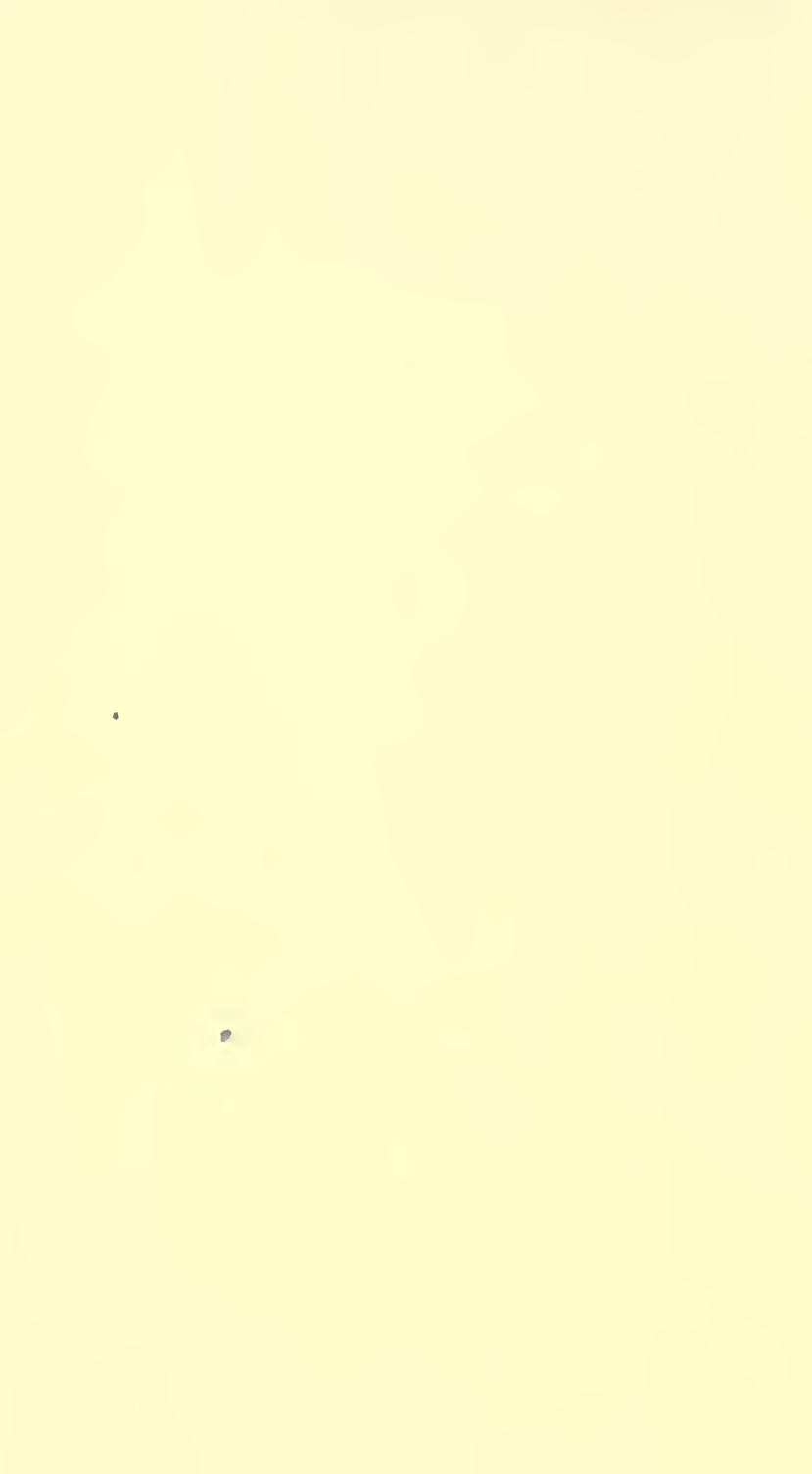




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UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE .

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE ROYAL INJUNCTIONS OF 1535.



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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE ROYAL INJUNCTIONS OF 1535

BY

JAMES BASS MULLINGER, M.A.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE



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TO

JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Esq., M.A.,

* FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

This Volume

IS DEDICATED.



PREFACE.

THE large amount of attention that has, during the last few years, been attracted to all questions bearing upon the higher education of this country, and the increasing public interest in all that is connected with the two older English universities, might alone seem sufficiently to justify the appearance of the present volume. It may not however be undesirable to offer some explanation with regard to the method of treatment which, in researches extending over nearly seven years, the author has chiefly kept before him.

A very cursory inspection of the Table of Contents will suffice to shew that the subject of university history has here been approached from a somewhat different point of view to that of previous labourers in the same field. The volume is neither a collection of antiquities nor a collection of biographies; nor is it a series of detached essays on questions of special interest or episodes of exceptional importance. It is rather an endeavour to trace out the continuous history of a great national institution, as that history presents itself, not only in successive systems and various forms of mental culture, but also in relation to the experiences of the country at large; and at the same time to point out in how great a degree the universities have influenced the whole thought

of the educated classes, and have in turn reflected the political and social changes in progress both at home and abroad.

To those who best understand how important and numerous are the relations of university culture to the history of the people, such a method of treatment will probably appear most arduous and the qualifications necessary to its competent execution most varied; it may consequently be desirable also to explain how greatly the author has been aided by the researches of previous investigators.

It is now more than thirty years ago since the late Mr. C. H. Cooper¹ published the first instalment of that valuable series,—the *Annals of Cambridge*, the *Memorials of Cambridge*, and the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*,—with respect to which it has been truly said that ‘no other town in England has three such records.’ To extraordinary powers of minute investigation he united great attainments as an antiquarian, a fidelity and fairness beyond reproach, and a rare judicial faculty in assessing the comparative value of conflicting evidence. It need hardly be added that more than a quarter of a century of research on the part of so able and trustworthy a guide, has materially diminished and in some respects altogether forestalled the labours of subsequent explorers in the same field. But valuable as were Mr. Cooper’s services, his aim was entirely restricted to one object,—the accurate investigation and chronological arrangement of facts; he never sought to establish any general results by the aid of a legitimate induction; and in the nine volumes that attest his labours it may be questioned whether as many observa-

¹ For the information of readers who may have no personal knowledge of Cambridge, I may state that Mr Cooper was not a member of the university, but filled for many years the offices of town coroner and town clerk.

tions can be found, that tend to shew the connexion of one fact with another, or the relevancy of any one isolated event to the greater movements in progress beyond the university walls; while to the all-important subject of the character and effects of the different studies successively dominant in the university, he did not attempt to supply any elucidation beyond what might be incidentally afforded in his own department of enquiry.

The aid however which he did not profess to give has been to a great extent supplied by other writers. During the same period contributions to literature, both at home and abroad, have given aid in this latter direction scarcely less valuable than that which he rendered in the province which he made so peculiarly his own. The literatures of both Germany and France have been richly productive of works of sterling value illustrative of mediæval thought and mediæval institutions; and have furnished a succession of standard histories, elaborate essays, and careful monographs, which have shed a new light on the subject of the present volume, in common with all that relates to the education and learning of the Middle Ages. Among these it is sufficient to name the works of Geiger, Huber, Kleutgen, Lechler, Prantl, Ranke, Von Räumler, Schaarschmidt, Ueberweg, and Ullmann in Germany; those of Victor Le Clerc, Cousin, Hauréau, the younger Jourdain, Rémusat, Renan, and Thurot in France; and to these may be added the histories of single universities,—like that of Basel by Vischer, of Erfurt by Kampschulte, of Leipsic by Zarncke, and of Louvain by Felix Nève; while at home, the valuable series that has appeared under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls, and the able prefaces to different volumes of that collection from the pens of Mr. Anstey, professor Brewer, the late

professor Shirley, Mr. Luard, professor Mayor, and professor Stubbs,—the ‘Documents’ published by the Royal Commission,—the papers relating to points of minuter interest in the publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,—and the histories of separate colleges, especially Baker’s History of St. John’s College in the exhaustive and admirable edition by professor Mayor,—have afforded not less valuable aid in connexion with the corresponding periods in England.

But contributions thus varied and voluminous to the literature of the subject, while forestalling labour in one direction have also not a little augmented the necessity for patient enquiry and careful deliberation in arriving at conclusions; and the responsibility involved might have altogether deterred the author from the attempt, had he not at the same time been able to have recourse to assistance of another but not less valuable kind. From the time that he was able to make his design known to those most able to advise in the prosecution of such a work, he has been under constant obligations to different members of the university for direction with respect to sources of information, for access to records, and for much helpful criticism. Among those who have evinced a kindly interest in the work he may be permitted to name Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., fellow of King’s College and university librarian; William George Clark, Esq., M.A., senior fellow of Trinity College and late public orator; the Rev. John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor, M.A., senior fellow of St. John’s College, and professor of Latin; John Edwin Sandys, Esq., M.A., fellow and tutor of St. John’s College; and Isaac Todhunter, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., late fellow of St. John’s College; as gentlemen to whom he is indebted not only for the revision and correction

of large portions of the work, either in manuscript or when passing through the press, but also for numerous suggestions and a general guidance which have served to render the volume much less faulty and defective than it would otherwise have been.

For facilities afforded, or for information and assistance in matters of detail, his acknowledgements are also due to the authorities of Peterhouse, and of Pembroke, Corpus Christi, and Queens' Colleges; to J. Willis Clark, Esq., M.A., late fellow of Trinity College; to W. A. Cox, Esq., M.A., fellow of St. John's College; to the late professor De Morgan; to E. A. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L.; to the Rev. E. L. Hicks, M.A., fellow and librarian of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., fellow and librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to the Rev. H. R. Luard, M.A., registry of the university; to the Rev. P. H. Mason, M.A., senior fellow and Hebrew lecturer of St. John's College; to M. Paul Meyer, formerly editor of the *Revue Critique*; to the Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A., historian and late fellow of Queens' College; to professor Stubbs; to the Rev. C. Wordsworth, M.A., fellow of Peterhouse; and to W. Aldis Wright, Esq., M.A., senior bursar and late librarian of Trinity College.

Finally his grateful acknowledgements are due to the Syndics of the University Press, during the last three years, for encouragement and assistance most liberally extended in relation to the publication of the present volume.

In conclusion, the author cannot but express his sense that his work, notwithstanding these advantages, must still appear very far from being a complete and satisfactory treatment of the subject, even within the period it comprises. He can only hope that, with all its defects, it may yet be recognised as partially supplying a long existing want; and at

a time when those few restrictions that have been supposed to hinder a perfectly free intercourse between the university and the country at large either have been entirely removed or seem likely soon to disappear, it will be no small reward if his efforts should conduce, in however slight a degree, to a more accurate knowledge of the past history, and a livelier interest in the future prospects, of one of the most ancient, most important, and most widely useful of the nation's institutions.

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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Two names connected by a hyphen denote the author and the editor : *e.g.* Wood-Gutch, Baker-Mayor, denote respectively Wood's *Annals of Oxford*, edited by Gutch, and Baker's *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist*, edited by professor Mayor.

A smaller numeral added to that of the volume or page, *e.g.* IV², 375⁴, denotes the edition to which reference is made.

ERRATUM.

p. 282, note 2, for '*collegium trilingue at Louvain*,' read '*university of Louvain*.'

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ERRATA, &c.

P. 12, l. 17, *for* 'suggestion' *read* 'that is suggestive.'

P. 21, l. 15, *for* 'Aelfrid' *read* 'Aelfred.'

P. 43, l. 20, *for* 'to the one' *read* 'from the one.'

P. 49, *margin*, *for* 'b. 1083' *read* 'b. 1033.'

P. 67, l. 25, *for* 'Paris' *read* 'Tours or Aachen.'

P. 223, l. 25, 'exemption from taxation,' i.e. taxation by the chancellor of the university.

P. 228, l. 5, *for* 'adjourning' *read* 'adjoining.'

P. 235. 'John Hotham.' I have done Hotham some injustice in omitting to notice that it was he who (see p. 253) appropriated Hinton to Peterhouse.

P. 236, l. 7, *for* '1350' *read* '1348.'

P. 255, l. 7, *for* 'seven' *read* 'eight.'

P. 282, n. 2, 'foundation of the *collegium trilingue* at Louvain,' *for* '*collegium trilingue* at' *read* 'university of.' Louvain, however, was created a faculty of theology in 1451, and may thus afford an illustration of Thurot's argument, though not at its first foundation.

P. 394, l. 9, *for* 'Greek instructions' *read* 'fresh instructions.'

P. 398, last line, *for* 'Pallas de Strozzi' *read* 'Pallas de' Strozzi.'

P. 411, l. 2, *for* 'is but' *read* 'but is.'

P. 431, last line, 'the right of virtue,' *for* 'right' *read* 'sight.'

P. 433, l. 8, *for* '1426' *read* '1418.'

P. 445, ll. 11—12, omit the words 'property once in possession.'

P. 464, l. 29, *for* 'oraturarum' *read* 'oraturorum.'

P. 630, l. 12 from bottom, *for* 'geography' (thus printed in Cooper) *read* 'geometry.'

P. 639, par. 6, *for* 'renuntiari' *read* 'renuntiare.'

P. 642, S. 6, *for* 'augentur' *read* 'augeatur.'

P. 643, par. 4, *for* 'competentur' *read* 'competenter.'

P. 644, par. 19, *for* 'quo ad' *read* 'quoad.'

„ par. 21, omit comma after 'simpliciter.'

P. 670, (Index), *for* 'Linacre, Wm.' *read* 'Linacre, Tho.'

INTRODUCTION.

THE thirteenth century embraces within its limits an eminently eventful era in European history. It was an age of turbulence and confusion, of revolution and contention, wherein, amid the strife of elements, it is often difficult to discern the tendencies for good that were undoubtedly at work, and where the observer is apt to lose sight of the real onward progress of the current as he marks the agitations which trouble the surface of the waters. But that a great advance was then achieved it is impossible to deny. The social, the religious, and the intellectual life of Europe were roused by a common impulse from comparative stagnation. The Church, threatened by its own degeneracy, took to itself other and more potent weapons; scholasticism, enriched by the influx of new learning, entered on its most brilliant phase; oriental influences, the reflex action of the Crusades, stirred men to fresh paths of thought; and England, no longer regarded as a subjugated nation, grew rapidly in strength and freedom. To this century the University of Cambridge traces back its first recorded recognition as a legally constituted body, and refers the foundation of its most ancient college, and, in the absence of authentic records concerning her early history, it becomes especially desirable to arrive at a clear conception of the circumstances that belong to so important a commencement. It will accordingly be desirable, in this introductory chapter, to pass under review the leading features of education and learning in those ages which

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preceded the university era; to trace out, as far as may be conducive to our main purpose, the habits of thought and traditional belief that necessarily found expression in the first organisation and discipline of the universities themselves; to estimate the character and direction of those innovations which the universities inaugurated; and in order to do this, however imperfectly, we shall find it necessary to go back to that yet earlier time which links the civilization of Paganism with that of Christianity.

The university age commences in the twelfth century; and it is a fact familiar to every student, that nearly all learning had up to that period been the exclusive possession of the Church. In the third and fourth centuries indeed the traditions of Roman culture were still preserved in full vigour in Transalpine Gaul; Autun, Trèves, Lyons, and Bordeaux were distinguished as schools of rhetoric and their teaching was ennobled by many an illustrious name; but with the invasion of the Franks the imperial schools were swept away, and education when it reappeared had formed those associations which, amid so many important revolutions in thought and the decay of so many ancient institutions, have retained their hold with such remarkable tenacity and power up to our own day. The four centuries that preceded the reign of Philip Augustus have been termed, not inaptly, 'the Benedictine era'.¹ In the monasteries of that great order, which rose in the sixth century, was preserved nearly all that survived of ancient thought, and was imparted whatever still deserved the name of education. It is important to remember to how great an extent the monasticism of the West was the result of the troubles and calamities that ushered in the fall of the western empire. The fierce asceticism of the anchorites of the East found no place in the earlier institutions associated with the names of the most illustrious of the Latin Fathers. The members of those humble communities which were found in Rome, Milan, and Carthage, were men seeking refuge from the corruption,

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Schools of
the Roman
Empire.

Commence-
ment of the
Benedictine
Era.

¹ Léon Maître, *Les Ecoles Episcopales et Monastiques de l'Occident*, p.174.

anarchy, and misery of their age, ready to bid adieu to the world and its cares, so that they might pass the remainder of their days in holy duties and tranquil occupations, in fasting, meditation, and prayer. In precisely the same spirit St Benedict reared on Monte Cassino the first monastery of his order, and drew up those rules for its observance whereby self-mortification, isolation from mankind, the exclusion of all social and patriotic virtues in the cultivation of a lonely perfection, were indicated as the chief principles of the religious life.

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Monastic conception of the religious life.

Foundation of the Monastery of Monte Cassino, A.D. 531.

Inasmuch, accordingly, as the monk renounced the world, his education was conceived solely with reference to those acquirements necessary to the performance of his monotonous routine of duties. The Benedictine's knowledge of music was given him only that he might chant the Gregorian antiphony; of arithmetic and astronomy, that he might rightly calculate the return of Easter; of Latin, that he might understand the Fathers and the Vulgate; and these acquirements, together with a slender knowledge of geometry and versification, made up, for centuries, the ordinary culture of his order. That the education of those times was that of the monk, and consequently breathed only of the monastery, has indeed been the superficial criticism with which the subject has often been contemptuously dismissed, but a somewhat closer investigation would seem to reveal to us another element in the motives and sentiments then prevalent, which should not in justice be left unrecognized.

Influence of the monastic view upon education.

The teaching of the Latin Church at the time when, under Gregory the Great, she laid the foundations of her temporal power, rested on the authority of three Fathers,—Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine¹. From the first she derived her conception of sacerdotal authority; from the second, her attachment to monasticism; from the third, her dogmatic theology; and to these three conceptions the most remarkable phenomena in European history may undoubtedly be referred. In the writings of Augustine, especially,—‘the

St Augustine.
b. 354.
d. 430.

Theory developed by this Father.

¹ Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, Book II c. 4.

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oracle of thirteen centuries,'—is to be found the key to the belief and practice of the Church in the Middle Ages.

The different treatises by the bishop of Hippo that have descended to us are voluminous, but his philosophy of history is set forth in a work of comparatively moderate compass,—the *De Civitate Dei*. From the earliest times, a very solemn belief had prevailed with more or less intensity in the different sections of the Church that the day of judgement and the end of the world were at hand. As the troubles of the empire multiplied, this conviction grew and deepened alike in the eastern and western communities. It was held by Clemens and Tertullian, by Origen and Cyprian, by Athanasius and Lactantius, by Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Jerome, but it devolved on Augustine to develop it in its full significance and logical connexion with human history. The age in which this father lived was that wherein the fabric of the empire, already undermined and shaken, began actually to go to pieces. During his lifetime he saw the Eternal City become the abode of the Goth; he died while the Vandal was laying siege to the city of his own episcopate. Paganism, in its terror and despair at the fast thickening calamities, affirmed that the ancient gods, incensed at the neglect of their worship, had thus manifested their displeasure; Christianity, it was declared, was responsible for the sack of Rome and the defeat of the imperial armies. In reply to such accusations, Augustine put forth the *De Civitate Dei*. An exposition of the theory so elaborately unfolded in the twenty-four books of this work would be here misplaced, but the leading sentiment may be stated in a few words. Rome had indeed fallen, replied the Christian Father, nor could it well be otherwise; for she represented an order of things fated to be overthrown; the earthly city, with its superstitions and its crimes, its glory and renown, was destined to give place to another city, the city of the New Jerusalem. A sublime theocracy was to supersede the rule of the Cæsars. No vision of temporal power, like that which invested the seven hills, rose before his eyes; the city he beheld was that which he of the Apocalypse saw descending

His *De Civitate Dei*.The age of
St Augustine.Anticipations
of the fall of
the Roman
Empire.

from heaven, whither should be brought the 'glory and the honour of the nations.' Time itself should cease to be when the true Eternal City had appeared.

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In brief the advent of the new reign necessarily implied the termination of the old, and the calamities of the age were but the funeral knell of the Roman empire. But what imported the downfall of an empire, when all earthly things were destined so soon to pass away? A question of far deeper moment, of a far closer personal interest, pressed on men for a solution. 'Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat¹?' The language of St Peter was but echoed by Augustine with a greater particularity of time and place.

The applica-
tion.

It is easy to perceive that events after Augustine's time would certainly not tend to dispel the belief to which he thus gave expression; that as the Visigoth in Spain, the Frank in Gaul, the Lombard in Italy, trampled on the remnants of ancient civilization,—that as Christianity itself expired in Africa, under the advance of the victorious Crescent,—while the sword and famine reduced once fertile and populous regions to desolate wastes,—men's hearts might well begin to fail them at the contemplation of so hopeless a future. We can well understand that the ordinary aims and pursuits of life appeared frivolous and unmeaning, as the expected crisis seemed yearly to draw nearer, heralded by each successive disaster; and that the religious or monastic life might thus come to be regarded as the only adequate expression of one profound conviction, the conviction,—to use the forcible language of Guizot,—of '*l'impossibilité de tout long travail et de tout paisible loisir.*' The monastery indeed which St Benedict founded on Monte Cassino, and which the Lombard soon after levelled to the ground, affords alike in its conception, its institution, and its fall, an illustration of the

Seeming cor-
roboration of
the theory
afforded by
subsequent
events.

Despair the
prevailing
feeling.

¹ 2 Peter iii 18.

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characteristics of those times. In its conception,—as an effort to escape from the disquiet of the age, and a renunciation of all hope and interest in the pursuits of mankind; in its institution,—supplanting as it did a temple of Apollo where the pagan peasant still brought his offerings and paid his vows, but where the monk now cut down the once sacred grove, and broke in pieces the idol; in its fall,—as participating in the general devastation that marked the progress of the barbarian, hostile alike to the ancient civilization and the new faith.

The terror and despair which the Lombard spread through Italy imparted new force to the prevalent conviction, and the policy of Gregory the Great affords a remarkable illustration both of the hold which these forebodings had gained on the foremost minds of the period, and their collateral effects on learning and education. The activity and energy displayed by this ecclesiastic in consolidating the institutions and extending the authority of his see, might appear at variance with such a theory, were we not also to remember that his efforts were undoubtedly conceived in subordination to exclusively religious feelings. It was thus that while he laboured to raise his country from physical and moral degradation, to husband and augment the patrimony of the Church, to convert the heathen, to bring about a unity of faith and of forms of worship, he is still to be found anticipating, with an earnestness beyond suspicion, the approach of the final consummation. ‘What,’ he says, at the close of a long enuineration of the calamities that had befallen Italy, ‘what may be taking place elsewhere I know not, but in this country, wherein we dwell, events plainly no longer foretell the end but exhibit it in actual process;’ in a letter to the converted Ethelbert, the Bretwalda, he again declares that signs, such as those amid which St Benedict had foretold that Rome should be overthrown, fearful portents in the heavens and tumults in the air, war, famine, pestilence, and earthquake, all point to the same conclusion¹; elsewhere he

Gregory the
Great.
b. 543.
d. 604.

View held by
this father.

¹ ‘Appropinquante autem eodem ante non fuerunt, videlicet immutatione mundi termino, multa imminent quæ tiones aeris, terroresque de cælo, et

relates how the spirit of Eutychius the martyr appeared in a vision to the bishop of Ferentina, urging him to watchfulness with the thrice reiterated warning, '*Finis venit universæ carnis*;' in another passage he compares the age to the early dawn, with the light of eternity already traversing the gloom and darkness of time¹.

That, with such convictions, he should have set small value on merely secular learning becomes sufficiently intelligible, and it might have served, perhaps, in many instances, to diminish the asperity with which his memory has been treated, had this feature been more frequently borne in mind. Puritanism, in later times, has reproduced his illiberality with far less to plead in justification. Whether we owe to him the loss of the Palatine library or that of the missing decades of Livy, we need not here stop to enquire, but it is certain that his hostility to pagan learning is but imperfectly explained if attributed solely to the prejudices of a bigoted and unlettered spirit. It took its rise rather in what appeared to him the utter irrelevancy of such studies to the religious life, as that life was conceived under the influence of one overwhelming idea. He inherited in all its force the theory of Augustine, but he lacked the sympathetic genius and the culture of the African Father. In education, that alone appeared to him of any value, which was recommended by its presumed utility in promoting a more intelligent comprehension of Christian doctrine or imparting greater ability to conduct the services of the Church. Whatever appeared likely to subserve such purposes at once gained his warmest advocacy. Thus, accordingly, while he is to be found on one occasion austere condemning certain monks who had ventured to instruct their pupils in profane literature², he was yet the great promoter of education in his

Considerations that may serve to modify our estimate of his character.

contra ordinem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentia, terræ motus per loca.' *Epist.* xi 67. For the prophecy of St Benedict recorded by Gregory, see *Dialog.* ii 15.

¹ *Dialogues*, iv 41.

² 'Quod sine verecundia memorare non possumus, fraternitatem tuam

grammaticam quibusdam exponere.' *Epist.* xi 54. 'Grammatica' among the Romans in the time of the Empire meant the elements of literature generally; it also included Philology. 'Et grammaticæ, quam in Latinum transferentes *litteraturam* vocaverunt, fines suos norit.' Quintil. vi 1 4.

time¹; and, while he so largely encouraged the monastic spirit, his administration of the temporalities of his see was eminently sagacious and successful.

The light of faith was rekindled in Britain by the teaching of Augustine and his missionaries; and within little more than half a century after the death of Gregory, Theodorus, an Asiatic Greek, was appointed to the see of Canterbury. The impulse given by this ecclesiastic to education long continued to influence the course of instruction, and in the curriculum he introduced may be discerned the rude outlines of our modern system². His work was ably continued by Aldhelm, second abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Malmesbury, and afterwards also archbishop of Canterbury. The talents and intense application of this prelate enabled him to acquire a mastery of the Latin and Greek tongues, and his biographer, the monk Faricius, even

Theodorus.
b. 602.
d. 690.

See also Suetonius *de Grammaticis*, c. 4, and remarks of Gräfenhan in his *Geschichte der Klassischen Philologie im Alterthum*, iv 52, 53. In the Chapter entitled *Ueberblick des grammatischen Studiums* (iv. 95—113) this writer has elaborately illustrated the extended functions of the *Grammatici* in the third and fourth centuries. It is evident that they really included those of the *Rhetores*. Ozanam remarks that, in Gaul, 'grammar extended into the domain of rhetoric, comprising the humanities, and a critical reading of all the great orators and poets of antiquity.' *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, i 204. The term continued to bear this meaning throughout the Middle Ages. Cf. Du Cange, s. v., and Dr Maitland's remarks in *The Dark Ages*, p. 179.

¹ Prof. Maurice adduces in proof of this the improvement in Britain consequent upon the arrival of Gregory's missionaries:—'Schools seem to rise as by enchantment; all classes, down to the poorest (Bede himself is the obvious example), are admitted to them; the studies beginning from theology embrace logic, rhetoric, music, and astronomy.' *Philosophy of the First Six Centuries*, p. 153. The

whole criticism of Gregory in this treatise will be found eminently suggestive: it may, however, be questioned whether, as Bede was born seventy-six years after the landing of Augustine and his fellow-labourers, the learning of our earliest encyclopædist is not rather attributable to the influence of Theodore.

² For an interesting account of the instruction given in these schools, see Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, i 240—244. 'When books were scarce, oral instruction, or instruction through the medium of lectures, was a necessity.....The proficiency of the scholars was tested, not only by an occasional examination, but by a constant course of questioning and cross-questioning, as connected with each lesson. The instruction was catechetical. Of the mode of conducting these examinations some examples exist, and the questions put to the pupils of the arithmetic class are very similar to those with which the masters and scholars of National Schools are familiar as emanating from Her Majesty's inspectors.' Respecting the library which Theodorus is reported to have brought with him, see Edwards' *Memoirs of Libraries*, i 101.

accredits him with some knowledge of Hebrew¹. Aldhelm died in 709, and was succeeded by Bede the Venerable, whose writings form an important contribution to the textbooks of the subsequent age. In the eighth century the school of York rose into celebrity, distinguished by its valuable library and the eminence of its scholars; of these, Alcuin, for some time the guardian of its literary treasures, must undoubtedly be regarded as the most accomplished scholar of his day. The culture to which our country attained at this period cannot however be shown to have had much connexion with subsequent developements. The comparative immunity she then enjoyed from troubles like those that agitated the Continent favoured her advance in education and learning, but with the Danish invasions the fair promise disappeared. The land relapsed into semi-barbarism; and the ninth and tenth centuries, rising like a wall of granite, between the times of Alcuin and those of Lanfranc, seem effectually to isolate the earlier age. To trace the progress of European thought we shall consequently find it necessary to follow Alcuin across the English channel to the court of Charlemagne.

INTRO-
DUCTION.Aldhelm.
b. —
d. 709.
Bede.
b. 672.
d. 735.Alcuin.
b. 735. (?)
d. 804.Charle-
magne.
b. 742.
d. 814.Change in
the aspect of
affairs in
Europe.

It is a trite observation, that a state of warfare, like many other evils, is far from being an unmixed ill, in that it calls into action virtues which are wont to slumber in times of prosperity and peace; and similarly we may note that, in seasons of great national suffering and trial, ideas often reappear which seem to have well nigh passed from the memory of man amid the pursuits of a more tranquil age. Monasticism, in the sixth century, was dignified by a conviction in comparison with which the ordinary hopes and fears of men might well appear contemptible; if representing despondency in relation to things temporal, it had its heroism not less than its despair; but when we recall to how great an extent the theory enunciated by Augustine

¹ 'Mirodeniquemodogratia[?Graia] facundia omnia idiomata sciebat, et quasi Graecus natione: scriptis et verbis pronuntiabat Prophetarum exempla, Davidis Psalmos, Salamonis

tria volumina, Hebraicis literis bene novit, et legem Mosaicam.' *Aldhelmi Vita*, Farieio Auct., published by the Caxton Society.

INTRO-
DUCTION.The empire
of Charle-
magne.Theory
respecting
the appear-
ance of Anti-
christ.Connexion
between this
theory and
political
events.

and, enforced by Gregory derived its strength from the apparent corroboration afforded by contemporary calamities, we naturally turn to enquire, with some curiosity, how far such anticipations were found to consist with the spectacle that now greeted Europe,—the formation of a new and splendid empire. It must then be admitted that this theory appears well nigh lost to view amid the promise of the reign of Charlemagne, but it should be remembered that a specific as well as a general explanation of the fact offers itself for our consideration. It was the belief of the Church that the advent of Antichrist would precede the final dissolution of all things, and we accordingly find that, inasmuch as the fall of the Roman empire had been supposed to be necessarily involved in his triumph and reign, it was customary among the earlier Christians to pray for the preservation and stability of the imperial power, as interposing a barrier between their own times and those of yet darker calamity. It was not until Rome had been taken by Alaric that Augustine composed the *De Civitate Dei*. But now, with the lapse of the two centuries that separated the age of Gregory from that of Charlemagne, a change had come over the aspect of human affairs. The empire of the Franks had, by successive conquests, been extended over the greater part of Europe; the Lombards, the great foes of all culture, acknowledged the superiority of a stronger arm; the descendants of the Huns, thinned by a series of sanguinary conflicts, accepted Christianity at the point of the sword; the long struggle between the emperor and the Saxons of the north had represented, from the first, an antagonism between the traditions of civilization and those of barbarism and idolatry; while in the devotion of Charlemagne to the Church, a sentiment already so conspicuous in his father, it became evident that the preponderance of strength was again ranged on the side of the new faith. The advent of Antichrist was therefore not yet; and with that belief the still more dread anticipation which had so long filled the minds of men ceased to assert itself with the same intensity, and in the conception of Charlemagne, to which our attention must now be directed,

we discern the presence of ideas widely differing from those of Gregory.

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We have already remarked that, in Gaul, the imperial schools established under the Roman empire disappeared amid the havoc wrought by the Franks; those by which they were succeeded were entirely under the control of the Church. The researches of Ampère and other writers have ascertained that these schools were of two kinds,—the episcopal and the monastic. In the former an exclusively religious training was imparted; in the latter a slight infusion of secular knowledge found a place¹. A similar fate to that of their predecessors appeared likely at one time to befall these institutions; in the kingdom of Aquitaine, where they had flourished with most vigour, the destruction of the churches and monasteries by the Saracens well nigh extinguished education, and we can well understand that the rule of Charles Martel and the Merovingian dynasty was little likely to favour its restoration. We have therefore small difficulty in crediting the statement of the monk of St Gall that, at the accession of Charlemagne, the study of letters was everywhere well nigh forgotten².

The Epi-
scopal and
the Monastic
Schools.

It is no easy task, especially in the presence of the conflicting conclusions of eminent authorities, to determine the exact character of the parts played by Charlemagne and Alcuin as the authors of the great educational revival which marks the close of the eighth century. Some have held that the ecclesiastic was the leading mind; others, that all the originality and merit of the conception were the emperor's³; but

Different
opinions
respecting
Charlemagne
and Alcuin.

¹ Devoting some attention 'à des connaissances qui ne se rapportaient pas immédiatement aux besoins journaliers de l'Eglise,' is the language of Ampère. *Histoire Littéraire de la France avant le Douzième Siècle*, II 278.

² 'Studia litterarum ubique prope-modum essent in oblivione,' Bouquet, v 106. Compare Hallam, *Middle Ages*, III¹⁰ 418.

³ Among the former may be cited Guizot, *Civilisation en Europe*, II 202; Haureau, *Philosophie Scholas-*

tique; Monnier, *Alcuin et son Influence*; Léon Maître, *Les Écoles Episcopales et Monastiques de l'Occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe-Auguste*. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Book v c. 1, and Professor Maurice, *Mediæval Philosophy*, p. 38, incline to a far less favorable estimate of the ecclesiastic. Alcuin has been least favorably judged by his own countrymen, a fact which may be explained by his sympathies with monasticism in its more ascetic phase.

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Charlemagne.

none appear to have sufficiently taken into account the traditional theory that lay like an incubus upon the thought and learning of these ages. From that incubus it seems natural to infer that the emperor, the warrior, the conqueror, would be the first to set himself free, as he beheld athwart the wide territories of his extending empire the bow of hope rising again to view. The new element introduced by him into the education of his times is, indeed, in perfect keeping with the whole policy of that master intellect. Though his admirers have probably exaggerated his attainments, it is certain that they were such as alone to constitute eminence in that age, and admitting that his Capitularies owe much of their literary correctness to the aid of men like Theodulfus, Alcuin, and Eginhard, it must be allowed that many of them in their mere conception attest the presence of considerable culture. In Alcuin, on the other hand, judging from his whole career, there is little suggestion of a mind of very uncommon powers. His letters, valuable as illustrations of the period, reflect a mind that can hardly be mistaken. A clear cool intellect, capable of receiving and arranging large stores of information, 'enough of a questioner to be able to understand for himself what others imparted, not enough of one to be embarrassed with any serious mental perplexities,' a cautious conservative temperament, faithful to inherited traditions.—such are the leading characteristics of the first scholar of the times of Charlemagne.

Alcuin.

State of
learning
among the
clergy.

The immediate occasion of the emperor's action on behalf of education arose out of the glaring solecisms that frequently arrested his attention in the communications he received from the monasteries. In a circular letter to Baugulfus, abbot of Fulda, he calls attention to the grave scandal then presented. The pious and loyal tone of the letters, he allows, is worthy of all praise, but their rude and careless diction is such as to suggest apprehensions lest the Scriptures themselves should be scarcely intelligible to readers of so little learning,—*ne forte sicut minor esset in scribendo prudentia, ita quoque et multo minor esset, quam recte esse debuisset, in eis Sanctorum Scripturarum ad intelligendum*

*sapientia*¹. Such were the alleged motives of the emperor,—‘prétextes’, as Ampère regards them, ‘qu’il mettait en avant pour motiver sa réforme.’ Gregory could not have impeached them, though there is sufficient reason for concluding that the emperor’s reforms greatly exceeded what Gregory would have approved.

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DUCTION.

The emperor had already made the acquaintance of Alcuin at Parma; he now invited him over from England and placed him at the head of the Palace school attached to his own court. Under Alcuin’s directions a scheme of education was drawn up which became the model for the other great schools established at Tours, Fontenelle, Lyons, Osnaburg, and Metz;—institutions which ably sustained the tradition of education on the continent, until superseded by the new methods and the new learning which belong to the commencement of the university era².

The Schools
of Charle-
magne.

The work of Charlemagne may be characterised as one of both renovation and innovation:—renovation as regarded the already existing schools, innovation in the reconstruction of their methods and the extension of their teaching to other classes. Hitherto the privileges of the monastic schools had been jealously confined by the Benedictines to their own order. By the efforts of Charlemagne they were now thrown open to the secular clergy. The monasteries, in the new movement, made common cause in the work of instruction with the cathedral or episcopal schools³, and a new impulse was thus communicated to education. If we add to these centres of activity the slight element of *lay* education that

Character of
the changes
introduced
by the
emperor in
education.

¹ Launoy, *De Scholis Celebrrioribus*, etc., p. 7.

² ‘It has been said that the manuscripts which Alcuin procured from England were the means of forming a special school of transcribers and illuminators at Aix-la-Chapelle, which for many generations preserved the traditionary style of the Anglo-Saxon artists.’ Edwards’ *Memoirs of Libraries*, i 106.

³ A full account of the method and discipline of these schools will be found in *Les Écoles Épiscopales*

et Monastiques of Léon Maitre, deuxième Partie. Gaillard, *Histoire de Charlemagne*, II 87, speaks of them as ‘écoles que l’université de Paris peut regarder comme son berceau;’ this, however, is a point with respect to which much diversity of opinion prevails; see commencement of Chapter I. Savigny’s judgement on the question is emphatic: ‘ist doch eine unmittelbare Verbindung derselben mit der späteren Universität ganz unerweislich.’ *Geschichte des Röm. Rechts*, c. XXI sec. 126, note.

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developed itself in the Palace school, where the emperor himself participated in the instruction given, we shall perceive that a very general reform was initiated. The learned Benedictine, Dom Bouquet, dwells with enthusiasm on the benefits thus extended to the whole student class of the period¹.

It seems certain that, for a time at least, the English ecclesiastic heartily seconded the plans of his royal employer; but his zeal evidently declined with advancing age, and after fourteen years of service he was glad to seek refuge from the splendour of the court in the retirement of the monastery at Tours. Guizot has inferred that the demands made upon his energies, and the continual tension at which his mind was kept, by the mental activity and insatiable curiosity of the emperor, urged him to this step, but there would appear to be sufficient reason for surmising that the cause lay somewhat deeper. Those familiar with the history of these centuries, will remember the frequent feuds between the Benedictines and the secular clergy, and it would seem doubtful whether Alcuin ever cordially sympathized with the extension of instruction which Charlemagne brought about; his heart appears far more warmly given to the task of refuting the Adoptionists and denouncing image-worship; it is certain that he viewed with dislike the increased attention to pagan literature, which necessarily resulted from the mental activity thus aroused². The large designs and wide

Retirement
of Alcuin
from the
work.

His apparent
mistrust of
Pagan
learning.

¹ 'Tot enim gentes e Germania cis Rhenum, et ex Italia cis Alpes eruperunt, ut publicæ penitus evanuerint Scholæ, et curam privatarum ad eruditionem Clericorum in Episcopis gesserint Episcopi, ut Abbates in Cœnobiis ad Monachorum instructionem. Unde studia delitescerant in solis Episcopiorum Monasteriorumque claustris. Sed quia tunc quoque eæ languebant, eas pristino splendori restituere Carolus etiam satagit, directis Epistolis, de quibus supra. Verum cum privatarum hujusmodi Scholarum aditus Laicis liber non esset, Carolus publicas instituit, et in ipso regio Palatio alias crevit.

Regis exemplum statim secuti sunt Abbates et Episcopi. Publicæ per Episcopiam, per Monasteria mox strepuerunt Scholæ, aliæ Cœnobitis, aliæ Sæcularibus edocendis destinatæ. Bouquet, *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*, v 621.

² A full account of the controversy with the Adoptionists will be found in the very able *Life of Alcuin* by Lorenz, Professor of History at the University of Halle, 1829. The Roman Catholic writers have generally sought to show that the paper found among the Carolingian Documents against image-worship is spurious, and have attributed it to

views of the emperor ranged beyond the conceptions of the somewhat cold and decorous ecclesiastic. Though an ardent admirer of the *De Civitate Dei*, Charlemagne had other sympathies, sympathies which strongly inclined him to that secular learning so strongly condemned by Gregory. By his directions steps were taken for the collection and revision of manuscripts, a care especially necessary now that Egypt under Saracen occupation no longer furnished the papyrus for the use of Europe. One of the numerous letters of Alcuin consists of a reply to two grammatical questions propounded by the emperor,—the proper gender of *rubus*, and whether *despexeris* or *dispereris* be the preferable form. The letter attests no contemptible scholarship, supported as its decisions are by references to Priscian and Donatus; it is moreover an important piece of evidence with respect to Alcuin's knowledge of Greek, for it contains seven quotations in that language, and illustrates the force of *di*, in such Latin compounds as *divido*, *diruo*, *discurro*, by the Greek *διá*¹.

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DUCTION.Divergent
sentiments
of the em-
peror.

Such enquiries on the part of the emperor, together with those interesting dialogues wherein Alcuin unfolded to the courtly circle at Aix-la-Chapelle the mysteries of logic and grammar, unmistakeably evidence the presence of a spirit very different from that of Gregory and altogether in advance of the ecclesiastical ideas of the time. It might seem indeed not unreasonable to suppose that when the dark forebodings that derived their strength from calamity and invasion drew off at the approach of a more hopeful age, and that as the horizon that bounded human life regained the charms that belong to the illimitable and the unknown, men might well again find leisure to draw delight and inspiration from the page of Grecian and Roman genius. Such happiness how-

The special
excuse for
the neglect of
pagan
literature
succeeded by
objections
founded on
its im-
morality.

Karlstadt, who heralded the crusade against image-worship that preceded the Reformation.

¹ *Epist.* 27. The tone of this letter, wherein Alcuin mildly expresses his surprise that the emperor should have summoned him from his retire-

ment to act as arbiter in a literary controversy, and should be willing *emeritæ nomen militiæ in castra revocare pugnantiâ*, plainly shows how he sought in his latter life to withdraw himself from the study of pagan literature.

ever the scholar was not yet destined to enjoy. The course of events, it is true, had tended to weaken the belief which Gregory had held¹, but there had at the same time been growing up in the Church a subsidiary theory with respect to pagan literature, which equally served to discredit and discourage the study. From considerations which led to an estimate of pagan learning as a thing wherein the Christian had no longer part or lot, objectors now turned to considerations derived from the morality of the literature. The spirit of Tertullian and Arnobius long survived in the Latin Church; and the most learned ecclesiastics of these centuries are to be found ignoring that very culture which in a later age has proved the road to ecclesiastical preferment, on grounds precisely similar to those assumed by the most illiterate and bigoted zealots of more modern times². Thus Alcuin himself, who had been wont as a boy to conceal in his bed his Virgil from the observation of the brother who came to rouse the

¹ It is remarkable how the anticipations of Gregory assume at the hands of Alcuin a comparatively vague and indefinite character:—‘Quædam videlicet signa, quæ ipse Dominus in Evangelio ante finem mundi futura esse prædixit, transacta leguntur; quædam vero imminetia quotidie sentiuntur. Quædam itaque necdum acta sunt, sed futura esse certissime creduntur.....et regnum Antichristi et crudelitas ejus in sanctos; hæc enim erit novissima persecutio, novissimo imminente judicio, quam sancta Ecclesia toto terrarum orbepatiatur; universa scilicet civitas Christi, ab universa diaboli civitate.’ *De Fide Sanc. Trinitatis*, Bk. III c. 19. Migne, ci 51. It is easy to note in this passage, perhaps the most definite in Alcuin’s writings, how the phraseology of Augustine continued to be repeated while the application of his theory was no longer insisted on with the same distinctness. In his brief commentary on the Apocalypse we observe a singular reticence in interpreting any portion of the prophecy by specific events; and in the *Libellus de Antichristo*, once attributed to him, but now proved to be by an Abbot of the

monastery at Montier-en-Der, and written more than a century later, we find the following remarkable passage: ‘Quicumque enim, sive laicus, sive canonicus, sive monachus contra justitiam vivit, et ordinis sui regulam impugnat, et quod bonum est blasphematur, Antichristus et minister Satane est.’ This brief tract, successively attributed to Augustine, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus (see edition of the last named, published at Col. Agripp. vi 178, also Migne, ci 1291), while it specifies a definite period of persecution, assigns the East as the quarter from whence Antichrist would appear, and ranges against him the Western Powers. The whole has a marked resemblance to Laetantius, *Institutiones*, Bk. vii.

² Herwerden, in his *Commentatio De Caroli Magni*, etc., one of his earliest productions, has very happily characterised this prejudice of the time: ‘Veteribus Latinis Græcisque litteris pestifera præsertim erat superstitiosissimi ejus ævi opinio, studium earum et exercitationem Christiano contumeliosa esse, eique notam impietatis inurere, quæ æternæ ejus salutis ac beatitudinis nociva sit.’

sleepers to nocturns, lived to set a bann upon the 'impure eloquence' of the poet, and forbade him to his pupils¹. The guardian of the library at York, who had once so enthusiastically described its treasures², employed his later years in testifying to the vanity of all pagan learning. The difference we have noted in the spirit of the emperor and the ecclesiastic is apparent to the close. The former withdrew, as far as he was able, from the anxieties of political life, to devote himself with yet greater ardour to his literary labours; the latter put aside his secular learning to cultivate more closely the asceticism of the monastery. The one died while occupied in restoring the text of the Gospels; the other, worn out by the austerities of the cloister³.

If we pursue our enquiry beyond the time of Alcuin it is long before we find this tradition materially impaired.

¹ 'Sufficiunt divini poetæ vobis, nec egetis luxuriosa sermonis Virgili vos pollui facundia.' *Alcuini Vita*, Migne, c 90.

² 'Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum,
Quidquid habet pro se Latio Romanus in orbe,
Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara Latinis;
Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno
Africa lucifuo, etc.

Poema de Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis. Migne, c1 843. This description is of course exaggerated; in the actual enumeration of authors the only Greek pagan writers mentioned by Alcuin are Aristotle and Aratus; the only Greek Fathers, Clemens, Chrysostom, and Athanasius. The poem itself, it may be observed, is of little historic value, as it is little more than a versification of the passages in Bede's history of the Anglo-Saxon Church relating to York, with additions respecting those dignitaries who had filled the archiepiscopal seat since Bede's time.

³ "La pensée de la mort était devenue pour lui une véritable consolation. En lui s'était réalisé, après bien des transformations, l'idéal du spiritualiste: il vivait par l'âme. Au sein des grandeurs, le corps ne lui avait semblé qu'une prison, la vie

qu'un exil. Ce qui n'était alors qu'une sorte de rêve était maintenant une vérité. Son plus cher désir était de mourir le jour de la Pentecôte. En ce jour où les apôtres reçurent une nouvelle existence, la mort lui paraissait être le souffle divin qui réveillerait son âme du sommeil de la vie humaine. Il avait choisi le lieu de sa sépulture non loin de l'église de Saint Martin. Des que la nuit était venue, il se rendait à la dérobée dans cet endroit solitaire, et après avoir récité des prières sur sa tombe en espérance, il disait: 'O clef de David, sceptré de la maison d'Israël, toi qui ouvres pour que personne ne ferme, toi qui fermes sans que personne puisse ouvrir, viens, prends celui qui est enchaîné dans la prison, qui est assis dans les ténèbres et à l'ombre de la mort.' Les fêtes du Carême, de Pâques et de l'Ascension, ranimèrent ses forces. Mais la maladie augmenta dans la nuit de l'Ascension. Il tomba sur son lit, épuisé et sans mouvement. La connaissance et la parole lui revirent les jours suivants, et il récita sa prière: 'O clef de David, viens.' Et ce fut le matin du jour de la Pentecôte, qu'entouré de ses élèves en larmes, au moment même où il entraînait ordinairement au chœur, il rendit le dernier soupir." Monnier, *Alcuin et son Influence*, pp. 249-50.

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Rabanus
Maurus.
b. 786. (?)
d. 856. (?)

Alcuin's
view still
the tradition
of the
Church.

Dr. Maitland's
defence of the
tradition.

Rabanus Maurus, his most illustrious pupil, while distinguished by his ability and learning, still held it, as Trithemius observes, the highest excellence of the scholar to render all profane literature subservient to the illustration of the Scriptures; and, up to the eleventh century, the great preponderance of authority, including such men as Odo, abbot of Clugni, Peter Damian, and Lanfranc, is to be found ranged on the same side. Even so late as the seventeenth century, De Rancé, in his celebrated diatribe against secular learning, could point triumphantly to the fact that the rule so systematically violated by the honorable activity of the Benedictines had never been formally rescinded. 'I grant,' says one of the ablest apologists of the culture and men of these ages, 'that they had not that extravagant and factitious admiration for the poets of antiquity, which they probably would have had if they had been brought up to read them before they could understand them, and to admire them as a necessary matter of taste, before they could form any intellectual or moral estimate of them: they thought too that there were worse things in the world than false quantities, and preferred running the risk of them to some other risks which they apprehended; but yet there are instances enough of the classics (even the poets) being taught in schools, and read by individuals; and it cannot be doubted that they might have been, and would have been, read by more, but for the prevalence of that feeling which I have described, and which, notwithstanding these exceptions, was very general. Modern and, as it is supposed, more enlightened views of education have decided that this was all wrong; but let us not set down what was at most an error of judgement, as mere stupidity and a proof of total barbarism. If the modern ecclesiastic should ever meet with a crop-eared monk of the tenth century, he may, if he pleases, laugh at him for not having read Virgil; but if he should be led to confess that, though a priest of Christ's catholic church, and nourished in the languages of Greece and Rome till they were almost as familiar to him as his own, he had never read a single page of Chrysostom or Basil, of Augustine or Jerome, of Ambrose

or Hilary—if he should confess this, I am of opinion that the poor monk would cross himself, and make off without looking behind him¹.

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Within three years after the death of Charlemagne an important change was introduced in the Benedictine schools. The seculars, by the decree of a Council held at Aix-la-Chapelle, were no longer admitted to mingle with the *oblatores* and the monks, but received instruction in separate classes, and probably without the precincts of the monastery². This distinction continued to exist down to the twelfth century, and may be regarded as favorable to learning in so far that the most learned body of the period still continued to direct the education of the secular clergy.

A.D. 817.

Distinction
introduced in
the Benedic-
tine Schools.

In the political disturbances that ensued upon the death of the great emperor the prospects of learning became again clouded, and the scholars of the time are loud in their laments over the palmy days of the past, and gloomy in their prognostications of the future. The few who still essayed to impart to others something of learning and culture, found their efforts useless while a barbarous soldiery plundered the monasteries, and the country resounded with the clang of arms³. *Heu! misera dies quam infeliciox nox sequitur!* is the exclamation of Paschasius Radbertus⁴. The deacon Florus, in the dismal strains wherein he describes the disasters that followed upon the division of the empire, contrasts the prospects of learning with the bright promise of the time when Charlemagne guided the fortunes of the state. 'The cultivation of letters is at an end,' writes Lupus, bishop of Ferrières, to Alwinus, 'who is there who does not deplore

Disturbed
state of the
empire after
the death of
Charlemagne.

Paschasius
Radbertus.
d. 865.
Florus.
d. 860. (?)

Lupus,
bishop of
Ferrières.
b. 805.
d. 862. (?)

¹ Dr Maitland, *Dark Ages*, pp. 177—179.

² 'Ut schola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblatores sunt.' Baluze, *Cap. Regum*, i 585. 'Oblatores monasteriorum, qui se ac sua, vel majorem partem bonorum suorum sine fraude ac dolo monasteriis ipsis sponte ac libere obtulerunt.' Duncange, s. v. Francis Monnier in his interesting *Histoire des Luttes Politiques et Religieuses dans les Temps Carolingiens*, p. 38, refers back to

these Councils the formal distinction of the secular clergy from the religious orders.

³ The school at Tours appears to have suffered under a special disadvantage owing to the careless management of Fredegis, the abbot; its celebrity passed over to the school at Fulda which Rabanus, a really able man, raised to considerable eminence.

⁴ *Vita Walæ*, Migne, Vol. cxix.

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His letters.

His literary
pursuits.

the unskilfulness of the teachers, the paucity of books, the want of leisure¹? In a letter to Eginhard, he complains that those who cultivate learning are regarded as useless drones, and seem raised to unenviable eminence, only to be marked out for the dislike of the crowd, who impute all their failings, not to the common infirmity of human nature, but to their literary acquirements². The letters of this prelate are, indeed, among the most interesting and valuable records of the period. We prefer them greatly to the intensely edifying correspondence of Rabanus, or even to that of Alcuin himself; and it must be owned, that the literary activity they reveal is in singular contrast to the representations of those writers who would have us regard the period that followed on the reign of Charlemagne, as one wherein learning suffered a well nigh total eclipse. At Ferrières, at least, its lamp shone with no uncertain light. In a letter to one correspondent, we find the good bishop begging for the loan of a copy of Cicero's treatise on Rhetoric, his own manuscript being faulty (*mendosum*), and another, which he had compared with it, still more so³. In a second letter he mentions that he intended to have forwarded a copy of Aulus Gellius, but his friend, the abbot, has detained it. Writing to another correspondent, he thanks him for the pains he has taken in correcting a copy of Macrobius⁴; to a third he promises to send a copy of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and enters into a lengthened explanation to show that a portion of that work must be regarded as written by Hirtius. In another letter we find him begging that a copy of the *Institutes* of Quintilian may be sent to Lantramus to be copied under his auspices⁵. When we consider that pursuits like these have been held to add lustre to the reputation of not a few of the most distinguished prelates of our English Church, it seems hard to withhold the meed of praise from a poor French bishop of the ninth century; unless indeed such labours are to be regarded as creditable enough when associated with

¹ *Epist.* 34, Migne, Vol. cxix.² *Epist.* 1, *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Epist.* 8, *Ibid.*⁵ *Epist.* 62, *Ibid.*

the dignity and luxury of a modern bishopric, but quite another thing when carried on amid the alarms of war and a constant struggle with poverty, and where the writer has every now and then to pause to tell of the cruelty of the soldiery, the scanty provision for his household, and the tattered apparel of his servants.

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In the fierce antagonism of races amid which the Carolingian empire broke up, we find little to illustrate the progress of education. The light which illumined the court of Charlemagne, and lingered round that of Charles the Bald, died out in the tenth century, or took refuge with the alien race that ruled in Andalusia. Learning still revolved round the monastery and maintained its exclusively theological associations. How little it thus prospered in England is sufficiently attested by the evidence of our king Aelfrid, a monarch with strong points of resemblance to Charlemagne, who declared that he knew not a single monk south of the Thames capable of translating the Latin service.

Decline of
learning.

State of
learning in
England.

Having now however examined, sufficiently for our present purpose, what may be termed the external history of the education of these centuries, we shall proceed to endeavour to ascertain, in turn, the real value and amount of the scanty learning thus transmitted to more hopeful times.

The fact that here at once arrests our attention is, that while education was warped and curtailed by the views of the theologian, the substance and the fashion of what was actually taught were to a great extent derived from pagan sources, and thus preserved in a very remarkable manner the traditions of Roman culture. The ordinary instruction imparted in the Middle Ages, prior to the twelfth century, was almost entirely founded on the works of five authors,—Orosius, Martianus, Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Isidorus,—of these Martianus and Boethius were pagan, the others Christian writers, but all for the most part slavish compilers from greatly superior Greek and Roman treatises. Let us be distinctly understood. We do not assert that no other authors were read¹, but simply that these authors were the school-

The text-
books chiefly
used down to
the twelfth
century.

¹ The late M. Amable Jourdain, whose authority on such a subject

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books of those times. A far wider range of reading was undoubtedly accessible. Here and there a mind of superior energy aspired to overcome the difficulties of the Greek tongue and gained an acquaintance with some of its masterpieces, as well as with those of the Latin language. The Latin Fathers were not unfrequently studied; the Vulgate of Jerome was extensively in use; Aristotle, as a logician, survived both in Augustine and Boethius; Priscian and Donatus are oft-quoted authorities in questions of grammar; but the limits within which such studies are to be regarded as having directly influenced the individual are so narrow, as to render it especially necessary to be cautious how we regard them as forming any appreciable element in the education then imparted.

Orosius.
fl. circ.
A.D. 416.

The first of the five treatises above enumerated represents the school history then in use. Orosius, the compiler, Ozanam remarks, was the first to condense the annals of the world into the formula, *divina providentia agitur mundus et homo*¹. It was in the fifth century that Orosius wrote; a time when paganism was loudly reiterating its accusations against Christianity, in order to fasten upon the upholders of the new faith the responsibility of the calamities that were then falling so thickly on the empire. Augustine's elaborate vindication was but half completed, and he called upon Orosius, who was his pupil, to prepare a briefer and less

His *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri* 4 II.

few will call in question, claims for these times a somewhat larger literature than is usually admitted:—'A toutes les époques du moyen âge on a lu les Questions Naturelles de Sénèque, le poëme de Lucrèce, les ouvrages philosophiques de Cicéron, les livres d'Apulée, ceux de Cassiodore, de Boèce, etc.' *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines D'Aristote*, edit. 1843, p. 21. Mr Lawes (*Hist. of Philosophy*, II 65) doubts whether Lucretius could possibly have been tolerated in so exclusively theological an age; but both Rabanus Maurus and William of Conches appear to have been familiar with portions, at least, of his great poem. See Charles Jour-

dain's *Dissertation sur l'État de la Philosophie Naturelle au Douzième Siècle*, p. 26. Among the most recent estimates of the learning of these ages that of M. Victor Le Clerc's is noticeable for its highly favorable character:—'Quant à la littérature latine, peu s'en fallait qu'on ne l'eût déjà telle que nous l'avons aujourd'hui. Ce mot trop légèrement employé de renaissance des lettres ne saurait s'appliquer aux lettres latines: elles n'ont point ressuscité, parce qu'elles n'étaient point mortes.' *Histoire Littéraire de la France au Quatorzième Siècle*, I 355.

¹ Ozanam, *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, I 57.

circumstantial reply. The 'Histories' are accordingly a kind of abstract of the *De Civitate*,—the theory of Augustine without his philosophy, his eloquence, and his fertility of exposition. Such was the origin of the volume which afterwards became the school history of the Middle Ages, and it must be owned that it is a decidedly sombre treatise. It was the object of the writer to shew, over and above the exposition of his main theory, that the times were by no means so exceptional as to justify the hypothesis of paganism; that in all ages the Supreme Ruler had, for His own inscrutable purposes, tried mankind by calamities even greater than those that the pestilence and barbaric invasion were then inflicting¹. His pages are consequently filled with famines, plagues, earthquakes, sieges, and battles; the tragic and the terrible make up the volume; there is no place for the tranquil days of the old Republic or for the sunny age of the Antonines. It is difficult not to infer that, when generation after generation was left to derive its knowledge of history from such a book, the effect could scarcely have been otherwise than too much in assonance with ideas like that which has already come so prominently before us.

The treatise of Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus Libri Novem*, is the work of a native of Carthage, a teacher of rhetoric and a contemporary probably of Orosius. It is characterised by the usual mannerisms of the African rhetoricians, an obscure and forced diction, a turgid rhetoric, and endless artifices of metaphor and expression, such as belong to the school of Appuleius and Arnobius. The treatise, as the title implies, is cast in an allegorical form: and the first two books are almost exclusively devoted to a somewhat tedious account of the celebration of the marriage of Mercury with Philologia, the goddess of speech. Jupiter, warned by the oracles, con-

Martianus
Capella.
fl. circ. 424.

His treatise
De Nuptiis.

The allegory.

¹ Nactus enim sum præteritos dies non solum æque ut hos graves, verum etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius a remedio veræ religionis alienos. *Præfatio ad Aurelium Augustinum*, Migne, xxxi 667.

² A recent editor of Martianus

(Eyssenhardt, Lipsiæ, 1866) considers that he lived before 439, and could not possibly have written subsequently to the Vandal occupation of Africa. He consequently places our author nearly half a century earlier than the usually assigned date.

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venes a meeting of the gods and demands the rights of naturalization for one hitherto but a mortal virgin; and Mercury assigns to his bride seven virgins as her attendants, each of whom is in turn introduced at the marriage banquet and descants on that particular branch of knowledge represented by her name. Such is the fantastic allegory wherein was transmitted to the universities of Europe the ancient division of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*¹. To modern readers neither the instruction nor the amusement thus conveyed will appear of a very high order. The elaborateness of the machinery seems out of all proportion to the end in view, the allegorical portion of the treatise occupying more than a fourth part of the entire work. The humour, if not altogether spiritless, is often coarse², and when we recollect not only that such allurements to learning were deemed admissible, but that the popularity of this treatise in the Middle Ages is probably mainly attributable to these imaginative accessories, we need seek for no further evidence respecting the standard of literary taste then prevalent.

The Curri-
culum.

A course of study embracing Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy, would appear a far from contemptible curriculum; it is only when we examine what was really represented under each of these branches, that we become aware how inadequately they corresponded to modern conceptions of such studies. The definition, indeed, given by Martianus of grammar, would lead us to anticipate a comprehensive treatment of the subject,—it is not only *docte scribere legereque*, but also

Grammar.

¹ See Hauréau, *De la Philosophie Scholastique*, i 21. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* iii 957. This division of the several liberal arts is to be found in Augustine, *De Ordine*, c. 13. Hauréau would therefore seem to be in error when he attributes its first conception to Capella. See Dean Mansel's *Introd. to Artis Logice Rudimenta*, p. 28.

² As specimens the following may suffice:—The plaudits that follow upon the discourse delivered by Arithmetica are supposed to be interrupted by laughter, occasioned by

the loud snores of Silenus asleep under the influence of his deep potations. The kiss wherewith Rhetorica salutes Philologia is heard throughout the assembly, *nil enim silens, ac si cuperet, faciebat*. John of Salisbury (see *Metalogicus*, Lib. iv) frequently illustrates his discourses by a reference to this allegory as especially familiar to his age. *Les imaginations vives*, remarks Léon Maître, donnaient leur préférence à Martianus Capella. *Ecoles Épisc.* p. 211.

erudite intelligere probareque. The actual information is meagre in the extreme¹; the physiology of articulation, it is true, is analysed with a care that M. Jourdain's tutor might have envied; but the writer appears to confuse quantity with accentuation, and it indicates the neglect into which Cicero's writings had already fallen that, in treating of the comparison of adverbs, the author affirms that *impune* has no comparative. Under Dialectics both logic and metaphysics are included. In the former we have the old definitions of *genus* and *differentia*, *accidens* and *proprium*, and the diagram familiar to students of Aldrich or Whately, illustrating the relations of the four kinds of logical propositions². The portion devoted to Rhetoric contains the rules and figures of the art, taken chiefly from Cicero, and profusely illustrated from his writings. Geometry consists of little more than geography, a short compend from Pliny with a

Dialectics.

Rhetoric.

Geome'try.

¹ Kopp here observes, 'ea elegisse videtur, in quibus vel dissentiret a superioribus grammaticis, vel clarius se docere posse putaret,' an explanation hardly warranted, I think, when we compare the treatment with that of similar writers like Cassiodorus and Isidore. C. F. Hermann, in his preface to Kopp's edition, expresses his belief that Martianus drew largely from Varro, 'quæ si recte observavi, fieri poterit ut ex Martiano si nihil aliud tamen aliquas principis eruditionis Romanæ reliquias lucremur.'

² The causes that led to the singularly meagre treatment of Logic by these writers have been thus described by a very competent critic:— 'It was only indeed in the time of Cicero, that Aristotle's writings were brought to light from the long obscurity in which they were buried. And it is not asserting too much to say, that, even had the Romans been disposed to encourage a speculative philosophy, there was then no one competent either justly to value, or fully to explain, his logical doctrines. An art of logic had long been current in use, the Dialectic of the Stoics, which so far from opening the mind to the reception of a truly philoso-

phical method, had diverted men from the right pursuit, had prejudiced them with wrong notions of the science. If Aristotle, therefore, were studied, it would naturally be such portions of his Logic as coincided, or seemed to coincide, most with the existing imperfect views. Hence the almost exclusive use among the Latins of his treatise entitled the Categories or the Predicaments. Though other treatises of his Logic were translated into Latin, these soon fell into disuse. A compendium of Dialectic, founded on the Categories of Aristotle, and passed under the name of Augustine, became the ordinary text book from which the whole science was professed to be taught in the Latin schools, down to the end of the 12th century. . . . Each distinguished master probably composed his own treatise of the art, but all were confined to the same meagre technicalities, which alone accorded with the corrupt theological taste of the times.' Hampden's (Bp.) *Bampton Lectures*, p. 66. It will be observed, however, that Dr Hampden has scarcely given sufficient recognition to the labours of Boethius, see p. 27.

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few simple propositions concerning the properties of lines, plane figures, and solids, towards the close. Some of the blunders are amusing. For instance, Pliny had stated that the Northern Ocean had been explored under the auspices of Augustus: Martianus, by way of embellishment, tells us that Tiberius had, in his own person, traversed the whole extent of the Northern Ocean and had penetrated to the country of the Scythians and the Arctic regions, *magno dehinc permerso ad Scythicam plagam ac rigentes undas usque penetravit*,—a statement for which we can only account by supposing that he had Germanicus in his mind. Other details, too numerous to be noticed here, have a certain interest as illustrative of the knowledge and nomenclature of the times. Egypt he refers to, in common with other geographers, as *Asiæ caput*; and, while admitting that the sources of the Nile are unknown, makes mention of a tradition that it takes its rise in a lake situated in the lower regions of Mauretania. In speaking of Syria he refers to the Essenes, but Palestine and Galilee fail to suggest the name of Christianity. The science of Arithmetic is discussed chiefly with reference to the properties of numbers, mystically interpreted after the manner of Pythagoras. ‘Music’ includes the subject of metre, together with a brief account of harmony and of the scale of musical notation. Astronomy is treated according to the traditions of Ptolemy, and contains a short account of the heavenly bodies, and an investigation, by far the most philosophical portion of the treatise, into the supposed laws that regulate the movements of the planets, the sun, and the moon¹.

¹ It is, however, very remarkable that superficial as is his treatment of astronomy, he yet appears to have to some extent anticipated the Copernican theory. The passage deserves quotation:—‘Licet generaliter sciendum, cunctis orbibus planetarum eccentricon esse tellurem, hoc est non tenere medium circulorum; quoniam mundi centron esse non dubium; et illud generale septem omnibus advertendum, quod quum mundus ejusdem ductus rotatione unimoda ter-

queatur, planetæ quotidie tam loca quam diversitates arripiant circulorum. Nam ex his nullum sidus ex eo loco unde pridie ortum est elevatur. Quod si est, dubium non est, centum octoginta tres circulos habere Solem, per quos aut ab solstitio in brumam redit, aut ab eadem in solstitialem lineam sublevatur; per eandem quippe nuntationes commeat circulorum. Sed quum Sol prædictum numerum habeat, Mars duplos circulos facit, Iovis stella duodecies

Illustrations
of the
geographical
knowledge
of the period.

Arithmetic.

Music.

Astronomy.

If, as has been conjectured¹, the allegory presented in the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius was conceived in imitation of the allegorical treatment adopted by Martianus, the fact would alone point to a wide and early popularity gained by the latter writer,—a popularity largely attributable to the predilection for abridgements, making small demands on the time and attention of the student, which characterised that degenerate age. The reputation acquired by Boethius rests upon a more satisfactory foundation. The services which that distinguished statesman rendered to posterity have been suffered, to a great extent, to pass from recollection ever since that infusion of learning which, in the thirteenth century, superseded his philosophical treatises and led to their comparative neglect from that time²; but it is only just to remember that to Boethius we owe the transmission down to that era, of that element of purely Greek thought which, imperfect and insignificant though it may now appear, was, during seven centuries, nearly the sole remaining tradition of the Aristotelian philosophy preserved by Western Europe.

If we compare the treatise by Boethius with that of Martianus, we shall probably incline to the conclusion that Boethius wrote for a different and a higher class. The

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Boethius.
b. circ. 475.
d. 524.

His great
service to
learning.

Martianus
and Boethius
compared.

exercet, oeties viciis cumulatur Saturnus, eos circulos qui paralleli dicuntur circumferrens; qui motus omnium cum mundo proveniunt, et terras orbitibus occasibusque circum-eunt. *Nam Venus Mercuriusque licet ortus occasusque quotidianos ostendant, tamen eorum circuli terras omnino non ambiunt sed circa Solem latiore ambitu circulantur; denique circulo- rum suorum contron in Sole constituunt, ita ut supra ipsum aliquando, infra plerumque propinquiores terris ferantur, a quo quidem signo uno et parte dimidia Venus disparatur; sed quum supra Solem sunt, propinquior est terris Mercurius, quum infra Solem, Venus, utpote quæ orbe castiore diffusiorque curvetur.* c. viii., p. 856, ed. Kopp. 'On dit,' says Delambre, 'qui c'est ce peu de lignes qui a été pris par Copernic pour le sujet de ses meditations, et qui l'a conduit à son système du monde; en ce cas Mar-

tianus aurait rendu à l'astronomie plus de services que des astronomes bien plus habiles, et nous devons lui pardonner son verbiage, ses bévues et son galimathias.'

¹ See article by Dean Stanley, 'Boethius,' in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biography and Mythology.

² "Both of the great esteem in which the Consolation of Boethius was held by the Church of the Middle Ages, and of the great influence of the monastic schools, Dr Pauli finds evidence in the fact, that 'as soon as a newly formed language began to produce, we meet with a version of Boethius in it; this is also the case with all the most ancient remains of the old High Germans, the Provençals, and the Northern French; even Chaucer formed himself upon it when he gave England its language.'" Morley's *English Writers*, Vol. i pt. 1, p. 399.

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Arithmetic in Martianus, for instance, occupies but 47 pages; that of Boethius, in two books, nearly a hundred, and though to a great extent founded on that of the Greek writer Nicomachus, is far from a mere translation, being accompanied by numerous and useful additions¹. A yet greater disparity is observable in their respective treatises on Music. The treatment by Boethius is not only far more comprehensive, but gives to the whole curriculum a dignity and coherence altogether wanting in the works of the other compilers. The somewhat transcendental method which he adopts is, indeed, perhaps the true explanation of the preference accorded to other writers on these subjects during the Middle Ages. A passion for mysticism, in an exposition of the exact sciences, only tended still further to shroud such learning from the gaze of the neophyte, nor will the modern mathematician find much to repay his curiosity in the discussion of the harmony of numbers, the generation of the perfect number, and numbers proportional and the division of magnitudes; nor in the similar method of treatment to be found in the five books on Music. The translation of Euclid, however,—that is to say of the first four books, together with their figures, and a few additional propositions on the properties of the rhombus,—is of a more practical character.

The results of modern criticism would seem to have established the fact that Boethius cannot be ranked among the adherents of early Christianity². The theological treatises once attributed to him afford satisfactory evidence that they are by a different hand. In fact, his efforts to familiarise his

¹ Cassiodorus (in the two pages in which he dismisses the same subject) bears witness to its merits:—‘quam (arithmeticeam) apud Græcos Nicomachus diligenter exposuit. Hunc primum Macaurensis Apuleius, deinde magnificus vir Boetius Latino sermone translatus Romanis contulit lectitandum.’ *De Artibus Liber*, Migne, lxx 1207. Other followers of Boethius were Bede, Gerbert, and John of Salisbury. For a succinct account of the progress of the science up to the time of Boethius see C. F.

Weber’s Preface to *Fragmentum A. M. T. S. Boethii de Arithmetica*. Cassell, 1847.

² *Boethium a Christi doctrina alienum fuisse multis ex rebus efficitur*, is the dictum of a recent editor. See *De Consol. Phil.* ed. Obbarius, 1843. The supposition that Boethius encountered his fate as a martyr in the cause of orthodoxy against the Arians, though sanctioned by Baehr and Heyne, has been completely refuted by Hand; see Ersch and Grub. *Encyklopædie*, xi 283.

The educational treatises by Boethius chiefly compilations, but superior in their general conception.

Boethius not a Christian writer.

countrymen with the writings of Aristotle and Porphyry, and to reconcile Aristotle with Plato, would at once suggest, to those who bore in mind the character of his age, that his sympathies were nothing more than those of enlightened paganism. The student of the history of the Aristotelian philosophy will be aware how frequently its predominant aspect has varied with the requirements, the tendencies, and the fashion of the age. It has been the fortune of the Stagirite successively to represent the final authority in the arena of metaphysics, of morality, and of natural philosophy; but it was under none of these aspects that his influence was preserved to Europe by Boethius.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Various
of the
Aristotelian
philosophy.

The Aristotle of western Europe, from the sixth to the thirteenth century, was simply Aristotle the logician; and even as a logician he was but imperfectly known. The whole of the *Organon* had, indeed, been translated by Boethius, but even of this the greater part was unknown to Europe prior to the twelfth century¹. The *Categories* and the *De Interpretatione*, together with the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, were in use, but the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Topica*, and the *Elenchi Sophistici* are never quoted. Such are the important limitations with which it is consequently necessary to regard the study of Aristotle as existing during this lengthened period; his logical method survived, but in imperfect fashion; while his mental and moral philosophy remained altogether unknown, their resuscitation forming, as we shall subsequently see, a separate and very important chapter in the history of European thought.

Only the
Logic of
Aristotle
known to
Europe from
A.D. 500 to
1100, and this
but in part.

The prejudices and suspicions to which, towards the close of his reign, Theodoric surrendered his judgement, proved fatal to Boethius, but a distinguished colleague of the patriotic statesman, who, like him, had filled under the Gothic monarch some of the highest offices of the state, managed to retain the royal confidence unimpaired; and at length, when nearly

¹ Die boethianische Uebersetzung der Hauptschriften des Organons, d. h. der beiden Analytiken und der Topik nebst Soph. El., vor dem 12.

Jahrhunderte gänzlich unbekannt gewesen war. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, III 3.

INTRO-
DUCTION.Cassiodorus.
b. 468.
d. 568.His treatise
De Artibus.

seventy years of age, Cassiodorus effected his retreat to the monastery which he had founded at Scylacium, to enjoy, far beyond the ordinary term of life, its tranquil solitudes and studious repose. The Gothic History by this writer has survived only in the abridgement of Jornandes; but his Epistles, a series of state documents prepared under the direction of Theodoric and Justinian, that may be compared to the Capitularies of Charlemagne, are a valuable illustration of these times. His manual of education, however, with which we are here chiefly concerned,—the *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Literarum*,—is the most meagre of all the text books of the Middle Ages. The four subjects of the Quadrivium, for instance, are each dismissed in two pages; the object of the writer being apparently rather to give a general notion of the subject than definite instruction therein. In his general arrangement he observes the same traditional division that Martianus and Boethius follow; and the example of the latter, whose genius Cassiodorus warmly admired, is to be discerned in the adoption of Aristotle and Porphyry as the chief guides in the book on Dialectics,—the only portion of the work that presents what can be held to constitute a real study of the subject. As the production, then, of an aged monk, but of one who until long past his manhood's prime had mingled much with the world, borne high office in the state, and held intercourse with the foremost spirits of the age, this work sufficiently shews how the traditions of pagan culture were dwindling before the combined influences of a narrow theology and barbaric rule¹.

The wave of the Lombard invasion spent itself on the north of Italy, and while Gregory was predicting from the sufferings of his own nation the speedy dissolution of all things, a contemporary ecclesiastic, in the neighbouring

¹ His Dialectic contains a brief analysis of the Isagoge of Porphyry and the Organon of Aristotle, with additions, a considerable portion being borrowed from Apuleius and Boethius. His analysis of the Organon does not include the Sophistic Refutations, but contains a separate

chapter *De Parallogismis*, which treats of purely logical fallacies. The arrangement of the work is by no means methodical, and extraneous matters are introduced which properly belong to Rhetoric.' Dean Munsel, *Introd. to Artis Logicæ Rudimenta*, p. xxix.

peninsula of Spain, was engaged in the compilation of one of the most remarkable educational treatises that belong to the Middle Ages. Though at various times a full participant in the sufferings of the empire, Spain had enjoyed since the establishment of the kingdom of the Visigoths comparative immunity from invasion, and Isidorus could survey with a calmer eye than Gregory the portents of the time. Descended from Theodoric the Great, son of a governor of Cartagena, and himself bishop of an important see, he appears to have passed a life of honourable activity in freedom from political disquiet like that which agitated the country of the pontificate. Considering the period at which he wrote, the twenty books of the *Origines*, a kind of Encyclopædia of sacred and profane learning, must undoubtedly be regarded as a remarkable achievement, a laborious collection of such fragments of knowledge as were still discoverable amid the gloom hastening to yet more intense darkness. The traditional classification of the subjects is retained, but the treatment shews no advance on that of preceding writers. Verbal explanations of scientific terms still mock with the affectation of clearness and precision the enquirer after real knowledge. 'How completely,' observes Mr Lewes, 'the magnificent labours of Hipparchus and Ptolemy had vanished from the scene, how utterly their results and methods had passed away, may be estimated on finding Isidore, in his chapter on the size of the sun and the moon, unable to give more precise information than that the sun is larger than the earth, and the moon less than the sun¹.' Even the spark which had illumined the dark page of Martianus appears to have expired.

In one respect the *Origines* present a novel and noticeable feature,—the incorporation of the remains of pagan learning with the new theology. Of the twenty books into which they are divided, only the first three are devoted to the subjects treated by those preceding compilers whose treatises have occupied our attention; the remaining seventeen being

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Isidorus.
d. 636.

His *Origines*.

Novel
element in
this treatise.

¹ Lewes (G. H.), *Hist. of Philosophy*, II 68.

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composed of an extraordinary medley of medicine, theology, natural philosophy and natural history, political history, architecture, mineralogy, and husbandry. The good bishop would seem, as though prescient of the future, to have sought to gather and link together whatever still remained of knowledge and learning before it should be irretrievably lost. Of the numerous historical and theological tractates of Isidorus,—many of them mere reproductions in an abridged form of his larger works,—we cannot here stop to speak; but whoever will examine them for himself will have forcibly brought home to him, in the barbarisms, the solecisms and the poverty of thought whereby they are characterised, the actual state of learning in times when such productions could suffice to obtain for their author the reputation of being the most accomplished and erudite man of his age.

The more elaborate researches of later writers have tended somewhat to qualify the representations of Robertson, Hallam, and others who have slightly exaggerated and severely criticised the ignorance of these times; but there still remains sufficient evidence amply to warrant two general conclusions:—1, that the literature of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries was scanty in the extreme; 2, that whatever learning existed was almost exclusively possessed by the clergy. Nor is there any good reason for believing that these conclusions would be materially modified even if we could restore to light the whole literature to which these centuries gave birth; it would rather seem, that in what remains we have enough to illustrate the real value and direction of what intellectual activity existed, and are enabled to discern, with but little difficulty, the torch of learning passing in succession from the hand of each solitary runner who maintained the race in that darksome night. In the authors who have just occupied our attention we can trace, for instance, with tolerable distinctness, the transmission of the literary spirit. Orosius appears reproducing, under the teaching of Augustine, the theological interpretation of history; Martianus, as sustaining the traditions of pagan culture; Boethius, as imitating the allegorical treatment

General
conclusion
with respect
to the culture
of the Dark
Ages.

The tradition
of learning.

pursued by Martianus, and, in his turn, inspiring Cassiodorus, who, in his monastic solitude, feebly retraced the outlines of learning marked out by his more brilliant compeer; while in Isidorus, the grandson of Theodoric the Great, we seem to recognise the transmitted influence of both these illustrious ministers of the most enlightened of the Gothic conquerors. With the name of Isidorus again, is associated, though in no true connexion, one of the most important movements of the Middle Ages,—the next prominent feature that arrests our attention in pursuing our enquiry¹.

Amid the numerous legends, pretended miracles, and other inventions, which, as Christianity became corrupt, hid the simplicity of the faith from view, it is undeniable that a spirit of unverity grew up, that, combining with the superstition of the age, became a prolific source of imposture; and in the ninth century we are presented with a notable exemplification of this tendency, in an effort at investing the dicta of Rome with the appearance of greater completeness and continuity, which, commencing in deliberate fraud, ultimately expanded into one of the most gigantic literary forgeries that the world has seen. Among the numerous writings of Isidorus was one, *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, wherein he had collected the decisions of the Church on numerous points relating to discipline, ceremonies, and the limitations of the authority attaching to the different sacred offices. The work enjoyed a deserved reputation, and must still be regarded as of high value by all who seek to form an accurate estimate of the sanction afforded by the antiquities of the Church for the observances of the Romish ritual. In one respect however this treatise failed to satisfy the minds of a later generation, for it contained little that could be quoted in favour of the exclusive pretensions of the Romish see; and, more especially, the chain of continuity, the unbroken tradition from the time of St. Peter, could not be traced in

Isidorus,
*De Officiis
Ecclesiasticis.*

¹ 'Quant au programme des études, il n'a pas varié d'une syllabe avant le xii^e siècle, il est resté tel qu'il avait été tracé pour les écoles des

premiers siècles du moyen âge par Boëce, Martianus Capella, Cassiodore et Isidore de Séville.' Léon Maître, *Les Écoles Épiscopales*, etc. p. 300.

INTRO-
DUCTION.Pretended
discovery of
Mercator.Dispute
between
Hincmar
and Rothrad.Decision in
favour of
Rome
founded on
the False
Decretals.

its pages; for between Clemens, the first bishop, and Siricius, who died at the close of the fourth century, the decrees of the bishops of Rome were altogether wanting. But suddenly the missing Decretals were forthcoming. An unknown individual, who styled himself Mercator, brought forward what purported to be a completion of the work of Isidorus, inasmuch as it supplied what was necessary to constitute that work an entire collection of the decrees of Rome from the earliest times. No traces of these documents were discoverable in the Roman archives, but they were nevertheless accepted as genuine by Nicholas, and also by Hincmar, the eminent archbishop of Rheims. It so happened that at the time when this pretended discovery took place, Rothrad, bishop of Soissons, had appealed to Nicholas against his deposition from his see by his metropolitan, Hincmar. It was however doubtful whether he was justified in such a step, and Hincmar loudly affirmed that no such right of appeal existed. It was now found that, among the newly discovered Decretals, was one that established the supremacy of Rome over all other metropolitans; Rothrad was reinstated in his episcopal chair by Nicholas; and Hincmar was compelled reluctantly to bow to the authority he had so incautiously admitted. When too late, he endeavoured indeed to call the genuineness of that authority in question, but in so doing he only incurred the inevitable imputation of having thus acted merely from a selfish regard to his personal interest and aggrandisement. From the recognition of these Decretals the Papacy dates an important advance in legislative power, and the attainment of a position from which it never afterwards receded¹. It was not until three

¹ 'The False Decretals do not merely assert the supremacy of the Pope—the dignity and privileges of the Bishop of Rome. They comprehend the whole dogmatic system and discipline of the Church, the whole hierarchy from the highest to the lowest degree, their sanctity and immunities, their persecutions, their disputes, their right of appeal to Rome. They are full and minute on

Church property, on its usurpation and spoliation; on ordinations; on the sacraments, on baptism, confirmation, marriage, the Eucharist; on fasts and festivals; the discovery of the cross, the discovery of the reliques of the Apostles; on the chrism, holy water, consecration of churches, blessing of the fruits of the field; on the sacred vessels and habiliments. Personal incidents are not wanting

centuries later, in the year 1151, that Gratian, a monk of Bologna, published a new *Decretum* or *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, wherein he incorporated the collection by the Pseudo-Isidorus with numerous alterations and additions. Respecting the amount of actual fraud contained in these labours, some difference of opinion has prevailed. It has even been pointed out, that Gratian, by the insertion of decisions unfavorable to the pretensions of the Romish see, has sufficiently proved the honesty of his motives; but it is certain that the scope of the entire work was largely to augment the privileges and authority of the Papacy¹. It seems difficult moreover to understand, how many of the canons could ever have been regarded as other than apocryphal for, in the sixteenth century, Pope Gregory XIII deemed it expedient to expunge those parts which, however they might charitably have been supposed to have deceived

INTRO-
DUCTION.Gratian.
III Decre-
tum.

to give life and reality to the fiction. The whole is composed with an air of profound piety and reverence; a specious purity and occasional beauty in the moral and religious tone. There are many axioms of seemingly sincere and vital religion. But for the too manifest design, the aggrandisement of the See of Rome and the aggrandisement of the whole clergy in subordination to the See of Rome; but for the monstrous ignorance of history, which betrays itself in glaring anachronisms, and in the utter confusion of the order of events and the lives of distinguished men—the former awakening keen and jealous suspicion, the latter making the detection of the spuriousness of the whole easy, clear, irrefragable,—the False Decretals might still have maintained their place in ecclesiastical history. They are now given up by all; not a voice is raised in their favour; the utmost that is done by those who cannot suppress all regret at their explosion, is to palliate the guilt of the forger, to call in question or to weaken the influence which they had in their own day, and throughout the later history of Christianity.' Milman, *Hist. Latin Christianity*, III 192. A writer of a dif-

ferent school observes, 'The great difference between the use which Hincmar makes of these decretals and the advantage to which they are turned by Nicholas is that the latter builds entirely upon them doctrines hitherto unknown, and which could be supported by no other proof, whereas the archbishop of Rheims quotes them only as furnishing an additional evidence to truths already granted, and even without them easily established or defended. In the latter case their genuineness could be of little importance, nor was it necessarily incumbent on the writer who thus used them to have satisfied himself without any doubt on this point. But when employed for such a purpose as that for which they are advanced by Pope Nicholas, any deficiency in the fullest proof that they were both genuine and of authority, subjects the author to a graver charge than even that of the most culpable negligence.' *Life and Times of Hincmar*, by the late Rev. James C. Prichard, M.A., p. 330.

¹ In one passage Gratian even goes so far as to assert that the Pope is not bound by the canons of his predecessors. See Flenry, *Troisième Discours sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

the original compiler, could not sustain the scrutiny of a more critical age.

The Decretum, as it passed from the hands of Gratian, consisted of three parts: the first being devoted to general law, and containing the canons of Councils, decrees of the Popes, and opinions of the Fathers; the second comprising ecclesiastical judgements on all matters of morality and social life; the third containing instruction with reference to the rites and ceremonies of the Church. The Decretum was received throughout Europe with unquestioning submission; Pope Eugenius III marked his sense of its merits by raising Gratian to the bishopric of Chiusi; and Dante, a century later, assigned to the monk of Bologna a place in the celestial hierarchy, along with Albertus, Aquinas, and the other great doctors of the Church¹. Such was the work the study of which known as that of the Canon Law, formed so important a part of the training of students at the English universities prior to the Reformation; which still survives in both Protestant and Catholic Germany; and continues to demand the attention of all those who seek to grasp intelligently the history and literature of the Middle Ages. Other additions have been made to the Decretum since the time of Gratian, but it is to his labours and those of his predecessor that are undoubtedly to be referred the most unjustifiable pretensions and accordingly the greatest misfortunes of the Romish Church². It was on the foundation of the canon law that those claims to temporal power were built up, which gave rise to the *De Potestate* of Occam, to the *De Dominio Divino* of Wyclif, and to the English Reformation.

