

JOHN OF SALISBURY'S
ENTHETICUS DE DOGMATE PHILOSOPHORUM:
THE LIGHT IT THROWS ON
THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND
OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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A B S T R A C T

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John of Salisbury's Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum is a poem of 1852 lines, written in elegiac couplets. It is in part didactic and in part a satire on the educational and moral standards of the time. Because in many respects it foreshadows the same author's Policraticus and Metalogicon it has been neglected in favour of these two works. Dr. R.L. Poole has written: "The latter part of the Policraticus covers substantially the same ground, although with far greater elaboration and completeness, as the elegiac poem, the Entheticus The latter is however by no means superseded by the prose work, and we can readily forgive the jejune rhythm of its imitation of Ovid for the pointed epigrammatic accuracy with which it depicts the learning and manners of the day." (Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning, p.191.) On the whole, the Entheticus can be allowed to speak for itself. The edition of the poem by C. Petersen (Hamburg, 1843) is based on only one of the two manuscripts, and Petersen's interpretation of the poem is vitiated by his belief that John of Salisbury attended

the schools at Oxford. Dr. J.A. Giles's edition of the poem in Joannis Saresberiensis Opera Omnia (vol.v) is without introduction, notes or commentary; it is reprinted by Migne in Patrologia Latina, vol.199. This thesis aims to put the Entheticus in perspective against the background of John of Salisbury's life and the intellectual environment of the twelfth century, to examine some of the problems and points raised by the poem, and to provide a critical edition of the text together with an English prose translation.

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[N.B. For the sake of brevity the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum is referred to as the Entheticus; the Entheticus in Policraticum is referred to as the short Entheticus or by its full title.

The footnotes are numbered consecutively for each chapter.]

Abbreviated titles of books used in the footnotes.

<u>C.Med.H.</u>	<u>Cambridge Mediaeval History</u> , (Cambridge, 1929).
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> , (London, 1908).
<u>E.H.R.</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u> .
<u>Enthet.</u>	<u>Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum</u> .
<u>Enthet. in Policrat.</u>	<u>Entheticus in Policraticum</u> .
Haskins, <u>Mediaeval Science</u> .	C.H. Haskins, <u>Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science</u> , 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).
<u>Hist. Pont.</u>	<u>Joannis Saresberiensis Historiae Pontificalis quae supersunt</u> , ed. R.L. Poole, (Oxford, 1927).
<u>Metalog.</u>	<u>Ioannis Saresberiensis Metalogicon</u> , ed. C.C.J. Webb, (Oxford, 1929).
<u>M.G.H.</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</u> , (see bibliography).
<u>Materials.</u>	<u>Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury</u> , 7 vols., ed. J.C. Robertson, (London, 1875-85), Rolls Series.
<u>P.L.</u>	J.P. Migne's <u>Patrologiae Latinae Completus Cursus</u> , (Paris, 1844 etc.)
<u>Policrat.</u>	<u>Joannis Saresberiensis Policratici sive de Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum libri viii</u> , 2 vols., ed. C.C.J. Webb, (Oxford, 1909).
Poole, <u>Illustrations</u> .	R.L. Poole, <u>Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning</u> , 2nd ed., (London, 1920).
Rolls Series.	<u>Rerum Britannicarum medi aevi scriptores</u> , (London, 1858 etc.).
Sarton, <u>Introduction</u> .	G. Sarton, <u>Introduction to the History of Science</u> , vols. i and ii, (Baltimore, 1927).

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHOR OF THE ENTHETICUS

There is a particular connexion between the Entheticus and John of Salisbury's personal experience and studies. In the Entheticus, John of Salisbury satirises the contemporary craze for logic and the neglect of other liberal studies, assesses the relationship between secular learning and the Christian faith, gives an account of the teaching of pagan philosophers, asserts the moral value of a good education, discusses the student's way of life and particularly his lodgings, and introduces his readers to the good and bad characters, scholars and philistines respectively, who are to be met at Canterbury. The poem is, in fact, an introduction to liberal studies, and a vindication of their importance. The author's judgements on philosophical doctrines are the mature fruit of long study, and his judgements on the character of his contemporaries are drawn from his experience in the schools and courts of Europe. It is therefore necessary to know as far as possible the details of John's education, the amount of time which he devoted to his studies after his formal education had ended, and the direction in which his interests lay while he was actively engaged in the service of

the Church.

Without trying to impose on John of Salisbury's life a pattern which is not there, it is nevertheless easy to see that his career divides roughly into two halves. Until about 1160 he was first and foremost a scholar, whose mind was on his books and whose administrative work at court was made necessary by his financial hardship. In 1159 he confessed that he found this administrative work a nuisance and a bore: "To have been engaged in these trifles, for almost twelve years now, is wearisome and irksome to me, trained as I am in a very different way."¹ His friendship with Becket, however, and his loyalty to the Church's cause swept him into the full stream of political affairs. From the very beginning of the conflict between Henry II and Becket, John of Salisbury was one of the chief opponents of Henry II's apparent attempt to deny the rights of the Church. He shared Becket's exile, and all the while his pen was busy, denouncing the actions of Becket's enemies and trying to effect a reconciliation. Even after Becket's death, John of Salisbury seems to have lived in the shadow of the great man. The gap between these two distinct phases in John of Salisbury's life is bridged by his greatest work, the Policraticus (1159); written at a time when John himself was suffering the displeasure of king Henry's

1. "Iam enim annis fere duodecim nugatum esse tedit et penitet me longe aliter institutum." Policrat. i. prol., vol. i. 14.

court, it was a coherent, academic treatise on political philosophy. The Entheticus was written in the earlier phase of John's life, and in the present study it is therefore the period up to about 1160 which is of most importance.

a. John of Salisbury's life to c.1160.

John of Salisbury was born at Old Sarum² between 1115 and 1120. The date of his birth is conjectured from his description of himself as "a mere lad" in 1136;³ the place, from the usual form of his name and from a passage in the Policraticus.⁴ It is inferred from some lines in the Entheticus,⁵ where he ridicules those courtiers who try to pass themselves off as Normans, that he was of English descent. Of his early education only one incident is known: the priest from whom he learnt his psalter practised magic and enlisted John as an assistant, but John could not or would not see spectres,⁶ and was soon dismissed.

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2. The removal of the cathedral from Old to New Sarum took place under Richard Poor, who became bishop of Salisbury in 1217. Hoare, History of Wiltshire, vi. 38.
 3. "Adolescens admodum." Metalog. ii. 10, p.77.
 4. "Decreueram hic subsistere et ad alias a Romanis transire historias; sed quia in cathalogum imperatorum ille, a quo genti meae nomen est, Seuerus occurrit, qui aduersus Christi nomen tyrannidem grauem exercuit, illum adhuc solum adiciam ne Seueriae vel Seresberiae nostrae parcere uidear." Policrat. viii. 19, vol.ii, 371.
 5. ll. 137 ff. See Poole, Illustrations, p.176 n.
 6. Policrat. ii.28, vol.i.164: "Gratias ago Deo," etc.

Of his early studies in the schools of northern France, however, John of Salisbury has left a valuable account in his Metalogicon⁷ (1159). It is not as informative as Abailard's Historia Calamitatum,⁸ for it covers a shorter period of time, is intended merely to illustrate the argument that dialectic when studied by itself is sterile, and is confusing in its chronology.⁹ Nevertheless, John's digressive style, his habit of following his own inclinations away from the straightforward path of logical exposition, ensures that there is much miscellaneous and interesting information in the passage. It shows, for example, that Abailard was teaching at Mont Ste. G enevi ve in 1136, a fact otherwise unknown.

John of Salisbury went to Paris in 1136,¹⁰ and for two years studied grammar and dialectic first under Abailard and then under a master Alberic and Robert of Melun.¹¹ At the same time he learnt some parts of the quadrivium under Hardwin the German.¹² He then moved to Chartres, where for three years

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7. Metalog. ii.10.
 8. J.T. Muckle's edition, in Mediaeval Studies, vol.12 (1950).
 9. Liebesch utz, Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, Appendix i.
 10. "Anno altero postquam illustris rex Anglorum Henricus, Leo iustitie, rebus excessit humanis." Metalog. ii.10, pp.77-8.
 11. Metalog. ii.10, p.78.
 12. ibid. p.80.

he attended the lectures of the "grammarian" William of
¹³
 Conches. He also reread parts of the quadrivium under Richard
 l'Evêque, and started to learn rhetoric from Thierry of
 Chartres; he understood little of the latter and had to start
 the subject again under Peter Helias after he had returned to
¹⁴
 Paris. Probably John did not have a great deal of time for
 the study of rhetoric, for he writes that his financial straits
 forced him to become the private tutor of the children of
 noblemen; this was useful in its way, however, for it compelled
 him to revise some of the more elementary things which he had
¹⁵
 by now forgotten. John says that he was advised by his
 friends to "enter the office of teacher",¹⁶ but it is not
 certain whether this meant that he presented himself for the
licentia docendi. It is doubtful whether any formal degree
¹⁷
 was conferred at the time.

In another passage of the Metalogicon (1159), John says
 that almost twenty years had passed since poverty and the

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13. ibid. p.80. The interpretation of this chapter, particularly with regard to John's movements, is largely based upon Poole's article in E.H.R. vol.xxxv (1920). John's connexion with Chartres is also illustrated by his being named Johannes Carnotensis in a catalogue of books from Christ Church, Canterbury, compiled before he became bishop of Chartres (1176); see James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, p.xxxii and p.12.
14. Metalog. ii.10, p.80.
15. ibid. pp.80-81.
16. "ut officium docentis aggrederer." Metalog. ii.10, p.82.
17. Liebeschütz, op.cit., Appendix i; Paré, etc., La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, pp.66-7.

advice of friends turned him away from gymnasia of those who
 practise logic,¹⁸ but this is an exaggeration to justify the
 fact that his knowledge of logic was rusty. In about 1141,
 when his three years under William of Conches had come to an
 end, he returned to Paris, and there studied logic and
 theology under Gilbert de la Porrée,¹⁹ whom he had already
 met as chancellor of Chartres.²⁰ It was probably at this
 time that he made the acquaintance of Adam of the Petit-Pont;
 John is hasty to add that Adam was never one of his masters,²¹
 for Adam's methods of teaching were not universally approved.²¹
 In 1142 Gilbert became bishop of Poitiers²² and left the
 schools of Paris, and John continued to study theology alone
 under Robert Pullen and Simon of Poissy.²³ "Thus in these
 various studies," says John, "I spent almost twelve years."²⁴

This passage in the Metalogicon is of great interest,
 not only as a source for John's life, but also in that it throws

18. Metalog. iii. prol., p.117.
19. Metalog. ii.10, p.82.
20. Metalog. i.5, p.16.
21. Metalog. ii.10, p.81. See also Enthet., 11.49 ff., and
Paré, etc., La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.76.
22. "Nimis cito subtractus est", Metalog. ii.10, p.82.
Series Episcoporum, p.602.
23. "Hos duos in solis theologicis habui preceptores."
Metalog. ii.10, p.82.
24. "Sic fere duodennium michi elapsum est diversis studiis
occupato." Metalog. ii.10, p.82.

light on the masters who were teaching at Paris and Chartres in the middle of the twelfth century. John's personal estimates of his masters are illuminating. It is interesting to note the cosmopolitan character of the teaching body at Paris. Robert of Melun, Adam of the Petit-Pont and Robert Pullen were Englishmen; Hardwin, like his greater contemporary Hugh of St. Victor, was a German; only Simon of Poissy seems to have been born anywhere near Paris. Enlightening as it is, however, John's account of his own student days could have told us far more. Once it has reached the point where the author finally terminated his logical studies the passage of autobiography ends, and the argument is drawn together with the story of how John, returning to Paris some years later, sought out the friends who had read logic with him and found them still arguing about the same dialectical problems without having come any nearer to a solution. ²⁵ This rounds off the chapter, but it leaves the historian in the air.

First, what education had John received before he went to France? John is unlikely to have attended Abailard's lectures equipped with no more learning than what he had gained from the magician-priest who had taught John his psalter. By the beginning of the twelfth century the cathedral school at Salisbury was regarded as important, and the schoolmaster there was one of the four principal dignitaries of the chapter. ²⁶

25. Metalog. ii.10, p.82.

26. Leach, Educational Charters, p.74 and pp.xix-xx. Bishop Roger's efforts to find a good magister scholarum are recorded by Kathleen Edwards in The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages, p.18.

In parts of England the standard of teaching, though not as advanced as in northern France, was improving during the first half of the twelfth century, and at London the students seem to have reached a particularly high level.²⁷ It is legitimate to assume, therefore, that John had received a good grounding in "grammar", and possibly in other subjects, before he went to France. It was in France, however, that he received what would now be called a university education.

Secondly, what was the course of John's career after the end of his logical studies at Paris?²⁸ Robert Pullen was summoned from Paris to Rome by Lucius II in 1144,²⁹ and John continued his theological studies under Simon of Poissy. The next certain date in John's life is 1147, when he appears as witness to a charter of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.³⁰ If John is taken at his word and allowed "almost twelve years"³¹ at the schools of Paris and Chartres, he can be assumed to have left Paris in 1146-7. It is unlikely that he studied

27. FitzStephen, Materials, iii.4-5.

28. In the light of new evidence presented by Dr. Saltman in his Life of Theobald (London Ph.D. Thesis, 1951) the account given by Dr. Poole of John's life between 1146 and 1153 can no longer be accepted.

29. See Poole in E.H.R. vol.xxxv, pp.335-336.

30. Saltman, op.cit., charter no.147 and p.330.

31. Metalog. ii.10, p.82 n.: twelve years and not ten. Webb, John of Salisbury, pp.11-12, tries to reconcile the text with Poole's version of John's life, which involves other minor alterations to John's own reckoning of time.

long under Simon of Poissy;³² the tone of his theology is derived not from any of the theological masters whom he mentions in the autobiographical chapter of the Metalogicon, but from the Victorines, and he may well have attached himself to their school.

Until Becket's death, John seems to have been afflicted by financial difficulties,³⁴ and it was probably poverty that compelled him to leave the schools of Paris. He threw himself on the hospitality of an old friend, Peter of Celle,³⁵ with whom he had previously spent some time at Provins.³⁶ Peter was now abbot of Montier la Celle, near Troyes, and from there John passed into archbishop Theobald's household. This is shown by a letter from Peter of Celle to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury: "Your predecessor of blessed memory, archbishop Theobald, received master John, bishop of Chartres, from our bosom when he was poor and helpless."³⁷ John's introduction to the archbishop's service was effected by a

32. cf. Poole, John of Salisbury, in D.N.B.

33. Poole, Illustrations, p.185.

34. See, for example, John's ep. lix, col.38 (1160). He had to borrow money when he went into exile in 1164; see ep. cxxxiv. Enthet. 11.1655-56 may indicate that John himself was oppressed with debt.

35. P.L. 199, ep. lxxxv, col.71. cf. Schaarschmidt, Joannes Saresberiensis, pp.25-26.

36. P.L. 199, ep. lxxxii, col.69; ep. lxxv, col.61.

37. P.L. 202, ep. cxv: "Sanctissimae memoriae praedecessor vester, archiepiscopus Theobaldus, de gremio et sinu nostro magistrum Joannem Carnotensem episcopum inopem et pauperum suscepit." (col.566).

letter from St. Bernard of Clairvaux to Theobald, commending John's ability and stressing the urgency of his needs.³⁸ The urgency of the letter seems genuine, even allowing for St. Bernard's usual hyperbole: "Do this speedily, for he has not whither to turn."³⁹ It has often been assumed that John met St. Bernard at the Council of Rheims (1148), and secured the letter then, but there were several other points of contact between the two men. For example, St. Bernard was on terms of close friendship with the Victorines,⁴⁰ with whom John appears to have studied theology, and was well acquainted with John's old master, Robert Pullen.⁴¹ Most probably, it was Peter of Celle who put John in touch with St. Bernard: St. Bernard corresponded with Peter,⁴² and in a dispute with an English monk, Nicholas of St. Albans, Peter appears as an ardent partisan of St. Bernard in doctrinal matters.⁴³ That St. Bernard's letter commending John was written before the end of 1147 is more than likely in the light of John's being named as witness to a Canterbury charter dated 1147.⁴⁴

38. P.L. 182 ep.cclxi, col.562.

39. ibid. "Sed et hoc velociter, quia non habet quo se vertat."

40. Vacandard, Vie de St. Bernard, ii.113.

41. P.L. 182, ep.cclxii: St. Bernard addresses Robert as "amico charissimo Roberto". cf. ep.ccv.

42. P.L. 182, epp.ccxiii, cdxix.

43. P.L. 202, epp.clxxi-clxxiii.

44. Saltman, Life of Theobald, charter no.147 and p.330.

John of Salisbury's Historia Pontificalis (c.1164) has been used as evidence for his biography, and it has been argued that his account in that work of Arnold of Brescia's return to Rome in 1147, which reconciles apparent discrepancies in Otto of Freising's account, is that of an eye-witness.⁴⁵ This would be a strong argument were it not for the factual evidence in Theobald's charters that John was not in Rome at that time; and John had ample opportunity later to learn of events in Rome in 1147 from members of the papal court.

From Canterbury John returned to France to attend the Council of Rheims (1148). The long and detailed account in the Historia Pontificalis of proceedings there leaves no doubt about this.⁴⁶ There can be no such certainty about John's movements after the Council of Rheims. It has been argued that the knowledge which John shows in the Historia Pontificalis of events in Italy in 1148-9 proves that he accompanied pope Eugenius III on his return from the council.⁴⁷ Equally, his accounts in the same work of archbishop Theobald's return to England from the council, and of the foundation of Faversham Abbey (1148) have been adduced as evidence that John was in England at the time.⁴⁸ In the Metalogicon John says that he

45. Poole, John of Salisbury at the Papal Court, in E.H.R. xxxviii (1923) pp.323-324.

46. Historia Pontificalis, ch.2-14.

47. Poole in E.H.R. xxxviii (1923), p.325.

48. Saltman, op.cit., p.335.

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had crossed the Alps ten times. Of these five journeys, the last three have been dated beyond doubt: they took place in the winters of 1155-56, 1156-57 and 1158-59.⁵⁰ The two earlier visits to Italy must have been made between 1148 and 1154. Until 1148, when he attended the Council of Rheims, John's movements can be traced: until 1146-7 he was a student at Paris, and in 1147 he was a guest at the abbey of Montier la Celle, which he left in the same year to take up employment in the court at Canterbury. In 1154 he witnessed three of Theobald's charters which can confidently be assigned to that year.⁵¹ Between 1148 and 1154 John is known to have been in certain places at certain times: he was in Rome on the occasion of Henry of Blois's second visit there in 1150,⁵² and again when Frederick Barbarossa's election was announced (March 1152)⁵³, he was at Ferentino with Eugenius III in late 1150 or early 1151,⁵⁴ and he drafted a papal bull dated at Rome 13th December 1153 in favour of the abbey of Montier la Celle;⁵⁵ he was also in England between 1148 and 1151 to

49. Metalog. iii. prol., p.117.

50. By Poole, in The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury.

51. Saltman, op.cit., charters no.10, 182, 255.

52. Hist. Pont., c.40 and p.lvii.

53. P.L. 199, ep.lix, col.39. M.G.H., Constitutiones Imperatorum, t.i (1893) pp.191-4.

54. Policrat. vi.24, vol.ii.69. Eugenius was at Ferentino from Nov.1150 to June 1151 (Regesta Pontif. ii.69-73.)

55. Poole, E.H.R. xxxviii (1923), p.329.

act as witness to Theobald's charter to the newly founded⁵⁶ abbey at Faversham. With these facts in mind, and on the assumption that John returned to England with Theobald after the Council of Rheims, his two early visits to Italy can be dated 1150-51 and 1152-53.

It can safely be said, first, that all John's visits to Italy were of short duration, and secondly that he was present at the papal court on each occasion, not as one of the papal clerks, but as the representative of archbishop Theobald. The tone of his relationship with Eugenius III seems to be that of a foreign envoy rather than that of a junior clerk whose position at the curia was of no permanence.⁵⁷ Moreover, in a passage in the Metalogicon where John accounts for the time he has spent since leaving the schools, he explicitly describes his activity at the papal court: "I frequently conducted the business of my lords and friends at the Roman church."⁵⁸ There is no mention in this passage or elsewhere of John's being employed specifically by the papal court.

56. Saltman, op.cit., charter no.57.

57. This is only a general inference from the Hist. Pont. and from certain passages in the Policrat. John was an intimate friend of cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards pope Adrian IV; see Policrat.vi.24, vol.ii.67.

58. "Dominorum et amicorum negotia in Ecclesia Romana sepius gessi," Metalog. iii. prol., p.117. The drafting of the bull in favour of the abbey of Montier la Celle was the business of a friend rather than the paid work of a papal clerk.

John of Salisbury's position at Canterbury between 1147 and 1164, when he went into exile, cannot be accurately defined. It is safe to say merely that he acted as the secretary, and on occasion as the representative, of the archbishop. His literary ability caused the letters which he wrote in the archbishop's name to be preserved "either as models of composition or else as precedents to govern decisions in similar cases."⁵⁹ In the archbishop's household at this time there may have been emerging a definite secretarial office, but it is not possible to distinguish between its staff and the other members of the clerical household.⁶⁰ John of Salisbury, writes Professor Cheney, "held no particular office so far as we know; he was just one among the higher clerici archiepiscopi who drafted letters for the archbishop."⁶¹ John's position may be compared with that of William FitzStephen in Becket's household: he was a draftsman in his chancery, acted as sub-dean in his chapel, read letters and documents when the archbishop sat on the bench, and sometimes acted as a judge in a lawsuit.⁶²

59. Poole, The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury, in Studies in Chronology and History, p.259. H.G. Richardson, in The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury, E.H.R. liv (1939) p.471, argues that all these letters were written after John's return from Italy in 1156.

60. Cheney, English Bishops' Chanceries, p.22.

61. ibid., p.24.

62. FitzStephen, Materials, iii.1.

John's income at this time (c.1154-1159) appears to have come from a benefice in London; this may have been the church which yielded forty marks a year.⁶³ He refers in a letter to a citizen of London as conclivis noster: the inference is not that John was a Londoner but that he ranked as a citizen by virtue of his benefice there.⁶⁴ When he went into exile, some of his revenues were placed in the hands of the bishop of London.⁶⁵ John became a canon of Salisbury at some time before his exile⁶⁶ (1164), and in 1160 he may already have held a place in the chapter of Exeter Cathedral, of which he is known to have been treasurer in 1172.⁶⁷

John's ecclesiastical status is not known. As a student he would have received the tonsure,⁶⁸ and probably taken minor orders.⁶⁹ Possibly he was not ordained priest until his election to the see of Chartres in 1176. The reason for his lack of sympathy with the monastic way of life is suggested by two lines in the Entheticus,⁷⁰ but he was on terms of the closest friendship with some of the monks at Canterbury.⁷¹

63. P.L. 199, ep. ccc, col. 348.

64. P.L. 199, ep. lxxx, col. 67.

65. P.L. 199, ep. cxl, col. 120.

66. FitzStephen, Materials, iii.46; cf. P.L. 199, ep. cxl, col. 120.

67. Poole, The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury, in Studies in Chronology and History, p. 283.

68. M. Desnesly in C.Med.H., vol.v, p.767.

69. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiii^e siècle, p.61.

70. Enthet. ll. 1143-1144.

71. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.16.

As time passed, John received an increasing share of responsibility, partly as a result of the illness of the aged archbishop and the absence of Becket, the archdeacon. He gave judgements in ecclesiastical courts,⁷² and writes, "The charge of all Britain, as touching church causes was laid upon me."⁷³ That he was well qualified to deal with matters of both canon and civil law is shown in his letters: he was the first writer to cite Gratian's Decretum in England,⁷⁴ and he seems to have had a good knowledge of Roman law.⁷⁵

The day to day business of the diocese, however, was alien to John's mind. He preferred the more academic activities in which the household at Canterbury indulged. In several of Theobald's charters he is accorded the title of magister,⁷⁶ which indicated academic distinction and may have

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72. P.L. 199, ep.lxvi, col.51. Until the thirteenth century, the "undifferentiated jurisdiction of the archbishop was exercised through the medium of one court sitting in the cathedral at Canterbury," B.L. Woodcock, Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury, p.7.
73. Metalog. prol. p.3: "Sollicitudo totius Britannie, quod ad causas ecclesiasticas, michi incumbat." cf. ibid.iv. 42, p.218: "Iniunxitque michi provinciam duram," etc.
74. P.L. 199, ep. lxxvii, col.52-3, ep.lxxviii, col.54. Brooke, The English Church and the Papacy, p.110.
75. P.L. 199, ep.lxxxix, col.80, ep.xc, col.81; Policrat. v.16, vol.i.349; Enthet. 1. 1335; and see R.W. & A.J. Carlyle, A History of Mediaeval Political Theory, vol.iii, p.140, vol.iv, pp.331-2.
76. Saltman, op.cit., charters no.16, 83, 95, 125, 255, 263.

have indicated that he acted as a teacher.⁷⁷ At the same time it is easy to picture John as a brilliant member of the group of clerks in the archbishop's household who discussed all the topics which agitated the lecture-rooms of the nascent universities.⁷⁸ In these discussions, and in erudite conversations with the monks William Brito and Odo,⁷⁹ or with magister Odo,⁸⁰ John must have spent much time. It is impossible to think that John did not devote many hours to his own reading. It was during these years at Canterbury that John acquired his knowledge of law, for Canterbury was⁸¹ the home of legal studies in England, and John's time at Paris and Chartres was fully taken up with other studies. It was in these years, also, that John completed the Entheticus, and worked on the Metalogicon and Policraticus, for the size and content of these two books is enough to show that they were in preparation for a long while before they were finally⁸² published in 1159. After his twelve years at the schools, therefore, John continued to lead the life of a scholar for a

77. Paré, etc., La Renaissance du xii^e siècle, p.61.

78. Metalog. prol. p.2. Peter of Blois, P.L.207, ep.6, col.17.

79. Enthet. 1.1682.

80. P.L. 199, ep.cclxxxiv, col.319.

81. A.L. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.196.

82. See below, chapter 3, p.97, n. 79.

large proportion of his time, not only reading steadily, but also writing, between 1147 and 1159.

b. John of Salisbury's life, 1159-1180.⁸³

When John returned to England from Rome in 1159 he learnt that the king's anger had been roused against him.⁸⁴ The exact reason for John's disgrace is not known: perhaps it was John's assertion that the heavy scutage exacted to pay for the siege of Toulouse encroached on the privileges of the church, or it may have been the king's not unjustifiable suspicion that John was responsible for the large number of appeals which were carried to Rome.⁸⁵ Whatever it was, Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, told king Henry that John's activities at the papal court had been prejudicial to the royal interests.⁸⁶ The immediate result of the king's displeasure was that John had to give up most of his public work in the diocese, and

83. This section is written in less detail than the preceding section. From the time of Becket's death, there is little material for John's biography.
84. He probably received the news first from Peter of Celle's letter lxxvii (P.L. 202).
85. P.L. 199, ep. cxlv, cxv, xcvi, cxxi. Ep. clxv refers to financial exactions (c.134) and to the matter of appeals (c.136). Ep. xcvi: "Si causam quaeritis, professio libertatis, veritatis defensio crimina mea sunt" (c.86). And see Mary Cheney, The Compromise of Avranches of 1172 and the spread of canon law in England, in E.H.R. vol.lvi (1941) pp.178 and 184 on the matter of appeals to Rome before 1172.
86. P.L. 199, ep. cxxi; cf. ep. cviii.

during this period of enforced idleness he completed the Metalogicon and the Policraticus.⁸⁷ John was no doubt glad of this opportunity; but the incident frightened him, for he contemplated fleeing from England,⁸⁸ and it must have brought home to him, first, the strong tension between the rights of the crown and the rights of the church, and secondly the extent to which ecclesiastical politics had become part of his life. By his education and by his career so far, John was destined to be a partisan of Becket in his coming quarrel with the king, but John's fall from royal favour in 1159 singled him out as one of the leaders of the church's cause in England.

Unwilling to suffer either the cessation of his duties or the slur on his loyalty in silence, John began writing letters to justify his actions and to beg his friends to urge his reinstatement in the king's favour.⁸⁹ Whether these letters were effective or not, John did not long remain in disgrace. He may have returned to his old duties before the end of 1159, for a letter which seems to date from November in that year shows John, in the absence of Thomas Becket and the illness of archbishop Theobald, taking the responsibility for

87. Metalog. prol. p.1; P.L. 199, ep. cviii. Cf. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.19.

88. P.L. 199, epp. cxv, cviii; but his friends advised against flight (see ep. xcvi, col.86).

89. P.L. 199, epp. cxiii (to Becket, enclosing the pope's letters on John's behalf), cxii, cxxi.

much of the administration of the province.⁹⁰ John is named
 in Theobald's will (c.1160) as one of his executors,⁹¹ and
 after Thomas's election as archbishop (1162), John was one
 of the commissioners who were sent to receive Thomas's
 pallium from Alexander III.⁹² Soon after this, John was
 engaged in writing his life of Anselm, presumably at the
 request of the archbishop, who hoped to secure Anselm's
 canonization.⁹³

When the trouble between the archbishop and the king
 flared up in 1163, John was involved in Thomas's counsels
 closely enough to make it wise for him to leave the country.
 This he did early in 1164;⁹⁴ he went first to Paris, the sight
 of which city gave him great joy.⁹⁵ Finally he settled down as
 the guest, for the second time, of his friend Peter of Celle,
 who was now abbot of St. Remigius at Rheims.⁹⁶ It was while
 he was there that John completed the Historia Pontificalis.⁹⁷

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90. P.L. 199, ep.lxvi (col.51). See Millor's edition,
 no.108 and note (London Ph.D. thesis).
91. Saltman, op.cit., charter no.28.
92. FitzStephen, Materials, iii.36.
93. P.L. 200, ep.clxix, where it is to Thomas that the pope
 writes that it would not be a good time for Anselm's
 canonization.
94. P.L. 199, ep.ccxxi (1167): "Quartus exilii mei annus
 elapsus est." (col.248) ep.cxxxiv (col.112-3): before
 leaving England, John was present at the Council of
 Clarendon (Jan.1164); cf. Poole, John of Salisbury in
D.N.B., and Hist.Pont., p.lxxvi.
95. P.L. 199, ep.cxxxiv, col.113.
96. Peter became abbot of St. Remigius in 1162 (Gallia
 Christiana, ix. 234).
97. Hist.Pont., p.lxxxii.

A large part of his time and energy was absorbed in his attempts to patch up the quarrel between the king and the archbishop. From the period of his exile (1164-1170) nearly 170 of John's letters survive, of which many are concerned, in part at least, with the cause of the archbishop. On the one hand there are letters urging support for Thomas from influential ecclesiastics,⁹⁸ and on the other hand there are letters to Thomas himself urging moderation.⁹⁹ John's first object was to reconcile the king and the archbishop, and he warned Thomas to take care that no action of his should appear arrogant or immoderate.¹⁰⁰ John was completely loyal to Thomas, and he refused the king's offer of an individual¹⁰¹ peace; but he did not sympathise with Thomas's obstinate¹⁰² and challenging attitude.

After the reconciliation between the archbishop and the king (July 1170), it was John who wrote to inform the brethren¹⁰³ at Canterbury that the archbishop was about to return, and

98. e.g. P.L. 199, ep. cci, ccxxxix, cclx.
99. e.g. P.L. 199, ep. cxxxviii, clxxv, clxxvi. Peter of Blois writes of John as "manus archiepiscopi et oculus ejus." P.L. 207, ep. 22.
100. P.L. 199, ep. clxxxiii, col.186.
101. P.L. 199, ep. cxlii, col.123; cf. ep. ccxxi, col.248.
102. ibid. John says that he "withstood the archbishop to the face" ("restiti ei in faciem"). On the last day of Becket's life, John voiced the exasperation which he must have felt continuously for six years: "Haec consuetudo tua semper fuit, et est, ut quod tibi soli videtur illud semper et dicas et facias... Consilium tuum debuisses vocasse." Materials, iv.74.
103. P.L. 199, ep. ccxcix.

having gone on in advance of the archbishop represented him
 at a synod held at Canterbury.¹⁰⁴ John seems to have been at
 Canterbury when Becket arrived,¹⁰⁵ and he was present when
 Becket met the four knights who had come from king Henry.

Even in this penultimate scene of the drama, John's
 part was that of the conciliator, rebuking the archbishop
 for provoking the knights.¹⁰⁶ In the final scene before the
 altar, John was with the archbishop; when the knights struck
 he may have fled,¹⁰⁷ but William Tracey boasted that he broke
 John's arm,¹⁰⁸ and Peter of Celle speaks of John as splashed
 with the blood of the martyr.¹⁰⁹ John seems to have spent
 the rest of his life in the shadow of the events which
 culminated in the murder of the archbishop. Early in 1171
 John was urging the inclusion of Thomas in the calendar of
 martyrs,¹¹⁰ and he wrote a short hagiological life of Thomas.¹¹¹
 At the end of the year he confessed himself puzzled that

104. P.L. 199, ep. ccc (col.348).

105. ibid. (col.350).

106. Materials, ii.9 and iv.74.

107. ibid. iii.139.

108. ibid. i.134.

109. P.L. 202, ep. cxvii (col.567). Peter's expression may
 be merely figurative.

110. P.L. 199, ep. ccciv.

111. Materials, ii.301-322.

Thomas had not yet been canonized.¹¹² In 1175 he was still¹¹³ busily collecting miracles attributable to St. Thomas.

Soon after 1170, John was appointed treasurer of Exeter,¹¹⁴ but it is unlikely that he left Canterbury altogether.¹¹⁵ He welcomed the election of Richard of Dover as Thomas's¹¹⁶ successor, for although Richard was the royal candidate, his¹¹⁷ rival Odo had fallen out of favour with Thomas's supporters.

Thomas himself, says John, would have approved the choice of¹¹⁸ Richard, whose consecration by the pope John tried to¹¹⁹ hasten.

In 1176 John was elected bishop of Chartres, at the suggestion of his old correspondent, William archbishop of Sens.¹²⁰ John styled himself, "John, by the divine reputation and merits of Saint Thomas, humble servant of the church of

112. P.L. 199, ep.cccvi, col.302.
113. The Letters of John of Salisbury, (ed. Millor) no.325 (London Ph.D. Thesis).
114. Adrian Morey, Bartholomew of Exeter, p.103.
115. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.122. But John was with the bishop of Exeter on several known occasions; see Adrian Morey, op.cit., pp.103-104.
116. P.L. 199, ep.cccxii.
117. Although Odo succeeded Wibert as prior of Christ Church in 1167, John's letters to the monastic community after that date are addressed not to Odo, but to the subprior, William Brito.
118. P.L. 199, ep.cccxii.
119. P.L. 199, ep.cccxi.
120. P.L. 199, ep.cccxxiii; cf. Peter of Celle, P.L. 202, ep.cxvii, where William, now archbishop of Rheims, is praised for having secured John's election. For archbishop Williams's relations with men of letters, see J.R. Williams, William of the White Hands, in Haskins Anniversary Essays.

121
Chartres." In 1179 he attended the third Lateran Council,¹²²
and in the following year (25 October 1180) he died, bequeathing
his books to the cathedral church of Chartres.¹²³ He was
succeeded in his diocese by his lifelong friend, Peter of
124
Celle.

c. John of Salisbury as a humanist.

It might be supposed that, as bishop of Chartres, John would have continued the tradition of his predecessors, the scholar-bishops Ivo and Fulbert. There is no evidence, however, that John took part in any academic activities at Chartres. The glory of the schools of Chartres had passed: the rival schools of Paris were too near and too powerful.¹²⁵ Moreover, John's interest had passed from the problems of education and classical scholarship to those of theology and ecclesiastical administration. Many of his later letters show his growing interest in theology,¹²⁶ and John would have wished later

121. P.L. 199, epp.cccxxv-ccxxix.

122. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, t.22, cols.239, 464.

123. Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres, (ed.Merlet and de l'Epinois) vol.iii, p.201.

124. Gams, Series Episcoporum, p.536.

125. G.H. Haskins, Studies in the History of Medieval Science, p.92.

126. For example, his correspondence with John Sarrazin, P.L. 199, epp.cxlx, clxix, ccxxx. There is a parallel in the development of the interests of Peter of Blois; see R.W. Southern, Some new letters of Peter of Blois, in E.H.R. liii (1938), p.416.

generations to judge him as a theologian rather than as a humanist. ¹²⁷ More important than this, his participation in the Becket controversy had drawn his attention to the practical needs of the church. ¹²⁸ The administrative and judicial activities which he had formerly regarded as trifles acquired vital significance for him in his later years. The liberal outlook which John had developed at the schools had combined with the struggles in which they had involved him to convert the humanist scholar into a champion of the ecclesiastical cause.

Despite the value of John's letters to the study of the conflict between church and state, as a champion of the church John was merely one among many. It is as a humanist that John is most interesting to historians. It is not accurate to describe him as the typical scholar of the twelfth century: ¹²⁹ in classical learning he stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries. He is the subject of many superlatives: "the central figure of English learning in his time", ¹³⁰ "the most learned man of his time", ¹³¹ the writer of

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127. R.L. Poole, John of Salisbury, in D.N.B. (1908), p.882.
128. This is exemplified by his active participation in the third Lateran Council; Mansi, op.cit., cols.303,318,378.
129. cf. Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, p.141, denying that John is typical.
130. Stubbs, Lectures on Medieval and Modern History, p.159.
131. Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, i.537.

"indisputably the purest ... Latin of the middle ages."¹³²

Before the conflict of church and state absorbed all his energies, John fought for the maintenance of sound classical education, such as he had known at Chartres, but in this he was fighting a losing battle: "All his reflections on education imply that he is the advocate of a losing cause."¹³³

It has been shown that until about 1160 John devoted himself to the pursuit of classical learning. While most men regarded their education merely as a stepping-stone to ecclesiastical preferment,¹³⁴ John's early work in the court of Canterbury was the means of supporting a scholar's life. At the same time, all the worldly experience which he acquired in the course of his necessary employment was grist for his literary mill. This experience enabled John to combine practical knowledge with the scholar's approach in writing the Policraticus, a work which has been described as "the most coherent treatise on political philosophy produced in the middle ages,"¹³⁵ and the influence of which survived the introduction to the West of Aristotle's Politics.¹³⁶

132. R.L. Poole, Illustrations, p.105.

133. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, (ed. Powicke and Emden, 1936) i.69.

134. Paetow, The Arts Course, pp.27-29. cf. Rashdall, op.cit., iii, p.xxiii.

135. A.L. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.3.

136. cf. Wilhelm Berges, Die Fürstenspiegel, pp.40-52, and W. Ullmann, The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists, in E.H.R.lix (1944) pp.384-392.

In his earliest years in France, John was a witness of the disputes of the schools when they were in the first vigour of youthful activity. But in these disputes John resolutely refused to take sides. He seems to have decided to learn from as many different sources as possible.¹³⁷

Under Abailard, John learned a respect for the classics and Aristotle; at Chartres the prevailing influence was that of the classics and Plato.¹³⁸ The conflict between the two great Greek philosophers, which became crystallised in the dispute between realists and nominalists, did not greatly trouble John's mind. Even when the very spirit of the twelfth-century schools was under attack, he remained unbiassed: in relating the struggle between St. Bernard, the champion of religious obscurantism, and Gilbert de la Porrée,¹³⁹ John refused to take sides and judged both men on their merits. On one hand John realised that all knowledge was to be assessed by reference to the supreme authority of the scriptures.¹⁴⁰ On the other hand he believed that divine influence was to be sought not merely in written revelation¹⁴¹ but also in its indwelling in man's reason.

137. Poole, Illustrations, p.177.

138. Haskins, Medieval Science, p.88 ff.

139. Hist.Pont. cc.12-14. St. Bernard had received a thorough education, but denied the liberal arts even their traditional place in theological studies. It is perhaps surprising that John was not more critical of this attitude.

140. Entheticus, ll.373-4.

141. Polierat. iii.1, vol.i.171; Enthet. ll.629-636.

While he remained impartial, however, and recognised the validity of several different approaches to the acquisition of knowledge, John's own early interests were concentrated in the branch of the liberal arts known as 'grammar'. In the twelfth century the meaning of the word 'grammar' had not yet been whittled down to the narrow sense which it has today. If there is a parallel in modern education to the more advanced study of grammar in the twelfth century, it is the whole field of literae humaniores.¹⁴² Possibly John first became a devoted student of the classics under Abailard, who was not only a logician, a moral philosopher and a theologian, but also a stylist and an enthusiastic reader¹⁴³ of classical literature. Though he knew little Greek himself, Abailard encouraged the nuns under Heloise to learn¹⁴⁴ Greek, and perhaps John was prompted by Abailard's advice¹⁴⁵ to attempt to learn Greek while he was in southern Italy. John's education in the classics continued at Chartres. Whether it was the 'grammatical' or the 'mathematical arts' which held pride of place in the schools of Chartres,¹⁴⁶ John

142. On this subject see below, ch.2.

143. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe, (ed. Powicke & Emden, 1936). i.65.

144. Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, i.529.

145. Metalog. i.15, p.37.

146. Haskins writes that the schools of Chartres stressed the trivium, rather than the quadrivium (Medieval Science, p.91), and this view is shared by Sarton (Introduction, ii.196); in La Renaissance du xiiè siècle, (p.30) the opposite view is taken.

remembered them as a shrine dedicated to the cult of classical authors. William of Conches, remembered by historians as the author of the cosmological work De philosophia mundi,¹⁴⁷ was to John the "grammarian of Conches". From Thierry of Chartres, to whom was dedicated the translation of Ptolemy's Almagest¹⁴⁸ and who was chosen by Abailard as a worthy instructor in mathematics,¹⁴⁹ John learned not mathematics¹⁵⁰ but rhetoric.

During the course of his studies, both formal and informal, John came into contact with men eminent in all the main fields of learning: Abailard, William of Conches, Thierry of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée and master Vacarius represent much of the achievement of the twelfth century in logic, philosophy, mathematics, theology and law, but for John, who derived something from each of them, literary studies remained the chief delight until after he had written his major works. The Entheticus, as has been said, was an introduction to liberal studies; both its form and its content indicate a strong classical emphasis. In the Policraticus, the medieval political theory is coloured with the hues of ancient Greece and Rome. The Metalogicon "was largely written¹⁵¹ to vindicate the claims of 'grammar' or humane letters."

147. Metalog. ii.10, p.80.

148. Clerval, Les Ecoles de Chartres, p.171.

149. R.L. Poole, Illustrations, pp.314-317.

150. Metalog. ii.10, p.80.

151. Rashdall, op.cit., i.69.

John's letters betray a wide knowledge of classical authors. His humanism was medieval in character, but he was in no way narrow or pedantic. His studies served the threefold purpose claimed by Francis Bacon:

"Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight is in privateness and retiring; for ornament is in discourse; and for ability is in the judgement and disposition of business."¹⁵²

In the intellectual movement known as the twelfth-century renaissance, however, the study of the Latin classics was a late starter which did not stay the whole course. John of Salisbury was the youngest exponent of a movement which by his time was already coming to a halt,¹⁵³ and the "revival of learning" did not follow the course which John would have chosen for it. By the end of the twelfth century the study of humane letters had given place to the rival attractions of more profitable and more speculative studies.¹⁵⁴ It is now time to go back to examine briefly the history of the cultural development that led to the twelfth-century renaissance, and to analyse the historical environment of the Entheticus.

152. Francis Bacon, Essays; Of Studies.

153. R.L. Poole, Illustrations, p.197.

154. On the decline of classical scholarship towards the end of the twelfth century, see Paetow, The Arts Courts at Mediaeval Universities; and below, ch.2b.

CHAPTER 2

THE ENTHETICUS IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING

- a. The Christian tradition of the seven liberal arts in the west, up to the twelfth century.

In so far as the Entheticus is didactic, it is an introduction to pagan philosophy. There is a considerable theological content in the Entheticus, but it is present as a yardstick against which to measure the value of the pagan philosophy, and as a statement of the ultimate truth to which the study of philosophy leads. For the Christian scholar the whole field of pagan philosophy, of secular education generally, was in theory incorporated under the name of the seven liberal arts.¹ Under this name the teaching of Greece and Rome was handed down to successive generations of Christian students and scholars. The three 'grammatical arts', grammar, rhetoric and dialectic (the trivium), and the four 'mathematical arts',

1. "Et tantam dicuntur obtinuisse efficaciam apud maiores, qui eis diligenter institerant, ut omnem aperirent lectionem, ad omnia intellectum erigerent, et omnium questionum, que probari possunt difficultatem sufficerent enodare."
Metalog. i.12. Thierry of Chartres declared the Heptateuchon (or seven arts) to be the peculiar and only instrument of philosophy, that is, of the love of wisdom; see Clerval, Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, p.221.

arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy (the quadrivium) were from about the sixth century accorded a recognised place in the education of the clergy, and ultimately provided the basic curriculum of university education.

The origin of the name, classification and study of the seven liberal arts is to be sought not in Christian but in pagan education. Cicero wrote of 'liberal studies', referring generally to those studies which it was fitting for a free man to pursue.² Varro compiled a treatise, no longer extant, in which he discussed at length nine subjects of liberal education, which were apparently the seven liberal arts of medieval times, together with medicine and architecture.³ It seems probable that this work influenced Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii (c.410-427),⁴ which is the earliest known work to restrict itself to seven liberal arts.⁵ Like Varro's work, the De nuptiis is divided into nine books, but the first two books are introductory and it has been suggested⁶ that Martianus omitted medicine and architecture

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2. H. Parker, The Seven Liberal Arts, in E.H.R. v (1890), p.417. The origin of the liberal arts can be traced back beyond Cicero; see W.P. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.27.
 3. Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, ed. M. Schantz (Munich, 1927), t.i, p.567.
 4. H. Parker, in E.H.R. v (1890), p.459; H.O. Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind, i.71.
 5. W. Boyd, The History of Western Education (1952), p.94.
 6. H. Parker, in E.H.R. v (1890), p.459.

because they were subjects of no significance to the Olympian characters which provide the far-fetched background of his work. Although it is full of pagan mythology, and appears at first sight a most unlikely instrument of Christian teaching, the De nuptiis was extremely popular in the middle ages.⁷ In the ninth century, when corrupt texts and obscure phraseology had made the De nuptiis a work of some difficulty, it was the subject of several commentaries;⁸ the literary form of the De nuptiis was adopted in many later works;⁹ and frequent references to the De nuptiis and its occurrence in many medieval library catalogues indicate that it was one of the most widely-read text-books of the middle ages.¹⁰ From the very beginning of the middle ages, therefore, Christian teachers possessed a work which acted as a model for instruction in secular learning.

The early Christians, living in constant expectation of the end of this world, were concerned only with those fields of secular learning which yielded fruit in the better understanding of holy scripture and in the practice of their faith.¹¹

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7. The idea of the seven liberal arts owed its popularity to the De nuptiis; see Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages (1936) i.p.34, n.2. Martianus' success is described as "inou¹ et immerité", Paré, etc., La Renaissance du xii^e siècle, p.162.
 8. See M.L.W. Laistner, Martianus and his Ninth Century Commentators.
 9. e.g. in the De consolatione Philosophiae of Boethius (see Helen Barret, Boethius, p.76); also in Adelard of Bath's De eodem et diverso.
 10. As in Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui, ed. G. Becker.
 11. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, (1936) i.27.

Architecture, politics and medicine were of no interest to those whose eyes were not on this world but on the kingdom of God, and the ethical and metaphysical theories of the classical world were replaced by those of the Bible. The scope of the studies which the Christians adopted from the classical world was, however, wider than their names suggest to the modern reader. Grammar was the study not merely of syntax but also of classical literature generally, and poetry derives from the root of grammar.¹² Rhetoric, the queen of sciences, was the study of the art of persuasion, as necessary to the bishop preaching a sermon, writing a homily or converting the heathen, as to the lawyer pleading his cause.¹³ Dialectic, the discipline of disciplines,¹⁴ was the study of true and false connexions, by means of which Christian truth and the Scriptures can be seen as a coherent whole. Arithmetic provided a knowledge of the rules of numbers, thus furnishing a basis of knowledge and practice for the other three mathematical arts.¹⁵ The knowledge of music as one of the liberal arts derived from Pythagoras,¹⁶

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12. Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, i.6-9; Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, pp.87-88. St. Augustine, De ordine, ii.13, says that poetry derives from grammar, and justifies the study of poetry.
13. Augustine, De doctrina Christiana, ii.36,37. See Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, chapter 2. Rhetoric always included an element of law: one of the three kinds of rhetorical cause was the judicial, cf. Cassiodorus, Institutiones, ii.2,3.
14. Augustine, De ordine, ii.13.
15. Cassiodorus, Institutiones, ii.4,7.
16. ibid., ii.5,1; Isidore, Origines, iii.16.

but it became more and more divorced from the practical music of the Church, and was rather the mathematical study of proportion and progression;¹⁷ those who wrote or lectured on the seven liberal arts had no share in the musical developments of the early middle ages.¹⁸ Geometry and astronomy included between them geography,¹⁹ cosmography and physical science.²⁰

The seven liberal arts as studied by Christians were essentially subordinate to divine studies and did not constitute a legitimate field of study on their own account.²¹ The grammatical arts, which were closely interdependent,²² facilitated the understanding of the words, figures of speech and arguments of the Holy Scriptures, and enabled the theologian to expound them with greater skill and effect.²³ The mathematical arts gave an understanding of the natural

17. cf. Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts, p.128. Hucbald (10th cent.) tried to reconcile contemporary musical practice with the mathematical theory of music, in De harmonica institutione, P.L. 132.
18. See the introductory volume of the Oxford History of Music; the names significant for the history of music are not those of celebrated teachers of the liberal arts. The song-schools of the monasteries were usually separated from the grammar-schools, as at York in Alcuin's time.
19. Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography, ii.115.
20. Thus the cosmographical works of Bernard Sylvester and Thierry of Chartres can be regarded as falling within the scope of the quadrivium. Natural science seems to have been included partly in the quadrivium and partly in physics. The scope of the quadrivium was wide; see Rashdall, The Universities of Europe, i.34, n.2.
21. See J. de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique du xii^e siècle (1948), pp.93-95.
22. Isidore, Origines, ii. 1 and 22; cf. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, pp.90-91.
23. Augustine, De doctrina Christiana, ii.13-14 and 31-37.

phenomena and geographical details described in the Scriptures.²⁴
 The liberal arts, then, were the handmaidens of divine knowledge,
 just as in the De nuptiis of Martianus they were the handmaidens
 which Philology received as a wedding gift from Mercury.²⁵

Sixty years ago it was often stated that the Church
 was hostile to the liberal arts, and it was argued that they
 were assigned a subordinate place in Christian teaching because
 their intellectual appeal prevented their complete exclusion.²⁶
 This theory is too one-sided to be acceptable, but comparatively
 recent authors have clung to it.²⁷ That certain individual
 Christians disapproved of secular learning, that is, of the
 study of the liberal arts, can easily be shown by reference to
 quotations from the Fathers, but in order to understand the
 nature and significance of their disapproval, it is necessary
 to bear three considerations in mind. First for every quotation
 that can be cited to show that the Fathers wished to reject
 the liberal arts, there is another that can be used to show

24. ibid. ii.16, 27 and 29.

