculous to find a slight matter treated of in a pompous style. And this treatise (divided into twenty chapters) will clear the love we have had for books from the charge of excess, will expound the purpose of our intense devotion, and will narrate more clearly than light all  
13 the circumstances of our undertaking. And because it principally treats of the love of books, we have chosen after the fashion of the ancient Romans fondly to name it by a Greek word, *Philobiblon*.



## Chapter I.

That the Treasure of Wisdom is chiefly  
contained in Books.

- 14 The desirable treasure of wisdom and science,  
which all men desire by an instinct of nature,  
infinitely surpasses all the riches of the world ; in  
respect of which precious stones are worthless ;  
in comparison with which silver is as clay and  
pure gold is as a little sand ; at whose splendour  
the sun and moon are dark to look upon ; com-  
pared with whose marvellous sweetness honey and  
15 manna are bitter to the taste. O value of wisdom  
that fadeth not away with time, virtue ever flourish-  
ing, that cleanseth its possessor from all venom !  
O heavenly gift of the divine bounty, descending  
from the Father of lights, that thou mayest exalt the  
rational soul to the very heavens ! Thou art the  
celestial nourishment of the intellect, which those  
who eat shall still hunger and those who drink  
shall still thirst, and the gladdening harmony of the  
languishing soul, which he that hears shall never  
16 be confounded. Thou art the moderator and  
rule of morals, which he who follows shall not sin.  
By thee kings reign and princes decree justice.  
By thee, rid of their native rudeness, their minds  
and tongues being polished, the thorns of vice



being torn up by the roots, those men attain high places of honour and become fathers of their country and companions of princes, who without thee would have melted their spears into pruning-hooks and ploughshares, or would perhaps be feeding swine with the prodigal.

17 Where dost thou chiefly lie hidden, O most elect treasure! and where shall thirsting souls discover thee?

Certes, thou hast placed thy tabernacle in books, where the Most High, the Light of lights, the Book of Life, has established thee. There everyone who asks receiveth thee, and everyone who seeks finds thee, and to everyone that knocketh boldly it is  
18 speedily opened. Therein the cherubim spread out their wings, that the intellect of the students may ascend and look from pole to pole, from the east and west, from the north and from the south. Therein the mighty and incomprehensible God himself is apprehensibly contained and worshipped; therein is revealed the nature of things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; therein are discerned the laws by which every state is administered, the offices of the celestial hierarchy are distinguished and the tyrannies of demons described, such as  
19 of Crato contained. In books I find the dead as if they were alive; in books I foresee things to come; in books warlike affairs are set forth; from books come forth the laws of peace. All things are



corrupted and decay in time ; Saturn ceases not to devour the children that he generates : all the glory of the world would be buried in oblivion, unless God had provided mortals with the remedy of  
20 books. Alexander, the conqueror of the earth, Julius the invader of Rome and of the world, who, the first in war and arts, assumed universal empire under his single rule, faithful Fabricius and stern Cato, would now have been unknown to fame, if the  
21 aid of books had been wanting. Towers have been razed to the ground ; cities have been overthrown ; triumphal arches have perished from decay ; nor can either pope or king find any means of more easily conferring the privilege of perpetuity than by books. The book that he has made renders its author this service in return, that so long as the book survives its author remains immortal and cannot die, as Ptolemy declares in the Prologue to his *Almagest* : He is not dead, he says, who has given life to science.

22 Who therefore will limit by anything of another kind the price of the infinite treasure of books, from which the scribe who is instructed bringeth forth things new and old ? Truth that triumphs over all things, which overcomes the king, wine, and women, which it is reckoned holy to honour before friendship, which is the way without turning and the life without end, which holy Boethius considers to be threefold in thought, speech, and writing, seems to remain more usefully and to



- 23 fructify to greater profit in books. For the meaning of the voice perishes with the sound; truth latent in the mind is wisdom that is hid and treasure that is not seen; but truth which shines forth in books desires to manifest itself to every impressionable sense. It commends itself to the sight when it is read, to the hearing when it is heard, and moreover in a manner to the touch, when it suffers itself to be transcribed, bound,
- 24 corrected, and preserved. The undisclosed truth of the mind, although it is the possession of the noble soul, yet because it lacks a companion, is not certainly known to be delightful, while neither sight nor hearing takes account of it. Further, the truth of the voice is patent only to the ear and eludes the sight, which reveals to us more of the qualities of things, and linked with the subtlest of motions
- 25 begins and perishes as it were in a breath. But the written truth of books, not transient but permanent, plainly offers itself to be observed, and by means of the pervious spherules of the eyes, passing through the vestibule of perception and the courts of imagination, enters the chamber of intellect, taking its place in the couch of memory, where it engenders the eternal truth of the mind.
- 26 Finally, we must consider what pleasantness of teaching there is in books, how easy, how secret! How safely we lay bare the poverty of human ignorance to books without feeling any shame! They are masters who instruct us without rod or



ferule, without angry words, without clothes or money. If you come to them they are not asleep; if you ask and inquire of them, they do not withdraw themselves; they do not chide if you make mistakes; they do not laugh at you if you are  
27 ignorant. O books who alone are liberal and free, who give to all who ask of you and enfranchise all who serve you faithfully! by how many thousand types are ye commended to learned men in the scriptures given us by inspiration of God! For ye are the mines of profoundest wisdom, to which the wise man sends his son that he may dig out treasures: Prov. 2. Ye are the wells of living waters, which father Abraham first digged, Isaac digged again, and which the Philistines strive to fill  
28 up: Gen. 26. Ye are indeed the most delightful ears of corn, full of grain, to be rubbed only by apostolic hands, that the sweetest food may be produced for hungry souls: Matt. 12. Ye are the golden pots in which manna is stored, and rocks flowing with honey, nay combs of honey, most plenteous udders of the milk of life, garners ever full; ye are the tree of life and the fourfold river of Paradise, by which the human mind is nourished and the thirsty intellect is watered and  
29 refreshed. Ye are the ark of Noah and the ladder of Jacob, and the troughs by which the young of those who look therein are coloured; ye are the stones of testimony and the pitchers holding the lamps of Gideon, the scrip of David, from which



the smoothest stones are taken for the slaying of Goliath. Ye are the golden vessels of the temple, the arms of the soldiers of the Church, with which to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, fruitful olives, vines of Engadi, figtrees that are never barren, burning lamps always to be held in readiness—and all the noblest comparisons of scripture may be applied to books, if we choose to speak in figures.

## Chapter 2.

The degree of Affection that is properly due to Books.

30 Since the degree of affection a thing deserves depends upon the degree of its value, and the previous chapter shows that the value of books is unspeakable, it is quite clear to the reader what is the probable conclusion from this. I say probable, for in moral science we do not insist upon demonstration, remembering that the educated man seeks such degree of certainty as he perceives the subject-matter will bear, as Aristotle testifies in the first book of his Ethics. For Tully does not appeal to Euclid, nor does Euclid rely upon Tully. This at all events we endeavour to prove whether by logic



or rhetoric, that all riches and all delights whatsoever yield place to books in the spiritual mind, wherein the Spirit which is charity ordereth charity.

- 3<sup>1</sup> Now in the first place, because wisdom is contained in books more than all mortals understand, and wisdom thinks lightly of riches, as the foregoing chapter declares. Furthermore, Aristotle in his Problems determines the question, why the ancients proposed prizes to the stronger in gymnastic and corporeal contests, but never awarded any prize for wisdom. This question he solves as follows: In gymnastic exercises the prize is better and more desirable than that for which it is bestowed; but it is certain that nothing is better than wisdom: wherefore no prize could be assigned for wisdom. And therefore neither riches nor delights are more excellent than wisdom.
- 3<sup>2</sup> Again, only the fool will deny that friendship is to be preferred to riches, since the wisest of men testifies this; but the chief of philosophers honours truth before friendship, and the truthful Zorobabel prefers it to all things. Riches then are less than truth. Now truth is chiefly maintained and contained in holy books—nay they are written truth itself, since by books we do not now mean the materials of which they are made. Wherefore riches are less than books, especially as the most precious of all riches are friends, as Boethius testifies in the second book of his *Consolation*; to whom the truth of books according to Aristotle is to be



- 33 preferred. Moreover, since we know that riches first and chiefly appertain to the support of the body only, while the virtue of books is the perfection of reason, which is properly speaking the happiness of man, it appears that books to the man who uses his reason are dearer than riches. Furthermore, that by which the faith is more easily defended, more widely spread, more clearly preached, ought to be more desirable to the faithful.
- 34 But this is the truth written in books, which our Saviour plainly showed, when he was about to contend stoutly against the Tempter, girding himself with the shield of truth and indeed of written truth, declaring "it is written" of what he was about to utter with his voice.
- 35 And, again, no one doubts that happiness is to be preferred to riches. But happiness consists in the operation of the noblest and divinest of the faculties that we possess—when the whole mind is occupied in contemplating the truth of wisdom, which is the most delectable of all our virtuous activities, as the prince of philosophers declares in the tenth book of the Ethics, on which account it is that philosophy is held to have wondrous pleasures in respect of purity and
- 36 solidity, as he goes on to say. But the contemplation of truth is never more perfect than in books, where the act of imagination perpetuated by books does not suffer the operation of the intellect upon the truths that it has seen to suffer interruption.



Wherefore books appear to be the most immediate instruments of speculative delight, and therefore Aristotle, the sun of philosophic truth, in considering the principles of choice, teaches that in itself to philosophize is more desirable than to be rich, although in certain cases, as where for instance one is in need of necessaries, it may be more desirable to be rich than to philosophize.

- 37 Moreover, since books are the aptest teachers, as the previous chapter assumes, it is fitting to bestow on them the honour and the affection that we owe to our teachers. In fine, since all men naturally desire to know, and since by means of books we can attain the knowledge of the ancients, which is to be desired beyond all riches, what man living according to nature would not feel the desire of books?
- 38 And although we know that swine trample pearls under foot, the wise man will not therefore be deterred from gathering the pearls that lie before him. A library of wisdom, then, is more precious than all wealth, and all things that are desirable cannot be compared to it. Whoever therefore claims to be zealous of truth, of happiness, of wisdom or knowledge, aye even of the faith, must needs become a lover of books.



## Chapter 3.

What we are to think of the price in the buying of books.

- 39 From what has been said we draw this corollary welcome to us, but (as we believe) acceptable to few: namely, that no dearness of price ought to hinder a man from the buying of books, if he has the money that is demanded for them, unless it be to withstand the malice of the seller or to await a more favourable opportunity of buying. For if it is wisdom only that makes the price of books, which is an infinite treasure to mankind, and if the value of books is unspeakable, as the premises show, how shall the bargain be shown to be dear where an infinite good is being bought? Wherefore, that books are to be gladly bought and unwillingly sold, Solomon, the sun of men, exhorts us in the *Proverbs* :
- 40 *Buy the truth, he says, and sell not wisdom.* But what we are trying to show by rhetoric or logic, let us prove by examples from history. The arch-philosopher Aristotle, whom Averroes regards as the law of Nature, bought a few books of Speusippus straightway after his death for seventy-two thousand sesterces. Plato, before him in time,



but after him in learning, bought the book of Philolaus the Pythagorean, from which he is said to have taken the *Timæus*, for ten thousand denaries, 41 as Aulus Gellius relates in the *Noctes Atticæ*. Now Aulus Gellius relates this that the foolish may consider how wise men despise money in comparison with books. And on the other hand, that we may know that folly and pride go together, let us here relate the folly of Tarquin the Proud in despising 42 books, as also related by Aulus Gellius. An old woman, utterly unknown, is said to have come to Tarquin the Proud, the seventh king of Rome, offering to sell nine books, in which (as she declared) sacred oracles were contained, but she asked an immense sum for them, insomuch that the king said she was mad. In anger she flung three books into the fire, and still asked the same sum for the rest. When the king refused it, again she flung three others into the fire and still asked the same price for the three that were left. At last, astonished beyond measure, Tarquin was glad to pay for three books the same price for which he might have bought nine. The old woman straightway disappeared, 43 and was never seen before or after. These were the Sibylline books, which the Romans consulted as a divine oracle by some one of the Quindecemvirs, and this is believed to have been the origin of the Quindecemvirate. What did this Sibyl teach the proud king by this bold deed, except that the vessels of wisdom, holy books, ex-



ceed all human estimation ; and as Gregory says of the kingdom of Heaven : They are worth all that thou hast ?

