

BACONIANA

Founded 1886

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BACONIANA

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It should be clearly understood that BACONIANA is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Society, but the Council does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by contributors or correspondents.

FOREWORD

Baconiana as you know is published periodically by The Society. Your Council recently reviewed this long established policy in the light of responses of members to last year's questionnaire, and has decided that, whenever possible, it will increase the number of issues to be made to members annually.

This must of course depend, ultimately, on the submission to the Editor of available articles considered suitable for publication, and future contributions, as usual, will be greatly appreciated.

With a view to implementing our new policy, this particular edition is supplementary to the usual issues of *Baconiana*, and has arisen through an accumulation of material about the relation between *Don Quixote* and the *Promus* of Francis Bacon, which has recently been researched by one of our Council members: Dr. John S. Alabaster.

In view of the nature of the subject matter surrounding the authorship of *Don Quixote*, to which there have been many references in past issues of *Baconiana*, it was decided that this would best be dealt with as a whole, so that it could "stand up in it's own right" so to speak, and that the author, Dr. Alabaster, should be invited to act as Editor of the material presented, which he has kindly agreed to do.

Peter Welsford, Chairman-designate, for the
Council of the Francis Bacon Society, March, 1999

BACONIANA
EDITORIAL

The man who does not discriminate in small matters, falls down on great ones.

Francis Bacon: *Promus*, folio 86, back, line 26.

Following Francis Carr's recent initiatives in discussing the possible authorship of *Don Quixote* (his article on 'Cervantes, England and Don Quixote' in 1995 in *Baconiana* No. 193; his talk to the Society on 'English Characters in Don Quixote' on 10 July and again on 7 November, 1996; and his book, 'Who Wrote Don Quixote' which I was kindly shown in draft), some detailed analyses have been carried out to investigate further the authorship question.

The results of an analysis of word-length frequency of the sonnets in *Don Quixote* and those by Shakespeare have already been described briefly in *Baconiana* No. 194 (1997), whilst some of the main results of later work have been presented to meetings of the Society: on 9 April, 1997 (on matches between the entries in the *Promus* in English and Spanish and the text of *Don Quixote* and on some ciphers) and on 8 April, 1998 (on John Heywood as a source of some of the English proverbs, with mention of more ciphers as well as matches in Latin). Since then the work has been written up in more detail and a study has been made of the Latin and French entries in the *Promus*.

In presenting material for publication, it has been felt important to support the articles with detailed tables, figures and appendices, so that the critical reader can test for himself the validity of the conclusions drawn. But since this results in quite lengthy articles which are rather different from the usual contribution, and since they all relate to *Don Quixote*, it has been agreed by the Council to group them into a single extra issue of *Baconiana*. Furthermore, as an essential part of the work, all the Latin entries in the *Promus* have been translated and many of the sources identified by a colleague, Philip Bartholomew and, although only a proportion of these have a bearing on *Don Quixote*, all the translations are included in the present publication because it is felt that they are of considerable intrinsic interest.

The synopsis of the articles given overleaf is included to help the reader select items of particular interest.

EDITORIAL
SYNOPSIS OF ARTICLES

1. Some Further Links between Francis Bacon and *Don Quixote*

Part I deals with some ciphers found in *Don Quixote*, listing all the occurrences of the different forms of Cid Hamet Benengeli and all the quotations that can be construed as indicating the number 33, which is a cipher for 'Bacon' where A=1, B=2, C=3, etc. The totals of each of these two ciphers themselves can even be construed to total 33.

Part II expands the list of matches that have been found between the entries in English and Spanish in the *Promus* of Bacon and the text of *Don Quixote*. The subject matter of these matches is also briefly discussed.

2. John Heywood as a probable source for Francis Bacon

An examination has been made of the choice and sequence of entries of English proverbs common to the collections in Heywood and in Bacon's *Promus* and to the entries in *Don Quixote*. Full details are given in an Appendix, together with reference numbers to enable the reader to explore further the origins and usages of these proverbs.

3. An Analysis of the Latin Entries in Bacon's *Promus*

The translations of the Latin entries, by Philip Bartholomew are given in an Appendix, together with all assigned sources. The sequences of entries in the *Promus* and in the original works are compared in order to identify those most likely to have been taken from primary, rather than secondary sources. Matches have been sought between the Latin entries or their translations, and the English text of *Don Quixote* (including Latin quotations). As an example the coverage of the law and the administration of justice in the *Promus* and in *Don Quixote* are described. The use of entries to confirm the pagination of the *Promus* is also discussed.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

For those not wishing to study all the detail, the main results may be summarised as follows:

1. There is a large number of matches between the entries in Bacon's

Promus in English, Spanish and Latin and with the English text of *Don Quixote*; this suggests a common origin for these two works.

2. There is very strong evidence that Bacon copied into his *Promus* some of the English proverbs in John Heywood's collections, his choice corresponding closely with that found in *Don Quixote*; this again indicates a common origin for the two works.

3. There are many examples in the English text of *Don Quixote* of the 33-cipher (indicating 'BACON' where A=1, B=2, etc.); these can be derived from the numbers mentioned in the text (relating to weights, measures, ages, counts, etc.) and the frequency of the different forms of the name, Cid Hamet Benengeli.

4. The conclusion from the evidence presented is that Bacon was probably closely involved in the production of the English text of *Don Quixote*.

5. The Latin entries in the *Promus* are dominated by extracts from the *Adages* of Erasmus, but many classical authors are also quoted.

JOHN S. ALABASTER

Acting Editor for this Issue. March, 1999

SOME FURTHER LINKS BETWEEN FRANCIS BACON AND DON QUIXOTE
SOME FURTHER LINKS BETWEEN FRANCIS BACON
AND *DON QUIXOTE*

by

John S. Alabaster

Francis Carr {1,2} has already collected and discussed a considerable number of connections between Francis Bacon and Miguel Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. These include several ciphers in *Don Quixote* and a number of similarities in wording between Bacon's '*Promus* [or 'larder'] of *Fourmes and Elegancies*' and the text of *Don Quixote*. Both these subjects are explored further here.

PART 1. SOME CIPHERS IN *DON QUIXOTE*

One of the ciphers Carr found is the name of the person described as having translated the story of *Don Quixote* from Arabic into Spanish – Cid Hamet Benengeli – whose name Carr suggests can be translated as Lord Bacon son of England. He reported that this name occurs 33 times in the 1620 edition of *Don Quixote* which he used {3}, a number that is of interest because it can be derived from the name, Bacon, by assigning numerical values to the letters according to the simple scheme: A=1, B=2, C=3, etc. Carr {1} also pointed out that the number 33 is twice put into the text quite unnecessarily when Sancho Panza has to agree to suffer 3,300 lashes for which he would be paid 825 reals, which would amount to 3,300 pieces of blanks. Two other examples of a numerical cipher are also evident in Carr's example. Firstly, that the number 825 could be construed as $8 + 25 = 33$ and secondly, that the number 100 is to be found in both 'eight 100 and twenty-five' and 'thirty-three 100', a number that can also be obtained from the name Francis Bacon, using the simple numerical cipher already mentioned — Francis (=67) + Bacon (=33) = 100.

This part of the present study aims to check on the occurrences in *Don Quixote* of, not only the 'Cid' name in its various forms, but also of the 33- and 100-ciphers, using the 1620 edition that was reprinted in 1900

{4}, which differs somewhat from the one used by Carr {3}, but is the earliest edition that is easily obtainable. The results are shown in Tables 1 & 2, respectively.

Cid Hamet Benengeli

Table 1. Occurrences of the name Cid Hamet Benengeli and its variants

Vol. I	Book 2	p.58	Cid Hamete Benengeli	1
	Book 3	p.101	Cid Hamet Benengeli	2
		p.112	Cid Mahamet Benengeli	3
		p.171	Cid Hamet Benengeli	4
		p.252	Cid Hamet Benengeli	5
Vol. II	Part 2	p.189	Cid Hamet Benengeli	6
		p.203	Benengeli	7
		p.204	Cid Hamet Benengeli	8
			Cid	9
		p.205	Cid Hamet Benengeli	10
			Cid	11
		p.235	Hamet Benengeli	12
		*p.235		No.
		p.351	Cid Hamet Benengeli	1
			Cid	2
			Hamet	3
Vol. III		p.9	Cid	4
		p.16	Cid Hamet	5
		p.62	Benengeli	6
		p.82	Cid Hamet	7
		p.91	Benengeli	8
		p.117	Cid Hamet	9
		p.122	Cid Hamet	10
		p.147	Benengeli	11
		p.150	Cid Hamet	12
		p.166	Cid Hamet	13
		p.183	Cid Hamet	14
		p.191	Cid Hamet	15
		p.197	Cid Hamet	16
			Cid Hamet	17

SOME FURTHER LINKS BETWEEN FRANCIS BACON AND DON QUIXOTE

p.207	Cid Hamet Benengeli	18
p.237	Cid Hamet Benengeli	19
p.238	Cid Hamet	20
p.239	Cid Hamet	21
p.253	Cid Hamet	22
p.254	Cid Hamet	23
p.261-2	Cid Hamet Benengeli	24
p.262	Cid Hamet	25
p.297	Cid Hamet Benengeli	26
p.305	Cid Hamet	27
p.307	Cid Hamet	28
p.309	Cid Hamet	29
p.327	Cid Hamet	30
p.340	Cid Hamet Benengeli	31
	Cid Hamet	32
p.341	Cid Hamet Benengeli	33
TOTALS (after p.235*)	7	2 20 3 1 33

* At this point, the text reads, the readers of their delightful history may reckon that from this time the exploits and conceits of Don Quixote and his squire do begin.'

Altogether, there are 45 mentions of the name, Cid Hamet Benengeli, either in full or in part. However, counting only after the point in the text at which, it seems, the story really begins, the total is 33. It is noticeable that the frequency of the cipher increases markedly over the three volumes, and also increases over the last volume, all of which seems designed to attract the attention of the reader.

The 33-Cipher

The '33-cipher' is in no way so readily found as is the name Cid Hamet Benengeli and its variants. There is, therefore, a danger both of missing it when present, as well as apparently finding it when absent, so

that any final count could be the result of self-cancelling errors! The reader must judge. The possible examples that have been found to date are listed in Table 2.

Table 2.
Quotations construed as examples of the '33-Cipher'

No.	Vol.	page	Cipher text with interpretation and comments in square brackets, '[]'
1	I	64	With less than 3 reals . . . a man may make three gallons of it [3 & 3 = 33]
		2	108 breathing thirty sobs and threescore sighs [30 + 3=33]
		3	130 in an azure field three crowns of silver . . . lord of the three Arabias [3 & 3 = 33]
		4	151 The fisherman . . . carried over one goat . . . passed over another . . . and passed over another [=3]. Keep you, sir, good account of the goats that the fisherman ferries over; for if one only be forgotten, the tale will end, and it will not be possible to tell one word more of it . . . he [the fishennan] turned for another goat, and another, and another [= 3 more: 3 & 3 = 33]
		5	222 It [Don Quixote's tablet/letter] needs no seal . . . but only my rubric, which is as valuable as if it were subscribed not only for three asses, but also for three hundred [33 & 100]
		6	227 [two stanzas of a poem 228 and a third stanza, each of ten lines (= 30) and each with the addition of Toboso (+ 3 = 33)] if . . . he did not also add that of Toboso, the rime could not be understood
		7	227 He [Don Quixote] entertained himself all the time of Sancho his absence; who, had he stayed three weeks away [3], as he dip but three days [3], the Knight of the Ill-favoured Face should have remained so disfigured as the very mother that bore him would not have known him. [play on the word disfigured?; 3 & 3 = 33]

SOME FURTHER LINKS BETWEEN FRANCIS BACON AND DON QUIXOTE

- 8 280 Three being thus mounted . . . and the other three-
on foot [33]
- 9 284 he would rather have given unto himself three
blows [3] on the mouth, and also bit his tongue
thrice [3], than have spoken any word whence it
might result in your indignation [i.e. by being
revealed; $3 + 3 = 33$]
- 10 297 away little more than three days [3], Toboso being
more than thirty [30] leagues from hence [$3 + 30 =$
33]
- 11 II 39 the three [parts] I will bestow upon you [sons]
40 and the third the war [$3 + 3 = 33$]
- 12 40 3000 ducets [3] apiece . . . take back again two
thousand ducets of the three [3; $3 + 3 = 33$]
- 13 61 barque holding thirty persons [= 3 & 10] or more
. . . voyage of thirty leagues [= 3 & 10] distant from
Algiers [= 33 & 100]
- 14 141 and that the players
142 got more by those three [3] alone [tragedies –
written by a famous poet of our kingdom] than by
thirty [30] of the best that were penned or acted
since [$3 + 30 = 33$]

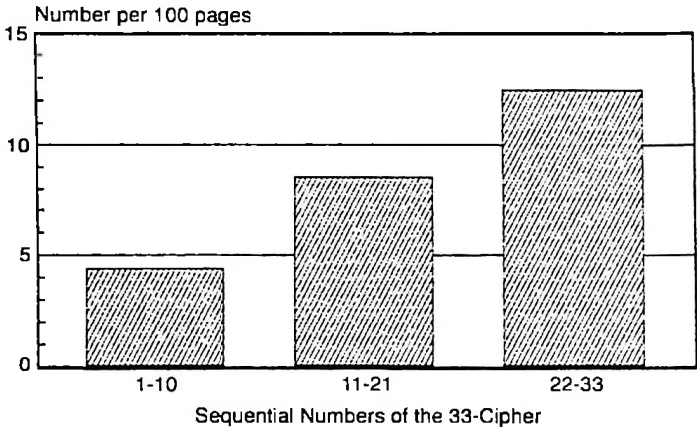
Numbering after p.235

- 1 249 he might see three country-wenches . . . upon three
ass-colts' [$3 + 3 = 33$]
- 2 268 I have three like three orient pearls [$3 + 3 = 33$]
- 3 347 [para 2, line 7:] three times
[line 8:] three days [$3 + 3 = 33$]
- 4 [line 12:] three nights
[line 13:] three days [$3 + 3 = 33$]
- 5 [line 21:] three days
[line 22:] three country wenches [$3 + 3 = 33$]
- 6 322 never a one [1] was under fourteen nor none above
eighteen [$1 + 14 + 18 = 33$]
- 7 III 7 I think that two shillings [24 pence] and seven-
pence halfpenny [6 pence & 3 half-pence] is little
enough [$24 + 6 + 3 = 33$]

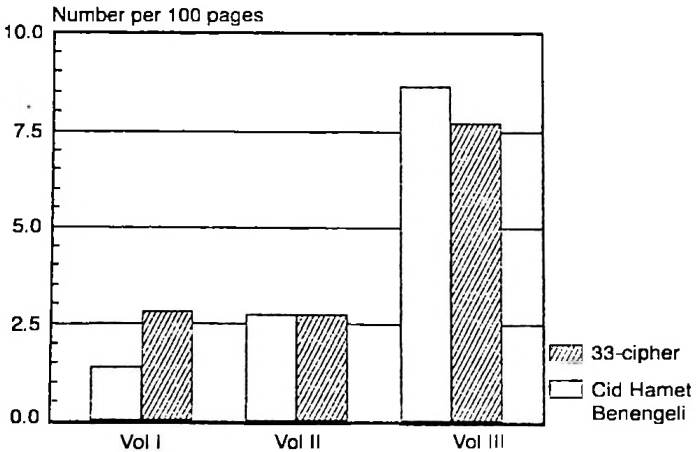
- 8 let him have half a crown [30 pence]. Let him have the full asking.. . we'll ne'er stand upon three half-pence more or less [$30 + 3 = 33$]
- 9 8 the whole prices of all were twenty-one shillings and eleven pence [21 & 11] . . . Master Peter demanded over and above twelve pence [= 1 shilling] for his labour [$21 + 11 + 1 = 33$]
- 10 69 [last stanza of Poem:] Himself three thousand and three hundred give [$3000 + 300 = 33$ hundred = 33 & 100]
- 11 [para 1:] I say not three thousand, but I will as soon give myself three stabs as three [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 12 [para 2, line 4:] say three thousand and three hundred [$3300 = 33$ & 100]
- 13 [para 2, line 6:] claw them off at three thousand and three hundred plucks [$3300 = 33$ & 100]
- 14 70 but to make ado for three thousand and three hundred lashes [$3300 = 33$ & 100]
- 15 73 I am content to give myself three thousand and three hundred lashes [$3300 = 33$ & 100]
- 15 76 with three thousand and three hundred lashes lacking five [$3300 = 33$ & 100]
- 16 80 as this Countess Three Skirts [*sic*], or Three Tails [*sic*]; for skirts and tails all is one [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 17 82 Countess Trifaldin, whom Trifaldin with the White Beard led by the hand [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 18 82 Her tail or train . . . had three corners, which was [*sic*] borne by three pages [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 19 with those three sharp corners . . . for which belike she was called the Countess Trifaldin as if we should say the Countess of the Three Trains [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 20 83 strangeness of the three-fold train, left her name Lobuna, and took that of Trifaldi [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 21 not transparent, as was Trifaldin's . . . Trifaldin still leading her by the hand [$3 & 3 = 33$]
- 22 94 Knight of the Three Stars, ended the adventure of the six hobgoblins [$3 \times 6 = 18$] without naming his squire's person [Bacon?] that was present at all, as

- if he were not alive . . . and it may be when he comes back he will find the Lady Dulcinca's business three-fold, nay, five-fold [$3 \times 5 = 15$; $18 + 15 = 33$]
- 23 98 the three thousand and three hundred lashes [$3300 = 33 \& 100$]
- 24 122 the light of two [2] wax candles . . . some four [4] and twenty stitches and a half [$20/2 = 10$] . . . would have given for a drachm [1] of green silk an ounce [16 drachms] of silver [$2+4+10+1+16 = 33$]
- 25 129 I should tell him if there were enough to make two [2] . . . my gallant went on adding more capouches and I answered with more yes-es, till we came to five [3, 4 & 5] . . . "but pray, sir, let him show his five [5] capouches that he hath made me" . . . taking his hand from under his cloak, he showed five capouches [5] in it, upon each finger one [$4 \times 1 = 4$] and said, "Behold here the five [5] capouches that this man would have me make" [$2+3+4+5+5+5+4+5 = 33$]
- 26 212 each fetlock [4] having nine-and-twenty pound of wool upon it [$4 + 29 = 33$]
- 27 226 their ages seemed to be not under fifteen, nor past eighteen [$15 + 18 = 33$]
- 28 251 Three days and three nights was Don Quixote with Roque [$3 \& 3 = 33$]
- 29 264 I think to get a thousand crowns [1000] by it . . . for there will be two thousand copies [2000] and they will vent at three [3] shillings apiece roundly [3 (thousand) & $3 = 33$]
- 30 315 The whip-lashes... are in number three thousand three hundred and odd [$3300 = 33 \& 100$]
- 31 so they will amount to three thousand three hundred pieces of three blanks [$3 \times 0 = 0$; $33 \& 100$]
- 32 eight hundred and twenty-five ryals [$8 + 25 = 33$; $100 \& 33$]
- 33 325 Don Quixote . . . lost not one [1] stroke with misreckoning, and found that those of the foregoing night, joined onto these, were just the sum of three

**Frequency of the 33 examples of the 33-Cipher in Don Quixote
(after page 235 of Vol. II) (FIG. 1)**



Frequency of Ciphers in Don Quixote (FIG. 2)



thousand, nine-and-twenty [$1 + 3029 = 3000$ & $30 = 3$ & $3 = 33$]

In all, 47 examples of the 33-cipher seem to have been found, of which 33 occur after page 235 of Volume II when the story is supposed to really begin. As with the Cid Hamet Benengeli entries, the frequency of occurrence increases markedly between the first two volumes (10 cases in each) and Volume III (27 cases), again suggesting an attempt to draw attention to the cipher; certainly the chances of noticing this cipher as the story nears its end are increased. Even if some of the interpretations are suspect, there still remain so many others that their presence and their increasing frequency by mere chance has to be ruled out.

The increasing frequency after page 235 of Volume II is shown in Fig. 1 and the increasing frequency of the 33-cipher and the variants of the name Cid Hamet Ben Engeli over the three volumes is shown in Fig 2.

The 100-Cipher

Altogether twelve examples of the 100-cipher have emerged, 10 of which occur after p.235 of Volume II.

Conclusion

The presence in *Don Quixote* of these three ciphers, all linked to the name, Bacon, supports the conclusion that Bacon was closely involved in the production of this work. This is particularly so because they all occur at increasing frequency as the tale of *Don Quixote* unfolds, and the first two each total 33 after page 235 of Volume II, when the tale apparently really begins.

Part 2. Textual comparisons of the *Promus* and *Don Quixote*

This second part of the article aims to expand the list of similarities in wording between Bacon's *Promus* and the text of *Don Quixote* that has already been collected by Francis Carr (1, 2), concentrating upon those in English and Spanish.

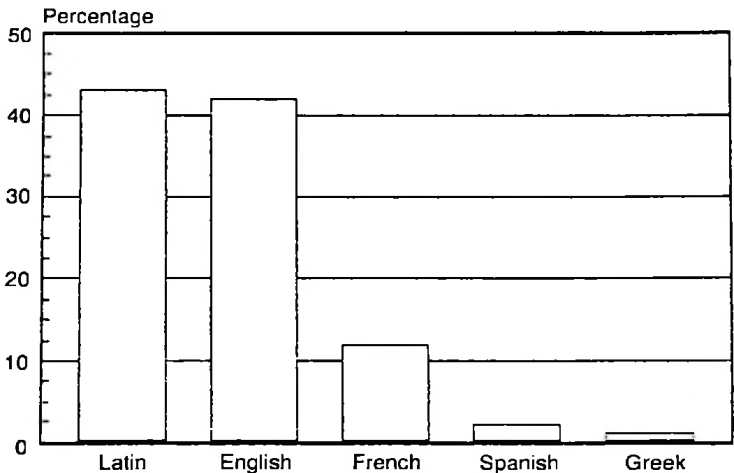
Sources

The *Promus* used in the present work (which was in manuscript form

until the end of the last century) is the reprint produced by Durning-Lawrence [5] which was carefully collated with the help of experts from the British Museum. The initial pages are missing, for it comprises folio 83 (front) to folio 133 (back) inclusive, two folios of which are dated; folio 85, front (Dec. 5, 1594) and folio 114, front (27 Jan. 1595 [1596, modern dating]). A number of the original folios are blank or virtually so; Durning-Lawrence's modern pagination (193-286) is adopted hereafter. Altogether, there is a collection of over 1600 sayings, rhyming couplets, cryptic notes, puns, short dialogues and single words, mainly in Latin or English (85%), but including some French (12%), Spanish (2%) Italian and Greek, together with a few in mixed languages (Fig. 3). There is some duplication of texts and of translated meanings. It seems fairly obvious that, like the 'trivial fond records' that Hamlet had copied into his 'table' (Act I, scene v), such a collection was made as an *aide mémoire* for further use, for many of the entries are to be found in works published under Bacon's name [6 & 7]. Others are marked off on the manuscript in one of several distinctive ways, the significance of which is not yet clear, but may be related to their later use by Bacon.

Frequency of Entries in Bacon's Promus

(FIG. 3)



The text of *Don Quixote* used {4} is published in three volumes; Volume I contains the first three Books of Part I and the first seven chapters of Book IV (Book I is not explicitly titled); Volume II contains the remaining chapters of Book IV and the first 25 chapters of Part II; whilst Volume III contains the remaining chapters of Part II. The chapter numbering and pagination of these three volumes is adopted here, but the chapter numbers of the edition used by Carr {3} are also added in brackets { } for ease of reference where these differ from the edition used here.

Approach

The text of *Don Quixote* has been read three times, having the *Promus* entries in English (and the numerical cyphers) particularly in mind the second time, and the translated Spanish entries also in mind at the third reading. Since new matches were found at each reading, others doubtless remain to be discovered, and so the present analysis has to be regarded as tentative.

Unequivocal Matches Found

Of 650 entries in English in the *Promus*, 112 (17%) are to be found matched to a greater or lesser degree in the text of *Don Quixote*. Forty-eight of these have identical or near identical wording or meaning, a selection of 17 of the most unequivocal of which is given in Table 3.

Table 3:
**Selection of the text of *Don Quixote* which is closely matched
by entries in the *Promus***

One swallow makes not a summer
 Out of the frying pan into the fire
 Covetousness breaks the sack
 Spurn against the prick
 All is not gold that glisters
 Something is better than nothing
 The heart dreams not of what the eye sees not
 I know not where the shoe wrests me
 Between an anvil and a hammer
 Got the bridle betwixt his teeth
 When the head aches all the body is out of tune

Look not a given horse in the mouth
 Lets be happy and wise
 Seek better bread than is made from wheat
 Warned is half armed
 Might overcomes right
 For better for worse

Further details of these and all other (less direct) matches found are given in Appendix I, including those (indicated by an asterisk) already notified by Carr {1, 2}; those of similar meaning have been grouped together, rather than being presented strictly in chronological order.

Indirect Matches

The remaining matches are less obvious since general ideas, rather than wording are often found to be in common, and in a few cases the connections are not apparent without reading several pages, sometimes well separated, in the whole book. For this second group the identification is necessarily much more subjective, and therefore much more open to question by the reader.

An example of an entry in the *Promus* for which the match is obscure is 'Galens compositions not paracelsus separations'. Galens was noted for his herbal remedies, whilst Paracelsus (Philippus Theophrastic von Hohenheim) favoured chemical ones. The match is to be seen in the Balsam containing rosemary taken by Don Quixote in preference to the zinc ointment offered by Sancho Panza, but the connection is apparent only over nearly 60 pages of text. Another of such examples is: 'few woordes need/ much may be said'. In this case the text leads to the expectation of a succinct speech, whereas the speakers concerned continue at considerable length.

Some matches are rather more cryptic. One of these, which is hinted at in the Preface and soon elaborated in the first chapter, is the *Promus* entry, 'Cacus oxen forwards and backwards'. Cacus was a cattle thief who covered his tracks by pulling the animals backwards by the tail so leaving the impression that they had walked forwards towards, rather than away from home. For another, 'Charon's fares', one part of the text refers not to Charon, the ferryman himself, but to a fisherman acting as a ferryman, whose curious 'fares' (goats) provide the basis of a cipher, as explained in Part I.

Also, if we accept at face value what is written on the penultimate

General Distribution

The entries in the *Promus* tend to be distributed in groups according to language and topic, which is consistent with Bacon having made conscious choices in writing the notes. (This matter is described further in the last paper in this Number of *Baconiana*). Taking account of this uneven distribution by collecting sequential groups of 50 entries from those that are available in the *Promus*, the distribution of matched entries in *Don Quixote* (in English) shows a further markedly uneven utilisation (from 4% to 34%; average 17%) (Fig 5); this again would be consistent with Bacon having made conscious choices in their utilisation, rather than their being a random selection.

The uneven distribution of matches in the *Promus* can be illustrated in more detail by simply counting the total found on each page. This is shown in Fig. 6. Whilst there are 25 pages having only a single match in the *Don Quixote* (the right-hand side of the figure), there is a small number of pages with markedly more; for example, there are two pages with eight and nine matches, respectively and one with 13, the latter out of a total of 28 entries available.

Most (92%) of the entries that are matched in *Don Quixote* are listed before 27 January, 1595, well before any publication of *Don Quixote*.

The writer of *Don Quixote* tells us in the Preface that a friend opined, 'Thou mayest collect sentences and sayings to insert in thy history', and so it is not surprising that many of the matching entries are proverbs (Sancho Panza being particularly prone to spouting them). A number of these have their well-known modern equivalents in both English and Spanish, and many were well-known at the time, at least to scholars {7}. One such example is, 'All that glisters is not gold. . .' which is known from Chaucer {9} and later authors {7}. However, in this particular case, the saying is immediately preceded in both the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* by another well-known saying 'The nearer the church, the further from God' — a notable coincidence.

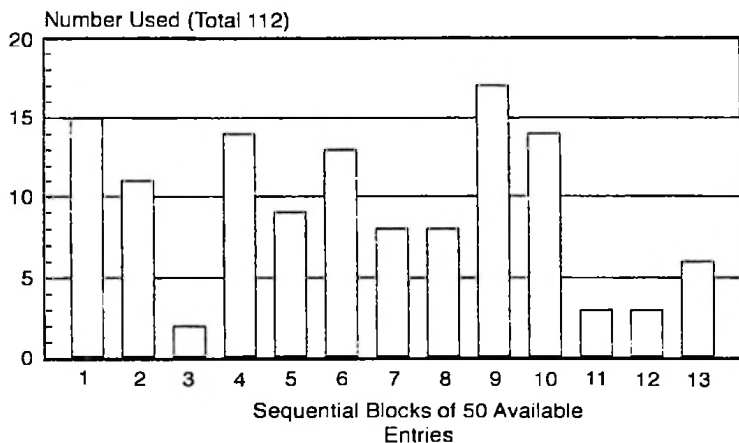
There are two other examples of close proximity of two sayings in both documents. Firstly, on pages 239 and 240 of the *Promus* (9 lines apart) are:

1) Better to ride on a donkey that carries you than on a horse that throws you (in Spanish), and

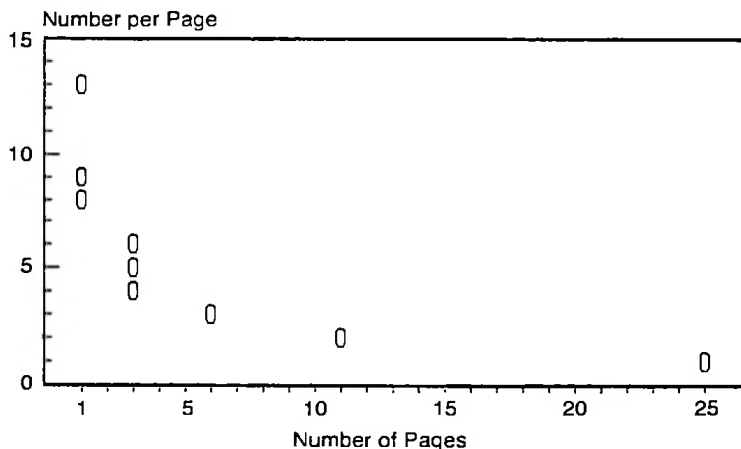
2) Of suffrance cometh ease;

their equivalents occur on page 107, Vol. I of *Don Quixote*, also 9 lines apart — another remarkable coincidence. Secondly, two items occur on

Utilisation in Don Quixote of 650 English Entries in Bacon's Promus (FIG. 5)



Distribution of Matches between Don Quixote and the Promus in English and Spanish, including duplicates (FIG. 6)



p.226 of the *Promus*, the matches of which occur, in the same order, on p.309 of *Don Quixote*.

Frequency of Matches

Most of the matched entries occur only once in both the *Promus* and *Don Quixote*, but a small number (five) occur twice or more in both sources. The overall average occurrence for these five is 2.8 times and 3.8 times, respectively, in these two sources, the overall averages being 1.1 and 1.5 times respectfully (Fig. 7). So, the tendency for duplication in the *Promus* is reflected by a similar tendency in *Don Quixote*.

Matching Themes

The themes that are mentioned most often in both sources, include:—

- 1) the idea of doing service and good to others,
- 2) having the freedom to paint (i.e. to write) as one wants, and
- 3) distinguishing between good and evil (black and white). These two themes are all very Baconian. The two latter themes have a slightly greater emphasis in *Don Quixote* than in the *Promus*, as would be reasonable to expect in a complete book compared with jotted notes.

Other items repeated more in *Don Quixote* than in the *Promus* include (with their frequency in the former shown in brackets):—

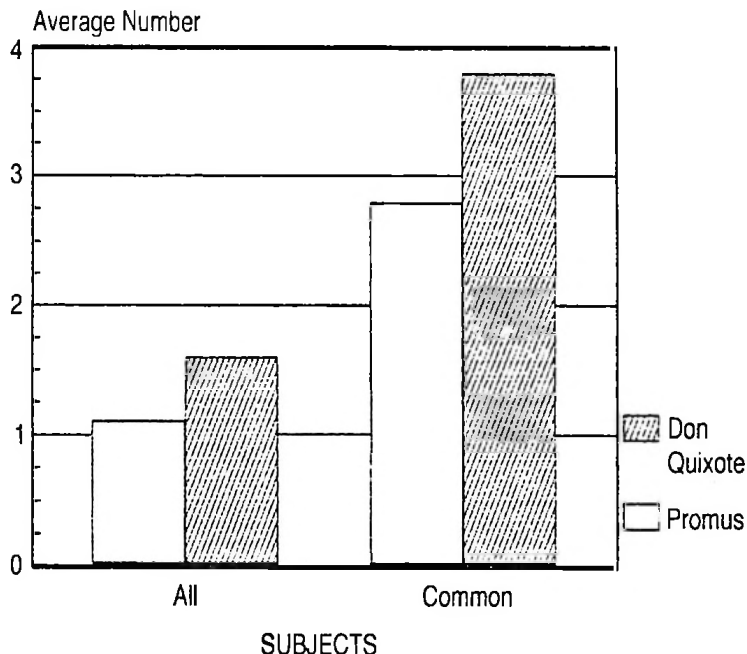
- 4) differentiating between deeds and words (eight),
- 5) practising the mean way in all things (seven) — which brings to mind Pope's often quoted, . . . think how Bacon shin'd, The wisest, brightest, meanest [i.e. most moderate] of mankind' {10} and
- 6) observing events from the side-lines (six).

First Records of Proverbs

Of all the matches found (Appendix 1) about half (63) have also been found listed among a collection by Tilley {7} of nearly 12,000 proverbs published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For six of these, the earliest source reported is the *Promus* c. 1594; details of these with their later sources are given in Table 4. This is suggestive that Bacon was the

**Frequency of Repetition of Entries in the *Promus*
and *Don Quixote***

FIG. 7



first to collect and use them in later works, including *Don Quixote*, but it is not of itself proof, especially when it is clear that Tilley's volume is not without gaps; for example, not all sayings found by the present author in *Don Quixote* are recorded there.