25. Martianus, De nuptiis (ed. Dick), p.80.

26. By Parker, E.H.R. v (1890), pp.420-422.

27. "The Church, as a whole, viewed all external learning
 as its most formidable enemy"; H. Farmer, Historical
 Facts for Arabian Musical Influence (1930), pp.42-3.
 "Hostility to learning was general in the Church";
 M.H. Carré, Realists and Nominalists (1946), p.5.
 To say that these are overstatements is not to say
 that pagan culture was not regarded with suspicion.

the contrary,²⁸ and it is dishonest to represent one side of the argument from the writings, for example, of St. Augustine, without stating that the same author also represents the other side.²⁹ Secondly, and closely connected with this first consideration, is the fact that isolated quotations from the works of the Fathers cannot bear the unmitigated meaning which they at first suggest. For example, Gregory the Great's well-known rebuke to the bishop of Vienne was delivered not because the bishop was interested in the classics but because he was neglecting his episcopal functions by teaching grammar,³⁰ and it must be interpreted in conjunction with Gregory's more favourable attitude, expressed elsewhere, to liberal studies.³¹ Thirdly, three distinct strains in the disapproval of the liberal arts must be distinguished: some men disapproved because they feared the pagan content inherent in classical literature, others because they thought that liberal studies were a waste of valuable time, and others again because they could not believe that secular learning had any relevance to Christian studies. This opposition to secular studies, to

28. See J.L. Paetow, The Battle of the Seven Arts, ch.1 (intro.)

29. Augustine's attitude was unfavourable in that he feared the strength of paganism and the pride which learning could bring.

30. P.L. 77, col.1171.

31. Expositiones in primum Regum, P.L. 79, cols.355-6; cf. Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, x.1, and see Ker, The Dark Ages, p.133.

classical learning, was still alive in John of Salisbury's time; Alexander of Ville-Dieu's denunciation of the attempt by students at Orléans "to set Dagon on his throne again",³² the desire of students to by-pass the trivium and come more quickly to more profitable studies,³³ and St. Bernard's attacks on Abailard and Gilbert de la Porrée for submitting the mysteries of theology to the discipline of secular learning,³⁴ exemplify the survival of this three-fold opposition. Perhaps the struggle between the classicists and their adversaries is a permanent factor in the development of education. Certainly it is still with us today. But it is in no way true to say that the early Church opposed the study of the liberal arts on principle. In as far as they were considered able to help the Christian scholar towards his ultimate goal (and it was in this traditional spirit that John of Salisbury studied the classics and wrote the Entheticus) the liberal arts were welcomed into the curriculum of the Church's teaching,³⁵ and thus the heritage

32. H. Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, (1934) p.138.

33. See below, chapter 2 b and c.

34. St. Bernard attacked Abailard because, "totum quod Deus est, humana ratione arbitratur se posse comprehendere", ep. cxci (P.L. 182).

35. Perhaps the most frequently held opinion, and certainly one of the most frequently quoted, was that of St. Jerome: "Legerat in Deuteronomio Domini voce praeceptum, mulieris captivae radendum caput, omnes pilos, et unguis corporis amputandos, et sic eam habendam in conjugio. Quid ergo mirum, si et ego sapientiam saecularem propter eloqui venustatem, et membrorum pulchritudinem de ancilla atque captiva Israelitidem facere cupio? et si quidquid in ea mortuum est, idolatrae, voluptatis, erroris, libidinum, vel praecidio vel rado; et mixtus purissimo corpori vernaculos ex ea genere Domino Sabaoth?" (P.L.22, col.664). On the whole question see Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900, pp.26-33; Paetow, The Battle of the Seven Arts, chapter 1 (intro.).

of classical learning was handed on to the scholars of the middle ages.

Martianus Capella provided a popular compendium of the liberal arts in his De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, St. Augustine justified the study of the liberal arts as a means towards Christian truth in his De doctrina Christiana,³⁶ but more than this was required before the Christian tradition of the liberal arts was established. On the one hand, Capella's work was completely pagan; on the other hand St. Augustine offered no complete survey of the liberal arts.³⁷ The second part of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus (d.575) was such a survey by a sound Christian scholar, and although it is "hardly more than an enumeration" of the liberal arts, "the influence of Cassiodorus in carrying forward the idea of the seven liberal arts is attested by frequent reference."³⁸ Cassiodorus did not intend to write more than a brief introduction, and he cites the books to which those who were interested could turn for fuller information.

Of the same generation as Cassiodorus was Boethius (c.480-525), "vir magnificus"³⁹. Boethius stated that it was his

36. R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, pp.170-171.

37. Although he began one; Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, p.30.

38. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, p.95; cf. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.118.

39. Cassiodorus, Institutiones, ii.3.18; 4.7.

intention to translate and supply commentaries for all the works of Plato and Aristotle.⁴⁰ He did not fulfil this intention, for he died at the age of 45 and was not only a man of letters but also a man of affairs.⁴¹ His influence on the learning of the middle ages was immense.⁴² Apart from his ever-popular De consolazione philosophiae⁴³ and his theological works,⁴⁴ he translated the complete Aristotelian Organon, to which were added commentaries and original works of his own, and he wrote works on each of the four mathematical arts.⁴⁵ Although only the more elementary of the logical works were read during the early middle ages⁴⁶ and although his books on geometry and astronomy did not survive,⁴⁷ the influence of Boethius could not be avoided. It was not merely that he provided the instruments of study; by his classification of philosophy he determined to a considerable extent the nature of intellectual

40. De Interpretatione, ii.2, P.L. 64, col.433.
41. See Barret, Boethius, Some Aspects of his Times and Work.
42. H.R. Patch, The Tradition of Boethius, p.122.
43. E.S. Duckett, The Gateway to the Middle Ages,^{p.173,} shows that Boethius wrote at least three of the four theological works.
44. Including Porphyry's Isagoges.
45. He wrote on geometry and astronomy, though these works are now lost; Patch, The Tradition of Boethius, p.3.
46. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, pp.174-5.
47. The Geometria ascribed to Boethius is now considered spurious; Duckett, The Gateway to the Middle Ages, p.156.

pursuits for a long period after the sixth century. He distinguished two species of philosophy, theoretical, or speculative,⁴⁸ and practical, or active,⁴⁹ and he divided the theoretical into three parts, naturalis, mathematica and theologica.⁴⁹ He therefore drew a clear distinction between the mathematical arts, or quadrivium,⁵⁰ and the grammatical arts. The quadrivium, it has been said, owed more than its name to Boethius: in the middle ages his works, or at least works based on his, were regarded as essential.⁵¹ It was Boethius who bequeathed to the middle ages the stress upon music as training in mathematics rather than as a practical art,⁵² and it was a statement by Boethius that incited the great controversy about universals⁵³ in later centuries.

By the end of the sixth century, therefore, the Christian tradition of the liberal arts was established, and there was a body of Christian writing affording mental stimulation and the

48. In Porphyrium Dialogus i, P.L. 64, col.11.

49. ibid., P.L.64, col.11, and De Trinitate, cap.ii.

50. The trivium was not classified by Boethius as part of philosophy; it was the instrument of the philosopher.

51. Duckett, The Gateway to the Middle Ages, p.166.

52. Duckett, The Gateway to the Middle Ages, p.155.

53. Carré, Realists and Nominalists, pp.32-3. Boethius did not consider himself fit to judge between Plato and Aristotle, cf. Barret, Boethius, pp.42-3.

material for the study of these arts. The help of pagan authors was called in: apart from Martianus Capella, there were Donatus and Priscian for grammar, Cicero and Quintilian for rhetoric. These were still the chief authorities in John of Salisbury's day.⁵⁴ At the beginning of the seventh century another important work was added to the 'classics' of the liberal arts: this was the Origines or Etymologiae of Isidore, bishop of Seville (d.636). It covered not only the field of the seven liberal arts but also, superficially at least, all knowledge, celestial and earthly. It was important not because it contributed anything to the learning of the day, for it was largely a compilation from other sources,⁵⁵ but because it was to be the most convenient reference-book which the middle ages possessed, and it was used both by the scholarly and by the half-learned.⁵⁶

There was little change or development in the teaching of the liberal arts between the beginning of the seventh century and the end of the tenth. The skill with which they were taught might vary from time to time, and the importance attached to their teaching might decline, or increase as it did under the encouragement of Charlemagne,⁵⁷ but there was no

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54. For the influence of Quintilian on John of Salisbury, see Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, pp.169-170.
55. For Isidore's sources, see L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, i.624-5.
56. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.139.
57. cf. Charlemagne's capitulary of 789: "Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam, per singula monasteria vel episcopia...."; M.G.H., Legum sectio ii, t.i (1883), p.60. "Compotus", included arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.

significant contribution during the period to the study of the liberal arts. A few scholars and a few literary centres stand out from the rest, but their work was rather to preserve their inheritance than to acquire new riches, and to hand on to their successors as much as they had themselves received. In the early part of the period it was in Ireland and then in England that the work of preservation was mainly performed; from these countries came many of the leading figures of the Carolingian renaissance.⁵⁸ In the seventh century the rest of Europe had been hard put to it to maintain even the vestiges of culture. It is difficult to conceive of any intellectual progress in political conditions such as those described by Gregory of Tours,⁵⁹ who, for all his avowed simplicity, was a learned man by the standards of his time and circumstances.⁶⁰ Intellectual activity revived in the more settled times that followed, but the cultural movement known as the Carolingian renaissance was less a renaissance than a floraison des lettres.⁶¹

The contribution of scholars like Bede and Alcuin and

58. This is apparent from Cappuyns, Jean Scot Érigène, pp.31-32.

59. In his History of the Franks, translated by O.M. Dalton: "In these times when the practice of letters declines, nay, rather perishes in the cities of Gaul, there has been found no scholar trained in the art of ordered composition to present in prose or verse a picture of the things that have befallen."

60. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, pp.98-99.

61. Cappuyns, Jean Scot Érigène, p.30.

Rabanus, and of schools like that at the abbey of St. Gall,⁶² was rather the teaching of the next generation than any addition to the fund of knowledge. Bede (673-735) was industrious and painstaking rather than brilliant or original.⁶³ The works of Alcuin (735-804) "hardly equal his fame as a teacher".⁶⁴ The massive De universo of Rabanus Maurus (c.776-856) was little more than a theological re-edition, full of mystical signification,⁶⁵ of Isidore's Origines,⁶⁶ and it did not in any way supplant the earlier work. The writings of such scholars were essentially restatements of the material provided by earlier authors, and while a teacher like Alcuin might write works on the liberal arts and a computus, the works of Martianus, Cassiodorus, Boethius, Isidore, Donatus, Priscian, Quintilian and Cicero remained the principal authorities on the liberal arts. Some of these works seem superficial in the knowledge which they impart and slight in their treatment of it,⁶⁷ but the Latins "depended more than we know on discussion and verbal explanation, rather than on the

62. See J.M. Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art.

63. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.141.

64. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.151.

65. "Sunt enim in eo plura exposita....de mystica rerum significatione." De universo, pref., P.L.111, col.9.

66. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.484; cf. Cappuyns, Jean Scot Erigène, p.45.

67. See, for example, H.O. Taylor's poor opinion of the De nuptiis in The Medieval Mind, i.71-2.

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mere letter of the text."

As the ninth century advanced there was a growing consciousness of hostility between the liberal arts and religion.⁶⁹ This is not apparent in Alcuin's works, but Rabanus felt obliged to apologise for his emphasis on the liberal arts.⁷⁰ In his refutation of John the Scot's doctrine of predestination, Prudentius of Troyes exhorts him to leave the quadruvium vanitatis and to rely on the quadriga of the gospels.⁷¹ The love of the classics, which was the main feature of the Carolingian renaissance, caused in time a reaction against them and thence a decline in their study. John the Scot, the most original thinker of the period known as the Dark Ages,⁷² was well read in the liberal arts; his Annotationes in Martianum Capellam were intended to make the De nuptiis easier for students, but most of his studies were outside the field of the liberal arts as they were known at the time. His dialectic, of which he makes great use in his De praedestinatione,⁷³ is not the dialectic of the liberal arts. The knowledge of Greek, slight as it was,⁷⁴ which certain Irish scholars brought

68. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, p.65.

69. Cappuyns, Jean Scot Érigène, pp.40-41.

70. De clericorum institutione, iii, P.L.107.

71. P.L. 115, col. 1352.

72. cf. Pirenne, Sedulius of Liège, p.32.

73. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.162.

74. See Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, pp.200-201.

to France, was not used to acquire direct knowledge of
 classical Greek authors.⁷⁵ And although in the middle of the
 ninth century Sedulius Scottus (d.875?) and Servatus Lupus
 (d.862)⁷⁶ carried humanist studies to a level unknown to their
 predecessors of the Carolingian renaissance, the liberal arts
 did not in general receive the extensive study desired by
 Alcuin and Charlemagne.⁷⁷

Despite the unfavourable material conditions of the early
 tenth century, the Carolingian renaissance had made a deep
 enough impression to ensure the survival of a love of learning.⁷⁸
 At Cluny, at St. Gall, the light of learning was by no means
 extinguished, but of the liberal arts grammar was the only
 subject to be studied thoroughly,⁷⁹ and even those who had read
 the classics widely had a very bad Latin style.⁸⁰ On the whole,
 scholars devoted themselves to subjects more purely eccles-
 iastical,⁸¹ being wary of the serpents which lay in wait for

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75. There were by now Latin versions of the most important Greek patristic works, and there was a natural tendency to use the translations rather than the originals.
76. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, pp.202,205. See Pirenne, Sedulius of Liège, and the letters of Servatus Lupus, ed. L. Levillain.
77. Duckett, Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne, pp.85-87.
78. Fliche and Martin (ed.), Histoire de l'Eglise, vol.vii, chap.6 (by E. Amann), pp.504 ff.
79. This is evident from Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall, chap.5; the music studied at St. Gall was not the music of the quadrivium.
80. Clark, The Abbey of St. Gall, p.106.
81. Fliche and Martin (ed.), Histoire de l'Eglise, vii. 522.

those who delighted too much in humane letters. At the end of the tenth century, however, a change came over the study of the liberal arts. While the study of grammatica was carried forward in many parts of Europe, by Abbo of Fleury, Aelfric of Eynsham and Notker Labeo,⁸² an impetus was given to the study of dialectic and the quadrivium.⁸³ The significant figure in this change was Gerbert of Aurillac (d.1003).

Although Gerbert of Aurillac achieved eminence as archbishop of Rheims, as archbishop of Ravenna and as pope Sylvester II, and although the legends which connected his name with the practice of magic did not arise until the twelfth century,⁸⁴ he is surrounded by an aura of mystery. An account of his life and teaching is given by Richer,⁸⁵ and his works reveal a powerful intellect, but his purpose and ambitions, the extent of his learning and the way in which his mind worked remain obscure. The sudden emergence of a man of such learning is inexplicable, and the thirteenth-century tradition which ascribes his successes to demon aid is understandable.

As a young man, Gerbert was sent to study at Barcelona, and it is assumed that while he was there he came in contact

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82. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.512 and 519.
 83. Ueberweg-Geyer, Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, ii. § 20.
 84. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, i. 704-5.
 85. In his Historiae, P.L. 138.

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with Arab scientific thought. The unexplained fact is that he derived from this contact more than any other man of his time, and more than any man for a hundred years afterwards. He introduced the astrolabe to western Christendom, and was probably the first Christian writer to give an account of the ghubar (Spanish-Arabic) numerals for use with the abacus.⁸⁷ His knowledge of Boethius,⁸⁸ moreover, was more extensive than that of any man since the sixth century or until the twelfth. His letters show a familiarity with classical authors and a precise Latin style.⁸⁹

As a scholar, Gerbert has a double significance. First, in his attitude to secular learning, he turned right away from the Augustinian tradition.⁹⁰ For Gerbert, engrossed as deeply in political intrigue as in the pursuit of knowledge,⁹¹ rhetoric "is an instrument of government for the guiding and bending of men's wills; it is not the culmination of a programme of Christian learning."⁹² The liberal arts are no longer merely the handmaids of theology; secular knowledge is worth acquiring for its own sake. The result of this attitude was that secular

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86. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, (1952) p.227.
87. But Gerbert did not use the zero (Sarton, Introduction, i. 704-5), so that even for mathematicians the abacus remained necessary.
88. Richer, Historiae, iii. 46-47, P.L. 183, cols.102-103.
89. See his letters in Julien Havet, Lettres de Gerbert (983-987).
90. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, pp.177-178.
91. An account of his political activities is given by Havet in his introduction to the letters.
92. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, p.178.

knowledge could stand independently of Christian teaching: Berengar of Tours and Abailard could apply the rules of logic to Christian doctrine, as it were, from the outside; William of Conches and Bernard Sylvester could write on cosmography from a purely philosophical standpoint without regard to the Christian faith.⁹³ Thus the doctrine of the two truths is to some extent anticipated: philosophical truth and religious truth are separate, and do not necessarily correspond.⁹⁴

Secondly, the introduction of Arab science, with which Gerbert's name is closely connected, was accompanied by an increased acceptance of determinism and astrology. Isidore of Seville had held a limited belief in the influence of the planets, but had denounced speculative astrology.⁹⁵ With the Arabs astronomy and astrology were inextricably mixed, and the adoption of one by Christian scholars involved at least the partial acceptance of the other.⁹⁶ The Mathematica Alhandrei,

93. This is not to say that any of these four men conceived any conflict between faith and reason: for them all truth rested ultimately in revealed religion, not in speculation. Hence William of Conches: "Christianus sum non academicus" (Dragmaticon, p.306); and Abailard: "Nolo sic esse philosophus ut recalcitrem Paulo. Non sic esse Aristoteles ut secludar a Christo" (ep.xvii, P.L. 178.)
94. Not, as with Siger of Brabant, because religion denies the truth of the conclusions of the philosophers, but because theology and philosophy follow different lines of inquiry; this difference of approach is frequently implied in Adelard of Bath's Quaestiones Naturales, cf. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.41.
95. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, i.633.
96. Thus for most twelfth-century writers astronomy and astrology are the same. Even Hugh of St. Victor and Gundissalinus do not distinguish them as scientific and superstitious respectively.

one of the earliest Latin works showing traces of Arab or
 Jewish origin,⁹⁷ allows the astrologer almost unlimited powers
 of prediction.⁹⁸ The Liber de planetis et mundi climatibus,
 which may have been written by Gerbert himself, contains no
 adverse criticism of the astrologers, and acknowledges the
 influence of the heavens.⁹⁹ While there had always been men
 and women in Christian Europe who practised magic and claimed
 to be able to predict the future from natural signs,¹⁰⁰ it was
 only at the beginning of the eleventh century that determinism
 and prediction became identified with scientific inquiry,¹⁰¹
 thus at once acquiring wider acceptance among educated men and
 discrediting scientific knowledge in the eyes of the orthodox
 and the reactionary.

The advance in secular learning achieved by Gerbert did
 not cause any great upheaval in the intellectual life of Western
 Europe during the eleventh century.¹⁰² Berengar of Tours, using

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97. Sarton, Introduction, i.671.
98. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science,
 i.710-714.
99. ibid., i.705-709.
100. Bede feared that to write about things like thunder laid
 him open to the charge of being "diabolico (quod absit)
 spiritu aut iniqua magicæ excogitatione artis afflatum",
 (De tonitruis libellus, P.L. 90, cols.609-614).
101. To distinguish between them, Hugh of St. Victor contrasted
 máthesis and matesis, Didascalicon, ii.4, P.L. 176.
102. Although there was an antagonisme véhément between the
 partisans and adversaries of speculation in dogma,
 J. de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique du xiie siècle,
 pp.68-72; cf. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge,
 pp.232-238.

the dialectic which he learnt at the school of Chartres under Fulbert (d.1029),¹⁰³ attacked the orthodox doctrine of the Eucharist, but he was silenced by Lanfranc, whose victory "was the first result in theological debate of the renewed teaching of logic."¹⁰⁴ So far, therefore, the revived logic was the ally of orthodoxy. On the whole, the eleventh century was a period of quiet preparation. At Chartres, the cathedral school under Fulbert provided a sound education in all the liberal arts.¹⁰⁵ At Monte Cassino the monks were set to copy classical texts,¹⁰⁶ and the rule of the Carthusians (founded 1084) enjoined the duty of keeping and diligently transcribing useful books.¹⁰⁷ The growth of commercial and political contacts between Italy and the Eastern Empire fostered among educated men a knowledge of Greek that was to bear fruit in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁸ Even Peter Damian, the champion of unlettered faith,¹⁰⁹ was prepared to justify the study of the poets and philosophers.¹¹⁰

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103. Fulbert was probably a pupil of Gerbert; Poole, Illustrations, p.98.
104. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, p.184.
105. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen âge, pp.108-130.
106. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.520.
107. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.523.
108. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.520-522.
109. See Opusculum xlv, De sancte simplicitate scientiae inflanti anteponenda, P.L.145, cols.695-705, which contains several different arguments for the complete rejection of secular learning. It was written to console a monk who could make no headway in the liberal arts.
110. "Thesaurum quippe tollit Aegyptiis, unde Deo tabernaculum construat, qui poetas ac philosophos legit", P.L.145, col.560.

In the field of the mathematical arts, Hermann of Reichenau (1013-1054) wrote clear and concise treatises on the abacus and astrolabe,¹¹¹ the correspondence of Ragimbold of Cologne and Radolf of Liège shows a lively interest in geometry,¹¹² and Adam of Bremen (d.1076) reveals in his history of the diocese of Hamburg a new approach to the study of geography.¹¹³ The atmosphere of learning was calm and healthy, preparing the way for swift developments in intellectual life during the twelfth century.

In this brief survey an attempt has been made to give an account of the way in which the learning of the classical world was incorporated into Christian teaching and was handed on from one generation to another.¹¹⁴ Though at times restricted to the few, the knowledge of the liberal arts was never allowed to wither away completely. From the sixth to the twelfth century no western scholar possessed a direct knowledge of the

111. P.L. 143, cols.389-412, and see bibliography.

112. See P. Tannery, La Géométrie au xie siècle, in Revue Générale Internationale Scientifique, littéraire et artistique, vi (1897) pp.350-352.

113. Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography, ii.514 ff. Adam has great faith in classical authors.

114. To have given any account of the content of the teaching of the liberal arts would have made this chapter disproportionately long. The only way to obtain a fair idea of this content is to read the works of the teachers mentioned above, remembering always the importance of the verbal tradition. Moreover, it has been possible to mention only the more outstanding and significant of the Christian scholars who helped to keep alive the tradition of the liberal arts.

classical Greek authors, and knowledge of the classical Latin authors was often second-hand;¹¹⁵ but the classical tradition was kept alive. At the time of Gerbert of Aurillac there was a significant development in that for the first time Christian scholars appeared to be studying the liberal arts for other than religious motives. The seed sown at this time germinated in the twelfth century.

- b. The twelfth-century renaissance: the rise and decline of the study of classical literature.

The quiet but steady intellectual development of the eleventh century culminated in the efflorescence of learning known as the twelfth-century renaissance. The twelfth-century renaissance presents analogies with the Carolingian renaissance and the renaissance of the fifteenth century. All three were the result to some extent of outside influences. At the end of the eighth century learning was brought to the court of Charle-¹¹⁶ magne from Italy, Ireland and England; in the fifteenth century

115. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, p.113. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, i.618, points out that the inclusion of a work in florilegia can be taken as showing that it was read in toto rather than not.

116. The Carolingian renaissance has been called "simply a transference of the learning of the day from Britain and Italy through Alcuin and Paulus Diaconus into Frankland", Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts, p.24.

great numbers of Greek manuscripts passed into Italy.¹¹⁷ In the same way the scholars of the twelfth century received stimulus from the translation of Greek and Greco-Arab philosophical works. Secondly, cultural revival was made possible in each case, and even demanded, by the improvement in political conditions. Thirdly, the scholar of the twelfth century as of the fifteenth was remarkable for the many-sidedness of his learning. The use of the word renaissance in connexion with the twelfth century is justified, moreover, not only by the spread and development of existing studies, but also by the emergence of certain branches of study which had not been pursued by western Christians in earlier centuries.

Until the eleventh century the chief centres of learning in western Europe had been the monasteries.¹¹⁸ In the twelfth century there was a shift of learning from the monasteries to the towns, which were rapidly growing at the time. The most active and influential of the monastic orders in the first half of the twelfth century was that of Cîteaux,¹¹⁹ which discouraged secular learning and possessed no schools for oblates.¹²⁰ There were a few monastic schools which contributed to the twelfth-

117. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, ii.36-37.

118. Such as St. Gall, Bobbio, Cluny, Bec, and Malmesbury; cf. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, i.27-28.

119. Knowles, The Monastic Orders in England, (1950), p.208.

120. Knowles, The Monastic Orders in England, p.212.

century renaissance, such as that at Liège, but on the whole
monastic zeal turned its back on learning.¹²¹ Potential scholars
were drawn to the cathedral towns. From early times, bishops
had taken upon themselves the task of educating those who were
destined for the priesthood,¹²² and it was from the bishops'
households that the great schools of the twelfth century
developed.¹²³ Towns which stand on trade-routes tend to draw
ambitious young men, and the inhabitants, conscious of the
growing importance of their towns, were proud to give protection
to scholars who could bring fame to their place of residence.¹²⁴
Commercial and scholarly industry go hand in hand.

In addition to the commercial developments of the twelfth
century, there was a general increase in the activity of govern-
ment. The rivalry of secular and ecclesiastical rulers
encouraged the study of Roman and canon law respectively, and
the conflict between the two stimulated an interest in political
theory and political ethics. The schools were the natural home
of these studies and the partisans of the causes of both
Church and State were educated in the schools.^{125.}

121. cf. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, pp.44-46.

122. C.Med.H., v.771-773.

123. As at Laon, Chartres and Orleans.

124. At Bologna, the municipal authorities forbade masters to
lecture elsewhere, Rashdall, The Universities of Europe,
i.168-169.

125. John of Salisbury is the obvious example. Arnulf of Lis-
ieux was educated at the schools of Chartres, Paris and
Italy; see Barlow, The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux,
p.xiii. Another partisan of Henry II was the bishop of
Hereford, Robert of Melun, one of John's masters, Frederick
Barbarossa sought justification for his political claims
from the jurists of Bologna; see H. Koeppler, Frederic
Barbarossa and the school of Bologna, in E.H.R. liv
(1939), pp.577-588.

In Italy commerce prospered and government was active, and it was there that scholars came into closest contact with the Greek world.¹²⁶ It is significant that the twelfth-century translators of Greek works were not merely scholars but also men of affairs. Moses of Bergamo, whose collection of Greek manuscripts was unhappily destroyed by fire, had spent about six years in Constantinople for reasons of trade or diplomacy.¹²⁷ James of Venice, whose city's prosperity depended on commerce with the Eastern Empire, translated Aristotle's Topics, Analytics and Sophistical Elenchi into Latin.¹²⁸ Burgundio of Pisa, a jurist and physician, translated theological, legal and medical works from the Greek.¹²⁹ The work of translation was carried on in southern Italy no less than in the prosperous north. Greek was one of the three languages spoken in the Norman kingdom,¹³⁰ and the continuous diplomatic relationship between the Norman and Byzantine courts¹³¹ also demanded a knowledge of Greek from royal officials. One of these, Henricus Aristippus, translated Plato's Meno and Phaedo, and the fourth book of Aristotle's Meteorology.

126. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.141.

127. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.145.

128. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.144 and chap.11.

129. Sarton, Introduction, ii.348.

130. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, pp.141-142.

131. C.Med.H., v.181; cf. Haskins, The Normans in European History, pp.237-239, and Klibansky, The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition, p.20.

Another royal official, Eugene of Palermo, translated Ptolemy's
¹³²
Optics from the Arabic.

The centre for the adoption of Arab thought by Western scholars was not in the Norman kingdom of Italy, although the two streams of culture mingled there, but in Spain. ¹³³ Adelard of Bath, the chief pioneer since Gerbert of Aurillac in the study and translation of Arab scientific thought, may have become acquainted with it in the eastern Mediterranean rather than in Spain; his successors, Robert of Chester and Hermann of Carinthia, worked and lived in Spain. ¹³⁴ Towards the middle of the twelfth century, the foundation by Raymond, archbishop of Toledo, of a school of translation not unlike the House of Wisdom at Baghdad where in the ninth century classical Greek works were translated into Arabic, marked an important stage. ¹³⁵ The work of translation, which had at first been carried on by a handful of men for the most part without system and without recognition, was taken over by an organised body of scholars, assisted by converted Jews who spoke Arabic, Hebrew, Spanish and sometimes Latin. ¹³⁶ Toledo attracted men eager to acquire

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132. On Henricus Aristippus and Eugene of Palermo see Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.143.
133. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, pp.33-34,133; Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, p.295.
134. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p120. On Spain as a link between Islam and Christendom, see Menendez Pidal, The Cid and his Spain, pp.452-457.
135. Nahib A. Faris (ed.), The Arab Heritage, p.234; Arnold and Guillaume (ed.), The Legacy of Islam, p.347.
136. Arnold and Guillaume (ed.), The Legacy of Islam, p.347.

scientific knowledge, like Gerard of Cremona, the most prolific translator of the twelfth century,¹³⁷ and Daniel of Morley, who had found Paris dominated by law and pretentious folly.¹³⁸

The translations from the Greek were mostly of philosophical and theological works; those from the Arabic, in the twelfth century, were mostly of scientific works. John of Salisbury was influenced more by the first than the second, partly through his own inclinations, partly because he had travelled in Italy. Italy, moreover, with Rome at its centre, was far more closely linked with the rest of Europe than was Spain; the translators from the Arabic in the first half of the twelfth century were essentially pioneers, and it was not until the very end of the century that Arab scientific thought became generally current among the scholars of western Europe.¹³⁹ There was indeed a connexion between the early translators from the Arabic and the school of Chartres: Adelard of Bath's works show the influence of Chartres;¹⁴⁰ Hermann of Carinthia sent to Thierry of Chartres, his former master, a translation of Ptolemy's Planisphere;¹⁴¹ and Thierry's Heptateuchon included

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137. For the volume of his work, see The Legacy of Islam, p.347-348.
138. Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.127.
139. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, pp.337, 377-390.
140. P. Duhem, Le Système du monde, iii.169.
141. Sarton, Introduction, ii.174.

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Ptolemy's Praecepta and Tabulae. John of Salisbury recognised the importance of the study of Arab science,¹⁴³ but there is no suggestion in his writings that he had much knowledge of it.

John of Salisbury was more fully conversant with, and affected by, the translation of Greek works. His Metalogicon gives the earliest indication that the whole of the Aristotelian logic was known in north-west Europe.¹⁴⁴ He made a serious attempt to learn Greek while he was in Apulia,¹⁴⁵ and his use of Greek-sounding titles for his books reflect his desire for knowledge of the Greek classics. He was a friend and correspondent of John Sarrazin, who travelled in the Near East collecting Greek manuscripts.¹⁴⁶ In the Entheticus a fuller treatment is given to the Greek than to the Latin philosophers, although John can have had little first-hand knowledge of Greek philosophy.

John of Salisbury was imbued with the spirit of the school of Chartres, and a reverence for the writers of classical antiquity was characteristic of that school. John quoted a saying of Bernard of Chartres: compared with the ancients we are as pygmies standing on the shoulders of giants.¹⁴⁷ Respect

142. In Clerval, Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen âge, p.223; cf. p.239.

143. Metalog. iv.6.

144. Metalog. ii.20, and iv.6; cf. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.539.

145. Metalog. i.15.

146. Sarton, Introduction, ii.347-348.

147. Metalog. iii.4: "Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantium humeris insidentes."

for the classical authors was growing at the beginning of the
 twelfth century,¹⁴⁸ and, indeed, the word renaissance, which is
 applied to the twelfth century, implies a revival of older
 cultural traditions. The school of Chartres, typical of
 twelfth-century humanism in that it looked for inspiration beyond
 the origins of Christianity, was also typical in the catholicity
 of its teaching. The extent of the all-round learning of Thierry
 of Chartres, primarily a mathematician, is attested by his
Heptateuchon;¹⁴⁹ law, logic, cosmography and literary scholarship
 were each strongly represented in the school of Chartres, by
 bishop Ivo, Gilbert de la Porrée, William of Conches and John
 of Salisbury respectively. In view of the fact that medieval
 scholars instinctively looked for enlightenment in the past,
 it is tempting to ask whether the increasing tempo of secular
 studies led to the greater knowledge and love of classical
 literature, or whether the wider reading of classical authors
 incidentally provided the material for the development of
 secular studies. At all events, while the number of men who
 could be called humanists increased in the twelfth century, they
 remained a minority,¹⁵⁰ and a large proportion of those engaged in

148. e.g. Adelard of Bath, De eodem at diverso, p.7: "Dum
 priscorum uirorum....facultatem cum modernorum scientia
 comparauerim, et illos facundos et hos taciturnos
 appello."

149. cf. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie
 siècle, p.30; and see Poole, Illustrations, p.182, on the
 breadth of learning at Chartres.

150. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe, i.69.

intellectual pursuits were either too indifferent or too busy elsewhere to indulge a taste for classical literature.

Even if humanism is to be regarded as a by-product of the intellectual movement rather than as an essential part of it, and although it was near extinction by the end of the twelfth century, there was at the beginning of the century a spontaneous increase in classical studies.¹⁵¹ Men brought a new vigour to the study of grammatica, not merely to the study of syntax, but to the reading of the classics. In his autobiography Guibert de Nogent records that when he began his studies (c.1060) there were very few masters of grammar to be found in France,¹⁵² whereas when he wrote his Gesta Dei per Francos (1104-1112), grammar flourished everywhere, and the great number of schools put learning within reach of even the poorest.¹⁵³

Classical verse was especially popular. Virgil and Ovid were the particular favourites. Bernard Sylvester wrote a commentary on the Aeneid, treating it as deep allegory;¹⁵⁴ Ovid's poems were freely copied even in severe Cluny.¹⁵⁵ As in the

151. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.22.

152. P.L. 156, col.844: "ut in oppidis pene nullus, in urbibus vix aliquis reperiri potuisset, et quos inveniri contigerat, eorum scientia tenuis erat."

153. P.L. 156, col.681: "cum enim passim videamus fervere grammaticam et quibusque vilissimis prae numerositate scholarum hanc patere noverimus disciplinam."

154. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.120.

155. Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, p.108.

Carolingian period, the reading of the classical poets gave rise to a passion for versifying. Matthew of Vendôme, a pupil of Bernard Sylvester, composed (c.1140) his Ars poetica at ¹⁵⁶ Orléans, which was to become the home, the refuge even, of ¹⁵⁷ grammar and rhetoric. Supreme among the Latin poets of the twelfth century was Hildebert of Lavardin, archbishop of Tours (d.1134), "un Pétrarque au xii^e siècle"; ¹⁵⁸ so strongly classical is the spirit of his verse that some of his poems ¹⁵⁹ have been assigned to a far earlier period. The passion for writing verse extended to spheres where prose is more commonly found: Bernard Sylvester's cosmographical work, De mundi universitate, is written partly in careful imitation of ¹⁶⁰ classical models; John of Salisbury's Entheticus is an example of a largely philosophical work written in verse.

There were signs of a strong element of classical literature in the teaching of the day. Gerald of Wales tells how he increased his popularity as a lecturer at Paris by frequently ¹⁶¹ quoting from classical authors. Hugh of St. Victor's

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156. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, pp.185-186; Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xii^e siècle, p.28.
157. Paetow, The Battle of the Seven Arts, intro., ii.
158. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xii^e siècle, p.28.
159. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, p.340.
160. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, p.273.
161. De rebus a se gestis, (Rolls Series) pp.45-47.

Epitome in philosophiam was an attempt to imitate Plato's method.¹⁶² The geography of Lambert of St. Omer's Liber floridus was derived from classical authors to a greater extent than was common before his day.¹⁶³ At Monte Cassino the reading of classical authors was urged as a necessity for the acquisition of a good Latin style.¹⁶⁴ The revived study of Roman law, moreover, involved at the outset frequent recourse to classical examples.¹⁶⁵

In this very flowering, however, there were the indications of decay. It is significant that even John of Salisbury, who, like William of Conches, grouped together the three parts of the trivium as eloquentia, neglected rhetoric.¹⁶⁶ Grammar provided the instrument for lucid expression, dialectic that for cogent argument and persuasion; to rhetoric was left the task of mere ornamentation.¹⁶⁷ Thus in John's scheme of education rhetoric is hardly mentioned, and what John found vital in Quintilian's rhetoric he transferred to grammar or dialectic.¹⁶⁸ This attitude encouraged the notion that literary

162. Hauréau, Les Oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor, p.102.

163. Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography, ii.572.

164. Willard, The Use of the Classics in the Flores Rhetorici of Alberic of Monte Cassino, in Haskins Anniversary Essays, p.360.

165. e.g. Enthet. 11.38, 1335.

166. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, pp.157 ff.

167. cf. Willard, The Use of the Classics in the Flores Rhetorici of Alberic of Monte Cassino, p.356.

168. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, p.171.

style, acquired from the study of auctores, was something external, to be applied as an afterthought, or omitted where it was thought to be unnecessary. Rhetoric, deprived of its proper function, was developing the specific function of ornament in writing, and the cursus, "that bastard of literature and law",¹⁶⁹ originating in Italy whence came most of the clerks of the papal curia,¹⁷⁰ became the most important part of rhetoric.¹⁷¹ Literary style thus came to be regarded as artificial, and in fact soon grew to be artificial, something not essential for the normal purposes of the scholar.

The humanists themselves, moreover, were aware of the snares of pagan poetry. John of Salisbury realised that there was much that was sensual and amoral in classical poetry.¹⁷² While St. Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St. Thierry were not able to move dialectic from its secure throne,¹⁷³ the hostility to secular learning in general succeeded in discrediting the literary element of grammatica. Guibert de Nogent and Stephen of Tournai, both of them remembered as writers of

169. H. Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, p.148.

170. Paetow, The Arts Course at Mediaeval Universities, pp.70-71; cf. Haskins, An Italian Master Bernard, in Essays presented to R.L. Poole.

171. When the study of law became independent of rhetoric, the cursus or art of letter writing became predominant in rhetoric; on the cursus see Denholm-Young, The Cursus in England, in Oxford Essays presented to H.E. Salter.

172. Policrat. vii.9, vol.ii.126-129.

173. See below, chapter 2c, p.70.

good Latin, admitted to an excessive love of the classics.¹⁷⁴
 By the end of the twelfth century classical literature, regarded as literature, and especially classical poetry, were out of favour. In the Hortus deliciarum of Herrad von Landsberg (d.1195), the poetae vel magi are represented as opponents of philosophy and the liberal arts: the poets write the "magic art, or poetry, i.e. fabulous fictions", and are depicted with devils, in the shape of scraggy black birds, whispering into their ears.¹⁷⁵

This puritanical reaction against the study of classical literature, however, was not the principal cause of its decline in the second half of the twelfth century. A more powerful cause was the desire for early graduation.¹⁷⁶ Students were eager to pass on to more advanced studies, and they were therefore inclined to hasten through the trivium and quadrivium as rapidly as possible. They could then proceed to more speculative and profitable studies. Having covered the basic course in liberal arts, albeit superficially, they could revert to dialectic or science, speculative studies in which they could win renown for their ingenuity, or they could proceed to law, medicine or theology, which opened the door to advancement in Church and State. In either case, grammatica was the loser. Grammatica

174. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.179.

175. See Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.559.

176. Metalog. i.24, 25; William of Conches, Dragmaticon, pp.2-3.

brought no glory to the student, and it had no practical applications to the business of government or litigation:

"For it is a great labour, there is no profit in it, and thus time is consumed and the whole of life with it. Without serious labour you can be more wordy than are those whom the old rule of the fathers restrains." 177

The study of classical literature was thus ousted by rivals which could tempt the student with greater advantages and greater glory. With these beckoning to him, the student had no time to waste on grammatica.

c. The development of new studies in the twelfth century.

One of the most notable features of the intellectual movement of the twelfth century is the rapid growth of the range of profane studies. Before the twelfth century all secular learning in the schools of western Europe had been included under the name of the seven liberal arts. There had been a few men who had made an intensive study of law,¹⁷⁸ and the science of medicine had not been completely neglected,¹⁷⁹ but law and medicine were not regarded as part of a general scheme of advanced education. In the twelfth century the number of different secular subjects included in the curricula of the schools was increased, and the subject-matter of the seven

177. Enthet. 11.77-80.

178. Such as Burchard of Worms, the eleventh-century canonist. See Z.N. Brooke, The English Church and the Papacy, p.34.

179. Arnold and Guillaume (ed.), The Legacy of Islam, p.345.

liberal arts was expanded and submitted to a more thorough study. The larger number of fields open to the student is indicated by the story of the poor student who declared his love for ^a lady of high rank: ¹⁸⁰ she told him to go and study arts, and that when he was qualified in them he might return to hear her answer; this he did, and the lady then told him that when he had qualified in medicine he might return to hear her answer. Thus she continued until the student, by now presumably approaching old age, had become expert in arts, medicine, civil law, canon law and theology.

The multiplication of the number of subjects taught in the schools did not detract from the supremacy of the study of divine letters. Into whatever field of inquiry their interests might lead them, all scholars acknowledged that the study of the Bible and the Fathers was the most important and the most valuable. ¹⁸¹ But in this branch of learning also there were developments: the twelfth century saw the beginning of the systematic teaching of theology in the schools. ¹⁸² This was the result of the general intellectual awakening and of the expansion of knowledge in other fields. The relationship, for example, between the developments in theology and the developments in canon law can be clearly shown. ¹⁸³ All knowledge

180. In Lecoy de la Marche, L'Esprit de nos aïeux, pp. 282-287.

181. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiie siècle, p. 188-189.

182. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, i. 34 and 40-41; and see J. de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique au xiie siècle, chapter 5.

183. J. de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique au xiie siècle, chapter 5.

possessed by a Christian must be related to his knowledge of God: innovations and rediscoveries in secular studies involved activity in the study of theology.

All the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium, except music, received in the schools of the twelfth century a fuller treatment than previously. The interest taken in dialectic was out of proportion to that taken in the other liberal arts, and dialectic dominated all learning.¹⁸⁴ The great influence of Abailard as a teacher encouraged the immense increase in the study of dialectic, and Abailard gave direction and an organised system to this study.¹⁸⁵ That dialectic was debased in the sophisticated reasoning of Gualo,¹⁸⁶ purporting to prove what is manifestly untrue, in the barren logic-chopping which John of Salisbury derides,¹⁸⁷ or in the separation of dialectic from humane studies,¹⁸⁸ is not significant of the intellectual spirit of the time. Abailard would have had no more sympathy than John of Salisbury with the Cornificians.¹⁸⁹

184. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, p.151; cf. Enthet. 11.113-114.

185. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, pp.338-339.

186. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, p.279.

187. e.g. Metalog. 11.10, pp.82-83.

188. Enthet. 11.111-112; Paetow, The Arts Course, pp.29-30. The difficulty of translating Aristotle's works into elegant Latin is significant; Rashdall, The Universities of Europe, 1.71.

189. J.G. Sikes, Peter Abailard, pp.54 ff.

From the time of Abailard onwards, the materials for the study of dialectic were augmented. Between the sixth century and the twelfth, almost no one in the west knew more of Aristotle's works than the Categories and the De interpretatione.¹⁹⁰ These, with Boethius' own original works, Porphyry's Isagoges and the sections on dialectic in Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville, comprised the "old logic".¹⁹¹ The "new logic" consisted of the texts brought into general use in the first half of the twelfth century: the Prior and Posterior Analytics, the Topics and the Sophistical elenchi of Aristotle,¹⁹² and Gilbert de la Porrée's Liber sex principiorum. In addition to the "old logic" Abailard knew the Prior Analytics, which was also known to Adam of the Petit-Pont and Gilbert de la Porrée;¹⁹³ Thierry of Chartres used the Topics and the Sophistical Elenchi in his Heptateuchon;¹⁹⁴ and John of Salisbury's mention of the Posterior Analytics marks the complete acquisition of the "new

190. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.527. Gerbert was an exception.
191. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.527; Paetow, The Battle of the Seven Arts, note to line 215.
192. Paetow, The Battle of the Seven Arts, note to line 215. The Liber sex principiorum was designed to supplement the Categories, and could therefore be regarded as part of the "old logic".
193. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.530 and 527.
194. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, p.222.

logic".¹⁹⁵ The demand for Aristotelian texts is illustrated by the fact that at least three attempts were made to provide a Latin translation of Posterior Analytics better than the existing corrupted text, believed to be that by Boethius.¹⁹⁶

The revived study of Aristotle's more advanced logical works influenced the nature of other studies. There was strong opposition to the application of logic to theology, but it was not strong enough. Abailard, quoting St. Augustine as authority, argued that the principles of dialectic come not from the human mind, but from God, and that reason should be used to discover the meaning of^a difficult sentence in the Scriptures or the Fathers.¹⁹⁷ St. Bernard was able to silence Abailard at Sens in 1140;¹⁹⁸ but at Rheims in 1148 St. Bernard was only partly successful in his attempt to correct Gilbert de la Porrée's alleged errors,¹⁹⁹ and John of Salisbury records that much of what was stated to be heresy at the Council of Rheims was soon afterwards taught generally in the schools.²⁰⁰ Peter Lombard's

195. Metalog. iv.6; cf. Poole, Illustrations, p.194.

196. There may have been as many as six different translations known in the twelfth century; see Haskins, Mediaeval Science, p.238.

197. Dialectica (ed. Cousin), p.435; Augustine, De doctrine Christiana, ii.32, P.L.34; Abailard, Sic et non, prol., P.L.178.

198. Poole, Illustrations, pp.142-145.

199. So ably did Gilbert defend himself that he was allowed to correct himself the errors which he found in his book. John of Salisbury regards Gilbert as the victor at Rheims; Hist.Pont. cc.11 and 12.

200. Hist.Pont. c.8.

method was largely derived from Abailard,²⁰¹ and his Liber sententiarum (c.1152), after a short-lived opposition, rapidly took command in all the schools of Christendom.²⁰² In the field of grammar, Peter Helias achieved with his Grammatica what Peter Lombard had achieved in theology.²⁰³ It is worth noticing that the parts of the trivium, which John of Salisbury named eloquentia,²⁰⁴ were grouped together by Hugh of St. Victor as logica.²⁰⁵

The new studies which won for themselves a place in the educational scheme of the schools in the twelfth century were law and medicine. Both canon and civil law, as subjects taught in the schools, developed suddenly and quickly,²⁰⁶ in response to the growing jurisdictional claims of ecclesiastical and lay rulers. The study of civil law seems to have developed out of the arts course: Bologna, the outstanding school of legal studies, originated as a school of the liberal arts, and was still that in the middle of the twelfth century.²⁰⁷ Among the

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201. J. de Ghellinck, Le Mouvement théologique au xie siècle, pp.231,282.
202. ibid., p.244.
203. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xie siècle, p.152.
204. Metalog. i.7.
205. Didascalicon, ii.29-31, P.L. 176; and see below, p.75.
206. Law does not seem to have been taught in the schools until the twelfth century. Despite the reputation of Ivo of Chartres as a lawyer, the school of Chartres was never famed for the study of law.
207. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, i.108 ff.

different subjects of the liberal arts, however, emphasis was placed on rhetoric, especially on the judicial element of rhetoric and on the dictamen,²⁰⁸ the art of writing letters and of drawing up legal documents. The great civilian Irnerius was described by a contemporary as a master of the liberal arts, but from the time of Irnerius (fl.1100-1130) "law ceases to be a branch of rhetoric and therefore an element in a liberal education; it becomes a purely professional study for a special class of professional students."²⁰⁹ The teaching of civil law was introduced into Paris soon after its revival at Bologna²¹⁰ by Irnerius, and the study of canon law was fully established at Paris when Gerald of Wales was there (c.1177).²¹¹ At Salerno,²¹² alone in the west, some traces of Greek medicine survived, and its study was given a new life at the end of the eleventh century with the arrival at Salerno of Constantine the African,²¹³ who worked on the translation of Greco-Arab medical texts. In the schools of Montpellier also medicine predominated, and

208. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, i.109.

209. ibid., i.124.

210. ibid., i. 321.

211. De rebus a se gestis (Rolls Series), p.45.

212. Arnold and Guillaume (ed.), The Legacy of Islam, p.345.

213. Arnold and Guillaume (ed.), The Legacy of Islam, p.345.

it was included among the other courses at Bologna and Paris.²¹⁴ With the introduction of these new subjects to the Christian schools, the old division of studies between theology and the arts, or philosophy, no longer held; at the end of the century Alexander Neckam wrote of Paris: "Here the arts flourish, divine Scripture rules, the laws are established, equity shines forth, and medicine thrives."²¹⁵

The whole range of secular-learning, therefore, was now too large to be enclosed in the arts course. The student who wished to learn law or medicine was obliged to devote his whole time to it, and, eager to begin his chosen course of study, he would hurry through his education in the liberal arts, to the scandal of patient scholars like William of Conches, who believed that seven or eight years must be spent in gaining the necessary knowledge of the trivium and quadrivium.²¹⁶ The liberal arts themselves were becoming too advanced to be treated as the sort of preliminary education which St. Augustine envisaged.²¹⁷ Only the most general introduction to dialectic and the mathematical arts could be included in the arts course, which had in the past aimed to give the student a comprehensive view of secular learning. The quick comprehensive view was no longer possible and students read the subjects in the order

214. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, 1.235 and 321; 11.119.

215. "Hic florent artes, coelestis pagina regnat,
Stant leges, lucet ius; medicina viget."
De laudibus divinae sapientiae (ed. Wright), p.453.

216. Dragmaticon, p.2.

217. De ordine, 11.16.

they wished, often starting to teach before they had read them all, and usually neglecting one subject or another.²¹⁸

With the weakening of the notion of the comprehensive-ness of the liberal arts it is not surprising to find that very few manuals of the liberal arts were written during the period. Thierry of Chartres' Heptateuchon shows how much material, even in the first half of the century, had to be included.²¹⁹ Adelard of Bath wrote an early work in which the seven arts appear in allegorical form,²²⁰ but it is very short and the content of the liberal arts are briefly summed up in less than half the book. It is possible that Hugh of St. Victor wrote or intended to write a series of books covering the seven arts: a De grammatica, a Practica geometria and a De musica may be his; but the ascription to Hugh is not certain and the series is not complete.²²¹ Hugh's Didascalicon is not so much a manual of the arts as a statement of educational theory.²²² It attempts to classify rather than to instruct in the various branches of knowledge.

