



**THE COURTIER'S LIBRARY OF RARE BOOKS NOT FOR
SALE.**

**By
John Donne**

Edited with Translation and Notes

**By
Evelyn Mary Simpson**

First Published 1650
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Bibliographic and Editorial Note

The Courtier's Library was written in Latin between 1603 and 1611. It circulated in manuscript for the amusement of Donne's friends but not published in Donne's lifetime. Its first printed publication was in 1650, in a collection of Donne's poems edited by his son. It was reprinted several times over the next century, but then fell into obscurity. There were no versions for over two hundred years, until this edition, edited with a translation and notes by Evelyn Mary Simpson and published in a limited edition by Nonesuch Press, 1930.

Simpson's notes, which were separated at the end of the book, have been incorporated into the text in smaller print.

Introduction by E. M. Simpson

AMONG the few leaves of miscellaneous verse and prose which John Donne the younger added to the edition of his father's poems in 1650, there was a Latin *jeu d'esprit* entitled *Catalogus Librorum*. Hitherto no one has troubled to elucidate the jokes in this curious little piece. I have lately collated a manuscript version of it in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and this has thrown new light on some of the obscurities of the printed text of 1650. The *Catalogue* is an elaborate jest in the manner of Rabelais, who had given a mock catalogue of books in the Library of Saint-Victor (*Pantagruel*, II, vii). Donne gives us the titles of thirty-four imaginary books which he ascribes to real authors, whose behaviour or whose actual works might give some point to the satire. Thus Topcliffe, the notorious informer and cruel persecutor of the Catholics, is credited by Donne with a book entitled *A Rival of Moses. The art of keeping clothes for more than forty years*. Sir John Harington, whose treatise *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* was a satire on the Elizabethan sewerage system, appears in Donne's *Catalogus* as the author of *Hercules*, a discussion of the sanitary arrangements of Noah's Ark. Sometimes the jest is of a different type. That Tarlton, the famous clown of the Elizabethan stage, should be assigned a book on *The Privileges of Parliament* is a gibe at the Parliamentarians rather than at Tarlton.

In this list we have a fresh proof of Donne's familiarity with Rabelais' great work, to which he refers in his *Satires*, his letters, and his lines on Coryat's *Crudities*. Rabelais' catalogue was inordinately long (it had 140 items) and was full of gross jests. Donne's is much shorter, and contains many contemporary allusions, some of which have hitherto been obscured by the corruptions of the printed text.

The 1650 edition of Donne's Poems was the first edition published by the authority of his son, John Donne, Doctor of the Civil Law, who added a few pieces of miscellaneous verse and prose to justify his claim on the title-page that the volume contained 'divers copies under his [Donne's] own hand, never before in print'. John Donne the younger was not a trustworthy person, but there is no reason to doubt his ascription of the *Catalogue* to his father. In one of his Latin letters to Sir Henry Goodyer, Donne mentions his 'satirical catalogue of books' along with his Latin epigrams, and asks Goodyer to return them all, if he has them, that they may undergo a final revision. The date of the letter seems to be 1611, as in it Donne speaks of a projected visit to the Continent, probably the visit to France with Sir Robert and Lady Drury, which occupied part of 1611 and 1612.

The 1650 edition of the *Catalogue* contains some elementary blunders in Latin, e.g. *excriptus* for *exscriptus*, and a few more serious errors which obscure the meaning of the text. For example, it reads *Io: Florio Stalo-Anglum*, which became, in the edition of 1719, *Jo. Florio Stalo, Anglum*. The Trinity College manuscript gives us the right reading, *Iohannem Florio Italo-Anglum*.

Again, the allusion in Item 11 is obscured in 1650 and the editions which follow it by the reading *Iohan. Povy*, for which the manuscript has the correct form *Jo: Pory*. Here, as in the 1652 edition of *Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters*, John Donne the younger showed himself a careless editor of his father's work. He took no pains to correct even the most obvious blunders of the printer, and it is no wonder that the *Catalogue*, even more than the *Paradoxes*, remained for so long neglected by Donne's editors. It was reprinted in the editions of 1654, 1669, and 1719, but has not appeared since then. It was not included in Alford's *Works of Donne* (1839), and Sir Edmund Gosse made no allusion to it in his *Life and Letters of John Donne*. Dr. Grosart dismissed it airily as 'a quaint fantastique' (*Poems of Donne*, II. liv). It was catalogued by Dr. G. L. Keynes in his *Bibliography* as one of the new items added by the younger Donne to the *Poems* of 1650, but the introductory Latin paragraph, giving Donne's ironical reasons for writing the *Catalogue*, was mentioned by Dr. Keynes as a separate contribution, and he gave no hint of the satirical nature of the piece. Sir E. K. Chambers in his *Poems of Donne* (ii. 311) made a passing reference to it, but more recent writers have completely ignored it. Yet, when properly interpreted, it throws a brilliant light on Donne's opinion of many of his contemporaries, and it is the most complete example extant of his skill in that kind of Latin improvisation which was highly esteemed in the seventeenth century. Among learned men Latin was still, to some extent, a living tongue. Francis Bacon, Ben Jonson, and Milton all showed their skill in writing it. Latin was the recognized vehicle for satire among the learned, as Milton proved in his disputes with Salmasius. By such a *jeu d'esprit* as the *Catalogue* Donne showed that he could hold his own in the scholarly amusements of a brilliant literary circle. His Latin was vigorous and pointed, and though he sometimes used semi-barbarous terms, for which he apologized to Goodyer, this was a licence which was generally allowed in satirical composition. For us the interest of the *Catalogue* lies not in its Latinity, but in its view of Jacobean literary society, and its reflection of Donne's personal tastes.

The *Catalogue* probably belongs to the period 1603-11, that is, to the years between Donne's marriage and his visit to France with Sir Robert Drury. The reference to the Royal hounds in the introductory paragraph implies that James I was on the throne, and that his inordinate fondness for his dogs was well known. The references to Bacon and Barlow show that Donne felt bitter resentment for the part which both had played in the final tragedy of the trial and execution of Essex. Thus it seems likely that the *Catalogue*, as we have it in the 1650 edition, belongs to the earlier part of the period mentioned. It would thus be contemporary with many of Donne's *Problems*, and it would precede *Biathanatos* (about 1608), *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), and *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611).

Even if the *Catalogue* had not been vouched for by Donne's own letter and by the authority of his son, we should have guessed its authorship from the acrid flavour which marks all Donne's prose of this period. His romantic

marriage in 1601 had checked his promising career and had plunged him into poverty. With a delicate wife and a rapidly growing family, he had to work hard at uncongenial tasks in order to make a living. He had seen enough of the Court to be disgusted with intrigues, and yet he hated his exile 'in the insipid dullness of the country'. He read omnivorously, but criticizes bitterly much of what he read. From to time he found relief from his work in a gathering at the Mermaid with the circle of wits—the 'Right generous, jovial and mercurial Sireniacks' among whom Tom Coryat numbered Ben Jonson, John Hoskyns, Sir Robert Cotton, Christopher Brooke, Richard Martin. According to Coryat Donne was one of this fraternity which met at the Mermaid on the first day of every month. A long Latin poem preserved among the *Domestic State Papers* celebrates a feast to be held at the Mitre in Fleet Street, when the guests are to include Sir Henry Goodyer, John Donne, Inigo Jones and Tom Coryat.