### Chapter 4.

#### The Complaint of Books against the Clergy already promoted.

44 A generation of vipers destroying their own parents and base offspring of the ungrateful cuckoo, who when he has grown strong slays his nurse, the giver of his strength, are degenerate clerks with regard to books. Bring it again to mind and consider faithfully what ye receive through books, and ye will find that books are as it were the creators of your distinction, without which other favourers would have been wanting.

45 In sooth, while still untrained and helpless ye crept up to us, ye spake as children, ye thought as children, ye cried as children and begged to be made partakers of our milk. But we being straightway moved by your tears gave you the breast of grammar to suck, which ye plied continually with teeth and tongue, until ye lost your native barbarousness and learned to speak with our tongues

46 the mighty things of God. And next we clad you with the goodly garments of philosophy, rhetoric and dialectic, of which we had and have a store,



while ye were naked as a tablet to be painted on. For all the household of philosophy are clothed with garments, that the nakedness and rawness  
47 of the intellect may be covered. After this, providing you with the fourfold wings of the quadrivials that ye might be winged like the seraphs and so mount above the cherubim, we sent you to a friend at whose door, if only ye importunately knocked, ye might borrow the three loaves of the Knowledge of the Trinity, in which consists the final felicity of every sojourner below. Nay, if ye deny that ye had these privileges, we boldly declare that ye either lost them by your carelessness, or that through your sloth ye spurned them when  
48 offered to you. If these things seem but a light matter to you, we will add yet greater things. Ye are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy race, ye are a peculiar people chosen into the lot of God, ye are priests and ministers of God, nay, ye are called the very Church of God, as though the laity were not to be called churchmen. Ye, being preferred to the laity, sing psalms and hymns in the chancel, and serving the altar and living by the altar, make the true body of Christ, wherein God himself has honoured you not only above the  
49 laity, but even a little higher than the angels. For to whom of his angels has he said at any time: Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech? Ye dispense the patrimony of the crucified one to the poor, wherein it is required



of stewards that a man be found faithful. Ye are shepherds of the Lord's flock, as well in example of life as in the word of doctrine, which is bound to repay you with milk and wool.

50 Who are the givers of all these things, O clerks? Is it not books? Do ye remember therefore, we pray, how many and how great liberties and privileges are bestowed upon the clergy through us. In truth, taught by us who are the vessels of wisdom and intellect, ye ascend the teacher's chair  
51 and are called of men Rabbi. By us ye become marvellous in the eyes of the laity, like great lights in the world, and possess the dignities of the Church according to your various stations. By us, while ye still lack the first down upon your cheeks, ye are established in your early years and bear the tonsure on your heads, while the dread sentence of the Church is heard: *Touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm*, and he who has rashly touched them let him forthwith by his own blow be smitten violently with the  
52 wound of an anathema. At length yielding your lives to wickedness, reaching the two paths of Pythagoras, ye choose the left branch, and going backward ye let go the lot of God which ye had first assumed, becoming companions of thieves. And thus ever going from bad to worse, dyed with theft and murder and manifold impurities, your fame and conscience stained by sins, at the bidding of justice ye are confined in manacles and fetters,



and are kept to be punished by a most shameful  
53 death. Then your friend is put far away, nor is  
there any to mourn your lot. Peter swears that he  
knows not the man : the people cry to the judge :  
*Crucify, crucify him ! if thou let this man go, thou  
art not Cæsar's friend.* Now all refuge has perished,  
for ye must stand before the judgment-seat, and  
there is no appeal, but only hanging is in store  
54 for you. While the wretched man's heart is thus  
filled with woe and only the sorrowing Muses  
bedew their cheeks with tears, in his strait is heard  
on every side the wailing appeal to us, and to avoid  
the danger of impending death he shows the slight  
sign of the ancient tonsure which we bestowed  
upon him, begging that we may be called to his aid  
and bear witness to the privilege bestowed upon  
him. Then straightway touched with pity we run  
to meet the prodigal son and snatch the fugitive  
55 slave from the gates of death. The book he has  
not forgotten is handed to him to be read, and  
while with lips stammering with fear he reads a few  
words the power of the judge is loosed, the accuser  
is withdrawn, and death is put to flight. O mar-  
vellous virtue of an empiric verse ! O saving  
antidote of dreadful ruin ! O precious reading of  
the psalter, which for this alone deserves to be  
56 called the book of life ! Let the laity undergo  
the judgment of the secular arm, that either sewn  
up in sacks they may be carried out to Neptune, or  
planted in the earth may fructify for Pluto, or may



be offered amid the flames as a fattened holocaust to Vulcan, or at least may be hung up as a victim to Juno; while our nursling at a single reading of the book of life is handed over to the custody of the Bishop, and rigour is changed to favour, and the forum being transferred from the laity, death is routed by the clerk who is the nursling of books.

- 57 But now let us speak of the clerks who are vessels of virtue. Which of you about to preach ascends the pulpit or the rostrum without in some way consulting us? Which of you enters the schools to teach or to dispute without relying upon our support? First of all it behoves you to eat the book with Ezechiel, that the belly of your memory may be sweetened within, and thus as with the panther refreshed, to whose breath all beasts and cattle long to approach, the sweet savour of the spices it has eaten may shed a perfume
- 58 without. Thus our nature secretly working in our own, listeners hasten up gladly, as the loadstone draws the iron nothing loth. What an infinite host of books lie at Paris or Athens, and at the same time resound in Britain and in Rome! In truth, while resting they yet move, and while retaining their own places they are carried about every way to the minds of listeners.
- 59 Finally, by the knowledge of literature, we establish priests, bishops, cardinals, and the Pope, that all things in the ecclesiastical hierarchy may be fitly disposed. For it is from books that everything of



good that befalls the clerical condition takes its origin. But let this suffice: for it pains us to recall what we have bestowed upon the degenerate clergy, because whatever gifts are distributed to the ungrateful seem to be lost rather than bestowed.

- 60 Let us next dwell a little on the recital of the wrongs with which they requite us, the contempts and cruelties of which we cannot recite an example in each kind, nay, scarcely the main classes of the several wrongs. In the first place, we are expelled by force and arms from the homes of the clergy, which are ours by hereditary right, who were used to have cells of quietness in the inner chamber, but alas! in these unhappy times we are altogether  
61 exiled, suffering poverty without the gates. For our places are seized now by dogs, now by hawks, now by that biped beast whose cohabitation with the clergy was forbidden of old, from which we have always taught our nurslings to flee more than from the asp and cockatrice; wherefore she, always jealous of the love of us, and never to be appeased, at length seeing us in some corner protected only by the web of some dead spider, with a frown abuses and reviles us with bitter words, declaring us alone of all the furniture in the house to be unnecessary, and complaining that we are useless for any household purpose, and advises that we should speedily be converted into rich caps, sendal and silk and twice-dyed purple, robes and furs,



wool and linen : and, indeed, not without reason, if she could see our inmost hearts, if she had listened to our secret counsels, if she had read the book of Theophrastus or Valerius, or only heard the twenty - fifth chapter of Ecclesiasticus with understanding ears.

- 62 And hence it is that we have to mourn for the homes of which we have been unjustly robbed ; and as to our coverings, not that they have not been given to us, but that the coverings anciently given to us have been torn by violent hands, inso-much that our soul is bowed down to the dust, our belly cleaveth unto the earth. We suffer from various diseases, enduring pains in our backs and sides ; we lie with our limbs unstrung by palsy, and there is no man who layeth it to heart, and no
- 63 man who provides a mollifying plaster. Our native whiteness that was clear with light has turned to dun and yellow, so that no leech who should see us would doubt that we are diseased with jaundice. Some of us are suffering from gout, as our twisted extremities plainly show. The smoke and dust by which we are continuously plagued have dulled the keenness of our visual rays, and are now in-
- 64 fecting our bleared eyes with ophthalmia. Within we are devoured by the fierce gripings of our entrails, which hungry worms cease not to gnaw, and we undergo the corruption of the two Lazaruses, nor is there anyone to anoint us with balm of cedar, nor to cry to us who have been four days



dead and already stink, Lazarus come forth! No healing drug is bound around our cruel wounds, which are so atrociously inflicted upon the innocent, and there is none to put a plaster upon our ulcers; but ragged and shivering we are flung away into dark corners, or in tears take our place with holy Job upon his dunghill, or—too horrible to relate—are buried in the depths of the  
65 common sewers. The cushion is withdrawn that should support our evangelical sides, which ought to have the first claim upon the incomes of the clergy, and the common necessities of life thus be for ever provided for us, who are entrusted to their charge.

66 Again, we complain of another sort of injury which is too often unjustly inflicted upon our persons. We are sold for bondmen and bondwomen, and lie as hostages in taverns with no one to redeem us. We fall a prey to the cruel shambles, where we see sheep and cattle slaughtered not without pious tears, and where we die a thousand times from such terrors as might frighten even the brave. We are handed over to Jews, Saracens, heretics and infidels, whose poison we always dread above every-  
67 thing, and by whom it is well known that some of our parents have been infected with pestiferous venom. In sooth, we who should be treated as masters in the sciences, and bear rule over the mechanics who should be subject to us, are instead handed over to the government of subordinates, as



though some supremely noble monarch should be trodden under foot by rustic heels. Any seamster or cobbler or tailor or artificer of any trade keeps us shut up in prison for the luxurious and wanton pleasures of the clergy.

68 Now we would pursue a new kind of injury by which we suffer alike in person and in fame, the dearest thing we have. Our purity of race is diminished every day, while new authors' names are imposed upon us by worthless compilers, translators, and transformers, and losing our ancient nobility, while we are reborn in successive generations, we become wholly degenerate; and thus against our will the name of some wretched step-  
69 father is affixed to us, and the sons are robbed of the names of their true fathers. The verses of Virgil, while he was yet living, were claimed by an impostor; and a certain Fidentinus mendaciously usurped the works of Martial, whom Martial thus deservedly rebuked:

“The book you read is, Fidentinus! mine,  
Though read so badly, 't well may pass for thine!”

What marvel, then, if when our authors are dead clerical apes use us to make broad their phylacteries, since even while they are alive they try to  
70 seize us as soon as we are published? Ah! how often ye pretend that we who are ancient are but lately born, and try to pass us off as sons who are really fathers, calling us who have made you clerks the production of your studies. Indeed, we de-



rived our origin from Athens, though we are now supposed to be from Rome ; for Carmentis was always the pilferer of Cadmus, and we who were but lately born in England, will to-morrow be born again in Paris ; and thence being carried to Bologna, will obtain an Italian origin, based  
71 upon no affinity of blood. Alas ! how ye commit us to treacherous copyists to be written, how corruptly ye read us and kill us by medication, while ye supposed ye were correcting us with pious zeal. Oftentimes we have to endure barbarous interpreters, and those who are ignorant of foreign idioms presume to translate us from one language into another ; and thus all propriety of speech is lost and our sense is shamefully mutilated contrary to the meaning of the author ! Truly noble would have been the condition of books, if it had not been for the presumption of the tower of Babel, if but one kind of speech had been transmitted by the whole human race.

72 We will add the last clause of our long lament, though far too short for the materials that we have. For in us the natural use is changed to that which is against nature, while we who are the light of faithful souls everywhere fall a prey to painters knowing nought of letters, and are entrusted to goldsmiths to become, as though we were not sacred vessels of wisdom, repositories of gold-leaf. We fall undeservedly into the power of laymen, which is more bitter to us than any death, since



they have sold our people for nought, and our enemies themselves are our judges.

- 73 It is clear from what we have said what infinite invectives we could hurl against the clergy, if we did not think of our own reputation. For the soldier whose campaigns are over venerates his shield and arms, and grateful Corydon shows regard for his decaying team, harrow, flail and mattock, and every manual artificer for the instruments of his craft; it is only the ungrateful cleric who despises and neglects those things which have ever been the foundation of his honours.

### Chapter 5.

#### The Complaint of Books against the Possessioners.

- 74 The venerable devotion of the religious orders is wont to be solicitous in the care of books and to delight in their society, as if they were the only riches. For some used to write them with their own hands between the hours of prayer, and gave to the making of books such intervals as they could secure and the times appointed for the recreation of the body. By whose labours there are resplendent to-day in most monasteries these sacred treasuries



full of cherubic letters, for giving the knowledge of salvation to the student and a delectable light to  
75 the paths of the laity. O manual toil, happier than any agricultural task! O devout solicitude, where neither Martha nor Mary deserves to be rebuked! O joyful house, in which the fruitful Leah does not envy the beauteous Rachel, but action and contemplation share each other's joys! O happy charge, destined to benefit endless generations of posterity, with which no planting of trees, no sowing of seeds, no pastoral delight in herds, no building of fortified camps can be compared!