Somewhat earlier in the same century that saw the completion of Gratian's labours, Imerius began to lecture at Bologna on the Civil Law. From the time of the disruption of the Roman empire, the codes of Theodosius and Justinian would appear to have survived as the recognised law of the

¹ Paradiso, Bk. x 113.

² See a Lecture by R. G. Phillimore 'On the Influence of Ecclesiastical Law on European Legislation;' also Butler's *Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ*,

p. 3; the latter writer, though a staunch Catholic, admits and deplures the effects of the excessive pretensions of the Decretals on behalf of the Papal power.

tribunals that existed under the Gothic, the Lombard, and the Carlovingian dynasties; but the knowledge of them was very imperfect, and indeed almost valueless, save as representative of a great tradition and marking the path that led to a more systematised and comprehensive theory¹. The school founded by Irnerius marks the commencement of an improved order of things. The states of Lombardy were, at this time, advancing with rapid strides in populousness and wealth, and their increasing commerce and manufactures demanded a more definite application of the admirable code they had inherited. Irnerius accordingly not only expounded the Roman code in lectures, but introduced, for the first time, the plan of annotating it with brief explanations of terms or sentences, these annotations being known under the name of glosses. His example was followed in the next century by Accursius of Florence, whose labours may be regarded as constituting an era in the history of jurisprudence. The precise value of the service rendered by these glossers has been the subject of some dispute; it is not denied that they promoted a more careful and intelligent interpretation of the code, but some have regarded it as a serious evil that their labours almost superseded the study of the text. The construction placed by an eminent glossist upon an obscure or doubtful passage became itself the law, and to master and digest the various interpretations a separate and important study.

Irnerius lectures at Bologna circ. 1113.

Accursius.

It was now however that jurisprudence began again to assume its true dignity as a science and a profession. The fame of the new learning spread rapidly through Europe, and the disciples of Irnerius diffused his teachings in Spain, France, and Germany. In its progress however the science lacked the all powerful aid that had attended the canon law, and it is remarkable that a study which was before long to become the special field of ambition to the ecclesiastic,

Rapid spread of the study of the Civil Law.

¹ '— aber diese Kenntniz und Anwendung desselben sehr dürftig waren, und nur als Uebergang zu einer besseren Zeit Werth haben konnten.' Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen*

Rechts, c. XVIII. sec. 32. See the whole of the same chapter, entitled *Wiederherstellung der Rechtswissenschaft*.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

The study
opposed at
first by
Rome.

should, in the first instance, have been viewed with such disfavour at Rome. Already, before the appearance of the Pandects of Amalfi, it had been forbidden to the religious orders, and the interdict was renewed in 1139 and again in 1163. In 1219 Honorius III banished it from the university of Paris, and thirty-five years later Innocent III reiterated the papal anathemas in France, England and Spain¹. In our own country the superior clergy appear to have advocated its reception, and it is unquestionable that Vacarius lectured on the Pandects at Oxford²; he was silenced however by the mandate of king Stephen, and John of Salisbury informs us that many of his own acquaintance regarded the new learning with so much animosity that they destroyed all the text-books that came within their reach³. The opposition of Stephen is attributed by Selden to the monarch's personal dislike of archbishop Theobald, who had shewn a disposition to introduce the study. This state of feeling however was

¹ 'Ces prohibitions furent vaines. Chez nous, au centre et au nord, se propageait en langue vulgaire la rédaction des coutumes, qui, non moins variées que les divisions féodales, conservaient presque la méthode et souvent même les dispositions des lois romaines. Ces lois, dans les pays de coutumes, furent étudiées comme raison écrite, et, dans les pays de droit romain, adoptées comme lois. En Languedoc, elles étaient le droit commun du pays; Toulouse et Montpellier les enseignaient, même avant l'institution de leurs universités. L'école de Paris, qu'on avait voulu préserver de cette innovation, s'enhardit jusqu'à reconnaître à l'un et à l'autre droit une sorte d'égalité; lorsqu'elle dut, en 1408, après la déclaration de neutralité entre les papautés rivales, fixer les conditions nécessaires pour posséder les bénéfices, elle exigea indifféremment des évêques et des chefs d'ordres le grade de docteur ou de licencié soit en théologie, soit en droit canonique, soit en droit civil.' V. Le Clerc, *État des Lettres au 14^e Siècle*, p. 510.

² Vacarius appears to have taught at Oxford about the year 1149, almost exactly the same time that

Gratian published his Decretum. The fact that Vacarius taught at Oxford has been called in question, but the evidence appears sufficiently conclusive. Gervaise of Canterbury, a contemporary writer says:—*Tunc leges et causidici in Angliam primo vocati sunt, quorum prius erat magister Vacarius. Illic in Oxonfordia legem docuit.*

³ Savigny's criticism throws additional light upon the circumstance:—'Mehrere haben Anstoss daran gefunden, dass bei einem Streit unter Geistlichen über geistliche Gegenstände gerade Römisches Recht wichtig und unentbehrlich gefunden worden sey; sie haben daher angenommen, es sey zugleich das canonische Recht mit verpflanzt worden, ja Manche haben den Unterricht des Vacarius lediglich auf das canonische Recht beziehen wollen. Allein diese ganze Schwierigkeit scheint mir ohne Grund. Das canonische Recht war stets als Theil der Theologie von der Geistlichkeit erlernt worden, so dass weder die Abfassung des Decrets von Gratian, noch dessen Erklärung in der Schule von Bologna, hierin einen ganz neuen Zustand hervorbrachte. Anders verhielt es sich mit dem Römischen

Vacarius
lectures at
Oxford circ.
1143.

but transitory; before the expiration of the twelfth century the attractions and direct importance of a science a knowledge of which had become essential to those concerned in the conduct of proceedings before ecclesiastical tribunals, prevailed over all prejudices; St. Bernard complains, even in his day, of the ardour with which the clergy betook themselves to its pursuit; and a century later, as we shall hereafter see, the study had assumed such proportions as the path to emolument and high office, that it seemed likely to bring about an almost total neglect of theology and the canon law. In England indeed the canon law was mainly preserved from the neglect into which it fell at a yet later period on the continent, by the fact that the canonist and civilian were often united in the same person, and did not, as in France and Germany, represent distinct and separate professions. It is to this combination that we owe the title, which still survives, of LL.D. (formerly J.U.D. or *Doctor Utriusque Juris*).

INTRO-
DUCTION.

The study
extensively
pursued at a
later period
by the clergy.

Combined
with that of
the Canon
Law.

If we now turn to follow the faintly marked path of learning and philosophy from the time of Charlemagne, we shall soon perceive indications of an awakening activity of thought that promised better things than the conceptions of a Gregory or an Alcuin. How far the system which the latter initiated at Tours influenced the course of subsequent

Recht, welches, in seiner Wiederherstellung durch die Glossatoren, in der That etwas Neues war. Zugleich aber ist es unverkennbar, dass der Prozess, auch in geistlichen Gerichten, grosentheils auf Römisches Recht gegründet war. So erklärt es sich, dass die Englische hohe Geistlichkeit durch ihre Prozesse vor der Römischen Curie veranlaszt werden konnte, Legisten und Handschriften des Römischen Rechts aus Italien in England einzuführen, wähen kein ähnliches Bedürfniss in Ansehung des canonischen Rechts empfunden wurde.' C. xxxvi sec. 125. Roger Bacon, who was prejudiced against the study by the abuse with which it had become associated in his day, sought to found upon Stephen's opposition an argument against its claims:—'Rex quidam An-

gliæ Stephanus, allatis legibus Italiæ in Angliam, publico edicto prohibuit, ne ab aliquo retinerentur. Si igitur laicus princeps laici principis alterius leges respueret, igitur multo magis omnis clericus deberet respuere leges laicorum. Addo etiam quod magis concordant jura Franciæ cum Anglia, et e converso, propter vicinitatem regnorum, et communicationem majorem gentium istarum, quam Italiæ et illarum. Igitur deberent magis clerici Angliæ subjicere se legibus Franciæ, et e converso, quam legibus Lumbardiæ.' *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*, c. 4. It seems difficult to believe that this passage could have been written by the same pen that has so admirably pointed out, in the *Opus Tertium*, the relations of the Romance language to each other and to their common parent!

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Paschasius
Radbertus,
fl. circ. 850.

Ratramnus,
wrote circ.
870.

speculation it is difficult accurately to decide¹, but it is certain that, before the ninth century closed, there were symptoms of returning vigour which plainly indicated that the traditional limits would ere long be broken through. The dogma maintained by Paschasius concerning the real presence, and that which Godeschalchus reasserted, on the authority of Augustine, concerning predestination, attest how men's minds were again essaying to grapple with the profoundest questions appertaining to the Christian faith; the solutions propounded, it is true, were, after the fashion of the time, conceived in conformity to the requirements of a formal logic rather than in unison with the wants of men's inner nature, but the controversies they were designed to set at rest were not the less the commencement of that great effort to bring about a reconciliation between reason and authority, belief and dogma, which underlies the whole history of the scholastic philosophy². It is impossible to look upon the arguments of Paschasius and his able opponent Ratramnus as a mere phase of bygone habits of thought when we remember that they inaugurated a controversy which has lasted to the present day; which has exercised, perhaps more than any other, the learning of Rome and the intellect of protestantism; and in connexion with which these two writers long represented the armoury whence combatants on either side most frequently equipped themselves for the contest³.

In John Scotus Erigena, on whom it devolved to uphold the less rigid interpretation against both Paschasius and

¹ Professor Maurice, speaking of the theological disputes of this time, does not hesitate to say, 'It was a war of logic, of formal proposition on this side and on that. *This was the character which the schools of Alcuin and Charlemagne almost inevitably gave to it.*' *Mediæval Philosophy*, p. 41.

² Hampden, *Scholastic Philosophy*, p. 37. See also M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *De la Logique d'Aristote*, ii 194.

³ Bellarmine has unfairly represented Ratramnus as the inaugurator of the controversy; but the doctrine of transubstantiation was a heresy in

the Church of the ninth century, and Paschasius was sharply rebuked by several contemporaries, among others by Rabanus Maurus, then archbishop of Mayence. At a subsequent period, Pope Gregory VII declared that the view of Paschasius, as expressed by Lanfranc, was rejected both by himself and Peter Damiani. It was seven centuries after the time of Ratramnus, that Ridley, when pleading before the commissioners at Oxford, said, 'This man was the first who pulled me by the ear, and forced me from the common error of the Roman Church, to a more diligent search of Scripture and ecclesiastical

Godeschalchus, we have a metaphysician of the Platonic school appearing in somewhat singular contrast to the quasi-Aristotelian succession of the western Church. In his treatise *De Divisione Naturæ*, he shews from St. Augustine that the Categories fail altogether in the investigation of the divine nature; he maintains, in his theory of primordial causes, an essentially different conception from that put forth in the Ethics and the Metaphysics; and his mental affinities to the Platonism of the eastern Church are sufficiently indicated by his attempt to prove that the first chapter in Genesis represents, not the creation of the visible world, but the evolution of the typical ideas in the creative mind. With the exception of a Latin translation by Chalcidius of a portion of Plato's *Timæus*, Augustine was undoubtedly the source from whence John Scotus derived his philosophy; with respect to the general character of that philosophy it is the less necessary to go into detail, inasmuch as, though he was probably the first distinctly to indicate the main theory of scholasticism¹, his method was not that which scholasticism adopted², and his somewhat singular eclecticism and Platonic affinities became lost to view amid the vastly extended influence which yet awaited the authority of Aristotle. His most marked relation to posterity is to be traced in the attention he directed to the writings falsely attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Legend, already busy in the Church, though the time of its greatest activity was still distant, had ascribed to the Dionysius mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles³, and afterwards first bishop of Athens, the conversion of Gaul, as the earliest Apostle to that country; and in the ninth century there was in circulation a manu-

John Scotus
Erigena,
d. 875(?).

The Pseudo-
Dionysius.

writers on this question.' See Bel-
larmino, *De Sac. Euch.* Bk. i c. 1.
Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*,
Bk. viii c. 3.

¹ 'Der früheste namhafte Philo-
soph der scholastischen Zeit,' says
Ueberweg. See his *Geschichte der
Philosophie*, ii³ 103—111.

² It was 'exceedingly unlike the
Alexandrian Platonism from which
it has been supposed to be derived,

equally unlike the pure Socratic Pla-
tonism of which that was a corruption,
different in most important respects
from the Augustinian Platonism, or
from that of the Greek Fathers with
which it stands in much closer af-
finity.' Maurice, *Mediæval Philoso-
phy*, p. 68. See also Christlieb,
*Leben und Lehre des Joh. Scotus
Erigena*, Gotha, 1860.

³ Acts xvii 34.

Stammerer, emperor of Byzantium, to Louis le Débonnaire, which was asserted with equal truth to be the work of this same Dionysius. The production, from whatever pen it proceeded, is of small intrinsic value, being devoted to speculations respecting the celestial hierarchy and the exposition of a highly mystical interpretation of Scripture; but its translation into Latin from the Greek, undertaken by John Scotus, in order, in all probability, to gratify the feelings of his patron Charles the Bald, by rendering more accessible to the subjects of the latter a treatise attributed to their national Apostle,—is an event of considerable importance in the history of European studies. From this period the Pseudo-Dionysius occupied a foremost place in the estimation of the theologian, and it is melancholy to note how long it continued to impose on the judgement and to inspire the labours of some of the ablest scholars of successive generations¹.

With the tenth century the darkness in France and England attained its greatest intensity; it was the nadir of the intellect in Europe. Spain alone, under the beneficent rule of the Omniades, offers to our notice any signs of general culture and refinement, the instances observable elsewhere presenting themselves as isolated and rare phenomena. Of these the most remarkable is unquestionably that of Gerbert, afterwards pope Sylvester II, and the valuable additions recently made to our knowledge respecting this eminent man may be deemed sufficient excuse for attempting briefly to embody them in the present sketch. It is now nearly thirty years ago that antiquarian research brought to light the long lost history of his times by his pupil Richerus, and the information therein contained, together with the admirable life prefixed by M. Olleris to the more recently published magnificent edition of his works², has somewhat

Estimation in which the treatise was held, from the time of John Scotus.

Pope Sylvester II, *d.* 1003.

Researches of M. Olleris.

¹ Dean Milman truly observes that 'the effect of this work on the whole ecclesiastic system, and on the popular faith, it is almost impossible justly to estimate.' *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, Bk. viii c. 5.

² *Œuvres de Gerbert, Pape sous le*

nom de Sylvestre II., Collationnées sur les Manuscrits, Précédées de sa Biographie, suivies de Notes Critiques et Historiques, par A. Olleris, doyen des Facultés de Lettres, Clermont-Ferrand, 1867.

modified the conclusions previously formed respecting both the individual and his age,—the obscure period of transition when the sceptre passed from the Carlovingian to the Capetian dynasty.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

That the method of numerical notation employed by Gerbert was identical with that of our modern era, and that, at the same time, his knowledge was not derived from the Saracens, would appear to be equally well ascertained facts. The dislike and dread with which the Mahometan race had been regarded ever since the Crescent and the Cross contended for the possession of France at Poitiers, and the consequent rarity of their intercourse with Christian Europe¹, the entire absence of Arabic words and of everything suggestive of Arabic influences in his writings, render it in the highest degree improbable that Gerbert was indebted to such sources for his method. That method, M. Olleris considers, may have very well been derived from those writers whom we have already passed under review as constituting the manuals of the Middle Ages, and especially to the one by whose name, as the '*new Boethius*,' Gerbert was known among his admiring contemporaries². Under

Employment
of the modern
numerical
notation
by Gerbert.

M. Olleris'
conclusions
with respect
to the sources
whence Ger-
bert derived
his know-
ledge.

¹ M. Guizot has pointed out the remarkable contrast observable in the writings of the chroniclers of the first Crusades, such as Albert d'Aise, Robert le Moine, and Raymond d'Agiles, and the accounts of the later Crusades, belonging to the later half of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by Guillaume de Tyr and Jacques de Vitry. By the former the Mahometans are spoken of only with contempt and hatred, the hatred and contempt of ignorance; in the writings of the later chroniclers they are no longer regarded as monsters; it is evident that a certain amount of intercourse had been going on between the Christian and the Saracen, and a corresponding amount of sympathy has been developed; the morals of the latter are even favourably contrasted with those of the countrymen of the writers. See *Hist. de la Civilisation en Europe*, III 204—207.

² With respect to the period of Gerbert's residence at Barcelona, M.

Olleris says:—"Le voile épais qui couvre cet époque de sa vie, ses connaissances fort exagérées en mathématiques et en astronomie, permirent, près d'un siècle après sa mort, à Beusson, cardinal de l'antipape Guibert, ennemi de Saint-Siège, de profiter d'un mot échappé à l'ignorance d'Adhémar de Chabanaïs, qui avait dit que Gerbert était allé à Cordoue, pour affirmer qu'il avait appris dans cette ville les sciences et la magie. Des moines crédules, avides du merveilleux accreditèrent ces bruits, y ajoutèrent de nouvelles fables, que le moyen âge accueillit sans hésiter, les temps modernes en ont admis une partie. Mais ces récits mensongers ne sont-ils pas complètement réfutés par la faveur constante dont Gerbert a joui auprès des évêques et des princes chrétiens du X^e siècle, par le silence absolu de tous ses contemporains, dont quelquesuns l'ont attaqué avec acharnement, par son aveu indirect qu'il ne comprend pas

INTRO-
DUCTION.His teaching
at Rheims.

the patronage of the princes of the house of Saxe, Gerbert taught with great success at Rheims, and the account given by Richerus of the system he employed and the authôrs upon whom he commented, is deserving of quotation; it must however be observed, that such instruction, at this period, can only be regarded, in its thoroughness and extent, as of an entirely exceptional character:—*Dialecticam ergo ordine librorum percurrens, dilucidis sententiarum verbis enodavit. Imprimis enim Porphirii ysagogas, id est introductiones secundum Victorini rhetoris translationem, inde etiam easdem secundum Manlium¹ explanavit; cathégoriarum, id est prædicamentorum librum Aristotelis consequenter enucleans. Peri ermenias vero, id est de interpretatione librum, cujus laboris sit, aptissime monstravit. Inde etiam topica, id est argumentorum sedes, a Tullio de Greco in Latinum translata², et a Manlio consule sex commentariorum libris dilucidata, suis auditoribus intimavit. Nec non et quatuor de topicis differentiis libros, de sillogismis cathégoricis duos, de ypotheticis tres, diffinitionumque librum unum, divisionum æque unum, utiliter legit et expressit. Post quorum laborem, cum ad rhetoricam suos provehere vellet, id sibi suspectum erat, quod sine locutionum modis, qui in poetis discendi sunt, ad oratoriam artem ante perveniri non queat. Poetas igitur adhibuit, quibus assuescendos arbitrabatur. Legit itaque ac docuit Maronem et Statium Terentiumque poetas, Juvenalem quoque ac Persium Horatiumque satiricos, Lucanum etiam historiographum. Quibus assuefactos, locutionumque modis compositos, ad rhetoricam transduxit³.*

l'arabe? Il faut donc reconnaître que Gerbert n'a visité ni Séville ni Cordoue, que ses maîtres étaient chrétiens, que les auteurs placés entre ses mains étaient ceux que l'on étudiait en France avant les guerres civiles, entre autres le rhéteur Victorinus, Martianus Capella, et surtout Boèce, dont Cassiodore fait un si pompeux éloge. C'est chez lui qu'il puise ces notions scientifiques tant admirées par le XI^e siècle, qui lui donna les titres flatteurs de philosophe, de savant, de nouveau Boèce.' Olleris, *l'ie de Gerbert*, p. 21.

¹ 'Manlius' is, of course, Boethius; see *infra*, pp. 51—53. It would scarcely be necessary to make this observation had not Hoek in his *Histoire du Pape Sylvestre II*, traduite par M. l'Abbé J. M. Azinger, supposed a totally different person to be designated.

² M. Olleris correctly observes, 'Richer se trompe quand il les prend pour une traduction.'

³ Richeri (E.) *Historiarum Quatuor Libri*, Lib. III c. 46 & 47. Reims, 1855.

Pope Gerbert lived to see the commencement of the eleventh century and the inauguration of what may fairly be regarded as a less gloomy period, but the years which immediately followed on the thousandth Christian year were clouded by a recurrence of that same terrible foreboding which occupied our attention in the earlier part of our enquiry. The Millennium was drawing to its close; and the monks, as they turned with trembling hand the mystic page of the Apocalypse, declared that they could only interpret the solemn prediction, which marks the opening of the twentieth chapter, into an announcement that the end of all things must now be looked for. A panic not less severe than that of the age of Jerome or of Gregory seized upon men's minds. The land was left untilled; the pursuits of business and pleasure were alike disregarded; the churches were thronged by terrified suppliants seeking to avert the Divine wrath. The paroxysm subsided indeed as the seasons revolved with their accustomed regularity, but the clergy skilfully converted the predominant feeling into channels that well subserved the interests of the Church. The ordinary preamble to deeds of gift of this period,—*Mundi appropinquante termino, — Intonante jam per universum globum evangelica tuba,*—attests the widespread character and the reality of the conviction; and from this time we may date the commencement of that great architectural movement which subsequently reared in the proudest cities of Europe the monuments of Christian art and of Christian self-devotion.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Approach of
the close of
the Millen-
nium.

Panic
throughout
Christian
Europe.

Use to which
the general
impression
was con-
verted by the
clergy.

In no subsequent age do we find this belief, though ever and anon recurrent, operating with an equal power. The theory has been revived by the student of prophecy and by the charlatan, but it has never since so far attracted popular attention as to paralyse the activities of a nation and to divert multitudes from the ordinary avocations of life. It is only indeed in facts like these that we realise how closely the avowed belief of those ages was interwoven with their action, and, when we find conviction thus potent to restrain the ardour of the warrior and to arrest the industry

The anticipa-
tion of the
end of the
world ceases
from this
period to
agitate the
masses.

INTRODUCTION.

Importance
of this belief
as an element
in the char-
acter of the
age.

of the peasant, we begin in some measure to comprehend how great must have been its power in the cloister where it was born. We begin to discern how all education, conceived and directed as it was by those who uphold and inculcated this belief, must necessarily have reflected its influence; and conceding, as we well may, that in no other period in the known history of our race have events more emphatically seemed to favour the construction thus placed upon them, we may claim that this conviction carried with it something to justify as well as to explain the narrow culture of those times. And further, if we add to this consideration the recollection how imperfect was the possession then retained of the literature of antiquity, the indifference with which that literature was regarded by the majority, and the difficulties under which it was studied and transmitted, it may perhaps occur to us that the censure and the sarcasm so often directed against these ages, might well give place to something more of reverence and gratitude towards the heroic few who tended the lamp amid the darkness and the storm¹.

The eleventh century saw the revival of the controversy which Paschasius had initiated. In contravention of the extreme theory which he had supported, Berengar, an archdeacon of Tours and head of the great school founded by Charlemagne which still adorned that city, maintained the entirely opposed view which regarded the Lord's Supper

¹ It is somewhat remarkable that so well-informed a writer as Mr Lecky, in his able sketch of the belief of these centuries (see *Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. 1) should have left this theory almost altogether unnoticed. M. Digot, *Recherches sur les Écoles Épiscopales et Monast. de la province de Trèves*, has indeed inclined to the opinion that its influence has been exaggerated, but Léon Maître quotes satisfactory evidence to show that the reconstruction of the ruined churches and monasteries in France was not attempted until after the year 1000; of the change that then took place he thus writes: 'Lorsque l'heure qui devait

être fatale eut sonné sans catastrophe, les hommes, animés d'une ardeur inaccoutumée, semblèrent apprécier davantage le bienfait de l'existence. De toutes parts les écoles sortirent de leur long assoupissement; on se mit à reconstruire les églises et les monastères en ruine, enfin les lettres et les arts prirent subitement un essor nouveau.' *Les Écoles Épiscopales, etc.* p. 96. M. Olleris has forcibly characterised the sentiment before prevalent:—'Personne ne songeait à s'instruire. A quoi bon cultiver son esprit? Pourquoi transcrire des livres qui allaient périr dans la conflagration universelle?' *Vie de Gerbert*, p. 21.

as purely emblematical. This interpretation was as old as Clemens and Origen, but the principle which Berengar concurrently asserted startled and aroused the Church. While familiar with the writings of the Fathers, for he was one of the most learned men of his time, he refused implicit deference to their authority, and declared that in the search for truth reason must be the guide. The sacred writings themselves attested, he urged, that the highest of all truth had been inculcated by the Divine Master in a form that recognised this fundamental law. Such was the commencement of a fresh controversy which, though familiar to modern ears, seemed strange and portentous to the eleventh century. The position which Berengar was led finally to assume aroused a host of antagonists. Foremost among them was Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, an ecclesiastic who having once contemplated the profession of the jurist, and studied the civil law at Bologna, had afterwards taken upon himself the religious life and uncompromisingly espoused its most rigid interpretation. From the vantage ground of learning superior even to that of Berengar, he assailed in language of stern rebuke the assumptions of the latter. The right faith, he maintained, did not exhaust itself in efforts to reconcile to the understanding mysteries above human comprehension, and of these was that of the Real Presence. 'God forbid,' he exclaimed, 'that I should rely rather on human reasoning than on the truth and the authority of the holy Fathers.' *Ne videar magis arte quam veritate sanctorumque Patrum auctoritate confidere*¹. In the sarcasm here implied in the use of *arte* in its technical sense, we are reminded of that prevalent conception of proof, as essentially a dialectical achievement in compliance with certain rules, which perhaps more than anything else fettered the spirit of enquiry in this age. A wide interval had been traversed

INTRO-
DUCTION.New position
assumed by
this thinker.Lanfranc,
b. 1005 (?),
d. 1053.He maintains
the conser-
vative view in
opposition to
Berengar.

¹ *De Sacra Cæna*, c. 7. The reply of Berengar in the long lost treatise discovered by Lessing is worthy of note: 'Maximi plane cordis est, per omnia ad dialecticam confugere, quia confugere ad eam ad rationem est confugere, quo qui non confugit,

cum secundum rationem est factus ad imaginem Dei, suum honorem relinquit, nec potest renovari de die in diem ad imaginem Dei.' Adv. Lanfranc, *Lib. Posterior*, ed. Vischer, 1834, p. 105.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Influence discernible of the effects produced by a too exclusive attention to formal Logic.

since the time when Carneades and the disciples of the Later Academy proposed no longer to aspire to the possession of positive or absolute truth, but to rest contented in the hope that they had attained to the probable. It was one of the effects, and undoubtedly a very pernicious effect, of the almost exclusive study of the Categories, that the men of this time were beginning to imagine that neither knowledge nor faith was of any assured value or certainty unless reducible to formal logical demonstration; not merely that conformity was deemed essential to those laws of thought of which the syllogism is the embodiment, but that all belief was held to be susceptible of proof in a series of concatenated propositions like a theorem in geometry. It was consequently only in compliance with the fashion of his time that Berengar thus moulded the form of his first treatise, and incurred the ridicule of Lanfranc for his pedantry. In method he followed, while in argument he challenged, the traditions he had inherited.

Mental characteristics of Berengar.

The spirit in which Lanfranc sought to defend the opposite interpretation indicates no advance upon the conventional treatment; and the whole tenor of his argument reveals rather the ecclesiastic alarmed for the authority of his order than the dispassionate enquirer after truth. It must, however, be admitted that the general tone of Berengar's treatise was ill-calculated to disarm hostility. If his mental characteristics may be inferred from thence, we should conclude that he was one in whom the purely logical faculty overwhelmed and silenced his emotional nature; one unable to 'comprehend that union of faith and reason which commends itself to those in whom the religious sentiment maintains its power.' The mind of the archbishop to some extent resembled that of the archdeacon. Then came the inevitable collision. The one sternly asserting the claims of authority; the other contemptuously demonstrating the rigid conclusions of logic. At first it seemed that the former would secure an easy triumph. Berengar, to save his life, capitulated at the summons of the second Lateran Council, and formally recanted his opinions; but, in a short time, he had revoked

his recantation, and again betaking himself to those weapons of logic which he wielded with such remarkable adroitness, successfully parried the attacks of his opponents. The decisions of three successive Councils vainly denounced his tenets. Protected by the powerful arm of Hildebrand, the archdeacon of Angers died in full possession of his honours, unsilenced and unconvinced. The following year died Lanfranc, and the mitre of his episcopacy descended to his pupil Anselm.

But before Anselm succeeded to the see of Canterbury, another controversy had arisen, which unmistakably attested how the chord somewhat roughly touched by Berengar had found response in the growing thoughtfulness of the time. Speculations once confined to solitary thinkers were now beginning to be heard in the schools and to be discussed in the cloister. It was at the request of his fellow monks, as Anselm himself tells us¹, that he entered upon those subtle enquiries wherein we find the echo of Augustine's finest thought, and the anticipation of Descartes. But it is rather as participant in the controversy which would appear to mark the true commencement of the scholastic era², that this illustrious thinker claims our attention, and here, before we become involved in the great metaphysical dispute, it

¹ *Præfatio ad Monologion.*

² 'It may appear at first singular that the thought which suggested itself to the mind of a monk at Bec should still be the problem of metaphysical theology; and theology must, when followed out, become metaphysical; metaphysics must become theological. This same thought seems, with no knowledge of its mediæval origin, to have forced itself on Descartes, was reasserted by Leibnitz, if not rejected was thought insufficient by Kant, revived in another form by Schelling and Hegel; latterly has been discussed with singular fulness and ingenuity by M. de Rémusat. Yet will it less surprise the more profoundly reflective, who cannot but perceive how soon and how inevitably the mind arrives at the verge of

human thought; how it cannot but encounter this same question, which in another form divided in either avowed or unconscious antagonism, Plato and Aristotle, Anselm and his opponents, (for opponents he had of no common subtlety), Leibnitz and Locke; which Kant failed to reconcile; which his followers have perhaps bewildered by a new and intricate phraseology more than elucidated; which modern eclecticism harmonises rather in seeming than in reality; the question of questions; our primary, elemental, it may be innate or instinctive, or acquired and traditional, idea, conception, notion, conviction of God, of the Immaterial, the Eternal, the Infinite.' Milman, *Hist. Lat. Christianity*, Bk. VIII c. 5.

INTRO-
DUCTION.

Dictum of
Cousin with
respect to the
origin of the
Scholastic
Philosophy.

becomes necessary to turn aside awhile to examine briefly a preliminary and not unimportant question.

It was originally asserted by Cousin, and his dictum has been repeatedly quoted, that the scholastic philosophy had its origin in a sentence from the *Isagoge* of Porphyry as interpreted by Boethius. 'Scholasticism,' he says, 'was born at Paris and there it died; a sentence from Porphyry,—a single ray from the literature of the ancient world,—called it into being; the same literature, which when more completely revealed, extinguished it¹.' This statement, startling though it may appear, is probably substantially correct; it is certainly not conceived by Cousin in any contemptuous spirit; but it has been insisted on by a later writer in another tone, and apparently under considerable misapprehension with respect to its real import; and a fact which simply points to the scantiness of the sources whence the earlier schoolmen derived their inspiration, has been wrested into fresh proof of their proneness to convert a purely verbal or grammatical distinction into a lengthened controversy. It may accordingly be worth while here to endeavour to ascertain, in what sense influences which so long controlled the whole course of education and learning can with accuracy be referred to so narrow and apparently inadequate a source.

The original
passage from
Porphyry.

The passage in Porphyry, which is nothing more than a passing glance at a question familiar to his age but not admitting of discussion in an introduction to a treatise on logic and grammar, is to the following effect. Having premised that he must equally avoid questions of grave importance and those of a trifling character, he goes on to say:—'Thus, with respect to *genera* and *species*, whether

¹ The terseness of the French is not easily preserved:—*un rayon dérobé à l'antiquité la produisit; l'antiquité tout entière l'étouffa.....* 'Il faut supposer,' he adds, 'le monde ancien détruit, la philosophie ancienne ensevelie avec la civilisation dont elle faisait partie, et la longue et brillante polémique qui avait fait la vie même de cette philosophie, réduite à la phrase de Porphyre dans la traduction latine de Boèce. C'est

sur cette phrase et autour d'elle que va peu à peu se reformer une philosophie nouvelle. Les commencements de cette philosophie seront bien faibles, il est vrai, et se ressentiront de la profonde barbarie du temps; mais une fois née, la puissance de l'éternel problème la développera et lui ouvrira une carrière immense.' *Fragments Philosophiques, Abélard*, pp. 82, 88, 89. ed. 1840.

they have a substantial existence or exist only as mere concepts of the intellect,—whether, supposing them to have a substantial existence, they are material or immaterial,—and again whether they exist independently of sensible objects or in them and as part of them,—I shall refrain from enquiring. *For this is a question of the greatest profundity and demanding lengthened investigation!*' It is to be noted that of this passage *two translations* were familiar to the scholars of the Middle Ages: the first that in the translation of Porphyry by Victorinus, to which Boethius appended a commentary in the form of a dialogue; the second that in the translation made by Boethius himself and accompanied by a second and fuller commentary, also from his pen. In the interval between the composition of these two commentaries it is evident, as Cousin has very clearly pointed out, that the views of Boethius had undergone an important change. In the first he insists upon an ultra-Realistic interpretation, and would seem to have misapprehended Porphyry's meaning; in the second, he inclines to a Nominalistic view, and pronounces that genus and species have no objective existence². Our concern however is with two important facts which appear beyond dispute:—first, that the passage in Porphyry was known to the Middle Ages through the medium of *two translations*; secondly, that in both his commentaries Boethius recognises the question involved as one of primary importance³. Of this the following passages are conclusive evidence: 'Hæc se igitur Porphyrius breviter mediocriterque promittit exponere. Non enim introductionis vice fungeretur, si ea nobis a primordio fundaret, ad quæ nobis hæc tam clara introductio præparatur. Servat

The passage known to the Middle Ages through the medium of two translations.

Criticism of Boethius in his Commentary on the translation of Victorinus.

¹ Αὐτίκα περὶ γενῶν τε καὶ εἰδῶν, τὸ μὲν εἶτε ὑφέστηκεν εἶτε καὶ ἐν μόναις ψιλαῖς ἐπινοαῖς κεῖται, εἶτε καὶ ὑφίστη-
κότα σώματά ἐστιν ἢ ἀσώματα, καὶ
πότερον χωριστὰ ἢ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς
καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ὑφεστώτα παραιτήσομαι
λέγειν· βαθυτάτης οὐσης τῆς τοιαύτης
πραγματείας, καὶ ἄλλης μελίζονος δεο-
μένης ἐξετάσεως.

² Cousin, *Fragments Philosophiques, Philosophie Scholastique, Abé-*

lard, pp. 92, 93. ed. 1840. Dean Mansel is of opinion that Boethius in his second commentary is to be regarded as a conceptualist, see *Artis Logicæ Rudimenta*, Appendix, p. 160.

³ Cousin's remark that Boethius *n'avait pas l'air d'y attacher une grande importance*, appears to be in no way warranted by the text of Boethius himself.

igitur introductionis modum doctissima parcitas disputandi ut ingredientium viam ad obscurissimas rerum caligines aliquo quasi doctrinæ suæ lumine temperaret. Dicit enim apud antiquos *alta et magnifica quæstione disserta*, quæ ipse nunc parce breviterque composuit. Quid autem de his a priscis philosophiæ tractatoribus dissertum sit, breviter ipse tangit et præterit. Tum Fabius:—Quid illud, inquit, est? Et ego:—Hoc, inquam, quod ait se omnino prætermittere genera ipsa et species, utrum vere subsistant, an intellectu solo et mente teneantur, an corporalia ista sint an incorporalia: et utrum separata, an ipsis sensibilibus juncta. De his sese quoniam alta esset disputatio, tacere promisit: nos autem adhibito moderationis freno, mediocriter unumquodque tangamus¹.

The foregoing passage is from the first Dialogue on the translation by Victorinus: the following are from the Commentary by Boethius on his own translation:—‘Sunt autem quæstiones, quæ sese reticere promittit et perutiles; et secretæ, et temptatæ quidem a doctis viris nec a pluribus dissolutæ.....’²

‘Ipsa enim genera et species subsistunt quidem aliquo modo, intelliguntur vero alio modo et sunt incorporalia, sed sensibilibus juncta subsistunt insensibilibus. Intelliguntur vero præter corpora, ut per semetipsa subsistentia, ac non in aliis esse suum habentia. Sed Plato genera et species cæteraque non modo intelligi universalialia, verum etiam esse atque præter corpora subsistere putat: Aristoteles vero intelligi quidem incorporalia atque universalialia, sed subsistere insensibilibus putat, quorum adjudicare sententias aptum esse non duxi. Altioris enim est philosophiæ, idcirco vero studiosius Aristotelis sententiam exsecuti sumus, non quod eam maxime probaremus, sed quod hic liber ad Prædicamenta conscriptus est, quorum Aristotelis auctor est’³.

The view taken by Boethius of that which he thus conceived to be the Aristotelian theory respecting Universals,

¹ Boethius, *Dialogus* 1. ed. Basil. pp. 7 and 8.

² Boethius, *Commentariorum in*

Porphyrium a se Translatum, Lib. 1 ed. Basil. p. 54.

³ Ibid. p. 56.

is clearly analysed by Cousin:—‘The final conclusion of Boethius,’ says this writer, ‘upon the three questions contained in the sentence of Porphyry, is (1) that in one sense genera and species may be regarded as possessing an independent existence, though not in another; (2) that they are themselves incorporeal but exist only in corporeal objects of sense; (3) that though they have no real existence save in the individual and sensible object, they may be conceived, apart from the sensible and particular, as incorporeal and self-subsistent. According to Plato, says Boethius, genera, species, and universals, exist not only as concepts of the intellect, but independently of sensible objects and abstracted from them; according to Aristotle, they have no real existence save in sensible objects and are universal and immaterial only as apprehended by the mind. It remains but to add that Boethius does not pretend to decide between the two; the decision of the controversy belongs to a higher branch of philosophy. If he has given us the Aristotelian conclusion, it is not because he approves it rather than that of Plato, but because the treatise on which he is commenting is an introduction to the *Categories*,—the work of Aristotle himself. From this statement, which is scrupulously accurate, it is evident that if Boethius in his first commentary would seem to favour without reservation and with but little judgement the Platonic theory; in the second, without a single opinion upon the question of Universals that can be called his own, but solely in his capacity as translator and commentator on Aristotle,—he adopts the Peripatetic theory, enunciates it with equal lucidity, follows it out into considerable detail, devoting but a single line to the theory of Plato; and it was thus that, of the two great schools which had divided antiquity, one only, that of Aristotle, was to any extent known, offering indeed with respect to the problem of Porphyry a doctrine not altogether satisfactory, but at least clear and well defined. Add to this that the *Introduction* by Porphyry and the two works of Aristotle translated by Boethius, are works on logic and grammar; that these only were studied and commented on, and this always in conformity

with Boethius; and it is evident that from this exclusive study there could scarcely result anything but tendencies and intellectual habits entirely opposed to realism¹.

It will scarcely be deemed necessary that we should produce further evidence to shew—that not simply were the main features of the Realistic controversy carefully preserved in the pages of the best known author of the earlier Middle Ages, but that the Aristotelian refutation was especially familiar to the learned of those times; and it is further to be observed that the gloss of Rabanus Maurus quoted by Mr Lewes in his History of Philosophy, and erroneously attributed by him to Boethius, constitutes not the *locus classicus*, as he has inferred, for the origin of the controversy, but is rather evidence that the controversy was sufficiently familiar to the age in which Rabanus wrote to permit him to indicate it by nothing more than a passing allusion². Cousin, indeed, has ventured to surmise that, inasmuch as Rabanus was a pupil of Alcuin at Tours and afterwards himself head of the school founded by Charlemagne at Fulda, this gloss may possibly represent the dialectical teaching of those schools. However this may be, it is sufficiently certain that the great dispute respecting Universals did not remain fossilised in three words from the time of Boëthius to that of Roscellinus, but that it was to a certain extent familiar to the students of the ninth and tenth centuries, and that when the daring upholder of ultra-Nominalism came forward to

¹ Cousin, *Fragments Philosophiques*, *Abélard*, pp. 100—102. The arguments which Boethius brings forward are borrowed from Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Bks. III and VIII pp. 62, 158, 174, ed. Brandis.

² The following is the original of the passage quoted by Mr Lewes (*Hist. of Phil.* II 25):—*Intentio Porphyrii est in hoc opere facilem intellectum ad Prædicamenta præparare, tractando de quinque rebus vel vocibus, genere scilicet, specie, differentia, proprio et accidente, quorum cognitio valet ad Prædicamentorum cognitionem.* Mr Lewes (while quoting Cousin as his authority) has, as it appears to me, fallen into error on

three points:—(1) in ascribing to Boethius the foregoing passage, which as Cousin expressly states is part of the gloss of *Rabanus Maurus*; (2) in applying the comments of Cousin on the translation of Porphyry by Boethius in the *sixth* century, to the gloss of Rabanus Maurus in the *ninth*; (3) in leaving it to be inferred that the above fragment of this gloss was the *sole surviving passage* wherein the question of Universals was adverted to by Boethius. So erroneous a representation of the history of what Mr Lewes himself terms the 'Great Dispute' of these times, attests a very hasty consultation of his authority.

urge his philosophic arguments in contravention of the doctrine of the Trinity, he did little more, as regards the arena of metaphysics, than add fresh fuel to a controversy already frequently debated¹.

But though it would appear that Roscellinus cannot rightly be regarded as the first to renew the ancient battle, it is undeniable that he invested it with a greatly increased importance by the new element he introduced. Hitherto the existence of Universals had probably been regarded as little more than an abstract question, and indistinguishable as such from the many numerous discussions that exercised the ingenuity of the dialectician. The new starting point associated with the name of Roscellinus, is that marked by the application, which he was the first to make, of the conclusions of the prevailing Nominalism to that great theological doctrine which one writer has ventured to characterise as the 'foundation of all the metaphysical thought and speculation of the ages after Gregory the Great,'—the doctrine of the Trinity. The seeming relevancy of his opinion to this doctrine scarcely requires to be indicated. If indeed it were possible to show that essences or qualities, over and above their presence in the individual, had a separate entity, that this entity again was something apart from the concept in the mind,—equally distinct from the sentient subject and the sensible object,—it might seem to many to follow that the great mystery of a Triune Godhead, the Three in One, the One in Three, was in some degree brought nearer to human apprehension². To such a conclusion however the Nomi-

Roscellinus.
d. 1106 (?).

His applica-
tion of the
controversy
respecting
Universals
to the doc-
trine of the
Trinity.

¹ 'En avançant dans ce commentaire (that of Rabanus) on s'aperçoit que ce doute n'est pas particulier à l'auteur; on apprend qu'il avait déjà deux partis sur cette question et comme deux écoles constituées, et que l'une de ces écoles prétendait que Porphyre ne considère dans cette Introduction le genre, l'espèce, la différence, le propre, l'accident, qu'abstractivement et comme des noms... Il résulte.....que le problème posé par Porphyre dans les premières lignes de l'Introduction excitait déjà quelque attention; que la solution

péripatéticienne répandue par Boèce prévalait généralement, mais qu'il y avait pourtant à côté de celle-là une solution différente, qui, sans être aussi accréditée, avait aussi ses partisans.' *Fragments Philosophiques, Abélard*, p. 106 and 119. For an exhaustive examination of the relation of Boethius to the whole controversy see Rémusat, *Abélard*, II 37—64.

² Such, at least, was certainly the view of Anselm:—'*Qui enim nondum intelligit quomodo plures homines in specie sint homo unus, qualiter in illa secretissima natura comprehendet quo-*

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nalism of Roscellinus which appeared inevitably to lead up to Tritheism, offered an insuperable barrier, and hence the origin of that great controversy, commencing between this philosopher and Anselm, which so long divided the learning and the intellect of these times. Into the details of this long dispute it is not within our province to enter¹. For more than two centuries it formed the rallying point of contending parties; and the Schools re-echoed to cries of *universalia ante rem*, and *universalia in re*. John of Salisbury, writing about the year 1152, relates how when he returned to Oxford after his residence at Paris, whither he had gone to study the canon law, he found the wordy warfare raging with undiminished vigour. The science of sciences, as Rabanus Maurus had called it, seemed likely altogether to absorb the rest. The enthusiasm of the disputants was puzzling to his cool, practical, English mind, and elicited from him expressions of unqualified contempt,—the earliest, perhaps, that greeted the ears of the learned of that period. ‘They bring forth,’ he said, ‘some new opinion concerning genera and species, that had escaped Boethius, and of which Plato was ignorant, but which they by wonderful good fortune have extracted from the mine of Aristotle: They are prepared to solve the old question, in working at which the world has grown old, and more time has been expended than the Cæsars employed in winning and governing the universe, more money spent than Cræsus ever possessed. Long has this question exercised numbers throughout their whole lives; this single discovery has been the sole object of their search; and they have eventually failed to arrive at any result whatever. The reason I suppose was that their curiosity was unsatisfied with that which alone could be discovered. For as in the shadow of any body the substance of solidity is vainly

John of
Salisbury.
d. 1182.

His estimate
of the scho-
lastic contro-
versies of his
time.

modo plures personæ, quarum singula quæque est perfectus Deus, sint Deus unus? De Fide Trinitatis sive Incarnatione Verbi, contra blasphemias Verbi, quoted by Cousin.

¹ For an impartial account of the controversy, see Appendix (A) to Professor Bain's *Mental and Moral*

Science; Hauréan, *Philosophie Scholastique*; Hampden's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. 11; and, for the important question of the relation of the Categories and the Isagoge of Porphyry to the controversy, Dean Mansel's *Artis Logicæ Rudimenta*, Appendix, Note A.

sought for, so in those things that belong to the intellect, and can only be conceived as universals but cannot exist as universals, the substance of a more solid existence cannot be discerned. To wear out a life in things of this kind is to work, teach, and do nothing; for these are but the shadows of things, ever fleeing away and vanishing the more quickly the more eagerly they are pursued¹. It is an oft repeated reminder to which he gives utterance in his writings, that the dialectic art however admirable is not the sum and end of human acquirement². To such vagaries the school presided over by Bernard of Chartres at the close of the eleventh century offers an agreeable contrast. Grammar and rhetoric appear to have there been taught after a far less mechanical fashion; an attention to correct Latinity was inculcated, and Cicero and Quintilian were studied as models. The Roman poets were not neglected, and the whole system of instruction elicited the commendation of the writer above quoted. It is to be observed indeed, that Lanfranc, Anselm, John of Salisbury³, and Giraldus Cambrensis wrote far purer Latin than is subsequently to be found among those whose taste was completely corrupted by the barbarous versions of Aristotle that were studied by the later Schoolmen.

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Bernard of
Chartres.

His method
of instruc-
tion.

Comparative
purity of the
Latinity of
this period.

In the year 1109 Anselm died; it was the year in which William of Champeaux opened a school of logic at Paris. Among his pupils was Abelard, and a few years later we see

William of
Champeaux.
Abelard.

¹ *Polieraticus*, Bk. vii c. 12. His description of the different parties also deserves quotation:—‘Sunt qui, more mathematicorum, formas abstrahunt, et ad illas quidquid de universalibus dicitur referunt. Alii discutiunt intellectus, et eos universalium nominibus censi confirmant. Fuerunt et qui voces ipsas genera dicerent esse et species; sed eorum jam explosa sententia est, et facile cum auctore suo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhuc qui deprehenduntur in vestigiis eorum, licet erubescant auctorem vel sententiam profiteri, solis nominibus inhærentes, quod rebus et intellectibus subtrahunt, sermonibus ascribunt.’

² *Metalogicus*, Lib. ii c. 9; iv 27. ‘Pere enim inutilis est logica, si sit

sola. Tunc demum eminet, cum adjunctarum virtute splendescit.’

³ It may be here noted that the numerous citations in John of Salisbury from classical writers are frequently second-hand. His knowledge of Greek was scanty; he had read with a learned Greek parts of the *Organon* and of the *Tópica*, but ‘he nowhere professes to have read [for himself] a Greek book; we find in him no citation from a Greek author, not known to him through the medium of Latin.’ C. Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis nach Leben und Studien, Schriften und Philosophie*, (Leipzig, 1862) 113: (Quoted by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, Pref. to Richard of Cirencester (Rolls Series), p. cxvii).

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the handsome, vain, impetuous youth challenging his master to argument and completely discomfiting him amid the wonder and applause of his fellow students. We see him again, after his terrible fall and disgrace, venturing once more to lift his head among men and asserting with far greater power and acumen than Berengar, the rights of reason against authority, essaying by an eclectic theory to reconcile to the intellect the mysteries of faith, and even daring to question whether Dionysius the Areopagite ever set foot in Gaul. It is very evident, from the crowds which hung upon his teaching, following him to his lonely retreat, and from the efforts of William of Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux to check the progress of the new ideas, that a spirit was moving among men which the mere traditionalist regarded with apprehension and alarm. Throughout Europe indeed a change was to be discerned. The preceding century, ushered in amid dire apprehension, had closed in splendour. The banner of the Cross had been seen floating from the battlements of the Holy City; the second Crusade, already projected, was rekindling enthusiasm. The university of Paris was attracting numerous students; the teaching of Irnerius at Bologna was diffusing a knowledge of the Roman law; the poets and orators of antiquity were beginning to be studied with a genuine admiration, and a less barbarous Latinity to prevail among the scholars of the age. 'It was,' observes a writer whom we have already quoted, 'a very critical moment in the history of European culture, not altogether unlike the one in individual life when the boy leaves the school forms for a more elaborate and systematic course of instruction. In both there is the danger that what was vital and energetic, however immature, in the first stage, should be exchanged for formality in the second; the equal danger that there should be a reaction against this formality, and that a stormy life should take the place of a calm one¹.'

Such were the tendencies of the age which saw the great theological text-book of the next three centuries, the 'Sen-

Progress of
the spirit
of enquiry.

Sentences
of Peter
Lombard.

¹ Professor Maurice, *Medieval Philosophy*, p. 156.

tences' of Peter Lombard, launched upon the world,—the first of 'a long series of attempts to obtain for the doctrines of the Church a scientific system'. Little is known of the author of this important volume, though archbishop of Paris in 1159, and the originality of his performance has more than once been called in question². Our main concern, however, is with its character as an embodiment of the dogmatic teaching of the time³.

Outline of
the work.

The *Sententiæ* are in four books, and are almost entirely derived from the writings of four fathers of the Latin Church,—Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, and Cassiodorus, the authority of the first being evidently paramount. The first book, entitled *De Mystério Trinitatis*, contains an exposition of the recognized tenets of the Church concerning this dogma, and its forty-eight *Distinctiones* are devoted to the attributes of the Deity⁴. The second book, entitled *De Rerum Corporalium et Spiritualium Creatione et Formatione, Aliisque Pluribus eo Pertinentibus*, contains the doctrine of the Church concerning Free Will and Original Sin; the theory maintained being, as may be anticipated, that first formulated by Augustine. The third book bears the title of *De Incarnatione Verbi*, and treats of such questions as 1. *Utrum Christus sit creatura, vel creatus, vel factus*. 2. *Si Anima*

¹ Schwegler, *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 144, Stirling's Translation.

² Some accuse the author of extensive plagiarism from Abelard, and the author of the Introduction in Migne, Vol. cxci refers to a report that he is said *Bandinum quandam obscuri nominis theologum in quatuor Sententiarum libris, qui Viennæ prodierunt anno 1519, pene integrum excerpisse*. Others think his conception is to be traced to the example of Robert Pullen, an English scholastic, who wrote *Sententiarum Libri Octo*. See Ueberweg, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, II 146.

³ It may perhaps not be altogether superfluous to remind the reader that the word 'sentences' is here only a translation of 'sententiæ,'—a use of the word not uncommon in our earlier writers, though now retained solely as a grammatical ex-

pression. The following passage happily illustrates the older usage:—'And you, that do read Plato, as ye should, do well perceive, that these be no questions asked by Socrates, as doubts, but *they be sentences*, first affirmed by Socrates, as mere trothes, and after, given forth by Socrates as right rules, most necessarie to be marked and fitte to be followed of all of them that would have children taught as they should.' Ascham's *Scholemaster* ed. by Mayor, p. 28.

⁴ The doctrine with which the names of Fénelon and Paley have, from divergent views, been associated is here perhaps first distinctly laid down in the form of a decision from St. Augustine; virtue, says Peter Lombard, is to be followed *not for its own sake* but as a course that is pleasing to the Deity.

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Christi habuerit sapientiam parem cum Deo; et si omnia scit quæ Deus. 3. *Si Christus meruit et sibi et nobis, et quid sibi et quid nobis*¹. The fourth book treats of the Sacraments, and the distinction between the Old and New Law, the final judgement, the resurrection of the dead, the final happiness of the saints, and the sufferings of the damned.

A comprehensive outline of the work will be found in the Benedictine *Histoire Littéraire de la France*²; our main concern, however, is with that new element which the Sentences, while apparently resting solely upon patristic authority, undoubtedly served to introduce into the study of dogmatic theology. The dialectics of the age were penetrating to the very citadel of belief, and the recognition afforded to this tendency of the times may be regarded as the characteristic feature of the work. As each article of belief is enunciated, an effort is made to define with greater precision its true bearing and limitations; hence a series of *Distinctions*, as they are termed, conceived in conformity with a dialectic of the severest order; Cousin indeed has asserted that in this respect they surpass all previous efforts of scholasticism³. Of the value of such a method different opinions may be entertained. It is easy, on the one hand, to point to the merest puerilities, the natural result of the application of the same process to details with respect to which, as knowledge was wanting, the logician could but fight the air,—heresies, representing nothing more than flights of the imagination, met by dogmas resting upon an

Dialectical
element in
the work.

¹ One of the questions that divided the schools in the time of Petrus was whether the divine nature, or only the personality of the Son, became incarnate. After summing up the opinions of the Fathers, he concludes that we must admit that the person of the Son has put on human nature, and that thus the divine and human natures have been united in the Son. When therefore we say that the Son has taken on him the nature of a slave, we intend not to exclude the divine nature but only the persons of the Father and the Holy Ghost.

² Vol. XII p. 589. A fuller and very careful one, but poor in literary execution, is to be found in the *Essai sur les Sentences de Pierre Lombard Considérées sous le point de Vue Historico-Dogmatique*; Thèse pour obtenir le Grade de Bachelier en Théologie, par Jean Bresch. Strasbourg, 1857.

³ Cousin speaks of Petrus Lombardus as distinguished 'par une sévérité de dialectique que vous ne trouveriez point dans les scholastiques qui lui sont antérieurs.' *Œuvres* (Bruxelles), i 192.

equally unsatisfactory foundation. On the other hand, it is certain that, in relation to fundamental articles of belief, this rigid analysis of their meaning and whole context, could scarcely fail to develop a more clear and intelligent comprehension of the doctrines of the Christian faith. 'No student of divinity,' says a critic of acknowledged authority, 'can read the first book, we should conceive, without acquiring a deeper and clearer conception of principles in which he has implicitly believed, without cultivating the precious habit of distinction. And we doubt whether any student of philosophy can read large portions of that book and of the three following, without acquiring a new sense of the dignity and responsibility of the name which he has taken upon him, without confessing that the dogmatist has taught him to be more of an enquirer than he was before.'

The modest language in which the compiler describes his work, as containing within a small compass the opinions of the fathers, to save the enquirer the trouble of turning over many volumes¹, might seem sufficient to have averted opposition. In that endeavour however he was by no means completely successful. Like all innovations, this application of the logician's art was regarded at first with dislike and suspicion. The volume which was to become the theological text-book of our universities up to the Reformation, was severely criticised on its first introduction². Gualterus, the

¹ 'brevi volumine complicans Patrum sententias, appositis eorum testimoniis, ut non sit necesse querenti librorum numerositatem evolere.' *Pref. ad Sententias*.

² 'It is a curious fact that the spiritual powers persisted in strenuously opposing the successive efforts of the rationalists, and at the same time gradually adopted the very system to which they were so averse, into their own authoritative theology. They opposed, that is, both the principle of the rationalists,—the principle that human reason was to be exercised in matters of religion,—and the conclusions to which the unrestrained use of it had led. But afterwards, when the books of controversialists

had passed into records of opinions, they readily adopted, as guides in their decisions of any new opinions, the conclusions of that rationalising method which as such had been so passionately denounced. Throughout the whole period, when the scholastic method may be said to have been growing, we meet with constant disclaimers, on the part of Church leaders, of the system itself,—a constant appeal to the authority of the Scriptures and the holy Fathers against the rationalistic spirit of the times. Luther himself has not more vehemently denounced the scholastic philosophy, than Bernard and other doctors anterior to the Reformation have declaimed against the importu-

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The influence
exerted by
the Sentences
not that
designed by
the compiler.

Activity of
the school-
men as com-
mentators.

Prior of St. Victoire, in his celebrated attack on Abelard, did not spare the prelate who appeared to have learned so much from that philosopher, and denounced a method which he declared served rather to encourage doubt than to confirm the belief of the faithful¹. Nor can we assert that the mistrust thus evinced was without foundation. Rome has ever apprehended with marvellous instinct the approach of danger,—of danger not to truth but to her own interests and power. The Sentences of Peter Lombard exerted an influence which equally exceeded the intentions of the compiler and the anticipations of his opponents. The appeal once made from authority to reason, from implicit faith to logical satisfaction, the old method of treatment could not be restored; the standard of the philosopher had been planted within the precincts of the Church². The opposition evoked, however, was but shortlived, for the Sentences appealed with singular success to both the wants and mental habits of the age. Before long it became the recognised obligation of each great teacher to reconcile his philosophic tenets with the subtle definitions, the rigidly inflexible analysis of the commentaries of Peter Lombard. To this task two of the massive folios of Thomas Aquinas, in the edition published at Venice in 1593, are devoted; and in the great edition of Duns Scotus, by Luke Wadding, no less than six folio volumes, or half the whole number, are occupied with the same labour. Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, Durandus,

nateness of the speculations of their times.' Hampden's *Scholastic Philosophy*, Lect 1.

¹ The gravamen of the attack made by Gualterus was *quod quæ sua esset sententia, nunquam fere aperiret; sed triplicem vulgo de omni questione proponeret opinionem; quarum prima eorum erat qui nec Hæretici nec Catholici vere dici poterant.* 2. *Eorum qui manifeste Catholici erant.* 3. *Denique eorum qui absque ullo dubio censendi erant hæretici.* Omnes vero *authoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ et sanctorum Patrum, rationibus quoque et argumentis dialecticis confirmabat, non determinans quæ vera essent et tenenda, aliens nolle se ut lectori sua*

sufficeret disputatio. Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.* II 406.

² 'Cet ouvrage destiné à tracer des limites à l'esprit humain, à lui indiquer les sources où il devait puiser la théologie, a eu un effet tout contraire à sa destination. Jamais la licence des opinions ne fut plus grande qu'après les Sentences; jamais les Scolastiques n'étudièrent avec plus d'ardeur la philosophie païenne et n'en usèrent plus dans les matières de religion que depuis que Lombard en eu montré les dangers. Jamais l'étude des Pères ne fut plus négligée que depuis qu'il l'avait recommandée.' *L'Histoire Littéraire de France*, XII 606.

Occam, and Estius are scarcely inferior in their zeal as expositors. The Church, in gratitude for the signal service he had rendered, long celebrated the memory of Peter Lombard by an annual commemoration in his honour, and even in Protestant communions, those who could so far divest themselves of the prejudices of association as to realise the standpoint from whence those labours were conceived, have borne emphatic testimony to their merit.

Round the authoritative utterances of the Sentences grew up the dogmatic theology of succeeding generations,—the theology of the schoolman, trained and trammelled over a rigid network of dialectics, where the flower often lost its perfume and the fruit perished. It was well for the faith of those ages that, before the prevailing method had driven life, warmth, and sensibility from out the pale of belief, a thinker of a different school from that of Peter Lombard arose to transmit a loftier tradition. It may be doubted whether even the Sentences more strongly affected the habits of religious thought for the next three centuries than did the writings of St. Anselm. Whatever of emotion trembles on the lips of the later schoolmen,—Bonaventura, Lincolnensis, or Gerson,—whatever of theological speculation still flung its plummet into depths which defied the subtlety of the dialecticians—owed its inspiration, to a great extent, to the author of the Proslogion. And yet Anselm was no mere enthusiast; he was rather the metaphysician, indignantly repudiating the shackles which the new logic was casting around enquiries which he regarded as the highest activity to which man could aspire. His argumentation, for the most part, is equally removed from the puerilities of the schools and from the inconclusive rhapsodies of the mystic. In his writings the spirit of St. Augustine lives again, and it was indeed, in all probability, chiefly through the influence of the English archbishop that the genius of the African Father retained its hold upon the western Church. The *Credo ut intelligam* became the key-note to all that was most noble in the belief of the Middle Ages; and modern speculation, wearying of the endless search for mental assur-

St Anselm.
b. 1033 (?).
d. 1109.

His influence
as a theolo-
gian.

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ance in the phenomena of the external world, has more than once returned to this subjective testimony, to reconstruct,—with a more elaborate synthesis, it is true, but on the same foundation,—the edifice of faith¹.

Conclusion.

Our retrospect has now brought us to the threshold of the thirteenth century. We have endeavoured to trace out the chief elements and tendencies in the thought and culture that preceded that eventful age, and more especially to bring out in their true importance and relations questions with respect to which, as it has appeared to us, the interpretations of certain writers have been defective or erroneous: and while the necessity for brevity has perforce diminished the value of our enquiry for those to whom the field is new, and its interest for those to whom it is known, we may yet hope that we have succeeded in indicating the more important materials for a more lengthened investigation.

¹ 'La nouveauté de cette théologie vient de ce qu'elle est une application au dogme, non de la logique, mais de la métaphysique; non de la dialectique d'Aristote, mais de la dialectique de Platon. C'est donc tout ensemble exagérer et méconnaître le rôle d'Anselme que de l'appeler un des createurs de la scolastique. Il faudrait au moins faire une distinction que les critiques omettent trop souvent, entre la philosophie scolastique et la théologie scolastique.

Anselme n'appartient pas à la première; il a peu fait pour elle, quoiqu'il ait certainement sa place marquée dans la philosophie proprement dite; et pour la seconde, il est venu au moment où elle se formait. Il n'a pas été sans influence sur sa formation, mais il n'en a pas précisément déterminé le caractère. Il ne tendait pas à la faire scolastique, mais philosophique. Il voulait fonder la philosophie du dogme.' Rénusat, *St Anselm de Cantorbéry*, p. 478.

CHAPTER I.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY ERA.

IN our introductory sketch we have essayed to point out some of the more important data on which, up to the period when the University of Cambridge first greets the research of the historian, our estimate of the culture, the philosophy, and the mental characteristics of the preceding centuries must rest. Of both the darkness and the dawn which belong to this era it seems fittest to speak in less general and unqualified language than has often been employed. The darkness, great as it undoubtedly was, had still its illumination; the dawn was far from steady and continuous, but rather a shifting, capricious light, often advancing only again to recede. We have seen how imperfect was the knowledge of the literature of antiquity to which the student, in those times, was able to attain, and how limited was the circle to which what survived of that literature was known; how, amid the fierce shocks and dark calamities that prevailed, the conceptions of the theologian were narrowed and overshadowed by one dread conviction; how, as some sense of security returned, and the barbarian acknowledged a stronger arm, learning again took heart, and minds began once more to enquire, to speculate, and to theorise; how scepticism, with weapons snatched from the armoury of paganism, assailed the doctrines of the Church; how the study of law followed upon the return of external order; how the political exigencies of Rome led her to impose on Europe a code

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fraught with unscrupulous fiction; how, as the spirit of enquiry awoke and reason reasserted its claims, authority sought to define their prerogative by a more formal and systematic enunciation of traditional dogma; while, as yet, the philosopher questioned and doubted, scarcely dreaming of ultimate divergence, and the dogmatist distinguished and proscribed, equally unprescient of the contest that was yet to be.

Fabulous character of the early accounts of the University of Cambridge.

It is at this stage in the progress of Europe that the English universities pass from the region of mere tradition to that of history. Fable indeed long beguiled the ears of our forefathers with the story of the ancient renown of Cambridge, and within comparatively recent times an historian of repute could unsuspectingly retail from Peter of Blois, as 'an author of undoubted credit', the details of the earliest instruction given within her precincts. The canons of a severer criticism however have swept away not only legends of Spanish founders and Athenian teachers, of Sigebert for a royal founder, of Bede and Alcuin for her earliest doctors of divinity², but have also pronounced Ingulphus and his continuator alike undeserving of credit³. We are accordingly compelled to abandon, as an imaginary scene, the not unpleasing picture which represents the monks sent by the abbat of Crowland to Cambridge, expounding, early in the twelfth century, in humble barns and to enthusiastic audiences, the pages of Priscian, Aristotle, and Quintilian. Our information indeed concerning the studies of both Oxford and Cambridge continues to be singularly scanty and fragmentary up to the college era; conjecture must, on many points, supply the place of facts; and it is only by a careful

The account by Peter of Blois now generally discarded.

¹ Henry, *Hist. of England*, III 438.

² Carter, in his *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 7, gives without any apparent doubt, a letter from Alcuin to the Scholars of Cambridge, exhorting them to diligence in their studies! See also Lydgate's verses on the Foundation of the University, Appendix (A).

³ Hallam, in the later editions of his *Middle Ages*, (see eleventh edit. III 421) retracted the credence he

had before given to these accounts. Sir Francis Palgrave inclined to the belief that the *Chronicle of Ingulphus* was not of older date than the 13th or first half of the fourteenth century, and that it must be considered 'as little better than a monkish invention, a mere historical novel;' Mr Wright regards the continuation attributed to Peter of Blois as equally spurious.

study of the circumstantial evidence that we are enabled to arrive at a sufficiently probable induction. The character of the induction admits of being very concisely stated. It is a fact familiar to the student of our early history that before the Norman victory on the field of battle at Senlac, a gentler subjugation had already been imposed. In the language of Macaulay, 'English princes received their education in Normandy. English sees and English estates were bestowed on Normans. The French of Normandy was familiarly spoken in the palace of Westminster. The court of Rouen seems to have been to the court of Edward the Confessor what the court of Versailles long afterwards was to the court of Charles the Second¹.' To such an extent did this state of things prevail, that at one juncture it even seemed probable that the spread of Norman influences would culminate in a peaceful establishment of Norman dominion². Such a sequel was only prevented by a great national reaction; and the question then fell to the arbitration of the sword. But when a foreign dynasty had become firmly planted in our midst, it necessarily followed that these influences were still further intensified. To imitate the refinement, the chivalry, the culture of the dominant race, became the ambition of every Englishman who sought to avoid the reproach that attached to the character of a Saxon boor. Teachers from York no longer drew the outlines of education at Paris; and the great university which now rose in the latter city, to give the tone and direction to European thought, became the school whither every Englishman, who aimed at a character for learning, perforce resorted. The examples there studied and the learning there acquired were reproduced at home. The constitution of the university of Paris formed the model on which that of Oxford and that of Cambridge were formed; the course of study, the collegiate system, even the regulations of the Sorbonne, were imitated with scrupulous fidelity. It was not until two centuries after the Conquest that Englishmen could acknowledge these obligations without

Norman influences prior to the Conquest.

Norman influences subsequent to the Conquest.

The University of Paris the model both for Oxford and Cambridge.

¹ Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, i⁴
12.

² Freeman's *Hist. of the Norman Conquest*, II 515.

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humiliation, and could assert that, if their universities owed their constitution to Paris, the debt had been more than repaid in the teachers whom Paris had received from England. It is thus that, while the destruction of most of the early records relating to the mental activity of Oxford, and a yet greater blank in relation to Cambridge, present considerable difficulties when we endeavour to trace out the connecting links between these universities and the continent, the comparatively ample data which we possess concerning Paris enable us to some extent to repair the loss, and, in the absence of positive information, to fall back upon reasonable presumptive evidence. It will consequently be needless further to explain why, in the present chapter, we stop to examine the constitution, early fortunes, and intellectual experiences of the university of Paris, before passing on to the universities of our own country.

Did the Universities cause the ruin of the Episcopal and Monastic schools?

An important question meets us at this stage of our enquiry, which it is not within our province to investigate, but which cannot be passed by altogether unnoticed. If we accept the representations put forward by one particular school of writers, the rise of the universities would appear to have directly involved the downfall of the episcopal and monastic schools; and the period from Charlemagne to Philip Augustus has been indicated with fond regret, as the time when the Church performed her fitting function, fashioning the whole conception of education, and watching with maternal care over each detail of instruction¹. Without entering

¹ 'Parvenus au règne de Philippe-Auguste, nous touchons à la fin de l'existence glorieuse des écoles épiscopales et monastiques et à l'avènement d'un nouvel ordre des choses. Tous semblent des lors conspirer contre l'éducation claustrale, pour en accélérer la ruine. Les prélats habitués à la vie tumultueuse depuis les croisades, se laissent absorber par les préoccupations temporelles, et briguent l'honneur d'entrer dans les conseils des princes on de devenir leur ministres d'État. Les moines s'engourdissent dans la relâchement et l'oisiveté qu'amène toujours après

elle une trop grande opulence, et se trouvent sans force pour lutter contre les nouveaux ordres religieux qui se sont emparés des chaires de l'enseignement. Il n'est pas jusqu'à la transformation qui s'opérait alors dans la société féodale qui n'ait eu son influence sur ce dénouement précipité. Ce n'est pas que le zèle des étudiants se soit refroidi, au contraire, jamais il ne fut plus ardent; mais les fils de ceux qui avaient secoué le joug des seigneurs pour s'ériger en municipalités franches se trouvèrent mal à l'aise sous la discipline du cloître, et voulu-

into the abstract merits of the question, it is sufficient here to point out that the facts, as pleaded by Theiner¹ and Léon Maitre, have met with a distinct and specific denial. If indeed the guidance of other investigators may be trusted, the thread that connects the schools of Charlemagne with the university of Paris is to be traced in unbroken continuity. 'Alcuin,' says Monnier, following in the track of the compilers of the *Histoire Littéraire*² and of Mabillon, 'numbered among his disciples Rabanus and Haymo of Halberstadt. Rabanus and Haymo of Halberstadt were both the preceptors of Lupus Servatus³; Lupus Servatus had for a pupil Eric of Auxerre⁴; Eric of Auxerre was the master of Remy of Auxerre⁵, who taught in turn both at Rheims and at Paris; at Rheims Remy of Auxerre numbered among his pupils Hildebald and Blidulphus, founders of the schools of Lorraine, and Sigulphus and Frodoard, who carried on the school at Rheims and prepared the way for Gerbert; while at Paris he united the two branches of the Palatial school,—the one representing the tradition of Alcuin, the other that of Johannes Scotus,—and interpreted to them the logic attributed to Augustine and the treatise of Capella. His pupil was Odo of Cluny, who rekindled the monastic zeal and trained numerous scholars,—Aymer, Baldwin, Gottfried, Landric, Wulfad, Adhegrin, Hildebald, Eliziard, and, most distinguished of all, John, his biographer. These were the men who, in conjunction with the pupils of Gerbert⁶, sustained the tradition of instruction in the tenth century, whilst Hucbald of Liège, proceeding from St. Gall, instructed the canons of St. Geneviève at Paris, and taught in the cathedral school. In the eleventh century Abbo of Fleury and his

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The affirmative maintained by Theiner and Léon Maitre.

Counter representation of Monnier.

rent respirer l'air libre des grandes villes. Loin de combattre ces tendances, Philippe-Auguste et ses successeurs les encouragèrent en fondant des universités et en comblant ces corporations avec privilèges. Incapables de soutenir une concurrence aussi redoutable, les écoles épiscopales et monastiques furent rapidement dépossédées du sceptre qu'elles tenaient avec honneur depuis quatre

siècles et s'effacèrent complètement de la scène de l'histoire.' Léon Maitre, *Écoles Épiscopales*, p. 170.

¹ *Hist. des Institutions d'Éducation Ecclésiastique*, i 181—190.

² *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, vi 32.

³ Loup de Ferrières, v. pp. 19—21.

⁴ Hericus or Ericus of Auxerre, d. circ. 880. Migne, cxxiv 1128.

⁵ Remy of Auxerre, d. circ. 908.

⁶ See p. 44.

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pupils Gozelin, Haymo the historian, Bernard, Herveus, Odalric, Girard, and Thierry, imparted vigour to the culture of their time. Drogo taught with eminent success at Paris; and all the neighbouring schools, Chartres, Tours, and Le Bec, were attracted by the learning of that city, the habitual residence of the Capetian dynasty. The fame of the controversies there carried on soon drew together a crowd of teachers and scholars. Among the pupils of Drogo was John the Deaf, and John the Deaf had Roscellinus for his pupil. Roscellinus was from the school of Ivo of Chartres, and had for his disciples Peter of Cluny, Odo of Cambray, William of Champeaux, and Abelard. The schools of Paris thus became a real federal corporation; *Universitas magistrorum et discipulorum*, such was the university: and thus, in the times when books were rare, the precious legacy of learning was transmitted from hand to hand across the fleeting generations¹.

Progress
versus mere
conservatism.

Whatever value we may be disposed to attach to this representation, as a statement of the precise mode of transmission, it is certain that unquestionable authority can be quoted to prove that both the monastic and episcopal schools continued to exist long after the rise of the universities²; but it is obvious that if the former represented merely the stationary and conservative element, while the latter attracted to itself whatever lay beneath the ban of unreasoning authority,—whatever, feared at first as a heresy, was soon to be

¹ Monnier, *Alcuin et son Influence*, p. 189.

² 'Enfin, on s'obstine à ignorer les profonds travaux d'un Benedictin, du vénérable fondateur de notre grande Histoire littéraire, qui atteste, sur les meilleures autorités, que les écoles des évêques et celles des monastères avaient continué de fleurir avec les nouvelles sociétés d'études. Il faut, pour n'accuser ainsi que les autres, se laisser faire illusion par la haine contre toute loi civile, contre toute éducation séculière, et même contre tout ordre religieux qui ne juge point la piété incompatible avec une instruction solide et sincère, ni l'histoire avec la vérité.' V. Le

Clerc, *État des Lettres au XIV^e Siècle*, i 302. It is however undeniable that though both the Monastic and Episcopal Schools may have continued to exist, they had suffered woful deterioration: Heppé quotes authority to the effect that, in the year 1291, in the monastery of St Gall neither the abbot nor any of the monks could write; and we have it on the statement of a Benedictine himself that in the 13th century it was rare even in his own order to find anyone acquainted with grammar. See chapter entitled *Die Kloster und Domschulen des Mittelalters* in Dr Heppé's *Schulwesen des Mittelalters*, pp. 15—25.

accepted as sound philosophy,—all that widened the domain of knowledge or enriched the limits already attained,—the comparative importance of the two agencies could not remain the same. The former must decline in proportion as the latter increased; and it needs but little penetration to discern in this illogical confusion of the secondary effects of the universities with their direct action, a genuine vexation at the results that necessarily followed upon a blind and suicidal adherence to the traditions of a bygone age.

At nearly the same era, the latter part of the twelfth century, the historian becomes aware of the recognised existence of three great schools in Europe,—Bologna, Paris, and Salerno. Of these the first was distinguished as the school of civil law; the second, as that of the arts and theology; the third, as that of medicine. It is a significant proof of the non-relevancy of the term *Universitas* to the *range of studies* pursued in these ancient seats of learning, that while Paris had completed the circle of her studies long before the commencement of the thirteenth century, the term university is first found applied to her in the year 1215, in the reign of Philip Augustus¹; while Bologna, whose recognition as a university is of at least equal antiquity, possessed no chair of theology before the latter half of the fourteenth century. The term indeed when first employed, had a different meaning from that which it now conveys. 'In the language of the civil law,' observes one writer, 'all corporations' were called *universitates*, as forming one whole out of many individuals. In the German jurisconsults *universitas* is the word for a corporate town. In Italy it was applied to the incorporated trades in the cities. In ecclesiastical language the term was sometimes applied to a number of churches united under the superintendence of one archdeacon. In a papal rescript of the year 688, it is used of the body of the canons of the church of Pisa².

Bologna,
Paris, and
Salerno.

Original
meaning of
the term
Universitas.

If however we agree to define a university as *a corporation for the cultivation of learning formed under legal*

¹ Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, c. XXI sec. 127.

² Prof. Malden, *Origin of the Universities*, p. 13.

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sanction, we shall find ourselves considerably embarrassed, in investigating the comparative antiquity of Paris and Bologna, by the fact that long before either received a formal recognition it possessed a vigorous virtual existence¹. With the exception of the university of Naples, the spontaneity of growth in these bodies forms indeed one of the most remarkable features of the age. 'It would,' says Savigny, 'be altogether erroneous to compare the earliest universities of the middle ages with the learned foundations of our own times, established by a monarch or a corporation for the benefit of the native population, the admission of strangers being accorded as a favour. A teacher inspired by a love of learning gathered round him a circle of learners. Other teachers followed, the circle increased, and thus by a purely natural process a school was founded. How great must have been the reputation and influence of such schools at a time when they were but few in number, and when oral instruction was nearly the only path to knowledge! How great the noble pride of the professors and the enthusiasm of the scholars, when, from all the countries of Europe, learners flocked to spend long years in Paris and Bologna that they might share in this instruction?'²

If we look therefore rather to the spontaneous than to the formal element, Irnerius may be regarded as the founder of the university of Bologna, and the movement which he initiated is seen acquiring a fresh developement in the lectures on the *Decretum* of Gratian instituted by Eugenius in the middle of the same century, until the university became officially recognised in the charter of privileges which it received from the emperor Frederic I, in the year 1158³. In this charter we find provision made for the free admission of foreign students; for their protection from legal proceedings

¹ 'In der That nun kann der Anfang der Universität deswegen nicht genau bestimmt werden, weil sie gar nicht von einer willkürlichen Stiftung ausgieng.' Savigny, c. xxi sec. 3. Mr Anstey remarks that 'in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, strange as it may appear to those unacquainted with patent letters of

the time, the words *Universitas vestra* meant 'the whole of you.' Introd. to *Munimenta Academica*, i xxxiv.

² *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, c. xxx sec. 60.

³ Bologna is not named in the Charter, but Savigny shows that reference could have been intended only to that city. *Ibid.* xxi 63.

Savigny's criticism.

University of Bologna.

Its charter of 1158.

founded upon alleged offences or debts in other countries; while with respect to misdemeanours committed within the precincts of the university, it is enacted that any lawsuit shall, at the discretion of the student, be brought before the master under whom he is studying, or before the bishop of the diocese. CHAP. I.

At first only a school of law, Bologna successively incorporated the other branches of learning. In 1316, a school of arts and medicine was formed; and in the latter half of the same century a school of theology was founded by Innocent VI.¹ It is to be noted that these schools were really separate universities or corporations. Savigny points out that the schools of civil and canon law were practically distinct; and it has been even customary with some writers to regard them, together with the schools of arts and theology, as representing four distinct universities. Under another aspect a certain fusion of these bodies was brought about; all students being further distinguished as *Citramontani* and *Ultramontani*, Italians and foreigners. Thus divided they constituted the electoral body of the university; the officers being elected by the students and masters, while the professors were subject to the officers. It is a noticeable feature that at this university, the professors were, for the most part, maintained at the public expense, and were not dependent upon the contributions of the students. At the head of the officers were the two rectors, one for each body, and representing the supreme authority. There were also two chancellors; 'counsellors,' who represented the different nations into which the *Citramontani* and *Ultramontani* were divided; a syndic, who represented the university in its external relations to the state; a notary, a treasurer, and two *bidelli*. The degree of doctor, almost as ancient as the university itself, evidently derives its origin from the mere exercise of the office of teacher, a function it was subsequently found necessary to limit to those whom the university had

Its Schools of Law, Arts, and Medicine.

Citramontani and *Ultramontani*.
The students constitute the electoral body.

Professors.

Rectors.

Chancellors.
Counsellors.

Other officers.

Degree of doctor.

¹ 'L'université de Bologne,' remarks M. d'Assailly in his recent brilliant sketch, 's'est construite, pour ainsi dire, pièce par pièce, et on pourrait la comparer à une sphère dont la faculté de droit tiendrait le milieu.' *Albert le Grand: l'Ancien Monde devant le Nouveau*, 1 157.

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Original signification of the term.

Colleges.

recognised as fitted for the task. The doctors at Bologna, also known as *magistri, domini*, or *judices*, were further distinguished as *doctores legentes* and *non-legentes*—those appointed by the university to teach, and those not yet admitted to such a function, or who no longer exercised it: over the latter the city appears to have claimed a certain jurisdiction. The college system never attained to much importance at Bologna. There were colleges, it is true, designed like our own early foundations for the assistance of poor scholars, but we have no evidence that these ever exceeded their original design or exercised any perceptible influence over the university at large.

Limits of the influence of Bologna.

Such were some of the more important features which characterise the only school of learning that, at the commencement of the new era, might seem to vie with the great school at Paris. But the interest of Englishmen in the history of the university of Bologna can in no way compare with that which they must feel in the earlier annals of her illustrious rival. If we except the impulse communicated to Europe by the dissemination of one particular study, the example of Bologna would appear to have exercised but little influence north of Angers and Orleans. She formed it is true the model on which these, and most of the other minor universities were constituted,—Toulouse, Montpellier, Grenoble, and Avignon; she gave fashion to the universities of Spain and Italy; but her example obtained no further than the Danube and the Seine¹. The universities of the rest of Europe,—Oxford and Cambridge in England, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, and Cologne in Germany,—derived their formal constitution, the traditions of their education, and their modes of instruction from Paris. The influence of this university has indeed emboldened some writers to term her the ‘Sinai of instruction,’—in the Middle Ages². From the foregoing brief survey from the summits of the Appennines, we now turn therefore, to where, amid civic strife and political

¹ Savigny, c. xxi sec. 63. Von Ranke, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, iv 4.

² ‘The Sinai of the Middle Ages’ was also a term applied by the Benedictines to Monte Cassino.

agitation, the leading minds of Europe radiated forth their light, and the law was given from the chairs of the Dominicans.

The points of resemblance between Paris and Bologna are few; those of contrast, numerous and marked. Like Bologna, Paris finds her earliest legal recognition in independence of the civic authorities. In the year 1200 Philip Augustus passed a law, that students or professors, charged with any criminal offence, might be arrested by the provost, but should be taken for trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal¹. Like Bologna, too, Paris saw its university rise out of a series of entirely spontaneous efforts. But with certain general features such as these, the resemblance ceases. While the associations of Bologna, during its earlier history, were almost exclusively secular, those of Paris were as exclusively theological. The teaching of the former grew up round the Pandects; that of the latter, round the Sentences. Tradition points to the school attached to the church of St Geneviève as the germ of the university. It is certain, that in the spirit of antagonism which Paris evinced towards the worldly lore of her Italian rival, and in her determination to guard her more aspiring culture from the withering influences of the civil and canon law, we must look for the causes that, at a later period, still repelled those studies from her curriculum to find refuge with the newly created provincial universities²,

The Universities of Paris and Bologna contrasted.

¹ Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.* II 2, 3. A decree of Innocent III. in the early part of the thirteenth century, presents the earliest known instance of the application of the term *Universitas* to this body. Savigny, c. 21. sec. 127.

² Von Raumer, (IV 4) says 'Dürfte doch in Paris nur das von der Kirche ausgehende canonische, nicht aber das Civilrecht gelesen werden; erst im Jahre 1679, ward dies Verbot aufgehoben.' The real facts appear to be as follows:—(1) The Civil or Roman Law was studied, to a considerable extent at Paris, in the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries, a fact which the explicit testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis and of Rigordius places beyond doubt; (2) In the earlier half

of the thirteenth century the study was prohibited by Honorius III. and Innocent IV; (3) In the latter half of the same century we find, by the testimony of Roger Bacon, that it was everywhere in high favour with the ecclesiastical authorities, (see *Compendium Philosophie*, c. 4); (4) It was not until the year 1679 that, after a lengthened banishment it was again admitted into the university of Paris. Savigny finds considerable difficulty in a statute of that university of the year 1370, permitting students to go through their course as canonists without having studied the civil law; for how, he asks, could they study the former without the aid of the latter? This difficulty however applies only to a more advanced period in the history of the two studies. It is worthy of

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and still attracted to her schools the speculation, the controversies, and the religious movements of the age. The university of Paris again was distinguished by its unity; and Savigny attributes no small portion of its widely extended influence to the intimate connexion of the different faculties, whereby the whole body became participant in a vast variety of scientific and theological discussions. Though Bologna again professed chiefly the study of law, her discipline was singularly defective; while Paris, though she gave no heed to the Pandects, asserted far more effectually the rights of authority¹. The former did little more than secure for the student the advantage of able instructors, and a liberty that too often degenerated into licence; the latter forbade him to exercise any power in her assemblies, and required that he should be completely subject to the professors²,—a subjection which her statutes permitted to be enforced by that corporal punishment which became a tradition in the universities modelled upon her example. Another point of contrast is that presented by the early developement and importance of the college system. Bulæus indeed inclines to the belief that the system is coeval with the university itself; we shall hereafter have occasion to note with what rapidity these institutions succeeded each other in the fourteenth century,

note that the period when the civil law was most in favour at Rome exactly corresponds with the time when it was regarded with most suspicion at Paris, and this is in perfect accord with the general tenour of feeling at that university during the first four centuries of its existence.

¹ M. d'Annally has happily touched upon this contrast:—'*Les deux premières universités du monde se sont proposées, dès le XIII^e siècle, deux types de constitution scolaire devant lesquels des lors la chrétienté médite, et qui trouvent leur réalisation complète dans l'ordre social et politique des deux peuples qui ont voulu créer l'homme à leur image, conformément à l'exemplaire des choses divines que les peuples portent en eux, eût peut-être hasardé Platon. Et voyez*

vous à quelles conséquences pratiques et dernières poussent forcément des inclinations si diverses. À Bologne, la libre, la ville qui regarde par-dessus la Rome des papes vers Brutus et l'idéal antique, quelle faculté triomphe? la faculté de Droit. À Paris, la ville de l'autorité, celle qui penche du côté de César et qui en réfère de temps en temps à l'infaillibilité de souverains pontifes pour savoir comment elle doit décider, si ce n'est penser, quelle faculté domine? la faculté de Théologie.' *Albert le Grand* 1402.