Because of the addition of new subjects to the range of secular learning, it was natural that attempts should be made at

218. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle,

219. See Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres, pp.222-223. pp.107-108.

220. De eodem et diverso, ed. H. Willner.

221. Hauréau, Les Oeuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor, pp.103-106.

222. cf. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, p.153.

a new classification of knowledge. In his ²²³ Didascalicon, Hugh divides philosophy into four parts: theorica, practica, mechanica and logica. Logica is divided into grammar and ratio disserendi; practica (or ethica) into solitaria, privata and publica; theorica into mathematics (the quadrivium), natural science and theology; mechanica is divided into seven ²²⁴ parts, of which one is called medicine. It is an attempt to contend with the expansion of secular learning, but it is not altogether satisfactory. Medicine occurs both as part of natural science and as one of the seven mechanical arts, law is barely mentioned as part of ethica publica, and there are difficulties over the analysis of ratio disserendi. The three-fold division of theorica is borrowed from Boethius, and the distinction between natural science and mathematics is less ²²⁵ valid than in the sixth century: there is more overlapping. The inclusion of the mechanical arts under the term philosophy is interesting, for it shows how completely Hugh of St. Victor means "all knowledge" by philosophy; philosophy, he says, is the love and pursuit of wisdom, and all knowledge increases ²²⁶ wisdom. Although Boethius included theology under the term philosophy he did not include the mechanical arts, and until the twelfth century philosophy usually meant human reason, or

223. P.L. 176, cols.739-838.

224. The seven mechanical arts thus correspond with the seven liberal arts.

225. Physica is often used to include both natural science and mathematics, as Hugh himself mentions, Didascalicon, ii.17. For Hugh, physica includes physic and physics; cf. Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science, ii.10.

226. Didascalicon, i.3. St. Augustine discusses the use of the mechanical arts, including architecture and medicine, in De doctrina Christiana, ii.30.

secular learning as represented by the liberal arts, in
²²⁷
 contrast to theology.

Slightly later in date than the Didascalicon is the
²²⁸
De divisione philosophiae of Gundissalinus. Working at
 Toledo, with a knowledge of Arab and Jewish philosophy, he
 incorporated material unknown at the time in the rest of western
 Europe. Each section of the book treats of a separate subject
 which is systematically and painstakingly submitted to various
 considerations. There are separate sections on medicine ²²⁹ and
²³⁰
 on vision, astrology is distinguished from astronomy, and
poetica is considered separately from grammar and rhetoric.
 Nevertheless, the fundamental classification is derived from
 Boethius: philosophy divides into theorica and practica, with
 logic as the "science which teaches how to arrive through known
 things at what is unknown"; ²³¹
theorica divides into physica,
mathematica and theologia, and there is no consideration of
mechanica; law is considered as part of practica.

The increased number of subjects studied in the schools,
 the dominance of dialectic, and the growing interest in Arab
 science, narrowed the sphere of grammatica in education. The

227. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle,
 pp.102, 189.

228. ed. L. Baur.

229. As part of physica.

230. As part of mathematica.

231. "Scientia que docet per notum pervenire ad cognitionem
 ignoti", p.18.

humanism of the school of Chartres did not survive until the end of the century, and the decline of Chartres in face of the rivalry of Paris is symbolic of the changing interests of the time. The very meaning of the word grammatica was whittled down until it signified little more than the knowledge of syntax. The need for a pure Latin style, acquired from the study of classical models, was not felt; logic took the place of example in determining the forms of words, and the neglect of the classics was encouraged by the fear of their inherent paganism.²³² The new grammatical text-books, written by Eberhard of Bethune and Alexander of Ville-Dieu, enabled the student to pass quickly to other studies without bothering with niceties, and they soon replaced the old authorities.²³³ By the end of the twelfth century the study of classical authors had fallen from its place in the educational system of the west.²³⁴

When John of Salisbury wrote the Entheticus the process was already under way, and the glory of the school of Chartres

232. Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, pp.143-144; Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire française au moyen âge, pp.474-475.
233. On the changes in the teaching of grammar in the twelfth century, see C. Thurot, in Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, xxii (1874) part 2, pp.60 ff; see especially pp.101-102, on the rapid success of Eberhard's Graecismus and Alexander's Doctrinale; of the Doctrinale at least twenty-nine printed editions were made up to 1500.
234. Grammar, sheared of its literary comprehensiveness, became nothing but a set of technical rules; Paetow, The Arts Course, p.36.

was fading. The Entheticus represents the humanist's resistance to this process, and is a restatement of the value of classical literature for philosophy. Philosophy is the love of wisdom, and since God is the wisdom of mankind, philosophy is the love of God,²³⁵ teaching men not only to speak the right words but also to perform the right actions.²³⁶ Read the opinion of the philosophers, says John, and they will help you to learn how to live rightly. John of Salisbury was concerned with the problems of his day, both moral and educational. The Entheticus must be considered in relation to the academic environment described above.

235. Enthet. 11.305-306.

236. Enthet. 11.321-324.

CHAPTER 3

THE COMPOSITION OF THE ENTHETICUS

- a. The date of the composition of the Entheticus.

The Entheticus affords little internal evidence of the date of its composition, and attempts to assign it to a particular year must rest mainly on conjecture. When it was written, King Stephen was dead and Theobald was archbishop of Canterbury.¹ Thomas Becket was already chancellor; for while Thomas is not mentioned by name in the text of the poem,² the assumption in the marginal heading against line 1291 that "he who cancels the unjust law" (line 1297) refers to Thomas as chancellor seems without doubt to be correct, and lines 1435-1460 fit exactly as a justification for Thomas's behaviour at Court. The abuses of Stephen's reign are still fresh in the author's mind,³ and the reigning king is described as puer.⁴ The use of the word puer to describe Henry II raises no real difficulty: Henry must have been at least twenty-two at the

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1. ll.147, 1293-4. On the identification of Hyrcanus with Stephen, see below, chapter 3e, pp. 107-108.
 2. Although he is in the marginal heading against l.1291; see below, the Note on the Manuscripts, p. 141.
 3. ll.1331-54.
 4. ll.1463-4.

time,⁵ but puer⁶ can be used to describe a young man who is no longer a boy, and it is evident from the context that the word is used to signify Henry's inexperience as the ruler of a turbulent Court rather than his lack of years. Henry II was crowned in December 1154 and Thomas Becket was made⁷ chancellor in January 1155. The Entheticus therefore appears to have been written at some time fairly soon after January 1155.

This conclusion accords with other evidence. The Entheticus was probably written at Canterbury. Lines 1637-1646 may be addressed to the book rather than to the man for whom⁸ it was written; if this is so, Canterbury fostered the book,⁹ awaits its return (not merely its arrival), and is spoken of¹⁰ as its mother. John of Salisbury is more likely to have written the poem at Canterbury than while on his travels or while engaged in business at the papal court. John was at

5. He was born in March 1133; A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.129.
6. Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary: puer is used for a young man "strictly till the seventeenth year, but frequently applied to those who are much older."
7. A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, pp.318,322.
8. 1.1637.
9. 1.1639.
10. 1.1641; cf. also the references to the book's native land, 11.1532,1636. The use of the word illic (1.1645) for Canterbury does not seem to signify anything.

Canterbury in the first half of 1155, in the summer of 1156 and again in the summer of 1157.¹¹ The last date is unlikely for the composition of the Entheticus, partly because of the hint of Henry II's inexperience, and also because the Entheticus is a considerably less mature work than the Metalogicon or the Policraticus. The Policraticus contains a coherent treatment of political philosophy, whereas the Entheticus merely complains of the abuses and injustices of the civil government. The Metalogicon is the reasoned argument of original ideas on education; the Entheticus merely implies a theory of education¹² and rehearses the teaching of ancient philosophers. The Metalogicon and the Policraticus were completed in 1159,¹³ but John must have been working on them for some time before that date.¹⁴ For these reasons it is prudent to date the writing of the Entheticus 1155 or 1156.

The earlier date seems the more probable. John's letter no.82, which is placed by Dr. Poole in 1154 or 1155,¹⁵ mentions Mandrogerus, Corydon and Mercury as the patron of scholars, and each of these references have parallels in the Entheticus.¹⁶

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11. See R.L. Poole, The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury, in Studies in Chronology and History.
 12. See below, chapter 3 b.
 13. See below, chapter 3 c, p.97, n. 79.
 14. See above, chapter 1a, p. #17.
 15. R.L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, p.270.
 16. 11.153-166, 1362-78; 1563-86; 211-220.

The name Mandrogerus is taken from the pseudo-Plautine Querolus, a work which was in John's mind when he was writing the Entheticus,¹⁷ and it is possible that he had recently been reading it when he wrote letter no.82. Dr. Poole gives no reason for the date which he gives to this letter, but the date is accepted by W.J. Millor in his edition of John's letters.¹⁸

Except for letter 82, all John's early correspondence, that is the letters which were preserved at Canterbury either as models of composition or as precedents to govern decisions in similar cases,¹⁹ falls within the period between John's return from Italy in the spring of 1156 and Theobald's death in 1161. Dr. Poole dated letter no.34 before December 19th 1154,²⁰ but it contains a reference not, as Poole thought, to the coronation of Henry II but to the crownwearing of Christmas 1157.²¹ It would simplify the dating of John's early letters if they were all placed between 1156 and 1161, and it can be supposed that on his return to Canterbury in 1156 John was allotted the specific task of helping to deal with the archbishop's correspondence. But letter 82, unlike letter 34, is a personal letter from John to his friend Peter of Celle, and

17. 1.1683.

18. London Ph.D. thesis, 1939. Letter 82 is no.60 in this edition.

19. R.L. Poole, Studies in Chronology and History, p.259.

20. ibid., p.271.

21. H.G. Richardson, The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury, in E.H.R. liv (1939), p.471.

there is no good reason for trying to impose on it a date
 after 1155.²² If, however, it is justifiable to assume that
 John undertook the task of writing the archbishop's letters
 in 1156, he would have had less opportunity for writing the
Entheticus in 1156 than in 1155.

One final consideration makes 1155 the most probable date
 for the Entheticus. The justification for Thomas's behaviour
 at court (lines 1435-1460) is likely to have been written
 when his friends at Canterbury were suffering from the initial
 shock of his sudden change of heart. In the Entheticus
 Thomas is still represented as an adherent of the church
 party, attempting to reform the court from within; he had
 been one of the most outstanding members of the archbishop's
 household,²³ and had been chosen by Theobald as successor to
 the archbishopric.²⁴ John's justification of Thomas's
 behaviour would have been less plausible when Thomas had
 been chancellor for a year or more.²⁵

The most probable date for the Entheticus, therefore,

22. If Dr. Poole's suggested date is taken on trust.
23. A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.196.
24. Enthet. 1.1295.
25. Thomas did not reward "the confidence of the bishops who
 furthered his promotion in the hope that he would
 faithfully serve the interests of the church."
 A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.200.

is 1155, although the arguments for choosing it are by no means conclusive. Moreover, it may be that a large part of the poem was written before 1155. The part concerning the teaching of the philosophers is distinct from the rest, and may have formed an earlier, shorter poem, starting between lines 167 and 451, and ending at about line 1282, which John enlarged into the Entheticus as we now have it. Lines 1281-82 can be seen as forming the end of a poem; lines 1269-82 would serve as a good peroration to a poem about the pagan philosophers. It is perhaps significant that none of the internal evidence for the date of the poem comes between lines 167 and 1282. But it is mainly the varied content of the poem that induces the suspicion that it was written in two parts. The varied content of the poem leads to the question of what purpose John had in mind when he wrote it.

b. The theme and purpose of the Entheticus.

It is necessary to discover not only the fundamental theme of the Entheticus but also, if possible, the reader for whom it was intended by the author. If there is in a book a purpose

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26. That the book had to travel far (lines 1626, 1629-30) suggests that the king and chancellor are assumed to be on the continent; cf. Liebeschütz, Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, p.22. The king left England for the continent early in 1156 and returned in 1157; he went abroad again in 1158, but this, though Liebeschütz gives it as the date of the Entheticus, is too late. The long journey, however, may have been to the north of England, where Henry was in 1155; the references to "native soil" in the poem (lines 1532 and 1636) raise no difficulty, for to John the north of England would have seemed as foreign as France.

beyond the desire for self-expression, beyond the personal need to transfer ideas from the mind to paper, a knowledge of that purpose will widen the reader's understanding of the book. It is enlightening to know that William of Conches's Moralium dogma philosophorum was written for the young Henry Plantagenet;²⁷ several problems would be simpler if it was known for what purpose Abailard wrote his Historia Calamitatum. The Entheticus, in part at least, is didactic, and an attempt must be made to discover for whom John of Salisbury intended it.

Before this can be done, it is necessary to discover the fundamental theme of the Entheticus. At first sight the poem appears to be a heterogeneous collection of different themes, as an analysis of the contents shows:

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|-------|-------|-------|---|
| lines | 1- | 24. | Introduction. |
| | 25- | 34. | Statement of the correct use of logic. |
| | 35- | 164. | An attack on the lack of education in the schools and at court. |
| | 165- | 450. | The elements and purposes of true education. |
| | 451- | 1164. | The teaching of the Greek philosophers. |
| | 1165- | 1268. | The teaching of the Roman philosophers. |
| | 1269- | 1290. | The supremacy of the Christian faith over the precepts of the pagan philosophers. |
| | 1291- | 1296. | Of Theobald and Thomas. |

27. ed. J. Holmberg, p.7.

- lines 1297-1434. An attack on the government of the Norman kings: the depravity of the court and the tyranny of royal officials.
- 1435-1520. The correction of abuses, including a justification of Thomas's behaviour at court.
- 1521-1530. The snares of the civil law.
- 1531-1634. Lodging-houses, landlords, and how to behave while travelling.
- 1635-1752. The return to Canterbury, and the men who are to be met there.
- 1753-1774. The philosopher's friends.
- 1775-1808. The battle against sin.
- 1809-1834. That grace is always essential.
- 1835-1852. Conclusion.

Even so, there is a single central theme running through the poem. This theme is that the study of philosophy has an ethical value: philosophy leads towards virtue,²⁸ and without virtue no man can be a true philosopher.²⁹ Philosophy means "love of wisdom", and since God is man's wisdom,³⁰ philosophy is the love of God. The love of God is fulfilled not only in words, but in actions also: in John of Salisbury's eyes the great error of Aristotle was that his life did not conform³¹ with his noble words.

28. ll.419-424.

29. ll.321-322.

30. ll.305-306.

31. ll.933-936.

Into this central theme are woven several minor themes. The most obvious of these is the restatement of the value for Christians of classical philosophy,³² and John provides a critical review of the teaching of the Latin and Greek philosophers.³³ It is worth noticing that John does not attempt to fit the theories which he reproduces into the framework of the seven liberal arts. He treats the discussion of problems by pagan philosophers and the conclusions which they have reached as being worthy on their own account of consideration by Christian scholars. The ancients do not merely provide the techniques and physical facts which are useful for divine studies; the thought and the approach to education of the ancients has a direct relevance for the Christian. This is a development from the traditional relationship of divine and secular studies. For John of Salisbury, as for the Victorines in whose school John seems to have spent some time as a student,³⁴ there is no clear-cut distinction between divine and secular knowledge.³⁵ For example, he examines the problem of fear in the Stoics in the light of Christian teaching.³⁶ Even so, John maintains the

32. e.g. 11.859, 1109-1110.

33. 11.451-1268.

34. See above, chapter 1a, p. 9.

35. To Hugh of St. Victor, the seven liberal arts were an inseparable part of wisdom; cf. Gilson, La Philosophie au moyen âge, p. 304.

36. 11.469-496.

supremacy of the divine to the secular: Moses was wiser than³⁷ the pagan philosophers,³⁸ Christians alone are true philosophers,³⁹ and holy Scripture holds sway over all arts and disciplines.

The reason for the emphasis on the teaching of the pagan philosophers is threefold. First, John is following the⁴⁰ direction of his own interest in the classics. Secondly, translation and the revival of classical studies had made⁴¹ available a more detailed knowledge of pagan philosophy. Thirdly, John was conscious of the injury being done to secular studies by half-educated men who pretended to be philosophers. The false logicians who are attacked in the⁴² Entheticus cannot be bothered to read the auctores or to⁴³ learn to write correct Latin. Eager for praise alone, they⁴⁴ set themselves up as authorities, and provided that they talk⁴⁵ loudly and long enough, they are acclaimed by the crowd. It is not clear whether these men belong to the same group as⁴⁶ the Cornificians described in the Metalogicon. The Cornificians are ridiculed mainly for splitting hairs, for their ignorance,⁴⁷ for arguing eternally and profitlessly over meaningless problems.

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| 37. 11.1197-98. | 38. 11.1271-72. |
| 39. 11. 441-450, 11.1373-74. | 40. See above, chapter 1c. |
| 41. See above, chapter 2b. | 42. 11.47-48. |
| 43. 11.65-70. | 44. 11.49-50. |
| 45. 1.88. | 46. <u>Metalog.</u> i.1-5 and iv.25. |
| 47. Cornificius is also representative of those who by the misuse of logic seek an easy road to success and financial fortune; cf. Liebeschütz, <u>Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writing of John of Salisbury</u> , pp.90f. | |

The false logicians in the Entheticus are criticised mainly for their pretence to greater wisdom than they possess. While there is this small difference in the two attacks on the false logicians, the enemies described in the Entheticus have⁴⁸ many points in common with those described in the Metalogicon. It has been said that the real problem with regard to the Cornificians is not the identity of Cornificius, but whether the Cornificians were primarily the enemies of culture or⁴⁹ merely depraved dialecticians. If they are the same group as the false logicians of the Entheticus, the answer is that they had become depraved because they had thrown off the⁵⁰ yoke of authority, regarding books as a burden.

As in the Policraticus, John of Salisbury implies in the Entheticus a connection between misgovernment and a lack of education. Hyrcanus, whose evil ways gave rise to the

48. Compare lines 43-120 of the Enthet. with such descriptions of Cornificius and his followers as, "non facundus sed uerbosus," (Metalog. 1.3, p.9), "patienter audire quempiam dedignetur," (ibid.p.9), "Poete historiographi habebantur infames et si quis incumbere laboribus antiquorum, notabatur," etc. (ibid.p.11), "Fiebant ergo summi repente philosophi....noui doctores," (ibid. p.11), "insultans his qui artium uenerantur auctores, eo quod nichil utilitatis in his repperit, cum se eis dare operam simularet," (ibid. p.12). Like the false logicians of the Enthet., the Cornificians are also attacked for their ignorance (Metalog. 1.4,p.15), for their vices (Metalog. 1.2), and for their presumption (Metalog. 1.3, p.11).
49. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.191, n.3. Dr. Liebeschütz believes that Cornificius is more probably a personification than a pseudonym; Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, p.118.
50. 11.44-48.

51

depravity of the court, allowed inflated speech to flourish
 in his time. ⁵² Mandrogerus, under whom no evil cause can
 perish, ⁵³ is seen to thrive on this inflated speech. ⁵⁴ In the
 same way, the monks of Canterbury who are attacked in the
Entheticus for their avarice seem to be identified with those
 who do not value the writings of wise men. ⁵⁵ Thus there is a
 relationship between the part of the poem which rehearses the
 teachings of the philosophers and the part which describes
 the evil ways of courtiers, officials and monks at Canterbury:
 the remedy for political and private faults is a sound
 education.

Keeping in mind the contents and theme of the poem it
 is possible to reach a satisfactory answer to the question of
 for whom the poem was intended. Difficulties arise from the
 use of the second person in the poem. If in any given
 instance it was known that the author was addressing the reader
 in the second person it would be possible to assume something
 about that reader from the context. Sometimes, without doubt,
 the second person refers to the poem or book itself: thus in
 line 1, "You will discuss the teachings of the ancients and
 the fruit of their work," and in line 10, "Reply briefly,
 little book." But there are three possibilities in the use of
 the second person: it may refer throughout to the book, it

51. 11.1331-34.

52. 11.147-152.

53. 1.154.

54. 1.153.

55. 11.1647-66.

may refer sometimes to the book and sometimes to the reader, or it may in certain cases be used ambiguously. The instructions concerning the journey⁵⁶ and the return to Canterbury,⁵⁷ and the references to "your patron"⁵⁸ may refer to the book, or the reader, or both; line 1643, "You will enter the cloister, but if you can without a cowl," seems more likely to refer to the reader than to the book. But nothing about the reader for whom it was intended can be safely inferred from the use of the second person in the poem, and any assumptions must be based largely on the nature of the poem.

It has been assumed that the Entheticus was dedicated to Thomas Becket, partly because of the words at the end of each manuscript of the poem, editus ad Thomam cancellarium⁵⁹ postea Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, and partly because of the references to Thomas in the poem. Several arguments, however, show that the poem was not intended specifically for Thomas's reading. Thomas had received a sound education,⁶⁰ and to have written for his enlightenment a brief introduction to the teachings of the philosophers would have been

56. 11.1626, 1629-36. 57. 1.1639.
58. 11.1459, 1515. 59. See below, Note on the Manuscripts.
60. FitzStephen, Materials, vol.iii, pp.4,14; cf. p.15, "postmodum enim litteratissimus fuit." But Enthet. in Policraticum p.2, ll.17-20 must be an exaggeration; at the Council of Tours (1163) Thomas dared not preach because of his lack of skill in the Latin tongue, FitzStephen, Materials, iii. 38.

presumptuous and pointless. Thomas needed no warning against the false logicians of the schools in and around Paris. The passage in which John discussed lodging-houses and their keepers⁶¹ can be regarded as a diversion, in which the author is addressing the book, from the main theme of the poem, but John appears to be consciously giving good advice in this passage, and such advice would be irrelevant for Thomas. Again, it is hard to believe that the justification for Thomas's behaviour at court⁶² was meant for Thomas's reading, as though it were written with the purpose of telling Thomas what line he should take with those who criticised his worldly habits.

The Entheticus, then, was not written specifically for Thomas. It may nevertheless have been dedicated to him, and a copy sent to him at court, but there are two strong objections to this. First, it would have been dangerous for John to have sent to the court, even to his friend, so severe a criticism of king and courtiers.⁶³ Although names taken from Roman comedies and satires disguise the identity of the men attacked by John, nothing can disguise his hostility to the government and its officials. Secondly, if the Entheticus was in fact dedicated to Thomas, it is strange that it is not numbered among St. Thomas's books in the Canterbury

61. 11.1531-1632.

62. 11.1435-1462.

63. The criticism in the Policraticus is far less violent and direct.

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catalogue compiled by Henry of Eastry. If these objections are valid, reasons can be found for the belief, held by the scribe of the earliest surviving manuscript of the poem, that the Entheticus was dedicated to Thomas: confusion between the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum and the Entheticus in Policraticum, the knowledge that John's two other philosophical works were dedicated to Thomas, references to Thomas in the poem, and a probably unconscious wish to increase the importance of the poem by connecting it with so celebrated a name could all have induced this belief.

Whether or not the poem was dedicated to Thomas, it will be useful to consider for whose reading it was intended. John is given the title of magister in several Canterbury charters,⁶⁵ and his outstanding scholastic qualifications make it probable that he was to some extent concerned with the instruction of the young men in the archbishop's household. The word Entheticus means 'introduction'; the poem may be a guide written for a young student who, having finished his rudimentary education at Canterbury is about to travel elsewhere to pursue more advanced studies. He is warned against the false logicians of the Petit Pont, is instructed in the elements and purpose of education, and is given an outline of classical philosophy. On his journey he will pass through the royal

64. M.R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, pp.82-85.

65. See above, chapter 1a, p. 16, n. 76.

court, and the author therefore advises him how to behave there. At Canterbury the student would have heard much of Thomas Becket; the author prepares the student for Thomas's changed way of life, and explains the reason for it. The court is a dangerous place for a man of honest mind, and the civil laws are like spiders' webs; it seems as though John is trying to dissuade his reader from following a career in the king's service or as a civil-lawyer. Finally, when he has completed his studies, he will return to Canterbury; there he will find men who share his intellectual interests, although there are many who care for little else than the acquisition of riches. Considered in this way, the Entheticus resembles a letter of advice from a schoolmaster to one of his pupils about to enter a university: it aims to give a good start to his academic career, and to advise him on the choice of his friends, his conduct and his ultimate career. At the same time it expresses throughout the idea that education is a sure means of strengthening a man's character.

It may be said that this interpretation of the Entheticus is purely conjectural. Certainly there is no evidence to establish its accuracy, but it fits with the facts. It is not invalidated if the second person when used in the poem always

66. The patron referred to in lines 1459 and 1515 appears to be Thomas.

67. 11.1509-10.

68. 11.1523-26.

69. 11.1645-46.

70. 1.1650.

refers to the book; and if such a line as, "For a long time now I have often given you many words of advice, now accept these few,"⁷¹ refers not to the book but, as seems more likely, to the reader, this interpretation is, to say the least, plausible. Though it would perhaps be unwise to build any theories upon it, it puts the poem in perspective and helps our understanding of it.

c. The relationship of the Entheticus to the Policraticus and Metalogicon.

There is a close relationship between the Entheticus and John of Salisbury's two major works. Lines 1-450 of the Entheticus, which express some of John's views on education generally and satirise the pseudo learning of the time, correspond approximately to the subject-matter of the Metalogicon; lines 451-1530, outlining the teaching of the pagan philosophers and describing the manners of the court and the injustices of the secular government, correspond approximately to the subject-matter of books VII and VIII of the Policraticus. There are, moreover, many analogies between the Entheticus and the poem of the same name which serves as an introduction to the Policraticus. First, there are in the Entheticus in Policraticum many echoes of the words and ideas from the longer Entheticus.⁷² Secondly, both poems imitate Ovid's

71. 1.1835; cf. 11.469, 950.

72. See footnotes to lines 182, 1283-84, 1297, 1419, 1502, 1637-38, 1640.

Tristia in that they use the same metre and are addressed to the book. Thirdly, they both have the same exotic title. It seems that it is particularly this last analogy that has led scholars to assume that the longer Entheticus was originally intended as an introduction to the Policraticus, and was later replaced by the shorter Entheticus.⁷³

The most recent writer on John of Salisbury's works, Dr. Hans Liebeschütz, has developed this assumption a stage further:

"There is evidently a very close connection between the Entheticus and the work De nugis curialium.⁷⁴ But was this larger Entheticus really a preface to the Policraticus as we know it? Webb assumes that after the Policraticus had been completed the small Entheticus was substituted as a prologue for the longer one. This is evidently correct. But what were the characteristics of the first draft of the Policraticus when the Entheticus de dogmate Philosophorum was written as an introduction? The first part of the larger Entheticus is closely connected with the subject dealt with in the Metalogicon, where John discusses grammar and logic. The second part has certain, though rather loose, relation to Books VII and VIII of the Policraticus because the discussion in these books starts with observations on the doctrines of ancient philosophers and their quarrels. I should like to assume, therefore, that the longer Entheticus represented the programme of John's literary work at a time when the two books Metalogicon and Policraticus were intended by the author as one. His purpose was to combine in one great work an introduction to the Trivium, an ancient doxography, and a commentary on the follies of his time."⁷⁵

This is an ingenious theory, but it seems to stretch

73. See R.L. Poole, Illustrations, p.191, and C.C.J. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.100.

74. i.e. the Policraticus.

75. H. Liebeschütz, Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, p.21.

the evidence a little too far. There are several reasons for rejecting the assumption that the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum was originally written as an introduction to the Policraticus. It is partly on this assumption that Dr. Liebeschütz gives 1158 as the probable date of the Entheticus, and in support of this date he argues that while the Entheticus appears to have been destined for a long journey the king and chancellor were in France in 1158.⁷⁶ The royal court, however,⁷⁷ was a long journey away from Canterbury in 1155 and 1156 also. It is only if the Entheticus was written in about 1157 or 1158 that it is likely to have been written as an introduction to the Policraticus; as has been shown, the Entheticus was more probably written in 1155 or 1156.⁷⁸ The Policraticus and Metalogicon were completed in 1159.⁷⁹

Again, the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum is surely too long to have been intended as an introduction to the Policraticus. The Entheticus in Policraticum is 306 lines, as against the 1852 lines of the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum.

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76. H. Liebeschütz, Mediaeval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, p.22.
77. King Henry was in the north and west of England in 1155, and went to France early in 1155; see Kate Norgate in D.N.B.(1908) vol.9, pp.453-4. That Thomas was with him in 1155 is suggested by the mention of Thomas's work in the restoration of order in England in FitzStephen, Materials iii.18-19.
78. See above, chapter 3a.
79. Both were finished while John still thought that the siege of Toulouse was in progress (Policrat.viii.25, vol.ii.424; Metalog. iv.42, p.216). In the Policraticus (viii.23) pope Adrian is mentioned as still alive; in the Metalogicon (iv.42) he is mentioned as recently dead. Adrian died on September 1st, 1159.

The first book of the Policraticus is no longer than the Entheticus; nor is book iv. Even the Entheticus in Policraticum is, by the standards of the twelfth century, a long prologue.

It is difficult to see the reason for the sub-title de dogmate philosophorum if the poem was intended as an introduction. The whole title means simply "Introduction to the teaching of the philosophers." While this is an inadequate title for the poem as it stands, it does suggest that the Entheticus was meant to have a separate existence as an individual work. That the author used the same title for two poems does not show that he intended both to serve the same purpose. John of Salisbury's liking for Greek-sounding titles is apparent,⁸¹ and it was natural for him to use the same title twice: he was using a Greek equivalent for the Latin word introductio, in the longer poem in the sense of 'outline'⁸² and in the shorter in the sense of 'prologue'.

The fact that many words and images in the Entheticus in Policraticum echo those of the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum does not necessarily indicate that the shorter poem is a revision or condensation of the longer. It is equally likely that when writing the Entheticus in Policraticum the

80. Each is something over 10,000 words.

81. Entheticus, Policraticus and Metalogicon are all Greek titles; cf. Thierry of Chartres's Heptateuchon and William of Conches's Dragmaticon.

82. cf. Abailard's title Introductio ad theologiam.

author drew words and ideas from the earlier poem, written three or four years previously. It would have been natural for him to do this since the Policraticus contained many ideas in common with the longer Entheticus.

If, therefore, the Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum was not written as an introduction to the Policraticus, the development of the author's literary aims between the writing of the Entheticus and the completion of the Policraticus and Metalogicon must be traced. It has been argued that the Entheticus was written as a sort of educational and moral guide-book for a young student from Canterbury. Having completed this poem, John could have seen, or perhaps a friend could have indicated, that it contained the seeds of a more important and comprehensive work. If this was so, the Metalogicon and Policraticus, which both derive many ideas from the Entheticus, were originally conceived, as Dr. Liebeschütz has assumed, as one work. The development of John of Salisbury's literary aims, then, is represented in three stages: ⁸³ (1) the Entheticus, possibly written in two parts, (2) the projected expansion of the theme into a longer work, presumably planned as prose, comprising the subject-matter of the Policraticus and Metalogicon, and (3) the division of the planned work into two separate books. ⁸⁴

83. Above, chapter 3b.

84. See above, chapter 3a, p. 84.

- d. The author's sources for the teaching of the philosophers.

No pretence is made in this section of giving any kind of complete list of the sources which John of Salisbury used for the Entheticus, of adding, as it were, an exhaustive bibliography to the poem. The intention is merely to indicate where possible the books from which John derived his knowledge of the teaching of the classical philosophers. For this purpose it is important to know what books were available to him,⁸⁵ and in this respect John of Salisbury is a difficult subject: although he did not know enough Greek to read Greek authors in their original tongue, he knew more of the classical Latin authors than any other man of his time.⁸⁶ It is possible that he had read several books which were unknown to his contemporaries; certainly he was the only person known to have been acquainted with The Supper of Trimalchio of Petronius during the middle ages.⁸⁷ Again, he appears to have read books which are now no longer extant. For example, he quotes a now unknown author named Caecilius Balbus,⁸⁸ and he used a copy of the Saturnalia of Macrobius much more complete than any that is known today.⁸⁹

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85. The prolegomena of Webb's editions of the Policraticus and Metalogicon are very useful on this point.
86. Poole, Illustrations, p.191: "Beyond dispute the best-read man of his time."
87. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.63.
88. Webb, Policrat., vol.i, p.xlvi and p.222 n.
89. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.64.

In the Entheticus John of Salisbury draws attention to the authority of two writers, Furvus and Martianus Capella.

Martianus, says John, is useful for beginners; his De nuptiis was one of the most commonly used text-books on the liberal arts. The De nuptiis, however, would have been of little use

as a source for the teaching of the philosophers. Of Furvus nothing is known apart from what John tells us in the

Entheticus: his work discusses natural laws and ethics, is particularly rich in 'histories', and is a suitable work for mature readers; but because of its lofty style it is seldom

read, and John names people who have read it and places where it is known. The conjecture that this Furvus is the same man

as the Flavianus named in the Policraticus has been generally accepted. A Virius Nicomachus Flavianus of the fourth

century was described as historicus dissertissimus, wrote a book called De consensu nominum et verborum, and compiled another called De dogmatibus philosophorum. This is the

90. Enthet. 1.210.

91. See above, chapter 2a.

92. 11.199-200.

93. 1.200.

94. 1.209.

95. 11.201-202.

96. 11.203-208.

97. Petersen, Enthet. p.138; Schaarschmidt, Joannes Saresberiensis, p.105; Manitius, Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, iii.256; Webb, Policrat. vol.i, p.xlvi. An alternative suggestion, made to me by Mlle. d'Alverny of the Bibliothèque Nationale, is that the name Furvus signifies Flooard of Rheims.

98. Wissowa (ed.), Paulys Real-Encyclopædia der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Ephoros-Fornaces, col.2506 ff. In the catalogue of the library at Bobbio is an entry Librum i Flaviani de consensu nominum et verborum (Becker's Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui, 32.425); this may have a connexion with Enthet. 1.203, where it is said that Furvus is held dear in the pago Ligurino.

Flavianus who is mentioned several times in Macrobius' ⁹⁹
Saturnalia, with whom the Flavianus named in the Policraticus ¹⁰⁰
as the author of De uestigiis siue de dogmate philosophorum ¹⁰¹
is identified. The writer named Furvus in the Entheticus, where
the importance of his work is emphasised, cannot have escaped
mention in the Policraticus, and of the writers named in the
Policraticus Flavianus is the most likely to be the same man as ¹⁰²
Furvus. William of Conches is said to have read Furvus; in ¹⁰³
his printed works there is mention of neither Furvus nor
Flavianus.

There seems to be no satisfactory reason why Flavianus
should be called Furvus in the Entheticus; but for the rest,
the evidence suggests that it is plausible to identify one with
the other. If Furvus is in fact Flavianus, the author of
De vestigiis philosophorum, it can be assumed from lines ¹⁰⁴
197-210 of the Entheticus that John of Salisbury used this

99. Paulys Real-Encyclopaedia, Ephoros-Fornaces, col.2506 ff.
100. Policrat. viii.11, vol.ii.294 and n.
101. Webb, Policrat. vol.ii.294 n.; Schaarschmidt, Joannes Saresberiensis, pp.103-106; and see P. Lehmann, Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters, pp.25 ff.
102. Enthet. 1.205.
103. i.e. Philosophia mundi, Dragmaticon, Moraliu dogma philosophorum, and extracts from his commentaries on the Timaeus and De consolatione Philosophiae in Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres.
104. The mention of Martianus comes naturally in the course of the account of the union of Mercury and Philology; the mention of Furvus is more significant.

work of Flavianus extensively in writing the poem. The name
¹⁰⁵
De vestigiis sive de dogmate philosophorum indicates the nature
¹⁰⁶
of the work, and the references to it in the Policraticus
suggest that it fulfilled the promise of its title. It could,
then, have been the most important of John's sources for the
teaching of the philosophers. In this connexion it should be
noticed that the title of Flavianus' work provides part of
the full title for both the Policraticus and the Entheticus.

John of Salisbury's knowledge of the Greek philosophers
was derived mainly from the writing of Latin authors, both
pagan and Christian. Aristotle's logical works he knew in
translation, and he appears thoroughly familiar with the fourth-
century translation by Chalcidius of the first half of Plato's
Timaeus, along with Chalcidius' commentary.
¹⁰⁷ It is likely also
that he was familiar with the commentary on the Timaeus by his
master William of Conches, or at least with the ideas expressed
in it. Both these commentaries throw light on the opinions
expressed by Plato in other works, and on the teaching of other
Greek philosophers. A valuable miscellany of classical thought,
used extensively by John of Salisbury in the Policraticus, was
¹⁰⁸
the Facta et dicta memorabilia by Valerius Maximus. A certain

105. This is the form of the title given in Policrat. ii.26,
vol.i.141.

106. Policrat. ii.26, vol.i.141; viii.11, vol.ii.294 and 304;
viii.12, vol.ii.309 and 314.

107. Webb, Policrat. vol.i.pp.xxiii-xxvii, xxxv.

108. Webb, Policrat. vol.i.p.xxxi.

amount of Greek philosophical thought was to be learnt from Cicero's work: John appears to have used for this purpose the De officiis, De finibus, De natura deorum and Tusculanae Disputationes,¹⁰⁹ and possibly the De divinatione.¹¹⁰ The commentary by Macrobius on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis was much admired in the middle ages.¹¹¹

Among the works by Christian authors used by John of Salisbury for the teaching of the Greek philosophers, St. Augustine's De civitate Dei, Confessiones and Contra Academicos, and Boethius' De consolazione Philosophiae hold an important place. In John of Salisbury's library was a Lactencium,¹¹² and while there is no indication that John used Lactantius in writing the Policraticus,¹¹³ the Divinae Institutiones, especially the third book,¹¹⁴ would have been extremely useful to John when he wrote the Entheticus, if indeed he had read the work by that date. The entry Lactencium among John's books, however, may represent not the full Divinae Institutiones but merely the Epitome¹¹⁵ or some other work.

109. Webb, Policrat. vol.i. p.xxix.

110. ibid.; and see Enthet., note to 11.1221-2.

111. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, i.240.

112. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.166.

113. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.166.

114. De falsa sapientia philosophorum. Wright and Sinclair, A History of Later Latin Literature, p.304, note the connexion between the views of Lactantius and John of Salisbury.

115. A short summary of the Divinae Institutiones.

In the Entheticus John of Salisbury does not give much attention to the Latin philosophers, apart from Cicero¹¹⁶ of whose philosophical writings John knew a large part. His opinion of Varro¹¹⁷ seems to be based on his reading of Macrobius and St. Augustine. His comments on Seneca¹¹⁸ are derived from Quintilian's Institutio Oratoriae, which had made a marked impression on John's mind.¹¹⁹

Since the work by Furvus or Flavianus, which appears to have been one of John's chief sources for the Entheticus, is no longer extant, it has not been possible in each instance to discover for certain the authority for John's ascription of philosophical tenets to the various philosophers whom he mentions. An attempt has been made in the foot-notes to the text of the poem to cite John's probable authorities for individual statements. It should be remembered that he may have acquired some of his knowledge of classical philosophy by word of mouth, either from verbal traditions passed on by the masters whose lectures¹²⁰ he attended, or from conversation in Italy with learned friends who could read the works of Greek philosophers in the original.

116. Enthet. 11.1215-1246.

117. Enthet. 11.1177-1184.

118. Enthet. 11.1257-1268.

119. See Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, pp.169-170; Colson, Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae lib.i, p.1, lxiii, xcvi, 168.

120. See Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages, p.65, on the importance of the verbal tradition of medieval learning.

e. Fictitious names in the Entheticus.

The Entheticus contains a large number of fictitious names, which are used to mask the author's criticism of his contemporaries. The only men among his contemporaries who are mentioned by name in the Entheticus are those to whom the author's attitude is favourable: Abailard (line 57), Alberic (line 56), William Brito (lines 1667, 1668 and 1682), Odo (lines 1675, 1679 and 1682), Theobald (line 1293) and William of Conches (l.205). Certain others are referred to obliquely but openly: Thomas Becket, who is named in the marginal heading against line 1291, Adam of the Petit Pont, who seems to be meant by Pontilianus in line 206, and primas Aurelianus in line 208. In none of these instances is there any adverse criticism. For the rest, the author disguises the identity of the contemporaries whom he describes with fictitious names. It is interesting to see, first, from where these fictitious names are drawn, and, secondly, whether anything can be discovered about the identity of the men to whom they are applied.

Most of the fictitious^{ti} names are borrowed from classical Latin literature. Although there is no certainty that John of Salisbury found the names in the most obvious sources, it is possible to make conjectures with a reasonable chance of accuracy. The authors most frequently raided for names are Juvenal (ten times) and Terence (8); the Entheticus also borrows names

from Virgil (4), Martial (4), Petronius (4), Horace (2), Lucan (2), Suetonius, Tacitus, Ovid and Valerius Maximus. Josephus provides two names, and the Querolus, which John believed to be a comedy by Plautus although in fact it was written anonymously in the fourth century, provides three. John of Salisbury is known to have used or to have had access to each of these sources. The probable source of each individual name is given in the Index of Proper Names in the Entheticus. In few instances is there much significance in the choice of a particular name.

The task of identifying the characters to whom John gives fictitious names is not rewarding. In most cases John is using a fictitious name to describe not a particular person but a type, and it would be a waste of time to try to discover behind the mask of a fictitious name the identity of a historical character when in fact none existed. Only one such character can be identified with any certainty, and in a few other instances where a historical character seems to be suggested by the words of the Entheticus there is no sound evidence to clinch the identification.

The one fictitious name which can be confidently assigned to a historical figure is Hyrcanus. He was apparently a king,

121. M. Schantz, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, t.4. § 791.

122. Webb, Polycrat., vol.i, pp.xxi-xlvii; for Tacitus, see p.xxxiii; for Josephus, see vol.i. 27 n.

123. See below.

and king of England. ¹²⁴ The abuses of his reign, which is over, are still fresh in the author's mind, and his evil influence ¹²⁵ on the country is still felt. Hyrcanus is obviously not Henry I, whom John describes in the Metalogicon as "the lion of justice", ¹²⁶ and cannot be an earlier king. Therefore Hyrcanus must be Stephen. In the Antiquitates Judaicae by Josephus (xiii.10), Hyrcanus is described as the puppet high-priest and Ethnarch of Judaea, under Antipater, Procurator of Judaea. The name Antipater is also used in the Entheticus to describe an ¹²⁷ over-mighty royal official. John of Salisbury's opinion of the evil done by king Stephen, expressed in the Policraticus and ¹²⁸ Historia Pontificalis, is parallel with his criticism of Hyrcanus in the Entheticus. For these reasons it seems certain that Hyrcanus represents king Stephen.

Mandrogerus and Antipater are described in the Entheticus ¹²⁹ at some length, and they appear to be two of the most powerful of the royal officials. It may well be that they represent Henry II's two chief justiciars, Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester, and Richard de Lucy. In his edition of the Entheticus, C. Petersen identified Mandrogerus as Robert de Beaumont and

124. Enthet. 11.148, 1310, 1333.

125. 11.1331-1340.

126. Metalog. ii.10, p.78; cf. Policrat. vi.18, vol.ii.49.

127. Enthet. 11.1379-1394.

128. Policrat. vi.18, vol.ii. 50-51 (note the reference to Josephus); Hist.Pont. pp.7, 41 ff.

129. 11.153-156, 1363-1377; 1378-1394.

Antipater as Richard de Lucy, without giving any precise
 130 reasons. For this identification it can be said that Antipater
 especially is shown in the Entheticus as an enemy of the
 131 Church, and that Richard de Lucy's hostility to the juris-
 dictional claims of the Church was such that Becket believed
 him to have played a large part in the formulation of the
 132 Constitutions of Clarendon. Against it there is the fact
 that while Mandrogerus seems to be connected in the Entheticus
 133 with Stephen's misrule, Richard de Lucy was powerful under
 134 Stephen whereas Robert de Beaumont wavered between support of
 Stephen and support of the Angevins until 1153. 135 There is
 nothing in contemporary chronicles to connect with the boast
 136 of Mandrogerus that he was the father of the kingdom's laws,
 or with the anti-clerical attitude of Antipater, 137 which seems
 to be a reason for the choice of that particular name. Both
 Mandrogerus and Antipater are robbers of the Church; Richard
 de Lucy died in an abbey which he had founded, having assumed
 138 the habit of a regular canon, and Robert de Beaumont, while

130. pp.113-115.

131. 11.1379-1392.

132. Materials, v.395.

133. 11.147-156.

134. W. Hunt in D.N.B. (1908), vol.12, p.246.

135. J.H. Round in D.N.B. (1908), vol.2, p.66.

136. Enthet. 1.1364.

137. Enthet. 1.1383.

138. Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Henrici regis secundi,
 (Rolls Series) i.238.

upholding the claims of the Crown against the Church, was a devoted churchman, the founder of several religious houses,¹³⁹ and a liberal benefactor. The two chief justiciars are nevertheless the most probable models for Mandrogerus and Antipater; criticism of their conduct can be taken as showing, early in the reign of Henry II, the alignment of the two opposing parties which came into open conflict over the Constitutions of Clarendon.

C. Petersen wished also to identify Sporus (line 1417) as William FitzHamon or Richard de Humez.¹⁴⁰ From the context, however, it seems far more likely that the name Sporus, that of one of Nero's favourites described by Suetonius,¹⁴¹ is used merely as a personification of royal favourites in general. Similarly, most of the names given to persons at the royal court represent types rather than individuals. This is also true of the names given to the keepers of lodging-houses and their guests, described in lines 1531-1596. The descriptions of men at Canterbury, however, are possibly based on particular people: the descriptions of Querolus and Zoilus,¹⁴² who appear to be monks, are more detailed and intimate than those of the men at the royal court. Perhaps the reader for whom John intended the Entheticus was able to laugh to himself as he recognised

139. J.H. Round in D.N.B. (1908), vol.ii, p.67.

140. Entheticus de dogmate philosophorum, ed. Petersen, p.116.

141. Nero, 28.i, etc.

142. Enthet. 11.1683-1700.

characters well known to himself and the author. Math. also may be drawn straight from life, from one of the officials of the Canterbury jurisdiction.¹⁴³ It would be fruitless, however, to try to identify any of these characters.

There is one more fictitious name which tempts the reader to see behind it a particular man. Petersen wrote that it would be pleasant to see Sertorius (line 121) as Cornificius,¹⁴⁴ but that the evidence was against this. Sertorius may represent a type of master or a particular master known to John, and if a particular master, one possible identification comes immediately to mind: Adam of the Petit Pont. Much of our knowledge of Adam comes from John of Salisbury's writings, and while John admired Adam's intellectual ability,¹⁴⁵ he deplored his method of teaching.¹⁴⁶ The passage in the Entheticus relating to Sertorius attacks the master's method, not his learning,¹⁴⁷ and the morals not of the master but of his pupils. It is possible to connect the pupils' unwillingness to become wise with the words of the "inhabitant of the Little Bridge",¹⁴⁸

143. Enthet. 11.1701-1714.

144. Entheticus de dognate philosophorum, ed. Petersen, p.80.

145. Metalog. ii.10, p.81. John associates Adam with Gilbert de la Porrée and Abailard, Metalog. iii. prol., p.119. Note John's emphatic statement that Adam was not his master, Metalog. ii.10, p.81.

146. Metalog. iii.3, p.134; iv.3, p.167.

147. Enthet. 11.121-130.

148. Enthet. 11.49-54.

where Adam taught and from which he derived his name. Sertorius is attacked for encouraging too much confidence in his pupils,¹⁴⁹ and this was one of Adam's faults.¹⁵⁰ Sertorius is also attacked for taking fees,¹⁵¹ and it is known that Adam took fees.¹⁵² The school of Sertorius is described as a thing of the past;¹⁵³ nothing is known of Adam's life between 1148, when he was one of Gilbert de la Porrée's accusers,¹⁵⁴ and 1178, when he became bishop of St. Asaph's.¹⁵⁵ It is possible, therefore, though by no means certain, that Sertorius represents Adam of the Petit Pont.

On the whole, the fictitious names used in the Entheticus do not conceal contemporary opinions of known historical figures. They provide, however, an indication of John of Salisbury's knowledge of classical authors at the time when he wrote the Entheticus; and the frank comments on the manners, learning and the government of the day are valuable, even though unrelated to persons who can be identified by the historian.

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149. Enthet. 1.126.
 150. Metalog. iii.3, p.134; cf. Poole, Illustrations, p.183.
 151. Enthet. 11.123-124.
 152. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiie siècle, p.76.
 153. Enthet. 11.121-122.
 154. Otto of Freising, Gesta Friderici Imperatoris, i.52: "Adam de Parvo Ponte, vir subtilis et Parisiensis ecclesiae canonicus recenter factus....". It may be assumed that Adam gave up teaching at the Little Bridge when he became a canon.
 155. R. de Diceto, Ymagine Historiarum, (Rolls Series) p.402: "Adam canonicus Parisiensis electus in episcopum Sancti Assavi....".

CHAPTER 4

ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY REPRESENTED IN THE ENTHETICUS

a. Life and learning at Paris and Chartres.

It has already been stated that the Entheticus represents the humanist's resistance to the decline of classical studies in the middle of the twelfth century.¹ John of Salisbury can be regarded as a member of the school of Chartres, although as a student he spent less time at Chartres than at Paris.² Chartres was the home of classical studies in the first half of the twelfth century, and William of Conches was representative of that school in that "il n'hésite pas à chercher une continuité³ entre la sagesse antique et la vérité chrétienne." The same can be said of John of Salisbury, particularly with regard to his Entheticus. John cannot have failed to realize that the pre-eminence of the school of Chartres and the traditions for which it stood were in danger. The growing importance of Paris as an intellectual centre was causing the decline of the school of Chartres.⁴ Whereas at Paris the number of students and

1. See above, chapter 2 c, p.78.
2. See above, chapter 1 a, pp. 4-6.
3. J.M. Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres, p.24.
4. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, p.273.

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 masters increased rapidly, at Chartres the number of students was never large, and it was the aim of the magister scholae and the cathedral chapter to keep firm control over the student body and to ensure that only students of considerable ability were admitted. Perhaps it was partly the result of this firm control that Chartres was overshadowed, and finally ousted from its place among the great schools of northern Europe, by Paris; the quality of the one could not compete with the mere size of the other. Paris did not provide as thorough an education as Chartres, but thoroughness is not the most important consideration for the average student: his eyes are fixed on the day when the end of his studies brings him the qualification for personal advancement. "Life is short, and the lover of brevity seeks short summaries."⁷

It is possible to see the Entheticus as a defence of the methods of the school of Chartres against the rival methods of Paris. In the Metalogicon John of Salisbury cites as examples of good teachers men who had taught at Chartres, William of Conches, Gilbert de la Porrée and especially Bernard of Chartres.⁸ It was at Paris that he found his former friends

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5. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.25.
 6. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, pp.215-216.
 7. "Vita brevis; brevitatis amans compendia quaerit." See J.B. Hauréau, Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits, i.304.
 8. Metalog. i.5, p.16; i.24. John also mentions other masters from various parts of France in Metalog. i.5.

wasting their minds on a barren study of dialectic.⁹ In the Entheticus the satire on bad students and bad masters is directed at the schools of Paris. The Little Bridge, Melun (an offshoot of the schools of Paris), Abailard and Alberic¹⁰ are the names which connect the satire with Paris. At Paris there is no respect for the lex, modus and ordo of the teaching¹¹ of philosophy, nor for the authority of the ancients;¹² the reliance on personal ingenuity has led to intellectual chaos.¹³

In the Entheticus there is no mention of the school of Chartres, and William of Conches, the only master of that school who is named, is named only in passing.¹⁴ The influence of Chartres, however, is discernible throughout the poem. The reverence for the classics¹⁵ and the cosmological interests of the school of Chartres were linked by the study of Plato's works.¹⁶ Although the first half of the Timaeus was the only part of Plato's writing known to the Latin west in the first half of the twelfth century,¹⁷ the strongest single influence on

9. Metalog. ii.10, p.82.

10. Enthet. 11.49, 55, 57, 56.

11. Enthet. 1.63, cf. 1.332.

12. Enthet. 1.45.

13. Enthet. 1.61, cf. 11.117, 343-344.

14. 1.205.