76 Wherefore the memory of those fathers should be immortal, who delighted only in the treasures of wisdom, who most laboriously provided shining lamps against future darkness, and against hunger of hearing the word of God most carefully prepared not bread baked in the ashes, nor of barley, nor musty, but unleavened loaves made of the finest wheat of divine wisdom, with which hungry souls  
77 might be joyfully fed. These men were the stoutest champions of the Christian army, who defended our weakness by their most valiant arms; they were in their time the most cunning takers of foxes, who have left us their nets, that we might catch the young foxes, who cease not to devour the growing vines. Of a truth, noble fathers, worthy of perpetual benediction, ye would have been deservedly happy, if ye had been allowed to beget offspring like yourselves, and to leave no



degenerate or doubtful progeny for the benefit of future times.

- 78 But, painful to relate, now slothful Thersites handles the arms of Achilles and the choice trappings of war-horses are spread upon lazy asses, winking owls lord it in the eagle's nest, and the cowardly kite sits upon the perch of the hawk.

Liber Bacchus is ever loved,  
And is into their bellies shoved,  
By day and by night ;  
Liber Codex is neglected,  
And with scornful hand rejected,  
Far out of their sight.

- 79 And as if the simple monastic folk of modern times were deceived by a confusion of names, while *Liber Pater* is preferred to *Liber Patrum*, the study of the monks nowadays is in the emptying of cups and not the emending of books ; to which they do not hesitate to add the wanton music of Timotheus, jealous of chastity, and thus the song of the merrymaker and not the chant of the
- 80 mourner is become the office of the monks. Flocks and fleeces, crops and granaries, leeks and pot-herbs, drink and goblets, are nowadays the reading and study of the monks, except a few elect ones, in whom lingers not the image but some slight vestige of the fathers that preceded them. And again, no materials at all are furnished us to commend the canons regular for their care or study of us, who though they bear their name



- of honour from their twofold rule, yet have neglected the notable clause of Augustine's rule, in which we are commended to his clergy in these words: *Let books be asked for each day at a given hour; he who asks for them after the hour is not to*
- 81 *receive them.* Scarcely anyone observes this devout rule of study after saying the prayers of the Church, but to care for the things of this world and to look at the plough that has been left is reckoned the highest wisdom. They take up bow and quiver, embrace arms and shield, devote the tribute of alms to dogs and not to the poor, become the slaves of dice and draughts, and of all such things as we are wont to forbid even to the secular clergy, so that we need not marvel if they disdain to look upon us, whom they see so much opposed to their mode of life.
- 82 Come then, reverend fathers, deign to recall your fathers and devote yourselves more faithfully to the study of holy books, without which all religion will stagger, without which the virtue of devotion will dry up like a sherd, and without which ye can afford no light to the world.



## Chapter 6.

The Complaint of Books against the  
Mendicants.

- 83 Poor in spirit but most rich in faith, offscourings of the world and salt of the earth, despisers of the world and fishers of men, how happy are ye, if suffering penury for Christ ye know how to possess your souls in patience! For it is not want the avenger of iniquity, nor the adverse fortune of your parents, nor violent necessity that has thus oppressed you with beggary, but a devout will and Christ-like election, by which ye have chosen that life as the best, which God Almighty made man as well by word as by example declared to be
- 84 the best. In truth, ye are the latest offspring of the ever-fruitful Church, of late divinely substituted for the Fathers and the Prophets, that your sound may go forth into all the earth, and that instructed by our healthful doctrines ye may preach before all kings and nations the invincible faith of Christ.
- 85 Moreover, that the faith of the Fathers is chiefly enshrined in books the second chapter has sufficiently shown, from which it is clearer than light that ye ought to be zealous lovers of books above all other Christians. Ye are commanded to sow



upon all waters, because the Most High is no respecter of persons, nor does the Most Holy desire the death of sinners, who offered himself to die for them, but desires to heal the contrite in heart, to raise the fallen, and to correct the perverse  
86 in the spirit of lenity. For which most salutary purpose our kindly Mother Church has planted you freely, and having planted has watered you with favours, and having watered you has established you with privileges, that ye may be co-workers with pastors and curates in procuring the salvation of faithful souls. Wherefore, that the order of Preachers was principally instituted for the study of the Holy Scriptures and the salvation of their neighbours, is declared by their constitutions, so that not only from the rule of Bishop Augustine, which directs books to be asked for every day, but as soon as they have read the prologue of the said constitutions they may know from the very title of the same that they are pledged to the love of books.

87 But alas! a threefold care of superfluities, viz., of the stomach, of dress, and of houses, has seduced these men and others following their example from the paternal care of books, and from their study. For forgetting the providence of the Saviour (who is declared by the Psalmist to think upon the poor and needy), they are occupied with the wants of the perishing body, that their feasts may be splendid and their garments luxurious, against the rule,



and the fabrics of their buildings, like the battlements of castles, carried to a height incompatible  
88 with poverty. Because of these three things, we  
books, who have ever procured their advancement  
and have granted them to sit among the powerful  
and noble, are put far from their heart's affection  
and are reckoned as superfluities; except that they  
rely upon some treatises of small value, from  
which they derive strange heresies and apocryphal  
imbecilities, not for the refreshment of souls, but  
89 rather for tickling the ears of the listeners. The  
holy scripture is not expounded, but is neglected  
and treated as though it were commonplace and  
known to all, though very few have touched its hem,  
and though its depth is such, as Holy Augustine de-  
clares, that it cannot be understood by the human  
intellect, however long it may toil with the utmost  
intensity of study. From this he who devotes  
himself to it assiduously, if only He will vouch-  
safe to open the door who has established the  
spirit of piety, may unfold a thousand lessons of  
moral teaching, which will flourish with the  
freshest novelty and will cherish the intelligence  
of the listeners with the most delightful savours.  
90 Wherefore the first professors of evangelical poverty,  
after some slight homage paid to secular science,  
collecting all their force of intellect, devoted them-  
selves to labours upon the sacred scripture, medi-  
tating day and night on the law of the Lord. And  
whatever they could steal from their famishing



belly, or intercept from their half-covered body, they thought it the highest gain to spend in buying or correcting books. Whose worldly contemporaries observing their devotion and study, bestowed upon them for the edification of the whole Church the books which they had collected at great expense in the various parts of the world.

- 91 In truth, in these days as ye are engaged with all diligence in pursuit of gain, it may be reasonably believed, if we speak according to human notions, that God thinks less upon those whom he perceives to distrust his promises, putting their hope in human providence, not considering the raven, nor the lilies, whom the Most High feeds and arrays. Ye do not think upon Daniel and the bearer of the mess of boiled pottage, nor recollect Elijah who was delivered from hunger once in the desert by angels, again in the torrent by ravens, and again in Sarepta by the widow, through the divine bounty, which gives to all flesh their meat
- 92 in due season. Ye descend (as we fear) by a wretched anticlimax, distrust of the divine goodness producing reliance upon your own prudence, and reliance upon your own prudence begetting anxiety about worldly things, and excessive anxiety about worldly things taking away the love as well as the study of books; and thus poverty in these days is abused to the injury of the word of God, which ye have chosen only for profit's sake.
- 93 With summer fruit, as the people gossip, ye



attract boys to religion, whom when they have taken the vows ye do not instruct by fear and force, as their age requires, but allow them to devote themselves to begging expeditions, and suffer them to spend the time, in which they might be learning, in procuring the favour of friends, to the annoyance of their parents, the danger of the boys, and the detriment of the order. And thus no doubt it happens that those who were not compelled to learn as unwilling boys, when they grow up presume to teach though utterly unworthy and unlearned, and a small error in the beginning becomes  
94 a very great one in the end. For there grows up among your promiscuous flock of laity a pestilent multitude of creatures, who nevertheless the more shamelessly force themselves into the office of preaching, the less they understand what they are saying, to the contempt of the Divine word and  
95 the injury of souls. In truth against the law ye plough with an ox and an ass together, in committing the cultivation of the Lord's field to learned and unlearned. Side by side, it is written, the oxen were ploughing and the asses feeding beside them : since it is the duty of the discreet to preach, but of the simple to feed themselves in silence by the hearing of sacred eloquence. How many stones ye fling upon the heap of Mercury nowadays ! How many marriages ye procure for the eunuchs of wisdom ! How many blind watchmen ye bid go round about the walls of the Church !



96 O idle fishermen, using only the nets of others, which when torn it is all ye can do to clumsily repair, but can net no new ones of your own! ye enter on the labours of others, ye repeat the lessons of others, ye mouth with theatric effort the superficially repeated wisdom of others. As the silly parrot imitates the words that he has heard, so such men are mere reciters of all, but authors of nothing, imitating Balaam's ass, which, though senseless of itself, yet became eloquent of speech and the teacher of its master  
97 though a prophet. Recover yourselves, O poor in Christ, and studiously regard us books, without which ye can never be properly shod in the preparation of the gospel of peace.

Paul the Apostle, preacher of the truth and excellent teacher of the nations, for all his gear bade three things to be brought to him by Timothy, his cloak, books and parchments, affording an example to ecclesiastics that they should wear dress in moderation, and should have books for aid in study, and parchments, which the Apostle especially esteems, for writing: *and especially*, he  
98 says, the parchments. And truly that clerk is crippled and maimed to his disablement in many ways, who is entirely ignorant of the art of writing. He beats the air with words and edifies only those who are present, but does nothing for the absent and for posterity. The man bore a writer's ink-horn upon his loins, who set a mark *Tau* upon the



foreheads of the men that sigh and cry, *Ezechiel* 9 ; teaching in a figure that if any lack skill in writing, he shall not undertake the task of preaching repentance.

99 Finally, in conclusion of the present chapter, books implore of you: make your young men who though ignorant are apt of intellect apply themselves to study, furnishing them with necessaries, that ye may teach them not only goodness but discipline and science, may terrify them by blows, charm them by blandishments, mollify them by gifts, and urge them on by painful rigour, so that they may become at once Socratics in morals and Peri-  
 100 patetics in learning. Yesterday, as it were at the eleventh hour, the prudent householder introduced you into his vineyard. Repent of idleness before it is too late: would that with the cunning steward ye might be ashamed of begging so shamelessly; for then no doubt ye would devote yourselves more assiduously to us books and to study.

## Chapter 7.

### The Complaint of Books against Wars.

101 Almighty Author and Lover of peace, scatter the nations that delight in war, which is above all plagues injurious to books. For wars being without



the control of reason make a wild assault on everything they comes across, and lacking the check of reason they push on without discretion or distinction to destroy the vessels of reason. Then  
102 the wise Apollo becomes the Python's prey, and Phronesis, the pious mother, becomes subject to the power of Phrenzy. Then winged Pegasus is shut up in the stall of Corydon, and eloquent Mercury is strangled. Then wise Pallas is struck down by the dagger of error, and the charming Pierides are smitten by the truculent tyranny of  
103 madness. O cruel spectacle ! where you may see the Phœbus of philosophers, the all-wise Aristotle, whom God himself made master of the master of the world, enchained by wicked hands and borne in shameful irons on the shoulders of gladiators from his sacred home. There you may see him who was worthy to be lawgiver to the lawgiver of the world and to hold empire over its emperor made the slave of vile buffoons by the most unrighteous  
104 laws of war. O most wicked power of darkness, which does not fear to undo the approved divinity of Plato, who alone was worthy to submit to the view of the Creator, before he assuaged the strife of warring chaos, and before form had put on its garb of matter, the ideal types, in order to demonstrate the archetypal universe to its author, so that the world of sense might be modelled after the supernal pattern. O tearful sight ! where the moral Socrates, whose acts were virtue and whose



discourse was science, who deduced political justice from the principles of nature, is seen enslaved  
105 to some rascal robber. We bemoan Pythagoras, the parent of harmony, as, brutally scourged by the harrying furies of war, he utters not a song but the wailings of a dove. We mourn, too, for Zeno, who lest he should betray his secret bit off his tongue and fearlessly spat it out at the tyrant, and now, alas! is brayed and crushed to death in a mortar by Diomedon.