² Bulæus has endeavoured to prove that, on certain occasions, the students were admitted to vote; an inference which Savigny holds to be quite unwarranted by the facts. *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, c. XXI sec. 30.

when their utility and necessity had become more fully recognized. CHAP. I.

We have quoted the observations of Savigny on the spontaneous character of the growth of the university; it remains to trace out the chief outlines of its formal development, and here conjecture must to some extent supply the place of well-ascertained data. It would appear to be a matter beyond doubt, that the faculty of arts, or of philosophy as it was usually then designated, was the first instituted at Paris. It is not however to this faculty that the university owes its eminence,—if indeed we are willing to admit that the university can be held to have existed at that period when the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of antiquity embraced its whole culture. Its celebrity dates from the time of Peter Lombard rather than from that of William of Champeaux¹, and the audiences who gathered round the expounders of the Sentences must be regarded as the true commencement of the new era. These audiences, it must be noted, were not composed of the religious orders; and the teachers for the most part, in singular contrast to the intentions of the compiler of their celebrated text book, represented the speculative tendencies of the age, and it was only because all speculation was then directly concerned with dogma, or in professed conformity to it, that they found in the compilation of Peter Lombard sufficient material for their powers. As the audiences increased, the teachers also multiplied; and it is easy to understand that mere pretenders to learning would frequently be starting up whose design it was to impose upon their enthusiastic and youthful hearers. It accordingly became necessary to protect alike the learner and the qualified professor. Out of such a necessity, Conringius very plausibly conjectures, grew the licence to teach². But such a formal permission could not justly be made to depend upon the vague impressions and personal prejudices of the electors,—who were, in all probability, the existing

Origin of the University.

Origin of University Degrees.

¹ William of Champeaux opened a school of logic at Paris in the year 1109; Abelard was his pupil, and Peter Lombard was the pupil of Abe-

lard, who thus appears to represent the connecting link between the two faculties of philosophy and theology.

² Conringius, *De Antiquit. Acad.*

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professoriate body; and the next step—the application of a definite test to the qualifications of the aspirants to the dignity of *doctor*—followed as a necessary precaution. Hence the system of examinations. The possession of a university degree was originally nothing else than the possession of a diploma to exercise the function of teaching; a *right*, which, at a later period, was equally recognised as a *duty*. The bachelors expounded the Sentences and the Scriptures; the doctors and masters taught systematically in the schools or preached to the laity; but all those who gained the degree of licentiate, master, or doctor, were held *bound to devote a certain period to again imparting the learning they had acquired*¹. The permission to teach, consequent upon success in such examinations as were then instituted, was vested, so far as the university was concerned, in the Chancellor; but the Pope alone had the power to make the degree of *doctor* valid throughout Christendom. ‘It may be worth while to mention,’ says Professor Malden, ‘that it was this privilege of catholic degrees, if we may use the expression, which in somewhat later times caused the confirmation of the popes to be sought whenever a new university was founded. It was not questioned that any sovereign might erect a university in his own dominions; or if any difficulty were raised, it was only with regard to a theological faculty: but it was the Pope alone who could make degrees valid beyond the limits of the university in which they were conferred’².

Limitations
on the Chan-
cellor's
authority.

The ‘Na-
tions.’

The division that obtained at Bologna of *Citramontani* and *Ultramontani* was represented at Paris by the division into ‘nations.’ These were four in number:—(1) the French nation, including in addition to the native element, Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks; (2) the Picard nation, representing

¹ Crévier, *Hist. de l'Université de Paris*, iii 181. M. LeClerc remarks, ‘C’était une bonne institution que le noviciat des bacheliers, s’essayant pendant trois ans au professorat sous la direction des maîtres, quoiqu’il n’eût point fallu peut-être leur imposer quinze années d’épreuves, pour arriver, en théologie, au grade de licencié. Mais cet exercice triennal

eût été moins stérile pour eux, si, par cette manie de renfermer toujours l’esprit dans la plus étroite prison, ils n’eussent été tenus, pour faire, comme on disait, leur ‘principe,’ de commenter uniquement les livres des Sentences.’ *Etat des Lettres au XII^e Siècle*, i 291.

² Malden, *Origin of Universities*, p. 21.

the students from the north-east and from the Netherlands ; (3) the Norman nation ; (4) the English nation¹, comprising, besides students from the provinces under English rule, those from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany².

It may at first appear somewhat anomalous that the great centre of theological instruction in Europe, up to the fifteenth century, should have been distinguished rather by its allegiance to the secular than to the spiritual power, by its sympathy with the kings of France rather than with the popes of Rome. It does not however require much acquaintance with these centuries to be aware that the papal policy was systematically directed to the discouragement of theological controversy and speculation. At Paris the traditions of Berengar and Roscellinus were still fresh in the memories of men. Even the excellent designs of Peter Lombard appeared to have strangely failed of their avowed object, and to have fanned the flames they were intended to allay. We need not wonder, therefore, that this troublous mental activity and unceasing controversial spirit were viewed with disfavour and apprehension at Rome. On the other hand, long before the time of William of Occam, the university had evinced its sympathy with royalty and lent its aid in repelling the arrogant assertion of the ecclesiastical power. 'Notwithstanding,' observes M. Le Clerc, 'the ties that bound it to the pontiff's chair, and the numbers of its clergy who had vowed allegiance to that authority, the university had never been wholly an ecclesiastical body. Though born under the shadow of the cathedral church, it took form and grew up under the protection of the monarch rather than the tutelage of the bishop. The French kings, who had at first accorded it but dubious and precarious aid, as soon as they perceived the accession to their own strength to be derived

Early sympathies of the University of Paris.

Explanation of M. Victor le Clerc.

¹ Known after the year 1430 as the *German* nation.

² A corresponding division into four nations was instituted at Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg and Leipzie. 'Nos advertentes venerabilem Universitatem Parisiensem pre aliis do-

cente experientia legibus bene regi Universitatem nostram in quatuor nationes velut illa distincta est licet aliter nominatas, ad instar illius duximus dividendam.' *Statute of Univ. of Vienna*, Raumer, iv 16.

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from the new alliance, became its avowed friends, while the popes, its first and most ardent promoters, adopted towards it a policy of mistrust, coldness, and opposition; and the chancellor of the cathedral, on whom it devolved, as the representative of the pontifical authority, to admit the licentiates of the higher faculty, and whose claims even amounted to a kind of perpetual presidency, ceased not, so long as his office continued to exist, to persecute the university to which he could not dictate¹. The force of this criticism will be more apparent when we have passed under review the new culture and the tendencies of thought that riveted the attention of Europe upon Paris throughout the thirteenth century; but, before proceeding to this important subject, it will be well to mark the rapid extension of the movement of which the two most conspicuous examples have already occupied our attention.

Other
Universities
of the
Thirteenth
Century.
Toulouse.
Montpellier.

The only other universities in France that trace back their origin to the thirteenth century are those of Toulouse and Montpellier; but in Italy the impetus communicated by the study of the civil law bore fruit in every direction. In the year 1222 the civil discords that prevailed at Bologna drove a large body of students and professors to Padua, where they established a school of the new learning, the commencement of that illustrious university. A similar migration in 1204 had already given birth to the university of Vicenza.

Padua.

Vicenza.

Pisa, Vercelli,
Arezzo,
Ferrara,
Oxford and
Cambridge

Pisa, Vercelli, Arezzo, and Ferrara rose in the same century; while in our own country Oxford and Cambridge appear emerging from an obscurity which, greatly as it has exercised the imaginative faculty of some eminent antiquarians, seems to indicate that the period and circumstances of these foundations belong to a field of enquiry which the seeker for real knowledge will most prudently forego. It may however be observed that such data as we possess would appear to point to an origin similar to that assigned to the university of Paris; the school in connexion with the priory of St Frideswyde, and that of the conventual church at Ely, being

Probable
origin of the
Universities
of Oxford
and Cambridge.

¹ *État des Lettres au Quatorzième Siècle*, i 262.

probably the institution from whence the universities of CHAP. I.
Oxford and Cambridge respectively sprang¹.

The scattered links which serve to mark the connexion between the times of Bede and Alcuin and those of Robert Grosseteste are few and imperfect. The chain of continuity was snapped asunder by the Danish invasions, and it would here be of small profit minutely to investigate the evidence for a tradition which can scarcely be said to have existed. Learning, to use the expression of William of Malmesbury, was buried in the grave of Bede for four centuries². The invader, carrying his ravages now up the Thames and now up the Humber, devastated the eastern regions with fire and sword. The noble libraries which Theodore and the abbats Hadrian and Benedict had founded were given to the flames³. In the year 870 the town of Cambridge was totally destroyed⁴. The monasteries of the Benedictines, the chief guardians of learning, appear to have been completely broken up; 'it is not at all improbable,' says Mr Kemble, 'that in the middle of the tenth century there was not a genuine Benedictine society left in England⁵.' The exertions of King Aelfred restored the schools and formed new libraries; and, under the auspices of St. Dunstan, the Benedictine order, renovated at its sources by the recent establishment of the Cluniac branch on the continent, was again established. During the reign of Eadgar, when the land had rest from invasion, no less than forty convents of this order were founded. But once again the Danes swept over the country and the work

First Danish
Invasion.
A.D. 867.

Destruction
of the Bene-
dictine
Monasteries.

Their Revival
under St.
Dunstan,
circ. 950.

Eadgar.
r. 958—975.

¹ 'While we cannot doubt that a considerable number of scholars studied at Oxford in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, yet the fact that *no species of pecuniary support* was from any source, that we know of, appointed for them, and that *no* royal charter or letter has ever been produced hitherto, though Anthony Wood speaks of *their loss*, of an earlier reign than that of Henry III, seems to raise a very strong suspicion that the University did not exist at all before the Conquest, and that as soon as it became important enough to deserve and require royal recognition, it immediately obtained it, and

henceforth begun its corporate existence, its true history in its only recognizable form.' Anstey's *Introd. to Munimenta Academica*, i xxxiv.

² 'Sepulta est cum eo gestorum omnis pene notitia usque ad nostra tempora.' *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, i sec. 62.

³ See Preface to Richard of Cirencester (Rolls Series) by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, ii cxvi.

⁴ Caius *Hist. Cantabrig. Acad.* p. 39.

⁵ Kemble's *Saxons in England*, ii 452. 'It is certain,' says Professor Stubbs, 'that in 942 there were no real Benedictines in England.' *Introd. to Epistolæ Cantuar.* p. xviii.

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Second
Danish
Invasion,
A.D. 993.

Subsequent
extension of
the Benedic-
tine Order.

of devastation was repeated; Oxford was burnt to the ground in the year 1009; a like fate overtook Cambridge in the following year; the library at Canterbury perished in the same visitation. The Benedictines indeed survived, and, when the reign of Knut restored tranquillity, notwithstanding the traditional jealousy of the secular clergy, their foundations rapidly multiplied. Under the patronage of Eadward the Confessor the order became still further strengthened and extended. The rival foundations of St Augustine and Christ Church at Canterbury, those of Abingdon, St Alban's, Bury, Ely, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Winchester, Westminster, and Rochester, all professed the Benedictine rule. Odo, the haughty bishop of Bayeux, refused to recognise any but a Benedictine as a true monk. But though the monasteries once more flourished, the losses to literature were for a long time irreparable. With the second Danish invasion, authors, whom Alcuin and Aelfred had known and studied, disappear for centuries: it may indeed be doubted whether the flames that at different times consumed the libraries of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople, inflicted a more appreciable loss upon the progress of education in western Europe. At the time of the Conquest, if we may credit the testimony of a competent though somewhat prejudiced witness, an acquaintance with grammar marked out the possessor as a prodigy¹. Such, in briefest narrative, were the vicissitudes through which learning in England had passed at the time when she once more bowed before the conquering sword, and other and more humanising influences began to give fashion to her culture and her institutions.

Of Vacarius, and his lectures at Oxford on the civil law in the middle of the twelfth century, we have already spoken; it was probably about twenty years before that an English ecclesiastic returning from Paris, and commiserating the low

¹ "Periisse autem iam tunc per Danicos aliasque eruptiones omnem priscam in Anglia eruditionem, luculentus est testis Guilielmus Malmesburiensis, Conquestoris ævo proximus. (Lib. iii.) 'Literarum,' inquit ille, 'et religionis studia obsoleverant

non paucis ante adventum Normanorum annis. Clerici literatura tumultuaria contenti vix Sacramentorum verba balbutiebant; stupori et miraculo erat caeteris, qui grammaticam nosset.'" Couringius, *De Antiquitatibus Academicis*, p. 282.

state of learning among his countrymen, essayed to rekindle at Oxford some acquaintance with Latin and a love for letters. The *Sententiarum Libri Octo* of Robert Pullen have been supposed to have suggested the Sentences of Peter Lombard. They are however characterised by strong points of difference; an absence of the dialectical element and the elaborately established 'distinction,' less exclusive regard to Patristic authority, and a more generally scriptural method of interpretation. His name is brought forward by Anthony Wood to prove that Aristotle was studied at that period at Oxford¹. The same writer, on the authority of Leland, informs us that 'Pulleyne taught daily in the Schools, and left no stone unturned whereby the British youth might flourish in the learned tongues. Which good and useful labours continuing several years, multitudes came to hear his doctrine, profiting thereby so exceedingly that in a short space the University proceeded in their old method of Exercises, which were the age before very rarely performed².' There appears to be no reason why the general fact here recorded should be rejected. Pulleyne, according to the consent of various authorities, was for some years a student at Paris, and it is sufficiently credible that what he had there learnt he should teach at Oxford. There also appears to be good reason for believing that long before the thirteenth century, schools existed at Oxford (tradition points to the Benedictines as their founders) and that these were presided over by teachers from Paris³. Mr Anstey, who has devoted considerable attention to the subject, regards it as almost beyond dispute that the earliest statutes of his university were borrowed from the same source. 'The transition,' he says, 'from mere grammar

Robert
Pullen.
His *Senten-
tiarum Libri
Octo.*

Original con-
nexion of the
schools of
Oxford with
the Univer-
sity of Paris.

¹ Wood's conclusion rests on a rather narrow induction:—'Robert Pulleyne who flourished an. 1146, did before that time read at Oxford *optimarum Artium disciplinas* which without Aristotle he could not well do.' *Annals*, i 280.

² *Annals*, i 142.

³ See Mr Anstey's Introduction to *Munimenta Academica*, i xxix. The foundation of the University of Ox-

ford by King Aelfred must be classed with the other historical fictions with which the earlier pages of Wood's work are filled; an infatuation which in so generally trustworthy an antiquarian is almost inexplicable, unless, indeed, we regard these pages, as some have done, as intended only for a ponderous and elaborate joke.

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schools to a *studium generale*, or, as we call it, an university, cannot be traced; the probability however, almost amounting to a certainty, is that it was effected by a nearly wholesale adoption of the regulations of the university of Paris¹.

Earliest
recognition
of the
University of
Cambridge.

The 'earliest authentic legal instrument,' to use the language of Cooper, containing any recognition of Cambridge as a university, is a writ of the second year of Henry III, addressed to the sheriff of the town, commanding all clerks who had been excommunicated for their adhesion to Louis the son of the King of France, and who had not been absolved, to depart the realm before the middle of Lent; those who failed to yield obedience to this mandate to be arrested. 'If,' observes Cooper, '(as seems very probable) the word *clerk* is used in this writ as denoting a scholar, this appears to be the earliest authentic legal instrument referring to the existence of a University in this place².' Our university history would accordingly seem to date from the commencement of our true national history, from the time when the Norman element having become fused with the Saxon element, and the invader driven from our shores, the genius of the people found comparatively free scope, and the national character began to assume its distinctive form. Galling evidence of the Conquest still exhibited itself, it is true, in the Poitevin who ruled in the royal councils, and the Italian who monopolized the richest benefices; but the isolation from the Continent which followed on the expulsion of Prince Louis could not fail to develope in an insular race a more bold and independent spirit. The first half of the thirteenth century in England has been not inaptly designated 'the age of Robert Grosseteste.' The cold commendation with which Hallam dismisses the memory of that eminent reformer must appear altogether inadequate to those familiar with more recent investigations of the period. The encourager of Greek learning, the interpreter of Aristotle, the patron of the mendicant orders, the chastiser of monastic corruption, the fearless champion of the national

Robert
Grosseteste.
b. 1175 (?)
d. 1253.

¹ *Munimenta Academica*, p. xliv.

² *Annals*, i 37.

cause against Papal aggression, the leader of thought at the sister university, deserves a foremost place in the history of his times. 'Probably no one,' remarks his most recent editor, 'has had a greater influence upon English thought and English literature for the two centuries which followed his age¹.' Those familiar with the literature of those centuries will bear witness how often the name of *Lincolniensis*, the bishop *par excellence*, appears as that of an independent authority². Grosseteste died in the year 1253; and the half century wherein he had been so prominent an actor had witnessed those two great events, both inseparably associated with his name, which gave a new aspect to learning and to the institutions of the Church,—the introduction of the new Aristotle into Christian Europe, and the rise of the Franciscan and the Dominican orders.

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His influence
as a thinker.

The evils that rarely fail to accompany the growth of corporate bodies in wealth and influence, had followed upon the aggrandisement of the Benedictines, and are attested by evidence too unanimous to be gainsaid, especially by the successive institution of subordinate orders, which, while adhering to the same rule, initiated or restored a severer discipline³. The Cluniac and the Cistercian orders, those of the Camuldules and the Celestines, of Fontevault and Grandmont, are to be regarded rather as reformed than as rival societies,—attempts to do away with grave causes of

Design of
the formation
of the later
Monastic
Orders.

¹ Preface to *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolæ* by Rev. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series).

² Even so late as in the course of studies prescribed for the University of Tübingen by King Ferdinand, in 1525, the name of 'Linconicus' appears with those of Averroës, Avicenna, Albertus Magnus, Aquinas, Scotus and Occam. See *Sammlung der Württembergischen Schul Gesetze*, dritte Abtheilung, p. 91.

³ Respecting the origin of some of the minor orders, we have no satisfactory information, but those of Cluny and the Cistercians undoubtedly took their rise in the spirit indicated in the text. 'The reformation,' says Tanner, 'of some things which seemed too remiss in St Be-

nedict's rule, begun by Bernon, abbot of Gigni in Burgundy, but increased and perfected by Odo, abbot of Cluni, about A.D. 912, gave rise to the Clunian order; which was the first and principal branch of the Benedictines; for they lived under the rule of St Benedict, and wore a black habit; but observing a different discipline were called by a different name.' See Dugdale, *Monast.* v iv. With respect to the Cistercians, we have the testimony of Hugo, the Pope's legate, in his letter on their first institution,—'regulæ beatissimi Benedicti quam illuc tepide ac negligenter in eodem monasterio tenuerant, arcitius deinceps atque perfectius inhærerere velle professos fuisse.' *Ibid.* v 219.

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scandal, while the traditions of monasticism remained. Self-perfection was still the professed aim of the monk; devotion, humility, seclusion and obedience, his cardinal virtues; and as he illumined the scroll or chanted the intercessory prayer, he held himself well absolved from the duties of a secular life. The isolation practised by the followers of Pacomius and Antony in the fifth, widely differed however from that of the Benedictine in the thirteenth century. The former, by shunning intercourse with their fellows, sought to escape the temptations of the flesh; the latter, while they jealously guarded their privileged seclusion, found for the most part a solace in unmitigated sensual indulgence. The great Benedictine movement in Normandy in the eleventh century, and the great Cistercian movement in England in the twelfth, had failed to effect anything more than a partial and evanescent reform. The intense selfishness of a life which evaded the social duties only to indulge, with less restraint, the individual appetites, arrested the attention even of that gross and uncritical age¹, and a striking picture of the actual state of affairs at the latter part of the twelfth century has been preserved to us by the graphic pen of Giraldus Cambrensis. In the year 1180, when a young man, he became a guest on his return from the Continent to London, at the famous monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury. He was hospitably

Degeneracy
of the Bene-
dictines.

Description
of Giraldus
Cambrensis.

¹ Witness application by Giraldus Cambrensis of the comparison instituted by Jerome between the monk and the secular priest to his own times. Giraldus was himself an ecclesiastic and an aspirant to the see of St David's. 'Monachus enim tanquam unius custos, vel singularis dictus, sui solius curam agit. Clericus vero circa multorum curam sollicitari tenetur. Est itaque monachus tanquam granum tritici solum manens; est autem clericus tanquam granum germinans, et in horrea Domini multum fructum afferens.' *Topographia Hibernica*, Bk. III c. 30. The broad satire of the friend of Giraldus, Walter Map, points in the same direction. Map was archdeacon of Oxford in the reign of Richard

I, a keen wit, a jovial pluralist, but a man of culture and true earnestness. He had a living at Westbury-on-Severn, very near the Cistercian abbey in the forest of Dean. Encroachment by the Cistercians on his clerical rights may have added to the indignation of his satire. When on his rounds, as Justice in Eyre for the King, he was wont when taking the oath that he would do equal justice to all, to except Jews and Cistercians, as men to whom equal justice was an abomination. His Apocalypse of bishop Goliath is a fierce satire on the debauchery and sensuality of the order. Bishop Goliath is represented as actuated by the fondest hope that he might die drunk in a tavern.

entertained, but his astonishment at what he witnessed was intense. The conversation and manners of the monks, he affirms, were such that he thought himself among players and jesters. The table at dinner was regularly laid with sixteen covers. Fish and flesh, roast and boiled, highly seasoned dishes, piquant sauces, and exquisite cookery, stimulated the flagging appetite. Though the ale of Kent was of the best, it was rarely tasted where claret, mead, and mulberry wine were constantly flowing¹. There is ample evidence that his is no exaggerated description, and that the monastery at Canterbury was far from exceptional in its character. A variety of causes, it would seem, had combined to produce this laxity of discipline. Lyttelton in his *History of the Reign of Henry II* attributes to the civil war in the preceding reign the over-aggrandisement of the monastic orders: the weak and the timid took refuge where alone it was to be found; while those who participated in the struggle often committed atrocities for which, conscience-stricken, they sought in after years to atone by founding or enriching religious houses². In some instances, the wealthier and more powerful foundations had obtained exemption from all episcopal control and were responsible only to the Pope and his legate³.

Causes which
favoured this
corruption.

The inevitable effects of such wide-spread corruption in undermining the popular faith, were, for a time, to some extent counteracted by two important movements. The vast impulse communicated by the Crusades to Christian Europe had subserved a double purpose,—it had rekindled the flame of religious enthusiasm, and had afforded to the more reckless and lawless members of society the opportunity of reconciliation to the Church,—not, indeed, by the alienation of worldly wealth, but by appealing to those very instincts wherein excess and criminality took their rise,—the love of adventure and excitement⁴. The ultimate effects of these memorable

Influence of
the Crusades.

¹ *De Rebus a se Gestis*, Bk. II c. 5.

² *Hist. of the Reign of King Henry II*, p. 330.

³ Even the garb of the monk, that last external sign of compliance with

discipline, appears to have been frequently laid aside for a dress of gay colours. See Pearson, *Hist. of England*, I 294.

⁴ 'God,' says the abbat Guibert,

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expeditions widely differed however from those originally contemplated by Urban II. Long residence in an enervating climate, under conditions of so extraordinary and novel a character, could scarcely prove favourable to the habits and morals of those engaged. Whatever benefits the Crusades conferred on Christendom were probably more than counterbalanced by results of a different nature. If invasion was repelled from Europe, and a bond of union created among the nations of Christendom in the place of internecine strife,—if chivalry traces back its origin to the spirit then evoked,—it is equally certain that an inlet was afforded to many baneful influences. The attempted conversion of the Saracen not only proved fruitless, but, as a recent writer has observed, it seemed, at one time, much more likely that the converters would become converted. The Manicheistic tendencies which infected the Christianity of the fourth and fifth centuries reappeared; the belief in magic and the practice of the magician's arts became widely extended; the Communistic excesses of these times have been attributed, with no small probability, to the indirect influences of the Crusades. Everywhere might be discerned the workings of a genuine but ill-regulated enthusiasm. The austerities and doctrines of the rival sects of the Patarins, the Cathari, Bons Hommes, Josephins, Flagellants, Publicani, and Waldenses, were regarded by the orthodox with apprehension and dismay¹.

Scarcely however had these secondary symptoms become manifest, when another movement lent new prestige to the Church and revived the hopes of the faithful. Long before St. Louis breathed his last on the coast of Africa, in that final expedition on behalf of the beleaguered Christian settlements

The Orders
of St. Dominic
and St.
Francis
d'Assisi.

¹ 'invented the Crusades as a new way for the laity to atone for their sins and to merit salvation,' quoted by Gibbon, c. 58.

² See Professor Brewer's preface to the *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. xxxvii; also Mr Luard's Preface to *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolæ*. Mr Brewer regards the doctrines of the Albigenses, which appear to have been a form of Manichæism, and

those of the 'Everlasting Gospel' as attributable to the same influences. The Crusades appear rather to have increased than diminished the number of those who took refuge in the monasteries. See Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, iv 255; also Milman, whose view of their collective and final effects is somewhat more favorable. *Hist. Latin Christianity*, Bk. vii c. 6.

in Syria, to which he had roused the flagging enthusiasm of his countrymen, he had beheld with admiration the rise and rapid growth of those two great orders to whose untiring zeal the Church of Rome was so largely indebted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Within less than ten years of each other, were founded the order of St. Dominic and the order of St. Francis of Assisi. The sagacious glance of Innocent III had distinguished between the genuine devotion that characterised the earlier spirit of these orders and the fanaticism of preceding sects; he had discerned the valuable aid thus presented to the Church; and it was nearly his last act to bestow upon the humble followers of St. Francis his sanction and benediction.

The whole spirit in which the institution of these two orders was conceived stood in startling contrast to the ideas then associated with the religious life. For isolation from mankind there was now exemplified a spirit of evangelism worthy of the apostolic age; for princely edifices the renunciation of a settled habitation; for the allurements of pagan learning an all-absorbing devotion to theology; for luxury and self-indulgence the meanest fare and the coarsest raiment; wherever vice and misery had their abode, amid the squalor, poverty, and suffering of the most wretched quarters of the town, the Dominican and the Franciscan laboured on their errand of mercy. The fiery eloquence of the former, whose exemplar was St. Paul, drew around him numerous and enthusiastic audiences; the latter, who professed to imitate rather the spirit of the 'beloved disciple,' won men by his devotion and the spell of a mystic theology¹. The contrast

The conception of these Orders essentially opposed to that of the Benedictines.

Characteristics of the Dominicans and the Franciscans contrasted.

¹ 'The habits of the two orders, great as were their outward resemblances, were essentially and radically different. To organize and systematize was the taste and business of the one. To bring out the human, sentimental, individual aspects of theology and of humanity was the characteristic effort of the other. The Dominican was always verging upon the hardest intellectualism; but he was exempt from much of the superstition to which the Fran-

ciscan yielded. He was liable to all the diseases which assault men of spiritual aspirations, to much of the sensualism into which they fall, through a desire of finding outward images by which they may represent their deeper intuitions; but he could not be withheld by mere maxims and formulas from tracing the windings of a thought, or from following nature into her hiding places. Both were dangerous, each would have been terrible without the other. Together.

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Rapid progress of the new Orders.

The Franciscans in England.

Their popularity with the people.

presented by both orders to the inactivity of the Benedictines, necessarily appealed with singular force to the wants and sympathies of the poor amid the vicissitudes of that tempestuous century. The two orders extended themselves with marvellous rapidity over Europe and yet remoter regions. Their convents multiplied not only in more civilized countries, but also in Russia, Poland, and Denmark; their missionaries penetrated to the heart of Palestine, to the inaccessible fastnesses of Abyssinia, and the bleak regions of Crim Tartary. 'In a few years,' says Dean Milman, 'from the sierras of Spain to the steppes of Russia; from the Tiber to the Thames, the Trent, the Baltic sea; the old faith in its fullest mediæval, imaginative, inflexible rigour, was preached in almost every town and hamlet¹.' In England the Dominicans met with less success, but this was fully compensated by the rapid progress of the Franciscans. Very soon after the establishment of the latter order, they had formed a settlement at Oxford under the auspices of Grosseteste, and had erected their first rude chapel at Cambridge. Within thirty years from their first arrival in the country, they numbered considerably more than a thousand and had established convents in most of the more important towns. 'If your holiness,' says Grosseteste, writing to Gregory IX in 1238, 'could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction as to daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and the regulars (*clerus et religio*) have obtained by imitating them, you would indeed say that they that dwelt in the shadow of death upon them hath the light shined².' Even by the existing religious orders they and their work were regarded, in the first instance, with far from unfriendly sentiments; or, if jealousy were felt, it was deemed prudent

they served to shew forth the counteracting tendencies of a very memorable period. If each held down some truth, each brought some side of truth into light which its rival would have crushed. If they left many pernicious influences to after ages, they awakened a spiritual and

intellectual energy, without which those ages would have been very barren.' Prof. Maurice, *Mediæval Philosophy*, pp. 165—166.

¹ *Hist. Latin Christianity*, Bk. ix c. 9.

² Luard, Preface to *Grosseteste Epistolæ*, p. xxii; see also Epist. 58.

to repress its manifestation while the current of popular feeling flowed so strongly in their favour. - Roger of Wendover, prior of the Benedictine convent of Belvoir, declares that the labours of the new missionaries 'brought much fruit to the Lord¹.' CHAP. I.

With the activity of the Dominicans is associated the other great movement of this century,—the introduction of the new philosophy. The numerous foundations planted by them in the East, brought about an increased intercourse between those regions and Western Europe; the influence of the Crusades, as we have already seen, was tending to a like result; the barriers which, in the time of Gerbert, interposed between Mahometan and Christian thought, were broken down; and, simultaneously with these changes, the labours of Averröes, who died at Morocco in 1198, were spreading among the Arabs a deference for the authority of Aristotle such as no preceding commentator or translator had inspired. Another widely scattered body supplied the link that brought these labours home to Christendom. The Jews of Syria, and those who, under the scornfully tolerant rule of the Saracens in Spain, found refuge from the persecution and insult which confronted them in the great cities of Christian Europe, were distinguished by their cultivation of the new philosophy, and their acquaintance with both Arabic and Latin enabled them in turn to render the works of Averröes accessible to the scholars of the Romance countries. It would seem to be a well established conclusion that the philosophy of Aristotle was first made known to the West mainly through these versions. The rarity, at this period, of a knowledge of Greek, and the attractions offered by the additional aid afforded in the Arabic commentaries, secured for these sources a preference over whatever had as yet appeared that was founded upon an immediate acquaint-

Instrumentality of the Dominicans and the Jews in bringing in the New Aristotle.

Aristotle first known to Europe as a philosopher through Arabic sources.

¹ 'Crevit igitur in brevi hic ordo fratrum prædicatorum, qui Minores dicuntur, per orbem universum; qui in urbibus habitantes et castellis, deni et septeni exierunt in diebus illis, per villas et ecclesias parochi-

ales, verbum vitæ prædicantes, et turbis agrestibus virtutum plantaria inserentes, fructum plurimum Domino obtulerunt.' Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of Hist.* ed. Wats, p. 341.

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ance with the Greek originals¹. A considerable interval elapsed before translations direct from the Greek appeared in sufficient number to rival those from the Arabic², and here it will be well before we proceed with the consideration of the interpretation of Aristotle adopted by the earliest teachers of our universities, to discriminate the sources from whence their inspiration would appear to have been derived.

Previous
knowledge in
Europe of
his writings.

We have already had occasion to notice that the Aristotle of the schoolmen, prior to the twelfth century, was nothing more than probably two of his treatises on Logic,—the *Categories* and the *De Interpretatione*; the remaining portion of the *Organon*, as translated by Boethius, being first made known at the beginning of that century³. It remains to explain by what means the Middle Age translations from the Arabic and those from the Greek have been distinguished and identified. The theories of different scholars on this question were for a long time singularly at variance. It could not be doubted that the source from whence those who first introduced the philosophy of Aristotle into Christian Europe derived their knowledge, were Latin translations; but in what instances these translations had been made directly from the Greek, and in what instances they were derived from the labours of the Arabians, was in considerable dispute. Brucker, in his *History of Philosophy*, put forth only a confused and unsatisfactory statement; Heeren inclined to the opinion that the revival might be traced to sources

¹ 'On puisait plus volontiers à cette source qu'à l'autre, parce que les traductions de l'Hébreu et de l'Arabe étaient plus littérales, et qu'on y trouvait des explications que l'obscurité du texte rendait très-nécessaires.' Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques*, etc. p. 16.

² The first known translation direct from the Greek is that of Jacques de Venise, 1128, 'Jacobus, clericus de Venitia, transtulit de græco in latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Analyticos priores et posteriores, et Elenchos, quamvis antiqua translatio super eos haberetur.' *Roberti de*

Monte, abbatis S. Michaelis, Chronica. (quoted by Jourdain, p. 58). This however would, of course, add little to the actual knowledge of Aristotle.

³ These portions of the *Organon*, that is to say, the Prior and Posterior Analytics, the Topica, and the Elenchi Sophistici became known as the *Nova Logica*, the *Categories* and the *De Interpretatione* as *Vetus Logica*. See Buhæus, iii 82. Prantl observes that in Duns Scotus this distinction appears to have been that by which the respective treatises were generally known. *Geschichte der Logik*, iii 206.

almost entirely independent of the Arabic translations: Buhle and Tiedemann advocated a contrary opinion; Tennemann attempted to reconcile the opposing hypotheses; but it was reserved for M. Jourdain, in his essay first published early in the present century, to arrive by a series of lengthened and laborious investigations at those conclusions which have, with a few qualifications, been now almost universally accepted¹.

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Researches
of M. Amable
Jourdain.

The method employed by Jourdain was to take, in turn, the writings of each of the schoolmen, and carefully to compare whatever quotations presented themselves from Aristotle with the earliest Latin versions we possess; he was thus enabled not only satisfactorily to determine the period to which the introduction of the Aristotelian philosophy must be referred, but also the sources to which each writer was indebted. As regarded the earlier Aristotle, the translations by Augustine and Boethius were, of course, easily distinguishable from those of the later period; for, besides the evidence afforded by the character of the writing and the abbreviations employed, the former translations possessed a certain elegance and freedom, while the latter were characterised by extreme literalness,—a word for word substitution of Latin for Greek which often greatly added to the obscurity of the original. Technical terms, moreover, were left untranslated, being merely transcribed, though the Latin supplied a perfectly satisfactory equivalent. An equally trustworthy test enabled him to distinguish the versions from the Greek from the versions from the Arabic;—for, in the latter, he frequently found that Greek words which, in the absence of an Arabic equivalent, had been retained in the original version, were incorrectly spelt in the Latin translation; sometimes too the translator in ignorance of the precise meaning of an Arabic word, left it standing

Method of
his investiga-
tions.

¹ Mr Hallam's short note (*Literature of Europe*, i⁷ 69) recognising Jourdain's researches, does but scant justice to their thoroughness and ability. Charles Jourdain, in his preface to the edition of 1843, tells

us that long and tedious labour, on his own part, over materials to which the father had not access, had been almost entirely destitute of any result calculated to modify the original conclusions.

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untranslated. In many cases again considerable collateral light was afforded by the divisions of the chapters; in the *Metaphysics*, for instance, and the treatise on *Meteors*, the division of the Arabic version differed from that of the manuscript employed by the translator from the Greek, and the discrepancy, of course, reappeared in the corresponding Latin versions.

Results established by his researches.

The conclusions Jourdain was thus enabled to establish, were, in substance, chiefly as follow:—Up to the commencement of the thirteenth century neither the philosophy of Aristotle nor the labours of his Arabian commentators and translators appear to have been known to the Schoolmen. There were, it is true, translations of Avicenna and Alfarabi by Gondisalvi, coming into circulation about the middle of the twelfth century, but they failed to attract the attention of the learned in France and England. Daneus remarks that the name of Aristotle never once occurs in the *Master of the Sentences*¹. But by the year 1272, or two years before the death of Thomas Aquinas, the whole of Aristotle's writings, in versions either from the Greek or the Arabic, had become known to Western Europe. Within a period therefore of less than three quarters of a century, this philosophy, so far as regards Christendom, passes from a state of almost complete obscurity to one of almost perfect revelation. A further attention to ascertained facts enables us yet more accurately to determine the character of these translations and the order of their appearance, and adds considerable illustration to the whole history of the establishment of those relations of the Aristotelian philosophy with the Church which constitute so important a feature in the development of this age.

The natural philosophy of Aristotle chiefly introduced from Arabic sources.

With regard to the sources from whence the respective translations were derived, it is in harmony with what we should be disposed to expect from the attention paid by the Arabians to natural science, that we find it was chiefly the natural philosophy of Aristotle that was made known through their agency to Europe, and constituted consequently

¹ *Prolegomena in Petri Lomb. Sententias*, Lib. 1 Geneva, 1580.

the earlier known portion of the newly imported learning. The *Physics*, the *History of Animals*, the *De Plantis*, the treatise on *Meteorology*, were among the number; the translation by Michael Scot of the *De Anima* must, when considered in connexion with the Arabic interpretation of the theory of the treatise, be added to the list; a complete translation of the *Ethics* alone representing the other class of Aristotle's writings. The translations from the Greek, on the other hand, included the earliest version of the *De Anima*, the *Metaphysics*, the *Magna Moralia*, the first four books of the *Ethics*, the *Politics*, the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*; among the scientific treatises were the *Parva Naturalia* and some others of minor importance.

So soon however as the translations from the Greek became more generally obtainable, they rapidly displaced the preceding versions. Of this the reason is not difficult to perceive. If the versions from the Greek by James of Venice, John of Basingstoke, and William of Moerbeke, were painful from their extreme literalness¹, those from the Arabic by Hermann the German, Adelard of Bath, and Michael Scot, lay under the still more serious defect of having been filtered through the medium of some half-dozen preceding versions. It is an ascertained fact that the Arabic translations were invariably made from Hebrew or Syriac manuscripts². Even Averroës, who was supposed by Jourdain to have translated Aristotle into Arabic directly from the Greek, has been shown by later investigators to have been entirely ignorant of the latter language³. The statement of Renan leaves us almost bewildered as we seek to realise the labyrinth which the thought of Aristotle was thus doomed to traverse:—'Quant à la barbarie du langage d'Averroës, peut-on s'en étonner quand on songe que les

Superiority of the versions from the Greek to those from the Arabic.

M. Renan's account of the latter.

¹ 'Où le mot latin couvre le mot grec, de même que les pièces de l'échiquier s'appliquent sur les cases.' Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques*, p. 19.

² Renan says, 'Au XII et au XIII siècle, les traductions se faisaient toujours directement de l'arabe. Ce ne fut que beaucoup plus tard qu'on se mit à traduire les philosophes

arabes sur des versions hébraïques.' *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, p. 203.

³ 'Ibn-Roschd n'a lu Aristote que dans les anciennes versions faites du syriaque par Honein Ibn-Ishak, Ishak ben-Honein, Iahjaben-Adi, etc.' *Ibid.* p. 50. See also Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, pp. 431, 432.

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éditions imprimées de ses œuvres n'offrent *qu'une traduction latine d'une traduction hébraïque d'une commentaire fait sur une traduction arabe d'une traduction syriaque d'un texte grec*; quand on songe surtout au génie si différent des langues sémitiques et de la langue grecque, et à l'extrême subtilité du texte qu'il s'agissait d'éclaircir¹?

Difficulties of the Church with respect to the new philosophy.

It was naturally to be anticipated that, with the strong prepossession in favour of Aristotle which his traditional authority as a logician had secured, and which, as Jourdain remarks, had created a disposition to regard his dicta as well nigh infallible in every field of knowledge², this new literature would at once command attention and form an important contribution to the speculative philosophy of the age. When we remember moreover that the Arabians in their commentaries, by the light of which, as we have already seen, this new learning was first studied, extolled or interpreted the Aristotelian decisions with but little regard to their antagonism to the Christian faith, we perceive that there was far greater probability that those decisions would be received and adopted under the impulse of a first enthusiasm rather than upon such reflexion as a more deliberate estimate might suggest. It must also be remembered that the traditional hostility to pagan learning inculcated by Gregory, Alcuin, and Lanfranc, pointed more at the licentiousness of the poets than at the dogmas of the philosophers. The bitter invectives of Tertullian against Greek philosophy would have seemed well nigh unintelligible to an age wherein that philosophy had almost passed from men's memories, or what remained of it had been received into the bosom of the Church; wherein Boethius passed for a Christian writer, and Plato taught sheltered under the authority of Augustine; while Seneca, if studied, simply enforced the rules of a virtuous life from a somewhat different standpoint; and Cicero, to use the expression of Niebuhr, was a *θεὸς ἄγνωστος* whose attributes were but

¹ *Averroës et Averroïsme*, p. 52.

² 'La réputation dont Aristote jouissait, comme logicien, donnait une telle extension à son autorité

qu'on le regardait comme un maître infallible en toute espèce de science.' *Recherches Critiques*, etc., p. 3.

dimly apprehended. Here however like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, had suddenly appeared an entire and symmetrical philosophy,—a system the cunningly contrived fabric of which permitted not the rejection of a part without danger to the stability of the whole; a theory of ethics, harmonious and admirably developed; a psychology, somewhat at variance with the schoolman's notions, but coherent and well defined; conjectural solutions in metaphysics, far less harmonious and intelligible, but full of attraction for the dialectician; theories of government for the statesman; treatises on nearly every class of natural phenomena for the investigator of physical science. It seemed equally perilous to admit and to repudiate stores of learning sanctioned by such authority but yet opening up to such dangerous speculation. The ecclesiastic and the scholar, we may well understand, were torn by contending emotions.

It is due to the intolerant sagacity of the Church of Rome to acknowledge that she soon detected the hostile element latent in the new philosophy. Very early in the century her denunciations were distinctly pronounced. In the year 1210, at a council convened at Paris, certain portions of the scientific treatises were condemned¹, and it was forbidden either to teach or to read the commentaries by which they were accompanied. M. Jourdain has shown that these were undoubtedly translations from the Arabic, and we may readily admit the hypothesis that their condemnation was the result rather of the pantheistic interpretations of the commentators than of the opinions of Aristotle himself². It is evident indeed that however much the Crusades may have been instrumental in bringing about that intercourse which led to the introduction of the new learning, the feelings they evoked necessarily disposed the Church to regard all Saracenic thought as hostile to the faith. Nor

Early hostility of Rome.

¹ Launoy (see *De Varia Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium Fortuna*, c. 1) relying on the authority of Rigordus has asserted that it was the Metaphysics that were condemned on this occasion; but Jourdain has adduced the sentence itself, wherein it

is expressly stated that they are *libri Aristotelis de naturali philosophia. Recherches Critiques*, p. 190.

² See chapter entitled *Commentaires sur Aristote* in *La Philosophie de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, by Charles Jourdain, i 83.

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The New
Aristotle
anathema-
tized.

was the patronage of the emperor, Frederic II likely to win much favour for such literature¹. He was himself accused, at a somewhat later period, of having written a book (now known never to have existed) which coordinated, as developements of a like spirit of imposture, the Mosaic, the Christian, and the Mahometan religions²; the difficulty with which he had been induced by the Pope to join in the Crusades, was notorious; and his sympathies with his Moorish subjects, who were numerous in the two Sicilies, equally so. Accordingly, as the new Aristotle made its way, the anathemas of the Church were heard following upon the study. In 1215, the Pope's legate repeated the prohibition of 1210. In 1231, a decree of Gregory IX forbade the use of the treatises on natural science, in the same university, until they should have been inspected by authority and 'purged from all suspicion of error³.' We learn from Roger Bacon that this prohibition expressly pointed at the commentaries of Avicenna and Averröes. On the same authority we gather that it was about this year that the most considerable influx of the new learning took place⁴.

¹ It was probably about the year 1220 that Frederic II sent to the university of Bologna translations, partly from the Greek, partly from the Arabic of Aristotle and 'other philosophers,' chiefly Ptolemy; *quas adhuc*, says the royal letter accompanying them, *originalium dictionum ordinatione consertas, et vetustarum vestium, quas eis ætas prima concesserat, operimento contactas, vel hominis defectus aut operis ad Latine lingue notitiam non perduxit. Volentes igitur, ut veneranda tantorum operum simul auctoritas apud nos, non absque commodis communibus, vocis organo traduce innotescat; ea per viros lectos, et in utriusque lingue prolatione peritos, instanter jussimus verborum fideliter servata virginitate, transferri*. Conringius, *De Antiq. Acad.* p. 101. Prantl attaches considerable importance to the Emperor's patronage:—'Hingegen ist wohl anzunehmen, dass seit der Anregung, welche Friedrich gegeben hatte, fortwährend an verschiedenen Orten

durch Manehe, von welehen wir nicht einmal die Namen kennen, neue Uebertragungen zu Tage gefördert werden konnten.' *Geschichte der Logik*, III 5. Among the translators employed by the emperor was the celebrated Michael Scott, who was also patronised by Honorius III.

² The *De Tribus Impostoribus*. 'A book was said to have existed at this time, with this title; it has never been discovered. I have seen a vulgar production with the title, of modern manufacture.' Milman, *Hist. Latin Christianity*, Bk. x c. 4.

³ 'Ad hæc jubemus ut magistri artium unam lectionem de Prisciano, et unam post aliam ordinarie semper legant, et libris illis naturalibus, qui in concilio provinciale ex certa scientia prohibiti fuere Parisius, non utantur, quousque examinati fuerint, et ab omni errorum suspicione purgati.' Launoy, *De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna*, c. 1.

⁴ *Opus Tertium*, c. 9, ed. Brewer, p. 28.

The question
as it offered
itself to the
Schoolmen.

Here then was a grave question pressing upon the leaders of the age. Was this massive and imposing philosophy to be regarded as some hostile fortification menacing the rights and authority of the Church, or might it not be possible for the Church herself to garrison it, and hold it as some strong outwork against the foe? Was the new Aristotle to be repudiated and denounced, even as Gregory had denounced all pagan literature, or was it, if possible, to be accepted and reconciled with Christian dogma? The degenerate Benedictines, it need hardly be said, evaded the difficulty and the responsibility of so momentous a decision; upon the schoolmen, who, as representatives of the progressive spirit of the thirteenth century, were to be found among the mendicant orders alone, it devolved to accept the nobler alternative and to essay a perilous and arduous task. A concurrence of events appears to have largely conduced to their temporary success. Apart from the reverence with which any writings that bore the name of Aristotle were then regarded, it is evident that those influences to which we have already referred were extending the arena of mental activity. The dread anticipations of preceding centuries no longer hung gloomily over thought and action; and the impulse generated by the Crusades and the mendicant orders was fully shared by the new and fast increasing centres of education and learning. The scanty literature of the age failed altogether to satisfy the growing appetite. The controversy respecting Universals could not last for ever: even the Benedictines were rousing themselves to fresh literary efforts; and the rise of the Rhyming Chroniclers in England and that of the Troubadours in France are indications of a very general craving. It was precisely when this craving was at its height that the new Aristotle appeared, and, considered in the light of the facts which we have brought together in our preceding chapter, it must be admitted that the sacrifice which the Church at first sought to impose upon the orthodox, in demanding the exclusion of such important accessions to philosophy, was one of no ordinary magnitude.

The new literature appealed to the wants of the age.

And here, before we pass on to note the effects produced

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A Norman
and an Eng-
lish Library
of the Twelfth
Century.

by these accessions, and the new literature to which they gave birth, it will be well to turn aside for a moment for the purpose of forming a final estimate of the sources from whence, up to about the year 1230, men like Anselm, John of Salisbury, and Giraldus, derived their learning and their inspiration. The two catalogues here annexed will serve to furnish a sufficiently just conception of those stores. They are both probably of the twelfth century,—certainly not later than the early part of the thirteenth,—the one representing the library of the Norman monastery at Bec, the other, that of Christchurch, Canterbury¹; the former a purely Benedictine foundation; the latter, at the period to which the catalogue belongs, a more catholic society, where canons mingled with monks, and having somewhat the relation of a mother institution to other foundations throughout the country²;—a relation which probably accounts for the numerous copies of the ordinary text books in its possession.

Comparison
of their con-
tents.

It will be seen that the literary resources of these two great centres of monasticism were but little beyond what our preceding investigations would lead us to anticipate. The meagre literature of the traditional *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* is of course there. Martianus Capella, represented by a single copy at Bec, has a quadruple existence and a commentator at Canterbury; but Cassiodorus and Isidorus at the Norman foundation, and wanting to the other, may be

¹ The first of these catalogues is taken from Ravaisson, *Rapport sur les Bibliothèques de l'Ouest*. The editor considers that the manuscript may possibly be of the thirteenth century (p. 162 and Append. p. 375); but M. Rémusat observes that the books given by the Bishop of Bayeux could not have been given later than 1164, the year of his death. *Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry* (Paris 1853), p. 457. The second catalogue, now printed for the first time, is from MS. li. 3. 12, in the University Library, Cambridge. Mr. Bradshaw, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of it, is of opinion that the manuscript belongs to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the

thirteenth century.

² 'The cathedral church of Canterbury was not a monastery in the same sense as that of St. Augustine's in the same city; the latter was founded for monastic purposes; the other was the mother church of the whole kingdom, its monastic character being almost accidental. Hence, even in the strictest days of regular discipline, it had contained many clergy who were not monks, and many monks who were so only in name. As at the first the essential character of its inmates was priestly, not monastic, so as time went on, their successors included both monks and priests.' Prof. Stubbs, *Pref. to Epist. Cantuarienses*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY AT BEC IN NORMANDY, (probably of the twelfth century.)

- Orosius. Josephi Historia.
 Eusebius. Hegesippus.
 Trogus Pompeius.
 S. Joannes Chrysostomus. Cassiodorus.
 VII. Lib. Hist. Normannorum.
 Gregorius Turonensis.
 Rabani aliquot libri.
 Aleuinus de Trinitate.
 Palladius de Agricultura.
 Suetonius totus.
 Quintilianus de Causis.
 Cicero de Officiis et Philippica.
 Seneca de Causis, de Clementia.
 ——— de Benef., de Remed. Fort.
 ——— de Natur. Quæstionibus.
 Martianus Capella. Priscianus. Rhetorica.
 Dialectica.
 Comentum in Porphyrium. Arithmetica.
 Geometria.
 Gilberti (? Gerberti) Geometria.
 Boetii Propositiones.
- Macrobius II. Plato III. Ovidius (ex-
 ceptis Fastis).
 Isidorus. Beda.
 Anselmus. S. Augustinus.
 Ptolemeus super Astrolabium.
 Tractatus de Horologia.
 Eratosthenes de Componendo Viatico
 Horologio.
 Ritmarchia.
 Astronomia Prestig. Thebidis secundum
 Ptolenæum et Hermetum per Adelar-
 dum Bathoniensem ex Arabico trans-
 latus.
 Tractatus de Zodiaco. (Arabice).
- Livres donnés au Bec par Philippe,
 évêque de Bayeux.*
 S. Hilarius. Gesta Cæsaris.
 Pomponius Mela de Cosmographia.
 Platonis Timeus.
- De Partitione Oratoria.
 Digesta Vetera. Decretum Gratiani.
 Anneus Florus. Sallustius.
 Instituta Justiniani Minora.
 Inforniciata et Liber Authenticorum.
 Codex. Tres partes et digestum novum.
 Cicero de Legibus, pro Ligario.
 ——— de Paradoxis, pro Deiotaro.
 ——— de Natura Deorum, de Divinatione.
 ——— pro Marcello, de Fato, Tusculanæ.
 ——— ad Hortensium, de Fine Boni et
 Mali.
 ——— Academicæ.
 De Causis (corruptæ eloquentiæ?)
 Plinius junior.
 Boetius de Trinitate et Commentum.
 Gisleberti super eundem.
 Vegetius de Re Militari.
 Quintiliani Institutio Oratoris.
 Plinius Historia Naturalis.

(probably of the *twelfth* century.)

Priscianus magnus <i>Lanfranci</i> l.	Glose super Marcianum Capellam.	Theodolus eum multis aliis.
Priscianus magnus <i>Wilhelmi Morsel</i> .	Glose super Platonem.	Avianus eum multis aliis.
Priscianus magnus <i>Theodorici</i> .	Glose super Mareialem.	Glose super Theodolum.
Priscianus magnus <i>Warini</i> .	Glose super Macrobiūm.	Ovidius epistolarum, <i>Samsonis</i> .
Priscianus magnus imperfectus.	Glose super Macrobiūm.	Ovidius tristium, non totus.
Prisciani constructionum <i>Briton</i> '.	—	Liber in evidenciam auctorum.
Prisciani constructionum <i>Ilgerii</i> .	Boetius de consolatione (7 copies).	Hyginus (<i>written</i> Igenus) de astrologia.
Prisciani constructionum.	Boetius Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus.	Tractus de numero et aliis.
Prisciani constructionum <i>Buredent</i> .	Terentius.	Tractatus de astronomia et aliis.
Prisciani constructionum imperfectus.	Terentius Rogeri Constan.	Liber Hermanni de astralabio faciendo.
Prisciani de xii versibus Virgilii.	Terentius. Glose Terentii imperfecte.	Marcus de astrologia.
Item alius.	Terentius.	Hyginus (<i>written</i> Eginus).
Summa super Priscianum magnum.	Terentius imperfectus.	Imago mundi et regule de computo.
Item alia.	Salustius (8 copies).	Kalendarium Haymonis.
Summa super Prisc' const'.	—	Tabule astronomice.
Glose super Prisc' const'.	Tullius de senectute.	Epistole Senecæ ad paulum.
Item Glose super Prisc' const'.	Tullius de amicitia.	Liber Capitulorum.
Item Glose super Prisc' const'.	Tullius de amicitia.	Liber de situ eluniacensi.
Glose super orthographiam.	—	Lucidarius.
Regule de mediis sillabis.	Arator (4 copies).	Amalarius non totus.
Differentie parium.	—	Wimundus de corpore et sanguine Domini.
Remigius super primam partem Donati.	Virgilius totus. Bueolica. Glose in eneida.	Forma vite honeste.
Item super secundam.	Virgilius totus. Bueolica. Glose super eneida.	Recapitulatio de Paradiso.
Remigius super Donatum, <i>Sams</i> '.	Virgilius totus. Bueolica.	Vita Saneti Wilfridi. Alia versifice.
Donatus greece.	—	Tobia et Josue versifice.
Remigius super primam partem Donati.	Oratius totus (6 copies).	Expositio misse secundum Ysidorum.
Donatus Anglice.	—	Libellus Rob. Calvelli.
		Sentencie de diversis auctoribus.
		Liber de virtutibus et vitiis.

- Alius.
 Beda de schematibus et arte metrica. —
 Rethorica (8 copies).
 Glose super Reth.
 Musica Boecii.
 Musica Boecii.
 Musica Osborni.
 Micrologus Guidonis.
 Musica Guidonis.
 Musica Hogerii.
 Expositio in Musicam Guidonis. —
 Arismetica.
 Arismetica bona.
 Arismetica.
 Arismetica Brit'.
 Arismetica.
 Arismetica glosata.
 Glose super Arismetam.
 Macrobius (10 copies). —
 Marcianus Capella.
 Plato et Marcianus Capella.
 Marcianus Capella. Plato.
 Marcianus Capella, *Samsonis*.
 Plato.
 Item alius.
 Glose super Platonem et Plato.
 Poetria. Sermones Epistole Oratii.
 Ode. —
 Lucanus (5 copies). —
 Stacius magnus (4 copies).
 Stacius parvus (2 copies). —
 Juvenalis. Glose super Juvenalem.
 Juvenalis.
 Juvenalis.
 Juvenalis imperfectus. —
 Persius (9 copies).
 Prudencius et Prosper.
 Prosper et Juvenus.
 Juvenus in Romana scriptura.
 Sedulius.
 Sedulius.
 Prudencius.
 Prosper.
 Prosper.
 Cato. Prosper. Sedulius. Prudentius.
 Arator in uno vol.
 iiii libri Ovidii magni.
 Ovid in Ibin, de nuce, de somno, de pulce
 in uno vol.
 Glose super Ovidium magnum. Plenare
 cum multis aliis.
 Cato glosatus.
 Liber Ricardi Pratellensis abbatis.
 Versus Theodorici.
 Tractatus de creatione et anima.
 Liber de etymologia.
 Liber ex dictis plurimorum.
 Lamentaciones Jeremie glosate.
 Topica Aristotelis.
 Porphyrius cum aliis.
 Porphyrius.
 Elenchis.
 Porphyrius, Brit'.
 Comenta super Topica Tullii.
 Glose super Porphyrium et Topica Tullii.
 Comentum super Topica Tullii.
 Comentum Boecii super Predicamenta Ari-
 stotelis.
 Comentum Boecii super Porphyrium.
 Glose super Porphyrium (3 copies).
 Sentencie super decem predicamenta Ari-
 stotelis.
 Glose super Periermenias (2 copies).
 Pars Glosarum super Periermenias
 Liber de Sillogismis.
 Tractatus logice.
 Glose in librum divisionum.
 Enteticus Johannis Carnotensis.
 Seneca de declamationibus.
 Institutiones Justiniani.
 Liber de lege vetus.
 Liber de situ Jerusalem.

¹ The names in Italics appear to be those of the original owners of the volumes, who probably gave them to Christchurch.

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held to restore the balance. The educational activity of Christchurch is indicated by its numerous Priscians; five copies, that is to say, of the entire work, and, for those who might despair of traversing, like Odo of Cluny, 'so vast an ocean¹', the same number of the portion on Constructions. Plato, whose name appears in both lists, means nothing more than the translation of part of the *Timæus* by Chalcidius. Boethius the philosopher and Boethius the theologian stand side by side as one personality. Bec, rejoicing in the munificence of Philip, the bishop of Bayeux, exhibits a noteworthy array of the writings of Cicero, for which Canterbury can shew only the *De Senectute* and the *De Amicitia*, but boasts, on the other hand, eight Sallusts, three Virgils, four Juvenals, and nine Persiuses,—names wanting in the Norman library. Macrobius, endeared to the Middle Ages by his gossip and the fragmentary character of his lore, is possessed by both foundations, and at Christchurch is more numerous than any other author. The absence from the English catalogue of any of Anselm's writings is remarkable, more especially when taken in conjunction with the presence of his disciple and editor, Richard, abbat of Preaux². No Greek author appears in the library at Bec, a fact from which M. Rémusat is probably justified in inferring that neither Lanfranc nor Anselm possessed any acquaintance with the language³; nor will the presence of a Greek grammar (*Donatus grece*) at Canterbury tend much to modify such a conclusion. The *Nova Logica*⁴ appears in the English catalogue in the *Topica* and the *Elenchi Sophistici*, but is wanting in the Norman. The Institutes of Justinian appear in both, but the single *Codex* and *Infortiatum* shew that the study of the civil law is still

¹ 'Immensum Prisciani transiit transnatando pelagus.' *Bibl. Cluny*, col. 18.

² Richardus, abbat of Pratellum in the Provincia Rotomagensis, died 1131. He edited Anselm's commentaries, and himself wrote allegorical interpretations of the prophets, a commentary on Deuteronomy, etc. See *Gallia Christiana*, xi 837, 838.

³ 'On dit bien que Lanfranc savait le grec, mais on n'en donne aucune

preuve; et quoique, alors, on passât pour savoir cette langue, quand on en lisait les caractères, nous ne voyons nulle raison de faire d'Anselme même le plus faible des hellénistes, parce qu'il croit quelque part que *latitude* se dit en grec *πλάτος*, et donne le mot altéré d'*anagogen* comme synonyme de *contemplatio*.' *Anselme de Cantorbéry*, p. 457.

⁴ See p. 29, and p. 72 note 3.

in its infancy at Bec, and their entire absence at Canterbury suggests that it had not yet found favour in this country. The absence again of the *Decretum* of Gratian would lead us to surmise that the English catalogues could not have been drawn up many years after the half century.

On the whole, it would be difficult to select fairer or more favorable specimens of the literary resources of western Europe in the interval from between the earlier part of the eleventh and the thirteenth century; and as we glance through the scanty array we begin to realise more clearly the position of the scholar at that period, and to understand how little he would be disposed to reject, how eagerly he would welcome, whatever offered itself as an accession to these slender stores, especially when such accessions bore the name of the highest authority that could be found in pagan literature. The catalogue of Christchurch, again, is especially worthy of note, as offering a striking contrast to the extensive catalogue consisting of no less than 698 volumes,—each volume comprising on the average some ten or twelve distinct works,—which we find representing the library of the same foundation little more than a hundred years later¹; that is to say, after the introduction of the new learning which we have already described, and the consequent awakening of that literary activity which we must now proceed to trace.

The increasing desire for what gratified either the imagination or the understanding, and the scantiness of the existing resources, were not the only circumstances that favoured the introduction of the new learning. It is round the university of Paris that the earlier history both of the mendicant orders and of the new Aristotle mainly revolves, and it was but two years prior to the prohibition of Gregory IX that events, which none could have foreseen, afforded the Dominicans a long coveted opportunity. At Paris, probably, was first exhibited that sudden and surprising change in their demeanour to which we shall have occasion hereafter more

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Catalogue of the Monastery of Christchurch a century later.

Activity of the Mendicants favourable to the new learning.

¹ See Edwards' *Memoirs of Libraries*, i 122—135, where the catalogue fills 113 closely printed pages. A few of the volumes of the older library

are to be recognised in this catalogue, but the greater portion have disappeared.

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fully to refer. The authorities of the university soon became conscious that the efforts of the Mendicants were being directed quite as much to the aggrandizement of their order as to the common welfare. The spirit which had led St. Paul to term himself the least of the apostles, had been imitated by the Franciscans in styling themselves the Friars Minor, but their conduct already began to belie the humility of their professions, and the Dominicans were evidently at least equally intent upon the increase of their own authority and power. A special letter on their behalf was addressed to the university by pope Gregory in the year 1227, but with small avail. It became evident that a conflict was impending; when, in the following year, an unexpected turn of events secured to the Dominicans an easy triumph.

The Domini-
cans at
Paris.

Conflict
between the
University
and the
Citizens in
1228.

The university, like all the other universities of that age, was frequently in collision with the citizens and the civic authorities. Foreigners, young, arrogant, wanton, and imperious, harmonised ill with the native element, often cherishing sullen and unreasoning antipathies. It so happened that a body of the students in a drunken outbreak of more than ordinary licence, had fallen upon some of the townsmen and severely maltreated them. The outcry raised against the whole university was loud and fierce. Queen Blanche, herself, appears to have shared the general feeling of resentment. The city guard were authorised to take vengeance on the offenders, and executed their instructions with a barbarity which we may well believe far exceeded the royal intentions. The real offenders had been of the Picard nation, but the feeling roused was far too fierce to discriminate in its revenge. The students had assembled outside the city walls for their sports when they were suddenly attacked and compelled to take refuge in the city. They were pursued through the streets, the citizens joining in the chase; some were dragged from their places of concealment, among them two clerks of high dignity who were stripped and murdered; others were left for dead. The feelings of the whole university were roused to the highest pitch. A deputation waited on the Queen demanding im-

mediate satisfaction. They were met by a haughty refusal, and professors and scholars alike, stung by the injustice, resolved to quit the city. A simultaneous migration took place to Rheims, Angers, and Orleans; all lectures were suspended; the assemblies were no longer convened¹. It was at this juncture that Henry III issued a general invitation to the students to come and settle where they pleased in England. The invitation was responded to by large numbers. Many settled at Oxford, many at Cambridge; and from the narrative of these refugees Matthew Paris learned the details which we have briefly reproduced².

Retirement
of the Uni-
versity from
Paris.

The Dominicans saw their opportunity and hastened to improve it. The secession of the students was resented both by the Crown and the ecclesiastical authorities: the former indignant that the newly constituted bodies at Orleans and Angers were daring to confer degrees without the royal sanction; the archbishop aggrieved that the university should have withdrawn from the sphere of his jurisdiction. The Dominicans were warmly welcomed and were empowered to open two schools of theology where, under the leadership of Jordanus, the general of their order, a man eminent alike for his virtues and his talents, their numbers rapidly increased. Such were the circumstances under which Albertus Magnus first began to teach in the neighbourhood of the street that still bears his name³. He had already taught with success at Cologne, where Thomas Aquinas had been among his hearers, and his fame, as an expounder of Aristotle, soon drew around him numerous audiences at Paris. It is only when we consider in their true connexion the events that combined at this crisis,—the general craving for fresh learning, the simultaneous introduction of the new philosophy

The opportunity improved
by the Dominicans.

Albertus
Magnus,
b. 1193.
d. 1280.

¹ 'Scholares dispersi vagabantur, nulla amplius comitia, nullus Magistratus in Academiæ solis.' Bulæus, III 138.

² *Ibid.* III 132.

³ 'Hocce tempore Albertus Magnus summa celebritate docebat in platea quæ hodie etiam M. Alberti nomen præfert (still known as the *Rue de Maître-Albert*) missus quippe Lutetiam, anno 1236, Doctoratus apicem

consecutus fuit, et per triennium publicè docuit.' Bulæus, III 162. Considerable difference of statement is to be found respecting the date of the arrival of Albertus in Paris. Milman and Hauréau placing it as early as 1228; Ueberweg and the author of the life of Albertus in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, as late as 1245.

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and the installation of the Dominicans in the chairs of the university of Paris,—that we are able to some extent to realise the force of the current on which the thought of the Stagirite was irresistibly borne within those precincts where it was destined so long and so imperiously to reign.

The Dominican Interpretation of Aristotle.

We have now arrived at the chief mental phenomenon of this century,—the Dominican interpretation of Aristotle. Of the Franciscan interpretation the earlier history is comparatively unimportant, or serves only to illustrate the antipathies of the Church; it was condemned by authority, and forsaken by the Franciscans of a later period. The traditional method must be sought in the writings of Albertus and Aquinas. While Albertus has been stigmatized as the 'ape of Aristotle,' Aquinas has been reproached with equally servile deference to the authority of Albertus. To each indictment a large exception may be taken. It would certainly be more accurate to describe the former as the 'ape of Avicenna,' and the latter, in that he followed Averröes rather than Avicenna, widely departed from the example of his master¹. Their method too was different; while Albertus composed paraphrases of Aristotle, Aquinas was the first who, in imitation of the great commentary of Averröes, surrounded the text with an elaborate exegesis. It would perhaps be most correct to regard Albertus as the laborious collector of materials from whence succeeding schoolmen with distincter conceptions of science and method were afterwards to draw²,—Aquinas, as the inaugurator of that system of scientific theology which formed the boast of the Dominican school.

Thomas Aquinas,
b. 1224.
d. 1274.

Different methods of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.

The philosophy of Thomas Aquinas can only be satisfactorily discussed by considering it both in relation to the

¹ 'Avicenna est le grand maître d'Albert. La forme de son commentaire est celle d'Avicenne; Avicenne est cité à chaque page de ses écrits, tandis qu'Averröes ne l'est qu'assez rarement, et parfois pour essayer le reproche d'avoir osé contredire son maître... Albert doit tout à Avicenne; saint Thomas, comme philosophe, doit presque tout à Averröes.' Renan,

Averröes et l'Averroïsme, pp. 231, 236.

² Prantl, whose estimate of both Albertus and Aquinas inclines to severity, sternly refuses to allow the former any other merit than that of an indefatigable compiler. 'Er ist nur Compiler, und Alles, durchweg Alles, was er schreibt, ist fremdes gut.' *Geschichte der Logik*, iii 189.

genuine thought of Aristotle and to the multiform material, chiefly Arabian, which offered itself to the consideration of philosophers in that age. But first it may be worth while to notice that more general point of view from whence, in contradistinction to thinkers like Gregory and Alcuin, he professed to discern the grounds of reconciliation between Christian and pagan thought. It has been the fashion in modern times, a fashion first set by Erasmus, to illustrate the labours of the schoolmen by bringing forward some of the most profitless and frivolous details into which, owing to their peculiar exhaustive method of investigation, they were often led¹; and, having selected these as fair specimens of the questions whereon the scholastic ingenuity was expended, to dismiss, as unworthy of grave discussion, treatises occupied with such fruitless enquiries as those that concern the attributes and capacities of angelic natures. It was, undoubtedly, much to the disadvantage of the schoolmen, that forgeries like that of the Pseudo-Dionysius,—wherein no less than fifteen lengthy chapters are devoted to unfolding the functions, orders, and attributes of angels,—stood, to their apprehension, on the same level as the Gospels or the Apocalypse².

Spurious
literature of
the age.

The Pseudo-
Dionysius.

¹ Articles 2 and 3 of *Questio LII* of the *Secunda Secundæ* of the *Summa*, have been favorite illustrations:—
2. *Utrum angelus possit esse in pluribus locis simul.* 3. *Utrum plures angeli possint esse in eodem loco.*

² 'Ut docet Dionysius' is an oft recurring expression in Aquinas. For a lengthened period the book appears to have frequently supplanted the Bible as the basis of exposition in English churches. Grocyn, so late as the year 1498, selected the book as the subject of a series of lectures in St. Paul's Cathedral. Its genuineness had, however, been already called in question; and having commenced his lectures by strongly denouncing such scepticism, the lecturer found himself compelled, before the completion of his course, to inform his audience that internal evidence too conclusive to be resisted had brought home to his own mind the fact that the book was undoubtedly spurious. See Wood-Bliss, i 31. Seebohm's

Oxford Reformers, p. 61. "The 'Celestial Hierarchy' would command at once, and did command, universal respect for its authority, and universal reverence for its doctrines. The 'Hierarchy' threw upward the Primal Deity, the whole Trinity, into the most awful, unapproachable, incomprehensible distance, but it filled the widening intermediate space with a regular succession of superhuman Agents, an ascending and descending scale of Beings, each with his rank, title, office, function, superior or subordinate. The vague incidental notices in the Old and New Testament and in St. Paul (and to St. Paul doubtless Jewish tradition lent the names), were wrought out into regular orders, who have each, as it were, a feudal relation, pay their feudal service (here it struck in with the Western as well as with the Hierarchical mind) to the Supreme, and have feudal superiority or subjection to each other. This theory.

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The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

In this however they only shared the delusions of their age; nor was Dionysius the only forgery that commanded universal deference. The most influential contribution made by Grosseteste to literature, was the translation which he undertook, with the assistance of John Basing, of the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.' Basing, who belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St. Alban's, had discovered the manuscript at Athens, and returned with it to England in the belief that he was bringing an inestimable treasure. No treatise occupied a larger share of the attention of the age, but its spuriousness has long been recognised¹. In estimating, accordingly, the labours of the schoolmen, it is only just to bear also in mind the nature of the subject matter which they were sometimes called to interpret and elucidate.

Combination in Aquinas of Aristotelian and Christian philosophy.

True wisdom, said Aquinas, echoing the thought of Aristotle, is to know the end or τέλος of things, and to make one's action conducive to the accomplishment of that end. The different branches of knowledge may be regarded as ranking in dignity according as they are concerned with ends of greater or less importance; but all these ends merge in a common centre, all truth is harmonious. The true philosopher is he, who rising above these individual ends, seeks out the final end, the attainment of ultimate truth, the perfection of the understanding. There are two paths whereby he is enabled to attain to this absolute truth,—reason and faith². Some truths, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, and that of the Incarnation, altogether transcend the powers of

ere long became almost the authorised theology; it became, as far as such transcendent subjects could be familiarised to the mind, the vulgar belief." Milman's *Hist. Latin Christianity*, Bk. xiv c. 2.

¹ The work has recently received a full investigation at the hands of Mr. Sinker of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Norrisian Prize Essay of 1868. Mr. Sinker enumerates no less than thirty-one existing MSS. of Grosseteste's version. He shews that the original was known to Origen and was the work probably of a

Jewish Christian who lived in the earlier half of the second century. 'How great a sensation was produced by the publication of this worthless book is shown by the fact of its being mentioned by every chronicler ... It is lamentable to think that these two wretched forgeries (the 'Testaments' and the Pseudo-Dionysius) were the Greek books that mainly occupied Grosseteste's attention.' Luard's Preface to *Grosseteste Epistolæ*.

² *Contra Gentiles*, cc. 3 and 4.

the human understanding. These faith only can arrive at. There are others which reason seems enabled to grasp unaided by revelation, such as the existence and unity of God¹. This distinction, however, constitutes no real difference in the truths themselves, for it exists only in relation to the human intellect; with God, all truth is one and simple. That reason was never intended to be our sole guide to belief, Aquinas pointed out, was evident; its insufficiency for that purpose is manifest. In the first place, all natural knowledge takes its rise in experience, or the evidence of the senses; but how can sensible objects teach us to comprehend the Creator? how can the effect explain the cause? Again, this knowledge differs from itself in degree and in kind: the philosopher is familiar with ideas to which the ploughman is a stranger; the knowledge of the angel transcends by a yet greater interval that of the philosopher. And again, even in the province that the natural reason calls its own,—the visible, the sensible,—how incomplete, obscure, and confused is the knowledge it can acquire! How then can we be surprised that it should fail to attain to the mysteries of the divine, the invisible nature? If, moreover, reason were the only path whereby mankind could attain to truth, how evil would be our lot! How many, by sheer indisposition for the task of investigation, would fail to pursue it! The aversion to serious intellectual effort, the pressing cares of daily life, native indolence and social claims, call away the many to more obvious pursuits. How uncertain, too, are the results to which the natural reason can attain, how often are they contested and overthrown²! Properly regarded, therefore, natural and revealed truth will appear as complementary to each other. The divine knowledge in the mind of Christ, said Aquinas, does not extinguish that in the human soul,

¹ *Summa* I Quæst. II art. 3.

² 'Ratio enim humana in rebus divinis est multum deficiens. Cujus signum est quia philosophia de rebus humanis est multum deficiens. Cujus signum est, quia philosophi de rebus humanis naturali investigatione perscrutantes in multis erraverunt, et

sibi ipsis contraria senserunt. Ut ergo esset indubitata et certa cognitio apud homines de Deo oportuit quod divina eis per modum fidei traderentur, quasi a Deo dicta, qui mentiri non possit.' *Secunda Secundæ*, Quæst. II art. 4.

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Influence of
Aquinas in
modern
theology.

but invests it with a new brilliancy¹. The natural reason cannot prove the truth of divine knowledge, but may be worthily employed in illustrating and defending it².

Such, in general terms, is the theory which underlies the teaching of Aquinas. The thought may fail to strike us as original or novel, but that it should thus fail, is perhaps the strongest evidence how the influence of the Angelic Doctor has permeated our whole theology; and it can scarcely be denied that it presents a sober and dignified estimate of the ground whereon rational belief may take its stand. It long inspired the defenders of the faith. It has been echoed in every variety of tone by those whose contempt for the schoolmen has only been equalled by their ignorance of the scholastic literature. It was, after Albertus, the first serious and systematic effort to construct a general formula which should anticipate and meet each and every objection which scepticism, in the garb of the philosopher, might urge against the Christian faith.

The true test of every such general formula must however be sought in its specific application; and it is when the transition has been made from the broad platform of comprehensive principles to the investigation of individual cases, that we are best enabled to gauge the merit of the dominant conception. On the other hand, it is only just to remember that errors of method may bring discredit upon the soundest hypothesis. But from whichever point of view we may form

¹ *Summa*, 111 Quæst. ix art. 1.

² There is a marked resemblance to Aquinas in the theory developed by Dryden in the first forty lines of the *Religio Laici*. The following coincidence of thought would suggest that the poet must have derived the idea either directly or indirectly from the schoolman:—*'Sensibilia autem ad hoc ducere intellectum nostrum non possunt, ut in eis divina substantia videatur quid sit, eum sint effectus causæ virtutem non sequentes.'* *Contra Gentes*, 1 c. 3. 'How can the less the greater comprehend? | Or finite reason reach infinity? | For what could fathom God were more than He!'

Compare also *Secunda Secundæ*, Quæst. 11 art. 4. Dryden, as Johnson has remarked, was far superior in learning to Pope, and though he entered Trinity during the Puritan ascendancy, he shared in those scholastic influences which strongly affected our Anglican theology in the seventeenth century. Few of Macaulay's criticisms are more unjust than that wherein he affirms of the poet 'that his knowledge both of the Church which he quitted and of the Church which he entered were of the most superficial kind.' *Hist. England*, 11² 197.

Difficulty of
his position
in relation to
the thought
of his age.

our estimate of the manner in which Aquinas developed his main theory, it must be admitted that his treatment of the Aristotelian philosophy can scarcely be accepted as a satisfactory solution of a great difficulty. To reconcile, indeed, is ever a harder task than simply to proscribe, and it is but just to remember that it was the fate of Aquinas to encounter in their first impetuous influx, a tide of theories, dogmas, and interpretations, which might well have filled with despair a less masculine and sinewy intellect. There is much in the conflict which his age beheld between Oriental and Grecian habits of thought and the widely different tendencies of the West, that very forcibly recalls the mental phenomena of the fourth and fifth centuries. The mere geography of the intellectual activity of these times is suggestive of the meeting of strongly opposed currents, a glare of differently coloured lights, which seem in some instances to have neutralized each other, in others merely to have stood out in strange and inharmonious juxtaposition. The thinkers who at the commencement of the century most strongly influenced Europe, were of Semitic race and pagan faith; while those who rose within the Church were of widely separated lands; Albertus was a native of Swabia; Aquinas studied at Naples, his family was Italian and distinguished in the service of the house of Hohenstoffer; William of Moerbeke, the translator of Aristotle, died archbishop of Corinth; Duns Scotus was probably a Northumbrian; Bonaventura was a Tuscan; Alexander Hales, an Englishman who taught at Paris. Amid an almost chaotic aggregation of past and contemporary thought the great schoolman took his stand, and strove to evoke order out of confusion, harmony out of discord. The dogmas of Rome were the Procrustean measure to which each theory had to be stretched or to be reduced; a task sufficiently arduous in the case of Aristotle, in that of Averröes absolutely impossible. The strongly Platonic cast of thought in the writings of Augustine added another element of difficulty, and the influence of Moses Maimonides¹, from whose *Dux Perplexorum* Aquinas

Varied character of the intellectual activity of this period.

¹ On the influence of this writer upon Scholasticism see *Religionsphilosophie*, von Dr. A. Schmiedl, Wien, 1869. How largely

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(as recent investigation has shewn) so largely drew, contributed still further to the complication. If we add to these elements his frequent but capricious employment of the Byzantine logic, which afterwards produced such important results in the hands of Scotus and Occam, the Neo-Platonic tendencies of the widely circulated *De Causis*¹, we must admit that the task essayed by Numenius or Clemens was one of comparative simplicity. We marvel how the great schoolman could have ever ventured to essay the passage of so dark a current, wherein, as round the hero of old,

κυκώμενον ἴστατο κύμα,
ὥθει δ' ἐν σάκει πίπτων ῥόος· οὐδὲ πόδες σιν
εἶχε στηριχθῆναι.

Aquinas
disclaims
Averröes in
order to save
Aristotle.

The course to which Aquinas found himself ultimately impelled, may be briefly characterised as the sacrifice of Averröes to save Aristotle. As the interpretations of the Arabic commentators became more fully understood their incompatibility with the teaching of the Church grew evident, and in 1240 Guillaume d'Auvergne, the archbishop of Paris, denounced as heretical another series of propositions taken chiefly from the *De Causis*. The facts presented to our observation exhibit, accordingly, Aquinas as, on the one hand, following almost implicitly the method of Averröes and imbibing many of his tenets, on the other hand as strenuously opposing him whenever his teaching threatened to endanger the cause of orthodoxy². M. Renan remarks

Albertus Magnus drew from his writings may be seen in the treatise of M. Joël, Breslau, 1863.

¹ The *De Causis* was another popular forgery in these times; a translation from the Arabic of a treatise falsely ascribed to Aristotle. M. Jourdain (*Recherches Critiques*, p. 212) considers it to have been in scarcely less favour than the Pseudo-Dionysius. 'It contains,' says Neander, 'the principles of the Neo-Platonic monism, as the same was reduced to form and systematic coherence by Plotinus,—the doctrine of the Absolute as the super-existent, from which issues forth the whole developing process of being, pro-

ceeding by regular gradations, the idea of creation transformed into the doctrine of a process of evolution grounded in immanent necessity.' *Church Hist.* viii 206.

² It is not uninteresting to note in these times the first appearance of that singular theory, revived amid the metaphysical jugglery of the present century, which would explain all contradictions by suggesting as a solution that what is true in science may be false in theology, and *vice versa*. Roger Bacon (*Opus Tertium*, c. 23, 24) indignantly repudiates the sophism, and Mr. Lewes (*Hist. of Philosophy*, ii 83) has noticed his disclaimer with complacency. It is

however that in general he appears to have regarded his Arabian teacher rather as a pagan deserving compassion in his ignorance, than as a blasphemer to be execrated.

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The details of the system pursued by Aquinas obviously lie beyond the range of our enquiry, but in pursuance of our endeavour at elucidating the peculiar manner in which the philosophy of these times entered into their whole spirit of instruction, we propose to briefly point out how, on one important point, the method of the schoolmen failed equally to avert the censure of authority and the reproach of the philosopher.

Failure of his method.

The theory respecting the intellect which Aristotle sets forth, in the third book of the *De Anima*¹, is familiar to all students of psychology. He regards the intellectual faculty as existing under a twofold form,—the passive principle and the active principle. This theory has its basis in a presumed analogy; as, throughout nature, we are conscious, on the one hand, of matter, representing the potential existence of objects, and on the other of the causative principle, or form, which gives them an actual existence, so we are entitled to look for a like duality in the human intellect; and hence the Aristotelian division of the soul into two distinct principles:—the active intelligence, *ὡν ἐντελεχεία*, and the passive intelligence, *ὡν δυνάμει*. Of these the former is the superior, and to it we ascribe the attributes of imperishability and impassibility; this is the eternal principle which endures, while the merely passive principle is the subject of change, and, separated from the active principle, perishes. Such is the theory unfolded in the *De Anima*,—a theory scarcely in harmony, it is true, with other portions of the Peripatetic philosophy, being a reflex apparently of the *νοῦς* of Anaxagoras, but where recognised almost invariably interpreted as a decisive utterance on the part of Aristotle

Especially with reference to Psychology.

Theory of the *De Anima*.

however but fair to recognise that the conservative party were equally loud in their denunciations of such suggestions. 'Dicunt enim,' says Etienne Tempier, in his preamble to the articles selected for condemnation in 1277, 'ea esse nota et vera secun-

dum Philosophiam, sed non secundum fidem Catholicam, quasi sint duæ veritates contrariæ, et quasi contra veritatem Sacræ Scripturæ sit veritas in dictis Gentilium damnatorum.' Bulæus, III 433.

¹ *De Anima*, III c. 5.

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against the belief in the immortality of the soul¹. Such teaching, it is evident, could not fail to encounter the condemnation of the Church; but his own heterodoxy was almost lost sight of in the still less ambiguous theory maintained by his Arabian commentator. It was not impossible for the schoolmen to maintain, as later interpreters have done, that Aristotle did not really mean to deny the immortality of the soul, and that the inferences that appear warranted by the *De Anima* are contradicted by the tenour of passages in his other writings; but the corollary appended to the theory by Averrôes admitted of no dispute. The active principle, said this philosopher, if alone possessed of immortality must necessarily be anterior to the passive principle. But when we take the individual man we find the potential principle preceding the active, and it is consequently evident that the active principle, the imperishable and ever-existent, must not be sought for in the individual. The active principle is devoid of personality, is one and absolute. It was thus that Averrôes deduced the doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect, known in the time of Leibnitz as Monopsychism.

Extension
given to this
theory by the
Arabian
commentators.

How far this reasoning represents a legitimate deduction from Aristotle we are not here called upon to enquire, but it is well known that his Arabian commentators have frequently brought into undue prominence questions which he has but very briefly indicated, or essayed in a purely tentative manner. His immediate followers had certainly

¹ 'Il a bien dit que l'entendement était un principe divin dans l'homme, indestructible, éternel. Il a bien dit aussi que ce principe était en nous une véritable substance. Mais quelle substance? Nous l'avons vu; dans l'entendement lui-même, il y a une partie périssable, comme sont périssables l'imagination, la sensibilité, la nutrition: et cette partie, c'est la partie passive, celle qui est, en quelque sorte, la matière de l'intelligible. L'intelligence active, celle qui fait l'intelligible, survit éternellement au corps, qui seul doit périr. Mais dans cette vie nouvelle, il ne reste rien de

la personnalité humaine, de cette personnalité sans laquelle l'immortalité de l'âme n'est qu'un vain mot et un leurre.' Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Psychologie d'Aristote*, Preface, p. xxxix. 'L'opinion du philosophe à cet égard ne saurait être douteuse. L'intellect universel est incorruptible et séparable du corps; l'intellect individuel est périssable et finit avec le corps.' Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*, p. 153. See also Mr. Grote's Essay on the Psychology of Aristotle, appended to the third edition of Mr. Bain's *Senses and the Intellect*.

not deduced any such doctrine from his teaching; Alexander of Aphrodisias having been, it would seem, the first to bring the theory into notice. Themistius, who lived in the reign of Theodosius, informs us that it was a prolific source of controversy in his day; it arrested, again, the searching glance of St. Augustine; but Averröes was the first to give it that developement which constituted it the leading heresy of the thirteenth century. Such was the theory to the refutation of which, as contravening the doctrine of the resurrection and of the immortality of the soul, Aquinas devoted the full force of his intellect, and in his indignation at its author stigmatised him as *non tam Peripateticus quam Peripateticæ philosophiæ depravator*¹.

Other and not unimportant doctrines maintained by the Arabian commentators, sometimes in conformity with the teaching of Aristotle, though more frequently in excess of the earlier Peripateticism, encountered the censure of the Church²; but it was chiefly against the theory of the Unity of the Intellect that the scholastic artillery was directed, and in direct connexion therewith arose the fierce controversy of the next generation, respecting the *principium individuationis*. It has already been observed that at the commencement of the controversies to which the new Aristotle gave birth, other views than those of Albertus and Aquinas were espoused by the Franciscans—of comparatively small importance however in relation to the progress of philosophic opinion. Foremost among the leaders of this order was the Englishman, Alexander Hales, who taught at Paris with distinguished success. It is now known that the commentary on the Metaphysics once attributed to this writer is by a different hand, but in his *Summa Theologiæ* we have ample indications that he ventured to dangerous lengths under the guidance of Averröes³.

Views espoused by the Franciscans.

Alexander Hales. d. 1245.

¹ *De Unitate Intellectus*, p. 257.

² Among them Renan enumerates 'la matière première et indéterminée, la hiérarchie des premiers principes, le rôle intermédiaire de la première intelligence à la fois créé et créatrice, la négation de la providence, et surtout l'impossibilité de la création. Le

commentaire du viii^e livre de la Physique,' he observes, 'est presque tout entier consacré à réfuter celui d'Averröes.' *Averröes et l'Averroïsme*, p. 238.

³ 'On peut désigner comme les deux foyers de l'averroïsme, au xiii^e siècle, l'école franciscaine et surtout

CHAP. I.