15. Poole, Illustrations, p.102.

16. See J.M. Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres, especially pp.6-7.

17. In the translation by Chalcidius, The Meno and the Phaedo were translated between 1154 and 1160; Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi: Plato Latinus (ed. Klibansky), i.p.xi and ii.p.ix.

the thought of the school of Chartres and that of Plato.¹⁸ Bernard of Chartres is considered the greatest philosopher of his time.¹⁹ Bernard of Chartres, whose De consolatoria philosophia was regarded at Chartres as a work of Platonic inspiration, was the principal source of the philosophical culture at Chartres.²⁰ A position of comparable importance is given to Plato's teaching in the Entheticus. Lines 595-642 and 937-1118, 230 lines in all and nearly a third of the part of the Entheticus which records the teaching of the philosophers, are devoted to the teaching of Plato. Lines 937-942 provide "un témoignage non équivoque de l'estime des Chartreux pour Platon."²¹ This would be significant enough even without the fact that such a small part of Plato's own writing was known to John of Salisbury.

Another connexion between the Entheticus and the school of Chartres is the use of the ethical and, as it were, theological precepts of the classical philosophers. Just as John of Salisbury uses them in the Entheticus so does William of Conches in the Dogma moralium philosophorum. It may be that the high regard in which the classics were held at Chartres was related there to the teaching of ethics normal in medieval schools, an aspect of medieval education which is considered in more detail below.²² Again, John of Salisbury's non-committal attitude in both the

18. Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres, p.108.

19. Metalog. iv.35, p.205.

20. Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres, p.19.

21. Parent, La Doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres, p.6.

22. See below, chapter 4c.

Entheticus and the Metalogicon to the quarrel about universals is further evidence of the fact that this rather tedious element²³ of medieval philosophy was of little importance at Chartres. The scientific interests of the school of Chartres, however, are not represented fully in the Entheticus.

The Entheticus, therefore, can be taken as an argument for the humanist view of education, with a strong element of medieval Platonism, against the utilitarian and Aristotelian schools of Paris. This is not to suggest that John had any quarrel with the study of Aristotle; his Metalogicon is a defence of logic, that is of Aristotle's logic, which was the only part of Aristotle's teaching known in any detail until the end of the twelfth century. What John attacked was the study of logic which was bare of any classical culture and saw²⁴ dialectic as an end in itself. It was this attitude that John was attacking when he wrote:

"He praises Aristotle alone, and despises Cicero and whatever captive Greece gave to the Latins." 25

John of Salisbury's criticism of contemporary education is not merely intellectual; it is also moral. It has been

23. Bernard of Chartres and his followers believed that the teaching of Aristotle and Plato on universals could be reconciled; John of Salisbury did not believe this, but he too took a detached view of the quarrel about universals. See Metalog. ii.17, and cf. Poole, Illustrations, pp.101-102.

24. Poole, Illustrations, pp.192-193.

25. Enthet. 11.111-112.

said that John regarded sound education as a remedy for the contemporary evils in manners and government;²⁶ in the same way there is for him an important connexion between the intellectual and the moral decadence of the students of the day. This connexion can be traced in the Entheticus: there is the emphasis early in the poem on the desire for gloria among students and masters,²⁷ then later the attack on vana gloria,²⁸ and finally the condemnation of pride or elation,²⁹ which is the cause of the desire for gloria. It would be no exaggeration to say that John regarded this desire for gloria as the basic problem in education, as in the morality of the rulers of England.³⁰

The Entheticus, therefore, implies that the student body, particularly, it may be assumed, at Paris, was getting out of hand, both intellectually and morally: the students reject the authority of the ancients and the traditions of liberal education, and their attitude is vitiated by pride. Certain passages in the Metalogicon and Entheticus³¹ clearly show that

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26. See above, chapter 3 b; cf. Liebeschütz, Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury, p.22.
27. 1.86.
28. 11.431, 887 ff.
29. 11.1283-84, cf. 11.283-284, 927-930.
30. King Henry is represented as seeking praise, 1.1397; the criticism of Hircanus and Mandrogerus, 11.147-156, follows logically the description of false learning; and line 1411 re-echoes line 343.
31. e.g. Enthet. 11.349-350, Metalog. i.24, pp.57-58, and cf. the interpretation of this passage in Poole, Illustrations, pp.310-314.

John of Salisbury was alarmed at the decline in educational standards, and while there is no need here to examine all the practical reasons for it, it is worth considering two of them which are raised in the Entheticus.

The great expansion in the number of schools and students which helped to make the twelfth century an age of renaissance presented at the same time problems with which the educational institutions of the period were not able to cope. They were answered in the end by the development of universities with the power to organize teaching, control the students' way of life, and stand between the students and the secular authorities. At the time when the Entheticus was written, however, the universities were still to be born, and two difficulties at least were as yet not overcome: the irresponsibility of masters and the students' natural tendency towards lack of discipline.

As long as the schools of north-west Europe remained an integral part of the bishops' households or the cathedral chapters, the masters could be provided for by the church and their teaching activities could be easily supervised. These conditions were maintained at some schools, such as Canterbury and Chartres,³² and this more than any other reason may be why such schools did not develop into universities. At other centres of education students gathered in greater numbers than could be taught by the established masters. The funds of the diocese

32. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, p.209.

were not large enough to provide extra masters with benefices,³³
 and the result was that independent masters set up schools and
 taught for fees.³⁴ There was a precedent for this in that some
 beneficed masters were in the habit of accepting gifts from
 their pupils.³⁵ That the existence of these independent masters
 was recognised as a danger to the quality of education and a
 threat to the established ecclesiastical schools is witnessed
 by the number of charters granting to a particular master the
 right to be the only magister scholae of the district,³⁶ or to
 a particular church the sole right to establish a school.³⁷ At
 some time in the third quarter of the twelfth century it seems
 to have become necessary for all masters to be granted the
licentia docendi before they could start to teach.³⁸

Side by side with the official statements about teaching
 by unauthorised masters it is interesting to read John of

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33. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.75.
 34. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages,
 1.280-281.
 35. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.76.
 36. Leach, Educational Charters, pp.83,91, cf.p.113; and see
 P.L. 199, ep. xix, for Jordan Fantôme's claim that his
 teaching monopoly was being infringed by another of the
 bishop of Winchester's clerks.
 37. Leach, Educational Charters, pp.89,93,95,97.
 38. Decretales Gregorii ix, lib.v. tit. v.3 (1170-72) refers to
 the granting of the licentia docendi by the magister
scholarum as to a generally current practice, cf. Paré,
 Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.69;
 and see lib.v. tit.v. 1 and 2; and Gaines Post, Alexander
iii and the licentia docendi, in Haskins Anniversary Essays.

Salisbury's comments. That teaching, placed on the same spiritual level as preaching, was free, was axiomatic in the middle ages, and to John the taking of fees was symbolic of the irresponsible master. It seems almost as though the taking of fees deprived him, in John's opinion, of the ability to teach properly:

"The master of the young men was driven on by monetary fees, and for a great charge he taught them to know nothing."⁴⁰

While the inhabitant of the Little Bridge is concerned more with glory than gain, he is criticised, like Sertorius, for his irresponsibility. The aim of such masters is to have as large an audience as possible: it therefore matters not what they teach as long as they draw the crowds. Thersites may be intended as another personification of such masters: his pupils, and by implication Thersites himself, are attacked even more violently.

Another problem raised in the Entheticus is that of the students' way of life. In his description of lodging-houses, landlords and their guests, John of Salisbury seems to be drawing

39. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.75.

40. Enthet. 11.123-124.

41. Enthet. 11.49 ff.

42. But see line 107, which shows that he has a definite interest in money.

43. Enthet. 1.53.

44. Enthet. 1.81.

45. Enthet. 11.1747 ff.

on his experience not merely as a traveller but also as a student living in lodgings. The importance attached to the choice of good lodgings⁴⁶ would hardly be emphasised so strongly if John had in mind merely one night's stay. It is also possible that when he writes of the expensa uie⁴⁷ he is thinking of the whole of the student's sojourn in a strange place. The student is traditionally poor and there are many examples of medieval students in financial straits.⁴⁸ John himself was no stranger to poverty,⁴⁹ and in the Entheticus he advises his reader on the way to live on a meagre allowance.⁵⁰

The largest item in the budget of most students was board and lodging.⁵¹ Until the twelfth century students usually lived in the monastery or the cathedral cloister where they were taught.⁵² With the increase in the number of students this became no longer possible; even apart from those who were taught by independent masters, most students had to live as it were

46. Enthet. 11.1533 ff.

47. Enthet. 1.1629.

48. See the examples in Haskins, The Rise of the Universities, pp.102-111, and Haskins, Studies in Mediaeval Culture, p.7-14 (the fact that most are from exemplars makes them no less valid); cf. John de Hauteville, Archithrenius, lib.iii (Rolls Series, Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets). Poverty was regarded as one of the characteristics of the student's life, Policrat. vii.13, vol.ii.145; but see Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, iii.404-412.

49. See above, chapter 1a, p.9.

50. 11.1605-22.

51. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiiie siècle, p.79.

52. ibid. p.78.

'out of college'. At Paris, for example, it was decided in 1127 that foreign students should no longer lodge in the cathedral cloister.⁵³ Students began to lodge with private families,⁵⁴ many of them living with their masters. It is evident, even if only from experience in the twentieth century, that students living away from their place of instruction and in no organized way tend to be more undisciplined and less easy to control. In the Entheticus, John of Salisbury attempts to show how students should find the best sort of lodgings, how they should establish cordial relations with their landlords, and how they should avoid bad company and choose their friends wisely.⁵⁵ The amount of space which he devotes to these questions shows that he attached considerable importance to them. It is interesting that his words seem also to suggest that boarding houses for students were already developing.

The Entheticus thus gives an idea of John's attitude, presumably based on his experience at Paris and Chartres, to the problems of education in the middle of the twelfth century. It gives a different sort of picture of life and learning at Canterbury under archbishop Theobald.

53. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay, La Renaissance du xiie siècle, p.78.

54. ibid. p.78; cf. Clerval, Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen-âge, p.216.

55. 11.1533-1628.

b. Life and learning at Canterbury.

At Chartres and Paris John of Salisbury had lived as a student, and his social contacts there would have been mainly with masters and other students. At Canterbury he was one of the clerici archiepiscopi,⁵⁶ and he mixed with a wider variety of people. It may be expected, then, that his picture of life at Canterbury will be drawn in deeper perspective, if in less detail, than that of Paris and Chartres. The Entheticus does not tell us very much about learning at Canterbury, and what it does tell us is related not to the teaching and studies but to the merits and defects of men there. John assumed his reader to have knowledge enough of the intellectual atmosphere of Canterbury, and it is only when remarks in the Entheticus are considered in relation to other evidence that they are illuminating.

It has been said that "as a literary centre Canterbury holds first place among the cathedrals"⁵⁷ in twelfth-century England, and that the household of archbishop Theobald served as "a substitute in England for the as yet undeveloped Universities."⁵⁸ The evidence for such statements is threefold.

56. See above, chapter 1 a, p.14.

57. Eleanor Rathbone, The Influence of Bishops and Members of Cathedral Bodies in the Intellectual Life of England, 1066-1216, (London Ph.D. thesis, 1936), p.487.

58. Stubbs, Seventeen Lectures on the study of Medieval and Modern History, p.150, cf. p.163. The importance of Canterbury in John of Salisbury's opinion is shown by Enthet. 11.1637, 1640.

First, the number of writers and scholars who lived, worked and were educated at Canterbury at the time could not have failed to make it a literary centre and to give it what may be called a university atmosphere. The lawyer Vacarius, the historian Gervase and the satirist Nigel de Longchamp are only a few of the learned men of the twelfth century whose names are connected with Canterbury.

Secondly, there is a description of life in the archbishop's household which reveals the intellectual liveliness of its members: "In the house of my lord archbishop of Canterbury," writes Peter of Blois, "are many most learned men, among whom all the uprightness of justice, all the caution of foresight, and every kind of learning is to be found."⁵⁹ Thirdly, there is a list of books belonging to the library of Christ Church, the cathedral priory, which suggests the existence of a flourishing school.⁶⁰ The teaching and training of future ecclesiastics was a traditional function of a bishop, and archbishop Theobald seems to have attached unusual importance to it. Mere chance cannot explain the concourse of literary and academic talent at Canterbury; to Theobald must go the credit for gathering men of learning into his household. It was there

59. "In domo Domini mei Cantuarensis archiepiscopi, viri literatissimi sunt, apud quos invenitur omnis rectitudo justitiae, omnis cautela providentiae, omnis forma doctrinae," P.L. 207, ep. vi, col.17.

60. The list is published in M.R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, pp.7-12; for its significance, see pp.xxxi-xxxv.

that Vacarius lectured, having been brought to England by
 Theobald,⁶¹ and no doubt John of Salisbury's reputation as a
 scholar helped him to win a place among the archbishop's clerks.⁶²

The Entheticus adds something to our knowledge of Canterbury as a centre of learning. Most of the brilliant men at Canterbury, the men who have made their names in history as writers, teachers or bishops, were not monks of Christ Church but secular clergy in the employment of the archbishop. The Entheticus shows that there were also monks whose learning John⁶³ of Salisbury held in high esteem. When he writes in the Entheticus,

"There you will find men who are always striving to learn, and for whom it is a great punishment to be without a book,"⁶⁴

he seems to be referring not to Canterbury in general, but to the cloister, mentioned two lines previously. This is borne out by the fact that in the following passage he describes only two men as learned, and they are both monks.⁶⁵ Thus it is

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61. Policrat. viii.22, vol.ii.399; cf. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the middle ages, iii.20, and F. de Zulueta, The Liber Pauperum of Vacarius, pp.xv-xvii.
62. St. Bernard refers to John's reputation as a scholar in his letter of introduction: "non minus vita quam literatura promeruit," P.L. 182, ep. ccclxi.
63. Enthet. 11.1679-82.
64. 11.1647-48.
65. 11.1667-82. Odo was sub-prior of Christ Church. In 1167 he became prior and William Brito became sub-prior. Odo afterwards became abbot of Battle. Brito was the man who took a long time to read the Policraticus immediately after it had been finished, P.L. 199, ep. lxxxii.

interesting to know that among the monks there were not only scripta colentes, which is to be expected from the contents of the monks' library, but also legis amatores.⁶⁶ The especial delight of William Brito seems to be poetry; Odo applies himself to theology.⁶⁷

The Entheticus provides incidentally positive testimony to archbishop Theobald's position as a patron of letters. In an unprinted thesis, Dr. Eleanor Rathbone has indicated the nature of literary patronage by bishops in the twelfth century. She states:

"Writers who had some personal connection with a bishop and others who knew him perhaps only by repute dedicated their works to him. Such dedications made him in a very real sense a patron, for he was expected to lend the book to any who might be interested and to encourage them to copy it." 68

Dr. Rathbone cites, in the following pages, many examples of books dedicated to bishops, but Theobald is not named among them. Two lines in the Entheticus show that Theobald satisfactorily performed the function of a literary patron:

"He who bids you to write is used to encouraging literary works, and the names which he once receives he makes famous."⁶⁹

John of Salisbury, along with other contemporary writers, gives

66. Enthet. 1.1649.

67. Enthet. 11.1670 ("carminibusque uacat") and 1675-76; cf. 1.1682.

68. Rathbone, The Influence of Bishops and Cathedral Bodies in the Intellectual Life of England, 1066-1216, (London Ph.D. thesis, 1936) p.474.

69. 11.1291-92.

70. Saltman, Life of Theobald, (London Ph.D. thesis, 1951), p.342.

no indication that Theobald was himself a learned man in any subject, although he liked to have learned men around him.

The feature of life at Canterbury most strongly emphasised in the Entheticus is the conflict between those who love literature and those who despise it. The main theme of the Entheticus is that wisdom and virtue are inseparable, and this is illustrated by the personalities of the Canterbury monks. It is evident that the men who are always striving to learn, and think it a great punishment to be without a book, include Odo and Brito; the nugaces and nummicolae⁷¹ are Balatro, Davus, Querolus and the rest. The passage is a severe indictment of the mental poverty and moral laxity of many of the monks at Canterbury at the time. It is possible that John of Salisbury exaggerates in order to make his point; but Gerald of Wales⁷² is equally critical of the luxury and greed of the monks at Christ Church. Moreover John was in "close and friendly relations with the monks of Christ Church",⁷³ and would have had no wish to find fault with them as a group. But a tonsured head is no protection from sin, and the foolish can perish in any sort of garment.⁷⁴ Although he holds up Odo and Brito as models of scholarly industry, John is concerned more with pointing out the weak spots in the

71. Enthet. 1.1650.

72. Giraldus Cambrensis, De rebus a se gestis, (Rolls Series) i.51; Speculum Ecclesiae, (Rolls Series) iv.39-43.

73. Webb, John of Salisbury, p.16.

74. Enthet. 11.1827-29.

community than with giving praise. What the men are whom he attacks cannot be inferred with any certainty; ⁷⁵ from the context, Querolus, Zoilus and Davus seem to be monks, and from the words used to describe him Mathe seems to be a senior official of the episcopal court. ⁷⁶ What can be assumed is that John saw the community at Canterbury as split into two factions: on one hand the learned and serious men, on the other men who despised learning, spent their time in idle talk, and sought only their own gain.

c. Ethics and politics in the schools.

The Entheticus is an ethical work in that it stresses the relationship between the study of philosophy and the practice of virtue, and it is a political work in that it attacks the abuses of the government and the vices of the court. At the same time it is a didactic work with a strongly academic flavour. It is relevant to inquire whether this combination of characteristics is exceptional or whether it represents a feature of education in the twelfth century. If it can be

75. See above, chapter 3 e.

76. Davus is mentioned among those who hate Brito (l.1673) and is thus probably a monk. The descriptions of Querolus and Zoilus follow those of Brito and Odo, and the characters appear to belong still to the cloister. The words agaso (l.1703) and ciniflo (l.1714) seem to show Mathe as a secular rather than a regular; his influence, exerted in the archbishop's household (aule, l.1701), is indicated by l.1704,1711-12. His connexion with the court is suggested by l.1718. Line 1714 seems to refer to Becket's absence; perhaps Mathe represents a man dealing with business normally done by the archdeacon. Euforbus (l.1731) and Baccara (l.1738) may belong to either the cathedral priory or the archbishop's household.

shown that a lecturer in the schools, like the author of the Entheticus, was likely to discuss classical philosophy, Christian ethics and contemporary political problems all at once, then the Entheticus gives an idea of what it was like to attend that lecturer's classes.

In the Entheticus Aristotle is spoken of as master of "the three faculties", phisica, mores and logica. Mores, called more commonly ethica, constituted an individual field of study. Boethius had distinguished two kinds of philosophy, speculative and active; the active kind, or practica, was subdivided into personal, public and domestic. In the Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor is found the same division of practica, which is alternatively called ethica: the first part is called solitaria, ethica or moralis, the second privata, oeconomica or dispensativa, and the third publica, politica or civilis. Hugh says that the three parts correspond to the individual, the family and the community (respublica or civitas) respectively. This threefold division of "practical philosophy"

77. Enthet. 11.824-825.

78. "Practicae vero philosophiae...hujus quoque triplex est divisio. Est enim prima quae sui curam gerens cunctis sese erigit, exornat, augetque virtutibus....Secunda vero est quae reipublicae curam suscipiens, cunctorum saluti suae providentiae solertia, et justitiae libra, et fortitudinis stabilitate, et temperantiae patientia medetur. Tertia vero quae rei familiaris officium mediocri componens dispositione distribuitur." P.L. 64, cols.11-12.

79. ii.20, P.L. 176, cols.759-760.

80. In the Epitome in philosophiam (ed. Hauréau).

is found again in the De divisione philosophiae of Gundiſſalinus: the first part is politica sive civilis ratio, the second sciencia regendi familiam propriam, and the third gubernacio sui ipsius.⁸¹

It is not possible to translate these terms accurately into modern English, and to represent them by their apparent English equivalents would be to deprive them of their true meanings. It is possible to see, however, that ethics and what would now be called the practical problems of daily life are closely connected in the minds of these authors, and that political philosophy, such as it was, contained a strong element of ethics. In the works of twelfth-century academic writers, who "limited themselves to the contemporary demands of controversy",⁸² the art of ruling and the moral obligations of the ruler are inseparable, just as in the Didascalicon it is not possible to find any distinction between the head of the family's duty to provide for his dependents and his duty to⁸³ preside over them fairly and justly. Even in the Policraticus,⁸⁴ "the first attempt to look apart from the surrounding conditions and to produce a coherent system which should aspire to the character of a philosophy of politics", the constructive

81. De divisione philosophiae (ed. Baur), pp.134-140; politica is also called "sciencia disponendi conversacionem suam cum omnibus hominibus", p.16.

82. Poole, Illustrations, p.204.

83. Didascalicon, ii.20, P.L. 176.

84. Poole, Illustrations, p.204.

ideas are closely related to the criticism of contemporary government. The Entheticus makes no attempt to offer political theory: it merely passes moral judgements on the country's rulers and the depravity of the royal court. At least until the production of the Policraticus, therefore, the academic study of political problems was a branch of practica or ethica, and ethica was a recognised part of philosophy.

There is no reference to a master lecturing specifically on ethics in the twelfth century; ethical instruction was incidentally provided in lectures on almost all subjects, from grammar to theology. Gundissalinus talks of grammar, rhetoric, poetic and civil law as contributing towards ethics,⁸⁵ and all scholars would have been familiar with St. Augustine's words on the moral value of dialectic and rhetoric.⁸⁶ For the position of ethical instruction in the course of divine studies there is no need to consider the importance of ethical theories in Abailard's theological teaching or the ethical content of St. Bernard's works; one simple example will suffice. In the Sententiæ of Anselm of Laon, around which he developed his lectures, moral questions are given far more attention than exegetical or dogmatic questions.⁸⁷

85. De divisione philosophiæ (ed. Baur), p.16.

86. De doctrina Christiana, ii.32,36-37, P.I. 34.

87. J. de Ghellinck, The Sentences of Anselm of Laon, in Irish Theological Quarterly vi (1911), pp.427-441.

At the other end of the educational ladder, there was a strong element of ethical teaching incorporated in elementary grammar. The Ecloga of Theodulus and the Disticha Catonis were two of the most commonly used textbooks of primary instruction.⁸⁸ The Ecloga was "regarded sometimes as a primary book of instruction, sometimes as a religious tract"⁸⁹. Its purpose was to show how far superior is Christian teaching to pagan superstition,⁹⁰ and it "offered occasion for those moral and allegorical interpretations so dear to the mediaeval mind."⁹¹ The Disticha Catonis is a collection of ethical maxims in hexameters,⁹² and like the Ecloga it was used by both schoolboys and mature students. In Conrad of Hirschau's Dialogus super auctores sive Didascalon,⁹³ a comparatively advanced work, Cato and Theodulus are named, on account of their ethical not their literary value,⁹⁴ for Conrad held a poor view of poets. It may be added here that these two poems can be connected with the Entheticus. There would be no danger in assuming that John

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88. G.L. Hamilton, Theodulus: a mediaeval textbook, in Modern Philology vii (1909), pp.175,177.
89. Hamilton, Theodulus: a mediaeval textbook, p.178.
90. J. Osternacher, Theoduli ecloga, p.7.
91. Hamilton, Theodulus: a mediaeval textbook, p.175.
92. Edited by A. Bashrens in Poetae Latini Minores vol.iii, (Teubner Series).
93. Edited by G. Schepps (Wurzburg, 1889).
94. "Poeta factor vel formator dicitur eo quod pro veris falsa dicat vel falsis interdum vera commisceat", Dialogus super auctores, p.24.
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of Salisbury was familiar with both of them, even if they did not appear in the twelfth-century list of books belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury. Though the Entheticus has few verbal similarities to the Disticha, they have many ideas in common; from the Ecloga of Theodulus John derived the idea that Alethia and Phronesis were sisters, and his remarks on the superiority of Christian faith to pagan philosophy are related to the main theme of the Ecloga.

At a higher level in the study of Latin literature, ethics continued to play a large part in education. In his description of the method of Bernard of Chartres, John of Salisbury relates that ethical points were noticed and commented on as they occurred in the reading of texts, and emphasises the important place of ethics in the normal course of teaching.

There may be a connexion between the ethical teaching of the school of Chartres and the reverence of that school for the

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95. M.R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, p.11.
96. e.g., cf. Enthet. 1.1509 with Disticha, 1.10.
97. Enthet. line 11, Ecloga, 1.335.
98. Enthet. 11.1269 ff.
99. Metalog. i.24, p.56.
100. "Illa autem que ceteris philosophie partibus preminet, Ethicam dico, sine qua nec philosophi subsistit nomen, collati decoris gratia omnes alias antecedit." Metalog. i.24, p.55.

classical authors. The classical poets, and Cicero and Seneca, could be used extensively as a source of moral precepts. Such a use of them was made by William of Conches in his Dogma moralium philosophorum. This work is little more than a collection of excerpts from classical authors, and among the main sources for it Boethius' De consolatione Philosophiae is the only work written by a Christian. It was not only members of the school of Chartres, however, who saw the importance of the ethical teaching of antiquity. In book VII of John de Hauteville's Archithrenius,¹⁰¹ for example, the philosophers of Greece are found disclaiming against the vices of mankind, and Conrad of Hirschau in his Dialogus super auctores approves the ethical teaching of several pagan authors.

It is therefore accurate to interpret the observations by academic men on contemporary politics as an offshoot of ethical theory, and to see the teaching of ethics as an integral part of scholastic education. Moreover, a fund of moral precepts and of comments on the follies and vices of mankind was found in the writings of classical authors. Thus the Entheticus can be regarded as representative of the teaching of the twelfth century in certain aspects, and therefore at the same time it illustrates the character of that teaching.

It has been said that in John of Salisbury's eyes "the great value of antiquity lay in the moral examples and teachings

101. In Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the twelfth century vol. i (Rolls Series, ed. Wright).

which it afforded."¹⁰² This is perhaps only part of the truth, but it is true of John as of many other scholars of his time. Where John stands apart from his contemporaries is in his exceptionally wide knowledge of classical authors,¹⁰³ which he exploited to the full. He discovered moral teaching in poets,¹⁰⁴ such as Juvenal,¹⁰⁴ and in philosophers, such as Seneca,¹⁰⁵ and he frequently borrowed from poets such as Horace and Martial who made it their business to point out and ridicule vice and error. In this respect John of Salisbury differs from many of his contemporaries only in the scale on which he uses classical authors, an idea of which can be obtained only by reading the recent editions of his works. In the Entheticus, however, there is a more original and fundamental idea, not easily put into words and not clearly expressed; this is that the study of ancient philosophy has, in itself, an ethical value. The reader is given to understand that the study of philosophy, and not merely a knowledge of the moral precepts of the ancients, would put an end to the excesses of the false logicians and the members of the royal court. Thus academic teaching, educational theory, and moral and political criticism are all linked together and closely related in the Entheticus, a poem which illustrates the many-sidedness of scholarship in the twelfth century.

102. Krey, John of Salisbury's Knowledge of the Classics, in Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, xvi, part ii (1909), p.977.

103. See above, chapter 3 d, p.100.

104. e.g. Policrat. viii.13, vol.ii.320-321.

105. e.g. Metalog. i.22, p.51.

Note on the manuscripts of the Entheticus.

Only two medieval copies of the complete Entheticus are known to exist:

i. British Museum, MS. Royal 13. D.iv. Vellum, ff.219. Twelfth century (1167-1183). Double columns of 46 lines. (Catalogue of Royal and King's Manuscripts in the British Museum (1921), vol.ii).

The volume contains John of Salisbury's Policraticus, Metalogicon and Entheticus. On f.1 is a contemporary inscription: "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas sancto Albano. quem qui ei abstulerit aut fraudem commiserit aut titulum deleverit vel corruperit anathema sit." Simon, a patron of learning and art, a bibliophile and a friend of Becket, was abbot of St. Albans from 1167 to 1183.¹ Beneath the contemporary inscription is written in a later hand: "Policraticon, Metalogicon, Enteticus Johannis Saresberiensis. Hunc librum venditum domino Ricardo de Biry episcopo Dunelmense emit Michael Abbas Sancti Albani ab executoribus predicti Episcopi anno domini millesimo ccc mo xlv to circa purificationem beate virginis."² It can be assumed that this book was among the thirty-two sold to Richard de Bury, a great collector of

1. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, i.183-194.

2. i.e. 2nd Feb. 1346. Richard de Bury died 14 April 1345 (Le Neve, Fasti, iii.290).

books and author of the Philobiblon, before he became bishop of Durham in 1133³. After that date Richard restored some of the books which he had received from St. Albans, and after his death in 1345 the rest were bought back from his executors by abbot Michael (1335-49)⁴. From then the book remained at St. Albans until it was incorporated in the royal collection.

The Entheticus is on ff. 210-219. Folio 210 begins, "Incipit enteticus eiusdem de dogmate philozophorum," and folio 219 ends, "Explicit enteticus eiusdem Johannis de Saresberie de dogmate philozophorum, editus ad thesaurarium cancellarium postea cantuariensem archiepiscopum." The second part of the colophon appears to be an addition, presumably with the intention of giving the work greater importance,⁵ but since Thomas is named as chancellor and archbishop, not as saint and martyr, it is likely that the addition was made before his canonisation (21 Feb. 1173), and possibly before his death (29 Dec. 1170).

The Entheticus is written in a different hand from the other two works in the book, but in a contemporary hand. It cannot, however, be John of Salisbury's own manuscript: it is in a different hand from the manuscript of the Polieraticus and Metalogicon which belonged to Becket and is believed to have been presented to him by the author,⁶ and the words "enteticus eiusdem" at the beginning of f. 210 show that even if the manuscript of the Entheticus was not originally part of the book which abbot Simon had made it formed part of a book containing other work by John. This manuscript, therefore, was written not earlier than 1159.

3. Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani, ii. 200.

4. ibid. ii. 200. 5. See above, pp. 91-93

6. Corpus Christi Coll., Camb., MS. 46; see James, Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, i. 92; and Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, i. 536, for a facsimile of part of this MS.

It may not have been part of abbot Simon's book: the parchment appears dirtier and of a lower quality than that of the rest of the book, the ruling of the pages is different although there are the same number of lines to the page, and while the rest of the book is made up of 26 numbered quaternions, the Entheticus is on an unnumbered quinternion.

The poem was originally written in a single hand. In a contemporary but slightly different hand a scribe has made additions, contained in ornamented boxes with arrows showing their positions in the poem, at the foot of columns 212a, 217a, and 217d. Marginal headings, alterations and additions in the margin, interlinear explanations of single words and phrases, and additions at the foot of columns 213c, 213d, 214a and 218d have been inserted in a smaller and less neat, but still contemporary, hand; these are later than the neat additions in boxes, for the marginal heading to the addition at the foot of column 217d is no different from the other marginal headings. Finally, a scribe with a considerably later hand has in a few places erased lines of the original text and substituted for them the alterations written in the margin. It seems clear that the text was amended from a revised version of the poem.

- ii. University Library, Cambridge, MS. H.11.31. Parchment, pp.910. Fourteenth century. Double columns of 60 lines. Paged. (Catalogue of Manuscripts, University Library, Cambridge, (1856-61) vol.iii.)

The whole volume is in one continuous hand, and contains John of Salisbury's Metelogicon, Entheticus, Policraticus and letters, and Alexander Neckam's Super Cantica.

The Entheticus is on pp.46-59. On p.45, below the colophon of the Metelogicon, is written, "Incipit enteticus eiusdem Jonannis Saresbiriensis de dogmate philosophorum." On p.59 is written, "Explicit enteticus magistri Johannis Saresbiriensis de dogmate philosophorum editus ad thesaurum

cancellarium postea cantuariensem archiepiscopum." Apart from changes in spelling and apparently accidental omissions, the text of the poem has only a few unimportant differences from that of the St. Albans manuscript, and incorporates the alterations and additions mentioned above. It appears, therefore, to derive either from the St. Albans manuscript, or from the version from which the alterations and additions to that manuscript were made.

iii. There is also a selection of passages from the Entheticus in University Library, Cambridge, MS. Mm.II.18. Vellum, 334 leaves. Fourteenth century. Double columns of 63 lines. A collection of works, mathematical and classical made by Galfridus de Wyghtone. (Catalogue of Manuscripts, University Library, Cambridge, (1856-61) vol.iv.)

The extracts from the Entheticus are on ff.164a-168a, under the title, "Abbreuiacio ex libro qui intitulator Enteticus Magistri Johannis Saresberiensis de dogmate philosophorum editus ad Thomam Cancellarium postea Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum." The extracts appear to have been taken from University Library, Cambridge, MS. Ii.II.31.

The chirograph of the poem cannot be traced. It may be represented by an entry in the twelfth-century list of books belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury.⁷ There is no trace, however, of the Entheticus in the later catalogue, compiled by the prior, Henry of Eastry, soon after 1300.⁸

7. M.R. James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, p.12.

8. M.R. James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, pp.13-64.

The marginal headings in the manuscripts are in the nature of a commentary on the subject-matter of the poem. There are clear indications that they are the work not of the author, but of a man who did not always understand the content of the poem. This is suggested by the fact that the spelling in the marginal headings sometimes differs from the spelling in the poem, as in the headings against lines 943, 1137 and 1139; that the tense is sometimes different, as in the headings against lines 859 and 873; and that in the heading against line 1843 the book is referred to not in the second but in the third person. More convincing is the fact that the marginal headings sometimes break unnecessarily into the sense of the poem (notably the heading against line 905), that at least two of them, those against lines 595 and 1257, are inaccurate, and that the heading against line 1629 is quite irrelevant. Thus the marginal headings cannot be relied on as interpreting the author's meaning.

Note on this edition of the text.

The text given here preserves the wording and spelling of the original. Where the meaning appears to have been obscured by the corruption of a word, the probably correct reading is given in the footnotes. Proper names are given capital letters.

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9. The teachings in ll.595-624 come from the Platonists, not the Peripatetics; ll.1257-1268 are not really about Quintilian, but merely repeat his criticism of Seneca.

Ideally, the marginal headings should remain in the margin, but in typescript this would raise difficulties and they are placed above the line against which they were originally set. On the whole, the wording and spelling remain as in the St. Albans manuscript now in the British Museum (abbreviated to B. in the footnotes), but in the few cases where a variant in the Cambridge manuscript II.II.31 (abbreviated to C.) seems to make better sense or is more consistent, it has been substituted. The variant readings of these two manuscripts, together with the alterations and additions to the St. Albans manuscript (see Note on the manuscripts, above), are given in the footnotes. The numbers in the left hand column of the text refer to the folios and columns of the St. Albans manuscript, and to the pages and columns of the Cambridge manuscript. Notes on the proper names which occur in the poem are given in the index.

ENTETICUS DE DOGMATE
PHILOSOPHORUM

f.210.a

p.46 a Dogmata discuties ueterum fructumque laboris,
Quem capit ex studiis Philosophia suis.

Spiritus ille bonus linguam mentemque gubernet

Qui bona uerba docet et pia uota facit.

Dirigat et gressus operasque secundet et actus, 5

Vt tibi sit comites gratia, uita, salus.

Aula nouis gaudet, ueteres fastidit amicos,

Sola uoluptatis causa lucrique placent.

Quis uenias, que causa uie, quo tendis et unde,

Forsitan inquiret; pauca libelle refer. 10

[De Alethia et Fronesi]

Est Alethia soror Fronesis, uirtutis origo

Grata sui specie, semper amica deo.

Nam deformatur quociens extrinsecus illi

Cultus adest, fucos uirgo beata fugit.

1. discuciens, C.

6. comites in margin, for perpes which is crossed out, B.
gracia is so spelt throughout C.

9. Horace, Sermones, i.9.62 and ii.4.1.

11. Theodulus, Ecloga, 335; cf. Metalog. ii.3, p.64.

In se conuertunt oculos et corda vicissim, 15
 Et decor unius est utriusque decor,
 Et genus et species et opus commune duarum.
 Manat ab his uite regula sancta, modus.
 He tibi sint comites, curas et uerba ministrent,
 Teque uelint grauibus conciliare uiris. 20
 He tibi principium, cursum finemque loquendi
 Monstrent, et sermo quis quibus aptus erit.
 A triuio tibi dicendi sumetur origo,
 Ante tamen uideas que quibus apta locis.

[Quod logica sapientibus et discretis facit.]

Logica quid ualeat aut cur placeat sapienti 25
 Dicturus, faciem philosophantis adi.
 Qui sequitur sine mente sonum, qui uerba capessit
 Non sensum iudex integer esse nequit.
 Cum uim uerborum dicendi causa ministret
 Nec si nescitur, quid nisi uentus erunt? 30
 Que bonus auditor pensat de mente loquentis
 Non quouis sensu quem sibi uerba ferunt,
 Vt tamen assistat uerbis lex recta loquendi,
 Qua sine non poterunt pondus habere suum.

19. Hae, B.

23. dicendi originally discendi, with s erased, B.

32-3. cf. Polycrat. vii.2, vol.ii.92.

Aucupium uerbi iampridem iussit ab aula 35

Lex Romana, sed hoc pretor iniquus amat.

[De nugacibus mentientibus logicam.]

Lis est infelix, nisi forma petatur agendi,

Quam procul arceri, Iustiniane, iubes;

Sic nisi complacito pueris sermone loquaris,

Conspuet in faciem garrula turba tuam. 40

Si sapi auctores, ueterum si scripta recenses,

Vt statuas si, quid forte probare uelis,

f.210.b Vndique clamabunt: "uetus hic quo tendit asellus?

Cur ueterum nobis dicta uel acta refert?

A nobis sapimus, docuit se nostra inuentus; 45

Non recipit ueterum dogmata nostra cohors.

Non onus accipimus ut eorum uerba sequamur

Quos habet auctores Grecia, Roma colit.

Incola sum Modici Pontis, nouus auctor in arte,

Dum prius inuentum gloriior esse meum. 50

Quod docuere senes nec nouit amica inuentus,

Pectoris inuentum iuro fuisse mei.

35. iam uerbi pridem, C. 36. sed is spelt set throughout C.

52. pecoris, C.

35. iussit ab aula, cf. Policrat. ii.26, vol.i.142.
aucupium uerbi, Cicero, Pro Caecina, 23.65, aucupia uerborum.

38. Corpus Iuris Civilis, Codex Iustinianus, ii.58.

50-52. cf. Policrat. vii.12, vol.ii.137.

Sedula me iuuenum circumdat turba, putatque
Grandia iactantem non nisi uera loqui."

[De Melidunensibus.]

Iste loquax dicaxque parum redolet Melidunum, 55

Creditur Albrico doctior iste suo,

Corrigit errores uerbosus hic Abaelardi:

"Pellitur a nostro trita moneta foro.

Temporibus placuere suis ueterum bene dicta,

Temporibus nostris iam noua sola placent. 60

Cum sit ab ingenio totum, non sit tibi cure

Quid prius addiscas posteriusue legas.

Hec scola non curat quid sit modus, ordoue quid sit

Quam teneant doctor discipulusque uiam.

Expediit ergo magis uarias confundere linguas 65

Quam ueterum studiis insipienter agi.

Quos numeros aut quos casus aut tempora iungant

Grammatici querunt; uerba rotunda cauent;

p.46.b. Torquentur studiis, cura torquentur edaci,

Nulla sibi dantur ocia, nulla quies. 70

Infelix labor est, quem nulla comoda sequuntur;

Cui mala dulcescit sors, miser esse cupit.

55. minimum i.e. dicax in margin, B.

59. ueterum in margin, for patrum which is crossed out, B.

71. sequuntur, C.

Qui miser esse cupit, se conuincit furiosum,
 Sic plane miser est, qui miser esse cupit.
 Qui numeros numeris, qui casus casibus aptat, 75
 Tempora temporibus, desipit et miser est.
 Magnus enim labor est, compendia nulla sequuntur,
 Tempora sic pereunt, totaque uita simul.
 Absque labore graui poteris uerbosior esse,
 Quam sunt quos cohibet regula prisca patrum. 80
 Quicquid in os ueniet audacter profer, et assit
 Fastes, habes artem, que facit esse uirum.
 Ausibus est fortuna comes; si gratia fastum
 Deserit, est nobis gloria grata magis.
 Hanc etenim solam nostri super omnia querunt 85
 Gloria si desit, scire quid esse putas?
 Garritus dabit hanc omni uirtute relicta,
 Si garrire potes, gloria certe manet.
 f.210 c Vt garrire queas noli percurrere libros;
 Esto uerbosus, scripta repelle procul. 90
 Hos libri impediunt, illos documenta priorum,
 Successumque uetant magnus habere labor.

76. desipit et miser est in margin, for hic miser esse cupit, which is crossed out; the correction incorrectly made against line 72, and crossed out, B.

77. sequuntur, C.

80. sint, C.

91-96. Six lines written in margin in contemporary hand and again in later hand; beginning of each line cut off but supplied by C; these lines replace two of original:

Impedimenta libri sunt, et documenta priorum
Disceptaturis impedimenta puto, B.

Disputat ignaue, qui scripta reuoluit et artes,
 Nam ueterum fauctor logicus esse nequit.

Disceptaturus qui dogmata prisca sequetur; 95
 In patriarcharum bobus habendus erit.

Nam quo plura leges restant tibi plura legenda,
 Et quo plura docent plura docenda docent.

Pauca leges ut multa scias; tibi maximus auctor
 Quilibet occurat, sic sit in ore tuo 100
 Vt quicquid dices, auctor dixisse putetur,
 Et mens illius spiritus esse tuus.

Non modo credaris, quod scripsit nosse, sed omne
 Quod uoluit iactes dogmatis esse tui.

Quod scripsit, seu quod tacuit, te posse docere 105
 Promittas; falsum dicere nemo uetat.

Nam queruntur opes et constat gloria falso,
 Veridicosque facit dicere pauca pudor."

Hec ubi persuasit aliis error puerilis,
 Vt iuuenis discat plurima, pauca legat, 110
 Laudat Aristotilem solum, spernit Ciceronem,
 Et quicquid Laciis Grecia capta dedit.

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95. Disceptet in eis, for disceptaturus, C.
 97. restant has c erased at beginning of word, B.
 110. iuuenis between lines for uiuens which is crossed out, B.
 112. Laciis has an illegible and crossed out correction
 above it, B.
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96. cf. Metalog. i.5, p.18: boues Abrahe uel asinos Balaamitos.
 112. Horace, Epistolae, ii.1.156-7.

Conspuit in leges, uilescit phisica, queuis

Litera sordescit; logica sola placet.

Non tamen ista placet ut eam quis scire labore: 115

Si quis credatur logicus, hoc satis est.

Insanire putes potius quam philosophari,

Seria sunt etenim cuncta molesta nimis.

Dulcescunt nuge, uultum sapientis abhorrent,

Tormenti genus est sepe uidere librum. 120

[De Sertorianis]

Ablactans nimium teneros Sertorius olim

Discipulos fertur sic docuisse suos.

Doctor enim iuuenum precio compulsus et ere,

Pro magno docuit munere scire nichil.

Hec scola sic inuenes uoluit inuenescere semper 125

Vt dedignentur nosse uel esse senes.

Et quamuis tueatur eam numerus Garamantum,

Quos audere monet fasque nefasque furor,

Quos gula, quos fastus captos seruire coegit,

Quos transire Venus in sua castra facit, 130

Tu tamen armatus clipeo uirtutis et ense,

Vt rabiem perimas obuius ibis eis.

128. nephasque, C.

113. phisica combines the meanings of physic and physics.

116. cf. Metalog. i.24, p.58: uideri quam esse philosophi maluerunt.

[De rotundatoribus uerbi.]

Esse catenatum se credit Sertorianus

Si iubeas recte uiuere siue loqui.

Hoc onus, ecce iugum, quod uitans nostra iuuentus 135

Ad summum currit prosperiore uia,

p.47.a Admittit soloen, sumit quod barbarus affert,

Inserit hec uerbis, negligit arte loqui.

f.210.d Hoc ritu linguam comit Normannus haberi

Dum cupit urbanus, Francigenamque sequi. 140

Aulicus hoc noster tumidus sermone rotundo

Ridet natalis rustica uerba soli.

Sermo rotundus hic est, quem regula nulla coartat,

Quem gens nulla potest dicere iure sum.

Vilis apud ueteres fuerat modus iste loquendi, 145

Lege bona solitos uiuere, lege loqui.

[De Hircano.]

Sed quia temporibus Hircani floruit olim,

Cui pre lege dei grata libido fuit,

Qui reges falso nulla sub lege teneri,

Et quicquid libuit credidit esse pium, 150

Preplacet hic usus, cui regis gratia maior

Affuit, et precium sermo rotundus habet.

133. heading. uerbi omitted, C.

139. Normanus, C.

147. Sed is spelt set throughout C.

151. hiis for his, C.

[De Mandrogero.]

Mandrogerum tali ritu florere uidemus,
 Sub quo nec turpis causa perire potest.
 Mandrogeri nuge sapientia summa uidentur, 155
 Verbaque Mandrogeri formula iuris erunt.
 Proficit ergo minus uti sermone Latino
 Quam si contigerit uerba rotunda loqui.
 Sudandum nimis est ut lingua Latina sciatur;
 Absque labore tibi sermo rotundus erit. 160
 Insistunt studiis, artis suffragia querunt,
 Quorum subsidiis lingua uenusta placet.
 Est igitur sacius linguas confundere quam sic
 Temporis atque rei dampna subire simul.
 Hec illi, sed tu que sint elementa sciendi 165
 Et bene dicendi sub breuitate refer.

[Que conferant sapientiam]

Ingenii natura potens cito possidet omnes
 Artes si fuerit ista sequela comes:
 Auditus uerbi, librorum lectio, sollers
 Cura, quies studiis apta, fidelis amor. 170

[Que eloquentiam]

Optat in eloquio si quis preclarus haberi,
 Indubitanter ei quod cupit ista dabunt:

163-4. Original two lines erased; these two lines in margin in contemporary hand (with sacius for sacius and damna for dampna), and over the erasure in a later hand, B.

Ingenium pollens, memoris quoque pectoris usus,
 Artis opes, vocis organa, sermo frequens.

[De Mercurio et Philologia.]

Si quis ab his titulis et pectore pollet et ore, 175
 Mercurium iungit Philologia tibi.

Nec moueat Maurus ponens Philologia uersu,
 Ponitur interdum sillaba longa breuis,
 Et breuis interdum producitur arte, sed idem
 In sermone tamen sensus utrimque manet. 180

Et cum de sensu constet, pueriliter errat
 Cui longam litem lana caprina fecit.

Alterutrum uel utrumque licet proferre, sed insta
 Vt sit Mercurio Philologia comes,

f.211.a Non quia numinibus falsis reuerentia detur, 185
 Sed sub uerborum tegmine uera latent.

Vera latent rerum uariarum tecta figuris,
 Nam sacra uulgari publica iura uetant.

Hec ideo ueteres propriis texere figuris,
 Vt meritum possit conciliare fides. 190

Abdita nanque placent, uilesunt cognita uulgo,
 Qui quod scire potest nullus esse putat.

Rem ueram tegat interdum fallacia uerbi;
 Dum res uera subest uera figura manet,

182. lana caprina, Horace, Epistolae, i.18.15, cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.6, l.18.

186ff. Hildebert de Lavardin, P.L. 171, col.1057 c.

Falsa tamen uerbi facie, sed mente fidelis, 195
 Dum facit arcanis rebus inesse fidem.

[De Furuo et Marciano.]

Qualiter archanum lateat sub imagine falsa
 Queritur; hoc Furuus atque Capella docent.

Excutiunt rerum causas et federa, tractant
 Mores; historie plus tibi, Furue, placent. 200

Sermo coturnatus Furui discessit ab usu

o/ Et rarè legitur pre grauitate sui,

Sed tamen in pago Ligurino carus habetur

Hic, ubi de florum germine nomen habet.

p.47.b Hunc meus a Conchis Willelmus sepe legebat, 205

Hunc etiam noster Pontilianus amat.

Clauditur archiuis Remorum; Belgica prima

Hunc dedit, et primas Aureliani habet.

Utilior magnis Furbus, sed lacte Capella

Plenior est, paruis sensibus apta magis. 210

[De nuptiis Philologie et Mercurii.]

Transit in amplexus Stilbontis Philologia,

Hocque pie fieri nostra Capella docet.

Mercurius uerbi, rationis Philologia

Est nota, que iungi Philosophia iubet.

197. heading. uel bo is written above the end of Furuo, B.

211. heading. Marciani for Mercurii, C.

213. racio is so spelt throughout C.

Si genio uerbi rationis suppetat usus 215
 Uxor is clarus dote maritus erit;
 At sibi si ratio desit prope nudus habetur,
 Vt queat obscenas uix operire nates.
 Coniugium felix cum nature sociatur
 us/ Virtus, cui thalam~~o~~ mens sapientis erit. 220

[De gratia conciliatrice uirtutum.]

n/ Non ualet has Iuno coniugere, non Himeneus;
 Pronuba uirtutum gratia sola potest.
 Hac sine sunt steriles uerbi genius ratioque,
 Aut oritur fructus degeneratque malus.
 Hac sine nature uires frustrantur et eius 225
 Ad bona conatus omnis inanis erit.
 Ad mala namque sumus faciles, aptique perire;
 Gratia si desit, est opus omne malum.
 Gratia si desit, mens aut manus officiosa
 Non erit; hec mentem preuenit atque regit; 230
 f.211 b. Hec mouet affectus, operum quoque promouet usus,
 Linguam custodit, nec sinit esse ream.
 Erigit affectum, rationem dirigit, actus
 Componit, reserat abdita, uera docet.
 Quos fouet hos gratos et recte philosophari 235
 Et facit optata prosperitate frui.

228-230. Three lines written over these lines which have been
 erased, B.

229. aut, which appears to have been crossed out in B, is
 omitted from C.

217. cf. Metalog. iv.29, p.195.

221-2. cf. Martianus, De nuptiis, p.21.

a / Gratia naturam purgans illustret et implet,

Deque sinu Genii nobile ducit opus.

Gentiles Genium numen duxere caducum,

Natum subiecte fata subire rei.

240

Verius hic natale bonum dicatur, adaptans

Subdita gratuitis posse subesse bonis.

Dotibus innumeris humanum gratia ditat,

Et facit angelica sorte uigere genus.

[Quod philosophia precipuum munus gratie.]

Muneribus cunctis precellit philosophia,

245

Quam peritura cauet mens, generosa petit.