One leading member of the circle, Ben Jonson, was now at the height of his powers. *Volpone* appeared in 1606, *The Silent Woman* in 1609 or 1610, and *The Alchemist* in 1610. Jonson and Donne, both so haughtily contemptuous of most of their contemporaries, had a wholesome respect for each other's powers. Jonson, as he afterwards told Drummond, esteemed Donne as 'the first poet in the world in some things', though he also judged that 'Donne himself for not being understood would perish.' Donne on his side wrote commendatory verses 'amicissimo et meritissimo Ben Jonson' to be prefixed to *Volpone*. The wit of Donne's satirical *Catalogue* was exactly of the kind which would appeal to the robust, saturnine, and somewhat Rabelaisian temper of Ben. It is significant that several of the books and authors ridiculed by Donne were also the objects of Jonson's satire.

In a wonderful scene of the *Alchemist*, when Doll Common pretends to go raving mad, she quotes, or rather parodies, the Hebraic jargon of Hugh Broughton and the Rabbis Kimchi and Onkelos, all three of whom figure in Donne's *Catalogue*. Nicholas Hill and Sir Hugh Plat, both of whom are satirized in Item 1 of the *Catalogue*, were also the victims of uncomplimentary remarks in Jonson's *Epigram cxxxiii*, l. 128, and in the lines *To the smallpox* in the *Underwoods*. In *Epigram cxxxiii* Jonson jests on Harington's *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (see Item 10 of the *Catalogue*). Dr. Sutcliffe, on whom Donne jests in Item 32, was mentioned satirically in the verse *Letter to Ben Jonson* of Francis Beaumont, who was another habitué of the Mermaid:

'Tis liquor that will find out Sutcliff's wit,
Lie where he will, and make him write worse yet.

Several items in the *Catalogue* recall passages in Donne's *Satires*, written probably about ten years earlier. Thus the attack on the informer Topcliffe reminds us that three manuscripts read *Topcliffe* for *Pursevant* in l. 216 of *Satire IV* (Grierson, *Poems*, i. 166, ii. 125). The item referring to Luther and the Lord's Prayer sums up the lines on the same subject in *Satire II* (Grierson, i. 153; see note, ii. 112). The tone of the *Catalogue* is indeed more

anti-Protestant than we might expect from the date which I have assigned to it. Two possibilities suggest themselves—first, that the *Catalogue* may have been originally written much earlier, between 1594 and 1600, and may have been brought up to date at a later period by the inclusion of some new items satirizing books recently published, such as those of Sutcliffe or Barlow. Or secondly, we may admit that Donne's sympathies remained Catholic for a number of years after he had ceased to be a member of the Roman Church. This is the view which I myself hold, and I should assign the *Catalogue*, as printed in 1650, to a date about 1604 or 1605, and its revised form, as found in the Trinity manuscript, to 1610 or 1611. The introduction to the *Catalogue* was clearly written while James I was on the throne, and the first item refers to a book by Nicholas Hill which was published in 1601, so that even if the *Catalogue* had been planned earlier, we should have to admit that Donne had completely rearranged it. There is nothing surprising in the fact that in 1605 Donne still detested informers like Topcliffe and Philips, or even that he indulged in sarcasm of a very mild kind at the expense of Luther and Erasmus. He had lost his only brother, Henry, through the activities of a spy who had denounced him for harbouring William Harrington, a Roman priest. Moreover, at this period Donne was occupying a detached position, no longer a Catholic but hardly a convinced Anglican. When about 1605 Thomas Morton began to employ him to collect material for books defending the Anglican position, a step was taken which was eventually to lead to Donne's ordination as a priest of the Church of England, but for the moment it was perhaps Donne's Catholic connexions which inclined Morton to employ him. Morton was anxious to persuade the Catholic laity, and his previous disputes had been carried on with urbanity on both sides. Donne with his stores of knowledge of civil and canon law was a valuable assistant. He was willing enough to work for a man of ability like Morton, and the work led naturally to a closer association with the Anglican Church. About 1608 we find Donne writing of it as 'our Church' in private letters to Goodyer, but he also expresses his opinion that both Roman and Anglican Churches are 'connatural pieces of one circle', and that violent controversy between them is undesirable in the interest of true religion. Later still, in 1610, he used a tone of great moderation in *Pseudo-Martyr*, and tried to persuade the Catholics, not to any change of fundamental doctrine, but to a patriotic acceptance of the Oath of Allegiance to the King. Some of his allies, however, in that particular dispute were men like Sutcliffe and Barlow, and an interesting commentary on Item 31 of the *Catalogue* is to be found in Donne's letter to Goodyer on Barlow's *Answer to a Catholic Englishman* (1609):

'To you that are not easily scandalized, and in whom, I hope, neither my Religion nor Morality can suffer, I dare write my opinion of that Book in whose bowels you left me. It hath refreshed, and given new justice to my ordinary complaint, That the Divines of these times, are become mere Advocates, as though Religion were a temporal inheritance; they plead for it with all sophistications, and illusions, and forgeries: And herein are they likest Advocates, that though they be feed by the way, with Dignities, and other recompenses, yet that for which they plead is none of theirs. They write for Religion without it. In the main point in question, I think truly there is

a perplexity (as far as I see yet) and both sides may be in justice, and innocence; and the wounds which they inflict upon the adverse part, are all *se defendendo* In the meantime, I will adventure to say to you, without inserting one unnecessary word, that the Book is full of falsifications in words, and in sense, and of falsehoods in matter of fact, and of inconsequent and unscholarlike arguings, and of relinquishing the King, in many points of defence, and of contradiction of himself, and of dangerous and suspected Doctrine in Divinity, and of silly ridiculous triflings, and of extreme flatteries, and of neglecting better and more obvious answers, and of letting slip some enormous advantages which the other gave, and he spies not. I know (as I begun) I speak to you who cannot be scandalized, and that neither measure Religion (as it is now called) by Unity, nor suspect Unity, for these interruptions.'

This tremendous outburst, written in 1609, shows that Donne had not lost the resentment which he felt against Barlow for the sycophantic sermon preached against Essex in 1601, and which he expressed in the brief yet biting satire of Item 31: 'Eulogy of Doctor Shaw, Chaplain to Richard the Third, by Dr. Barlow'.

A number of Donne's gibes are directed against eminent lawyers such as Sir Roger Manwood, Sir John Hele, and Sir John Davies. The bitterest of these strokes is aimed at the greatest of them all—Francis Bacon, Solicitor-General, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England. 'The Brazen Head of Francis Bacon: concerning Robert the First, King of England'—in those few words Donne has packed the whole story of Bacon's ingratitude to Essex. It is a master-stroke of satire, with its allusion to the legend of Roger Bacon's magical head, and to the crazy conduct of Essex, which gave a handle to his enemies. Here Donne parts company with Ben Jonson, who had no sympathy with Essex, and who always spoke respectfully of Bacon. Donne had served under Essex in the Cadiz and Islands expeditions, and had evidently fallen under the spell of his brilliant leader. His letters during the years 1599 to 1601 show his disappointment at the fall of Essex and his disgust with the intrigues of the Court. His bitter attack on Raleigh in a *Problem* which was first printed by Sir Edmund Gosse, shows how long he cherished resentment against the enemies of Essex.

In the *Catalogue* Donne satirizes mystical or cabbalistic writers, such as Franciscus Georgius, Pico Mirandola, Reuchlin, and Bonaventura, whom he mentions with respect in the *Essays in Divinity*. Anyone who read Item 6, with its gibe about the enumeration of the hairs of Tobit's dog, might feel surprise to find that a short time later Donne could write with admiration of 'Francis George, that transcending Wit,' and could approve his calculation that 'in the Decalogue there are just so many letters, as there are precepts in the whole law.' We cannot solve the inconsistency by supposing that in the later work Donne wished to appear before the world as a sober and learned divine. Gosse's conjecture that the *Essays in Divinity* were written to be laid before Archbishop Abbott as a proof of Donne's orthodoxy is so obviously unsound that it may be dismissed at once. The Archbishop with his 'Low Church' sympathies would have been horrified by Donne's fervent conviction expressed in the *Essays* that 'Roman and Reformed, and all other distinctions of place, discipline, or person' form but one Church 'journeying to one Hierusalem, & directed by one guide,

Christ Jesus'. And he would certainly not have been appeased by Donne's frequent references to writers of such doubtful orthodoxy as Raymond of Sebund and Francis George, and even to Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus, whose names are much more conspicuous than those of Luther or Calvin on the pages of the *Essays*.