Averroëtic
sympathies
of the early
Franciscans.

Bonaventura,
b. 1221.
d. 1274.

His compara-
tive indiffer-
ence to
Aristotle.

Temporary
success of
the treatise
by Aquinas.

The Irrefragable Doctor, for so he was named, died in the year 1245, and his followers appear to have adopted yet bolder doctrines. The tendency in Averroës towards investing abstract notions with objective reality appears to have exercised a strong fascination over the mysticism that characterised the earlier Franciscan school. Bonaventura, indeed, the disciple of Alexander Hales, presents a marked exception: but in him the spirit of St. Francis glowed with an ardour that bore him above the arena of human philosophy and controversial zeal. Even now, as we turn the mystic pages of the Itinerary of the Mind towards God, we recognise the deeply emotional nature, the fervour of soul, that belonged to the great orator who thrilled with his dying eloquence the august Council of the western Church at Lyons; we are conscious of the aspirations of the pilgrim, who, with but a languid glance for the questions that divided the schools and surged round the papal chair, pressed on to where, beyond the mists of time, and the wandering gleams of philosophy, he seemed to discern the shining bulwarks of the celestial city¹.

It probably marks the general success that was held to have attended the efforts of Aquinas to discriminate between the doctrines of the Greek philosopher and his Arabian commentators, that while Roger Bacon writing in the year 1267, was able to say that the Aristotelian natural philosophy and metaphysics, which for forty years had been contemned and vilified, were now recognised at Paris as 'sound and useful doctrine,' we find Etienne Tempier, two years later, condemning no less than thirteen of the most notable Averroëstic opinions; and we may well understand that the blow thus given to the Franciscan party considerably diminished

l'Université de Paris.' *Ibid.* 259. Roger Bacon reproduces this tradition of his order: see *Opus Majus*, *passim*. According to Buhens, Hales was the first to comment on the Sentences:— 'Primus autem e theologia nostris M. Petri Lombardi Sententias commentariis illustrasse dicitur Alexander Alensis, factus deinde Minorita, cujus exemplum imitati Albertus Magnus et Thomas Aquinas theologiae

scholasticæ regnum longe amplificaverunt.' in 657.

¹ 'Saint Bonaventura dédaignait Aristote et sa cabale... nous serons peu curieux de rechercher quelle opinion il lui a plu d'exprimer incidemment, avec le laissez-aller de l'indifférence, sur les grands problèmes du péripatétisme.' Haureau, *Phil. Scholastique*, II 219.

their prestige. It will be worth while to note how the university had fared since the time of its memorable secession. When the students and professors returned from Angers and Rheims they found the chairs of instruction occupied by the Mendicants, and it was only by the exertions of Gregory IX on their behalf that they were reinstated in their privileges. For twenty years a hollow peace was preserved, during which the jealousies and rivalry thus evoked continued to increase, and at last broke out into open hostility when, one of the students having been killed in an encounter with the citizens, the new orders refused to make common cause with the university in obtaining redress. The university appealed to the Pope, and Innocent IV published his famous bull whereby the mendicant orders were subjected to the episcopal authority¹. His death, occurring in the following month, was attributed to the prayers of the Dominicans. His policy was altogether reversed by his successor, Alexander IV, who, to use the expression of Crevier, was intent throughout his pontificate upon tormenting the university of Paris. The Mendicants were restored to their former privileges, and the old warfare was renewed with increased violence. It was at this crisis that William St. Amour, standing forth as the champion of the university, assailed the new orders with an eloquence rare in the hostile camp. In his *Perils of the Last Times*, he denounced them as interlopers into the Church, unsanctioned by apostolic authority, equally wanting in honesty of purpose and in credentials for the high functions they assumed. Aquinas replied in his treatise *Contra Impugnantes Dei Cultum et Religionem*, and William St. Amour was finally arraigned before the archbishop of Paris on the charge of having published a libel defamatory of the Pope. When however the

CHAP. I.

Return of the University to Paris, 1231.

Rivalry between the Seculars and the Mendicants.

William St. Amour. d. 1272.

His Perils of the Last Times.

¹ 'It is a characteristic trait of these Paris quarrels, that they were mainly caused by the wilful course of the Dominicans in the great secession of 1229. This measure had been decreed by a great majority of the Masters, but the Dominicans disobeyed it, in order to get scholastic

affairs into their own hands during the absence of all other academicians. Naturally this was resented keenly, and produced deep distrust. Their submission to all university regulations was now exacted with increased severity.' Huber's *English Universities*, by Newman, II 119.

CHAP. I. intrepid champion of the university appeared, ready to attest his innocence by solemn oaths over the relics of the holy martyrs, the students who accompanied him made such an imposing demonstration, that the archbishop deemed it prudent to dismiss the charge. A few years later the Dominicans attained their end. The Perils of the Last Times was burnt in the presence of the Pope at Anagni, and William St. Amour was compelled to retire into exile,—a retirement from which, notwithstanding the efforts of the university on his behalf, he was not suffered again to emerge¹.

Rivalry
between the
Dominicans
and the
Franciscans.

But while the cause of the Mendicants was thus triumphant, disunion begun to spring up between the two orders. The fame of Albertus and Aquinas, the latter the chosen counsellor of royalty, and the prestige of the Dominicans, aroused the jealousy of the Franciscans, rankling under the rebuke which their Averröistic sympathies had incurred. They begun, not unnaturally, to scan with critical eye the armour of the great Dominican for some vulnerable point; nor had they long to seek; the teaching of the Stagirite proved but slippery ground from whence to assail the heresies of the Arabians. It formed one of the most notable divergences from Aristotle in the philosophy of Averröes, that while the latter accepted the distinction to which we have already adverted, of matter and form as representative of the principle of potential and actual existence, he differed from his teacher in regarding *form* as the *individualising* principle. Aristotle had declared it to be matter, and in this he was implicitly followed by Aquinas. The individualising elements in Sokrates said the Dominican, are *hæc caro, hæc ossa*; if these be dissolved the Universal, Sokratitas, alone

The philosophy of
Aquinas
attacked by
the Franciscans.

¹ 'L'Université regretta infiniment son absence, et elle n'omit rien de ce qui pouvait dépendre d'elle pour obtenir son retour à Paris. Délibérations fréquentes, mortifications procurées aux Mendians ennemis de ce docteur, députations au pape : tout fut inutile.' Crevier, ii 27. The whole history of the conflict between William St. Amour and his opponents, which we cannot further follow, forms a

significant episode. His genius and eloquence had the remarkable effect of winning the sympathies of the lower orders to the university cause, and we are thus presented with the somewhat singular conjunction of the Pope, the Crown, and the new Orders on the one side, and the university in league with the commonalty on the other. See Bulæus, iii 317, 382.

remains. Theology, as with Roscellinus, here again supplied the readiest refutation, and from thence the Franciscans drew their weapons. If matter, they asked, be indeed the *principium individuationis*, how can the individual exist in the non-material world? Such a theory would limit the power of the Creator, for He could not create *two* angelic natures, if the individualising element were lacking. In fact, the whole celestial hierarchy concerning which the Pseudo-Dionysius expounded so elaborately, threatened to vanish from apprehension. The reply of the Franciscans was eminently successful, for it enlisted the sympathies of the Church. In vain did Albertus hasten from Cologne to the assistance of his illustrious disciple; in vain did Ægidius at Rome bring forward fresh arguments in support of the Aristotelian doctrine. The teaching of Aquinas had been found in alliance with heterodoxy, and within three years after his death we find the doctrine he had supported selected for formal condemnation. A simultaneous movement took place, at Paris under Etienne Tempier, in England under Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury, having for its object the repression of philosophic heresies; and a long list of articles summed up the doctrines of Averröes for renewed condemnation; the Franciscans however found no little consolation in the fact that three of the articles were directed *contra fratrem Thomam*¹.

Temporary
success of
their attack.

Aquinas had died in the year 1274, and contention, at Paris, was for a brief season hushed amid the general sense that a great light had been withdrawn from the Church. 'We are not ignorant,' said the rector of the university, writing in the name of all the masters, 'that the Creator, having as a signal proof of his goodness given this great doctor to the world, gave him but for a time, and meanwhile if we may

Death of
Thomas
Aquinas.

¹ M. Renan very justly observes that the majority of the articles condemned represented the tenets of scepticism; and that this incredulity is evidently associated by Etienne Tempier with the study of the Arabian philosophy, but he has failed to note the rebuff inflicted upon the Dominicans. Of the three condemn-

ed articles, the principal is as follows: 'Item, quia intelligentiæ non habent materiam, Deus non potest plures res ejusdem speciei facere, et quod non est in angelis, *contra fratrem Thomam*.' See Hauréau, *Philosophie Scholastique*, II 216. Renan, *Averröes et l'Averroïsme*, p. 278. Bulæus, III 433.

CHAP. I.

His authority
vindicated by
the Church.

His canon-
ization.

trust the opinion of the wise of old, divine wisdom placed him upon earth that he might explain the darkest problems of nature.' The Dominicans were as sheep having no shepherd, and when the teaching of their leader encountered the deliberate condemnation of the Church, the blow was felt by the whole order. The exultation of their rivals was proportionably great; the name of the Angelic Doctor began to be mentioned in terms of small respect; and at length, in 1278, it was deemed desirable to convene a Council at Milan for the purpose of re-establishing his reputation. The priors of the different monasteries were invited to give their co-operation, and, in the following year, a resolution passed at Paris pronounced 'that brother Thomas of Aquino, of venerated and happy memory, having wrought honour to his order by the sanctity of his life and by his works, justice demanded that it should be forbidden to speak of him with disrespect, even to those who differed in opinion from his teaching¹.' This movement appears to have had the designed effect. From the end of the thirteenth century the Dominicans, who had themselves been threatened by schism, rallied unanimously to the defence of their illustrious teacher. His canonization, in the year 1323, placed his fame beyond the reach of the detractor; and years before that event his great countryman and disciple had with raptured eye beheld him, pre-eminent in that bright band,—

Far di noi centro e di se far corona,

which shone with surpassing lustre among the spirits of the blest². The position thus assigned him among the teachers of the Church the Angelic Doctor still retains; his fame, if temporarily eclipsed by that of Duns Scotus and Occam, was more extended and enduring than theirs; and Erasmus, standing half-way between the schoolmen and the Reformers, declared that Aquinas was surpassed by none of his race, in

¹ Hauréau, *Philosophie Scholastique*, ii 217. Bulæus, ii 448.

² Dante, *Paradiso*, x 64. The whole of the speech of Aquinas, in the fol-

lowing passage, is interesting as an illustration of the comparative estimation in which the chief doctors of the Church were then held.

the vastness of his labours, in soundness of understanding, and in extent of learning. CHAP. I.

The *Summa* of Aquinas has still its readers; but his commentaries on Aristotle are deservedly neglected, and the crudeness of the reconciliation which he sought to find between pagan philosophy and Christian dogma startled even the orthodox into dissent as the true thought of the Stagirite became more distinctly comprehended. The devout have repudiated his dangerous temerity; the sceptical, his indifference to radical inaffinities. Even in the Church which canonized him there have been not a few who have seen, in the fallacious alliance which he essayed to bring about, the commencement of a method fraught with peril to the faith and with disquiet to the believer. More than a century after his death, Gerson, the chancellor of the university of Paris, and long the reputed author of the *Imitatio Christi*, declared that Bonaventura, as *non immiscens positiones extraneas vel doctrinas sæculares dialecticas aut physicas terminis theologicis obumbratas more multorum*, was a far safer guide, and abjured both the Aristotelian philosophy and the attempted reconciliation. Cardinal Alliatus stigmatized the teachers of the new learning as false shepherds, and Vincentius Ferrerius complacently called to recollection the saying of Hieronymus, *quod Aristoteles et Plato in inferno sunt*. Hermann, the Protestant editor of Launoy, denounced with equal severity, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, this *male sanum philosophiæ Peripateticæ studium*, and declared it would have been well had the schools confined themselves to the limits marked out by Boethius and Damascenus, since they had retained scarcely a vestige of true theology. *Immodicus Peripateticæ philosophiæ amor*, wrote Brucker a few years later, *virum hunc superstitioso obsequio philosopho addictum reduxit, ut theologiæ vulneribus quæ præpostera philosophiæ commixtio inflixerat, nova adderet vulnera, sicque sacram doctrinam vere faceret philosophicam, immo gentilem*¹. Still heavier falls the censure of Carl Prantl, who indeed has treated both Albertus and Aquinas with unwonted harshness, even denying to the

Subsequent
dissent from
his teaching.

Criticisms of
Gerson,

Cardinal
Alliatus,

Hermann,

Brucker,

Prantl,

¹ *Hist. Phil.* III 805.

latter all merit as an original thinker, and affirming that it could only be the 'work of a confused understanding,' 'to retain the Aristotelian notion of substance in conjunction with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, or to force the Aristotelian ethics into the garments of Christian moral philosophy¹.'

It is however scarcely necessary to observe that censures such as these are strongly opposed to the prevailing sentiments of the Church before the Reformation, and it is easy to understand that, contrasted with the ultra Nominalistic excesses into which the later schoolmen were hurried, the position of Aquinas may have appeared one of comparative safety,—the true Aristotelian mean between unreasoning faith and unrestrained speculation. His repudiation of Averröes was not improbably the salvation of his own authority, for in the history of the Italian universities we have ample evidence that the apprehensions of the Church with respect to the tendencies of the Arabian philosophy were justified by the sequel, and Petrarch has left on notable record some of the traits of that coarsely materialistic spirit, which, taking its rise in the teaching of Avicenna and Averröes, boldly flaunted its colours, in his own day, at Padua and at Venice². If again, we pass from the rebuke of the theologian to that of the philosopher, it is but just to remember the multiplicity of the material that Albertus and his disciple found claiming their attention and the vastness of the labours they thus incurred. Theirs was the novelty, the obscurity, the confusion; theirs the loose connotation, the vague nomenclature, the mistiness of thought, through which mainly by its own exertions scholasticism was to arrive at firmer ground. On them it devolved at once to confront the infidel and to ap-

¹ *Geschichte der Logik*, III 108.

² Petrarch even went so far as to compose a treatise entitled *De sui ipsius et multorum aliorum ignorantia*, having for its object the rebuking of the pert scepticism which was rife among the young Venetians. In his intercourse with them he tells us that he found them intellectually and studiously inclined, but their devotion, under the teaching of Averröes,

to the natural sciences, and the open ridicule with which they assailed the Mosaic account of the Creation, effectually checked much sympathy between him and them. He was wont to tell them that he considered it of more importance to explore the nature of man than that of quadrupeds and fishes. See Ginguéné, *Hist. Litt. d'Italie*, Tom. II p. 35. Tiraboschi, v 45.

pease the bigot, to restore philosophy and to guard the faith; and if they failed, it must be admitted that their very failures guided the thinkers of the succeeding age; that the paths they tracked out, if afterwards deserted for others, still led to commanding summits, whence amid a clearer air and from a loftier standpoint their followers might survey the unknown land¹.

It remains to say a few words respecting the development given by Aquinas to the dialectical method. In his commentaries on Aristotle, he followed, as we have already seen, the method of Averröes, but in those on the Sentences, and in the *Summa*, he followed that of Peter Lombard. It marks, however, the controversial tendency of the period, that while Lombardus authoritatively enunciated the *distinctio*, Aquinas propounded each logical refinement as a *quæstio*. The decisions of the Master were, indeed, as judicially pronounced as before, but the change from a simple contrasting and comparing of different authorities to a form which seemed to invite the enquirer to perpetual search rather than to a definite result, was obviously another advance in the direction of dialectics. The objections which, as we have already seen, had been taken by the Prior of St. Victoire to the original method, became more than ever applicable; for though the treatment of Aquinas might seem exhaustive, the resources of the objector were inexhaustible.

Technical
method of
Aquinas.

We have already spoken of the character of the translations from the Greek, whereby, with the advance of the century, the proper thought of Aristotle began to be more clearly distinguished from that of his Arabian commentators; but wherein an extreme and unintelligent literalness often veiled the meaning and obscured the argument. It would

Translation
of the Greek
text of
Aristotle.

¹ Prantl (*Geschichte der Logik*, II 118—21) enumerates thirteen distinct shades of opinion that divided the schools from the time of Roscellinus down to that of Aquinas. Few who have made the effort to grasp the distinctions on which these controversies turned, will fail to feel the force of Renan's observation: 'Il est fort difficile, au milieu des querelles

qui déchiraient à cette époque le monde philosophique, de saisir exactement la nuance des différents partis. Cette nuance même était-elle bien arrêtée? N'est-il pas des jours de chaos où les mots perdent leur signification primitive, où les amis ne se retrouvent plus, où les ennemis semblent se donner la main?' *Averröes et l'Averroïsme*, p. 221 (ed. 1852).

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appear that Aquinas himself towards the close of his life became aware of the unsatisfactory character of these versions, for within three years of his death he prevailed upon William of Moerbeke to undertake the production of a new version which, known as *Nova Translatio*, was long regarded as the standard text, and still by virtue of its scrupulous verbal accuracy possesses a value scarcely inferior to that of the best manuscripts¹. The commentaries of Aquinas had, however, appeared nearly ten years before, and were consequently liable to any error which might arise from the grosser defects of the versions to which he had recourse².

The Colleges
of Paris.

The commencement and extension of the collegiate system constitutes another feature in the university of Paris affording valuable illustration of the corresponding movement in our own country. In France, as in England, the fourteenth century was the period of the greatest activity of this movement, but long before that time these institutions had been subjected to an adequate test in Paris. Crevier indeed traces back the foundation of two colleges, that of St. Thomas du Louvre³ and of the Danish college in the Rue de la Montagne, as far as the twelfth century; while he enumerates no less than sixteen as founded in the thirteenth century⁴. Of these some were entirely subservient to the

Two sup-
posed to
have been
founded in
the twelfth
century.

¹ 'Saint Thomas d'Aquin n'a employé que des versions dérivées immédiatement du grec, soit qu'il fait faire de nouvelles, soit qu'il ait obtenu des collations d'anciennes versions avec l'original, et ait en ainsi des variantes. Guillaume Toceo, dans la vie qu'il nous a laissée de ce grand docteur, dit positivement: *Scriptis etiam super philosophicam naturalem et moralem et super metaphysicam, quorum librorum procuravit ut fieret nova translatio quæ sententiæ Aristotelis contineret clarius veritatem.*' (*Acta Sanc. Antwerp, 1665.*) Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.* p. 395. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, III 5.

³ 'Dans cet établissement se manifeste l'origine de nos boursiers, qui sont de jeunes gens pauvres, auxquels le collège dont ils sont mem-

bres fournit le logement et la subsistance, ou du moins des secours pour subsister pendant leurs études. Cette œuvre de charité n'était pas nouvelle, et il y avoit déjà longtemps que le roi Robert en avoit donné l'exemple en entretenant de pauvres clercs, c'est-à-dire de pauvres étudiants. Nous avons preuve que Louis le Jeune faisoit aussi distribuer des libéralités à de pauvres écoliers par son grand aumônier. L'exemple de la munificence de nos rois invita les princes, les grands, et les prélats à l'imiter. Cette bonne œuvre prit faveur, et se multiplia beaucoup pendant les treizième et quatorzième siècles, auxquels se rapporte l'institution de la plupart des boursiers dans notre Université.' Crevier, I 269.

⁴ They are the Collège de Constantinople, des Maturins, des Bons En-

requirements of different religious orders, while others were, for a long time, little more than lodging-houses for poor students in the receipt of a scanty allowance for their support (*boursiers*), and under the direction of a master¹. The most important, both from its subsequent celebrity and from the fact that it would appear to be the earliest example of a more secular foundation, that is to say a college for the secular clergy, was the Sorbonne, founded about the year 1250 by Robert de Sorbonne², the domestic chaplain of St. Louis. Originally capable of supporting only sixteen poor scholars, four of whom were to be elected from each 'nation,' and who were to devote themselves to the study of theology, it eventually became the most illustrious foundation of the university, and formed, in many respects, the model of our earliest English colleges³. For a time, however, the modest merit of this society was obscured by the splendour of a later foundation of the fourteenth century. In the year 1305, Jeanne of Navarre, the consort of Philip the Fair, founded the great college which she named after the country of her birth. In wealth and external importance the college of Navarre far surpassed the Sorbonne. It was endowed with revenues sufficient for the maintenance of twenty scholars in grammar, thirty in logic, and twenty in theology, and the ablest teachers were retained as in-

The Sor-
bonne.

The College
of Navarre.

fans, de St. Honoré, de St. Nicholas du Louvre, des Bernhardins, des Bons Enfants de la Rue St. Victor, de Sorbonne, de Calvi, des Augustins, des Carmes, des Prémontrés, de Clugni, du Trésorier, d'Harcourt, and des Cholets. The circumstances of the foundation of the Collège de Constantinople and the motives in which De Boulay conjectures it may have taken its rise, are somewhat singular:—"Post expugnatam Constantinopolim a Francis et Venetis sacro fœdere junctis Philippo Augusto rege Lutetiæ conditum est collegium Constantinopolitanum ad ripam Sequanæ prope forum Malbertinum, nescio in arcano imperii consilio, ut Græcorum liberi Lutetiam venientes una cum lingua Latina paullatim vetus illud et patrium in

Latinos odium deponerent eorumque humanitatem et benignitatem experti ad suos reversi non sine magno Latini nominis incremento virtutes illas passim prædicarent, ac velut obsides habiti, qui, si quid parentes et affines Græca levitati adversus Latinos molirentur, ipsi adolescentes Lutetia conclusi fuerint." Bulæus, III 10.

¹ Crevier, I. 271. Le Clerc, *État des Lettres au XIV^e Siècle*, I 265.

² 'Homme simple dans son caractère et dans ses mœurs.' Crevier.

³ 'Avant Robert de Sorbonne nul collège n'était établi à Paris pour les pécuniers étudiants en Théologie. Il voulut leur procurer cet avantage... La pauvreté était l'attribut propre de la maison de Sorbonne. Elle en a conservé longtemps la réalité avec le titre.' *Ibid.* I 494, 495.

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structors in each faculty. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was the foremost foundation of the university, nor can it be denied that many eminent men received their education within its walls; among them was Nicolas Oresme¹, afterwards master of the college; Clamanges, no unworthy representative of the school of Gasparin and Aretino; Pierre d'Ailly, afterwards bishop of Cambray; and the celebrated Gerson. But though poverty was here, as at the Sorbonne, among the conditions prescribed by the founders as essential to the admission of a scholar, the associations of the college with rank and wealth soon developed an ambitious, worldly spirit that little harmonized with the aims and occupations of the true student. High office in the State or in the Church were the prizes to which it became a tradition among its more able sons to aspire; and such prizes were rarely to be won in that age without a corresponding sacrifice of integrity and independence. The influence acquired by the college of Navarre was unhappily made subservient to the designs and wishes of its patrons, and the value of the degrees conferred by the university and the efficiency of the examinations are stated to have equally suffered from the interference and the favouritism resulting from these courtly relations². In the year 1308 was founded the Collège de Bayeux by the bishop of that see, designed especially for the study of medicine and the civil law; and the Collège de Laon, in 1314,

Other Colleges of the fourteenth Century.

¹ For a brief account of this remarkable man see Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France*, 1 128—130. Oresme was one of the earliest political economists, and his treatises on mathematics and his linguistic attainments constitute a phenomenon almost as singular when taken in connexion with the age in which they appeared, as the culture of Roger Bacon in the previous century. Of his acquaintance with Greek we shall have occasion to speak in another place.

² 'Ce fut un malheur pour une corporation qui avait besoin d'indépendance, de s'être laisser dominer

par les hommes de cette maison, trop accoutumés à faire la volonté des rois et des princes pour être de bon conseillers dans les temps difficiles. On le vit bien quand éclatèrent, deux siècles après, les guerres de religions. L'ascendant que Navarre avait pris sur le corps enseignant, loin de le fortifier contre des périls qu'il fallait braver, l'affaiblit et l'énerva, en lui ôtant peu à peu, de connivence avec des protecteurs puissants, la liberté de ses leçons et la publicité de ses examens.' Le Clerc, *État des Lettres au Quatorzième Siècle*, 1 266, 267.

represented a similar design. The institution of the Collège de Plessis-Sorbonne, for forty scholars, in 1323; of the Collège de Bourgogne, for twenty students of philosophy, in 1332; of Lisieux, for twenty-four poor scholars, in 1336,—are among the more important of no less than seventeen foundations which we find rising into existence with the half century that followed the creation of the college of Navarre.

‘Had all these colleges survived,’ observes M. Le Clerc, Description of M. Le Clerc. ‘or had they all received their full complement of scholars, the procession headed by the rector of the university, who, as it is told, was wont to enter the portals of St. Denis when the extreme rear was only at the Mathurins, would have been yet more imposing. Many however contained but five or six scholars who, while attending the regular course of instruction in the different faculties, met in general assembly on certain days for their disputations and conferences; while others, founded for larger numbers, maintained not more than two or three, or were completely deserted, their revenues having been lost, or the buildings having fallen into decay. At the general suppression of the small colleges in 1764, some had already ceased to exist.

‘Without adding to our lengthened enumeration the great episcopal schools, which must be regarded as distinct institutions, but including only the numerous foundations in actual connexion with the corporation of the university,—as, for instance, the colleges of the different religious orders, the colleges founded for foreign students, the elementary schools or pensions, of the existence of which, in 1392, we have incontestable evidence, and the unattached students,—we are presented with a spectacle which historians have scarcely recognised in all its significance, in this vast multitude which, undaunted by war, pestilence, and all manner of evils, flocked to this great centre for study and increase of knowledge. There was possibly something of illusion in all this; but notwithstanding, even the most able and most learned would have held that their education was defective had they never mingled with the concourse of students at Paris.

CHAP. I.

Largeness
of the num-
bers.

‘Towards the close of the sixteenth century, notwithstanding the disastrous religious wars, a Venetian ambassador was still able to say, “The university of Paris numbers little less than thirty thousand students, that is to say as many as and perhaps more than all the universities of Italy put together.” But Bologna, in the year 1262, was generally believed to number over twenty thousand. The enquiry naturally arises, how did this vast body of students subsist?—an enquiry which it is by no means easy to answer, for the majority had no resources of their own, and the laity had, for a long time, been contending with a new inroad upon their fortunes resulting from the rise of the Mendicants. The secular clergy, threatened with absolute ruin by the new orders, conceived the idea of themselves assuming in self-defence the pristine poverty of the evangelists. There were the poor scholars of the Sorbonne, the *enfants pauvres* of St. Thomas du Louvre; the election of the rector was for a long time at Saint-Julien le Pauvre; the Collège d’Harcourt was expressly restricted to poor students, the statutes given to this foundation in the year 1311 requiring that *ibi ponantur duodecim pauperes*, an oft-recurring expression: and indeed the university was entitled to proclaim itself poor, for poor it undoubtedly was.

Extreme
poverty of
the students.

‘The *capètes* of Montaigne, who were also, and not without reason, known as a community of poor students, were however not the most to be pitied, even after the harsh reform which limited their diet to bread and water; there was a yet lower grade of scholars who subsisted only on charity, or upon what they might gain by waiting on fellow-students somewhat less needy than themselves. Of Anchier Pantalion, a nephew of Pope Urban IV, by whom he was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal, we are told that he began his student life by carrying from the provision market the meat for the dinners of the scholars with whom he studied. This same humble little company, which formed a kind of brotherhood with a chieftain or king at its head, included in its ranks, besides other poor youths destined to become eminent, the names of Ramus and Amyot.

‘The distinguishing traits of this student life, the memories of which survived with singular tenacity, were poverty, ardent application, and turbulence. The students in the faculty of Arts, “the artists,” whose numbers in the fourteenth century, partly owing to the reputation of the Parisian *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and partly in consequence of the declining ardour of the theologians, were constantly on the increase, were by no means the most ill-disciplined. Older students, those especially in the theological faculty, with their fifteen or sixteen years’ course of study, achieved in this respect a far greater notoriety. At the age of thirty or forty the student at the university was still a scholar. This indeed is one of the facts which best explain the influence then exercised by a body of students and their masters over the affairs of religion and of the state.

CHAP. I.
Other characteristics.

‘However serious the inconvenience and the risk of thus converting half a great city into a school, we have abundant evidence how great was the attraction exercised by this vast seminary, where the human intellect exhausted itself in efforts which perhaps yielded small fruit though they promised much. To seekers for knowledge the whole of the Montagne Latine was a second fatherland. The narrow streets, the lofty houses, with their low archways, their damp and gloomy courts, and halls strewn with straw¹, were never to be forgotten; and when after many years old fellow-students met again at Rome or at Jerusalem, or on the fields of battle where France and England stood arrayed for conflict, they said to themselves, *Nos fuimus simul in Garlandia*; or they remembered how they had once shouted in the ears of the watch the defiant menace,—*Allez au clos Bruneau, vous trouverez à qui parler*².’

¹ The street in which the principal schools were situated, was called the *Rue du fouarre*, *Vicus Stramineus*, or *Straw Street*, from the straw spread upon the floor, upon which the students reclined during the continuance of the lecture: benches and seats being forbidden by an express statute of Pope Urban V in 1366.

‘In facultate artium, quod dicti scholares audientes suas lectiones in dicta facultate, sedentes in terra coram Magistro et non in scamnis aut sedibus elevatis a terra.’ See *Peacock on the Statutes*, App. A. p. xlv.

² Le Clerc, *État des Lettres au XIV^e Siècle*, t 269—271.

CHAPTER II.

RISE OF THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

CHAP. II.

IN the preceding chapter our attention has been mainly directed to the three most important phases in the development of the great continental university which formed to so large an extent the model for Oxford and Cambridge,—its general organization, the culture it imparted, and the commencement and growth of its collegiate system. We shall now, passing by for the present many interesting details, endeavour to shew the intimate connexion existing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries between Paris on the one hand and Oxford and Cambridge on the other, and the fidelity with which the features we have noted were reproduced in our own country. The materials that Fuller and Anthony Wood found available for their purpose, when they sought to explore the early annals of their universities, are scanty indeed when compared with those which invited the labours of Du Boulay and Crevier. The university of Paris, throughout the thirteenth century, well-nigh monopolised the interest of the learned in Europe. Thither thought and speculation appeared irresistibly attracted; it was there that the new orders fought the decisive battle for place and power; that new forms of scepticism rose in rapid succession, and heresies of varying moment riveted the watchful eye of Rome; that anarchy most often triumphed and flagrant vices most prevailed; and it was from this seething centre that those influences went forth which predominated in the contemporary history of Oxford and Cambridge.

The glimpses we are able to gain of our own universities at this period are rare and unsatisfactory, but they sufficiently indicate the close relations existing between those bodies and the great school of Paris. The obscurity which involves their early annals is not indeed of the kind that follows upon an inactive or a peaceful career,—

Such whose supine felicity but makes
In story chasms, in epocha mistakes,—

but through the drifting clouds of pestilence and famine, of internal strife and civil war, we discern enough to assure us that whatever learning then acquired, or thought evolved, or professors taught, was carried on under conditions singularly disadvantageous. The distractions which surrounded student life in Paris were to be found in but a slightly modified form at Oxford and at Cambridge, and indeed at all the newly-formed centres of education. The restlessness of the age was little likely to leave undisturbed the resorts of the youthful, the enquiring, and the adventurous. Frequent migrations sufficiently attest how troublous was the atmosphere. We have already noticed that large numbers of students, in the great migration from Paris, in the year 1229, availed themselves of King Henry's invitation to settle where they pleased in this country; and the element thus infused at Cambridge is, in all probability, to be recognised in one of four writs, issued in the year 1231, for the better regulation of the university, in which the presence of many students 'from beyond the seas' is distinctly adverted to¹. By another of these writs it is expressly provided that no student shall be permitted to remain in the university unless under the tuition of some master of arts,—the earliest trace, perhaps, of an attempt towards the introduction of some organization among the ill-disciplined and motley crowd that then represented the student community. An equally considerable immigration from Paris had also taken place at Oxford. The intercourse between these two centres was indeed surprisingly frequent in that age. It was not uncommon for the wealthier

Students
from Paris at
Oxford and
Cambridge.

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, i 42.

CHAP. II.

Eminent
Oxonians at
Paris.

Anthony
Wood's ac-
count.

students to graduate at more than one university; 'Sundry schools' were held, in the language of Chaucer, to 'make subtil clerkes;' and Wood enumerates no less than thirty-two eminent Oxonians who had also studied at Paris. Among the names are those of Giraldus Cambrensis, Daniel Merlac, Alexander Hales, Robert Grosseteste, Robert Pulleyne, Roger Bacon, Stephen Langton, Ægidius, Richard of Cornwall, and Kilwardby; and it may be added that this list might be considerably extended. 'Leland,' says Wood, 'in the lives of divers English writers that flourished in these times' (*sub anno* 1230), 'tells us that they frequented as well the schools of Paris as those of Oxford *de more illustrium Anglorum*, and for accomplishment sake did go from Oxford to Paris and so to Oxford again. Nay, there was so great familiarity and commerce between the said universities, that what one knew, the other straightway did, as a certain poet hath it thus:

*Et procul et propius jam Francus et Anglicus eque
Norunt Parisius quid feceris Oxonieque.*

'This familiarity,' he adds, 'continued constant till the time of John Wycleve, and then our students deserting by degrees scholastical divinity, scarce followed any other studies but polemical, being wholly bent and occupied in refuting his opinions and crying down the orders of Mendicant Friars¹. We can hardly doubt that some quickening of thought must have resulted both from this habitual intercourse and the sudden influx of the year 1229; and that, though the foreign students were probably chiefly possessed at the time by feelings of angry dissatisfaction with Queen Blanche and William of Auvergne, and full of invectives against the obtrusive spirit of the new orders, something must have been learnt at Cambridge respecting that new learning which was exciting such intense interest on the continent, and which the authorities of Paris had been vainly endeavouring to stifle.

Migrations
from Cam-
bridge and
Oxford.

Within thirty years of this event Cambridge and Oxford in their turn saw their sons set forth in search of quieter abodes. The division into 'nations' in the continental uni-

¹ Wood-Gutch, i 206—214.

versities was to some extent represented in England by that of North and South, and was a special source of discord among the students. The animosities described by these factions belonged not merely to the younger portion of the community, but pervaded the whole university, and became productive of evils against which, in the colleges, it long afterwards became necessary to provide by special enactment. It was in the year 1261 that an encounter at Cambridge between two students, representatives of the opposing parties, gave rise to a general affray. The townsmen took part with either side, and a sanguinary and brutal struggle ensued. Outrage of every kind was committed; the houses were plundered, and the records of the university burnt. It was in consequence of these disturbances that a body of students betook themselves to Northampton, whither a like migration, induced by similar causes, had already taken place from Oxford. The royal licence was even obtained for the establishment of another *studium generale*, but to use the expression of Fuller, the new foundation 'never attained full bachelor,' for in the year 1264 the emigrants were ordered by special mandate to return to the scenes they had quitted. Within three-quarters of a century from this event a like migration took place from Oxford to Stamford, a scheme which to judge from subsequent enactments was persevered in with some tenacity¹. It would be surely an ignoble esti-

Migration
from Cam-
bridge to
Northamp-
ton.

Migration
from Oxford
to Stamford.

¹ 'So that that prophecy of old by the ancient British Apollo, Merlin, was come to pass, which runneth thus :—*Doctrinæ studium quod nunc viget ad Vada Boum | Tempore venturo celebrabitur ad Vada Saxi.*' Wood-Gutch, 1 425. *Vada Boum* is here for Oxford; *Vada Saxi* for Stoneford or Stamford. The seer however is guilty of a false etymology; the root *ox* being of Keltic origin and signifying *water*. Stamford was distinguished by the activity of the Carmelites who had an extensive foundation there, and taught with considerable success. Several halls and colleges were founded and the remains of one of these, known as Brazen Nose College, exist at the present day. 'Scholars continued to resort to Stamford from

the old universities and elsewhere, until the year 1333, when Edward III, upon the urgent complaint and application of the university of Oxford, ordered all such students to return under severe penalties, and that effectually checked the progress of a third university in this kingdom; and in the following year the university of Oxford, and most probably, likewise at the same time, the university of Cambridge, with a view to the exclusive enjoyment of their own privileges, and the more complete suppression of this formidable rival, agreed to bind their regents by an oath, neither to teach anywhere themselves as in a university, except in Oxford or Cambridge, nor to acknowledge, as legitimate

CHAP. II.

mate of the spirit that actuated these little bands which would suggest to us that their enthusiasm was a delusion, and that, as far as we can estimate the value of the learning they strove to cultivate, their text books might as well have been left behind. We shall rather be disposed to honour the steadfastness of purpose that actuated these poor students in their desponding exodus. Their earnestness and devotion invest with a certain dignity even their obscure and errant metaphysics, their interminable logic, their artificial theology, and their purely hypothetical science; and if we reflect that it is far from improbable that in some future era the studies now predominant at Oxford and Cambridge may seem for the greater part as much examples of misplaced energy as those to which we look back with such pitying contempt, we shall perhaps arrive at the conclusion that the centuries bring us no nearer to absolute truth, and that it is the pursuit rather than the prize, the subjective discipline rather than the objective gain, which gives to all culture its chief meaning and worth.

On such grounds, and on such alone, we should be glad to know more of the real status of our students at this period and the conditions under which their work was carried on; in all such enquiries however we find ourselves encountered by insuperable difficulties arising from the destruction of our records. Antiquarian research pauses hopelessly baffled as it arrives at the barren wastes which so frequently attest the inroads of the fiery element upon the archives of our university. This destruction was of a twofold character,—designed and accidental: the former however having played by far the more important part. A blind and unreasoning hatred of a culture in which they could neither share nor sympathise, has frequently characterised the lower orders in this country, and Cambridge certainly encountered its full share of such manifestations. In the numerous affrays between 'town' and 'gown' the hostels were often broken open by the townsmen, who plundered them of whatever

regents, those who had commenced in any other town in England.' Dean

Peacock's *Observations*, Appendix, p. xxviii. See also note on Peck's *Acade-*

they considered of any value, and destroyed everything that bespoke a lettered community. In 1261 the records of the university were committed to the flames; the year 1322 was marked by a similar act of Vandalism; in 1381, during the insurrections then prevalent throughout the country, the populace vented their animosity in destruction on a yet larger scale. At Corpus Christi all the books, charters, and writings belonging to the society were destroyed. At St. Mary's the university chest was broken open, and all the documents met with a similar fate. The masters and scholars, under intimidation, surrendered all their charters, muni-ments, and ordinances, and a grand conflagration ensued in the market place; an ancient beldame scattered the ashes in the air, exclaiming 'thus perish the skill of the clerks!' Similar though less serious outrages occurred in the reign of Henry v. Of the more general havoc wrought under royal authority at the time of the Reformation, we shall have occasion to speak in another place. The conflagrations resulting from accident were also numerous and destructive²: though Fuller indeed holds it a matter for congratulation that far greater calamity was not wrought by such casualties: 'Who-soever,' he says, 'shall consider in both universities the ill-contrivance of many chimneys, hollowness of hearths, shal-lowness of tunnels, carelessness of coals and candles, catching-ness of papers, narrowness of studies, late reading, and long watching of scholars, cannot but conclude that an especial Providence preserveth those places.' The result of these dis-asters has unfortunately resulted in a positive as well as negative evil. It is not simply that we are unable to deter-mine many points of interest in the antiquities of the uni-versity, but the absence of definite information has also afforded scope for the exercise of the inventive faculty to an extent which, in a more critical age, especially when pre-senting itself in connexion with a centre of enquiry and men-tal activity, seems absolutely astounding. It was easy for

CHAP. II.

Loss of Uni-
versity and
College re-
cords by fire.
Incendiary
fires.

Fuller's view
of the case.

Opportuni-
ties thus af-
forded for the
introduction
of forgeries.

mia Tertia Anglicana, Appendix (B).

¹ Cooper, *Anna's*, i 48, 79, 121.

² The records of Clare Hall, which as those of one of the most ancient

college foundations would have had a special value, were lost in the fire of 1362, when the whole building was burnt to the ground.

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antiquarians like Fuller, when the sceptical demanded evidence respecting charters granted by King Arthur and Cadwallader, and rules given by Sergius and Honorius, gravely to assert that such documents had once existed but had perished in the various conflagrations¹.

Disquiet occasioned by tournaments.

Another and not infrequent source of disquiet to both universities was the celebration of tournaments in their vicinity. 'Many sad casualties,' says Fuller, 'were caused by these meetings, though ordered with the best caution. Arms and legs were often broken as well as spears. Much lewd people waited on these assemblies, light housewives as well as light horsemen repaired thereunto. Yea, such was the clashing of swords, the rattling of arms, the sounding of trumpets, the neighing of horses, the shouting of men all daytime, with the roaring of riotous revellers all the night, that the scholars' studies were disturbed, safety endangered, lodging straightened, charges enlarged, all provisions being unconscionably enhanced. In a word, so many war horses were brought hither, that Pegasus was likely himself to be shut out; for where Mars keeps his terms there the Muses may even make their vacation.'

Religious Orders at Cambridge.

It will not be necessary further to illustrate the presence of those disturbing elements in which Cambridge shared scarcely less than Paris itself; the mingled good and evil resulting from the influence of the Mendicants were also equally her heritage. It is however to be noted, that while at Paris the Dominicans obtained the ascendancy, throughout England the Franciscans were the more numerous and influential body. At Cambridge, as early as 1224, the latter had established themselves in the Old Synagogue², and fifty years later had erected on the present site of Sidney a spacious edifice, which Ascham long afterwards

The Franciscans.

¹ 'We have but one true and sad answer to return to all their questions,—"They are burnt."' (Fuller, *Hist. of the Univ.* p. 84). These forgeries are given in MSS. Hare, i 1—3. What opinion Hare himself had of their genuineness he has not left on record. Baker was perhaps

the first of our antiquarians to perceive their real value. The absurd anachronisms they contain are pointed out by Dyer, *Privileges*, i 397—416.

² 'Cantabrigiæ primo receperunt fratres burgenses ville, assignantes eis veterani synagogam quæ erat contigua carceri. Cum vero intole-

described as an ornament to the university, and the pre-
 cincts of which were still, in the time of Fuller, to be traced
 in the college grounds. In 1274 the Dominicans settled
 where Emmanuel now stands. About the middle of the
 century, the Carmelites, who had originally occupied an
 extensive foundation at Newnham, but were driven from
 thence by the winter inundations, settled near the present
 site of Queens'; towards the close of the century, the
 Augustinian Friars, the fourth mendicant order, took up
 their residence near the site of the old Botanic Gardens;
 opposite to Peterhouse were the White Canons; Jesus was
 represented by the nunnery of St. Rhadegund, a Benedictine
 foundation; St. John's College by the Hospital of the
 Brethren of St. John; while overshadowing all the rest in
 wealth and importance there rose in the immediate neigh-
 bourhood the priory of the Augustinian Canons at Barnwell.

CHAP. II.

The Domini-
cans.The Carmel-
ites.The Augusti-
nian Friars.The Augusti-
nian Canons
at Barnwell.Outline of the
early organi-
zation of the
English
Universities.

The general organisation of both Oxford and Cambridge
 was, as we have already seen, modelled on that of Paris, and
 it will here be well to point out what appear to have been
 the main outlines of that organization in the period when
 the colleges either did not exist or exercised no appreciable
 influence on the university at large. It is to be remembered
 that at a time when the Latin tongue was the medium of
 communication between most educated men, the vehicle of
 pulpit oratory and of formal instruction, the language of
 nearly all recognised literature, a knowledge of it was as
 essential to a student entering upon a prescribed course of
 academic study, as would be the ability to read and write
 his mother tongue in the present day. Though therefore
 the term *grammatica*, as the first stage of the *Trivium*,
 denoted an acquaintance with the Latin language generally,
 it was customary in the earliest times to delegate to a non-
 academic functionary the instruction of youth in the elements
 of the language. Such, if we adopt the best supported con-

rabilis esset vicinia carceris fratribus,
 quod eundem ingressum habebant
 carcerarii et fratres, dedit dominus
 Rex decem marcas ad emendum
 reditum quod satis fieret saccario suo

pro reditu areæ, et sic ædificabant fra-
 tres capellam ita pauperrimam, ut
 unus carpentarius in una die faceret,
 et erigeret una die xiv coplas tigno-
 rum.' *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 18.

CHAP. II.

Function of
the *Magister
Glomerice*.

jecture, was the function of the *Magister Glomerice*, an officer whose duties have been the subject of considerable controversy among those who have occupied themselves with the antiquities of our university. It is not necessary to infer that the instruction given by the *Magister* extended beyond the merest rudiments,—an excerpt probably from the text of Priscian, whose treatise formed the groundwork of the lecture to the university student. The *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* formed the ordinary course of study, culminating as it was theoretically assumed in theology, but often abandoned on the completion of the *Trivium*, (which represented the undergraduate course of study,) for the superior attractions of the civil and canon law.

If we now proceed to consider the formal organization of the university, we shall scarcely be able to offer a more succinct and lucid outline than that contained in the following extract from the treatise by dean Peacock, an account resting entirely on the unquestionable data afforded by the *Statuta Antiqua*¹.

Outline from
Dean
Peacock of
the early
constitution
of the
University of
Cambridge.

The university of Cambridge, in the Middle Ages, 'consisted of a chancellor, and of the two houses of regents and non-regents². The chancellor was chosen biennially by the regents, and might, upon extraordinary occasions, be continued in office for a third year. He summoned convocations or

¹ The body of Statutes from which dean Peacock's outline is derived is not arranged in order of time, and the dates are, as he himself observes, 'in some cases uncertain to the extent of nearly a century.' 'It is not surprising therefore,' he adds, 'that they should present enactments which are sometimes contradictory to each other, when we are thus deprived of the means of distinguishing the law repealed, from that by which it was replaced. In the midst however of the confusion and obscurity which necessarily arise from this cause, we experience no difficulty in recognising the permanent and more striking features of the constitution of the university, and the principles of its administration; and though the great

increase of the number of colleges, the changes of the government, and the reformation of religion, necessarily produced great changes in the condition, character, and views, of the great body of students, and in the relation of teachers to those who were taught, yet we can discover *no attempt* to disturb the distribution of the powers exercised by the chancellor and the houses of regents and non-regents, or even to change materially the customary methods of teaching, or the forms and periods of graduation.' *Observations*, pp. 26, 27.

² *Regere* like *legere* (see p. 74) was *to teach*: the regents were those engaged in teaching, the non-regents those who had exercised that function but no longer continued to do so.

congregations of regents upon all occasions of the solemn resumption or reception of the regency, and likewise of both houses of regents and non-regents to consult concerning affairs affecting the common utility, public quiet, and general interests of the university. No graces, as the name in some degree implies, could be proposed or passed without his assent. He presided in his own court, to hear and decide all causes in which a scholar was concerned, unless *facti atrocitas vel publicæ quietis perturbatio* required the assent or cognizance of the public magistrates or justices of the realm. He was not allowed to be absent from the university for more than one month during the continuance of the readings of the masters: and though a vice-chancellor, or president, might be appointed by the regents from year to year, to relieve him from some portion of his duties, yet he was not allowed to intrust to him the cognizance of the causes of the regents or non-regents, *ex parte rea*, of those which related to the valuation and taxation of houses or hostels, or of those which involved as their punishment either expulsion from the university or imprisonment. A later statute, expressive of the jealous feeling with which the university began to regard the claim of the bishop of Ely to visitatorial power and confirmation, forbids the election of that bishop's official to the office of chancellor.

CHAP. II.

Authority of
the Chan-
cellor.

‘The powers of the chancellor, though confirmed and amplified by royal charters, were unquestionably ecclesiastical, both in their nature and origin: the court, over which he presided, was governed by the principles of the canon as well as of the civil law; and the power of excommunication and absolution, derived in the first instance from the bishop of Ely, and subsequently from the pope, became the most prompt and formidable instrument for extending his authority: the form, likewise, of conferring degrees, and the kneeling posture of the person admitted, are indicative both of the act and of the authority of an ecclesiastical superior.’

His powers
ecclesiastical
in their ori-
gin.

‘It is very necessary,’ adds dean Peacock, ‘in considering the distribution of authority in the ancient constitution of the university, to separate the powers of the chancellor

CHAP. II.

His powers distinguished from those of the regents and non-regents.

Important distinction in the powers possessed by the latter bodies.

from those of the regents or non-regents; for the authority of the chancellor had an origin independent of the regents, and his previous concurrence was necessary to give validity to their acts: he constituted, in fact, a distinct estate in the academical commonwealth: and though he owed his appointment, in the first instance, to the regents, he was not necessarily a member of their body, and represented an authority and exercised powers which were derived from external sources. The ancient statutes recognise the existence of two great divisions of the members of the second estate of our commonwealth, the *houses of regents and non-regents*, which have continued to prevail to the present time, though with great modification of their relative powers. The enactments of these statutes would lead us to conclude, that in the earliest ages of the university, the regents alone, *as forming the acting body of academical teachers and readers*, were authorised to form rules for the regulation of the terms of admission to the regency, as well as for the general conduct of the system of education pursued, and for the election of the various officers who were necessary for the proper administration of their affairs. We consequently find, that if a regent ceased to read, he immediately became an alien to the governing body, and could only be permitted to resume the functions and exercise the privileges of the regency, after a solemn act of resumption, according to prescribed forms, and under the joint sanction of the chancellor of the university and of the house of regents. The foundation however of colleges and halls towards the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, as well as the establishment of numerous monasteries within the limits of the university with a view to a participation of its franchises and advantages, increased very greatly the number of permanent residents in the university, who had either ceased to participate in the labours of the regency, or who were otherwise occupied with the discharge of the peculiar duties imposed upon them by the statutes of their own societies. The operation of these causes produced a body of non-regents, continually increasing in number and

importance, who claimed and exercised a considerable influence in the conduct of those affairs of the university which were not immediately connected with the proper functions of the regency; and we consequently find that at the period when our earliest existing statutes were framed, the non-regents were recognized as forming an integrant body in the constitution of the university, as the *house of non-regents*, exercising a concurrent jurisdiction with the *house of regents* in all questions relating to the property, revenues, public rights, privileges, and common good of the university. Under certain circumstances also they participated with the regents in the elections; they were admitted likewise to the congregations of the regents, though not allowed to vote; and, in some cases, the two houses were formed into one assembly, who deliberated in common upon affairs which were of great public moment.

CHAP. II.
Powers
vested in the
non-regents
at a later
period.

‘When graces were submitted by the chancellor to the approbation of the senate, the proctors collected the votes and announced the decision in the house of regents, and the scrutators in that of the non-regents; and when the two houses acted as one body, their votes were collected by the proctors. It does not appear, from the earlier statutes, that the chancellor was controlled in the sanction of graces, by any other authority; but, in later times, such graces, before they were proposed to the senate, were submitted to the discussion and approbation of a council or *caput*, which was usually appointed at the beginning of each congregation. Under very peculiar circumstances, the chancellor might be superseded in the exercise of his distinctive privilege, when he obstinately refused the sanction of his authority for taking measures for the punishment of those who had injured or insulted a regent or a community; for, in such a case, as appears by a very remarkable statute¹, the proctors were empowered, by their sole authority, to call a congregation of regents only, or of both regents and non-regents, notwithstanding any customs which might be contrary to so violent and unusual a mode of proceeding.

¹ Stat. Antiq. 57. *De potestate procuratorum in defectu cancellarii.*

CHAP. II.
Proctors.

'The two proctors, called also *rectors*, after chancellor and vice-chancellor, were the most important administrative officers in the university. They were chosen annually, on the tenth of October, by the regents, the master of glomery and two junior regents standing in scrutiny and collecting the votes; they regulated absolutely the times and modes of reading, disputations, and inceptions in the public schools, and the public ceremonies of the university; they superintended the markets, with a view to the supply of wine, bread, and other necessities for the scholars, and to the suppression of monopolies and forestallings and those other frauds, in the daily transactions of buyers and sellers, which furnished to our ancestors the occasions of such frequent and extraordinary legislation; they managed the pecuniary affairs and finances of the university; they possessed the power of suspending a gremial from his vote, and a non-gremial from his degrees, for disobeying their regulations or resisting their lawful authority; they collected the votes and announced the decisions of the house of regents, whose peculiar officers they were; they examined the questionists by themselves or by their deputies; they superintended or controlled all public disputations and exercises, either by themselves or by their officers the bedels; they administered the oaths of admission to all degrees, and they alone were competent to confer the important privileges of the regency¹.

Bedels.

'The other officers of the university were the bedels, scrutators, and taxors. The bedels were originally two in number, who were elected by grace by the concurrent authority of the regents and non-regents in their respective houses. The first was called the bedel of theology and canon law, and the other of arts, from their attending the schools of those faculties. They were required to be in

¹ 'The proctors were also authorised in those days of poverty, to take pledges for the payment of fees, which were usually jewels or manuscripts; these books or manuscripts were valued by the university *stationarii* (the booksellers), who were not unfrequently bribed to cheat the university by putting a price upon them

which could not be realised, in case the pledges were not redeemed. By a late Statute (see *Statuta Antiqua* No. 182) no manuscript written or book printed, on *paper* instead of vellum, was allowed to be received in pledge.' Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes*, p. 25.

almost perpetual attendance upon the chancellor, proctors, CHAP. II.
and at the disputations in the public schools.

‘The two scrutators were elected by the non-regents at Scrutators.
each congregation, to collect the votes and announce the
‘decisions of their house, in the same manner as was done by
the two proctors in the house of regents.

‘The two taxors were regents appointed by the house of Taxors.
regents, who were empowered, in conjunction with two
burgesses (liegemen), to tax or fix the rent of the hostels
and houses occupied by students, in conformity with the
letters patent of Henry III. They also assisted the proctors
in making the assize of bread and beer, and in the affairs
relating to the regulation of the markets.’

It will easily be seen, from the above outline, that the
example of the university of Paris was not less influential in
the organisation of Cambridge than in that of Oxford; but a
fact of much deeper interest also offers itself for our consider-
ation,—the fact that it was in those actually engaged in the
work of education in the university and in *no one else*, that
the management of the university was vested. The diffi-
culties of intercommunication in those days of course pre-
cluded the existence of a body with powers like those of
the present senate; but when we find that not even residents,
when they had ceased to take part in the work of instruction,
were permitted to retain the same control over the direction
of the university, it is desirable to recognise the fact that
it is in no way a tradition in the constitution of the uni-
versity, but a comparatively modern anomaly, which still
makes the efforts of those who are active labourers in her
midst dependent for the sanction of whatever plans they
may devise to render her discipline and instruction more
effective, upon those who are neither residents nor teachers.

It was not until the year 1318 that Cambridge received
from Pope John XXII a formal recognition as a *Studium*
Generale or *Universitas*¹, whereby the masters and scholars

The working
body former-
ly the legisla-
tive body.

Papal
recognition
of Cambridge
as a *Studium*
Generale.

¹ Brian Twyne, with his usual unfairness, endeavours to wrest this fact into evidence that Cambridge, before this time, had no claim to be

considered a university:—‘quæ essent admodum ridicula, si ante illud tempus Cantabrigia aut studium generale, aut Universitas habita fu-

CHAP. II.

Privileges
resulting
from the
papal recog-
nition.

became invested with all the rights belonging to such a corporation. Among other privileges resulting from this sanction, doctors of the university, before restricted to their own schools, obtained the right of lecturing throughout Christendom; but the most important was undoubtedly that which conferred full exemption from the ecclesiastical and spiritual power of the bishop of the diocese, and of the archbishop of the province,—these powers, so far as members of the university were concerned, being vested in the chancellor. It appears however that the immunity thus conferred was not admitted by all the subsequent bishops of the diocese; the right of interference was claimed or renounced very much according to the individual temper and policy of the bishop for the time being; until the controversy was finally set at rest, in the year 1430, by the famous Barnwell Process.

The Mendicants.

If we now turn to consider the character of the intellectual activity which chiefly distinguished our universities at this period, we shall find that, as at Paris, it was the Mendicants who assumed the leadership of thought, and also, for a time at least, bore the brunt of that unpopularity which papal extortion and ambition called up among the laity at large.

Increase of
their power,
and rapid
decline of
their popu-
larity.

There is, perhaps, no instance in English history, of any religious body undergoing so sudden and complete a change in popular esteem, as that afforded in this century by the new orders. They entered and established themselves in the country amid a tide of popularity that overbore all opposition; before less than thirty years had passed their warmest supporters were disavowing them. The first symptoms of a change are observable in the alarm and hostility

isset, ant privilegia sub nomine Universitatis, unquam ante id tempus, a Romanis pontificibus obtinisset.' (*Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apologia*, p. 111.) It is of course true that in the case of the majority of the universities created prior to the Reformation, the granting of the Papal Bull was coincident with their first foundation. (See Von Ranmer, *Geschichte der Pä-*

dagogik, iv 11.) But this fact proves nothing with respect to Paris and Bologna, Oxford and Cambridge. The origin and formation of these universities is lost in obscurity. 'Das gilt,' says Von Ranmer, 'von keiner deutschen Universität, man kennt bei allen die Geschichte ihrer Entstehung.' iv 6.

which the regular orders found themselves unable any longer to disguise. It soon became apparent that the friar so far from representing merely the humble missionary to whom the task of instructing the multitudes might be complacently resigned, was likely to prove a formidable and unscrupulous rival in the race for influence and wealth. Among the first to criticise their conduct in less favourable language, is the historian Matthew Paris, a Benedictine, familiar by official experience with the defects and scandals of his own order, and distinguished by the energy with which he sought to bring about a general and real reform. Writing of the year 1235, he thus describes the conduct of the new orders:—‘In this year certain of the brothers Minor, together with some of the order of Preachers, did with extreme impudence and in forgetfulness of the professions of their order, secretly make their way into certain noble monasteries, under the pretext of the performance of their duties and as though intending to depart after they had preached on the morrow (*post crastinam prædicationem*). Under the pretence however of illness or of some other reason, they prolonged their stay; and having constructed a wooden altar and placed thereon a small consecrated altar of stone which they carried with them, they performed in low tones a secret mass, and confessed many of the parishioners, to the prejudice of the priests (*in præjudicium Presbyterorum*). For they asserted that they had received authority so to do; in order, forsooth, that the faithful might confess to them matters which they would blush to reveal to their own priest, whom they might disdain as one involved in like sin, or fear, as one given to intemperance; to such it was the duty of the brothers Minor to prescribe penance and grant absolution¹’

Their conduct
described by
Matthew
Paris.

As at Paris, again, the two orders were unable to repress

¹ *Historia Major*, ed. Wats, p. 419. MS. Cott. Nero. D.V. fol. 257 b. I have generally referred to this manuscript when using the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris. It was given by John Stow, the antiquary, to Archbishop Parker, and the second part (ann. 1189—1250) was, in the

opinion of Sir F. Madden, ‘completed and corrected under the eye of Matthew Paris himself.’ It is, at any rate, free from the liberties taken by Archbishop Parker with the text of the edition by Wats, 1640. See Sir F. Madden’s Preface to the *Historia Anglorum*, p. lxii.

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Description
by Matthew
Paris of the
rivalry be-
tween the two
Orders.

the signs of a growing jealousy of each other's influence and reputation, and their rivalry before long broke out into open warfare. The Benedictine historian does not fail to turn to account so grave a scandal and descants thereon with well-affected consternation:—‘And as though,’ he says, ‘no part of the horizon might appear unvisited by storms,’ (he is writing of the year 1243) ‘a controversy now arose between the brothers Minor and the Preachers, which excited the astonishment of not a few, inasmuch as these orders appeared to have chosen the path of perfection,—to wit, that of poverty and patience. For while the Preachers asserted that, as the older order, they were the more worthy, that they were more decent in their apparel, had worthily merited their name and office by their preaching, and were more truly distinguished by the apostolic dignity; the brothers Minor replied, that they had embraced in God's service a yet more ascetic and humble life, and one which as of greater humility was of greater worth, and that brethren both might and ought freely to pass over from the Preachers to themselves, as from an inferior order to one more austere and of higher dignity. This the Preachers flatly denied, affirming that though the brothers Minor went barefoot, coarsely clad (*viriliter tunicati*) and girded with a rope, the permission to eat flesh and even yet more luxurious diet, and that too in public, was not refused to them,—a thing forbidden in their own order: so far therefore from the Preachers being called upon to enter the order of the brothers Minor, as one more austere and worthy than their own, the direct contrary was to be maintained. Therefore between these two bodies, as between the Templars and Hospitallers in the Holy Land, the enemy of the human race having sown his tares, a great and scandalous strife arose; one too, all the more fraught with peril to the entire Church inasmuch as it was between men of learning and scholars (*viri literati et scholares*) and seemed to forbode some great judgement imminent. It is a terrible, an awful presage, that in three or four hundred years or more, the monastic orders have not so hurried to degeneracy, as have these new orders, who, within less than four-and-twenty

years, have reared in England mansions as lofty as the palaces of Kings. These are now they who, enlarging day by day their sumptuous edifices and lofty walls, display their countless wealth, transgressing without shame, even as the German Hildegard foretold, the limits of the poverty that forms the basis of their profession; who, impelled by the love of gain, force themselves upon the great and wealthy in the hour of death, to the wrong and contempt of the ordinary priests, so that they may seize upon emoluments, extort confessions and secret wills, extolling themselves and their order above all the rest. Insomuch that none of the faithful now believe that they can secure salvation unless guided by the counsels of the Preachers and the Minorites. Eager in the pursuit of privileges they are found acting as counsellors in the palaces of Kings and nobles, as chamberlains, treasurers, bridesmen, or notaries of marriages (*nuptiarum præloquutores*), and as instruments of papal extortion. In their preaching they are now flatterers, now censurers of most biting tongue, now revealers of confessions, now reckless accusers. As for the legitimate orders whom the holy fathers instituted, to wit those of St. Benedict and St. Augustine, on these they pour contempt while they magnify their own fraternity above all. The Cistercians they regard as rude and simple, half laics or rather rustics; the Black Monks as proud Epicureans.¹

It was not long before this arrogance brought about an open trial of strength between the old and the new orders. Among the wealthiest religious houses throughout the country was the monastery at the ancient town of Bury St. Edmund's; originally a society of canons, it had, for reasons which we can only surmise, and contrary to the tradition of the Danish monarchs, been converted by Cnut into a Benedictine foundation, and its revenues had been largely augmented by successive benefactors. In defiance of the prohibitions of the abbat, and backed by some influential laymen, the Franciscans endeavoured in the year 1258 to establish themselves at Bury. A struggle ensued which lasted for five years. The friars erected buildings, which the monks de-

Contentions
between the
Mendicants
and the old
orders.

The Francis-
cans at Bury.

¹ Wats, p. 612. MS. Cott. Nero. D.V. fol. 324 a.

CHAP. II.

molished. The dispute was carried by the latter to Rome, but their efforts in that direction proved of but small avail while Alexander IV filled the papal chair. In the year 1261 that pontiff died, and his successor Urban IV issued a mandate requiring the Franciscans to quit the town; they succeeded in avoiding actual expulsion by an unconditional submission to the authority of the abbat; but not before their protracted resistance to the jurisdiction of a foundation of such acknowledged dignity and antiquity, had, according to Matthew Paris, 'greatly scandalised the world'.¹

The Dominicans at Canterbury.

In other quarters, where they managed to enlist on their side the sympathies of the laity, the new comers proved too powerful for their antagonists. In 1259 the Dominicans established themselves at Dunstable, to the no small injury of the priory in that town². In the year 1276 the same order at Canterbury, acting in conjunction with the townspeople, nearly succeeded in driving the monks of Christchurch from the city, and Kilwardby, the archbishop, with difficulty allayed the strife. But a policy thus aggressive could not long be popular, and it would seem that even during the lifetime of Grosseteste the enthusiasm which first greeted the Mendicants had begun to ebb. Foremost among the causes of this change must be placed the fact that they consented to subserve the purposes of papal extortion. It was in the year 1249 that two messengers belonging to the Franciscan order arrived in England, armed with authority from Innocent IV to extort whatever money they could from the different dioceses, for the use of 'their lord the Pope.' The king, the historian tells us, was conciliated by their humble demeanour, the missives they presented, and their bland address. He gave them permission to proceed on

Subserviency of the new orders to Papal extortion.

¹ Matthew Paris, ed. Wats, pp. 967—8, and 970; *Register Werketone*, Harleian MS. 638; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii 106.

² 'Qui de die in diem ædificantes, collatis sibi a quamplurimis locis circumjacentibus de quibus Prior et conventus redditus debent percipere, in magnum ejusdem domus detrimentum, in brevi satagunt ampliare. Et

quantum ipsi in ædificiis et spatiis latioribus augmentantur, tanto Prior et conventus in bonis suis et juribus angustiantur; quia redditus quos a messuagiis fratribus collatis receperant, sibi nunc pereunt; et oblationes, quæ eis dari consueverant, fratres jam noviter venientes, prædicationibus suis urgentibus, funditus usurpant.' Matthew Paris, p. 986.

their errand, stipulating only that they should ask for money as a free offering and resort to no intimidation. They accordingly set forth on their mission; they were richly attired, booted and spurred, mounted on noble palfreys, their saddles ornamented with gold. In such guise they presented themselves to Grosseteste at Lincoln. He had been a warm supporter of their order, having even at one time intended to enrol himself among their number, won by their devotion, earnestness and missionary zeal. It must accordingly have been a sad disenchantment for the good bishop, and his heart must have sunk within him, as he looked on the two messengers and listened to their demands. Of what avail were his efforts on behalf of church reform, his stern dealings with the degenerate Benedictines, when those in whom his hopes centered were thus falling away from their profession? Their demand was the sum of six thousand marks, an exorbitant amount even though levied through the length and breadth of his wide bishopric. It would be equally impossible and dishonorable, he declared, to pay it; nor would he even entertain their application until he had consulted the rulers of the state. Disconcerted and repulsed they remounted their horses and rode away. It was not however the only time that the Mendicants appeared before him on such an errand; on his death-bed he lamented the manner in which they had lent themselves to the extortionate policy of Rome, though he still strove to believe that they were only its unwilling accomplices. But such charitable views could not long be shared by the world at large. The virtues of the Mendicants, it soon became apparent, were not destined to be more enduring than those of the Cistercians or the Camuldules; as the morning cloud and as the early dew that quickly goeth away, so passed the fair promise of the followers of St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi.

Interview
between the
Franciscan
messengers
and
Grosseteste.

It would perhaps be unjust not to recognise the fact, that the Mendicants lay under a special disadvantage in that they encountered to a far greater extent than any preceding order the hostility of the older societies. Their system of propaganda, again, directly clashed with the functions of the

CHAP. II.

Rapid degeneracy of the new orders.

parochial clergy. Everywhere the parish priest found his authority contemned, his sphere of action invaded, his mode of life censured and decried, by their unscrupulous zeal. For a time, by talents of an essentially popular order, they managed to retain their hold on the affections of the common people, among whom indeed their example of mendicity proved at one time so attractive that it is almost surprising that all England did not turn able-bodied beggars. But with the fourteenth century their character and popularity rapidly declined, and even before the close of the thirteenth, it had become manifest that the new movement which had enlisted the warm sympathies of the most pious of monarchs, the most sagacious of popes, and the most highminded of English ecclesiastics, was destined, like so many other efforts commencing in reform, to terminate only in yet deeper degeneracy. *Consideremus religiosos*, says Roger Bacon, writing in the year 1271, himself a Franciscan friar, *nullum ordinem excludo. Videamus quantum ceciderunt singuli a statu debito, et novi ordines jam horribiliter labefacti sunt a pristina dignitate. Totus clerus vacat superbiæ, luxuriæ, et avaritiæ*¹; and, recalling the enormous vices which had recently rendered the university of Paris a scandal to Europe, he solemnly declares, *homo deditus peccatis non potest proficere in sapientia*². The literature of England during the Middle Ages, says Hallam, consisted mainly of 'artillery directed against the clergy,' and of this artillery the Mendicants undoubtedly bore the brunt. Whether we turn to the homely satire of the Vision of Piers the Ploughman, the composition of a Londoner of the middle class,—or to the masterly delineations of the different phases of contemporary society by Chaucer, the courtier and man of the world,—or to the indignant invectives of Wyclif, foremost among the schoolmen of his time,—we equally discern the inheritance of hatred and contempt which followed upon the apostasy of

Testimony of Roger Bacon to the widespread corruption of the religious orders in his day.

¹ *Comp. Studii Philosophicæ*, c. 1. This treatise, written in 1271, must be carefully distinguished from the *Compendium Studii Theologiæ et per*

Consequens Philosophiæ, written in 1292.

² *Ibid.* c. 6.

the new orders from their high professions, until it culminates with the sixteenth century, in the polished sarcasms of the *Encomium Morie* and the burning hexameters of the *Franciscanus* of George Buchanan.

Grosseteste died in 1253, within five years of the day when the Franciscan emissaries knocked at his door. It marks the reputation which he had even in his lifetime achieved, that though his closing years were vexed by arduous contention, though the Pope appeared to him as Antichrist, and his dauntless spirit as a reformer had called up unnumbered enemies at home, it was yet believed that at the hour of his death celestial music was heard in the air, and bells of more than earthly melody chimed untouched by human hand¹. Legend has surely often graced a far less deserving name. His friend Simon de Montfort wrought not a greater work in the world politic, than did Grosseteste in that of literature and in the Church. He had stimulated education; he had revived learning; he had enriched the stores of the theologian; he had brought back discipline and suppressed abuses among the older religious orders, he had been a father to the new; he had confronted the extortion of the Roman pontiff, in the noonday of the papal power, with a courage which still endears his memory to Englishmen; and, though his hand had been heavy on the Benedictines², the contemporary historian, notwithstanding the ties that bound him to that order, has left it on record, in pregnant if not classic phrase, that he was *prælatorum corrector, monachorum corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor, scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, scripturarum sedulus perscrutator diversarum, Romanorum malleus et contemptor*.

During the latter part of his life Grosseteste's attention appears to have been given to the new learning scarcely less than to the new orders, and he had sought to promote the

CHAP. II.

Death of Grosseteste.

His services to his generation.

Testimony of Matthew Paris to his merits.

His efforts on behalf of the new learning.

¹ Matthew Paris, pp. 876, 877.

² 'In qua, si quis omnes tyrannides quas exercuit recitaret, non

severus sed potius austerus et inhumanus censeretur.' *Ibid.* p. 815.

CHAP. II.

study of Greek by inviting Greek scholars over to this country, whom he appears to have placed on the foundation at St. Alban's. His own scholarship did not enable him to translate from the original unaided, but as soon as he had gained the assistance of others, he at once perceived that by far the greater number of the difficulties that obstructed the comprehension of Aristotelian thought were to be attributed to the wretched character of the existing translations and the mechanical spirit in which the translators had performed their task. To this conviction we may refer the fact, which

He translates
the Ethics.

there seems no good reason for calling in question, that he himself caused to be prepared, and superintended the production of, a new translation of the Ethics¹. Of such translations as were already in use he utterly despaired, and asserted that those who wished to understand Aristotle must study him in the original. His views were fully shared

His opinion
of the existing
translations
of Aristotle.

Roger Bacon.
b. 1214.
d. 1292.

by his disciple and admirer, Roger Bacon. 'Sure am I,' says the latter, 'that it would have been better for the Latins had the wisdom of Aristotle remained untranslated, than that it should be handed down amid such obscurity and perversity, as it now is by those who expend thereon the labours of thirty or forty years; and who the more they toil the less they know; as I have ascertained to be the case with those who have adhered to the writings of Aristotle. On which account my lord Robert, formerly bishop of Lincoln of holy memory, entirely neglected the books of Aristotle and their modes of reasoning.....Had I the power, I would have all the books of Aristotle burnt, as it is but waste time and the cause of error to study them.' Of the practical inconveniences resulting from the use of such translations, he had, indeed, himself had some experience, for when lecturing on Aristotle in the schools at Oxford, he had on one occasion alighted on some Lombard or Spanish words inserted by the translator to supply the place of the unknown Latin

¹ The fact has been called in question by M. Émile Charles, *Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, etc.*

(Paris, 1861), p. 328: but see Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques*, p. 59, and Mr Luard's Preface to the *Epistolæ*.

equivalents, and on his stumbling over the strange difficulty, his scholars, with the rudeness characteristic of the times, had openly derided his perplexity¹. The efforts of Aquinas towards remedying defects like these, do not appear to have elicited any eulogium from the Oxford Franciscan, while William of Moerbeke is singled out by him for special attack ; and the following verdict, delivered in his *Compendium Studii Theologiæ*, shortly before his death, may probably be regarded as representing his deliberate opinion :—‘ Though we have numerous translations of all the sciences by Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot, Alfred the Englishman, Hermann the German, there is such an utter falsity in all their writings that none can sufficiently wonder at it. For a translation to be true, it is necessary that a translator should know the language from which he is translating, the language into which he translates, and the science he wishes to translate. But who is he ? and I will praise him, for he has done marvellous things. Certainly none of the above named had any true knowledge of the tongues or the sciences, as is clear, not from their translations only, but their condition of life.Hermann the German, who was very intimate with Gerard, is still alive, and a bishop. When I questioned him about certain books of logic which he had to translate from the Arabic, he roundly told me he knew nothing of logic and therefore did not dare to translate them ; and certainly if he was unacquainted with logic he could know nothing of any other science as he ought. Nor did he understand Arabic, as he confessed, because he was rather an assistant in the translations than the real translator. For he kept Saracens about him in Spain who had a principal hand in his translations. In the same way Michael the Scot claimed the merit of numerous translations. But it is certain that Andrew, a Jew, laboured at them more than he did. And even Michael, as Hermann reported, did not understand either the sciences or the tongues. And so of the rest, especially the notorious William Fleming who is now in such reputation. Whereas it is well known to all the literati of

His account
of the
Aristotelian
translators.

¹ *Comp. Studii Theologiæ*, quoted in Wood-Gutch, p. 287.

CHAP. II. Paris, that he is ignorant of the sciences in the original Greek, to which he makes such pretensions; and therefore he translates falsely, and corrupts the philosophy of the Latins. For Boethius alone was well acquainted with the tongues and their interpretation. My lord Robert, by reason of his long life and the wonderful methods he employed, knew the sciences better than any other man; for though he did not understand Greek or Hebrew he had many assistants¹.'

Difficulties of
his career.

Roger Bacon was of the Franciscan order, and the persecution he underwent at the hands of that community at Oxford when he essayed to prosecute his scientific researches, is a familiar tale. While Albertus and Aquinas were the guests of royalty and expounded their interpretation of Aristotle to admiring throngs at Cologne and Paris, the poor English friar, as far as we can trace out the obscure records of his life, was atoning for a mental activity in no wise less honorable, by isolation, disgrace, and banishment; and while Aquinas was trusting to such aid as he could find in men like William of Moerbeke for a clearer insight into the thought of Aristotle, the occupant of the humble cell at Oxford had, by his almost unaided efforts, raised himself to be the first scholar of his age.

Special value
of his
writings.

The writings of Roger Bacon have a value of an almost unique kind. They not only give us an insight into the learning of the age, such as is afforded by the writings of no other Englishman in the thirteenth or the succeeding century, but they also supply us with that most assuring of all corroborations in our estimate of a remote and obsolete culture,—the concurring verdict of a contemporary observer. When the Oxford friar denounces the extravagance, the frivolity, and the shortcomings of his time, we feel less diffident lest our own impressions may be chiefly those of mere prejudice and association; and, in bringing to a termination our sketch of this era, we can scarcely do better than record the conclusions wherein his penetrating intellect has summed up

¹ Quoted and translated by Prof. Brewer, Preface to *R. Baconi Opera Inedita*, p. lx.

its stern indictment, as his eagle glance ranged over the domain of knowledge, and noted with what caprice, what perversity, what blindness, the labourers yet tilled, planted, and essayed to gather fruit on an ungrateful soil, while all around them broad and fertile acres stretched far and wide or faded from the gaze on the dim and distant horizon. It was in the year 1267 that Bacon completed those three treatises which he had, in obedience to the wishes of his patron Pope Clement IV, drawn up in illustration of his views, and which, known as the *Opus Majus*, the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*¹, are still extant, and constitute so remarkable a monument of his genius. It is from these writings, together with two other treatises written at a later period, that we gain an insight into the actual education of the time, such as we should vainly seek elsewhere; and as the writer reviews with scornful impartiality the errors and defects of the prevailing methods, we seem rather to hear the voice of his great namesake, speaking from the vantage ground of three additional centuries, than that of a humble friar of the days of Henry III. His censure falls alike upon Dominican and Franciscan; upon Aquinas and his method,—wherein he can only see philosophy aspiring to usurp the province of theology²,—and upon Alexander Hales, to whom the true thought of Aristotle had never been known, and whose writings, he notes with satisfaction, are already falling into neglect³; upon the superstitious reverence yielded to the Sentences while the Scriptures were neglected and set aside⁴; on the

His three treatises, composed 1267.

His censures of the defects and vices of the age.

¹ It may be of service here to enumerate the different treatises by Bacon to which reference will frequently be made, with the assumed dates of their composition:—(a) *Opus Majus* (edited by Dr Jebb, 1733); *(β) *Opus Minus* (extant only as a fragment); *(γ) *Opus Tertium* (intended as a preface to the two former), composed 1266—67 in compliance with the request of Pope Clement IV; *(δ) *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*, 1271; (ε) *Compendium Studii Theologiæ* (still in manuscript), 1292. The asterisk denotes the treatises included in Professor

Brewer's edition for the Rolls series.

² *Opus Minus*, ed. Brewer, p. 322.

³ *Ibid.* p. 325—327.

⁴ 'Nam ibi est tota gloria theologorum, quæ facit onus unius equi. Et postquam illum legerit quis, jam præsumit se de magistro theologiæ, quamvis non audiat tricesimam partem sui textus. Et bacularius qui legit textum succumbit lectori Sententiarum Parisius. Et ubique et in omnibus honoratur et præfertur. Nam ille qui legit Sententias habet principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et socium

CHAP. II. errors of the Vulgate¹, the false Aristotle, the neglect of science², the youth and inexperience of those from whom the ministers of the Church were recruited³, the overweening attention given to the study of the civil law as the path to honour and emolument⁴.

The remedies
he proposes.

But Bacon was no mere iconoclast ; and while he severely scrutinised existing defects he was not less explicit in the remedies he advocated. Logic was, indeed, to be dethroned, but its place was to be filled by two other studies, which he regarded as the portals to all knowledge, the study of language and the study of mathematics. To the prevailing ignorance of the original tongues he ascribes the confusion then so rife

Utter want of
grammatical
knowledge of
any language.

in theology and philosophy. The earliest revelation to man had been handed down in the Hebrew tongue ; the thought of Aristotle was enshrined in Greek ; that of Avicenna, in Arabic⁵. How important then that these languages should be thoroughly known ! And yet, he affirms, though there are many who can speak these languages, there is an almost utter ignorance of them in their grammatical structure. 'There are not four men among all the Latins,' he writes, 'who know the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Arabic tongues grammatically ; I know what I say, for I have instituted rigorous inquiry, both at home and abroad, and have gone to considerable pains in the matter⁶.' Of the great work, which amid all the puerilities and extravagancies of dialectics was really being performed by the schoolmen, the subtlety, precision, and vastly extended nomenclature that they were imparting to the Romance languages, he seems to have had no conception.

It is to Mathematics however that he assigns the foremost

et cameram apud religiosos. Sed qui legit Bibliam, caret his et mendicat horam legendi, secundum quod placet lectori Sententiarum.' *Ibid.* p. 329.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 330.

² *Ibid.* p. 323, 353.

³ *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*, p. 426.

⁴ 'Nam plus laudatur in ecclesia Dei unus jurista civilis, licet solum sciat jus civile et ignoret jus canoni-

cum et theologiam, quam unus magister in theologia, et citius eligitur ad ecclesiasticas dignitates.' *Opus Tertium*, ed. Brewer, p. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 32.

⁶ 'Nam non sunt quatuor Latini, qui sciant grammaticam Hebræorum, et Græcorum, et Arabum : bene enim cognosco eos, quia et citra mare et ultra diligenter feci inquiri, et multum in his laboravi.' *Ibid.* p. 33.

place. Divine Mathesis, and she alone, can purge the intellectual vision, and fit the learner for the acquirement of all knowledge¹. As for the implied non-approval of the study, which, as some would have it, had been conveyed in the silence of the fathers, he urges that in the early days of the Church mathematics were almost unknown, and consequently could scarcely have been either condemned or approved; but, so far as any evidence existed to shew, had not Isidorus carefully discriminated between the use and abuse of the science, in the distinction he had drawn between the study of astronomy, and that of astrology or magic²? The uses of logic cannot, he insists, compare with those of mathematical or linguistic studies, for though its terminology is a matter of acquirement in the language which we speak, the reasoning faculty is itself innate, and, as Aristotle had himself admitted, even the uneducated syllogise³. Amid the many disappointments which befel him in his troublous career, Bacon was yet spared from foreseeing how completely his estimate would, in a few years, be set aside at Oxford, and how long language and mathematics would be doomed to wait without her gates while logic reigned supreme within.

And yet there were grounds for hope in the events that were going on around him; for at the time that these three treatises were written, there had already been founded at Oxford an institution, to which indeed we find no reference in his writings⁴, but which we cannot but suppose must have suggested to him a coming age when learning should be set free from petty obstructions and vexations like those that

¹ 'Nec mirum si omnia sciantur per mathematicam,.....quia omnes scientiæ sunt connexæ (ut superius dixi) licet quælibet simul cum hac habeat suam proprietatem.' *Ibid.* p. 37.

² *Ibid.* p. 26.

³ 'De logica enim non est vis tanta, quia scimus eam per naturam, licet vocabula logica in lingua, qua utimur, quærimus per doctrinam.' *Ibid.* p. 102.

⁴ Mr Percival, in his edition of the Foundation Statutes of Merton College (Oxford, 1847), has stated in his Introduction, that 'Roger Bacon ...taught philosophy and rhetoric in the schools of Merton;' an assertion which appears hardly reconcilable with what we know of Bacon's life; and I may add, on the authority of Mr Coxo of the Bodleian, that no known existing sources of information throw any light on the question.

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Foundation
of MERTON
COLLEGE,
1264.

haunted his Franciscan cell. The walls of Merton College were already reared¹, and though his soul would have been but little gladdened could it have desisted, in the future, Duns Scotus descanting to breathless audiences on the mysteries of the *intentio secunda*, he might have derived some solace could he have foreseen the work of Occam and Wyclif.

The schools of Oxford had been rising rapidly in importance ever since the arrival of the Franciscans in England. Under the auspices of Grosseteste, first in his capacity of *rector scholarum* and subsequently as diocesan², and under the teaching of Adam de Marisco and others of the Franciscan order, the university began to attain to that celebrity which culminated in the early part of the following century. It would not appear however that either Grosseteste, or Adam de Marisco, or even Roger Bacon, though all more or less keenly alive to the evils resulting from the abuse of the papal power and the laxity of monastic discipline, had ever seriously contemplated the severance of the work of education from its traditional associations. They looked for reform from within rather than from without. The developement of the new conception must be sought for in another and in many respects a widely different school.

Progress of
the concep-
tion of found-
ations for the
secular
Clergy.

So far back as the time of Cnut and Harold, the idea of founding colleges which should not be monasteries, and of training clergymen rather than monks, had found occasional expression. It is one of the early indications of the struggle between Teutonic and Latin Christianity; for Harold undoubtedly borrowed his conception from what he had seen in Germany, and the system of secular colleges appears to have been first established in Lorraine under Chrodegang bishop

The notion
borrowed
from Ger-
many.

¹ The earliest college foundation at Oxford appears really to have been University College, founded by William of Durham who, dying in 1249, bequeathed 310 marks for the support of poor scholars. His bequest remained unapplied for many years, during which interval Merton College was founded. Mr Anstey considers that Anthony Wood is guilty of some disingenuousness in claiming, under

these circumstances, the priority for Merton;—'before Merton College was finally established William of Durham's bequest had been all applied by the university in the purchase of houses, and statutes given for the halls founded therewith.' *Introd. to Munimenta Academica*, p. xxix.

² Luard, *Introd. to Grosseteste Epistolæ*, pp. xxxiii. and xl.

of Metz¹. The prevailing system in England during the supremacy of the family of Eadgar had been adverse to the canons, who had been displaced from the colleges and cathedral churches to make room for the Benedictines; but the Danish monarchs not unnaturally sympathised with the party that Ethelred and his followers had oppressed, and under their rule colleges for canons rose in rapid succession. Cnut indeed appears to have been guided more by local considerations than by any abstract theory, and favoured the two parties alternately²; but Harold, the noble-hearted and wide-minded Harold, was throughout distinguished as *canonicæ regulæ strenuus institutor*³, and his foundation at Waltham has been recently, and for the first time, brought

Cnut.

Earl Harold's foundation at Waltham.

¹ Prof. Stubbs, *Introd. to De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis, etc.* pp. viii. ix; and *Introd. to Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, p. xvii.

² Tanner-Nasmith, pp. 84, 207, 504. See also Mr C. H. Pearson's observations in *Historical Maps of England*, p. 54. 'It was,' says Professor Stubbs, 'unfortunately the policy of the monks and their advocates to claim an original right to all monastic churches, and to aggrandize themselves whenever they could with the occupation of those to which they had not the original claim, on the ground of their sanctity. In this way no prescription against them was allowed to defeat their existing claims, and the shortest prescription in their favour was pressed against the most just claim of the seculars. To turn a church of clerks into a monastery was a merit of great efficiency for the remission of sins, but to turn a monastery into a secular church was an unheard-of impiety.' *Introd. to Epist. Cant.* p. xxv.

³ He is so described in the charter of Waltham. 'We can imagine,' says Professor Stubbs, 'the reasons that made him so: the foreign predilections of the monks, favoured by the simple monarch on the throne; the decay of learning which was beginning to be felt in the institutions which had the monopoly of it, and which it was reserved for the energy of Lancaster to counteract; and the danger which

a monastic power, separated in ideas and sympathies from the people and wielded by worldly men, always entails on the religion and happiness of a nation. The monks, like the friars in later times, were always in extremes; sometimes before, sometimes behind the age. The heroic patriotism displayed by some of their fraternities at the moment of the Conquest and shortly after it, would, if anything could, disprove this statement: but the effort was short and spasmodic, and served but to rivet the fetters on the people, who would have made it successful if it had been attempted a few years earlier. The multiplication of secular colleges was one of the most likely means of raising up a clergy whose knowledge of mankind, general learning, and thorough sympathy with Englishmen, might improve the character and help to save the souls of the people Harold loved. Alfred and Eadward the Elder, Athelstan and Cnut, had shewn their sense of this by *secular foundations*; the heroes of the monks were Ethelwulf, Eadred, and Eadgar: the contrast is a speaking one. Nor was the lesson lost on English statesmen who followed them, such as were the great bishops of the family of Beck, archbishops Thornby and Chicheley, *Walter de Mertou*, and William of Wykeham.' *Introd. to De Inventione*, p. vii.