Semper ubique suos cultores ornat, honorat,

Prouehit, aduersos semper ubique premit.

Virtutes parit et nutrit, uiciumque nouerca

Pellit, et errori non sinit esse locum.

250

[De Nursia et iocis eius.]

Frangitur aduersis, extollunt prospera stultum,

Cum dare uult populo Nursia ceca iocum.

Quid nisi fortune ludi, fantasmata mundi?

His etenim uisum prestruit illa iocis.

Prestigio rota fortune conformis inani

255

Dedocet infirmos quos docuisse potest.

241. adoptans, C.

243. ditat was originally dictat, the c having been erased, B.

252. Nursia, letter c between i and a erased, B.

256. quo for quos, C.

Ostentat falsas species, et parua uideri

Magna, uel e contra grandia parua facit;

Aduersas rebus facies inducit, et illis

Ponit ad arbitrium nomina falsa suum.

260

Res falsas aliquid, et res ueras nichil esse

Fingit, ut obcludat sic rationis iter.

Quamuis laruales inducat mille figuras,

Non caret arbitrio Philosophia suo.

[De libertate arbitrii.]

Exigit arbitrii libertas uera duorum

265

Subsidium, sine quo mens rea pressa iacet,

Scilicet ut ratio recte discernat, ametque

Semper id affectus quod pia iura probant.

Non prestare potest illud natura subacta,

Quam premit inflicto uulnere culpa comes.

270

Culpa fouens penam rationis turbat acumen,

Velleque precipitat nec sinit esse pium.

p.48.a Gratia naturam reparans rationis acumen

Purgat, et affectus temperat atque regit.

f.211.c Liberat arbitrium, sed eorum quos pia mater

275

Consecrat ad cultum, Philosophia, tuum.

273. repparans, C.

274. Two lines following line 274 have been crossed out
and marked uacat: Liberat arbitrium, ratione ceca uoluntas
Ne mala subuertat precipitetque reum, B.

[Quid philosophia.]

Philosophia quid est, nisi fons, uia duxque salutis,

Lux anime, uite regula, grata quies?

Non equidem motus ualet extirpare molestos,

Sed nocuos reprimit et ratione domat. 280

Nec nocet assultus hostis leuiter perituri,

Qui manet ut noceat bestia seua minus.

[Quod superbia seua pestis illi quod occupat
menbrum aufert.]

Bestia seua rapit menbrum de corpore leso

Semper, et insignit quem docet esse suum.

Nunc pede, nunc oculo, nunc lingua, nunc humerorum 285

Gestu, nunc uultus frumine quemque notat.

Interdum motu capitis cultusque figura

Aut operum signis castra ferina parent.

Erudiunt hostes, alit fera seua superbum,

Reddit, et elatum deicit atque necat. 290

Proficit ad meritum pugna tenuisse coronam,

Hosteque prostrato gloria maior erit.

Pugna grauis fructum magne mercedis habebit,

Nam meritis merces digna labore datur.

Militat ergo labor semper properatque mereri, 295

Et mortis causam siue salutis agit.

288. signis castra ferina parent in margin, for sese bestia seua refert, which is crossed out, B. C. has castra firma patent.

289. erudiunt written over an erasure, B. alit fera seua in margin for sed bestia seua, B; in C, fera seue superborum follows a gap after hostes.

Ille labor solus uite seruire probatur
 Quem mouet atque regit philosophia comes.
 Ille neci seruit, quem philosophia relinquit
 Qua minus est quicquid mundus habere potest. 300
 Si quis ei temptat condignas dicere laudes,
 Deficit ingenium, uictaque lingua silet.
 Aut si non sileat, balbutit, dicere gestit,
 Quod nequit effari, uotaque nota facit. /?v

 [Quod philosophia et caritas sunt idem.]

 Si uerus deus est hominum sapientia uera 305
 Tunc amor est ueri philosophia dei.
 At si mundanum nichil illo maius amore,
 Et si diuinus omnia uincit amor,
 Collige quod mundum transcendit philosophia,
 Principio cuius constat inesse fidem. 310
 Plena sacramentis uirtutem gignit alitque
 Christi uera fides, actus utramque probat.
 Absque sacramentis non est hec uera, nec illa
 Sufficiunt, nisi sit ad bona prompta manus.
 Ad bona prompta manus, si tempus detur, adulto; 315
 Umbra fouet pueros ecclesieque fides.
 Omne sacramentis summum dependit honorem
 Dogma pium , reprobis hec nichil esse putat.

[Quod nemo sine fide philosophatur.]

Non ualet absque fide sincere philosophari

Quisquam, nec meritum prouenit absque fide 320

f.211.d

Ergo fidem seruet, qui philosophatur, anetque

Cultum uirtutis et pietatis opus.

Vana fides, operum quam non monumenta piorum

Viuere testantur, non iuuant, immo nocet. / §

[Quod philosophia ordinem et modum in
cunctis exigit.]

Ordine cuncta geri prescribit philosophia; 325

Et statuit cunctis rebus inesse modum.

Ordine cuncta docet, causamque modumque legendi

Tradit, et in cunctis artibus ordo placet.

Hac duce prima rudes adeunt elementa loquendi,

Prouecti gradibus dogmata queque legunt. 330

Ordine, lege, modo dispensat dogmata prudens;

Contra nugifluis, lex, modus, ordo perit.

Nugifluus uerbum sine tempore fundit ineptus,

Verbaque prudentum factaque tempus habent.

Ne cures stultus quid fingat, quidue loquatur,

Cuius ab eloquio laus tibi nulla uenit. 335

Si laudem captas placeat tibi lex, modus, ordo;

His sine non extat gloria, uel breuis est.

Ordine cuncta uigent, et gaudent lege modoque

Que si quis potuit spernere iure perit. 340

p.48.b Confundi meruit quem nullus continet ordo,
 Quique modum nescit deperit absque modo.
 Quem lex non cohibet dissolvit culpa solutum,
 In mala precipitat, precipitemque necat.
 Ordo sit ergo bonis uiuendi, sitque loquendi, 345
 Cum lingua mentem lex, modus, ordo regant.
 Forsitan inquirent ueterum quid scripta repellat:
 Accipe quod dicit pusio siue Triphon.
 [De more antiquitus philosophantium.]
 Cur procul a nobis sit patrum secta priorum
 Absolam paucis; est operosa nimis. 350
 Multa legunt et multa docent prohibentque uagari
 Discipulos, urgent scire uel esse domi.
 Ingenii ueres pensant, mensuraque cunctis
 A doctore datur uiribus apta suis.
 Nullus adulator doctorum, munera nullus 355
 Donat ut auditor illius esse uelis.
 Sed nec apud ueteres confunditur ordo legendi
 Namque gradum proprium queque decenter habent.
 [De ordine discendi]
 Grammaticam sequitur diasirtica, sinthesis illam,
 Lexis eam, resis posteriore gradu. 360

348. Teiphon for Triphon, C.

359-360. Several words are written between these lines: above lexis, i.e. dictio; above resis, unde rhetorica de construenda, B.

353-4. cf. Metalog. i.24, p.55.

His gradibus crescens facundia possidet arcem
 Et varias artes absque labore docet.
 Eloqui si quis perfecte nouerit artem
 Quodlibet apponat dogma peritus erit.
 Transit ab his tandem studiosa iuuentus 365
 Pergit et in varias philosophando uias,
 f.212.a Que tamen ad finem tendunt concorditer unum,
 Vnum namque caput philosophia gerit.
 Rerum naturas scrutantur, quid sit honestum,
 Vndeque proueniat uita beata sibi. 370
 Inspiciunt uires et stricti iuris et equi,
 Sanis aut egris quid medicina ualet.
 [Quod diuina pagina omnibus principatur]
 Cum cunctas artes, cum dogmata cuncta peritus
 Nouerit imperium pagina sacra tenet.
 [A quibus laus oritur]
 Quatuor ista solent laudem prestare creatis: 375
 Subiectum, species, artificisque manus,
 Finis item, cunctis qui nomina rebus adaptat,
 Nam bona uel mala sunt omnia fine suo.
 Materies huius deus est mundique supellex,
 Lux a qua uerum ducitur ornat eam. 380

364. apponas, B.

368. uel tota sophia is written between the lines above
philosophia, B.

380. uel ducitur is written above dicitur, B; C. has dicit.

365. cf. William of Conches, Philosophia mundi, iv.41.

369. i.e. natural and moral philosophy.

[Quod ueritas est sacre pagine forma et lux anime.]

Forma quidem res est, ex qua res uera uocatur,
 Vnde fit, ut constet, quod sacra scripta docent.
 Est idea boni uerorum fons et origo,
 Quorum causa nitet in ratione dei.
 Lux accensa nimis et non accensa caducis 385
 Vt uideant homines, se minuendo facit.
 Nullus enim totam caperet; se temperat ergo
 Vt queat infirmus illius esse capax.
 Hec eadem uero dat nomen participata,
 Nam subiecta sibi dicere uera potest. 390
 Lux anime uerum, sine quo brutescit, et errans
 De uicio in uicium precipitata perit.
 Materies preciosa nimis, nimis apta decori,
 Artificemque suum forma decora probat.
 Est idea potens, ueri substantia que rem 395
 Quamlibet informat, et facit esse quod est.
 Omne quod est uerum conuincit forma uel actus,
 Nec falsum dubites si quid utroque caret.
 Forma suo generi queuis addicta tenetur,
 Et peragit semper quicquid origo iubet. 400

383-390. Eight lines written at foot of column, with an arrow indicating their true position, B.

384. ut for in, C.

387. uel contrahit written above temperat, B.

395. A letter m after que has been erased, B.; substancia, C.

381 ff. Represents the Platonic teaching of the school of Chartres.

383. cf. line 597.

Ergo quod in forma natiua constat agitur
 Quod natura manens in ratione monet,
 Esse sui generis uerum quid dicitur, idque
 Indicat effectus, aut sua forma probat.
 Hinc aliud uerum rerum connexio monstrat, 405
 Quam sine compositis nemo uidere potest.
 Est intellectus uerus quia concipit ipsam,
 Sicque triplex ueri dictio rebus inest;
 p.49.a Est sermo uerus quociens designat eandem,
 Si se res habeant, ut data uerba ferunt. 410
 Res, intellectus, et sermones quoque ueros
 Dogmate dispensat pagina sacra suo.
 Artificem sese testatur spiritus almus,
 Illius existunt organa quique boni,
 Mente, manu, lingua, si quid bene quilibet actum 415
 Viderit, illius hoc opus esse sciat.
 Hoc sine nil recte geritur, sed nec male quicumque
 Hoc auctore gerunt mens rea, lingua, manus.

 [Quis finis philosophie.]

 Finis amare deum, uicii fuga, cultus honesti,
 Sese nosse, deum scire, tenere modum, 420
 f.212.b Cognitio ueri, mundi contemptus, amare
 Virtutes, felix uita, modesta quies,

419. heading. Marginal headings against 419-801 omitted, C.

407 ff. cf. Metalog. iv.36, pp.207 ff.

408. cf. line 1200.

Sana fides, spes certa boni, uiteque perennis
 Arra, sub aspectu semper habere deum.
 Mens humana licet in cunctis rebus abundet, 425
 Quas polus ostentat, quas dare terra potest,
 Distrahitur multis et magnis anxia curis,
 Perpetuanque famem sustinet atque sitim,
 Torquetur semper, requiem non inuenit usquam,
 Se nisi cum reteggit gloria uera, deus. 430

[De gloria uana et uera.]

Gloria uana facit miseros, sed uera beatos,
 Illa tumet uicio, gaudet et ista deo.
 Fine suos tali sacra pagina donat amicos,
 Cultorique pio calculus iste datur,
 Calculus optandus, quia continet omnia mentis 435
 Vota, nec admittit si quid obesse potest.
 Si quid obesse potest a se propellit et arcet,
 Et facit ad nutum currere secla suum.
 Nemo referre potest que sacra pagina confert
 Illis qui satagunt iussa tenere dei. 440

423. perhennis, C.

425. habundet, C.

428. Perpetuanque famem written in margin in contemporary hand
 and over an erasure in the line in later hand, B.

[Quod diuina pagina regina est aliarum.]

Hec scripturarum regina uocatur, eandem

Divinam dicunt, nam facit esse deos.

Est sacra, personas et res que consecrat omnes;

Hanc caput agnoscit Philosophia suum.

Huic omnes artes famule, mechanica queque 445

Dogmata, que uariis usibus apta uides,

Que ius non reprobatur, sed publicus approbat usus,

Huic operas debent miliciamque suam.

Practicus huic seruit, seruitque theoreticus; arcem

Imperii sacri Philosophia dedit. 450

[De dogmate Stoicorum]

Stoicus hanc sequitur dum semper in ultima uisum

Dirigit et uicii germina falce secatur,

Virtutum causam statuit uiteque beate

Vt mens assuescat caute timere mori.

Hic timor expellit uanos a corde tumultus, 455

Mundanusque fugit hoc ueniente timor.

445. mecanica, B.

447. Queuis for Que ius, C.

449. artem for arcem, C.

451. Stoicus, C.

445-450. Reflects the division of philosophy in Hugh of St. Victor's Didascalicon.

451. On Stoic fear, Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, xix.1, and Augustine, De ciuitate Dei, ix.4.

453. uiteque beate, Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, xviii.1.

Conteritur fastus, calide perit impetus ire,
 Et cessat luxus, depopulator opum.

Frena uoluptati dantur, malesuada libido

Deponit stimulos territa fine suos.

460

Omnia contempnit leuiter, qui se moriturum

Cogitat et recolit cuncta perire breui.

Si tamen absque modo fuerit meditatio mortis

Subruat ut nimio corda pauore stupor

Spesque perempta cadat uariis turbata procellis,

465

Excedit licitum mortis imago modum.

f.212.c Excedit fines, quos lex prescripsit ad usum

Et mortem ueram mortis imago parit.

[De timore moderando et desperatione uitanda]

Lex iubet ut timeas, sed desperare timentem

Non sinit; hoc omni crimine maius habet.

470

Omnem cum soluat confessio pura reatum,

Et lauet internus crimina cuncta dolor.

Hoc scelus excludit ueniam, penamque meretur,

Quam prece uel precio flectere nemo potest.

Crimina criminibus cumulat, male gesta fateri

475

Negligit, absorbet nota precesque timor,

471. Omnem in margin, for dictum which is crossed out, B.

468. cf. Catonis disticha, p.237, l.19.

p.49.b Clementem negat esse deum, nec parcere pronum
 Culpis, sed cupidum sanguinis esse putat.
 Principis offensi nullus sic mitigat iram
 Sanguinis ut dicat semper habere sitim. 480
 Desipit orator, animos quicumque feroces
 Iudicis allegat, ut cadat ira grauis.

[Quod desperatio blasphemiam parit.]

Numinis est proprium misereri semper; ab ipsi
 Hoc quisquis remouet denegat esse deum.
 Qui negat esse deum plane blasphemat, et ignes 485
 In se succendit, tela crucemque parat
 Prouocat eternam mortem, quam nemo cauere
 Sufficit absque deo quem furor esse negat.
 Proficit ergo bonis iugis meditatio mortis,
 Vnde perit stultus qui timet absque modo. 490

[De timore probati.]

Est maiestati gratus modus ille timendi,
 Crimina qui uitat omnia, spemque fouet,
 Qui ueritus iustum recolit pietatis, et inde
 Iudicis agnoscit nomen et inde patris,

477. Clementem esse negat, C.

489. meditacio, C.

Quique potestatis sic iram uitat, ut instet 495
 Dulcibus obsequiis iure placere patri.

[Diffinitio uocis.]

Aer subtilis quem guttur format et oris
 Organa, qui sonitu possit ab aure capi,
 Vox est que reserat uni quid cogitet alter,
 Inque uicem reddit peruia corda sibi. 500

[Quod Stoicus fatalem inducit necessitatem.]

Stoicus artatus fato putat esse necesse
 Currere cuncta modo, quo modo secla fluunt.
 Numinis arbitrium disponens omnia, fatum
 Dicit quod nullus euacuare potest.
 Inde genelliacus sollerti sidera cura 505
 Circuit et timidus uersat utrunque polum.
 Euentus dulces spondens male mulcet amicos,
 Et falsus uates sepe timere facit.
 Colligit astrorum motus ut colliget astris
 Fata, pari studio numen et astra colit. 510

496. uel iure placere patri is between the lines, above promeruisse patrem which is crossed out, B. C. has promeruisse patrem.

501. Stoicus, C.

503. Numinis est arbitrum, C.

505. The original second letter of genelliacus has been erased, B. sydera, C.

506. timidus written between the lines for tumidus, which is crossed out, B.

497-500. Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, v.15.

501 ff. Cicero, De natura deorum, i.8, and De diuinatione, i.38, ii.42-47. cf. Policrat. ii.21, vol.i.119-120.

[Quod prouidentiam putat causam necessitatis.]

Pronois errorem quia non admittit, ab illa

Concipit errorem dogma senile grauem.

f.212.d Pronois in partu fati nimis omnia pressit.

Et duras leges imperiosa dedit.

[Que inconuenientia sequantur fatalem
necessitatem.]

Libertas perit arbitrii, si fata coactis

515

Obsequiis mentes, ora manusque mouent.

Premia pro meritis nulli debentur, in ipsum

Auctorem fati crimina cuncta cadunt.

Errores istos incomoda multa sequuntur,

Quod uitare pium, sed numerare labor.

520

Exequat culpas penaque coequat eadem

Stoicus, at contra pagina sacra facit.

In multis igitur legi consentit, et idem

Aduersus legem multa docere solet.

Dogma fides recipit, nisi lex manifesta repugnet, 525

Vel ratio potior hoc reprobare queat.

511. Pronois has written above it i.e. pro noticia, B.

512. senile has written above it stoicorum, B.

519. sequuntur, C.

511-514. cf. Metalog. iv.31-32, pp.199-200.

511 and 513. Pronois for pronoea, see Cicero, De natura deorum,
i.8 § 18; cf. Policrat. vii.1, vol.ii.95.

[De Epicureorum dogmate.]

Esse boni summam putat alter gaudia mentis,

Atque uoluptati cuncta subesse docet.

Hoc equidem recte sed si sit pura uoluptas,

Si ratio dicti gaudia uera capit. 530

Si status appetitur ut quod uult assit, et absit

Quod non uult animus ad pia uota studens,

Si labor aspirat ueram conferre quietem,

Si mens tranquille gaudia pacis habet.

Militat ad pacem labor officiosus, et ambit 535

Quod sibi leticiam perpetuare queat.

In uirtute labor positus dulcescit, et in se

Mens benefactorum conscia leta uiget.

[De pugna laboris et quietis.]

Sed labor et requies ineunt in corpore bellum,

Angit hic, illa fouet, hic fugit, illa manet; 540

Vt multum duret bellum, cum tempore cessat,

Sed finem pacis tempora nulla dabunt.

Vera quies aderit tunc cum caro subdita menti

Morte triumphata spiritualis erit,

p.50.a Et caro nil recipit nisi quod ratione probatur 545

Et mentem puram firmat agitque deus.

Unitur menti caro subdita, mensque beatur,

Plena deo finem non habet ista quies.

539. corpore written between lines above tempore, which is crossed out, B.

527 ff. Cicero, De finibus, i.11; cf. Policrat. vii.15.

[Quod mundus non habet ueram pacem.]

Non habet hanc mundus, qui lites, bellas, rapinas
 Prestat, et humanis cedibus usque madet, 550
 Qui sordes parit, auget, amat, qui fallit amantes,
 Cultoresque suos commaculare solet.

[Quod gratia dei dat ueram quietem.]

Hanc requiem sacra scripta docent, sed gratia prestat,
 Qua sine nulla quies pacis amena datur.
 Nam gaudere semel, iterum gaudere iubemur 555
 In domino qui dat gaudia dupla suis.
 In spe nunc gaudens animus letabitur in re,
 Sumens milicie premia plena sue.

[De gaudio duplo et simplo.]

f.213.a Premia duplantur cum mens, caro glorificantur,
 Si sit in alterutro, gloria simpla datur. 560
 Sed quociens anime preceedit gloria, constat
 Quod caro pro meritis munus habebit idem.

[De errore Epicureorum.]

Sobrius exaudit leges Epicurus, et idem
 Ebrius est Veneri subditus atque gule.

Hic faberincudem quam circumuallat inani 565
 Figit in incerto, cetera casus agit.
 Conflat in immensum corpuscula casus aceruum
 Vt fiat mundi maximus iste globus,
 Fixaque sint elementa locis sub lege perenni,
 Vtque uices peragant tempora certa suas. 570
 Hec quoque secta docet animam cum carne perire,
 Et frustra leges iusticiamque coli.
 Flatibus assimulat subtilia corpora mentes,
 Mentiturque piis premia nulla dari.
 Quid deceat nescit, Venus, alea, sommus, odores, 575
 Crassa culina, iocus, ocia, uina iuuant.
 Istis addantur plausus, fallacia, nuge,
 Et quicquid mimus, histrio, scurra probant.
 [Quod Epicurus casum pro deo colit.]
 Mancipium uentris non curat quid sit honestum,
 Fortunamque putat numinis esse loci. 580
 Nil ratione geri, sed casu cuncta; uoluptas
 Numen excolitur, res mala, uenter edax.
 Nil Epicurus amat nisi quod uentri Venerique
 Immolat, et uentri uictima prima cadit,

569. perhenni, C.

575. sompnus, C.

582. uel cui deus uenter est is written between the lines above
 excolitur, B.; ei colitur for excolitur, C.

565 ff. Cicero, De natura deorum, i.20; De finibus, i.6.

Ordoque membrorum uiciorum germina nutrit, 585

Et gula dat Veneri semina, spemque fouet.

[Quis fructus Epicureorum.]

Hostia quam mactat uentris Venerique sacerdos,

Congrua pro meritis premia semper habet.

Premia mactantis sunt ignes, stercora, uermes,

Talis enim merces talia sacra decet. 590

Ista uoluptatis stolide sunt gaudia, finis

Vltimus erumna, gloria summa pudor.

Numina digna sacris sunt et sacra numine digna,

Et cultore deus, cultor et ipse deo.

[De dogmate Peripateticorum.]

Philosophos agiles agitat discussio rerum, 595

Vt uerum possint fonte uidere suo.

Veri fons idea boni, quod sunt facit esse

Singula pro generis conditione sui.

Hoc rerum cause manant de fonte, suisque

Respondent causis omnia lege data. 600

585. Quia uentri et genitalia coherent is written between the lines, B.

597. ydea, B.

598. condicione, C.

595-624. The idea of good and the theory of nature are derived from Platonic teaching. Although Cicero records the claim of the Peripatetics to be the followers of Socrates and Plato (De officiis, i.1.2), they were generally regarded as the followers of Aristotle.

597. cf. line 383.

[De lege nature, et natura creata.]

Lex est causarum series, natura creata
 Effectus causis assimilando parit.
 Causarum seriem disponit summa potestas
 In forma numeri, ponderis atque modi,
 f.213.b Quodque potestatis ratio disponit ab eo 605
 Dispensante manu, tempora certa uident.

[Quid natura.]

Causarum series natura uocatur, ab illa
 Sensilis hic mundus contrahit esse suum.
 Et si uicinis concordant plasmata causis
 Tunc natura parens omne figurat opus. 610
 Si sit ab euentu uicino dissona causa,
 Contra naturam turba quid esse putat,
 p.50.b Et quia cause latet dicit ratione carere,
 Sed plane nichil est quod ratione caret.

[Quod nichil contra rationem.]

Precedit ratio rerum quarumlibet ortum, 615
 Et natas eadem prouehit atque mouet.
 Hec eadem finem prestat rebus perituris,
 Et motus omnes optima causa regit.

607-614. cf. lines 1061-1066.

615ff. cf. Pollicrat. ii.12, vol.1.86.

602. assimilando, C.

At causas inter que preceedit dominatur,
 Et uires omnes inferioris habet. 620
 Non tamen inferior dominantis iure potitur,
 Aut equis illi passibus ire potest.
 Hoc scriptura docet, iubet hoc natura creatrix,
 Vt cedant superis inferiora suis.

[Quid omnium causa.]

Vnica causarum ratio divina uoluntas, 625
 Quam Plato nature nomine sepe uocat.
 Illius imperio seruit natura creata,
 Ordoque causarum totus adheret ei.

[Quid humana ratio.]

Est hominis ratio summe rationis imago,
 Que capit interius uera docente deo, 630
 Vt data lux oculis tam se quam cetera monstrat
 Que sub luce patent et sine luce latent,
 Claraque fit nubes concepto lumine solis
 Cum dependentes flatus abegit aquas.
 Subdita sic ratio formam summe rationis 635
 Sordibus expulsis induit, inde micat.
 Tunc mens tota nitet, et uero lumine plena
 Res falsas abigit, et bona uera colit.

625 ff. cf. Polycrat. ii.12, vol.i.85. Augustine, De civitate Dei, viii.3, says that Socrates believed the causes of things to exist in God.

[Quid illuminet rationem.]

Sicut nemo potest aliquid nisi luce uidere

Sic hominis ratio ceca fit absque deo.

640

Vera deus lux est et luminis illius auctor

Quo solo sese quisque uidere potest.

[Qui sint usus luminis.]

Vt se quis uideat est summi luminis usus.

Muneris est usus munus amare datum;

Muneris est usus discernere cuncta potenter;

645

Muneris est usus cultus amorque boni;

Muneris est usus rerum cognoscere fructus;

Muneris est usus ad meliora trahi;

Muneris auctorem cognoscere muneris usus;

Muneris est usus summus amare deum.

650

[Quod uerus philosophus deo carere non potest.]

f.213.c Si uis nulla potest disiungere quos amor unit

Uerus philosophus non erit absque deo.

Sed nec mors poterit istum dissoluere nexum

Perpetuo uiuet qui sapienter amat.

[Quod ratio speculum est et oculus et manus
ad res uidendas et capiendas.]

Est igitur ratio speculum quo cuncta uidentur;

655

Officioque oculi fungitur atque manus.

Conformatur enim uero res uera, beato 675

Res bona, perpetuo res habitura statum,
Falsaque res fallit, perimit peritura, cadensque
Opprimit, infelix quisquis adheret ei.

[Quis fructus secte Peripateticorum.]

Contemptum mundi parit hec speculatio rerum,
Que casu proprio cuncta perire probant. 680

[De contemptu mundi et fructu eius.]

p.51.a Contemptus mundi uerus uia prima salutis,
Fallit enim mundus precipitetque suos.
Nam mundanus amor excecatur lumina mentis,
Vt cadat in miseram ceca sequela necem.

[Quod amor mundanus contrarius est amori dei.]

Nullus amare deum mundumque potest, quia semper 685
Vnius aduentu pellitur alter amor.

Nullus amatorum mundi nomen sapientis.

Possidet; oppositus est amor iste deo.
Qui mundum spernit illi dominatur, et hostis
Debilitat uires, et pede colla premit. 690

Spes, dolor, ira, metus, et honorum ceca cupido,
Gaudia, damna, lucrum sunt uelut aura leuis.

679. speculatio, C.

692. dampna, C.

Mundus pressuram tribuit, sapientia pacem,
Et mala cuncta fugat, et bona queque fouet.

[Quod timor dei mundi contemptum facit, et
deificat homines.]

Contemptus mundi conditus amore superno 695

Omnia que spernit in sua iura trahit.

Hoc sine nemo sapit, fouet hunc timor ille beatus

Qui dat principium, Philosophia, tibi.

Insitus hic sanctum timor introducit amorem,

Hoc fit homo sapiens, hoc fit amore deus. 700

[Quod unus deus est per naturam, multi per
gratiam.]

Natura deus est unus, sed munere plures,

Gratia quos numen participare facit.

Natura deus est unus, sed gratia multos

Consortes uoluit numinis esse sui.

[Quod tres persone unus deus, suis tamen
distincte proprietatibus.]

f.213.d Nam pater et natus cum flamine sunt deus unus, 705

Sed retinet proprium prosopa queque suum.

[Quod tres persone unius nature sunt,
uoluntatis et operationis.]

Sint licet unius nature, numinis, actus,

Censetur propriis prosopa queque suis.

697. Between the lines, above timor ille beatus, is written
timor dei est sanctus; emanet ex sese, B.

698. Between the lines, above principium, is written,
iniciu[m] sapientie, timor domini, B.

Filius eterni patris et uirginis alme

Natura deus est, munere factus homo.

710

Muneris est quod homo uerus uerus deus idem,

Exequans meritis premia lance pari,

Et quod eum flexis genibus res omnis adorat,

Equalemque deo predicat esse patri.

Et qui tanta patris accepit munera gratis,

715

Scit dare militibus optima dona suis.

Acceptum munus dedignat solus habere,

Quod amat illustrat, et facit esse deos.

Prouehit ad summum quos gratia mater adoptat,

Proque gradu meriti sanctit in arce deos.

720

[De triplici superbia que impedit hominis
deificationem, scilicet rationis,
uoluntatis et uite.]

Sed fastus rationis obest erroris amicus,

Quo maculante fides euacuata perit.

Pessimus erroris comes est elata uoluntas,

Que fractas mentes curuat ad omne malum.

Tercia predictis adiuncta superbia uite,

725

Omnem uirtutem subruit atque necat.

713. adoret, C.

716. Between the lines, above Scit dare, is written
ut largitur menbris, B.

719. Prouehit ad summum, is written in margin for sic super
astra uehit, which is crossed out, B.

720. sanctit in arce deos is written in the margin for summa
tenere facit, which is crossed out, B.

[De dogmate Academicorum quorum Achesilas
princeps est.]

Distrahitur miser Archesilas, et in omnibus anceps

Fluctuat, et nescit quo uelit esse loco.

Peruigili studio semper fugientia querit

Vera, nec in studiis nouit habere modum. 730

Omnia perlustrat sapientium dogmata, tandem

Ignorare decet omnia uera suos.

Perpetuo nam uera latent si creditur illi,

Non ea mortalis peruia sensus habet.

[De Zenone.]

Posse nichil sciri laudatur Zeno probasse, 735

Herens in cunctis et dubitare iubens.

Scire nichil finis opere longique laboris

Et questus magnis sumptibus iste datur.

[De Pitagora et dogmate eius.]

Ad Samii nomen nullus conscendit, in ipso,

Vt ueteres perhibent plena sophia fuit. 740

Ad frugem uite melioris molle Tarentum

Pertrahit, ut morum summus in orbe sator.

729. fugiencia, C.

738. questig, C.

741-764. Twenty-four lines written at foot of column, B.

727-34. Augustine, Contra Academicos, ii.6 and iii.9.

735-6. Augustine, Contra Academicos, ii.5 and iii.9.

740. Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia, viii.15,
ext.1.

Quinque polum zone distinguunt, aera quinque,

Est eadem ponti sectio siue soli.

At Sanius tres esse docet, medianque colonis 745

Tradit, et in reliquis algor et estus agunt.

Tradere rem dubiam seclis putat esse prophanum,

Neque uelit sapiens esse poeta uetat.

p.51.b Et quia certa trium ualet esse scientia, ueras

Tres docet, in reliquis esse poema sinit. 750

Temperiam medie faciunt extrema, iubetque

Vt medium teneat qui bonus esse cupit.

Grataque temperies animalia corpora nutrit,

Vt natura iubet hec magis illa minus.

Peruia spiritibus sunt corpora densa, sed illos 755

Nunc cohibet maior arbitriumue dei.

Corpus spiriteum non ledunt algor et estus,

Vis elementorum nulla nocere potest.

Sed torquetur ab his animalis uita, capitque

Congrua pro meritis premia quisque suis. 760

Feceque decocta cunctis recreatur origo

Purior et redeunt aurea secla patrum.

Multa probe docuit, illoque perutilis euo,

Inter precipuos summus in orbe fuit.

749. sciencia, C.

762. Puriorum for Purior et, C.

743-4. Isidore, Etymologiae, iii.44; Macrobius, In Somnium Scipionis, i.15.

Hinc tamen arguitur animas quod ab ethere lapsas 765
 Asserit, et corpus carceris esse loco,
 Et quod eas propriis exclusas in noua mitti
 Corpora pro morum conditione putat.
 Et quod eas proprios tandem deducit ad ortus
 Corporis ut cupide rursus ad ima cadant. 770
 Cum semel hec fuerint illo tradente recepta
 Conuincit ratio plurima falsa sequi.

[De Socrate et auctoritate eius et dogmate.]

Ante pedes Socratis humiles sternuntur alumpni,
 Indigecemque deum Grecia tota colit.
 f.214.a Querere si cunctos precessit uera docendo, 775
 Vixerit an sancte, creditur esse scelus.
 Exercent alii numeros et pondera rerum,
 Que mensurandi regula, quique modi.
 Parcarum mentem sunt qui speculentur in astris,
 Et rerum motus, consiliumque dei. 780
 Sunt qui rimantur nature uiscera, sunt quos
 Nexio causarum signaque sola tenent.
 Sic aciem mentis uexant et in extera spargunt,
 Et priuata suo lumine corda manent.

768. condicione, C.

775. dicendo for docendo, C.

777. conuincit ratio plurima falsa sequi, C.

765. animas ab ethere lapsas, Macrobius, In somnium Scipionis, 1.12.

775. cf. Polierat viii.12, vol.ii.316: qui nullam sapientiae partem dicitur habuisse ignotam.

777-86. Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia, iii.4, ext.1; cf. William of Conches, Moralium dogma philosophorum, p.81.

At Socrates hominum curas contemnit inanes, 785
 Et latebras cordis quemque videre monet.
 Extera cuncta notat, et contemplatur ad usum,
 Et quanti nouit singula, tanta facit.

[Quod Socrates animum hominis deum putat.]

Contrahit in sese mentis radios; deus illi
 Est animus, mundus uictima, serua caro. 790
 Illicitos motus corrupte carnis abhorret,
 Natureque malum sub ratione domat.
 Instituit mores, uitamque serenat, eoque
 Iudice, uirtutum maxima scire pati.

[Quod mundus animo minus est et re et dignitate.]

Si commetiri mentem mundumque liceret, 795
 Hec maior, minor hic, seruit hic, illa regit.
 Nam carni mundus seruitque caro rationi,
 Que pars est animi participata deo.
 Omnia sic leto Socrati famulantur, eique
 Quem uis nulla potest ledere mundus obit. 800

[De errore Socratis.]

Hec hominis doctrina fuit, tamen error in illa est
 Quod cuiusque animum credidit esse deum.

793. Instituit mores, Augustine, De ciuitate Dei, viii.3;
 cf. Policrat. vii.5, vol.ii.105.

801-4. Apuleius, De deo Socratis, 21; cf. Policrat. vi.28,
 vol.ii.82-3.

785. contemnit, C.

Hinc hominis mentem pro numine dicit habendam,
 Vt cui diuinus est tribuendus honor.
 Vix aliquem tanta sors dote beaut, ut illum 805
 Non queat erroris precipitare malum.
 Tradit Anaxagoras animas ex traduce nasci
 Et causam teneris ossibus ossa dari,
 Quod de carne caro, sanguis de sanguine manat,
 Transit et in sobolem tota figura patrum. 810
 Sectio particule corpus minuit, sed in ipsam
 Simpliciter anime sectio nulla cadit.
 Vt calor ex estu, lumen ex lumine prodit,
 Sic ortum ex uno spiritus alter habet.
 Pura fides prohibet animas de traduce credi 815
 Quas deus infundit, et facit usque nouas.
 p.52.a Ex nichilo fiunt, et nunc in corpore clause,
 Nunc sine corporibus iussa creantis agunt.
 Nec pereunt quoniam ratio uirtusque perhennis
 Efficiunt ut in his constet imago dei. 820

[De Aristotile et dogmate eius.]

Magnus Aristotiles sermonum possidet artes,
 Et de uirtutum culmine nomen habet.

807-820. Fourteen lines written at foot of column, B.

820. hiis constat, C.

821. heading. domate for dogmate, C.

807 ff. Augustine, De civitate Dei, viii.2. The theory of Anaxagoras seems to be mentioned here as a contrast to that of Socrates; the difference between animus and anima is less than that between mind and soul.

Iudicii libros componit et inueniendi

Vera; facultates tres famulantur ei:

Phisicus est, moresque docet, sed logica seruit 825

Auctori semper officiosa suo.

Hec illa nomen proprium facit esse, quod olim

Donat amatori sacra sophia suo.

Nam quia precellit tituli communis honorem

Vendicat; hoc fertur iure poeta Maro. 830

[De errore Aristotilis.]

Sed tamen errauit, dum sublunaria casu

Credidit et fatis ulteriora geri.

Non est arbitrii libertas uera creatis

Quam solum plene dicit habere deum.

f.214.b Quicquid luna premit ex quatuor est elementis, 835

Et que transcendunt simpliciora putat.

Illaque perpetua diffinit pace uigere

Que supra solem circulus altus habet.

Non ibi committunt aliquod contraria bellum,

Nam tranquilla quies ulteriora fouet. 840

831. heading. Aristotil, C.

823. Boethius, In topica Ciceronis, col.1044 ff.; cf. Metalog.
ii.5, p.67.

831.ff. Chalcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, 250; cf. Metalog.
iv.27.

[Quod anime de quinta essentia.]

Vt fierent anime, substantia quinta creatur,

De qua signiferi constat origo poli.

Illa beatorum sedes, hec aula deorum,

Nam magis apta deo que grauitate carent.

Eternum mundum statuit, tempusque coeum, 845

Hisque coeternus dicitur esse locus.

Nilque perire docet, sed in orbem cuncta rotari

Et loca temporibus quelibet apta suis.

[Quod natura singularia tantum nouit uniuersalia
quasi quedam rationis figmenta sunt.]

Est indiuiduum quicquid natura creauit,

Conformisque status est rationis opus. 850

Si quis Aristotilem primum non censet habendum

Non reddit meritis premia digna suis.

Cunctis principium finemue dedisse probatur,

Artibus euincit quicquid habere cupit

Quod potuit quemquam ratio mundana docere 855

Huic dedit ut fierent dogmata plena fide.

841. substantia, C.

841. substantia quinta, cf. Policrat. ii.19, vol.i.109: quinta essentia. Cicero states that Aristotle added a fifth substance to the elements, Tusculanae Disputationes, i.10. Martianus says that stars are made from a fifth substance, De nuptiis, p.431. Macrobius, In somnium Scipionis, i.14: Critolaus Peripateticus [dicit] constare eam [sc. animam] de quinta essentia.

849-50. Boethius, In Porphyrium i, col.82-4. cf. Metalog. ii.20, Policrat. vii.12, vol.ii.141.

[Quod Aristotiles dictus est filius Apollinis.]

Quicquid enim docuit, docuisse putatur Apollo,
A quo progenitum fabula Greca refert.

[Quod Aristotiles omnibus studuit obuiare.]

Plurima cum recte doceat, tamen errat in illo
Quod semper reliquis obuius ire parat, 860
Nam licet in summis fuerit preclarus habendus
Captator laudis immoderatus erat.

Philosophum uirtus clarum non gloria uana
Reddit, honor uerus laudis amore perit.

[Quid deceat philosophum.]

Philosophus satagit ut mens respondeat ori, 865
Vt proba sit uerbis consona uita bonis.
Non ut quis recte loquitur mox philosophatur,
Sed qui sic uiuit ut bona semper agat.
Nam Venerem culpae potest lasciuia puella,
Virtuti laudes dicere scurra potest, 870
Indocti possunt sapientum uerba referre,
Peccat et interdum lingua perita loqui.

857-8. cf. Policrat. vii.6, vol.ii.112 and note; viii.5, vol.ii.247. In Policrat. vii.5, vol.ii.105, Plato is said to be the supposed son of Apollo.

860. cf. Policrat. vii.6, vol.ii.112.

862. Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia, viii.14, ext.3; cf. Policrat. vii.6, vol.ii.113.

[Quod Aristotile uicit gloria, quam uerbis
impugnauit.]

Vincit Aristotiles alios, hunc gloria uana,
Quam tamen impugnat et docet esse nichil.

[Quod philosophia uanam gloriam fugat, uicta
prius uoluptate et auaricia.]

Hec est prestantes que deserit ultima mentes, 875
Quam tandem uictrix philosophia fugat.
Indicit bellum uirtuti prima libido,
Cum caro, cum sanguis uritur igne nouo.

[Que coerceant libinam.]

Hanc poterunt sedare labor tenuisque dieta,
Quique placet cautis, res fugitiua, timor. 880

[Que repriment auariciam.]

f.214c. Bella secunda mouet amor irrequietus habendi,
Succendens animas, pronus ad omne nefas.
Instigant oculi mentem cum singula spectant,
Vt uelit esse suum quod putat esse bonum.

p.52.b Conterit hoc uicium rerum speculatio cauta, 885
Et diuinus amor, supplicique metus.

879. heading. coerceant, C.

885. speculatio, C.

874. Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia, vii.2,
ext.11; viii.14, ext.3.

875. Boethius, De consolatione Philosophiae, ii.prose 7;
cf. Policrat. viii.1, vol.ii.230.

882. pronus ad omne nefas, Lucan, De bello civili, vi.147.

[Quod alia uicia oriuntur ex aliis, sed
superbia etiam ex uirtute.]

Ex uiciis aliis aliorum constat origo,

Et de principiis sunt mala multa malis.

Estus auaricie gignit plerumque rapinas,

Sepe facit cupidum luxuriosa Venus, 890

Immoderata parit Venerem gula, dat furor ausum,

Odia liuor edax, fit uetus ira furor.

Sic uicium uicio dat causam, datque sequelam,

Res etenim turpis sola manere nequit.

[Quod negligentia paruorum magna uicia generat.]

Si modicum spernis paulatim magna sequentur 895

Et uenit a minimis sepe ruina grauis.

Gloria nobilium manans de fonte bonorum

Pretendit generis nobilitate decus.

Nam cum fermento uirtus corrupta tumescit

De misero coitu nata superba uenit. 900

Hec paribus sese prefert, spernitque minores,

Nescit et auctori stulta subesse suo.

Et sic de meritis ueniens, aut sanguine claro,

Est ingrata deo, munera cuius habet.

887. heading. Marginal headings against 887-1013 omitted, C.

892. Odia liuor edax crossed out, Liuor edax odium in margin, B.

895. Qui modica spernit paulatim magna.... in margin (very faded), B.

892. cf. Catonis disticha, p.221. 36.

[De uicio ingratiitudinis.]

Ingrati crimen cui gratia nulla coheret, 905
 Ingratum prohibet cuius habere locum.

[De uana gloria.]

Est ingrata deo que doni captat honores
 Que laudes operis uult retinere boni.
 Preripit auctori quisquis meritos titulorum
 Prouocat ultrices in sua dampna manus. 910

Gloria uana quid est nisi fumus, et umbra, sonusque,
 Qui simul ut cepit incipit esse nichil?

Hanc tamen affectant omnes, quia semper adesse
 Vere uirtutis testificatur opus.

Gloria dulce malum magnorum pectora mulcet, 915
 Et tamen hec eadem languidiora facit.

Quos caro non flectit, nec amor peruertit habendi
 Gloria de facili præcipitare solet.

[Quod repriment uanam gloriam.]

Hanc tandem perimunt rerum speculatio, mundi
 Contemptus, pene terror, amorque dei. 920
 Si sua quis plene recolit mala, si bona semper
 Cogitat alterius, unde superbus erit?

910. dampna, C.

919. heading, written in a second time, B.

919. speculacio, C.

Si meritum uite penset, si uindicis iram
 Posseque respiciat, unde superbus erit?
 Vnde superbus erit, si se speculatur ad unguem, 925
 Terra, cinis, uermis, fex, uapor, umbra, lutum?

[De uicio elationis.]

Non habet elatus uirtutum dona sed illi
 Et deus est hostis, hostis et omnis homo.
 f.214.d Elati uicium, quo nullum maius habetur,
 Non sinit elatum fratris amore frui. 930

[De uirtute humilitatis.]

Digni sunt humiles uirtutum munere, digni
 Scire deum; dignis uita beata datur.
 Qui docet hec uerbis pretendit philosophantis
 Nomen; philosophus hec facit atque docet.
 Hec et Aristotiles fertur docuisse loquendo, 935
 Fortius exemplis quilibet ista docet.

[De Platone et dogmate eius.]

At Plato similes ueri distinguit in ipsis
 Scibilibus quid res scire creata queat.
 Nam licet interdum fidei contraria dicat
 Sunt tamen illius plurima grata bonis. 940

923-4. Two lines written in margin, B.; omitted, C.

929. quod, for quo, C.

936. Forcius, C.

Principio docet esse deum, distinguit ab euo
 Tempus, et ideas applicat, aptat ilen.

[De yle.]

Inuenit hanc animus dum cuncta resoluit, agitque,
 Vt prodant causas cuncta creata suas.

Si specularis ilen nunc est substantia queuis, 945
 Contra nunc eadem creditur esse nichil.

Quam dum uestigat ratio quasi somnia sentit,
 Dumque tenere cupis mox fugitiua latet.

Auris abesse sonum sic audit, dum nichil audit;

Sic oculis tenebras cerne uidendo nichil. 950

Defectuque suo sic tactus tangit inane,

Inspidum gustus nil sapiendo probat.

p.53.a Et nichil olfaciens procul esse reuincit odores,
 Qui prius argutus censor odoris erat.

[De deo cuius potentia est efficiens causa mundi.]

Est deus eternus; mundus cum tempore cepit; 955

Hic manet, et tempus cetera cuncta mouet.

942. idea for ideas, C.; aplicat, B.

945. substancia, C.

947. sompnia, C.

956. Above Hic is written uel deus, B.; atque for at, C.

941-2. distinguit ab euo tempus, Chelcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, 306; William of Conches, In Boethium de consolatione, p.125 (ed. Parent).

943-6. cf. verses quoted from Bernard of Chartres in Metalog. iv.35, p.205.

955-8. cf. William of Conches, In Timaeum, p.152 (ed. Parent).

Per numeros elementa sibi contraria nectens
 Vincit, et eterna pace uigere facit.

[Quod numerus, pondus, mensura, locus,
 tempus sibi commensurabilia non sunt.]

Subdita primorum generum sibi simetra non sunt,
 Nec simili antigena sub ratione cadunt. 960

Temporis atque loci non est proportio nota,
 Mensure ratio ponderis esse nequit.

Predictis numerus assimiter est, et in istis
 Quinque sum munus philosophia gerit.

Additur his series causarum uel rationum 965
 Quas intellectus cernere solus habet.

Multiplicando modum nescit uirtus numerorum,
 Et finem magnis sectio nulla facit.

Crescit in immensum numerus, sine fine resolui,
 Continuum quoduis, sed ratione potest. 970

[Quod ingenium hominis circa prima et ultima
 deficit.]

Deficit ingenium cum tendit ad ultima; solus
 Qui facit atque regit prima uidere potest,
 Cognitus ille sibi plene, solisque beatiss
 Spiritibus quantum gratia cuique fauet.

f.215.a Nec de principiis recte censere licebit, 975
 Preter eum qui dat omnibus esse suum.

957. Penumeros for Per numeros, C.

963. numeris, C.

965. hiis, C.

[De anima hominis.]

Mens hominis numerus simplex, aptusque mouere

Sese, conformis dicitur esse deo.

Nam deus ut mundum totum regit, implet et ambit,

Si anime corpus subditur omne sue. 980

Materies anime diuersa subest, eademque

Ex indiuiduo est, diuiduoque simul,

Moleque corporea premitur uirtus animarum,

Hinc magis, inde minus, ut caro iuncta sinit.

[De motu rationabili et irrationabili.]

Suntque duo motus, erroneus et rationis; 985

Hic uiget in summis, alter ad ima trahit.

[De immortalitate anime et corporum resurrectione.]

Sunt immortales anime, corpusque caducum

Interit, et tandem pristina uita redit.

[De magno anno.]

Pristina uita redit, cum magni terminus anni

Ad primum reuocat sidera cuncta locum. 990

Annus tunc renouat nouus omnia corpora, rursus

Accipiunt anime, tempora lege fluunt.

-
- 981-2. Timaeus interprete Chalcidio, 35; cf. Policrat.i.6.
985-6. cf. Adelard of Bath, De eodem et diverso, p.13. vol.i.40.
989. The annus magnus or mundanus was the period of time in
which the constellations return to their former places;
Cicero, De natura deorum, ii.20; Macrobius, In somnium
Scipionis, ii.11.

Si renouant mundum solis luneque recursus
 Fortius hoc facient sidera cuncta simul.
 Presidet humori uaga Scinthia, solque calori; 995
 Humor ab adiuncto cuncta calore parit.

[De radiis solis et lune et officiis eorum et
 significatione.]

Lunares radii carnes fructusque perurunt
 Et uiciant, radius solis utrisque facit.
 Sic mundana perit sapientia, ueraque predest
 Naturamque fouet plena calore dei. 1000
 Sed calor immensus uermes parit, ut tibi constet
 Scrutandi quid habet immoderatus amor.
 Sol fouet et reprimit uisum, quia sobrius esse
 Debet, qui satagit mistica scire dei.
 Subdita sole uides, tibi luce creata patescunt 1005
 Diuina, plene nullus utrumque uidet.
 Est celeste bonum solemque deumque uidere,
 Solaque mortales inferiora uident.
 Lux immensa tegit solem, diuinaque semper
 Maiestas sic est lumine tecta suo. 1010
 Est in solari fons luminis atque caloris
 Corpore, spiritibus fons utriusque deus.

994. Forcius, C.

995. Sinthia, C.

997-8. See lines 1129 ff.

[Quod nulla substantia perit.]

Nulla perire potest substantia, formaque forme

Succedens prohibet quod mouet esse nichil.

Motibus his recreata manent elementa uigentque 1015

Dum uetus abcedit, et noua forma datur.

Porcio fessa statu, grata nouitate resumit

Robur, et a formis accipit esse nouum.

Alterat hec species, aliud facit illa, genusque

Dicitur, et confert cuilibet esse rei. 1020

[Quod informis deus et forma formarum.]

f.215.b Informis deus est, formarum forma, uigorque
p. 53.b

In quo res omnis perpetuata manet.

Semper enim uiuit ratio diuina, perenne

Res omnes uiuunt in ratione dei,

Immoteque manent idee, constat in illis 1025

Quicquid ad occasum temporis unda rapit.

Dispensat rerum motus ratio sine motu,

Et stabilis uirtus tempora cuncta mouet.

1013. substantia, C.

1014. Succedens, B.

1015. hiis, C.

1023. perhenne, C.

1025. Immote for immoteque, C.

1013. Timaeus interprete Chalcidio, 52 a.

1021-2. Chalcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, 319.

Maximus hic, omnes alii sunt particulares,
 Hic totum, reliqui singula membra mouent.
 Omnis enim regio propriis est plena colonis,
 De quorum motu rebus origo uenit. 1050

[Quod ignis omnia purgat.]

Aer corruptus solo purgatur ab igne,
 Purgat et infecte crimina motus aque.
 Diluit hec terre sordes, res celsior omnis
 Subdita sic purgat cuncta uigore suo.
 Celsior interdum sordescit ab inferiori, 1055
 Ast ignem purum nil maculare potest.
 Purius hoc nichil est, qui sordes decoquit omnes,
 Vnde locum summum res deiformis habet.