The *Essays in Divinity*, more than any other of Donne's theological works, bear the mark of having been written, as his son stated them to have been, for his own satisfaction on the threshold of his entry into the ministry. Donne could claim no public credit for either his broad-mindedness or his absorption in cabbalistic studies. If the mystics and the occultists are satirized in the *Catalogue* and studied with fervent attention in the *Essays*, we have but one more proof of that curious duality in Donne's nature which meets us in all his work. Donne the cynic and Donne the mystic were not confined to different epochs of his life. They existed side by side, and in this middle period the pull of both was strong, so that it was still uncertain which would prevail.

Donne's critical acumen could not fail to see the absurdity of many of these esoteric speculations, whilst in another mood he would wonder whether after all the oriental sages might not be right. Milton's use of the *Cabbala* shows us what an attraction for powerful intellects these doctrines possessed in the seventeenth century. *The Progress of the Soul* proves that by 1601 Donne had studied the lesser known Jewish writers. His poem on *The Primrose* is an example in verse of those occult speculations on number applied to love which in the *Essays* were turned to graver uses. That Donne should both admire and mock is entirely consistent with his character. If we regard either mood as feigned, we miss the meaning of his work. The *Catalogue* is an expression of Donne the satirist and virtuoso. Nobody's person or work is sacred to him. He hurls his gibes at great figures or at small with equal zest. But it would be a mistake to conclude that because Donne includes Erasmus and Luther, Bonaventura and Pico Mirandola in his list, therefore he had no reverence for their work. There is nothing in these items of the personal bitterness which envenoms Donne's attack on Bacon, the false friend of Essex. We have simply the eternal paradox of Donne's mind, the impulse which drove him, as so often in the poems, to rend and defile what inwardly he prized.

The omissions in the *Catalogue* are interesting. The name of no dramatist appears in a list which was drawn up in the decade which produced the greatest English dramas of all time. If anyone should object that the *Catalogue* is a satire and not a survey of literature, we might argue that the Elizabethan age was prolific of bad drama as well as of good. If Donne did not want to satirize Shakespeare, Beaumont, or Ben Jonson, he might have found Rowley or Chettle fair game. But in truth the *Catalogue* is one more proof that in Shakespeare's lifetime the drama was not thought of as literature. Plays were to be acted, not read. They were the property of the company of actors rather than of the playwright.

The *Catalogue* stands alone among Donne's works in giving us his opinion of his contemporaries. It is a wonderful pendant to the *Satires*, written

probably ten years earlier, when Elizabeth was still on the throne. In those the satire was general, though doubtless Donne had certain individuals in mind. Here in the *Catalogue* we have the actual figures which moved across the stage of Elizabethan London. Here are the unjust judge, Sir Roger Manwood, and the drunken, avaricious Serjeant Hele. Here is John Dee, the magician, whose occult lore fascinated Elizabeth for a time. Here is John Florio, the dictionary maker, and the translator of Montaigne, whose work inspired passages of Shakespeare and Webster. Here are the eccentric philosophers and inventors, like Hugh Plat and Nicholas Hill. Here are the spies and informers, like Topcliffe and Philips, men whose activities had cost Donne's only brother his life. Here are swaggering soldiers, like Captain Chute, the sham knight. This London forms the background of Shakespeare's mature comedies and of Jonson's *Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*. Donne's view of it is satiric, akin to Jonson's rather than to Shakespeare's. The *Catalogue* has many faults, coarse or profane passages, some of which Donne excised in his revised draft, but it is full of the vigour and excitement of Elizabethan London. The man who wrote it had generous sympathies. He detested treachery and meanness, he hated pretence. And he was a Londoner to the backbone, fully sensitive to the reactions of Court and City, caring only for men and talk and books, and nothing for the country or the beauties of nature. Satire was the birthright of such a man, and it is fitting that he should have been one of the pioneers of verse satire in English. Though the *Catalogue* is in prose and in an alien tongue, it has the qualities which have made the *Satires* famous. Here is the authentic Donne, enigmatic, exasperating, intensely alive.

Introduction by John Donne.

OUR lot is cast in an age in which open illiteracy is supremely disgraceful, full knowledge supremely rare; everyone has a smattering of letters, no one a complete mastery of them. For the most part, then, men move along a middle way, and in their efforts to shun the disgrace of ignorance and to save themselves the tedium of reading they all use one art that they may keep up the appearance of knowing the rest of the arts. Hence the taste for epitomes and paradoxes and for the itchy outbreaks of far-fetched wit. That is why Lullius, Gemma, Sebundus, Empiricus, Trithemius, Agrippa, Erasmus, Ramus, and the heretical writers are so valued. The mentally lazy think they know enough if they can show credibly that other people's knowledge is imperfect. But this pinchbeck, pert, and puffy knowledge is apt to be unpopular, and it betrays itself. You must try a more dignified, a more expeditious, a more honest route, which is less exposed to the literary detective. The engagements natural to your life at Court leave you no leisure for literature, for what a fraction of life remains over for the cultivation of literature or of your own mind after the calls upon you are met—sleep, which you must not shake off, as a rule, till after ten o'clock; putting on the dress appropriate to the day, to the place, and to your humour; composing your features in the looking-glass; deciding the problem how to greet so-and-so, with a laugh outright or with a raised eye-brow; meals and amusements! But still you condescend to keep up an appearance of learning, to enable you occasionally to praise with grace and point your fellow-menials, the royal hounds; and, though it will be impossible for you to know what others know, you can at least find means to know what they fail to know. Along this road you will by my plan make an advance.

Leaving the so-called classics for dons and schoolmasters to thumb, struggle with the help of all to whom you can safely confess your ignorance to hunt out books difficult for others to discover. And in conversation quote nothing from generally known authors; quote these others, so that what you say may be thought to be original if you mention no names, or, if you cite inferior works devoid of authority, people who previously fancied they knew everything may, with profound respect for you, hear of authors entirely new to them. I have therefore jotted down for your use the following catalogue that, with these books at your elbow, you may in almost every branch of knowledge suddenly emerge as an authority, if not with deeper learning than the rest, at least with a learning differing from theirs.

Rabelais's 'Librarie de l'Abbaye de Saint-Victor' was the inspiration not only of Donne's *Catalogus* but also of mock library catalogues by Johann Fischart, who in 1590 published in Germany his *Catalogus Catalogorum perpetuo durabilis*, and Sir Thomas Browne, who wrote *Museum Clausum* or *Bibliotheca Abscondita: containing some remarkable Books, Antiquities, Pictures and Rarities of several kinds, scarce or never seen by any man now living* (*Miscellany Tracts*, xiii, ed. Tenison, 1683). In the latter part of the seventeenth century there were published a number of mock catalogues, which were really political squibs, such as *Bibliotheca*

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Militum (1659), *Bibliotheca Fanatica* (1660), and *A Catalogue of Books, of the newest Fashion, to be sold by Auction at the Whigs Coffee-House at the Sign of the Jackanapes in Prating-Alley* (about 1693).

Few Elizabethans knew Rabelais at first hand, but one contemporary of Donne, who is mentioned in the *Catalogus*, himself alludes to the Library of St. Victor. Bacon in his essay 'Of Unity in Religion' writes: 'There is a Master of scoffing, that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book *The Morris Dance of Heretics*.'