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Mr. Freeman's view of the exceptional character of Earl Harold's foundation.

before the student of this period, in its true relation to the majority of the foundations of the time. 'Every writer of English history,' says Mr Freeman, 'as far as I know, has wholly misrepresented its nature. It is constantly spoken of as an abbey, and its inhabitants as monks. Waltham and its founder thus gets mixed up with the vulgar crowd of monastic foundations, the creations in many cases of a real and enlightened piety, but in many cases also of mere superstition or mere fashion. The great ecclesiastical foundation of earl Harold was something widely different. Harold did not found an abbey; Waltham did not become a religious house till Henry the Second, liberal of another man's purse, destroyed Harold's foundation by way of doing honour to the new martyr of Canterbury. Harold founded a Dean and Secular Canons; them King Henry drove out, and put in an Abbot and Austin Canons in their place..... The clergy whom Harold placed in his newly founded minster were not monks, but secular priests, each man living on his own prebend, and some of them, it would seem, married..... It is not unlikely that Harold's preference for the secular clergy may have had some share in bringing upon him the obloquy which he undergoes at the hands of so many ecclesiastical writers. It was not only the perjurer, the usurper, but the man whose hand was closed against the monk and open to the married priest, who won the hatred of Norman and monastic writers. With the coming of the Normans the monks finally triumphed. Monasticism, in one form or another, was triumphant for some ages. Harold's own foundation was perverted from his original design; his secular priests were expelled to make room for those whom the fashion of the age looked on as holier than they. At last the tide turned; men of piety and munificence learned that the monks had got enough, and from the fourteenth century onwards the bounty of founders took the same direction which it had taken under Æthelstan and Harold. Colleges, educational and otherwise, in the universities and out of them, now again rose alongside of the monastic institutions which had now thoroughly fallen from their first love. In

short, the foundation of Waltham, instead of being simply slurred over as a monastic foundation of the ordinary kind, well deserves to be dwelt upon, both as marking an era in our ecclesiastical history, and also as bearing the most speaking witness to the real character of its illustrious founder¹. Such was the conception which Roger Bacon saw revived in his own day, and which is still to be studied in the brief and simple statutes of the most ancient of our English colleges; the outcome of a mature and sagacious estimate of the wants and evils of the time, not unworthy of one whose experience combined that of a chancellor of the State and a bishop of the Church; of one who in his youth had sat at the feet of Adam de Marisco², but whose ripened judgement comprehended in all their bearings the evils that must necessarily ensue when the work of education is monopolised

Harold's
conception
revived by
Walter de
Merton.

¹ *Hist. of the Norman Conquest*, II 440, 442, 444-5. I may perhaps venture to state that I had originally been inclined somewhat to dissent from the view here enforced by Mr Freeman, but a communication with which he has very courteously favoured me on the subject, and a careful perusal of Professor Stubbs's Prefaces, have placed the matter in another light. At the same time it may, I think, be questioned whether Harold's conception was of quite so unique and anti-Norman a character as Mr Freeman's language might lead us to infer, and in support of this opinion I would submit the following facts:—(1) In the year 1092, Picot, the Norman sheriff of Cambridgeshire, a man notorious for his misrule and rapacity in his bailiwick, instituted *Secular Canons* at St. Giles in Cambridge; the foundation being afterwards changed by Pain Peverell, the standard-bearer of Robert, duke of Normandy, into one for thirty Augustinian Canons, and removed to Barnwell, where it formed the priory. (Cooper, *Annals*, I 20. *Hist. of Barnwell Abbey*, 9, 10, 11.) (2) Lanfranc, who had been educated at the monastery of Bec, established *Secular Canons* at St. Gregory's, whom archbishop Corboil afterwards removed, putting Regular or Augus-

tinian Canons in their place. (Leland, *Collectanea*, I 69.) (3) The Secular Canons on Harold's foundation, though certainly treated with some severity by the Conqueror, remained undisturbed for more than a century of Norman rule, i.e. from 1066 to 1177; and even then, if any credence is to be given to the reason assigned in the royal letter for their removal, it was on account of their having become a scandal to their neighbours from their laxity of discipline, not from hostility to their rule. 'Cum in ea canonici seculares nimis irreligiose et carnaliter vixissent, ita quod infamia conversationis illorum modum excedens multos scandalizasset.' Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI 63: or, in the language of the account quoted by Dugdale, 'quia...mundanis operibus, et illecebris illicitis magis quam divino servitio intendebant.' VI 57.

² Such at least is the opinion of his biographer, who founds his belief upon the fact that Walter de Merton was the bearer of an introductory letter from Adam de Marisco, when he presented himself to Grosseteste for subdeacon's orders. See *Sketch of the life of Walter de Merton*, by Edmund, Bishop of Nelson, pp. 2 and 19; also *Monumenta Franciscana*, letter 242.

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Walter de Merton, Lord High Chancellor of England, Bishop of Rochester, d. 1277.

Statutes of Merton College, 1270.

Exclusion of the religious orders from the foundation.

by those with whom the interests of an order are likely to outweigh the interests of their disciples. To raise up an institution which should baffle that encroaching spirit of Rome which had startled Grosseteste from his allegiance, and to give an impulse to education that should diminish its subservience to purely ecclesiastical ideas, such was the design of Walter de Merton¹; when we add that his statutes became the model on which those of the earlier colleges both at Oxford and at Cambridge were framed, we shall need no excuse for dwelling at some length on their scope and character².

The first broad fact that challenges our attention in these statutes is the restriction whereby 'no religious person,' *nemo religiosus*, is to be admitted on the foundation; a provision which it may be well to place beyond all possible misapprehension. In those times, it is to be remembered, there existed only two professions,—the Church and the military life; the *religious life*, whether that of the monk or the friar, was a renunciation of the world; the former withdrawing from all intercourse with society, the latter disavowing any share in worldly wealth; and both merging, as it were, their individual existence in their corporate life. Such were the two classes whom Walter de Merton sought to exclude. It was his design to create a seminary for the

¹ Ever a warm advocate of the liberty of the subject, and a staunch patron of education, Merton must have viewed with a jealous eye the advances of Rome and the increasing influence of her emissaries in the country. While filling the high office of chancellor of England, he had learned by experience how vain was the attempt to struggle with the ministers of Rome when once wealth and position had given them an overwhelming authority in Church and State. He therefore directed his attention to the principal seat of education, and endeavoured to raise in the secular schools a power which might, by crushing the strength of the monasteries, check the growth of the papal influence in the bud.

Percival, *Introd. to Statutes of Merton College*, p. xiv. It is noted by the Bishop of Nelson, as a proof of the high estimation in which Walter de Merton was held by the royal family, that all its members contributed in some way to the foundation of his college. (*Life*, p. 7.) He was chancellor in the years 1261–2, a time when the troubles of Henry III. were at their height, and he not improbably earned the gratitude of the royal family by his able administration during the monarch's absence from the kingdom.

² The statutes here referred to are those of 1270, and may be regarded as embodying the final views and intentions of the founder.

Church, and he accordingly determined to place it beyond the power of either monks or friars to monopolize his foundation and convert it to their exclusive purposes. All around him, at Oxford, were to be seen the outward signs of their successful ambition: the Benedictine priory of St Frideswide, the Augustinian Canons at Oseney, the Franciscans in St. Ebbe's, the Dominicans in the Jewry, St. John's Hospital where Magdalen College was one day to stand, the Augustinian Friars on the future site of Wadham, the Carmelites, and the Friars de Pœnitentia. He might well think that enough had been done for the recluse and the mendicant, and that something might now be attempted on behalf of those who were destined to return again into the world, to mingle with its affairs as fellow-citizens, and to influence its thought and action by their acquired learning. On the other hand it would be erroneous to infer that Merton College was originally any thing more than a seminary for the Church, though such a limitation loses all its apparent narrowness when we consider that the clerical profession at this period included all vocations that involved a lettered and technical preparation. The civil law, as we know from Bacon's testimony, was already an ordinary study with ecclesiastics; so also was medicine, though professed chiefly by the Mendicants; while chancellors of the realm and ambassadors at foreign courts, like William Shyreswood and Richard of Bury or Walter de Merton himself, were selected chiefly from the clerical ranks; and even so late as the reign of Richard II, churchmen, like the warlike bishop of Norwich, might ride forth to battle, clad in complete armour, brandishing a two-handed sword, and escorted by a chosen body of lancers¹. When such were the customary and recognised associations of the clerical life, it obviously becomes an unmeaning reproach to speak of the Church as usurping the functions of laymen; the truth would rather appear to be, as has been recently observed, 'that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries statesmen and lawyers usurped the preferments of the Church than that ambitious churchmen obtruded on

Varied pursuits of the ecclesiastic in these times.

¹ Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, III 109.

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The college
not a monas-
tery.

civil and legal offices¹. The restriction of Merton College to the clergy cannot consequently be held to have excluded any of those professions that possess a *curriculum* at either Oxford or Cambridge at the present day. Considerable stress has indeed been laid on the extent to which the monastic mode of life was reproduced in the discipline imposed upon our colleges, but a very slight examination of the early statutes is sufficient to show that such an approximation was simply for the purposes of organisation and economy: the essential conception of the college was really anti-monastic, and its limitation to those designed for the clerical profession was simply a necessary consequence of the fact that the activity of the Church embraced nearly all the culture of the age².

¹ Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, iv 73. The expression used by Hugh Balsham (A.D. 1276) in his decision as arbitrator between his own archdeacon and the Master of Glomery, *sive scholares sive laici*, shows how entirely ecclesiastical was the character of the Universities at this time. *Laymen and clerks*, as Mr Anstey observes, were the nearest equivalents to the modern 'town' and 'gown,' *Munimenta Acad.* i vi. At the same time the very varied character of the activity of churchmen in the Middle Ages has induced many to maintain that the universities were as much secular as ecclesiastical. 'L'importante question,' says M. Thurot, in his very able treatise, 'de savoir si l'Université était un corps laïc ou ecclésiastique a été toujours controversée... Elle fut toujours traitée comme un corps ecclésiastique au xiii^e au xiv^e et au xv^e siècle... Elle fut même généralement traitée comme un corps laïc au xvi^e et au xviii^e siècle.' *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au Moyen-Age*. Par Charles Thurot. Paris, 1850, pp. 29-31.

² 'It is customary with the ignorant to speak of our colleges as monastic institutions, but, as every one knows who is acquainted with the history of the country, the colleges with very few exceptions were introduced to supplant the monasteries. Early in the 12th century the opinion began to prevail, that the monaste-

ries were no longer competent to supply the education which the improved state of society demanded. The primary object of the monastery was, to train men for what was technically called "the religious life," —the life of a monk. Those who did not become monks availed themselves of the advantages offered in the monastic schools; but still, a monastic school was as much designed to make men monks, as a training school, at the present time, is designed to make men schoolmasters, although some who are so trained betake themselves to other professions.' Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, iii 339. 'Our founder's object,' remarks the bishop of Nelson, 'I conceive to have been to secure for his own order in the Church, for the secular priesthood, the academical benefits which the religious orders were so largely enjoying, and to this end I think all his provisions are found to be consistently framed. He borrowed from the monastic institutions the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule, under a common head, provided with all things needful for a corporate and perpetual life, fed by its secured endowments, fenced from all external interference, except that of its lawful patron; but after borrowing thus much, he differentiated his institution by giving his beneficiaries quite a distinct employment, and keeping them free from all those

The next important feature is the character of the culture which the founder designed should predominate among the scholars¹. It was his aim to establish a 'constant succession of scholars devoted to the pursuits of literature,' 'bound to employ themselves in the study of arts or philosophy, theology or the canon law,' 'the majority to continue engaged in the liberal arts and philosophy until passed on to the study of theology, by the decision of the warden and fellows, and as the result of meritorious proficiency in the first-named subjects².' The order in which the different branches are here enumerated may be regarded, as is the case with all the early college statutes, as significant of the relative importance attached by the founder to the different studies. The canon law is recognised, but the students in that faculty are expressly limited to four or five; to the civil law even less favour is shewn, for the study is permitted only to the canonists, and as ancillary to their special study, *pro utilitate ecclesiastici regiminis*, and the time to be devoted to it is made dependent on the discretion of the warden. A judicious remedy for the prevailing ignorance of grammar which Bacon so emphatically lamented³, is provided by a clause requiring that one of the fellows, known as the *grammaticus*, shall devote himself expressly to the study, and directing

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Character of the education at Merton.

Theology and the Canon Law only permitted as studies after satisfactory attainments in Arts.

perpetual obligations which constituted the essence of the religious life.....The proofs of his design to benefit the Church through a better-educated secular priesthood, are to be found, not in the letter of their statutes, but in the tenour of their provisions, especially as to studies, in the direct averments of some of the subsidiary documents, in the fact of his providing Church patronage as part of his system, and in the readiness of prelates and chapters to grant him impropriations of the rectorial endowments of the Church.' Bp. of Nelson's *Life of Walter de Merton*, p. 22.

¹ The term 'scholar' may be regarded as nearly equivalent to 'fellow,' in our early college statutes, indicating a student entirely supported by the revenues of the foun-

dation and participating in the general government. Wherever the term appears to be used in its more modern sense, attention will be drawn to the fact.

² 'While he provides for a good liberal education, and general grounding in all subsidiary knowledge, he jealously guards his main object of theological study both from being attempted too early by the half-educated boy, and from being abandoned too soon for the temptations of something more profitable. It should be remembered that while the warden is charged with the duty of keeping an illiterate youth from commencing the crowning study, he has no authority for dispensing with it in any one case.' *Ibid.* p. 27.

³ *Compendium Philosophiæ*, ed. Brewer, p. 419.

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that he shall be provided with all the necessary books, and shall regularly instruct the younger students, while the more advanced students are to have the benefit of his assistance when occasion may require. It is to be noted that English as well as Latin enters into his province of instruction.

Only real students to be maintained on the foundation.

It is significant of the founder's intention that only real students should find a home within the walls of Merton, that another statute provides that all students absenting themselves from the schools on insufficient grounds shall be liable to corresponding deductions in respect of their scholarships, and even in cases where proper diligence in study is not shewn, the authorities are empowered to withhold the payments of the usual stipends. There is also another regulation, perhaps the only one of any importance which may not, in some form or other, be found embodied in the rule of subsequent foundations, providing that a year of probation is to precede the admission of each scholar as a permanent member of the society¹. With this somewhat remarkable exception, we find that the statutes of Merton became for the most part the model of our English colleges; and it will be difficult for an unprejudiced mind to deny the tolerant spirit, the wisdom, and the thoughtfulness by which they are characterised throughout. In the construction of the *curriculum*, were it not for the absence of natural science from the prescribed order of studies, we might almost infer that the counsels of Roger Bacon had aided the deliberations of Walter de Merton. It appears indeed that, a few years after, an attempt was made to remedy this deficiency by establishing a faculty of medicine in connexion with the college; an innovation which archbishop Peckham, in 1284, decided was contrary to the tenour of the statutes, and consequently abolished. 'We do not conceive,' says Walter de Merton's biographer², in summing up his estimate of these statutes, 'that there need remain any doubt that the par-

Wisdom of the whole conception.

¹ *Statutes*, ed. Percival, p. 20.

² *Ibid.* p. 55. 'Medicine nevertheless afterwards became a flourishing study in the college during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth

centuries, and in a capitular order of 1504 is recognised as a philosophical act.' Bp. of Nelson's *Life of Walter de Merton*, p. 26, note.

tiular benefit which the founder designed to confer on the Church was the improvement of his own order, the secular priesthood, by giving them first a good elementary, and then a good theological education, in close connexion with a university, and with the moral and religious training of a scholar-family living under rules of piety and discipline. And this design was, we have good reason to believe, in the main achieved. Whilst the Visitor of 1284 brings to light the fact that worldliness and selfishness were in some degree marring the original design, there are abundant witnesses to its general success. During the first eighty years of the life of the institution, a brilliant succession of names, divines who were also scholars and philosophers, shone forth, and kindled other founders to devote their substance to the creation of similar nurseries of learned clergy. The earlier statutes of Balliol, University, Oriel, Peterhouse (Cambridge), all borrowed with more or less closeness and avowal, the *Regula Mertonensis*, and thus justified the assertion which the royal founder of Eton afterwards used, that the later colleges bore a childlike resemblance to their common parent, *velut imago parentis in prole relucet*¹.

We can certainly have little hesitation in asserting that if the number of eminent men who proceeded from the new foundation may be regarded as evidence of the wisdom and discernment of the founder, no college can be held to have more amply justified the motives that dictated its creation. Within the walls of Merton were trained the minds that chiefly influenced the thought of the fourteenth century. It was there that Duns Scotus was educated; it was there that he first taught. Thence too came William of Occam, the revolutioniser of the philosophy of his age, and Thomas Bradwardine, known throughout Christendom as the Doctor Profundus, whose influence might vie even with that of the Doctor Invincible; Richard Fitzralph, the precursor of Wylif; Walter Burley, Robert Holcot, and a host of inferior names, but men notable in their own day. In attempting to illustrate the culture and mental tendencies of this period

Eminent
Mertonians.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 29.

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we can do no better than turn briefly to consider the special characteristics of the three most eminent Mertonians of the time.

Hitherto, the chief representative of progressive thought at Oxford has been found in one solitary Franciscan friar, whose superiority to the superstition, the mental servility, and the ignorance of his age, seems rather to bring out into stronger contrast the prevailing characteristics than to redeem them from one general censure. It has indeed been asserted on high authority, that the insight shown by Bacon into questions like those discussed in his *Opus Majus*, taken in conjunction with the time in which he wrote, is itself an inexplicable phenomenon¹; but the additions that have been made by recent research to our acquaintance with the Arabic literature of that period, have revealed the sources from whence he drew, and afford an adequate solution of the difficulty. In fact, although in his preference for physical researches, and his distrust of the current Aristotelianism, Bacon undoubtedly presents strong points of difference from the schoolmen, there are other points in which an equally strong resemblance may be discerned; and in estimating the genius of Duns Scotus, who next occupies the foreground in the academical life of England, it will be important to note the similarity not less than the dissimilarity of their views and aims.

Duns Scotus.
b. 1274.
d. 1308.

The spectacle presented by Oxford at the beginning of

¹ 'It is difficult to conceive how such a character could then exist. That he received much of his knowledge from Arabic writers there is no doubt; for they were in his time the repositories of all traditional knowledge. But that he derived from them his disposition to shake off the authority of Aristotle, to maintain the importance of experiment, and to look upon knowledge as in its infancy, I cannot believe.' (Whewell, *Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, i 258.) It may be doubted whether any passages in Bacon's writings can be construed into impatience of the authority of Aristotle himself: a careful examination will shew that his censures are always directed at the Latin

translations, which certainly appear to have merited all his severity. Of both Avicenna and Averroes he speaks with invariable respect. Mr Lewes remarks, 'I am myself but very superficially acquainted with these (the Arabian) writings, yet I have discovered evidence enough to make the position of Roger Bacon quite explicable without in the least denying him extraordinary merit.' *Hist. of Phil.* ii 84. Mr Shirley, in the Introduction to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. i. has even gone so far as to assert that we have in Roger Bacon 'the normal type of an English philosopher' of the thirteenth century.

the fourteenth century is one of the most remarkable afforded by any university since the commencement of the new era,—the earliest developement, in our own country, of that singular and almost feverish activity of thought which stands in such marked contrast to the generally low culture of the period, and which becomes intelligible only when we bear in mind all the circumstances that, in the preceding chapter, we have endeavoured to bring together in their mutual true relations. At a time when learning had fewest followers minds are to be found most excited and most enquiring. In a century during which Greek scholarship in England is represented by a single name, and wherein the comparatively correct Latinity of the twelfth century, such as characterised writers like Giraldus and John of Salisbury, was supplanted by a barbarous jargon¹, Oxford appears as the centre of a purely philosophic ferment to which the subsequent annals of neither university present a parallel. A young Franciscan, originally a student at Merton, rises up; disputes with a subtlety never before exhibited the conclusions of his predecessors; gathers round him vast and enthusiastic audiences as he successively expounds his doctrines at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne; and is carried off at the early age of thirty-four, while in the zenith of his fame, leaving behind a reputation unsurpassed both for sanctity and for learning. His treatises become the text-books of English education up to the time of the Reformation; and his theories form the germ of that dialectic freedom of discussion which ultimately snapt asunder the links wherewith Albertus and Aquinas had laboured to unite philosophy and faith. The leadership of

CHAP. II.
Oxford at the
commence-
ment of the
fourteenth
century.

¹ 'Down to the thirteenth century it would not be easy to find among the chroniclers or miscellaneous writers of Latin in the Middle Ages very gross departures from the ordinary rules of Latin syntax. The niceties of the language had been lost ten centuries before; but the difference of the Latinity of the age extending from Bede to Giraldus, that is, of the seventh to the thirteenth century, from Tertullian or Ausonius, is not greater than the decline of the latter from the purer Latinity of the Republic. After the thirteenth century, the cor-

ruption became rapid and marked in all directions. The style of Giraldus is not purer than that of Malmesbury; not so pure as that of his contemporary, John of Salisbury. Yet it would not be easy to find in Giraldus any violent transgressions of the rules of Latin construction; perhaps none for which sufficient authority might not be produced in the wide range of Latin literature, from the earliest period to the fall of the empire.' Prof. Brewer, *Preface to Giraldus Cambrensis*, II. xv.

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the age had passed from the Dominicans to the Franciscans, nor can it be denied that to the latter order England was mainly indebted for such profundity of thought and vigour of speculation as the fourteenth century beheld¹.

Views of the
schoolman
and the
modern
scholar
compared.

The causes of that onesided developement of mental activity that is now presented to us are not difficult to assign. The languid culture of the Benedictines had been thrust aside by the fervid intellectualism of the Mendicants. But in the very character of that activity the observer of the fashions and revolutions that succeed each other in the evolution of human thought, will discern a significant illustration of the interval that separates us from the mind of the scholastic era. Precisely that contempt with which the ordinary scholar now regards the metaphysical researches of the schoolmen, was felt by the schoolman of the fourteenth century for researches such as have mainly occupied many of the learned of our own time. Discussions on Greek metres and disquisitions on Etruscan pottery would have appeared, to the Oxonian of the days of Edward I, but solemn trifling, while the distinction between the *prima* and *secunda intentio* still remained uninvestigated and the *principium individuationis* undetermined; and students who could not have written a Latin verse or a page of Latin prose without solecisms that would now excite the laughter of an average English public schoolboy, listened with rapt attention to series upon series of argumentative subtleties such as have taxed the patience and the powers of some of our acutest modern metaphysicians.

Difficulties
that attend
any account
of this period.

The name of the oracle of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to whom Coleridge has assigned the praise of being the only Englishman (if such he were) possessed of 'high metaphysical subtlety²,' has passed, by a strange caprice of fortune, into an epithet for the grossest ignorance; and as we turn the leaves of the ponderous tomes which enshrine the thought once deemed the quintessence of human wisdom, we

¹ The prosperity and authority of the Dominicans appear to have been very closely associated with the prosperity of the university of Paris. Mr Shirley notes the decline of that

university in this century as a 'heavy blow' to the order. See *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. li.

² Coleridge's *Literary Remains*, iii 21.

feel how vain must be the effort to realise the conditions under which that thought was conceived. The materials and the sympathies that should enable us to recover some adequate impression of those days have alike vanished. It would consequently be hopeless to seek to depict the Oxford of the beginning of the fourteenth century, or to give colour and life to the career of the greatest of the English schoolmen¹. We must pass by even the fragmentary data we possess concerning that career; its early triumph and its sudden close; the fierce controversy concerning the Immaculate Conception which he was summoned to Paris to allay; the peremptory mandate in obedience to which he repaired so promptly to Cologne, from the green fields near Paris where he was seeking a breathing space of repose, his manuscripts left behind, his farewells to his friends unsaid; his mysterious death, and the dark rumours that gathered round the termination of that short but eventful life². Whatever attention we may venture to claim for Duns Scotus must be restricted to a brief consideration of his philosophy and his influence as an authority in our universities.

We have already adverted to the arduous character of the task which devolved upon the schoolmen of the preceding century; the vastness, the novelty, and the heterogeneous nature of the thought they were called upon to interpret; and we have shewn that, however meritorious the spirit in which they essayed to grapple with overwhelming difficulties, the verdict of posterity has failed to ratify their decisions or their method. With the dawn of another century, when the waters, turbid with their first inrush, had become com-

Progressive
element in
the history
of scholasti-
cism.

¹ Through the courtesy of Professor Stubbs of Oxford, I am able to state, both on his own authority and that of Mr Coxe, librarian of the Bodleian, that no materials now exist at Oxford likely to throw any light on the personal history of Duns Scotus at that university. The fate that befel his writings there will come under our notice in a future chapter.

² 'The toil, if the story of his early death be true, the rapidity of this

man's productiveness, is perhaps the most wonderful fact in the intellectual history of our race. He is said to have died at the age of thirty-four, a period at which most minds are hardly at their fullest strength, having written thirteen closely-printed folio volumes, without an image, perhaps without a superfluous word, except the eternal logical formularies and amplifications.' Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. XIV. c. 3.

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paratively tranquil and clear, we naturally look for the manifestations of a more critical spirit and a more deliberate estimate. Nor shall we be disappointed. The decisions delivered at Paris, if not altogether reversed at Oxford, re-appeared only with numerous and important modifications. An improved canon and the accession of new material equally conduced to such a result.

There is, indeed, no graver error with respect to the schoolmen than that which would lead us to regard them as expending their efforts in one uniform direction, their arguments revolving in one vicious circle and around the same hopeless points of discussion; and, so long as metaphysics hold their place in the domain of speculative enquiry, the thinker who anticipated Hegel on the one hand, and Spinoza on the other, would seem entitled to some recognition in the history of human thought. Nearly half a century ago archbishop Whately called attention to the want of a treatise on the literature and antiquities of the science of Logic, and while he insisted emphatically on the high qualifications requisite in the writer of such a work, fully recognised the interest and value that its efficient performance would possess for a select, though somewhat limited, circle of students¹.

Researches
of recent
writers.

¹ 'The extensive research which would form one indispensable qualification for such a task, would be only one out of many, even less common, qualifications, without which such a work would be worse than useless. The author should be one thoroughly on his guard against the common error of confounding together, or leading his readers to confound, an intimate acquaintance with many books on a given subject, and a clear insight into the subject itself. With ability and industry for investigating a multitude of minute particulars, he should possess the power of rightly estimating each according to its intrinsic importance, and not (as is very commonly done) according to the degree of laborious research it may have cost him, or the rarity of the knowledge he may in any case have acquired. And he should be careful, while recording

the opinions and expressions of various authors on points of science, to guard both himself and his readers against the mistake of taking anything on authority that ought to be evinced by scientific reasoning.' Whately's *Logic* (ed. 1862), p. 2. In striking contrast to the view above indicated, Dean Mansel considers that 'a historical account of the Scholastic Logic ought to confine itself to commentaries and treatises expressly on the science; and the scholastic contributions to the matter of Logic should be confined to such additions to the Aristotelian text as have been incorporated into the *Logica docens*.' (Introd. to *Artis Log. Rud.* p. 31.) But in treating a time when the application of this *Logica docens* underlay almost every treatise of a didactic character, it is evident that to restrict the historical survey to the abstract art

This want, at least up to the conclusion of the scholastic era, has now been to a great extent supplied by the labours of Prantl, to whose researches, together with those of Hauréau and Charles Jourdain, we have been so far indebted that it is necessary to state that, without the aid of these writers, many pages of this volume must have remained unwritten. To the first named we are especially indebted for an investigation into the progress of that new element, the *tertium* to the new Aristotle and the Arabian commentators, which hitherto appearing only at intervals and exercising but little influence on the philosophy of the schoolmen, now assumed in the writings of Duns Scotus such considerable and significant proportions. The Byzantine logic has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it associates the learning of the Latins with that of the Greek empire, and may be regarded as a stray fragment of those literary treasures which, two centuries later, rolled in such profusion from Hellas into western Europe.

Influence of
the Byzantine
Logic.

In the eleventh century the seat of the Cæsars of the East, which had so often defied the fiercest assaults of the infidel, and had not yet been subjugated to the rule of an illiterate Latin dynasty, still preserved some traces of that literary spirit that in the West was almost solely represented by the victorious Saracens. The masterpieces of Grecian genius were still studied and appreciated; the Greek language was still written with a purity that strongly contrasted with the fate that had overtaken the tongue of Cicero and Virgil¹; and

State of
learning at
Constanti-
nople in the
eleventh
century.

would be to diminish, very materially, both the value and the interest of the whole work.

¹ If we accept the account of Philolphus, this contrast was still to be discerned even so late as the period immediately preceding the fall of Constantinople before the Turks in 1453. 'Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words, of Arabic, Turkish, Slavonian, Latin, or French origin. But a purer idiom

was spoken in the court and taught in the college, and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian, who, by a long residence and noble marriage, was naturalised at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philolphus, "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato, so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks,

CHAP. II.

Treatise of
Michael
Constantine
Psellus.
d. 1078.

Translation
of the treatise
of Psellus by
Petrus
Hispanus.
d. 1277.

Translation
by William
Shyreswood.

works of extensive erudition and much critical acumen attested, from time to time, that though the age of poetic genius and original conception was past, scholarship and learning were still represented by no unworthy successors of Strabo and Aristarchus. Among such writers the name of Michael Constantine Psellus, a learned professor at Constantinople towards the close of the eleventh century, deserves a foremost place; and to his treatise on logic, *Σύνοψις εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους λογικὴν ἐπιστήμην*, we must refer those influences upon the method of the schoolmen which now offer themselves for our consideration. This manual, though representing, according to Prantl, little more than 'the content of the school logic received up to the close of antiquity', and therefore in no way comparable for originality with the works of Avicenna and Averroes, would, notwithstanding, seem to have affected the development of logic in the West to an extent singularly in excess of its real value. Among the contemporaries of Aquinas was the once famous Petrus Hispanus, a native of Lisbon, who after a brilliant career as a student and teacher at Paris, was ultimately raised to the papal chair under the title of pope John XXI. His literary activity, which might compare with that of Gerbert himself, extended to science, theology, and philosophy, and he was, until recently, regarded as the earliest translator of the treatise by Psellus¹. This supposition however has been altogether disproved by the researches of Prantl, who has shewn that Petrus Hispanus was forestalled, by at least twenty years, by an eminent Oxonian, William Shyreswood, whose name, though it has now passed from memory, was long identified

who have escaped the contagion, are those whom we follow, and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of Athens; and the style of their writings is still more elaborate and correct.'" Gibbon, c. 56, viii 105. See also Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii 466—8.

¹ *Gesch. d. Log.* ii 265. Ann. 6.

² Dean Mansel, in the *Introduc-*

tion to his *Artis Logice Rudimenta*, has expressed his belief, in which he informs us he is supported by the authority of Sir William Hamilton, that the work attributed to Psellus is, in reality, a translation into Greek of the work of Petrus Hispanus! In the later editions of the above work he has however omitted to notice the most recent contribution by Prantl to the literature of the whole subject. See sixth edition of *Artis Logice Rudimenta*, p. 33.

at Oxford with the introduction of the new element. William Shyreswood was a native of Durham, who, after having studied both at Oxford and Paris, succeeded to the dignity of the chancellorship at Lincoln¹; where he died in the year 1249. As a writer on logic he exercised a potent influence on the developement of that study in England. Internal evidence, indeed, favours the supposition that there existed a version of portions of the treatise by Psellus in circulation prior even to that of Shyreswood, but on this point we have no certain information; and the method of Duns Scotus, which was founded, in no small degree, upon the Byzantine logic, does not appear to have traced back its inspiration further than to this writer. In Shyreswood we first meet with the familiar mnemonic verses of the Moods of the Four Figures, still preserved in every treatise on formal logic²; and it would appear, that from the time of Roger Bacon down to that of Ben Jonson³ his reputation as a logician was undiminished in the university which he adorned.

As regards Petrus Hispanus, it would seem, if we accept the conclusions of Prantl, that he was not only not the first translator of Psellus, but that his performance was in every way inferior to that of our own countryman: the work of the one being spiritless and servile, while that of the other shews indications of a genuine effort at intelligently appreciating the meaning of the original, characteristics which we may suppose contributed not a little to procure for him the warm eulogium of Bacon⁴, whose severest contempt was always reserved for a mechanical spirit of interpretation, whether in teacher or learner. The historian has, indeed, even ventured to conjecture that Pope John may merely have transcribed a

Superiority
of the Oxford
translation.

¹ For duties of the chancellor of a cathedral see Ducange, s. v.

² Thus given by Prantl: *Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio, Baralipon, Celantes, Dabitis, Fapesmo, Frisesomorum, Cesare, Campestres, Festino, Baroco, Davapti, Felapton, Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Ferison.*

Gesch. d. Log. iii 15.

³ 'Here is to the fruit of Pem,
Grafted upon Stub his stem,

With the peakish nicety
Of old Sherwood's vicety.'

Ben Jonson, *Underwoods*.

⁴ 'Quod probare potestis per sapientes famosiores inter Christianos, quorum unus est frater Albertus, de ordine Prædicatorum, alius est Gulielmus de Shyrwode thesaurarius Lincolniensis ecclesiæ in Angliâ, longe sapientior Alberto. Nam in philosophia communi nullus major est eo.' *Opus Tertium*, c. 2.

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Extensive
popularity
of the treatise
by Petrus
Hispanus.

Influence of
the Byzantine
logic some-
thing more
than merely
technical.

Latin version that he found ready to his hand¹. But, however this may have been, it is certain that the prestige which necessarily invested the labours of the head of the Church soon cast into the shade those of the English ecclesiastic, and though the name of William Shyreswood was long remembered at Oxford, his reputation in Europe could not compare with that of Petrus Hispanus. For two centuries and a half the *Summulæ Logicales* of the latter writer reigned supreme in the schools, and during the hundred and thirty years that followed upon the invention of printing, no less than forty-eight editions are enumerated by Prantl as issuing from the presses of Cologne, Leipsic, Leyden, Venice, and Vienna; while already, with the commencement of the fourteenth century, the importance of this new element had become so generally recognized, that to reconcile the same with the previously accepted dicta of authority had become a task which no one who aspired to be regarded as a teacher of the age found it possible to decline. Just therefore as it had devolved upon Albertus and Aquinas to decide how far the Arabian commentators could be reconciled with the orthodox interpretation of Aristotle, so did it devolve upon Duns Scotus to incorporate or to shew reasons for rejecting the new thought presented in the Byzantine logic. The element, accordingly, which in Albertus, Aquinas, and Grosseteste, is but an exceptional phenomenon (*vereinzelten Erscheinungen*), now becomes in the great schoolman of Oxford a predominant feature; a feature which Prantl in his almost exhaustive treatment of the subject has fully investigated; and though it is neither practicable nor desirable for us to attempt to follow him into those technical details which belong to the special province of his work, it is, on the other hand, essential to our main purpose to make some attempt at explaining the con-

¹ 'Jedenfalls ist unter den ähnlichen Erzeugnissen jener Zeit das Compendium des Petrus Hispanus das geistloseste, insoferne es ohne irgend einen einzigen eigenen Gedanken nur den Grundtext der neu eingeführten byzantinischen Logik wiederholt. Ob der Verfasser des Griechischen mächtig war, um

den Psellus zu übersetzen, oder ob er nur als Abschreiber einer bereits vorhandenen getreuen Uebersetzung sich seinen „weltgeschichtlichen“ Einfluss errungen habe, lässt sich nicht entscheiden; der „Schweiss des Angesichtes“ kann in keinem der beiden Fälle gross gewesen sein.' in 34.

struction placed upon the Byzantine logic and the direction in which it operated. 'One might easily be inclined to suppose,' observes our authority, 'that its influence belonged purely to the literature of the schools, and had nothing at all to do with the Arabian Aristotelianism and the controversies springing from thence, but the sequel shews that this Byzantine weed-growth sent its offshoots deep into the logical party contentions, and hence into the so-called philosophy of that time, and that (since Occam and his followers) a knowledge of the Byzantine material is the only key to the solution of the oft-lamented unintelligibility of many entire writings as well as of isolated passages.'

It will here be necessary, in order to gain a correct impression of the precise position of Duns Scotus in relation to the philosophy of the time, briefly to recall those important modifications of theory that had already resulted from the events of the preceding century. The first effects of the new Aristotle upon the schools would seem, as may be naturally supposed, to have tended towards some diminution of that excessive estimation in which logic had hitherto been held. So long as the *Isagoge*, the *Categories*, and the *De Interpretatione* represented the sum of the known thought of the Stagirite, the importance of logical science had been unduly exalted and the study had commanded exclusive attention. But as soon as it was discovered that Aristotle himself had recognised such branches of philosophy as physics, metaphysics, ethics, and that it was difficult to say how far it could be proved that he had regarded logic as anything more than an instrument of enquiry, while the Aristotelian tradition had undoubtedly been that it was an *art* and not a *science*,—that is, that it had for its subject-matter no fundamental laws of thought, but was merely an arbitrary process constructed for the better investigation of real knowledge¹,—the prestige of

The legitimate influence of the New Aristotle partially neutralised by the Byzantine logic.

¹ The distinction between a Science and an Art, that the former has for its object-matter that which is necessary or invariable, the latter that which is contingent and variable, dates back as far as Aristotle. See *Ars Poet.* I, ii. *Topica*, vi, viii. 1.

Sir William Hamilton (see Article in *Edin. Rev.* Vol. LVII. p. 203) says, 'The Stoics in general viewed it (logic) as a Science. The Arabian and Latin schoolmen did the same. In this opinion Thomist and Scotist, Realist and Nominalist concurred;

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the dialectic art became correspondingly lessened. Aquinas and Roger Bacon, little as they agreed in other respects, seemed in some sense at unison on this point. 'The subject-matter of logic,' said the former, 'is not an object of investigation on its own account, but rather as a kind of scaffolding to other sciences; and hence logic is not included in speculative philosophy as a leading division, but rather in suberviency thereto, inasmuch as it supplies the method of enquiry, whence it is not so much a science as an instrument'. The view of Bacon, according to which he regarded the *logica utens* as a natural inborn faculty, and the *logica docens* as merely ancillary to other sciences, has already come under our notice. That such views failed to find expression in a corresponding modification of practice, and that, notwithstanding the more intelligent estimate of science that now undoubtedly began to prevail, logic continued for more than two centuries to occupy the same 'bad eminence' both at Oxford and at Cambridge, must be attributed to the Byzantine logic, to Petrus Hispanus, and to Duns Scotus.

Presence of
the Byzan-
tine logic in
Duns Scotus.

'The logic of Duns Scotus,' says Prantl, 'which gave birth to an abundant crop of Scotistic literature, does not indeed proceed in entirely new paths which he had opened up for himself,—he is, on the contrary, as regards the traditional material, just as dependent and confined (*abhängig und bedingt*) as all the other authors of the Middle Ages. But he is distinguished, in the first place, by a peculiarly copious infusion of Byzantine logic, and secondly, by the comprehensive precision and consistency with which he incorporates the Aristotelian, Arabian, and Byzantine material, so that by this means many new views are, in fact, drawn from the old sources, and, in spite of all opposition, the transition to Occam effected'. The treatise of Psellus, as translated by Petrus Hispanus, thus enunciates the theory which Duns Scotus developed;—*Dialectica est ars artium, scientia scien-*

an opinion adopted, almost to a man, by the Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan 'Cursualists.' More accurate enquiry has shown this to be by far too sweeping an assertion.

¹ Ad Boeth. *de Trinitate*, (Vol. xvii 2) p. 134. quoted by Prantl, iii 108.

² *Geschichte der Logik*, iii 203.

*tiarum, ad omnium methodorum principia viam habens. Sola enim dyalectica probabiliter disputat de principiis omnium aliarum scientiarum. Et ideo in acquisitione scientiarum dyalectica debet esse prior*¹. 'Physics, mathematics, metaphysics,' said Albertus Magnus, 'are the three speculative sciences, and there are no more,—logic is not concerned with being or any part of being, but with *second intentions*².' It was in connexion with this doctrine of the *intentio secunda* that Duns Scotus sought to find that 'consistency' of which Prantl speaks, and to retain or even to augment the old supremacy of logic.

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Theory of the
Intentio
Secunda.

It may be desirable briefly to restate the question as it presented itself before the enunciation of this theory. Logic, said the Thomist, is an art and not a science; a science is concerned with real facts, with veritable entities, not with artificial processes or arbitrary laws. Metaphysics are a science, astronomy is a science, but logic, as concerned only with those secondary processes of the mind which it seeks to define and regulate, has no pretensions to rank as such. While therefore they accepted, as Albertus has done, the Arabian theory of the *intentio secunda*, by far the most important contribution to metaphysics since the time of Aristotle³, they stopped short precisely at the point where that theory touched upon the question of the right of logic to be included among the sciences. That theory admits of being stated in a few words. The intellect as it directs itself (*intendens se*) towards external objects, discerns, for example,

State of the
controversy
prior to
Duns Scotus.Theory of
the Arabians.

¹ Prantl remarks, 'dieser Satz fehlt in unserem Texte des Psellus; er ist wohl aus der gewöhnlichen boethianischen Tradition aufgenommen.' III 41. In the edition of the Synopsis by Axinger we have, however, the original Greek: Διαλεκτική ἐστὶ τέχνη τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀπασῶν τῶν μεθόδων ἀρχὰς ὁδὸν ἔχουσα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ κτῆσει τῶν ἐπιστημῶν πρώτην εἶναι τὴν διαλεκτικὴν χρῆ. I 1, p. 1, quoted by Prantl.

² 'Istæ igitur sunt tres scientiæ speculative, et non sunt plures. Scientiæ logicæ non considerant ens et partem entis aliquam, sed intentiones

secundas.' *Metaph.* I 1, 1. The only sense in which Albertus appears to have been able to recognize logic as a science was as *Logica Utens*: see quotations in Prantl, III 92.

³ 'The principal material added by the Arabians to the text of Aristotle is the celebrated distinction between *first* and *second intentions*. This is found in the epitome of the Categories by Averroes. It has also been traced to Avicenna. To the Arabians also are probably owing some of the distinguishing features, though certainly not the origin, of the Scholastic Realism.' Dean Mansel, *Introd. to Artis Log. Rud.* p. xxix.

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Socrates in his pure individuality, and the impression thus received is to be distinguished as the *intentio prima*. But when the existence of Socrates has thus been apprehended, the reflective faculty comes into play; Socrates, by a secondary process, is recognized as a philosopher or as an animal; he is assigned to genus and species. The conception thus formed constitutes the *intentio secunda*. But the *intentio secunda* exists only in relation to the human intellect, and hence cannot be ranked among real existences; while the objects of the external world, and Universals which have their existence in the Divine Mind, would exist even if man were not. It was in respect of this theory of the non-reality of the *intentiones secundæ*, that Duns Scotus joined issue with the Thomists. It is true, he replied, that existence must of necessity be first conceded to the objects which correspond to the primary intention, but it by no means follows that it is therefore to be denied to the conceptions which answer to the *intentio secunda*, that these are nothing more than creations of the intellect, and have consequently only a subjective existence. They are equally real, and though the recognition of their existence is posterior to that of the phenomena of the external world, 'man' and 'animal' are not less true entities than Socrates himself. Hence we may affirm that logic equally with physical science is concerned with necessary not contingent subject-matter, and is a science not less than an art¹.

Counter
theory of
Duns Scotus.

Logic a
science as
well as an
art.

¹ 'Auch den Unterschied, welcher zwischen Logik und Metaphysik neben manchen Berührungspunkten doch als ein wesentlicher besteht, erblickt Scotus ebenso wie all seine älteren und jüngeren Zeitgenossen in jener *intentio secunda*, welcher wir nun seit den Arabern stets schon begegneten, und er spricht in mannigfaltigen Wendungen wiederholt es aus, dass die Logik jene Momente, welche von *ratio* oder von *intellectus* oder von *conceptus* ausgehen, kurz also der subjectiven Werkstätte angehören, auf das objective Wesen der Dinge "anwende," *applicare*. Eben hiedurch entscheidet er auch jene Frage, ob die Logik als *modus sciendi* selbst eine Wis-

senschaft sei, im Ausschlusse an Alf-
arabi dahin, dass die Logik einerseits
als *docens* wirklich eine Wissenschaft
ist und andererseits als *utens* den
modus für alle übrigen enthält, so dass
wir hier...den Begriff einer "ange-
wandten Logik" treffen.' Prantl,
Geschichte der Logik, in 204-5.
According, therefore, to this view we
have, *Logica Docens* = Pure Logic = a
Science; *Logica Utens* = Applied Logic
= an Art. This appears almost
identical with the view subsequently
espoused by Wolf, and by Kant, who,
in defining the *Logica Docens* as
'The Science of the Necessary Laws
of Thought,' arrived, though by a
very different process, at the same

This conception of logic formed the basis of the Realism of Duns Scotus, and the inferences he derived therefrom struck deeply at the foundation of all theories concerning education. The Cartesian dogma was both forestalled and exceeded; for it is evident that in postulating for all the arbitrary divisions and distinctions marked out by the intellect a reality as complete as that of all external individual existences, the theory which claimed for every distinct conception of the mind a corresponding objective reality, was at once involved and still further extended. With Scotus the conception was itself the reality; and hence, as an inevitable corollary, there was deduced an exaggerated representation of the functions of logic altogether incompatible with a just regard to those sciences which depend so largely for their developement upon experience and observation. Logic, no longer the handmaiden, became the mistress,—the ‘science of sciences;’ men were taught to believe that the logical concept might take the place of the verified definition, and that *à priori* reasoning might supply that knowledge which can only be acquired by a patient study of each separate science¹. Mathematics and language, which Bacon had regarded as the two portals to all learning, were to give place to that science where alone could be found the perfect circle, and the remedy for the inaccuracy and vagueness of nomenclature and diction. The reproach which Cousin so unjustly cast upon Locke,—in reply to the almost equally

Logic the
science of
sciences.

conclusion as Scotus. See Dean Mansel's *Introduction*, pp. xlv and xlvii.

While I wish to speak with all respect of a work like Dean Milman's *Latin Christianity*, I may venture to observe that in his statement of Duns Scotus's philosophy he has exactly inverted the order of the Scotian argument. A comparison of his account (Bk. xiv c. 3) with that given by Hauréau and Prantl will prove this.

¹ Prantl remarks that both Albertus and Duns Scotus attempted to prove the existence of Universals from our subjective conception of them: ‘weil es ja von dem Nicht-Seienden keine Erkenntniss geben

könne und somit dem Universale Etwas ausserhalb “entsprechen” (*correspondere*) müsse, was eben bei bloss Fingirtem nicht der Fall sei.’ III 207. Indeed it was only by such reasoning that Scotus redeemed his theory of logic from the imputation of making it, not simply the mistress of the sciences, but the one and only science. *Universalia non sunt ficti-ones intellectus; tunc enim nunquam in quid prædicarentur de re extra nec ad definitionem pertinerent, nec metaphysica differret a logica, immo omnis scientia esset logica, quia de universalis*. Theorem, 4 III 269 A, quoted by Prantl, III 207.

CHAP. II. unjust assertion of the latter, that theological and scientific disputes are generally little more than mere logomachies,—that he regarded science as nothing more, to use the aphorism of Condillac, than *une langue bien faite*¹, may, with the change of a single word, be applied with perfect propriety to the Subtle Doctor. ‘Cela posé,’ says Hauréau, after an able exposition of the Scotian theory, ‘cela posé, il va sans dire qu’à toutes les pensées correspondent autant de choses, qu’on peut indifféremment étudier la nature en observant les faits de conscience ou en observant les phénomènes du monde objectif, et qu’une logique bien faite peut suppléer à toute physique, à toute métaphysique².’

Important results of the introduction of the Byzantine logic.

It will not repay us to follow our laborious guide through those minute and subtle enquiries whereby he has demonstrated the presence of the new element in the applied logic of Scotus,—our object being not to resuscitate the pedantry of the fourteenth century, but to trace, if possible, the direction of the activity that then prevailed, and its influence upon subsequent education. Nor will the foregoing outline appear irrelevant to such a design if we remember that in this Byzantine logic are to be discerned not only the influences that raised the logician’s art to so oppressive a supremacy in the schools, but also the germs of the ultra-nominalism developed by William of Occam,—the rock on which the method of scholasticism went to pieces in our own country; though in the obscurity that enveloped alike dogma, philosophy, and language, men failed at first to perceive the significance of the new movement. But before we pass from Duns Scotus to his pupil and successor, it is but just that we should give some recognition to that phase of his genius which honorably distinguishes him from Albertus and Aquinas. The logician who riveted thus closely the fetters of the schools, was also the theologian who broke through the barriers which his predecessors had so complacently constructed; and it must be regarded as an important advance

Limits which Scotus held must be observed in the application of logic to revealed truth.

¹ *Philosophie de Locke*, 5th edit., p. 232; Cf. *Locke, Essay on the Human Understanding*, iii 2, 4; Mill,

Logic, i⁶ 197.

² *Philosophie Scolastique*, ii 313.

in philosophic apprehension, that Scotus could admit the fact, that there were in the province of faith not merely truths to which the human reason could never have attained unaided, but also mysteries which even when revealed transcended its analysis. It is true that in the theory of the *principium individuationis* which he maintained, he sought to escape from the perilous position of Aquinas by a solution satisfactory to the comprehension; but there were also many other points in relation to which he could say with Tertullian and Augustine, *Credo quia absurdum*¹. The strain beneath which the formulas that Albertus and Aquinas had constructed were before long to give way, grew heavy under the supremacy of the Subtle Doctor. He saw, too, far more clearly than they, the real tendency of Aristotelian thought, and that the theory of the vital principle pointed unmistakably to a renunciation of the doctrine of a future life². And, while he recognised in all its force that desire for Unity³, which has proved both the polar star and the *ignis fatuus* of philosophy, he avoided with equal insight that theory of reabsorption, towards which the mysticism of Bonaventura had advanced so closely, and preferred simply to regard the belief in human immortality as a revealed truth.

If, accordingly, we compare Duns Scotus with Roger Bacon, there will be found, as we have already remarked, consent as well as contrast in their views. Both were distinguished by their devotion to the mathematics of their time; both said that knowledge must have its beginnings in experience⁴,—and in Duns Scotus we perhaps discern the

Duns Scotus
and Roger
Bacon com-
pared.

¹ 'Anch besitzt Scotus darin unsere Sympathie, dass er (—um mit modernen Worten zu sprechen—) auf der Unerkennbarkeit des Absoluten steht, dass er als Indeterminist die thomistische Unterordnung des Praktischen unter das Theoretische entschieden bekämpft, und dass er der Theologie nur eine praktische Wirksamkeit im Gebiete des praktischen Glaubens zu weist.' Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, III 202.

² 'Suivant Duns-Scot, cette vérité ne se prouve pas: "Animam esse immortalem probari non potest;" et,

pour la connaître, il eut fallu qu' Aristote fût éclairé des rayons de la grâce.' Hauréau, *Phil. Scolastique*, II 369.

³ 'Omnia quæ sunt, secundum modum sibi convenientem et possibilem unitatem appetunt.' *De Rerum Principio*, Quæst. XII 1. For explanation of this doctrine of the *secundum modum*, see Hauréau, II 355.

⁴ Prof. Maurice considers that a certain *inductive* tendency, as opposed to the deductive method of Aquinas, characterised the whole Franciscan order:—'The experimen-

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first signs of the gravitation of controversy towards the question with which, since the commencement of the seventeenth century, it has been mainly occupied; both regarded logic as essential to the right acquirement of knowledge¹, though differing widely with respect to its relative importance; both relegated to theology those deeper mysteries which the thinkers of the preceding century sought to determine by dialectics².

Long duration of the influence of Duns Scotus in the universities.

The reputation of Duns Scotus in our universities is rivalled by that of Aquinas alone, and in all but theological questions the influence of the former was probably far the greater. His realism, it is true, was displaced by the nominalism of Occam, but his authority as a logician and a theologian remained unimpaired. The literature to which his theories with respect to isolated questions gave birth, would alone form a considerable library. Even so late as the seventeenth century, almost a hundred years after he had been dragged so ignominiously from his pedestal at Oxford, an edition of his entire works appeared under the auspices of the Irish Franciscans at Lyons, unsurpassed by any edition of the schoolmen for beauty of typography and accuracy of execution; while in the dedication of the work to Philip IV of Spain, John Baptista a Campanea, the general of the order, unhesitatingly claims for his author the fame that belongs to *ingentis familie notissimus præceptor, amplissimæ scholæ nobilis antesignanus*³.

Edition of his works of 1639.

Schoolmen after Duns Scotus.

Among the most distinguished schoolmen in the generation that succeeded Duns Scotus were Mayronius, Petrus Aureolus, bishop of Aix, and Durand de Saint-Porçain; of these the first was long a text-book in our universities; the

tal tendencies of Roger Bacon expressed the method which he had learned from the strictly individualising mind of his founder. Francis of Assisi could look only at individuals, could only rise to the universal through individuals. Thence came his genial sympathy, thence came his superstition. What Bacon transferred to physics at the peril of his character and liberty, Duns Scotus

carried into metaphysics and theology, and so became the founder of the great Middle Age sect which bears his name.' *Moral Phil.* p. 5.

¹ 'Et certe si logicam nescivit, non potuit alias scire scientias, sicut decet.' *Comp. Studii*, c. 8.

² *Opus Majus*, cc. 4, 46.

³ *Opera Omnia*, cura Lucasi Waddingii, Lugduni, 1639.

second is credited by Hauréau with having been the leader of the attack on the theory of Universals; while the third acquired distinction by his denial of some of the chief doctrines of the Thomists,—among them that of the ‘first intelligible’ and that of representative ideas¹. Both approached the confines of that border land where the phantasies of realism were to be seen fleeing before the approaching light. It is impossible indeed to follow the reasoning of the most eminent logicians from the time of Aquinas without perceiving that clearer and juster metaphysical thought was being evolved from the long discussion. It needed but a few bold strides, and the regions of realism, so far at least as the theory of Universals was concerned, would be left behind. It is hardly necessary to add that such an advance was soon to be made, and that it was to be made by William of Occam.

‘The demagogue of scholasticism’ is no inappropriate title for one who, at little more than twenty years of age, defied the authority of Boniface VIII, in a treatise against the spiritual power of the Pope²; who, in mature life, stood forth in defence of the vow of poverty and of his order against John XXII³; and who so far reversed the tradition of the

William of
Occam.
d. 1347.

¹ Hauréau, *Phil. Scolastique*, 11 410—416. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, 111 292.

² That the *Disputatio super Potestate* was written during the lifetime of Boniface seems certain. (See Goldastus, *De Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*, ed. 1612, p. 13). Occam could therefore, if born in 1280, have been little more than one or two and twenty, for Boniface died Oct. 11, 1303. The *Disputatio* is in the form of a dialogue between a soldier and a priest, and it is certainly somewhat startling to find sentiments like the following proceeding from the pen of a Franciscan of the fourteenth century. ‘Clericus. Immo certe contra omne jus, injurias innumeras sustinemus. Miles. Scire vellem, quid vocatis jus. Clericus. Jus voco, —decreta patrum et statuta Romanorum pontificum. Miles. Quæ illi statuunt, si de temporalibus statuunt,

vobis possunt jura esse, nobis vero non sunt. Nullus enim potest de iis statuere, super quæ constat ipsum dominium non habere. Sic nec Francorum rex potest statuere super imperium: nec Imperator super regnum Franciæ. Et quemadmodum terreni principes non possunt aliquid statuere de vestris spiritualibus, super quæ non acceperunt potestatem: sic nec vos de temporalibus eorum, super quæ non habetis auctoritatem. Unde frivolum est, quicquid statuistis de temporalibus, super quæ potestatem non accepistis a Deo. Unde nuper mihi risus magnus fuit, cum audissem noviter statutum esse a Bonifacio octavo, quod “ipse est et esse debet super omnes principatus et regna,” et sic facile potest sibi jus acquirere super rem quamlibet.’ *Ibid.* p. 13.

³ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vii 377. Bk. xii c. 6.

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Ascendancy
of Nominal-
istic doctrines
in the
Schools.

schools, that from his time nominalism obtained the suffrages of the learned, while realism, in some instances, was even regarded as a heterodox doctrine. The triumph of nominalism as opposed to the realism of this period, was but the victory of more sober sense over the verbal subtleties and subjective phantasies that had hitherto dazzled the otherwise acute vision of the schoolmen; and the brief sentences in which William of Occam sweeps away the elaborate web-spinning of his predecessors have their brevity as well as their logic reflected in the pages of Hobbes, of Locke, and of Mill. *Le caractère propre du nominalisme c'est la simplicité*, says Haureau, in apology for his own brevity in expounding the doctrines of Occam; and though the application of the method is modified with each separate thesis of realism, the point of departure is the same, and the result is easily anticipated.

Criticism of
Prantl.

The nominalistic philosophy, therefore, as representing not an obsolete system but conclusions which have won the suffrages of succeeding thinkers, requires no exposition at our hands, but it will be necessary, having followed Prantl thus far, to explain in what manner, according to his view, the Byzantine logic exercised such important influence on so fundamental a controversy,—an influence in the absence of which he even ventures to assert Nominalism would not have made its appearance at this era¹. As the chief contribution of the Arabian philosophy to the metaphysics of the age had been the theory of the *intentio secunda*, so that of the Byzantine logic was the theory of the *suppositio*, a conception of which no trace appears in Duns Scotus, notwithstanding the very appreciable influence of the Byzantine element on his writings. According to this theory neither the *intentio prima* nor the *intentio secunda* is a real entity; the *intentio prima* is but the name designating the external object, while the *intentio secunda* is a generalisation from the *intentiones primæ*. Both are but types of the reality, the former a sign of the

Influence of
the Byzantine
logic on
the controversy
respecting
universals.

Theory of the
suppositio.

¹ 'Aber gewiss ist... dass ohne die byzantinische Logik jene Richtung, welche man später als Nomini-

alismus stigmatisirte, nicht entstanden wäre.' III 233.

objective entity, the latter the collective sign of signs. And, so far was Occam from claiming for the *intentio secunda* a real and distinct existence, as Duns Scotus had done, and inferring therefrom the high prerogative of logic, that he appears to have regarded this as a question in which logic had no concern¹. But while Occam struck thus boldly at the foundation of realism, he clearly discerned that individuals, *as such*, could afford no real knowledge, and hence Universals assumed for him their true value as the aim of all scientific induction. This, then, was the chief service which Occam rendered to philosophy. He brought again to light, from the darkness to which preceding logicians had consigned it, the true value of the inductive method, as auxiliary to the deductive,—the great truth which Aristotle had indicated and the schoolmen had shut out. After a lapse of eighteen centuries, the proper function of syllogism, as the bridge constructed by induction for deduction to pass over, seemed likely at last to be recognised. That the position Occam thus took up was not subsequently recognised in all its importance as the equilibrium between philosophy and science, must be referred to the errors of yet greater reputations, who, in the strong reaction from scholasticism which set in with the sixteenth century, visited with indiscriminate censure its real services as well as its follies and mistakes. ‘In short,’ says Prantl, ‘we find ourselves in Occam on the basis of an Aristotelian

The true
value of
Universals
first pointed
out by
William of
Occam.

¹ ‘Utrum autem talia sint realiter et subjective in anima an objective tantum, non refert ad propositum nec hoc spectat determinare ad logicum, qui tamen principaliter distinctionem inter nomina primæ et secundæ intentionis habet considerare, quia logicus præcise habet dicere, quod in ista propositione “homo est species” subiectum supponit pro uno communi et non pro aliquo significato suo; utrum autem illud commune sit reale vel non sit reale, nihil ad eum, sed ad metaphysicum.’ Sent. 1 Dist. 23. Quæst. 1. (quoted by Prantl, III 342). The two great philosophical distinctions which chiefly engaged the attention of the schoolmen,—that between matter and

form, and that involved in the theory of the *intentio secunda*,—are those on which Mr Shadworth Hodgson has built up the theory of his essay *Time and Space*. If I rightly understand his profound exposition of first and second intentions (see pp. 33—45), his view, making due allowance for the additional light thrown upon the question by recent discussion, is essentially the same as that of the Oxford schoolman of the fourteenth century. ‘First intentions,’ he says, ‘may be defined as objects in relation to consciousness alone; second intentions, as objects in relation to other objects in consciousness.’ p. 39.

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empiricism, which, along with the admission that all human knowledge begins with the perception of sense and of the individual object, combines the claim that every science, as such, can treat only of Universals: a fundamental conception which appears clothed in Byzantine terminology, when he says that the component parts of judgements in every case occupy the place of singular individuals by means of *suppositio*, but for science only *termini universales* are of much worth¹. According to this view the universal, it is hardly necessary to point out, is represented in Occam by the *intentio secunda*², and in this amount of consent between the para-

¹ 'Kurz, wir befinden uns bei Occam auf der Basis eines aristotelischen Empirismus, welcher mit dem Zugeständnisse, dass alles menschliche Wissen von der Sinneswahrnehmung und von den Einzel-Objecten anhebt, zugleich die Forderung verknüpft, dass jede Wissenschaft als solche nur von Universellem handle, eine grundsätzliche Auffassung, welche in byzantinische Terminologie eingekleidet ist, wenn Occam sagt, dass allerdings die Bestandtheile der Urtheile mittelst *suppositio* an Stelle singulärer Individuen stehen, aber für die Wissenschaft doch nur die *termini universales* werthvoll sind.' in 332.

² The following quotations from the *Quodlibeta* and the *Summa Totius Logice*, indicate with such remarkable clearness the views of Occam in conformity with the Byzantine element, that I have thought it worth while to give them in full as printed by Prantl in illustration of his own criticism:— 'Large dicitur intentio prima esse signum intensibile existens in anima, quod non significat intentionem vel conceptum in anima vel alia signa præcise; (*præcise* in scholastic terminology = omnino, prorsus. See Ducange, s.v.).....et isto modo non solum categoremata mentalia, quæ significant res, quæ non sunt significative, sed etiam syncategoremata mentalia et verba et conjunctiones et huiusmodi dicuntur primæ intentiones.Sed strictè dicitur prima intentio nomen mentale præcise natum esse extremum propositionis et supponere pro re,

quæ non est signum.....Similiter large accipiendò dicitur intentio secunda animæ conceptus, qui sunt naturalia signa rerum, ejusmodi sunt intentiones primæ strictè acceptæ, sed etiam prout signa mentalia ad placitum significantia signa syncategorematica mentalia; et isto modo forte non habemus nisi vocale correspondens intentioni secundæ. Strictè autem accipiendò dicitur intentio secunda conceptus, qui præcise significat intentiones naturaliter significantes, ejusmodi sunt genus, species, differentia et alia huiusmodi.....Ita de intentionibus primis, quæ supponunt pro rebus, prædicatur unus conceptus communis, qui est intentio secunda. In the *Summa* we have the following equally explicit exposition:—'sufficiat, quod intentio est quoddam in anima, quod est signum naturaliter significans aliquid, pro quo potest supponere, vel quod potest esse pars propositionis mentalis. Tale autem duplex est. Unum, quod est signum alicujus rei, quæ non est tale signum.....et illud vocatur intentio prima.....Large dicitur intentio prima omne signum intentionale existens in anima, quod non significat intentiones vel signa præcise,.....et illo modo verba mentalia et syncategoremata mentalia, adverbia, conjunctiones, et huiusmodi possunt dici intentiones primæ. Strictè autem vocatur intentio prima nomen mentale natum pro suo significato supponere. Intentio autem secunda est illa, quæ est signum talium intentionum primarum, ejusmodi sunt tales in-

dox of the master¹ and the true discernment of the pupil, we have a striking illustration of the relevancy to true philosophy, which, notwithstanding their many vagaries, the controversies of scholasticism in relation to this *vexata quæstio* may undoubtedly claim².

The works of the schoolmen have often been compared to the pyramids; vast, indeed, in their aggregate, but tediously minute and monotonous in detail; and even as Egyptian travellers who have venturously essayed the labyrinths of those ancient structures, have described their feelings of inexpressible relief on regaining the light of day, so, we cannot but conceive, notwithstanding the enthusiasm from time to time evoked, the men of the fourteenth century must have rejoiced as they saw some promise of escape from endless perplexity and toil. It is inspiring to note the ease wherewith this English schoolman disentangles himself from the toils of theological dogmas by his prompt disavowal of the ambitious all-sufficiency of Aquinas, a feature in which the influence of his teacher Scotus is probably to be discerned. Did the theologian seek to be informed whether the divine intelligence were the first effective cause of all existence? 'I know not,' replied Occam; 'experience tells me nothing of the Cause of all causes, the reason has neither the right nor the power to penetrate the sanctuary of the Divine.' Was

The limits of logical enquiry in reference to theology distinctly defined.

tentiones "genus," "species," et hujusmodi.' See Prantl, III 342, 343.

¹ That such was the view of Scotus Prantl points out with considerable clearness:—'So nimmt auch Scotus vor Allem die allgemein recipirte arabische Unterscheidung einer doppelten *intentio* in dem Sinne auf, dass die *secunda intentio*, d. h. die eigentlich logische, ein nachfolgendes Erzeugniss der Denk-Operation sei und so als Universale bezeichnet werde, während die *prima intentio* als ursprünglich unbedingtes Erfassen auf die objective Quiddität gehe, welche wohl gleichfalls Universale genannt werde, aber an sich gleichgültig gegen Allgemeinheit oder Einzelheit sei und daher auch im Denken nicht mit concreter Gegenständlichkeit (*subjective*) sonderneben

nur unmittelbar vorstellungsweise (*objective*) auftrete.' III 208.

² See Prantl, III 361—379. Mill's *Logic*, Bk. II cc. 1, 2, and 3. Bain, *Mental and Moral Science*, Appendix B. Dean Mansel observes that 'Occam, like Petrus Hispanus, departs from the ordinary arrangement of treating consecutively the Isagoge of Porphyry and the several books of the *Organon*. He commences with the different divisions of terms, of which his account is much more complete than that of the *Summulae Logicales*.' (Introd. to *Artis Logicae Rudimenta*, p. xxxvi.) Prantl shows that Occam exercises a perfectly independent judgement in his employment of the technical method of that treatise: see *Geschichte der Logik*, III 382, 391, 392.

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that Cause of causes omnipotent? asked the theologian. 'According to logic,' was the reply, 'the mode of existence is the same in the cause as in the effects: but the effects of the First Cause are finite, the Cause itself is infinite, and is therefore removed from the province of my logic.' Such manly sense finds an echo in our hearts. We are ready to surrender to Luke Wadding his adored Scotus as a compatriot, in our gratification at finding in this indubitable Englishman the earliest discernment of the limits which more modern thought has so distinctly recognised.

It would require very extended research in his writings to enable us to affirm that Occam in no case recognised the existence of an ultimate major premise, that is to say, a major premise which could not, in conformity with the nominalistic philosophy, be shown to be resolvable into an induction from observed facts. But it is to be remembered that the question of innate ideas was not familiar to the schoolman. The belief in their existence had been roughly rejected by the chief teachers of the early Latin Church; and it was not until Plato had again become known to western Europe, that the theory began to advance towards that position which it has since assumed in the arena of philosophic controversy. There is nothing in the peculiar direction of the prejudices which characterise the age in which Occam lived, to suggest that he might not have employed, with perfect impunity, the reasoning used by Locke against an innate belief in the divine existence; but when we consider that Locke himself undoubtedly failed to grasp the true bearings of nominalism upon the whole theory of innate ideas, we may well hold his predecessor by more than three centuries exonerated from reproach in his corresponding lack of apprehension. On more perilous ground it proved, in all probability, of eminent service to the progress of speculation that Occam so definitely refused to render his method subservient to the test of theological dogma. It might seem a bold step for a Franciscan friar thus to proclaim the severance of logic from theology; but the impossibility of that alliance which Aquinas had en-

deavoured to effect, was becoming increasingly apparent, and the path pursued by Occam seemed at least to relieve him from the arduous task of reconciling what both Bacon and the Church had declared could not really be at variance. To some he may indeed appear only to have evaded the difficulty, but in the restrictions he thus imposed on logic it is easy to see that he narrowed the field of controversy with the happiest results. The dogma had hitherto been the rallying point for the fiercest controversies. The Real Presence, the Incarnation, the doctrine of the Trinity, the existence of angelic natures, the Immaculate Conception, such had been the questions which drew round each great doctor the excited audiences of those centuries. The earnestness with which men then sought to approve to the reason that which it was not given to the reason to explain, is among the most remarkable, perhaps the most painful, features of these times. With William of Occam we see these feverish efforts sinking for a time into comparative repose. Universals thenceforth, at least in the English universities, ceased to invite the ingenuity of the logical disputant; and each new comer, relieved from the necessity of shewing how his doctrines might be reconciled with dogma, cast his metaphysical theories into the arena of the schools to be tossed from one disputant to another, in comparative freedom from apprehension concerning their bearing upon theological controversy. An immense accession had been gained to the cause of freedom in thought, and few will be disposed to call in question the justice of the comment of Hallam, that 'this metaphysical contention typifies the great religious convulsion' of a later time.

We have already alluded to those writings of Occam wherein he appeared as the confronter of the papal assumptions; and the whole controversy between the pope at Avignon and the English Franciscans is so pertinent to the history of English thought at this period, that we shall need no excuse for pausing for a while to note the main features of this remarkable episode. We have adverted in the preceding chapter to the rapid degeneracy of the Mendicants,

The Pope at
Avignon
opposed by
the English
Franciscans.

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Eminent
English
Franciscans.

Subserviency
of the court
at Avignon
to French
interests.

and it is undoubtedly somewhat difficult, at first sight, to reconcile those general characteristics which drew from Wyclif, the master of Balliol, such stern rebuke, and from Gower, Chaucer, and Langlande such trenchant sarcasm, with the merits of that order which could trace from Adam de Marisco so illustrious a succession as is presented, in England alone, by the names of Richard of Coventry, John Wallis, Thomas Dockyng, Thomas Bungay, Peccham, Richard Middleton, Duns Scotus, Occam, and Burley. It is not less singular to find the order which sacrificed the sympathy of Grosseteste by its subserviency to papal aggression, now foremost in the resistance to the papal power.

Of the latter phenomenon a sufficient explanation is afforded in the policy of Boniface VIII, and the subsequent removal of the pontifical court to Avignon. The rapacity of Boniface had effectually alienated the sympathies of the English Franciscans¹; the subserviency of the court of Avignon to French interests roused the indignation of all true Englishmen. For seventy years, after the conclusion of the struggle between the crafty and able pontiff and the equally crafty and able Philip the Fair, the pope was the humble vassal of France; and when at length he again resumed his residence under the shelter of the Vatican, it was soon discovered that, in that long humiliation, much of the awe and reverence that once waited on his authority had passed away, and that his mandates, his menaces, and his anathemas were but feeble echoes of the thunder that Hildebrand and Innocent III had wielded. The effects of that long exile were indeed such as we may well suppose none of the French monarchs had foreseen. The power of France, at the opening of the century and up to the days of Crécy and Poitiers, was a menace to all Europe, and

¹ For an account of the extraordinary fraud, a transaction resembling that of the veriest modern sharper, practised by Boniface on the Franciscans of England, see Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Book xi c. 9. 'It was,' remarks that author, 'a bold and desperate measure, even in a Pope,

a Pope with the power and authority of Boniface, to estrange the loyalty of the Minorites, dispersed, but in strict union, throughout the world, and now in command not merely of the popular mind, but of the profoundest theology of the age.'

it was with unfeigned dismay that the surrounding nations beheld the unscrupulous spirit and immoderate pretensions of Philip enlisting in their support the servile cooperation of the Papacy. In Italy the prevailing sentiment was that of angry dissatisfaction. Petrarch, himself a spectator of the shameless profligacy that gathered round the court at Avignon, sarcastically compared the exile of the pontiff to the Babylonish captivity. Rienzi, during his brief tenure of the tribuneship, summoned Clement v to return to Rome. But it may be doubted whether the indignation of Italy was not surpassed by that of England. In our own country the national feeling was called forth as it had never been before. The resentment felt in the preceding century at the monopoly of the richest benefices by Italian priests, was trifling compared with that evoked by the same monopoly when claimed by the nominees of a foreign foe. The national character was now fully formed; the two nations had blended into one; and the strong purpose of the Saxon and the high spirit of the Norman alike found expression in the Statute of Provisors sanctioned by the most courageous of English monarchs, and the denial of the papal pretensions to temporal power asserted by the boldest of the English schoolmen.

Dissatisfaction in Italy.

Indignation in England.

It can consequently excite but little surprise that, when the opponent of the Papacy appeared as the author of a new philosophy, his doctrines fell, at Paris, under the ecclesiastical censure. The wrath of pope John XXII was fierce against the whole Franciscan order; against the Spiritual Franciscans who inveighed against the corruptions of Avignon, and against the partisans of Occam who denied his claims to temporal power. The writings of the English Franciscan were committed to the flames, and masters of arts were forbidden to teach his doctrines. Occam himself was a prisoner at Avignon, and only escaped death by secret flight and taking refuge at Munich with Louis of Bavaria, who supported the cause of the rival claimant to the pontificate. From Munich he waged a further controversy with his antagonists upon the question of the papal power, his

The writings of Occam encounter the papal censure.

Sympathy manifested with his doctrines in England.

CHAP. II.

Contrast
between
Oxford and
Paris.

Anti-
Nominalistic
tendencies
at the latter
university.

manifest superiority over his antagonists extorting the admiration even of the hostile pontiff, who styled him the *Doctor Invincibilis*. In England, where the Franciscan order was most powerful and the feeling excited by the usurpations of the Papacy most intense, the sympathy evoked on his behalf was proportionably strong. From the time of Grosseteste there appears to have been growing up a distinctive school of English thought, separated by strong points of contrast from that developed under the influence of the Dominicans at Paris; and not a few of our countrymen regarded with exultation the vigour and freshness of speculation at home when compared with the conservatism that prevailed at the great continental university¹. Traces of this contrast of feeling are to be discerned long after the time of Occam. Even so late as the latter part of the fifteenth century we find that at Paris, when the ban under which Louis XI had placed the nominalistic doctrines was removed, and the chains which bound the forbidden volumes were loosened, the German nation, originally known as the English nation, alone received with any manifestations of joy the withdrawal of the prohibition².

¹ 'The school of philosophers which then (in the thirteenth century) arose in this country was distinguished, in the judgement of contemporaries, by a luminous acuteness, by a subtle rashness of speculation, from the more grave and solid learning of the continent.'—Prof. Shirley, *Introd. to Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. xlviii.

² 'On voit, en 1473, les livres des nominaux, par les ordres de Louis XI, enfermés sous des chaînes ou mis au fers, comme dit Robert Gaguin, pour n'être "déloués et défermés," qui huit ans après, au nom du même roi, par le prévôt de Paris, qui déclare qu'à l'avenir, "chaque y étudiera qui voudra." Seule dans l'université la nation d'Allemagne reçut avec une grande joie cette autorisation de les lire.' *Histoire Littéraire de la France au Quatorzième Siècle*, par Victor Le Clerc, i 359. The English nation at the university of Paris became known as the German nation

in the year 1430. The historian of the university of Basle, Dr Vischer, observes that at its first foundation in the year 1460 the still raging controversy introduced an element of discord. Of the different phases of nominalism in that century, he observes:—'Der Nominalismus vereinigt jetzt um sich die ganze gegen die kirchlichen Missbräuche ankämpfende, neuernde Partei, welche in den Concilien einen Weg zur Verbesserung der Kirche sucht, und, so auffallend es auch auf den ersten Blick ist, erscheint er in bedeutenden Vertretern sogar mit dem Mysticismus verbunden. Er fand trotz dem Widerstande des mit der römischen Kirche verbundenen Realismus immer mehr Verbreitung auf den Universitäten, und wurde am Ende des vierzehnten und im Anfang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts vorherrschend, selbst auf der Pariser Universität.' *Geschichte der Universität Basel*, p. 139.

At Oxford however the doctrines of Occam obtained a decided, though by no means an undisputed, superiority¹. Occasionally, indeed, supporters of the older philosophy avowed their dissent from his teaching; of whom the most eminent was perhaps Walter Burleigh, a pupil of Duns Scotus, whose *Expositio super artem Veterem* long continued a text-book in the university, and whose *Liber de Vita ac Moribus Philosophorum* is interesting as perhaps the earliest attempt at a connected view of the history of ancient thought. But by far the greater number followed in the new track. Among them were John Bacanthorpe, Adam Goddam, and Armand de Beauvois; while some even sought to press the arguments of their teacher to yet more extreme conclusions. Such was Richard Holcot, who did not hesitate to insist upon that distinction between scientific and theological truth which, as we have seen, both the Church and Bacon declared to be impossible, and at which Occam himself appears to have stopped short². If we accept the views of certain writers we shall be disposed to look upon the distinguishing feature of scholasticism as well nigh obliterated with the progress and diffusion of nominalistic doctrines. 'The triumph of Nominalism,' says Dean Mansel, 'involved the downfall of the principal applications of the scholastic method.' But, on the other hand, the facts shew us that method as not less rigorously pursued by Bradwardine and Wyclif than by Albertus and Aquinas. Professor Shirley, whose views on such a subject must carry considerable weight, inclined to the opinion that a modified

Influence of
the ascendancy of
Nominalistic
doctrines on
the method of
the schools.

¹ Wood says, *sub anno* 1343, 'the divisions between the Northern and the Southern clerks were now as great, if not more, as those before. Those of the north held, as 'tis said with Scotus, and those of the south with Ockham, and in all their disputations were so violent that the peace of the university was thereby not a little disturbed.' Wood-Gutch, i 439.

² 'Neque dicas, cum Roberto Holcoet in *Prim. Sentent. philosophorum rationes veras esse posse secundum*

*rationem naturalem, articulos vero theologicos veritatem sibi vindicare secundum rationem supernaturalem. Nam (ut ait S. Thomas) nullo pacto verum alteri vero repugnare potest Quapropter Thomas, in Comment. ad Lib. Trinit. Boethii, scribit quod si quid inveniatur in dictis philosophorum fidei repugnans, illud non esse philosophia desumptum, sed ex ejus abusu procedere propter rationis defectum.' Mazonius in *Univ. Platonis et Arist. Philosoph.* p. 201. Quoted by Hauréau, ii. 479.*

CHAP. II. form of realism still prevailed, though the theory of Universals as objective existences was abandoned. 'It is possible,' he says, 'that in order to be consistent with a revealed religion, nominalism requires a definite boundary to be drawn between the provinces of religion and philosophy, and to this the whole genius of scholasticism is opposed. But this at least is certain, whatever be the cause, that almost all the religious life, and even all that was continuous in the intellectual life of the middle ages, belonged to one or other of the various shades of realism. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, whatever there was among the clergy, either of such religious feeling or of intellectual activity, was to be found, speaking broadly, among the secular priests. As a body, therefore, they were naturally realists¹.' It is evident, indeed, that if nominalism, in a form incompatible with the scholastic method, had become predominant to the extent that some authorities have represented, the result must have inevitably led to a comparative neglect of those writers in whom that method is the all-prevailing characteristic, but a very imperfect acquaintance with the studies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suffices to shew us that such was not the case. The pretensions of scholasticism were lowered, but its policy was the same. The provinces of reason and faith may have been no longer regarded as conterminous, but logic was still the weapon that the theologian most relied upon in controversy, and its popularity was undiminished in the schools.

Thomas
Bradwardine,
d. 1349.

His treatise
*De Causa
Dei*.

If proof were required of our statement, we could scarcely adduce better evidence than is afforded by the great treatise of Thomas Bradwardine, archbishop of Canterbury,—the *De Causa Dei*, and the rapid and permanent success that it obtained. This treatise, addressed *ad suos Mertonenses*, may be regarded as one of the chief sources of the Calvinistic teaching, so far as it has found expression, of our English Church; founded for the most part on the work of Augustine, it aims at developing, by a series of corollaries from two

¹ Introd. to *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. lii.

main propositions, the reasoning against Pelagianism. The mode of treatment, which is almost as much that of the geometrician as of the school logician, is perhaps the most remarkable instance of the scholastic method to be found in the whole range of middle age literature¹. How soon its authority as a classic work on the controversy became recognised, may be inferred from the simple yet reverential language which Chaucer has put in the mouth of his Nonne Prest:—

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Testimony of
Chaucer to
its early
popularity.

'But what that God forwot most needes be
After the opynyoun of certain clerkis.
Witnesse on him, that eny clerk is,
That in scole is gret altercacion
In this matier, and gret desputesoun,
And hath ben of an hundred thousand men.
But yit I can not bult it to the bren,
As can the holy doctor Augustyn,
Or Boece, or the bischop Bradwardyn,
Whether that Goddis worthy forwetyng
Streigneth me needely for to do a thing,
(Needely clepe I simple necessité);
Or elles if fre choys be granted me
To do that same thing or to do it nought,
Though God forwot it, er that it was wrought;
Or if his wityng streyneth never a deel,
But by necessité condicionel.'

The work to which Chaucer thus deferentially alludes was received with unanimous applause by the learned of Bradwardine's time; it found its way to nearly all the libraries of Europe²; it was edited, in 1618, with laborious care by

¹ A good outline of the general scope of the work will be found in Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iv 87—92: and a careful study of it in Lechler's *De Thoma Bradwardino Commentatio*: Lipsiæ, 1862. Savile looks upon Bradwardine's method as unique: 'Itaque primus, quod sciam, et solus hanc viam tentavit in Theologicis, ut filo Mathematico Theologica contexeret, ponendo scilicet primo loco duas hypotheses quasi principia, et ex iis proxima quaque demonstrando, et corollaria deducendo, petitis etiam ex Euclide probationibus; deinceps

ex hypothesisibus, et prædemonstratis reliqua omnia perpetua serie ad finem usque operis attexendo, quo fit ut conclusiones ejus cuiuspiam fortasse nimis alte petitæ videantur. Quodsi in lemmatibus et propositionibus non semper ἀκρίβειαν illam mathematicam potuit usquequaque assequi, meminere lector non id auctori imputandum, sed subjectæ, quam tractat, materiæ.' *Præf. Lectori*.

² 'Fuit hic liber, statim atque editus est, tanto omnium doctorum exceptus applausu, ut per omnes fere bibliothecas totius Europæ describeretur.' *Ibid*.

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Sir Henry Savile,—one of the latest of that eminent scholar's services to literature,—appearing as a folio of some 900 pages; and even so late as the last century, Dean Milner deemed it deserving of a lengthened and scrupulous analysis. In the account of Bradwardine which Savile prefixes to his edition, he extols in language of some exaggeration the learning of his author, who, he says, *solidum ex Aristotelis et Platonis fontibus hausit philosophiam*. What kind of philosophy Bradwardine was likely to have imbibed as that of Aristotle, we have already seen; as for Plato, there is no evidence in the *De Causa Dei* that the author had ever had access to any of that philosopher's writings except the old translation of the *Timæus* by Chalcidius. At the same time it must be admitted that his references to ancient authors are surprisingly numerous and extend over a wide range. His pages bristle with quotations from Ptolemæus, Cyprian, Lactantius, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Boethius, Seneca, Cassiodorus, Isidorus, Hermes, Johannes Scotus, the Pseudo-Dionysius, Damascenus, Bede, Anselm, Grosseteste, Avicenna and Averröes. Even had he at that time attained to the dignity of the archbishopric, his literary resources would appear far beyond what we should look for at this period. Our knowledge of the facts of his life offer however an adequate explanation of this erudition; for we know that Bradwardine had access to the library of the author of the *Philobiblon*.

Illustration
afforded by
the work of
the learning
of the age.

Richard
of Bury,
b. 1287,
d. 1346.

There was no Grosseteste in the fourteenth century, but his love of learning and liberality in its promotion were worthily represented in Richard of Bury. The son of a Norman knight of that ancient town, Richard received his education at Oxford, where his academical distinctions were such that he was selected to fill the post of tutor to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III. At court his position was a difficult one; for the rival parties were contending in bitter enmity. By prudent reserve until the time for action had arrived, he was however enabled to render important service to his pupil's cause. To his counsels have been attributed the deliberately concerted

rupture forced on between Edward II and his brother-in-law, Charles the Fair of France. It was he who, as the royal treasurer in Guienne, forwarded the revenues he had collected to Isabella on her arrival in Paris; a daring step which subsequently made it necessary for him to flee for his life, from the pursuit of Edward's lieutenant, to the campanile of the Franciscans in that city. During the administration of the queen and Mortimer he appears to have retained their favour without subsequently becoming involved in their disgrace; and when the youthful Edward had shaken off their dictation it soon became apparent that his former tutor was the man whom he delighted to honour. In 1330 Richard was appointed ambassador to pope John XXII at Avignon, and the successful conclusion of the business then entrusted to his care earned for him the bishopric of Durham. The stewardship of the Palace, the keepership of the Wardrobe, and the guardianship of the Privy Seal, had already fallen in rapid succession to his lot.

CHAP. II.

His early career and experiences.

There seems to be little reason for inferring that Richard of Bury was a man of profound acquirements, even when measured by the standard of that illiterate age. Petrarch, who made his acquaintance at Avignon, describes him as a man of ardent temperament, not ignorant of literature, and with strong natural inquisitiveness into obscure and out of the way lore. The poet, indeed, flattered himself that he had found the very man to solve for him an antiquarian difficulty he was then seeking to unravel,—the geography of the Thule of the ancients,—and propounded his question forthwith. We learn with regret that our eminent countryman proved no Œdipus on this occasion. He took refuge in a vague vaunting of those literary stores he was then accumulating at home, and expressing his certain belief that on his return he should be able at once to find the necessary information. But though Petrarch, believing that the pressure of more important affairs might have driven the conversation from the mind of the English ambassador, wrote once and again to remind his lordship of Durham of his

His interview with Petrarch at Avignon.

CHAP. II.