Table 4.

Details of *Promus* entries (c. 1594), matched with *Don Quixote* and found elsewhere in later sources by Tilley {7}

Entry (in order shown in Appendix 1)	Record No.	Dates of next records	Note
It is better to ride on a donkey that carries you than on a horse that throws you [in Spanish]	A361	1616	
Covetousness breakes the sacke	C744	1640 1599 1611	
Tell a lye to knowe a treuth [also in Spanish]	L237	1596 1600-1 1605	(1) (2) (3)
If you are a knave in your town you will be a knave in Seville [in Spanish; it should be noted, however, that the similar 'The dog in the manger' is to be found in Erasmus's <i>Adagia</i> and works of other authors in 1546, 1564 & 1578]	K133 D513	1620/30 1622	
The gardener's dog neither eats nor lets his master eat [in Spanish]	G38	1659 1666	
Satis quercus; enough of acornes	A21	1597	(4)

Notes:

- (1) Shakespeare, *King John*, Act III. i. 275.
- (2) Shakespeare, *Henry II*, Act II. i. 64.
- (3) Bacon, *Advancement of Learning II*, p.18. [refers to Spanish proverb and gives English translation]
- (4) Bacon, *Colours of Good and Evil*.

It will be noticed that one of the sayings occurs later under the name of Shakespeare. Many more examples of *Promus* entries matching Shakespeare have been reported {6}, but such connections are not discussed further here.

Conclusions

There are several points to note in the relation between the *Promus* entries and the text of *Don Quixote*. These are:

(1) the high proportion of entries, especially those in Spanish, that match the text in *Don Quixote*;

(2) the more clumped distribution of matches in *Don Quixote*, compared with that in the *Promus*;

(3) the three instances of similar, close proximity of two of the matches in both works;

(4) the similar tendency to repeat certain themes in both; and

(5) the fact that several matched entries are first recorded in the *Promus*. All this, coupled with the fact that many *Promus* entries are found in works published under Bacon's name, points to a purposeful connection between part of the *Promus*, as a starting point, and the English text of *Don Quixote*, as a later culmination.

OVERALL CONCLUSION

The presence, distribution and frequency in *Don Quixote*, of the name-cipher, 33- and 100-ciphers, are all strongly associated with the name of Francis Bacon. The disposition of 132 matches of entries in Bacon's *Promus* with text of *Don Quixote*, also points to a connection with Bacon, especially as the *Promus* was written at about 1594, before the publication of *Don Quixote* and was not itself published until the turn of this century. Furthermore some matching entries were probably coined by Bacon since they have not been found in earlier works.

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1	1	4	VI-VII{33}	312-355	(as above)
(as above and elsewhere)					
1	1	1	VII	42	195
The just pays sometimes for the sinners					De los leales se hinchon los huespitaless
					[Of the faithfull are hospitals full*]
1	1	3	I{15}	107	(as above)
All the salves of an hospital will not suffice to bring them [the faithful Sancho's 'grief of blows'] to any good terms					
2	II		II	201	(as above)
Since thou art my servant, in which respect the ill that touchest me must concern and grieve thee					
1	1	2	II{10}	63	198
Here I [Sancho] have lint and a little unguentum album [white (zinc, i.e. chemical) ointment] in my wallet. All this might be excused . . . if I [Don] remembered to take a vialful of the Balsam of Fierabras [contained rosemary (see p.120)]					Galens compositions [herbal remedies] not paracelsus [sic=Philippus Theophrastic von Hohenheim] separations [chemical remedies]
1	1	2	II{10}	65	223
Lightly, or, as they say, or with the smoke of straws					A369 & F270 An asses trot and a fyre of strawe dureth not
1	I	2	III{11}	68	213
Thou mayest . . . eat in my dish and drink in the same cup wherein I drink					We haue not drune all of one water
1	I	2	III{11}	68	223
For all that, thou shalt sit; for the humble shall be exalted					La oveja mansa mamma su madre y agena [The meek sheep suckes from any ewe* c.f. 'The meek shall inherit the earth'*]
1	1	2	III{11}	71	202
Knowing that you know not of this obligation [to favour knights-errant], and yet did reserve and make much of me, it stands with good reason that I do render you thanks with all my heart					As I did not seeks to wynne your thanks so your courteous acceptacion deserueth myne
1	1	2	IV{12}	77	270
And if you go thus, sir, interrupting my tale at every pace, we shall not be able to end it this year					It is like Sr. etc (putting a man agayne into his tale interrupted
1	1	3	X{24}	197	(as above)
You must promise me [Cardenio] that you will not interrupt the file of my doleful narrative . . . called to Don Quixote's					

COMPARISON OF QUOTATIONS FROM *DON QUIXOTE*

remembrance the tale which his squire had told him [p.77, see above] which remained suspended [yet was interrupted (p.203) and was also suspended]

1 1 2 V{13} 86*
One swallow makes not a summer

1 I 2 VI{14} 92
But jealousy, with greater vigour, slays [present in a verse]

2 III LX 246
No marvel that jealousy continued the plot of her lamentable story [shooting her lover]

1 1 2 VI{14} 96
True love . . . must needs be voluntary . . . and not forced

2 III XXXV 69
With his good will and not perforce

2 III XLV 133
Forcible woman, but not forced . . . Hercules his force could not have forced you

2 III LX 240
Must be voluntary and not forced

2 III LX 240
volens nolens [willingly, unwillingly]

1 1 2 VI{14} 97
I was born free and . . . with the trees and waters I communicate my thoughts

{ 1 2 VI{14} 195
For our will is a free power, and there's no herb or charm can constrain it

1 1 2 VI{14} 97
Persist obstinately without all hope, and sail against the wind

2 III LXII 258
To give counsel to this man is to strive against the stream

1 1 3 I{21} 107
Sancho . . . gather strength out of weakness [grief of the blows received]

1 1 3 I{15} 107
That little beast [Sancho Panza's ass] may supply Rozinante's [Don Quixote's

199* S1025
One swallo[sic] maketh no summer

241 F672
Frenzy Heresy and jealousy are three
That seeldome or neuer cured be
(as above)

205
That yt. is forced is not forcible

(as above)

(as above)

(as above)

(as above)

236 T244
Thought is free.

(as above)

223 H355 & H356
Quien al Ciel escupe a la cara se le buelve
[If you spit at the heavens, it lands on your face* c.f. 'don't spit against the wind']
(as above)

240
Of suffrance cometh ease

240 A361(O)
Tomar asino que me lleue y no cauallo que me derruque [It is better to ride on a

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horse's] wants, by carrying me off.		donkey that carries you than a horse that throws you*]
1 I 3 I{15} 107		274
Fortune leaves always one door open in disasters		When things are at the periods of yll they turn agayne (as above)
1 I 3 IV{18} 135		
it is not possible that either good or ill be durable		
1 I 3 II{16} 114		203 (& 271, below)
He painted her in his fantasy . . . embellished		As please the paynter
1 I 3 IV{18} 134		271 (& 203, above)
Sheep will become men, as right and straight as I painted them to thee at the first		As please the painter
2 II III 209		(as above)
He painted . . . 'As it happens'		
2 III XXXII 47		(as above)
Painted her with all the graces and perfections that please you		
2 III XLVIII 145		(as above)
Paint what you will . . . I recreate myself with the painting		
2 III LII 189		(as above)
A scurvy painter that came to this town to paint at random		
2 III LIX 236		(as above)
He paints you out for a glutton, an idiot, and nothing witty, and far different from the Sancho that is described in the First Part		
2 III LXXI 319		(as above)
[paints] that which shall come forth to light . . . such ought to be the painter or the writer (for all is one same thing)		
1 I 3 III{17} 122		273
In this time the drench {Fierabras Balsam} had made his operation		To drench to potion (to insert
1 I 3 IV{18} 127		226 F784
To leap thus, as they say, out of the frying pan into the fire		To leap owt of the frieng pan into the fyre
1 I 3 VI{20} 148		223 C744(O)
As covetousness breakes the sack, so hath it also torn my hopes		Covetousness breaks the sacke
1 I 3 VI{20} 149		240 F433
You will do nothing but enrage fortune and, as the proverb says, 'but spurn		Foly it is to spurn against the pricke

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against the prick'

1	I	3	VI{20}	151	234	
Keep good account of the goats that the fisherman ferries over [33=Bacon in simple cipher, see Part I]					Charon's [ferryman's] fares	
2	II		XI	257	(as above)	
What people these are thou carriest in thy cart-coach, rather like Charon's boat than waggons now in use						
1	I	3	VI{20}	158	241	A15
Thou must make difference between the master and the man, the lord and his serving man, the knight and his squire: so that . . . we may proceed with more respect					Thear is no good accord whear eury one would be a lord	
1	I	3	VI{20}	159	(as above)	
We are bound to respect our masters as if they were our fathers						
2	II		V	219	(as above)	E178
The best way is to marry her [Mary Panza] to her equal						
2	II		V	219	(as above)	
Keep yourself to the proverb, 'Let neighbour's children hold together'						
2	II		V	263	(as above)	
unequal matches never please long						
1	I	3	VII{21}	159	217*	A146
Somewhat [brazen basin] that glistered like gold [helmet]					All is not gold that glisters	
	2	III	XXXIII	55*	(as above)	
All is not gold that glistreth						
2	III		XLVIII	153	(as above)	
All is not gold that glisters						
1	I	3	VII{21}	159	(218)	W179
Where one door is shut another is opened					Thear be more waies to the wood than one	
1	I	3	VII{21}	160	241	S119 & W797 & W802
See well what you say, sir, and better what you do					Saieng and doing are two thinges	
1	I	3	XIII{27}	245	(as above)	
Let thy works verify thy words						
1	I	4	III{30}	290	(as above)	
God . . . shall . . . judge . . . of me in not speaking well, or you by not doing well						
2	II		VII	230	(as above)	
Have less saying and more doing: for great sayers are small doers						
2	II		XVII	301	(as above)	

What he spoke was consonant, elegant, and well delivered, but his actions were foolish, rash and unadvised	2	II	XVIII	305	(as above)	
Speeches so wise as blot out and undo his deeds	2	III	XXXIV	63	(as above)	
To do and to say go a several way	2	III	XLIX	157	(as above)	
The sweet and mild kind of governing . . . you have used make them neither do nor speak aught that may redound to your contempt	2	III	LXIV	275	(as above)	
But tis one thing to say and another to do						
1	I	3	VII{21}	162	240	S623
For something is better than nothing					Some what is better then [<i>sic</i>] nothing	
2	III		L	169	(as above)	
But something is better than nothing						
1	I	3	VIII{22}	180	236	
If you accomplish my request, I may have occasion to yield you thanks; and if you will not do it willingly, then shall this lance and this sword . . . force you to it					Armed intreaty	
1	I	3	IX{23}	181-2	194	
[although Don Quixote had] freed your [the convicts'] necks . . . they sent such a shower of stones. . . that a number struck him					For which of ye good woorkes doe yow stone me	
1	I	3	X{24}	196	202	
To bear a part in your lamentations, and plain it with a doleful note: for it is a consolation in affliction to have one that condoles in them (as above)					It is in vayne to forbear to renew that greef by speach wch. the want of so great a comfort must needs renew	
					239	
					Ilhorar duelos agenos [to cry for other people's mournings*]	
1	I	4	IV{31}	264	274	
I could not determine which had befallen me was a good or an evil					Semblances or popularities of good and evil wth. their redargations [refutations], for Deliberacions (as above)	
1	I	4	IV{31}	299	(as above)	
For he that can have good, and evil doth choose, For ill that betides him, must not patience loose						
1	I	4	VI{33}	326	(as above)	
If I follow not thine [good] advice . . . I						

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do but shun the good and pursue the evil					
1	II	4	XIV{41}	77	(as above)
But as a good very seldom, or rather					
never . . . without being accompanied or					
followed by an evil					
1	II	4	XVIII{45}	112	(as above & 275)
As is white from black, or verity from					colors of good and euill
truth					
(as above)					204 (& 25. above)
					Yow drawe for colors but it prooueth con-
					trarie
1	I	4	III{30}	294	214 (& 253 below)
I did willingly forget it					The art of forgetting
(as above)					253 (& 214 above)
					Art of forgetting
					199 & 256
(as above)					Well to forgett
2	II		III	207	(as above)
I' faith you want no memory when you					
list to have it					
1	I	4	IV{31}	297	272
But it is not lost that comes in last					It may be well last, for it hath lasted well
1	I	4	IV{31}	299	224
A sparrow in the fist is worth more than					B740
a flying bittor [bittern]					To beat the bush wh[i]le another catches
					the byrd
2	II		VII	230	(as above)
A bird in the hand is worth two in the					
bush					
2	II		XII	261	(as above)
One bird in the hand is better than two in					
the bush					
2	III		XXXV	71	(as above)
Better a bird in the hand than two in the					
bush					
2	III		LXXI	320	(as above)
better is one sparrow in the hand than a					B360
vulture flying in the air					
1	I	4	IV{31}	304	196
Although you should see me [Andrew]					125
tom to pieces, yet do not succour or help					We may doe much yll or we doe much
me but leave me in my disgrace; for it					woorse
cannot be so great but that a greater will					
result from your help					
(as above)					240
					He may doe much yll ere he doe much
					woorse
1	I	4	V{32}	309	226
					D236

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[inn-keeper to Curate] Cast that bone to another dog . . . go not about to give me pap					The deuvill hath cast a bone to sett strife
1 I 4 V{32} 309				226	M129
As though I know not . . . where the shoe wrests me now					My self can tell best where my shoe wringes me
1 I 4 IV{31} 314				233	B670
To set the bridel to any malignant tongue					To bite the br[i]dle [sic.]
1 I 4 VII(34) 332				(as above)	
It served as a bridle to restrain Lothano's tongue				(as above)	
1 I 4 VII(34) 344				(as above)	
she being privy to our proceedings, she sets a bridle on me and constrains me to conceal hers				(as above)	
2 II XI 257				(as above)	
Gotton the bridle betwixt his teeth				(as above)	
2 II XI{38} 35				(as above)	
Bridle thy tongue				(as above)	
2 III LV 209				(as above)	
Bridle malicious tongues					
1 I 4 VI{33} 319				251	N17
I was almost persuaded to leave thee in thine humour, in punishment for thine inordinate and unreasonable desire, but that love which I bear towards thee doth not consent					Vpon question to reward evill wth. evill
1 I 4 VI{33} 321				230	H62
Between an anvil and a hammer					Between the hammer and the Andville
1 I 4 VI{33} 332				250	B425
For though the tongue spoke not, yet did his thoughts discover					Mot.[ion] of the mynd explicat in woordes implicat in thowghts
1 I 4 VII{34} 340				219	
He that gives quickly gives twice					The hasty bych whelpes a blind lytter
2 II IV 214				(as above)	
Hasty work is never well performed					
1 I 4 VII{34} 340				271	
That which costeth little is less esteemed					Valew me not ye. lesse by-cause I am yours
1 I 4 VII{34} 347				232	P186
No one could hear her that would not deem her to be one of the most esteemed and loyal damsels in the world, and take her lady for another new and persecuted Penelope					Penelopes webb [weaving & unravelling Laertes' Shroud]

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1	II	4	VIII{34}	3	238	S76
My earldom will dissolve like salt cast into water					salt to water (whence it came)	
1	II	4	VIII{34}	5	240	
All would be well ended to his heart's desire					All is well that ends well	
1	II	4	IX{36}	10	239	
I was the builder and contriver of my own dishonour [having told his friend of a plan to test his wife's faithfulness and failed to heed his advice against the scheme]					Perdj mj honor hablando mal y oyendo peor [I lost my honour speaking badly and listening worse*]	
1	II	4	X{37}	32	250	
End of war is peace, and that herein it doth excel the end of learning					for learnyng sake	
1	II	4	X{37}	32-33	200	
The pains of the student are commonly . . . poverty . . . many gain . . . reward justly merited by their virtue but . . . turn their nakedness into pomp					Poore and trew. Not poore therefore not trew	
1	II	4	XII{39}	38-39	239	
Father passed the bounds of liberality and touched nearly the confines of prodigality; a thing nothing profitable to a married man, who had children that should succeed him					Por el buena mesa y mal testamento [Good table and bad testament/will*/legacy]	
1	I	2	I{9}	59	213	
He demanded fifty pounds of raisins and three bushels of wheat [53=simple numerical cypher for SOW (Son of Wisdom, p.53 Whitney's Choice of Emblems (1586)]					Numbring not weighing	
1	II	4	XIII{40}	59	223	M1103(O)
Many times . . . ransomed men . . . did not return for him that had ransomed him					A dineros pagados brazos quebrados [Once the money has been paid, you can have broken arms*] (as above)	
1	III		LXII	317		
Money well paid and the arms broken						
1	II	4	XIV{41}	72	229	
The wind did arise so much as it made us, abandoning our oars, to set sail					With sailes and owres	
1	II	4	XIV{41}	75	240	B259
A happy end to so lucky a beginning					(as above)	
2	II		VI	198		

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Others that had great beginnings and so
conserve them til the end

1	II	4	XVI{43}	96	241	E247
Perhaps by not seeing him, and the great distance . . . my pain . . . will be somewhat allayed					That the ey seeth not the hart rueth not	
2	III		LXVI	293	(as above)	
The heart dreams not of what the eye sees not						
2	II	4	XIX{46}	122	240	N299 & D338
Diligence is the mother of good hap					Nothing is impossible to a willing hand	
1	II	4	XIX{46}	122	227	S856
Obtain the victory before an adversary can put himself in defense					Yow would be ouer the stile before yow come at it	
2	III		XXVI	3	(as above)	
Look ye how the sentence is pus in execution before the fault be scarce committed						
1	II	4	XX{47}	138	208	L237(O)
Untruth is so much more pleasing by how much the nearer it resembles the truth					i mentira saqueras verdad [Tell lies and you will extract the truth*]	
2	III		LXII	265	(as above & 223)	
Your feigned histories are so much the more good and delightful by how much they come near the truth					Tell a lye to knowe a treuth	
1	II	4	XXI{48}	141	223	
So wedded to their opinions, as no reason can woo, nor demonstration win them from it					Do yra el Buey que no are? [Where the ox go, that it won't plough? i.e. people do not change the way they act, regardless of the circumstances*]	
1	II	4	XXI{48}	146	224	
They . . . are . . . plotters of . . . your kind of carrying away, for mere emulation that they see you surpass them both in achiev- ing famous acts					Hombre apercebido medio combatido [The astute man is always resented-]	
2	II		III	210	(as above)	
Men famous for their wits, great poets, illustrious historians, are also always, or for, the most part, envied						
2	II		VI	222	(as above)	
Will . . . reverence him for what he is, except the envious, whom the greatest escape not						
I	II	4	XXI{48}	148	240	T200
Have you had a desire to do that which cannot be undone?					Thinges doone cannot be vndoone	

COMPARISON OF QUOTATIONS FROM *DON QUIXOTE*

1	II	4	XXIV{51}	169	201	
I rail on the lightness of women . . . and the small discretion they show in placing their affections					She is light she may be taken in play	
2	II		II	198	(as above)	
That Angelica . . . was a light housewife, a gadder, and a wanton ... her base prostitution						
1	II	4	XXV{52}	173	210	
I will say it in one [word] . . . and it is this; [65 words follow!]					few woordes need much may be said.	
2	III		LX	243	(as above)	
I will tell thee in few words what hath befallen me [3/4 page follows]						
2	II		Prologue	185	224	B654
As he bath brewed so let him bake					As he brues so he must drinke	
2	II		Prologue	185	222	M703
A soldier had rather be dead in the battle than free by running away					Better be Martyr then Confessor	
2	II		Prologue	188	218	
Plenty of everything, though never so good, makes it less esteemed					To[sic] much of one thing is good for nothing	
2	II		IV	215	(as above)	
valour is a mean between the two extremes of a coward and a rash man						
2	III		XL	94	(as above)	
A mean [average] which ought to be sought in all well-ordered actions						
2	III		XLII	109	(as above)	
Always strive to be held mean and virtuous rather than proud and vicious . . . follow virtue for your mean						
2	III		XLIII	112	(as above)	
Eat little . . . Be temperate . . . let thy sleep be moderate						
2	III		XLVII	139	(as above)	
He that drinks much kills and consumes his humidum radicale, wherein life consists						
2	III		XLVII	140	(as above)	
Omnis saturatio mala . . . All surfeit is ill						
2	III		LI	179	(as above)	
Be not always cruel, nor always merciful: choose a mean betwixt these two extremes						
2	II		Prologue	188	223	
The Second Part of Don Quixote which					El lobo & la vulpeja son todos d'vna	

BACONIANA

I offer thee is cut from the same cloth that the first was				conseja [The wolf and the young fox are cut from the same piece of cloth*]
2 II I 189-192				264
They would not renew and bring to his remembrance things done and past [but he did remember (pp. 191-192)]				Ye. memory of that is past cannot be taken from him
2 II I 192				195 K133(O)
Madmen . . . one . . . graduated . . . at Osuna, and though he had been graduated at Salamanca, yet . . . he would have been mad there too (as above)				Quien ruyn es en su uilla Ruyn es en Seuilla [if you are a knave in your home town, you will be a knave in Seville*]
				223
				Quien ruyn es en su villa ruyn es en Sevilla
2 II II 201				218 H275
When the head aches all the body is out of tune				When the head akes all the body is the woorse
2 II II 207				(as above)
The rest of the parts must participate of the heads grief				
2 II IV 213				195 B436
Let every man look to himself and not take white for black and black for white				Black will take no other hue
2 II XI 247				204 B436 (as above)
Out of madness . . . to judge black for white and white for black				Blacke will take no other hew
2 II IV 215*				234* H678
Look not a given horse in the mouth				To look a gyven horse in the mowth
2 III L 173				(as above)
(as above)				(as above)
2 III LXII 255				
I look not a given horse in the mouth				
2 II IV 215				204 (cf. T315 & T316)
There is a time to attempt, a time to retire				A tyme to gett and a tyme to loose.
2 II IX 244				(as above)
There's a time to laugh and a time too mourne				
2 II VII 232				223
A good expectation is better than a bad possession and a good demand better than an ill pay				Mas vale buena quexa que mala paga Better good pleint then [sic] yll pay
2 II IX 243				241 H140(O)+R173(O)
Lets be happy and wise and cast not rope after the bucket				Better be happy then [sic] wise
				217
				Good to be merry and wise

COMPARISON OF QUOTATIONS FROM *DON QUIXOTE*

2	III	XLIX	156	(as above)
Lets be merry and wise				
2	II	X	246	240
For truth is stretched but never breaks and tramples on the lie as oil doth upon water				Better to bow then [sic] to breake 217
2	II	X	247-248	199
He began to discourse thus to himself . . . this soliloquy passed . . . and the upshot was . . .				Notwithstanding his dialogues (of one that giueh life to his speech by way of quaes- tion
2	II	X	248	226 B622
Seek better bread than's made from wheat				He would haue better bread than can be made from wheat[t][sic]
2	III	LXVIII	292	(as above)
I seek not in other men's houses better bread than is made from wheat				
2	II	XIII	267	224
Good fare lessens care				Todos los duelos con pan son buenos {Every morning is good with bread*}
2	II	XIV	277	236
shaking from her locks an infinite number of liquid perls . . . they sported and rained white and small pearls				Haile of perle
2	III	XLIX	163	236
She wept not tears, but seed-pearl				(as above)
2	II	XVI	292	205
The natural poet that helps himself with art shall be much better and have the advantage of that poet that only out of his art strives to be so				More ingenious then [sic] naturall
2	II	XVII	294*	2418 H54
He that is warned is half armed				Warned and half armed
2	II	XVII	301	201
Ancient use of knights-errant that would change their names when they please or thought convenient				Honest men hardly chaung their name
2	II	XIX	316	240 U24
Good language which is accompanied with practice				Vse maketh mastery
2	II	XXIII	347	240 B354
We are all bound to reverence our elders				They that are bownd must obey

BACONIANA

2	III	XXIX	22	229	
Bless ourselves and weigh anchor				To way ancre	
2	III	LXIII	268	(as above)	
To weigh anchor					
2	III	XXXI	37	205	
On with thy tale and make an end of it				Let me make an end of my tale.s.[sic] That which I will say will make an end of it	
2	III	XXXII	41	218	R 148
That your poor scholars account me a madman, that never trod the paths of knight-errantry, I care not a chip				Many a man speaketh of Rob. hood that neuer shott in his bowe	
2	III	XXXIII	54	202	S822
Nobody lies in wait to hear us, besides the bystanders				Sometymes a stander by seeth more than a plaier	
2	III	XXXV	129	(as above)	
All the bystanders laughed					
2	III	XLV	133	(as above)	
The bystanders admired afresh at the judgements and sentences					
2	III	XXX	142	(as above)	
Sancho was astonished, and the standers-by seemed to be no otherwise					
2	III	XLIX	157	(as above)	
At a gaming house . . . I being present judged many a doubtful card					
2	III	LII	186	(as above)	
Read it aloud . . . that the bystanders might hear it					
2	III	XXXIII	55*	217*	C380
The nearer the church the further from God				The nearer the church the furder from God	
2	III	XLVII	142	(as above)	
The nearer the church the farther from God					
2	III	XXXIII	59	224	M1114
Extolled them above the moon				To cast beyond the moone	
2	III	XXXIV	63	195	
God's help is better than early rising				Mas vale a quien Dios ayuda que a quien mucho madruga. {It is better to have God's help than to keep getting up early*}	
2	III	XXXIV	65	195	
Now I believe that in hell you have honest men				Quien nesciamente pecca nesciamente ua al infierno {He who sins unknowingly, unknowingly goes to hell}	

COMPARISON OF QUOTATIONS FROM *DON QUIXOTE*

2	III	XXXIII	86	220	
Like sharp thorns, but soft, traverse the soul and wound it like lightning, leaving the garment sound				A thorn is gentle when it is young	
2	III	XXXVIII	88	240	
I go and yet I stay				We be but where we were	
2	III	XLII	108	218	G220
Thou, that in my opinion art a very goose . . . attribute not this happiness to thy deserts, but that thou give God thanks that sweetly disposeth things				God sendeth fortune to fooles	
2	III	XLII	109	213	T362 (& T612)
Thou shalt learn not to be swoln like a frog				Tale of ye. frog that swelled	
2	III	XLII	109	199	cf. K175
Know thyself . . . rejoice in the humility of thy lineage . . . for when thou art not ashamed thyself, nobody will seek to make thee so . . . an infinite number from low beginnings have come to great risings				Make much of yourself	
2	III	XLIII	110	251	E233 (& E231)
Turn thy eyes from her tears and thy ears from her lamentations				The ey is the gate of the affection, but the ear of the vnderstanding	
2	III	LXV	282		(as above)
Silence spoke for the two lovers, and their eyes were tongues that discovered their joyful but honest thoughts					
2	III	XLIII	115*	240*	M922
And might overcomes right				Might overcome right	
2	III	XLV	132	215	
Run after yon woman, and take her purse from her				Goe yow after him that beareth the purse	
2	III	XLVII	139	230	D513
I [physician] let him [Sancho] eat what I think fit [nothing!] and take away what I imagine do him hurt [everything!] (as above)				A dog in the manger	
				239	G38(O)
				Perro del hortelano [que no come ni deja comer al amo*][The gardener's dog neither eats nor lets his master eat*]	

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2	III	XLVII	145	250	
[After 2pp. of narrative] Come to the matter without fetches, or lanes, or digressions, or additions [continues for another 1/2 page]				Of speaches digressive; this goeth not to the ende of the matter;	
2	III	XLIX	165	211	
She that desires to see hath a desire likewise to be seen				I had rather know then be knowne	
2	III	LI	187	(as above)	
My husband will be known by me more than I by him					
2	III	L	169	236	A21
Two dozen acorns [acorns also mentioned on pp.170-172, 189 & 190]				Satis quercus [oak]; Enough of Acornes	
2	III	LI	180	256	
I think to leave this idle life ere long, for I was not born to it				I cannot be idle vp as yow canne	
2	III	LI	180	240	E177
Send that no man pity thee				Better be envyed then [<i>sic</i>] pytiad	
2	III	LI	181	258	
The medicines he uses are diet upon diet				Like tempring with phisike a good diett much better	
2	III	LII	190	215	B333
Marry them for better for worse				Be it better be it woorse	
2	III	LIII	195	224	A256
Let my ant's wings remain that lifted me up in the air				La horniga quando se a deperder nascente alas [The ant grows wings when it has to disappear in a hurry*] (as above)	
2	III	XXXIII	55		
The proverb that says the ant had wings to do her hurt					
2	III	LXVI	285	221	(M126)
Every man is the artificer of his own fortune				A mans customes are the mowldes wher his fortune is cast	
2	III	LXVI	285	251	
Neither do good or evil fall out by chance, but by the particular providence of Heaven				It is goddes doing	
2	III	LXVI	287	226	C417
Give me the cloak when it rains				A cloke for the Rayne	

COMPARISON OF QUOTATIONS FROM *DON QUIXOTE*

2	III	LXIX	298	218	W421 (&W410)
This wind winnows no corn (as above)				An yll wynd that bloweth no man to good 218 All this wynd shakes no Corn	
2	III	LXXI	315	217	
. . . half ryals . . . whole ryals . . . fifteen ryals . . . eight hundres and twenty-five ryals [8 + 25 = 33]				Reall [i.e. reveal all?]	

JOHN HEYWOOD AS A PROBABLE SOURCE FOR FRANCIS BACON

by

John S. Alabaster

INITIAL APPROACH USING *PROMUS* ENTRIES IN *DON QUIXOTE*

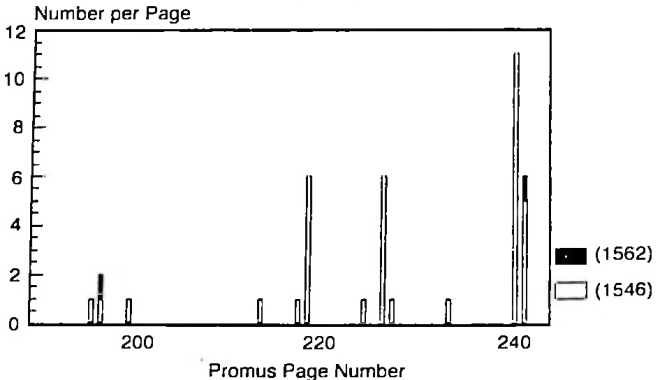
Altogether, 112 entries in English in Francis Bacon's manuscript collection of proverbs, etc. — his '*Promus*' {6} are matched in the text of *Don Quixote* {1}. Of these, more than half (63) are also listed in Tilley's collection of proverbs of the 16th and 17th centuries {2} which appear under a variety of authors, some of whose works were published well before Bacon wrote the *Promus* (c.1594).

The most frequently quoted author of these proverbs is John Heywood, who accounts for 41 in all, 34 published in 1546 {3}, a further five which he published in 1562 {4} and two more, reported separately in another work of his in 1562 {5}.

Fourteen of the Heywood entries are not listed under any other earlier authors' names, and of these, three are reported next in Bacon's *Promus*. This suggests that Bacon used Heywood for these three

Numerical Distribution of Quotations from Heywood (1546 & 1562) in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 195-241) and *Don Quixote*

(FIG. 1)



proverbs and, furthermore, may also have used him as a more general source of English proverbs.

To examine this possibility, the sequence of occurrence of the proverbs in the *Promus* has been compared with that of Heywood, the assumption being that Bacon would have tended to thumb through Heywood from beginning to end, making extracts for his *Promus* as he went. (There is evidence that he did this for other sources which are reported separately in the next article in this Number).

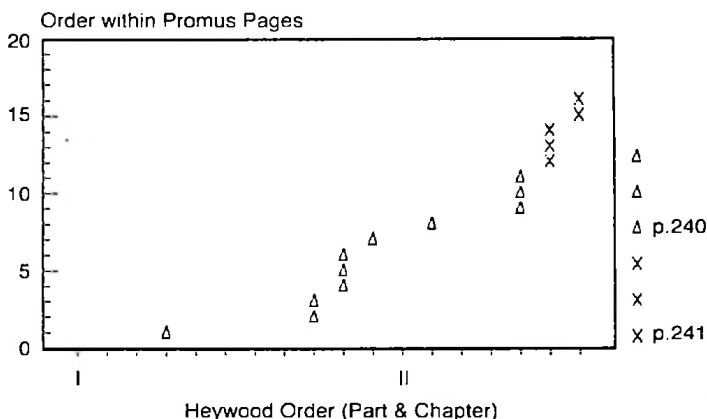
RESULTS

A few of the proverbs occur singly on a page of the *Promus*, but the rest occur in three small clusters on pairs of adjacent pages (Fig. 1). These clusters tend to be larger towards the end of the *Promus*.

The sequential order in which the entries of each of these three groups appears in the *Promus* has been compared with the corresponding order in Heywood (1546). There appears to be no consistent correlation in order in the first group on page 217, although the last five entries on page 218 in the *Promus* do follow the order in Heywood. But there clearly is a general correlation in the second cluster on page 227 and a marked cor-

Relation between Order of *Promus* Entries in English (pp. 240 & 241) found in *Don Quixote* & their Order in Heywood (1546)

(FIG. 2)



relation in the last and largest group on pages 240 and 241 (Fig.2).

These results suggest that Bacon, in writing his *Promus* did, indeed, consult Heywood increasingly, making him an important source of English proverbs in the *Promus* and indirectly, therefore, also in *Don Quixote*.

