

جريدة المصادر المعتمدة

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List of Works Cited

I. THE WRITINGS OF PIERRE DUBOIS

[1300] *Summaria brevis et compendiosa doctrina felicis expeditionis et abbreviationis guerrarum ac litium regni Francorum.*

From the Cod. Lat. No. 6222C, fols. 1-34, in the Bibliothèque nationale. Edited by Hellmut Kämpf. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1936. 'Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,' ed. W. Goetz, Vol. IV.

Summary: The first part deals with the art of war, to which the author's attention was attracted by the disastrous expedition of Philip III against Aragon in 1285. After suggesting improved war tactics, he points out the advantages of his new method to the king and people of France. By following the precedent of Charlemagne the king might make himself master of Italy, assume the temporal power now wielded by the pope, and then go on to make himself master of Germany, eastern Europe, and the Greek Empire.

The second and longer part is devoted to a discussion of various reforms. Ecclesiastical infringements on civil jurisdiction should be halted; specific suggestions are made for accomplishing this. Considerable space is devoted to improved and shorter methods of court procedure. These reforms may readily be effected by royal decree, models for which are included. Ecclesiastics are scolded for their hypocrisy; their lives are in sharp contrast to their moral preaching. If the king will only enforce the suggested reforms, the French people will enjoy peace and prosperity.

[1302] *Raciones inconvincibles.* Lost.

Known only through a brief summary in chapter 111 of the *De recuperatione*. Written at Paris 'on the Sabbath day preceding the Sunday of the publication of the papal iniquity [the bull *Ausculta fili*],'¹ and entrusted to Richard Leneveu, bishop of Béziers, for transmission to the king.

Summary: The Supreme Judge, because of the wickedness and avarice of the Romans, will withdraw the papacy from them and grant it to a man of high character who will not emulate his predecessor (Boniface VIII) by snatching at others' liberties. For similar disobedience to divine precepts King Saul was punished by the loss of his kingdom.

¹ The bull *Ausculta fili* was dated December 5, 1301, but did not reach France for formal publication there until 1302. Its bearer, the archdeacon of Narbonne, sought to present it formally to Philip IV on February 10, but was interrupted. From this chronology of events it seems fair to assign the composition of the tract to 1302.

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The title appears in the manuscript, but in another ink and another hand. Lizerand entitled it *Populi Franciae ad regem supplicatio*.³

Summary: A difference has arisen between the king and the pope in the matter of punishing the Templars. Certain laws have been cited in support of the papal position, but these laws apply only to those who with some show of reason are separated from the Roman Church, such as the Greeks, and not to manifest heretics. Moses followed the proper procedure when, without the consent of the high priest Aaron, he put to death twenty-two thousand for worshiping the golden calf. The king should follow his example. The Templars are all homicides, guilty of consorting with apostates and assassins; by apostolic example all should be punished so that the punishment of one may rouse fear in others. Moses was a lawgiver, not a priest, for a priest would not have put the people to death. The Lord forbade David to build the temple, because he was a man of blood. One should not listen to those who pervert Scripture for their argument; one should rather apply to the most Christian king the beatitude, 'Blessed are they that keep judgment and do justice at all times' (Ps. 105:3).

[1308] [A revised version of the *De recuperatione*.] Lost.

It was addressed to the pope and forwarded to Philip IV during his stay at Chinon. Dubois referred to it briefly in chapters 2 and 9 in the document translated as an Appendix in the present volume, and also in the *Pro facto Terre Sancte*.

Summary: Repeats the suggestions in the *De recuperatione* for the recovery and maintenance of the Holy Land, the establishment of peace among Christians, and the foundation of schools for the training of prospective colonists. The only new point is the recommendation for the unification of the military orders under the headship of the king of Cyprus.

[1308] [*Pro facto Terre Sancte*].

From the MS Lat. 10919, fol. 109v, in the Bibliothèque nationale. Edited

³ There is some question about the tracts against the Templars. Langlois, in his Introduction, p. xii, refers to three tracts of 1308 against the Templars, citing Boutaric's article in *Notices et extraits*, XX, 175-81, as his source. But these pages contain only two tracts, the *Remontrance* and the *De facto Templariorum. Pro facto Terre Sancte* (pp. 186-89, Document No. XXX), the third tract which Boutaric attributed directly to Dubois, makes no mention of the Templars. These three tracts are found in the MS Lat. 10919. Boutaric also edited another tract of 1308 against the Templars (pp. 182-86, Document No. XXIX), which he entitled *Quaedam proposita pape a rege super facto Templariorum*. This is not found in the MS Lat. 10919, but in a manuscript which Boutaric identified as Or. Arch. de l'emp. J 413, No. 34. It purports to be a letter addressed by Philip IV to the pope, but is obviously not by Philip, for it speaks of the king in the third person, and does not close with the date and provenance as a genuine letter would. Renan (*Histoire littéraire*, XXVI, 483 f.) ascribed it to Dubois; Boutaric is noncommittal. In my opinion it is not by Dubois, despite the fact that it includes Dubois' favorite reference to *Leviathan testiculi*. The style is terse and direct, well organized, unlike the diffuse style characteristic of Dubois. I have therefore concluded to reject it.