106 In sooth we cannot mourn with the grief that they deserve all the various books that have perished by the fate of war in various parts of the world. Yet we must tearfully recount the dreadful ruin which was caused in Egypt by the auxiliaries in the Alexandrian war, when seven hundred thousand volumes were consumed by fire. These volumes had been collected by the royal Ptolemies through long periods of time, as Aulus Gellius relates.  
107 What an Atlantean progeny must be supposed to have then perished: including the motions of the spheres, all the conjunctions of the planets, the nature of the galaxy, and the prognostic generations of comets, and all that exists in the heavens or in the ether! Who would not shudder at such a hapless holocaust, where ink is offered up instead of blood, where the glowing ashes of crackling parchment were encarnadined with blood, where the devouring flames consumed so many thousands of innocents in whose mouth was no guile, where



- the unsparing fire turned into stinking ashes so  
108 many shrines of eternal truth? A lesser crime than  
this is the sacrifice of Jephthah or Agamemnon,  
where a pious daughter is slain by a father's sword.  
How many labours of the famous Hercules shall we  
suppose then perished, who because of his know-  
ledge of astronomy is said to have sustained the  
heaven on his unyielding neck, when Hercules  
was now for the second time cast into the flames.
- 109 The secrets of the heavens, which Jonithus learnt  
not from man or through man but received by  
divine inspiration; what his brother Zoroaster,  
the servant of unclean spirits, taught the Bactrians;  
what holy Enoch, the prefect of Paradise, pro-  
phesied before he was taken from the world, and  
finally, what the first Adam taught his children of  
the things to come, which he had seen when caught  
up in an ecstasy in the book of eternity, are  
believed to have perished in those horrid flames.
- 110 The religion of the Egyptians, which the book  
of the Perfect Word so commends; the excellent  
polity of the older Athens, which preceded by  
nine thousand years the Athens of Greece; the  
charms of the Chaldæans; the observations of the  
Arabs and Indians; the ceremonies of the Jews;  
the architecture of the Babylonians; the agricul-  
ture of Noah; the magic arts of Moses; the  
geometry of Joshua; the enigmas of Samson; the  
problems of Solomon from the cedar of Lebanon  
to the hyssop; the antidotes of Aesculapius; the



grammar of Cadmus ; the poems of Parnassus ; the oracles of Apollo ; the argonautics of Jason ; the stratagems of Palamedes, and infinite other secrets of science are believed to have perished at the time of this conflagration.

- 111 Nay, Aristotle would not have missed the quadrature of the circle, if only baleful conflicts had spared the books of the ancients, who knew all the methods of nature. He would not have left the problem of the eternity of the world an open question, nor, as is credibly conceived, would he have had any doubts of the plurality of human intellects and of their eternity, if the perfect sciences of the ancients had not been
- 112 exposed to the calamities of hateful wars. For by wars we are scattered into foreign lands, are mutilated, wounded, and shamefully disfigured, are buried under the earth and overwhelmed in the sea, are devoured by the flames and destroyed by every kind of death. How much of our blood was shed by warlike Scipio, when he was eagerly compassing the overthrow of Carthage, the opponent
- 113 and rival of the Roman empire ! How many thousands of thousands of us did the ten years' war of Troy dismiss from the light of day ! How many were driven by Antony, after the murder of Tully, to seek hiding places in foreign provinces ! How many of us were scattered by Theodoric, while Boethius was in exile, into the different quarters of the world, like sheep whose shepherd



has been struck down! How many, when Seneca fell a victim to the cruelty of Nero, and willing yet unwilling passed the gates of death, took leave of him and retired in tears, not even knowing in what quarter to seek for shelter!

114 Happy was that translation of books which Xerxes is said to have made to Persia from Athens, and which Seleucus brought back again from Persia to Athens. O glad and joyful return! O wondrous joy, which you might then see in Athens, when the mother went in triumph to meet her progeny, and again showed the chambers in which they had been nursed to her now aging children! Their old homes were restored to their former inmates, and forthwith boards of cedar with shelves and beams of gopher wood are most skilfully planed; inscriptions of gold and ivory are designed for the several compartments, to which the volumes themselves are reverently brought and pleasantly arranged, so that no one hinders the entrance of another or injures its brother by excessive crowding.

115 But in truth infinite are the losses which have been inflicted upon the race of books by wars and tumults. And as it is by no means possible to enumerate and survey infinity, we will here finally set up the Gades of our complaint, and turn again to the prayers with which we began, humbly imploring that the Ruler of Olympus and the Most High Governor of all the world will establish



peace and dispel wars and make our days tranquil under his protection.

### Chapter 8.

Of the numerous Opportunities we have had of collecting a store of Books.

- 116 Since to everything there is a season and an opportunity, as the wise Ecclesiastes witnesseth, let us now proceed to relate the manifold opportunities through which we have been assisted by the divine goodness in the acquisition of books.
- 117 Although from our youth upwards we had always delighted in holding social commune with learned men and lovers of books, yet when we prospered in the world and made acquaintance with the King's majesty and were received into his household, we obtained ampler facilities for visiting everywhere as we would, and of hunting as it were certain most choice preserves, libraries private as well as public and of the regular as well as of the
- 118 secular clergy. And indeed while we filled various offices to the victorious Prince and splendidly triumphant King of England, Edward the Third from the Conquest—whose reign may the Almighty long and peacefully continue—first those about his court, but then those concerning the public



affairs of his kingdom, namely the offices of Chancellor and Treasurer, there was afforded to us, in consideration of the royal favour, easy access for the purpose of freely searching the retreats of  
119 books. In fact, the fame of our love of them had been soon winged abroad everywhere, and we were reported to burn with such desire for books, and especially old ones, that it was more easy for any man to gain our favour by means of books than of money. Wherefore, since supported by the goodness of the aforesaid prince of worthy memory, we were able to requite a man well or ill, to benefit or injure mightily great as well as small, there flowed in, instead of presents and guerdons, and instead of gifts and jewels, soiled tracts and battered codices, gladsome alike to our eye  
120 and heart. Then the aumbries of the most famous monasteries were thrown open, cases were unlocked and caskets were undone, and volumes that had slumbered through long ages in their tombs wake up and are astonished, and those that had lain hidden in dark places are bathed in the ray of unwonted light. These long lifeless books, once most dainty, but now become corrupt and loathsome, covered with litters of mice and pierced with the gnawings of the worms, and who were once clothed in purple and fine linen, now lying in sackcloth and ashes, given up to oblivion, seemed to have become habitations of the moth.  
121 Natheless among these, seizing the opportunity,



we would sit down with more delight than a fastidious physician among his stores of gums and spices, and there we found the object and the stimulus of our affections. Thus the sacred vessels of learning came into our control and stewardship; some by gift, others by purchase, and some lent to us for a season.

122 No wonder that when people saw that we were contented with gifts of this kind, they were anxious of their own accord to minister to our needs with those things that they were more willing to dispense with than the things they secured by ministering to our service. And in good will we strove so to forward their affairs that gain accrued to them, while justice suffered no disparagement.

123 Indeed, if we had loved gold and silver goblets, high-bred horses, or no small sums of money, we might in those days have furnished forth a rich treasury. But in truth we wanted manuscripts not money-scripts; we loved codices more than florins, and preferred slender pamphlets to pampered palfreys.

124 Besides all this, we were frequently made ambassador of this most illustrious Prince of everlasting memory, and were sent on the most various affairs of state, now to the Holy See, now to the Court of France, and again to various powers of the world, on tedious embassies and in times of danger, always carrying with us, however, that love of books  
125 which many waters could not quench. For this like a delicious draught sweetened the bitterness of



our journeyings and after the perplexing intricacies and troublesome difficulties of causes and the all but inextricable labyrinths of public affairs afforded us a little breathing space to enjoy a balmier atmosphere.

- 126 O Holy God of Gods in Sion, what a mighty stream of pleasure made glad our hearts whenever we had leisure to visit Paris, the Paradise of the world, and to linger there; where the days seemed ever few for the greatness of our love! There are delightful libraries, more aromatic than stores of spicery; there are luxuriant parks of all manner of volumes; there are Academic meads shaken by the tramp of scholars; there are lounges of Athens; walks of the Peripatetics; peaks of Parnassus; and
- 127 porches of the Stoics. There is seen the surveyor of all arts and sciences Aristotle, to whom belongs all that is most excellent in doctrine, so far as relates to this passing sublunary world; there Ptolemy measures epicycles and eccentric apogees and the nodes of the planets by figures and numbers; there Paul reveals the mysteries; there his neighbour Dionysius arranges and distinguishes the hierarchies;
- 128 there the virgin Carmentis reproduces in Latin characters all that Cadmus collected in Phœnician letters; there indeed opening our treasuries and unfastening our purse-strings we scattered money with joyous heart and purchased inestimable books
- 129 with mud and sand. It is naught, it is naught, saith every buyer. But in vain; for behold how



good and how pleasant it is to gather together the arms of the clerical warfare, that we may have the means to crush the attacks of heretics, if they arise.

130 Further, we are aware that we obtained most excellent opportunities of collecting in the following way. From our early years we attached to our society with the most exquisite solicitude and discarding all partiality all such masters and scholars and professors in the several faculties as had become most distinguished by their subtlety of mind and the fame of their learning. Deriving consolation from their sympathetic conversation, we were delightfully entertained, now by demonstrative chains of reasoning, now by the recital of physical processes and the treatises of the doctors of the Church, now by stimulating discourses on the allegorical meanings of things, as  
131 by a rich and well-varied intellectual feast. Such men we chose as comrades in our years of learning, as companions in our chamber, as associates on our journeys, as guests at our table, and, in short, as helpmates in all the vicissitudes of life. But as no happiness is permitted to endure for long, we were sometimes deprived of the bodily companionship of some of these shining lights, when justice looking down from heaven, the ecclesiastical preferments and dignities that they deserved fell to their portion. And thus it happened, as was only right, that in attending to their own cures they were obliged to absent themselves from attendance upon us.



- 132 We will add yet another very convenient way by which a great multitude of books old as well as new came into our hands. For we never regarded with disdain or disgust the poverty of the mendicant orders, adopted for the sake of Christ; but in all parts of the world took them into the kindly arms of our compassion, allured them by the most friendly familiarity into devotion to ourselves, and having so allured them cherished them with munificent liberality of beneficence for the sake of God, becoming benefactors of all of them in general in such wise that we seemed none the less to have adopted certain individuals with a special fatherly
- 133 affection. To these men we were as a refuge in every case of need, and never refused to them the shelter of our favour, wherefore we deserved to find them most special furtherers of our wishes and promoters thereof in act and deed, who compassing land and sea, traversing the circuit of the world, and ransacking the universities and high schools of various provinces, were zealous in combatting for our desires, in the sure and
- 134 certain hope of reward. What leveret could escape amidst so many keen-sighted hunters? What little fish could evade in turn their hooks and nets and snares? From the body of the Sacred Law down to the booklet containing the fallacies of yesterday, nothing could escape these searchers. Was some devout discourse uttered at the fountain-head of Christian faith, the holy



Roman Curia, or was some strange question ventilated with novel arguments; did the solidity of Paris, which is now more zealous in the study of antiquity than in the subtle investigation of truth, did English subtlety, which illumined by the lights of former times is always sending forth fresh rays of truth, produce anything to the advancement of science or the declaration of the faith, this was instantly poured still fresh into our ears, ungarbled by any babbler, unmutilated by any trifler, but passing straight from the purest of wine-presses into the vats of our memory to be clarified.

135 But whenever it happened that we turned aside to the cities and places where the mendicants we have mentioned had their convents, we did not disdain to visit their libraries and any other repositories of books; nay, there we found heaped up amid the utmost poverty the utmost riches of wisdom. We discovered in their fardels and baskets not only crumbs falling from the masters' table for the dogs, but the shewbread without leaven and the bread of angels having in it all that is delicious; and indeed the garners of Joseph full of corn, and all the spoil of the Egyptians and the very precious gifts which Queen Sheba brought to Solomon.