Donne's ridicule of the fashionable use of epitomes receives illustration from a passage in a letter from the Earl of Essex to Fulk Greville, printed in Spedding's *Works of Bacon*, ix, pp. 22, 23: 'It may be objected that knowledge is so infinite, and the writers of every sort of it so tedious, as it is reason to allow a man all helps to go the shortest and nearest way. But they that only study abridgments, like men that would visit all places, pass through every place in such post as they have no time to observe as they go or make profit of their travel.... So as I think epitomes of the one or other kind of themselves of little profit.'

The List of Books

1. Nicholas Hill, the Englishman, *How to differentiate sex and hermaphroditism in Atoms*. The same, *On their anatomy and midwifery in buried embryos*; to which is appended *The Art of manufacturing Fire-vessels and Implements appertaining to such*, by his fellow-citizen and synchronist Master Plat.

Nicholas Hill (died 1610) wrote a treatise on philosophy entitled *Philosophia Epicurea Democritiana, Theophrastica* (1601). His belief in the philosophy of atoms was ridiculed by Ben Jonson—'Those *Atomi* ridiculous, Whereof old *Democrite*, and *Hill Nicholas*, One said, the other swore, the world consists' (Epigram cxxxiii).

Anthony à Wood says of Hill, 'I shall only say that our author Hill was a person of good parts, but humorous; that he had a peculiar and affected way, different from others in his writings, that he entertained fantastical notions in his philosophy...' (*Ath. Oxon.* Ed. Bliss, ii. 87).

Sir Hugh Plat (1608) was a writer and inventor. In 1572 he wrote 'The Floures of Philosophie, with Pleasures of Poetrie annexed to them'. This was a collection of philosophical maxims translated from Seneca, with the addition of some dull verses of his own. In 1594 he produced 'The Jewell House of Art and Nature, conteining divers rare and profitable Inventions, together with sundry new Experiments in the Art of Husbandry, Distillation and Moulding'. He followed this up in 1603 by a tract 'Of Coal-Balls for Fuel wherein Sea-coal is', and by other pamphlets describing his experiments, some of which dealt with cosmetics and face-washes for ladies. In 1605 he was knighted for his inventions, which covered a wide field. Some, such as his manures for agriculture, proved really useful; others were merely fantastic, such as his project for making wine from grapes grown at Bethnal Green. In 1608 there appeared his last work, 'Flora's Paradise ... with appendix of new, rare, and profitable inventions', in which Plat described his fire-balls and his cosmetics, and declared that his Bethnal Green wine had been praised by the French Ambassador. Both Hill and Plat were born in London, and Donne therefore described them as *conterraneos*. [fellow-countrymen]

2. *A Rival of Moses: the Art of preserving Clothes beyond forty years*, by Topcliffe, an Englishman: with an English commentary by James Stonehouse, who has published a treatise *To keep Clothes near the Fashion* in the same peculiar language.

Richard Topcliffe (1532-1604) was one of the most cruel and detested of the informers against the Catholics. It was he who tortured Southwell the poet. In 1593 he was on the commission against Jesuits. He was allowed by the authorities to keep a torture rack in his own house, so that he might examine Catholics there. His activities were so notorious that a verb *topcliffizare*, to inform, was current in Elizabethan slang, and he was detested by many Protestants as well as Catholics. Three independent manuscripts of Donne's fourth *Satire* read 'A Topcliffe would have ravish'd him away' instead of the standard reading 'A Pursevante would have ravish'd him away' (Grierson, ii. 125).

Sir Charles Firth suggests that the clothes which Donne accuses him of keeping for forty years may have been the vestments used for celebrating Mass, and that these were part of the evidence supplied by Topcliffe against the Catholic priests whom he arrested.

Sir James Stonehouse of London was knighted at Whitehall July 23, 1603 (Nichols,

Progresses of James I, 1, p. 216). He may have been the James Stonehouse who matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1581, and became a student of Lincoln's Inn in 1585.

3. *The Art of copying out within the compass of a Penny all the truthful statements made to that end by John Foxe*, by Peter Bales.

John Foxe was the author of the famous [*Book of Martyrs*](#) (1563) describing the sufferings of the Protestant Martyrs during the Marian persecution. It was attacked in 1566 by the Catholics for its inaccuracy, and in 1603 Robert Parsons the Jesuit condemned it as a series of lies in his *Treatise of the Three Conversions of England*. Peter Bales was the author of a treatise on handwriting called *The Writing Schoolmaster* (1590).

Ad idem, 'to that end', that is, John Foxe in his massive folio purposely reduced his true statements to the small amount which Bales could write on a penny.

4. *That the Chimera is a prophecy of Antichrist*, by an anonymous Sorbonist.

The antagonism between the Sorbonne and the Papal Court is satirized by Donne in his dedication of *Ignatius his Conclave* to the 'Two Tutelar Angels, Protectors of the Popes Consistory, and of the College of Sorbonne'. 'Most noble couple of Angels, lest it should be said that you did never agree, and never meet, but that you did ever abhorre one another . . .'

5. Galatinus, *That the Jews are ubiquitaries, because they are nowhere*.

Petrus Galatinus was born a Jew, and on his conversion to Christianity became a Franciscan friar. He wrote a manual of controversy against the Jews, *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (1518), to which Donne alludes in *Essays in Divinity* (p. 11): 'As Cusanus hath done from the Alcoran, Galatinus hath from the Talmud deduced all Christianity, and more. For he hath proved all Roman traditions from thence.'

Ubiquitary (one who can be everywhere at once) is perhaps used here with a double meaning, glancing at the sect of the Ubiquitaries or Ubiquitarians.

6. *That the Book of Tobit is canonical; in which, following the Rabbis and the more mystical of the Theologians, the hairs of the tail of his Dog are numbered, and from their various backward twists and interwinings letters are formed which yield wonderful words*, by Francis George, a Venetian.

Franciscus Georgius Venetus (F. G. Zorgi) wrote a treatise *De Harmonia Mundi totius cantica* (1525), which was a mixture of Neo-Platonic and Cabbalistic doctrines with some speculations of his own. In the *Essays in Divinity* (p. 14.) Donne speaks of him as 'that transcending Wit' and couples him with Pico della Mirandola as exponents of Cabbalistic learning. In a later passage of the same book (pp. 210—11) Donne alludes to one of his fanciful speculations with numbers: 'as the frame of our body hath two hundred and forty eight bones, so the body of the law had so many affirmative precepts.' See also *Essays in Divinity*, pp. 65, 173.

7. *Peace unto Jerusalem; or a harmonizing of the glaring disagreement between Rabbi Simeon Kimchi and Onkelos, whether human flesh strengthened*

from the eating of swine's flesh will in the Resurrection be taken away, annihilated, or purified, by the most illuminate Doctor Reuchlin.

Kimchi, or more correctly Kimhi, was the family name of a group of Jewish grammarians and Biblical scholars who worked at Narbonne in the twelfth century. The most distinguished of the family was David Kimhi, who wrote a Hebrew grammar called the *Miklol*, and commentaries on Genesis, Chronicles, Psalms, and the Prophets.

Rabbi Onkelos, commonly called the Proselyte Onkelos, was a scholar of the first century, who was distinguished by his extraordinarily strict observance of the Levitical laws of purity. The official Targum to the Pentateuch is called by his name. Reuchlin (1455-1522) was the first of the great German humanists, and was also a Hebrew scholar. In *Biathanatos* (p.118) and *Essays in Divinity* (pp. 11, 103) Donne alludes to his philosophical and cabbalistic treatises, *De Verbo Mirifico* and *De Arte Cabbalistica*.