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by Boutaric in *Notices et extraits*, XX (1862), Part II, 186-89, Document No. XXX.

Written during the interregnum between the death of Emperor Albert I (May 1, 1308) and the election of Henry VII (October 28, 1308).

Summary: The king of France, with the support of the pope and the cardinals, might readily gain the Empire for himself and his heirs. The pope could suspend the power of the electors; they should be punished for having elected emperors hostile to the Church, just as the imperium was taken from Constantinople and given to Charlemagne. The archbishops can be coerced by the pope, who has the right to withdraw the elective power from the other electors; their goodwill may be secured by the grant of lands and money from the tithes of German churches. The electors would probably not refuse such terms; the new Emperor could recover any losses from Lombardy, Genoa, and Venice. This would give him a land route to the Holy Land, necessary because of the shipping shortage. The establishment of universal peace through the means suggested elsewhere by the author would make it possible for the French king to govern both France and the Empire. He ought also to take over the papal patrimony, thereby gaining suzerainty over the pope's vassals. The proud Italians would be humbled. Germany, teeming with people, would populate the Holy Land and Greece with loyal citizens. If conquered, the Holy Land can be maintained only by a large influx of people; for such an influx the land route through Germany, Hungary, and Greece is necessary.

[1308] [*Oppinio cuiusdam suadentis regi Franciae ut regnum Ierosolimitanum et Cipri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum, ac de invasione Egipti.*]

From the MS Lat. 10919, fols 82r to 86r, in the Bibliothèque nationale. First published, with an omission, by Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium* (Paris, 1693), II, 186-95, from which Langlois republished it, with further omissions, as an Appendix to the *De recuperatione*. It is given complete in Mollat's edition of Baluze (Paris, 1914-27), III, 154-62.

The title is in a fifteenth-century hand and is therefore not contemporaneous with the manuscript. The tract is translated in its complete form as an Appendix to the present volume.

[1313] *De torneamentis et justis.*

From the MS Reg. Lat. 1642, fols. 41v to 42v, in the Vatican Library. Analyzed and edited in part by C. V. Langlois, 'Un Mémoire inédit de Pierre Du Bois, 1313: *De torneamentis et justis*,' *Revue historique*, XLI (1889), 84-91.

Summary: A bull has recently been issued prohibiting tournaments under pain of excommunication. The royal family and the nobility ask for its temporary suspension. If not suspended, grave scandal will arise, for the French knights will ignore the prohibition and others will follow their example. The projected crusade will fail if led by men under

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the ban. Of two evils, choose the lesser. Tournaments should be permitted, just as excessive eating is permitted on the approach of Lent. Ecclesiastical discipline should aim to chastise and heal rather than to precipitate into error; those who have concubines are not required to abjure them lest they may, at the devil's instigation, return to fornication and thus become perjurers. The Church should make exceptions; kings are not to be treated like other men. If an unbearable burden is placed on a youth's shoulders, he either drops it or breaks under the strain. The prayers of a king should be listened to, for the wrath of a king is the messenger of death. Tournaments are not *per se* illicit, and the prohibition is not founded on canon law. Tournaments prepare the knights to fight the infidel; why not reserve the privilege for prospective crusaders? Let the penalties remain in force as a caution against killing men or injuring souls. The pope need not fear to change his mind; God changed much in the New Testament which He had commanded in the Old. Even St. Paul changed his mind on circumcision of the Jews.