136 These men are as ants ever preparing their meat in the summer, and ingenious bees continually fabricating cells of honey. They are successors of Bezeleel in devising all manner of workmanship in silver and gold and precious stones



for decorating the temple of the Church. They are cunning embroiderers, who fashion the breast-plate and ephod of the high priest and all the various vestments of the priests. They fashion the curtains of linen and hair and coverings of ram's skins dyed red with which to adorn the tabernacle of the Church militant. They are husbandmen that sow, oxen treading out corn, sounding trumpets, shining Pleiades and stars remaining in their courses, which cease not to fight  
137 against Sisera. And to pay due regard to truth, without prejudice to the judgment of any, although they lately at the eleventh hour have entered the lord's vineyard, as the books that are so fond of us eagerly declared in our sixth chapter, they have added more in this brief hour to the stock of the sacred books than all the other vine-dressers; following in the footsteps of Paul, the last to be called but the first in preaching, who spread the  
138 gospel of Christ more widely than all others. Of these men, when we were raised to the episcopate we had several of both orders, viz. the Preachers and Minors, as personal attendants and companions at our board, men distinguished no less in letters than in morals, who devoted themselves with unwearied zeal to the correction, exposition, tabulation and compilation of various volumes.  
139 But although we have acquired a very numerous store of ancient as well as modern works by the manifold intermediation of the religious, yet we



must laud the Preachers with special praise, in that we have found them above all the religious most freely communicative of their stores without jealousy, and proved them to be imbued with an almost divine liberality, not greedy but fitting possessors of luminous wisdom.

140 Besides all the opportunities mentioned above, we secured the acquaintance of stationers and booksellers, not only within our own country, but of those spread over the realms of France, Germany, and Italy, money flying forth in abundance to anticipate their demands ; nor were they hindered by any distance or by the fury of the seas, or by the lack of means for their expenses, from sending or bringing to us the books that we required. For they well knew that their expectations of our bounty would not be defrauded, but that ample repayment with usury was to be found with us.

141 Nor, finally, did our good-fellowship, which aimed to captivate the affection of all, overlook the rectors of schools and the instructors of rude boys. But rather, when we had an opportunity, we entered their little plots and gardens and gathered sweet-smelling flowers from the surface and dug up their roots, obsolete indeed, but still useful to the student, which might when their rank barbarism was digested heal the pectoral arteries with the gift of elo-  
142 quence. Amongst the mass of these things we found some greatly meriting to be restored, which when skilfully cleansed and freed from the disfiguring



rust of age, deserved to be renovated into comeliness of aspect. And applying in full measure the necessary means, as a type of the resurrection to come, we resuscitated them and restored them again to new life and health.

- 143 Moreover, we had always in our different manors no small multitude of copyists and scribes, of binders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all who could usefully labour in the service of books. Finally, all of both sexes and of every rank or position who had any kind of association with books, could most easily open by their knocking the door of our heart, and find a fit resting-place in
- 144 our affection and favour. In so much did we receive those who brought books, that the multitude of those who had preceded them did not lessen the welcome of the after-comers, nor were the favours we had awarded yesterday prejudicial to those of to-day. Wherefore, ever using all the persons we have named as a kind of magnets to attract books, we had the desired accession of the vessels of science and a multitudinous flight of the finest volumes.

And this is what we undertook to narrate in the present chapter.



## Chapter 9.

How although we preferred the Works of  
the Ancients we have not condemned  
the Studies of the Moderns.

145 Although the novelties of the moderns were  
never disagreeable to our desires, who have always  
cherished with grateful affection those who devote  
themselves to study and who add anything either  
ingenious or useful to the opinions of our fore-  
fathers, yet we have always desired with more  
undoubting avidity to investigate the well-tested  
labours of the ancients. For whether they had  
by nature a greater vigour of mental sagacity, or  
whether they perhaps indulged in closer application  
to study, or whether they were assisted in their  
progress by both these things, one thing we are  
perfectly clear about, that their successors are  
barely capable of discussing the discoveries of their  
forerunners, and of acquiring those things as pupils  
which the ancients dug out by difficult efforts of  
146 discovery. For as we read that the men of old  
were of a more excellent degree of bodily develop-  
ment than modern times are found to produce, it  
is by no means absurd to suppose that most of the  
ancients were distinguished by brighter faculties,



seeing that in the labours they accomplished of both kinds they are inimitable by posterity. And so Phocas writes in the prologue to his Grammar :

Since all things have been said by men of sense,  
The only novelty is—to condense.

- 147 But in truth, if we speak of fervour of learning and diligence in study, they gave up all their lives to philosophy ; while nowadays our contemporaries carelessly spend a few years of hot youth, alternating with the excesses of vice, and when the passions have been calmed, and they have attained the capacity of discerning truth so difficult to discover, they soon become involved in worldly affairs and retire, bidding farewell to the schools of philosophy.
- 148 They offer the fuming must of their youthful intellect to the difficulties of philosophy, and bestow the clearer wine upon the money-making business of life. Further, as Ovid in the first book of the *De Vetula* justly complains :

The hearts of all men after gold aspire ;  
Few study to be wise, more to acquire :  
Thus, Science ! all thy virgin charms are sold,  
Whose chaste embraces should disdain their gold,  
Who seek not thee thyself, but pelf through thee,  
Longing for riches, not philosophy.

And further on :

Thus Philosophy is seen  
Exiled, and Philopocuny is queen,



which is known to be the most violent poison of learning.

149 How the ancients indeed regarded life as the only limit of study, is shown by Valerius, in his book addressed to Tiberius, by many examples. Carneades, he says, was a laborious and lifelong soldier of wisdom: after he had lived ninety years, the same day put an end to his life and his philosophizing. Isocrates in his ninety-fourth year wrote a most noble work. Sophocles did the same when nearly a hundred years old. Simonides wrote poems in his eightieth year. Aulus Gellius did not desire to live longer than he should be able to write, as he says himself in the prologue to the *Noctes Atticæ*.

150 The fervour of study which possessed Euclid the Socratic, Taurus the philosopher used to relate to incite young men to study, as Gellius tells in the book we have mentioned. For the Athenians, hating the people of Megara, decreed that if any of the Megarensians entered Athens, he should be put to death. Then Euclid, who was a Megarensian, and had attended the lectures of Socrates before this decree, disguising himself in a woman's dress, used to go from Megara to Athens by night to hear Socrates, a distance of twenty miles and  
151 back. Imprudent and excessive was the fervour of Archimedes, a lover of geometry, who would not declare his name, nor lift his head from the diagram he had drawn, by which he might have



prolonged his life, but thinking more of study than of life dyed with his life-blood the figure he was studying.

- 152 There are very many such examples of our proposition, but the brevity we aim at does not allow us to recall them. But, painful to relate, the clerks who are famous in these days pursue a very different course. Afflicted with ambition in their tender years, and slightly fastening to their untried arms the Icarian wings of presumption, they prematurely snatch the master's cap; and mere boys become unworthy professors of the several faculties, through which they do not make their way step by step, but like goats ascend by leaps and bounds; and having slightly tasted of the mighty stream, they think that they have drunk it dry, though their throats are hardly moistened.
- 153 And because they are not grounded in the first rudiments at the fitting time, they build a tottering edifice on an unstable foundation, and now that they have grown up, they are ashamed to learn what they ought to have learned while young, and thus they are compelled to suffer for ever for too hastily jumping at dignities they have not deserved.
- 154 For these and the like reasons the tyros in the schools do not attain to the solid learning of the ancients in a few short hours of study, although they may enjoy distinctions, may be accorded titles, be authorized by official robes, and solemnly installed in the chairs of the elders. Just snatched



from the cradle and hastily weaned, they mouth the rules of Priscian and Donatus ; while still beardless boys they gabble with childish stammering the Categories and *Peri Hermeneias*, in the writing of which the great Aristotle is said to have dipped  
155 his pen in his heart's blood. Passing through these faculties with baneful haste and a harmful diploma, they lay violent hands upon Moses, and sprinkling about their faces dark waters and thick clouds of the skies, they offer their heads, un- honoured by the snows of age, for the mitre of the pontificate. This pest is greatly encouraged, and they are helped to attain this fantastic clericate with such nimble steps, by Papal provisions obtained by insidious prayers, and also by the prayers, which may not be rejected, of cardinals and great men, by the cupidity of friends and relatives, who building up Sion in blood, secure ecclesiastical dignities for their nephews and pupils, before they are seasoned by the course of nature or ripeness of learning.

156 Alas ! by the same disease which we are de- ploring, we see that the Palladium of Paris has been carried off in these sad times of ours, wherein the zeal of that noble university, whose rays once shed light into every corner of the world, has grown lukewarm, nay, is all but frozen. There the pen of every scribe is now at rest, generations of books no longer succeed each other, and there is none who begins to take place as a new author.



They wrap up their doctrines in unskilled discourse, and are losing all propriety of logic, except that our English subtleties, which they denounce in public, are the subject of their furtive vigils.

- 157 Admirable Minerva seems to bend her course to all the nations of the earth, and reacheth from end to end mightily, that she may reveal herself to all mankind. We see that she has already visited the Indians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians and Greeks, the Arabs and the Romans. Now she has passed by Paris, and now has happily come to Britain, the most noble of islands, nay, rather a microcosm in itself, that she may show herself a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. At which wondrous sight it is conceived by most men, that as philosophy is now lukewarm in France, so her soldiery are unmanned and languishing.

## Chapter 10.

### Of the Gradual Perfecting of Books.

- 158 While assiduously seeking out the wisdom of the men of old, according to the counsel of the Wise Man (Eccli. 39) : The wise man, he says, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, we have not thought fit to be misled into the opinion that the



first founders of the arts have purged away all crudeness, knowing that the discoveries of each of the faithful, when weighed in a faithful balance, makes a tiny portion of science, but that by the anxious investigations of a multitude of scholars, each as it were contributing his share, the mighty bodies of the sciences have grown by successive augmentations to the immense bulk that we now behold. For the disciples continually melting down the doctrines of their masters, and passing them again through the furnace, drove off the dross that had been previously overlooked, until there came out refined gold tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times to perfection, and stained by no admixture of error or doubt.

159 For not even Aristotle, although a man of gigantic intellect, in whom it pleased Nature to try how much of reason she could bestow upon mortality, and whom the Most High made only a little lower than the angels, sucked from his own fingers those wonderful volumes which the whole world can hardly contain. But, on the contrary, with lynx-eyed penetration he had seen through the sacred books of the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Chaldæans, the Persians and the Medes, all of which learned Greece had transferred into her treasuries. Whose true sayings  
160 he received, but smoothed away their crudities, pruned their superfluties, supplied their deficiencies, and removed their errors. And he held that we



should give thanks not only to those who teach rightly, but even to those who err, as affording the way of more easily investigating truth, as he plainly declares in the second book of his *Metaphysics*. Thus many learned lawyers contributed to the *Pandects*, many physicians to the *Tegni*, and it was by this means that Avicenna edited his *Canon*, and Pliny his great work on *Natural History*, and Ptolemy the *Almagest*.

- 161 For as in the writers of annals it is not difficult to see that the later writer always presupposes the earlier, without whom he could by no means relate the former times, so too we are to think of the authors of the sciences. For no man by himself has brought forth any science, since between the earliest students and those of the latter time we find intermediaries, ancient if they be compared with our own age, but modern if we think of the foundations of learning, and these men we consider
- 162 the most learned. What would Vergil, the chief poet among the Latins, have achieved, if he had not despoiled Theocritus, Lucretius, and Homer, and had not ploughed with their heifer? What, unless again and again he had read somewhat of Parthenius and Pindar, whose eloquence he could by no means imitate? What could Sallust, Tully, Boethius, Macrobius, Lactantius, Martianus, and in short the whole troop of Latin writers, have done, if they had not seen the productions of Athens or
- 163 the volumes of the Greeks? Certes, little would



Jerome, master of three languages, Ambrosius, Augustine, though he confesses that he hated Greek, or even Gregory, who is said to have been wholly ignorant of it, have contributed to the doctrine of the Church, if more learned Greece had not furnished them from its stores. As Rome, watered by the streams of Greece, had earlier brought forth philosophers in the image of the Greeks, in like fashion afterwards it produced doctors of the orthodox faith. The creeds we chant are the sweat of Grecian brows, promulgated by their Councils, and established by the martyrdom of many.

164 Yet their natural slowness, as it happens, turns to the glory of the Latins, since as they were less learned in their studies, so they were less perverse in their errors. In truth, the Arian heresy had all but eclipsed the whole Church; the Nestorian wickedness presumed to rave with blasphemous rage against the Virgin, for it would have robbed the Queen of Heaven, not in open fight but in disputation, of her name and character as *Mother of God*, unless the invincible champion Cyril, ready to do single battle, with the help of the Council of Ephesus, had in ve-

165 hementence of spirit utterly extinguished it. Innumerable are the forms as well as the authors of Greek heresies; for as they were the original cultivators of our holy faith, so too they were the first sowers of tares, as is shown by veracious history.