Real character of his attainments.

promise, the oracle, greatly to the poet's disappointment, preserved an obstinate silence¹. From various data we may, indeed, reasonably surmise that in Richard of Bury the literary enthusiast and the bibliophilist prevailed over the accurate scholar²; nor does the appearance of some half dozen Greek words in the *Philobiblon* warrant us in concluding that the author had any extended acquaintance with the language. Our admiration will more judiciously select his really strong points:—his indefatigable efforts in rescuing valuable books from oblivion and destruction,—the genial manner, tinged with a harmless pedantry, in which he descants on the advantages of learning, and on the care, the respectful care, to which its treasures are entitled,—his princely bequest to Oxford and wise provisions for the maintenance of that bequest in its integrity,—the kindness of his nature and his quick eye for genius, as shewn in the men who formed the literary circles which he loved to gather round him in his palace at Bishop's Auckland. Among these was Thomas Bradwardine, one of the

¹ The lively manner in which Petrarch has related this anecdote induces me to transcribe the original Latin:—'Mihi quidem de hac re cum Richardo quondam Anglorum regis cancellario, sermo non ociosus fuit, viro ardentis ingenii, nec literarum in seio, et qui ut in Britannia genitus atque educatus, abditarumque rerum ab adolescentia supra fidem curiosus, talibus præsertim quæstiunculis enodandis aptissimus videretur, ille autem, seu quia sic speraret, seu quia puderet ignorantiam fateri (qui mos hodie multorum est, qui non intelligunt quanta modestiæ laus sit, homini nato, nec nosse omnia volenti, profiteri ingenue se nescire quod nesciat) seu forte, quod non suspicor, quia hujus mihi arcani notitiam invideret: respondit, certe se dubietati meæ satisfacturum, sed non priusquam ad libros suos, quorum nemo copiosior fuit, in patriam revertisset, erat enim dum in amicitiam ejus incidi, tractandis domini sui negotiis, apud sedem Apostolicam peregrinus ea scilicet tempestate,

qua inter præfatum dominum suum et Francorum regem primi diuturni belli semina pullulabant, quæ cruentam messem postea protulere; necdum repositæ falces aut clausa sunt horrea, sed dum promissor ille meus abiisset, sive nihil inveniens, sive noviter injuncti pontificalis officii gravi munere distractus, quamvis sæpe literis interpellatus, expectationi meæ, non aliter quam obstinato silentio satisfacit.' *Epist. de Rebus Fam. Lib. III. ed. Basil. p. 674.*

² 'Iste summe delectabatur in multitudine librorum. Plures enim libros habuit, sicut passim dicebatur, quam omnes Pontifices Angliæ. Et præter eos quos habuit in diversis maneriis suis, repositos separatim, ubicunque cum sua familia residebat, tot libri jacebant sparsim in camera qua dormivit, quod ingredienti vix stare poterant vel incedere nisi librum aliquem pedibus conueulerent.' W. de Chambre, *Continuatio Hist. Dunelm.* Surtees Society, p. 130, (quoted by Mr Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 4).

bishop's chaplains; and from the library of the episcopal residence the author of the *De Causa Dei* enriched the pages of his treatise. A certain community of error between the bishop and his chaplain would, indeed, suggest that they drew from common stores, for both are to be found referring in their writings to a sorry poem, *De Vetula*, as the work of Ovid¹. In accumulating his collection, with all the advantages of royal sanction and his own high position, the English prelate had spared no effort. His agents explored the chief towns of France, Germany, and Italy. He had himself conducted the search in Paris and among the more important monasteries in England; and at the magic of his gold, many a religious house and many a foundation school had yielded up from its dark recesses and from mouldering chests some neglected, half-forgotten volume, gnawed by the mice, eaten by the moth and the worm, and covered with mildew and with dust.

CHAP. II.

His exertions
as a book
collector.

It is gratifying to find that, unlike many libraries that have represented the literary zeal of a lifetime, the stores which Richard of Bury had collected were not scattered at his death. At the close of the thirteenth century the monks of Durham had founded for their order at Oxford a college, first known as Durham and afterwards as Trinity College, and to this foundation he bequeathed his library². The society was required to preserve the volumes in chests, and the rules laid down for their use and preservation are interesting as affording the earliest instance of the existence of the pledge system in our universities, and also as another

His library
bequeathed
to Durham,
afterwards
Trinity Col-
lege, Oxford.

¹ Among other apocryphal books and writers whom Bradwardine cites, besides, of course, the omnipresent Dionysius, we have the *Vacca* of Plato, the *Pemander* of Hermes, and the *Secreta Secretorum* of Aristotle.

² Some of these books, on the dissolution of the College by Henry VIII, are said to have been transferred to Duke Humphrey's Library, and some to Balliol College. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 5. The University Library at Oxford was commenced in 1367, on the funds and

valuable collection bequeathed by Thomas Cobham, bishop of Worcester, in the year 1320, together with those bequeathed by Richard of Bury. The original statute for the regulation of the library is given by Mr Anstey (*Monumenta Academica*, II 227). The books were to be chained, 'in convenient order,' so as to be accessible to the students. Part of the library, amounting in value to forty pounds, was sold, in order to raise a salary for the librarian.

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Regulations
for its pre-
servation.

proof of the extent to which the regulations that obtained at Paris were reproduced at Oxford¹. Five scholars deputed by the master of the Hall were to have the custody of the books, of whom the entire number, or three, but not fewer, were competent to lend the volumes for use and inspection only; no volumes were to be allowed to go beyond the walls of the Hall to be copied or transcribed. No book was to be lent to any but the scholars of the Hall unless there was a duplicate in the library, and then only when security had been given exceeding the value of the book itself. The scholars were allowed free access to the library and use of the books, the scholar's name and the day on which he took away any volume having been duly registered².

Character of
the culture
of the four-
teenth cen-
tury.

The lives of the three eminent men whose labours we have thus briefly reviewed, all terminated at but a short

¹ The regulations prescribed by Richard of Bury appear to have been almost identical with those of the Sorbonne. M. Victor de Clere, after describing the latter, says, 'L'évêque de Durham, dans la donation qu'il fait de ses livres, in 1344, à l'université d'Oxford, reproduit presque littéralement les mêmes articles, et admet aussi, avec de sages restrictions, le principe du prêt. Déjà vers la fin du x^e siècle les livres de l'église cathédrale de Clermont pouvaient être prêtés à des particuliers. L'évêque de Carnillon, Philippe de Cabasole, en 1372, n'interdit à personne l'usage de ceux qu'il lègue à son chapitre; mais il veut qu'ils soient enchaînés.' *État des Lettres au Quatorzième Siècle*, t. 1 345. M. Cocheris (I quote Mr Hand's translation) remarks as follows:— 'They (the regulations of the Sorbonne) are more minute than those of the bishop of Durham, but do not materially differ from them. The first article prescribes a system of pledges, and the second directs the election of the custodian or librarians by the *socii*. These two fundamental articles are to be found in Richard of Bury's scheme and are its essential features. It is therefore quite impossible not to perceive the imitation. It is, besides, easy to explain this borrowing by Bury from the Sorbonne. His literary

taste, and the high position which he occupied in the literary world, gave him easy access to this institution, where, once admitted, he would not fail to visit the library and learn from its officers the rules for its management.' *Critical Notice*, prefixed to the *Philobiblon*, p. 37.

² *Philobiblon*, c. xix. The amount of illustration this treatise has recently received at other hands renders a more lengthened notice here, less necessary. Professor Morley has given a careful epitome of its contents in his *English Writers*, Vol. II pt. 1, pp. 43—57. Dean Hook has also happily touched on some of its most interesting features in his life of Bradwardine, (*Lives of the Archbishops*, Vol. IV). The original work has been elaborately edited by M. Cocheris, (Paris, 1856,) from the MSS. at the Imperial Library of Paris, with valuable biographical, bibliographical, and literary excursions; there is an American translation of this edition (Albany, 1861), to which the editor has added the English translation by John B. Inglis, (London, 1832); this latter translation is a very inaccurate performance. I have used the MS. in the Harleian Collection, No. 492, which appears in some respects superior in accuracy to those to which M. Cocheris had access.

interval from the close of the half century. Richard of Bury died at his palace at Auckland in the year 1345; William of Occam, in exile at Munich, in 1347; Thomas Bradwardine, after holding the see of Canterbury for a few months, was carried off by the prevalent epidemic, the plague of Florence, in 1349¹. While recognising the peculiar excellence of each, we must be careful lest their conspicuous merit blind us to the real character of the age in which they lived. There have been writers who, with that caprice which is to be met with in every age, however superior to preceding times, have professed to believe that the England of the fourteenth century excelled the England of the sixteenth²; but a very cursory glance through the pages of the *Philobiblon* suffices to show us that the author, enthusiast though he undoubtedly was, had formed no very hopeful estimate of the culture and the men of his own day. The censures of Bacon, which have already occupied our attention, are forcibly corroborated by Richard of Bury when he tells us how he is endeavouring to remedy the almost universal ignorance of grammar by the preparation of ma-

¹ Dr Lechler has distinguished the scope and bent of Bradwardine's writings from those of his great contemporary in the following pregnant sentences:—'Bradwardinus enim, si quid videmus, neque doctoribus illis scholasticis adnumerandus est, qui fidelissimi interpretes atque strenui patroni Romanæ mediæ ævi ecclesiæ omniumque etiam errorum ejus defensores extiterunt, neque illis viris, qui Romæ adversarii in publicum prodierunt, sive, ut Occamus, imperii nomine cum sacerdotio pugnam committebant, sive doctrinæ disciplinæque Romanæ capita quædam oppugnabant. Bradwardinus neque in Romæ decreta et instituta ita juraverat, ut Romam Romæ causa veneretur, neque ullo modo consilium cepit arma Romæ inferre. Nihilominus sententia illa de gratia Dei per Christum gratis salvante et peccatores justificante, quæ medulla quasi Bradwardini fuit, cum Romanæ ecclesiæ minime omnium convenit. Imo doctrina illa eadem est, quæ a Reformatoribus tessera data, ecclesiæ

evangelicæ medulla est eritque. Neque Luthero proximis annis ante pugnam de indulgentiis commissam in mentem venit, aut ecclesiæ Romanæ aut pontifici certe Romano adversari, neque Bradwardinus unquam deimpugnanda Roma cogitavit. Verum uterque ea fuit pietate erga gratiam Dei, quæ cum re pontificia non possit prorsus convenire. Et temporis tantum fuit, ut dissensus eo usque latens in lucem proferretur. Itaque nulli dubitamus Bradwardinum nostrum illis adnumerare viris, qui "testes veritatis" et prænuntii Reformationis nuncupati sunt.' *Commentatio*, etc. p. 18.

² Thomas James, librarian of the Bodleian in 1599, in a manuscript letter to Lord Lumley, preserved at the British Museum, in a copy of the edition of the *Philobiblon* which he published in the same year, speaks of his own time as 'an iron age,' while of Bury he says '*vixit in illo aureo seculo cum illis priscis et bonis hominibus.*'

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nuals for the students,—when he contrasts the ardour of antiquity in the pursuit of learning with the superficial impatience that marks the cultivation of letters among his contemporaries,—and especially when he thus characterises, in language which might almost pass for a passage from the *Opus Tertium*, the prevalent characteristics of the students who composed the great majority at Oxford and at Paris:—‘and forasmuch as,’ he writes, ‘they are not grounded in their first rudiments at the proper time, they build a tottering edifice on an insecure foundation, and then when grown up they are ashamed to learn that which they should have acquired when of tender years, and thus must needs ever pay the penalty of having too hastily vaulted into the possession of authority to which they had no claim. For these, and like reasons, our young students fail to gain by their scanty lucubrations that sound learning to which the ancients attained, however they may occupy honorable posts, be called by titles, be invested with the garb of office, or be solemnly inducted into the seats of their seniors. Snatched from their cradles and hastily weaned, they get a smattering of the rules of Priscian and Donatus; in their teens and beardless they chatter childishly concerning the Categories and the Perihermenias in the composition of which Aristotle spent his whole soul!’

The students of the time, as described by Richard of Bury.

His testimony to the degeneracy of the mendicant orders.

In no way less emphatic is his testimony to the decline of the mendicant orders, whom he describes as altogether busied with the pleasures of the table, the love of dress, in which they disregarded all the restrictions of their order, and with the erection of splendid edifices². Amid all their wide-spread activity, learning was falling into neglect; they still proselytised with undiminished vigour, but they no longer helped on the intellectual progress of the age. There is indeed one

¹ *Philobiblon*, c. 9.

² ‘Sed (proh dolor) tam hos quam alios istorum sectantes effigiem, a paterna cultura librorum subtrahit triplex cura: cura superflua; ventris viz. vestium, et domorum. Sic sunt enim (neglecta Salvatoris providentia, quem Psalmista circa pauperem et mendicum promittit esse sollicitum)

circa labentis corporis indigentias occupati, ut sint epulæ splendide, vestesque contra regulam delicatæ, necnon et ædificiorum fabricæ, ut castrorum propugnacula, tali proceritate, quæ paupertati non convenit exaltatæ.’ c. i. *Querimonium Librorum contra Religiosos Mendicantes*.

passage which, taken in its isolated sense, might seem to indicate that he regarded the Mendicants with high favour,—it is that wherein he bears testimony to the aid he had received from them in his researches, and to the invaluable literary stores of which their foundations were the repositories; but on a comparison of these encomiastic expressions with other portions of the *Philobiblon* it will be seen that the praise belongs rather to the workers of a prior generation, and modifies but very slightly the impression conveyed in other portions of the treatise.

It is however but just to notice that the religious orders, and more especially the monastic foundations, were already beginning to feel the effects of influences beyond their control. We have already seen¹ that the decline of the episcopal schools on the continent has been attributed, whether rightly or not, to the superior attractions of the universities, and it would certainly seem that Oxford and Cambridge must be regarded as to some extent the cause, the innocent cause, of the similarly rapid decline of the monastic orders in popular estimation in England. Without denying that, from the inherent defect of their constitution, those orders must in all probability have degenerated, just as all other orders had degenerated in every preceding age, we may yet allow that their fate overtook them with more rapid strides owing to the correspondingly rapid encroachments made by the new centres of learning upon their province as instructors of the people, and to the loss of that occupation which, amid their many shortcomings, had given something of dignity to their office. Warton appears to us to have here pointed out the connexion of cause and effect very justly:—‘As the universities,’ he says, ‘began to flourish, in consequence of the distinctions and honours which they conferred on scholars, the establishment of colleges, the introduction of new systems of science, the universal ardour which prevailed of breeding almost all persons to letters, and the abolition of that exclusive right of teaching which the monasteries had so long claimed; the monasteries, of course, grew inattentive to stu-

The monasteries superseded by the universities as centres of education.

Warton's explanation.

¹ See pp. 68—71.

CHAP. II.

dies which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated in other places; they gradually became contemptible as nurseries of learning, and their fraternities degenerated into sloth and ignorance¹. It will devolve upon us, at a somewhat later stage in our enquiry, to point out how a like decline awaited the prestige of the mendicant orders, the penalty of their own arrogance and bigotry.

Lull in the intellectual activity of the universities.

In bringing to a close our retrospect of the intellectual activity of England at this era, a yet more important decline even than that of the monastic and mendicant orders presses itself upon our notice and demands some explanation. How is it, that from the middle of the fourteenth century up to the revival of classical learning, the very period wherein the munificence of royal and noble founders is most conspicuous in connexion with our university history, such a lull comes over the mental life of both Oxford and Cambridge, and so few names of eminence, Wyclif and Reginald Pecock being the most notable exceptions, invite our attention? From the death of Bradwardine to the first battle of St. Alban's, more than three quarters of a century intervene, during which no adequate external cause of distraction appears which may be supposed to account for the comparative inertness of the universities. The observation of Anthony Wood, already quoted, that, after the time of Wyclif 'the students neglected scholastical divinity and scarce followed any studies but polemical, being wholly bent and occupied in refuting his opinions and crying down the orders of mendicant friars,' presents us with a true but only a partial explanation. Other causes were at work, some of which will be best explained in a subsequent chapter, but it can hardly be questioned that the most baneful effects in the fourteenth century are to be traced to the bias given to the studies then pursued. The shortcomings and excesses indicated by Bacon constituted the prevailing characteristics long after his time, and the absorbing attention given to the civil and canon law was undoubtedly one of the most fruitful sources of those evils. It

Wood's criticism offers but a partial explanation of the fact.

Absorbing devotion to the study of the civil law.

¹ *Dissertation on Introduction of Learning into England*, p. exiii, ed. 1840.

may not be unimportant here to notice, that it would be a serious misapprehension were we to regard these two branches of jurisprudence as representing at that time the provinces of the civilian and the ecclesiastic respectively. It is part of the gravamen of Bacon's complaint, written in the year 1270, that the effects of the civil law were to confound the distinction (the distinction which so frequently eludes the student's grasp) between the laity and the clergy of those times. Blackstone indeed in the Introduction to his Commentaries has gone so far as to represent the civil law as from the first under the protection of the clergy, and contending in its progress against no other obstacle than that offered by the laity, eager in the defence of their municipal law¹. We have already seen that such would be but a very imperfect account of the history of the Pandects. The same conservatism that had resisted the introduction of the Sentences and of the new Aristotle, had opposed the study of the Roman Law. But with the advance of the thirteenth century this opposition had died away,—how completely may be seen from the following passage from the *Compendium Philosophicæ*:—

‘But as we have now come down to our own times, I am especially desirous of introducing that which has been advanced in preceding pages concerning the causes of errors and the impediments of learning which have multiplied during the last forty years, and to point out how error so prevails in the Church of God, that either the approach of Antichrist or some other heavy trouble must be near at hand, or the advent of some most holy chief pontiff, who in the strength of God will root out these causes of error and

CHAP. II.
Inaccuracy of Blackstone's account of the history of this study.

Roger Bacon's account of the evils resulting from the too exclusive study of the civil law.

¹ ‘The clergy in particular as they then engrossed almost every other branch of learning...were peculiarly remarkable for their proficiency in the study of the law. *Nullus clericus nisi caudicus* is the character given of them soon after the Conquest by William of Malmesbury.....And if it be considered that our universities began about that time to receive their present form of scholastic discipline; that they were then and continued to be till the time of the Reformation,

entirely under the influence of the popish clergy (Sir John Mason, the first Protestant, being also the first lay, chancellor of Oxford), this will lead us to perceive why the study of the Roman laws was in those days of bigotry pursued with such alacrity in these seats of learning, and why the common law was entirely despised, and esteemed little better than heretical.’ Blackstone, *Commentaries* by Kerr, i 15.

CHAP. II. restore all things to their proper state. Of these causes two have, in the last forty years, attained their climax, of which one, the abuse of the civil law of Italy, not only destroys the desire of learning but the Church of God and all kingdoms. And thus, by this abuse, all those five before-mentioned grades of learning are destroyed, and the whole world exposed to the evil one. But as for the way whereby evil-minded jurists destroy the love of learning, that is patent; namely that by their craft and trickery they have so preoccupied the minds of prelates and princes that they obtain nearly all the emoluments and favours, so that the empty-handed students of theology and philosophy have no means of subsistence, of buying books, or of searching and experimenting upon the secrets of science. Even jurists who study the canon law possess the means neither of subsistence nor of study unless they previously possess a knowledge of the civil law. Whence, just as with philosophers and theologians, no regard is paid them unless they have a reputation as civil jurists, with the abuses of which study they have disfigured the sacred canons. Furthermore, every man of superior talent, possessing an aptitude for theology and philosophy, betakes himself to civil law, because he sees its professors enriched and honoured by all prelates and princes, and also that few, out of regard for their kin, adhere to the study of philosophy and theology, because the greedy faculty of the civil law attracts the great body of the clergy. And not only does the civil law of Italy destroy the pursuit of learning in that it carries off the resources of students and diverts fit persons (from that pursuit), but also in that by its associations it unworthily confounds the clergy with the laity, since it is in no way the function of the clergyman, but altogether that of the layman, to have cognisance of such law,—as is evident if we bear in mind that this law was compiled by lay emperors and for the government of the laity at large. And, indeed, the professors of the law of Bologna are willing to be styled either teachers or clergymen; and they reject the clerical tonsure. They take to themselves wives and regulate their household entirely in secular fashion, and associate with and adopt the

customs of laymen. From whence it is evident that they are separate from the clerical office and station¹.

CHAP. II.

With the fourteenth century the combination which Bacon thus loudly censures of the study of the civil with that of the canon law, had become the rule rather than the exception. A powerful impulse had been given to the former study by William of Nogaret, who in his capacity of legal adviser to Philip the Fair, in that monarch's struggle with pope Boniface, had developed the resources of the code with startling significance. Compared with such lore, theological learning became but a sorry recommendation to ecclesiastical preferment; most of the popes at Avignon had been distinguished by their attainments in a subject which so nearly concerned the temporal interests of the Church; and the civilian and the canonist alike looked down with contempt on the theologian, even as Hagar, to use the comparison of Holcot, despised her barren mistress². The true scholar returned them equal scorn; and Richard of Bury roundly averred that the civilian, though he might win the friendship of the world, was the enemy of God³. Equally candid is the good bishop's expression of his indifference, notwithstanding his omnivorous appetite for books, for the volumes of the glossists, which alone he appears to have been careless of collecting or preserving⁴. It is not improbable that, as M. Le Clerc has suggested, the study of both codes had a genuine attraction for students in that age, inasmuch as it provided, along with the gratification of the love of subtlety induced by the training of the schools, an outlet for practical activity⁵. But it is

Growing importance of the study of the civil law

Testimony of Holcot.

Testimony of Richard of Bury.

¹ *Compendium Studii Philosophiæ*, c. 4.

² Holcot, *Super Librum Sapientiæ*, Præf. D. 'Leges enim,' he adds, 'et canones istis temporibus mirabiliter fecundæ concipiunt divitias et pariunt dignitates. Et ideo sacra scriptura quæ est omnium scientiarum derelicta est; et ad illas affluit quasi tota multitudo scholarium.'

³ 'In libris juris positivi, lucrativa peritia dispensandis terrenis accommoda, quanto hujus sæculi filiis famulatur utilius, tanto minus, ad

capessenda sacræ scripturæ mysteria et arcana fidei sacramenta, filiis lucis confert: utpote quæ disponit peculiariter ad amicitiam hujus mundi, per quam homo, Jacobo testante, Dei constituitur inimicus.' *Philobiblon*, c. 11.

⁴ 'minus tamen librorum civilium appetitus nostris adhæsit affectibus, minusque hujusmodi voluminibus acquirendis concessimus tam operæ quam expensæ.' *Ibid*.

⁵ *État des Lettres au xiv^e Siècle*, i 509.

CHAP. II. easy to see that its chief value in the eyes of the many, of those who valued knowledge as a means rather than as an end, was that asserted by Bacon,—that it was the path to emolument, to high office, to favour with ‘prelates and princes.’ ‘Who ever rose pricked in heart from reading the laws, or the canons?’ asked John of Salisbury, when he sought to draw away Thomas à Becket from his excessive attention to the study¹. But it was under the shelter of the canon law that the archbishop fought out his struggle with the king of England. As for the hope to which Bacon had given expression, that some ‘most holy pontiff’ might arise who should reform these crying evils, it is sufficient to note the exclamation of Clement VII,—a pope whose sole recommendation to the tiara had been his unscrupulous political genius,—when he heard at Avignon that a young student of promise in the university of Paris was devoting his attention to theology:—‘What folly,’ he ejaculated, ‘what folly, for him thus to lose his time! These theologians are all mere dreamers².’ Neither from Rome nor from Avignon were those influences to come which should guide into happier paths the studies and learning of Europe.

Theological
studies com-
paratively
despised.

¹ ‘Prosunt quidem leges et canones, sed mihi credite, quia nunc non erit his opus, *Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit*. Siquidem non tam devotionem excitant, quam curiositatem.....Quis e lectione legum, aut etiam canonum compunctus surgit?

Plus dico: scholaris exercitatio interdum scientiam auget ad timorem, sed devotionem aut raro aut nunquam inflamat.’ Epist. 138 [A.D. 1165] ed. J. A. Giles, i 196.

² Crevier, III 186.

CHAPTER III.

CAMBRIDGE PRIOR TO THE CLASSICAL ERA.

PART I:—EARLY COLLEGE FOUNDATIONS.

THE names which, in the preceding chapter, have served to illustrate the varied activity of English thought would seem to justify us in asserting that, with the advance of the fourteenth century, the palm of intellectual superiority had been transferred from Paris to the English universities. Without insisting upon the philosophic insight of Bacon and the metaphysical ability of Duns Scotus, we may fairly ask whether any other university can point, at this period, to men comparable in their respective excellences and extended influence with William of Occam, Bradwardine, and Richard of Bury. If Paris can claim to have given to Oxford and Cambridge their statutes and their organisation, Oxford can boast that she gave to Paris some of her ablest and most influential teachers¹. As the renown of those eminent thinkers became established, men did not fail to note the

CHAP. III .
PART I.

Transference
of the leader-
ship of
thought from
Paris to Ox-
ford.

¹ 'Lyons, Paris, and Cologne were indebted for their first professors to the English Franciscans at Oxford. Repeated applications were made from Ireland, Denmark, France, and Germany for English friars; foreigners were sent to the English school as superior to all others.' Prof. Brewer, Pref. to *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. lxxxi. In a letter of Edward II to Pope John XXII desiring that Oxford

may have free interchange with Paris as regards the rights of masters of arts at that university, we find that the claim of Oxford as the source of the ancient instruction of Paris, is plainly preferred:—*verum quia dubium non est (secundum veterum testimonia scripturarum) Gallicanum studium ab Anglicanis nostris originale traxisse principium*. See Brian Twyne, *Apologia*, p. 377.

CHAP. III.
PART I.Testimony of
Richard of
Bury.

comparative sterility of the continental university. Petrarch exultingly pointed to the fact that her greatest names were those of men whom he claimed as compatriots¹. Richard of Bury, while he dwells with enthusiasm on the literary wealth and established prestige of the French capital, does not hesitate to imply that her preeminence is already a thing of the past, and attributes to his own country the merit of according a far more ready reception to novel truth; Paris, he declares, in her regard for antiquity, seems careless of adding to her knowledge, while the perspicacity of English thought is ever adding to the ancient stores. 'We behold the palladium of Paris,' he exclaims, writing while the soldiery of Edward III were ravaging the French provinces, 'borne off, alas, by that same paroxysm which afflicts our own land. The zeal of that illustrious school has become lukewarm, nay, even frozen, whose rays once illumined every corner of the earth. The pen of every scribe is there laid aside, the race of books is no longer propagated; nor is there one who can be regarded as a new author. They wrap up their thoughts in unskilful language, and are wanting in all logical propriety, save when they learn by secret vigils those refinements of English thought which they publicly disparage.'

¹ 'Est illa civitas bona quidem, et insignis Regia præsentia, quod ad studium attinet ceu ruralis est calathus, quo poma undique peregrina et nobilia deferantur; ex quo enim studium illud, ut legitur, ab Aleuino præceptore Caroliregis institutum est, nunquam quod audierim Parisiensis quisquam ibi vir clarus fuit, sed qui fuerunt externi utique et nisi odium barbari oculos perstringeret, magna ex parte Itali fuere.' *Contra Galli Calumnias*, (ed. Basil, 1554) p. 1192. He enumerates in support of his assertion Peter Lombard, Bonaventura, Aquinas, and Ægidius. To these observations M. Le Clerc replies, 'Cette remarque est juste, et continue même de l'être pour les siècles qui suivirent. Mais elle ne prouve rien contre la puissance et l'autorité de ces grands centres d'activité intellectuelle qui se chargent de l'éducation des peuples. Là sont

les maîtres qui forment, dirigent, éclairent; qui usent leur esprit et leur vie à ce labeur de tous les instants, et ne se sentent pas humiliés d'avoir des disciples plus hardis et plus célèbres qu'eux. On sait bien que la critique n'est point le génie; or, dans les grandes villes, dans les grands foyers d'instruction, la critique règne presque sans partage. L'ancienne Rome, qui fut long temps, comme Paris, une sorte d'école universelle, n'a compté non plus qu'un petit nombre de ses citoyens parmi les orateurs et les poètes que Pétrarque s'enorgueillit d'appeler des citoyens romains; et elle n'en a pas moins le droit de revendiquer, entre ses titres d'illustration, la gloire littéraire.' *État des Lettres au 14^{me} Siècle*, n 81. An ingenious defence; but Petrarch, I imagine, would have regarded the parallel instituted as defective.

But though we may readily admit that the temporary effects of the events alluded to by Richard of Bury had their share in bringing about this decline, it would seem that the most potent cause must be sought in a long prior occurrence; and it is probably to the removal of the papal court to Avignon that we must refer that paralysis which seems to have overtaken the genius of the nation. The pope, while he servilely subscribed to the political policy of the French monarch, to some extent indemnified himself by the assertion of an ampler authority over the centres of education and intellectual activity. 'With such a neighbour,' remarks Professor Shirley, 'intellectual independence was impossible. One of the many mortifications suffered by the pride of Boniface VIII, had been a refusal on the part of the university of Paris to send to him a list of the lectures she delivered, together with the names of such of her professors, or more distinguished graduates, as she wished to recommend for promotion. What Boniface had solicited in vain was freely granted by the university to John XXII. In 1316 the first *Rotulus Nominandorum* was sent to the newly elected pope at Avignon, and the practice once established soon became annual. Ecclesiastical dignities and emoluments fell in abundance upon the professors; and from that time the university declined. Other causes were, indeed, in operation. Paris had hitherto been the only great school of theology on the continent. The time had come when this could no longer continue. The demand for learning was becoming daily more general; and, what is more important, the spirit of nationality was growing every day more powerful. A vernacular literature had arisen in Italy, and was rising on a humbler scale in England; and even Germany and Bohemia, which had contributed many illustrious pupils to Paris, began to wish for national universities of their own. In 1348 the university of Prague was founded in connexion with Oxford; in 1365 that of Vienna, 'the eldest daughter of Paris;' in 1362 and 1363 faculties of theology were given to Bologna and Padua, where law alone had hitherto been studied. To Paris, therefore, little more than France was

CHAP. III.
PART I.

Influence of
the court at
Avignon
upon the uni-
versity of
Paris.

Professor
Shirley's cri-
ticism.

CHAP. III.
PART I.

left, at a time when France was torn by division and humiliated by defeat. To Oxford passed what remained of her intellectual empire¹.

Scantiness of
the materials
for history
of the uni-
versity of
Cambridge
before the
college era.

It is accordingly by a natural and inevitable transition that, in tracing the progress of learning, the historian finds himself passing with the advance of the fourteenth century from the continent to England; and, having examined sufficiently for our present purpose, the character and direction of the new activity at Oxford, we may now proceed to consider the rise in our own university of those new institutions, which, reflecting for the most part the example set by Walter de Merton, occupy the foreground of our subject in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Lengthened as our preceding enquiry has been, it has not been irrelevant to our main purpose. The commencement and early celebrity of the university of Paris, its remarkable mental activity under the influence of the Mendicants, and its rapid collegiate growth, are the three cardinal features in its early annals which Oxford reproduced, in all essential points, with singular fidelity. It would be gratifying if our information enabled us to trace out a similar resemblance at Cambridge, but the obscurity which hangs over her ancient history, and the loss of much that might have served to attest a corresponding process of development, preclude us from a like course of treatment. Beyond those broad outlines which we have followed in our preceding chapter, there is little that we know concerning our ante-collegiate era; presumptive evidence affords our principal guidance; it is not until the rise of the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist and of Peter-

¹ *Introd. to Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. li. M. Le Clerc, somewhat misled, I rather think, by the numerous movements, political and theological, which found a centre at Paris during this century, movements however that represent the conservatism rather than the advancement of the age, has claimed for his university an undiminished influence and prestige:—'Mais cette université de Paris qu'un si grand nombre d'autres, en France et hors de France, ont

proclamée leur mère, ne nous paraîtra jamais plus puissante, malgré le prestige qui environne au loin son nom, qu'elle ne le fut pendant ce siècle au centre même du royaume, à Paris, et dans notre propre histoire; car jamais, depuis qu'elle fut mêlée aux affaires du monde politique, elle n'exerça, près de cinquante ans de suite, un tel pouvoir sur les esprits.' *État des Lettres au 14^{me} Siècle*, 1 282.

house, of Michaelhouse and of King's Hall, of University Hall and of Clare, that our data assume something of completeness and precision; it is not until we decipher the faded characters of the charters and earliest statutes of those ancient foundations,—note the rude Latinity wherein the new conception is seen struggling as it were for utterance amid the terrorism and traditions of a monkish age,—the mass and the disputation, the friar and the secular, dogma and speculation, in strange and bewildering contrast and juxtaposition,—that a sense, dim and vague though it be, comes over us of the conditions under which our college life began; and it is precisely as we turn to collect the scattered links that still connect us with that age, that we become aware what a chasm, deep and not to be bridged over, separates us from its feelings and its thought.

Omitting for the present much interesting detail, it will accordingly be our object in this chapter to gather from the charters and statutes of the new foundations, that now began to rise in such rapid succession, the motives and designs of the founders, and to illustrate the dominant conception of that new movement in which the old university life became ultimately merged. Before however passing on to this stage of our enquiry it will be necessary to devote some consideration to that intermediate institution, the hostel, which took its rise in an endeavour to diminish, to some extent, the discomforts, sufferings, and temptations, to which, as we have already seen, students of the earliest period were exposed. The hostel of the English universities in former times may be defined as a lodging-house, under the rule of a Principal, where students resided at their own cost. It provided for and completely absorbed the pensioner class in the university; for the College, as we shall afterwards see, was originally composed only of a Master, Fellows, and Sizars. It offered no pecuniary aid, but simply freedom from extortion, and a residence where quiet would be ensured and some discipline enforced; advantages however of no small rarity in that turbulent age. Fuller, in his history of the university, has enumerated, chiefly on the authority of

CHAP. III.
PART I.

Hostels.

Fuller's
account
respecting
them.

CHAP. III.
PART I.

Caius and Parker, no less than thirty-four of these institutions, of which the greater number either fell into decay or became incorporated with colleges before the Reformation, while some undoubtedly survived for a longer period and are supposed by the same authority to have been the residence of many eminent men, who though trained at Cambridge during the earlier half of the sixteenth century are unmentioned on her college registers. 'Of these hostels,' he says, 'we see some denominated from the saint to whom they were dedicated, as St. Margaret's, St. Nicholas's, etc. Some from the vicinage of the church to which they were adjoined, as St. Mary's, St. Botolph's, etc. Some from the materials with which they were covered, as Tiled-Hostel. Some from those who formerly bought, built, or possessed them, as Borden's, Rud's, Phiswick's, etc. Some were reserved only for civil and canon lawyers, as St. Paul's, Ovings', Trinity, St. Nicholas's, Borden's, St. Edward's, and Rud's; and all the rest employed for artists and divines. Some of them were but members and appendants to other hostels (and afterwards to colleges), as Borden's to St. John's Hostel, then to Clare Hall; St. Bernard's to Queens'. The rest were absolute corporations, entire within themselves, without any subordination.'

Early statute
respecting
the hire and
tenure of
hostels.

We are indebted to recent research for the discovery of an early statute concerning the hire and tenure of these institutions, which may be regarded as one of the oldest documents illustrating the internal economy of the university; it belongs to the latter part of the thirteenth or to the early part of the fourteenth century; and offering as it does marked points of contrast when compared with the statute given in our *Statuta Antiqua*, has seemed worthy of insertion:—

Cautions: at
what time
they may be
received.

'If anyone desire to have the principalship of any hostel in the said university, he must come to the landlord of the said hostel on St. Barnabas the Apostle's day (June 11); for from that time up to the nativity of the blessed Mary (Sept. 8) cautions may be offered and received and at no other time of the year.

‘Moreover, the first by priority is the first by legal right, and therefore he who first offers the caution to the landlord of the house, his caution shall stand, and that same caution must be preferred in the presence of the chancellor.

CHAP. III.
PART I.

First in order of time first by legal right.

‘Moreover, the scholar who is to give the caution must come in person to the landlord of the hostel; on the aforesaid day or within [the abovenamed] period, but the sooner the better, and in the presence of a bedell or a notary, or of two witnesses, produce his caution, giving effect thereto, if he be willing; by effect is intended either a *cautio fidejussoria* or *pignoraticia*, that is, two sureties, or a book or something of the kind; and if he be not admitted the same scholar is forthwith to repair to the chancellor and produce his caution in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses and say in what way the landlord of the hostel has refused him in the matter of the acceptance of the caution; and this having been proved the chancellor shall immediately admit him on that caution and to that principalship notwithstanding the refusal of the proprietor.

Right of appeal from the landlord to the chancellor.

‘Moreover, he who is a scholar and the principal of any hostel may not give up possession or renounce his right in favour of any fellow-student, but to the landlord of the hostel only.

Right of tenure not transferable.

‘Moreover, cessions of this kind are forbidden, because they have proved to the prejudice of the landlord of the hostel, which ought not to be.

‘Moreover, if any one be principal of a hostel and any other scholar desire to occupy the same hostel as principal, let him go to the landlord of the hostel and proffer his caution, as above directed, with these words:—‘Landlord, if it please thee, I desire to be admitted to the principalship of the hostel in such and such a parish, whensoever the principal is ready to retire or to give up his right, so that I may first, as principal (*principaliter*) succeed him, if you are willing, without prejudice to his right thereto, so long as he shall be principal.’ If he do not agree, thou mayest produce thy caution before the chancellor that he may admit thee on the condition that whenever there shall be no prin-

Admission to the principalship of a hostel may be legally enforced.

CHAP. III.
PART I.

principal thou mayest be master and mayest succeed him (the former principal) in the same hostel rather than any one else; and the chancellor shall admit thee even against the wish of the landlord and that of the principal.

Scholars may have their hostel taxed, even though the landlord and principal be both unwilling.

‘Moreover, if any landlord shall say to any scholar,—‘Dost thou desire to be principal of this mine hostel?’ and the scholar answer ‘Yes,’ but the landlord says that he does not wish that the hostel should be taxed in any way, and the scholar says he does not mind, and enters into occupation as principal and receives scholars to share the hostel with him,—those same scholars may go to the chancellor and have their hostel taxed, contrary to the wish of both the landlord and the principal, and notwithstanding the agreement between the landlord and the principal, inasmuch as agreements between private persons cannot have effect to the prejudice of public rights.

Conditions of tenure of the principalship.

‘Moreover, no one is to deprive any principal of his principalship or to supplant him, in any fashion, so long as he pays his rent, or unless the landlord desire himself to be the occupier, or shall have sold or alienated the hostel¹.’

Main object of the statute.

The rude Latinity of this statute, its simplicity and brevity, would alone suggest its superior antiquity to the one quoted in the *Statuta Antiqua*; but further internal evidence may be noted in favour of such a conclusion. It will be observed that with the exception of one clause, its purpose is to assert the rights of the university over the town. The presumably later statute contained in the collection above referred to enters much more into detail; it secures the

¹ See *Communication made by Henry Bradshaw, M.A., published with Report presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 11, 1863.* ‘A statute,’ observes Mr. Bradshaw, ‘concerning Hostels, made in the reign of Edward the First, carries us back to a time in the history of the university when Peterhouse was the only college, and nearly all the members lived in these Hospitia. It is therefore less remarkable that we do not find this statute among the *Statuta Antiqua* in the

printed editions, as the old Proctors’ books, from which the materials chiefly came for the edition of 1785, seem not to have been drawn up till the end of the 14th century at the earliest, and so represent a time when the collegiate system had begun to get a firm footing in the University.’ The quaint character and eccentric grammar of this ancient statute has seemed to render it worthy of insertion in its original form: see Appendix (C).

rights of the landlord as well as those of the university; it forbids that houses formerly used as schools should be occupied as hostels unless good reason be shewn, the object being evidently to secure to the university a sufficient number of suitable and convenient places for instruction; it provides that the principal alone shall be responsible for the payment of the rent, 'lest he who has made a contract with one person should be distracted by a multitude of adversaries;' it gives to the lord of the manor or the receiver of the superior annual fees the right of distraining for rent. We can hardly doubt that these provisions have reference to a later period, when the points severally dealt with had become matters of frequent experience; while in the shorter statute we seem to recognise an enactment drawn up in that turbulent period when the law between the two corporations was ill defined, and the protection of the student was the primary object; and it is deserving of notice that it is probably in virtue of the power conferred by the third clause that we find, in the year 1292, the Chancellor putting one Ralph de Leicester in occupation of a house to the tenancy of which the Prior of Barnwell had refused to admit him, though a sufficient caution for the rent had been duly tendered¹.

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PART I.
Its details compared with those of statute 67.

But the aid afforded to the student by the institution of the hostel was evidently of a very limited character. If poor, the only assistance he obtained was protection against the rapacity of the lodging-house keeper; the principal appears to have been in no way concerned with the instruction of the inmates; the Mendicants proselytised with impunity, and inexperienced unsuspecting youth were induced to enrol themselves as Dominicans or Franciscans long before their judgment was sufficiently formed to estimate the full importance of such a step. The attractions held out were, indeed, well calculated to allure them from honorable activity in any secular calling. The indolent were tempted by the prospect of a dronelike existence at the expense of the public charity; the needy, by the temptations of a thinly-disguised epicureanism and the security of a corporate life;

Hostels of little avail as a counter-balance to the attractions of the mendicant orders

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 65.

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while to the studious, the enthusiastic, and the ambitious, the friar could point out how the great teachers of the age had found in the ranks of his order the most congenial associations and the opportunities for the most successful career. It is difficult to study the character of such men as Roger Bacon and William of Occam, and not to surmise that their adoption of the vows of the Franciscan was the result rather of the proselytising activity to which they were exposed than of their own mature and deliberate choice. 'Minors and children agreed well together,' says Fuller, in his usual vein.

Enactments
designed to
counteract
the prosely-
tism of the
Mendicants.

When such were the circumstances under which lads of fourteen had to acquire a university education, we need feel no surprise that both the academical authorities and private munificence were roused to action on their behalf. In 1336 a statute of our own university forbade the friars to receive into their orders any scholars under the age of eighteen years, a measure which it required the united influence of the four orders to repeal¹. To such an extent had the evil spread at Oxford that, in the preamble of a statute passed in 1358, we find it asserted as a notorious fact, that the nobility and commoners alike were deterred from sending their sons to the university by this very cause, and it was enacted that if any Mendicant should induce, or cause to be induced, any member of the university under eighteen years of age to join the said friars, or should in any way assist in his abduction, no graduate belonging to the cloister or society of which such friar was a member should be permitted to give or attend lectures in Oxford or elsewhere for the year ensuing².

It may be questioned whether, at any period in our modern era, the spirit of cooperation has been more active in this country than it was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The rapid spread of the religious orders, and the numerous guilds among the laity attest its remarkable power; but, save for the purposes of propagandism, as among the Mendicants, we rarely find this principle developing a novel

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 109.

² Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, i 204-5.

conception. The gilds of the Middle Ages, while sometimes subserving the purposes of superstition, were mostly societies for the protection of the presumed interests of a class or of a branch of industry; they represented the traditions and prejudices rather than the advanced thought and enlightenment of the time. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the foundation of our colleges was left to the philanthropy of a few illustrious individuals, and that it was not until the example thus set had been six times repeated in our own university, that it occurred to any corporate bodies to combine for a like purpose.

So early as the twelfth century, in the year 1135, the Frosts, an ancient and charitable family in Cambridge, founded there a hospital dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, under the management of Augustinian Canons. Tradition has assigned to Nigellus, the second bishop of Ely, the honour of the foundation, but in the list of benefactors the name of Eustachius, the fifth bishop of that see, stands earliest, and this must be accepted as conclusive against the claim put forward on behalf of his predecessor. The benefactions of Eustachius were of a princely character, and the privileges he obtained for the new foundation added largely to its importance. His example was followed by his successors in the bishopric; by Hugh Norwold, who obtained for the foundation exemption from taxation (a material relief at that period) in respect of two houses near St. Peter's Church; and by William of Kilkenny, the founder of our earliest university exhibition. William of Kilkenny was succeeded in the bishopric by Hugh Balsham. Hugh Balsham was a monk and subprior of Ely, and his election to the vacant see has a special interest, for it represents the installation of a bishop through local influence in opposition to the nominee of both the Crown and the archbishop,—the representative of a Benedictine community, in preference to the foremost Franciscan of his day. It was the monks of Ely who elected Hugh Balsham; the King quashed the election and nominated Adam de Marisco¹. 'A proceeding,'

Foundation
of the Hos-
pital of St.
John the
Evangelist.

Eustachius,
bp. of Ely
1137—1215.

Hugh
Norwold,
bp. of Ely
1229—1254.

William of
Kilkenny,
bp. of Ely
1254—1257.

Hugh
Balsham,
bp. of Ely
1257—1256.

His disputed
election.

¹ 'Dominus Rex, qui dominum Henricum de Wengham, sigilli sui

CHAP. III.

PART I.

Comparative
merits of
Hugh Bal-
sham and
Adam de
Marisco.

says Matthew Paris, 'which excited the wonder of all; for neither the election nor the elected could be condemned with justice, nor any fault be found with the elect¹.' It was only by recourse to the usual bribery, and an expensive journey to Rome, that Hugh Balsham succeeded in obtaining the papal confirmation of his election. It may possibly appear to those who have read Professor Brewer's sketch of the eminent Franciscan, that the friend of Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort, and the founder of a distinguished school of thinkers at Oxford, would have added more to the lustre of the episcopal chair. But we must not forget that Adam de Marisco was chiefly distinguished in connexion with the Franciscan party, and we can hardly imagine that the interests of his order would not have influenced him in his capacity of diocesan. We may feel assured that he would never have become, what Hugh Balsham became, the founder of our first Cambridge college. He was moreover at this time a worn out man, and died within twelvemonths of the election; while Hugh Balsham filled the see of Ely for nearly thirty years. Though therefore the Benedictine prior might not compare with the *Doctor Illustris*² for genius and varied learning, we can well understand that as a Cambridgeshire man³, with strong local sympathies, and an

bajulum, promovere cupiebat, speciales literas supplicatorias et solennes nuncios conventui Elyensi direxit; petens urgeret et instanter, ut dictum dominum Henricum in episcopum et suarum eligerent pastorem animarum. Conventus autem considerans notitiam sui supprioris, secundum illud ethicum:—*Ignotum tibi tu noli præponere notis*, ipsum memoratum suum Priorem, Hugonem videlicet de Belesale, in suum episcopum elegerunt.' Paris, *Hist. Major*, ed. Wats, p. 936.

¹ 'Super quo facto mirati sunt cuncti audientes, quia electus nec electio reprobari de jure poterat, nec in eisdem vitium reperiri. Sed prævaricatores, quærentes nodum in scirpo, et angulum in circulo, imposuerunt ei quod simplex claustralis fuit, nec de negociis secularibus exercitatus vel expertus, et penitus insuffi-

ciens ad custodiendum et tuendum nobilem episcopatum Elyensem, et insulam, quæ ab antiquo asylum extitit refugii omnibus oppressis tempore tribulationis.' *Ibid.* p. 950.

² The claim of Adam de Marisco to this title is, Prof. Brewer observes, hardly borne out by his letters, his only extant writings; but he quotes from the *Opus Tertium* the emphatic testimony borne by Roger Bacon to the attainments of his illustrious brother Franciscan. See *Monumenta Franciscana*, Pref. p. e.

³ Balsham, a village about ten miles to the east of Cambridge, was formerly one of the manor seats of the bishopric of Ely, and Simon Montacute resided there. Fuller remarks that it was customary at this period for clergymen to take their surname from the place of their birth. In the accounts of the Pre-

eminently practical turn for grappling with the defects and evils which he saw around him, his merits may have appeared to many to outweigh even the fame and influence of the Franciscan leader.

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PART I.

Some three and twenty years elapsed before the new bishop of Ely founded Peterhouse,—years during which he was acquiring a real knowledge of the state of the neighbouring university; and it would be difficult to point to any patron of learning either at Oxford or at Cambridge who has combined with such enlightened activity such generous self abnegation. Other founders have equalled Hugh Balsham in munificence and in earnestness, but mostly where they have established a claim to gratitude they have sought to assert a corresponding authority. It was this prelate's distinguishing merit that he could at once voluntarily surrender his powers of interference and increase his benefactions; be more a helper and yet less a dictator; could cede the ancient claims of his predecessors to control and command, and yet labour on in the same field where those claims had been asserted; preferring rather to survive as a fellow-worker than as a lawgiver in the memory of a grateful posterity. Of this spirit a signal instance is afforded us in the letters which he issued in the year 1275, whereby he distinctly limited the jurisdiction claimed by former bishops, and extended that of the chancellor of the university, by requiring that all suits in the university should be brought before that functionary, and restricting his own authority as bishop to the power of receiving appeals¹.

Hugh Balsham's merits as an administrator.

He consents to the limitation of his own jurisdiction.

In the following year, when he was called upon to adjust a dispute between his own archdeacon and the authorities of the university, his decision was given in the same spirit. The archdeacon, it appears, not only claimed jurisdiction over the churches in Cambridge as lying within the diocese, but also, through the Master of the Glomerels, whose nomination

His equitable decision between his archdeacon and the university.

centor of Ely Cathedral, in the year 1329, we have the following entry:—
'The Precentor, going to Balsham, to enquire for books, 6^s. 7^d.' See

supplement to Bentham, *Hist. of Ely Cathedral*, pp. 51, 86.

¹ Dyer, *Privileges of the Univ.* i 8.

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was vested in the archdeaconry, laid claim to other authority which threatened to encroach upon the rights of the chancellor. The Glomerels, as we have already seen, constituted a body distinct from the scholars of the university, and it became necessary definitely to mark out the limits of the jurisdiction exercised by the heads of the two bodies. Hugh Balsham's decision was clear and equitable. He decided that the *Magister Glomeriæ* should be arbiter of all disputes confined to the Glomerels themselves, or between Glomerels and townsmen, but that whenever a dispute had arisen between Glomerels and scholars there should be a power of appeal from the decision of that functionary to the chancellor¹. On other points, such as the jurisdiction over university servants, over priests resident at Cambridge merely as celebrants, and priests resident for the purpose of study, the bishop's decisions are equally clear and deserving of commendation; but the most important is undoubtedly that in confirmation of a statute previously passed by the chancellor and masters, 'that no one should receive a scholar who has not had a fixed master within thirteen days after the said scholar had entered the university, or who had not taken care that his name had been within the time aforesaid inserted in the matriculation book of his master, unless the master's absence or legitimate occupation should have prevented the same.' To this 'commendable and wholesome' statute, as he terms it (*statutum laudabile et salubre*), the bishop gives his hearty sanction. 'In fact,' he further adds, 'if any such person be found to remain under the name of a scholar, he shall be either expelled or detained, according to the King's pleasure.' It will be readily allowed that the

Scholars not
under a mas-
ter forbidden
the univer-
sity.

¹ 'It appears from the perusal of these very remarkable documents, that the master of glomery received his appointment and institution from the archdeacon of Ely, to whose jurisdiction the regulation and collation of the schools of grammar of the university prescriptively belonged; that he was required to swear obedience to the archdeacon and his officials: that it was his duty to preside

over and read (to have the *tutela et regimen*) in those schools, receiving from the scholars or *glomerelli* the accustomed *collectæ* or fees; that he was also attended by his proper bedell (now said to be the yeoman bedell), and that he exercised over his glomerells the usual jurisdiction of regent masters over their scholars.' Dean Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes*, Appendix A.

arbitrator in matters requiring such careful investigation as the foregoing, must have had ample opportunities for a clear insight into the defects and wants of the university, nor can we doubt that the knowledge thus gained found expression in the design which he shortly afterwards carried into execution. 'His affection for learning, and the state of the poor scholars who were much put to it for convenience of lodging from the high rents exacted by the townsmen,' being the causes assigned by the chronicler as weighing with Hugh Balsham in his new endeavour¹.

If we adopt the account accepted by so trustworthy a guide as Baker, his efforts were first directed towards a fusion of those two elements which Walter de Merton had striven to keep distinct. 'Having first obtained the King's license and the consent of the brethren, he brought in and engrafted secular scholars upon the old stock (the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist), endowing them in common with the religious brethren, as well with the revenues of the old house, as with additional revenues, granted with regard to, and in contemplation of his new foundation; and so the regular canons and secular scholars became *unum corpus et unum collegium*, and were the first endowed college in this university, and possibly in any other university whatever².' The attempted combination was not successful. 'The scholars,' observes Baker, 'were too wise, and the brethren possibly over good;' and Hugh Balsham, after vainly endeavouring to allay the strife that sprang up between the two bodies, was compelled to take measures for their separation.

He introduces secular scholars into the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist.

Failure of this combination as a scheme.

¹ *Additions to Camden*, col. 412, quoted in Bentham, p. 150.

² *Hist. of the College of St. John the Evangelist*, by Thomas Baker, edited by John E. B. Mayor, M.A. i 22. 'The precise time when this was done, or how long they continued together, does not so clearly appear; for though the license to this purpose was obtained from Edward the First an. regn. nono, Decembr. 27, and there might be no full and thorough settlement till this time, yet I am apt to believe they were placed here (though not fully settled) much

sooner, and my reason is this, because they are said by Simon Montacute (who knew very well) to have continued here *per longa tempora*, which in no construction of words can be understood otherwise, than that they were placed here very early, and towards the beginning of Hugh Balsham's prelacy at Ely: for that they were here before he was bishop, I can hardly imagine, he having nothing to do with the government of the house before he was bishop.' *Ibid.* i 22, 23.

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PART I.

Separation
of the two
bodies.
The scholars
obtain the im-
propriation
of St. Peter's
Church with-
out Trump-
ington gates.

Foundation
of PETER-
HOUSE, 1234.

Such a proceeding involved, of course, a division of the common property, and the canons, who appear to have been most anxious for the separation, were considerable losers by the result. They resigned to the secular scholars the impropriation of St. Peter's Church with the two adjoining hostels already mentioned, receiving in return a hostel near the Dominican foundation, afterwards known as Rud's Hostel, and some old houses in the vicinity of the hospital. To the two hostels of which they had thus become the sole proprietors, the secular scholars removed in the year 1284, and there formed the separate foundation of Peterhouse. But though to that ancient foundation undoubtedly belongs the honour of having first represented the Cambridge college, as a separate and distinct institution, to the Hospital of St. John the Evangelist belongs the credit of having first nurtured the collegiate conception¹. 'No doubt,' says Baker, 'our good bishop was much grieved with these divisions; but could he have foreseen, that this broken and imperfect society was to give birth to two great and lasting foundations, and that two colleges were to be built upon one, he would have had much joy in his disappointment².' Within another quarter of a century the foundation of Peterhouse was further enriched by an unexpected addition. The immunities and influence enjoyed by the Franciscans and Dominicans had excited the emulation of not a few rival sects, until at length the Church found it necessary to set bounds to a movement which threatened to terminate in disaster from a too complete success. At the second Council of Lyons, held in 1274, it was decreed that only the four great orders of Friars should henceforth be recognised, the other sects being formally sup-

The college
becomes pos-
sessed of the
site of a
suppressed
friary.

¹ 'It may even be urged,' observes Mr. Cooper, 'that St. John's college is of superior antiquity to any other, as the Hospital of St. John, on the site of which it stands and with the revenues whereof it is endowed, although a religious house, was also a house of learning, its members being entitled to academic degrees.' *Memorials*, 112, note. So Cole, who says, 'St John's college, now grafted on that hospital, and still enjoying its

possessions, may justly be accounted the first of our present colleges.' Baker-Mayor, 11561.

² *Ibid.* p. 26. 'By his last will he left to his scholars many books in divinity and other sciences, and 300 marks for erecting new buildings; with which sum they purchased a piece of ground on the south side of the said church, where they built a very fine hall.' MS. Harleian, 258, quoted in Bentham, p. 151.

pressed. Among these was the order *De Pœnitentia Jesu*, CHAP. III.
PART I. the site of whose foundation at Cambridge came into the possession of Peterhouse in the year 1309; the earliest instance of that species of conversion which so largely augmented the resources of the universities at a later era.

The example set by Hugh Balsham was worthily followed by Simon Montacute or Montague, his successor in the bishopric. Simon Montacute, bp. of Ely 1337—1345. The first efforts of this prelate were directed to a more equitable adjustment of the terms on which the canons and the scholars had parted company, for the dissatisfaction of the former found unremitting and clamorous expression; the society at Peterhouse was confirmed in its possession of the two hostels, but subjected to an annual payment of twenty shillings to the brethren of St. John's. If we further pursue the fortunes of these two foundations, we shall with difficulty avoid the conclusion that their separation represented a real and radical inaffinity. The fortunes of the two foundations compared. Both became enriched by valuable endowments; but under the management of the canons the fortunes of their house dwindled, while the merits of the scholars of Peterhouse attracted further munificence to their foundation. Of the former, Baker tells us, a commission appointed in the reign of Richard II reported how 'by the neglect of the warden the number of students had become diminished;' 'lands, rents, and possessions granted them by Edward III wasted and destroyed;' 'charters, books, jewels and other monuments, goods and chattels, alienated and sold by the warden and his ministers or servants;' how 'debates, dissensions, and discords' had arisen betwixt the master and students, 'so that the students led a desolate life and could by no means attend to learning and study'.¹ Very different is the account concerning Peterhouse, within a few years of the above report; for from the same writer we learn how that John Fordham, bishop of Ely, 'having compassion of their case, and a tender regard to their notorious indigence, as likewise with regard to their celebrated virtues, as well as continued and unwearied exercise in discipline and study, and as an inexpugnable bulwark against the per-

¹ Baker-Mayor, i 37.

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verse and sacrilegious doctrines then prevailing, made over to them the church of Hinton, as a college property¹. The former foundation regained its exclusively religious character; shared the corruption and degeneracy that mark nearly all the religious foundations from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; and was finally dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII, to be converted into the college that now bears its name². The college of Peterhouse, on the other hand, developed the secular conception, and, further augmented by the wise munificence of its masters, sent forth, during the same three centuries, many well-trained scholars and not a few able men; offering, in both its utility and vitality, a marked contrast to the institution from which it sprang.

Simon Montacute resigns the right of presenting to fellowships at Peterhouse.

It must be regarded as a signal proof of the moderation of Simon Montacute, that he resigned to the college the valuable right he possessed, in virtue of his office, of presenting students to the fellowships³,—an act conceived in a very different spirit to that displayed by some of his successors a century later, when the encroachments of the see of Ely gave rise to the famous Barnwell Process. But the most eminent service rendered by this prelate to the new foundation, was undoubtedly the body of statutes which he caused to be drawn up for its government. To the consideration of these we shall now proceed. We shall very shortly, it is true, find a body of college statutes of yet more ancient date engaging our attention, but, as the statutes given by bishop Montacute appear to have faithfully reflected the design and motives of the founder, there seems good reason for regarding them as the embodiment of the earliest conception under which our college life and discipline found expression.

Early statutes of Peterhouse given by Simon Montacute 1338. (?)

The statutes copied from those of Mer-ton College, Oxford.

That the statutes of Peterhouse have no claim to originality has been already observed; the phrase *ad instar Aulæ*

¹ Baker-Mayor, i 39.

² *Ibid.* i 50, 60—64.

³ 'For which particular favour, as well as for privileges granted by him

to the university, he was commemorated in the ancient formulary of commemorating and praying for our benefactors.' *Ibid.* i 33.

de Merton meets us at almost every page¹. The second statute affords a definite exposition of the purpose of Hugh Balsham, as interpreted by his successor, 'of providing, as far as lay in his power, for the security of a suitable maintenance for poor scholars desirous of instruction in the knowledge of letters.' A master and fourteen perpetual fellows², 'studiously engaged in the pursuit of literature,' represent the body supported on the foundation; the 'pensioner' of later times being, of course, at this period, already provided for by the hostel. In case of a vacancy among the fellows 'the most able bachelor in logic' is designated as the one on whom, *ceteris paribus*, the election is to fall, the other requirements being that, 'so far as human frailty admit,' he be 'honorable, chaste, peaceable, humble, and modest.' The 'scholars of Ely,' for by this name they were first known, were bound to devote themselves to the 'study of arts, Aristotle, canon law, or theology;' but, as at Merton, the basis of a sound liberal education was to be laid before the study of theology was entered upon; two were to be admitted to the study of the civil and canon law; one, to that of medicine. When any fellow was about to incept in any faculty it devolved upon the master with the rest of the fellows to enquire in what manner he had conducted himself and gone through his exercises in the scholastic acts; how long he had heard lectures in the faculty in which he desired to incept; and whether he had gone through the forms according to the statutes of the university. The sizar of later times is recognised in the provision that, if the funds of the foundation permit, the master and the two deans shall select two

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The foundation designed to support a master and fourteen fellows.

Proficiency in logic the chief attainment required in the fellow.

Moral qualifications.

Studies.

Enquiries preliminary to a scholar's incepting in any faculty.

¹ The date assigned to these statutes in the *Statuta Antiqua* is 1338, but internal evidence shows that some of them are at least four years later. In the 35th statute reference is made to the provincial constitution of Archbishop Stratford which belongs to the year 1342. The signature of Simon Montacute appears to have been given on the ninth of April, 1344.

² At first the *fellows* of a college

foundation were known as the *scholars*; but in order to avoid the erroneous impression which the use of the latter term would be calculated to give, I have employed the other throughout. Judging from a passage in Chaucer, they were occasionally called fellows in his day:—

'Oure corne is stole, men woll us
fooles call

Both the warden, and our fellows
all.' *Reve's Tale*.

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PART I.

Poor scholars.

All meals in common.

or three youths 'indigent scholars well grounded in Latin' (*juvenes indigentes scholares in grammatica notabiliter fundatos*), to be maintained, 'as long as may seem fit,' by the college alms; such poor scholars being bound to attend upon the master and fellows in church, on feast days, and at other ceremonial occasions, to serve the master and fellows at seasonable times at table and in their rooms. All meals were to be taken in common; but it would seem that this regulation was intended rather to conduce towards an economical management, than enacted in any spirit of studied conformity to the monastic life, for, adds the statute, 'the scholars shall patiently support this manner of living, until their means shall, under God's favour, have received more plentiful increase¹'

We shall be able, in a future chapter, to avail ourselves of many of the interesting details observable in these statutes, which we shall here pass by; but one of the statutes, relating to the dress of the scholars, though appertaining to a minor point, affords such pertinent illustration of the whole conception of the founder, that it seems to demand a notice in this general outline.

Laxity in the universities with respect to dress.

Among other features that illustrate the character of the clergy at this period, is one which forcibly attests how largely they then intermingled with the laity and how little restraint their calling imposed on their mode of life,—their disregard of the dress held proper to the profession. At the universities this licence had reached its highest point. The students, we quote from Mr. Cooper, 'disdaining the tonsure, the distinctive mark of their order, wore their hair either hanging down on their shoulders in an effeminate manner, or curled and powdered; they had long beards, and their apparel more resembled that of soldiers than of priests; they were attired in cloaks with furred edges, long hanging sleeves not covering their elbows, shoes chequered with red and green, and tippets of an unusual length; their fingers were decorated with rings, and at their waists they wore large and costly girdles enamelled with figures and gilt; to these girdles

¹ Documents, II 1—42.

hung knives like swords'. In order to repress such laxity of discipline an order was issued in the year 1342 by Archbishop Stratford, whereby every student in the university was rendered incapable of any ecclesiastical degree or honour until he should have reformed his 'person and apparel;' and it is with express reference to this order that the following statute of Peterhouse appears to have been drawn up:—

'Inasmuch as the dress, demeanour and carriage of scholars are evidences of themselves, and by such means it is seen more clearly or may be presumed what they themselves are internally, we enact and ordain, that the master and all and each of the scholars of our house *shall adopt the clerical dress and tonsure*, as becomes the condition of each, and wear it conformably in every respect, as far as they conveniently can, and not allow their beard or their hair to grow contrary to canonical prohibition, nor wear rings upon their fingers for their own vain glory and boasting and to the pernicious example and scandal of others².'

Similarly, as it was forbidden the clergy to play at dice, so is the same pastime forbidden the 'scholars of Ely.' On the other hand the non-monastic purposes of the founder are insisted upon with equal explicitness; should either the master or one of the fellows desire to enter any of the approved monastic orders, it is provided that a year of grace shall be given him, but that after that, another shall be elected in his place, inasmuch as the revenues of the foundation are designed for those only who are actual students and desirous of making progress (*pro actualiter studentibus et proficere volentibus*³). No clearer evidence could be desired that while, as in the case of Merton college, it was the design of the founder to provide assistance for students unfettered by the necessity of embracing the monastic life, nothing hostile to monasticism was intended; but as it was not the object of Hugh Balsham to found a monastery, the college was no home for the monk. If we add to the foregoing features that afforded by the statute which provides, that on any fellow succeeding to a benefice of the annual

CHAP. III.
PART I.

Order of
Archbishop
Stratford
with refer-
ence thereto.

Statute of
Peterhouse.

The founda-
tion non-mo-
nastic in its
character, but
not designed
in any spirit
of hostility to
the monastic
orders.

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, 1 95.

² *Documents*, II 72.

³ *Ibid.* II 33.

CHAP. III.
PART I.

value of one hundred shillings, he shall, after a year's grace, vacate his fellowship, we shall have enumerated the principal points in these concise and simple statutes¹.

Foundation
of MICHAEL-
HOUSE 1324.

An interval of forty years separates the commencement of Michaelhouse from that of Peterhouse. In the year 1324 we find Hervey de Stanton, chancellor of the exchequer, and canon of Bath and Wells, obtaining from Edward II permission to found at Cambridge,—where, as the preamble informs us, *exercitium studii fulgere dinoscitur*,—the college of the ‘scholars of St. Michael.’ Though itself of later date, yet, as an illustration of early college discipline, Michaelhouse is, in point of fact, of greater antiquity than Peterhouse, for the statutes given at the time of its creation preceded those given by Simon Montacute to the latter society by at least fourteen years. The foundation itself has long been merged in a more illustrious society, but its original statutes are still extant, and are therefore the earliest embodiment of the college conception, as it found expression in our own university². Their perusal will at once suggest that they were drawn up in a somewhat less liberal spirit than presents itself in the code of Hugh Balsham. The monk and the friar are excluded from the society, but the rule of Merton is not mentioned. It is in honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, of the blessed Mary, ever a Virgin, of St. Michael the Archangel, and all the saints, that the foundation stone is laid; the fellows are to be priests or at least *in sacris ordinibus constituti*; they must have taught in the liberal arts or in philosophy, or be at least bachelors incepting in those branches, who intend ultimately to devote themselves to the study of theology; the celebration of service at the neigh-

Early sta-
tutes of Mi-
chaelhouse
given by Her-
vey de Stan-
ton.

Qualifica-
tions requi-
site in candi-
dates for fel-
lowships.

Prominence
given to cele-
bration of re-
ligious ser-
vices by the
fellows.

¹ ‘These statutes,’ observes Dean Peacock, ‘present a very remarkable contrast to many of the later codes of statutes, which attempted to regulate and control nearly every transaction in life, and which embodied nearly every enactment which the experience of other and more ancient bodies had shown to be sometimes required.’ *Observations on the Statutes*, p. 110.

² These statutes have never been

printed, and as the *earliest college statutes* of our university have consequently seemed deserving of insertion *in extenso*: see Appendix (D). I have printed them from a transcript of the original in *Ottringham*, or the Michaelhouse Book, now in the possession of the authorities of Trinity college. There is also a copy of these statutes in Baker MSS. xix 7; xxxi 160.

bouring church of St. Michael is provided for with great CHAP. III.
minuteness; the services to be performed are specified. So PART I.
much prominence, indeed, is given to this part of the founder's instructions, that he deems it necessary to explain that it is in no way his intention to prejudice the study of secular learning:—'It is not,' he says, 'my design herein to burden any of the officiating scholars with the performance of masses, as aforesaid, beyond his convenient opportunity, so as to prevent a due attention to lectures, disputations in the schools, or private study; but I have considered that such matters must be left to individual discretion¹. It is required that the fellows shall pray daily for 'the state of the whole Church,' and 'the peace and tranquillity of the realm,' for the welfare of the king, of the queen Isabella, of Prince Edward and the rest of the royal family, of the lord bishop of Ely, of the prior and convent of Ely, of the founder and his family. The consent of the bishop of the diocese had, like that of the reigning monarch, been necessary; and if, as from the tenour of different statutes appears probable, the general scheme of the new foundation had been drawn up under the auspices of John Hotham, who at that time filled the episcopal chair, the prominence given to the religious services to be observed will be rendered more intelligible. That bishop, though a prelate of distinguished ability, unlike Hugh Balsham, directed his efforts almost exclusively to enriching and strengthening the monastic foundations of his diocese, and left it to Simon Montacute, his successor, to assist in the developement of the more secular theory².

John
Hotham,
bp. of Ely,
1316—1337.

The regulations concerning a common table, a distinctive dress, and other details of discipline to be found in these statutes, offer but few points of difference when compared with those of Peterhouse, but many matters are unprovided

¹ Compare note 5 p. 249.

² 'An active prelate,' says Baker, 'and concerned himself in everything that fell within the compass of his jurisdiction.' (Baker-Mayor, i 31). I fail to find any other proof of his interest in the university than

that adduced by Baker, namely his interference in connexion with St. John's Hospital, in fixing the mode of the election of the prior of that house. Cf. Bentham, *Hist. of Ely Cathedral*, pp. 156—158.

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for concerning which the code of the latter college is circumstantial and explicit, while there is nothing to indicate that the example of Walter de Merton was present to the mind of Hervey de Stanton.

Foundation
of PEMBROKE
COLLEGE,
1347.

The two foundations which next claim our attention, that of Pembroke Hall in 1347, and that of Gonville Hall in 1350, afford satisfactory evidence that the college was not necessarily regarded as an institution hostile to the religious orders; the former owed its creation to Marie de St. Paul, a warm friend of the Franciscans; while the latter was founded by Edmund Gonville, an equally warm friend of the Dominicans. The allusion in Gray's Installation Ode, where in enumerating

Marie de St.
Paul.

Inaccuracy
of the story
alluded to by
Gray.

'All that on Granta's fruitful plain
Rich streams of regal bounty poured,'

the poet, himself a Pembroke man, designates the foundress of his college, as

'— sad Chatillon, on her bridal morn
That wept her bleeding love,'

is founded on a mere fiction¹; but it is certain that the untimely loss of her chivalrous husband first turned the thoughts of Marie de St. Paul, better known as Mary de Valence², to deeds like that to which Pembroke College owes its rise. Large endowments to a nunnery of Minorettes at Waterbeach, and the foundation of Deney Abbey, had fully

¹ 'However premature his death may have been, it assuredly did not take place so soon as our poet represents. Not that he is chargeable with the invention of this interesting tale. He only relates what was and is to this day currently believed to be true. And perhaps the lovers of poetry and romance, who have been accustomed to indulge a feeling of sympathy for the unhappy lot of this bereaved lady, would rather that the illusion were not dispelled. The historian of the sixteenth century, doubtless resting on the authority of monkish annals, and succeeding writers even to the present time, treading in their steps, state that she was on one and the same day a virgin,

wife, and widow, her husband having been killed by a jousting on the very day of his marriage. The date of his marriage being however ascertained the mere detail of subsequent events occurring during his lifetime will at once prove the whole account to be a fable.' *Memoirs of Marie de St. Paul*, pp. 26—28. By Gilbert Ainslie, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1847. I am indebted to the courtesy of the present Master of Pembroke, the Rev. J. Power, for access to this valuable and interesting manuscript.

² 'After her marriage she was never known by any other surname than that of St. Paul.' *Ibid.* p. 37.

attested her liberality of disposition before the *Aula seu Domus de Valencemarie* arose. CHAP. III.
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It is much to be regretted that the earliest rule given to the new foundation of Pembroke Hall is no longer extant¹. A revised rule, of the conjectural date of 1366, and another of perhaps not more than ten years later, are the sole data whence the subjoined outline has been drawn up². The

The original statutes no longer extant.

¹ The preamble in Heywood, *Early Statutes*, p. 179, and that in *Documents*, II 192, are calculated to give the impression that the statutes of 1347 are still extant; but such is not the case. 'Although no copy of them is extant,' says Dr. Ainslie, 'yet it is certain that they were enacted in the year 1347, since the revised copy of statutes, by which they were superseded, though itself wanting in date, explicitly states that fact. The document containing the revised statutes is in the form of an indenture, to one part of which remaining with the college was affixed the seal of our lady, and to the counterpart remaining with her the seal of the college. The part remaining with the college was, upon a subsequent revision, cancelled by cutting off the seal together with the names of the witnesses. The document never had a date. It may be conjectured to be about the year 1366. The like want of a date throws the same uncertainty over the time at which the second revision was made. All perhaps that can be affirmed with certainty is that it was not made later than the year 1420. Thus much at least there is internal evidence to prove, if not indeed that it was made by the foundress herself, that is, before March 17, 1376—7.' *Ibid.* p. 89.

² The following succinct outline from the pen of Dr. Ainslie gives the substance of the two codes:—'The house was to be called the Hall or House of Valence Marie, and was to contain thirty scholars, more or less, according to the revenues of the college; of whom twenty-four, denominated fellows, were to be greater and permanent; and the remaining six, being students in grammar or arts, to be less, and at the times of election either to be put out altogether or else promoted to the permanent

class. If the whole number of fellows was complete, six at least were to be in holy orders; if there were twenty there were to be at least four; and if twelve or upwards, there were to be two for the performance of divine service. These proportions were altered in the next code thus: if there were ten fellows or upwards, there were to be at least six in orders; and four, if the number was less.

'The fellows were to apply themselves solely to the faculty of arts or theology; the master might exercise more than one faculty, according to the judgement and approbation of the two rectors. And when any one should have finished his lectures in arts, he was to betake himself to theology.

'The head of the college was to be elected by the fellows and to be distinguished by the title of Keeper of the House; and he was to have a *locum tenens*.

'There were to be annually elected two rectors, *the one a Friar Minor*, the other a secular, who should have taken degrees in the university. They were to admit fellows elect, and to have visitatorial jurisdiction, which after the death of the foundress they were to exercise even over the statutes with the consent of the college.

'The later code however did not recognise the rectors at all, but appropriated their several duties to the master either alone or in conjunction with two or more of the fellows; saving only the power of control over the statutes, which, though reserved to the foundress during her life without any limitation, was not vested in any one after her decease.

'And thus ended all connexion between the Franciscans and the college.*****

'To return to the earlier code. In the election of a fellow the prefer-

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Leading features of the revised statutes.

Foundation-scholars here first to be met with.

Grammar for the first time included in the college course of study.

Limitations with respect to different counties, in elections to fellowships.

points of contrast in those two later codes are however deserving of close attention; especially that whereby the participation of the Franciscans in the management of the society, secured to them by the earlier statutes, is abolished on a second revision. The scholar, in the sense in which the term is now used in the university, is also here first to be met with; it being provided that six of the 'scholars' may be *minor scholars*, eligible at elections to major scholarships, i. e. fellowships, or subject to removal. It is in connexion with these six that we find, again, the standard of college education so far lowered as to include Latin, (*grammatica*), a knowledge of which, as we have before had occasion to observe, was generally looked upon as an essential pre-requisite to a course of university study. Here, too, we meet with the earliest formal recognition of the necessity of providing against those local prejudices and partialities which so often endangered the harmony of both university

ence was to be given to the most orderly, the best proficient in his studies, being withal freeborn and legitimate; provided he were a bachelor or sophist in arts, or at least had studied three years in that faculty; and he might be of any nation or realm, that of France especially, if there should be found anyone of that country qualified, as above stated, in either university of Cambridge or Oxford. The number of fellows of any one county was not to exceed six, nor the fourth part of the fellows. The scholars also might be elected indifferently from among the students of Cambridge or Oxford.

'The fellow elect was required to swear that he had neither by inheritance nor of his own means above forty shillings a year to spend. By the next code this sum was doubled, being made six marks.

'The election of a fellow was not confirmed by admission till after the lapse of a year; and then the major part of the fellows might withhold such confirmation.

'Every fellow before admission pledged himself to vacate his fellowship as soon as ever he was promoted to any more lucrative place, unless

previously to such promotion he had become master; for the master was allowed to hold any preferment compatible with his office. The next code did away with the year of probation, and directed that the pledge should be to vacate on the expiration of one year after such promotion as would enable the fellow to expend above six marks; unless promoted in the meantime to the mastership. Beside taking an oath of fidelity to the college and of obedience to the statutes, each fellow swore that, if ever expelled from the society, he would submit to the sentence without any remedy at law.

'In the choice of scholars those were to be preferred, who came duly qualified from the parishes pertaining to the college rectories; but there were not to be more than two of the same consanguinity.

'And as her final *Vale*, the foundress solemnly adjures the fellows to give on all occasions their best counsel and aid to the abbess and sisters of Deucey, who had from her a common origin with them; and she admonishes them further to be kind, devoted, and grateful to all religious, especially to the *Friars Minor*.'

and college life. In days when intercourse between widely severed localities was rare and difficult, the limits of counties not unfrequently represented differences greater than now exist between nations separated by seas. The student from Lincolnshire spoke a different dialect, had different blood in his veins, and different experiences in his whole early life, from those of the student from Cumberland or the student from Kent. Distinctions equally marked characterised the native of Somersetshire and the native of Essex, Hereford, or Yorkshire. When brought therefore into contact at a common centre, at a time when local traditions, prejudices, and antipathies, operated with a force which it is difficult now to realise, men from widely separated counties were guided in the formation of their friendships by common associations rather than by individual merit; and, in elections to fellowships, the question of North or South often reduced to insignificance considerations drawn from the comparative skill of dialecticians or learning of theologians. That statute accordingly is no capricious enactment, but the reflexion of a serious evil, which provides that the number of fellows from a single county shall in no case exceed a fourth of the whole body. Another provision is explained by the descent and early life of the foundress. The countess had inherited from her father, John de Dreux, duke of Brittany, extensive possessions in France; and it must be regarded rather as a graceful recognition of the country of her birth than as a national prejudice, that at a time when intercourse between the two countries was so frequent, natives of France belonging to either of the English universities were to be entitled to preference in the election to fellowships.

The founder of the next college that claims our attention was Edmund Gonville, a member of an ancient county family, a clergyman, and at one time vicar-general of the diocese of Ely; his sympathy with the Mendicants is indicated by the fact that through his influence the earl Warren and the earl of Lancaster were induced to create a foundation for the Dominicans at Thetford. In the year 1348, only two years before his death, he obtained from Edward III permission to

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Preference to
be given to
natives of
France.

Foundation
of GONVILLE
HALL, 1348.

CHAP. III. establish in Lurteburgh lane¹, now known as Freeschool lane,
 PART I. a college for twenty scholars, dedicated in honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin².

Original statutes given by Edmund Gonville.

The statutes given by Edmund Gonville are still extant, but within two years of their compilation they were considerably modified by other hands; they cannot therefore be regarded as having long represented the rule of the new foundation. Their chief value, for our present purpose, is in the contrast they offer to the rule of another college, founded at nearly the same time,—that of Trinity Hall,—to the conception of which they were shortly to be assimilated. According to the design of Edmund Gonville, his college was to represent the usual course of study included in the *Trivium* or *Quadrivium*, as the basis of an almost exclusively theological training. Each of the fellows was required to have studied, read, and lectured in logic, but on the completion of his course in arts, theology was to form the main subject, his studies being also directed with a view to enabling him to keep his acts and dispute with ability in the schools. The *unanimous* consent of the master and fellows was necessary before he could apply himself to any other faculty, and not more than two at a time could be permitted to deviate from the usual course. It was however permitted to every fellow, though in no way obligatory upon him, to devote two years to the study of the canon law³.

His main object to promote the study of Theology.

Study of the Canon Law permitted, but not obligatory.

The foregoing scheme may accordingly be regarded as that of an English clergyman of the fourteenth century, actuated by the simple desire of doing something for the encouragement of learning in his profession, and well acquainted, from long residence in the diocese or in neighbouring dioceses, with the special wants and shortcomings of his order. It will be interesting to contrast his conception with that of another ecclesiastic reared in a different school.

The see of Norwich was at that time filled by William Bateman, a bishop of a different type from either Hugh

¹ Or Luthborne-lane: see Masters' *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*, ed. Lamb, p. 28.

² The college however though thus

dedicated, was originally known by the name of Gonville Hall. See p. 245.

³ MSS. Laker, xxix 268—270.

Balsham or John Hotham; one who had earned a high reputation at Cambridge, by his proficiency in the civil and canon law; who had held high office at the papal court and resided long at Avignon; and who, while intent it would seem, on a cardinal's hat rather than upon the duties of his diocese, had finished his career amid the luxury and dissipation of that splendid city¹. It is accordingly with little surprise that we find a man of such associations deeming no culture more desirable than that which Roger Bacon had declared inimical to man's highest interests, but which pope Clement VII regarded as the true field of labour for the ecclesiastic who aimed at eminence and power.

The year 1349 is a memorable one in English history, for it was the year of the Great Plague; and it would be difficult to exaggerate the effects of that visitation upon the political and social institutions of those days. Villages were left without an inhabitant; the flocks perished for want of the herdsman's care; houses fell into ruins; the crops rotted in the fields. In the demoralization that ensued existing institutions were broken up or shattered to their base. The worst excesses of Lollardism and the popular insurrections of the latter part of the century may both be traced to the general disorganization. Upon the universities the plague fell with peculiar severity. Oxford, which rhetorical exaggeration had credited with thirty thousand students, was half depopulated, and her numbers never again approached their former limits. At Cambridge, the parishioners, to use the expression of Baker, 'were swept away in heaps;' from the Hospital of St. John three masters, in the space of so many months, were carried forth for burial². The clergy throughout the country fell victims in great numbers; it has been calculated that more than two thirds of the parish priests in the West Riding died; in the East Riding, in Nottinghamshire, and the dioceses round Cambridge the losses were hardly less severe³.

The Great
Plague of
1349.

Its devastations at the Universities.

¹ Masters-Lamb, p. 29. 'He had desired to be interred in England, either among his ancestors or in his cathedral. His remains were however buried in the cathedral church of St. Mary at Avignon, his body being attended to the grave by the

cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other great men. The service was performed by the patriarch of Jerusalem.' Cooper, *Memorials*, i 112.

² Baker-Mayor, i 34.

³ See article on *The Black Death* by Seebohm, *Fortnightly Review*,

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PART I.Foundation
of TRINITY
HALL, 1350.• Its early
statutes, as
given by bp.
Bateman.• The college
designed
exclusively
for canonists
and civilians.

It was chiefly with a view to recruiting the thinned ranks of the clergy in his diocese, that William Bateman proceeded, in the year 1350, to the foundation of Trinity Hall¹. In fact, no less than three of the colleges that rose at Cambridge in this century, distinctly refer their origin to the plague.

In the statutes of Trinity Hall the design of bishop Bateman appears in its original and unmodified form. The college is designed for students of the civil and canon law, and *for such alone*, the balance inclining slightly in favour of the civilians. The foundation, it is contemplated, will support a master and twenty fellows; of these twenty it is required that not less than ten shall be students of the civil law, not less than seven students of the canon law. A civilian may, at a subsequent period, devote himself to the study of the canon law, or a canonist to that of the civil law, so as to augment the number of canonists to ten or that of the civilians to thirteen; but these numbers represent the maximum limits of variation allowed in the proportion of the two elements. Thrice a week, on the evenings of Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, disputations are to be held, at which some question taken from the decretals or the Pandects is to supply the place of the ordinary theological or logical *questio*.

All the fellows are to apply themselves to the prescribed course of study until qualified to lecture; and are then to lecture, the civilians on the civil law, the canonists on the canon law, so long as they continue to be bachelors, until they have gone through the customary course of reading².

Vol. II. It is however open to question whether the writer's inferences are quite justified by his facts. Two thirds of the benefices in the West Riding might be vacated without two thirds of the priests dying. Let us suppose four benefices A, B, C, D, worth respectively 400, 300, 200, and 100 marks. The holder of A dies: then the holder of B is promoted to A, the holder of C to B, and the holder of D to C. Thus one death gives rise to four vacancies.

¹ 'It had before been a hostile belonging to the monks of Ely: John of Crauden, one of their priors, purchased it for his monks to study in

when they came to Cambridge. Bishop Bateman afterwards made an exchange with them, and gave them several parsonages for the said hostile, and converted it into a college or hall.' Warren, *Hist. of Trinity Hall*, Cole MSS. LVIII 85.

² 'Volumus enim quod Socii omnes studio intendant scholastico diligenter, quousque habiles fuerint ad legendum; et ex tunc ad legendum continue in statu Baccalaurei se convertant, quousque volumina in Juro Civili Legistæ, et libros Decretalium Decretistæ, more perlegerint consue-
to.' *Documents*, II 419.

Conditions to be observed in elections to the mastership and to fellowships.

Library presented by bp Bateman to his foundation.

A fellow, whether a civilian or a canonist, is eligible to the mastership; but should none of the fellows appear deserving of the dignity, a master of arts may be chosen from the university at large, whose reputation entitles him to such a distinction. On a vacancy occurring among the fellowships appropriated to civilians, it may be filled by electing a bachelor or a scholar of three years standing, whose studies have been directed to the civil law, or by the election of a master or a bachelor of arts (the latter to be within a year of incepting as master), provided he be willing to enrol himself in the faculty. On a like vacancy occurring among the canonists, whereby their number is reduced below seven, the vacancy may be filled by the election of one of the civilians already holding a fellowship, on his signifying his readiness to become a canonist, and to take holy orders¹; but should seven canonists still remain, the vacancy may be filled by the election of either a civilian or a canonist as the majority may decide. It is, however, imperative that whoever elects to become a canonist, shall within a year from his election to a fellowship, take upon himself full priest's orders, and forthwith qualify himself for the performance of masses².

A library given by the bishop to the new college affords additional illustration of the comparative importance attached by him to theological and juridical studies. No less than four copies of the code of the civil law, each in five volumes, *integrum et glosatum*, head the catalogue; these are followed by volumes of the lectures of Clinius, Raynerus, and Petrus, on the Codex, *Infortiatum*, and *Authentica*. The volumes of the canon law are seventeen in number; those in theology only three! viz. a small bible, a *Compendium Biblie, in uno parvo pulcro volumine*, and *unum librum Recapitulacionis*

¹ 'Si quis eorum ad audiendum jura Canonica, et ad gradum Presbyteri voluerit migrare.' *Documents*, II 621.

² 'Item statuimus et ordinamus, quod exceptis incepturis in Jure Civili, jura Canonica infra tempus ad incipiendum eisdem limitatum audientibus, ut præfertur, et Doctoribus Juris Civilis per biennium proximum post eorum cessationem legentibus

ordinariè vel cursoriè Decretales; quicunque, modo quo præmittatur, ad studendum in Jure Canonico deputatus, seu in locum Canonistæ alterius subrogatus, infra anni proximi spatium a die quo admissus fuerit in socium Canonistam, *ad omnes sacros ordines se faciat promoveri, et post susceptum sacerdotium se faciat celevriter instrui ad Missas celebrandas.*' *Documents*, II 424.

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Biblie. There is however a second catalogue, the volumes in which are reserved by the bishop for his own use during his lifetime, wherein theology is somewhat better represented¹.

It is sufficiently evident from this outline that the new foundation was certainly not conceived in a manner calculated to remove the evils which Roger Bacon deplored; the combination of two branches of study which he held should be regarded as radically distinct,—the predominance given to the secular over the sacred branch,—the subservience in which theology and the arts were to be placed to both,—all point to the training of a body of students either wholly given to what he deemed, and what probably then was, an ignoble and corrupting profession, or, to use his own expression, *civiliter jus canonicum tractantes*, and thus debasing a religious calling to secular and sordid purposes².