INCLUSION OF ALL *PROMUS* ENTRIES

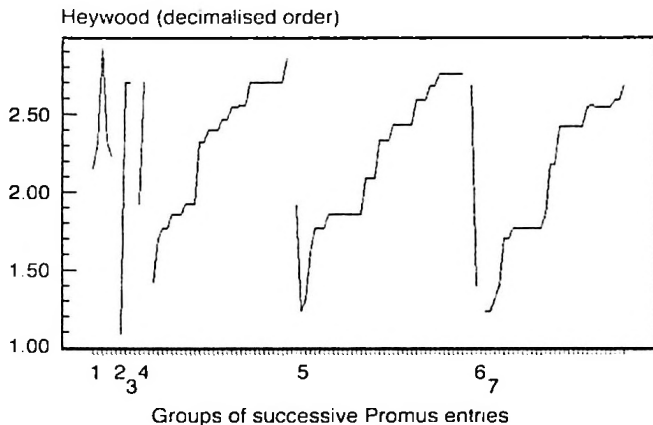
The argument for Bacon having used Heywood as a source for a substantial number of his quotations of English proverbs, which is based on those that are common to his *Promus* and *Don Quixote*, can be pursued further here by considering the rest of the English proverbs in the *Promus*, of which about two-thirds are also listed in Tilley {2}. In this way the total number available for analysis is increased to 171. Of these 124 are to be found in Heywood (1546), 21 in Heywood 'Epigrams' (1562) of which 20 also appear in Heywood (1546), whilst ten others appear only in Heywood 'Dialogues' (1562). Full details are given in Appendix I in which the page references have been taken from Tilley and also supplemented in parenthesis: it is clear, from an examination of the original copy of Heywood (1546) in the British Library alongside that of the Spencer Society edition (in which two works of 1562 also appear in the same volume) that the suffixes quoted by Tilley refer to the signature letters and numbers for the bound sections. These suffixes are, therefore, in chronological order, the 'v' in the suffix referring to following pages in each bound section having no signature. Corresponding suffixes for Heywood (1562) have been added in parentheses to make it clear that the *Dialogues* are revised from the earlier edition, the *Epigrams* being quite new. Page references to *Don Quixote* are from the Macmillan edition {7}.

HEYWOOD (1546)

Of the 124 proverbs that occur only in Heywood (1546), almost half (56) are not listed under any earlier authors, again suggesting Heywood as a prime source. All but half a dozen of the 124 are clustered in seven groups on adjacent lines or on adjacent pages of the *Promus*. These comprise pages 199-200, 204, 209, 217-219, 224-227, 233-234 and 240-241. The clusters are shown along the abscissa of Fig. 3, with the corresponding chronological positions in Heywood shown on the ordinate as a decimalised version of the sequence (of part, chapter and alphabetical

Order of English Proverbs in the *Promus* matches with the order in Heywood, 1546 (Pt. I, Ch. i-xii & Pt. II, Ch. i-xi)

(FIG. 3)



suffix references). Except for the small first and sixth groups and the first entry of the fifth group, all the entries in the *Promus* follow closely the order in Heywood, adding strong evidence that they were copied out, systematically in order, by Bacon.

HEYWOOD *DIALOGUES* (1562)

Of the additional ten proverbs that occur only in Heywood *Dialogues* (1562), five are not listed under any earlier work. The ten are scattered among the others of Heywood, but are also seen to be in chronological order in the *Promus*, where two or more occur on adjacent lines or pages, as is the case for three groups comprising pages 218-219, 225-227 and 240-241.

HEYWOOD *EPIGRAMS* (1562)

Although there are the 21 cases of matches of *Promus* entries with Heywood *Epigrams* (1562), this work does not appear to be a main source for Bacon, all but one (all from 'the three hundred epigrams upon three hundred proverbs') being duplicated in Heywood's earlier listed work. None of 'the first hundred of epigrams' is utilised, nor any of the 'fifth hundred' or 'six hundred'.

RATIO OF HEYWOOD (1546) TO HEYWOOD *DIALOGUES* (1562)

In the *Promus* as a whole, the ratio of the number of proverbs from Heywood (1546) to the number from Heywood *Dialogues* (1562) is 11.4 to 1; the corresponding ratio for *Don Quixote* is very close at 12.3 to 1. Such a close similarity in these two ratios supports the conclusion that the *Promus* was used as a source of the Heywood proverbs that are found in *Don Quixote*.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROVERBS FROM HEYWOOD (1546)

Further similarities between the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* are also evident in the extent to which the two parts of Heywood (1546) and the total of 24 different chapters therein feature as sources for the proverbs. The general relation between the two works is illustrated in Fig. 4 and an Analysis of Variance shows the similarity to be statistically very highly significant ($P < 0.001$). The data for particular chapters are further identified in Table 1.

English Proverbs from Heywood (1546) common to the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* compared with all those in the *Promus* (Number per chapter of Heywood)

(FIG. 4)

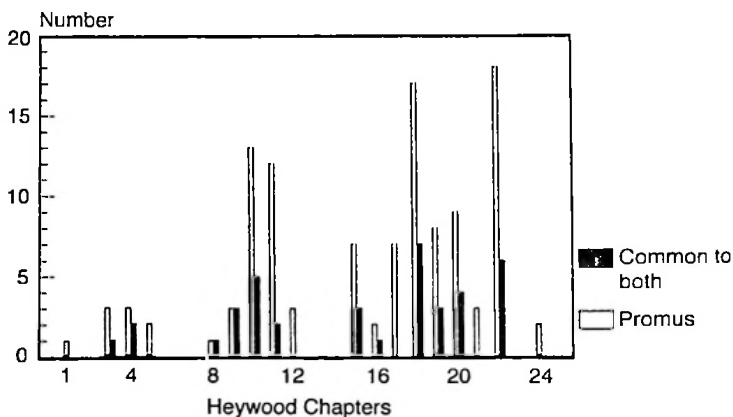


Table 1. Number of entries from Heywood (1546) found in Bacon's *Promus* and matched in *Don Quixote*

Part	Heywood (1546)		<i>Promus</i>		<i>Don Quixote</i>	
	Chapter		Number	(% of total)	Number	(% or total)
I	1		1			
	2					
	3		3		1	
	4		3		2	
	5		2			
	6					
	7					
	8		1		1	
	9		3		3	
	10		13		5	
	11		12		2	
	12		3			
	13					
		Total	41	(36)	14	(37)
II	1					
	2		7		3	
	3		2		1	
	4		7			
	5		17		7	
	6		8		3	
	7		9		4	
	8		3			
	9		18		6	
	10					
	11		2			
		Total	73	(64)	24	(63)
		Grand total	114	(100)	38	(100)

The table shows: firstly, that in these two works there is a preponderance of proverbs from Part II, compared with Part I (64% and 63%, respectively); and secondly, that in both cases, the most frequently used chapters are Chapter 10 in Part I and Chapters 5 & 9 in Part II. Finally, six chapters (Chapters 2, 6, 7 & 13 in Part I and Chapters 1 & 10 in Part II) are not represented at all in either work.

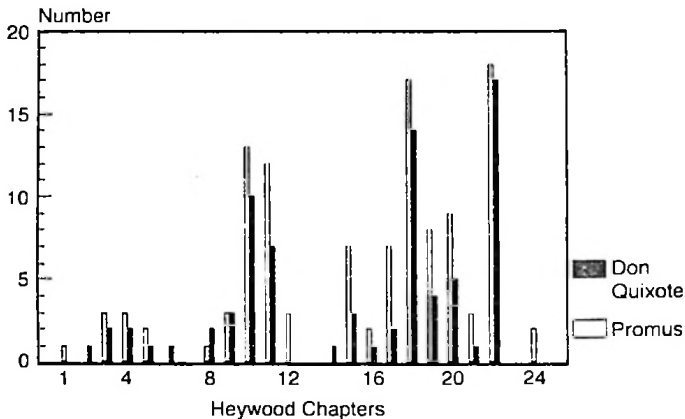
Again, this close similarity reinforces the conclusion that the same mind was behind writing both the English version of *Don Quixote* and the *Promus*.

The predilection for certain chapters by the author of *Don Quixote* and the author of the *Promus* is more clearly seen by comparing the distribution of all proverbs in *Don Quixote* that are found in Heywood (i.e. including a further 30 not found in the *Promus*) with all those in the *Promus*. This is shown in Fig. 5.

The texts of the entries in the *Promus* that are matched in Heywood

English Proverbs in the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* (No. per Chapter of Heywood, 1546)

(FIG. 5)



and *Don Quixote* are shown in Appendix II.

OVERALL CONCLUSION

That Bacon made use of Heywood (1546 & 1562), particularly the former as a main source of the English proverbs listed in his *Promus* is very strongly indicated by the close similarity in the chronological sequences of the proverbs listed by these two authors.

Furthermore, that Bacon was closely involved in the writing of the English text of *Don Quixote* is very strongly indicated by:

1) the close similarity between the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* in the ratio of English proverbs taken from Heywood (1546) to those taken from Heywood *Dialogues* (1562) and

2) the statistically highly significant correlation between the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* in the relative numbers of English proverbs that are found in the different chapters of Heywood (1546).

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{2} Tilley, Morris P. (1966) *A Dictionary of The Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press. 854 pp.

{3} Heywood, John (1546) *A Dialogue Containing the Number in Effect of All the Prouerbes in the Englishe Tongue*. (In Tilley, *loc. cit.*)

{4} Heywood, John (1562) *A Dialogue in the Proverbs and Epigrams of John Heywood*. Spencer Society, 1, 1867. (In Tilley, *loc. cit.*)

{5} Heywood, John (1562) *One Hundred of Epigrammes: and Three Hundred of Epigrammes vpon Three Hundred Prouerbes: and a Fifth Hundred of Epigrams [and a Sixt Hundred]* Spencer Society, 1867. (In Tilley, *loc. cit.*)

{6} Durning-Lawrence, E. (1910) *Bacon is Shake-Speare*. Together with a reprint of Bacon's *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, collated, with the original MS by F. B. Bickley, and revised by F. A. Herbert of the British Museum. John McBride Co., New York. 287 pp.

{7} Cervantes, Miguel de (1620) *The History of the Valourous & Witty Knight-Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha*. Translated by Thomas Shelton in Three Vols. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. Vol. I, 355 pp., Vol. II, 365 pp., Vol. III, 349 pp. (1900)

Note: References Nos. 4 and 5 appear to be combined in the copy of Heywood (1562) held in the British Library (Shelf No. C38-E28) and includes '...A sixt hundred of Epigrammes'

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APPENDIX I

Details of the data used in the present analysis

('Suf.' = suffix; D.Q. = *Don Quixote*)

Promus p. line	D.Q. Vol. p.	Heywood p. Part Ch.	1546 Part Ch. Suf.	Tilley Ref. No.	1562 Epig. No. p.(Suf.)	Hey. 1562 Dialog. Part Ch. p.(Suf.)
195 14	II	213	II ix	B436		
196 1	I	304		I25		I xi 32(D3v)
199 18			II ii G1 v	F515		
19 19			II iv G3 v	L330		
21			II xi L4 v	M964		
22			II v H3	S1025		
200 6			II iii G2	R213		
204 12-13			I i A2	M887		
14			II ix K4 v	B436		
15			II ix L1 v	L324		
209 2			I xi D4 v	G7	150 151(T2v)	
3			II ix I2	P96	118 145(T1)	
213 7	III	109	I xi E1	T362		
10			II ii F4 v	L188		
215 28-9			I v B2	P646		
217 15				F280	16 131(R2)	
18			I v B2	C349		
23	III	142	I ix C1 v	C380		
24	III	142	I x C4 v	A146		
25			I x D1	B247	18 131(R2)	
27			I xi D2	S885		
28			I xi D3 v	C326		
218 1			I xii E4	B59		
2			I xii E4 v	P405		
3			I xii E4 v	C412	262 167(X3v)	
4			II iv G2 v	S812	271 168(X3v)	
5			II iv G3 v	I106		
7			II v H1	S706		
8			II v H3	C142	117 145(T1)	
9			II v H3 v	M1231		
11			II vi J1	R148		
15			II vi I1 v	G220	124 145(T1)	
16			II vii I4 v	M788		
18	II	102	II vii K1 v	H275		
19	III	251	II ix L1	T122		
20	III	298	II ix L1	W421		
21	III	298	II ix L1	W415		
22	I	159	II ix L1	W179		
23			II ix L1	T403		
25				S560		II ix 78(K3v)

JOHN HEYWOOD AS A PROBABLE SOURCE FOR FRANCIS BACON

	26		II	ix	L2	P199			
	27		II	ix	L2	M113			
219	1		II	ix	L3	S824	281	170(Y1)	
	2					C140			II ix 81(L1)
	3		II	xi	L4	W314			
221	7	III	112	I	iii	A4 v	B121		
	8			II	vii	14	L326		
224	13			I	x	C3	F267		
	14	II	259	I	iii	A4	B740		
	15	III	59	I	iv	Bi v	M1114		
	17	II	185	I	viii	C1	B654		
	18-9			I	x	C2 v	G279		
	20			I	x	C3	F20		
	22			I	x	C3 v	C42		
225	2			I	ix	D3	S207	223	164(X2v)
	3-4						C144		I xi 28(D2)
	5						J4		I xi 29(D3)
	7-8			I	xi	D4 v	M676		
	9			I	xi	D4	K29	234	164(X2v)
	10			I	xi	D4	G423		
	11			I	xi	E1	B277		
	12			I	xi	E1 v	G264	154	152(T2)
	14			I	xi	E3 v	M1128	264	167(X3)
	15	I	226	I	xi	E3 v	R99	265	167(X3)
	16						H184		I xii 38(E2v)
226	3	I	97	II	ii	G1	T244		
	4	I	309	II	ii	G1	D237		
	5			II	ii	G1 v	H88		
	7			II	iv	G3	C152		
	8			II	iv	G4	P454		
	9			II	iv	G4	P453		
	10			II	v	H1	F233		
	11			II	v	H1 v	G272		
	12						D525		II v 56(G3)
	14	I	309	II	v	H2 v	M129		
	15	II	284	II	v	H2 v	C417		
	16	I	127	II	v	H4	F784		
	18			II	vii	12	B427		
	19			II	vii	12 v	W893		
	20	II	248	II	vii	14	B622		
	22			II	viii	K2	H332		
227	1			II	viii	K2 v	W104		
	2			II	ix	K3 v	T41		
	3			II	ix	K3 v	H186		
	4			II	ix	K4	T262		
	5-6			II	ix	K4	H809		
	7			II	ix	K4 v	S922		

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	8					G30			II	ix	78(K3v)
	11	II	122	II	ix	L2 v	S856				
231	2			II	iv	G3 v	L276				
233	22			II	viii	K2	B670				
234	30	II	215	I	v	B2 v	H678				
240	1			I	iii	A4 v	H279				
	2			I	iii	A4 v	M156				
	3			I	iv	B1	S797-8				
	4	II	122	I	iv	B1 v	N299				
	6	II	246	I	ix	C2	B566	155		152(T2v)	
	7	I	107	I	ix	C2	S955	43		134(R3v)	
	9			I	x	G3 v	L170				
	10			I	x	C3 v	U1				
	12	II	75	I	x	C3 v	B259	141		150(T2v)	
	13	II	148	I	x	C4	T200				
	14			I	x	C4 v	P581				
	15	III	169	I	x	D1	S623	29		132(R2v)	
	16	III	180	I	x	D2 v	E177				
	17			I	xi	E1	M100				
	18	I	304				125		I	xi	32(D3v)
	20	II	316	II	ii	F4 v	U24				
	21			II	ii	G1	L559				
	22	II	347	II	v	H2	B354				
	23	I	149	II	v	H2	F433				
	24			II	v	H2	S491	204		160(V3v)	
	25	III	115	II	v	H2 v	M922				
	27			II	v	H4	T338				
	28			II	v	H4	S663	41		132(R2v)	
241	1-2	I	158	II	vi	I1	A15				
	3	I	160				S119		II	v	60(H2v)
	4	II	243	II	vi	L1 v	H140	123		145(T1)	
	5			II	vi	I1 v	H515				
	6			II	vi	I1 v	L458				
	7	II	294	II	vi	I2	H54				
	8			II	vi	I2	N25				
	9	I	92	II	vii	I2 v	F672				
	11	II	96	II	vii	I3	E274				
	14			II	viii	K2	P669				

APPENDIX II

Texts of *Promus* entries that are matched in Heywood (1546 & 1562) and *Don Quixote* (order as in Appendix I)

Promus

p.	line	
195	14	Black will take no other hue
196	1	We may doe much yll or we doe much woorse
204	12	Who so knew what would be dear Need be a marchant but a year
213	7	Tale of ye. frogg that swelled
217	23	The nearer the church the furder from God*
	24	All is not gold that glisters*
218	18	When the head akes all the body is the worse
	19	When theeues fall owt trew men come to their good
	20	An yll wind that bloweth no man to good
	21	All this wynd shakes no Corn
	22	Thear be more waies to the wood then one
221	7	Garlike and beans
224	14	To beat the bush wh[i]le another catches the byrd
	15	To cast beyond the moone
	17	As he brues so he must drinke
225	15	It may ryme but it accords not
226	3	Thought is free
	4	Te deuill hath cast a bone to sett strife
	14	My self can tell best where my shoe wringes me
	15	A cloke for the Rayne
	16	To leap owt of the freing pan into the fyre
	20	He would have better bread than can be made of whea[t]
227	11	Yow would be ouer the stile before yew come at it
234	30	To looke a gyven horse in the mouth
240	4	Nothing is impossible to a willing hand
	6	Better to bow then to breake
	7	Of suffrance cometh ease
	12	Of a good begynyng comes a good ending
	13	Thinges doone cannot be vndoone
	15	Some what is better than nothing
	16	Better be envyed then pytied
	18	We be but where we were

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- 20 Use maketh mastery
22 They that are bownd must obey
23 Foly it is to spurn against the pricke
25 Might overcomes right
241 1 There is no good accord
whear euey one would be a lord
3 Saieng and doing are two things
4 Better be happy then wise
7 Warned and half armed
9 Frenzy Heresy and jealousy are three
That seldome or neuer cured be
11 That the ey seeth not the hart rueth not

*Also adjacent in *Don Quixote*

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

by

John S. Alabaster

In view of the length of this paper, a table of contents is prefixed to enable the reader to be selective.

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INTRODUCTION

The large number of matches found between the entries in both English and Spanish in Bacon's '*Promus*' on the one hand, and the English text of '*Don Quixote*' on the other, have already been described in some detail {1}. No consideration had been given, however, to the Latin entries which are rather more numerous than those in English, although Carr {2} has noted that '*Bis dat qui cito dat*' ('he who gives quickly, gives twice') which is found in the *Promus* also occurs in English in *Don Quixote*. It is true that Pott {3} included the Latin entries in her study of all the entries in the *Promus* in relation to the works under the name of Shakespeare and several hundred other authors of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, but she did not consider them in relation to *Don Quixote*.

The present study aims mainly to provide new English translations of the Latin entries, not only to facilitate a search for matches in *Don Quixote*, but also to shed further light on Bacon's foci of interest, particularly for those unfamiliar with Latin. The present translations have kindly been made by Philip H. Bartholomew using the printed version of the *Promus* produced by Durning-Lawrence {6}. They are listed under his name in the Appendix. He has confirmed many of the translations noted by Pott (who relied on the manuscript version of the *Promus*), as well as many of her ascriptions of *Promus* entries to their place of origin in classical and post-classical literature, but he has also provided a large number of different translations, corrected some erroneous references and made 52 new ascriptions of entries to their presumed source. The term 'source' is used advisedly here, since Bacon may not have consulted the work in question directly, but found the material through other authors.

A search for matches of the entries in Latin, as well as in their English translations, has been made using the 1620 edition of *Don Quixote* {4}

and also a small sample of other works of Bacon {5}, the results of all of which to date are summarised here. Nevertheless, this account should not be taken as final since experience shows that it is all too easy to miss essential details.

LATIN ENTRIES AND SOURCES

The Latin entries taken from Durning-Lawrence are listed in the Appendix (using Durning-Lawrence's pagination and the line number of each page) together with their Latin source references, where identified, although the absence of a source does not necessarily mean that one does not exist. Some of the entries are also referred to in Tables in which matches are further detailed. Bartholomew comments that:

1) Many of the entries are extremely cryptic and should be studied in their original context. Moreover their meaning sometimes becomes clear only from their position in the *Promus*. In particular, the significance of Entry 265.17 [page and line reference in the Appendix] and 265.20 become clear only when they are taken in conjunction with 265.15 and 265.18, respectively, both composed by Bacon.

2) In some cases he suspects that Bacon recorded a quotation to remind himself of the whole passage of which it formed a part. An example would be '*Hae tibi erunt artes*' (243.20); this is part of a passage in Book VI of the *Aeneid* in which Virgil describes Rome's destiny as an imperial power.

3) In a large number of instances, Bacon's version of the original Latin text differs slightly, but significantly, from the version which appears in the standard modern edition. This suggests that he would sometimes rely on his memory for a quotation rather than the printed text. This is clearly illustrated by 265.4, where Bacon converts Virgil's '*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*' into '*Metuo danaos et dona ferentes*', although in this case no alteration has been made to the sense of Virgil's Latin. Throughout the Appendix, translations are provided of Bacon's own words.

4) In a few instances he has been forced to make small alterations to the Latin printed by Durning-Lawrence [indicated by square brackets with an asterisk] in order to make sense of it. The difficulty probably stems from the problems encountered when the transcription was made.

5) All biblical references are to the *Vulgate* bible {7}.

6) All references to Erasmus in the Appendix are to his '*Adagia*' {8}

The *Adagia* of Erasmus are themselves often quotations from classical authors. Bartholomew has generally assumed that Bacon used Erasmus rather than the great variety of classical writers to whom Erasmus refers, and therefore has cited the Erasmus passages only. But in some cases, the classical source used by Erasmus is one that was also known to Bacon at first hand. Here it is impossible to tell whether Bacon had Erasmus or his source in mind, and he has therefore cited both the adage and the original classical source. These cases are: six passages from Horace (219.6, 236.4, 241.27, 242.2, 242.4, & 243.1), four passages from Virgil (232.12, 234.18, 234.28 & 236.8) and one from the *Old Testament* (230.24). Bacon may also have known Martial and Terence at first hand (see Note 7, below), and these cases have been cited in square brackets along with Erasmus at 198.16 (and the duplicate at 238.9) and 235.14, respectively. However, Bacon does not seem to have known Juvenal, so the Juvenal reference is also in square brackets in 195.17 and 220.16.

7) Apart from Erasmus and the *Vulgate*, Bacon quotes Virgil, Ovid and Horace with such frequency that Bartholomew finds it impossible to believe that he did not know these authors at first hand. But there are six classical writers whom Bacon quotes either once, or only on a handful of occasions. These are Cicero, Lucan, Martial, Sallust, Seneca and Terence. Bartholomew asks, 'Did Bacon know the original text of these authors? Or did he simply make extracts from anthologies which may perhaps have been in circulation at the time he was writing?'

8) Bacon's familiarity with classical authors extended far beyond the writers mentioned in the preceding note: Tacitus, in particular, was a favourite. But no reference is made to these writers in the *Promus*. Is it permissible, Bartholomew asks, to suggest that Bacon may have produced a second manuscript, equivalent to the *Promus*, which contained quotations from classical authors not cited there? Either this putative manuscript does not survive, or (just possibly) still awaits discovery.

Detailed examination of the Latin entries throws some light on the questions raised by Bartholomew in the two preceding paragraphs, 6 and 7.

RESULTS

SUMMARY OF LATIN SOURCES

In all, there are 759 entries in Latin, of which about 5% (40) are duplicates, well spread out over the relevant 77 pages in the *Promus*; half are

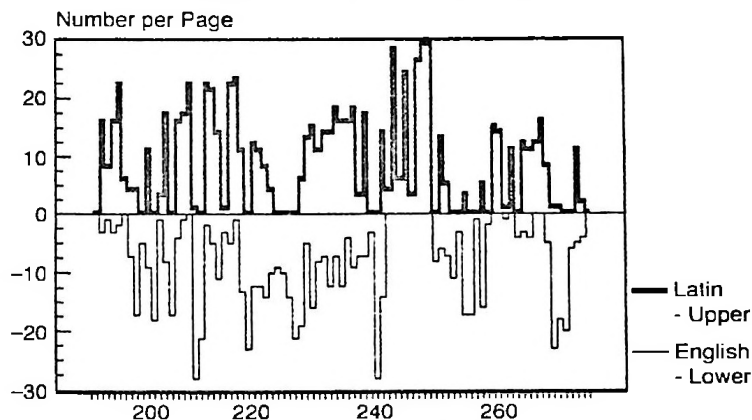
within 15 pages of each other and three-quarters within 35 pages.

The distribution of the Latin entries in the *Promus* is shown in the upper part of Fig. 1, giving the total number per page. These numbers tend to be inversely correlated with those of the English entries shown in the lower half of the figure (the vertical scale of which is reversed for convenience of plotting and comparison). Latin sources have been identified in 575 (76%) cases which are summarised in Table 1; Erasmus accounts for the bulk of Latin sources, followed by Virgil, the *Vulgate*, Ovid and Horace. A handful (nine) was untranslatable and the remaining 178 (with eight duplicates) were probably mostly Bacon's own invention.

Table 1. Summary of Identified Latin Sources of *Promus* Entries (with duplicates in parentheses)

Author/Work	Number	Approximate Percentage
Erasmus	235(9)	41
Virgil	110(6)	19
Vulgate	97(10)	17
Ovid	63(4)	11
Horace	50(2)	9
Others	20(1)	3
TOTAL	575(32)	100

Numerical Distribution of English and Latin Entries in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 193-275) (FIG. 1)



More detailed information on the works of the main authors identified as Latin sources is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Summary of Works of Latin Authors identified as Sources of *Promus* Entries (with duplicates in parentheses)

Author	Work	Number	Approximate % for each Author
Virgil	<i>Aeneid</i>	83(6)	76
	<i>Eclogues</i>	17	15
	<i>Georgics</i>	10	9
	TOTAL	110(6)	100
Horace	<i>Satires</i>	20(1)	40
	<i>Epistles</i>	15(1)	30
	<i>Ars Poetica</i>	10	20
	<i>Odes</i>	4	8
	<i>Epodes</i>	1	2
	TOTAL	50(2)	100
Ovid	<i>Heroides</i>	20	32
	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	16(2)	25
	<i>Ars Amatoria</i>	14(2)	22
	<i>Amores</i>	8	13
	<i>Remedia amoris</i>	4	6
	<i>Epistulae</i>	1	2
	TOTAL	63(4)	100

The *Promus* contains quotations from a wide selection of the books of the *Vulgate* Bible, the overall distribution of which is shown in Table 3. Fewer than half are from the *Old Testament*, mainly from the *Psalms* and *Proverbs*, but there is nothing from the *Pentateuch*, and altogether only six of the 39 Books are represented. It is not intended to comment here in detail on this selection, except to remind the reader that the *Writings* (*Psalms*, *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*) represent collections of poetry, drama and philosophy. Quotations from the *New Testament* are slightly more numerous than those of the *Old*, predominantly from *Matthew* (which has long been the most highly esteemed), and altogether 18 of the 27 Books are represented.

Table 3. Frequency with which Books of the *Vulgate* are identified as sources for *Promus* entries (with duplicates in parentheses)

Book	Number
OLD TESTAMENT	
<i>Psalms</i>	21(3)
<i>Proverbs</i>	11
<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	6
<i>Kings (2)</i>	2(1)
<i>Samuel</i>	1
<i>Jonah</i>	1
TOTAL	42(4)
NEW TESTAMENT	
<i>Matthew</i>	12(2)
<i>Corinthians (2)</i>	8(3)
<i>John</i>	7(1)
<i>Timothy (2)</i>	5
<i>Acts</i>	4
<i>Hebrews</i>	3
<i>Romans</i>	3
<i>Philippians</i>	2
<i>Revelations</i>	2
<i>Titus</i>	2
<i>Luke</i>	2
<i>Colossians</i>	1
<i>James</i>	1
<i>Jude</i>	1
<i>Mark</i>	1
<i>Thessalonians</i>	1
TOTAL	55(6)

The less often quoted Latin authors are listed in Table 4, together with the number of citations.

Table 4. Frequency of the less frequently quoted Latin authors and works as sources for *Promus* entries (with a duplicate in parenthesis)

Author	Work	Number of entries
Terence	<i>Heautontimoruenos</i>	3
	<i>Adelphi</i>	2
	<i>Eunuchus</i>	1
	<i>Phormio</i>	1
Seneca	<i>Hercules Furens</i>	3(1)
	<i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>	1
	<i>Troades</i>	1
Lucan	<i>De bello civili</i>	2
Martial	<i>Epigrams</i>	2
Cicero	<i>De oratore</i>	1
	<i>Pro Sulla</i>	1
Juvenal	<i>Satires</i>	1
Sallust	<i>De Republica Ordinanda</i>	1
TOTAL		20(1)

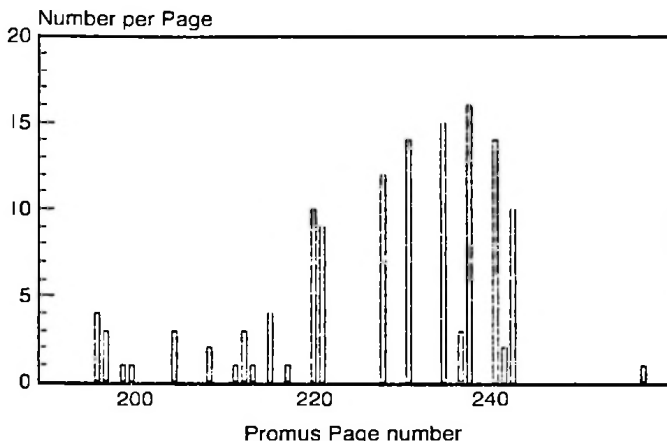
SEQUENCE OF ENTRIES BY AUTHOR AND BY CHRONOLOGY WITHIN WORKS

In scanning through the entries attributable to a single author, the sequence of entries often appears to follow the order in the source itself at least for small groups of adjacent entries on a page or on adjacent pages. This has been shown for the English proverbs in works by John Heywood [11]. Examination for the presence and extent of such a feature has been carried out for particular works by decimalising their content (order of books or chapters or sections or pages, as the case may be, as they occur within those works) and plotting these values for all entries as they occur in sequence on adjacent lines or pages of the *Promus*.

ERASMUS

Entries of Erasmus' *Adages* appear in 12 groups in which numbers tend to increase up to about page 242 (Fig. 2). The fact that there are these large groups, often without any admixture of other identifiable sources, suggests the extraction of passages from Erasmus, rather than from Erasmus' sources. However, in this case, the sequence of entries within

**Numerical Distribution of Quotations from Erasmus' *Adages* in
Bacon's *Promus* (pages 195-258) (FIG. 2)**

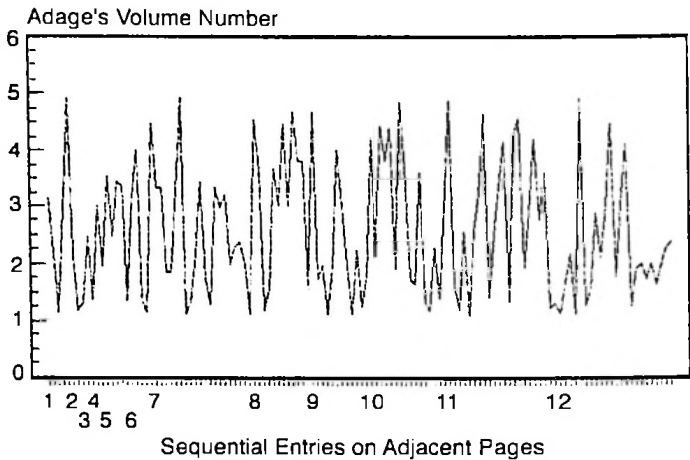


or between any of these groups in the *Promus* does not appear to be closely correlated with the sequence in the *Adages* (Fig 3). This suggests a conscious choice of particular entries, rather than a systematic search for the beginning to end, making choices on the way: indeed the adages were not meant to be read through, but dipped into, and this is what Bacon may have done. Also, the absence of a correlation may be attributable to the present comparison being made with the most up-to-date version of the *Adages* of the year 1536 containing 4151 adages, whereas there were many fewer in the earlier editions, starting with just 818 adages in 1500) and increasing steadily over the next 10 editions. These earlier editions, which may have been consulted by Bacon have not been examined.

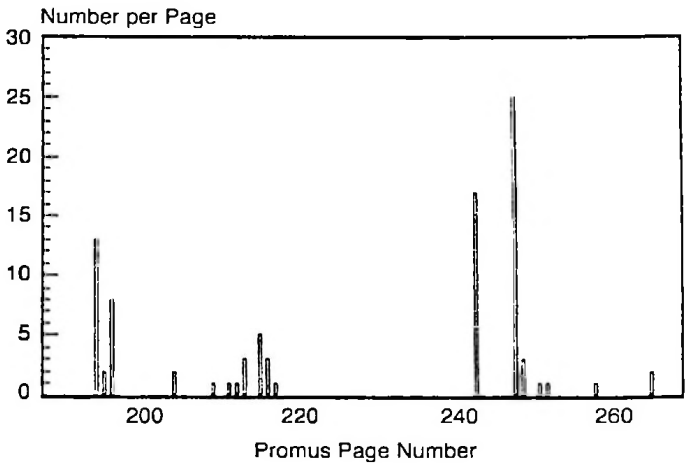
The possibility that Bacon consulted secondary sources has been examined superficially with reference to works by Taverner {12} and Udall {13}. Taverner seems an unlikely source because he includes scarcely two dozen entries noted by Bacon, and those few do not occur in the same order as in the *Promus*. The situation with Udall's translations is similar. No other possible alternative sources have, as yet, been sought.