8. *The Judæo-Christian Pythagoras, proving the Numbers 99 and 66 to be identical if you hold the leaf upside down, by the super-seraphical John Picus.*

[Pico Mirandola](#) (1463-94) was the pupil and friend of Ficino, the translator of Plato and Plotinus, and was also an oriental scholar who took a deep interest in the occult lore of the Cabbala. Donne mentions him several times in the *Essays in Divinity* (pp. 14, 21, 22, 46, 65), generally with reference to his Cabbalistic speculations.

9. *Anything out of Anything; Or, The Art of deciphering and finding some treason in any intercepted letter, by Philips.*

Thomas Phelips or Philips was Walsingham's factotum. He deciphered intercepted letters and was famous for his skill in this art. See *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, Queen Elizabeth*, vol. cclii, nos. 8, 15, 66 (May, June, 1595), and *James I*, vol. vi, no. 37 (Jan. 31, 1604). The last-mentioned item is a letter purporting to be a full account of the conspiracies of Watson, and of Cobham and Raleigh, from Ortelio Renezo to Giovanni Frederico. It is endorsed 'Lines intercepted', and in Cecil's hand there is added 'written by Phelippes, and suggested by him to be counterfeited'.

10. John Harington's *Hercules, or the method of purging Noah's Ark of excrement.*

Sir John Harington's [Metamorphosis of Ajax](#) (1596) was a satire on Elizabethan sanitary arrangements. Its title provided the wits with endless unsavoury jokes. The reference here is to Hercules' cleansing of the Augean stables.

11. *Believe in thy havings, and thou hast them.* A test for antiquities, being a great book on very small things, dictated by Walter Cope, copied out by his wife, and given a Latin dress by his amanuensis John Pory.

Sir Walter Cope was a member of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries. He was knighted in 1603, and became Chamberlain of the Exchequer in 1609. His wife was Dorothy, second daughter of Richard Grenville of Wotton.

The reading of *Pory*, is preferable to that of *Povy* (1650), since John Pory was well-known as an energetic factotum, a great collector of news, who is several times mentioned by Donne in his letters. As to the connection of Cope and Pory,

Chamberlain writing to Dudley Carleton on Jan. 3, 1608/9, mentions them together, and says 'It may be Mr. Pory hath the same intelligence, and doth advertise you more at large. Yet methinks his grand master should not be so private and familiar with him as to make him privy to such business, unless, perhaps, being of the privy council with the lady, he may come by somewhat by that means' (*Court and Times of James the First*, i, p. 85).

12. *The Sub-Saviour*, in which the illuminate, but very unilluminating, Hugh Broughton, explains beyond belief that the Hebrew language is of the essence of salvation, and that his own precepts are of the essence of the language.

Hugh Broughton (1549—1612) was a noted divine and Hebrew scholar. In his *Concent of Scripture* (1588) he asserted the absolute in-corrupthness of the text of both Testaments, including the Hebrew points'. He was ridiculed by Ben Jonson in *Volpone*, II. ii, and *The Alchemist*, II. iii and IV. v. Donne wrote of him more sympathetically in a letter to Sir Henry Goodyer: 'A Gent. that visited me yesterday told me that our Church hath lost Mr. *Hugh Broughton*, who is gone to the Roman side. I have known before, that *Serarius* the Jesuit was an instrument from Cardinal *Baronius* to draw him to *Rome*, to accept a stipend, only to serve the Christian Churches in controversies with the Jews, without endangering himself to change of his persuasion in particular deductions between these Christian Churches, or being enquired of, or tempted thereunto. And I hope he is no otherwise departed from us. If he be, we shall not escape scandal in it; because, though he be a man of many distempers, yet when he shall come to eat assured bread, and to be removed from partialities, to which want drove him, to make himself a reputation, and raise up favourers; you shall see in that course of opposing the Jews, he will produce worthy things: and our Church will perchance blush to have lost a Soldier fit for that great battle; and to cherish only those *single* Dualisms, between Rome and England, or that more single, and almost self-homicide, between the unconformed ministers, and Bishops' (*Letters*, 1651, pp. 35-6). As a matter of fact, Broughton remained a member of the Church of England till his death.

13. Martin Luther, *On shortening the Lord's Prayer*.

Donne has a similar reference in the *Satires*:

as in those first days

When Luther was professed, he did desire
Short *Pater Nosters*, saying as a Friar
Each day his beads, but having left those laws,
Adds to Christ's prayer, the power and glory clause.

(*Poems*, i. 53.)

'The "power and glory clause", which is not found in the Vulgate or any of the old Latin versions of the New Testament (and is therefore not used in Catholic prayers, public or private), was taken by Erasmus (1516) from all the Greek codices, though he did not regard it as genuine. Thence it passed into Luther's (1521) and most Reformed versions' (Grierson, *Poems*, ii. 112).

14. *A Bundle of Oaks, or, The Art of grasping Transcendentals*, by Raymond Sebundus.

Raymond of Sebund was a Spanish philosopher of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. He was born at Barcelona, and lectured in theology and medicine at Toulouse. His great work was the *Liber Naturae sive Creaturarum*, in which he

declared that nature was a divine revelation, containing 'enough to teach us all particularities of Christian Religion'. See Donne's reference to him in *Essays in Divinity*, pp. 7, 8.

15. *The Ocean of Court, or, The Pyramid, or the Colossus, or the Bottomless Pit of Wits: in which, by sixty thousand letters sent and received by the Milords of every Nation invariably in the vulgar tongues to avoid display, anything that can be propounded is propounded on the subject of toothpicks and nail-parings*. Collected and reduced into a corpus and dedicated to their individual writers by John Florio, an Anglo-Italian: the chapter headings of those included in Book I are contained in the first seventy pages; the diplomas of Kings with their titles and the attestations of licensers in the next one hundred and seven pages; poems in praise of the author in Books I-XCVII, which follow.

John Florio, born about 1553, was the son of an Italian Protestant who fled to England late in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1598 he published *World of Words: a most copious and exact Dictionary in Italian and English*, which was dedicated to the Earl and Countess of Rutland and the Earl of Southampton. He also published a translation of Montaigne's *Essays* in 1603. Donne here ridicules the rhapsodical style of his prefaces and dedications.

16. *The Justice of England*. Vacation exercises of John Davies on the art of forming anagrams approximately true, and posies to engrave on rings.

Sir John Davies, lawyer and poet, was the author of *Nosce Teipsum*, *Orchestra*, and also of a number of *Epigrams*. In his 'gulling sonnets' he made use of law-terms to parody the legal metaphors used in such sonnet-sequences as *Zepheria*. As for his posies and anagrams, he wrote a sonnet 'upon sending her (his mistress) a gold ring, with this posy, *Pure and endless*' (included in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, ed. Bullen, ii. 106). In his *Lottery presented before the late Queen's Majesty*, we find a couplet written for Lot 7: 'A Ring with this Posy, *As faithful as I find*' (*Poetical Rhapsody*, i. 13).

17. *A few small Treatises supplementary to the Books of Pancirolli; to the Book of Things Lost* is added *A Treatise on Virtue and on Popular Liberty*, begun by a chaplain to John Cade and finished by Buchanan; to *The Book of Things Found* is added a treatise on *The Multinominous Disease* in English by Tom Thorney and afterwards in Latin by Thomas Campion, and *A Treatise on taking a Wife after Vows* by Carlstadt.

Guido Panciroli or Pancirolli (1523-99) wrote a work describing first the wonderful things known to the ancients, the secret of which had been lost in later times, and secondly the modern inventions which were unknown to the ancients (*Rerum memorabilium deperditarum . . . et nuper inventarum libri duo*). Donne has a reference to this book in *Ignatius His Conclave* (Nonesuch edition, *Donne's Poetry and Prose*, p. 391).