We must now go back to trace the fortunes of Gonville Hall. The plans of the founder, it appears, were so far from being fully consolidated at the time of his death, that, either from insufficiency of funds or some other cause, the college would probably have ceased to exist, had not the founder of Trinity Hall given it effectual aid. In the same year that the original statutes were given, the year in which Edmund Gonville died, bishop Bateman ratified the rule of the house, and announced his intention of carrying out the designs of the founder. ‘Wisdom,’ he says, in a somewhat pompous manifesto, ‘is to be preferred to all other possessions, nor is there anything to be desired that can compare with it; this the wise man loved beyond health and every

Confirmation
of Edmund
Gonville's
Foundation
by bishop
Bateman.
Dec. 21, 1351.

¹ Warren, *Hist. of Trinity Hall*, MSS. Cole, LVIII 115—18.

² The prominence given to the study of the civil law both at Oxford and Cambridge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seems to have altogether escaped the observation of Huber. ‘The department of civil law,’ he says, ‘which was of national importance, was but limited; and the number of individuals who studied it was too small to constitute a school.’ *English Universities*, i 158, 159. A closer acquaintance with

our college history would have saved him from this misconception. It has been pointed out to me that, inasmuch as the fellows of Trinity Hall were prohibited by one of the statutes from *going about to practise*, the design of the founder appears to have been to encourage the study of the civil law rather than its practical profession; but, on the other hand, the very necessity for such a provision must be regarded as another indication of the mercenary spirit in which the study was then pursued.

good thing, preferring it even to life itself. The founder of this college proposed to create a perpetual college of scholars in the university of Cambridge, in the diocese of Ely, but death prevented the execution of his praiseworthy design. We therefore, bishop of Norwich, by divine permission,—although already over-burdened with the founding and endowing of the college of Scholars of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in order that so praiseworthy an endeavour may not wholly be brought to an end, and considering the great benefits that must result in the salvation of souls and to the public weal, if the seeds of the knowledge of letters becoming moistened by the dew of scholastic teaching bring forth much fruit,—being also the more incited to such work in that we have here ourselves received the first elements of learning, and afterwards, though undeservedly, the doctorial degree—desiring that this design may be brought to its full accomplishment, do constitute, ordain, and appoint the said college, and moreover confirm and will that the said college be called the college of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, proposing by the assistance of the said glorious Virgin, so to endow the said college with revenues and sufficient resources. (when the present site or any other shall have been approved by our diocesan bishop of Ely,) that they shall, in all future time, be able to obtain the things necessary for life¹.

The name
Gonville Hall
altered to
that of the
College of the
Annuncia-
tion of the
Blessed
Mary.

Within three months from the time when this document received the bishop's signature, we find the royal license issuing to the chancellor of the university and the brethren of the Hospital of St. John empowering them to transfer to the new foundation of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary two messuages in Lurteburgh Lane, *manso prædicto Custodis et Scholarium contigua*². The phrase in the bishop's manifesto indicating a possible change of locality, is probably to be referred to some uncertainty at the time as to the permanent settlement of the college in Lurteburgh Lane, for we find that in the following year an exchange of property was

¹ See *Stabilitas Fundacionis per Rev. Patrem Dnm: Willm: Bateman*

Norwic: Episc: MSS. Baker, xxix 271.

² *Ibid.* xxix 272.

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Agreement
'de Amicabi-
litate' be-
tween the
scholars of
Trinity Hall
and Gonville
Hall, 1353.

effected with the Gild of Corpus Christi, and the scholars were removed from that part of the town to the present site of the college in close proximity to Michaelhouse. The Hall of the Annunciation was thus also brought into the immediate neighbourhood of Trinity Hall, and under the bishop's auspices a formal agreement of a somewhat novel character was entered into between the two foundations,—a *Compositio de Amicabilitate*,—which, unnecessary and unmeaning as any such convention would now appear, was probably of real service in preventing rivalries and feuds between colleges in close juxtaposition and schools of the same faculty. By this agreement the members of the two foundations, as sharers in the protection of a common patron and living under nearly the same rule, pledge themselves to dwell in perpetual concord, in all and each of their necessities to render to one another mutual succour, and throughout life as far as in them lies to aid in promoting the reputation and welfare of the sister college and its individual sons. On all public occasions it is stipulated, however, that the scholars of Trinity Hall shall have the precedence *tanquam primogeniti et præstantiores*¹.

Statutes
given by
bishop Bateman to Gonville Hall or Hall of the Annunciation, 1353.

But the original statutes of Gonville Hall harmonised but little with bishop Bateman's views, and his aid, unlike that of Hugh Balsham, was to be bought only with a price. To the bustling canonist Avignon and her traditions were all in all; to him, as to pope Clement, the theologian seemed a 'dreamer,' and the civil and the canon law the only studies deserving the serious attention of young clergymen aiming at something better in life than the performance of masses and wranglings over the theory of the Real Presence or the Immaculate Conception. Accordingly, without explanation, and even without reference to the former statutes, he substituted as the rule of the foundation of Edmund Gonville, twelve of the statutes, but slightly modified, which he had already drawn up for his own college². The direction thus

¹ See *Stabilitio Fundacionis*, &c. Baker MSS. xxix 279.

² 'Volumus insuper quod omnes et singuli socii dicti Collegii qui pro

tempore fuerint plene et integraliter faciant et observent omnia et singula que in duodecim Statutis Sociorum Collegii Sancte Trinitatis per eos ju-

given to the course of study is a kind of mean between that designed by the original founder and that of Trinity Hall. The *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* are retained in the prominence originally assigned to them, but the requirements with respect to the study of theology are abolished. All the fellows are to be elected from the faculty of arts, and are to continue to study therein until they have attained to the standing of master of arts, and even after that period they are to lecture *ordinarie*¹ for one year; but from the expiration of that year it is required that they shall devote themselves to the study of either the civil law, the canon law, theology, or medicine; but only two are permitted to enter the last-named faculty². The order of enumeration would alone suggest that the first-named branches held the preference in the bishop's estimation. The principal provision in reference to other studies is that requiring that all students elected to fellowships shall not simply have gone through the usual course, but shall have attended lectures in logic for three years; the three years being reducible to two only in cases of distinguished proficiency.

The college of Corpus Christi is another foundation, whose rise may be attributed, though in this case less directly, to the effects of the plague; but the whole circumstances of its origin are peculiar. In the fourteenth century Cambridge was distinguished by its numerous Gilds, among which those of the Holy Trinity, the Annunciation, the Blessed Virgin, and Corpus Christi, appear to have been the more important. A recently published volume by a laborious investigator of

Foundation
of CORPUS
CHRISTI
COLLEGE,
1352.

ratis, et tam per Archiepū Cantuar quam per Universitatem Cantabrig: confirmatis, in titulatis inferior et descriptis plenius continentur.' *Documents*, II 228. In *Documents*, I 406, bishop Bateman is spoken of as having 'carried out Gonville's intentions in giving statutes to Gonville Hall;' for *carried out* we may read *frustrated*.

¹ For explanation of this term see chapter IV.

² 'In primis cum ad honorem Dei ac Universitatis decorem universeque literalis scientie fomentum fore cre-

dimus si Facultas Arcium Scientifica Liberalium invalescat: statuimus et ordinamus quod omnes Socii dicti vestri Collegii qui pro tempore fuerint, sint Artistæ, et in illa facultate continuent, quousque in illa Magisterii gradum obtinuerint, et per annum in eadem ordinarie legerint, ut est moris. Quos statim post annum cessare volumus, et ad Jura Civilia seu Canonica Theologie aut ad Medicine scientiam, juxta eorum electionem liberam se transferre.' *Documents*, II 226. Baker MSS. xxix 283.

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PART I.

Toulmin
Smith's
account of
the character
of the early
Gilds.

the subject has thrown considerable light upon these ancient institutions, and tends considerably to modify the conception that before prevailed concerning their scope and character¹. 'They were not,' says this writer, 'in any sense superstitious foundations; that is, they were not founded, like monasteries and priories, for men devoted to what were deemed religious exercises. Priests might belong to them, and often did so, in their private capacities. But the Gilds were lay bodies, and existed for lay purposes, and the better to enable those who belonged to them rightly and understandingly to fulfil their neighbourly duties as free men in a free State.....It is quite true that, as the Lord Mayor, and Lincoln's Inn, and many other as well-known personages and public bodies, have to this day a chaplain, so these old Gilds often took measures and made payments to enable the rites of religion to be brought more certainly within the reach of all who belonged to them. This was one of the most natural and becoming of the consequences following from their existence and character. It did not make them into superstitious bodies².' 'Though it was in this way very general,' observes his continuator, 'to provide more or less for religious purposes, these are to be regarded as incidental only; and this is curiously exemplified by the case of three Gilds in Cambridge, one of which, the Gild of the Annunciation, excludes priests altogether; another, that of the Holy Trinity, if they come into the Gild, does not allow them any part in its management; while the third, that of the Blessed Virgin, has a chaplain, whose office however is to cease, in the event of the funds proving inadequate to his support in addition to that of the poorer brethren³.' The statement, accordingly, made by the historian of Corpus Christi College, with reference to the two Gilds to whose united action that College refers its

Gilds at Cam-
bridge.

Not formed
for religious
purposes.

¹ *English Gilds*. Edited by the late Toulmin Smith. With Introduction and Glossary by Lucy Toulmin Smith, and *Preliminary Essay on the History and Development of Gilds* by Dr Brentano. 1870. Published by the Early English Text Society.

² *The Old Crown House*, by Toulmin Smith, p. 31.

³ *English Gilds*, Introd. p. xxix. 'The services of a chaplain were deemed quite secondary to the other purposes of the Gilds.' Note, p. 264.

origin, that 'they seem to have been principally instituted for religious purposes¹,' is scarcely accurate; but, though incorrect with respect to the Gilds, it may be applied with perfect accuracy to the college which they founded. It would appear that among the many secondary effects that followed upon the plague, the great mortality among the clergy had induced the survivors in that profession considerably to augment the fees they demanded for the celebration of masses²; and there is good reason for inferring that the exorbitancy of their demands suggested to the members of the Gilds of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin the idea of founding a college for the education of the clergy, where it should be obligatory on the scholars to celebrate whatever masses might be desired for the repose of the souls of departed members of the two Gilds. The duke of Lancaster, known as the 'good duke,' had been elected by the two Gilds as their 'Alderman'³ or president, and through his offices the royal licence was obtained to found the college now known by the name of Corpus Christi⁴. When such was the prevailing motive, we shall scarcely look for a very enlightened conception of education in the statutes given to the new foundation; they present indeed little originality, the greater part appearing to have been taken from those of Michaelhouse, some passages in the latter being reproduced verbatim⁵. The scholars are described as Capellani, though

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PART I.

Objects in
view in found-
ation of Cor-
pus Christi.

Its statutes
apparently
borrowed
from those of
Michael-
house.

¹ Masters-Lamb, p. 8. The name of Richard of Bury, it is worthy of note, occurs in the list of benefactors of the Gild of the Blessed Virgin. *Ibid.* p. 16.

² *English Gilds*, Essay by Dr. Brentano, p. cxlii.

³ This explains the title in the preamble to the Statutes,—'Ad perpetuam rei memoriam cum nos Henricus Dux Lancastriæ Aldermannus et Confratres Gildæ &c.' Masters remarks 'Although he is usually deemed the Founder of the college, I meet with no considerable monuments of his bounty bestowed upon it, except a few silver shields enamelled with his arms and the instruments of the Passion upon them, to carry about

in their processions, and some other presents not particularly specified.' *Ibid.* p. 23.

⁴ 'About the close of the fourteenth century, the college began to be generally known as Benet College (from its proximity to the church of S. Benedict), and this adventitious title was so generally adopted at a later period, as entirely to supersede its correct designation of Corpus Christi, which indeed has only been generally revived within the last forty years.' Cooper, *Memorials*, i 147.

⁵ I am indebted to the courtesy of the Master of Corpus Christi College, the Rev. James Pulling, D.D., for access to the *Statuta Antiqua* of 1350,

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PART I.

Require-
ments with
respect to
studies.

it is intimated that others may be admitted to the foundation: it is required that they shall 'one and all' be in priest's orders, and shall have lectured in arts or philosophy, or at least be bachelors in either the civil or the canon law or in arts, intending to devote themselves to the study of theology or of the canon law, the number of those devoting themselves to the last-named faculty being restricted to four. If however we compare the general tenour of these statutes with that of the ordinances of the Gilds themselves, we shall have no difficulty in discerning that the religious sentiment of those bodies found its chief expression in the foundation of the new college.

Foundation
of CLARE
HALL, 1359.

The havoc wrought by the pestilence stimulated the philanthropy of others besides bishop Bateman. Within ten years from its visitation of this country, we find Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare, and grand-daughter of Edward I, largely augmenting an already existing foundation¹. The following passage from the preamble to the statutes given by the Countess in the year preceding her death sufficiently explains her motives:—

Design of the
Foundress,
Elizabeth de
Burgh.

'Experience,' says this august lady, 'doth plainly teach us, that in every degree, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, skill in learning is of no small advantage; which, although sought for in many ways by many persons, is found in most perfection in the university, where general study is known to flourish. Moreover, when it has been found, it sends out its disciples, who have tasted its sweetness, skilful and fit

which do not, I believe, exist in a printed form. Among the passages common to the statutes of Michaelhouse and those of Corpus Christi, I may quote the following, which succeeds the regulations laid down for the celebration of special Masses:—'Per hoc tamen intentionis nostræ non existit eorum Scholarium Capellanorum aliquem ultra possibilitatem suam congruam super harum Missarum celebrationibus faciendis onerare quominus lectionibus disputationibus in Scholis seu studio vacare valeat competenter super quo

eorum conscientias oneramus.' Cf. p. 235.

¹ The death of a brother, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, who fell at Bannockburn, leaving no issue, had placed the whole of the family estates, which were of a princely character, at the disposal of the Countess and her two sisters. See Cooper, *Memorials*, i 25—30. The change in the name of the foundation from University to Clare Hall is said to have been effected under a charter granted by Edward III in 1338-9. *Ibid.* p. 29.

members of God's church and the state, who shall, as their merits demand, rise to various ranks.

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PART I.

'Being therefore induced by this consideration, and desiring, as far as God has enabled us, to promote the advancement of divine worship, the welfare of the state, and the extension of these sciences, which, by reason of the pestilence having swept away a multitude of men, are now beginning to fail lamentably, and directing our observation to the university of Cambridge in the diocese of Ely, in which there is an assembly of students, and to a hall therein, hitherto generally called University Hall, now existing by our foundation, and which we desire to be called Clare Hall and to bear no other designation; we have caused this to be augmented with resources, out of the property given us by God, and to be placed among the number of places for study.

Losses occasioned by the pestilence one of her motives.

'We have also had in view the object, that the pearl of science, which they have through study and learning discovered and acquired, may not lie under a bushel, but be extended further and wider, and when extended give light to them that walk in the dark paths of ignorance. It is also our design that the scholars who have been long since dwelling in our house, may, by being protected under a stronger bond of peace and benefit of concord, devote themselves more freely to study. With this view we have, with the advice of experienced persons, drawn up certain statutes and ordinances which follow, to last for ever¹.'

The distinguishing characteristic of the design of the foundress would appear to be a greater liberality in the requirements respecting the professedly clerical element. The scholars or fellows are to be twenty in number, of whom it is required that six shall be in priests' orders at the time of their admission; but comparatively little stress is laid, as at Michaelhouse, on the order or particular character of the religious services, and the provision is made apparently rather with the view of securing the presence of a sufficient number for the performance of such services, than for the

Liberality of sentiment by which these statutes are characterised.

¹ Baker, MS. Harleian 7041, ff. 43—62. *Documents*, II 121.

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PART I.

Conditions to
be observed
in the election
of fellows.

purpose of creating a foundation for the church¹. The remaining fellows are to be selected from bachelors or sophisters in arts, or from 'skilful and well-conducted' civilians and canonists², but only two fellows may be civilians, only one a canonist. Three of the fellows, being masters of arts, are to lecture; and on the inception of any other fellow, one of the three has permission to retire from this function, provided he has lectured for a whole year. This permission does not, however, imply permission to cease from study; he is bound to apply himself to some other service wherein, considering his bent and aptitude, he may be expected to make the most rapid progress. The sizars are represented by ten 'docile, proper, and respectable' youths, to be chosen from the poorest that can be found, especially from the parishes of those churches of which the master and fellows are rectors; every Michaelmas they are entitled to receive clothing and necessaries to the value of half a mark sterling; they are to be educated in singing, grammar, and logic; and their term of residence is to extend to the completion of their twentieth year when, unless elected to fellowships, they are to withdraw from the foundation.

Sizars.

Foundation
of King's
Hall, 1326.

The statutes that next claim our attention are the last in the fourteenth century, and offer some noticeable and novel features. So early as 1326, thirty-two scholars, known as the King's scholars, had been maintained at the university by Edward II. It is probable that he had intended thereby to extend the study of the civil and canon law, for we find him presenting books on these subjects, to the value of ten pounds, to Simon de Bury the master, from whom

¹ One of the clauses, somewhat ambiguously expressed, and, I suspect, corrupt, seems designed to secure those undertaking the performance of the services against labouring under any disadvantage when compared with the rest, by providing for the retirement of one of the six every time that there is a new election to a fellowship: the expression, *in favoribus recipiendis amplius remoti*, refers, probably, to opportunities of leaving the college and pushing one's

individual claims to preferment among the disposers of benefices. See *Documents*, II 130.

² Only two civilians and one canonist are however permitted to hold fellowships at the same time. The clauses relating to the studies to be pursued after the year of lectureship are apparently intended to discourage both these branches of the law; possibly as an equipoise to bishop Bateman's enactments.

they were subsequently taken away at the command of queen Isabella. It had also been his intention to provide his scholars with a hall of residence, but during his lifetime they resided in hired houses, and the execution of his design devolved upon his son,

‘Great Edward with the lilies on his brow
From haughty Gallia torn¹.’

By this monarch a mansion was erected in the vicinity of the Hospital of St. John, ‘to the honour of God, the blessed Virgin, and all the saints, and for the souls of Edward II, of himself, of Philippa the Queen, and of his children and his ancestors.’ As Peterhouse had been enriched by the advowson of the church at Hinton, so the new foundation, now known by the name of King’s Hall, was augmented by that of the church of St. Peter, at Northampton. Such was the society which amid the sweeping reforms that marked the reign of Henry VIII was, in conjunction with Michaelhouse, subsequently merged in the illustrious foundation of Trinity college.

The statutes of King’s Hall, as given by Richard II, are brief and simple, and bear a closer resemblance to those of Merton than those of any of the preceding foundations, Peterhouse alone excepted. It is somewhat remarkable, and is possibly with a view to the youthful monarch’s own edification, that the preamble moralises upon ‘the unbridled weakness of humanity, prone by nature and from youth to evil, ignorant how to abstain from things unlawful, easily falling into crime.’ It is required that each scholar on his admission be proved to be of ‘good and reputable conversation;’ and we have here the earliest information respecting the college limitation as to *age*, the student not being admissible under fourteen years of age, a point on which the

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Mansion
given to the
King’s scho-
lars by Ed-
ward III.

Statutes
given by
Richard II.

Limitation as
to age at time
of admission.

¹ It is thus that Gray, in his *Installation Ode*, has represented Edward III as the founder of Trinity College. But the honour more properly belongs to Edward II, for, as Mr. Cooper observes, ‘although that monarch did not live to carry out his intention of erecting a hall...he was

regarded as the founder of the institution, and is so designated in the ancient university statute, *De exequiis annuatim celebrandis*, under which his exequies were performed on the fifth of May annually.’ *Memorials*, II 194. Cf. *Documents*, I 405.

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PART I.

Other provisions.

Master is to be satisfied by the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. The student's knowledge of Latin, on his admission, must be such as qualify him for the study of logic, or of whatever other branch of learning the master shall decide, upon examination of his capacity, he is best fitted to follow¹. On enrolment in a religious order or succession to a benefice of the value of ten marks, the scholar is to retire from the foundation, a year being the utmost limit within which his stay may be prolonged. On his ceasing to devote himself to study, and not proving amenable to admonition, a sentence of expulsion is to be enforced against him. From the general tenour of these statutes we should incline to infer that the enforcement of discipline, rather than the developement of any dominant theory in reference to education, was the paramount consideration. Students are forbidden to transfer themselves from one faculty to another without the approval and consent of the master, and bachelors are required to be regular in their attendance at repetitions and disputations; but no one faculty appears to have very decidedly commanded the founder's preference. On the other hand, there are indications in the prohibitions with respect to the frequenting of taverns, the introduction of dogs within the college precincts, the wearing of short swords and peaked shoes (*contra honestatem clericalem*), the use of bows, flutes, catapults, the oft-repeated exhortations to orderly conduct, and perhaps in the unusually liberal allowance for weekly commons, that the foundation was designed for students of the wealthier class²; poverty is not, as in the case of most of

The foundation probably designed for students of the wealthier class.

¹ 'Bone conversationis sit et honeste, ætatis quatuordecim annorum vel ultra, de quo volumus quod prefato Custodi fide dignorum testimonio fiat fides: quodque talis sic admittendus in regulis grammaticilibus ita sufficienter sit instructus, quod congrue in arte Dialectica studere poterit seu in aliqua alia facultate ad quam prefatus Custos post examinationem et admissionem ejus duxerit illum deputandum.' *Statutes of King's Hall* (from transcript in possession of the authorities of Trinity College). These statutes

have been printed in Rymer, vii 239.

² The sum allowed for the weekly maintenance of a King's scholar was fourteen pence:—'expense commensales singulorum scholarium singulis septimanis summam quatuordecim denarios nullatenus excedant.' This was in 1379; no more was allowed at Peterhouse in 1510; the allowance at Clare Hall in the same century was twelve pence, at Gonville Hall only ten pence! At Corpus the allowance was most liberal, amounting to sixteen pence. Chicheley, when confined to his rooms by a

the other colleges, indicated as a qualification; and it seems reasonable to suppose that a foundation representing the munificence and patronage of three successive kings of England, would naturally become the resort of the more aristocratic element in the university of those days.

It is difficult perhaps to trace any real advance with respect to the theory of education in the statutes of the seven Cambridge foundations which we have now passed under review, but it must be admitted that they afford considerable illustration of those different tendencies that have occupied our attention in the preceding chapters. In Peterhouse, Clare, and King's Hall, we are presented with little more than a repetition of Walter de Merton's main conception, not unaccompanied by a certain vagueness as to the character of the education to be imparted, and an apparent disinclination seriously to assess the comparative value of the different studies of the time. In Trinity Hall and in Gonville Hall, (as modified by its second founder,) we hear nothing more than an echo of the traditions of Avignon,—traditions, it need scarcely be said, of a kind against which all centres of culture of the higher order have special need to guard. The question whether a university may advantageously concern itself with education of a purely technical character, was one which presented itself to the minds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well as to those of the nineteenth. At Paris, as we have already seen, it had been decided in the negative. The civil and the canon law had been excluded from her curriculum, for in the hands of the jurist and the canonist they had become a trade rather than a branch of liberal learning¹; and it is evident that those who then guided the progress of ideas at Paris, whatever may have been their errors and shortcomings, saw clearly that if once the lower arts, conducive chiefly to worldly

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Illustration afforded by the statutes of these early foundations of the different tendencies of the age.

The vital question with respect to university culture.

severe illness in 1390–1, at New College, Oxford, had allowance made him for his commons at the rate of sixteen pence a week for six weeks; which was afterwards reduced to fourteen pence. *Bursar's Accounts*, quoted by Dean Hook. *Lives*, v 8.

¹ 'Les théologiens et les artistes,' says M. Thurot, 'ne considéraient pas la science du droit comme un art libéral. Pour eux c'était un métier plutôt qu'un art.' *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement*, etc. p. 166.

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PART I.

success and professional advancement, were admitted within the walls of a university, they would soon overshadow and blight those studies that appealed to a less selfish devotion¹. To bishop Bateman the question appeared in another light. The civil and the canon law were the high road to ecclesiastical preferment, and he aimed at training up a body of shrewd, practical men, who, though they might do little to help on philosophy and science, would be heard of in after-life as high dignitaries in church and state, and would exercise a certain weight in the political struggles of the day. But if the reiterated complaints of the foremost thinkers of the time are to be regarded as having any basis in fact, it would seem that the bishop had rendered his university but a doubtful service; and though colleges multiplied at Cambridge we may vainly look for any corresponding growth in her intellectual activity. The statutes of the other foundations scarcely call for comment. Those of Pembroke are interesting as an illustration of the persevering endeavours of the religious orders to upset what it is no exaggeration to describe as the fundamental conception of the new institutions,—an endeavour which, as we shall shortly see, was prosecuted at nearly the same time with greater success at Oxford. In Michaelhouse and Corpus Christi we recognise little more than the sentiments of the devout laity, inspired, in all probability, by the priest and the confessor.

It will scarcely be denied that in connexion with these foundations questions of grave import were contending for solution; nor can we doubt that fuller records of our university life at this period would reveal that the antithesis represented in the statutes of Peterhouse and those of Trinity Hall, was a matter of keen and lively interest to the Cambridge of those days; and inasmuch as an opportunity here presents itself for a slight digression,—for between the statutes of King's Hall and the foundation of King's College (the first foundation of the following century) more than

¹ 'Il y avait à craindre qu'une école de droit civil une fois ouverte ne fit désertier toutes les autres, et

singulièrement celles de théologie. Crevier, v 156. See p. 75, note 2.

sixty years intervene,—we shall now proceed to illustrate more fully the scope and bearing of that antithesis, from the history of the sister university and the progress of thought in the country at large.

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PART I.

CHAPTER III.

CAMBRIDGE PRIOR TO THE CLASSICAL ERA.

PART II:—THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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PART II.

Visitation of
archbishop
Arundel at
Cambridge,
1401.

IT was on the sixteenth of September, 1401, that Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, arrived in 'a stately equipage' at Cambridge, upon his visitation as metropolitan. The chancellor, doctors, and masters, whom he had already cited, appeared before him the following day in the Congregation House, and rendered their canonical obedience. Commissioners were appointed by the archbishop, who visited Trinity Hall, Clare, Gonville, Michaelhouse, Peterhouse, Pembroke, St. John's Hospital, St. Rhadegund's Nunnery, and the House of the White Canons¹, and on the nineteenth his grace departed for Ely. Before his departure, however, he had privately put to the chancellor and the doctors, successively and individually, ten questions, having reference to the discipline and general state of the university. Among them was one which, at that juncture, possessed no ordinary signifi-

He aims at
the suppres-
sion of
Lollardism.

¹ King's Hall and Corpus Christi do not appear to have been visited. Cooper observes that the master of the latter college, Richard Billingsford, was chancellor of the university at the time. *Annals*, i 147. 'As for hostels, the wonder is not so great, why those commissioners stooped not down to visit them. First, because dependent hostels were, no doubt, visited in and under those

colleges to which they did relate. Absolute hostels, who stood by themselves, being all of them unendowed, by consequence had no considerable statutes, the breach whereof was the proper subject of this visitation. Besides, the graduates therein may be presumed for their personal demeanours visited in the collective body of the university.' Fuller, *Hist. of the Univ.*

cance;—‘were there any,’ the archbishop asked, ‘suspected of Lollardism?’ The ashes of Wyclif had not yet been cast into the Swift, and his memory was still cherished at Oxford, but the preceding year had seen the appearance of the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo*, and, but a few months before, the first victim of that enactment, William Sautree, had perished at the stake. Such an inquiry, therefore, from a man of Arundel’s determined character and known views¹, could scarcely fail to strike ominous forebodings into the minds of those students who favoured the doctrines of the great reformer². The number of these at both the English universities was already far from contemptible; and the intimate connexion of Lollardism with the whole question of university studies, as it presented itself to the theologian and the canonist at this period, will here demand some consideration, as affording one of the main clues to the ecclesiastical and intellectual movements of a somewhat obscure century.

In our brief notice of the career of William of Occam, we were occupied mainly with his metaphysical theory and his influence in the schools, but his opinions with respect to the political power of the pope form a not less important element in the thought of the fourteenth century. We have already adverted to the fact that the most indefensible pretensions of Rome were undoubtedly those which were founded upon the successive forgeries and impostures which make up so large a portion of the canon law. Her temporal supremacy, in the days of Occam and Wyclif, pointed for its theoretical justification to the cunningly fabricated system, known in the barbarous diction of that age as the *Digestum Novum*, *Infortiatum*, and *Vetus*,—the massive tomes that, with the labours of the commentators, form so prominent a feature in our most

The question originally raised by William of Occam with respect to the political power of the Pope one of fundamental importance.

¹ ‘It never seems to have occurred to Arundel’s mind, that opposition could be met by anything short of physical force or direct legislation. He was himself no scholar—he was only a bachelor of arts; and he was spoken of at Oxford in terms similar to those which would be employed in the present day, if a clerk were nominated to an episcopal see who had

never graduated at either of the universities.’ Hook’s *Lives*, iv 493.

² Ten years later when Arundel visited Oxford for a like purpose, he was met by the most determined opposition, and a direct denial of his powers of visitation. See the amusing account in Wood-Gutch, i 455—458.

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PART II.

Immediate
relevancy of
the question
concerning
the temporal
power of the
Pope to the
study of the
canon law.

ancient college libraries. From these sources were drawn all those subtleties which, from the days of Hincmar to those of Boniface VIII, gave the Church such formidable advantages in her struggles with the secular power, and it was against the broad principle implied in the whole system that Occam raised the standard of insurgency when, in his *De Potestate*, he propounded as an open question for discussion, the query, — *Can the spiritual and lay power dwell in the same person?* It is evident that inasmuch as the assumed affirmative formed the basis of the Romish polity at the period, the mere moot-ing of such enquiry called in question what had hitherto been an article of faith, the infallibility of the papal decrees, and thus again opened up a way to still wider and more important discussions. It was of course impossible that a code, pronounced by the pope to be the binding law of Christendom, could be challenged, without involving the far wider question of belief in theological dogma: and when a Franciscan schoolman was to be found asking, ‘Whether the pope could be a heretic?’ he was manifestly calling in question the whole theory of allegiance to spiritual authority. Nor is it difficult to see the relevancy of such discussion to the contending theories of academic education. If the canon and the civil law were to be the standard to which, in those unquiet times, all disputes concerning public and private rights were to be referred, the importance of those two codes could scarcely be exaggerated; but if the authority of either one or the other could be disputed, the value of both, from their intimate connexion at that time, would suffer serious diminution. If again, all theology, on the other hand, was to terminate in an implicit acceptance and promulgation of already established dogma,—to be no longer regarded as a progressive science, and to be reduced to a merely traditional interpretation of doctrine,—it must at once sink into secondary importance, for it lacked almost entirely that objective value which imparted so much significance to the civil and the canon law. It was in opposition to any such conception of the theologian’s province, that William of Occam and his brother Franciscan, Marsilio of Padua, waged war in the interest of the schoolmen against the canonists of Avignon.

As we have already seen, the application of his own method to specific dogmas, was not made by William of Occam; nor was it made by Wyclif, who may fairly be regarded as the representative of Occam in his assertion of the right of private judgement against priestly authority. Some writers, indeed, have spoken of Wyclif, as in all respects a thinker of the same school as his predecessor. 'He was,' says James, the learned librarian of the Bodleian, 'a professed follower of Occam¹;' such a statement however can be accepted only with an important reservation; in matters of ecclesiastical polity and religious belief Wyclif undoubtedly adopted and developed the theories of Occam, but in the schools of Oxford he was known as a leader of the opposing party, being an upholder of the theories of the Realists². While, again, Occam was the champion of the Franciscans, Wyclif was their most formidable opponent; and while the former defended the solicitation of alms, the latter instituted his 'simple priests,' to be an example to the world of evangelism without mendicity. The position of Wyclif in relation to the Mendicants will be best understood by the light of the more important passages in their career at the English universities in the fourteenth century, a period wherein the corruption and demoralization of these orders proceeded with ominous rapidity. The salt had lost its savour; and influences, which had once represented an energising impulse in the direction of a higher culture, had degenerated into a mischievous and disturbing element, productive only of strife and animosity, and seriously detrimental to the pursuit of true learning.

With the latter part of the century this evil had reached a climax. The resistance that the English Franciscans had

CHAP. VI.

PART II.

John Wyclif.
b. 1324.
d. 1384.
Wyclif, in relation to the temporal power of the Pope, a follower of Occam, but opposed to him on other points.

His relation to the Mendicants.

Tendencies of the English Franciscans.

¹ *Life of Wickliffe*, appended to *Two short Treatises against the orders of the Begging Friars*: Oxford, 1608.

² 'The immense services which our great countryman, William of Occam, had just rendered to science, could hardly have been unknown to, but they do not seem to have been appreciated by, Wyclif.' Mr. Thomas Arnold, *Theolog. Rev.* Apr. 1870. See however the passage quoted by Prof. Shirley (Pref. to *Fasciculi*

Zizaniorum, pp. lii and liii) from the MS. sermons of Wyclif preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge: where, so far as it is possible to judge from an isolated and corrupt passage, the philosophical opinions of the reformer appear to have been nearly identical with those of Aquinas. 'Of Ockham himself,' says the editor, 'Wyclif always speaks with respect.'

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PART II.

Policy of the
Mendicants
at the
universities.

The Dominicans at Paris
A. D. 1243 -
1257.

Defeat sustained by the
mendicant
orders at
Oxford.

offered to Boniface VIII, though it wore perhaps at the time an air of patriotism, was in reality actuated by little besides a keen sense that their own interests were at stake. The struggle with John XXII was also at an end. Their differences with Rome had been composed, and they had betaken themselves with undiminished energy to the task of pillaging the laity. In the universities their activity assumed a less sordid though not a less harmful character, and Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge were each in turn distracted by their assertion of indefensible rights and of equally indefensible immunities. Neither the ambition nor the interests of the two orders would permit them to forego the great centres of education and progressive thought; while their vows and their aims were incompatible with the obligations involved in the oaths administered by the universities. It was their object accordingly to create an *imperium in imperio*, and, while availing themselves of those centres as fields of propagandism, they were really intent on the creation of a rival if not of a hostile authority. 'The battle of the Mendicants,' says Huber, 'was fought simultaneously in all the universities of Christendom.' It began however at Paris long before it assumed any considerable proportions at either Oxford or Cambridge. In the thirteenth century the Dominicans, supported by pope Alexander IV, had, after a protracted struggle, been admitted to a participation in the scholastic acts and privileges of the former university, and, though excluded from all share in the government, their admission had led to important changes, among others the separation of the faculty of theology from the faculty of arts. The annals of our English universities equally attest the jealousy of the academic authorities and the pertinacious intrusion of the friars. We have already adverted to the stringent provisions passed at Oxford to check the widespread evil of proselytism. In the year 1311 the Mendicants appealed to Rome against some of the provisions enacted for the limitation of their independence, and in the year 1314 a formal decision was pronounced by a Commission jointly composed of representatives of the university and of the four orders. The verdict was a severe blow to the latter,

for it involved the transfer of numerous acts and disputations, previously held at their different houses, to the church of St. Mary, the recognised arena of academic ceremonies. The sole concession in favour of the friars required that every bachelor, when he had commented on the Sentences in the public schools, should be bound to repeat his lecture at the school of the Dominicans before he was admitted to teach in theology. The decision, Wood tells us, sorely dejected the Dominicans, who were thus compelled to witness large numbers of the students diverted from their doors and their own sources of emolument considerably curtailed¹. In the university of Cambridge we find, in the year 1359, a statute enacted prohibiting two friars of the same order from incepting in the same year; a subsequent statute required that two regents, whether doctors or bachelors of divinity, *of the same house*, should not concur in their 'ordinary' readings, whether of the Bible or the Sentences, but that one of them must read in his own convent, and the other in the schools of the university. 'These statutes,' says dean Peacock, 'would seem to have been framed with a view of compelling them [the friars], if admitted to the regency in the university, to take part in the public duties incumbent upon other regents, and not to confine their labours within the walls of their own monasteries².' Such legislation on the part of the university was keenly resented by the friars, and in the year 1366, the universities on the one hand and the Mendicants on the other, besieged parliament with angry recriminations. The chancellor and the proctors, and the provincials and ministers of the four orders, repaired to Westminster and submitted their disputes to the royal decision. The conclusion arrived at by Edward III, to which the bishops, dukes, earls, and barons all signified their assent, was so far favourable to the Mendicants that it rescinded the statute forbidding them to receive into their order

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Statute
against them
at Cam-
bridge.

They appeal
to parlia-
ment.

The statute
rescinded.

¹ Wood-Gutch, i 382—384. 'Nothing was granted to the friars, but only that they should enjoy their schools within the precincts of their house, to be free for lectures, disputations, and determinations, and nothing else, conditionally, that in

the performance of them they do not entrench upon, or contradict, the students of the university.' *Ibid.*

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 105. Peacock, *Observations*, etc. Append. A. xliii, note.

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PART II.

Exclusive
privileges
gained by the
Mendicants.

Opposition to
the theory of
Walter de
Merton.

Efforts of
Wyclif on
behalf of the
secular
clergy at
Oxford.

Papal bull of
1361 in their
favour.

scholars under eighteen years of age, and forbade the enactment of any similar statute: a far more important provision however was that whereby all bulls and processes from Rome, favouring the Mendicants in their relation to the university, were definitely set aside, and the renunciation of all advantages derived therefrom rendered compulsory¹. But the pertinacity of the friars was not easily to be overcome; for within nine years after the enactment of the above provisions, they obtained through the assistance of Christ Church, Canterbury, a bull enabling them to dispense with a statute which required that all persons should be regents in arts before proceeding to the degree of doctor of divinity; in other words, enabling them to proceed to the highest academical degree without having previously borne their part in the work of university instruction².

Other events occurring about this time sufficiently indicate that the theory advocated by Walter de Merton and Hugh Balsham was encountering considerable opposition. It is generally allowed that, for a short though not exactly ascertained period, John Wyclif was master of Balliol College, then known as Balliol Hall; and in the year 1361, during his tenure of that office, we find him exerting himself on behalf of the secular clergy maintained on the foundation, by procuring a papal bull permitting the impropriation of the living of Abbotesley, recently presented by Sir William de Felton to the college, for their support. In the recital the bull sets forth how his holiness had been petitioned by the clerks and

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 109.

² Lewis, *Life of Wyclif*, p. 6. The object of the Mendicants appears to have been to obtain the privilege of reading and lecturing at their own schools instead of those belonging to the university; that they did not claim exemption from the course of instruction that preceded the period of regency is evident from the language of Gregory:—'Nos igitur volentes eosdem custodem et collegium favore prosequi, gratiose huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, volumus ac eisdem custodi et collegio apostolica auctoritate concedimus, quod custos et scolares dicti collegii qui

sunt et erunt pro tempore, quamvis non rexerint in huiusmodi artium facultate, dummodo alias in primitivis scientiis sufficiente fuerint instructi ac cursus suos fecerint in theologia facultate, et per diligentem examinationem, juxta morem ipsius studii, sufficientes et idonei reperti extiterint ad magisterium recipiendum in eadem, ad huiusmodi magisterii honorem et docendi licentiam in ipsa theologia facultate in studio supradicto.....sublato cuiuslibet difficultatis obstaculo, libere admittantur, etc.' See *Collect. of Papers and Records*, *Ibid.* p. 302.

scholars of Balliol Hall who had represented that 'there were many students and clerks in the said hall, and that every one of them had anciently received only —pence* a week, and when they had taken their degree of master of arts were immediately expelled the said hall, so that they could not, by reason of their poverty, make any progress in other studies, but sometimes were forced, for sake of a livelihood, to follow some mechanical employment; that Sir William de Felton, having compassion on them, desired to augment the number of the said scholars, and to ordain that they should have, in common, books of diverse faculties, and that every one of them should receive sufficient clothing, and twelve pence every week, and that they might freely remain in the said hall, whether they took their master's or doctor's degree or no, until they had got a competent ecclesiastical benefice, and then should leave the hall¹.' On the 16th of May in the same year that Wyclif exhibited this bull to Gynwell, bishop of Lincoln, he was himself instituted, on the presentation of the college, to the rectory of Fylingham, in Lincolnshire, and shortly after, probably as soon as his term of grace was expired, resigned the mastership of the college and went to reside on his living. He did not become permanently resident again in Oxford until 1374; but in October, 1363, he is found renting rooms in Queen's College, and in 1368 he obtained two years' leave of absence from his living for the purpose of prosecuting his studies at the university². It was probably therefore when at Fylingham that he heard the history of similar efforts to his own on behalf of the secular clergy, in connexion with Canterbury Hall. It was in the year 1361, the same year that Wyclif obtained the papal bull above quoted, that Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, sought to carry out a plan resembling that conceived by Hugh Balsham,—a combination of the seculars and the religious on the same foundation. He had founded Canterbury Hall, and had admitted to the society a warden and three

Wyclif leaves
Oxford.

Simon Islip,
archbishop of
Canterbury
1349—1366.

* The amount stands, as above, a blank in Lewis.

¹ Lewis, *Life of Wiclif*, p. 4. (from *Manuscript Collections of the Bishop*

of Peterborough).

² Shirley, Pref. to *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. xiv, xv. *Note on the Two John Wyclifs*, p. 527.

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His attempt
to combine
the two ele-
ments at
Canterbury
Hall.

He finally
expels the
monks.

Simon Lang-
ham, archbp.
of Canter-
bury 1366—
1368.

He expels
the seculars
from Canter-
bury Hall.

Efforts of the
laity to cir-
cumscribe
the power of
the Church.

scholars who were monks from Christchurch, Canterbury, and eight other scholars who were secular priests. The studies prescribed were logic and the civil and the canon law. But, as at Cambridge, the project served only to bring out more clearly the incompatibility of the two elements. The monks and the seculars were perpetually at variance, and Simon Islip, perceiving that harmony was hopeless, in 1365 expelled the warden Woodhall, together with the other monks, and constituted the college a foundation for the secular clergy exclusively¹. The successor of Simon Islip was Simon Langham, a monk by education and entirely monastic in his sympathies. Under his auspices and by the use of considerable influence at Rome, the monks obtained a reversal of Simon Islip's decision. The seculars were all expelled, and their places filled by their rivals. Such a result must have proved a bitter disappointment to the more liberal party at the university, and the feelings of Wyclif when he came up to Oxford in the following year, having obtained the leave of absence from his living above mentioned, can hardly have been those of much friendliness to either monk or Mendicant.

While the seculars were thus contending under numerous disadvantages against their powerful foes, the laity in their turn were seeking to circumscribe the power of the whole Church. To counteract the rapacity of Rome the Statute against Provisors was re-enacted six times in the course of the century; while, for the purpose of limiting and defining the functions of the ecclesiastic, we find parliament addressing

¹ This fact is not brought out by Dean Hook in his life of Simon Langham (*Lives*, iv 210), but it is distinctly stated by Lewis, *Life of Wyclif*, p. 13, and by Professor Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 515. Dean Hook takes notice of the deposition of Woodhead or Woodhall only. The new warden appointed on this occasion was John Wyclif of Mayfield, whom Prof. Shirley has, it may be considered, satisfactorily proved to have been also the fellow of Merton College (see *Note on the Two*

John Wyclifs, appended to the *Fasc. Ziz.*); such a conclusion, of course, cancels many pages in the *Life* by Lewis, and in the *Monograph* of Dr. Robert Vaughan. The testimony of Woleford, on which the latter writer chiefly relies in endeavouring to prove that the warden of Canterbury Hall and the reformer were the same person, is shown by Professor Shirley, upon a searching criticism of the whole evidence, to be unentitled to credence.

the Crown, in the year 1371, with a general remonstrance against the appointment of churchmen to all great dignities of the state, and petitioning that laymen may be chosen for these secular offices. The movement was attributed by many to John of Gaunt; but that Wyclif was the adviser of his patron in this matter we have no evidence. Such data as we possess would rather lead us to the conclusion that his career as a reformer had scarcely commenced¹. The long neglect into which his Latin treatises have, in this country, been allowed to fall, has indeed tended to create considerable misapprehension as to his real character. Wyclif with all his noble aims in the direction of Church reform and the purification of doctrine, his translation of the Scriptures, his English tracts, so full of pathos, irony, and manly passion, his denunciations of Romish innovations, was still the schoolman, the dialectician, and the realist². 'He was second to none,' says the monk Knighton, 'in philosophy; in the discipline of the schools he was incomparable.' 'He was,' says Anthony Harmer, 'far from being condemned at Oxford, during his own life or the life of the duke of Lancaster, but was had in great esteem and veneration at that university to the last; and his writings, for many years before and after his death, were as much read and studied there as those of Aristotle, or the Master of the Sentences³.' 'A most profound philosopher and a most distinguished divine; a man of surpassing and indeed superhuman genius,' is the verdict of Anthony Wood. When such is the testimony of prejudiced if not hostile judges, we need seek for no farther evidence to shew what was really the generally accepted repu-

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Real character of Wyclif's sympathies.

Wyclif the foremost schoolman of his day.

¹ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. xiii c. 6. Dr. Robert Vaughan has quoted from the *Ecclesie Regimen* (Cotton MSS. Titus, D. 1) passages which clearly shew that Wyclif subsequently approved the views urged on this occasion; the date of this manuscript is uncertain, but there is every reason for supposing that it is the production of a much later period in Wyclif's life, when he had actually assumed the part of a reformer.

² Lewis has asserted that Chaucer,

in his description of the Parish Priest, 'seems to have had him (Wyclif), this friend and acquaintance of his, in his thoughts.' *Life of Wyclif*, p. 45. Mr. Robert Bell, in his preface to Chaucer, observes, on the other hand, that 'the antagonism is perfect;' and that if Chaucer meant to apply the sketch to Wyclif, it must have been as masked sarcasm and not as a panegyric.

³ Anthony Harmer's *Specimen*, p. 15 (quoted by Lewis).

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tation of the character to whom they refer. It would seem indeed that, during the greater part of his life, Wyclif was chiefly known as the most eminent schoolman of his day; even his memorable citation before the archbishop of Canterbury, at St. Paul's, was the result of his political rather than of his religious tenets, and the measure was probably aimed at his patron rather than at himself¹; while his general acceptance of the doctrinal teaching of the Church is sufficiently indicated by the fact that it was not until within a few years of his death that his bold revival of the doctrine held by Berengar exposed him to the charge of heresy. That doctrine again was one which related to a controversy that had agitated both the eastern and the western Churches, and which was peculiarly calculated to attract the ingenuity of the schoolman; and whatever of mistrust the name of a refuted heretic might awaken, there were not a few at Oxford who could remind those around them that the arguments of Berengar had been those of the true logician, and who could recognise in their illustrious contemporary the same or even yet greater mastery over the acknowledged weapons of debate. While finally, if we carefully examine the origin of his hostility to the Mendicants, we shall find good reason for inferring that had they suffered his teachings in the schools to pass unchallenged, the fiercest passages and the heaviest indictments that proceeded from his pen would never have been written. A highly competent critic, the most recent editor of the *Triologus*, is even of opinion that Wyclif's

Wyclif not originally hostile to the Mendicants.

¹ If Wyclif had confined his teaching to the schools, he would probably have remained unmolested. Considerable latitude in speculation was allowed to the schoolmen; and the heads of the Church of England at that time cared little for theological discussions. The university was, itself, vehemently antipapal, long before Wyclif was matriculated; and his antipathy to the Church of Rome was an inheritance on the part of an Oxonian. In opposing the pope, a creature of France, Wyclif only did what every patriot was

doing, so long as the popes remained at Avignon. In exposing the hypocrisy of the monks, he acted with the applause of the bishops, whose jurisdiction they rejected or despised. He had not only the two universities, but all the clergy, regular and secular, with him when he attacked the Mendicants. Fitz-Ralph, who preceded him, and was equally violent in his attacks upon the mendicant orders, had been rewarded with the archiepiscopal mitre of Armagh.' Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, III 83.

original sentiments towards those orders were certainly not of a hostile character¹.

It was undoubtedly an evil day for the Mendicants when the great schoolman at last put on the armour of William of St. Amour. The class hostility of the Benedictine historian, the honest aversion of Roger Bacon, the sarcasm and contempt of Langlande and Chaucer, even the hot anger of Armachanus, seem tame and feeble when compared with the glowing diatribes of the Oxford schoolman. They had but denounced the abuses of those orders of whom he demanded the extinction; whoever in fact wishes to know the worst that could be said against the Mendicants in the fourteenth century, unmodified by any palliating circumstances or counter considerations, will find it in the scholastic pages of the *Triologus* and the simpler diction of the English tracts. With much of exaggeration in detail but with undeniable fidelity of outline, the faults, vices, inconsistencies, and shortcomings of his adversaries are there held up to view, and it is difficult indeed to believe that we have before us the representatives of those whose heroism and self-devotion had won

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Fierceness of his subsequent denunciation of their vices.

¹ The late Dr. Robt. Vaughan, in his work entitled *John de Wycliffe, D.D., a Monograph*, says 'From what we know of the controversy as conducted by others, and from all that we find bearing upon it in the later works of the reformer, it is not difficult to judge of the manner in which he acquitted himself in relation to it at this earlier period.' (See p. 88.) How far the inference here made is justified by the facts may be seen from the following words of Dr. Lechler:—'Sed Wiclifum non a primo initio de 'fratribus minoribus,' 'prædicatoribus,' reliquis, ita sensisse, potius magni eos aestimavisse, nec antequam cœpisset doctrinæ de 'transsubstantiatione' censuram agere, mendicantes impugnasse, ipsius opera testantur. Cum enim theologi illis ordinibus adscripti præ ceteris ipsi adversarentur de doctrina illa agent, Wiclifus sibi persuadere cœpit, fratres mendicantes omnium errorum atque malorum in ecclesia Romana vigen-

tium acerrimos esse patronos et vindices. Quod cum non ante annum 1381 factum esse, et alia monumenta et libri ejus nondum typis exscripti testimoniosint, luce clarius est, *Triologum* aut hoc aut posteriori anno editum esse.' *Prolog. ad Triologum*, p. 3. Lewis, on the authority of Leland, *De Script. Brit.* p. 379, asserts that Wyclif began, so early as 1372, to attack the Mendicants, in his lectures as Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. 'In these lectures,' he says, 'he frequently took notice of the corruptions of the begging Friars, which at first he did in a soft and gentle manner, until, finding that his detecting their abuses was what was acceptable to his hearers, he proceeded to deal more plainly and openly with them.' *Life of Wyclif*, p. 21. He admits, however, that the tract edited by James, the librarian of the Bodleian, in 1608, which with the *Triologus* contains the gravamen of Wyclif's attack, was not written until about ten years later. *Ibid.* p. 22.

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the admiration of St. Louis and of Robert Grosseteste. The vow of poverty had long been disregarded; the residences of the orders were among the most magnificent structures of the time, so thickly scattered too throughout the country that a contemporary poet was scarcely guilty of exaggeration when he declared that the friar might make a tour of the realm and sleep each night under the shelter of some one or other of these palatial abodes¹. To Wyclif they appeared little better than those ancient strongholds where lawless barons were wont to set law and order at defiance, issuing forth at intervals only to spread terror among the quiet homesteads of their neighbours; he termed them 'Cain's Castles².' As for the mendicancy which supplied the place of force, he declared that 'begging was damned by God both in the Old Testament and the New;' while the proselytism of the orders, he described as habitually carried on by 'hypocrisy, lesings and steling.' In short, after making all allowance for the plain speaking of the period, it is difficult to conceive that the resources of our Middle English could have supplied the vocabulary for a much heavier indictment than that wherein he stigmatises his antagonists as 'irregular procurators of the fende, to make and maintain warrs of Christen men, and enemies of peace and charity,' 'Scariot's children,' 'a swallow of simony, of usury, extortion, of raveynes and of theft, and so as a nest or hord of Mammon's tresour,' 'both night thieves and day thieves, entering into the Church not by the door that is Christ,' 'worse enemies and sleers of man's soule than is the cruel fende of hell by himself,' 'envenymed with gostly sin of Sodom,' 'perilous enemies to holy Church and all our lond³.' We need scarcely wonder that charges

¹ 'For ye now wenden through the realme, and ech night will lig in your owne courtes, and so mow but right few lords do.' *Jack Upland* (quoted by Lewis).

² *Caymes Castelis*. 'That is Cain's Castles; for in Wycliffe's time the proper name Cain appears to have been commonly corrupted into *Caim*. So in his New Testament: "Abel offered a myche more sacrifice thanm Caim to God." The word is used

by Wyclif as a term of reproach, as embodying the initial letters of the names of the four mendicant orders, Carmelites, Augustinians, Jacobites or Dominicans (called Jacobites from the Rue St. Jacques in Paris, where their famous convent stood), and Minorites or Franciscans.' See note by Dr. Todd to his edition of Wyclif's treatise *De Ecclesia et Membra Ejus*.

³ *Two short Treatises against the Orders of the Begging Friars*, ed.

and epithets such as these, made moreover by no obscure parish priest but by the most eminent English schoolman of his day, should have called up the undying hatred of the four orders. Wyclif's enemies could say no worse of him than he had said of them. Netter and Kynnyngham are models of courtesy by comparison¹.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the relevancy of these leading features in Wyclif's teaching and influence, to the developement of thought and education in the universities; but we may observe that we have here decisive evidence that the systematic opposition to the corruptions of the Church, which had begun to manifest itself in Occam and was carried out by Wyclif, was essentially a university movement. While conservatism found its chief support in the superstitious zeal of the provinces, the spirit of reform was agitating Oxford and Cambridge; having its origin indeed in a widespread sense of grave abuses, but mainly indebted for its chief success to the advocacy of the most distinguished schoolman of his day, whose arguments were enforced with all the subtleties of the scholastic logic, as well as with the simple rhetoric of his native tongue. The universities thus became the strongholds of Wyclifism²; of Lollardism, that is to say, free for the most part from those abuses and extravagancies which brought discredit upon the cause, as seen in socialists like John Ball, and fanatics like Swynderby, but firmly holding to the right of private judgement in the acceptance of theological dogmas. The views of Berengar were

The struggle against the Pope chiefly carried on at the universities.

The universities the strongholds of Lollardism.

James, Oxford, 1608. Lewis, *Life of Wyclif*, pp. 23—30.

¹ Lingard has naturally not failed to find in Wyclif's vituperations an exculpation of the opposite party: 'It will not excite surprise,' he observes, 'if invectives so coarse, and doctrines so prejudicial to their interests, alarmed and irritated the clergy. They appealed for protection to the king and the pontiff; but though their reputation and fortunes were at stake they sought not to revenge themselves on their adversary, but were content with an order for his removal from the uni-

versity to reside on his own living. If the reader allot to *him* the praise of courage, he cannot refuse to *them* the praise of moderation.' *Hist. of England* iii⁵ 307.

² Of its presence at Oxford we have a signal proof in the fact that within a few years after the foundation of New College in 1380, we find the courtiers reproaching William of Wykeham, the founder, with having raised up a seminary of heresy; so prevalent had the new doctrines become within the college. See *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, p. 282.

CHAP. III. reasserted by Wyclif, not simply in connexion with a specific
 PART II. tenet but with the whole field of religious enquiry; and it was this spirit that, far more than the latter's opinions concerning Church and State, began, soon after his death, to spread with such rapidity at Oxford and Cambridge. The preamble to archbishop Arundel's Constitutions, published in 1408, indicates very clearly the gravamen of the offence given by the party of reform to the ecclesiastical authorities; 'He does an injury to the most reverend synod, who examines its determinations: and since he who disputes the supreme earthly judgment is liable to the punishment of sacrilege, *as the authority of the civil law teaches us*; much more grievously are they to be punished, and to be cut off as putrid members from the Church militant, who, leaning on their own wisdom, violate, oppose, and despise, by various doctrines, words, and deeds, *the laws and canons made by the key-keeper of eternal life and death*.....when they have been published according to form and cause, and observed by the holy fathers our predecessors, even to the glorious effusion of their blood, and dissipating their brains¹.' In the same Constitutions it is provided (1) that no master of arts or grammar shall instruct his pupils upon any theological point, contrary to the determination of the Church, or expound any text of Scripture in other manner than it hath been of old expounded, or permit his pupils either publicly or privately to dispute concerning the Catholic faith or the sacraments of the Church; (2) that no book or tract compiled by John Wyclif, or any one else in his time or since, or to be compiled hereafter, shall be read or taught in the schools, hostels, or other places in the province, until it has first been examined by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, or at least by twelve persons to be elected by each of these bodies, and afterwards expressly approved by the archbishop or his successors; (3) that whoever shall read or teach any book or treatise contrary to the form aforesaid, shall be punished as a sower of schism and favourer of heresy, according to the quality of his offence².'

Constitutions
of archbp.
Arundel,
1408.

¹ Quoted by Dean Hook, *Lives*, III 79.

² Cooper, *Annals*, I 153. Wilkins, *Concilia*, III 316.

• Into the question of the political bearings of Wyclif's doctrines we are not called upon to enter. They appear to have been carried to dangerous excesses by the fanatics who, under the general designation of Lollards, represented not merely, as Professor Shirley observes, 'every species of religious malcontent,' but designs inconsistent with the then existing form of government. Against these the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo* was really aimed; but the ecclesiastical authorities subsequently found their advantage in confusing the theological and political aspects of the movement, and representing them as inseparable. Under both, the followers of Wyclif strained his teachings to conclusions that could scarcely fail, at any time, to excite alarm, and call forth vigorous measures of repression¹; and while we honour the integrity, the vigour of thought, and the untiring zeal of their leader, we shall not the less lament the extravagancies which obscured the original lustre of his design, and contributed in no small degree to the defeat of a noble purpose. It is certain that, in this country, measures like those which Arundel, Chicheley, and Beaufort successively carried out were attended with almost complete success; and the oft-quoted simile of Foxe typifies with singular felicity the history of Wyclif's influence. As the ashes of the great reformer were borne by the Avon and the Severn far from the spot where they were first consigned to rest, even so his doctrines, well-nigh extinguished in England, rose again in new purity and vigour in a distant land. Amid a Slavonic race, in the cities of Bohemia, the son of John of Gaunt² directed the persecuting sword against the tenets of which

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Extravagancies of
the later
Lollards.

Lollardism
suppressed in
England to
reappear in
Bohemia.

¹ 'Another class, as truly alien from his spirit as any, and who began in the next generation to appear in considerable number, were the men who rejected, as unworthy of the Christian religion, whatever did not appear patent at once to the intelligence of the most ordinary learner. For them human nature had no hidden depths, religion no mysteries; yet of the Christian ordinances, that which alone seems to

have thoroughly approved itself to them was that which to others appeared the most mysterious of all, the exposition of the Bible by the most ignorant of the priesthood. In the high value they set on this unlettered preaching, and in that alone, they could truly claim the authority of Wyclif.' Prof. Shirley, *Pref. to Fasc. Ziz. lxviii.*

² Cardinal Beaufort.

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Mr Gaird-
ner's criti-
cism.

Lollardism
not the com-
mencement
of the
Reformation.

his illustrious father had been a foremost protector¹. But at home, Lollardism, if it lived at all, survived rather by its secondary effects than as a direct tradition. 'Notwithstanding,' says a writer who has studied this period with special care, 'the darkness that surrounds all subjects connected with the history of the 15th century, we may venture pretty safely to affirm that Lollardy was not the beginning of modern Protestantism. Plausible as it seems to regard Wyclif as "the morning star of the Reformation," the figure conveys an impression which is altogether erroneous. Wyclif's real influence did not long survive his own day, and so far from Lollardy having taken any deep root among the English people, the traces of it had wholly disappeared long before the great revolution of which it is thought the forerunner. At all events in the rich historical material for the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign, supplied by the correspondence of the time, we look in vain for a single indication that any such thing as a Lollard sect existed. The movement had died a natural death; from the time of Oldecastle it sank into insignificance. Though still for a while considerable in point of numbers, it no longer counted among its adherents any man of note; and when another generation had passed away, the serious action of civil war left no place for the crotchets of fanaticism. Yet doubtless Lollardy did not exist in vain. A strong popular faith does not entirely die, because it never can be altogether unsound. The leaven of the Lollard doctrines remained after the sect had disappeared. It leavened the whole mass of English thought, and may be traced in the theology of the Anglican Church itself. Ball and Swynnderby were forgotten, as they deserved to be; extravagance effervesced and was no more; but there still remained, and

¹ Antony Wood states, I have been unable to ascertain on what grounds, that Huss studied at Oxford, where he 'made it his whole employment' 'to collect and transcribe' Wyclif's doctrines. The generally received account is that Huss became acquainted with those doctrines through writings brought by one of his scholars who had been studying at Oxford.

The number of students from Bohemia at the English university at this period is a noticeable feature, and is probably attributable to the increased intercourse between the two countries that followed upon the marriage of king Wenzel's sister to Richard II. Wood-Gutch, i 585, 586. Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. XIII c. 8.

to this day continues, much that is far more sound than unsound¹.

But while it would seem indisputable that the doctrines of Wyclif were effectually suppressed in this country, it is necessary to guard against a tendency to refer to their suppression consequences which demand a wider solution. The following passage from Huber, for example, is exaggerated in its conception and erroneous as a statement of fact: 'One might have expected,' he says, 'that this great battle should be fought out at the universities, and that the emergency would have called out the most brilliant talents on both sides. It might have been so, had not the higher powers from without, both temporal and spiritual, at each successive crisis crushed the adverse party in the universities; thus entailing intellectual imbecility on the other side likewise, when a battle essentially intellectual and spiritual was never allowed to be fairly fought out. This has ever been the effect everywhere, but especially at the English universities; and it explains the extreme languor and torpor which prevailed in them at that time.....Almost a century passed after the suppression of the Wykliffite outburst, before classical studies were adopted in England: and during this whole period the universities took no such prominent part in the great ecclesiastical questions as might have been expected from their ancient reputation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the university of Oxford had reared and sent forth sons who attracted European regard: but in the great Councils of the Church of the fifteenth century, she was nowhere to be found².' A more careful consideration of the phenomena of the *Sæculum Synodale*, and a more intimate acquaintance with our university history, would probably have led the writer considerably to modify if not

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Huber's estimate of the results that followed upon the suppression of Lollardism at the universities.

His statement of the facts erroneous,

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, vol. II, *Bible Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, by James Gairdner. Milton, long after, noted and commented on this sudden extinction of reform in England:—'Wickliffe's preaching,' he says, 'at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers,

was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven Kings' reigns.' *Of Reformation in England*, Bk. I. *Works* by St. John, II 368.

² Huber, *English Universities*, I 156.

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and offers only a partial explanation of the decline of the universities in intellectual activity.

altogether to cancel this passage. In the first place it is certain that both Oxford and Cambridge were represented at the council of Pisa¹; and when the deputation from Oxford was passing through Paris, it was addressed by Gerson, then chancellor of the university of Paris, and complimented on the spirited interest in the welfare of the Church, which the body it represented had displayed at so important a juncture². At Constance, where the suppression of Wyclifism, as that heresy had reappeared in the movement led by John Huss, occupied a prominent place in the deliberations of the council, Cambridge was represented by its chancellor and other delegates, and Oxford by some of her most distinguished sons³. Both universities, again, were addressed by the university of Paris with a view to concerted action at the council of Basel⁴; and the fact that neither would seem to have so far responded to the invitation as to send delegates, is satisfactorily accounted for by the comparatively languid interest which the whole country, on the eve of political disturbance at home, appears to have taken in the lengthened proceedings of that council.

That the suppression of Lollardism acted as a check upon free thought at the universities is probable enough, but it is far from supplying an adequate explanation of the 'torpor' and 'languor' to which Huber refers, and which undoubtedly prevailed. Between heresy of the most uncompromising character and complete subserviency to mere tradition, there was yet an interval that afforded sufficient scope for vigorous speculation and active organic developement; of this the position occupied by the university of Paris during the earlier part of the fifteenth century is incontestible evidence. The centre of intellectual activity had again been shifted; and during that period Paris was again what she had been in the

The university of Paris regains her former pre-eminence.

¹ Labbe and Cossart, xi 2221; Wood-Gutch, 544, 545.

² 'Ecce quid præclara universitas Oxoniensis, unde sibi meruit congratulari, pridem ad hoc Concilium petendum determinavit se et misit in Franciam, scio qui præsens interfui dum proponeretur hæc conclusio.'

Propositio facta a J. Gersonio ex parte Universitatis coram Anglicis Parisiis evocatis ad Sacrum Consilium Pisis. Opera, ed. Dupin, ii 126.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 158.

⁴ MS. Lambethian, No. 447, fo. 143 (quoted by Cooper).

days of Albertus and Aquinas. Never, declares Crevier, had she been consulted and listened to with greater deference; never had she taken so conspicuous a part in the decision of affairs of such importance; while the names of Nicholas de Clamangis, Pierre d'Ailli, and Jean Gerson might vie with any that had yet adorned her academic annals¹. It was the era of the great councils; and had the views advocated by the two last-named illustrious scholars of the College of Navarre obtained a permanent triumph over papal obstinacy, it is not improbable that the fierce convulsion of the sixteenth century might have been anticipated by more moderate measures in the fifteenth. A reformed and educated clergy, and the admitted right of synods œcumenical to overrule the authority of the pope himself, might have floated the Romish system over the two fatal rocks on which, in Germany and in England, it went to pieces².

Of Gerson himself it has been truly said that 'he does more than almost any other man to link the thoughts of different periods together³;' for, though essentially a representative of mediæval thought, he presents a union of some of its most dissimilar phases and tendencies. The nominalist and yet the mystic; full of contempt for 'the fine spun cobwebs' that occupied the ingenuity of the schools, full of reverence for Dionysius, 'the holy and the divine,' intent on reformation in the Church, yet consenting to the death of the noblest reformer of the age; ever yearning for peace, and yet ever foremost in the controversial fight,—he adds to the anomalies of a transitional period the features of an individual eclecticism. It is foreign to our purpose to enter here upon any discussion of the views which find expression in the

Jean Char-
lier de
Gerson,
b 1363,
d. 1429.

¹ Crevier, III 3.

² Similarly, of a somewhat earlier period in England, Mr Froude observes, 'If the Black Prince had lived, or if Richard II had inherited the temper of the Plantagenets, the ecclesiastical system would have been spared the misfortune of a longer reprieve. Its worst abuses would then have terminated, and the reformation of doctrine in the 16th century would have been left to fight its

independent way unsupported by the moral corruption of the Church from which it received its most powerful impetus.' *Hist of England*, I 82.

³ Prof. Maurice, *Modern Philosophy*, p. 46. Similarly Schmidt observes, 'Gerson marque une période de transition; il est le représentant d'une époque où les principes les plus contradictoires se combattent.' *Essai sur Jean Gerson*, p. 30.

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His two
treatises, *De*
Modis and
De Concordia.

Illustration
they afford
of the final
results of
scholastic
metaphysics.

De Triplici Theologia or in the *De Monte Contemplationis*; but in two of Gerson's shorter and comparatively unknown treatises, the *De Modis Significandi*, and the *De Concordia Metaphysicæ cum Logica*, we have a valuable exposition of the state of metaphysical science at Paris at this period, and an incontrovertible proof of the progress which that science had made since the time of Abelard. In the fifty propositions into which each of these treatises is divided, the nominalistic conclusions are stated with a conciseness and clearness that far exceed what is to be found in any other writer of the century; it may not indeed be easy to shew any appreciable advance upon the views arrived at by Occam; but it is certainly a noticeable fact that those views are here reiterated with emphasis by one who had filled the office of chancellor in the same university that had seen the writings of the Oxford Franciscan given to the flames. It is to be noted also, as perhaps the most significant feature, that the nominalistic doctrines are here identified with the real meaning of Aristotle, while the positions of the realists, from Amalricus down to John Huss, are exhibited as instances of philosophic error¹. The distinction to be observed between metaphysics and logic, on which Occam had insisted, is also asserted with even yet greater distinctness. It belongs to the metaphysician alone, says Gerson, to investigate the essences of things; the logician does not define the thing, but simply the notion²; his object being, in more modern phrasology, 'to produce distinctness in *concepts*, which are the *things* of logic.' The theory to which the realists had adhered with such tenacity, that in some yet to be discovered treatise of the Stagyrte would be found the necessary exposition of the functions of logic as concerned with the definition of things themselves³, is here given to the winds; and the position taken up by Occam with reference to theology is sanctioned by the greatest authority of the fifteenth century.

¹ *Opera*, ed. Dupin, iv 826. 827.

² 'Sumatur ex his distinctionibus hæc unica, quod consideratio rei, ut res est, spectat ad metaphysicam. Consideratio vero rei, ut tantummodo

signum est, præsertim in anima, spectat ad grammaticam vel logicam.' *Ibid.* iv 829.

³ Dean Mansel, *Artis Logicæ Rudimenta*, p. 40, note ^o.

Such then was the harvest which scholasticism finally reaped in the fields of philosophy! After the toil of centuries it had at last succeeded in bringing back to view the original text of the great master, which the vagaries of mediæval speculation had well-nigh obliterated¹.

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But it is not the nominalist only that appears in these pages; the mystic and the theologian are also discernible. The grand old mediæval conception of theology, as the science of sciences, struggles for expression. Theology or rather ontology, in Gerson's view, is not necessarily a *terra incognita* for the intellect because not amenable to the reasonings which belong to the province of the dialectician. 'Even,' he says, 'as the sculptor reveals the statue in the block' (a simile borrowed from his favorite Dionysius) 'not by what he brings but by what he removes,' even so the divine nature is to be apprehended by the man, only as he ceases to be the logician and soars beyond the region of the Categories²! Of the disputes of the theologians Gerson appears absolutely weary; affirming that it were better controversy should cease altogether than that discords like those which he had witnessed should continue to scandalise alike the faithful and the infidel.

These results little more than a return to the nominalism of Aristotle.

Gerson's view of the relations of logic to theology.

The date of the composition of these two treatises ex-

¹ A recent critic however sees in Gerson's treatise something more than a mere restoration of Aristotelian thought. 'The metaphysical philosophy of the Middle Ages, with its dominating controversy between realism and nominalism, that is, between metaphysic mixed with ontology and metaphysic pure, is a painful working back to the point of view which Aristotle occupied, and a rediscovery of his meaning. But at the same time it was a reproduction of his meaning in a new and original mould, so that the form was simpler and clearer, and the contradictions which Aristotle's system contained, in its combination of ontology with metaphysic, were brought to view. *This was a great step in advance*, although no one as yet arose capable of introducing a principle

of solution for these contradictions. Jean Charlier de Gerson's work. *De Modis Significandi* and *De Concordia Metaphysicæ cum Logica*, may be taken as an exponent of the results obtained by Scholasticism; and it is surprising to see the close agreement between it and modern Kantian, and therefore also of much post-Kantian, philosophy. It is the result of previous philosophy, and the seed of modern philosophies.' Shadworth H. Hodgson, *Time and Space*, p. 532.

² 'Sic Dionysius docet facere in mystica theologia per exemplum de sculptore qui facit agalma pulcherrimum, id est, imaginem, nihil addendo sed removendo. Sequitur eos Dominus Bonaventura, *Itinerario Mentis in Deum*, *elegantur valde*.' *Opera*, iv 827.

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Circumstances under which these treatises were written.

plains their tone and invests them with additional interest. Gerson at this time was no longer chancellor of Paris. The noblest act of a far from ignoble career had made the duke of Burgundy his mortal foe. In 1418 he fled from the city in which it is no exaggeration to say, that he had 'for a time ruled like a king¹.' He first took refuge in Bavaria, and finally found a home in a monastery of Celestines at Lyons, of which his brother was prior. It was here that on the eve of the Nativity, in 1426, he summed up the foregoing 'conclusions.' The mediæval student loved to bring some cherished labour to its close at that sacred season of the year; and Gerson, as towards the end of life he thus enunciated his philosophical belief, glanced forward to a time, for him then very near, when these paths of thought and speculation, which now crossed each other with bewildering complexity or vanished from the mental eye in widely opposed directions, should be found harmonious and concentric; when he should discern the true reconciliation, not merely of metaphysic and logic, but of all knowledge, and see no longer as through a glass darkly².

Cessation of the intercourse between Paris and the English universities.

Circumstances that brought about a diminution of the influence of the university of Paris in the fifteenth century.

The intercourse between Paris and the English universities appears to have died out about the time of Gerson's chancellorship, and we have failed to discover any evidence that his speculations served in any way to stimulate the progress of philosophic thought in England throughout the century. Over both countries the storm of war burst with peculiar severity: and when the fierce feuds of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, the struggle between the two nations, and the Wars of the Roses were over, the supremacy of Paris as the chief seat of European learning was also at

¹ Prof. Maurice, *Modern Philosophy*, p. 49.

² 'Concordia metaphysicæ cum theologia fiet, si consideretur ens simpliciter vel ens primum, vel ens universaliter perfectum, quod est Deus. Aut si consideretur generalis ratio objectalis entis. Secundum spectat ad metaphysicam: primum proprie ad theologiam, in qua Deus est subiectum. Est autem theologia

duplex, scilicet viæ et patriæ. Theologia viæ respicit ens primum ut creditum enim amicus attributivus non excludendo intelligentiam de multis. Theologia autem patriæ respicit ens primum ut facialiter visum et obiectatur in seipso, non in speculo vel anigmate. Gratias ipsi qui apernit hanc concordiam hominibus bonæ voluntatis.' *Opera*, iv 829, 830.

an end. It may appear but natural that such a result should have followed upon the reign of the *Cubochien* and the *écorcheur*; it may even seem a fitting nemesis for the sentence whereby the university consigned the Maid of Orleans to her fate; but so far as it is within our power to assign a cause, it would rather appear that the decline which now came over the prestige of the university of Paris must be attributed to efforts as honorable as any which mark the history of that illustrious body. It is well known that the policy of the three great councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel rested upon the recognition of one fundamental principle,—the absolute authority of such assemblies over the fiat of the pope himself. At the assembling of the council of Basel however the course of events had given a different complexion to the assertion of such a principle in the eyes of different nations. The schism of the West had been brought to a termination; and the papal authority was again concentrated in a single undivided head at Rome. Englishmen accordingly no longer regarded the pope with the suspicion that had attached to the sole or rival pope at Avignon; and when the French deputies at Basel, pledged to support and carry out the policy of Gerson, demanded measures of reform to which Eugenius IV refused his sanction, they found themselves opposed by an English Ultramontane party, represented by John Kemp, the archbishop of York, who supported the papal supremacy. This opposition was successful. From the breaking up of the council of Basel we date a new theory of the pontifical power. The supreme pontiff no longer appeared as *episcopus inter pares*, but as the universal bishop, from whom all bishops in other countries received their authority and to whom they owed allegiance. The *Sæculum Synodale* was at an end¹.

But before the council of Basel had ceased to sit, France had secured for herself at Bourges that independence of Rome which she had vainly striven to assert in the œcumenical councils. The Pragmatic Sanction, re-enacted in 1438, vested in the crown the most valuable church patronage of the king-

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The great
Councils.

The policy of
Gerson op-
posed at
Basel by the
English
Ultra-
montanists.

France
re-enacts
the Prag-
matic Sanction.

¹ Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, v 216—218.

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The popes
avenge them-
selves upon
the uni-
versity of
Paris.

Rise of new
universities
under the
papal
sanction.

dom; it was to France far more than the statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire* had ever been to England; for more than half a century, says Ranke, it was believed to be the palladium of the realm¹. But, in the mean time, her adherence to the policy of Gerson drew down upon the university of Paris the enmity of successive popes, who repaid the attempted limitation of their authority by a not unsuccessful endeavour to diminish her influence and prestige. Hence the encouragement now so conspicuously extended by Rome to the creation of new centres of learning. In the thirteenth century only three universities had risen on the model of that of Paris; the first half of the fourteenth century witnessed the rise of the same number; the second half, seven; but the fifteenth century saw the creation of *eighteen*². We

¹ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. xiii c. 13; Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i 25, 26.

² 'Les différences sont encore plus frappantes si l'on examine seulement le nombre des Facultés de théologie autorisées par les papes; xiii^e siècle, 1; xiv^e siècle, avant 1378, 5; de 1378 à 1500, 27. Si l'on rapproche ces chiffres des événements religieux et politiques auxquels l'Université de Paris a été mêlée, on trouvera que les Universités se sont plus particulièrement multipliées à partir du schisme, des conciles de Bâle et de Constance, de la guerre des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons, de l'invasion anglaise. On est porté à en conclure que ces événements, accumulés entre 1378 et 1430, n'ont pas été sans influence sur la multiplication des Universités. L'étude des faits confirme cette conclusion... Les papes, irrités de la conduite de l'Université de Paris dans les conciles de Constance et de Bâle, autorisèrent douze Universités nouvelles pour l'Allemagne, la Hongrie, la Suède et le Danemark. En France même, les papes et les rois s'accorderent pour frapper au cœur l'Université de Paris. Charles VII la détestait parce qu'elle avait été dominée par les suppôts de la nation Picarde, sujets du duc de Bourgogne. Le concile de Bâle donnait peu de satisfaction au pape Eugène IV. En 1437, ils autorisèrent tous deux la

fondation d'une Université complète à Caen, au milieu d'une des Nations les plus riches et les plus importantes de l'Université de Paris. Charles VII, reconnu roi au sud de la Loire, avait déjà autorisé une Université à Poitiers (1431). Eugène IV accorda une Faculté de théologie à Dole (1437), et une Université complète à Bordeaux (1441). Louis XI et Pie II ne pouvaient manquer de s'entendre contre l'Université de Paris, qui contenait des sujets de Charles-le-Téméraire, et qui soutenait la pragmatique sanction. Deux Universités furent autorisées dans les deux provinces qui envoyaient le plus d'étudiants à la Nation de France, en Bretagne (Nantes, 1460) et en Berry (Bourges, 1464).'
Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement*, etc. pp. 206, 208. I may observe that the foundation of the *collegium trilingue* at Louvain, in 1426, which is among those enumerated by M. Thurot, is hardly an illustration of his statement. It was founded under the auspices of the Duke of Brabant, and designed for all the faculties *save that of theology*; the primary object being to create a *studium generale* where the youth of the Low Countries might receive a higher instruction without resorting to Paris or Cologne, and encountering the heavy expenses and numerous temptations that beset the wealthier students in large cities. See *Mémoires*

have already noted that the English 'nation' at Paris was known after the year 1430 as the German 'nation'; but within ten years from that time the German 'nation' had in turn become temporarily defunct, for neither master nor student remained¹. The new universities, it is true, were constituted at a trying period, when scholasticism was beginning to yield before the new learning, and an age of revolution was not that in which young institutions, conceived in conformity with old traditions, were likely to find steady and continuous developement. But, notwithstanding, they each exerted more or less influence over a certain radius, and the students attracted to each new centre were, in considerable proportion, diverted from the schools of Paris; others again were driven from France into Germany by the persecutions which Louis XI reviv'd against the nominalists; and the professors of the Sorbonne and of Navarre, as they scanned the once densely crowded lecture rooms, could scarcely have failed to be aware that the representatives of the Teutonic races were gradually disappearing from their midst,—perhaps sometimes recalled, not without misgiving, how largely the teachers whom that race had given to their uni-

The Teutonic
element
gradually
withdrawn
from Paris.

sur les deux Premiers Siècles de l'Université de Louvain, par le Baron de Reiffenberg. Bruxelles, 1829. None of these fifteenth century universities shew any advance in their conception upon the traditional ideas. Leipzig, founded in 1409, adopted in the first instance the course of study at Prague (founded 1348) with scarcely any modification. See *Die Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig, aus den Ersten 150 Jahren Ihres Bestehens*. Von Friedrich Zarneke, p. 311. 'Item die et loco, quibus supra, placuit magistris pro tunc facultatem representantibus, quod libri pro gradibus magisterii et baccalariatus in universitate Pragensi similiter hic permanere debeant sine additione et diminutione ad annum. Quo finito possit fieri mutacio, addicio vel diminutio juxta placitum facultatis. Et idem placuit de parvis loyca libus Mauffelt pro exercitiis et ordinario servandis ad idem tempus et postea juxta voluntatem facultatis

ulterius continuandis vel immutandis in alia parva loyca lia, scilicet Greffinstein vel Marsilii vel alterius.' The authors and subjects required both for the bachelor's and the master's degree are enumerated, and Aristotle is nearly the Alpha and the Omega of the course: in the first the candidate must have attended lectures on the logic of Petrus Hispanus, and an abridgement of Priscian; the whole of the Organon—specified as the *Vetus Ars*, the Prior and Posterior Analytics, and the Elenchi Sophistici; the Physics, the De Anima, and the Sphæra Materialis; in the second, the Topica, the De Coelo, De Generatione, De Meteoris, and Parva Naturalia; the Ethics, the Politics, and the Economics; common perspective, the theory of the planets, Euclid, the logic of Hesbrus, common arithmetic, music, and metaphysics.

¹ Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement*, etc. p. 208.

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versity had contributed to her ancient fame. In the decline that thus befel the university of Paris the English universities undoubtedly shared; the cessation of their former interchange of thought was a loss to both nations; and not least among the disadvantages that resulted to Oxford and Cambridge is the fact that Gerson's remarkably able exposition of the Aristotelian nominalism appears to have altogether failed to arrest the attention of our countrymen, and that nearly two centuries elapsed before philosophy in England resumed the thread of speculation as it had fallen from the hands of the great chancellor of Paris.

The action of
the Statute of
Provisors
prejudicial
to the uni-
versities.

Besides the forcible suppression of Wyclif's doctrines, and isolation from the continent, a third cause affected yet more closely the material prosperity of Oxford and Cambridge,—the action of the statute of Provisors. That statute, after having been repeatedly confirmed, was found to be so inimical in its operation to the interests of learning that it began to be regarded with disfavour. Even so early as the year 1392, the council of state had advised some relaxation of its enactments, their recommendation being expressly urged with a view to the relief of the universities. In the year 1400 the house of commons is found petitioning the new monarch with a like object; and in the year 1416 we are confronted by the somewhat startling fact, that the depressed state of the clergy and the rise of 'great and intolerable heresies' are attributed by the same assembly to the operation of the same statute¹. Patronage, it had been

¹ 'Item suppliunt tres humblement voz Communes, que come jadyz la Clergie de la Roialme fuist cressant et flourant et profitant en voz Universitees d'Oxenford et Cantebregge, p Doctours en Divinitee, en les Leyes Canon et Civill, et pour autres de meynre degree, a grand confort, consolation, et haut profit de toute Sainte Eglise, et votre poeple Cristian d'Engleterre environ, a ore en contraire d'ensy, que l'estatuit de Provision et encontre Provisours fuit fait par Parlement, la Clergie en les ditz Universitees lamentablement est extincte, et en plusours parties despire, a graunt

anientissement de Sainte Eglise, et sur ces pur default que les diz Clerkes estudiantz en les voz ditz Universitees, ne sont pas avaunciez, promotz, et nuricez, en leur emprise honeste et vertue, et si pur taunt que la dite Clergie n'est conforte et nuricee, granntz et intollerables Erroures et Heresyas envers Dieu, et Homme, et rebellion et obstinacie encontre Vous, tres souverain Sgr. entre les commune ple de votre Roialme sont nadgairs ensurdez, encontre auncien doctrine de noz Seintz Piers, et determination a tout Seint Eglise; et si l'avaunt ditz Universities ont mys en haultz

found, could be as much abused in England as at Rome; and its exercise by their fellow-countrymen had proved specially disastrous to students. The prevalent indifference to learning shewed itself in the nomination of uneducated men to valuable benefices; while the claims of those trained at Oxford and Cambridge were altogether passed by. The papal patronage had rarely been characterised by partiality so unjust: foreigners had indeed been generally appointed to the more valuable benefices, but when the election lay between Englishman and Englishman, the pope had rarely failed to shew some appreciation of merit, though it might be only that of the civilian and the canonist¹. But at home nepotism, or yet more mercenary motives, prevailed over all other considerations, and the predilections of the English patron proved but a poor exchange for those of Rome and Avignon: while preferments fell all around the universities, they, like Gideon's fleece, remained unvisited by the refreshing shower². Precisely similar had been the experience of the university of Paris. In the year 1408, we find Charles VI recognising by royal letter the inefficient working of home patronage. It had been determined that a thousand benefices should be set apart for the university, and four prelates had been selected to recommend, from time to time, those graduates whom they might deem most worthy. But throughout the country those on whom it directly devolved to carry out these recommendations had for the most part treated them with contempt, and presented ignorant and unfit persons³. A like complaint was urged in the latter part of the century, when it was alleged that the Pragmatic Sanction had utterly failed to secure a fair consideration of the claims of graduates to church preferment⁴. This very noteworthy

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Papal
patronage
less injurious
than home
patronage.

Similar ex-
perience of
the uni-
versity of
Paris.

lamentation desolation, et disheritance de sez Esprituelx sitz et profitables studianz, a graunt descomfort et prejudice de toute Seinte Esglise suis dite, et extinction de foie Christian, et male exemple a toutz autres Cristians Roialmes, si hasty remedie ne soit fait en ceste matere si bosoinable.' *Rot. Parl.* iv 81.

¹ Lingard, *Hist. of England*, III 538.

² Wood-Gutch, i 617. Cooper, *Annals*, i 158.

³ Bulæus, v 186.

⁴ *Ibid.* v 775. 'Les Prelats, collateurs, et patrons ecclésiastiques ne gardoient ne entretenoient la Pragmatique-Sanction, en tant que touche

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Huber's criticism contains a just appreciation of the facts.

phase of the religious history of the fifteenth century has been but lightly treated or wholly slurred over by most of our recent historians, but the comment of Huber places it in its true light:—‘It is not,’ he says, ‘to be inferred that church patronage was any the better bestowed when confined to native holders and native clergy; and it is certain that the universities in particular gained nothing by the anti-Romish system. In fact, after the end of the fourteenth century, their complaints against the *Præmunire* are still more frequent and violent than they had been against the papal provisions; insomuch that they occasionally extorted from the king exceptions in their own favour. These were mere temporary alleviations; but at the time of the great assemblies of the Church the grievance was urged so forcibly, that the king and prelates, not choosing to open the way again for Rome, sought for another remedy. In the convocation of 1417, the patrons of livings were ordered to fill up their appointments in part from university students, according to a fixed arrangement. In practice however the universities were the first to object to the working of the system; nor did the patrons adhere to the rule prescribed. The same orders were re-enacted by the prelates in 1438, but without effect; which is not strange, considering the political aspect of the times. The universities gained no relief, and continued to reiterate their complaints. Thus both the Romish and the national systems failed to co-operate aright with the academico-ecclesiastical institutions; and whichever system was at work appeared by far the more oppressive of the two¹.’ From this criticism we are enabled to understand more clearly how it was that the university

les bénéfices qui estoient et seront deubs et effectez aux graduez et nommez de Universitez.’