Another approach, however, has been to note the sources given by Erasmus for some of the adages found in the *Promus* and seek common

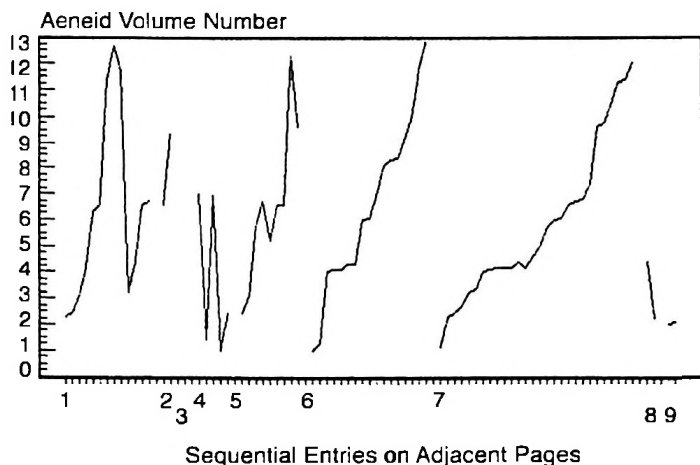
Twelve Sequences of Quotations from Erasmus' *Adages* in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 195-243) (FIG. 3)



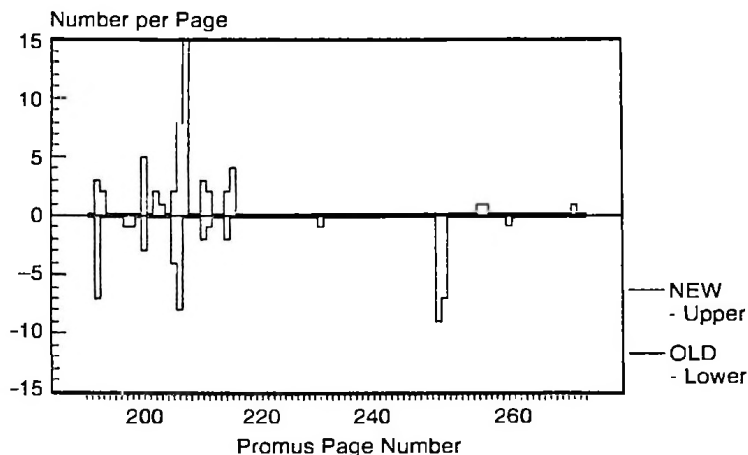
Numerical Distribution of Quotations from *The Aeneid* in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 194-265) (FIG. 4)



Nine Sequences of Quotations from Virgil's *Aeneid* in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 194-265) (FIG. 5)



Numerical Distribution of Entries from the *Old* and *New Testaments* in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 193-275) (FIG. 6)



sources for adjacent entries. This has been accomplished in a preliminary way by using the translations and annotations in the *Collected Works of Erasmus* published by the University of Toronto {22 & 23} which cover the first 1600 adages only. For this exercise account has also been taken of entries in English and Greek that can be traced to Erasmus. The results indicate that the majority of adjacent entries found do not share a single source whilst a few entries have no source other than Erasmus himself. Thus, this preliminary analysis suggests that Erasmus is generally the prime source, but clearly it would be desirable to extend the search to a more complete sample.

VIRGIL

The entries of Virgil's *Aeneid* are also present in several distinct groups in the *Promus*, the largest of which tend to occur towards the later pages (Fig. 4) and three of which (Nos. 5-7 in Fig. 5) show a marked tendency to occur in the same order as in the *Aeneid*.

Quotations found from the *Eclogues* show much more scatter than those from the *Aeneid*, although the last group (on page 245) does show a tendency to synchronise with the order in the *Eclogues* itself.

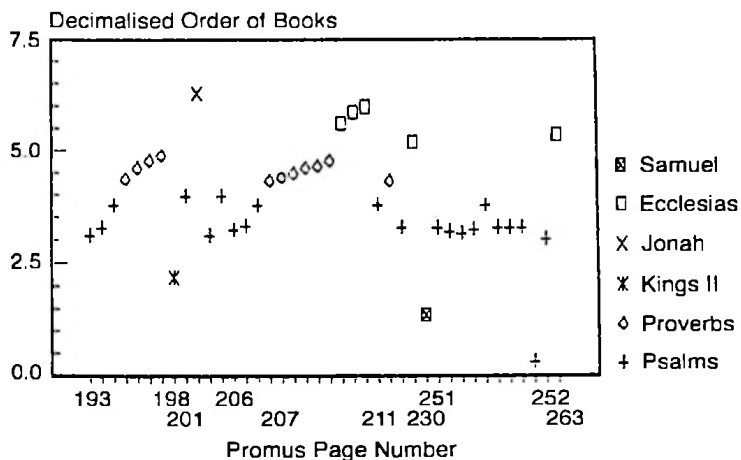
Quotations from the *Georgics* (which do not include any from Book 4) are also few, and scattered more or less at random.

THE VULGATE

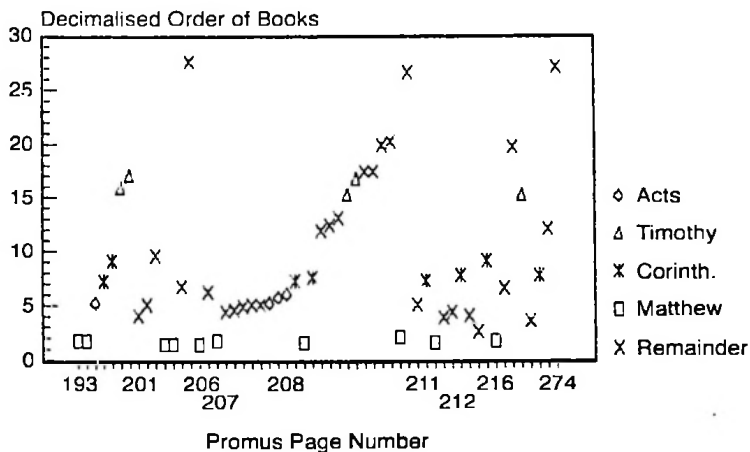
Most of the entries identified from the Bible occur up to page 216, although there is also a substantial group from the *Old Testament* on pages 251 and 252 (Fig 6). To illustrate the sequence of occurrence, the six Books concerned in the *Old Testament* have been numbered in the order in which they occur in the Bible (1 to 6) and the chapters quoted expressed as a decimal fraction of the total available in each book. The *New Testament* is slightly different because all but eight of 27 Books are quoted; in this case all the Books available have been numbered (1 to 27) and again the chapters quoted from these Books have been expressed as a decimal fraction of those available.

These figures have then been plotted in sequence as in Fig. 7 for those from the *Old Testament* (with the six Books identified in the figure) and in Fig. 8 for those from the *New Testament*, with separate identification of the entries for *Matthew* (the most numerous), *Corinthians*, *Timothy* and *Acts*. In both graphs the pages on which they occur have been indicated.

Sequences of *Old Testament* Entries in the *Promus*
(FIG. 7)



Sequences of *New Testament* Entries in the *Promus*
(FIG. 8)



For both the *Old* and *New Testaments* the sequences of entries in the *Promus* tend to follow those of the works themselves, both between Books and between chapters within Books. This suggests a systematic search for items to extract (or a very good memory).

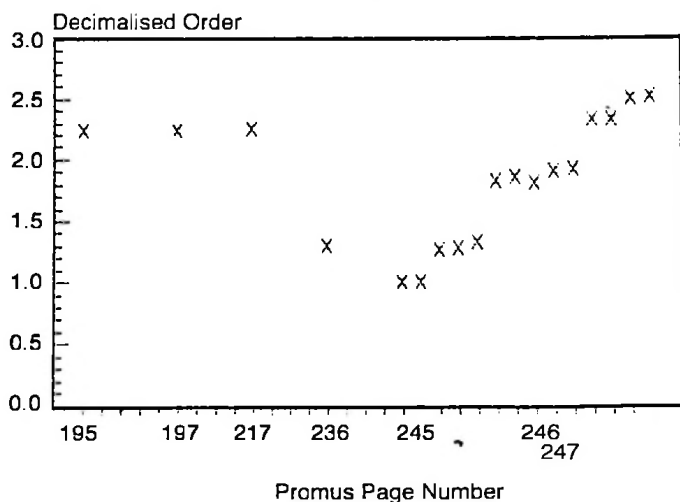
HORACE

The distribution in the *Promus* of quotation from the *Satires* is shown in Fig. 9. Several pages contain only a single entry, but most occur on pages 245 to 247 and are in the same order strictly as in Horace. There are fewer entries from Horace's *Epistles* and they appear not to be in any organised order, even in the few cases when three are present on a single page. Most of the entries for the *Ars Poetica* follow strictly their order in Horace (Fig. 10). For the *Odes*, the four entries are all on separate pages and in no particular order.

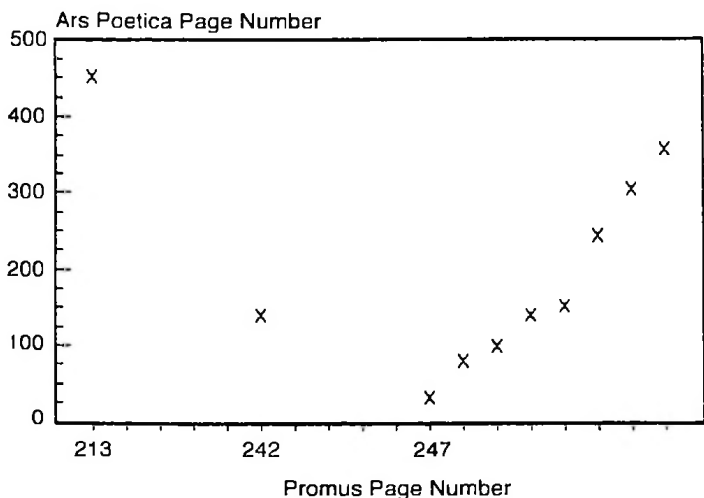
OVID

Whilst the initial quotations from Ovid's *Heroides* are scattered (Fig. 11), the last group shows a strong tendency to synchronise with the source order, as is true of *Ars Amatoria* (Fig. 12) and *Amores* (Fig. 13).

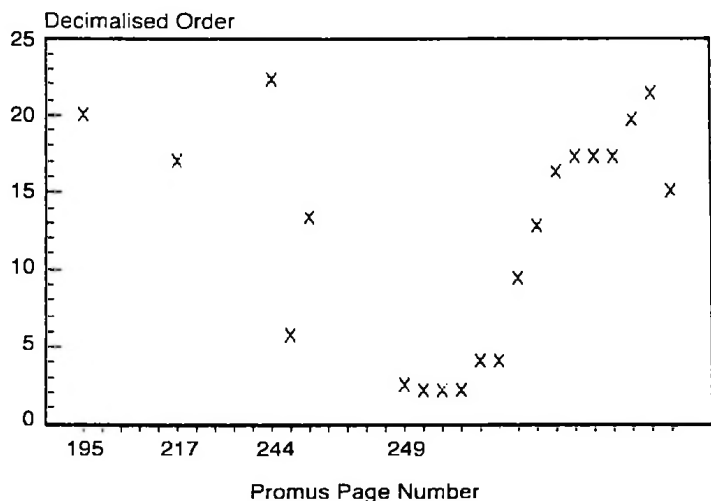
Sequence of Quotations from Horace Satires I and II in the *Promus* (FIG. 9)



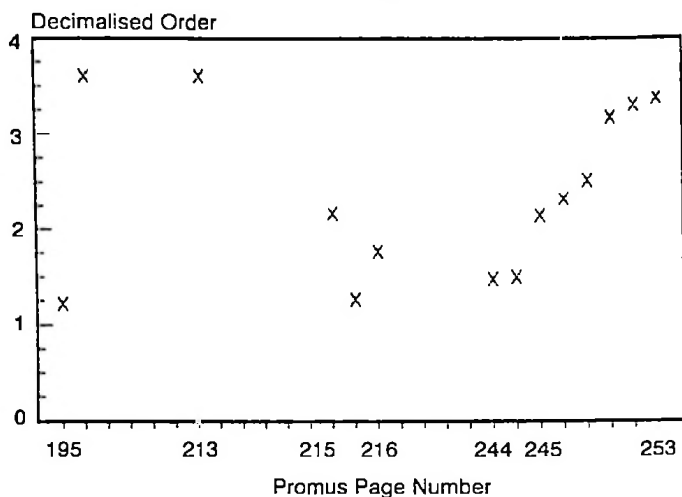
Sequence of Quotations from Horace's *Ars Poetica* in the *Promus* (FIG. 10)



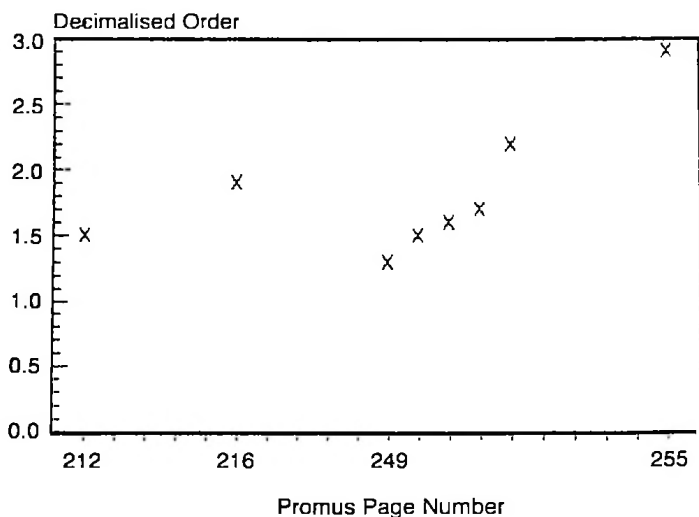
Sequence of Quotations from Ovid's *Heroides* in the *Promus* (FIG. 11)



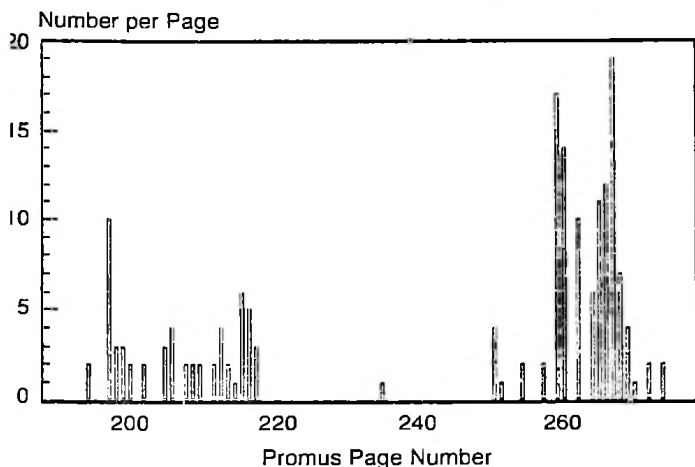
Sequence of Quotations from Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* in the *Promus*
(FIG. 12)



Sequence of Quotations from Ovid's *Amores* in the *Promus*
(FIG. 13)



Numerical Distribution of Unattributable Latin Entries in Bacon's *Promus* (pages 193-275) (FIG. 14)



Those from *Metamorphoses*, however, are much more scattered, as are the few entries from *Remedia Amoris*.

OTHER AUTHORS

The data from other authors, such as Terence, are too few to enable firm conclusions to be drawn.

SUMMARY OF SEQUENCES

In the case of the *Adages* of Erasmus, the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Virgil or the *Epistles* of Horace, there is no evidence for the quotations in the *Promus* to follow the order in the original works. Such evidence is found, however, with the *Aeneid* of Virgil, the Books of the *Old* and *New Testaments* of the *Vulgate*, the *Satires* and *Ars Poetica* of Horace, and the *Heroides*, *Ars Amatoria* and *Amores* of Ovid. For other works the evidence is inconclusive.

Spedding inferred, from the fact that many of the quotations are slightly inaccurate, that Bacon set many of the entries down from memory, 'reviewing in memory the book he had last read', although he also points out that Bacon often makes slightly inaccurate quotations intentionally to bring out a new meaning of his own (3). However, Bacon's

only occasional slight inaccuracy can be seen by checking John Warrington's glossary of quotations in the *Advancement of Learning* [18]: only about 5% appear to be in error.

UNIDENTIFIED ENTRIES

The distribution of unattributed entries is shown in Fig. 14; there is an increase in frequency towards the end of the *Promus*.

Bartholomew has drawn attention to the English entry, 'colors of good and euill' (275,10), as well as to the occurrence in the *Promus* of three expressions which are central to the argument of the work that bears that title: 'In deliberatives and electives' (262,1); 'fallaxes' (264,1), with 'Fall.' (268,13); and 'Semblances or popularities of good and euill' (274,1). Between 260.1 and the end of the *Promus* a large number of the Latin entries take the form of two contrasted moral propositions: this is the form in which Bacon casts the 'colours' which are discussed and modified in the '*Colours of good and evil*', and which appear as section headings in that work. In fact, of the ten 'colours' Bacon used in the later work, seven appear in the *Promus* (although they have not been repeated *verbatim*). These are: I. = 265,21; II. = 266,1; III. = 261,8; IV. = 266,9; V. = 260,23; VI. = 266,18; and X. = 269,2.

Bartholomew also points out that two passages in this part of the *Promus* are insertions. The first comprises all the entries on page 263, which have hope and fear as their theme, and form the foundation of part of Bacon's '*Meditationes sacrae*'. The other entries occupy pages 270-273 ('*Verba ... ad gratiam sparsam*', 270.2 and 273.11). But if these passages are discounted, the final part of the *Promus* may be regarded as a preliminary sketch for the '*Colours of good and evil*'. The Latin entries in the *Promus* which were not adopted for '*Colours*' greatly outnumber those which Bacon finally used; perhaps he began by drawing up an extensive list from which he originally intended only to make a selection; perhaps again he was proposing to write a much larger work, but failed to do so. In either case the two works should be studied together.

A number of other entries from the *Promus* also appear in the text of the '*Colours of good and evil*'. The most striking are the English 266, 12-15, the story of two frogs considering whether to go down a deep well during a drought, which is quoted in '*Colour*'. Section IV, with a reference to its source (Aesop); and 265, 23-24, which, in English, and in less opaque terms, forms the subject of Section I. Section VII contains Bacon's definition of his own term 'antiperistasis' (193,5). The English

275, 4-5 was also used, in Section X: the reference in the latter to 'Doctor Hector', as opposed to the erroneous 'D. Hert.' in Durning-Lawrence, illuminates the difficulties which the palaeographer encountered in understanding suspensions in the manuscript and in distinguishing between 'r' and 'c' in Bacon's handwriting.

MATCH OF A LATIN *PROMUS* ENTRY WITH LATIN IN *DON QUIXOTE*

There is a scattering of Latin in the text of *Don Quixote*, one sentence of which has been found to match exactly a Latin entry in the *Promus*. It is on page 316 of Volume I, as a footnote:

'*Casta est quam nemo rogavit*' ('she is chaste whom no one has solicited').

This is a quotation from Ovid (*Amores* I, 8.43), also found *verbatim* on page 249, line 26 of the *Promus*. It relates to the passage in *Don Quixote* on page 316 of Volume I):

'A woman is of no more worth or virtue than that which is in her, after she hath been solicited; and that she alone is strong who cannot be bowed by the promises, gifts ... of importunate lovers'.

This passage is of interest in being a negative version of the Latin proverb, an inversion often made by Bacon. The proverb is listed by Tilley { 10} (his No. S608) as being found only in *Don Quixote*, Marlowe (1599) and *Antony & Cleopatra* iii, 12.

MATCHES OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN *PROMUS* ENTRIES WITH THE ENGLISH IN *DON QUIXOTE*

Page reference of matches

The page references to the matches that have been found between the English translations of the Latin entries in the *Promus* and the English text of *Don Quixote* are summarised in Table 5. Altogether 46 matches have been found, plus six duplicates in the *Promus* (including one in English), nine duplicates in *Don Quixote*, seven entries in the *Promus* that are similar to the text of *Don Quixote* and one entry that has the

opposite meaning to that in the text. Again, other matches could, no doubt be construed, especially where the Latin entries are somewhat similar to those in English and Spanish already described { 1 }.

Table 5: Summary of matches of English translations of Latin *Promus* entries and the English text in *Don Quixote*.

Text in <i>Don Quixote</i>			Matching entry in <i>Promus</i>	
Volume	Page	Starting Line	Page	Line
I	xv	24	230	4
I	2-4	12	208	1
I	23	penultimate	196	10
			248	24 (duplicate)
I	150	19	247	29
			228	19 (similar)
I	162	23	244	4
			240	15 (duplicate - English)
I	164	29	228	19
I	248	34	269	2
I	261	8	249	4
I	316	7	193	20
I	319	6	261	14
I	340	10	243	2
I	353-5	penultimate	194	8
			206	12 (duplicate)
II	5	22	228	20
II	10	13	196	10 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
II	17	28	247	26
II	31	6	266	7
			266	26 (similar)
			267	9 (similar)
			266	22 (opposite)
II	36	30	248	2
			212	2 (similar)
			208	23 (similar)
II	84	5	247	23
II	136	14	196	10 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
II	141	32	193	11-12

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

Text in <i>Don Quixote</i>			Matching entry in <i>Promus</i>	
Volume	Page	Starting Line	Page	Line
			207	3 (duplicate)
II	141&144	36 & 4	219	13
		respectively		
II	145	13-30	214	3
II	151	13	208	1 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
II	160	13	249	7
II	185	12	196	10 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
II	185	23	197	4-5
II	291	3	Many classical entries	
II	219	28	249	12
II	303	14	234	4
			199	1 (similar)
II	314	4	249	12 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
II	334	7	268	14
II	357	7	197	4-5 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
II	362	15	199	24
III	36	35	228	19
III	41	2	267	3
III	98	penultimate	241	16
III	109	4	271	2x
III	110	36	195	17
			220	16 (duplicate)
III	iii	5	195	16
			220	14 (duplicate)
III	313	penultimate	255	14
			255	13 (similar)
III	169	18	244	4 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
III	285	15	196	10 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)
III	335	2	208	1 (<i>loc. cit.</i>)

Textual details of matches

These matches are now given in more detail (although leaving out the Latin texts, which appear in full in the Appendix) and are discussed further, different quotations from *Don Quixote* relating to a single entry in the *Promus* being considered together, as well as identical or similar entries in the *Promus* being grouped together:—

Vol. I, p. xv, line 24, 'But I, though in show a father, yet in truth but a step-father to Don Quixote'

Cf. *Promus*, p. 230, line 4, 'If you were not my father'. The question naturally stimulated by this entry is, 'then who is my father?' Similarly, the question provoked by the statement on the first page of the Author's Preface to *Don Quixote* is, 'then who is the father of this work?'. This question has been natural to those like Durning-Lawrence and Hutchinson who first doubted Cervantes' authorship of *Don Quixote* {19}.

Vol. I, pp. 2-4, line 12.' . . . this gentleman above named [Don Quixote who] . . . did apply himself wholly to the reading of books of knighthood . . . grew distracted and was breaking his brains day and night . . . [p. 3] . . . he plunged himself so deeply in his reading of these books . . . through little sleep and much reading he dried up his brains in such sort as he wholly lost his judgement. His . . . [p. 4] . . . wit being wholly extinguished . . . madman . . .'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 208, line 1, 'Much learning reduces you to madness'.

It is of interest that here, at the very beginning of *Don Quixote* there should be such a clear match with the *Promus*. Two further allusions to the proverb occur, one in the middle and the other at the end of the novel. These are in:

1) Vol. II, p. 151, line 13, 'Gentlemen, is it possible that the idle and unsavoury lecture [reading] of books of knighthood hath so much distracted your wit . . .' and

2) Vol. III, p. 335, line 2, 'I possess now a free and clear judgement, and nothing overshadowed with the misty clouds of ignorance, which the continual reading and plodding on books of chivalry had overcast me withal'.

Vol. I, p. 23, penultimate line, 'every one is son of his works'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 196, line 10, 'Each of us endures his own fate in the after-life'.

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 248, line 24 (duplicate).

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 212, line 8, 'Each man is the architect of his own fortune.'

A similar text is:

1) Vol. II, p. 10, line 13, 'I was the builder and contriver of mine own dishonour'.

An identical text is:

2) Vol. II, p. 136, line 14, 'everyone is the son of his own works'.

Other similar texts are:

- 3) Vol. II, p. 185, line 12, 'let his own rod whip him; as he hath brewed, so let him bake' and
- 4) Vol. III, p. 285, line 15, 'every man is the artificer of his own fortune.

Although it is not intended in the present study to list all the occurrences of any matches in other works, in this particular case, in which the theme is repeatedly found, it can be noted that Bacon also uses it:

1) in his essay '*Of Fortune*', 'the Mould of a Man's Fortune is in his owne hands' (14)

2) later (1609) in his *Wisdom of the Ancients*, XXVII, '*Sphynx, or Science*' as, 'every artificer also commands over his work' {17}, and finally,

3) in '*Rhetorical Sophisms*' in *The Advancement of Learning* (1605; I.vi.3) in reverse form as, 'You shall not be your own carver' {3}.

Vol. I, p. 150, line 19, 'If thou tellest thy tale, Sancho, after that manner . . . repeating everything twice . . . : tell it succinctly, and like one of judgement, or else say nothing'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 247, line 29, 'Nothing is so good that it cannot be distorted by being narrated badly'.

Vol. I, p. 162, line 23, 'for something is better than nothing'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 244, line 4, 'That thing will be very little, but more than nothing'.

Also Cf. *Promus*, p. 240, line 15 (in English), 'Some what is better then [*sic*] nothing'.

A similar text is: Vol. III, p. 169, line 18, 'but something is better than nothing'.

Vol. I, p. 164, line 29, 'and be brief in thy reasons; for none is delightful if it be prolix'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 228, line 19, 'Brevity of Speech'.

Vol. I, p. 248, line 34, 'sudden death finisheth presently the pain: but that which doth lingeringly torment, kills always, without ending the life'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 269, line 2, 'The step of deprivation appears greater than the process of gradual loss', but that is not actually the case.

Vol. I, p. 261, line 8, 'the traitor caused tears to give credit to his words

and sighs to give countenance to his intention'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 249, line 4, 'We have placed trust in your tears; or are even tears taught how to pretend? Do tears too have stratagems, and issue forth to where they are told to go?'

Vol. I, p. 316, line 7, 'it may give manifest argument of the degree of her goodness, as the fire doth show the value of gold'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 193, line 20, 'And the fire will show the true nature of every man's work'.

An alternative match would be 'Fire tests gold; adversity [tests] strong men' from Seneca's '*De Providentia*', ('*ignis aurum probat, miseria fortes viros*') [19].

Vol. I, p. 319, line 6, 'If from two equal parts we take away two parts equal, the parts that remain are also equal'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 261, line 14, 'If one of two things is linked to a third of equal weight, it renders itself the greater of the two'.

Here, it is the general subject matter, rather than a close similarity of meaning which matches.

Vol. I, p. 340, line 10, 'he who gives quickly, gives twice'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 243, line 2, 'He who gives quickly, gives twice'.

Vol. I, p. 353-5, penultimate line, 'Camilla answered [her maid, Leonela] that . . . they must study some device to cloak the occasion of her [self-inflicted] hurt from Anselmo [her husband, who was listening, concealed, and being deceived by Camilla] . . . [p. 355, line 20]. The fraud rested unknown a while, until, . . . the wickedness that was so artificially cloaked issued to the public notice of the world;'

Cf. *Promus*, p. 194, line 8, 'with this word she cloaks her sin';

Also cf. *Promus* 206, 12, (duplicate).

Vol. II, p. 5, line 22, 'if the head could not now be found, it was by reason that the house were guided by enchantment'. Subsequent references to enchantment abound in the whole text, as well as, for example in the chapter headings on pp. 120, 129 and 246 in this volume and on pp. 21, 60, 67 and 254 of Vol. III'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 228, line 20, 'to use every kind of saving (from enchantments)'.

Vol. II, p. 17, line 28. 'having first taken notice of him by his voice, and confirmed it again by her sight'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 247, line 26, ' "What madness is this", she said, "to prefer those of whom you have heard to those you have seen?" '.

Vol. II, p. 31, line 6, 'this art and exercise excelleth all others . . .; and it is the more to be prized, by how much it exposeth itself, more than other trades, to dangers and inconveniences'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 266, line 7, 'A matter in which it is more dangerous to err is better than that in which error takes place with less danger'.

Also, cf. similar entries:

Promus, p. 266, line 26, 'A thing which has competitors, and for which men contend, is good; a thing for which there is no contention is bad'.

Promus, p. 267, line 9, 'What is possible and easy to do is good: what can be done without exertion and in a short space of time is, on the other hand, bad'.

Also cf.. for the opposite sense.

Promus, p. 266, line 22, 'A thing in which error scarcely takes place is better than that in which error is liable to occur'.

Vol. II, p. 36, line 30. 'their [the soldiers'] death, valour and boldness which is the greatest that may be found among all the trances of warfare'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 248, line 2, 'And I realise how fine a thing it is to die in arms'.

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 212, line 22, 'And war, useful for many purposes'.

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 208, line 23, 'War is the father of all things'.

Vol. II, p. 85, line 5, 'And so great is the delight we have taken in the hearing [of the tale of the Captive] thereof, as I do believe that although we have spent the time from hence till tomorrow in listening to it, yet should we be glad to hear it told over once again'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 247, line 23, 'This one has given pleasure once; this other one will always please, though summoned back ten times'.

Vol. II, p. 141, line 32, 'so wedded to their opinion, as no reason can woo nor demonstration win them from it'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 193, line 11, 'The fool does not accept the words of prudence unless you have said those things which already dwell in his heart'.

Vol. II, p. 141, line 36, 'three tragedies, written by a famous poet of our kingdom, which were such as delighted, yea, amazed all the auditors, as well the learned as the simple'; and

Vol. II, p. 144, line 4, 'the auditor having heard an artificial and well-ordered comedy, would come away delighted with the jests and instructed by the truths thereof . . . grow discreeter by the reasons, warned by the deceits, become wiser by others example, incensed against vice, and enamoured of virtue'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 219, line 13, 'Tragedy and comedy are formed from the same letters'.

The entry on the next line on the same page is 'Tragedies and Comedies are made of one Alphabett'. This closely matches 'Those works of the Alphabet' Bacon refers to in seeking Sir Tobie Matthew's criticism of his writing, saying, 'I value your own reading more than your publishing them to others' {3}.

Vol. II, p. 145, lines 13-30, 'good comedies . . . to, viz. entertainment of the people . . . enriching our language . . . for the honest recreation not only of the idler sort but also of those that have more serious occupations . . . nor can our human and frail nature sustain itself long without some help of lawful recreation'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 214, line 3, 'Leisure, producing variety in the mind'.

This would have been written between 5 December, 1594 and 27 January, 1595, but Bacon had expressed a similar thought to Thomas Phelippes when inviting him to Twickenham in August 1592, '*Otia coligunt mentem*' ['Leisure restores the mind'] {16}. In this context, mention must be made of the English entry (252,18), 'Ye. law at Twicknam for mery tales'.

Vol. II, p. 160, line 13, 'administration of justic . . . deal justly and determine rightly . . . if wanting . . . our means and ends will always be subject to errors and therefore is God wont as well to further the good signs of the simple'

Cf. *Promus*, p. 249, line 7, 'simplicity was worthy of esteem'.

Vol. II, p. 185, line 23, 'A soldier had rather be dead in the battle than free by running away

Cf. *Promus*, p. 197, lines 4-5, 'To die for one's fatherland is a sweet and fitting thing; if a man runs away, death overtakes him too.

A similar text: Vol. II, p. 356, line 7, 'as Terence says, a soldier slain in the field shows better than alive and safe in flight'

Vol. II, p. 219, line 28, 'and 'tis good marrying her with this her equal'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 249, line 12, 'It is not an honour but a burden . . . ; should you wish to marry rightly, marry an equal'.

A similar text: Vol. II, p. 314, line 4, 'There's my wife now . . . that would have every one marry with their equals, holding herself to the proverb that says, "Like to like, quoth the devil to the collier" '.

Vol. II, p. 291, line 3, 'All the day long he [a poet] spends in his criticism . . . whether Martial were bawdy or no in such an epigram, whether such or such a verse in Virgil ought to be understood this way or that. Indeed, all his delight is in these aforesaid poets, and in Horace, Persius, Juvenal, and Tibullus'.

Cf. the many references in the *Promus* to Virgil and Horace, as well as two to Martial (not bawdy, and one duplicated) and one to Juvenal.

In similar vein: Vol. II, p. 293, line 'if he makes Sermones, like those of Horace, to the reprehension of vice in general, as he so elegantly did, then cherish him'.

Vol. II, p. 303, line 14, 'if the statutes and ordinances of knight-errantry were lost, they might be found in your breast, as in their own storehouse and register'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 234, line 4, 'a distributor, rather than a hoarder [of stored riches]' and 'I am putting by and setting in order the stores on which I may someday draw' (Loeb translation).

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 199, line 1, 'a distributor'.

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 250, lines 1-2, 'A late distributor of formularies and elegancies'.

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 258, title, '*Formularies Store 27 Jan, 1595.*'

Vol. II, p. 334, line 7, ' "They cannot be called deceits," quoth Don Quixote, "that are done to a virtuous end . . . " '.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 268, line 14, 'the aim, not the end'.

Vol. III, p. 36, line 35, 'speak what thou [Sancho] wilt, so thou speak quickly'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 228, line 19, 'Brevity of speech'.

Vol. III, p. 41, line 2, 'If your knights, your gallants, or gentlemen should have called me coxcombe, I should have held it for an affront irreparable; but that your poor scholars account me a madman . . . I care not a trip'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 267, line 3, 'Something which even enemies and the ill-disposed praise is exceedingly good; something with which even friends find fault is a great evil'.

Vol. III, p. 98, penultimate line, '. . . the beginning of a business is half the ending of it'

Cf. *Promus*, p. 241, line 16, 'The commencement is half of the whole enterprise'.