George Buchanan (1506-82) was tutor to James I during his boyhood in Scotland. He was a violent opponent of Mary Queen of Scots, and wrote several pamphlets charging her with numerous crimes. In 1579 he produced *De Jure Regni*, in which he upheld a limited form of monarchy and made a plea for the right of popular election of kings. He defended tyrannicide in certain cases where the monarch was extremely

wicked. The book was suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1584, but it had great influence on the thoughts of the time. In *Ignatius His Conclave* (Nonesuch ed. p. 397) Donne mentions Buchanan with Knox and Goodman among those who 'have troubled the peace of some states and been injurious to some princes'.

John Cade was the famous rebel who in 1450 led an insurrection against Henry VI. Tom Thorney is mentioned in Donne's 'Character of a Scot at the first sight' (*Paradoxes, Problems*, 1652, p. 66). A marginal note in the O'Flaherty manuscript of Donne's poems and paradoxes, in Harvard College Library, describes him as a surgeon.

Thomas Campion, poet, musician, and physician, was born about 1567 and died in 1620. In 1602, his book, *Observations on the Art of English Poetic*, was published. According to the *D.N.B.*, which suggests that he obtained his M.D. degree in some foreign university, it was in January 1606/7 that Campion was first described as 'doctor of physic'.

Carlstadt (1480-1541) was one of the Reformers. His real name was Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein, but he was commonly known as Carlstadt from his birthplace, Carlstadt in Bohemia. He was the first priest among the Reformers to write against the celibacy of the clergy and to take a wife himself, and it is for this that Donne mentions him here.

18. *Bonaventura, On removing the Particle 'Not' from the Ten Commandments and attaching it to the Apostles' Creed.*

St. Bonaventura (1221-74) was a great scholastic theologian and Catholic mystic. There were several other writers of the same name, one of whom, Frederic Bonaventura (1555-1602), was an Italian natural philosopher, who opposed the current beliefs on various scientific subjects (see his *De Natura Partus Octomestris* (1600), and other works).

19. *Of Apochryphal Knights*, one book by Edward Prinne, slightly amplified by Edward Chute.

Edward Prinne was one of the followers and dependents of Don Antonio, titular king of Portugal, in the reign of Elizabeth. Two Letters from Prinne to Lord Burleigh are to be found in *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, ii, pp. 179, 350, by Thomas Wright (1838). For Edward Chute see *John Chamberlain's Letters during the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Camden Society edition, p. 64): 'Capt. Chute (that should or would have been knight in France . . .)' and *Calendar Domestic State Papers*, James I, vol. vi, no. 44: 'Seditious words spoken by Sir Edward Chute' (Jan. 1603/4). There is no Sir Edward Chute recorded in Shaw's *List of Knights*, and Donne's words imply that his title was not an authentic one.

20. *On the Navigableness of the Waters above Heaven; and whether a ship in the firmament will in the Day of judgement land there or in our harbours*, by John Dee.

John Dee (1527-1608) was a famous astrologer. He was believed to be a magician, and he himself claimed to have intercourse with spirits. He wrote a large number of treatises, some of which refer to navigation, e.g. 'General and Rare Memorials pertaining to the perfect Art of Navigation' (1577).

21. *A Manual for Justices of the Peace*, comprising many confessions of poisoners tendered to Justice Manwood, and employed by him in his privy; these have now been purchased from his inferior servants and collected for his own use by John Hele.

Sir Roger Manwood (1525-92), Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, took part in the special commission which examined Mary, Queen of Scots, at Fotheringay in 1586. He was an unscrupulous judge and was charged with deliberate perversion of justice on several occasions in his later years.

Sir John Hele, Serjeant-at-law, died in 1608. He was alleged to be drunken, insolent, and overbearing, and in 1601 a petition was presented to the Council by Garter King-At-Arms, accusing Hele of violent conduct to him in public. However, in 1602 he went on circuit with Mr. Justice Gawdy in Sussex, Kent, and other counties, 'where', wrote Chamberlain to Carleton, 'he made himself both odious and ridiculous' (*D.N.B.*). In spite of his unpopularity he amassed large sums of money, and was notorious for his avarice.

22. *Equilibrium*, in two volumes, or, *The Art of Reaching stability in Controversy*. The first method is called 'Simple', because, after posing a controversy (as for instance, whether there is such a thing as transubstantiation) the words 'yes' and 'no' are written on different but equal-sized slips of paper and are put in a balance; the heavier of the two must be accepted. The other method is 'complex', because, when a thesis is put forward on the one side, a corresponding thesis is put forward on the other; as 'Peter has a see at Rome' and 'John has a see at Rome'; and even if they are written in equal letters, and so forth, the heavier must be accepted. By Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Erasmus (1466-1536), the great humanist, often styled himself *Roterodamus*. He took up a middle position in the great religious conflicts of his time.

23. Cardan, *On the nullibiety of breaking wind*.

Girolamo Cardano (1501-76) was a famous Italian physician, who visited England in the reign of Edward VI. His medical and philosophical treatises, *De Subtilitate Rerum* (1551), and *De Varietate Rerum* (1557) were famous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Donne quotes him in *Biathanatos* (p. 50). *Nullibiety* means 'the condition of being nowhere existent'. The Nullibists were a sect who affirmed that a spirit or incorporeal being nowhere exists'; see Glanvill, *Sadducismus* (1681), 100: 'Those other therefore because they so boldly affirm that a Spirit is Nullibi . . . have deservedly purchased to themselves the name or title of Nullibists'

24. Edward Hoby's *Afternoon Belchings ; or, A Treatise of Univocals, as of the King's Prerogative, and Imaginary Monsters, such as the King's Evil and the French Disease*.

Sir Edward Hoby (1560-1617) was a diplomatist and controversialist. In 1594 he was granted by Elizabeth letters patent for buying and providing wool for sale in England for ten years. In 1607 James I gave him an exclusive licence to buy wool in Warwickshire and Staffordshire. He frequently entertained the King at his mansion at Bisham. He wrote several controversial books against the Catholics. Among them were 'A Letter to Mr. T. H.', 1609, and 'A Counter-snarl for Ishmael Rabshacheh, a Cecropedan Lycaonite' 1613.

Univocals are terms which have only one signification. Donne applies the word derisively to the King's prerogative and to the chimera, both of which might be regarded as particularly ambiguous and doubtful subjects. Doubtless Sir Edward Hoby in an expansive after-dinner mood was capable of laying down the law on all such disputed points.

25. Egerton's *Spiritual Art of enticing Women ; or, Petticoat Preaching*.

It is probable that this is an attack on Stephen Egerton, a Puritan divine, who according to the *D.N.B.* was one of the leaders in the formation of the presbytery at Wandsworth, which has been described as the first Presbyterian church in England. He was imprisoned in the Fleet from 1590 to 1593 for his nonconformity. In 1598 he became minister of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, and in 1603 he was one of those who presented the so-called Millenary petition to King James for the further reform of the Church of England. In 1604 he introduced a petition to the Lower House of Convocation praying that the Book of Common Prayer might be altered. Among the changes desired by Egerton and his friends were the abolition of the sign of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in marriage. He published a number of sermons and a *Brief Method of Catechising* (1594).

26. *Of an animate Pessary, and the manner of giving every disease to women*, by Master Butler, of Cambridge.

William Butler (1535-1618) was one of the most famous physicians of the time. He was a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and lived in Cambridge most of his life. In 1612 he was summoned to attend Henry, Prince of Wales, in his fatal illness. John Chamberlain, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton on November 12, 1612, says of Butler ' . . . though he be otherwise but a drunken sot, yet he hath a very shrewd judgment'. He is described on his monument in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, as '*Medicorum omnium quos præsens ætas vidit facile Princeps*'. [One who was easily seen as the prince of doctors by all of the present age]

27. *The Brazen Head of Francis Bacon: concerning Robert the First, King of England*.