[Quod sublunaria aguntur motu superiorum.]

Res sublunares nasci motu superiorum
 Constat, et immotum cuncta mouere deum. 1060

[Quid natura.]

Principium motus rerum natura uocatur,
 Est in nature nomine causa latens,

1058. deiformis, originally two words, joined by a hyphen, B.

1060. in motum, joined by a hyphen, B.

1061-6. cf. lines 607-614.

Causa latens proprium que singula ducit ad ortum,

Et similes riuos fontibus esse facit.

Contra naturam sunt plurima posteriorem 1065

Sed contra primam quid uelet esse? nichil.

[De zodiaco circulo.]

f.215.c Zodiacus bis sex obliquat signa rotatu,

Equalesque sibi non sinit esse dies.

Articus est medi notum nobis caput axis

Sed reliquum prohibet terra uidere polum. 1070

[Quod globus terre planetarum circulis
extrinsecus est, et fex elementorum.]

Septem terra uagis excentrica subiacet astris,

Quam tamen ut centrum maximus orbis habet.

Inferior paret semper globus exteriori,

Terra sub est cunctis orbibus apta pati.

Hec immota manet, sed in orbem cetera currunt, 1075

In medium recidunt pondera cuncta locum.

Fex etenim semper in fundo tarda quiescit,

Attactuque suo sordida queque facit.

Omnia sordescunt que turpi fece replentur,

Que nisi purgentur vasa perire facit. 1080

Sic infecta diu, deuictaque fecis acre,

Vix caput attollit mens onerata luto.

1070. Above polum is written uel caput, B.

1067-70. Chalcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, 78 ff.

1072. Chalcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, 122

Nam prope tellurem sunt fumi, flamina, nubes,

Que turbant oculos et rationis opus.

Contra naturam facies humana reflectit

1085

Ad terram uultus, nata uidere deum.

Sed tamen interdum terrena uidentur ad usum,

Nec peccat, si sit tetra libido procul.

p.54.a Principis hec tradit sapientum dogma Platonis,

A quo posteritas dogmata uera capit.

1090

Sic igitur docuit quid cui sit scibile, quid non,

Vt teneant proprium cuncta creata modum.

[Quod deus solus omnia nouit, et omnis
rationalis creatura scientiam accipit
ad mensuram.]

Res ut sunt plene nouit diuina potestas,

Angelus assistens plurima uera uidet,

Spiritus immundus natura pollet et usu,

1095

Doctus et a sanctis plura uidere solet.

Fallitur in multis priuatus luminis usu,

Et pater erroris fallere semper amat.

Corpora detrusas animas in carcere ceco,

Culpaque sublato lumine scire uetant.

1100

Culpa, caro tenebras inducunt, lumina pellunt,

Nec miseris animas cernere uera sinunt.

1093. heading. et omitted; scientiam, C.

[Quod ueritas lux est anime, ratio oculus.]

Lux oculos pascit, rationem uisio ueri,

Hi fugiunt tenebras, hec quoque falsa cauet.

Est oculus menti ratio, pro lumine uerum,

1105

Vsum cernendi lumina scire uocant.

Ingenio, studiis uerum queratur et arte,

Preter opinari non habet ullus homo.

[Quod in pluribus utilis doctrina Platonis.]

Non nocet errantem cautis audisse Platonem,

Qui male pauca docet, et bona plura malis.

1110

Docta manus cauet urticas, herbasque salubres

Tollit, et a spinis intemerata rosas.

f.215.d Errores uitat ratio, sensusque pudicos

Cautus ab insanis absque furore capit.

Fortius euitat audita pericula prudens,

1115

Nam prouisa minus tela nocere solent.

Hinc sapiens audire cupit quecunque nocere

Possunt, ut caueat quicquid obesse potest.

[De Eudimione et dogmate eius.]

Cuuisunque rei firmetur opinio uera

Hoc uetus Eudimion censuit esse fidem.

1120

1115. Forcius, C.

Asserit errorem si fiat opinio fallax,

Falsaque nesciri dicit, et arte probat.

Falsum nescitur, quia nulla scientia fallit,

Nec permisceri lux tenebreque ualent.

Interdum ueri specie falluntur inanes, 1125

Votiveque rei dulcis imago tenet.

Sunt quos nec uerum nec ueri mulcet imago,

Sed uicii species, falsaque sola iuuant.

[Quod ueritas assimilatur soli, uerisimilitudo lune.]

Est sol conformis uero, falsoque Silena,

Que lucem simulat et maculosa manet. 1130

Nam quod sub luna uanum, mutabile nutat,

Sed circa solem fida quieta manent.

Regnat in excelsis uerum, uiget error in imis,

Et fallit populos quos uaga luna premit.

Clara super lunam superos ueri tenet aula. 1135

Inferius mundum nubilus error agit.

[De Archesila, principe Achademicorum, et
dogmate eius.]

Archesilam sequitur Academia prisca docentem,

Et genus humanum luce carere facit.

1123. sciencia, C.

1129 ff. cf. Rabanus, De universo, ix.9: Sol prosperitas est,
et luna aduersitas mundi.

1136. nubilus error, Boethius, De consolatione Philosophine,
iv. uerse 5; cf. Policrat. ii.12, vol.i.86.

[De Antitene, Achademico.]

Doctior Antitenes Academicus omnia solum
 Scire deum dicit et ratione probat. 1140
 Asserit et superos quam plurima scire, nec omnes
 Omnia, mortales paucula scire putat.
 Hesitat in cunctis nisi que ratione probantur
 Viua, cui stupor est non habuisse fidem.
 [Quid sit ratio uiua.]

Viuit enim ratio que per se nota patescit, 1145
 Aut per se notis semper adesse solet.
 Asserit hec sciri, dubitanter cetera tradit,
 In quibus ex usu maior habenda fides.
 Nam solitus rerum cursus facit esse probanda,
 Que semper simili sub ratione uides. 1150
 Hec tamen interdum quoniam secus accidit esse
 Non sunt certa satis, nec tamen absque fide.
 Ergo quod affirmat uerum putat esse necesse,
 In reliquiis dicit, credo uel esse puto.
 Mensque modesta solet sic castigare loquelam 1155
 Vt falsi nullus arguat esse ream.

p.54.b Sic adiectiuus sermonem temperat omnem
 Debeat ut merito semper habere fidem.

1139. heading. Et Achademico, C.

1145. heading. uiua ratio, C.

[Vnde Greci Academicum temperamentum in
sermone acceperint.]

- f.216.a Hinc etiam placuit Grecis modus ille loquendi,
Quem magni laudant a grauitate uiri. 1160
Conditione, die, causaque modoque cohercent
Verba, cauent nimia simplicitate loqui.
Sed quandoque dolus obducitur arte loquendi,
Verbaque pro rebus dat bona fictus amor.
- [Quod Romani Grecos imitantur in temperamento
uerborum.]
- Hunc morem sequitur ciuis Romanus, amicis 1165
Verba dat, argentum sumit auara manus.
Distrahit ad pensum iudex aduerbia cautus,
Nam precium maius utiliora dabit.
Adiectiua suis precis equata dabuntur,
Cartula uel calamus rarus inemptus erit. 1170
Captat opes Crassus ut eas conuertat in aurum,
Et recoquit purum possit ut esse putum.
Urbs uiciis corrupta suis corrumpit et orbem,
Et caput egrotum languida membra facit.
Curia nam queuis Grecos imitatur, et urbis 1175
Esuriem sentit orbis amator opum.

-
1159. heading, academicorum, C.
Grecis inserted above line, B.; omitted, C; eciam, C.
1161. condicione, C.; causa for causaque, C.
1167. aduerba, C.

1162-4. cf. Marbod, Liber decem capitulorum, vii, col.1707.

1165 ff. Perhaps a comment on the venality of the papal court;
but cf. Policrat. vi.24, vol.ii.69.

[De Varrone et dogmate eius.]

Inferior nullo Graecorum Varro fuisse
 Scribitur, hunc patrem Roma uocare solet.
 Plura quidem nullus scripsit, nullus meliora,
 Nec potuit quisquam deteriora loqui. 1180
 Mistica nature pandit ritusque sacrorum,
 Officiumque dei gestaque prisca patrum.
 Numina uirtutum que fingit uanus adorat,
 Et quot sunt pestes tot putat esse deos.

[De Plinio uno et altero.]

Plinius hunc sequitur in multis gratus uterque, 1185
 Sed tamen in multis pulsat utrumque fides.

[De Museo, qui putatus est Moyses.]

Museum ueterem preclaris laudibus effert
 Grecia, sed Varro quod docet ille refert.
 Ergo Varronem satis est legisse uolenti
 Scire quid alteruter utilitatis habet. 1190
 Esse putant dictum Musei nomine Moysen,
 Qui leges hominum primus in orbe tulit.
 Esto, sed etatum ratio manifesta repugnat,
 Vitaque dissimilis arguit esse duos.

1185. Plinius for Plinius, C.

1181-4. Macrobius, Saturnalia, iii.2.8, and passim.

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1185. Plinius for Plinius, C.

1181-4. Macrobius, Saturnalia, iii.2.8, and passim.

- Romanos Varro, Grecos Museos, Ebreos 1195
 Instituit Moyses uiuere more suo.
- [De Moyse, quod ipse sit fons scripturarum.]
- Errat Museus nimium, Varroque coerrat,
 Sed Moysi mentem spiritus almus agit.
- Plena sacramentis sic quinque uolumina scribit,
 Vt sit in historia sensus ubique triplex, 1200
 Vt pariter doceat pueros, iuuenesque senesque,
 Quantum quisque capit litera cauta docet.
 Vbera dat natis, infligit uerbera seruis,
 Et facit illorum colla subesse iugo.
- f.216.b Et licet inuoluat archanis uera figuris, 1205
 Scindit uela tamen et uetus umbra perit.
 Inter philosophos uocat hunc gentilis agrestem,
 Et tamen illorum maximus hoc minor est.
 Hic scripturarum fons est, et origo piarum,
 Quo de principio pagina sacra uenit. 1210
 Fons aliis, aliis stagnum, puteusue profundus;
 Inde sitim reprimas, crescit et inde sitis.
 Quod satis est possunt omnes haurire, sed ipsum
 Exhaustit plane nemo uel imminuit.

1196. more omitted, C.

1198. Chalcidius, In Platonis Timaeum, 276.

1199. quinque uolumina, i.e. the pentateuch.

1200. cf. line 408.

[De Cicerone et dogmate eius.]

Orbis nil habuit maius Cicerone Latinus, 1215
 Cuius ad eloquium Grecia muta fuit.
 Omnibus hunc Grecis opponit Roma uel effert,
 Sed tamen hic dubium dogma probare solet.
 Transit huc tandem cum se natura deorum
 Augeret, ut dubitet quid putet esse deum. 1220
 Qualiter abitrii libertas consona fato
 Extet, nam fatum si manet illa perit,
 Vt sibi conueniant casus fatumque repugnans
 Nescit, ob hoc uates ora tenere monet.
 p.55.a Nam genus humanum premit ignorantia ueri, 1225
 Nec sinit in claro cernere uera die,
 Que si forte patent obscura nube uidentur,
 Nec falsi plene suspicione carent.
 Scire deum solum credit uentura, sed ipsum
 Quid statuatur, nescit, sed tamen esse probat. 1230
 Non corpus putat esse deum, sed corpore maius
 Quod nec homo sensu, nec caro bruta capit.
 [Quod res corporee sensu, ratione uero
 comprehenduntur incorporalia.]
 Solis corporeis sensus carnalis inheret,
 Res incorporee sub ratione iacent.

1221. A word between libertas and consona has been erased, B.

1225. ignorancia, C.

1220. Cicero, De natura deorum, iii.15.

1221-2. Cicero, De fato, 5.

1223-4. Cicero, De diuinatione, ii.8.

- Illum sola fides capit et dilectio uera, 1235
 Naturamque sequi cultus amorque dei est.
 Quisquis enim satagit rationis iura tueri
 Naturam sequitur, seruit amatque deum.
 Ille tamen cultus non est seruilis habendus,
 Sic seruit matri filia, sponsa uiro. 1240
 Et si uita foret Ciceronis consona uerbis
 In summis poterat maximus esse uiris.
 Os hominis cuncti mirantur, non ita pectus:
 Imperium lingue par fuit, imo minus.
 Illius eloquio minor est Romana potestas, 1245
 Nam linguam pariter ciuis et hostis amat.

 [Quod uirtus eloquentie prefertur.]

 Quem magis euexit uirtus superat Ciceronem,
 Datque locum uite lingua perita loqui.
 Nam quamuis linguam formet, componit et actus,
 Viuerе precipue philosophia docet. 1250
 f.216.c Viuerе sincere pars optima philosophandi est
 Qua sine quid prodest lingua diserta? nichil.
 Namque diserta nocet, si sit deserta superno
 Munere, prudentes quod facit esse uiros,
 Sed quantum prosit sapiens facundia, lingua 1255
 Sit licet insignis dicere nulla potest.

1235. dileccio, C.

1247. heading. eloquencia, C.

1252. deserta, C.

1253. Nam diserta, C.

[De Seneca et Quintiliano.]

Ingenium Senece commendat Quintilianus,
 Sed tamen eiusdem uerba stilumque notat.
 Res queritur magnas frangi sermone soluto,
 Discendique genus arguit esse uagum. 1260
 Verbaque iuncta parum sine calce uocauit arenam
 Dum peragit sensum clausula queque suum.
 Sed quamuis calanum tantus culpauerit auctor
 Optinuit uirtus, et stilus ipse placet.
 Vicit enim uite grauitas et gratia uerbi, 1265
 Et noua dicendi grata figura fuit.
 Stoicus est acer, morum compendia captat,
 Verbaque semper habet sensibus apta suis.

[Quod gentiles omnes superat Christianorum fides.]

Sed cur gentiles numero quos error adegit?
 Omnis enim ratio deficit absque fide. 1270
 Christicole soli sapiunt et philosophantur
 Vere, quos tibi dat pagina sacra duces.
 Censeo Christicolas cultu, non nomine Christi,
 Quem prestant homini uita pudica, fides.
 Gratia multorum dabitur tibi uera sequenti 1275
 Dogmata, que prestant moribus atque fide.

1261. Verba iuncta, C.

1257.ff. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoriae, x.1.125 ff;
 cf. Metalog. i.22, p.51, Policrat. viii.13, vol.ii.320.

1261. Not Quintilian: see Suetonius, Caligula, 53.2.

1269 ff. Augustine, De ciuitate Dei, ii.14; cf. Policrat. viii.8,
 vol.ii.278.

Non tamen hec illa produces tutus in aula
 In qua rara manet gratia, rara fides.
 Pura fides non sola tamen placet omnibus, illa
 Gracior est merito quam bona uita fouet. 1280
 Est uere uite fons pura fides, fideique
 Vita boni mores; donat utrumque deus.

[Quod sanius est paucis placere bonis quam
 multitudini stultorum.]

Sed quia nemo potest stultis ratione placere
 Sufficiat grauibus te placuisse uiris.
 Vix indoctorum poterit quis ferre cachinnos 1285
 Si non sit forti pectore, mente graui.
 Sannas et runcos geminat lasciuia iuuentus,
 Audit ab ignoto si noua uerba libro.
 Non fugies runcos, linguasque manusque procaces
 Vix fugies nisi sit quo duce tutus eas. 1290

[De Theobaldo archiepiscopo et Thoma cancellario.]

Qui iubet ut scribas solet idem scripta fouere,
 Queque semel recipit nomina, clara facit.
 p.55.b Ille Theobaldus qui Christi presidet aule
 Quam fidei matrem Cantia nostra colit
 Hunc successurum sibi sperat, et orat ut idem 1295
 Presulis officium muniat atque locum.

1294. Cancia, C.

1283-4. cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.8, ll.3-4.

f.216.d Hic est carnificum qui ius cancellat iniquum,
 Quos habuit reges Anglia capta diu,
 Esse putans reges, quos est perpeffa tyrannos;
 Plus ueneratur eos qui nocuere magis. 1300

[De moribus Hircani.]

Huic qui prifcorum mores legesque reuelli
 Precipit libitum pro ratione fuit.
 Vicit auaricia Midan, feritate leonem,
 Astutam uulpem fraudibus atque dolis,
 Qui populum preffit, qui ius contempfit et equum, 1305
 Quo lupus et tigris mitior omnis erat.
 Plus fue pollutus, quouis petulantior hirco,
 Venditor ecclesie, prodicione potens,
 Sanguinis humani cupidus, uindexque ferarum,
 Qui titulo regis publicus hostis erat. 1310
 Ponitur exemplar regum, populumque regendi,
 Et bene uiuendi formula certa datur.
 Iuuit eum pacis cultus, sed more tirranni
 Cerneret ut pedibus subdita cuncta fuis.
 Hoc sub rege lupus metuit fuspendia pauper, 1315
 Absolui dignus fi dare poffet ouem;

1299. tirannos, B.

1308. prodicione, C.

1313. tutanni for tiranni, C.

1297. cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.2, l.7.

1301 ff. cf. Policrat. vii.20, vol.ii.187, apparently referring to Stephen.

Si dare posset ouem furtiuam seu uiolentam,
 Ablatam uidue, tunc erat absque nota.
 Qui tondere pecus poterat lupus et dare lanam
 Nouerat hic insons, hic oue dignus erat. 1320
 Non nocuit uulpi fraudem fecisse, uolenti
 Cum pastore suum participare lucrum.
 Vox erat auditu conuicti digna latronis
 Dicens, de regis utilitate loquar.
 Nam fur consortem qui regem ducit habendum 1325
 Non perit, et iustos sepe perire facit.
 Sed cruce dignus hic est, qui furto solus inherens,
 Non curat socius iudicis esse sui.
 Criminibus iudex precio sociatur auarus,
 Absoluitque reos, immeritosque necat. 1330
 [Quod Hircanus modernis prauitatibus et originem
 dedit et auctoritatem.]
 Hec illo manant de iuris fonte quod olim
 Tradidit Hircanus officiumque suum.
 Officiumque regi conforme fuit, quia mentem
 Auctoris sequitur iugeniose manus.
 Iulia lex illo dormiuit rege sepulta, 1335
 Crimen adulterii nil nisi ludus erat.
 Siluia Quartille cessit, Lauronia Flore,
 Sillaque dum uiguit nulla Sabina fuit.
 Hic metui gaudens dedignabatur amari,
 Vicinos subigens munere, fraude, dolis. 1340

[De pace tyrannorum.]

Illa tyrannorum pax est ut nemo reclamet,
 Quicquid agant, possint omnia, iura nichil.
 f.217.a Iura uacant, sacras leges euertit abusus,
 Velle suum statuunt iuris habere locum.
 Tali iusticia perhibent uiguisse leonem, 1345
 Prepositum reliquis dicere iura feris.
 Libertas hec est populi dominante tyranno
 Vt quod precipitur quilibet optet idem.
 Qui nimis optat opes, aut cultum regis iniqui,
 In scelus omne ruit, pronus ad omne nefas. 1350
 Hostis censetur quisquis sacra iura tuetur,
 Preuenit officiis iussa fidelis amor.
 Perfidie genus est aliquid discernere iussum
 Et scelus est aliquod pertinuisse scelus.

[Quo ratione quis cancellario placeat.]

Si uirtus animum componit, formaque ueri 1355
 Linguam, si foueat gratia mater opus,
 Tunc uindex uere te libertatis amabit
 Et faciet tutum qualibet ire uia.
 Hoc duce tutus eris in claustro, tutus in aula,
 Tutus in insidiis, undique tutus eris. 1360

1341. heading, tirannorum, C. 1341. tirannorum, B.

1347. tiranno, B.

1348. quidlibet, C.

1354. pertinuisse, C.

1350. pronus ad omne nefas, Lucan De bello civili, vi.147.

p.56.a Hic est qui cleri pro libertate tuenda

Mandrogero grauis est complicitibusque suis,

[De Mandrogero.]

Mandrogero, qui se solum seruare coronam

Et legum regni iactitat esse patrem

Qui si falsidicis credendum iura tuetur 1365

Integra, quo per eum regius extet honor,

Mandrogero, nomen quem libertatis adurit,

Illud in ecclesia si quis habere uelit.

Diuitis ecclesie libertas nulla, carentem

Hoste premit grauius regis inique manus. 1370

Publica sic seuit tutoris honore potestas

Vt quiuis predo mitior extet ea.

In bona pupilli tutor grassatur iniquus,

Nec tutore dato nequior hostis erit.

Factio Mandrogeri licitum libitumque coequat, 1375

Quoque semel placuit predicat esse bonum.

Hoc auctore perit libertas ecclesiarum,

Antipatrique manus arma nefanda rapit.

[De Antipatro et quare sic dicatur.]

Presbiteros tanquam patres populus ueneratur,

Et fidei pars est iussa subire patris, 1380

1363. heading, Madrogero, C.

1365. Quid for Qui, C.

1369-1374. Six lines written at foot of column, B.

1375. Faccio, C.

1379. heading. Antipatre with uel tro written above it, B.;
Antipatre, C.

- Iussa subire patris presertim recta iubentis,
 Pro quibus expletis uita beata datur.
- At ferus Antipater hos persequitur uelut hostes,
 Intentansque dolos undique bella mouet.
- Hinc illa nomen datur Antipater, quia patres 1385
 Ledit et infligit damna necemque parat.
- Sedulius in saccum pertusum congerit omnes
 Christo subtractas quas male querit opes.
- Ecclesiam seruire iubet, clerum populumque
 Decernit similem iure tenere locum. 1390
- Opprimitur clerus, priuatur honore sacerdos,
 Sed delatoris nomen ubique uiget.
- Publicus exactor summo precellit honore,
 Gracior ille tamen qui mala plura facit.
- f.217.b Hi si forte uolunt aliquid peruertere dicunt, 1395
 Dedecus hinc regni uertitur inde decus.
- Princeps non cupidus meriti, sed laudis auarus
 Precipuum sine re nomen honoris habet.
- Non curat quid honor, sed quid uideatur honestum,
 Nec bona uera placent, sed iuuat umbra boni. 1400
- Sic ratio sub pretextu cecatur honoris,
 Venaque dum petitur gloria uera fugit.

1386. dampna, C.

1393. precessit, C.

1394. Gracior, C.

1397. concupidus for non cupidus, C.

1397. Princeps, i.e. Henry II.

1399. quid uideatur honestum, cf. Catonis disticha, p.220.31.

[De uera gloria et uana.]

Gloria uirtutem sequitur, non laudis amorem,
 Et semper meritis est sociata bonis.
 Laude probus claret potius quam laudis amator, 1405
 Contra pollute nomine sordet iners.
 Fetor enim sordes uicii comitatur et horror,
 Et uirtus grato replet odore bonos.
 Sed uirtutis odor est illis perniciosus
 Quos agit Antipatri perniciosa manus. 1410
 Fetet barbaries que nulla lege tenetur,
 Fetet odore graui carnificina uetus.

[Quod domus tyrannorum carnificina est.]

Carnificina uetus est aula subiecta tyrannis,
 Est domus Antipatri carnificina uetus.
 Tollitur e medio sacre reuerentia legis, 1415
 Carnificum scitis dant sacra iura locum.
 Exigit a cunctis munuscula Sporus, at illa
 Si dederis perdes; nil dabis hostis eris.
 Si sit amicus obest, si non sit queret obesse,
 Quicquid agas oberit, aut uolet esse nocens. 1420
 Rem fortasse tuam poteris seruare, sed eius
 A uiciis animum non reuocare potes.

1409. uirtus for uirtutis, C.

1410. perniciosa inserted between the lines for exiciola which
 is crossed out, B.

1413. tirannis, C.

1415. reuerencia, C.

1419. cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.11, ll.9-10.

- Munus amicitie speciem producit, at ipsam
 Rem gignit uirtus uera, probatque fides.
 Augetur tamen obsequiis, sumitque uigorem, 1425
 Nam probitas meritis premia digna refert.
 Dinomaches et Polidamas dominantur in aula,
 Nil Cato, nil Curius, cuncta Photinus agit.
 p.56.b Cuncta Photinus agit Labeone sibi sociato;
 Horum uita scelus, singula uerba doli. 1430
 Trasonis fastum gestusque uidere molestum est,
 Quem uix ferre potest munere capta Thais.
 Vir grauis hic uisu grauis est, gratusque Sabinus,
 Dum puer et tener est non fruticante pilo.
 [Quod cancellarius se conformat aulicis ut
 reuocet ab errore.]
 Tristior hec cernet iuris defensor, et artem
 Qua ferat auxilium consiliumque parat.
 Vt furor illorum mitescat dissimulare
 Multa solet, simulat quod sit et ipse furens.
 Omnibus omnia fit, specie tenus induit hostem,
 Vt paribus studiis discat amore deum. 1440
 f.217.c Ille dolus bonus est qui proficit utilitate,
 Quo procurantur gaudia, uita, salus.

1429. Phitonus originally, but corrected, B.

1439. specietenus, B.

1434. non fruticante pilo, Juvenal, Satirae, ix.15.

Balbutit nutrix ut linguam formet alumni,
 Et uerum ficto cauta dolore fugat,
 Lascium risum lacrimis compescit obortis, 1445
 Et teneros sensus decipit arte pia.
 Excitat ad lacrimas facies lacrimantis amicum,
 Et facies hilaris gaudia sepe facit.
 Forcius ut miles pugnacem conterat hostem,
 Dux facit armatus dum fera bella gerit. 1450
 Miles ab exemplo ducis hostes acrius urget,
 Dux fugiat miles dat quoque terga fuge.
 Prouocat affectu discentes officiosus
 Doctor, ut effectum possit habere labor.
 Nemo libens audit suspecti uerba magistri, 1455
 Que licet aspera sint dulcia reddit amor.
 Illaqueat citius homines et ualidius artat
 Formula uiuendi quam grauis auctor amat.
 Hac igitur ratione tui mens sana patroni
 Vt patienter eum perferat aula furens. 1460
 Conciliare studet sibi conuiuentis amorem
 Turbe, ne peragat ebria mortis iter.

[Quod multi successus ausum dederunt errori.]

Ebria fortune donis noua curia, rege
 Sub puero, credit cuncta licere sibi.

1457. cicius, C.

1459. Hoc, C.

1445. lacrimis obortis, Virgil, Aeneid, xi.41.

1463. Ebria fortune donis, Horace, Carmina, i.37.

Insanire putes eque iuuenesque senesque, 1465
 Insanit iudex officiumque suum.
 Curia nugaces solos amat, audit, honorat,
 Artes exosas aulicus omnis habet.
 Artes uirtuti famulantes aulicus odit,
 Sed famulas carnis aulicus omnis amat. 1470
 Hos aule mores funambulus intulit ille
 Qui quod presumit, lege tuetur aui.
 Qui sapiunt nugas, et crimina, lege uocantur,
 Qui recte sapiunt lex iubet ire foras.

 [Quod in correptionibus insinuatione utendum.]

 Ergo quos ratio directa nequit reuocare 1475
 A uiciis, reuocat insinuantis opus.
 Nam sicut uerbi sic insinuatio uite
 Sepe reluctantes ad sua uota trahit.
 Forcior sit uite quam sit persuasio uerbi,
 Nam paribus studiis conciliatur amor. 1480
 Conciliatus amor animos ligat, imperat, urget,
 Vt duo non duo sint quos pius unit amor.
 Sic amor ad queuis sanctus bona cogit amantes,
 Nam facit hic uotis quod facit ille manu.
 Sed uereor frustra ne cancellarius instet, 1485
 Vt mutet mores aula superba suos.

1477. insinuacio, C.

1479. est for sit, C.

1481. amor omitted, C.

1482. sunt for sint, C.

1481-2. cf. P.L. 199, ep.lxxxi.

- f.217.d Mundus enim lucris inhiat, iuuenesque senesque
 Muneris incestat imperiosa fames,
 Excecatque uiros quibus est collata potestas,
 Tendat ut ad sordes quelibet ampla domus. 1490
 Estus auaricie sapientum corda perurit,
 Polluit ecclesias, sancta profana facit.
 Orbis anatores omnes hac peste laborant,
 Eris contemptor rarus in orbe manet.
 Hec ubi, quando, quibus, uel qualiter insinuentur, 1495
 Cura ne pereas garrulitate tua.
- p.57.a Est indocta loqui que nescit lingua tacere,
 Floccida, que uerbi nescit habere modum.
 Sunt nugatores inimici, suntque tyranni
 Falsus philosophus, ganeo, scurra tibi; 1500
 Quos agitat cachetes scribendi quosue loquendi,
 Qui uiciis sordent, quos leuis aura fouet,
 Horum tendicule dicenti uera parantur,
 Et nisi precaueas publicus hostis eris.
 Assertor ueri personam nescit amici, 1505
 Discernit meritis premia nulla uiris,
 Personis parcit, iudex in crimina seuus,
 Et uicii labem semper ubique notat.
 Aut taceas prorsus, aut pauca loquaris in aula,
 Aut queras in quo rure latere queas. 1510
-
1498. uerbit for uerbi, C.
 1499. tiranni, B.
 1501. chachetes, B.
-
1501. cachetes scribendi, Juvenal, Satirae, vii.52.
 1502. quos leuis aura fouet, cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.8, l.10.

Nam si non parcis uerbis nemo tibi parcat,
 Preuenietque dies impia turba tuos.
 Sub duce prefato si forte recedis ab aula
 Sospes, et ut tutus quolibet ire queas,
 Pauca tui tandem stillabis in aure patroni, 1515
 Que recolens nequeat immemor esse sui.
 Lex diuina bonis uiuendi sola magistra,
 Non ueterum ritus, qui ratione carent.
 Peruigil hanc studeas cura seruare perenni,
 Nam seruatores seruat et ipsa suos. 1520
 Lex humana, dei si sit contraria legi,
 Auctorem damnat, quo pereunte perit.

[Quod leges ciuiles comparantur aranearum telis.]

Retia soluuntur leuiter que textit aragne,
 Arte tamen mira fila coire facit.
 Impediunt eadem muscarum corpora parua, 1525
 Magnaque si ueniant quolibet ire sinunt.
 Sic, Anacarsis ait, cohibent ciuilia iura
 Inualidos, magnis quolibet ire licet.
 Non ita lex eterna, potens torquere potentes,
 Atque fouens humiles quos uidet esse pios. 1530

1519. perhenni, C.

1522. dampnat, C.

1523-1530. Eight lines and the marginal heading are inserted
 at the foot of the column, B.

1523. Recia, leuite, C.

1528. quolicet, C.

1515. stillabis in aure, Juvenal, Satirae, iii.122.

1523-30. Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia, vii.2,
 ext.14; cf. Policrat. vii.20, vol.ii.187, P.L. 199,
ep.clxxiv.

[De diversitate hospitiorum et hospitem.]

His dictis abeas iubeasque ualere patronum,

Natalique solo te reuocante, redi.

Quanta fides sit in hospiciis, inquire, uiator,

Nam res in precio est uilis ubique fides.

Hospes in insidiis sedet hospitibus peregrinis, 1535

Et malus auditor singula uerba notat.

Linguaque si profert uerbum leue siue iocosum

Mantica si paucis rebus onusta iacet,

Inuolat aut rebus, aut uerba recensa iniquus

Hospes, et interpres perniciosus erit, 1540

f.218.a Et testes adhibet Bauium uanumque Dolonem,

Vt pereas rebus, aut tua cuncta tibi.

Si sit uera fides et honestas pura domorum

Est uultus hilaris, officiosa manus.

Defectum rerum uerbis uultuque faceto 1545

Hospitis instaurat cura, cliensque bonus.

Non quecumque domus titulum pretendit honoris

Rem tenet aut meritis est ueneranda suis.

Sed quemcumque uides in Christi laude sacratum,

Quisquis eum teneat dignus honore locus, 1550

Et quoniam capiti respondent consona membra

Et domus est domino contolor ipsa suo.

1539. Inuoluat, C.

1542. cuncta tua originally, but corrected, B.

1549. quecumque, C.

1552. consona, between domino and contolor, crossed out, B.

1552. contolor for concolor.

Si ueneranda domus te duxerit excipiendum
 Hospicio, uel si forte ministrat open,
 Quis bona dispenset prudens aduerte, sub illo 1555
 Stat fortuna domus et color ipse loci.
 Nam bona fama perit si rusticus est uel auarus,
 Frontis ab urbane munere fame uiget.

[De Carino.]

Infelix domus est res dispensante Carino,
 Hospes et hostis agunt conditione pari. 1560

[De Cacio]

Fronte graui Cacius uitam mentitur honestam,
 Cauda tamen quid sit indicat, atque gula.

[De Coridonianis.]

Qui Fabium gestu, uerbi grauitate Catonem
 p.57.b Exprimit, humanum cum Coridone sapit.
 Sordet eis clerus, uite communis abhorrent 1565
 Nomina, se solam secta superba probat.
 Vnde tamen populus sibi commoda querit et isti,
 Quos pariter fallit utilitatis amor?
 Pane, mero, pannis, uulgato more fruuntur,
 Et placet ut nobis lauta culina sibi. 1570

1560. condicione, C.

1561. Cacius appears to have been Catius, with the t altered
 to a c, B.

1558. Frontis ab urbane, Horace, Epistulae, i.9.10.

Diuicias captant, iuust absque labore uoluptas,

Et capit interdum blanda latensque Venus.

Seria nunc agitant, modo cedunt seria nugis,

Et stomachum placet hostia grata gule.

Escas dat commune forum, potumque taberna

1575

Communis, uestes una ministrat ovis.

Sed de communi uestes alimentaue sumunt,

Dum modo communis cerdo sit atque cocus.

Nam sibi formari uestes victumque parari

Laucius, exposcit nomen honorque domus.

1580

[De Bauianis et Meuianis.]

Consonat erranti Bauius, benedicta remordet

Meuius, oblatrant, error utrimque grauis.

Quilibet istorum dat secte nomen, et auctor

Extat eis, quos tu sepe uidere soles.

Meuius et Bauius semper caueantur ut hostes,

1585

Et fugias Cacium cum Coridone suo.

[De Carinianis.]

f.218.b Quem uitare nequis, studeas placare Carinum,

Cuius ab arbitrio sors tua sepe uenit.

Illa paucorum satis est meruisse fauorem,

In quorum uentres lauta culina ruit,

1590

Quorum cura penum solet euacuare bibendo,

Et bona marsupiiis publica tecta latent.

Hi metuunt sumptus, faciemque uiantis amici,
 Nam meretrix illis plus peregrina placet.
 Ergo quid expectas, ut sit tibi commodus hospes, 1595
 Cui nisi colludat multa puella placet?

[Qualiter uersandum apud hospites.]

Sed quis turpe nimis peregrini lite moueri
 Hospicium, quicquid dicat, habeto modum,
 Et ne suspectum quis possit habere rigoris
 Sit tua iocundis lingua referta iocis. 1600
 Sintque sales sine dente tui, sit lingua modesta,
 Compositus gestus, uita pudica tibi.
 Sit bonus auditor patiens et tardus ad iram,
 Sitque cliens humilis qui uolet esse tuus.
 Hospitibus gratus sumptus moderare, suboptans 1605
 Vt dignam ualeas cuique referre uicem,
 Et benefactorum reddatur gratia plena,
 Que bonus interpres singula magna facit.
 Vir bonus et prudens modo res conseruat ad usum
 Et modo dispensat, et docet esse suas. 1610
 Querit ut expendat cum causa locusque requirunt,
 Seruatasque diu tempore spargit opes,

1595. comodus, C.

1603. Si for Sit, paciens, C.

1601. cf. Hildebert de Lavardin, P.L. 171, col.1060 D.

Et sumptus gaudet fecisse loquere modoque.
 Stultus in expensis nescit habere modum,
 In proprio parcus, et prodigus ex alieno, 1615
 Quam solam captat Cherea, laude caret.
 Hospicio non est oneri, quicumque modestus
 Contentus modicis sumptibus esse potest.
 In summa uideas cum quo tibi res sit agenda,
 Et quantum poteris moriger esse stude. 1620
 Hoc quantum poteris dictum sic accipe semper,
 Vt sit honestatis regula salue tibi.

[Quod mendaces et bibuli fugiendi.]

Mendaces itidem fugies, bibulosque cauebis,
 Et quibus est uenter siue Lauerna deus.

[Qualem oporteat habere comitem.]

Sit suspecta Venus, sit sobrius atque pudicus, 1625
 Quem comitem longe queris habere uie.
 Commodius nichil est seruo socioque fideli,
 Nullus in obsequio commodus absque fide.

[Que expensa ubique necessaria.]

Est expensa uie querenda tibi, dabit illam
 Morum fama, grauis actio, sermo placens. 1630

p.58.a Quo magis hec abeunt in sumptus, et mage crescunt:

Nummus in expensam non rediturus abit.

f.218.c Hi, quocumque uoles, poterunt perducere sumptus,

Vsu nam crescit ista moneta suo.

Ergo uia quocumque placet securus abibis, 1635

Sed tamen ad patriam dulcius ire tuam.

[Quod Cantia caput regni et qui ibi cauendi,
qui non.]

Pontificum regumque parens te Cantia fouit,

Hospiciumque tibi preparat immo domum.

Hec petit ut redeas, et in illa sede quiescas,

Que caput est regni iusticieque domus. 1640

Parebis matri presertim recte monenti,

Queque tuos tendit perpetuare dies.

Intrabis claustrum, sed si potes absque cucullo,

Vt post si libeat egrediare tuus.

Inuenies illic qui semper scire laborant, 1645

Et quibus est grandis pena carere libro.

Sunt alii qui sic sapientum scripta licentur

Vt nec cetussem cuncta ualere putent.

Legis amatores adeas et scripta colentes,

Contra nugaces nummicolasque caue. 1650

Quas contempnit opes sapiens admittit ad usum,

Querit et interdum non tamen absque modo.

1637. and marginal heading. Cancia, C.

1644. Vt si post si libeat, but corrected, B.

1645. laborent, B.

1637-8. cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.6, ll.9-10.

1640. caput regni, cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.6, l.19.

1648. cetussem for centussem; centussis is 100 asses.

Frustra querit opes, quia non saciatur avarus,
 Quamuis quicquid habet conferat ipse deus.
 Nummus ei deus est qui semper torquet amicos, 1655
 Et solet eternam perpetuare famem.
 Gratia rore suo nocuum restringit amorem
 Sed cupidam mentem non facit absque fame.
 Omnia posse deum notum satis est, sed avarum,
 Sit licet omnipotens, non saciare potest. 1660
 Nequius hoc nichil est quia nulli parcit, agitque
 Vt sit cum reliquis semper et ipse miser.
 Nequior est aliis qui uerbis Gillia, rebus
 Demea, Flaminium uiuit, agitque Numam.
 Tantalus est auctor cupidis, est auctor avaris, 1665
 Perpetuaque siti deperit atque fame.
 [De Britone.]

Inuenies letum Britonem si caseus assit,
 Plus tamen interdum gaudet adesse libros.
 Nam quantum patitur Britonis natura uel ordo,
 Indulget studiis, carminibusque uacat. 1670
 Dispensanda domus illi commissa resurgit,
 Atque mali species hoc ueniente fugit.
 Non amat hunc Balatro, non Dauus, Pamphilus odit,
 Cuique nichil grauius quam residere domi.

1669. cum for uel, C.

1671. Dispesanda, C.

1653 ff. cf. Horace, Epistulae, i.2.56: semper avarus eget.

[De Odone.]

Odo libris totus incumbit, sed tamen illis 1675
 Qui Christum redolent, gratia maior inest.
 Hic grauis Emolpis, Encolpui hunc et Adonis
 Cum Gittone cauent, et Venus ipsa timet.
 f.218.d Canta manus Britonis, Odonis et aurea lingua
 Dum Christum loquitur; plenus uterque fide. 1680
 Hi tibi sint comites, illis tua cuncta reuela,
 Nam Brito quod ludis, quod sapis Odo probat.

[De Querolo.]

Plautinum Querolum miraris ubique uideri,
 Mancipio tali non caret ulla domus.
 Non illum placare potest fortuna deusue, 1685
 Quin sorti semper detrahat atque deo.
 Diuitibus cunctis uideas adstare uolones,
 Vt modo nec Gnato possit habere locum.
 Si doleat diues cupidus, spoliante uolone,
 Quis doleat? Satis est quicquid auarus habet. 1690

[De Zoilo.]

Computat expensas, seruorum facta reuoluit
 Zoilus, ut domini stillet in aure sui.

1677. Emopolis, C.

1681. Hii, C.

1683. heading. Querelo, C.

1691-1716. Twenty-six lines with marginal headings inserted
 at foot of page, B.

1692. stillet in aure, Juvenal, Satirae, iii.122.

Ergo fidelis erit quia sumptus pensat heriles?

Non, sed adulando querit et augit opes.

Fureque deterior cui res extrinseca cordi est, 1695

Vt mentes proprio lumine fradet, agit;

Nec rebus parcat stulto quas tutius confert,

Nam sapiens uigilat et sua damna cauet.

p.58.b Dicit enim dum fallacem cupidumque repellit,

Assentator, abi, Zoile, te uideo. 1700

[De Matone.]

Miraris famulos aule cecis Matoni;

Hoc mens plena dolis, hoc mala lingua facit,

Hoc auditorum leuitas, ut tressis agaso

Possit ab ingrata pellere quemque domo.

Credulus auditor fidi uetulique clientis 1705

Immemor est et amat semper habere nouos.

Nam quotiens facili Pedro uilis in aure susurrat

Toxicat interius cordis et oris opus.

Etates, mores, fortunas, conditiones,

Versat et appendit garrulus ante focum. 1710

Eius ab arbitrio dominus male sanus et excors,

Aut beat aut torquet, odit amatae suos.

Infelix igitur domus est et pena bonorum,

Que rectore carens sub ciniflone gemit.

1697. tucius, C.

1698. dampna, C.

1699. fallat est for fallacem, C.

1703. agoso, C.

1707. quociens, C.

1709. condiciones, C.

1713. et omitted, C.

1703. ut tressis agaso, Persius, Satirae, v.76.

Infelix equidem nimis est et preda uolonum, 1715

Que reicit ueteres non fruitura nouis.

Stellio de furtis maculam contraxit inanem,

Nec est fur ex quo destitit esse reus.

[De uicio inuidie et cura]

Subiacet inuidie stimulus sors leta, miserque

Solus ab his liber, solus et hoste caret. 1720

Liur edax alios dum ledere gestit, et ignes

Excitat inprimis uritur igne suo.

Confoditur suis stimulis, se dente cruento

Rodit, et impulsu deperit usque suo.

Nemo ualet morsus rictumque cauere caninum 1725

Quos scola, quos claustrum, quos fouet aula nocens.

Hos humilis cautela fugit uirtusque probata,

Sed tamen interdum liur utramque ferit.

[De Euforbianis.]

Non est apta loqui, sed sordes lingere nata

Lingua loquax, semper ad maladicta procax. 1730

Euforbi rabies hac peste laborat, agitque

Gratia ne uigeat siue fidelis amor,

Ne qua domus pacem teneat, ne claustra quietem,

Curia ne queuis tuta manere queat.

1716. Aut for Que, C.

1719. heading. Placed against line 1717 in C.

1722. inprimis originally two words, joined by a hyphen, B.

1730. malaedicta, B,

Lingua nocens planos incrustat, sancta prophanat, 1735
Semper et in cunctos toxica seua iacit.

[De Baccara.]

Quicquid habet, quecumque potest, exponit et offert
Baccara, teque suis rebus egere uetat.

Grandia promittit, nec parua daturus, amicos
Sic beat ut nullam sumat egenus opem. 1740

Si petis auxilium negat hoc, si consulis heret,
Ergo quid expectas? Baccara semper erit.

[De Dauo.]

Garrulitate dolis, conturbans omnia Dauus
Omnibus illudit, risus et ipse donus,
Sergiolum cernis gestu promittere Scevam, 1745
Expecta modicum, Sardanapallus erit.

[De scola Tersite.]

Tersite similes producit curia multos,
Quos scola, quos urbes, quos fora uana ferunt,
Quos aluit pagus, quos mittit barbara tellus,
Quos Venus in thalamis castraque Martis habent, 1750

f.219.a Quos etiam mittunt uiuarua rupta uirorum

Cum Venus impellit, cumue Lauerna trahit.

1746. Sardanapallus originally two words, joined by a hyphen, B.

1748. foca for fora, C.

1751. eciam, C.

1737-42. Martial, Epigrammata, vii.92.

[Quod mores attendendi.]

Depinxi mores hominum quo caucior esses,

Nam pro persona quisque colendus erit.

Moribus est tribuendus honor, cultusque probatis, 1755

Et merito fidei conciliatur amor.

Nam solet interdum uis extorquere timorem,

Sternit et inuitos atque subesse facit,

Seruiat ut nolens aliis captiua uoluntas,

Territa uerberibus et stimulata minis. 1760

Sed perfectus amor procul hunc facit esse timorem,

Nam facit ingenuum quemque pudicus amor.

[Quod libertas philosophum decet.]

Libera philosophi uita est et libera lingua,

Est libertatis auctor utrique deus.

Ergo philosophus colit hos quos credit amicos, 1765

Aut quos a uiciis posse redire putat.

p.59a. Non homines hominum sunt umbrae quos habet orbis,

Brutescens uiciis, cum ratione caret.

Quid tibi cum laruis sapientum dogma sequenti?

Dicent, ni fugias ocius ito foras. 1770

1758. subisse, C.

1764. Letter a between libertatis and auctor, C.

[Quod locus uicia non excludit.]

Plena supercilio si turba repellit abito,
 Et contemptores spernere disce tuos.
 Nec tibi sit cure si contemnaris ab illis,
 Quos captos mundi recia uana tenent.
 In claustro capitur quem torquet amor uiciorum, 1775
 Nam paries claustri perulus extat eis.
 Irrumpunt arces, nullamque resistere posse
 Si semel insurgant grandia scito seram.
 Non adamas obstat uiciis non ferreus agger,
 Non aqua, non fosse, sed nec iniqua palus. 1780

[De triplici obstaculo uiciorum.]

Ergo tamen seui qua possunt arte repelli
 Hostes? aut quid eos cogit inire fugam?
 Si timor ante fores, et si pudor atria seruet,
 Et si castus amor interiora tenet,
 Deuitat penam timor officiosus, et omne 1785
 Quod nisi precaueat posse nocere putat.
 Nominis ingenuus maculam pudor arcet, odores
 Spargit ubique bonos, unde placere queat.
 Castus amor rebus sic semper adheret honestis,
 Quod nec uis maior dissociare potest. 1790

Virtutes locat in castris, sic omnia munit

Vt nullum possit hostis habere locum.

Sed timor in seruo ualeat dum pena cauere,

Ad facilem questum cedet, eritque nocens,

Et fame custos dum possit culpa latere,

1795

Consentit uiciis absque rubore pudor.

f.219.b Non sic uerus amor, qui casu fidus in omni

Virtutem solam gaudet inesse sibi.

Ob causas uarias queruntur cetera, uirtus

Se contenta sui premia semper habet.

1800

Omnia uirtuti fatalia commoda cedunt,

Virtutis fructus est in amore pio.

Sicut casta fidem cupiens seruata marito

Coniunx, declinat et studiosa fugit

Ne corruptori pateat locus ullus ad ipsam,

1805

Aspectum, risus, munera, uerba, iocos,

Contemnens, meritum et nomen mechantis abhorret;

Sic omnem culpam sanctus abhorret amor.

[De gratia et libero arbitrio.]

Gratia sola pium parit et confirmat amorem,

Cui timor inseruit ingenuusque pudor.

1810

Istud sola nichil meritum non asserit esse,

Nam bona que facimus spiritus intus alit.

Istud sola docet quoniam si gratia desit

Ad bona nature nisus inanis erit.

Istud sola docet quod causa sit una salutis

1815

Gratia, que meritum prouehit atque parit.

Arbitrium carnis est gratia, mentis imago,

Mente caro uiuit arbitriumque deo.

In cineres caro lapsa redit si spiritus absit,

Hoc abit in terram destituente deo.

1820

Vermibus esca datur fetens caro mente remota,

Hoc cibus est fetens uermibus absque deo.

[Quod nulla secta sine gratia.]

Quelibet admittit si desit gratia fastum

Secta, nec hunc arcet parua uel ampla domus.

Non facit ut sapias habitus nomenque magistri,

1825

Nec conuiuarum turba beare potest.

Non caput attonsum, non uestis pulla uel alba

Te trahit ad uitam; gratia sola trahit.

Nam stulti possunt in quamis ueste perire,

Redduntur uite premia, nulla toge.

1830

Oderunt uerum, quod honestas sanxit abhorrent,

Vnde fit ut ceci precipitesque ruant.

Excipit infernus pereuntes ueste remota,

Nec minuit penam tetra uel alba suam.

1817. ymago, C.

1820. in terram written as one word, B.

1827. pulla originally puella, with e erased, B.

1823. heading. sc. libera a fastu.

[Benedictio uiatoris.]

- p.59.b Sepe diu multum monui, nunc accipe pauca, 1835
 Que bene dum seruas, res tibi nulla nocet.
 Flecte genu, submitte caput, benedictus abito,
 Sepe maturis profuit ista manus.
 Verba dei forment animum, linguamque refrenant,
 Sint eadem uite formula certa tue. 1840
 Diriget affectus, linguam componet et actus
 Gratia, si tribus his causa sit una deus.

[Quid liber auctori debeat.]

- f.219.c Cuilibet auctori debentur iure perenni
 Obsequium, cultus, officiosus amor.
 Cum tenearis ad hec, animum lectoris amici 1845
 Auctori studeas conciliare tuo,
 Et quoscunque potes inducere perge fideles,
 Vt pro me Christum sollicitare uelint.
 Sed quid multa moror? properas exire; uideto
 Quid facias; ceptum perfice cautus iter. 1850
 Vt ualeas memor esto tui; si gratus haberi
 Vis cura semper uiuere lege dei.

1842. hiis, C.

1843. perhenni, C.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEACHING OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

[The author addresses his book]

You will discuss the teachings of the ancients and the fruit of their work, which Philosophy reaps from her studies. May that good spirit which teaches good words and brings forth pious wishes guide your mind and tongue, and may it so direct your goings and favour your works and actions that grace, life and salvation might be your companions.

5

The court rejoices in novelties and despises old friends; opportunities for luxury and profit alone give it pleasure. Perhaps the court will ask who you are that come, what is the reason for your journey, whither you are going and from where: reply briefly, little book.

10

[Of Truth and Wisdom.]

Truth is the sister of Wisdom, the source of virtue, pleasing in her appearance, and always the friend of God. She is disfigured whenever false respect is paid to her, and like a blessed virgin she flees deceits. These two turn their eyes and hearts upon each other; the ornament

15

of one is the ornament of both; they share a common birth, appearance and task. From them proceeds the sacred principle and the true way of life. May these be your companions, may they attend your cares and words, and may they wish to make you the friend of serious men. May 20 they show you the beginning, the course and the end of speaking, and what kind of speech suits each occasion. The source of correct speech is provided for you by the trivium, but first you must learn what suits each occasion.

[That logic is of service to the wise and discerning.]