II. WORKS ON DUBOIS AND HIS TIMES

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A sprightly summary of Dubois' ideas, pp. 77-91.
- Aegidius Romanus. *De ecclesiastica potestate*. Ed. Richard Scholz. Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1929.
— *De regimine principum*. Ed. Jerome Samartanius. Rome: Bartholomaeus Zannettus, 1607.
A thirteenth-century French version has been edited by Samuel P. Molenaer (New York and London: Macmillan, 1899).
- Alexander de Villa-Dei. *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei*. Kritisch-exegetische Ausgabe, mit Einleitung, Verzeichnis der Handschriften und Drucke nebst Registern. Ed. Dietrich Reichling. Berlin: Hofmann, 1893. 'Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica,' Vol. XII.
One of the textbooks recommended by Dubois.
- Andrieu-Guitrancourt, Pierre. *Eudes Rigaud et la vie de l'église au XIIIe siècle, d'après le Registrum visitationum*. Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1938.
- Atiya, Aziz S. *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. London: Methuen, 1938.
A significant contribution to the history of the later crusades and of the theorists who proposed new crusades.
- Bacon, Roger. *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*. Ed. John S. Brewer. London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1859. 'Rolls Series,' No. 15.
Includes the *Opus tertium*, the *Opus minus*, and the *Compendium studii philosophiae*.

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Vol. III of the new edition contains a revised text of the first three parts as they appeared in the Oxford edition of 1897, with corrections, emendations, and additional notes. The English translation by Robert Belle Burke (2 vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1928) is based on the revised text. My citations are to the edition of 1900 and to Burke's translation.
- Baeumker, Clemens: *see* Siger de Brabant.
- Baluze, Etienne. *Vitae paparum Avenionensium; hoc est, Historia pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt ab anno Christi MCCCIV usque ad annum MCCCXCIV*. Ed. Guillaume Mollat. 4 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1914-27.
Originally published in 1693. Mollat consulted the original manuscripts, which enabled him to rectify certain errors and omissions in the original edition.
- Baudouin, Adolphe: *see* Philip IV.
- Beazley, Charles Raymond. *The Dawn of Modern Geography: A History of Exploration and Geographical Science*. 2d ed. 3 vols. London: H. Froude; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905-6.
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- Beugnot, Arthur A., Comte, ed. *Les Olim, ou registres des arrêts rendus par la cour du roi sous les règnes de saint Louis, de Philippe le Hardi, de Philippe le Bel, de Louis le Hutin, et de Philippe le Long*. 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1839-48. 'Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France,' No. 65.
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- Although almost wholly superseded by the magnificent *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, there are still a few writers whose works are not available in any edition later than that of Bongars. Copy in the New York Public Library.
- Borrelli de Serres, Léon. *Les Variations monétaires sous Philippe le Bel et les sources de leur histoire*. Paris: Picard, 1902.
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- 'Les Idées modernes chez un politique du XIVe siècle: Pierre Du Bois,' *Revue contemporaine*, sér. 2, XXXVIII (1864), 417-47. (Whole number, Vol. LXXIII.)
- A reprint of his paper read before the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres on February 5, March 4 and 11, 1864, which appeared under a different title in the Academy's *Comptes rendus*, VIII (1864), 84-106. Dubois' ideas are discussed in the light of contemporary events in Italy and the Near East.
- *Institutions militaires de la France avant les armées permanentes, suivies d'un aperçu des principaux changements survenus jusqu'à nos jours dans la formation de l'armée*. Paris: H. Plon, 1863.
- 'Mémoire sur la vie, les œuvres et les doctrines politiques de Pierre Dubois, légiste du quatorzième siècle,' *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, VIII (1864), 84-106.
- An analysis, with historical background, of the *De recuperatione*.
- 'Notices et extraits de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France sous Philippe le Bel,' *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, XX (1862), Part II, 83-237.
- Includes the earliest, and sometimes the only, edition of certain minor pamphlets by Dubois.
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- Contends that nearly all of Dubois' ideas may be found in the writings of his contemporaries or near predecessors.
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- Valuable for the later crusading movement. Based in part on manuscript materials as yet unedited.
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- Pages 95-246 comprise documents, with brief explanatory notes. Sets forth the important role played by the order in the public finances of France in the thirteenth century.
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- This compilation is not readily accessible, but it is nevertheless indispensable for a study of the period. It includes the only edition of two of Dubois' pamphlets. The pagination is confusing. It begins with a narrative account of the affair in French and in Latin, each paged separately. This is followed by an elaborate table of contents, of ten unnumbered pages. The all-important Actes et preuves' begins with a third separate numbering, which extends through the sources for Boniface VIII, Benedict XI, and Clement V, and continues unbroken through the sources for the trial of Bishop Guichard and the *Quaestio de potestate papae*, at one time attributed to Dubois. It is generally catalogued under 'Dupuy,' although his name does not appear on the title page. Copy in the Harvard Library.
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- *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII: Funde und Forschungen*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1902. 'Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen,' Vol. II.
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- literary controversy ensued. Bibliography in E. Zeck, *Der Publizist Pierre Dubois*, pp. xi-xvi.
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