And thus they went on from bad to worse, because in endeavouring to part the seamless vesture of the Lord, they totally destroyed primitive simplicity of doctrine, and blinded by the darkness of novelty would fall into the bottomless pit, unless He provide for them in his inscrutable prerogative, whose wisdom is past reckoning.

- 166 Let this suffice ; for here we reach the limit of our power of judgment. One thing, however, we conclude from the premises, that the ignorance of the Greek tongue is now a great hindrance to the study of the Latin writers, since without it the doctrines of the ancient authors, whether Christian or Gentile, cannot be understood. And we must come to a like judgment as to Arabic in numerous astronomical treatises, and as to Hebrew as regards the text of the Holy Bible, which deficiencies indeed Clement V. provides for, if only the bishops would faithfully observe what they so lightly decree.
- 167 Wherefore we have taken care to provide a Greek as well as a Hebrew grammar for our scholars, with certain other aids, by the help of which studious readers may greatly inform themselves in the writing, reading, and understanding of the said tongues, although only the hearing of them can teach correctness of idiom.



## Chapter 11.

## Why we have preferred Books of Liberal Learning to Books of Law.

168 That lucrative practice of positive law, designed for the dispensation of earthly things, the more useful it is found by the children of this world, so much the less does it aid the children of light in comprehending the mysteries of holy writ and the secret sacraments of the faith, seeing that it disposes us peculiarly to the friendship of the world, by which man, as S. James testifies, is made the enemy of God. Law indeed encourages rather than extinguishes the contentions of mankind, which are the result of unbounded greed, by complicated laws, which can be turned either way; though we know that it was created by jurisconsults and pious princes for the purpose  
169 of assuaging these contentions. But in truth, as the same science deals with contraries, and the power of reason can be used to opposite ends, and at the same time the human mind is more inclined to evil, it happens with the practisers of this science that they usually devote themselves to promoting contention rather than peace, and instead of quoting laws according to the intent of



the legislator, violently strain the language thereof to effect their own purposes.

- 170 Wherefore, although the over-mastering love of books has possessed our mind from boyhood, and to rejoice in their delights has been our only pleasure, yet the appetite for the books of the civil law took less hold of our affections, and we have spent but little labour and expense in acquiring volumes of this kind. For they are useful only as the scorpion in treacle, as Aristotle, the sun of science, has said of logic in his book
- 171 *De Pomo*. We have noticed a certain manifest difference of nature between law and science, in that every science is delighted and desires to open its inward parts and display the very heart of its principles, and to show forth the roots from which it buds and flourishes, and that the emanation of its springs may be seen of all men; for thus from the cognate and harmonious light of the truth of conclusion to principles, the whole body of science
- 172 will be full of light, having no part dark. But laws, on the contrary, since they are only human enactments for the regulation of social life, or the yokes of princes thrown over the necks of their subjects, refuse to be brought to the standard of synteresis, the origin of equity, because they feel that they possess more of arbitrary will than rational judgment. Wherefore the judgment of the wise for the most
- 173 part is that the causes of laws are not a fit subject of discussion. In truth, many laws acquire force by



mere custom, not by syllogistic necessity, like the arts: as Aristotle, the Phœbus of the Schools, urges in the second book of the Politics, where he confutes the policy of Hippodamus, which holds out rewards to the inventors of new laws, because to abrogate old laws and establish new ones is to weaken the force of those which exist. For whatever receives its stability from use alone must necessarily be brought to nought by disuse.

174 From which it is seen clearly enough, that as laws are neither arts nor sciences, so books of law cannot properly be called books of art or science. Nor is this faculty which we may call by a special term *geologia*, or the *earthly* science, to be properly numbered among the sciences. Now the books of the liberal arts are so useful to the divine writings, that without their aid the intellect would vainly aspire to understand them.

### Chapter 12.

Why we have caused Books of Grammar to be so diligently prepared.

175 While we were constantly delighting ourselves with the reading of books, which it was our custom to read or have read to us every day, we noticed plainly



how much the defective knowledge even of a single word hinders the understanding, as the meaning of no sentence can be apprehended, if any part of  
176 it be not understood. Wherefore we ordered the meanings of foreign words to be noted with particular care, and studied the orthography, prosody, etymology, and syntax in ancient grammarians with unrelaxing carefulness, and took pains to elucidate terms that had grown too obscure by age with suitable explanations, in order to make a smooth path for our students.

177 This is the whole reason why we took care to replace the antiquated volumes of the grammarians by improved codices, that we might make royal roads, by which our scholars in time to come might attain without stumbling to any science.

### Chapter 13.

#### Why we have not wholly neglected the Fables of the Poets.

178 All the varieties of attack directed against the poets by the lovers of naked truth may be repelled by a two-fold defence: either that even in an unseemly subject-matter we may learn a charming fashion of speech, or that where a fictitious but becoming subject is handled, natural or historical



truth is pursued under the guise of allegorical fiction.

- 179 Although it is true that all men naturally desire knowledge, yet they do not all take the same pleasure in learning. On the contrary, when they have experienced the labour of study and find their senses wearied, most men inconsiderately fling away the nut, before they have broken the shell and reached the kernel. For man is naturally fond of two things, namely, freedom from control and some pleasure in his activity ; for which reason no one without reason submits himself to the control of others, or willingly engages in any tedious task.
- 180 For pleasure crowns activity, as beauty is a crown to youth, as Aristotle truly asserts in the tenth book of the *Ethics*. Accordingly the wisdom of the ancients devised a remedy by which to entice the wanton minds of men by a kind of pious fraud, the delicate Minerva secretly lurking beneath the
- 181 mask of pleasure. We are wont to allure children by rewards, that they may cheerfully learn what we force them to study even though they are unwilling. For our fallen nature does not tend to virtue with the same enthusiasm with which it rushes into vice. Horace has expressed this for us in a brief verse of the *Ars Poetica*, where he says :

All poets sing to profit or delight.

And he has plainly intimated the same thing



in another verse of the same book, where he says :

He hits the mark, who mingles joy with use.

- 182 How many students of Euclid have been repelled by the *Pons Asinorum*, as by a lofty and precipitous rock, which no help of ladders could enable them to scale! *This is a hard saying*, they exclaim, *and who can receive it*. The child of inconstancy, who ended by wishing to be transformed into an ass, would perhaps never have given up the study of philosophy, if she had met him in friendly guise veiled under the cloak of pleasure; but anon, astonished by Crato's chair and struck dumb by his endless questions, as by a sudden thunderbolt, he saw no refuge but in flight.
- 183 So much we have alleged in defence of the poets; and now we proceed to show that those who study them with proper intent are not to be condemned in regard to them. For our ignorance of one single word prevents the understanding of a whole long sentence, as was assumed in the previous chapter. As now the sayings of the saints frequently allude to the inventions of the poets, it must needs happen that through our not knowing the poem referred to, the whole meaning of the author is completely obscured, and assuredly, as Cassiodorus says in his book *Of the Institutes of Sacred Literature*: Those things are not to be considered trifles without which great things cannot come to pass. It follows therefore that through



ignorance of poetry we do not understand Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, Lactantius, Sidonius, and very many others, a catalogue of whom would more than fill a long chapter.

184 The Venerable Bede has very clearly discussed and determined this doubtful point, as is related by that great compiler Gratian, the repeater of numerous authors, who is as confused in form as he was eager in collecting matter for his compilation. Now he writes in his 37th section: Some read secular literature for pleasure, taking delight in the inventions and elegant language of the poets; but others study this literature for the sake of scholarship, that by their reading they may learn to detest the errors of the Gentiles and may devoutly apply what they find useful in them to the use of sacred learning. Such men study secular literature in a laudable manner. So far Bede.

185 Taking this salutary instruction to heart, let the detractors of those who study the poets henceforth hold their peace, and let not those who are ignorant of these things require that others should be as ignorant as themselves, for this is the consolation of the wretched. And therefore let every man see that his own intentions are upright, and he may thus make of any subject, observing the limitations of virtue, a study acceptable to God. And if he have found profit in poetry, as the great Virgil relates that he had done in Ennius, he will not have done amiss.



## Chapter 14.

Who ought to be special Lovers of  
Books.

186 TO him who recollects what has been said before, it is plain and evident who ought to be the chief lovers of books. For those who have most need of wisdom in order to perform usefully the duties of their position, they are without doubt most especially bound to show more abundantly to the sacred vessels of wisdom the anxious affection of a grateful heart. Now it is the office of the wise man to order rightly both himself and others, according to the Phœbus of philosophers, Aristotle, who deceives not nor is deceived in human things. Wherefore princes and prelates, judges and doctors, and all other leaders of the commonwealth, as more than others they have need of wisdom, so more than others ought they to show zeal for the vessels of wisdom.

187 Boethius indeed beheld Philosophy bearing a sceptre in her left hand and books in her right, by which it is evidently shown to all men that no one can rightly rule a commonwealth without books. Thou, says Boethius, speaking to Philosophy, hast sanctioned this saying by the mouth of Plato, that



states would be happy, if they were ruled by students of philosophy, or if their rulers would study philosophy. And again, we are taught by the very gesture of the figure that in so far as the right hand is better than the left, so far the contemplative life is more worthy than the active life; and at the same time we are shown that the business of the wise man is to devote himself by turns; now to the study of truth, and now to the dispensation of temporal things.

188 We read that Philip thanked the Gods devoutly for having granted that Alexander should be born in the time of Aristotle, so that educated under his instruction he might be worthy to rule his father's empire. While Phaeton unskilled in driving becomes the charioteer of his father's car, he unhappily distributes to mankind the heat of Phœbus, now by excessive nearness, and now by withdrawing it too far, and so, lest all beneath him should be imperilled by the closeness of his driving, justly deserved to be struck by the thunderbolt.

189 The history of the Greeks as well as Romans shows that there were no famous princes among them who were devoid of literature. The sacred law of Moses in prescribing to the king a rule of government, enjoins him to have a copy made of the book of Divine law (Deut. xvii.) according to the copy shown by the priests, in which he was to read all the days of his life. Certes, God himself, who hath made and who fashioneth every day the



hearts of everyone of us, knows the feebleness of human memory and the instability of virtuous intentions in mankind. Wherefore he has willed that books should be as it were an antidote to all evil, the reading and use of which he has commanded to be the healthful daily nourishment of the soul, so that by them the intellect being refreshed and neither weak nor doubtful should never hesitate in action. This subject is elegantly handled by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticon*. In conclusion, all classes of men who are conspicuous by the tonsure or the sign of clerkship, against whom books lifted up their voices in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters, are bound to serve books with perpetual veneration.

## Chapter 15.

### Of the advantages of the love of Books.

191 It transcends the power of human intellect, however deeply it may have drunk of the Pegasean fount, to develop fully the title of the present chapter. Though one should speak with the tongue of men and angels, though he should become a Mercury or Tully, though he should grow sweet with the milky eloquence of Livy, yet he will plead the stammering of Moses, or with Jeremiah will confess that he is but a boy and cannot speak,



or will imitate Echo rebounding from the mountains. For we know that the love of books is the same thing as the love of wisdom, as was proved in  
192 the second chapter. Now this love is called by the Greek word *philosophy*, the whole virtue of which no created intelligence can comprehend; for she is believed to be the mother of all good things: Wisdom, 7. She as a heavenly dew extinguishes the heats of fleshly vices, the intense activity of the mental forces relaxing the vigour of the animal forces, and slothfulness being wholly put to flight, which being gone all the bows of Cupid are unstrung.

193 Hence Plato says in the *Phaedo*: The philosopher is manifest in this, that he dissevers the soul from communion with the body. Love, says Jerome, the knowledge of the scriptures and thou wilt not love the vices of the flesh. The godlike Xenocrates showed this by the firmness of his reason, who was declared by the famous hetæra Phryne to be a statue and not a man, when all her blandishments could not shake his resolve, as Valerius Maximus relates at length. Our own Origen showed this also, who chose rather to be unsexed by the mutilation of himself, than to be made effeminate by the omnipotence of woman—though it was a hasty remedy, repugnant alike to nature and to virtue, whose place it is not to make men insensible to passion, but to slay with the dagger of reason the passions that spring from instinct.



194 Again, all who are smitten with the love of books think cheaply of the world and wealth ; as Jerome says to Vigilantius : The same man cannot love both gold and books. And thus it has been said in verse :

No iron-stained hand is fit to handle books,  
 Nor he whose heart on gold so gladly looks ;  
 The same men love not books and money both,  
 And books thy herd, O Epicurus, loathe ;  
 Misers and bookmen make poor company,  
 Nor dwell in peace beneath the same roof-tree.