Assume the aspect of a philosopher, and say what logic is worth, and why it is acceptable to a wise man. 25 He who follows the sound without the meaning, who lays hold on words and not their sense, cannot be an impartial judge. Since the purpose of speaking gives the words their force, what will they be but wind if the purpose is not known? The good listener considers the words as 30 expressing the speaker's meaning not in any sense that the words might have of themselves, but in such a way that the correct rule of speaking helps the words. Without that rule the words can have no weight. Long ago the Roman law dismissed quibbling from the court, but a bad pleader 35 still loves to quibble.

[Of the frivolous who counterfeit logic.]

Unless a method of proceeding is sought there is that wretched form of dispute which you, Justinian, ordered to be kept out. And so, unless you talk in a way acceptable to children, the chattering crowd will spit in your face. If you understand the classical authors, if 40 you refer to the writings of the ancients, if you wish perhaps to prove something in order to establish it as fact, from all around they will shout: "What's this old idiot getting at? Why should the words and deeds of the 45 ancients interest us? We are wise from our own efforts, our youthfulness has taught itself. One crowd takes no notice of the ancients' doctrines. We do not burden ourselves by following the words of the authors whom Greece produced and Rome studied. I am an inhabitant of the Little Bridge, a new authority in arts, and I boast that 50 the discoveries made long ago are my own. What those old men have taught and my young friends do not know, I swear to have been the discoveries of my own mind. An eager crowd of young men surrounds me, and thinks that a man making great boasts speaks nothing but the truth."

[Of the men from Melun.]

This prattler with too little wit smacks of Melun. 55 He thinks himself more learned than his master Alberic, and wordily corrects Abailard's errors. "Well-worn

currency is driven from our market place. The wise sayings
of the ancients were acceptable in their time, but nowadays 60
only new things are acceptable. Since all your knowledge
derives from your own ability, do not trouble yourself
about what you might learn beforehand or read later. This
school does not care about method or order, the path to
which master and pupil hold. Therefore it is of more use
to confuse various tongues than to be driven on foolishly 65
in the studies of the ancients. The grammarians ponder
over the numbers, cases and tenses which they join to-
gether, and avoid inflated words. They are racked by their
studies, they are racked by consuming care, and no leisure,
no rest, is given them. It is a miserable task, which no 70
advantages follow. He to whom an unhappy lot grows sweet
wishes to be wretched. He who wishes to be wretched shows
himself to be mad, and he who wishes to be wretched clearly
is wretched. He who fits number to number, case to case 75
and tense to tense is foolish and wretched. For it is
a great labour and there is no profit in it; thus time is
consumed and the whole of life with it. Without serious
labour you can be more wordy than are those whom the old
rule of the fathers restrains. Whatever comes into your 80
mouth, produce it boldly, and, with the help of arrogance,
you have the art which makes a man of you. Fortune befriends
the bold, and if grace deserts pride, glory pleases us more.
Our friends seek glory alone above all things, and if there 85
is no glory, of what can you be sure? When all virtue has

been forsaken, a ready tongue will bring glory, and if you
 can talk away, glory for sure remains. Do not go through
 books to be able to talk: be long-winded, and send books
 far away. Books impede some men, the examples of earlier 90
 writers impede others, and too much work prevents them
 from achieving success. He who cites treatises and
 manuals argues foolishly, for the adherent of the ancients
 cannot be a logician. He who in beginning a dispute follows
 the ancient principles can be regarded as one of the bulls 95
 of the fathers [i.e. talking animals]. For the more you
 read, the more there remains for you to read, and the more
 men teach, the more there is to be taught. Read little
 to know much, and for you the greatest authority is whoever
 comes to mind: let him be on your lips in such a way that 100
 your authority is thought to have said whatever you say,
 and his mind to be your spirit. Not only will you be
 believed to know what he wrote, but all that he wished to
 write you must boast is part of your teaching. You must
 promise that you can teach what he wrote and what he
 passed over in silence, for no one forbids you to utter 105
 falsehood. Wealth is the object and glory is in falsehood;
 modesty makes the truthful say little."

When this childish delusion persuades others, so
 that a young man teaches many things and reads few, he 110
 praises Aristotle alone, and despises Cicero and whatever
 captive Greece gave to the Latins. He scorns the laws,

physics become cheap, and all literature grows vile. Logic alone is valued. But even logic is not valued to the extent that anyone troubles to learn it: if a man is believed to be a logician, that is enough. You would think him to be a madman rather than a philosopher, for all important things are too much of a nuisance to him. Frivolities grow sweet to such men; they hate the face of a wise man, and it is a kind of torture for them often to see a book.

[Of the Sertorians.]

Sertorius is said to have once taught his pupils in this way, weaning them when too young. The master of the young men was driven on by monetary fees, and for a great price he taught them to know nothing. This school wished that the young men should always remain young, that they should scorn to know or to be elders. And although the crowd of the Garamantes, whom madness persuaded to hearken to right and wrong alike, whom gluttony and avarice forced into slavery, whom Venus forced to cross into her camp, protected this school, you will go against them, armed with the sword and shield of virtue, to destroy their madness.

[Of inflated speakers.]

If you tell him to live or to speak correctly the Sertorian believes himself fettered. This is a burden,

a yoke; avoiding it, our young men run to the summit 135
 by a more profitable route. They admit solecisms, accept
 what the barbarian offers, mix these things with their
 words, and neglect the art of speaking. In this manner
 the Norman embellishes his language, wishing to be re-
 garded as urbane and to follow the French fashion. 140
 Swollen with this inflated speech, our courtier mocks the
 rustic words of his native soil. Inflated speech is that
 which no rule constrains and no race can say is rightly its
 own. This style of speech was held worthless by the
 ancients, who were used to living and speaking according 145
 to a good law.

[Of Hyrcanus.]

But because it once flourished in the time of
 Hyrcanus, to whom desire was dearer than the law of God,
 and who believed falsely that kings are subject to no law,
 and that whatever he desired to do was right, this usage, 150
 which enjoyed the king's esteem too greatly, is especially
 acceptable, and inflated speech has a value.

[Of Mandrogerus.]

In such a fashion we see Mandrogerus flourish, under whom
 no evil cause can perish. The nonsense of Mandrogerus is
 regarded as the greatest wisdom, and his words will be 155
 the formula of the law. It is therefore less profitable

to learn the Latin tongue than to speak, if necessary, inflated words. It is too much of a task to learn the Latin tongue; inflated speech will be yours without effort. Those whose efforts the ancient language graces 160 apply themselves rigorously to their studies, and seek the approval of discipline. It is better therefore to confuse tongues than to undergo the hurts of time and circumstance at once.

Others may talk like this, but do you briefly state what are the elements of knowledge and correct speaking. 165

[The things which confer wisdom.]

The powerful nature of intellect swiftly masters all the arts if it has the help of the following: attention to each word, the reading of books, skilful care, suitable quiet for study, and faithful devotion. 170

[The things which confer eloquence.]

If anyone chooses to be regarded as outstanding in eloquence, these will give him without fail that which he desires: good natural abilities, the use of memory and imagination, the wealth of art, the instrument of voice, and frequent speech.

[Of Mercury and Philology.]

If in these respects you are strong in mind and mouth, to you Philology joins Mercury. Do not let Maurus, 175

who in verse writes Philología, be worried, for sometimes
 a long syllable is made short and sometimes a short syllable
 is lengthened according to the rules of grammar, but either
 way the sense in speech remains the same. And since there 180
 is agreement about the sense, he for whom goat's wool
 caused a long dispute makes a childish mistake. You may
 give one or the other, but be sure that Philology is allied
 to Mercury, not because reverence should be given to false
 gods, but because truths are concealed under the cover of 185
 words; for public laws forbid that sacred truths should
 be openly divulged. Therefore the ancients hid these
 things under appropriate figures of speech, that faith
 might be able to acquire merit. Secrets are highly 190
 prized, but things grow cheap when they are known to the
 general public, which thinks that what it can understand
 is of no value. Sometimes the artifice of words conceals
 something true; as long as the truth is there under the
 surface, the figure of speech remains true. It is false
 in the appearance of the words, but in the mind it is
 trustworthy, making faith dwell in hidden things. 195

[Of Furvus and Martianus.]

It may be asked how a mystery may lie concealed
 under a false image; Furvus and Capella teach the
 answer. They discuss the causes of things and natural
 laws, and they deal with ethics; histories are especially
 agreeable to you, Furvus. The elevated language of 200

Furvus has gone out of use, and because of its gravity is seldom read. But his work is still held dear in the district of Liguria, where it is known as the De florum gemine. My master William of Conches often used to read it, and our friend Pontilianus also loves it. It is kept among the archives at Rheims, western Belgium gave it, and the archbishop of Orléans owns it. Furvus is more useful to learned men, but Capella's milk is more plentiful, and more suitable for those of no great understanding.

[Of the marriage of Philology and Mercury.]

Philology passes into the embrace of Mercury, and Capella teaches that this was devoutly done. Mercury is famed for his skill in words, Philology for her skill in reason, and Philosophy deems that these two should be united. If the use of reason assists the genius of words, the husband will be outstanding through the dowry of his wife; but if he lacks reason he is almost naked, and scarcely able to cover his filthy rump. It is a happy union when to nature is joined virtue, whose bridal chamber will be the mind of a wise man.

[Of grace uniting the virtues.]

Neither Juno nor Hymen could unite these two; grace alone can be the bridewoman of the virtues. Without grace, reason and the genius of words are sterile; or their

offspring is born and, being evil, degenerates. Without
 grace, the vigour of nature strives in vain and its 225
 every effort towards good will be void. For we are
 naturally inclined towards evil, and we are fit for des-
 truction. If grace is lacking, every effort is bad. If
 grace is lacking, neither mind nor hand will function
 rightly. Grace precedes and rules the workings of the
 mind, moves the affections and promotes the uses of our 230
 labours, watches over the tongue and prevents its being
 charged with blame. Grace uplifts the mind, directs the
 reason, sets the actions right, lays secrets open, and
 teaches the truth. Those whom grace favours are accept-
 able, and true philosophers, and grace makes them enjoy 235
 the prosperity they desire. Grace cleansing nature en-
 lightens and fulfils it, and brings out righteousness
 from the heart of Genius. The pagans thought Genius a
 frail deity, born to undergo the destiny of a subject
 being. More truly may he be called an innate goodness 240
 enabling lesser qualities to underly the gifts of virtue.
 Grace enriches the human race with countless gifts, and
 makes it thrive in its angelic destiny.

[That philosophy is the foremost gift of grace.]

Philosophy excels all other gifts. The mind 245
 destined to destruction avoids it, and the noble mind
 seeks it out. Ever and everywhere, philosophy adorns,

honours and advances its supporters; ever and everywhere it oppresses its opponents. It brings forth and succours the virtues, and like a step-mother drives out vice and allows error no place.

[Of Nursia and her jests.]

Philosophy is harmed by its enemies and fortune exalts the fool when blind Nursia wishes to amuse the people with a jest. What is there for her but games of chance and shadows of the universe? She obscures her sight with these jests. Her wheel of fortune, like an empty trick, misleads the weak, whom she could have taught. She shows false aspects, and makes minor things seem important and important things seem of little account. She assigns wrong meanings to things, and gives them false names on her own authority. She pretends that unrealities are real, and that realities are unreal, so as to block the path of reason. But although she conjures up a thousand spectral images, Philosophy is not deprived of her judgement.

[Of freedom of judgement.]

True freedom of judgement demands the help of two things, without which the mind is overwhelmed with guilt: that is, that reason should discern rightly, and that one's mental disposition should always delight in what righteous laws approve. Subjugated nature, which its companion

guilt oppresses with a harsh wound, cannot rise above this. 270
 The guilt which fosters punishment disturbs the keenness
 of reason; it hastens to long for punishment and prevents
 the mind from righteousness. Grace, restoring nature,
 renews the keenness of reason, and rules and regulates
 the disposition of the mind. It makes the judgement free,
 but only for those whom a devout mother consecrates to 275
 your worship, Philosophy.

[The nature of philosophy.]

What is philosophy but the fount, the path and the
 guide of salvation, the light of the soul, the rule of
 life, and grateful peace? It cannot, indeed, uproot
 troublesome impulses, but it represses hurtful thoughts
 and tames them with reason. The assaults of the enemy 280
 destined to early destruction do no harm; this enemy
 survives so that the fierce beast [of pride] might harm us
 the less.

[That the fierce plague of pride carries off a
 limb from the body which it seizes.]

The fierce beast always seizes a limb from the
 infected body, and leaves a mark on him whom it has
 taught to be its own. It distinguishes each victim by
 his foot, his eye, his tongue, by the carriage of his
 shoulders or by a mark on his face. Sometimes the forces 285

of evil appear in the motion of a man's head and the form of his dress, or in the signs of his labours. Other enemies are instructive, but the wild beast feeds man's pride, abandons him, and casts down and kills what it has exalted.

290

To have won renown in the fight contributes to a man's reward, and when the enemy is laid low the glory will be the greater. A hard fight will yield the fruit of great recompense, for a due reward is given to the deserving for their labour. Therefore our efforts are always in the fight, eager to be found deserving, and they decide the case of life or death. Only the labour which takes philosophy as its companion to move and direct it is recognised as serving the cause of life. The labour which philosophy deserts, so that whatever the world can own is made less, serves the cause of death. If anyone tries to give the world equally high praise, his wits are wanting and his tongue is overcome with silence; or if he is not silent, he stutters, performs the motions of speaking what he cannot utter clearly, and makes the usual promises.

295

300

[That philosophy and love are the same thing.]

If the true God is the true wisdom of mankind, then philosophy is love of the true God. But if no worldly thing is greater than that love and if divine love conquers all, you must adduce that philosophy, in whose origin, as

305

is agreed, faith resides, transcends the world. True 310
 faith in Christ, fulfilled through the sacraments,
 acquires and nourishes virtue, and action needs both.
 For without the sacraments that faith is not true, and
 the sacraments are of no avail unless the hand is quick
 to do good. A hand quick to do good is required in the
 grown man, if time is granted; a sheltered life and the 315
 faith of the Church look after children. All good doc-
 trine pays the highest respect to the sacraments, although
 the sinner thinks them nothing.

[That no one without faith is a true philosopher.]

Without faith no one can be a genuine philosopher;
 without faith no one can acquire merit. Therefore let 320
 him who applies himself to philosophy, and delights in
 the cultivation of virtue and work of devotion, keep pure
 his faith. The empty faith which the results of devout
 works do not show as living does not help, but harms.

[That philosophy demands order and method in
 everything.]

Philosophy demands that everything should be done
 in due order, and commands that there should be method 325
 in all things. Philosophy teaches everything in order,
 and transmits the reason and method of reading. In all
 the arts due order should be observed. With philosophy
 as guide, the uneducated approach the first elements of

correct speech, and once started they read the various
 subjects by stages. The careful man will deliver his 330
 teaching according to order, principle and method, but
 with triflers principle, method and order vanish. The
 stupid trifler produces a verb without regard to tense;
 the words and deeds of careful men respect time. Do not
 concern yourself with what the fool speaks or pretends; 335
 no praise will come your way from his high-flown words.
 If you wish for praise, let principle, method and order
 find favour with you. Without these there is no fame, or
 at most it is short-lived. With order all things thrive,
 and they rejoice in principle and method. If anyone
 neglects these he will rightly come to nought. He whom 340
 no order restrains deserves to be confounded, and he who
 knows no method is utterly undone. Guilt makes slack the
 uncontrolled man whom no principle constrains, casts him
 headlong into evil ways, and destroys him as he falls.
 Therefore let there be due order for good men in living
 and speaking, and let principle, method and order govern 345
 the mind as well as the tongue.

Men will ask, perhaps, what it is that puts the
 writings of the ancients out of favour: listen to the
 words of the young man Tryphon.

[Of the method of the philosophers of antiquity.]

I will answer briefly why the method of the earlier teachers
 is no longer employed by us: it is too industrious. They 350

read much and taught much, they did not allow their pupils to range about, and exhorted them to learn or to stay at home. They assessed the youthful offerings of intellect, and in everything the teaching of the master was appropriate to the capacity of his pupils. No pupil was a sycophant of the masters, no master gave presents 355 that you might wish to attend his lectures. With the ancients the order of reading was not confused, for everything had its proper place in the curriculum.

[Of the order of learning.]

The study of rhetoric follows grammar, then comes composition, then diction, and in the last stage rhetorical style. By these stages fluency increases 360 until it lays hold upon the citadel of knowledge, and teaches various arts without difficulty. If anyone has grasped the art of eloquence perfectly he will become skilled in any branch of learning to which he applies himself. Industrious youth passes at last from these studies, and by the study of philosophy will travel 365 along different paths of knowledge. These paths, however, lead with one accord to one end, for philosophy bears but a single head. They examine the nature of things, they discover what is seemly, and whence a blessed life will come to them. They examine the strength of strict and 370 just law, and what medicine can do for the healthy and the sick.

[That holy writ commands all things.]

Since it has learned all arts and is skilled in all teaching, holy writ holds universal sway.

[The things from which praise originates.]

These four are wont to evince its praise in created things: the subject, the appearance, the hand of the maker, and the purpose also, which determines the reputation of all things, for everything is either good or bad according to its purpose. The stuff of scripture is God and the material of the universe, and the light from which truth is derived adorns it.

[That truth is the form of holy writ and the light of the mind.]

The form is the reality, from which a thing is called true, whence comes, as is established, that which the holy scriptures teach. The idea of good is the fount and origin of truths, the cause of which shines in the reason of God. Light, too bright yet not bright for mortals, diminishes itself that men might see. No man could receive the full light; it therefore modifies itself that the weak may be able to grasp it. This same light bestowed upon us gives renown to truth, for it can say that all truths are subject to it. The light of the mind is truth, without which the mind grows coarse, and wandering headlong from vice to vice is finally destroyed.

It is a commodity beyond price, beyond measure fit for what is seemly, and its seemly nature is evidence of its creator. The substance of truth, which shapes each thing and makes it what it is, is the ruling idea. Its nature and action is fundamental in everything that is true; do not hesitate to think false anything which lacks both. The form of a thing, whatever its purpose, is determined according to its kind, and it always accomplishes what its origin dictates. Therefore that which remains constant and works according to its inborn character, and which nature, abiding in reason, counsels to be of its own kind, is said to be true, and its effect declares it or its form attests it. Hence the logical sequence of things shows one kind of truth, but no one can perceive that truth without agreed conventions. Interpretation is true because it makes that sequence known, and thus there is in things a threefold expression of the truth. An allegory is true whenever it traces out the same sequence; if objects may like words bear definite meanings. In its teaching holy writ dispenses literal meanings, interpretations and true allegories. The all-providing Spirit, from which the instruments of every good proceed, attests itself to be the author, and if anyone has perceived anything to be well done with mind, hand or tongue let him know it to be the work of the Spirit. Without it nothing is rightly performed, and mind, tongue and hand do nothing wrongly when bound to this master.

[What the object is of philosophy.]

Our purpose is to love God, to avoid sin, to practise righteousness, to know ourselves, to know God, to hold to the path of life, to perceive truth, to scorn the world, to love the virtues, to live happily in pure faith, in certain hope of good, and in the promise of eternal life, with God always in mind. Although the human mind abounds in all the things which the universe affords and the world can offer, it is torn with worry by many great cares, endures unending hunger and thirst, is always tortured and finds no peace at all, except when the true glory, which is God, shelters it.

[Of true and false glory.]

False glory makes men wretched, true glory makes them blessed; one swells up in sin, the other rejoices in God. Holy writ endows its friends with such a purpose, and to the man who reveres it devoutly is given that faculty of meditation, which is most to be desired because it holds in itself all the mind's prayers and excludes anything that can injure. Anything that can injure it drives from itself and keeps at a distance, and it makes the centuries run by at its bidding. No one can take away the gifts which holy writ confers on those who are careful to obey the commandments of God.

[That holy writ is the queen of all else.]

Holy writ is called the queen of writings; they call it divine because it makes gods exist for us. That which makes persons and things holy is itself holy. Philosophy owns this to be its head. To this all other arts, and all mechanical disciplines which you find suitable for various purposes, are handmaidens; to this all things which the law does not reject and public use approves owe their labours and their services. To this practical and theoretical knowledge give their aid, and philosophy yields the citadel of holy rule.

[Of the teaching of the Stoics.]

The Stoic aims at philosophy, while he fixes his eyes ever on the latter end and cuts down the shoots of vice with his scythe. He determines the nature of virtue and blessed life, so that his cautious mind grows accustomed to the fear of death. This swelling fear drives vanities from his mind, and with the coming of this greater fear his worldly fear leaves him. His pride is worn away, the rush of hot anger is destroyed, and extravagance, the ravager of wealth, comes to an end. Restraints are put upon pleasure, and seductive lust lays aside its goad, frightened by the approaching end. He readily despises everything when he thinks that he is about to die and remembers that all things pass quickly away. But if

this contemplation of death is without bound, so that numbness undermines the heart with excessive fear and hope dies, disturbed and extinguished by various tumults, the image of death exceeds lawful measure. It exceeds the bounds which the law prescribes for us, and the image of death brings real death to pass. 465

[Of the restraint of fear and the avoidance
of despair.]

The law commands that you should fear, but does not allow the man who fears to despair: it holds this a greater sin than all others. A pure confession acquits every guilty man, and inner repentance washes away every crime. But this particular offence excludes pardon, and deserves its punishment, which no one can turn away by prayer or payment. This offence adds sins to sins, and neglects to confess wrongdoings; excessive fear devours prayers and solemn promises, denies that God is merciful and thinks him not ready to pardon sinners, but eager for blood. No one appeases the anger of an offended prince by saying that he is always thirsty for blood. It is a foolish pleader who mentions the savage inclinations of the judge, so that his wrath falls heavily on him. 470 475 480

[That despair causes blasphemy.]

It is an attribute of the godhead to be merciful; whoever denies this attribute denies the existence of God.

He who denies the existence of God clearly blasphemes, 485
 and brings down fires upon his head, prepares the weapons
 and the cross. He invites eternal death, which no one can
 avoid without God, whom it is madness to deny. The con-
 templation of death, through which the fool who fears
 without moderation perishes, is useful to the good servants
 of God. 490

[Of a good man's fear.]

Acceptable to God's majesty is that measure of fear which
 avoids all sins and cherishes hope, which, having feared,
 remembers the justice of compassion, and thence acknowledges
 the name of the Judge and Father; that measure of fear
 which so avoids the wrath of the Almighty that it urges
 man rightly to please the Father with gentle obedience. 495

[The definition of the voice.]

The subtle air which the throat and the instruments
 of the mouth mould, so that it can be received through its
 sound by the ear, that is voice, which informs one man what
 another is thinking, and in turn renders their hearts
 accessible to each other. 500

[That the Stoic believes in fatal necessity.]

The Stoic is circumscribed by fate, and thinks it
 fore-ordained that all things behave in that set manner in

which the ages pass. The will of the deity which disposes all things he calls fate, which no one can make void . Therefore as a caster of horoscopes he goes the rounds of the stars with skilful care, and fearfully meditates on 505 either pole. By promising happy events he wrongly soothes his friends, and the false prophet often makes them afraid. He studies the stars, as he will study the fates in the stars; he worships the deity and the stars with equal enthusiasm. 510

[That he thinks providence to be the cause of
necessity.]

Because foreknowledge does not admit of error, from it the ancient doctrine draws a serious error. Foreknowledge weighs too heavily on all things in the sway of fate, and like a tyrant it imposes harsh laws.

[The inconsistencies which arise from the theory
of fatal necessity.]

There is no freedom of the will if the fates move minds and mouths and hands with enforced obedience. No one 515 deserves rewards for his merits, and all crimes are to be laid on the author himself of fate. Many harmful notions arise from these errors , which it is pious to avoid but a great labour to enumerate. The Stoic makes blame 520 equal and the penalties equal, but holy writ teaches the opposite.

In many respects, then, the Stoic is in accord with the law, but at the same time he is wont to teach many

ideas contrary to the law. Faith accepts his teaching,
 except when manifest law rejects it or when more powerful 525
 argument can show it to be at fault.

[Of the teaching of the Epicureans.]

The other school of thought thinks that joys of the
 mind are the supreme good, and teaches that everything
 exists in pleasure. This is right only if the pleasure
 is unpolluted, if reason selects the true joys of the
 word, if such a condition of mind is sought that what the 530
 devout and conscientious soul desires is in it, and what
 it does not desire is not in it; if its efforts strive to
 confer true peace of mind, and if the mind calmly possesses
 the joys of peace. Dutiful action makes war for the sake
 of peace, and seeks to gain that which can give it lasting 535
 felicity. Effort founded in virtue grows sweet, and the
 mind flourishes when it is gladly conscious of deeds well
 done.

[Of the war between exertion and tranquillity.]

But exertion and tranquillity are at war in the body; one
 vexes, the other sustains; one flees, and the other
 remains. That the war might last long, it ends only with 540
 time, but no times shall put an end to the peace which comes
 after. True tranquillity there will be when the flesh,
 subject to the mind and overcome by death, has become
 spiritual, when the flesh receives nothing except what is

approved by reason, and God strengthens and directs the 545
undefiled mind. The subdued flesh is made one with the
mind and the mind is made blessed; that tranquillity,
complete in God, has no end.

[That the world does not possess true peace.]

The world does not possess this tranquillity, for
the world is full of disputes, wars and plundering, and
is drunk with human slaughter. The world which produces 550
squalor, strengthens and loves squalor, which deceives
those who love it, is wont to befoul its votaries.

[That the grace of God gives true tranquillity.]

The holy scriptures teach this peace of mind; grace
offers it, and without grace no pleasant repose of peace is
given. For we are bidden to rejoice once and to rejoice
yet again in the Lord who gives twofold joys to his 555
people. Rejoicing now in hope, the soul will rejoice in
reality, receiving the full rewards for its service.

[Of simple and double joy.]

The rewards are doubled when the mind and the flesh
are glorified together; if it is only in one of the two,
simple glory is given. But whenever the glory of the mind 560
excels, it is certain that the flesh will have the same
reward for its merits.

[Of the error of the Epicureans.]

Epicurus is temperate in that he hearkens to the laws, but intoxicated in that he is a slave of carnal love and appetite. This smith has set up an anvil which he surrounds with a void of uncertainty, and chance 565 directs all other things. Chance blows up atoms into a huge accumulation so that the great globe of the world is made, so that the elements are fixed in their places by eternal law, and so that the fixed seasons undergo their alternations. This school of thought teaches also that 570 the soul dies with the body, and that the laws and justice are honoured in vain. It likens minds, which are subtle bodies, to breaths of wind, and falsely declares that no rewards are given to the devout. It does not know what is right and wrong; carnal love, games of chance, sleep, perfumes, gross feeding, jesting, idling and drinking are 575 its delights. And with these go applause, deceits and trumpery, and whatever the clown, the braggart and the buffoon recommend.

[That Epicurus worshipped chance as a god.]

The slave of the belly is not concerned with what is right, and thinks that fortune takes the place of the deity. He believes that nothing happens according to 580 reason but all according to chance. Pleasure is worshipped as a god, along with that evil thing, a greedy belly.

Epicurus loves nothing except that which sacrifices to Venus and the belly; but the first victim falls to the belly, and the order of the members nourishes the germs of vice, appetite gives seed to Venus, and encourages her hope. 585

[The fruit of the Epicureans.]

The victim which the priest sacrifices to the belly and to Venus always has rewards suitable to his worth. The rewards of him who makes the sacrifice are flames, filth and worms; for such wages befit such worship. 590
Those are the joys of stupid pleasure; its ultimate end is calamity and its utmost glory is shame. The deities deserve the rites, the rites deserve the deities; the god is worthy of his worshipper, and the worshipper worthy of his god.

[Of the teaching of the Peripatetics.]

The discussion of realities exercises quick-minded philosophers, so that they can see truth in its own fountain. 595
The fountain of truth is the idea of good; and what they are makes all separate things exist in a condition appropriate to their kind. Thus they derive from the fountain of the cause of realities, and all things given by law correspond to their own first causes. 600

[Of the law of nature, and created nature.]

The law is a series of causes, and created nature produces results by likening them to their first causes. The supreme power disposes the series of causes in the form of number, weight and measure, and fixed seasons witness what the reason of the supreme power, with all-providing hand, arranges from the beginning of time. 605

[What nature is.]

The series of causes is called nature, and from it this universe of the senses derives its being. If formed beings accord with the causes related to them, then parent nature shapes every work of creation. But if the 610 cause is discordant with the result arising from it, people think it to be something contrary to nature, and, because the cause is hidden, say that it is without reason; but clearly there is nothing which is without reason.

[That nothing is contrary to reason.]

Reason precedes the creation of all beings; reason 615 carries them forward and directs them once they are created. Reason provides the purpose of mortal things, and their first cause governs all their motions. The first cause prevails over the other causes which it precedes, and has all the powers of a lower cause. The lower is not rightly 620

master of the ruling cause, or it would be able to progress side by side with it. This scripture teaches, this creating nature decrees, that inferior things should always give place to their superiors.

[What the cause of all things is.]

The sole reason of causes is the divine will, which Plato often called by the name of nature. Created nature is subject to its command, and the whole series of causes abides by it. 625

[What human reason is.]

The reason of man is an image of the supreme reason, which inwardly receives truths from God's teaching, so that the light given to the eyes might reveal both itself and the other things which in the light are apparent and without light are hidden. A cloud is made clear by the light received from the sun when the wind has dispelled the waters which descend from it. Even so when uncleanness has been dispelled does subject reason put on the form of the supreme reason, and thereby shine. Then the whole mind is bright and, filled with the true light, dispels falsehoods and reverts real truths. 630 635

[What enlightens reason.]

Just as no one can see anything except with light, even so is man's reason blind without God. God is the 640

true light, and the author of that light by which alone each man is able to see himself.

[What the purposes of light are.]

The purpose of light is that everyone might see himself. The purpose of the gift is to love the gift that has been granted, to see all things clearly, to revere and love 645 goodness. The purpose of the gift is to see the fruit of things, to be drawn towards a better state of mind, to know the author of the gift. The supreme purpose of the gift is to love God. 650

[That the true philosopher cannot be without God.]

Since no power can loose those whom love unites, the true philosopher will not be without God. Not even will death be able to untie that bond, and he who loves wisely will live for ever.

[That reason is a mirror, and an eye and a hand for seeing and laying hold of things.]

Reason is therefore a mirror in which all things are seen, and it performs the office of eye and hand. 655 Cognisant of nature, reason examines truth, and, arbiter of justice, alone dispenses the resources of nature. Reason is said to regard things in three ways, and the mind has not been able to discover a fourth way. One 660 is concretive, another resolves compounds, and the third

compares and relates things one to another. The first goes with natural philosophy, the second with mathematics; logic appropriates the last for itself alone. The mind dwells on these, and weighs each separate thing to a nicety, so that warily it might be able to see the significance of things, so that dark error might not lead it, deluded by a false semblance of virtue, headlong into evil; and the band of the faithful clings to the knowledge of truth so that it should not mistake illusions for realities.

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[That the knowledge of truth is the supreme good according to Aristotle.]

The mighty Aristotle believed and taught that the supreme good is to know the causes of things. He whom empty appearance deceives stumbles easily, but true appearance cannot deceive anyone. For a true thing is fashioned by truth, a good thing is fashioned by blessedness, and an everlasting thing by eternity. A false thing deceives; due for destruction itself it destroys, and in falling it overwhelms. Unhappy is he who clings to it.

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[What the fruit is of the Peripatetics.]

This contemplation of realities produces contempt of the world, since they show that all things pass away at their appointed end.

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[Of contempt of the world and its fruit.]

True contempt of the world is the first path of salvation, for the world casts down its adherents. Worldly love blinds the eyes of the mind, and its blind retinue plunges to a wretched death.

[That worldly love is opposed to the love of God.]

No one can love God and the world, because with the coming of one love the other is always driven away. None 685 of the lovers of the world can claim to be called wise, for their love is opposed to God. He who scorns the world is master of it; he cripples the forces of the enemy and tramples their necks with his foot. Ambition, grief, 690 anger, fear, blind lust for honours, sensuous enjoyment, injuries and money are but as a light breeze. The world brings distress; wisdom brings peace, puts all evils to flight and cherishes all good things.

[That the fear of God induces contempt of the world and makes men godlike.]

The contempt of the world which is founded in heavenly love brings under its sway all the things which it rejects. Without it no one is wise, and that blessed 695 fear which gives an origin to you, Philosophy, encourages it. This inborn fear leads in holy love; by this love a man is made wise and becomes a god. 700

[That God is one by nature and many by grace.]

By nature God is one, but by favour many persons, whom grace allows to share in the godhead. By nature God is one, but grace has willed that there should be many consorts for its godhead.

[That three persons are one God, but distinct in their peculiar qualities.]

The Father, the Son and the Spirit are one God, but each person retains his particular quality. 705

[That the three persons are one in nature, will and operation.]

Although they are of one nature, will and action, each person of the deity is noted for his own qualities. The Son of the everlasting Father and the life-giving virgin is God by nature, made man by favour. It is by favour that true man is at the same time true God, meting out rewards for merits with level balance, and that everything worships him on bended knees and proclaims him to be equal with God the Father. And he who freely receives so many of the Father's favours knows how to give the best gifts to his followers; he alone disdains to receive a gift. Those whom he loves he enlightens, and makes to be gods. He carries to the summit those whom mother grace adopts, and according to the degree of their merit establishes them as gods on high. 715 720

[Of the threefold pride which prevents the deification of men; that is, of reason, of will and of life.]

Pride of reason, the friend of error, is dangerous, and defiled by it faith becomes empty and dies away. Error's worst ally is a proud will, which bends the mind which it has broken to every evil. Connected with these is the third kind of pride, pride of life, which under- 725 mines and destroys every virtue.

[Of the teaching of the Academics, of whom Arcesilas is the chief.]

The wretched Arcesilas was perplexed, and, undecided in everything, he was tossed hither and thither and did not know where he wished to be. With ever watchful enthusiasm he always pursued fleeting truths, and did not know how to observe moderation in his endeavours. He surveyed all 730 the teachings of wise men, and in the end his disciples were obliged to be ignorant of all truths. For if he is to be believed truths lie for ever hidden and human understanding cannot lay them bare.

[Of Zeno.]

Zeno, hesitating in everything and bidding men to doubt, is quoted as having proved that nothing can be really known. The end of his pains and lengthy labour is to 735 know nothing, and this accomplishment is acquired at great expense.

[Of Pythagoras and his teaching.]

No one else achieved the reputation of Samius; in him, as the ancients asserted, was all wisdom. He drew 740 pliant Tarento to the virtue of a better life, as the supreme promoter of morals in the world.

Five zones divide the world, and five atmospheres, and there is the same division of sea and land. But Samius teaches that there are three, and assigns the middle one to inhabitants; in the other two cold and heat hold sway. He 745 thinks it wicked to hand on doubtful knowledge to posterity, and he forbids that the wise man should wish to be a poet. And because there can be certain knowledge of three zones, he teaches that there are certainly three, and for the rest allows poetic fancy. The extremes create the temper 750 of the middle, and Samius decrees that the man who desires to be virtuous should keep to the middle path. As nature decrees their proportions, a mild temper fosters animal bodies. Solid bodies are accessible to spirits, but these a greater spirit or the will of God restrains. Cold 755 and heat do not harm a spiritual body, for the force of the elements cannot hurt it. But the life of an animal is wracked by heat and cold, and each receives compensating advantages appropriate to its deserts. And when the dregs 760 have wasted away, its purer origin is restored to everything, and the golden ages of the fathers return.

Pythagoras taught many things rightly, and was most

useful in that age. Among the most distinguished in the world he was supreme. This, however, is denied, on the grounds that he declares that souls are fallen from the upper air, and that the body serves as a place of imprisonment; and on the grounds that he thinks that souls shut out from their own bodies are sent into new bodies according to their moral condition; and because he states that they return at last to their proper origin, so that they eagerly fall again to the depths of the body. Since these things were once received from his teaching, argument persuades that the many things that follow are false. 765 770

[Of Socrates, and of his authority and teaching.]

Humble disciples were strewn before the feet of Socrates, and the whole of Greece revered him as a native god. To enquire whether he excelled all others in teaching truths, or whether he led a holy life, is regarded as a crime. Others consider the numbers and weights of things, as the rule or method of measurement. There are those who observe in the stars the mind of the fates, the evolution of things and the design of God. There are those who examine the innermost parts of nature, there are those whom the chain of cause and effect and signs alone occupy. Thus they blunt the spearhead of the mind and dissipate it on externals, and the inward heart remains under its own light. 775 780

But Socrates despises the empty cares of men, and advises 785
 everyone to look into the secret places of his heart. He
 observes all external things and considers how far they are
 useful, and having learnt the particulars of a great number
 of things, he succeeds greatly.

[That Socrates believes the mind of man to be God.]

He draws inwards upon himself the rays of the mind;
 to him the mind is god, the world its sacrifice and the
 flesh its handmaiden. He shrinks from the lawless motions 790
 of corrupted flesh, and tames natural evil with reason.
 He sets up moral standards, makes calm his life, and in
 his opinion to suffer is to know the greatest of the virtues.

[That the world is less than the mind in being
 and in virtue.]

If it were lawful to measure the mind against the
 world, the first would be found greater, the second less, 795
 the first rules and the second serves. For the world
 serves the flesh, and the flesh serves the reason, which
 is a part of the mind which shares in God. Thus all things
 were servants to the happy Socrates, and to him, whom no
 power could harm, the world was dead. 800

[Of the error of Socrates.]

This was his teaching on man, but there was error in
 it because he believed that each man's mind was god. Hence

he said that the mind of man was to be regarded as a deity, so that divine honour should be paid to every man. Fortune blesses hardly anyone with such natural endowments that the evil of error cannot cast him down. 805

Anaxagoras propounds that souls are created by propagation, and that bones are given an origin in tender bones, because flesh emanates from flesh and blood from blood, and the whole appearance of the parents passes to their offspring. The cutting off of a small part diminishes the body, but no cutting off affects the simplicity itself of the soul. As warmth comes forth from warmth and light from light, so in one spirit another has its origin. But pure faith forbids this belief that souls are propagated, for God imparts them and makes them completely anew. 815 They are made from nothing, and now enclosed in bodies, now without bodies, they carry out the commands of their creator. Nor do they perish, since reason and never failing virtue prove that the image of God is in them. 820

[Of Aristotle and his teaching.]

The great Aristotle possesses the arts of discourse and has a reputation for the highest virtue. He composed books on the investigation and finding out of truths. The three faculties are his servants: he is a natural philosopher, he teaches ethics, and above all dutiful logic always serves him, its author. Logic makes proper 825

to him the name which holy wisdom once gave to her lover
 [i.e. the name of philosopher]. For because he excels
 all he reserves to himself the honour of the oft-used
 title; this is rightly recorded by the poet Maro.

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[Of the error of Aristotle.]

But he erred in that he believed that the part of the
 universe beneath the moon was subject to chance and that
 the part beyond it to the fates. That is not true freedom
 of will for created beings which asserts that God alone
 has it in fulness. Aristotle thinks that whatever is
 beneath the moon is composed from four elements, and that
 the things which transcend the moon are unmix'd. And he
 explains that those things which the high circle of the
 sun contains thrive in perpetual peace. Conflicts cause
 no war there, for peaceful calm cherishes the beings
 beyond the moon.

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[That souls are made from a fifth essence.]

That souls might be made, a fifth substance is
 created, from which the origin of the sign-bearing heavens
 is established. This is the seat of the blessed and the
 court of the gods, for things which lack weight are more
 fitting for a god. The world stands eternal, and time
 eternal with it, and space is said to be co-eternal with
 these. He teaches that nothing perishes, but that
 everything revolves in a circle and that every place in
 turn fits its times.

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[That nature knows only particulars, and that
universals are like figments of the reason.]

Whatever nature has created is individual, and the
determination of likeness is the work of reason. If any- 850
one does not think that Aristotle should be regarded as
first among his kind, he does not render just tribute to
Aristotle's merits. He is shown to have given a beginning
and an end to all things, and he wrests from the arts
whatever he wishes to possess. What earthly reason could
teach to anyone it gave to him, so that his teachings 855
are trustworthy.

[That Aristotle was said to be the son of
Apollo.]

Whatever he taught, Apollo is thought to have taught,
and Greek legend relates that Aristotle was Apollo's son.

[That Aristotle endeavoured to make everything
clear.]

Although he teaches many things correctly, Aristotle
errs in that he always prepares to make clear what he has
not yet explained. For although he was to be regarded as 860
pre-eminent in the highest degree, he was an immoderate
seeker after praise. Virtue not vainglory makes a
philosopher famous, and true honour is destroyed by love
of praise.

[What befits a philosopher.]

A philosopher should take care that his mind conforms with his mouth, and that an upright life should accompany 865 good words. A man is straightway a philosopher not when he speaks correctly, but when he lives in such a way that he always performs good deeds. For the wanton girl can revile Venus, the buffoon can give praise to virtue, the unlearned 870 can repeat the words of a wise man, and sometimes the tongue skilled in speech can err.

[That glory, which Aristotle assailed in words,
overcame him.]

Aristotle overcame others, but vainglory overcame him, although he attacks it and teaches that it is nothing.

[That philosophy puts vainglory to flight, once
luxury and greed are overcome.]

It is this that last deserts noble minds when at length 875 victorious philosophy puts it to flight. First desire declares war on virtue, when the flesh and the blood burn with a new fire.

[The things which curb desire.]

Work and a meagre diet, and fear, that fugitive acceptable to the wary, can quench desire. 880

[The things which restrain greed.]

The restless love of possession, setting souls on fire and given over to every kind of wickedness, wages successful wars. When the eyes look on something they urge the mind to desire for its own what it thinks to be good. Cautious contemplation, divine love and fear of punishment wear away this sin.

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[That some sins grow out of others, but pride even out of virtue.]

In some sins exists the origin of others, and many evils derive from evil beginnings. The heat of avarice begets most robberies; voluptuous Venus often creates desire; excessive appetite calls forth Venus; rage produces rashness; consuming envy, spite; and long standing anger becomes rage. Thus sin gives origin and issue to sin, for one base thing cannot remain by itself.

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[That the neglect of minor sins breeds great ones.]

If you ignore something little, in a short while big things follow, and often heavy ruin comes from the smallest causes. The vainglory of great men, which springs from the fountain of good qualities, pretends to a distinction inherent in greatness. For when corrupted virtue swells up with passion a proud daughter is born of the lamentable union. She places herself above her equals, despises lesser folk, and foolishly knows not know to submit

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herself to her maker. And thus, coming from worthy stock and famous blood, she is ungrateful to God, whose gifts she has received.

[Of the sin of ingratitude.]

The crime of the ungrateful man, to whom no grace clings, 905 prevents him from taking his place as a citizen.

[Of vainglory.]

She is ungrateful to God who seeks to be honoured for her generosity, and wishes to preserve the praise of her good works. Whoever snatches from the Creator the merits underlying his honours provokes avenging hands to do him injury. What is vainglory but smoke and shadow and empty 910 sound which as soon as it has begun begins to be nothing? But all men pursue it because it is always asserted that good is intended. The sweet evil of glory delights the hearts of great men, at the same time enfeebling them. 915 Vainglory often casts down with ease those whom the flesh does not turn aside, and the love of possession does not corrupt.

[The things which repress vainglory.]

Contemplation, contempt of the world, the fear of punishment and the love of God in the end destroy vainglory. 920

If anyone fully remembers the evil in him and always considers the good in others, whence will he be proud? If he considers the worth of his life, and reflects on the power and wrath of the avenger, whence will he be proud? Whence will he be proud if he looks at himself carefully: 925
earth, ashes, worms, dregs, vapour, a shadow, clay?

[Of the sin of elation.]

The proud does not possess the gifts of virtue; for him even God is an enemy, and every man is an enemy. Nothing is held to be a greater sin than the sin of the proud man, and it does not allow him to enjoy a brother's love. 930

[Of the virtue of humility.]

The humble are worthy of the gift of virtue, and worthy to know God; blessed life is granted to those worthy of it. He who teaches this in words pretends to the name of philosopher; the true philosopher both teaches it and practises it. Aristotle is said to have taught this in speaking, but whoever teaches it by example teaches it 935
more forcefully.

[Of Plato and his teaching.]

Plato, however, his fellow priest in the priesthood of the truth, marks off among the things that can be known

in themselves that which a created being can understand. For although he sometimes speaks words contrary to faith, most of his teachings are acceptable to good men. He 940 teaches that in the beginning is God, he distinguishes time from eternity, he discusses ideas, and provides the theory of matter.

[Of matter.]

The mind finds this when it resolves all things, and contrives that all created things should show their first causes. If you examine matter, it is now some substance 945 and now seems to be nothing. When reason investigates matter it senses it as though it were dreams, and when you desire to lay hold of it, it soon hides like a fugitive. Even so does the ear perceive when it hears nothing that sound is not present, and so do you perceive darkness with your eyes when you see nothing. So, by its lack, does 950 sense of touch feel empty space, and taste prove tastelessness by tasting nothing, and sense of smell, smelling nothing, prove to be far off odours which it had censured earlier.

[Of God whose power is the effective cause of
the world.]

God is eternal, the world began with time; God 955 remains constant, but time moves all other things away. Binding opposite elements together, God dominates them and makes them flourish in perpetual peace.

[That number, weight, measure, place and time are
not commensurate to each other.]

Subject things of fundamentally different kinds are
not proportionate to each other, and things of opposite
origins do not submit to the same method of argument. 960
There is no known proportion of time and place, the system
of measure cannot be the system of weight, number is unlike
any of these, and philosophy brings to each of the five its
own function. Added to these is the system of causes or
motives, which the intellect alone can perceive. The value 965
of numbers knows no limit in multiplication, and no division
brings an end to great numbers. Number grows towards
infinity; I have worked out every sort of progression
without reaching an end, for this is so by reason. 970

[That the intellect of man cannot comprehend the
first and the last things.]

The intellect is inadequate when it tries to under-
stand final events; only He who makes and rules first
causes can perceive them. He is known only to himself and
to the blessed spirits, in as far as grace favours each of
them. Nor is it right to voice opinions about the
beginnings, except for him who gives to all the right to 975
be called his creatures.

[Of the soul of man.]

The mind of man, being simple in number and able to set itself in motion, is said to be in God's likeness. For just as God rules, fills and surrounds the whole world, so is the whole body subjected to the mind. The stuff of 980 the mind is drawn from different things, at once from the inseparable and the separable; and the excellence of the mind is pressed upon by corporeal weight, here more and there less, as the flesh joined to it permits.

[Of rational and irrational impulse.]

There are two kinds of impulse, incorrect and rational; one flourishes in the heights, the other drags 985 down to the depths.

[Of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.]

Souls are immortal, but the perishable body crumbles, and at length its former life returns to it. 990

[Of the great year.]

Its former life returns when the end of the great year recalls all the stars to their original place. Then the new year revives all bodies, their souls receive them again, and the times pass by according to law. If the returning of the sun and moon renews the world, all the stars at once will perform this more effectively.

Wandering Cynthia governs moisture, and the sun
 warmth; moisture produces everything from the warmth 995
 joined to it.

[Of the rays of the sun and moon, and of their
 functions and meaning.]

Lunar rays consume and corrupt flesh and fruit, the sun's
 ray helps both. Thus worldly wisdom perishes, and the sun
 profits truth and encourages nature, which are filled with
 the warmth of God. But unlimited heat produces rottenness, 1000
 as you might agree from examining the effect of immoderate
 love. The sun encourages and restrains the sight, because
 he who is engaged in learning the mysteries of God ought to
 live very temperately. You see subject things by the sun,
 and created things are visible to you through the divine
 light, but no one sees both fully. It is a heavenly gift 1005
 to see the sun and God, and mortals see only lower things.
 Unmeasurable light hides the sun, and even so is the
 divine majesty hidden by its own light. The fount of 1010
 light and warmth is in the solar body, but for spirits
 God is the fount of both.

[That no substance perishes.]

No substance can perish, and form succeeding form
 prevents what changes from becoming nothing. By this
 process elements remain, refashioned, and flourish, while 1015

the old form departs and a new form is given to them.
 The part worn out by long existence resumes its strength
 in pleasing newness, and takes its newness from its form.
 This species changes, and that species creates another,
 and is called a genus, and brings existence to anything. 1020

[That God is unformed and is the form of forms.]

God is unformed, the form of forms and the force by
 which everything remains eternal. The divine reason lives
 for ever, and all things live eternally in the will of
 God; ideas remain immovable and established in them is 1025
 whatever the waves of time carry away to destruction.
 Reason without motion directs the motion of things, and
 steady virtue sets all the seasons in motion. Not unformed
 are those gods to which creating nature has given an origin
 in physical objects; by such an origin reason is limited, 1030
 and to them is given a fashioned character, a form and a
 kind. God is unformed because He is simple, not consisting
 in something else nor owing His existence to many elements.

[That a truly simple thing is absolute.]

Reason makes free a thing of true simplicity and 1035
 anything that can come to no end. That which is truly
 simple is altered by no motion, is not made old by time
 and always remains the same. The universe changes its
 appearance and does not know how to remain the same, and
 time destroys whatever it calls into its presence. Thus 1040

all things return to themselves, and, by the everlasting law of the eternal God, His work is made perpetual.

[That the earth is at the bottom, and that all worlds have their own inhabitants.]

Heavenly beings possess the heights, in the middle is this most wicked world, and fitting inhabitants hold the worlds between. A spirit is in all the elements, among the stars each spirit has his own, and one spirit 1045 guides the universe. This is the greatest of them, all the others are particulars; this moves the whole universe, the others merely their own parts. Every region is filled with fit inhabitants, from whose motion an origin is given to things. 1050

[That fire cleanses all.]

The corrupted air is purged by fire alone, and the motion of the air cleanses the sins of polluted water. This washes away the foulness of the earth, and thus each more exalted thing cleanses all those beneath it with its own strength. Sometimes the more exalted becomes foul from the baser, but nothing can defile pure fire. Nothing is 1055 purer than fire, which boils away all foulness, wherefore the godlike fire has its place on high.

[That the things beneath the moon are directed
by the motion of the higher bodies.]

It is established that objects beneath the moon are brought into existence by the motion of higher bodies, and that a motionless God puts all things in motion. 1060

[What nature is.]

The moving of first causes is called nature, and there is in the name of nature a hidden cause which leads all things to their own proper origins, and makes streams to be like fountains. There are many things contrary to later nature, but what is strong enough to oppose first nature? Nothing. 1065

[Of the zodiac circle.]

The zodiac turns twice six signs in its rotation, and does not allow the days to be of equal length. The arctic pole is the head of the axis known to us, but the earth prevents us from seeing the other pole. 1070

[That the earth is outside the circle of the planets, and is the dregs of the elements.]