Roger Bacon, the famous Franciscan friar and scientist, was popularly supposed to have been a magician. The legend of his magical brazen head was familiar to the Elizabethans through the prose romance, *The Famous History of Fryer Bacon*, and also through Greene's play, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. Francis Bacon, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam, was early in his career a friend of the Earl of Essex, to whom he owed many favours. When Essex incurred Elizabeth's displeasure, Bacon tried to dissuade him from rash courses, but finding remonstrance vain, he abandoned the Earl, and took a prominent part against him in the final trial. Donne's allusion to Essex as 'Robert the First' is a reference to the speech of Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General, in his indictment of Essex for treason. According to Camden's *Annals*, Coke ended his speech with this sharp conclusion: It were to be wished that this Robert might be the last of this name Earl of Essex, who affected to be Robert the first of that name King of England'.

28. *The Lawyer's Onion; or, The Art of Lamenting in Courts of Law*, by the same. *A Foreigner-and-a-half; or, Concerning the Half-and-half Jury*.

De medietate linguæ. 'Medietas Lingua, denotes a jury empanelled upon any cause, wherein a stranger is party, whereof the one half consists of denizens, and is used in pleas, where one party is a denizen, and the other a stranger; and this manner of trial was first given by the statute of 27 Ed. 3. Stat. 2. cap. 8. and 8 Hen. 6 cap. 29,' Cowel's *Interpreter*, ed. T. Manley, 1684.

29. *Of the Eddy running from Pole to Pole through the Diameter of the Earth, navigable without a Compass*, by Andrew Thevet.

Andre Thevet, who died in 1590, was a famous French writer on geography. Two of his best-known works were *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique*, and *La Cosmographie universelle*.

30. *The Quintessence of Hell; or, The private apartment of Hell, in which is a discussion of the fifth region passed over by Homer, Virgil, Dante and the rest of the Papists, where, over and above the penalties and sensations of the damned, kings are tortured by a recollection of the past.*

This reference to a special inner chamber of Hell seems to be an anticipation of the central idea of *Ignatius his Conclave*, but whereas in the latter book Donne assigns this room to Ignatius Loyola and his Jesuits, in the *Catalogue* he assigns it to kings. The phrase '*ab Homero, Virgilio, Dante, cæterisque papisticis prætermisso*' should be compared with *Ignatius his Conclave* (Nonesuch edition, *Donne's Poetry and Prose*, p. 360), '... the prophecies of *Homer, Virgil*, and the other *Patriarchs of the Papists*! 'The remembrance of things past' is probably a reminiscence of Dante, *Inferno*, V. 121-3:

*Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.*

["There is no greater sorrow than to remember times of happiness in this misery"]

31. *An Encomion on Doctor Sham, Chaplain to Richard III*, by Doctor Barlow.

William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester from 1605 to 1608, and Bishop of Lincoln from 1608 to 1613, was one of the leaders of the Anglican Church in its disputes with both the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. He had been a favourite chaplain of Queen Elizabeth's, and was appointed by her to attend, with two others, on the Earl of Essex while he was under sentence of death in the Tower. Barlow was present at the execution of Essex, and on the following Sunday he preached by royal command at St. Paul's Cross, setting forth the Earl's acknowledgement of his guilt, and his repentance for his treasonable designs. In this sermon Barlow carried out most precisely the instructions which he had received from Sir Robert Cecil. It was probably on this account that Donne, as a sympathizer with Essex, compared Barlow with Shaw, the sycophantic chaplain, who in 1483 preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross in which by the order of Richard III, then Protector, he impugned the validity of Edward IV's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, and thus denied the right of the young king, the ill-fated Edward V, and his brother Richard, to the throne. Donne insinuates that Barlow's sermon, like Shaw's, was a sycophantic defense of murder. Barlow took part in the Hampton Court Conference between the Anglican and Puritan divines in 1604, and drew up the official report of the Conference. In 1609 he wrote *An Answer to a Catholic Englishman*, in which he answered the attack of Parsons, the Jesuit, on James I's *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. Donne had a

very low opinion of this book, as he showed in a private letter to Sir Henry Goodyer (*Letters*, 1651, pp. 160-3).

32. *What not? or, A Refutation of all the errors, past, present and future, not only in Theology but in the other branches of knowledge, and the technical Arts, of all men dead, living, and as yet unborn: put together in a single night after supper*, by Doctor Sutcliffe.

Matthew Sutcliffe (born about 1550, died 1629), Dean of Exeter, founded a theological and polemical college at Chelsea 'where learned divines should study and write in maintenance of all controversies against the papists' (Fuller, *Church History*, x.5). James I was one of the patrons, and laid the first stone of the building in 1609. In the charter of incorporation, dated May 8, 1610, he ordered that it should be called 'King James's College at Chelsea'. The scheme, however, proved a complete failure (*D.N.B.*).

Sutcliffe wrote a large number of controversial works between 1591 and 1606, most of them against the Catholics. Donne possessed a copy of his *Subversion of Robert Parsons, his confused and worthless work* (Keynes, *Bibliography of Donne*, Appendix iii).

33. *Of the Bishopableness of a Puritan*, by Doctor Robinson.

This reference is so brief that it is difficult to decide which of the numerous contemporary Robinsons Donne had in mind. The famous Puritan divine, John Robinson, who went to Amsterdam in 1608 with a number of separatists, and sailed in 1620 with the Pilgrim Fathers to New England, seems to be excluded by Donne's use of the title *Doctor*. The most likely candidate is Henry Robinson, who became Bishop of Carlisle in 1598, and in 1599 was appointed one of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes. He took part in the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. He died in 1616.

34. Tarlton, *On the Privileges of Parliament*.

Richard Tarlton was the famous Elizabethan clown. He was a favourite with Queen Elizabeth, and also with the populace. He died in 1588, but his memory was kept green for many years by various publications issued under his name, though probably he had no connection with them. Among these were *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* (1590) and *Tarlton's Jestes*.

35. Baldus, *In Praise of Baldness*.

The 'Praise of Baldness' may be a reference to Abraham Fleming's 'Paradox Proving by reason and example, that Baldness is much better than bushy hair.... Written by that excellent Philosopher Synesius. . . . Englished by Abraham Fleming . . . The badge of wisdom is baldness. Printed by H. Denham. 1579'. See also the poetical dispute on baldness in Dekker's *Satiro-mastix*, iv. iii.

36. Agrippa, *On the Vanity of the Sciences*; and *The Praise of the Ass*, by the same.

'The Praise of the Ass' is perhaps a reference to a prose burlesque published in 1595, 'The Noblesse of the Ass. A work rare, learned, and excellent, by A. B[anchieri]'.

The Courtier's Library

Cornelius Agrippa, the German philosopher, wrote a treatise *De Vanitate Scientiarum* (1531) which seems out of place in Donne's catalogue of imaginary works. Perhaps Donne wished to imitate Rabelais more closely, as the latter had included some real books in his Library of Saint-Victor.

Original Latin Version.

Catalogus librorum aulicorum incomparibilium et non vendibulum.

Aevum sortiti sumus quo plane indoctis nihil turpius, plene doctis nihil rarius. Tam omnes in literis aliquid sciunt, tam nemo omnia. Media igitur plerumque itur via, et ad evitandam ignorantiae turpitudinem et legendi fastidium ars una est omnibus ut reliquas scire videri possint. Inde Epitomis, paradoxis, et pruritibus exorbitantium ingeniorum delectantur. Hinc tam sunt in pretio, Lullius, Gemma, Sebundus, Empiricus, Trithemius, Agrippa, Erasmus, Ramus, et Haeretici. Satis enim sibi videntur scire ignava ingenia si aliorum scientiam imperfectam esse probabiliter possint demonstrare. Sed nimis invidiae subest, et se prodit aerea haec, procax et tuberosa scientia. Tibi generosior, celerior, candidior, et minus speculatoribus literarum obnoxia via subeunda est. Et quia per occupationes Aulae, qua degis, naturales, tibi vacare literis non licet (nam post somnum non nisi post decimam ex more excutiendum, post vestes diei, loco, affectibus proprias indutas, post faciem speculo compositam, et quo quis cachinno, superciliove excipiendus sit resolutionem, post epulas lususque, quota pars vitae literis, animoque excolendo relinquitur?) et tamen doctus videri non dedignaris, ut aliquando habeas quo eleganter et apposite canes Regios conservos tuos possis laudare, et quamvis scire quae alii sciunt non poteris, saltem scire valeas quae illi nesciunt; hac ex consilio meo via progredieris.