Vol. III, p. 109, line 4, 'thou must consider who thou art, and know thyself, which is the hardest kind of knowledge that may be imagined'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 271, line 2b, 'Know thyself'.

Vol. III, p. 110, line 36, 'Him that thou must punish with deeds, revile not with words, since to a wretch the punishment is sufficient, without adding ill language' [followed by a footnote]: 'A good item to our judges of the common law'; this must be a reference to Edward Coke who supported the English Common Law whereas Bacon advocated Equity.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 195, line 17, 'Censure gives pardon to the ravens, but harasses the doves'.

Vol. III, p. 111, line 5, 'God's . . . mercy is more precious and more eminent than His justice'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 195, line 16, 'Justice itself is an insignificant thing'.

It will be noticed that this and the preceding entry in the *Promus* are on adjacent lines whilst the corresponding match in *Don Quixote* are in the same paragraph (on adjacent pages).

Vol. III, p. 313, penultimate line, 'Let thy sleep be moderate: for he that riseth not with the sun loseth the day'.

Cf. *Promus*, p. 255, line 14, 'Rise early in the morning, my boy, but do not rise vainly'.

Also cf. *Promus*, p. 255, line 13, 'It is very healthy to rise at day-break'.

The foregoing list should not be taken as complete because, in practise, further matches become evident on each new reading of the text.

SELECTION OF AVAILABLE *PROMUS* ENTRIES

Examination of the matches between the text of *Don Quixote* and the *Promus* entries shows that the selection found in *Don Quixote* is, in some respects similar to that available in the *Promus*. Thus, there is a similar percentage of what appear to be Bacon's own inventions in both groups (29 and 31%, respectively) whilst, of the identifiable quotations, those from Erasmus are predominant in both, comprising 38 and 41% of the respective totals, those from Virgil's *Aeneid* comprise 10 and 14%, respectively, and those from the *Vulgate* 11 and 17%, respectively. However, those from Ovid (*Heroides*) and the *Vulgate* are relatively more numerous in *Don Quixote*, as are the remainder, although they consist of only single quotations — from *Proverbs*, *Acts*, *I Corinthians*, Sallust, Terence (*Phormis*), Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lucan, Horace, (*Odes and Ars Poetica*) and Juvenal.

The broad similarity described above is sufficient to support the theory that Bacon was behind both sets of quotations.

MATCHES BETWEEN THE *PROMUS* AND WORKS UNDER BACON'S NAME

Both Pott {3} and Carr {2} have listed a number of English entries in the *Promus* that are matched by Bacon's writing under the name of Shakespeare. It is of interest to recall that matching entries can also be found in writings under his own name, as has already been pointed out. A thorough account is not offered here, but a few finds are given in Table 6 simply as further examples to reinforce the fact that the Latin entries were so used, with the likelihood that they had been collected with such later use in mind. This latter conclusion is strengthened, as already pointed out, by the translation of '*Promus*' (entry 234,4) as 'a distributor, rather than a hoarder'.

Table 6: A few examples of English and Latin entries in the *Promus* matched with other writings {5} under Bacon's name

	<i>Promus</i>	Entry
	Page Translation of Latin Entry (see Appendix)	
193	The fool does not accept the words of prudence unless you have said those things which already dwell within his heart	For what a man had rather were true he more readily believes (<i>Novum Organum, Aphor. xxxix.</i> trans. Spedding; also in <i>Don Quixote, loc. cit.</i>)
207	(as above)	(as above)
196	Virtue like a rych geme best plaine set	Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set (<i>Essays, 43. Of Beauty</i>)
199	Stay a littell that we make an end the sooner	I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, 'Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner. (<i>Essays, 25. Of Dispatch</i>)
202	Sometymes a stander by seeth more than a plaier T.	Lookers-on many times see more than the gamesters. (<i>Essays, 48. Of Followers and Friends</i> ; also in <i>Don Quixote</i> {1})
211	To gyve Awthors thear due as you gyue Tyme his dew wch is to discouuer troth	The inseparable propriety of time, which is ever more and more to disclose truth. (<i>Advancement of Learning, 1605, Bk. II, xxiii, 49</i>)
215	Be it better be it worse	Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily and was much commended: 'The better, the worse' (<i>Apothegms, 266</i> ; also in <i>Don Quixote</i> {1})
217	No man loueth his fetters though they be of gold	Why should a man be in love with his fetters, though of gold. (<i>An Essay on Death, para. 1</i>)
220	It is in action as it is in wayes; comonly the nearest is the fowlest	It is in life as it is in ways, the shortest way is commonly the foulest (<i>Advancement of Learning, 1605, Bk. II, xxiii 45</i>)
258	In actions as in wayes the nearest ye. fowlest //	(as above)

Attention must also be drawn to entry 196,7, '*Et moniti melora sequamur*', a completed version of one of Bacon's mottos, '*moniti meliora*' ('being instructed to better things') which, read in conjunction with the title of Emblem No. 45 in Whitney's '*A choice of Emblems*', 1586, '*In dies meliora*' becomes, '*Moniti in dies meliors sequamur*' ('Let us, being instructed, strive after better [i.e. Golden] days') {9}.

MATCHES ELSEWHERE BETWEEN *PROMUS* LATIN ENTRIES AND *DON QUIXOTE*

Pott found many matches between the *Promus* and works of Shakespeare. Her results show that all the matches found in the present study between the Latin entries and *Don Quixote* have also been found in Shakespeare. She also searched some 6000 works of other contemporary authors (plays, poems, tales, tracts, dialogues, letters, sermons and treatises) and found only a handful of matches with the *Promus* {3}.

SUBJECT MATTER OF MATCHES IN *DON QUIXOTE* – ONE EXAMPLE. THE LAW

Although it is not the intention here to deal comprehensively with all the subject matter of the matches found, it is worth exploring some of the parallels to be found in other writings of Bacon and in his life, taking just one subject as an example, namely, the law and the administration of justice.

This is particularly relevant as it is clear from the text of *Don Quixote* that the novel is largely autobiographical; on the penultimate page, for example, the author, 'the wise and prudent Cid Hamet Benegeli', says that 'Don Quixote was born for me alone, and I had my birth only for him. . . To be short, he and I are but one selfsame thing'; and elsewhere there are innumerable references to facts opposite to Bacon's own circumstances, a topic worthy of further exploration elsewhere. It should also be noted that the autobiographical content applies also to Sancho Panza, who says of his master, 'I am his other self' (Vol. III, p. 42), as well as applying to other characters in the book.

Importance of Law

In Volume II, p. 31, there is the remarkable statement by Don Quixote during one of his periodic episodes of seriousness that, 'The end and conclusion of learning is . . . to maintain distributive justice in his per-

fection [and] . . . to endeavour and cause good laws to be religiously observed'. He returns to the subject expansively when first advising Sancho Panza on government (as already shown by the quotation from page 160 concerning the administration of justice; 'In that is required a sufficiency and ability to govern, and above all, a good intention to deal justly and determine rightly; for if this be wanting when we begin, our means and ends will always be subject to error'). His final words of advice come, in Volume III, when Sancho is unexpectedly given governorship of an island; they cover pages 108 to 111 (from the last two of which, passages have already been noted as matching two *Promus* entries), and continue again on pages 178 and 179.

Bribery

Don Quixote, when considering the possibility of Sancho Panza taking on the responsibilities of government says (page 50), 'My [first] counsel should be to him that neither bribe he take nor his due forsake' and later, his first reaction to Sancho actually being given the governorship (on page 108) is to remark on Sancho's good luck compared with 'Others [who] bribe, importune, solicit, rise early, entreat, grow obstinate, and obtain not what they sue for'. Again, he advises (on page 100), 'If thou chance to be a widower . . . take not such a one as may serve thee for a bait . . . to take bribes' and again, 'If thou slacken justice, let it not be with the weight of a bribe, but with the weight of pity'. This emphasis against bribery is found again when Sancho's wife sends some acorns to the Duchess, pointing out that they are not a bribe, and also when Sancho himself writes to Don Quixote (page 181), reporting, 'Hitherto I have neither had my due, nor taken bribes and I know not the reason: for here they tell me that the governors that used to come to this island, before they come, they of the town either give or lend them a good sum of money. And this is the ordinary custom, not only in this town, but in many others also'. This was certainly true of England at the time. Finally, Sancho, reporting on his experience as a governor says (p. 209) ' . . . neither have I had leisure to take bribes'.

The subject crops up once more in a separate context when the reformed bandit Ricote was to be reinstated (Vol. III, page 283): ' "There is no trust in favours and bribes" said Ricot . . . neither bribes . . . or compassion can prevail!" '.

Bacon's awareness of the problem is evident in his essay, '*Of Judicature*' {14} in which he says that 'Neither can Justice yeeld her

Fruit with Sweetnesse amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling Clerkes and Ministers'; he points out that one of the four 'bad Instruments' of the courts, 'is the Poler and Exacter of Fees: which justifies the Common Resemblance of the Courts of Justice to the Bush, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece'. (This is also rather reminiscent of the phrase found in *Don Quixote* (Vol. I, p. 43 and Vol. III, p. 293), 'how many there go to seek for wool that return again shorn themselves').

Congruent with this strong moral message is Bacon's remarkably clean record in this regard. For example, when, late in 1595 he agreed to accept Essex's gift of land at Twickenham, he was at pains to tell him, 'I can be no more yours that I was' {16}. And, of course, his unjust vilification by Macaulay and his followers for bribery as a judge has, at last been thoroughly refuted by Nieves Mathews {15}.

His concern with the evil of bribery may also explain one of the rather cryptic entries in the *Promus*, 'Dorica musa' (234, 29) which was twisted by Aristophanes into 'dorodokisti' meaning 'by bribery' {3}.

Moderation

On page 109 Don Quixote urges Sancho, 'always strive to be held mean [i.e. moderate] and virtuous rather than proud and vicious' and later, 'follow virtue for your mean'. This emphasis on moderation in all things is to be found throughout the book, matching one of the English entries {1}. Thus, on page 179 we find, 'Be not always cruel, nor always merciful: choose a mean betwixt these two extremes'. And, in briefly interpreting the fable of '*Scylla and Icarus, or the Middle Way*', Bacon states that the 'middle-way is most to be commended in moral actions . . . in political employments [it is] to be used with great heed and judgement' and again, 'the way of virtue lies in a direct path between excess and defect' {17}. No wonder he was recognised as 'the meanest [i.e. most moderate] of mankind' {15}.

Equity

Don Quixote continues to advise Sancho: 'Never pronounce judgments rash or wilfully, which is very frequent with ignorant judges, that presume to be skilful'; 'Let the tears of the poor find more compassion (but not more justice) than the information of the rich'; 'Seek as well to discover the truth from out of the promises and corruptions of the rich as the sobs and importunities of the poor'; 'When equity is to take place,

lay not all the rigours of the law upon the delinquent: for the fame of the rigorous judge is not better than of the compassionate'; 'When thou happenest to judge thine enemy's case, forget thy injury, and respect equity'.

The rebuke to 'judges of the common law' about the use of ill language has already been noted in the match on page 110 of *Don Quixote* as being aimed at Bacon's enemy and rival, Edward Coke who strongly favoured the Common Law.

Bacon, on the other hand felt that 'when there appeareth on either side an High Hand, Violent Prosecution, Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Vertue of a Judge seene, to make inequality Equal' {14}.

The subject crops up again in Bacon's '*Wisdom of the Ancients*' when he interprets the meaning of one of the fables (XI. *Orpheus, or Philosophy*) 'And therefore philosophy. . . by persuasion and eloquence, insinuating the love of virtue, equity, and concord in the minds of men, draws multitudes of people to a society, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government, and forgetful of their unbridled affections, whilst they give ear to precepts, and submit themselves to discipline...' {17}.

In view of this consistent and long-standing attitude, it is not surprising that when Bacon was Attorney-General he was appointed by James I to head a Commission to advise on the Chancellor's powers in the matter of equity {21}.

Mercy

In addition to the match on page 111 which shows a preference for mercy rather than justice, there is a further passage (Vol. III, page 283) in which Ricot explains how Count Salazar has cleaned up Spain, 'for, though true it be that he mixeth justice with mercy, yet because he sees that the whole body of our nation is putrid and contaminated, he useth rather cauterising that burns it than ointment that softens it; and so with prudence, skill, diligence, and terror, he hath borne upon his strong shoulders, and brought to due execution, the weight of this great machine, our industries, tricks, sleights, and frauds, not being able to blind his watchful eyes of Argus, which wake continually; to the end that none of ours remain that, like a hidden root, may in time sprout up, and scatter venomous fruit throughout Spain'.

We should note that Bacon in his essay, '*Of Judicature*' wrote, 'In Causes of Life and Death, Judges ought (as farre as the law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy, And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example,

but a Merciful Eye upon the Person' {14}. The theme also appears in Bacon's '*Wisdom of the Ancients*', (*XVIII, Diomede, or Zeal*) as, 'it being the extremity of all evil when mercy is not suffered to have commerce with misery' {17}.

Law Reform

Finally, Don Quixote urged Sancho (page 178), 'Make not many statute-laws; and those thou dost make, see they be good, but chiefly that they be observed and kept . . .'. Sancho followed the advice for, reporting later on his activities (p. 210) said, 'and though I thought to have made some ordinances, yet I did not, as fearing they would not be kept, which is as much as if they had never been made.'

Bacon, as early as 1584 had been appointed to a committee of lawyers from the Inns of Court to review the existing statutes for the Parliament of 1589; in December, 1588 he was among four Gray's Inn men called in to identify 'unnecessary or defective statutes that might be repealed or reformed' {15}; in the 1593 Parliament he urged for the reduction in the number of statutes {16} and although he had spoken of the need for law reform against the expressed wishes of the Queen, in 1594 he was made one of her 'Learned Counsel', a legal advisory body {16}; in 1597 he seconded a motion 'for abridging and reforming the excessive number of superfluous and burdensome penal laws {15}; and later he developed this theme in his '*Proposition Touching the Amendment of the Law* (1616) {16}. Clearly he felt strongly on the subject and was much involved at about the time when *Don Quixote* was being written.

Of Dispatch

When Sancho Panza became Governor of an island, he showed a remarkable ability for wisdom when faced with a number of quite tricky cases to judge, and also reached and acted on his judgements without any delay. Faced with his first test (Vol. III, pp. 127-8) he said, 'Methinks in his suit there need be no delays, but a quick and plain judgement: my sentence therefore is . . .'. And so he continued in the same vein with several more cases, astonishing the Spanish locals who were no doubt, as Bacon had remarked in one of his essays, 'noted to be of small dispatch' {14}. In that essay, '*Of Dispatch*' he stated that 'true dispatch [i.e. without undue haste] is a rich thing'. So, also Bacon, when he later became Lord keeper, and addressed those assembled in the Chancery Court outlining his approach for reform, pointed out that, 'the litigant's pulse beats

swift though the Chancery pace be slow' and stressed that, 'Fresh justice is the sweetest. Justice ought not to be delayed'; subsequently he proved by his outstanding performance that his words were 'such as are fit to go before deeds' {20}.

Overall theme

Don Quixote, when he encountered a group of manacled galley slaves was at pains to stress that 'here falls in justly the execution of my function, to wit, the dissolving of violence and outrages, and the succouring of the afflicted and needful' (Vol. I, page 172). Then, having heard their stories and of 'the wretched sentence of the judge, and the not executing that justice that was on your sides' of their harsh sentences, was moved to fulfil his destiny, 'to favour and assist the needful, and those that are oppressed by others more potent. But, forasmuch as I know that it is one of the parts of prudence not to do by foul means which may be accomplished by fair' (page 179), he first asks the guards to release everyone and when that fails, 'by word and deed' resorts to force (page 180). The same motives are reiterated repeatedly throughout the book when he tries at least, to right other obvious wrongs.

When Bacon finally reached the pinnacle of his career as Lord Keeper in March, 1616, he immediately set about releasing a number of imprisoned Roman Catholic priests, and then, over the next four years, set about the task of codifying, simplifying and amending the Law and dealing expeditiously and justly with a huge backlog of cases, some of 10 to 20 years standing, settling the cases of more than 35,000 suitors, none of which judgements was ever reversed {20} — such a contrast to his predecessors.

From this one example, it is clear that the mere listing of matches, as done following Table 5, and counting them up, though useful in helping to establish a connection between *Don Quixote* and Bacon, is of strictly limited interest. What should engage our attention are the observations, philosophy and morality of *Don Quixote*, viewed in the context of Bacon's life and works — a promising harvest for the future.

PAGINATION OF THE *PROMUS*

The general tendency for quotations from classical Latin works in the *Promus* to be entered in the same sequence as they occur in the works

themselves can be used to confirm the correctness of some of the pagination assigned to the manuscript folios of the *Promus* when it was first bound together with other miscellaneous papers. Even the blocks of non-sequential quotations from Erasmus, since they are in blocks, can also be used for this purpose, although rather more tentatively. The textual links between the back of one folio with the front of the next are listed in Table 7 below. Also added are links derived from the sequence of English proverbs attributable to John Heywood {11}.

Using this approach, 21 pairs of the folios that contain the Latin entries (half the total) are found to be consistently correctly numbered. Obviously this method is useless where pages are blank, as they increasingly are towards the end of the *Promus*, but in these cases water-marks may be useful (though they have not yet been investigated).

Table 7. Textual links between successive pages of the *Promus*

Durning-Lawrence pagination	Manuscript folios		Textual link of pages	
	front	back	Latin	English
193	83			
4	83			
5		83}	<i>Aeneid</i> VI to	
6	84	}	<i>Aeneid</i> XI	
7	84			
8		84}	<i>II Kings</i> 4.40 to	
9	85 (Dec 5, 1594)	}	<i>II Kings</i> 4.40 (repeated)	
200	85			
1		85		
2	86			
3	86			
4		86}	Anonymous to	
5	87	}	Anonymous	
6		87}	<i>Proverbs</i> 9.7 to 12.23 etc. to	
7	88	}	<i>Matthew</i>	
8		88		
9	89			
1		89}	<i>Corinthians</i> 2.6 to	
2	90	}	<i>Corinthians</i> 9.25	
3		90		
4		90		
6		91}	Horace <i>Epistles</i> I. 16 to <i>Aeneid</i> XII. 321 to	

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7	92	}	Horace <i>Epistles</i> II, 2 <i>Aeneid</i> IX, 602
8		92	} Heywood II, ix, L2 to
9	93	}	} Heywood II, ix, L3
220		93}	Erasmus to
1	94	}	Erasmus
2		94	
3	95		
4		95	} Heywood I, x, C3 to
5	96	}	} Heywood I, xi, D3
6		96	} Heywood II, viii, K2 to
7	97	}	} Heywood II, viii, K2 v
8		97}	Erasmus to
9	98	}	Erasmus
230		98}	Erasmus to
1	99	}	Erasmus
2		99}	Erasmus to
3	100	}	Erasmus
4		100}	Erasmus to
5	101	}	Erasmus
6		101}	
7		101}	Erasmus to
8	102	}	Erasmus
9		102}	
240	103	}	
1		103}	
2		103}	Erasmus to
3	104	}	Erasmus
4	104		
5		104}	
6		104}	Horace <i>Satires</i> I, 9.11-12 to
7	105	}	Horace <i>Satires</i> I, 10.14-15
8		105}	<i>Aeneid</i> X, 501-2 to
9	106	}	<i>Aeneid</i> XI, 309
250		106	
	107	107	(blank)
1	108		
2		108	
	109	109	(blank)
	109c (blank)	109d	
3	110		
4	110	110	(blank)
	111 (blank)		
5	112		
6	112		
		112	(blank)
	113 (blank)	113	

	114 (Formularies Promus 27 Jan. 1595)		
		114	(blank)
	115 (blank)	115	
260	116		
1		116	
2	117	117}	Anonymous to
3	118	}	Anonymous
4		118	(blank)
	119 (blank)	119	(blank)
	120	120	(blank)
	121 (blank)	121	(blank)
5	122		
6		122}	Anonymous to
7	123	}	Anonymous
8		123}	Anonymous to
9	124	124}	(blank) Anonymous
	125 (blank)	125}	(blank)
270	126		
1	126		
2		126	
3		126	
	127 (blank)	127}	Anonymous to
4	128	}	Anonymous
5	128	128}	
	129 (blank)	129	

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

(1) The Latin entries in the *Promus* tend to be grouped in large blocks and to alternate with those in English (which are present in slightly smaller numbers). Their assigned sources are predominantly Erasmus (*Adages*), Virgil and the Bible, but nine other classical authors, particularly Ovid and Horace are also represented. The most quoted works are Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Heroides* and Horace's *Satires*, but quotations from two dozen other works have also been found.

There is a general tendency for the quotations to appear in groups, in the same order as in the works that are quoted, especially towards the end of the *Promus*, and it seems likely that Bacon consulted the works themselves. A notable exception is the set from Erasmus's *Adages*, but these are present in very large exclusive groups which is also suggestive of choice from the original source, albeit not in systematic chronological order. These features of the quotations enable a tentative confirmation of

the pagination of the folios of the *Promus* which have been bound at some time with other papers.

(2) Almost a quarter of the entries are unidentified and are presumably Bacon's own invention, since some are to be found as headings in his '*Colours of Good and Evil*' and in his '*Meditationes sacrae*', although many others do not appear as such. This has led Philip Bartholomew (*loc. cit.*) to suggest that Bacon intended to write a much larger work on '*Colours of Good and Evil*' but failed to do so (as is true of a number of his other works).

(3) There is a single match between one of the Latin entries with Latin text in *Don Quixote*, and 46 matches (including five duplicates) between English translations of the Latin entries and the English text. The selection of classical authors comprising these matches is similar to the overall distribution of these authors in the *Promus* as a whole; this indicates a homogeneity of taste in these two works.

These 47 matches should be considered alongside the 112 matches already reported for entries in English and the 20 matches found among those in Spanish {1}, making 179 in all. They can hardly be considered as merely coincidental, for matches are also to be found between both the English and the Latin entries in the *Promus* and works published later by Bacon under his own name, though rarely in the works of other contemporary authors. This clearly indicates, together with the translation of the word '*promus*' as 'a temporary store', that Bacon made his collection with the intention of making use of them in his later writings. It is, therefore, not altogether surprising to find some of them used in a pseudonymous work — in the present case, the English version of *Don Quixote*.

(4) The subject matter of the matches in *Don Quixote* has been almost entirely neglected in the present study, only that of the law being examined cursorily as an example. This brief examination shows a high degree of consistency between the *Promus*, *Don Quixote*, Bacon's other works and his activities as a lawyer. Other themes, such as the theatre, translation, poetry, religion, to mention just a few, invite further exploration.

(5) Alongside the present study there is other evidence presented in this Number of *Baconiana* linking Bacon to *Don Quixote*, in particular the close similarity between the *Promus* and *Don Quixote* in the selection of

English proverbs from Heywood {11} and the presence of the 33-cipher and the Cid Hamet Benengeli-cipher in *Don Quixote* {1}.

Overall, the conclusion from the evidence presented here must be that Bacon was closely involved in the writing of the English text of *Don Quixote*, accepting that he may well have had the help of one or more of his friends acting as his 'good pens'. The finding of further supporting evidence of all kinds for this conclusion is bound to continue, but it should be regarded, not as an end in itself — it may already have reached the stage of over-kill — but as only one means to understand Bacon more fully. The matches revealed in the present study show his interest in many subjects apart from the law, and surely the time is ripe for some further attention to be given to the consideration of such matters in relation to Bacon's writings (other than his *Promus*) and to his life in general.

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APPENDIX I. – TRANSLATION OF *PROMUS* ENTRIES

by

Philip Bartholomew

This appendix contains the entries partially or wholly in Latin in the *Promus*, with the addition of English translations and references to the sources of Bacon's quotations in those cases where a source has been established. Citations of the *Psalms* include, in parentheses, those of the Authorised Version (A.V.).

The entries, taken from the edition of Durning-Lawrence {6}, have been listed according to his pagination, and his punctuation and square brackets have been retained. Occasional alterations have been made to the printed text; these have been inserted in square brackets marked by asterisks. The spelling adopted by Bacon has been followed in the case of English words quoted, but, with the Latin words, the letter 'u' has been replaced by 'v', as necessary. A slash-mark indicates the beginning of a new line in the printed edition, which follows the arrangement of the manuscript. The significance of 'T', 'A', 'F', '/' and 'x', which are appended to, or precede, some entries is not clear. The entries on pages 251 and 271 in Durning-Lawrence's edition are arranged in two columns, and the line numbers of the entries from the right-hand column have therefore been distinguished by the symbol, 'b'.

The format of indentation in this Appendix is as follows:–

Page & Line of *Promus*

Entry (with cross-reference in square brackets to the same or similar entry in Latin on another page of the *Promus*)

Latin source with 'N' added in square brackets for sources not identified by Pott {3}

Translation of the Latin (with cross reference in square brackets to a similar entry in English)

Reference in square brackets to Table number in text

193	3	Corn[ua] contra cr[u]c[es] good means against badd, homes to crosses.
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- 5 Horns against crosses
 In circuitu ambulat impij; honest by antiperistasis.
 [210,10; cf. 220,5]
 Psalms, 11.9. (= A.V. 12.8)
 Impious men follow a route free from control;
 honest men advance with their progress con-
 strained by contraries.
- 6 Siluj a bonis et dolor meus renovatus est. [251,26]
 Psalms, 38.3. (= A.V. 39.2)
 I have abstained from talking about good things
 and my sorrow has been renewed.
- 7 Credidj propter quod locutus sum. [251,24]
 Psalms, 115.10. (= A.V. 116.10)
 I believed; and on account of this I have spoken.
- 8 Memoria justi cum laudibus at impiorum nomen
 putrescet
 Proverbs, 10.7.
 The memory of a just man will be adorned with
 praise, but the name of the impious will rot.
- 10 Justitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt.
 [215,23]
 And they all banished justice from their greedy
 minds.
- 11 Non recipit stultus verba prudentiae nisi ea dixeris
 quae versantur in corde ejus [207,3]
 Proverbs, 18.2.
 The fool does not accept the words of prudence
 unless you have said those things which already
 dwell within his heart
 [see Table 5]
- 13 Veritatem eme et noli vendere [207.6]
 Proverbs, 23.23
 Purchase the truth and do not sell it
- 14 Qui festinat ditari non er[i]*t insons
 Proverbs, 28.20.
 The man who hastens to become rich will not be
 innocent.
- 15 Nolite dare sanctum canibus.
 Matthew, 7.6.

- Do not give anything holy to the dogs.
- 16 Qui potest capere capiat [207,15]
Matthew, 19.12.
Let the man who can accept this, accept it.
- 17 Quoniam Moses ad duritiam cordis vestri permisit
vobis [216,1]
Matthew, 19.8.
Because Moses, on account of your hardness of
heart, permitted you.
- 19 Obedire oportet deo magis quam hominibus
Acts, 5.29.
It behoves us to obey God more than men
- 20 Et uniuscujusque opus quale sit probabit ignis
I Corinthians, 3.13.
And the fire will show the true nature of every
man's work.
[see Table 5]
- 21 Non enim possumus aliquid adversus veritatem sed
pro veritate [215,5]
II Corinthians, 13.8.
For we cannot do anything contrary to truth, but
only on truth's behalf.
- 194 2 Quorundam hominum peccata praecedunt ad iudicium
quorundam sequuntur
I Timothy, 5.24.
The transgressions of some men go first to judge-
ment; the transgressions of others follow after-
wards.
- 4 Bonum certamen certavi.
II Timothy, 4.7.
I have fought the good fight.
- 5 Sat patriae priamoque datum.
Virgil, Aeneid II, 291.
Enough has been given to our fatherland, and
enough to Priam..
- 6 Illicet obruimur numero [213,24]
Virgil, Aeneid II, 424.
Instantly we are overwhelmed by numbers.

LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

- 7 Atque animis illabere nostris [215,11]
 Virgil, Aeneid III, 89.
 And glide into our hearts.
- 8 Hoc praetexit nomine culpam. [206,12]
 Virgil, Aeneid IV, 172
 With this word she cloaks her sin.
 [see Tab15 5]
- 9 Procul ô procul este prophani
 Virgil, Aeneid VI, 258.
 Stand far away, far away, unholy ones
- 10 Magnanimj heroes nati melioribus annis [215,13]
 Virgil, Aeneid VI, 649.
 Great-hearted heroes, born in better years.
- 195 1 Ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum/
 Egregiusque animi qui ne quid tale videret/
 Procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit
 Virgil, Aeneid, XI, 416-418.
 Before all others, I regard as both happy in his
 labours and illustrious in spirit the man who, lest
 he should see any such thing, has fallen forward,
 dying, and has bitten the ground one final time.
- 4 Fors et virtus miscentur in unum.
 Virgil, Aeneid XII, 714. [N]
 Chance and courage are mingled together.
- 5 Non ego naturâ nec sum tam callidus usu.
 Ovid, Heroides XX, 25. [N]
 I am not so shrewd by nature, nor am I so shrewd
 through experience.
- 6 aevo rarissima nostro simplicitas [215,14]
 Ovid, Ars amatoria I, 241-242. [N]
 Simplicity, something most unusual for this era of
 ours.
- 7 Viderit utilitas ego cepta fideliter edam.
 Ovid, Ars amatoria III, 671. [N]
 Let utility have seen for itself; I will faithfully
 complete what I have undertaken.
- 8 Prosperum et foelix scelus, virtus vocatur [216,22]
 Seneca, Hercules Furens, 251-252. [N]

- A successful and lucky crime is called a virtue.
- 9 Tibi res antiquae laudis et artis
Virgil, *Georgics* II, 174
I dedicate to you my theme of ancient praise and art.
- 10 Invidiam placare paras virtute relicta. [217,11]
Horace, *Satires* II, 3.13.
Are you preparing to appease envy by abandoning virtue?
- 11 Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra [216,21]
Horace, *Epistles* I, 2.16.
Sin is committed, both within the walls of Troy, and outside them.
- 12 Homo sum humanj a me nil alienum puto.
Terence, *Heautontimorumenos* I, 1.25.
I am a man; I consider nothing of human concern foreign to me.
- 15 Unum augurium optimum tueri patria[m]*. [212,30]
Erasmus III, 1.57. [N]
One omen is best of all: to defend one's fatherland.
- 16 Exigua res est ipsa justitia [220,14]
Erasmus II, 1.67.
Justice itself is an insignificant thing.
[see Table 5]
- 17 Dat veniam corvis vexat censura columbas. [220,16]
[Juvenal *Satires* II, 63]; Erasmus III, 5.73.
Censure gives pardon to the ravens, but harasses the doves.
[see Table 5]
- 18 Homo hominj deus
Erasmus I, 1.69
Man is a god to man.
- 19 Semper virgines furiae; Cowrtng a furye
Erasmus II, 9.15.
The Furies are always virgins; courting a fury.
- 196 2 Vultu laeditur saepe pietas. [241,22]
Erasmus IV, 9.17.

LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

- 3 Piety is often betrayed by a man's expression.
Difficilia quae pulchra [241,26]
Erasmus II, 1.12.
The things which are honourable are difficult.
- 4 Conscientia mille testes. [243,3]
Erasmus I, 10.91.
Conscience is worth a thousand witnesses.
- 5 Summum Jus summa injuria [243,7]
Erasmus I, 10.25.
The extremity of the law is the extremity of injustice.
- 6 Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes.
Virgil, Aeneid XI, 716.
In your deceitfulness you have attempted your native tricks; but you have attempted them in vain.
- 7 Et monitj meliora sequamur [248,5]
Virgil, Aeneid III, 188.
And, once warned, let us follow the better course.
[see also text under 'Matches between the Promus and works under Bacon's name']
- 8 Nusquam tuta fides [248,13]
Virgil, Aeneid IV, 373.
Nowhere is trust safe.
- 9 Discite Justitiam moniti [216,3;248,23] et non temnere divos
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 620.
Be warned; learn justice, and learn not to despise the gods.
- 10 Quisque suos patimur manes. [248,24]
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 743.
Each one of us endures his own fate in the after-life.
[see Table 5]
- 11 Extinctus amabitur idem.
Horace, Epistles II, 1.14.[N]
This same man will be loved when dead.
- 12 Optimus ille animi vindex laedenti[a]* pectus/
Vincula qui rupit dedoluitque semel.

Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 293-294.

That is the best way to liberate the soul: to break
the chains which wound the breast and to stop
grieving, once and for all.

15 Quibus bonitas a genere penitus insita est/ ij iam non
mali esse nolunt sed nesciunt

Those in whom goodness has been deeply
implanted by birth are consequently not unwilling
to be evil; rather, they do not know how to be evil.

17 Oeconomicae rationes publicas pervertunt.

Domestic calculations pervert public policies.

18 Divitiae Impedimenta virtutis; The baggage of/ vertue

Wealth is the baggage of virtue.

20 Habet et mors aram.

Death too has its altar.

21 Nemo virtuti invidiam reconciliaverit praeter
mort[em]*

No one will have reconciled envy to virtue,
except death.

22 Turpe proco ancillam sollicitare. Est autem/ virtutis
ancilla laus.

It is a disgraceful thing for a suitor to solicit a
handmaiden; on the other hand the handmaiden of
virtue is praise.

25 Si suum cuique tribuendum est certè et venia/ human-
itati

If each man may be granted what is due to him,
then surely indulgence may also be given to
humanity.

27 Qui dissimulat liber non est

The man who dissembles is not free.

28 Leve efficit jugum fortunae jugum amicitiae

The yoke of friendship makes the yoke of fortune
light.

29 Omnis medecina Innovatio

Every remedy is an innovation.

197 1 Auribus mederi difficillimum. [251,3]

It is a very difficult thing to heal the ears.

LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

- 2 *Suspitio fragilem fidem solvit fortem incendit*
 Suspicion dissolves a fragile trust but highlights a
 strong one.
- 3 *Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis*
 Virgil, *Eclogues* IV, 31.
 Yet a few traces of the ancient error will lie con-
 cealed.
- 4 *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori/ Mors et fugacem*
 persequitur virum.
 Horace, *Odes* III, 2.13-14.
 To die for one's fatherland is a sweet and fitting
 thing; if a man runs away, death overtakes him
 too.
 [see Table 5]
- 6 *Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avar[is]*
 Horace, *Satires* II, 3.82 [N]
 By far the greatest dose of the hellebore must be
 given to the greedy.
- 198 5 *Totum est majus sua parte [cf. 198,15; cf. 212,9; cf.*
 215,20] against factions and private profite
 The whole is greater than any one of its parts.
- 10 *In medio non sistit virtus*
 Virtue does not stand at the mid-point.
- 11 *Tot[u]*m est quod superest*
 What continues to exist is the whole thing.
- 15 *Mors in Olla poysonings [199,4; cf. 198,5]*
 II Kings, 4.40.
 Death in the pot: poisonings
- 16 *Fumos vendere. [238,9]*
 Erasmus I, 3.41. [Martial, *Epigrams* IV, 5.7]
 To sell smoke [i.e. to make empty promises]*.
- 199 1 *Promus*
 Erasmus II, 4.73.[N]
 A distributor.
 [see Table 5]
- 2 *Suavissima vita in []* dies meliorem fierj*
 The sweetest form of life is to become better day

by day.

- 4 Mors in olla F [198,15]
II Kings 4.40.
Death in the pot.
- 24 Hercules pillers non ultrâ. T [cf. 211,4]
The pillars of Hercules: thus far and no further.
[see Table 5]
- 201 1 Tuque Invidiosa [vetustas]*. T
Ovid, Metamorphoses, XV.234.
And you, envious old age.
- 2 Licentia sumus omnes deteriores. T
Terence, Heautontimorumenos III, 1.74
Through unbounded licence we all become worse
people.
- 3 Qui dat nivem sicut lanam T
Psalms, 147.16
He gives out snow as if it were wool.
- 4 Lilia agri non laborant neque nent T
Matthew 6.28
The lilies of the field do not toil, nor do they spin.
- 5 Mors omnia solvit T
Death dissolves everything.
- 8 Ecce duo gladij hic. T
Luke 22. 38.
Behold, two swords are here.
- 9 A []* majore ad minorem. T [cf. a minore ad majorem.
Hebrews 8.11 (from the lesser to the greater)]
Jonah 3.5. [N]
From the greater to the less.
- 10 In circuitu ambulant impij T [193,5; cf.220,5]
Psalms 11.9. (= A.V. 12.8)
Impious men follow a route free from control..
- 11 Exijt sermo inter fratres quod discipulus iste non
moritur T
John 21.23.
The saying was spread among the brethren, that
that disciple was not to die.
- 13 Omne majus continet in se mjinus T [cf. 268,3]

LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

- Every larger thing contains a smaller thing within itself.
- 14 Sine ulla controversia quod minus est majore benedic[itur]* T
Hebrews 7.7.
Without any controversy, what is less is blessed by what is greater.
- 203 2 Receperunt mercedem suam. T.
Matthew 6.16.
They have received their own reward.
- 3 Secundum fidem vestram fiet vobis
Matthew 9.29.
It will be unto you according to the faith you have kept.
- 4 Ministerium meum honorificabo
Romans 11.13.
I will bestow honour upon my ministry.
- 204 1 Beati mortui qui moriuntur in domino
Revelation 14.13.
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.
- 2 Detractor portat Diabolum in lingua T
A disparager carries the Devil on his tongue.
- 3 frangimur heu fatis inquit ferimurque procellâ
Virgil, Aeneid VII, 594
'Alas', he said, 'we are broken by the fates and carried away by the storm.'
- 4 Nunc ipsa vocat res
Virgil, Aeneid IX, 320.
The matter of the moment now calls us.
- 5 Dij meliora pijs erroremque hostibus illum
Virgil, Georgics III, 513.
May the gods bestow a better fate upon the virtuous, and inflict such madness upon our enemies.
- 6 Aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo [275,7]
Ovid, Metamorphoses, II.332. [N]
And there was some benefit in that calamity.
- 7 Usque adeo latet utilitas [275,6]

- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI.438. [N]
 Right up to now the benefit lies hidden.
- 8 Et tamen arbitrium querit res ista duorum.
 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX.505.[N]
 And yet that act requires two people's decision.
- 9 Ut esse phēbi dulcius lumen solet/ Jam jam cadentis
 Seneca, *Troades*, 1140-1141.[N]
 As the light of the sun is wont to be sweeter, at
 that very moment when it starts to fade away.
- 11 Velle suum cuique est nec voto vivitur uno
 Erasmus I, 3.7.[N]
 A man may harbour his own wishes; and he does
 not pass his life with only one single desire.
- 16 Nota res mala optima
 Erasmus II, 9.85.[N]
 An evil thing, once known, is best.
- 17 Balbus balbum rectius intelligit
 Erasmus I, 9.77.
 The man who stutters understands another stut-
 ter more accurately.
- 20 Nec dijs nec viribus quis
 Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 809.
 Neither the gods, nor his strength, were
 favourable.
- 21 Unum pro multis dabitur caput
 Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 815.
 One life will be given for many.
- 22 Mitte hanc de pectore curam
 Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 85.
 Banish this care from your heart.
- 23 Neptunus ventis implevit vela secundis [211.9]
 Virgil, *Aeneid* VII, 23.
 Neptune filled their sails with favourable winds.
- 26 Qui in parvis non distinguit in magnis labitur.
 The man who does not discriminate in small mat-
 ters, falls down on great ones.
- 205 3 Quod longè jactum est leviter ferit
 A weapon which is thrown from afar strikes

- weakly.
- 4 Doe yow know it? Hoc solum scio quod nihil scio/ I know it? so say many
Do you know it? I only know this: that I know nothing.
- 8 What doe yow conclude vpon that? etiam tentas
What do you conclude upon that? You are certainly trying.
- 9 All is one.s. Contrariorum eadem est ratio.
All is one. The essence of opposite things is the same.
- 10 Repeat your reason.s. Bis ac ter pulchra.
Erasmus I, 2.49 [Latin only]
Repeat your reason. Beautiful things should be said two or three times.
- 206 9 Audistis quia dictum est antiquis
Matthew 5.21
You have heard this, because it has been said by men of old.
- 10 Secundum hominem dico
Romans 3.5.
I speak as a man.
- 11 Et qui[s] non novit talia?
And who did not know such things?
- 12 Hoc praetexit nomine culpa[m]* [194,8]
Virgil, Aeneid IV, 172.
With this word she cloaks her sin.
[see Table 5]
- 13 Et fuit in toto notissima fabula cęlo
Ovid, Metamorphoses IV, 189.[N]
And in the whole of heaven, the story was the best known of all.
- 14 Quod quidam facit
Terence, Eunuchus 483.[N]
A thing which a certain man does.
- 15 Nec nihil neque omnia sunt quae dicit
Terence, Adelphi 141.[N]
What he says is not nothing; but it does not tell

- the whole story.
- 16 Facetè nunc demum nata ista est oratio
Terence, *Adelphi* 805.[N]
Well said! Now at last that point of view has seen
the light of day.
- 18 Tum decujt cum sceptra dabas
It became you to do this when you handed over
the sceptre.
- 19 En haec promissa fides est?
Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 346.
Lo! Is this the faithful promise, made good?
- 20 Proteges eos in tabernaculo tuo à contradictione lin-
guarum
Psalms, 30.21. (= A. V. 31.20)
In your tabernacle you will protect them from the
strife of many tongues.
- 23 Sicut audivimus sic vidimus
Psalms, 47.9. (= A. V. 48.8)
As we have heard, so have we seen.
- 24 Credidj propter quod locutus sum.
Psalms, 115.10. (= A. V. 116.10)
I believed; and on account of this I have spoken.
- 25 Quj erudit derisorem sibj injuriam facit
Proverbs 9.7.
A man who corrects someone who derides him
inflicts an injury upon himself.
- 26 Super mjarj ceperunt philosopharj
On top of feeling wonder, men began to
philosophise.
- 207 1 Prudens cełat scientiam stultus proclamat stultitiam
Proverbs 12.23.
The wise man conceals his knowledge; the fool
proclaims his folly.
- 2 Quęrit derisor sapientiam nec invenit eam.
Proverbs 14.6.
The scoffer seeks wisdom and does not find it.
- 3 Non recipit stultus verba prudentię nisi ea dixeris quae
sunt in corde ejus [193,11]

Proverbs 18.2.

The fool does not accept the words of prudence unless you have said those things which already dwell within his heart.

[see Table 5]

5 Lucerna Dej spiraculum hominis

Proverbs 20.27.

The lamp of God is the spirit of man.

6 Veritatem eme et noli vendere [193,13]

Proverbs 23.23

Purchase the truth and do not sell it.

7 Melior claudus in via [258,10] quam cursor extra viam.

A lame man on the right road is better than a runner who has strayed away from it.

10 Melior est finis orationis quam principium. [cf. 266,23]

Ecclesiastes 7.8.

The end of a speech is better than the beginning.

11 Injtitium verborum ejus stultitia et novissimum oris illius pura insania

Ecclesiastes 10.13.

The beginning of his words is folly and the latest thing to issue from his mouth pure madness.

13 Verba sapientium sicut aculej et ve[1]*ut clavj in altum defixj.

Ecclesiastes 12.11.

The words of the wise are like barbs, and like nails driven in deeply.

15 Qui potest capere capiat [193,16]

Matthew 19.12

Let the man who can accept this, accept it.

16 Vos adoratis quod nescitis [211,14]

John 4.22.

You worship something which you do not know.

17 Vos nihil scitis

[cf. John 11.49. vos nescitis quicquam (you do not know anything at all)]

You know nothing.

18 Quod est veritas

- John 18.38.
 What is truth?
 19 Quod scripsj scripsj
 John 19.22
 What I have written, I have written.
 20 Nolj dicere rex Judęorum sed dicens se regem
 Judęorum
 John 19.21
 Do not say 'King of the Jews'; rather, say that he
 called himself 'King of the Jews'.
 22 Virj fratres liceat audacter dicere apud vos
 Acts 2.29.
 Men and brethren, let me speak among you with-
 out restraint.
 23 Quod vult seminator hic verborum dicere
 Acts 17.18
 What does this juggler with words wish to say?
- 208 1 Multę te literę ad Insaniam redigunt
 Acts 26.24.
 Much learning reduces you to madness.
 [see Table 5]
 2 Sapientiam loquimur inter perfectos [211.20]
 I Corinthians 2.6.
 We speak wisdom among those that are perfect.
 3 Et Justificata est sapientia a filijs suis. [211,21]
 Matthew 11.19.
 And wisdom is justified by her offspring.
 4 Scientia inflat charitas ędificat
 I Corinthians 8.1.
 Knowledge inflates, but love edifies.
 5 Eadem vobis scribere mihi non pigrum vobis autem
 necessarium
 Philippians 3.1.
 To write these same things to you is, for me, not
 tedious; but, for you, it is necessary.
 7 Hoc autem dico ut nemo vos decipiat in sublimitate
 sermonum.
 Colossians 2.4.

- Yet I say this so that no one should deceive you
through the loftiness of their discourse.
- 9 Omnia probate quod bonum [est]* tenete
I Thessalonians 5.21.
Appraise everything; hold on to what is good.
- 10 Fidelis sermo
I Timothy 1.15; 3.1; 4.9.
A faithful saying.
- 11 Semper discentes et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis
pervenientes
II Timothy 3.7.
Always learning and never attaining to knowl-
edge of the truth.
- 13 Proprius ipsorum propheta
Titus 1.12
Their own particular prophet.
- 14 Testimonium hoc verum est
Titus 1.13.
This testimony is true.
- 15 Tantam nubem testium.
Hebrews 12.1.
So great a cloud of witnesses.
- 16 Sit omnis homo velox ad audiendum tardus ad loquen-
dum.
James 1.19.
Let every man be quick to listen and slow to
speak.
- 18 Error novissimus pejor priore.
Matthew 27.64.
The last error is worse than what went before.
- 19 Quęcunque ignorant blasphemant
Jude 10.
They blaspheme about those things of which they
have no knowledge.
- 20 Non credimus quia non legimus
We do not believe because we have not read.
- 21 Facile est ut quis Augustinum vincat viderit utrum ver-
itate an clamore.
It is easy for the man who would defeat Augustine

to see whether he is relying upon the truth, or upon loudness of voice.

23 Bellum omnium pater [cf. 212,22; cf. 248,2]

Erasmus III, 5.36.[N]

War is the father of all things.

[see Table 5]

209 1 Magna Civitas magna solitudo

Erasmus II, 4.54.[N]

A great city is a great solitude.

5 Tanti causas sciat illa furo[r]*is

Virgil, Aeneid V, 788.

And she alone may know the cause of such great madness.

18b prima facie

On the first view.

210 14 Causa patet

The reason is plain.

15 Tamen quaere.

Yet search.

211 1 Non est apud aram Consultand[u]*m.

Erasmus III, 4.28.

It is too late to deliberate at the altar..

2 Eumenes litter

[untranslatable].

3 Sortj pater æquus utrique

Virgil, Aeneid X, 450.[N]

My father looks upon either outcome with composure.

4 Est quoddam prodire tenus si non datur ultrâ.

Horace, Epistles I, 1.32. [cf. 199,24]

It is something to advance thus far, though it may not be granted to advance further still.

5 Quem si non tenuit magnis tamen excidit ausis

Ovid, Metamorphoses II, 328. [cf. next entry]

Although he could not hold to this, the deeds in which he failed were yet deeds of great daring.

- 6 Conamur tenues grandia [cf. previous entry]
 Horace, Odes I, 6.9.
 In our inadequacy, we attempt great enterprises.
- 7 Tentantem majora ferè praesentibus æquum.
 Horace, Epistles I. 17.24.
 Aspiring to greater things, but generally content
 with present circumstances.
- 8 Da facilem cursum atque audacibus annue ceptis
 Virgil, Georgics I, 40.
 Give me an easy journey and show favour to my
 bold enterprise.
- 9 Neptunus ventis implevit vela secundis [204,23]
 Virgil, Aeneid VII, 23.
 Neptune filled their sails with favourable winds.
- 10 Crescent illae crescetis Amores
 Virgil, Eclogues X, 54.
 They will grow; my loves, you will grow too.
- 11 Et quae nunc ratio est impetus ante fuit
 Ovid, Remedia amoris, 10.
 And what is now a branch of knowledge, was just
 impulse before.
- 12 Aspice venturo laentur ut omnia sæclo
 Virgil, Eclogues IV, 52.
 Behold how all things rejoice at the approach of
 the new era.
- 13 In Academijs discunt credere
 In the academies men learn to believe.
- 14 Vos adoratis quod nescitis [207.16]
 John 4.22.
 You worship something which you do not know.
- 17 Vos graeci semper pueri
 You Greeks are always boys.
- 18 Non canimus surdis respondent omnia sylvae
 Virgil, Eclogues X. 8.
 We do not sing to deaf ears; the woods reply to
 everything.
- 19 populus volt decipi
 The people wishes to be deceived.
- 20 *S[ap]*ientiam loquimur inter perfectos* [208.2]

I Corinthians 2.6.

We speak wisdom among those that are perfect.

21 *Et Justificata est sapientia a filijs suis* [208.3]

Matthew 11.19.

And wisdom is justified by her offspring.

22 *Pretiosa in oculis domini mors sanctorum ejus*

Psalms. 115.15. (= A.V. 116.15)

The death of his saints is precious in the eyes of the Lord.

23 *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.*

Virgil, Georgics II. 490.

Happy is the man who has been able to learn the causes of phenomena.

24 *Magistratus virum iudicat.* [cf. next entry]

Erasmus I. 10.76.

The holding of office passes judgement on a man.

25 *Da sapienti occasionem et addetur ej sapient[i]*a* [cf. previous entry]

Proverbs 9.9.

Give an opportunity to a wise man and his wisdom will be increased.

26 *Vitę me redde priorj*

Horace, Epistles I, 7.95.

Restore me to my former life.

212 1 *Orpheus in sylvis inter Delphinus Arion*

Virgil, Eclogues VIII, 56

Orpheus in the woods, Arion among the dolphins.

2 *Inopem me copia fecit.*

Ovid, Metamorphoses III. 466.[N]

Abundance has made me destitute.

8 *Faber quisque fortunę suę*

Sallust, De republica ordinanda I, 1.

Each man is the architect of his own fortune.

[see Table 5]

9 *Hinc errores multiplices quod de partibus vitę singuli deliberant de summa nemo.* [cf. 198, 5; cf. 215.20]

Manifold errors stem from this fact: that individual people deliberate concerning the particular parts of life, but no one deliberates about life as a

- whole.
- 11 Utilitas magnos hominesque deosque efficit auxilijs/
quoque favente suis.
Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* II, 9.35-36.
Usefulness makes both men and gods great, so
long as each one of them has due regard for their
own supporters.
- 13 Qui in agone contendit a multis abstinet [258.3]
I *Corinthians*, 9.25.
The man who takes part in the contest abstains
from many things.
- 14 Quidque cupit sperat suaque illum oracula fallunt
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 491.
And what he desires, he hopes for; and his own
oracles deceive him.
- 15 Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit Draco
Erasmus III, 3.61.
If a serpent has not devoured another serpent, it
does not become a dragon.
- 17 Optimi consiliarij mortuij
The best counsellors are the dead.
- 18 Cum tot populis stipatus eat/ In tot populis vix una
fides
Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 607-608.[N]
Though he may go forth thronged by so great a
crowd, in that great crowd there will scarcely be a
single faithful friend.
- 20 Odere Reges dicta quae dici iubent
Kings hate the commands which they order to be
put forth.
- 21 Nolite confidere in principibus
Psalms, 145.2. (= A.V. 146.3)
Do not place your trust in princes.
- 22 Et multis utile bellum. [cf. 208.33; cf. 248,2]
Lucan, *De bello civili* I, 182
And war, useful for many purposes.
[see Table 5]
- 23 Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher
Erasmus I, 3.72.

- The autumn of beautiful things is itself beautiful.
- 24 *Usque adeone times quem tu facis ipse timendum.*
 Lucan, *De bello civili* IV, 185. [N]
 Are you in such a state of fear of the man whom
 you yourself make into an object of dread?
- 25 *Dux femina facti*
 Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 364.
 A woman is the leader of the enterprise.
- 26 *Res est ingeniosa dare*
 Ovid, *Amores* I, 8.62.
 To give is a deed which calls for genius.
- 28 *Declinat cursus aurumque volubile tollit*
 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X, 667.
 She turns aside her course and picks up the gold-
 en missile.
- 29 *Romaniscult.*
 [unintelligible Latin]*
- 30 *Unum augurium optimum tueri patriam [195,15]*
 Erasmus III, 1.57. [N]
 One omen is best of all: to defend one's father-
 land.
- 31 *Bene omnia fecit*
 Mark 7.37.
 He has done all things well.
- 213 1 *Et quo quaque modo fugiatque feratque laborem/
 edocet*
 Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 892. ['edocet' substituted for
 "docet" from line 891].
 And he teaches by what means each labour may
 be shunned or shouldered.
- 3 *Non ulla laborum o virgo nova mi facies inopinave
 surgit;/ Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante
 peregi.*
 Virgil, *Aeneid* VI, 103-105.
 O virgin priestess, there is no labour that, for me,
 can take on a new or unexpected form; I have
 anticipated them all, and worked through them all
 previously, by myself and in my heart.

- 6 Cultus major censu
Refinement is greater than wealth.
- 8 V[i]*derit utilitas
Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, 3.671.[N]
Let utility have seen for itself.
- 9 Qui eget verset[u]*r in turbâ
Erasmus III, 10.45.
Let the man who is in want mingle among the crowd.
- 11 Augustus rapidè ad locum leniter in loco
Augustus proceeded rapidly to his destination,
but remained at his destination calmly.
- 16 Tantè animis cęlestibus irę
Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 11.
Can such terrible wrath dwell within heavenly hearts?
- 17 Tela honoris tenerior
The thread of honour is more delicate.
- 18 Alter rixatur de lana sæpe caprina/ Propugnat nugis
armatus scilicet ut non/ Sit mihi prima fides. [cf. next
entry]
Horace, *Epistles* I, 18.15-17.
The other man quarrels frequently about goat's
wool [i.e., contends about trifles]*, and, fully
armed, does battle over nonsense: 'To be sure,
should not credence first be placed in me?'
[see Table 5]
- 21 Nam cur ego amicum offendam in nugis [cf. previous
entry]
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 450-451.
For why should I vex a friend on matters of no
importance?
- 24 Illicet obruimur numer[o]. [194.6]
Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 424.
Instantly we are overwhelmed by numbers.
- 214 3 Variam dans otium mentem
Leisure, producing variety in the mind.
[see Table 5]

- 215 1 Veruntamen vane conturbatur omnis homo
 Psalms, 38.12. (= A.V. 39.11)
 Nevertheless every man is confounded to no purpose.
- 4 Vita salillum.
 Life is a little salt-cellar.
- 5 Non possumus aliquid contra veritatem sed pro veritate. [193.21]
 II Corinthians 13.8.
 We cannot do anything against the truth, but only on truth's behalf.
- 7 Sapie[n]tia quoque perseveravit mecum
 Ecclesiastes 2.9.
 Wisdom also has abided with me.
- 8 Magnorum fluviorum navigabiles fontes.
 Erasmus I, 3.73.
 Great rivers have sources upon which one can set sail.
- 9 Dos est uxoria lites
 Ovid, Ars amatoria II, 155. [N]
 Strife is a wife's contribution to matrimony.
- 10 Haud numine nostro
 Virgil, Aeneid II, 396.
 With the help of gods who are not our own.
- 11 Atque animis illabere nostris [194.7]
 Virgil, Aeneid III, 89.
 And glide into our hearts.
- 12 Animos nil magn[ę]* laudis egentes
 Virgil, Aeneid V, 751.
 Souls which have no need for great praise.
- 13 Magnanimj heroes nati melioribus annis [194.10]
 Virgil, Aeneid VI, 649
 Great-hearted heroes, born in better years.
- 14 Aevo rarissima nostro/ Simplicitas [195,6]
 Ovid, Ars amatoria I, 241-242.
 Simplicity, something most unusual for this era of ours.
- 16 Qui silet est firmus

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- Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 697
 The man who remains silent is steadfast.
- 17 Si nunquam fallit imago
 Virgil, *Eclogues* II, 27.
 If the image never deceives.
- 19 Sed fugit intereà fugit irreparabile temp[us]
 Virgil, *Georgics* III, 284.
 But, meanwhile, irrecoverable time flies, flies
 right away.
- 20 Totum est quod superest [cf. 198,5; cf. 198,11; cf.
 212,9]
 What continues to exist is the whole thing.
- 22 Possunt quia posse videntur [258,16]
 Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 231.
 They can achieve great things, because they
 appear to be capable of achieving them.
- 23 Justitiamque omnes cupidâ de mente fugaru[nt]
 [193,10]
 And they all banished justice from their greedy
 minds.
- 24 Lucrificulus
 A little miser.
- 25 Qui bene nugatur ad mensam sepe vocatur
 The man who talks nonsense well is often invited
 to dinner.
- 26 faciunt et tedi[um finitum?]
 They make even tedium stylish.
- 27 Malum bene conditum ne moveas
 Erasmus I, 1.62.
 Do not interfere with a bad thing when it is effec-
 tively concealed.
- 30 Tranquillo quilibet gubernator
 Erasmus IV, 4.96.
 Anyone can be a steersman on a calm sea.
- 31 Nullus emptor difficilis bonum emit opsonium
 Erasmus III, 3.50. [N]
 No difficult purchaser buys good food. [cf.
 221,13, No hucking Cator buyeth good achates].

- 216 1 Quoniam Moses ad duriti[a]*m cordis permi[sit] vobis
[193,17]
Matthew 19.8.
Because Moses, on account of your hardness of
heart, permitted you.
- 2 Non nossem peccatum nisi per legem.
Romans 7.7.
I would not have become acquainted with sin, had
it not been for the law.
- 3 Discite Justitiam monitj [cf. 196.9; 248.23]
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 620.
Be warned: learn justice.
- 4 Ubj testamentum ibi necesse est mors intercedat testa-
toris
Hebrews 9.16.
Where there is a will it is also necessary that the
death of the testator should take place.
- 6 Scimus quia lex bona est si quis ea utatur legitimè
I Timothy, 1.8.
We know that a law is good if anyone uses it legit-
imately.
- 7 Vę vobis Jurisperitj
Luke 11.46.
Woe unto you, you who are learned in the law.
- 8 Nec me verbosas leges ediscere nec me Ingrato/
voce[m]* prostituisse foro.
Ovid, Amores I, 15.5-6.
You complain that I have not memorised verbose
laws, or dishonoured my voice before an ungrate-
ful forum.
- 10 fixit leges pretio atque refixit
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 622.
For a price he has both set up laws and torn them
down.
- 11 Nec ferrea Jura Insanumque forum et populi tabularia
vidit
Virgil, Georgics II, 501-502
And he has not seen the iron laws and the fran-
tic forum and the records of the people.

- 13 Miscueruntque novercae non innoxia verba
Virgil, *Georgics* II, 129.
And the step-mothers mingled their words in a
poisonous fashion.
- 14 Jurisconsultj domus oraculum Civitatis [cf. next line,
'now as ambiguows as oracles.']
Cicero. *De oratore* I, 200. [N]
The house of the man skilled in the law is the ora-
cle of the state.
- 16 Hic clamosi rabiosa forj/ Jurgia vendens improbus/Iras
et verba locat
Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 172-174.[N]
This man, profiteering from the rabid quarrels of
the clamorous forum, shamelessly hires out his
anger and his eloquence.
- 19 In veste varietas sit scissura non sit
Let there be variety in a man's dress, but let there
be no rending of it.
- 20 Plenitudo potestatis est plenitudo tempestatis
An abundance of power is an abundance of trou-
bled times.
- 21 Iliacos intrâ muros peccatur et extra [195,111
Horace, *Epistles* I, 2.16.
Sin is committed, both within the walls of Troy,
and outside them.
- 22 Prosperum et felix scelus virtus vocatur [195.8]
Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 251-252.[N]
A successful and lucky crime is called a virtue.
- 23 Da mihi fallere da iustum sanctumque viderj.
Horace, *Epistles* I, 16.61.
Grant me the chance to remain undiscovered: per-
mit me to seem just and holy.
- 24 Nil nisi turpe iuvat curę est sua cuique voluptas/ Hęc
quoque ab alterius grata dolore venit
Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I, 749-750.[N]
Nothing gives delight except what is shameful,
and each man cares only for his own pleasure; a
welcome pleasure, too, comes from another
man's pain.

- 26 *Casus ne deusne*
 Virgil, *Aeneid* XII, 321.[N]
 Whether chance, or god.
- 27 *fabulęque manes*
 Horace, *Odes* I, 4.16.
 And the fabled shades of the dead.
- 217 1 *Ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro*
 Horace, *Epistles* II, 2.60.
 Another man [takes pleasure in]* Bionian [i.e.,
 satirical]* verses and the black salt of their wit.
- 2 *Existimamus divitem omnia scire recte*
 We reckon that a rich man knows everything cor-
 rectly.
- 3 *Querunt cum quę gente cadant*
 Lucan, *De bello civili* VIII, 504-505.[N]
 They seek for a people with whom they may
 share their fall.
- 4 *Totus mu[n]dus in mali[gn]o positus*
 The whole world, placed in an evil [. . .]*.
- 5 *O major tandem parcas insane minori*
 Horace, *Satires* II, 3.326.
 O madman of greater standing, spare, at the end,
 a madman of lesser stature.
- 7 *forma dat esse*
 Form gives existence.
- 8 *Nec fandj factor Ulisses*
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IX, 602.
 Nor Ulysses, a master of deceit.
- 9 *Non tu plus cernis sed plus temerarius audes/ Nec tibj*
 plus cordis sed minus oris inest.
 Ovid, *Heroides*, 17, 101-102.[N]
 You do not see more clearly, but are more reckless
 in your audacity; you do not have a greater heart,
 you simply have less modesty.
- 11 *Invidiam placare paras virtute relicta [195,10]*
 Horace, *Satires* II, 3.13.
 Are you preparing to appease envy by abandon-
 ing virtue?

- 12 Botrus oppositus Botro citius maturescit [cf. 238.10]
 Erasmus III, 2.49.
 A grape cluster placed beside another cluster
 ripens more quickly.
- 219 4 fluvius quae procul sunt irrigat.
 Erasmus III, 1.43.
 A river waters lands which are far distant.
- 6 Cura esse quod audis
 Horace, Epistles I, 16.17; Erasmus IV, 1.92.
 Take care to be the person whom people say you
 are.
- 8 Taurum tollet qui vitulum sustulerit
 Erasmus I, 2.51.
 The man who carried a calf will carry a bull.
- 9 Lunae radijs non maturescit Botrus
 Erasmus IV, 7.73.
 The grape cluster does not ripen in the rays of the
 moon.
- 10 Nil profuerit Bulbus; ye potado will doe no good.
 Erasmus IV, 2.42.
 The bulb will have done no good; the potato will
 do no good.
- 11 Dormientis rete trahit The sleeping mans nett draweth.
 [232,2]
 Erasmus I, 5.82.
 The net of the sleeping man draws tight.
- 13 ijsdem è literis efficitur Tragedia et Comedia [cf. next
 line, 'Tragedies and Comedies are made of one
 Alphabett.']
 Erasmus III, 4.93
 Tragedy and comedy are formed from the same
 letters.
 {see Table 5}
- 16 Heroum filij noxae
 Erasmus I, 6.32.
 The sons of heroes are injurious burdens.
- 18 Alia res sceptrum alia plectrum
 Erasmus IV, 1.56.

- 19 The sceptre is one thing, and the lyre is another.
fere danides
[untranslatable. Bacon may perhaps have intended to
write 'Ferrum natare doces', quoting
Erasmus I, 4.59 ('You teach the iron to float')]*
- 20 A[r]*bore dejectâ quivis ligna colligit.
Erasmus III, 1.86.
Anyone may collect wood from a tree which has
been cast down.
- 22 Priscis credendum
Erasmus IV, 10.51.
Trust must be placed in the men of old.
- 220 2 Virj iurejurand[o]* pueri talis fallendj
Erasmus III, 3.43.
Men can be deceived by an oath, and boys by
dice.
- 3 Ipsa dies quandoque parens quandoque noverca est
Erasmus I, 8.64
The day itself is sometimes a parent and some-
times a step-mother.
- 4 Ubj non sis qui fueris non [est]* cur velis vivere.
Erasmus I, 8.45.
When you are not the man you have been, there is
no reason why you should wish to live.
- 5 Compendiaria res improbitas [cf. 193,3; cf. 201.10]
Erasmus III, 2.97.
Dishonesty is a vice which takes short cuts.
- 8 Lachrimâ nil citius arescit
Erasmus IV, 9.14.
Nothing dries up more quickly than a tear.
- 11 Hirundines sub eodem tecto ne habeas.
Erasmus I, 1.2.
Do not have swallows under the same roof.
- 13 Aut regem aut fatuum nasci oportet (of a free jester.
Erasmus I, 3.1.
One should be born either a king or a fool (of a
free jester).
- 14 Exigua res est ipsa Justitia [195,16]

Erasmus II, 1.67.

Justice itself is an insignificant thing.

[see Table 5]

15 Quae non posuisti ne tollas

Erasmus III, 4.43.

Do not pick up those things which you have not put down.

16 Dat veniam corvis vexat Censura columbas [195,17]

[Juvenal, Satires II, 63]; Erasmus III, 5.73.

Censure gives pardon to the ravens, but harasses the doves.

[see Table 5]

17 Lapsa lingua verum dicit

Erasmus I, 7.17.

An unguarded tongue speaks the truth.

221 2 faciunt et sphaceli Immunitatem.

Erasmus I, 2.87.

The pains of the flesh, too, bestow immunity.

9 Mons cum monte non miscetur

Erasmus III, 3.45.

Mountain is not mingled with mountain.

12 Haesitantia Cantoris Tussis

Erasmus II, 9.45.

A poet's cough means he's lost.

14 Spes alit exules.

Erasmus III, 1.92.

Hope nourishes exiles.

15 Romanus sedendo vincit.

Erasmus I, 10.29.

The Roman conquers by sitting still.

17 Mentiuntur multa cantores (few pleasing speeches true

Erasmus II, 2.98.

Poets tell many lies. (few pleasing speeches are true).

20 Leonis Catulum ne alas

Erasmus II, 3.77

Do not feed a lion's cub.

22 Dij laneos habent pedes (They leave no pryt.

Erasmus I, 10.82.

The gods have woollen feet. (They leave no print).

- 222 2 Adoraturj sedeant
 Erasmus I, 1.2.
 Let those who are about to worship, be seated.
- 6 Coenę ferula nostrę/ Mallem convivis quam placuisse
 cocis.
 Martial, Epigrams IX, 81.3-4.
 I would prefer the dishes of our meal to have
 pleased the guests rather than the cooks.
- 227 12 Asinus avis (a foolish conjecture.
 Erasmus III, 7.24.
 Let the ass become a bird. (A foolish conjecture)
- 13 Herculis Cothurnos aptare infantj/ To putt a childes leg
 into Hercules buskin
 Erasmus III, 6.67.
 To fit the buskins of Hercules upon an infant.
- 15 Jupiter orbis/ Tales of Jupiter dead without yssue
 Erasmus I, 9.74.
 A childless Jupiter.
- 17 Juxta fluvium puteum fodere/ To dig a well by the
 Ryuer side
 Erasmus III, 3.69.
 To dig a well beside a river.
- 21 In ostio formosus (gratiows to shew
 Erasmus III, 6.95
 Beautiful when seen in a doorway.
- 22 Myosobae flyflappers (offyciows fellowes
 Erasmus IV, 7.25.
 Fly-flaps
- 24 Jactare iugun To shake the yoke
 Erasmus III, 7.78.
 To shake the yoke.
- 228 1 Mira de lente
 Erasmus IV, 5.30.