The earth is under and apart from the seven wandering stars, but the greatest circle has the earth as its centre. The lower always obeys a sphere farther out, and the earth is under all other orbs and rightly submits to them. The earth remains motionless, but the rest move in

a circle, and all weights fall to the middle place. The sluggish dregs and whatever they befoul by touching always come to rest at the bottom. All things filled with filthy dregs become foul, and the dregs destroy the vessels unless they are purified. Defiled thus for a long time, and overcome by the sourness of the dregs, the mind weighed down by filth scarcely lifts its head. For near the earth are vapours, gales and clouds which confuse the eyes and the functioning of reason. In despite of nature, the human face, born to see God, turns its gaze towards earth, but sometimes earthly things are seen to advantage, and it does not sin if loathesome lust be kept far off. The teaching of Plato, chief among wise men, passes on these doctrines; from him posterity receives true instruction. Thus therefore he taught what can be known to each being and what cannot, so that all created things might observe due moderation.

[That God alone knows all things, and every rational creature receives knowledge according to its capacity.]

The divine power has full knowledge of things as they are; the attendant angel sees a great number of truths; an impure spirit by nature and experience is able, and taught by holy men is accustomed, to see many truths. A man deprived of the use of his eyesight is deceived in many things, and the father of error always loves to deceive. The flesh and guilt prevent minds cast as

though into a dark prison from acquiring knowledge from
 the exalted light. Guilt and the flesh give rise to 1100
 shadows, they drive light away, and do not allow wretched
 minds to perceive true things.

[That truth is the light of the mind, and
 reason the eye.]

Light feeds the eyes and the vision of truth feeds
 the reason. The eyes shun darkness and reason avoids
 falsehood. Reason is the eye of the mind, truth its light, 1105
 and they summon the faculty of perception to have knowledge
 of the light. Truth may be sought through intellect,
 application and skill, but no man can do more than give
 his own opinion.

[That in many respects Plato's teaching is
 useful.]

It does not harm the wary to have heard Plato, even
 when he is at fault, for he teaches few things badly, and
 more good things than bad. The experienced hand avoids 1110
 nettles, and plucks safe plants and roses without being
 scratched by thorns. Reason avoids errors, and a careful
 man without rashness takes sound meanings from the unsound.
 The prudent man avoids dangers more thoroughly when they
 are known, for weapons which have been foreseen usually do
 less harm. Hence the wise man wishes to learn what can 1115
 harm him, so that he may beware whatever can injure him.

[Of Eudimion and his teaching.]

Ancient Eudimion deemed it to be sure faith if the conjecture of anything is proved to be true. He declared 1120 it to be error if a fallacious conjecture is voiced. He says that falsehoods are not known, and proves this skillfully. A falsehood is not known because no knowledge deceives, and light cannot be mixed with darkness. Sometimes the foolish are deceived by an appearance of truth, 1125 and the pleasing likeness of something wished for holds them. There are some whom neither truth nor the appearance of truth delights, and the appearance of sin and false things alone gratify them.

[That truth is likened to the sun, the appearance of truth to the moon.]

The sun is like truth, Selene like falsehood, since she simulates light and remains defiled. For what is 1130 beneath the moon totters, vain and changeable, but around the sun things trustworthy and calm endure. Truth reigns in the heights, error flourishes in the depths and deceives the people whom the wandering moon oppresses. The bright court of truth holds the heavenly beings above the moon, 1135 while dark error directs the lower universe.

[Of Arcesilas, the leader of the Academics, and of his teaching.]

The ancient academy follows the teaching of Arcesilas, and represents the human race as being without light.

[Of Antisthenes, an Academic.]

The more learned Academic, Antisthenes, says that God alone knows all, and he proves this by reason. He 1140 declares also that heavenly beings know as much as possible, but that all of them do not know everything, and he thinks that mortals know very little. He is undecided in all things except those which are attested by living reason; but to him it seems stupidity not to have faith.

[What living reason is.]

Reason is living when of itself it is manifestly known, 1145 or is always wont to be present in things known of themselves. He declares that these things are known, and doubtfully passes on all other knowledge, in which a greater faith is to be had from experience. For the accustomed course of things makes probable what you see always behaving in the same manner. Since it sometimes happens 1150 differently these things are not certain enough, but they are not unreliable. Therefore what he asserts to be true he thinks to be necessary, and for the rest he says: I believe or at least I think that it is so. The modest mind is used to restraining speech, so that no one might accuse 1155 it of being guilty of falsehood. And so it qualifies all its discourse with adjectives, so that it should always command faith in its worth.

[Whence the Greeks adopted Academic moderation
in speech.]

This way of speaking pleased also the Greeks, and great men
praise it for its gravity. They shut in their words with 1160
condition, set time, motive and limitation, and avoid
speaking with too much simplicity. But whenever a deceit
is hidden by the art of speaking, feigned love gives good
words instead of things.

[That the Romans imitated the Greeks in the
moderation of their words.]

The Roman citizen follows this custom and gives
words to his friends while his greedy hand takes their 1165
money. A wary judge weighs out his adverbs, for a greater
price will bring greater advantages. Adjectives will be
sold at their normal prices, and a deed or a document will
seldom be unbought. Crassus seeks after riches that he 1170
might turn them into gold, and melts down clean gold so
that it can be completely pure. Corrupted by its own vices,
Rome has corrupted the world also, and the diseased head
makes the limbs feeble. Every court imitates the Greeks,
and the lover of worldly riches suffers from Rome's hunger. 1175

[Of Varro and his teaching.]

Varro is recorded to have been inferior to none of
the Greeks, and Rome is wont to call him father. No one
indeed has written more, and no one better, nor could anyone

have discussed worse things. He unfolds the magical
 secrets of nature and the rites of heathen worship, the
 service of their god and the ancient practices of the
 fathers. He vainly worships what he pretends are the
 deities of the virtues, and he thinks that there are as
 many gods as there are afflictions. 1180

[Of the elder and the younger Pliny.]

Either Pliny gratefully follows him in many respects, but 1185
 in many respects honesty carries them both further forward.

[Of Musaeus, who was thought to be Moses.]

Greece extols ancient Musaeus with outstanding
 praises, but Varro repeats what Musaeus teaches; there-
 fore it is enough for him who wishes to know what useful-
 ness either has to have read Varro. Some think that by 1190
 the name Musaeus is meant Moses, who first brought the
 laws of men into the world. This may be so, but the
 obvious reason of chronology is against it, and the dis-
 similarity of their lives argues that they were two differ-
 ent men. Varro instructs the Romans, Musaeus the Greeks,
 and Moses the Hebrews how to live according to their own 1195
 custom.

[Of Moses, that he is the very fount of the scriptures.]

Musæus errs too much and Varro with him, but the life-supporting spirit directs the mind of Moses. He wrote five books filled with symbols so that there might be in history a threefold meaning everywhere; and so that 1200 it might at once teach boys, young men and old men, the careful letter teaches as much as each takes from it. It gives suck to babes and inflicts blows on its servants and makes their necks submit to the yoke. And although it unfolds truth in secret figures, it cuts the veils and the 1205 old darkness passes away. Among the philosophers the pagan calls Moses a rustic, but the lesser man in this is nevertheless the greatest of them. He is the fount of the scriptures and the source of devout writings, and from this beginning comes holy writ. He is a fountain for 1210 others, a pool for others, or a deep well; there you quench your thirst, and there your thirst increases. All can draw sufficient from it, but clearly none can exhaust or diminish the supply.

[Of Cicero and his teaching.]

The Latin world held nothing greater than Cicero, 1215 compared with whose eloquence Greece was dumb. Rome pitted him against all the Greeks, or exalted him above them, but he is wont to approve doubtful teaching. He reached at last the point when the nature of the gods increased

itself, so that he doubts what he thinks is God. He does 1220
 not know how freedom of the will is compatible with fate,
 for if fate remains free will perishes, so that incon-
 sistent fate and chance join with each other; he therefore
 warns the soothsayers to hold their tongues. For ignorance
 of the truth oppresses the human race and does not allow 1225
 it to perceive truths in the clear light of day, for if
 truths are perhaps apparent they are seen obscured by a
 cloud and are not completely free from the suspicion of
 falsehood. He believes that God alone knows the future,
 but that He does not foreknow what he may establish, and
 merely finds it to be good. He thinks God to be not 1230
 corporeal but something greater than corporeal, which
 neither man by sense nor brute flesh can perceive.

[That corporeal things are perceived by sense,
 but incorporeal things by reason.]

Bodily sense is confined to corporeal things alone;
 incorporeal things lie under the gaze of reason. Only
 faith and true love perceive God, and to follow nature is 1235
 the worship and love of God. For whoever is engaged in
 guarding the laws of reason is following nature, and serves
 and loves God. This worship is not to be regarded as
 servile, for thus a daughter serves her mother, and a 1240
 wife her husband. And if the life of Cicero had been con-
 sistent with his words, he could have been the greatest
 among outstanding men. All admire his eloquence, but not
 so his heart. The empire of the tongue is no greater than

that of the heart, indeed it is less. By its eloquence
 the Roman power is less, for enemy and citizen alike
 love eloquence. 1245

[That virtue is preferred to eloquence.]

He whom virtue has exalted more is greater than
 Cicero, and a tongue skilled in speech yields pride of
 place to a good life. For although philosophy moulds the
 tongue and regulates the actions, above all it teaches how
 to live. The most important part of being a philosopher 1250
 is living honestly, without which what good is a fluent
 tongue? None, for a skilled tongue is dangerous if it is
 bereft of the heavenly gift which makes men circumspect,
 and much as wise eloquence may help, the tongue can then
 say nothing, however skilled it may be. 1255

[Of Seneca and Quintilian.]

Quintilian commends the ability of Seneca, but cen-
 sures his words and style. He complains that important
 matters are spoilt by loose speech, and accuses it of being
 a vague kind of teaching. He has called the sentences, 1260
 insufficiently joined together, a racecourse without a
 finishing post, while each conclusion drives home its own
 meaning. But although so great an author has condemned
 the manner of the writing, its excellence has prevailed
 and the style itself is pleasing. For gravity of life
 and grace of word have triumphed, and the new style of 1265

speaking has become acceptable. The Stoic is subtle, seeks abstracts of moral teaching, and always has words fitting for his meaning.

[That the faith of Christians excels all pagans.]

But why do I consider the pagans, whom error has urged on? For reason is wanting in all who lack faith. 1270
 Only the worshippers of Christ are wise and are truly philosophers, and holy writ gives them to you as guides. I deem them to be worshippers of Christ in the veneration, not in the name, of Christ, whom pure faith and life make known to mankind. The grace of many is given to you when you follow true teachings which excel in moral standards 1275 and in faith. But you will not safely bring these forth in that court where grace and faith seldom survive. Pure faith alone is not adequate for everything, and that faith which a good life encourages is more dear to the deserving. 1280
 Pure faith is the fountain of true life, and high moral standards are the life of faith; God bestows both of them.

[That it is wiser to please a few good men rather than a great crowd of fools.]

Because no one can please fools with reason, let it be enough for you to have pleased serious men. Scarcely anyone will be able to bear the guffaws of unlearned men 1285 if he is not of a stout heart and a strong mind. Wanton youth doubles its laughter and derision if it hears new

words from an unknown book. You will not escape the laughter, you will scarce escape the insolent tongues and hands, unless you have a guide with whom you may go safely. 1290

[Of archbishop Theobald and Thomas the chancellor.]

He who bids you to write is used to encouraging literary works, and the names which he once receives he makes famous. This Theobald, who presides in the hall of Christ which our town of Canterbury honours as the mother of faith, hopes that a certain man will succeed him, and prays that he will fill the office and position of bishop. 1295
This man is he who cancels the unjust law of the butchers whom captive England has for a long time had as kings, thinking those tyrants whom she has suffered to be kings. She honours more those who harm her more. 1300

[Of the customs of Hircanus.]

With the man who ordered that the customs and laws of former times should be violated, lust took the place of reason. In greed he surpassed Midas, in fierceness the lion, in tricks and deceits the cunning fox. He oppressed the people and despised law and justice, and every wolf 1305
and tiger was more gentle than he. He was more filthy than a pig, more lascivious than a he-goat, a seller of the church, skilled in treachery, eager for human blood, a

defender of wild beasts, a public enemy under the name
of king. A pattern of kingship and of how to rule a 1310
people is placed before us, and a sure rule of how to live
well is given to us. The cult of peace delighted him, but
only so that in the manner of a tyrant he might see all
things subdued under his feet. Under this king the needy
wolf feared that he would be hanged, but if he could offer 1315
a sheep violently stolen, carried off from a widow, then
he was free from reproach. The wolf who could shear the
flock and knew how to offer the wool as a bribe was guilt-
less, he was worthy of the sheep. It was of no disad- 1320
vantage to the fox to have offended as long as he was
willing to share his gains with the shepherd. There was a
voice to be heard, worthy of a convicted robber, saying,
"I am talking of the king's need"; for the thief who reckons
that the king can be regarded as his associate does not 1325
perish, and often destroys the just. But he who is engaged
in theft on his own, and is not concerned that he is the
comrade of the judge, is fit for the rack. For a price,
the greedy judge becomes a partner in crime, pardons the
guilty and puts the innocent to death. 1330

[That Hyrcanus gave a beginning and an authority
to the bad conditions of today.]

These conditions derive from that fount of law which
Hyrcanus and his servants once passed on. The servants were

like the king, for the clever hand follows the mind of its master. Under that king the Julian law lay buried, and 1335 the crime of adultery was nothing except a game. Silvia yielded to Quartilla, Lauronia to Flora, and while Silla flourished there was no Sabina. This king rejoiced to be feared and scorned to be loved, overcoming those around him with bribery, deceit and tricks. 1340

[Of the peace of tyrants.]

The peace of tyrants is such that whatever they do no one should protest against it; that the tyrants should be able to do all things, and the laws nothing. The laws are void, abuse overthrows sacred commandments and the tyrants decree that their will should take the place of law. They hold that the lion, put in authority to give laws to the other beasts, has flourished by this kind of justice. Under the rule of 1345 a tyrant the liberty of the people is that everyone should desire what the tyrant commands. He who desires riches too much, or the veneration of an unjust king, falls into every crime, inclined towards every evil. Whoever upholds 1350 sacred laws is considered an enemy. Loyalty in the performance of duties comes before commandments, it is a kind of treachery to see anything as a commandment, and it is a crime to fear any crime.

[In what way a man may be acceptable to the
chancellor.]

If virtue shapes your mind and the form of truth
your tongue, if mother grace encourages your work, then 1355
the protectors of true liberty will love you and make your
journey safe, by whatever road you travel. With this guide
you will be safe in the cloister and safe in the hall,
safe from ambush and safe everywhere. This is he who, 1360
in guarding the liberty of the clergy, is harsh to
Mandrogerus and his colleagues;

[Of Mandrogerus.]

to Mandrogerus, who boasts that he alone protects the
crown and is the father of the laws of the kingdom, who
(if liars are to be believed) keeps the laws unimpaired, 1365
so that the royal honour stands firm through him; to
Mandrogerus, whom the name of liberty, if anyone wishes to
uphold it in the church, inflames to anger. There is no
liberty for a rich church, and the unjust hand of the
king oppresses the needy church more heavily than would
an enemy. •The public power of the man in the position of 1370
guardian is so violent that any robber is more mild. The
unjust guardian has thievish designs on the goods of his
ward, and an enemy will not be worse than an appointed
guardian. The party of Mandrogerus equates right and
will, and what it has once resolved upon it asserts to be 1375

good. Under this master the freedom of churches is destroyed, and the hand of Antipater takes up its impious weapons.

[Of Antipater, and why he is so called.]

The people venerates priests as fathers, and it is a part of faith to submit to the commands of one's father, 1380 especially to the commands of a father who bids right actions, for the fulfilment of which blessed life is given. But savage Antipater pursues priests as though they were enemies, and, bent on cheating them, he makes war on them everywhere. Therefore the name Antipater is given to him, because he harms the fathers, inflicts injuries on them 1385 and plans their murder. Industrious he gathers into his well-worn money-bag all the riches stolen from Christ, which he evilly seeks. He orders the church to be a slave, and decides that the clergy and people hold a place similar to law [which is disregarded]. The clergy is oppressed, 1390 the priest is deprived of his official dignity, but the name of the informer flourishes everywhere. The public tax-collector is held in the highest honour, and he who commits more wrongs is the more acceptable. If perchance these men wish to overthrow anything, they say, "This 1395 disgrace to the kingdom is overturned, and is thus the kingdom's glory."

The prince, not eager for merit but greedy for praise, has a name outstanding in honour, but he has not

honour itself. He is not concerned with what honour is, but with what seems honourable; things truly good do not please him, but the semblance of goodness delights him. 1400
Thus under the pretence of honour reason is blinded, and while vainglory is sought true glory escapes him.

[Of true glory and vainglory.]

Glory follows virtue, not the love of praise, and is always allied to real worth. The upright man rather than the lover of praise becomes famous through praise, while the idler becomes foul with a defiled name. For a foul stench, and dread, attend the filthiness of vice, and virtue fills the good with a pleasant odour. But the odour of virtue is deadly to those whom Antipater's deadly hand directs. 1405
The savageness which is restrained by no law reeks, the long-used torture-chamber reeks with an oppressive stench. 1410

[That the house of tyrants is a torture-chamber.]

The house subjected to tyrants is a long-used torture-chamber, and such is the house of Antipater. The reverence for the sacred law is removed from its midst, 1415
holy laws give place to the decrees of hangmen. Sporus demands little gifts from all, but if you give them you are lost; if you do not give them you will be his enemy. If he is your friend he injures you, if he is not he tries to injure you; whatever you do he will injure you or wish to be hurtful. Perhaps you will be able to save your 1420

property, but you cannot recall his soul from its sins.
 A gift produces the appearance of friendship, but true
 virtue brings friendship itself, and faith commends it. It
 is increased by obedience, and takes on strength, for 1425
 honesty confers suitable rewards on the deserving.

Dinomachus and Polydamas rule at court, Cato and
 Curius can do nothing, Photinus directs all things.
 Photinus directs all things, with Labeon as his colleague;
 the life of these men is a crime, and all their words are
 deceits. It is irksome to see the pride and the poses of 1430
 Thraso, whom Thais even, seduced by bribes, can scarcely
 tolerate. This harsh man is harsh in aspect, and Sabinus
 is pleasing to him only as long as he is an inexperienced
 youth without a sprouting beard.

[That the chancellor conforms himself to the
 courtiers in order to recall them from error.]

The defender of the law very sadly beholds this state
 of affairs, and plans a method by which he may bring help 1435
 and advice. That their madness might grow less, he is wont
 to dissemble many things, and pretends that he himself is
 also mad. He becomes all things to everybody, and in
 appearance even assumes the character of an enemy, that the
 enemy might learn how to love God with similar devotion. 1440
 That stratagem which gains in expediency is good, when
 through it joy, life and salvation are procured. The nurse

lisps to form the tongue of the child, and warily drives away truth with feigned grief, restrains wanton laughter with forced tears, and deceives the young senses with her 1445 dutiful skill. The face of a man weeping moves his friend to tears, and the face of a cheerful man often causes gladness. That the soldier might more stoutly attack a fierce enemy, the general shows himself armed when he wages savage wars. By the general's example, the soldier presses the 1450 enemy more keenly, but let the general flee and the soldier also turns his back in flight. The dutiful master encourages his pupils with his sympathy, so that his work can take effect; but no one willingly listens to a critical master's words, which love makes sweet although they are harsh. That 1455 principle of living which the author propounding it loves seriously ensnares men more swiftly, and more effectively restrains them. In this manner, then, your patron's mind is discreet, so that the raging court patiently endures him. 1460 He takes pains to secure for himself the love of the company in which he lives, that it might not drunkenly complete the journey of death.

[That many successes have added boldness to error.]

The new court is intoxicated with the gifts of fortune, and under a youthful king believes that all things are lawful for it. You would think that the old and the young men were equally mad, the judge is mad and his 1465

retinue with him. The court loves only the frivolous, hears and respects only them, and every courtier has detestable abilities. The courtier hates the abilities which serve virtue, but every courtier loves those which serve the flesh. That rope-dancer who maintains his own 1470 decisions by citing the law of his grandfather has introduced these manners to the court. Those who give their mind to trifles and crimes are called upon by the law, while the law commands those who are really wise to go abroad.

[That in reproofs there is a use for insinuation.]

Therefore the effort of a man who insinuates himself recalls from their vices those whom direct argument cannot recall. For the oblique suggestion of one's life, as of 1475 one's words often draws reluctant men to their prayers. The persuasion of a good life is more effective than the persuasion of words; love is won by equal endeavours from each. When love has been won it binds friends together 1480 and commands and urges them on in such a way that the two whom love unites are no longer two. Thus holy love impels the loving ones to every sort of goodness, for what one achieves with his hands the other effects by his prayers. But I fear that the chancellor demands in vain 1485 that the proud court should change its customs. For the world looks longingly on riches, and the compelling hunger

for reward corrupts young and old, and blinds the men on whom power is conferred, so that every great house is inclined towards uncleanness. The fire of greed consumes 1490 the hearts of wise men, defiles churches, and makes holy things profane. All the lovers of the world suffer from this disease, and he who despises money remains rare in this world. Take care where, when, to whom and how these things are suggested, lest you perish through your talk- 1495 ativeness. The tongue which does not know how to keep silent has not learnt the art of speaking, and the tongue which knows no moderation in its words is worthless. For you, the frivolous are enemies; the false philosopher, the glutton and the fop are tyrants. Those whom a passion 1500 for scribbling or prattling torments, who grow squalid in their vices, whom a light breath animates, the snares of these men are prepared for him who speaks the truth, and unless you are on your guard you will be a public enemy. The champion of truth does not recognise the person of a friend, sets aside no rewards for deserving men, leaves 1505 off pretences, is a fierce judge of crimes, and everywhere and always notices the blemish of vice. Either keep silence completely or speak little at court, or you must try to find out in what part of the country you may lie hid. For if you are not sparing in your words no one will 1510 spare you, and the unholy multitude will cut short your days. If perchance, with the guide I have mentioned, you

leave the court unharmed and in such a way that you can safely go wherever you wish, whisper at last in the ear of your patron a few words, remembering which he cannot be unmindful of his own good. The divine law, and not the customs of our ancestors, which are wanting in reason, is the only mistress of life for good men. May you endeavour, ever watchful, to uphold this law with unending care, for it also protects its protectors. If human law is contrary to the law of God it condemns its author, and it is destroyed in his destruction.

[That the civil laws are compared to spiders' webs.]

The nets which the spider weaves are easily loosed, but she makes the threads cling together with wonderful skill. They catch the small bodies of flies, but if greater bodies come up against them, they allow them to go wherever they wish. Even so, says Anacharsis, the civil laws restrain the weak but the great can go wherever they wish. The eternal law, able to bend the powerful, does not act so, and cherishes the humble whom it sees to be devout.

[Of the diversity of lodgings and landlords.]

Having said these words you may wish your patron farewell and depart, to return to the native soil which calls you back. Ask, traveller, how much honesty there is in the lodgings you come to, for it is all a matter of

price and honesty is everywhere held cheap. The innkeeper lies in wait for travelling strangers, and the unwise listener hearkens to all his words. If his tongue utters flippant and jesting words, if your wallet is filled with very little money, the unjust innkeeper pounces on your possessions, or twists your words and will carry out your orders wrongly. He summons Eavius and false Dolo as witnesses, so that you are ruined in your affairs and all your possessions are lost to you. But if the honesty of the lodgings is reliable and its reputation unblemished, the host's face is cheerful and his hand obliging. The solicitude of the innkeeper makes up for your lack of wealth with polite words and a courteous demeanour, and he is a good attendant. Not every house which claims a name of good repute really has it, or can be respected for its merits. But if you see someone devoted to the praise of Christ, the place which houses him, whatever it is, is worthy of respect, and since the limbs act in accordance with the head the household itself is of the same persuasion as its master. If a respectable house has welcomed you into its company, and if perhaps it renders you assistance, take careful note who manages its possessions, for in him lies the fortune of the house and the very character of the place. For a good reputation is destroyed if he is uncouth or greedy, but it is strengthened by the gift of refined assurance.

[Of Carinus.]

Unhappy is a house when Carinus is managing its affairs; host and guest are in an equally bad condition. 1560

[Of Catius.]

With his solemn forehead Catius counterfeits an honest life, but his belly and his appetite show what he is.

[Of the Corydonians.]

He who resembles Fabius in his posture and Cato in the seriousness of his conversation, as a human being is like Corydon. To men like these the clergy is of no account, they loathe the very name of a communal life, and this proud band approves of itself alone. But why do these people, and those whom love of profit equally deceives, try to procure privileges for themselves? They enjoy bread, wine and clothing in the common way, and clean food pleases them as it pleases us. They strive after riches, luxury without labour delights them, and sometimes smooth and secret Venus captures them. Now serious matters engage them, and now serious matters give way to nonsense, and a sacrifice acceptable to the palate soothes their appetite. The common market place provides their food, the common tavern their drink, and only the sheep furnishes their clothing. But they take their clothes and their nourishment from the community, although only their tailor

and their cook belong to the community. For the name and honour of their house demands that their clothes should be made and their food very cleanly prepared for them. 1580

[Of the Bavians and Maevians.]

Bavius agrees with the wrong-minded, Maevius bites back blessings, they complain bitterly, and there is serious error in each of them. Anyone who provides their set with a name is also the leader of these men, whom you can often see. Maevius and Bavius are to be watched against like enemies, and you should shun Cadius and his friend Corydon. 1585

[Of the Carinians.]

Take pains to appease Carinus, whom you cannot avoid, for your good fortune often depends on his decision. It is enough to have deserved by good fortune the favour of the few men into whose bellies the clean food rushes, whose concern it usually is to empty the wine-cellar with their drinking, and in whose purses public benefactions lie unperformed. These men fear expenses and the face of a friend on his travels, for a foreign courtesan pleases them more. What then do you require for a host to be agreeable to you but that no girl should delight him except in jest? 1590 1595

[How one should conduct oneself with strangers.]

But because an inn is too perverse to be swayed by the argument of a stranger, have moderation, whatever the company may say, and so that no one should be able to suspect you of severity, let your tongue be amply supplied with agreeable jokes. And let your witticisms be free 1600 from malice, and your tongue modest, your appearance composed and your life pure. Your good listener will be patient and slow to anger, and let him who wishes to be your dependent be humble. If you are liked by the guests set bounds to your expenses, preferring rather that you 1605 should be able to make a fitting return to each man and that grace should fully recompense the kindnesses of your benefactors; a man who receives them rightly will regard each one separately as important. A good and careful man now conserves his money for future use and now distributes it, showing that he has control of his affairs. He takes 1610 care to spend his money when the cause and the place require it, and distributes the wealth which he has saved up for a long time, and is glad that he has made the payments in the right place and the right way. The fool knows no moderation in his expenses; mean about his own concerns and prodigal on another man's behalf, he misses the 1615 praise which is all that Chaerea strives to gain. There is no obligation at the inn, and a modest man can be

content with small expenses. May you see how to do the most important things with what you have, and endeavour to be as companionable as you can. Always abide by these 1620 words as well as you can, so that the rule of good behaviour might be free from difficulties for you.

[That liars and drunkards are to be avoided.]

Again, avoid liars, and beware of drunkards and those for whom the belly or Laverna is God.

[What sort of companion one ought to have.]

To the man whom you wish to have as your companion for a long journey, let Venus be suspect. Nothing is more 1625 helpful than a trustworthy servant and friend, and there is no advantage in obedience without trust.

[What expenses are everywhere necessary.]

You must try to obtain the expenses for your journey; the reputation of your manners, serious behaviour and pleasing conversation will provide them for you. The 1630 more you spend your store of these qualities, the more they increase, but the money which you spend will not return. Wheresoever you hasten, these qualities can stretch out your expenses, for this currency increases with its use. Therefore you will go troublefree on your journey wherever you wish, but your return to your own 1635 country will be more pleasant.

[That Canterbury is the head of the kingdom,
and of whom one should be wary there and
of whom not.]

Canterbury, the parent of bishops and kings, has fostered you, and even now prepares the home in welcome for you. She asks you to return and settle in that seat which is the head of the kingdom and the home of justice. 1640 You will obey your mother especially when she advises you rightly and strives to perpetuate your days. You will enter the cloister, but if you can without a cowl, so that afterwards you may go out again.

There you will find men who are always striving to learn, and for whom it is a great punishment to be without 1645 a book. There are others who so value the writings of wise men that they think them all not even worth a hundred farthings. Approach the lovers of the law and those who care for literary works, but beware of the triflers and worshippers of money. The wise man who despises riches 1650 accepts them for their proper use, and sometimes seeks them but not without moderation. The miser seeks riches in vain because he is never satisfied, although God himself gives whatever the miser possesses. Money is a god to him who always racks his friends, and it is wont to make his 1655 unending hunger everlasting. Grace restrains harmful love with its own dew, but it does not make the covetous mind mind to be without hunger. It is known well enough that

God can do all things, but the greedy man, be he all-
 powerful, cannot be satisfied. Nothing is more wicked 1660
 than he is, because he spares no one and behaves in such a
 way that he himself is always unhappy along with the rest.
 He is more wicked than all others; he is Gillia in his
 words and Demea in his affairs, in his life he is Flaminius
 and he pretends to be Numa. Tantalus is the ancestor of
 the covetous, the ancestor of the greedy, and he is con- 1665
 sumed with perpetual thirst and hunger.

[Of Brito.]

You will find the cheerful Brito if there is a cheese
 about, but sometimes he rejoices more that there are books
 to hand. For as much as his nature or his position will
 allow Brito gives himself over to his studies, and takes
 up his leisure with songs. The management of the house is 1670
 committed to him and occupies him continually, and the face
 of evil flees at his coming. Balatro does not love him,
 nor does Davus. Pamphilus, to whom nothing is more of a
 burden than to stay at home, hates him.

[Of Odo.]

Odo throws his whole weight on his books, but on
 those especially which savour of Christ; there is greater 1675
 grace in them. He is severe on Eumolpus and his sort;
 Encolpius and Adonis, and Gitto with them are wary of him,
 and Venus herself fears him. Brito's hand is careful, and

Odo's tongue is golden when it speaks of Christ; both are filled with faith. Let these be your companions, reveal 1680 all your secrets to them, for Brito judges what you amuse yourself with, and Odo what you know.

[Of Querolus.]

You are amazed that the Plautine Querolus is in evidence everywhere, but no house lacks such a possession. Neither good fortune nor God can quiet him, and indeed he 1685 is always disparaging his luck and God. You may see people ready to help with all his riches, so that not even Gnatho can find a place. If the greedy rich man were to lament when his henchman despoils him, who would be sorry? Whatever the greedy man has, it is enough. 1690

[Of Zoilus.]

Zoilus reckons up the expenses and repeats the doings of the servants, that he might whisper in his lord's ear. Will he therefore be loyal because he pays out the expenses of the head of the household? No, but in his flattery he looks out for and increases his own profits. He to whom unnecessary wealth is desirable is worse than a common thief, and he works to defraud other minds with his 1695 own faulty reason. He does not spare the fool's possessions, which he himself looks after more safely; the wise man watches him and guards against his mischiefs. As he drives

off the covetous deceiver he says, "Be off, Zoilus, you flatterer, I can see through you."

1700

[Of Matho.]

You wonder that the servants of the court have given place to Matho. By him the mind is filled with deceits, through him the tongue utters evil words, through him is produced the inconsistency of his hearers, so that this worthless groom can drive away anyone from the ungrateful house. The gullible listener is forgetful of the old and faithful retainer, and always loves to have new ones. 1705 For as often as the worthless Pedro murmurs in his ready ear, he poisons the inmost part of his heart and the working of his mouth. Prattling in front of the fire, Pedro discusses and criticises history, manners, wealth and the social structure. By his decision his master unwisely 1710 and senselessly either blesses or tortures, hates or loves his people. Unhappy then is the house, and a punishment to good men, when, lacking its guardian, it groans under this coxcomb. It is too unhappy, and the spoil of robbers, 1715 when it rejects old friends although it will have no pleasure in the new ones. The lizard has caught from its robberies a stain which brings it no profit; and a man is not a thief merely because he declines to be a party to a lawsuit.

[Of the sin of envy and its cure.]

Good fortune, working like a goad, is subject to envy; the unfortunate man alone is free from it, and only he has no enemy. While devouring malice longs to 1720 harm others and kindles its flames against them, most of all it is itself consumed by its fire. It is pricked by its own goads, gnaws itself with its cruel teeth, and is utterly destroyed by its own impulse. No one can avoid the biting and the jaws of the dogs which the school, the 1725 cloister and the unwholesome court pamper. Modest caution and tested virtue avoid these things, but sometimes malice strikes at either.

[Of the Euphorbians.]

The tongue not fit to speak but born to lick up dirt is talkative and wanton with its curses. The frenzy 1730 of Euphorbus is troubled with this disease, and he intends that neither grace nor faithful love should grow strong, that the house should in no way have peace, nor the cloister quietness, and that no court should be able to remain safe from him. The harmful tongue obscures what is clear, profanes what is holy, and always hurls its fierce poisons 1735 at everyone.

[Of Baccara.]

Baccara shows and offers everything he has and all the things he can do, and forbids you to be without anything that he possesses. He makes great promises, but he will give you not even a little; he blesses his friends in such a way that one of them in need gets no help. If you 1740 ask for help he denies it, if for advice he hesitates; but what do you expect? There will always be a Baccara.

[Of Davus.]

With glibness in his deceits, disturbing everything, Davus mocks everyone, and the house itself is ridiculed. You see Sergius in his appearance, and a suggestion of Scaeva; 1745 wait a little, and he will be Sardanapallus.

[Of the school of Thersites.]

The household of Thersites produces many like these; the school, the cities, the idle market places bring them forth, the country parts have nursed them, the barbarian world sends them to us; Venus has them in her bed-chambers and the camp of Mars hold them; violated monasteries have 1750 expelled them when Venus drove them on or when Laverna drew them to her.

[That moral standards must be considered.]

I have depicted the moral standards of men so that you should be more careful, for each man will have to be considered according to his character. Respect is due to good behaviour and reverence is due to upright men, and in a deserving man love is united with faith. Sometimes force is wont to exact fear; it casts down the reluctant and makes them submit, so that the unwilling will is made captive, and, frightened by blows and driven on by fear, becomes a servant to others. But perfect love keeps this fear far off, and pure love makes everyone freeborn.

[That liberty befits a philosopher.]

Free is the life of a philosopher and free is his tongue, and the author of each freedom is God. Therefore a philosopher cherishes those whom he believes to be his friends, or those whom he thinks can return from their sinful ways. Not such men are the shadows of men whom the world holds in thrall, making them stupid with their sins because it lacks reason. "What good is there for you in following the teaching of wise men, and their visions?" these fools will say, unless you escape out of doors very quickly.

[That high place does not keep out sin.]

If the crowd, filled with pride, drives you away, depart, and learn how to scorn those who scorn you. Do not let it trouble you if you are scorned by those whom the empty nets of the world hold captive. The man whom love of sin tortures is seized by sin even in the cloister, 1775 for the cloister wall can be penetrated by sin. **Sins** break into the citadels; and remember that no bolt can resist them if once they rise up powerfully. The hardest steel does not withstand sin, nor does iron rampart, nor water, nor ditches, nor treacherous swamp. 1780

[Of the threefold defence against sin.]

By what means, then, can the savage foes be repelled? Or what compels them to turn in flight? If fear keeps the gates, if modesty protects the courtyards, if chaste love holds the inner defences, then dutiful fear avoids punishment and everything which it thinks can be harmful if it 1785 is not on its guard; natural modesty holds off the stain of ill-repute, spreads sweet odours everywhere, and is therefore able to please; chaste love so clings to its virtuous purposes that not even a greater force can set them apart, it disposes the forces of good in the camp, 1790 and so strengthens all things that the enemy can have no place. But while punishment can be avoided, fear in a

servant will yield to the desire for easy profit and he will be harmful; and while guilt can lie hidden, modesty, the guardian of a good name, weakly consents to sin. True 1795 love is not like this; faithful in every event, it rejoices that in itself is nothing but virtue. Other things are sought for various reasons, but virtue always has itself as its own satisfactory reward. All dangerous advantages 1800 yield to virtue, and the enjoyment of virtue is in devout love. Just as the chaste wife, desiring to be faithful and preserved for her husband, turns away and hastens from any place that might lie open to her seducer, and, 1805 scorning his appearance, his laughs, his gifts, his words and jests, dreads the name and fate of an adulteress, even so does holy love dread all guilt.

[Of grace and free will.]

Grace alone produces and strengthens devout love, to which fear and natural modesty are servants. Grace 1810 alone establishes that merit is not nothing, for the inward spirit nourishes the good deeds which we perform. Grace alone instructs in this, since if grace is lacking the striving of nature towards good will be in vain. Grace alone teaches that the one cause of salvation is grace, 1815 which brings forth merit and carries it forward. Grace is the will of the flesh and the image of the mind; the flesh lives in the mind and the will in God. If the spirit

is not in it, the fallen flesh returns to ashes, and so, when God abandons it, it returns into the earth. When the mind is taken from it, the noisome flesh is given as food to worms, and so without God it is noisome food for worms. 1820

[That no school of thought is free from pride
without grace.]

Any school of thought admits pride if grace is lacking, and no house, large or small, can shut out pride. The habit and title of master does not make you wise, nor can the multitude of your fellows make you blessed. Neither a tonsured head, nor a black or white vestment draws you towards eternal life; grace alone achieves that. For fools can perish in any garment, and rewards are given for your way of life, not for your style of dress. Fools dread truth and hate what righteousness makes sacred, whence it happens that they fall blind and headlong to destruction. Hell receives the dying with their clothing removed, and whether it was dirty or white it will not lessen their punishment. 1830

[The blessing of the traveller.]

For a long time now I have often given you many words of advice, now accept these few; while you heed them well nothing will harm you. Bend your knee, bow your head, and go with my blessing; this hand has often helped 1835

full-grown men. Let the words of God shape your mind and curb your tongue, and let them be the unerring principle of your life. Let grace direct your affections, compose your tongue and actions, if the one purpose in these three is God. 1840

[What the book owes to the author.]

By an eternal law, reverence and dutiful love are owed to any author. Since you are held to these, endeavour to secure for your author the mind of the friendly reader, and undertake to move whom you can of the faithful that they may wish to pray to Christ on my behalf. But why do I delay longer? Hasten your departure; consider what you do; carefully complete the journey on which you have set out. Be mindful of yourself that you might fare well; and if you wish to be found acceptable strive always to live according to the law of God. 1850

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES IN THE ENTHETICUS

No explanation is given of the more familiar names such as Abailardus, Moses and Venus. The numbers refer to the lines of the poem, and where a name occurs in a marginal heading the abbreviation (h.) is placed after the number of the line against which the marginal heading is set.

Abailardus (Abaelardus), 57.

Academici (Achademici), 727(h.), 1137, (Academia), 1137, (Academicus), 1139.

Adonis, 1677; (used as a fictitious name).

Albericus (Albricus), 56; probably the Alberic who was one of John's masters (see above, p.4) rather than the opponent of Abailard, cf. Poole, Illustrations, p.178 n.

Alethia, 11; i.e. truth; cf. Metalog. ii.3.

Anacharsis (Anacarsis), 1527; a Scythian philosopher of the sixth century B.C.

Anaxagoras, 807; a Greek philosopher of the fifth century B.C.; cf. Policrat. vii. 5 and 13.

Antipater, 1378, 1379(h.), 1383, 1410, 1414; see Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, xiv.1-11; and see above, pp.108-110.

Antisthenes (Antitenes), 1139 (and h.); founder of the Cynic philosophy; cf. Policrat. iii.4.

Apollo, 857 (and h.).

Arcesiles (Archesilas), 727 (and h.), 1137 (and h.); founder of the Middle Academy.

Aristoteles (Aristotilis), 111, 671(h.), 672, 821 (and h.), 831(h.), 851, 857(h.), 859(h.), 873 (and h.), 935.

Aurelianus primas, see Orleans, archbishop of.

- Baccara, 1737(h.), 1738, 1742; see Martial, Epigrammata, vii.92.
- Balatro, 1673; i.e. a buffoon; see Horace, Sermones, ii.8.33.
- Bavius (Bavius), 1541, 1581(and h.), 1585; an enemy of Virgil and Horace, paired with Maevius in Virgil, Ecloga, iii.90; cf. Conrad of Hirschau, Dialogus super auctores, p.19.
- Belgica prima, 207; the western part of the Roman province of Belgium when it was divided into two.
- Brito, 1667(and h.), 1669, 1679, 1682; William Brito, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury; cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.7, line 18 and see above, p.126, n.65.
- Cacius, see Cadius.
- Capella, see Martianus.
- Cantuaria (Cantia), 1294, 1637(and h.).
- Carinus, 1559(and h.); a character in the Andria of Terence.
- Cadius (Cacius), 1561(and h.), 1586; see Horace, Sermones, ii.4.1.
- Cato, 1428; see Juvenal, Satirae, ii.40 and xi.90.
- Cato, M. Porcius Cato, 1563; cf. Policrat. vii.13, vol.ii.149, referring to Cato's gravitas.
- Chaerea (Cherea), 1616; a character in the Eunuchus of Terence; cf. Policrat. vii.3, vol.ii.239.
- Christicolae (Christicole), 1271, 1273.
- Christus, 312, 1273, 1293, 1549, 1680, 1848.
- Cicero, 111, 1215(and h.), 1241, 1247.
- Corydon (Coridon), 1563(h.), 1564, 1586; see Juvenal, Satirae, ix.102; cf. P.L. 199, ep. lxxxii, and Policrat. iii.12, vol.i.213.
- Crassus, 1171; probably Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives, see Cicero, De officiis, i.8.25.
- Curius, 1428; see Juvenal, Satirae, xi.78.
- Cynthia (Scinthia), 995; i.e. the moon.

Davus (Dauus), 1673; a character in the Andria of Terence;
cf. Policrat. iii.10, vol.i.199.

Demea, 1664; a character in the Adelphi of Terence.

Dinomaches, 1427; see Persius, Satirae; iv.20; cf. Policrat.
vi.4, vol.ii.15.

Dolo , 1541; a Trojan spy, see Virgil, Aeneid, xii.347.

Ebrei, see Hebraei.

Encolpius, 1677; the narrator in Petronius, Saturae.

Epicurei, 527(h.), 563(h.), 587(h.).

Epicurus, 563, 579(h.), 583.

Eudimion, 1119(h.), 1120; perhaps Eudemus of Rhodes.

Euphorbiani (Euforbiani), 1729(h.).

Euphorbus (Euforbus), 1739; see Ovid, Metamorphoses, xv.161,
and cf. Policrat. vii.11, vol.ii.134.

Eumolpus, 1678; an old poet in Petronius, Saturae.

Fabius, 1563; probably Fabius Maximus Cunctator; cf.
Policrat. i.13, vol.i.64.

Flaminius, 1664; Gaius Flaminius Nepos, the consul defeated
by Hannibal at Trasimene, whose reputation suffered
badly; cf. Policrat. viii.9, vol.ii.281.

Flora, 1337; see Juvenal, Satirae, ii.49.

Francigena, 140.

Fronesis, see Phronesis.

Furvus (Furuus), 197(h.), 198, 200, 201, (Furbus) 209;
see above, pp.101-103.

Garamantes, 127; a name used to signify barbarians, see
Virgil, Aeneid, vi.795.

Genius, 238, 239; i.e. Mercury.

Gillia, 1663; see Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia,
iv.8. ext.2, and cf. Policrat. viii.5, vol.ii.242-3.

- Gito (Gitto), 1678; a character in the Saturae of Petronius.
- Gnatho (Gnato), 1688; a parasite in the Eunuchus of Terence; cf. Policrat. viii.1.
- Graeca (Greca), fabula, 858; Graeci (Greci), 1159 (and h.), 1165 (h.), 1175, 1177, 1195, 1217; Graecia (Grecia), 48, 112, 774, 1188, 1216.
- Hebraei (Ebrei), 1195.
- Himeneus, see Hymenaeus.
- Hircanus, see Hyrcanus.
- Hymenaeus (Himeneus), 221; the deity of marriage, cf. Policrat. viii.11, vol.ii.295.
- Hyrcanus (Hircanus), 147 (and h.), 1301 (h.), 1331 (h.), 1332; see Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, xiii.10, and see above, pp.107-8.
- Julia (Iulia) lex, 1335; a law against adultery.
- Juno (Iuno), 221.
- Justinianus (Iustinianus), 38.
- Labeo, 1429; see Persius, Satirae, i.4.
- Latii (Lacii), 112.
- Latinus, lingua, 159; orbis, 1215; sermo, 151.
- Lauerna, see Laverna.
- Lauronia, 1337; see Juvenal, Satirae, ii.36, 65.
- Laverna (Lauerna), 1624, 1752; the goddess of gain, lawful and unlawful, and therefore of rogues and thieves.
- Ligurinus pagus, 203.
- Maevius (Meuius), 1581 (h.), 1582, 1585; an enemy of Virgil and Horace, paired with Bavius in Virgil, Ecloga, iii.90; cf. Conrad of Hirschau, Dialogus super auctores, p.19.
- Mandrogerus, 153 (and h.), 155, 156, 1362, 1363 (and h.), 1367, 1375; a character in the Querolus of the pseudo-Plautus; see above, pp.108-110.
- Marcianus, see Martianus.

Maro, P. Virgilius, 830.

Mars, the god of war, 1750.

Martianus (Marcianus) Capella, 197(h.), 198, 209; see above, pp.32-3.

* Matho (Mato, 1701(and h.)); see Martial, Epigrammata, iv.79, etc., and Juvenal, Satirae, vii.129.

Maurus, 177. (Philologia is not named in the verses of Rabanus Maurus, or in verse by the African Martianus Capella. Perhaps the reference is to the rules of scansion given in the grammatical work of Terentianus Maurus (second century A.D.) although Philologia does not occur there; or perhaps John of Salisbury knew a poem by Rabanus Maurus which is now lost.)

Melidunum, 55; Melun, near Paris, where Abailard taught at one time. Robert of Melun was one of John of Salisbury's masters, see above, p.4.

Mercurius, 175(h.), 176, 184, 211(h.); named eloquentie presul in Metalog. iv.29, cf. Horace, Carmina, ii.17.28, and P.L. 199, ep.lxxxii; and see Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii. See also Genius and Stilbon.

Meuius, see Maevius.

Midas, 1303.

Moses (Moyses), 1187(h.), 1191, 1196, 1197(h.), 1198.

Musaeus (Museus), 1187(h.), 1187, 1191, 1195, 1197; a mythical Greek poet.

Normannus, 139.

Numa, 1664; Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome; for his good reputation with Christian writers see Augustine, De civitate Dei, iii.9; and cf. Policrat. ii.28, vol.i.160.

Nortia (Nursia), 251(h.), 252; an Etruscan goddess of fortune.

Nursia, see Nortia.

Odo, 1675 (and h.), 1685, 1682; subprior of Christ Church, Canterbury; cf. Enthet. in Policrat. p.7, line 17, and see above, p.126 n.65.

Orleans, archbishop of (Aurelianus primas), 208; i.e. Manasses de Garlande, 1146-1185.

Pamphilus, 1673; a character in the Andria of Terence; cf. Policrat. iii.10, vol.i.199.

Pedo, 1707; associated with Matho in Juvenal, Satirae, vii.129.

Peripatetici, 595(h.), 679(h.).

Philologia, 175(h.), 176, 177, 184, 211 (and h.), 213; see Martinaus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii.

Philosophia, 2, 214, 264, 276, 444, 450, 698.

Photinus, 1428, 1429; Pompey's murderer, see Lucan, De bello civili, viii.483, x.95, cf. Policrat. viii.17, vol.ii.346.

Phronesis (Fronesis), 11; i.e. wisdom.

Pitagoras, see Pythagoras.

Plato, 626, 937 (and h.), 1089, 1109 (and h.).

Plautinus, 1683; Plautus was thought to have written the Querolus; see above, p.107.

Plinius, unus et alter, 1185 (and h.).

Polydamas (Polidamas), 1427; see Persius, Satirae, i.4.

Pons Modicus, 49; the Petit Pont in Paris, near which the Englishman Adam kept his school; see above, pp.111-112.

Pontilianus, 206; probably Adam of the Petit Pont.

Pythagoras (Pitagoras), 739(h.), and see Samius.

Quartilla, 1337; see Petronius, Saturae, 16-26.

Querolus, 1683 (and h.); a character in the pseudo-Plautine Querolus.

Quintilianus, 1257 (and h.).

- Remi, 207.
- Roma, 48, 1178, 1217.
- Romani, 1165(h.), 1195.
- Romanus, civis, 1165; potestas, 1245.
- Sabina, 1338; see Juvenal, Satirae, vi.164.
- Sabinus, 1433; see Martial, Epigrammata, ix.59 and vii.96.
- Samius, 739, 745; i.e. Pythagoras, who was a native of Samos.
- Sardanapallus, 1746; a character in the pseudo-Plautine Querolus.
- Scaeva (Sceua), 1745; see Lucan, De bello civili, vi.144 etc.
- Scinthia, see Cynthia.
- Selene (Silena), 1129; i.e. the moon.
- Seneca, 1257(and h.).
- Sergiolus, 1745; see Juvenal, Satirae, vi.105.
- Sertorianus, 121(h.), 133.
- Sertorius, 121; see Juvenal, Satirae, vi.142, and see above, pp.111-112.
- Silena, see Selene.
- Silla, 1338; perhaps for Silia (Tacitus, Annales, vi.20), or Sulla (Juvenal, Satirae, i.16 and ii.28).
- Silvia, 1337; see Virgil, Aeneid, vii.487, 503.
- Socrates, 773(and h.), 785, 789(h.), 799, 801(h.).
- Sporus, 1417; a favourite of Nero, see Suetonius, Nero, 28,1 etc.
- Stilbon, 211; i.e. Mercury (Greek name for the planet Mercury).
- Stoicus, Stoici, 451(and h.), 501(and h.), 1267.
- Tantalus, 1665; cf. Policrat. viii.16, vol.ii.344.
- Tarentum, 741; where Pythagoras settled.

Tersites, see Thersites.

Thais, 1432; character in the Eunuchus of Terence, a name often used as a personification of meretricious women.

Thersites, 1747(and h.); see Juvenal, Satirae, viii.269.

Theobaldus, 1291(h.), 1293; archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas, 1291(h.); Thomas Becket, the chancellor.

Thraso (Traso), 1431; a character in the Eunuchus of Terence.

Tryphon (Triphon), 348; probably the Tryphon to whom Quintilian sent his Institutio Oratoriae, who may have been thought of as one of Quintilian's pupils, and therefore as pusio and as familiar with Quintilian's method of teaching; or perhaps Ptolemaeus Tryphon named by Pliny, or the grammarian Trypho of Alexandria.

Varro, 1177(and h.), 1199, 1189, 1195, 1197.

Venus, 130, 564, 575, 583, 586, 587, 869, 890, 891, 1572, 1625, 1678, 1750, 1752.

Virgil, see Maro.

Willelmus a Conchis, 205; one of John of Salisbury's masters, see above, pp.5-6.

Zeno, 735(and h.); the founder of the Stoic philosophy in the third century B.C.

Zoilus, 1691(h.), 1692, 1700; see Martial, Epigrammata, ii.16, et passim.

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