Relictis autoribus quos vocant Classicos Academicis et paedagogis terendis, enitere per omnes quibus ignorantiam fateri secure poteris, libros aliis inventu difficiles exquirere. Nec in colloquiis quid ex autoribus vulgo notis afferas, sed ex istis ut ita quae dicis aut tua videri possint, si nomina taceas, aut si minus digna sint, et autoritate egeant, novos authores cum reverentia tui audiant illi, qui omnia scire sibi ante visi sunt. Hunc ergo catalogum ad usum tuum exaravi, ut his paratis libris, in omni pene scientia, si non magis, saltem aliter doctus quam caeteri, subito prosilias.

Catalogus Librorum

1. Nicolai Hill Angli, de sexu et Hermaphroditate dignoscenda in Atomis; Idem de eorum Anatomia, et obstetricatione in partibus humatis, cui annectitur ars conficiendorum ignis vasorum, et instrumentorum ad haec omnia propriorum, per conterraneum, et synchronon suum Magistrum Plat.
2. Aemulus Moysis. Ars conservandi vestimenta ultra quadraginta annos, autore Topeliffio Anglo. postillata per Iac. Stonehouse anglice, qui eodem idiomate edidit tractatum, *To keep clothes near the fashion*.
3. Ars exscribendi omnia ea quae vere ad idem dicuntur in Joanne Foxe in ambitu denarii, autore P. Bales.
4. Chimaeram praedicari de Antichristo autore Sorbonista Anonymo.
5. Galatinus, Judaeos ubiqitarios esse, quia nusquam sunt.
6. Librum Tobiae esse canonicum. Ubi ex Rabbiniis et secretioribus Theologis numerantur pili caudae eius canis, ex quorum varia retortione, et invicem conjunctione conficiuntur literae, ex quibus mirifica verba consistunt. Autore Francisco Georgio Veneto.
7. Pax in Hierusalem, sive conciliatio flagrantissimi dissidii inter Rabbi Simeon Kimchi, et Onkelos, utrum caro humana ex carne suilla comesta (quod avertat deus) concreta in resurrectione removebitur, annihilabitur, aut purificabitur, per illuminatissimum Doctorem Reuchlinum.
8. Pythagoras Iudaeo-Christianus, Numerum 99 et 66 verso folio esse eundem, per superseraphicum Io. Picum.

9. Quidlibet ex quolibet; *Or the art of decyphering and finding some treason in any intercepted letter*, by Philips.
10. Ioh. Harringtoni Hercules, sive de modo quo evacuabatur a faecibus Arca Noae.
11. Crede quod habes et habes. Criterium Antiquitatum; lib. magnus de minimis a Walt. Copo dictatus, et ab uxore exscriptus, et ab amanuensi suo Iohan. Pory latinitate donatus.
12. Subsavior; in quo illuminatus, sed parum illuminans, Hugo Broughton incredibiliter docet linguam Hebraicam esse de essentia salutis, et sua praecepta esse de essentia linguae.
13. M. Lutherus de abbreviatione orationis Dominicae.
14. Manipulus quercuum, sive ars comprehendendi transcendentia. Autore Raim. Sebundo.
15. Oceanus Aulicus, sive Pyramis, sive Colossus, sive Abyssus ingeniorum: ubi per 60000 literas a Milordis omnium nationum ad evitandam ostentationem vulgaribus semper linguis datas et acceptas, traditur quicquid tradi potest de Dentiscalpiis et unguium reduviis. Collectae sunt et in unum corpus reductae singulisque autoribus dedicatae per Io. Florio Italo-Anglum. Eorum quae in hoc libro continentur capita habentur primis 70 paginis; Diplomata Regum cum eorum titulis et approbationes inquisitorum 107 sequentibus, poemata in laudem Autoris 97 libris proximis.
16. Iustitia Angliae. Vacationes Io. Davis de Arte Anagrammatum verisimiliter conficiendorum, et sententiolis annulis inscribendis.
17. Tractatuli aliquot adjectitii libris Pancirolli; libro de rebus perditis, additur de virtute, et de libertate populi; quod a Capellano quodam Io. Cadi inchoatum a Buchanano perfectum est, libro de rebus inventis, additur de morbo multinomino per Tho. Thorney Anglice, et post Latine per Tho. Campianum, et de uxoratione post vota per Carolostadium.
18. Bonaventura de particula Non a decalogo adimenda, et Symbolo Apostolorum adiicienda.
19. De militibus Apocryphis per Edw. Prinne lib. unus, per Edw. Chute paulo amplior factus.
20. De navigabilitate aquarum supercoelestium, et utrum ibi an apud nos navis in firmamento in iudicio sit appulsura, Io. Dee Autore.
21. Manuale justiciariorum, continens plurimas confessiones veneficarum Manwoodo iudici exhibitas, et ab illo abstergendis postea natibus, et evacuationibus adhibitas; nunc a servulis suis redemptae, et in usum suum collectae sunt a Io. Helo.
22. Aequilibrium. Tom. 2. Sive ars acquiescendi in Controversiis. Primus modus dicitur simplex, quia data controversia (utpote estne transubstantiatio?) scribitur sic, et non, variis sed aequalibus chartulis, et trutiniae imponuntur, et ponderosiori adhaerendum. Alius modus est compositus, quia data thesi ex una parte, datur etiam altera ex altera: ut Petrus sedet Romae, et Ioannes sedet Romae, et etiam si aequalibus literis scribuntur, etc. ponderosiori adhaerendum: autore Erasmo Roterod.
23. Cardanus de nullibetate crepitis.
24. Edw. Hobaei eructationes pomeridiana, sive de univocis, utpote de praerogativa Regum, et chimaeris, morbo Regio, et morbo Gallico etc.
25. Ars Spiritualis inescandi mulieres, sive conciones subcingulares Egertoni.
26. De Pessario animato, et omni morbo foeminis dando, per Magistrum Butler Cantabr.
27. Caput aeneum Fran. Baconi: de Roberto primo Angliae rege.
28. Caepe advocatorum, sive ars plorandi in Iudiciis, per eundem. Sesqui-barbarus, sive de medietate linguae.
29. De Gurgite diametrali a Polo ad Polum, per centrum navigabili sine pyxide per Andr. Thevet.

30. Quintessentia inferni; sive camera privata infernalis, ubi tractatur de loco quinto ab Homero, Virgilio, Dante, caeterisque papisticis praetermisso, ubi Reges praeter damni poenas, et sensus, recordatione praeteritorum cruciantur.
31. Encomium Doctoris Shaw Capellani Richardi 3. per Doct. Barlow.
32. Quid non? sive confutatio omnium errorum tam in Theologia quam in aliis scientiis, artibusque mechanicis, praeteritorum, praesentium et futurorum, omnium hominum mortuorum, superstitum, nascendorumque; una nocte post coenam confecta per D. Sutcliffe.
33. De Episcopabilitate Puritani. Dr. Robinson.
34. Tarltonus de privilegiis Parlamenti.
35. Baldus in laudem Calvitii.
36. Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum; et Encomium Asini per eundem.

THE END