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- 2 To talk wonders about a lentil.
 Quid ad farinas.
 Erasmus III, 6.31.
 What use is this to winning bread?
- 3 Quarta lunâ Natj (Hercules nativity).
 Erasmus I, 1.77
 Born on the fourth day of the new moon.
- 4 Ollę amicitia.
 Erasmus I, 5.23.
 The friendship based on perks.
- 5 Venus font.
 [untranslatable]
- 6 Utraque nutans sententia
 Erasmus III, 6.84.
 Wavering between either opinion.
- 7 Hasta caduceum
 Erasmus II, 10.96.
 The spear may be a herald's staff.
- 17 Panis lapidosus grytty bread
 Erasmus IV, 4.59.
 Stony bread.
- 19 Laconismus
 Erasmus II, 10.49.
 Brevity of speech.
 [see Table 5]
- 20 Omnem vocem mittere (from inchantmentes
 Erasmus IV, 6.57.
 To use every kind of saying. (from enchantments)
 [see Table 5]
- 21 Tertium caput; (of one ouercharged that hath a burden
 upon eyther showder and the 3rd. vpon his head.
 Erasmus III, 7.90.
 A third head.
- 24 Triceps mercurius (great cunyng).
 Erasmus III, 7.95.
 Triple-headed Mercury.
- 25 Creta notare (chaulking and colouring
 Erasmus I, 5.54.
 To mark with chalk. [i.e. approval]*.

- 229 1 Ut phidię signum (presently allowed
Erasmus V, 2.43.
Like a statue of Phidias.
- 2 Jovis sandalium; (Jupiters slipper (a man onely
esteemed for nearnesse
Erasmus II, 7.76.
Jupiter's sandal.
- 4 Pennas nido majore[s]* extendere.
Erasmus I, 6.93.
To spread wings which have outgrown the nest.
- 5 Hęc Rhodus Hęc Saltus (exacting demonstracion.
Erasmus III, 3.28.
Here is Rhodes; here is the leap [which you must
take]*.
- 6 Atticus in portum
Erasmus I, 10.19.
An Athenian at the harbour's entrance.
- 7 Divinum excipio sermonem
Erasmus IV, 5.35.
I leave mention of the gods on one side.
- 8 Agamemnonis hostia
Erasmus II, 5.63.
Agamemnon's sacrifice.
- 14 Comovere sacra
Erasmus IV, 9.56.[N]
To carry down the sacred images.
- 16 Domj Conjecturam facere
Erasmus I, 10.48.
To draw a conclusion at home.
- 18 Mortuus per somnum vacabis curis (of one that inter-
pretes all thinges to the best
Erasmus IV, 1.18.
You will be free from all care, if you sleep the
sleep of death.
- 20 Nil sacrj es (Hercules to adonis.
Erasmus I, 8.37.
There is nothing sacred about you.
- 21 Plumbeo iugulare gladio (A tame argument

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Erasmus II, 5.10.

To cut a man's throat with a leaden sword.

22 Locrensis bos (a mean present

Erasmus II, 8.62.

An ox from Locris.

23 Ollaris Deus. (a man respected for his profession without worth in himself

Erasmus III, 6.73.

A god made of earthenware.

25 In foribus Urceus; an earthen pott in the threshold

Erasmus II, 1.65.

A pitcher at the doorway.

26 Numerus

Erasmus II, 3.23.

A cipher.

230 4 Ni pater esses

Erasmus II, 7.16.

If you were not my father.

[see Table 5]

5 Vates secum auferat omen.

Erasmus, IV, 10.66

Let the seer take away the omen, along with himself.

6 In eo ipso stas lapide ubi praeco praedicat. of one that is about to be bowght and sold.

Erasmus II, 10.77.

You are standing on that very stone from which the crier calls out his wares.

8 Lydus ostium claudit (of one that is gone away with his purpose.

Erasmus II, 6.93.

A Lydian closes the door.

10 Ultra[m]*que paginam facit An auditors booke (of one to whome both good and yll is imputed.

Erasmus II, 4.15.

He makes up each of the two pages.

12 Non navigas noctu (of one that govern[s] himself acaso (because the starres which were wont to be the ship-

mans direction appear but in the night.

Erasmus IV, 3.24.

You are not sailing by night.

19 Res est in cardine

Erasmus I, 1.19.

The matter stands at a critical point

20 Undarum in [ul]*nis

Erasmus IV, 6.39.

In the arms of the waves.

21 Lepus pro carnibus (of a man persecuted for profite and not for malice

Erasmus II, 1.80.

A hare hunted for its flesh.

23 Corpore effugere

Erasmus II, 2.87.

To evade with a movement of the body.

24 Nunquid e[t]* saul inter prophetas

I Samuel, 10.11; Erasmus II, 1.64.

Is Saul also among the prophets?

231 1 Officere luminibus

Erasmus IV, 6.8.

To obstruct the lights.

3 Felicibus sunt et t[r]*imestres liberj.

Erasmus I, 7.39.

Fortunate people even have children in the third month.

5 Aquilae senectus

Erasmus I, 9.56.

An eagle's old age.

7 Nil ad Parmenonis suem

Erasmus I, 1.10.

Nothing like Parmeno's pig.

8 Aquila in nubibus (a thing excellent but remote

Erasmus I, 9.20

An eagle in the clouds.

9 Mox Sciemus melius vate

Erasmus III, 10.78.

We shall soon know better than the prophet.

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- 10 In omni fabula et Daedali execratio (of one made a party to all complaints.
Erasmus II, 10.79
In every story there is also a curse on Daedalus.
- 12 Semper tibi pendeat hamus.
Erasmus I, 9.46.
Let the hook always hang for you.
- 13 Res redit ad triarios.
Erasmus I, 1.23.
The matter goes back to the men who form the third rank
- 14 Tentantes ad trojam pervenere gręci [258.1]
Erasmus II, 2.37.
Through their efforts, the Greeks reached Troy.
- 15 Cigneae cantio
Erasmus I, 2.55.
A swan's song.
- 18 Ex tripode
Erasmus I, 7.90.
From the tripod.
- 19 Ominabitur aliquis te conspecto.
Erasmus IV, 2.54.
Someone will make prophecies, once you have been observed.
- 21 Leporem [non]*edit
Erasmus II, 1.15.
He has not eaten hare.
- 232 2 Dormientis rete trahit [219,11]
Erasmus I, 5.82.
The net of the sleeping man draws tight.
- 3 Vita doliaris
Erasmus I, 8.61.
A life spent in a tub.
- 7 Lupus circa puteum chorum agit/ The wolve danceth about the welle.
Erasmus II, 2.76.
The wolf performs a dance around the well.
- 9 Spem pretio emere

- Erasmus II, 4.5.
To buy hope for a price.
- 10 Agricola semper in novum ann[u]*m dives.
Erasmus II, 9.14.
The farmer will always be a rich man when the
new year comes.
- 12 fuimus Troes.
Virgil, Aeneid II, 325; Erasmus I, 9.50.
We Trojans have had our day.
- 13 Ad vinum disertj.
Erasmus IV, 9.70.[cf. 243,4]
Eloquent when the wine is flowing.
- 15 Pedum visa est via
Erasmus III, 5.55.
A path for the feet to tread has been seen.
- 16 Panicus casus
Erasmus III, 7.3.
A case of panic.
- 20 Laborem serere.
Erasmus II, 10.54.
To sow hard work.
- 21 Hylam inclama[s]*.
Erasmus I, 4.72.
You are crying out for Hylas.
- 24 Actum agere
Erasmus I, 4.70.
To revive a question previously settled.
- 25 Versuram solvere. To evade by a greater mischief.
To raise a loan to pay a debt.
- 26 Bulbos querit (of those that looke downe
Erasmus III, 4.44.
He is looking [down] for bulbs.
- 233 1 Chamelçon, Proteus, Euripus.
Erasmus III, 4.1.
The chameleon
Erasmus II, 2.74.
Proteus.
Erasmus I, 9.62.

- Euripus.
 2 Mu|||ta novit vulpes sed Echinus unum magnum
 Erasmus I, 5.18.
 The fox knew many things; but the hedgehog
 knew one great thing only.
- 3 Semper Africa aliquid monstrij parit
 Erasmus III, 7.10.
 Africa is always bringing forth some new kind of
 marvel.
- 4 Ex eodem ore calidum et frigidum.
 Erasmus I, 8.30.
 Hot and cold come forth from the same mouth.
- 5 Ex se finxit velut araneus
 Erasmus IV, 4.43.
 Like a spider, he formed a web about himself.
- 6 Laqueus laqueum cepit.
 Erasmus III, 3.20.
 One snare has caught another snare.
- 7 Hinc illę lachrimę; Hydrus in dolio
 Erasmus I, 3.68.
 Hence come those tears.
 Erasmus III, 10.98.
 A water-serpent in a wine jar.
- 8 Dicas tria ex Curiã (liberty vpon dispaire
 Erasmus III, 3.7
 You may say three things from the platform of the
 court.
- 9 Argi Collis (a place of robbing.
 Erasmus II, 7.47.
 The hill of Argus.
- 11 Samiorum flores
 Erasmus II, 9.23.
 Flowers of the Samians.
- 13 Samius comatus (of one of no expectacion and great
 proof
 Erasmus III, 7.88.
 A Samian decked with long hair.
- 17 Quę sub axillis fiunt.
 Erasmus II, 2.79.

- Things which take place underneath the arm-pits.
- 18 In crastinum seria.
Erasmus IV, 7.60.
Serious matters can be left for the morrow.
- 23 Lesbia regula.
Erasmus I, 5.93.
The Lesbian rule.
- 24 Unguis in ulcere
Erasmus I, 6.79. [Quoted in explanatory note]
A finger nail inserted in an ulcer.
- 26 In antro trophonij (of one that never laugheth
Erasmus I, 7.77
In the cave of Trophonius.
- 27 Arctum annulum ne gestato
Erasmus I, 1.2.
Do not wear a tight ring.
- 234 1 Areopagita; Scytala.
Erasmus I, 9.41.
An Areopagite.
Erasmus II, 2.1.
A despatch message.
- 2 Cor ne edito.
Erasmus I, 1.2.
Do not eat out your heart.
- 4 Promus magis quam Condus.
Erasmus II, 4.73.
A distributor, rather than a hoarder, [of stored riches]; [see text]
[see Table 5]
- 7 Amazonum cantile[n]a; The Amazons song/ (Delicate persons.
Erasmus II, 1.45.
A song of the Amazons.
- 11 Ex ipso boue lora sumere.
Erasmus I, 2.77
To take a thong from the ox's own hide.
- 12 Mala attrahens ad se ut C[ac]ias nubes
Erasmus I, 5.62.

- Attracting evils to one's person, as the north-east wind attracts clouds.
- 13 Pryaustę gaudes gaudium.
Erasmus III, 3.8.
You rejoice with the joy of the fire-fly.
- 14 Bellerophontis literae (producing lettres or evidence against a mans self
Erasmus II, 6.82.
Bellerophon's letter.
- 16 Puer glaciem.
Erasmus II, 2.41.
A boy clinging to ice.
- 18 fontibus apros, floribus austrum
Virgil, Eclogues II, 58-59; Erasmus III, 6.72
I have let wild boars loose among my water springs, and let the south wind blow upon my flowers.
- 21 Aurem vellere.
Erasmus I, 7.40.
To pull the ear.
- 24 Centones
Erasmus II, 4.58.
Patchwork garments.
- 25 Improbitas musę (an importune that wilbe soone awnswered but straght in hand agayne
Erasmus III, 8.95
The impudence of a fly.
- 27 Argentangina, sylver mumpes
Erasmus I, 7.19.
The silver quinsy.
- 28 Lupi illum videre priores
Virgil, Eclogues IX, 54; Erasmus I, 7.86.
The wolves saw him first.
- 29 Dorica musâ.
Erasmus II, 5.45.
The Doric muse.
- 235 1 Ulysses pannos exuit.
Erasmus IV, 4.47.

- Ulysses stripped off his garments.
 2 *fatis imputandum*
 Erasmus III, 8.16.
 To be imputed to the fates.
- 3 *Lychnobij*
 Erasmus IV, 4.51.
 Men who live by lamp-light.
- 4 *Terrae filius*
 Erasmus I, 8.86.
 A son of the earth.
- 5 *Hoc jam et vates sciunt*
 Erasmus IV, 8.50.
 Even prophets know this now.
- 8 *Provolvitur ad milvius* (a sickly man gladd of the
 spring.
 Erasmus III, 6.8.
 He casts himself down before the kites.
- 10 *Amnestia*
 Intentional overlooking.
- 11 *Odi memorem comptorem.*
 Erasmus I, 7.1.
 I hate a drinking companion with a good memory.
- 12 *Delius natator.*
 Erasmus I, 6.29
 A Delian swimmer.
- 13 *Numeris platonis obscurius*
 Erasmus III, 6.32.
 More obscure than the mathematics of Plato.
- 14 *Davus sum non Oedipus*
 Erasmus I, 3.36. [Terence, *Andria* I, 2.24]
 I am Davus, not Oedipus.
- 15 *Infixo aculeo fugere*
 Erasmus I, 1.5.
 To flee, with the dart driven in.
- 16 *Genuino mordere.*
 Erasmus II, 2.59.
 To bite with the jaw-tooth.
- 17 *Ansam quaerere.*
 Erasmus I, 4.4.

LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

To search for a handle.

- 18 Quę sunt apud inferos [t]*er[ni]*ones.
Erasmus II, 9.39.

The triads which exist among the dead.

- 19 Et Scellij filium abominor (of him that cannot endure
the sound of a matter; from Aristocrates Scellius sonne,
whome a man deuoted to a democracy said he could not
abide for the nearnesse of his name to an Aristocracy.
Erasmus IV, 8.79.[N])

And I abominate the son of Scellius.

- 236 1 famis campus an yll horse kept
Erasmus I, 9.68.

Famine field.

- 3 quadratus homo. a Cube.
Erasmus IV, 8.35.

A man of four-square character.

- 4 fęnum habet in Cornu.
Horace, Satires I, 4.34.; Erasmus I, 1.81
He has hay upon his horn. [i.e., he is a dangerous
fellow]*

- 6 Omnia secunda saltat senex.
Erasmus III, 1.40.

Everything is as it should be; the old man is dancing

- 8 Mopso Nisa datur
Virgil, Eclogues VIII, 26; Erasmus II, 5.100.
Nisa is given to Mopsus, to be his bride.

- 9 Dedecus publicum.
Erasmus III, 8.74.

A public disgrace.

- 11 Tanquam de Narthecio
Erasmus IV, 4.98.

As if from a medicine chest.

- 12 Satis quercus; Enowgh of Acones.
Erasmus I, 4.2.

Enough of the oak-tree.

[see Table 5]

- 14 Intus canere.

- Erasmus II, 1.30.
To sing inwardly.
- 15 Symonidis Cantilena.
Erasmus II, 9.12.
The song of Simonides.
- 16 Viam qui nescit ad mare
Erasmus II, 7.81.
The man who does not know the road to the sea.
- 17 Alter Janus.
Erasmus IV, 2.93.
The other face of Janus.
- 21 È terra spectare naufragia
Erasmus V, 1.38.
To look at shipwrecks from the land.
- 22 In diem vivere [cf. next entry]
Erasmus I, 8.62.
To live for the present day.
- 23 Uno die consenescere. [cf. previous entry]
Erasmus III, 3.86. [quoted in explanatory note]
To grow old in a single day.
- 25 Servire scēnae.
Erasmus I, 1.91.
To be a slave to the drama of the moment.
- 26 Omnium horarum homo
Erasmus I, 3.86.
A man suitably disposed at all times.
- 27 Spartae servi maxime servi
Erasmus IV, 9.35.
The slaves of Sparta are slaves in the highest degree.
- 28 Non sum ex istis her[oi]*bus (potentes ad nocendum
Erasmus II, 5.48.
I do not come from among heroes of that sort
(having the power to do harm).
- 237 1 Scopae dissolutę
Erasmus I, 5.95.
Dismantled brooms.
- 2 Clavum clavo pellere

LATIN ENTRIES IN BACON'S *PROMUS*

Erasmus I, 2.4.

To drive out one nail with another nail.

3 Extrâ quęrere sese

Erasmus II, 5.37.

To search outside oneself.

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1 Cumjnj sector

Erasmus II, 1.5.

A splitter of the cummin plant.

2 Laconicę lunae.

Erasmus II, 5.25.

Spartan moons. [full moons and therefore of no help]

3 Corvus aquat[ur]*.

Erasmus III, 2.3.

The raven fetches water.

4 Ne incalceatus in montes.

Erasmus IV, 6.31.

Do not go into the mountains unshod.

5 Domj Milesia

Erasmus I, 4.8.

Milesian activities should be left at home.

6 Sacra hec non aliter constant.

Erasmus II, 4.88.

These sacred rites take place in no other way.

7 Gallus insistit

Erasmus III, 3.22.

The cock presses on.

8 Leonis vestigia quaeris (ostentation with couardize

Erasmus IV, 1.60.

You are looking for the lion's footprints [not the lion]

9 fumos vendere [198,16]

Erasmus I, 3.41 [Martial, Epigrams IV, 5-7]

To sell smoke [i.e., to make empty promises]*

10 Epiphillides. [cf. 217,12]

Erasmus IV, 2.28.

Smaller grapes, clustering round larger ones

11 Cal[1]*idum mendacium optimum

- Erasmus IV, 5.68.
A skilful lie is the best.
- 12 Solus Currens vincit.
Erasmus I, 9.33.
The only runner must win.
- 13 Vulcaneum vinclum.
Erasmus II, 8.72.
A chain forged by Vulcan.
- 15 Canis sepiens in lapidem
Erasmus IV, 2.22.
A dog growling at a stone.
- 16 Aratro iacularj.
Erasmus II, 7.45.
To use a plough for a javelin.
- 17 Semel rubidus decies pallidus.
Erasmus III, 5.90.
Flushed once, ten times pallid.
- 241 16 Principium dimidium totius
Erasmus I, 2.39.
The commencement is half of the whole enterprise
[see Table 5]
- 17 Quot homines tot sententię [cf. 240,1 (in English.) So many heads so many wittes']
Erasmus I, 3.7
As many opinions are present as there are men.
- 18 Suum cujque pulchrum.
Erasmus I, 2.15.
Whatever is a man's own, is beautiful.
- 19 Que suprâ nos nihil ad nos
Erasmus I, 6.69.
Those things which are above us mean nothing to us.
- 20 Ama tanquam osurus oderis tanquam amaturus.
Erasmus II, 1.72.
Love as though you would soon hate; hate as though you would soon love.
- 21 Amicorum omnia communia

Erasmus I, 1.1.

All things are held in common among friends.

22 Vultu sæpe læditur pietas [196,2]

Erasmus IV, 9.17.

Piety is often betrayed by a man's expression.

23 Fortes fortuna adjuvat.

Erasmus I, 2.45.

Fortune helps the brave.

24 Omne tulit punctum.

Erasmus I, 5.60.

He took every vote

25 In magnis et voluisse sat est

Erasmus II, 8.55.

In great enterprises, it is enough even to have shown a will.

26 Difficilia quæ pulchra. [196,3]

Erasmus II, 1.12.

The things which are honourable are also difficult.

27 Tum tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet

Horace, Epistles I, 18.84; Erasmus III, 6.71.

Your own house is in danger at the moment when the adjacent wall catches fire.

28 Et post malam segetem serendum est

Erasmus IV, 4.62.

Even after a bad crop it is necessary to sow.

29 Omnium rerum vicissitudo

Erasmus I, 7.63.

There is vicissitude in everything.

242 1 In nil sapiendo vita jucundissima

Erasmus II, 10.81.

The most delightful way of life consists in knowing nothing.

2 Parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus

Horace, Ars poetica 139; Erasmus I, 9.14.

The mountains are in labour, and a ridiculous mouse will be born.

3 Dulce bellum inexpertis

Erasmus IV, 1.1.

War is sweet to those who have no acquaintance with it [cf. 218, 11: Many a man speaketh of Rob. hood that never shott in his bowe]

4 Naturam expellas furcâ licet usque recurret.

Horace, Epistles I, 10.24; Erasmus II, 7.14.

You may drive out nature with a pitchfork, yet it will constantly hasten back.

243 1 Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem

Horace, Epistles I, 2.69; Erasmus II, 4.20.

[The jar] will retain the odour, with which it has been once infected, when new.

2 Bis dat qui cito dat

Erasmus I, 8.91.

He who gives quickly, gives twice.

[see Table 5]

3 Conscien[t]*ia mille testes [196,4]

Erasmus I, 10.91.

Conscience is worth a thousand witnesses.

4 In vino veritas [cf. 232,13]

Erasmus I, 7.17.

When the wine is flowing, the truth comes out.

5 Bonae leges ex malis moribus [274,25]

Erasmus I, 10.61

Good laws are caused by bad morals.

6 Nequicquam sapit qui sibj non sapit

Erasmus I, 6.20.

A man is sensible in vain, if he has no sense on his own behalf.

7 Summum jus summa injuria [196,5]

Erasmus I, 10.25.

The extremity of the law is the extremity of injustice.

8 Sera in fundo parsimonia

Erasmus II, 2.64.

When the bottom of the chest has been reached, frugality is too late.

9 Optimum non nasci

- Erasmus II, 3.49.
 Best not to be born.
- 10 Musa mihi causas memora
 Virgil, Aeneid I, 8.
 Recount to me, O muse, the causes.
- 11 Longę/ Ambages sed summa sequar fastigia rerum
 Virgil, Aeneid I, 341-342.
 The story's winding course is long; but I will pursue our matters' topmost points.
- 13 Causasque innecte morandj
 Virgil, Aeneid IV, 51.
 And contrive reasons for delay.
- 14 Incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit
 Virgil, Aeneid IV, 76.
 She begins to speak, and stops with the words half-spoken.
- 15 Sensit enim simulata voce locutam
 Virgil, Aeneid IV, 105.
 For she saw that she had spoken with feigned tones.
- 16 quae prima exordia sumat
 Virgil, Aeneid IV, 284.
 What words should he choose, with which first to begin?
- 17 Haec alternantj potior sententia visa est.
 Virgil, Aeneid IV, 287.
 As he wavered, this choice of action seemed to be the better.
- 18 Et inextricabilis error
 Virgil, Aeneid VI, 27.
 And inextricable wandering.
- 19 Obscuris vera involvens.
 Virgil, Aeneid VI, 100.[N]
 Wrapping up the truth in obscurity.
- 20 Hae tibi erunt artes
 Virgil, Aeneid VI, 852.
 These will be your arts.
- 21 Sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
 Virgil, Aeneid VIII, 142.

And so the pair's descent splits off from one single lineage.

22 Varioque viam sermone levabat

Virgil, Aeneid VIII, 309.

And he lightened the journey with varied conversation

23 Quid causas petis ex alto fiducia cessit/ Quo tibi Diva mej

Virgil, Aeneid VIII, 395-396.

Why do you search so widely for reasons? To what place, O goddess, has your faith in me withdrawn?

25 Causas nequicquam nectis inanes

Virgil, Aeneid IX, 219.

You contrive empty reasons in vain.

26 quid me alta silentia cogis/ Rumpere et obductum verbis vulgare dolorem

Virgil, Aeneid X, 63-64.

Why do you force me to break my deep silence, and to use the spoken word to spread abroad my hidden grief?

28 Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes

Virgil, Aeneid XI, 716.

In your deceitfulness you have attempted your native tricks; but you have attempted them in vain.

29 Do quod vis et me victusque volensque remitto

Virgil, Aeneid XII, 833.

I grant what you wish, and, both conquered and consenting, I surrender.

244 1 Sed scelus hoc meritj pondus et instar habet

Ovid, Heroides II, 30.

But this crime has the weight and appearance of a just recompense.

2 Quaeque prior nobis intulit ips[a]* ferat

Ovid, Heroides V, 76.

And let [Helen]* herself undergo those sufferings which she first inflicted on me.

- 3 Officium fecere pium sed inutile nobis
 Ovid, *Heroides* XIII, 27.[N]
 They carried out a duty which was affectionate,
 but useless to me.
- 4 Exiguum sed plus quam nihil illud erit
 Ovid, *Heroides* XIX, 170.[N]
 That will be very little, but more than nothing.[cf.
 240,15 'Some what is better then [sic] nothing';
 see Table 5]
- 5 Sed lateant vires nec sis in fronte disertus [cf. 245,2]
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I, 463.
 But let your powers lie hidden, and do not permit
 the expression of your countenance to reveal your
 skill in speaking.
- 6 Sit tibi credibilis sermo consuetaque verba/ praesens ut
 videare loqui
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I, 467-468.
 Let your language be credible, and your words
 familiar, so that you seem to be present, speaking
 in person.
- 245 1 Ille referre aliter sepe solebat idem
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* II, 128.
 He was often wont to repeat the same thing in dif-
 ferent words.
- 2 Nec vultu destrue verba tuo [cf. 244,5]
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* II, 312.
 And do not destroy your words with your counte-
 nance.
- 3 Nec sua vesanus scripta poeta legat
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* II, 508.
 Nor let a crazed poet recite his own verses.
- 4 Ars casum simulet
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* III, 155.
 Let art imitate chance.
- 5 Quid cum legitima fraudatur litera voce/ Blaesaque fit
 iusso lingua coacta sono
 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* III, 293-294.
 Is not a letter deprived of its rightful pronuncia-

- tion, and does not the tongue start to lisp when
forced to utter the sound enjoined?
- 7 Sed quae non prosunt singula multa iuvant.
Ovid, *Remedia amoris*, 420.
But those things which are not beneficial individ-
ually, help when present in numbers.
- 8 Sic parvis componere magna solebam
Virgil, *Eclogues I*, 23.
In this way was I accustomed to compare great
things with small.
- 9 Alternis dicetis
Virgil, *Eclogues III*, 59.
You will speak alternately.
- 10 paulo majora canamus/ Non omnes arbusta iuvant
Virgil, *Eclogues IV*, 1-2.
Let us sing of rather greater matters; the orchards
do not cause delight to everyone.
- 12 Et argutos inter strepere anser olores.
Virgil, *Eclogues IX*, 36.
And I seem to cackle like a goose among tuneful
swans.
- 13 Causando nostros in longum ducis amores
Virgil, *Eclogues IX*, 56.
By making prettexts, you set my desires far to one
side.
- 14 Nec tibi tam sapiens quisquam persuadeat autor
Virgil, *Georgics II*, 315.
And do not let any adviser persuade you, howev-
er wise he may be.
- 15 Nec sum animi dubius verbis ea vincere magnum/
quam sit et angustis hunc addere rebus honorem
Virgil, *Georgics III*, 289-290.
Nor do I harbour doubt in my mind, how hard a
thing it is to achieve a triumph here with words
and to crown a humble theme with such an hon-
our
- 17 Sic placet an melius quis habet suadere
Horace, *Epodes XVI*, 23.
Does this idea please you? Or does anyone have

- 18 better advice to give?
 Quamquam ridentem dicere verum/ quis vetat
 Horace, Satires I, 1. 24-25.
 And yet who prohibits a man from laughing as he
 speaks the truth?
- 20 Sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo
 Horace, Satires I, 1. 27.
 But let us put frivolity to one side, and devote
 ourselves to serious matters.
- 21 Posthabuj tamen illorum mea seria ludo
 Virgil, Eclogues VII, 17.
 Yet I neglected my serious concerns in favour of
 their pastime.
- 22 O imitatores servum pecus
 Horace, Epistles I, 19.19.
 O you imitators, you servile herd.
- 23 Quam temere in nobis legem sancimus iniquam.
 Horace, Satires I, 3.67
 How thoughtlessly do we ratify an unjust law
 among ourselves.
- 24 mores sensusque repugnant/ Atque ipsa utilitas justj
 propè mater et equi
 Horace, Satires I, 3.97-98.
 Customs and feelings resist; so too does expedi-
 ency itself, expediency, the mother, as it were, of
 what is just and fair.
- 26 dummodo [r]*isum/ Excutiat sibj non hic cuiquam
 parcit amico
 Horace, Satires I, 4.34-35.
 Provided that he strikes up laughter on his own
 account, this man does not spare any of his
 friends.
- 28 Nescio qu[i]*d me[d]it[ans]* nugarum totus in illis
 Horace, Satires I, 9.2.
 Meditating upon trifling matters of some sort, and
 completely absorbed in them.
- 29 Num quid vis occupo/ Noris nos inquit doctj sumus
 Horace, Satires I, 9.6.
 "So what is it you want?", I say in anticipation.

"You know me", he said, "I am a scholar".

- 246 2 O te bollane cerebrj/ Fēlicem aiebam tacitus.
 Horace, Satires I, 9.11-12.
 "O Bolanus", I said repeatedly to myself, "how
 enviable you are in your enthusiasm".
- 247 1 ridiculum acry/ Fortius et melius magnas plerunque
 secat res.
 Horace, Satires I, 10.14-15.
 For the most part, the jest of the sharp-witted man
 cuts through great matters with greater vigour and
 effect.
- 3 At magnum fecit quod verbis graeca latinis }
 Miscuit ô serj studiorum }
 Horace, Satires I, 10.20-21.
 "But he achieved a great feat, in mingling Greek
 words with the Latin". O you who are late to
 learn!
- 5 Nil ligat exemplum litem quod lite resolvit
 Horace, Satires II, 3.103.
 An example confirms nothing, if it settles one dis-
 puted matter by another equally disputed.
- 6 Nimirum insanus paucis videatur eo quod }
 Maxima pars hominum morbo laborat eodem }
 Horace, Satires II, 3.120-121.
 To be sure, he would seem mad only to a few
 people; and for the reason: the greatest part of
 mankind is troubled by that same mental illness.
- 8 Neu si vafer unus et alter/ Insidiatorem praeroso fuger-
 it hamo/ Aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas
 Horace, Satires II, 5.24-26.
 If one crafty person or another, after nibbling at
 the hook, has escaped your ambush, do not aban-
 don hope or give up your skill, ridiculed though
 you may be.
- 11 gaudent praenomine molles }
 auriculae }
 Horace, Satires II, 5.32-33.

- Pliant ears take pleasure in hearing the fore-
name.
- 13 Renuis tu quod jubet alter
Horace, Epistles II, 2.63.
You reject what the other man commands.
- 14 Qui variare cupit rem prodigaliter unam.
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 29.
The man who desires to give variety to a single
theme, through a monstrous use of images.
- 15 Et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 78.
And even now the dispute lies before the judge.
- 16 [Proicit]* ampullas et sesquipedalia verba
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 97.
He discards his bombast, and words that stretch
for half a yard.
- 17 Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatus
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 138.
What will this pedlar of promises produce that is
worthy of such pompous language?
- 18 Atque ita mentitur sic veris falsa remittit*
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 151.
And he invents with such mastery, and uses such
skill to set the false beside the true.
- 19 tantum series juncturaque pollet/ Tantum de medio
sumptis accedit honoris
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 242-243.
So great is the power of sequence and connection;
so great the esteem which accrues to themes
selected from the familiar.
- 21 Ergo fungar vice cotis acutum
Reddere quæ possit ferrum exors ipsa secandj }
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 304-305.
Therefore I will play the part of a whetstone,
which is able to make iron sharp, yet is itself inca-
pable of cutting.
- 23 Haec placuit semel haec decies repetita placebit
Horace, *Ars poetica*, 365.
This one has given pleasure once; this other one

will always please, though summoned back ten times.

[see Table 5]

- 24 Fas est et ab hoste docerj
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV, 428
It is right to be taught, even by an enemy.
- 25 Usque adeo quod tangit idem est tamen ultima/ distant[t]*
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VI, 67.[N]
To such an extent it remains the same, wherever it reaches; yet the extreme edges differ from each other.
- 26 Quis furor auditos inquit praeponere visis
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VI, 170.[N]
“What madness is this,” she said, “to prefer those of whom you have heard to those you have seen?”
[see Table 5]
- 27 Pro munere poscimus usum
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X, 37.[N]
We ask for this enjoyment as a favour.
- 28 Inde retro redeunt idemque retexitur ordo
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV, 249.
Then they come back once more, and the same order is restored.
- 29 Nil tam bonum est quin male narrando possit/ depravarier
Terence, *Phormio* IV, 4. 15-16.[N]
Nothing is so good that it cannot be distorted by being narrated badly.
[see Table 5]
- 248 1 Furor arma ministrat
Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 150.
Madness supplies arms.
- 2 Pulchrumque morj succurrit in armis [c.f. 208,23; 212,22]
Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 317.
And I realize how fine a thing it is to die in arms.
[see Table 5]
- 3 Aspirat primo fortuna laborj

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- Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 385.
 Fortune favours our first exertion.
- 4 Facilis jactura sepulchrj
 Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 646.
 The loss of a tomb is easy to bear.
- 5 Cedamus phoebo et monitj meliora sequamu[r] [cf.
 196,7]
 Virgil, *Aeneid* III, 188.
 Let us yield to Phoebus, and, once warned, let us
 follow the better course.
- 6 Fata viam invenient
 Virgil, *Aeneid* III, 395.
 The fates will find a way.
- 7 Degeneres animos timor arguit
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 13.
 Fear proves that hearts are base.
- 8 Viresque acquirit eundo
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 175.
 And, as it progresses, it acquires strength.
- 9 Et caput inter nubila condit
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 177.
 And it conceals its head among the clouds.
- 10 Et magnas territat urbes/ Tam ficti pravique tenax quam
 nuntia verj
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 187-188.
 And it terrifies great cities, both holding fast to
 what is false and wicked, and presaging the truth.
- 12 Gaudens et pariter facta atque infecta canebat
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 190.
 It rejoiced and sang alike of deeds performed and
 actions not yet undertaken.
- 13 Nusquam tuta fides [196,8]
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 373.
 Nowhere is trust safe.
- 14 Et oblitos famae meliori[s]* amantes
 Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 221.
 And the lovers, forgetful of their nobler reputa-
 tion.
- 15 Varium et mutabile semper/ Fēmina

- Virgil, Aeneid IV, 569-570.
A woman will always be a fickle and changeable thing.
- 17 Furens quid femina possit
Virgil, Aeneid V, 6.
What a woman, when raving, can do.
- 18 Quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur/ Quicquid id est superanda est omnis fortun[a] ferendo
Virgil, Aeneid V, 709-710.
Wherever the fates drag us, and wherever they drag us back, let us follow; whatever it may be, every stroke of fortune can be overcome by endurance.
- 20 Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior i[to]
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 95
Do not yield to evil threats, but, with greater boldness, go forth to meet them.
- 21 Hoc opus hic labor est
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 129
This is the task, this is the object of endeavour.
- 22 Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere li[men]
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 563
It is not right that any man of purity should set foot upon the accursed threshold.
- 23 Discite justitiam moniti [cf. 196,9; 216,3]
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 620.
Be warned; learn justice.
- 24 Quisque suos patimur manes [196,10]
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 743,
Each one of us endures his own fate in the after-life.
[see Table 5]
- 25 Neu patrię valida[s]* in viscera vertite vires
Virgil, Aeneid VI, 833.
And do not turn your country's mighty strength against its vital parts.
- 26 Verique effeta senectus.
Virgil, Aeneid VII, 440.
And old age, too weak to know the truth.