No man, therefore, can serve both books and Mammon.

195 The hideousness of vice is greatly reprobated in books, so that he who loves to commune with books is led to detest all manner of vice. The demon, who derives his name from knowledge, is most effectually defeated by the knowledge of books, and through books his multitudinous deceits and the endless labyrinths of his guile are laid bare to those who read, lest he be transformed into an angel of light and circumvent the innocent by his wiles. The reverence of God is revealed to us by books, the virtues by which He is worshipped are more expressly manifested, and the rewards are described that are promised by the truth, which  
 196 deceives not, neither is deceived. The truest likeness of the beatitude to come is the contemplation of the sacred writings, in which we behold in turn the Creator and the creature, and



draw from streams of perpetual gladness. Faith is established by the power of books; hope is strengthened by their solace, insomuch that by patience and the consolation of scripture we are in good hope. Charity is not puffed up, but is edified by the knowledge of true learning, and indeed it is clearer than light that the Church is established upon the sacred writings.

197 Books delight us, when prosperity smiles upon us; they comfort us inseparably when stormy fortune frowns on us. They lend validity to human compacts, and no serious judgments are propounded without their help. Arts and sciences, all the advantages of which no mind can enumerate, consist in books. How highly must we estimate the wondrous power of books, since through them we survey the utmost bounds of the world and time, and contemplate the things that are as well as those that are not, as it were in  
198 the mirror of eternity. In books we climb mountains and scan the deepest gulfs of the abyss; in books we behold the finny tribes that may not exist outside their native waters, distinguish the properties of streams and springs and of various lands; from books we dig out gems and metals and the materials of every kind of mineral, and learn the virtues of herbs and trees and plants, and survey at will the whole progeny of Neptune, Ceres, and Pluto.

199 But if we please to visit the heavenly inhabi-



tants, Taurus, Caucasus, and Olympus are at hand, from which we pass beyond the realms of Juno and mark out the territories of the seven planets by lines and circles. And finally we traverse the loftiest firmament of all, adorned with signs, degrees, and figures in the utmost variety. There we inspect the antarctic pole, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard; we admire the luminous Milky way and the Zodiac, marvellously and  
200 delightfully pictured with celestial animals. Thence by books we pass on to separate substances, that the intellect may greet kindred intelligences, and with the mind's eye may discern the First Cause of all things and the Unmoved Mover of infinite virtue, and may immerse itself in love without end. See how with the aid of books we attain the reward of our beatitude, while we are yet sojourners below.

201 Why need we say more? Certes, just as we have learnt on the authority of Seneca, leisure without letters is death and the sepulture of the living, so contrariwise we conclude that occupation with letters or books is the life of man.

202 Again, by means of books we communicate to friends as well as foes what we cannot safely entrust to messengers; since the book is generally allowed access to the chambers of princes, from which the voice of its author would be rigidly excluded, as Tertullian observes at the beginning of his *Apologeticus*. When shut up in prison and



in bonds, and utterly deprived of bodily liberty, we use books as ambassadors to our friends, and entrust them with the conduct of our cause, and send them where to go ourselves would incur the penalty of death. By the aid of books we remember things that are past, and even prophesy as to the future; and things present, which shift and flow, we perpetuate by committing them to writing.

203 The felicitous studiousness and the studious felicity of the all-powerful eunuch, of whom we are told in the Acts, who had been so mightily kindled by the love of the prophetic writings, that he ceased not from his reading by reason of his journey, had banished all thought of the populous palace of Queen Candace, and had forgotten even the treasures of which he was the keeper, and had neglected alike his journey and the chariot in which he rode. Love of his book alone had wholly engrossed this domicile of chastity, under whose guidance he soon deserved to enter the gate of faith. O gracious love of books, which by the grace of baptism transformed the child of Gehenna and nursling of Tartarus into a Son of the Kingdom!

204 Let the feeble pen now cease from the tenor of an infinite task, lest it seem foolishly to undertake what in the beginning it confessed to be impossible to any.



## Chapter 16.

That it is meritorious to write new books  
and to renew the old.

- 205 Just as it is necessary for the state to prepare arm  
and to provide abundant stores of victuals for the  
soldiers who are to fight for it, so it is fitting for  
the Church Militant to fortify itself against the  
assaults of pagans and heretics with a multitude of  
sound writings.
- 206 But because all the appliances of mortal men  
with the lapse of time suffer the decay of mortality,  
it is needful to replace the volumes that are worn  
out with age by fresh successors, that the perpetuity  
of which the individual is by its nature incapable  
may be secured to the species ; and hence it is that  
the Preacher says : *Of making many books there is no  
end.* For as the bodies of books, seeing that they  
are formed of a combination of contrary elements,  
undergo a continual dissolution of their structure,  
so by the forethought of the clergy a remedy should  
be found, by means of which the sacred book paying  
the debt of nature may obtain a natural heir and  
may raise up like seed to its dead brother, and thus  
may be verified that saying of Ecclesiasticus : His  
father is dead, and he is as if he were not dead ;



for he hath left one behind him that is like himself.

207 And thus the transcription of ancient books is as it were the begetting of fresh sons, on whom the office of the father may devolve, lest it suffer detriment. Now such transcribers are called *antiquarii*, whose occupations Cassiodorus confesses please him above all the tasks of bodily labour, adding: "Happy effort," he says, "laudable industry, to preach to men with the hand, to let loose tongues with the fingers, silently to give salvation to mortals, and to fight with pen and ink against the illicit wiles of the Evil One." So far Cassiodorus. Moreover, our Saviour exercised the office of the scribe when He stooped down and with his finger wrote on the ground (John viii.), that no one, however exalted, may think it unworthy of him to do what he sees the wisdom of God the Father did.

208 O singular serenity of writing, to practise which the Artificer of the world stoops down, at whose dread name every knee doth bow! O venerable handicraft pre-eminent above all other crafts that are practised by the hand of man, to which our Lord humbly inclines his breast, to which the finger of God is applied, performing the office of a pen! We do not read of the Son of God that He sowed or ploughed, wove or digged; nor did any other of the mechanic arts befit the divine wisdom incarnate except to trace letters in writing, that every gentleman and sciolist may know that fingers are given by God to men for the task of writing



rather than for war. Wherefore we entirely approve the judgment of books, wherein they declared in our sixth chapter the clerk who cannot write to be as it were disabled.

- 209 God himself inscribes the just in the book of the living; Moses received the tables of stone written with the finger of God. Job desires that he himself that judgeth would write a book. Belshazzar trembled when he saw the fingers of a man's hand writing upon the wall, *Mene tekel phares*. I wrote, says Jeremiah, with ink in the book. Christ bids his beloved disciple John, What thou seest write in a book. So the office of the writer is enjoined on Isaiah and on Joshua, that the act and skill of writing may be commended to future generations. Christ himself has written on his vesture and on his thigh *King of Kings and Lord of Lords*, so that without writing the royal ornaments of the
- 210 Omnipotent cannot be made perfect. Being dead they cease not to teach, who write books of sacred learning. Paul did more for building up the fabric of the Church by writing his holy epistles, than by preaching by word of mouth to Jews and Gentiles. He who has attained the prize continues daily by books, what he long ago began while a sojourner upon the earth; and thus is fulfilled in the doctors writing books the saying of the prophet: They that turn many to righteousness shall be as the stars for ever and ever.
- 211 Moreover, it has been determined by the doctors



of the Church that the longevity of the ancients, before God destroyed the original world by the Deluge, is to be ascribed to a miracle and not to nature; as though God granted to them such length of days as was required for finding out the sciences and writing them in books; amongst which the wonderful variety of astronomy required, according to Josephus, a period of six hundred years, to  
212 submit it to ocular observation. Nor, indeed, do they deny that the fruits of the earth in that primitive age afforded a more nutritious aliment to men than in our modern times, and thus they had not only a livelier energy of body, but also a more lengthened period of vigour; to which it contributed not a little that they lived according to virtue and denied themselves all luxurious delights. Whoever therefore is by the good gift of God endowed with the gift of science, let him, according to the counsel of the Holy Spirit, write wisdom in his time of leisure (Eccli. 38), that his reward may be with the blessed and his days may be lengthened in this present world.

213 And further, if we turn our discourse to the princes of the world, we find that famous emperors not only attained excellent skill in the art of writing, but indulged greatly in its practice. Julius Cæsar, the first and greatest of them all, has left us Commentaries on the Gallic and the Civil Wars written by himself; he wrote also two books *De Analogia*, and two books of *Anticatones*, and a



214 poem called *Iter*, and many other works. Julius and Augustus devised means of writing one letter for another, and so concealing what they wrote. For Julius put the fourth letter for the first, and so on through the alphabet; while Augustus used the second for the first, the third for the second, and so throughout. He is said in the greatest difficulties of affairs during the Mutinensian War to have read and written and even declaimed every day. Tiberius wrote a lyric poem and some  
215 Greek verses. Claudius likewise was skilled in both Greek and Latin, and wrote several books. But Titus was skilled above all men in the art of writing, and easily imitated any hand he chose; so that he used to say that if he had wished it he might have become a most skilful forger. All these things are noted by Suetonius in his Lives of the XII Cæsars.

### Chapter 17.

Of showing due propriety in the custody  
of Books.

216 We are not only rendering service to God in preparing volumes of new books, but also exercising an office of sacred piety when we treat books



carefully, and again when we restore them to their proper places and commend them to inviolable custody; that they may rejoice in purity while we have them in our hands, and rest securely when they are put back in their repositories. And surely next to the vestments and vessels dedicated to the Lord's body, holy books deserve to be rightly treated by the clergy, to which great injury is done so often as they are touched by unclean hands. Wherefore we deem it expedient to warn our students of various negligences, which might always be easily avoided and do wonderful harm to books.

217 And in the first place as to the opening and closing of books, let there be due moderation, that they be not unclasped in precipitate haste, nor when we have finished our inspection be put away without being duly closed. For it behoves us to guard a book much more carefully than a boot.

218 But the race of scholars is commonly badly brought up, and unless they are bridled in by the rules of their elders they indulge in infinite puerilities. They behave with petulance, and are puffed up with presumption, judging of everything as if they were certain, though they are altogether inexperienced.

219 You may happen to see some headstrong youth lazily lounging over his studies, and when the winter's frost is sharp, his nose running from the nipping cold drips down, nor does he think of wiping it



with his pocket-handkerchief until he has bedewed the book before him with the ugly moisture. Would that he had before him no book, but a cobbler's apron! His nails are stuffed with fetid filth as black as jet, with which he marks any passage that pleases him. He distributes a multitude of straws, which he inserts to stick out in different places, so that the halm may remind him of what his memory cannot retain. These straws, because the book has no stomach to digest them, and no one takes them out, first distend the book from its wonted closing, and at length, being carelessly  
220 abandoned to oblivion, go to decay. He does not fear to eat fruit or cheese over an open book, or carelessly to carry a cup to and from his mouth; and because he has no wallet at hand he drops into books the fragments that are left. Continually chattering, he is never weary of disputing with his companions, and while he alleges a crowd of senseless arguments, he wets the book lying half open in his lap with sputtering showers. Aye, and then hastily folding his arms he leans forward on the book, and by a brief spell of study invites a prolonged nap; and then, by way of mending the wrinkles, he folds back the margin of the  
221 leaves, to the no small injury of the book. Now the rain is over and gone, and the flowers have appeared in our land. Then the scholar we are speaking of, a neglecter rather than an inspector of books, will stuff his volume with violets,



and primroses, with roses and quatrefoil. Then he will use his wet and perspiring hands to turn over the volumes; then he will thump the white vellum with gloves covered with all kinds of dust, and with his finger clad in long-used leather will hunt line by line through the page; then at the sting of the biting flea the sacred book is flung aside, and is hardly shut for another month, until it is so full of the dust that has found its way within, that it resists the effort to close it.

222 But the handling of books is specially to be forbidden to those shameless youths, who as soon as they have learned to form the shapes of letters, straightway, if they have the opportunity, become unhappy commentators, and wherever they find an extra margin about the text, furnish it with monstrous alphabets, or if any other frivolity strikes their fancy, at once their pen begins to write it. There the Latinist and sophister and every unlearned writer tries the fitness of his pen, a practice that we have frequently seen injuring the usefulness and value of the most beautiful books.

223 Again, there is a class of thieves shamefully mutilating books, who cut away the margins from the sides to use as material for letters, leaving only the text, or employ the leaves from the ends, inserted for the protection of the book, for various uses and abuses—a kind of sacrilege which should be prohibited by the threat of anathema.