- 27 *At patiens operum parvoque assueta iuven[tus]*
 Virgil, *Aeneid IX*, 607.
 But our young men, inured to toil and accustomed
 to deprivation.
- 28 *Juno vires animumque ministrat*
 Virgil, *Aeneid IX*, 764.
 Juno supplies strength and courage.
- 29 *Nescia mens hominum fatj sortisque futur[ae]/ Et ser-*
 vare modum rebus sublata secund[is]
 Virgil, *Aeneid X*, 501-502.
 The mind of man, unaware of fate and of destiny
 yet to come, and not knowing how to keep the
 bounds of moderation when exalted by favour-
 able good fortune.
- 249 1 *Spes sibi quisque*
 Virgil, *Aeneid XI*, 309.
 Each man may place his hopes upon himself.
- 2 *Nec te ullius violentia vincat*
 Virgil, *Aeneid XI*, 354.
 And let no man's violence constrain you.
- 3 *Respice res bello varias*
 Virgil, *Aeneid XII*, 43.
 Take care for variations of fortune in warfare.
- 4 *Credidimus lachrimis an et hae simulare docentur/ Hę*
 quoque habent artes quaque iubentur eunt
 Ovid, *Heroides II*, 51-52.
 We have placed trust in your tears: or are even
 tears taught how to pretend? Do tears too have
 stratagems, and issue forth to where they are told
 to go?
 [see Table 5]
- 6 *Quaecunque ex merito spes venit ęqua venit*
 Ovid, *Heroides II*, 62.
 Whenever a hope is derived from merit, that hope
 is just.
- 7 *Simplicitas digna favore fuit*
 Ovid, *Heroides II*, 64.
 Simplicity was worthy of esteem.

[see Table 5]

- 8 Exitus acta probat careat successibus opto/ Quisquis ab
 eventu facta notanda putet.
 Ovid, *Heroides* II, 85-86.
 Their consequence vindicates the actions; but. I
 pray, let no one enjoy success if he thinks that
 deeds should be branded by their outcome.
- 10 Ars fit ubj a teneris crimen condiscitur annis
 Ovid, *Heroides* IV, 25.
 A fault imbued from tender years becomes an art.
- 11 Jupiter esse pium statuit quodcunque iuaret
 Ovid, *Heroides* IV, 133.
 Jupiter has decided that whatever gave us pleas-
 ure, was right.
- 12 Non honor est sed onus [...]*/ Si qua voles apte nubere
 nube parj
 Ovid, *Heroides* IX, 31-32.
 It is not an honour but a burden...; should you
 wish to marry rightly, marry an equal.
 [see Table 5]
- 14 Perdere posse sat est si quem iuvat ista potestas.
 Ovid, *Heroides* XII, 75.
 To be able to spread ruin is enough, if the power
 to do that causes anyone pleasure.
- 15 Terror in his ipso major solet esse periclo/ Quaeque
 timere li[c]*et pertimuisse pudet
 Ovid, *Heroides* XVI, 351-352.
 Terror in these matters is wont to exceed the dan-
 ger itself; and though one may fear some things,
 it is shameful to dread them utterly.
- 17 An nescis longas regibus esse manus
 Ovid, *Heroides* XVII, 166.
 Perhaps you do not know that kings have far-
 reaching hands.
- 18 Utilis interdum est ipsis injuria passis
 Ovid, *Heroides* XVII, 187.
 An injury is sometimes useful even to the very
 people who have sustained it.
- 19 Fallitur augurio spes bona sepe suo

Ovid, *Heroides* XVII, 234.

Good hope is often deceived by its own augury.

20 Quae fecisse iuvat facta referre pudet

Ovid, *Heroides* XIX, 64.

Things which it is delightful to have done, but shameful to repeat.

21 Consilium prudensque animj sententia jurat/ Et nisi
judicij vincula nulla valent

Ovid, *Heroides* XXI, 137-138.

Resolution, and the wise decision of the mind, swear oaths; and no oaths are valid, if they lack the bonds of judgement.

23 Sin abeunt studia in mores

Ovid, *Heroides* XV, 83.[N]

But if inclinations are transformed into character.

24 Illa verecundis lux est praebenda puellis/ Qua timidus
latebras speret habere pudor

Ovid, *Amores* I, 5. 7-8.[N]

That light is the light which should be offered to bashful maidens; for there their timid modesty could hope to find a hiding place.

26 Casta est quam nemo rogavit

Ovid, *Amores* I, 8. 43.[N]

She is chaste, whom no one has solicited

[see Table 5]

27 Quj non vult fierj desidiosus amet

Ovid, *Amores* I, 9. 46.[N]

If man does not wish to become slothful, let him fall in love.

28 Gratia pro rebus merito debetur inemptis

Ovid, *Amores* I, 10.43.[N]

Gratitude is deservedly owed for things unbought.

29 Quem metuit quisque perisse cupit

Ovid, *Amores* II, 2.10.[N]

If anyone has feared a man, he wills that man to perish.

251 I Verbera sed audi.

- But hear chidings.
- 3 Auribus mederj difficillimum. [197,1]
It is a very difficult thing to heal the ears.
- 5 Noluit Intelligere ut benè ageret
Psalms, 35.4. (= A.V. 36.3)
He was unwilling to understand how to pursue
virtue.
- 11 Noli aemularj in malignantibus
Psalms, 36.1. (= A.V. 37.1)
Do not be esteemed among those who contrive
malice.
- 14 Nil malo quam illos similes esse suj et me mej
I would prefer nothing rather than that they should
resemble their own selves, and that I should re-
semble myself.
- 18 Quia tacuj inveteraverunt ossa mea (speach may now &
then breed smart in ye. flesh; but keeping it in goeth to
ye bone.
Psalms, 31.3 (= A.V. 32.3)
Because I have remained silent my bones have
become old.
- 24 Credidi propter quod locutus sum. [193,7]
Psalms, 115.10 (= A.V. 116.10)
I believed; and on account of this I have spoken.
- 26 Obmutuj et humiliatus sum siluj et[ia]*m a bonis et
dolor meus renovatus est. [193,6]
Psalms, 38.3. (= A.V. 39.2)
I have been speechless and I have been abased: I
have remained silent even concerning good things
and my grief has been renewed.
- 3b Placidasque viri deus obstruit aures
Virgil, Aeneid IV, 440.
And Heaven blocks the mortal's gentle ears.
- 11b Cum perverso perverteris;
Psalms, 17.27. (= A.V. 18.26)
You will be perverse with the wrong-headed.
- 12b lex talionis
The law of retaliation in kind.
- 18b Obmutuj et non aperuj os meum quoniam tu fecistj

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Psalms, 38.10. (= A.V. 39.9)

I have fallen silent and have not opened my mouth, because you have done [this].

21b Posuj custodiam Orj meo cum consisteret peccator adversum me.

Psalms, 38.2. (= A.V. 39.1)

I placed a guard over my mouth when a sinner appeared before me.

24b Ego autem tanquam surdus non audiebam et tanquam mutus non aperiens os suum

Psalms, 37.14. (= A.V. 38.13)

But, like a man who is deaf, I did not hear; and I was like a dumb man who does not open his mouth.

252 2 Et folium eius non defluet

Psalms, 1.3.

And his leaf shall not fade away.

3 Mella fluant illj ferat/ et rubus asper amo[m]jum

Virgil, Eclogues III, 89.

For him, let honey flow, and let the rough bramble bear balsam.

6 Dij meliora pijs

Virgil, Georgics III, 513.

May the gods bestow better things upon the virtuous.

7 Horresco referens

Virgil, Aeneid II, 204.

I shudder as I recount the story.

9 Per otium To any thing impertinent

Through leisure [to anything unsuitable].

253 9 Putting of malas curas & cupiditates.

Putting off evil cares and desires.

29 Ludimus incauti studioque aperimur ab ipso

Ovid, Ars amatoria III, 371.

We play without caution, and are given away by our very enthusiasm.

- 255 6 good betymes; bonum manè
Good morning.
- 13 Diluculo surgere saluberrimum est.
It is very healthy to rise at daybreak.
[see Table 5]
- 14 Surge puer mane sed noli surgere vanè.
Rise early in the morning, my boy, but do not rise
vainly.
[see Table 5]
- 20 Stulte quid est somnus gelidae nisi mortis imago/ Longa
quiescendi tempora fata dabunt.
Ovid, Amores II, 9.41-42.[N]
Fool, what is sleep other than an image of chill
death? The fates will grant great tracts of time
where you can take your rest.
- 258 1 Tentantes ad Trojam pervenere/ graecj atque omnia per-
tentare [231,14]
Erasmus II, 2.37.
Through their efforts, the Greeks reached Troy,
and tried out every stratagem.
- 3 Qui in agone contendit a multis abstinet. [212.13]
I Corinthians, 9.25.
The man who takes part in the contest abstains
from many things.
- 7 Parerga; mouente[s]* sed nil promoventes opero-
sit[at]*es, nil ad summ[u] *m
Unnecessary elaborations; excessive pieces of
sophistication, which produce activity but bring
about no progress, contributing nothing to the
achievement of the principal aim.
- 10 Claudus in via [cf. 207,7]
A lame man on the right road [is better than a run-
ner who has strayed away from it].
- 14 Omni[a]* possum in eo qui me confortat
Philippians, 4.13.
I can do all things through Him who gives me
great strength.
- 16 Possunt quia posse videntur [215,22]

Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 231.

They can achieve great things, because they appear to be capable of achieving them.

- 260 1// Quod adulationis nomine dicitur bonum quod //obtrec-
tationis malum.
What is said in the name of adulation is good;
what is said by way of disparagement is bad.
- 3 Cujus contrarium majus; majus aut privatio cujus
minus [minus].# [see p. 261 for the only two other
examples of this marginal mark]
A thing of which the contrary is greater, is greater;
or a thing of which the loss is less, is less
- 5// Cujus opus et virtus majus majus cujus minus minus
A thing of which the workmanship and worth are
greater, is greater; if its workmanship and worth
are less, then it is less.
- 6// quorum cupiditates majores aut meliores./ //quorum
scientiae aut artes honestiores.
Those things for which desires are greater or bet-
ter [are greater or better]*, those things of which
the knowledge or art is more honourable [are
themselves more honourable]*.
- 8// quod vir melior eligeret ut injuriam potius pati/ //quam
facere.
What a better man would choose [is itself bet-
ter]*; as, for example, to suffer an injustice rather
than inflict it.
- 10// quod manet melius quam quod transit.
What abides is better than what passes by.
- 11// quorum quis autor cupit esse bon[a]*, cujus horret/
//malum.
Those things of which someone wishes to be the
author are good; what he shrinks from doing is
bad.
- 13// quod quis amico cupit facere bonum quod inimico/
//malum.
What someone desires to do for a friend is good;
what he desires to do for an enemy is bad.

- 15// Diuturniora minus diuturnis
More long-lasting things [are better]* than less long-lasting things.
- 16 Conjugata
Things joined together [are better]*
- 17// quod plures eligunt potius quam quod pauciores.
What more people choose, rather than what fewer people choose.
- 18// quod controvertentes dicunt bonum perinde ac omnes [269,12]
What people engaged in a controversy say is good, [is good]*, just as though everyone [had said it was good]*.
- 19 quod scientes et potentes, quod judicantes.
What men of knowledge and power, what men of judgement [say is good, is good]*.
- 20// Quorum praemia majora, majora bona, quorum/mulctae majores, majora mala
Those things for which the rewards are greater, are greater goods; those things for which the penalties are greater, are greater evils.
- 22 Quae confessis et tertijs majoribus majora.
[untranslatable] *
- 23// quod ex multis constat magis bonum cum multi //articulj bonj dissectj magnitudinem prae se ferunt
The thing which consists of many parts is a greater good, when many sections of that good thing, divided up, conspicuously display their significance.
- 24 Nativa asc[isc]*itis.
You adopt those things which are native to you.
- 26// Qua[e]* supra aetatem praeter occasionem aut op[p]*ortuni-/tate[m]* praeter naturam [l]*ocj praeter conditionem/ temporis praeter naturam personae vel instru-/menti vel iuvamenti majora quam quae secundum.
Those things which surpass the present age, which go beyond the occasion or the opportunity, beyond the nature of the place, beyond the condi-

tion of the time, beyond the nature of the person or the means or assistance at hand, are greater than those which conform thereto.

- 261 1// quae in graviore tempore utilia ut in morbo senectute/
//aut adversis. [269.8]
Those things which are useful in more grievous times, as in illness, old age or adverse circumstances.
- 3// Ex duobus medijs quod propinquius est fruj [?]*
Out of two middling things, that which is the nearer [. . .?]*.
- 4// Quae tempore futuro et ultimo quia sequens tempus/
//evacuat praeterita
Things which belong to a future and final period [are better]*, because the sequence of passing time obliterates the past.
- 6 Antiqua novis nova antiquis
Things ancient to the moderns were modern to the ancients.
- 7 Consueta novis nova consuetis
Things ordinary to the moderns are modern to the humdrum.
- 8// quod ad veritatem magis quam ad opinionem [ma]*jus/
//[est]*. quae ad opinionem pertinet, ratio est ac/
//modus, quod quis sj clam fore putaret non/ //eligeret
What shows more respect for the truth than for opinion is greater. The assessment and test, to consider whether opinion comes first, is this: that if anyone had thought his action would have taken place unnoticed, he would not have chosen to do it.
- 12// Polychreston ut divitiae, robur, potentia, facultates/
//animj
Good for many purposes; as are riches, strength, power, faculties of the mind.
- 14# Ex duobus quod tertio equali adjunctum majus
ips[orum se]* reddit
If one of two things is linked to a third of equal

weight, it renders itself the greater of the two.

[see Table 5]

16# Quae non latent cum adsunt, quam quae latere possunt
majora. [269.3]

Those things which do not escape notice when present are greater than those which are capable of escaping notice.

18// quod magis ex necessitate ut oculus unus lusco [269,1]
Something which is esteemed more highly from necessity; as a single eye is valued by a one-eyed man.

19// quod expertus facile reliquit [269,5]
What an experienced person has forsaken easily [is bad].*

20// quod quis cogitur facere malum
What anyone does through compulsion is bad.

21// quod sponte fit bonum
What is done of one's own accord is good.

22// quod bono confesso redimitur
What is redeemed with sound acknowledgement.

262 3 Cujus excusatio paratior est vel venia indulta magis/
minus malum.

A thing for which an excuse is more readily available or for which pardon is more liable to be granted is a lesser evil.

263 1 Melior est oculorum visio quam animj progressio
Ecclesiastes, 6.9.

The vision of the eyes is better than the running forward of the mind.

2// Spes in dolio remansit sed non ut ant[i]*dotum sed ut/
//major morbus

Hope remained in the jar, but not as an antidote; rather, as a greater disease.

4 Spes omnis in futuram vitam consumend[a]* sufficit/
praesentibus bonis purus sensus.

All hope must be bestowed upon a future life; for our present welfare a pure frame of mind is sufficient.

- 6 *Spes vigilantis somnium;*
 Hope is a waking man's dream.
- 7 *vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inc[oh]*are longam.*
 Horace, Odes I, 4.15.
 The brief span of life forbids us to fashion a hope
 spreading out across long vistas of time.
- 8// *Spes facit animos leves t[u]*midos inæquales //peregri-*
 nantes
 Hope makes men's minds fickle, excited, capri-
 cious and liable to wander.
- 10// *Vidi ambulantes sub sole cum adolescente secundo/*
 //qui consurget post eum.
 Ecclesiastes, 4.15.
 I saw those who walk beneath the sun, with a sec-
 ond youth who will rise up after him.
- 12// *Imaginationes omnia turbant, timores multiplicant/*
 //voluptates corrumpunt.
 Fancies throw everything into confusion; they
 multiply fears, and corrupt pleasures.
- 14// *Anticipatio timor[i]*s salubris ob inventionem remedij/*
 *//spei institit [?]**
 The anticipation of fear is healthy since it means
 the discovery of a remedy for hope [...?]*.
- 16// *Imminent futuro, ingrati in praeteritum semper/ adoles-*
 centes
 They grasp at the future, ungrateful towards the
 past, always immature.
- 18 *Vitam sua sponte fluxam magis fluxam reddimus/ per*
 *continuaciones spe[i]**
 We make life, which, of its own nature, is tran-
 sient, more transient still through continuing to
 hope.
- 20 *Praesentia erunt futura non contra*
 The future will become the present, and not the
 other way round.
- 265 1// *Quod inimicis nostris gratum est ac optabile ut/ //nobis*
 eveniat malum, quod molestiae et terrorj est bonum.
 What is pleasing to our enemies and what they

- find desirable should it happen to us, is bad: what is a vexation and a source of alarm to them is good.
- 4 Metuo danaos et dona ferentes
Virgil, Aeneid II, 49.
I fear the Greeks even when bringing gifts.
- 5 Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae.
Virgil, Aeneid II, 104.
This the Ithacan would wish, and this the sons of Atreus would purchase for a great price.
- 9 Concilia[nt]* homines mala. a forcin warre to appeas parties at home
Bad times reconcile mankind.
- 11// Quod quis sibj tribuit et sumit bonum, quod in//alium transfert malum
What someone assigns to himself and takes up is good: what he makes over to another person is bad.
- 13 non tam invidiae impertiendae quam laudis communi-
candae gratia loquor.
Cicero, Pro Sulla, 9.[N]
I do not speak so much for the sake of dividing out unpopularity as for sharing praise.
- 15// Quod quis facile impertit minus bonum quod quis/ paucis et gravatim impertit majus bonum
A thing which someone bestows readily is a lesser good: a thing which he bestows upon a few, and does so reluctantly, is a greater good.
- 17 Te nunc habet ista secundum.
Virgil, Eclogues II, 38.
This [shepherd's pipe]* now has you, to be its second master.
- 18// Quod per ostentationem fertur bonum, quod per//excusationem purgatur malum.
What is carried through with showy confidence is good: what is justified by means of excuses is bad.
- 20// Nescio quid peccati portet haec purgatio
Terence, Heautontimorumenos IV, 1.12.

I do not know what kind of wrong-doing this justification implies.

- 21// Cuj sectae diversae quae sibi quaeque praestantiam/
//vendicat secundas tribu(un)*t melior singulis [cf. next entry]

That to which the diverse sects, each one of which claims pre-eminence for itself, attribute second place is better than these individual sects.

- 22// Secta [Academica]* quam Epicureus et stoicus sibi/
//tantum postponit
[cf. previous entry]

The sect of the Academy, which both Epicurean and Stoic place second only to themselves.

- 266 1// Cujus exuperantia vel excellentia melior ejus et/ genus melius.

If the pre-eminence or excellence of something is superior, then its species also is superior.

- 7// In quo periculosius erratur melius eo in quo erratur/
//minore cum periculo. [cf. 266.22]

A matter in which it is more dangerous to err is better than that in which error takes place with less danger.

[see Table 5]

- 9// Quod rem integram servat, melius eo a quo receptus/
//non est potestatem enim donat potestas autem/
//bonum

A course of action which keeps a matter open is better than that from which there is no way out; for this bestows control, and control is a good.

- 16// Quod polychrestum est melius quam quod ad unum/
//refertur ob incertos casus humanos.

What is good for many purposes is better than what is dedicated to one single purpose on account of the uncertainty of the events which befall humanity.

- 18// Cujus contrarium [aut]* privatio malum bonum cujus bonum malum.

A thing of which the contrary or the deprivation is

bad, is good; but a thing of which the contrary is good, is bad.

20// In quo non est satietas neque nimium melius eo in /
//quo satietas est

A thing in which there is neither satiety nor excess is better than that in which satiety is present

22// In quo vix erratur melius eo in quo error proclivis [cf. 266,7]

A thing in which error scarcely takes place is better than that in which error is liable to occur.

[see Table 5]

23// Finis melior ijs quae ad finem; [cf, 207,10]

The conclusion is better than those things which lead up to the conclusion.

24// Cujus causa sumptus facti et labores toleratj bonum;/
//si ut evitetur malum.

If expenses are undertaken and labours endured for the sake of something, then that thing is good; if these things are done so that it should be avoided, then it is bad.

26// Quod habet rivales et de quo homines contendunt/
//bonum; de quo non est contentio malum. [cf, 267,9]

A thing which has competitors, and for which men contend, is good; a thing for which there is no contention is bad.

[see Table 5]

28 Differ[entia]* inter fruj et acquirere.

There is a difference between enjoyment and acquisition.

267 1 Quod laudatur et praedicatur bonum quod occultatur/ et vituperatur malum.

What is praised and commended is good; what is concealed and censured is bad.

3// Quod etiam inimicj et malevoli laudant valde bonum./
//quod etiam amicj reprehendunt magnum malum.

Something which even enemies and the ill-disposed praise is exceedingly good; something with

- which even friends find fault is a great evil.
[see Table 5]
- 5 Quod consulto et per meliora iudicia proponitur/ majus bonum.
What is put forward designedly and after better assessment is a greater good.
- 7// Quod sine mixtura malj melius quam quod refractum/ et non syncerum.
Something with no admixture of evil is better than something which has been broken open and is not pure.
- 9 Possibile et facile bonum quod sine labore et parvo/ tempore cont[ra] malum [cf, 266,6]
What is possible and easy to do is good; what can be done without exertion and in a short space of time is, on the other hand, bad.
[see Table 5]
- 11 Bona confessa jucund[a]* sensu[i]* comparatione.
Good deeds acknowledged become agreeable to the understanding through the process of comparison.
- 12 Honor; voluptas;/ Vita[;]*/ bona valetudo[;]*/ suavia objecta sensuum;
Honour; pleasure; life; good health; delightful objects of the senses.
- 16 Inducunt tranquillum sensum virtutes ob securitatem/ et contemptum rerum humanarum; facultates/ animj et rerum gerendarum ob spem et metum/ subigendum; et diviti[ae]*...
Virtues induce a sense of tranquillity on account of the security and contempt for human affairs [which they produce]*; so do abilities of the mind and the capacity to manage affairs, on account of their tendency to suppress hope and fear; and riches...
- 20 Ex aliena opinione; laus.
From another person's opinion; praise.
- 21 Quae propria sunt et minus communicata; ob honor[em]*/ qu[em]* continent, ut animalia ut plantae

et amplius;/ sed id amplius potest esse malj.

Things which are individual and less shared on account of the honour which they contain [are good]*; as animals, as plants, and more; but that can mean more evil.

24 Congruentia, ob raritatem et genium et proprietatem ut in familijs et professionibus

Things which are in harmony with each other on account of their rarity and special character and peculiarity [are good]*; as in families and in professions.

26 Quae sibj deesse quis putat licet sint exigua

Let those things which someone thinks are lacking to him be of little significance.

268 1 ad quae naturâ proclives sunt

Things to which they are prone by nature.

2 quae nemo abjectus capax est ut faciat

Things which no worthless person is capable of doing.

3 Majus et continens minore et contento [cf, 201,13]

What is greater and contains something else [is better than]* what is smaller and contained within another thing.

4 Ipsum quod suj causa eligitur

That very thing which is chosen for its own sake.

5 quod omnia appetunt.

What all things strive after.

6 quod prudenti[â]* adepti eligunt

What the adept choose from prudence.

7 quod efficiendi et custodiendj vim habet.

Something which has the power to accomplish things and to preserve them.

8 Cuj res bonae sunt consequentes.

Something of which good things are the consequences.

9 maximum maximo ipsum ipsis; unde exuperant...

[untranslatable]*; whence they excel...

10 quae majoris bonj conficientia sunt ea majora sunt

- bona.
 Things which are productive of a greater good are themselves greater goods.
- 12 quod propter se expetendum eo quod propter ali[ud]*
 What is desirable for its own sake [is better than]*
 what is desirable on account of something else.
- 13 Fall[acia]* in diversis generibus et proportionibus
 A fallax may be found in classifications and analogies, when their terms differ from each other.
- 14 Finis non finis
 The aim, not the end.
 [see Table 5]
- 15 Minus indigens eo quod magis indiget
 Something which stands in need of less [is better than]* something which needs more.
- 16 quod/ paucioribus et facilioribus indiget
 Something which stands in need of fewer things, which are more easily obtained [is better than something which needs more]*.
- 17 quoties ho[c]* sine illo fieri no[n]* potest, illud/ sine hoc fieri potest illud melius
 As often as one thing cannot be done without a second thing, but that second thing can be done without the first, then that second thing is the better.
- 19 principium non principio; finis autem et principium/ antitheta; non majus videtur principium quia/ primum est in opere; contra finis quia primum/ in mente; de perpetratore et consiliario.
 The commencement is not at the beginning; yet the end and the beginning are antitheses; the beginning does not seem the greater because it comes first in the work; on the other hand the end appears greater because it comes first in the mind; concerning the performer and the adviser.
- 23 Rarum copiosis honores; mutton venison
 It is a rare thing for honours to be granted to the eloquent.

- 24 Copiosum vari[a]*t usu: optimum aqua
He varies eloquent discourse through experience:
the best [. . .?]*
- 25 difficiliora, facilioribus/ facilia, difficilioribus
Things which are more difficult for the more
good-natured [to do]*, and easier for the more
disagreeable.
- 269 1 Quod magis a necessitate ut oculus unus lusco.
[261,18]
Something which is esteemed more highly from
necessity; as a single eye is valued by a one-eyed
man.
- 2 Major videtur gradus privationis quam diminutionis
The step of deprivation appears greater than the
process of gradual loss.
[see Table 5]
- 3 Quae non latent cum adsunt majora quam quae/ latere
possunt. [261,16]
Those things which do not escape notice when
present are greater than those which are capable
of escaping notice.
- 5 Quod expertus facile reliquit malum, quod mordicus
tenet bonum. [261,19]
What an experienced person has forsaken easily
is bad; what he holds on to tenaciously is good.
- 7 In aliquibus manetur quia non datur regressus
In some situations one remains, unmoving,
because no opportunity exists for retreat.
- 8 Quae in graviore tempore utilia ut in morbo/ senectute
adversis. [261,1]
Those things which are useful in more grievous
times, as in illness, old age or adverse circum-
stances.
- 10 The soldier like a coreselt; bellaria, et appetitiva./
redd hearing. Love
The soldier like a coreselt; confectionery and
appetizers, redd hearing. Love.
- 12 Quod controvertentes dicunt bonum perinde ac/ omnes.

[260,18]

What people engaged in a controversy say is good, [is good]*, just as though everyone [had said it was good]*.

- 16 boriae penetrabile frigus adurit
 Virgil, *Georgics* I, 93.
 The north wind's piercing cold freezes right through.

- 270 1 *Analogia Caesaris*
 The "Analogy" of Caesar.
- 2 Verb[a]* et clausulae ad/ exercitationem accentus/ et ad gratiam sparsam/ et ad su[av]*itatem [cf. 273,11]
 Words and concluding phrases directed towards emphasis upon the main point, and to the spreading of courtesy, and to pleasantness.
- 27 With this (cum hoc quod/ verificare vult)
 With this (with this, a phrase which is intended for verification).
- 29 Without that (absque hoc/ quod
 Without that (without this, a phrase which...
- 271 2b A[g]*nosce teipsum (a chiding or disgrace
 Erasmus I, 7.95.
 Know thyself
 [see Table 5]
- 273 3 Baragan: perpetuo Juvenis
 Baragan; perpetually young.
- 11 Verba interjectiva sive ad gratiam sparsam [an endorsement across the page; cf. 270,2
 Words inserted either for the spreading of courtesy [...]*
- 274 3 Cujus contrarium malum bonum, cujus bonum/ malum.
 A thing of which the contrary is bad, is good; a thing of which the contrary is good, is bad.
- 5 Non tenet in ijs rebus quarum vis in temperamento/ et mensurã sita est.

This does not hold for those things of which the essence resides in moderation and balanced proportion.

- 7 Dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt
Horace, Satires I, 2.24.
While fools avoid errors, they run straight into those errors' opposite forms.
- 8 x Media via nulla est quae nec amicos parit nec inimicos tollit [the marginal cross occurs again on this page (line 25) and on 271,16 (for an English entry, 'I will prooue')]
There is no middle way which neither creates friends nor makes away with enemies.
- 12 Utinam esses calidus aut frigidus sed quoniam tepidus/es eveniet ut te expuam ex ore meo.
Revelation 3.16.
Would that you were hot or cold; but because you are lukewarm, it will come to pass that I shall spit you forth from my mouth.
- 14 Dixerunt fatui medium tenuere beatj [cf. 274,5]
Fools have said, 'The blessed have kept to the middle way'.
[cf. Table 5]
- 15 Cujus origo occasio bona, bonum; cuius mala malum.
If the origin of a thing is a good occurrence, then that thing is good; if its origin is a bad occurrence, then that thing is bad.
- 16 Non tenet in ijs malis quae vel mentem informant./ vel affectum corrigunt, sive resipiscentiam in-/ducendo sive necessitatem, nec etiam in fortuitis.
This does not hold for those evil things, which either fashion the mind, or correct the disposition, whether by introducing repentance or compulsion; nor does it hold for events which occur by accident.
- 23 Primum mobile turnes about all ye. rest of ye. Orbes.
The first mobile rotates all the rest of the orbs.
- 25 x Ex malis moribus bonae leges [243,5]
Erasmus I, 10.61.

Good laws are caused by bad morals.

- 275 1 Many effectes like the serpent that devoureth her/
moother so they destroy their first cause as/ inopia lux-
uria etc.
. . . / poverty, extravagance, etc.
- 6 Usque adeo latet utilitas [204,7]
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VI, 438.[N]
Right up to now the benefit lies hidden.
- 7 Aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo [204,6]
Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 332.[N]
And there was some benefit in that calamity.
- 8 Quod ad bonum finem dirigitur bonum, quod ad/
m[a]*lum malum
An action which is directed towards a good objec-
tive is good; an action which is directed towards
a bad objective is bad.
- 10 Philologia
A love of learned enquiry and debate.

BACONIANA
CORRESPONDENCE

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28th November 1998

Dear Editor,

Two matters in *Baconiana* No.195 warrant my comment.

First, the Enoch Powell contribution. It is a pity that you echo the phrase 'committee theory' which, when Powell's article was first published by *The Spectator*, was a predictable Stratfordian ploy to denigrate his Greenwood-like idea of many pens (but one master mind) within the enterprise we know as Shakespeare. It helped provoke reactions of scorn within that journal from (among others) Denis Healey. The idea conveyed by the word 'committee' is certainly not what Powell had in mind. I think it is a pity too that he chose St. Matthew's gospel rather than Shakespeare for the last book of his life. Indeed, it is part of the stigma linked to all querying of the Bard's identity that Powell's biographers neglect the facet of his interests that relates to Shakespearean authorship. Robert Shepherd, a few years ago, ignored it completely. And the latest life of Powell by Simon Heffer, published November 1998, gives very little room to Shakespearean matters within a thousand pages.

Second, I was somewhat surprised to find my article on J.M. Robertson accompanied – without any indication to me that this was the editor's intention – by comment from our Chairman, Thomas Bokenham. The appropriate response, to use an established Baconian phrase, must be 'the retort courteous'. Much of that commentary is useful: if, when writing my article, I'd had access to the *Baconiana* files (as I currently do) some of these earlier items on Robertson that Mr. Bokenham mentions would have been helpful to me. Robertson did, of course, edit Bacon's works and lecture to our Society on occasions – all before the production of his 1913 book. My article seeks to show that he may have been swayed by many factors in offering anti-Baconian views. And that he managed later to upset Stratfordians, by being forced into a particular route by the evidence he collected. However, I simply must, in the interests of truth and fair play, gently correct any impression given

CORRESPONDENCE

by Mr. Bokenham that one of my sentences is "ridiculous". Our Chairman clearly does think it absurd that Robertson scorned the ciphers on offer in his day, but my sentence simply reports that Robertson did so. As an accurate statement of fact, such reporting can hardly be ridiculous.

Yours,

ARTHUR M. CHALLINOR

BACONIANA
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Among the Objects for which the Society is established, as expressed in the Memorandum of Association, are the following:

1. To encourage, for the benefit of the public, the study of works of Francis Bacon as a philosopher, statesman and poet; also his character, genius and life, his influence on his own and succeeding times, and the tendencies and results of his writing.
2. To encourage for the benefit of the public, the general study of the evidence in favour of Francis Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period.

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