224 Again, it is part of the decency of scholars that



whenever they return from meals to their study, washing should invariably precede reading, and that no grease-stained finger should unfasten the clasps, or turn the leaves of a book. Nor let a crying child admire the pictures in the capital letters, lest he soil the parchment with wet fingers : for a child instantly touches whatever he sees. Morøover, the laity, who look at a book turned upside down just as if it were open in the right way, are utterly unworthy of any communion with  
225 books. Let the clerk take care also that the smutty scullion reeking from his stewpots does not touch the lily leaves of books, all unwashed, but he who walketh without blemish shall minister to the precious volumes. And, again, the cleanliness of decent hands would be of great benefit to books as well as scholars, if it were not that the itch and pimples are characteristic of the clergy.

226 Whenever defects are noticed in books they should be promptly repaired, since nothing spreads more quickly than a tear and a rent which is neglected at the time will have to be repaired afterwards with usury.

227 Moses, the gentlest of men, teaches us to make bookcases most neatly, wherein they may be protected from any injury : *Take, he says, this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God.* O fitting place and appropriate for a library, which was made of imperishable shittim-wood, and was all covered



within and without with gold ! But the Saviour also has warned us by his example against all unbecoming carelessness in the handling of books, 228 as we read in S. Luke. For when He had read the scriptural prophecy of himself in the book that was delivered to him, He did not give it again to the minister, until He had closed it with his own most sacred hands. By which students are most clearly taught that in the care of books the merest trifles ought not to be neglected.

### Chapter 18.

Showeth that we have collected so great store of books for the common benefit of scholars and not only for our own pleasure.

229 Nothing in human affairs is more unjust than that those things which are most righteously done, should be perverted by the slanders of malicious men, and that one should bear the reproach of sin where he has rather deserved the hope of honour. Many things are done with singleness of eye, the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doth, the lump is uncorrupted by leaven, nor is the garment woven of wool and linen ; and yet



by the trickery of perverse men a pious work is mendaciously transformed into some monstrous act. Certes, such is the unhappy condition of sinful nature, that not merely in acts that are morally doubtful it adopts the worse conclusion; but often it depraves by iniquitous subversion those which have the appearance of rectitude.

- 230 For although the love of books from the nature of its object bears the aspect of goodness, yet, wonderful to say, it has rendered us obnoxious to the censures of many, by whose astonishment we were disparaged and censured, now for excess of curiosity, now for the exhibition of vanity, now for intemperance of delight in literature; though indeed we were no more disturbed by their vituperation than by the barking of so many dogs, satisfied with the testimony of Him to whom it appertaineth to try the hearts
- 231 and reins. For as the aim and purpose of our inmost will is inscrutable to men and is seen of God alone, the searcher of hearts, they deserve to be rebuked for their pernicious temerity, who so eagerly set a mark of condemnation upon human acts, the ultimate springs of which they cannot see. For the final end in matters of conduct holds the same position as first principles in speculative science or axioms in mathematics, as the chief of philosophers, Aristotle, points out in the seventh book of the Ethics. And therefore, just as the truth of our conclusions depends upon



the correctness of our premisses, so in matters of action the stamp of moral rectitude is given by the honesty of aim and purpose, in cases where the act itself would otherwise be held to be morally indifferent.

- 232 Now we have long cherished in our heart of hearts the fixed resolve, when Providence should grant a favourable opportunity, to found in perpetual charity a Hall in the reverend university of Oxford, the chief nursing mother of all liberal arts, and to endow it with the necessary revenues, for the maintenance of a number of scholars ; and moreover to enrich the Hall with the treasures of our books, that all and every of them should be in common as regards their use and study, not only to the scholars of the said hall, but by their means to all the students of the before-named university for ever, in the form and manner which the following chapter shall
- 233 declare. Wherefore the sincere love of study and zeal for the strengthening of the orthodox faith to the edifying of the Church, have begotten in us that solicitude so marvellous to the lovers of pelf, of collecting books wherever they were to be purchased, regardless of expense, and of having those that could not be bought fairly transcribed.
- 234 For as the favourite occupations of men are variously distinguished according to the disposition of the heavenly bodies, which frequently control our natural composition, so that some



men choose to devote themselves to architecture, others to agriculture, others to hunting, others to navigation, others to war, others to games, we have under the aspect of Mercury entertained a blameless pleasure in books, which under the rule of right reason, over which no stars are dominant, we have ordered to the glory of the Supreme Being, that where our minds found tranquillity and peace, thence also might spring a  
235 most devout service of God. And therefore let our detractors cease, who are as blind men judging of colours ; let not bats venture to speak of light ; and let not those who carry beams in their own eyes presume to pull the mote out of their brother's eye. Let them cease to jeer with satirical taunts at things of which they are ignorant, and to discuss hidden things that are not revealed to the eyes of men ; who perchance would have praised and commended us, if we had spent our time in hunting, dice-playing, or courting the smiles of ladies.



## Chapter 19.

Of the manner of lending all our books  
to students.

- 236 It has ever been difficult so to restrain men by the laws of rectitude, that the astuteness of successors might not strive to transgress the bounds of their predecessors, and to infringe established rules in insolence of licence. Accordingly, with the advice of prudent men, we have prescribed the manner in which we desire that the communication and use of our books should be permitted for the benefit of students.
- 237 *Imprimis*, we give and grant all and singular the books, of which we have made a special catalogue, in consideration of affection, to the community of scholars living in . . . . . Hall at Oxford, as a perpetual gift, for our soul and the souls of our parents, and also for the soul of the most illustrious King Edward the Third from the Conquest, and of the most pious Queen Philippa, his consort: to the intent that the same books may be lent from time to time to all and singular the scholars and masters of the said place, as well regular as secular, for the advancement and use of study, in the manner immediately following, that is to say:



- 238 Five of the scholars sojourning in the Hall aforesaid shall be appointed by the Master thereof, who shall have the charge of all the books, of which five persons three and not fewer may lend any book or books for inspection and study; but for copying or transcribing we direct that no book shall be allowed outside the walls of the house.
- 239 Therefore, when any scholar secular or religious, whom for this purpose we regard with equal favour, shall seek to borrow any book, let the keepers diligently consider if they have a duplicate of the said book, and if so, let them lend him the book, taking such pledge as in their judgment exceeds the value of the book delivered, and let a record be made forthwith of the pledge and of the book lent, containing the names of the persons delivering the book and of the person who receives it, together with the day and year when the loan is made.
- 240 But if the keepers find that the book asked for is not in duplicate, they shall not lend such book to anyone whomsoever, unless he shall belong to the community of scholars of the said Hall, unless perhaps for inspection within the walls of the aforesaid house or Hall, but not to be carried beyond it.
- 241 But to any of the scholars of the said Hall, any book may be lent by three of the aforesaid keepers, after first recording, however, his name, with the day on which he receives the book. Nevertheless,



the borrower may not lend the book entrusted to him to another, except with the permission of three of the aforesaid keepers, and then the name of the first borrower being erased, the name of the second with the time of delivery is to be recorded.

- 242 Each keeper shall take an oath to observe all these regulations when they enter upon the charge of the books. And the recipients of any book or books shall thereupon swear that they will not use the book or books for any other purpose but that of inspection or study, and that they will not take or permit to be taken it or them beyond the town and suburbs of Oxford.
- 243 Moreover, every year the aforesaid keepers shall render an account to the Master of the House and two of his scholars whom he shall associate with himself, or if he shall not be at leisure, he shall appoint three inspectors, other than the keepers, who shall peruse the catalogue of books, and see that they have them all, either in the volumes themselves or at least as represented by deposits. And the more fitting season for rendering this account we believe to be from the First of July until the festival of the Translation of the Glorious Martyr S. Thomas next following.
- 244 We add this further provision, that anyone to whom a book has been lent, shall once a year exhibit it to the keepers, and shall, if he wishes it, see his pledge. Moreover, if it chances that a book is lost by death, theft, fraud, or carelessness,



he who has lost it or his representative or executor shall pay the value of the book and receive back his deposit. But if in any wise any profit shall accrue to the keepers, it shall not be applied to any purpose but the repair and maintenance of the books.

### Chapter 20.

An exhortation to scholars to requite us  
by pious prayers.

245 **T**ime now clamours for us to terminate this treatise which we have composed concerning the love of books ; in which we have endeavoured to give the astonishment of our contemporaries the reason why we have loved books so greatly. But because it is hardly granted to mortals to accomplish aught that is not rolled in the dust of vanity, we do not venture entirely to justify the zealous love which we have so long had for books, or to deny that it may perchance sometimes have been the occasion of some venial negligence, albeit the object of our love is honour-  
246 able and our intention upright. For if when we have done everything, we are bound to call ourselves unprofitable servants ; if the most holy Job was afraid of all his works ; if according to Isaiah



all our righteousness is as filthy rags, who shall presume to boast himself of the perfection of any virtue, or deny that from some circumstance a thing may deserve to be reprehended, which in itself perchance was not reprehensible. For good springs from one selfsame source, but evil arises in many  
247 ways, as Dionysius informs us. Wherefore to make amends for our iniquities, by which we acknowledge ourselves to have frequently offended the Creator of all things, in asking the assistance of their prayers, we have thought fit to exhort our future students to show their gratitude as well to us as to their other benefactors in time to come by requiting our forethought for their benefit by spiritual retribution. Let us live when dead in their memories, who have lived in our benevolence before they were born, and live now sustained by our bene-  
248 ficence. Let them implore the mercy of the Redeemer with unwearied prayer, that the pious Judge may excuse our negligences, may pardon the wickedness of our sins, may cover the lapses of our feebleness with the cloak of piety, and remit by his divine goodness the offences of which we are ashamed and penitent. That He may preserve to us for a due season of repentance the gifts of his good grace, steadfastness of faith, loftiness of hope, and the widest charity to all men. That He may turn our haughty will to lament its faults, that it may deplore its past most vain elations, may retract its most bitter indignations, and detest its most insane



delectations. That his virtue may abound in us, when our own is found wanting, and that He who freely consecrated our beginning by the sacrament of baptism, and advanced our progress to the seat of the Apostles without any desert of ours, may deign to fortify our outgoing by the fitting sacraments.

- 249 That we may be delivered from the lust of the flesh, that the fear of death may utterly vanish and our spirit may desire to be dissolved and be with Christ, and existing upon earth in body only, in thought and longing our conversation may be in Heaven. That the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation may graciously come to meet the prodigal returning from the husks; that He may receive the piece of silver that has been lately found and transmit it by his holy angels into his eternal treasury. That He may rebuke with his terrible countenance, at the hour of our departure, the spirits of darkness, lest Leviathan, that old serpent, lying hid at the gate of death, should
- 250 spread unforeseen snares for our feet. But when we shall be summoned to the awful judgment-seat to give an account on the testimony of conscience of all things we have done in the body, the God-Man may consider the price of the holy blood that He has shed, and that the Incarnate Deity may note the frame of our carnal nature, that our weakness may pass unpunished where infinite loving-kindness is to be found, and that the soul of the wretched sinner may breathe again where the peculiar



- 251 office of the Judge is to show mercy. And further let our students be always diligent in invoking the refuge of our hope after God, the Virgin Mother of God and Blessed Queen of Heaven, that we who for our manifold sins and wickednesses have deserved the anger of the Judge, by the aid of her ever-acceptable supplications may merit his forgiveness; that her pious hand may depress the scale of the balance in which our small and few good deeds shall be weighed, lest the heaviness of our sins preponderate and cast us down to the
- 252 bottomless pit of perdition. Moreover, let them ever venerate with due observance the most deserving Confessor Cuthbert, the care of whose flock we have unworthily undertaken, ever devoutly praying that he may deign to excuse by his prayers his all-unworthy vicar, and may procure him whom he hath admitted as his successor upon earth to be made his assessor in heaven. Finally, let them pray God with holy prayers as well of body as of soul, that He will restore the spirit created in the image of the Trinity, after its sojourn in this miserable world, to its primordial prototype, and grant to it for ever to enjoy the sight of his countenance: through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.
- 253 The end of the *Philobiblon* of Master Richard de Aungervile, surnamed de Bury, late Bishop of Durham. This treatise was finished in our manor-house of Auckland on the 24th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred



and forty-four, the fifty-eighth year of our age being exactly completed and the eleventh year of our pontificate drawing to an end ; to the glory of God. Amen.



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