¹ Huber, *English Universities*, i 173, 174. See also *England under the House of Lancaster*, pp. 135, 136. ‘The truth is,’ says Lingard, ‘that the persons who chiefly suffered from the practice of provisions, and who chiefly profited by the statutes against them, were the higher orders of the clergy. These, as their right of

presentation was invaded by the papal claims, had originally provoked the complaints which the reader has so frequently noticed, and now were ready to submit to a minor sacrifice, rather than allow the repeal of the statutes which secured to them the influence of patronage, and shielded them from the interference of the pontiffs.’ *Hist. of England* III 539.

of Paris, following in the steps of Gerson, re-enacted the Pragmatic Sanction; while the English universities led by the Ultramontane party sought to set aside the statute of Provisors. At Cambridge indeed there can be no question that the influence of that party predominated throughout the century, and of this another proof is afforded by the celebrated Barnwell Process in the year 1430.

CHAP. III.
PART II.

Ultra-
montanist
tendencies at
Cambridge.

We have already seen that one of the earliest measures ascribed to Hugh Balsham had for its object the more accurately defining the jurisdiction respectively claimed by his own archdeacon, by the *Magister Glomerie*, and the chancellor of the university. The equitable spirit in which his decision was conceived bore fruit in the comparative absence at Cambridge of disputes like those which harassed the university of Paris; and indeed throughout the history of our universities the absence of vexatious interference on the part of the diocesan authorities is a noticeable feature. If we admit the pretensions asserted by the university, the immunity was founded upon ancient and indefeasible rights¹; but occasionally a bishop of Ely appeared who called these rights in question, and endeavoured to establish his own right of interference. In this manner, during the tenure of the see by Arundel, the question of the allegiance of the chancellor of the university to the bishop of the diocese, had been raised by the refusal of John de Donewyc, who had a second time been elected chancellor, to take the oath of canonical obedience to the bishop. Arundel was not the man to submit to any abatement of his authority without a struggle, and he cited the chancellor to take the oaths on a specified day. The dispute was finally carried before the Court of Arches and decided in the bishop's favour². It is probably as the result

The BARN-
WELL PRO-
CESS, 1430.

Diocesan
authority of
the bishops of
Ely reasserted
over the
university by
Arundel.

¹ 'Nay even we find archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and their officers to have themselves entirely abstained from all and every kind of jurisdiction ecclesiastical and spiritual in the said university and over the governor and members of the same.' *Barnwell Process*, Hey-

wood, p. 208. This, the language of the prior of Barnwell, must be regarded as very emphatic testimony.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 112. 'Bishop Barnet's omitting the usual oaths taken by the chancellors on their admission and consecration all his time, gave occasion to this contest.

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of the recognition thus obtained of his diocesan authority, that we find Arundel assuming the right of visitation when metropolitan, in the manner already described at the commencement of this chapter. The exercise of such right was however so rare that it invariably gave rise to criticism if not to actual resistance; so that we find Fuller in his History asking, with reference to Arundel's visitation, 'what became of the privileges of the university on that occasion¹?' Whatever doubt existed respecting these privileges was now to be finally set at rest. In the year 1430 pope Martin v issued a bull reciting how that the doctors, masters, and scholars of the university of Cambridge had lately exhibited to him a petition, 'setting forth the bulls of Honorius i and Sergius I, that by virtue thereof the chancellor of the university for the time being had been accustomed to exercise exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction; that the originals of these bulls had been lost for seventy years or more, but that there were ancient copies in the archives of the university, and praying that he would of his apostolic

but finally
abolished by
Pope Martin
in the
Barnwell
Process.

However, bishop Arundel and some of his immediate successors did not constantly insist on the chancellor's taking the oaths, but sometimes admitted and confirmed them without it: nevertheless, saving to themselves and successors the right of exacting it whenever they should think fit so to do.' Bentham, *Hist. and Antiq. of Ely*, p. 165. Arundel appears to have been active in the affairs of the university during his tenure of the see of Ely: see Cooper, *Annals* i 122, 128, 129. In the year 1383 he was appointed by the king to act as visitor of King's Hall, Cambridge, where great irregularities had taken place, the buildings having fallen into decay, and the books and other goods having been purloined. *Registrum Arundel*, fol. 106 (quoted by Dean Hook, iv 409).

¹ 'Some will say, where were now the privileges of the pope, exempting Cambridge from archiepiscopal jurisdiction? I conceive they are even put up in the same chest with Oxford privileges (pretending to as

great immunities): I mean, that the validity of them both, though not cancelled, was suspended for the present. If it be true, that the *legate de latere* hath in some cases equal power with the pope, which he represents; and if it be true, which some bold canonists aver, that none may say to the pope, *cur ita facis?* it was not safe for any in that age to dispute the power of Thomas Arundel. But possibly the universities willingly waived their papal privileges; and if so, *injuria non fit volentibus*. I find something sounding this way, how the scholars were aggrieved that, the supreme power being fixed in their chancellor, there lay no appeal from him (when injurious) save to the pope alone. Wherefore the students, that they might have a nearer and cheaper redress, desired to be eased of their burdensome immunities, and submitted themselves to archiepiscopal visitation.' Fuller, *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge*.

benignity provide for the indemnity of them and the university in the premises¹. He therefore delegated the prior of Bernewell and John Depyng, canon of Lincoln, or one of them, to hear and determine upon this claim.

‘On the tenth of October, John Holbrooke, D.D., chancellor, and the masters, doctors, and scholars, by an instrument under the common seal of the university, constituted Masters Ralphe Duckworthe, John Athyle, William Wrawbye, and William Sull, clerks, or either of them, their proctors in this affair.

‘On the fourteenth of October the pope’s bull was exhibited by William Wrawbye, in the conventual church of Bernewell, to the prior of that house, who assigned the sixteenth of the same month in his chapter house, for proceeding in the business. At which time and place, William Wrawbye exhibited six articles, setting forth the claim of the chancellor of the university to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, *exclusive of any archbishop, bishop, or their officials*; and produced as witnesses, John Dynne, aged 79, John Thorp, aged 68, Walter Barley, aged 58, Thomas Marklande, aged 40, William Lavender, aged 48, John Thirkyll, aged 40, and William Sull, aged 26, who deposed to the use of ecclesiastical authority by the chancellor, as far as their respective memories extended. The proceedings were then adjourned to the same place on the 19th of that month, when there was produced an instrument attested by a notary and others, setting forth the bulls of John XXII and Boniface IX, and copies of the bulls of Honorius I and Sergius I, taken from a register belonging to the university; also various statutes of that body. On the 20th the prior in the chapterhouse

¹ ‘Being mislaid or lost through the negligence of their keepers or by other casualties,’ is the further explanation offered. The whole process is an amusing combination of the strict observance of legal formalities with a complete indifference to the value of the evidence on which the whole of the assumption rested. The bull, it may be observed, implies

that Honorius himself was a student in the university when young. Dyer, the first of our university historians in whom the critical faculty exercises any appreciable weight, mildly asks, ‘is it reasonable to suppose, that Honorius, when a boy, should be sent from Italy, in the 7th century, to be a student at Cambridge?’ *Privileges of the Univ. of Camb.* i 407.

CHAP. III gave his definitive sentence in favour of the privileges
 PART II. claimed¹.

When we note that this bull was granted by a pontiff whose most vigorous efforts had been directed towards repressing the spirit of independence in England, and that it was confirmed three years later by pope Eugenius IV, who endeavoured to break up the Council of Basle, we shall be little likely to mistake this impatience of home jurisdiction for any real growth in the direction of intellectual freedom². In fact there appears to have been a decided tendency in both universities at this time towards Ultramontane doctrines, and of this tendency the celebrated Reginald Pecock, of Oriel College, Oxford, affords an interesting example.

Reginald
 Pecock, bp.
 of Chichester
 b. 1390.
 d. 1460 (?).

Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, the author of the ablest English pamphlet of the fifteenth century, was, like Gerson, an eclectic; and an eclectic of a yet more puzzling description. By many he has been mistaken for a follower of Wyclif, and he is even described by Foxe as one of those 'who springing out of the same universitie, and raised up out of his ashes, were partakers of the same persecution;' while he appears in reality to have been as he is characterised by dean Hook, 'an ultra-papist, a supporter of that

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 282, 283; Heywood, *Early Cambridge Statutes*, 181—211. Huber, judging from his language, would appear to have been ignorant of this document. See *English Universities*, i 63.

² Baker, in his *History*, seems to be the first writer who has grasped the fact that the Barnwell Process was an Ultramontanist movement. Speaking of the comparative indifference shewn by the two bishops of Ely, John Fordham (bp. 1388—1425) and Philip Morgan (bp. 1426—1435), to the affairs of the Hospital of St. John, he says, 'These two bishops had some reason to be out of humour with the religious as well as with the university, who seem to have conspired and joined in the same design of procuring exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction. For it was under this bishop that the great blow was given to the see of Ely by the university, by obtaining from

Martin the Fifth, an. 1430, his bulls to this purpose, directed to the prior of Barnwell and John Deping canon of Lincoln: John Deping being a secular was not fond of such employment, but the prior of Barnwell was a man for the purpose, who sat and heard the process alone, and the bulls of Honorius and Sergius the First being produced (who had no more authority in England than they had at Japan) he very learnedly gave sentence for the university upon two as rank forgeries as ever were; for the whole stress of the controversy turned upon these bulls. But the present popo was willing to believe there had been such a power exercised in England by his predecessors so many years ago, and the honest prior was to follow his instructions. And so there was an end of ordinary jurisdiction.' Baker-Mayor, i 43, 44.

doctrine which would, in these days, be called Ultramontane.' In some important respects, indeed, the views held by Reginald Pecock were identical with those of the great reformer. Both strenuously contended for the right of private judgement and the necessity of approving to the reason whatever was accepted as doctrine. Under this aspect the English bishop, like his predecessor, offers a good example of the effects of the university training of his day. It was his great desire that every man, however humble his station, who accepted the teaching of Christianity, should have a rational faith, and the rational, at that period, it is hardly necessary to add, was regarded as almost a synonym for the formally logical. It was his belief that a large amount of capricious scepticism and unmeaning declamation might be done away with, if a knowledge of the method unfolded in the *Organon* were to become general among the laity. The *Ars Vetus* was his panacea for all forms of heresy, from Gnosticism to Lollardism, and he loudly lamented that it was shrouded from the apprehension of the common people by a Latin garb. 'Would God,' he exclaimed, 'that it were learned of them in their mother's language, for then they shoulden be put fro much rudeness and boistoseness which they have now in reasoning.' He even proposed himself to undertake the remedying of the deficiency, though he does not appear to have ever carried his purpose to its accomplishment¹.

His
Repressor.

He looks
upon a know-
ledge of logic
as the best
remedy
against
heresy.

Assuming then that the Scriptures were true, and that all truth was capable of being approved to the logical faculty, he repudiated the notion that men were, in any case, bound to an implicit acceptance of dogma. So far as his writings afford an indication, it may be doubted whether in his opinion, the reason could ever be called upon to abdicate its

He asserts
the rights of
reason
against
dogma.

¹ '—and thanne schulden thei not be so obstinat agens clerkis and agens her prelati, as summe of hem now ben, for defaut of perceuyng whanne an argument procedith into his conclusioun needis and whanne he not so dooth but semeth oonli so do. And miche good wolde come forth if a schort compendiose logik were de-

uysid for al the comown peple in her modiris langage; and certis to men of court, leernyng the Kingis lawe of Ynglond in these daies, thilk now seid schort compendiose logik were ful preciose. Into whos making, if God wole graunte leue and leyser, y purpose sumtyme affir myn othere bisynessis forto assaie.' *Repressor*, p. 9.

CHAP. III.
PART II.

function, and to veil its face before the ineffable and the divine. In respect to the moral law, he appears to have held almost precisely the same view as that which Clarke and Cudworth advocated so ably at a later period,—that the principles of morality are not derived from Revelation but are discoverable by the unaided reason,—if only that reason be rightly and honestly employed. Right and wrong are as patent to the reasoning faculty, as a proposition in geometry; and would be equally perceived if the Scriptures did not exist. As reason is sufficient to provide man with a law of moral action, so it is also the standard whereby he must decide upon the interpretation of Revelation. ‘And if,’ said Peacock, ‘any seeming discord be betwixt the words written in the outward book of Holy Scripture, and the doom of reason writ in man’s soul and heart, the words so written without forth oughten to be expowned and interpreted, and brought for to accord with the doom of reason in thilk matter; and the doom of reason ought not for to be expowned, glosed, interpreted, and brought for to accord with the said outward writing in Holy Scripture of the Bible, or anywhere else out of the Bible.’ How he proposed to provide for that class whom Aquinas indicated, whom natural incapacity, or the cares, trials, and temptations of human life shut out from this high exercise of reason, does not appear: but it is evident, from various passages in his writings, that he was prepared to set aside both the Fathers and the Schoolmen if their conclusions appeared to him erroneous. Views like these are now neither strange nor singular, but it must be admitted that such an adjustment of the respective provinces of faith and reason, could hardly fail to startle the ears of the men of the fifteenth century.

He is not afraid to call in question the authority of the Fathers and the Schoolmen.

He notwithstanding advocates submission to the temporal authority of the pope,

The anomaly however which more particularly challenges the attention of the modern student, is, that with all this boldness and independence of thought, Reginald Peacock should have been as much the advocate of unconditional submission to the temporal authority of the pope, as Occam had been its antagonist; and that his ‘Repressor’ should be mainly occupied with a confutation of Wyclif’s leading doctrines and a vindica-

tion of the practices of the Mendicants, whose 'Cain's Castles' find in him an ingenious and elaborate apologist. As for the claims of the uncultured Lollards to interpret for themselves the meaning of the Scriptures, he declared that such an attempt, for an intellect untrained by Aristotle, was a work of the greatest peril. 'There is no book,' he says, 'written in the world by which a man shall rather take occasion to err.' While therefore his agreement with the followers of Wyclif was sufficient to alienate him from the Romish party, his divergences from them were such as totally to preclude the possibility of his gaining their moral support; and on the single point where they and the Mendicants were at one, he again was at issue with both.

CHAP. III.
PART II.
and de-
nounces
Lollardism.

Evangelism, or the popular exposition of Scripture, was a cardinal point with both the Lollards and the friars; with the latter it had been the weapon which had given them the victory over their earlier antagonists and contributed so materially to their widespread success; and a noticeable illustration of the estimation in which the preacher's art was held by their party, is afforded us shortly before the time of Peckock, about the commencement of the century, in connexion with the university of Cambridge. Among those who taught at the university at that period was John Bromyard, the author or compiler of the *Summa Prædicantium*. He was a Dominican, was both *Doctor Utriusque Juris* and master of theology, and a strenuous opposer of Wyclif's teaching; his estimate of the importance of the preacher's function however is clearly attested by the massive volume which he put forth as a professed aid to those who were called upon to expound the Scriptures to the people. The work represents a series of skeleton sermons, arranged not under texts, but under single words expressive of abstract qualities, such as *Abstinentia*, *Adulatio*, *Avaritia*, *Conscientia*, *Fides*, *Patientia*, *Paupertas*, *Trinitas*, *Vocatio*, etc., each being followed by a brief exposition, illustrated by frequent quotations from the Fathers, and occasionally by an apposite anecdote¹. The

John
Bromyard.
His *Summa*
Prædicantium.

¹ *Summa Prædicantium Omnibus Do- Verbi Præconibus, Animarum Fide-
minici Gregis Pastoribus, Divini lium Ministris, et Sacrarum Literarum*

CHAP. III.
PART II.

exegesis is cold, formal, and systematic, not without that amount of the logical element which finds expression in conclusions derived from a series of observations each commanding the moral assent, but rarely deducing any novel aspect of truth, and taking its stand, for the most part, entirely *super antiquas vias*. In the contrast presented by this laborious, careful, and learned production to the speculative tendencies that belong to the doctrinal expositions of Pecock, we may perhaps discern the earliest instance of that antithesis which, with occasional exceptions, has generally characterised the theological activity of the two universities; that however with which we are here more directly concerned is, the widely different implied estimate of the value of preaching when compared with Pecock's views on the same subject. Neither Wyclif's 'simple priest,' nor the eloquence of the Dominican appears to have found much favour in the bishop of Chichester's sight. He seems to have been of opinion that there was a great deal too much preaching already; and in an age when the great majority of men were compelled to learn by oral instruction or not at all, and at a time when the indifference manifested by the superior clergy to the instruction of the lower orders, and the numbers of non-residents and pluralists were exciting widespread indignation, this eccentric ecclesiastic thought it a favourable juncture for compiling an elaborate defence, half-defiant, half apologetic, of the conduct of his episcopal brethren. It can hardly be said that in the pages of the 'Repressor' the author shews much confidence in the resources of his logic to produce conviction; rhetoric plays a much more conspicuous part. At one time he seeks to shroud the episcopal functions in a veil of mystery,—the bishop has duties to perform which the vulgar wot not of; at another, he makes appeals *ad misericordiam*,—bishops, after all, 'ben men and not pure aungels;' again, only those who enter upon the office are aware with how many difficulties it is beset; no man, to use his own somewhat too familiar simile, knows how hard it is to climb a tree

Pecock and Bromyard contrasted.

The contrast perhaps a typical one.

Pecock disapproves of much preaching.

His eccentric defence of his order.

Cultoribus longe utilissima ac necessaria. The work has been several

times printed; the edition I have used is that printed at Antwerp, in 1614.

or to descend a tree, save the man that himself essayeth it¹. To the Lollards, who held that it was the first duty of a bishop to provide for and participate in the spiritual instruction of his diocese, such arguments could only have appeared an audacious piece of special pleading in defence of some of the worst abuses of the Church, and its author, much as he appears to dean Hook, an Ultramontanist of the deepest dye. It is easy to see that Reginald Pecock was both something more and something less than this; but his self-confidence led him to sever himself from both parties, at a time when such isolation was unsafe if not impossible². He alienated a powerful section at home, who still adhered to the theory of the great councils, by his assertion of the absolute authority of the pope. The universities, if conciliated by his support of the theory represented by the Barnwell Process and his opposition to the statute of Provisors, were scandalised by his attacks on two of the fathers, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, whose teaching was enshrined in their universal text-book, the Sentences. While the bishops, far from being won by his fantastic defence of their order, descried heresy in the manner in which he had called in question such doctrines as the Third Person in the Trinity, and the descent of Christ into Hades. At Cambridge he encountered powerful enemies. Among them were William Millington, the first provost of King's³,—a man of honorable spirit, and considerable attainments, but of violent and unscrupulous temper; Hugh Darnley, master of Pembroke, who offered to prove from Pecock's writings that he was guilty of the worst heresy, and who formed one of the commission before which he was arraigned⁴;

Pecock something more than a mere Ultramontanist.

He offends both parties.

¹ See *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, edited for the Rolls Series, by Prof. Churchill Bawington, B.D. i 102—110.

² 'Perhaps it would not be greatly wrong to assert that Pecock stands half way between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, as they now exist, the type of his mind however being rather Anglican than Roman. Of Puritanism, in all its phases, he is the decided opponent. There were many others more or less

like him.' *Ibid.* p. xxvi.

³ Capgrave says of him, 'in scholasticis inquisitionibus, et profunda litteratura, ac maturis moribus, multos antecessores suos precellit.' *Lives of the Henries*, quoted in *Communications to the Camb. Antiq. Soc.* i 287, by Mr. Williams in his *Communications, Notices of William Millington, First Provost of King's College*.

⁴ *Communications of the Camb. Antiq. Soc.* ii 18.

CHAP. III.
PART II.Possibly a
political
sufferer.

Gilbert Worthington, and Peter Hirforde, who had espoused and subsequently renounced the doctrines of Wyclif¹. The Mendicants whom, in spite of his advocacy on their behalf, he had made his bitter enemies, were equally zealous in their persecution. His arraignment before archbishop Bouchier, his humiliating recantation, and subsequent consignment to that obscurity in which his days were ended, are details that belong to other pages than ours.

It has been conjectured that political feeling had its share in the hostility which he encountered². The Lancastrian party was distinguished by its leaning towards Ultramontaniam, and it was within two years of the first battle of St. Albans, when the Yorkists were everywhere in the ascendant, that Pecock was brought to trial. It is certain that in both universities his doctrine attained to considerable notoriety and commanded a certain following. In the year 1457 they are to be found prominently engaging the attention of the authorities of Oxford³. In the early statutes of King's College is one binding every scholar, on the completion of his year of probation, 'never throughout his life to favour any condemned tenets, the errors or heresies of John Wyclif, Reginald Pecock, or any other heretic⁴;' and this prohibition is repeated

His doctrines
forbidden at
the univer-
sities.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 153. Hare MSS. ii 26. Lewis, *Life of Pecock*, p. 142.

² See dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, v 308. Pecock, says this writer, 'had suffered in the cause of the pope. He had maintained the papal cause against the councils of the Church; he had asserted, with Martin v, that the pope was the monarch of the Church, and that every bishop was only the pope's delegate: he had done boldly what Martin v had called upon Chicheley and the bishops of his time to do; he had protested against those statutes of provisors and præmunire which the clergy and laity had passed as a safeguard against papal aggression; and surely the pope would not desert him in his hour of need. If the pope possessed or claimed the supremacy for which Pecock contended, he would surely exercise it in behalf of one,

who was enduring hardship in the papal cause; already a sufferer, and doomed possibly to become a martyr. And Pecock was not mistaken. Forth came fulminating from Rome three bulls, directed against the primate of England, in vindication of the bishop of Chichester.' These bulls archbishop Bouchier refused to receive.

³ Wood-Gutch, i 603—606.

⁴ 'Item statuimus.....quod quilibet scholaris.....juret quod non favebit opinionibus, damnatis erroribus, aut heresibus Johannis Wycklyffe, Reginaldi Pecocke, neque alicujus alterius hæretici, quamdiu vixerit in hoc mundo, sub pœna perjurii et expulsionis ipso facto.' *Stat. Coll. Reg. d. Cantabr.* c. ult. in fine. See also Prof. Babington's *Introd.* to the *Repressor*, p. xxxiv. The date assigned to the above statutes in the *Documents* is 1443; but at that time Pecock's doctrines were not fully

even so late as the year 1475, in the *Statuta Antiqua* of CHAP. III.
Queens' College¹. PART II.

The literary activity of the fifteenth century furnishes but little illustration of much value with respect to university studies after the time of Reginald Pecock. The quickening of thought which had followed upon the introduction of the New Aristotle had died away. Scholasticism had done its work and was falling into its dotage. Even before the outbreak of the civil wars, Oxford, in a memorable plaint preserved to us by Wood, declared that her halls and hostels were deserted, and that she was almost abandoned of her own children². The intercourse with the continent was now rare and fitful. Paris attracted but few Englishmen to her schools; the foreigner was seldom to be seen in the streets of Cambridge or Oxford. Occasionally indeed curiosity or necessity brought some continental scholar to our shores, but the gross ignorance and uncultured tone that everywhere prevailed effectually discouraged a lengthened sojourn. Among those who were thus impelled, in the early part of the century, was the distinguished Italian scholar, Poggio Bracciolini. He came fresh from the discovery of many a long lost masterpiece of Latin literature, and from intercourse with that rising school of Italian literati, represented by men like Aretino,

Torpor of the universities after his time.

Oxford nearly deserted.

Testimony of Poggio Bracciolini. b. 1380. d. 1459.

known, and certainly had not been condemned. This is therefore another instance of a by no means uncommon occurrence, viz. the incorporation of a later statute in the *Statuta Antiqua* of our colleges, without any intimation that it is of a later date than that when the statutes were first drawn up.

¹ In the oath administered to the fellows it is required by the fifth clause, 'Jurabit quod non fovebit aut defendet hæreses vel errores Johannis Wicklyf, Reginaldi Peeocke, aut cujuscunque alterius hæretici per ecclesiam damnati.' *MS. Statutes of 1475 in possession of the authorities of Queens' College.*

² 'Jam siquidem gloriosa mater olim tam beata prole fœcunda, pene in extirminium ac desolationem versa est: sola sedet plangens ac dolens, quod non modo extranei, sed nec sui ventris

fili cognoverunt eam. Sic sic revera Patres fremitu bellorum annonæ pecuniarumque caritate depauperatum est regnum nostrum; tam sera insuper ac modica virtutis et studii meritis merces quod pauci aut nulli ad universitatem accedendi habent voluntatem. Unde fit quod aulæ atque hospitia obserata vel verius diruta sunt; januæ atque hospitia scholarum et studentium clausa, et de tot millibus studentium quæ fama est istic in priori ætate fuisse non jam unum supersit.' From a Memorial addressed to archbishop Chicheley and other bishops in synod, Apr. 28, 1438. It is somewhat remarkable that we also find in Bulaeus (v 813), the following plaint by the university of Paris on the occasion of an epidemic, 'Nunc mihi de multis vix extat millibus unus.'

CHAP. III.
PART II.Scantiness
and poverty
of our
national
literature.

Traversari, Guarino, and Valla. From such scanty records as remain of his impressions we might conclude that the Roman poet on the shores of the Euxine found a scarcely less congenial atmosphere¹. If indeed all that the fifteenth century produced in England were subtracted from our libraries, the loss would seem singularly small, and the muses, like the princess in the enchanted castle, might be held but to have slumbered for a hundred years. Whatever still survives to represent the national genius, is chiefly imitative in its character, derived from writers like Boccaccio and the French romancers, who though they might quicken the fancy did little to develop and strengthen the more masculine powers, and, in the opinion of Roger Ascham, were praised by those who sought to divert their countrymen from that more solid reading which, while it developed habits of observation and reflexion, could scarcely fail at the same time to direct the attention to the necessity for ecclesiastical reform². The few original authors of this period, such as Capgrave, Lydgate, Pecock, and Ocleve, seem but pale and ineffectual luminaries in the prevailing darkness. 'Learning in England,' says Hallam, 'was like seed fermenting in the ground through the fifteenth century.' Not surely a very happy simile: for the rich sheaves that were afterwards to enter our own ports, were the fruit of seed sown in other lands. But before we permit our attention to be drawn away to events pregnant with very momentous changes, it will be well to follow up the course of external development at Cambridge, and also to complete our survey of those institutions which may be regarded as taking their rise still in implicit accord with those theories of education which were shortly to undergo such important modifications.

¹ Poggio visited England at the invitation of cardinal Beaufort. 'The motives,' says Shepherd, 'which induced him to take this step seem to be concealed in studied and mysterious silence.' *Life of Poggio*, p. 124. Tiraboschi says 'E' viaggio ancora circa il 1418 nell'Inghilterra, benchè non si sappia precisamente per quel motivo; del qual viaggio fa egli stesso più volte menzione; e pare, che ci si trattasse non poco

tempo, perchiocchè egli dice, che dopo lungo intervallo torno finalmente alla Corte.' vi 701. 'Der Humanist erging sich in grossen Hoffnungen, theils auf dem britischen Boden noch manchen verlorenen Classiker wiederzufinden, theils unter dem Schutze des königlichen Prälaten sein Glück zu machen.' Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, p. 371.

² *Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 81.

It will be remembered that the papal decision in the year 1314 with reference to the privileges of the Mendicants in the universities, was regarded by them as a great blow to their order, inasmuch as they were no longer permitted to receive the general body of students in their houses for lectures and disputations¹. Up to the fourteenth century, it does not appear that either university was possessed of schools, in the sense of buildings expressly erected for the purpose; the rooms to which it was necessary to have recourse were those in the ordinary hostels²; and when larger assemblies were convened, St. Mary's church, or that of the Gray Friars, supplied the required accommodation³. Under these circumstances the imposing dwellings of the different religious orders had given them an advantage of which they were not slow to avail themselves in their policy of proselytism and self-aggrandisement. At Oxford, in the thirteenth century, the faculty of theology had been indebted to the Augustinian canons for a local habitation, and even in the fifteenth century the university had been fain to take on hire rooms which

Defective accommodation for instruction at both universities.

¹ See pp. 262—3. 'The great schools in the school street of Cambridge are mentioned in a lease from John de Crachal, chancellor of the university, and the assembly of the masters regent and non-regent, to Master William de Alderford, priest, M.A. dated 15th February, 20 Edw. III. [1346—7].' Cooper, *Memorials*, III 59.

² It has even been asserted (Huber, I 168), that masters of arts were in the habit of assembling their pupils in the porches of houses, but the inference of such a custom from the term in *parvisio*, from *parvis* Fr. from *paradisus*, a mediæval word denoting a 'church porch,' cannot be sustained. 'In my opinion,' says Wood, 'the true meaning comes from those inferior disputations that are performed by the juniors, namely "generalls," which to this day are called and written *disputationes in parvisiis*. For in the morning were anciently, as now, the answering of *quodlibets*, that is the proposing of questions in philosophy and other arts by certain masters to him or them that intend to commence master

of arts, and such as are called the great exercises. In the evening were the *exercitia parva*, sometimes corruptly called *parvisiaria*, taken out of the *Parva Logicalia*.' Wood-Gutch, II 727—8. See also pp. 122, 123 of *Life of Ambrose Bonwicke*, ed. Mayor.

³ 'The use of St. Mary's Church for university purposes seems to have been fully established before the end of the thirteenth century. In 1273 the bells of St. Benet's, that most precious monument of ancient Cambridge, appear as being rung, as a summons to university meetings. Soon after, we find those of St. Mary's used for the same purpose, and in 1275 we have a distinct account of a university grace passed at a congregation held in the church. In 1303 we begin to get notices of university sermons, and in 1347 a university chaplain was founded to celebrate daily masses in this church for the souls of benefactors.' Article in *Sat. Rev.* July 8, 1871, on Sandar's *Historical Notes on Great St. Mary's*.

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the rich abbey of Oseney had erected with the express purpose of letting them for such uses. It was not until the year 1480 that the divinity schools were opened; and then only by assistance begged from every quarter, and after the lapse of many years from the time of their foundation. In striking contrast to this deficiency in the resources of the university were to be seen the dwellings of the Mendicants; remarkable not merely for their size and extent but for the beauty of their details. We know from a contemporary poet how the whole effect must have been calculated to overawe and attract the youthful student; how the curiously wrought windows, where gleamed the arms of innumerable benefactors, the pillars, gilded and painted, and carved in curious knots, the ample precincts with private posterns, enclosed orchards and arbours¹, must have fascinated many a poor lad whose home was represented by the joint occupancy of some obscure garret, and who often depended on public charity for his very subsistence; and we can well understand the chagrin of the Mendicants at finding themselves prohibited from reaping the advantage which such opulence and splendour placed within their reach. With the fourteenth century, however, the universities began to seek for a more effectual remedy than was afforded by mere prohibitory measures. In the latter part of the century Sir Robert de Thorpe, lord chancellor of England, and sometime master of Pembroke, had commenced the erection of the divinity schools², which was carried to completion by the executors of his brother, Sir William de Thorpe, about the year 1398³. But the grand effort was not made until the latter half of the following century, when Lawrence Booth, the chancellor, resolved on raising a fund for the building of arts schools and schools for the civil law. Contributions were accordingly levied wherever there appeared a chance of success: on those who hired chairs as teachers of either the canon or

Superior advantages in this respect possessed by the religious orders.

Erection of the Divinity Schools at Cambridge, 1398.

Erection of the Arts Schools and Civil Law Schools, circ. 1458.

¹ *Creed of Piers Ploughman*, ed. Wright, ii 460, 461.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 111. It is to be observed that the use of the plural does not imply more than one lecture-

room. 'Toujours le pluriel,' observes Thurot, 'même pour designer une salle unique.'

³ *Ibid.* i 143.

civil law, upon every resident religious, whether like the Benedictines and the canons recognised owners of worldly wealth, or like the Mendicants avowedly sworn to poverty; on the wealthier clergy, and on the higher dignitaries of the Church,—though in the last case assistance was besought rather than authoritatively enforced. By efforts like these the university began to attain to a real as well as legal independence of the friars; and it was probably about this time that a statute was formed making it obligatory on all who lectured on the canon or the civil law, to hire the new rooms and deliver their lectures there¹.

Slowly, but surely and inevitably, the tide of learning was rolling on away from the friary and the monastery. From an attempted combination of the secular and religious elements like that represented in the Hospital of St. John and Pembroke College, and a vigorous effort at independence on the part of the university like that illustrated in the foregoing details, we pass to a fresh stage in the same movement,—the direct diversion of property from the religious orders to the universities. It is evident that with the fifteenth century a new feeling began to possess the minds of many with respect to the monastic foundations,—the feeling of despair. There appears to have been as yet no distinct sentiment of aversion to monasticism as a theory, but even the lover of the monastery began to despair of the monk; and it is among the most significant proofs of the corruption of the different religious orders at this period, that the foundations that began to rise at both universities are to be referred not to any dislike of the system which those orders represented, but to the conviction that the rule they had received was habitually and wilfully violated. In the foundation, at Oxford, of New College by William of Wykeham we have a signal proof of this state of feeling. The college itself, though built up as it were out of the ruins of monastic

Learning forsakes the monastery.

The patrons of learning begin to despair of the religious orders.

William of Wykeham, b. 1324, d. 1404.

¹ Hence the frequent entries in the *Grace Books*, of payments *pro scholis in jure civili*. See *Grace Book A* 6b; *Grace Book B* p. 112. For a detailed account of the architectural

history of the schools see Cooper, *Memorials*, III 59—66. A large portion of the old gateway now forms the entrance to the basse-cour at Maudingley Hall.

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PART II.Foundation
of NEW COL-
LEGE, 1380.

foundations, retained more than any similar society, the discipline of the monastic life. It was, in fact, half as a substitute for the monastery that the college appears to have been designed. Long before it was constituted, William of Wykeham had sought among monks and mendicants to find a less glaring discrepancy between theory and practice, and he had sought in vain. 'He had been obliged,' says one of his biographers, 'with grief to declare, that he could not anywhere find that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them¹.'

The college
endowed with
lands pur-
chased from
religious
houses.

The extension given by this eminent prelate to the conception of Walter de Merton is represented by the fact that he endowed his college with lands purchased from religious houses, and though there was nothing in such an act which the most strenuous supporters of monastic institutions could directly impugn, inasmuch as the new foundation was designed for the secular clergy, we may be quite sure that the alienation of the property from the communities to which it originally belonged, was a measure regarded by many with distrust and suspicion. It needed the stainless reputation, the noble descent, and the high position of the founder to sanction such an innovation, and the precedent probably had weight in those more decisive acts in the same direction which belong to the two succeeding centuries. But there was nothing of an arbitrary character in William of Wykeham's procedure; the lands which he purchased from Oseney Abbey, the priory of St. Frideswide, and St. John's Hospital, were bought with the full consent of the proprietaries; the significance of the proceeding consisted in the fact that such large estates should be appropriated by one, whose example was so potent among his countrymen, to such a purpose.

Statutes of
the founda-
tion.

The scheme of his noble foundation threw into the shade every existing college whether at Oxford or Cambridge, and was the first in our own country which could compare with

¹ Lowth, *Life of William of Wykeham*, p. 21. To exactly similar effect is the language of Colet's biographer: — 'Not that he hated any one of their

several orders; but because he found that few or none of them lived up to their vows and professions.' Knight, *Life of Colet*, p. 72.

that of Navarre. It was intended to promote all the recognised branches of learning. The society was to consist of a warden and seventy fellows, of whom fifty were to be students in arts or divinity, two being permitted to study medicine and two astronomy. The remaining twenty were to be trained for the law,—ten as civilians, ten as canonists. All were to be in priest's orders within a fixed period, except where reasonable impediment could be shewn to exist. There were moreover to be ten conduct chaplains, three clerks of the chapel, and sixteen choristers. By rubric 58, one of the chaplains was required to learn grammar and to be able to write, in order to assist the treasurer in transcribing Latin evidence.

'From this princely and accomplished man,' says his latest biographer, 'not only Henry VI at Eton and King's, but subsequent founders derived the form of their institution. The annexation of a college in the university to a dependent school, was followed by Wolsey in his foundation of Cardinal College and Ipswich School; by Sir Thomas White at St. John's College and Merchant Taylors' School; and by Queen Elizabeth at Westminster and Christ Church¹. Chicheley and Waynflete almost literally copied his statutes. The institution of college disputations, external to the public exercises of the university, in the presence of deans and moderators; the coteremporaneous erection of a private chapel; the appropriation of fellowships for the encouragement of students in neglected branches of learning, were among the more prominent signs of that which must be viewed more as a creation of a new system, than as the revival of literature in its decline².'

The rule of New College the model for subsequent foundations.

The next foundation that claims our attention discloses a further advance in the direction marked out by William of Wykeham; from the simple conversion, by purchase, of monastic property into college property, we arrive at the stage of direct and forcible appropriation. The alien priories were the first to suffer, the wars with France affording a plausible pretext for the seizure of wealth which went mainly

Second stage in collegiate movements: appropriation of the revenues of alien priories.

¹ And, it may be added, at Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Walcott, *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, pp. 276, 277.

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PART II.

Gough's account of the Alien Priors.

to enrich the foreigner. 'These priories,' says Gough, 'were cells of the religious houses in England which belonged to foreign monasteries: for when manors or tithes were given to foreign convents, the monks, either to increase their own rule, or rather to have faithful stewards of their revenues, built a small convent here for the reception of such a number as they thought proper, and constituted priors over them. Within these cells there was the same distinction as in those priories which were cells subordinate to some great abbey; some of these were conventual, and, having priors of their own choosing, thereby became entire societies within themselves, and received the revenues belonging to their several houses for their own use and benefit, paying only the ancient apport, acknowledgment, or obvention (at first the surplusage), to the foreign house; but others depended entirely on the foreign houses, who appointed and removed their priors at pleasure. These transmitted *all their revenues* to the foreign head houses; for which reason their estates were generally seized to carry on the wars between England and France, and restored to them again on return of peace. These alien priories were most of them founded by such as had foreign abbeys founded by themselves or by some of their family¹.'

Sequestrations of their estates under different monarchs.

The first seizure appears to have taken place in 1285, on the outbreak of war between France and England; and in 1337 Edward III confiscated the estates of the alien priories, and let them out, with their tenements and even the priories themselves, for a term of 23 years; but on the establishment of peace they were restored to their original owners. Other sequestrations were made in the reign of Richard II, and under Henry IV, in the parliament of 1402, it was enacted that all alien priories should be suppressed²; the Privy Council indeed actually received evidence in his reign, concerning the different foundations, with the view of carrying the enactment into effect: but the final blow did not come

¹ *Some Account of the Alien Priors and of such Lands as they are known to have possessed in England and Wales.* Lond. 1779. Pref. to Vol. I.

² This important fact is omitted

by Gough in his brief sketch, where he speaks of the policy of Henry IV as more favorable to the maintenance of the foreign interests. I
ix, x.

until the war with France in the reign of Henry v; when in the year 1414, in prospect of that great struggle, no less than 122 priories were confiscated under the direction of archbishop Chicheley, and their revenues, for the time, absorbed in the royal exchequer¹. From this extensive confiscation were derived the revenues of that princely foundation, which, thirty years later, rose under the auspices of Henry vi at Cambridge.

It is asserted that it had been the original intention of Henry v to appropriate the whole of the revenues to the endowment of one great college at Oxford; his son however determined that there should be two colleges, and that of these one should be at Eton and the other at Cambridge². In turning to trace the origin of one of our greatest colleges and of our greatest public school, we are accordingly confronted by the names of those yet more ancient institutions, which superstition or philanthropy had reared on the plains of Normandy when the universities themselves had no existence. From the venerable abbey of Bec was wrested the priory of Okeburne, the wealthiest cell in England³; a manor at Tyldeshyde in Cornwall and another at Felsted in Essex, represented the alienated wealth of the abbey at Caen; the monastery of St. Peter de Conches forfeited many a broad acre in Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Norfolk; estates in Lincolnshire, once owned by the abbey of St. Nicholas in Angers, and others that had enriched the priory of Brysett in Suffolk,—a cell to the priory of Nobiliac near Limoges,—numerous reversions from estates of minor impor-

Foundations
of ETON
COLLEGE
and KING'S
COLLEGE,
Cambridge,
1440.

Whence
endowed.

¹ Only those priories were spared which had already shaken off their dependence upon the continental houses and, by electing their own head, had become independent monasteries.

² Henry's intent, says Wood, 'was to have built a college in the castle of Oxford wherein the seven sciences should have been taught, and thence to have annexed all the alien priories in England, and withal to have reformed the statutes of the university; but being prevented by

death, his son King Henry vi bestowed many of the said priories on his college at Eaton and that at Cambridge.' Wood-Gutch, i 565.

³ Gough says, 'Some of the lands in England belonging to the cells of the abbey of Bec, and to other alien priories, were purchased temp. Richard ii by William of Wykeham for his college at Winchester.' *Alien Priories*, i 167. Purchase in the fourteenth century became confiscation in the fifteenth.

CHAP. III. tance and various hostels in the town, completed the long
 PART II. roll of the revenues of 'The King's College of Our Lady and
 St. Nicholas' at Cambridge.

Statutes
of King's
College.

The first
Commis-
sioners.

Their resig-
nation.

William
Millington
the first
Provost.

Refuses his
assent to the
new statutes.
His ejection.

The history of the new foundation affords another illustration of the way in which Ultramontanist theories were at this time successfully contending for the predominance in our universities, and the principle asserted in the Barnwell Process receiving further extension. The commissioners originally appointed to prepare the statutes were William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln, William Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury, William Lyndewode, keeper of the privy seal, John Somerseth, chancellor of the exchequer, and John Langton, chancellor of the university; but in the year 1443 this commission was superseded, the king himself undertaking to provide the rule of the foundation. There seems to be good reason for supposing that, in some way or other, the proposed scheme had failed to command the commissioners' approval, for it was at their own request that the work was confided to other hands; they themselves being, as they pleaded, fully occupied with other business, *negotiis et occupationibus impediti*. But it is difficult to believe that the design of so important a foundation could have failed to be a matter of lively interest to the bishop of a neighbouring diocese and to a chancellor of the university; and indeed we know that Langton had been the first to suggest the creation of the new college to the royal mind. At the same time that the king undertook to provide for the preparation of the new statutes, William Millington, the rector of the original foundation, had been retained in his post under the name of provost; but when the new statutes had received the royal sanction, he found himself unable to give a conscientious assent to their provisions and was accordingly ejected by the commissioners². It will be desirable to point

¹ The birthday of king Henry being on the feast of St. Nicholas.

² Cole says, 'the true reason of his removal seems to proceed from himself and a point of conscience, he having taken the oaths to the chancellor of the university before he was

made provost, and which the new drawn statutes exempted him from; besides he was not thoroughly satisfied that the scholars should all come from Eton School.' Mr Williams, who has carefully investigated the whole evidence concerning the first

out the character of those innovations with respect to which his difficulties arose.

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The elaborate nature of the code now given to the foundation corresponds to the grandeur of its endowments, and presents a striking contrast to the statutes of the colleges founded at Cambridge in the preceding century. It is however entirely devoid of originality, being little more than a transcript of the statutes which William of Wykeham, after no less than four revisions, left to be the rule of New College¹; but the minuteness of detail, the small discretionary power vested in the governing body, the anxiety shewn to guard against all possible innovations, must be regarded as constituting a distinct era in the history of the theory of our own collegiate discipline. The Latinity, it is worthy of remark, is more correct, and copious to a fault; and there is also to be noted an increased power of expression which makes it difficult not to infer that a greater advance must have been going on in classical studies during the preceding years, than writers on the period have been inclined to suppose.

The statutes
borrowed
from those
of New
College.

provost of his college, endorses this account, and observes, 'that the founder had nothing to do with his ejection, and was extremely sorry for it, is confirmed by a fact which Mr Searle has brought to my notice, viz. that in 1448, only two years after his removal, he was appointed, in conjunction with others, to draw up statutes for Queens' College; and that this appointment was twice renewed.' See *Notices of William Millington, First Provost of King's College*, by George Williams, B.D., Fellow of King's College, *Communications of Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, i 287. Cf. *Documents*, III 4.

¹ Messrs Heywood and Wright attribute them to Chedworth (see Pref. to *King's College Statutes*, p. vii). Mr Williams, who is followed by Cooper (*Memorials*, i 182), says 'My own belief is that the provost of Eton (Wainfleet) was the framer of the existing code, or, I should rather say, that he it was who adapted the statutes of the two foundations of

William of Wykeham to the two kindred foundations of Henry VI. William of Wainfleet had been educated at Winchester, and on the first foundation of Eton (A.D. 1441) had been transferred, with half the Winchester scholars, to Eton College, as its first head master, and became (A.D. 1442) its second or third provost. He is known to have enjoyed the confidence of the founder in the fullest measure, and Capgrave's witness to this fact, and the cause of it, may be stated, from the passage following that which relates to Millington; *Alter autem dictus Majister Willielmus Waynesflete non multum priori dissimilis, carnis ut putatur domino Regi habetur, non tam propter scientiam salutarem quam vitam celibem.* The verbal agreement of most of the statutes of Eton and King's, with those of Winchester and New College respectively, would be fully accounted for by the long and intimate connection of Wainfleet with the earlier foundations.' *Ibid.* p. 293.

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PART II.

Qualifica-
tions of
scholars:
Poverty.

Attainments.

Age.

Studies
prescribed or
permitted.

The college is designed for the maintenance of poor and needy scholars, who must be intending to devote themselves to the sacred profession, at that time (says the preamble) 'so severely weakened by pestilence, war, and other human calamities'; they must wear the 'first clerical tonsure,' be of good morals, sufficiently instructed in grammar², of honest conversation, apt to learn, and desirous of advancing in knowledge. A provost, and seventy scholars (who must have already been on the foundation of Eton for a period of not less than two years) whose age at admission must be between fifteen and twenty, are to be maintained on the foundation. The curriculum of study is marked out with considerable precision:—theology (*sacra scriptura seu pagina*), the arts, and philosophy, are to constitute the chief subjects and to form the ordinary course; but two masters of arts, of superior ability (*vivacis ingenii*) may apply themselves to the study of the civil law, four to that of the canon law, and two to the science of medicine; astronomy (*scientia astrorum*) is permitted as a study to two more, provided that they observe the limits imposed by the provost and the dean,—a precaution, we may infer, against the forbidden researches of the astrologer. The transition from the scholar to the fellow is

¹ These statutes are remarkable for their verbosity and pleonastic mode of expression:—e.g. 'ae præcipue ut ferventius et frequentius Christus evangelizetur, et fides eul-tusque divini nominis augeatur, et fortius sustentetur, sacre insuper theologiæ ut dilatetur laus, gubernetur ecclesia, vigor atque fervor Christianæ religionis coalescant, scientiæ quoque ac virtutes amplius convallescant, necnon ut generalem morbum militiæ clericalis quam propter paucitatem eleri ex pestilentia, guer-ris, et aliis mundi miseriis, graviter vulnerari conspeximus, desolationi compatiennes tam tristi, partim allevare possimus, quem in toto sanare veraciter non valemus, ad quod revera pro nostræ devotionis animo nostros regios apponimus libenter labores.' *Statutes*, by Heywood and Wright, p. 18.

² It is assumed that the first stage

of the *trivium* will have been accomplished at Eton:—'Et quia summo affectamus et volumus quod numerus scholarum et sociorum in dicto nostro Regali Collegio Cantabrigiæ per nos superius institutus, plene et perfecte per Dei gratiam perpetuis futuris temporibus sit completus: ac considerantes attente quod grammatica, quæ prima de artibus seu scientiis liberalibus reputatur, fundamentum, janua, et origo omnium aliarum artium liberalium et scientiarum existit; quodque sine ea ceteræ artes seu scientiæ perfecte sciri non possunt, nec ad earum veram cognitionem et perfectionem quisquam poterit pervenire: ea propter, divina favente clementia, de bonis nostris a Deo collatis unum aliud Regale collegium in villa nostra de Etona ut superius memoratur instituimus etc.' *Ibid.* p. 21.

here first clearly defined. It is not until after a three years' probation, during which time it has been ascertained whether the scholar be *ingenio, capacitate sensus, moribus, conditionibus, et scientia, dignus, habilis, et idoneus* FOR FURTHER STUDY, that the provost and the fellows are empowered to elect him one of their number.

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PART II.

Probationary
state of the
scholar prior
to election to
a fellowship.

'In addition to the various privileges granted by him with the sanction of Parliament, to the college, the king obtained bulls from the pope exempting the college and its members from the power and jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop and archdeacon of Ely, and the chancellor of the university; and on the 31st of January, 1448-9, the university by an instrument under its common seal, granted that the college, the provost, fellows, and scholars, their servants and ministers, should be exempt from the power, dominion, and jurisdiction of the chancellor, vice-chancellor, proctors and ministers of the university; but in all matters relating to the various scholastic acts, exercises, lectures, and disputations necessary for degrees, and the sermons, masses, general processions, congregations, convocations, elections of chancellor, proctors, and other officers (not being repugnant to their peculiar privileges), they were, as true gremials and scholars of the university, to be obedient to the chancellor, vice-chancellor, and proctors, as other scholars were. To this grant was annexed a condition that it should be void, in case the bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Carlisle, should consider it inconsistent with the statutes, privileges, and laudable customs of the university¹.

Special
privileges
and exemp-
tions granted
to this
foundation.

It will be seen that, just as the Barnwell Process had exempted the university from ecclesiastical control, it was now sought to render the college independent of the university; to obtain for the new foundation, in short, an independence similar to that enjoyed by the different friaries: such was the provision to which William Millington found himself unable to assent; it also affords a sufficient explanation of the resignation of Langton, who, if such an idea had

Object aimed
at by the
society.

¹ Cooper, *Memorials*, i 192, 193. MS. Hare ii 139.

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PART II.

Objections
of William
Millington.

been in any way foreshadowed, could hardly have approved a proposal to render any college independent of the jurisdiction he personally represented, and whose privileges he was bound to guard. Another and equally valid objection urged by Millington, appears to have been the limitation of the advantages afforded by so splendid a foundation *to the scholars of Eton exclusively*.

Significance
of Cardinal
Beaufort's
bequest.

The countenance given to the new scheme illustrates, not less than the opposition it encountered, its true nature. Within three years after the foregoing statutes had been given, cardinal Beaufort, the leader of the Ultramontane party¹, bequeathed the large sum of £1000 to augment the already princely revenues of King's College and the foundation at Eton. His own student life had been passed chiefly at Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was distinguished by his attainments in the civil law; but he had been a scholar at Peterhouse in 1388, and studied at Oxford in 1397, and the preference thus shewn for the new society over his own college is a fact of no little significance².

Ineffectual
efforts of the
university
to annul the
foregoing
exclusive
privileges.

Within five years of these enactments the university made a strenuous effort to reassert its rights of jurisdiction, and the scholars of King's College were prohibited from proceeding to degrees until they should, in their collective capacity, have renounced their exclusive pretensions. This prohibition however was immediately followed up by the royal mandate compelling the university to rescind its resolution³. Eventually, in the year 1457, an agreement was entered upon by the chancellor and the doctors regent and non-regent on the one hand, and the provost, fellows, and scholars of the college on the other; and as the result of this composition the college succeeded, after some unimportant

¹ 'Beaufort, though quiescent, was undoubtedly the main instrument in introducing the new papal usurpation.' Dean Hook, *Lives*, v 155.

² Gough, *Monumenta Vetusta*, ii xi. Beaufort's bequest is in a second codicil, bearing date April 9, 1447. The preamble is as follows:—'Iam tamen reminiscens illorum notabilium et insignium collegiorum, viz.

beate Marie de Eton juxta Windesor, et sancti Nicholai Cantabrigg', per dictum dominum incum Regem ex singulari et precipua sua devocione ad divini cultus augmentum catholiceque fidei exaltacionem sancte ac salubriter fundatorum, etc.' Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*, p. 338.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 205.

concessions, in retaining those privileges which have formed the distinctive feature of the foundation up to our own day¹.

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It has been conjectured, and the conjecture is sufficiently plausible, that this *imperium in imperio* which this society succeeded in establishing, took its alleged justification in those immunities and privileges which the Mendicants so long enjoyed and for which they so strenuously contended². However this may have been it will scarcely be denied by the most enthusiastic admirers of the conception of William of Wykeham, that the triumph gained by the fellows of King's College largely partook of the character of a Cadmæan victory, and it reflects no little honour on the integrity and sagacity of its first provost that he protested so vigorously against so suicidal a policy. It would indeed be useless to assert that a society which has sent forth scholars like Sir John Cheke, Richard Croke, Walter Haddon, Winterton, Hyde, and Michell, mathematicians like Oughtred, moralists like Whichcote, theologians like Pearson, antiquarians like Cole, and even poets like Waller, has not added lustre to the university of which it forms a part; but it would be equally useless to deny that when its actual utility, measured by the number and celebrity of those whom it has nurtured, is compared with that of other foundations of far humbler resources, its princely revenues and its actual services seem singularly disproportionate. For more than a century from its commencement this royal foundation was by far the wealthiest in the university. In the survey of the commissioners, Parker, Redman, and Mey, in the year 1546, its

Effect of these privileges on the character of the foundation.

¹ A singular illustration of the immunities granted to the college during the lifetime of the founder is to be found in an act passed in the year 1453 for raising 13,000 archers for the king's service, wherein a clause expressly exempts the provost and scholars of this foundation from the obligation of furnishing their quota to the levy imposed on the county of Cambridge. *Rot. Parliament.* v 232. Cooper, *Annals*, i 205.

² Hook, *Lives of the Archbps.*, iv 4. It is certain that, in the *spirit* in which its statutes were conceived,

King's College made a closer approach to the monastic conception than any other college at Cambridge. 'Some of their most remarkable characteristics,' observe the editors, 'were taken from the old monastic discipline, such as the wish to preserve the inmates from external connections, the extensive power given to the provost, the lengthy oaths at every step, and the urgent manner in which every member was desired to act as a spy upon the conduct of his fellows.' *Preface* by Heywood and Wright.

CHAP. III.
PART II.

revenues were double those of St. John's, which stood second, and were only surpassed when the large endowment of Trinity arose at the end of the same year¹. The comparative wealth of these three colleges remained nearly the same, until the far wider activity of the two younger foundations reaped a natural and honorable reward in the grateful munificence of their sons and the generous sympathy of strangers; while the foundation of Henry VI, shut in and narrowed by endless restrictions, debarred from expansion with the requirements of the age, and self-excluded from cooperation and free intercourse with the university at large, long remained, to borrow the expression of dean Peacock, 'a splendid cenotaph of learning,'—a signal warning to founders in all ages against seeking to measure the exigencies and opportunities of future generations by those of their own day, and a notable illustration of the unwisdom which in a scrupulous adherence to the letter of a founder's instructions violates the spirit of his purpose.

Foundation
of QUEENS'
COLLEGE,
1448.

Another royal foundation followed upon that of King's. In the year 1445 the party led by cardinal Beaufort had succeeded in bringing about the marriage of the youthful monarch with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, titular king of Sicily and of Jerusalem. It was hoped that the policy of the vacillating and feeble husband might be strengthened by the influence of a consort endowed with many rare qualities. The civil wars were not calculated for the exhibition of the feminine virtues, but there is sufficient reason for believing that Margaret of Anjou, though her name is associated with so much that belongs to the darkest phase of human nature, was cruel rather by necessity than by disposition or choice². But whatever may have been the

Margaret of
Anjou.

¹ The revenues of King's College amounted to £1010. 12s. 11½d.; those of St John's to £536. 17s. 4½d.; those settled on Trinity College, on the 24th of December in the same year, amounted to £1678. 3s. 9½d.

² 'There was nothing in her early years,' says a recent writer, 'which marked her out for an Amazon, though there certainly were some in-

dications of that unyielding spirit which afterwards hurried her into acts of perfidy, violence, and crime. When goaded into madness by the unmanly assaults of men who sought to blacken her chaste character, to insult her husband, and to bastardize her child, she mistook cruelty for firmness; and she who, at this time, fainted at the sight of blood, could

merits or demerits of her personal character, it is certain that her sympathies were entirely with the Ultramontanists, and her policy was systematically directed to the encouragement of friendly relations with her own country, in opposition to the popular party represented by the duke of Gloucester.

CHAP. III.
PART II.
Her Ultra-
montane
sympathies.

It was during a brief lull in that tempestuous century, when the war in France had been suspended by a truce, and the civil war at home had not commenced, that the following petition was addressed by this royal lady to her husband:—

To the King my souverain lord.

Her petition
to her
husband.

BESECHETH mekely Margarete quene of Englund youre humble wif, forasmuche as youre moost noble grace hath newly ordeined and stablissed a collage of seint Bernard in the Universite of Cambrigge with multitude of grete and faire privileges perpetuelly appurtenyng unto the same as in youre lres patentis therupon made more plainly hit appereth In the whiche universite is no collage founded by eny quene of Englund hider toward, Plese hit therfoure unto youre highnesse to geve and graunte unto youre seide humble wif the fondacōn and determinacōn of the seid collage to be called and named the Quenes collage of sainte Margarete and saint Bernard, or ellis of sainte Margarete vergine and martir and saint Bernard confessour, and therupon for ful evidence thereof to have licence and powir to ley the furst stone in her owne persone or ellis by other depute of her assignement, so that beside the mooste noble and gloriouse collage roial of our Lady and saint Nicholas founded by your highnesse may be founded the seid so called Quenes collage to conservacōn of oure feith and augmentacōn of pure clergie namely of the imparesse* of alle sciences and facultees theologic...to the *empress. ende there accustomed of plain lecture and exposicōn botraced* with docteurs sentence autentig' performed daily *buttressed. twyes by two docteurs notable and wel avised upon the bible aforenoone and maistrē of the sentences afternoone to the

afterwards command its effusion without remorse. But when she was alone in the world, no husband to protect, no son to fight for, her ori-

ginal disposition reasserted its ascendancy; and this was not malignant or selfish.' Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, v 183.

CHAP. III.
PART II.

publique audience of alle men frely bothe seculiers and religieus to the magnificence of denominacōn of suche a Queenes collage and to laud and honneure of sexe femenine, like as two noble and devoute contesses of Pembroke and of Clare founded two collages in the same universite called Pembroke halle and Clare halle the whiche are of grete reputacōn for good and worshipful clerkis that by grete multitude have be bredde and brought forth in theym, And of youre more ample grace to graunte that all privileges immunities profits and comodites conteyned in the lres patentés above rehersed may stonde in their strength and pouoir after forme and effect of the contene in them. And she shal ever preye God for you¹.

Fuller's
criticism.

'As Miltiades' trophy in Athens,' says Fuller, 'would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so this Queen beholding her husband's bounty in building King's College was restless in herself with holy emulation until she had produced something of the like nature, a strife wherein wives without breach of duty may contend with their husbands which should exceed in pious performances.' The college of St. Bernard, to which reference is made in Margaret of Anjou's petition, was but a short-lived institution. We find, from the enrolment of the charter of the first foundation preserved in the Public Record Office, that it was designed 'for the extirpation of heresies and errors, the augmentation of the faith, the advantage of the clergy, and the stability of the church, whose mysteries ought to be entrusted to fit persons.' But before it had taken external shape and form, the society had acquired land and tenements on a different site from that originally proposed,—the site of the present first court, cloister court, and part of the fellows' building of Queens' College. The original charter was accordingly returned into the chancery with the petition that it might be cancelled and another issued, authorising the erection of the college on the newly acquired site next to the house of the Carmelite friars, where greater scope was afforded for future enlargements.

COLLEGE OF
ST. BERNARD.

¹ *Hist. of the Queens' College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard*, by W. G. Searle, M.A., pp. 15, 16.

The petition was granted and another charter, that of August 21, 1447, was accordingly prepared, permitting the foundation of the college of St. Bernard on the new site. 'In this charter,' says Mr Searle, 'the king appears in some degree to claim the credit of being the founder of the college, as the reason for its exemption from all corrodi-
CHAP. III.
PART II.
Founded by
King Henry
the Sixth.

es, etc. (which might be granted by the king, *ratione dicte fundationis nostri*) is expressed in the words, *eo quod collegium predictum de fundatione nostra, ut premittitur, existit*¹.
Charter of
1447
cancelled.

It was at this juncture of affairs that Margaret of Anjou presented her petition, and as the result, the charter of 1447 was like its predecessor cancelled², and the new site with the tenements thereon was transferred to the queen, with licence to make and establish another college to be called the 'Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard in the university of Cambridge.' In exercise of the permission thus
Foundation
of QUEEN'S
COLLEGE.
 conceded the royal lady, by an instrument bearing date 15 April, 1448, founded a new society, for a president and four fellows; she was at this time scarcely twenty years of age, but her abilities and energetic temperament, combined with her commanding position, had already made her perhaps the foremost person in the realm. The archives of the college still preserve to us the aspect under which the work presented itself to her mind, and the motives that led to its conception. It is as the world advances to its old age and as virtue is fading away, as the wonted devotion of mankind is becoming lukewarm, the fear of God declining, and under the conviction that the sacred lore of Cambridge, 'our fair and immaculate mother,' 'under whose care the whole Church of England lately flourished,' is fast deteriorating, that Margaret of Anjou seeks to lay the foundation stone of the College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard. We have no evidence that any statutes were given to the new society during the reign of Henry VI, and it is probable that the outbreak of the civil wars called away the attention of royalty to more urgent matters; but in the year 1475, when the sanguinary struggle had been brought to a temporary
Views and
motives of
the foundress.

¹ *Hist. of the Queens' College*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.* p. 16.

CHAP. III.
PART II.Statutes
given by
Elizabeth
Woodville.Granted at
the petition of
Andrew
Doket,
first Presi-
dent of
Queens'.Status requi-
site in
candidates
for fellow-
ships.Studies to
be pursued.Lectureships
terminable
at the
expiration
of three
years.

conclusion, a code was given to the college by Elizabeth Woodville¹, the queen of Edward IV, who however reserved to herself, the president and five of the senior fellows, full power to alter or rescind any of the provisions during her lifetime. Elizabeth Woodville had once sympathised strongly with the Lancastrian party: she had been one of the ladies in waiting attached to the person of Margaret of Anjou, and her husband had fallen fighting for the Lancastrian cause; it is not improbable therefore that sympathy with her former mistress, then passing her days in retirement in Anjou, may have prompted her to accede to the prayer of Andrew Docket, the first president of the society, and to take the new foundation, henceforth written Queens' College, under her protection.

'The duties of our royal prerogative,' says the preamble, 'require, piety suggests, natural reason demands, that we should be specially solicitous concerning those matters whereby the safety of souls and the public good are promoted, and poor scholars, desirous of advancing themselves in the knowledge of letters, are assisted in their need.' At 'the humble request and special requisition' of Andrew Docket, and by the advice of the royal counsellors assembled for the purpose, statutes are accordingly given for 'the consolidating and strengthening' of the new society. The foundation is designed for the support of a president and twelve fellows,—all of whom are to be in priest's orders. Every fellow must, at the time of his election, be of not lower status than that of a questionist if a student in arts, or a scholar, if in theology. When elected he is bound to devote his time either to philosophy or to theology, until he shall have proceeded in the intervening stages and finally taken his doctor's degree. On becoming a master of arts he is qualified to teach in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* for the space of three years; a function which, as it appears to have been a source of emolument, being rewarded by a fixed salary from the college,

¹ I am indebted to the courtesy of the President of Queens', the Rev. George Phillips, D.D., for permission

to use the manuscript copy of these statutes, which have never been printed.

is limited to that period; its exercise, on the other hand, is not obligatory, provided that the fellow's time be devoted to the study of the liberal sciences, or to that of the natural, moral, or metaphysical philosophy of Aristotle. On the completion of these three years, if a fellow should have no desire to study theology or to proceed in that faculty, he is permitted to turn his attention to either the canon or the civil law: but this can only be by the consent of the master and the majority of the fellows, and the concessive character of the clause would incline us to infer that such a course would be the exception rather than the rule.

CHAP. III.
PART II.

Study of the
civil or the
canon law
simply
permitted.

Respecting Andrew Docket, the first president of Queens', we have sufficient information to enable us to surmise the character of the influence that prevailed in the college of St. Bernard and subsequently in Queens' College during the thirty-eight years of his energetic rule. He had before been principal of St. Bernard's hostel, and incumbent of St. Botolph's church, and within four years from the time that the foregoing statutes were given by Elizabeth Woodville, we find him executing a deed of fraternisation between the society over which he presided and the Franciscans, whose foundation then occupied the present site of Sidney. We have evidence also which would lead us to conclude that he was a hard student of the canon law, but nothing to indicate that he was in any way a promoter of that new learning which already before his death was beginning to be heard of at Cambridge¹.

Character of
Andrew
Docket.

A far humbler society was the next to rise after the two royal foundations. Among the scholars on the original foundation of King's College, was Robert Woodlark, afterwards founder and master of St. Catherine's Hall. On Chedworth's retirement from the provostship of King's, when elected to the bishopric of Lincoln, Woodlark was appointed his successor, and under his guidance the college wrung from the university those fatal concessions which have already engaged our attention. That he was an able administrator may

Foundation
of St.
CATHERINE'S
HALL, 1475.

Robert
Woodlark.

¹ *Hist. of Queens' College*, by Rev. W. G. Searle, pp. 53, 54.

CHAP. III.
PART II.His energetic
character.

be inferred from the prominent part assigned to him on different occasions. His name appears foremost among those of the syndicate appointed for the erection of the new schools; he was clerk of the works at King's College, and the spirit with which he carried on the buildings during the civil wars, when Henry VI was a prisoner, earned him but an indifferent recompense: for confiding in the fortunes of the house of Lancaster, and relying probably on his royal master for reimbursement, he was left to sustain a heavy deficit of nearly £400 which he had advanced from his private fortune¹. Such public spirit would alone entitle his memory to be had in lasting remembrance in the university, but 'herein,' says Fuller, 'he stands alone, without any to accompany him, being the first and last, who was master of one college and at the same time founder of another.'

Forbids the
study of the
civil and
canon law at
St. Cath-
arine's Hall.The founda-
tion intended
to benefit the
secular
clergy.

There is little in the statutes given by Woodlark to the college which he founded, deserving of remark, beyond the fact that both the canon and the civil law were rigorously excluded from the course of study. The foundation was designed to aid 'in the exaltation of the Christian faith and the defence and furtherance of holy church by the sowing and administration of the word of God.' It appears to have been the founder's design that it should be exclusively subservient to the requirements of the secular clergy. The following oath, to be administered to each of the fellows on his election, shows how completely the whole conception was opposed to that of bishop Bateman:—*Item juro quod nunquam consentiam ut aliquis socius hujus collegii sive aule ad aliquam aliam scientiam sive facultatem ullo unquam tempore se divertat propter aliquem gradum infra universitatem suscipiendum, præterquam ad philosophiam et sacram theologiam, sed pro posse meo resistam cum effectu*².

¹ 'In prosecution of the royal scheme, it was originally commanded that £1000 per annum should be paid to Woodlark out of the estates of the duchy of Lancaster; but owing to the change of dynasty and other causes, a large balance was at last remaining due to the magnanimous provost.' *Robert Woodlark*, by Charles

Hardwicke, M.A., *Cam. Antiq. Soc. Pub. No. xxxvi.*

² Accordingly, in the library which Woodlark bestowed on his foundation, not a single volume of the canon or civil law appears. See *Catalogue of the Books*, etc. edited by Dr Corrie; *Cam. Antiq. Soc. Pub. No. 1.*

If in addition to this fact, we observe that among the few alterations introduced by Chedworth, or Wainfleet, into the statutes given by William of Wykeham to New College at Oxford, the most important was that whereby the students in civil law were reduced from ten to two, and in the canon law from ten to four,—that in the statutes of Queens' College the study of both these branches appears to have been permitted rather than encouraged,—and that in the statutes of Jesus College, which next demand our attention, the study of the canon law was altogether prohibited, while only one of the fellows was allowed to devote himself to the civil law,—we shall have no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that at Cambridge, at least, a manifest reaction with reference to these studies had set in¹, and that it had become evident to those who sought to foster true learning in her midst, that acquirements which well subserved the purposes of worldly ambition and social success needed but little aid, but that it was far from unnecessary to guard against their attaining to such predominance as to overshadow that higher culture which could only really prosper when pursued as an end in itself and bringing its own reward².

CHAP. III.
PART II.

Evident desire at this period on the part of the different founders to check the excessive devotion to the study of the civil and canon law.

¹ The following lists from the Grace Books of the number of graduates for the years 1489 and 1499, in the different faculties, are worthy of note; they have, probably by a clerical error, been transposed in dean Peacock's pages, Appendix A, p. xlix.

(1489)

30 Determinatores in quadragesima (B.A.).

84 Magistri artium.

22 Baccalaurei juris canonici.

10 Intrantes ad lecturam sententiarum (B.D.) including one canon regular, two Dominicans, and one Franciscan.

(1499)

32 Determinatores in quadragesima.

16 Inceptores seu professores artium.

12 Intrantes in jure canonico.

8 Intrantes in jure civili.

3 Commensantes in theologia (B.D.).

² The comments of Poggio Bracciolini upon the spirit in which these studies were pursued in Italy in the

fifteenth century, is to almost precisely the same effect as those of Roger Bacon in the thirteenth:—*'Dixi paulo ante, eos qui juri civili et canonibus operam darent, non sciendi, sed lucrandi cupiditate se ad eorum cognitionem conferre. Ex eo videtis quantus fiat ad has disciplinas concursus tanquam ad certam aurifodinam. At hi cum quæ appellantur insignia doctorum (licet plures sint indocti) suscepunt, hoc est, quæstus et avaritiæ signa, scitis quam frequententur, quam honorentur ab omnibus, quam colantur, ornantur quoque preciosioribus vestibus, anuli aurei gestandi jus datum est, ut plane intelligant homines id genus facultatum solum auri corrodendi causa susceptum.'* *De Avaritia, Opera*, ed. Basil, p. 4. In the year 1339 a scrutiny was held at Merton College, on which occasion we find a formal demand made by the fellows of the commissioners, *'quod ponantur decreta et decretalia in librario.'* It

CHAP. III.
PART II.Foundation
of JESUS
COLLEGE,
1497.The nunnery
of St. Rhade-
gund.The nunnery
under the
protection of
the bishops
of Ely.Its corrupt
state and
final disso-
lution with
the close of
the fifteenth
century.Charter of
the founda-
tion of Jesus
College, 1496.

The circumstances attendant upon the foundation of Jesus College, the fourth and last college founded in the fifteenth century, illustrate both the degeneracy and the higher aims of the age. Among the most ancient religious houses in the town was the nunnery of St. Rhadegund, which, if tradition may be trusted, referred back its origin so far as the year 1133, or not more than forty years later than the foundation of the priory of St. Giles by the wife of Picot the sheriff. The nuns of St. Rhadegund often come under our notice in the early annals of Cambridge. The foundation appears at one time to have enjoyed a fair share of public favour; it was enriched by numerous benefactions, and derived additional prestige from its close connexion with the see of Ely: even so late as the year 1457, we find William Gray, one of the most distinguished of the many able men who successively filled the chair of Hugh Balsham, granting a forty days' pardon to all who should contribute to the repair of the conventual church¹. But the corruption that so extensively prevailed among the religious houses of every order towards the close of this century invaded likewise the nunnery of St. Rhadegund; the revenues of the society were squandered and dissipated; the conduct of the nuns brought grave scandal on their profession; and in the reign of Henry VII not more than two remained on the foundation, so that, to borrow the language of the college charter, 'divine service, hospitality, or other works of mercy and piety, according to the primary

was nearly the only lore that the majority cared about in those days! See Prof. Rogers, *Hist. of Prices*, II 671—4.

The following lists give the admissions of bachelors in civil law and canon law in the latter part of the century:—

Canon Law.

1459... 9
1460... 8
1461... 1
1462... 2
1463... 1
1466... 12
1467... 8

Civil Law.

— —
— —
— —
— —
— —
— —
— —
1467... 2

Canon Law.

1470... 8
1481... 14
1483... 5
1484... 4
1487... 7
1488... 3
1489... 22
1490... 9
1491... 6
1492... 1
1493... 1
1494... 6
1496... 3
1499... 12

Civil Law.

— —
1481... 2
1483... 1
1484... 5
1487... 1
1488... 4
— —
1490... 1
1491... 1
1492... 3
1493... 1
— —
1496... 9
1499... 8

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, I 208.

foundation and ordinance of their founders there used, could not be discharged by them¹. In the year 1497, through the exertions of John Alcock, bishop of Ely, the nunnery was accordingly suppressed by royal patent; the bishop was a munificent encourager of the arts, and to his liberality and taste the church of Great St. Mary and his own chapel in the episcopal cathedral are still eloquent though silent witnesses²; and under his auspices Jesus College³ now rose in the place of the former foundation. The historian of the college, a fellow on the foundation in the seventeenth century, remarks that it appears to have been designed that, in form at least, the new erection should suggest the monastic life⁴; and to this resemblance the retired and tranquil character of the site, which long after earned for it from king James the designation of *musarum Cantabrigiensium museum*, still further contributed.

CHAP. III.
PART II.

John
Alcock, LL.D.
bp. of Ely,
1486—1501.

The site
originally not
included in
Cambridge.

The original statutes of the college were not given until early in the sixteenth century. Their author was Stanley, the successor, one removed, to Alcock, in the episcopal chair at Ely, and son-in-law of Margaret, countess of Richmond: they were subsequently considerably modified by his illustrious successor Nicholas West, fellow of King's, and the friend of bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More⁵. The new

Early
statutes of
the college
given by
James
Stanley, D.D.
bp. of Ely,
1506—1515,
and
Nicholas
West, LL.D.
bp. of Ely,
1515—1533.

¹ Cooper, *Memorials*, i 364. *Do-cuments*, III 91. *Shermanni Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiensis*, ed. Halliwell, p. 20.

² Alcock was also a considerable benefactor to Peterhouse (Cooper, *Memorials*, i 363); he was tutor to the unfortunate Edward v until removed from that post by the Protector. Bentham, *Hist. and Antiq. of Ely Cathedral*, p. 182.

³ 'The college was to have been called "the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St John the Evangelist, and St Radegund, near Cambridge:" to be governed by such statutes as he or his successors should think proper to make and ordain. But the bishop having thought proper to add to this title, that of the holy name Jesus, it was even in his time commonly called Jesus College.' *Ibid.* p. 182.

⁴ 'Collegium ea figura ab ipsis

plane fundamentis construxit quæ monasterium etiamnum referat, et quantum ad situm, id sane loci occupat, quod musis est accommodatissimum, viz. ab oppidanorum strepitu et tumultu remotissimum.' *Shermanni Historia*, p. 23.

⁵ 'Statuta insuper Jacobus [Stanley] consilio suo condidit, quæ Julius Secundus pontifex Romanus, simul et collegii fundationem, autoritate Apostolica sancivit. Joannes [Alcock] episcopus, cujus nomen sit benedictionibus, vivendi rationem subministravit, Joanne morte repentina sublato, Jacobus dein vivendi normam adhibuit:Nicholaus episcopus Eliensis Jacobi statuta revisit, multa immutavit, revocavit nonnulla, cetera sanxit, et statutis ab eo conditis hodie utimur, quorum etiam quatuor copias habemus, omnes sans date, imperfectas quoque omnes, in-

CHAP. III.

PART II.

Study of the
Canon law
forbidden.

statutes however were in professed conformity with the presumed intentions of the founder¹; it is consequently all the more significant that, though both Alcock and West were distinguished by their acquirements in the canon law, of the twelve fellows to be maintained on the foundation not one is permitted to give his attention to that branch of study, and only one to that of the civil law; the others, so soon as they have graduated and taught as masters of arts, being required to apply themselves to the study of theology.

But though the injurious effects of such encouragement to students as that extended by bishop Bateman had by this time become apparent to nearly all, and though it is evident that the founders of the fifteenth century were fully sensible of the necessity for a different policy if they desired to stimulate the growth of honest culture, we shall look in vain within the limits of this century and of our own university for much indicative either of healthy intellectual activity or true progress. The tone of both the patrons and the professors of learning is despondent, and the general languor that followed upon the Wars of the Roses lasted nearly to the end of the reign of the first of the Tudors. Before however we turn away from this sombre period, it will be well to note not merely the studies enjoined upon the student but the literature within his reach; to examine the college library as well as the college statutes; and briefly survey the contents of the scantily furnished shelves as they appeared while the new learning still delayed its onward flight from its favoured haunts in Italy.

Despondency observable in the promoters of learning at this period.

Libraries.

In a previous chapter² we have devoted some attention

terpolatas, amanuensium ineuria erratis scatentes, inter se discordantes, nulla auctoritate episcopali munitas.' *Ibid.* p. 24.

¹ 'Ceterum quia tantus pater morte præventus, quod pio conceperat animo, explere, et opus tam memorabile absolvere non potuit, quo fit, ut nec pro tanto numero sustinendo collegium prædictum sufficienter dotaverit, nec pro bono studentium regimine ac recto et quieto

vivendi ordine, servanda statuta aut ordinationes aliquas perfecte vel sufficienter ediderit: Nos igitur opus tam pium tamque devoti patris et optimi præsulis propositum, instinctu divino, ut speramus, inceptum, quantum eum Deo possumus, et spiritualiter et temporaliter firmiter stabiliri paterno affectu intendentes et magnopere cupientes, etc.' *Documents*, III 94.

² See *supra* pp. 101—3.

to the catalogues of two libraries of the period when the earliest universities were first rising into existence; the period, that is to say, when so many of the authors known to Bede and Alcuin had been lost in the Danish invasions, but when the voluminous literature to which the Sentences, the Canon Law, the Civil Law, and the New Aristotle respectively gave birth was yet unknown. A comparison of these two catalogues with those of libraries at Cambridge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will present not a few points of interest.

It was on a certain seventeenth of November, the feast of St. Hugh in 1444, that Dr Walter Crome presented to the university a collection of books designed to increase the slender stores of a new room, just finished and ready for use, erected for the purpose of giving shelter to the recently founded common library¹. The library appears to date from the earlier part of the same century, and a Mr John Croucher, who presented a copy of Chaucer's translation of Boethius *De Consolatione*, seems entitled to be regarded as the original founder. One Richard Holme, who died in 1424, appears as the donor of several volumes; many others presented single works; and in this manner was formed, within the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the little library of fifty-two volumes, the catalogue of which we still possess. Next to this catalogue comes one drawn up by Ralph Songer and Richard Cockeram, the outgoing proctors in the year 1473, containing 330 volumes. This later catalogue possesses a special value, for it shews us the volumes as classified and arranged; and we have thus brought before us the single room (now the first room on entering the library) where these scanty treasures lay chained and displayed to view, with stalls on the north side looking into the quadrangle of the Schools, and desks on the south side looking out upon the rising walls of King's College chapel. These two catalogues do not include the splendid

Foundation
of the Uni-
versity Li-
brary.

Different
benefactors.

Two early
catalogues.

The library
building.

¹ *Two Lists of Books in the University Library. Cam. Ant. Soc. Pub. No. xxii.* Communicated by Henry

Bradshaw, M.A. See also *The University Library*, article by the same in *Cam. Univ. Gazette*, No. 10.

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PART II.

Thomas Rotheram, an eminent benefactor of the university.

addition of some two hundred volumes, made by Thomas Rotheram very shortly after; but the liberality of that eminent benefactor of the university was already conspicuous in the completion of the library and of the east part of the quadrangle; and the new buildings, bright as they appeared to that generation, 'with polished stone and sumptuous splendour¹', were already evoking those sentiments of gratitude towards the illustrious chancellor, which, two years later, led the assembled senate to decree that his name should be for ever enrolled among those of the chief benefactors of the university.

Early catalogues of the libraries of Peterhouse, Trinity Hall, Pembroke, Queens', and St Catharine's Hall.

The two above-named catalogues alone constitute valuable evidence respecting the literature at this time most esteemed at Cambridge, but other and ampler evidence remains. It was on Christmas Eve, 1418, exactly eight years before Gerson drew up his *De Concordia*, that an unknown hand at Peterhouse completed a catalogue of the library belonging to that foundation². As libraries, in those days, were almost entirely the accumulations of gifts from successive benefactors, the most ancient college had, as we should expect to find, acquired by far the largest collection and possessed no less than from six to seven hundred distinct treatises. The library given by bishop Bateman to Trinity Hall has already come under our notice³. If to these collections we add a catalogue of 140 volumes presented to the library of Pembroke College in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries⁴,—one of the library of Queens' College in the year

¹ 'Quoniam ratio humanitasque requirere videtur ut superioribus nobis benefactoribus, etsi non condignas, saltem utcunque congruas referamus gratias, eisque juxta virium exilitatem, ut possumus, meritoria obsequia reddamus. hinc est quod merito cum probitatis tum bonorum operum exhibitione reverendus in Christo pater ac dominus dominus Thomas Rotheram divina miseratione Linecolniensis episcopus ac magnus Angliæ generalis hujusque almæ universitatis præcipuus dignusque cancellarius et singularis patronus tum in honorem Dei, incrementum studii, et universitatis nostræ pro-

fectum, scholas novamque superius librariam polito lapide, sumptuosa pompa, ac dignis ædificiis perfecit, eamque, omnibus ut deceuit rebus exornatam, non paucis vel vilibus libris opulentam reddidit, plurimaque insuper alia bona eidem universitati procuravit, etc.' *De exequiis Thomæ Rotheram, Documents*, i 414.

² This catalogue is still in manuscript: I am indebted to the authorities of Peterhouse for permission to consult the volume in which it is contained.

³ See supra pp. 243, 244.

⁴ *A List of Books presented to Pembroke College, Cambridge, by different*

1472¹, amounting to 224 volumes,—and one of the library of St. Catharine's Hall in the year 1475, amounting to 137 volumes²,—our data, so far as Cambridge is concerned, will be sufficiently extended for our purpose.

A systematic study of these several catalogues and an enquiry into the merits of each author, however interesting such researches might be, is evidently not needed at our hands, but it will be desirable to state some of the general conclusions to be derived from a more cursory view. On referring to the contents of each catalogue it will be seen that they represent, in much the same proportions, those new contributions to mediæval literature which have already so long engaged our attention. Anselm, Albertus, Aquinas, Alexander Hales, Boethius, Bonaventura, Walter Burley, Duns Scotus, Holcot, Langton, John of Salisbury, Grosseteste, and Richard Middleton; Armachanus against the Franciscans, Wodeford against Armachanus; the discourses of Reppington, bishop of Lincoln, once a Lollard, but afterwards one of the fiercest opponents of the sect; *Historiæ Chronicle*s, or metrical histories, after the manner of Layamon and Robert of Gloucester, such as it was customary to recite in the college hall on days of festivity;—none of these are wanting, and they constitute precisely the literature which our past enquiries would lead us to expect to find. But besides these, other names appear, names which have now almost passed from memory or are familiar only to those who have made a special study of this period. Again and again we are confronted by the representatives of that great school of mediæval theology which, though it aspired less systematically to the special task of the schoolmen,—the reconciliation of philosophy and dogma,—was scarcely less influential in these centuries than the school of Albertus and Aquinas. Divines from the famous school of St. Victor at

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Illustration
of the
additions to
learning
afforded
by these
catalogues.

Evidence af-
forded with
respect to
the theo-
logical stu-
dies of the
time.

Donors, during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. By the Rev. G. E. Corrie, D.D., Master of Jesus College. *Cam. Ant. Soc. Pub.* No. III.

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of Queens' College in 1472*; communicated by the Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A.,

late Fellow of Queens' College. *Cam. Ant. Soc. Pub.* No. xv.

² *A Catalogue of the original Library of St. Catharine's Hall, 1475*; communicated by the Rev. G. E. Corrie, D.D. *Cam. Ant. Soc. Pub.* No. I. (4to Series.)

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Hugo of
St. Victor,
d. 1140.

Hugo of
St. Cher,
d. 1260.

Nicholas
de Lyra,
d. 1340.

Absence of
the Arabian
commenta-
tors on Ari-
stotle.

Fewer works
than we
should ex-
pect on logic
and contro-
versial theo-
logy.

The Fathers
very imper-
fectly repre-
sented.

Paris¹; and preeminently Hugo, 'the Augustine of the twelfth century,' who sought to reconcile the divergent tendencies exemplified in Abelard and St. Bernard, and who though carried off at the early age of forty-four left behind him a whole library of annotations on the sacred writings. Not less in esteem than Hugo of St. Victor, was the Dominican, Hugo of St. Cher (or of Vienne), whose reputation, though it paled before the yet greater lights of his order, long survived as that of the father of the Concordantists and the author of the *Speculum Ecclesiæ*². While inferior to neither of these in fame or learning comes the Franciscan, Nicholas de Lyra, who died towards the middle of the fourteenth century in high repute both as a Hebraist and a Greek scholar; in whose pages are to be found, most fully elaborated, the characteristic mediæval distinctions of the *literal*, the *moral*, the *allegorical*, and the *anagogic* sense of the inspired page,—distinctions which Puritanism, though all contemptuous of mediæval thought, reproduced in unconscious imitation,—the familiar commentator of his day, whose *Postilla* commanded, even down to the eighteenth century, the same kind of regard that in a later age has waited on the labours of a Leighton or a Scott. In contrast to the spirit of the Italian universities throughout this period, we may note the entire absence of the Arabian commentators from the college libraries, and the solitary copy of a treatise by Avicenna and of another by Averröes in the university library. In the latter, again, Mr Bradshaw has pointed out the comparatively small proportion of *libri logicales* and *libri theologiæ disputatæ*, and the observation is nearly equally applicable to the catalogues of the former. It is important also to observe how small is the element furnished by patristic literature. Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine, the four great doctors of the Latin Church,

¹ 'It would not be easy,' observes the archbishop of Dublin (who has ably vindicated the Latin poetry of these ages from the contempt of the classicist), 'to exaggerate the influence for good which went forth

from this institution during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries upon the whole Church.' *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 55.

² Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætatis*.

are indeed represented, but only partially, while scarcely another name of importance appears. The entire absence of Greek authors, and the almost equally entire absence of all that, in the eyes of the classical scholar, gives its value to the Latin literature, are the remaining features which it is sufficient simply to point out in concluding these few comments on the learning that nurtured the mind of the Cambridge student at the time when mediæval history was drawing to its close.

CHAP. III.

PART II.

Entire ab-
sence of
Greek au-
thors.

CHAPTER IV.

STUDENT LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAP. IV. OUR researches into our university history during the Middle Ages are now approaching their completion. We have arrived at the boundary line which, by general consent, has been drawn between the old and the new order of things,—the time when the traditions of the past began to give place to those widely differing conceptions which the fifteenth century ere it closed saw rising upon Europe. Momentous and startling as have been the changes of the present century, it may yet be questioned whether they do not yield in importance to those that ushered in the Reformation. The downfall of dynasties, the manifest shifting of the centres of political power, even the triumphs of modern science and art, can scarcely compare with influences like those that readjusted the whole range of man's intellectual vision, and transformed his conception of the universe. It was then that the veil was lifted from the face of classic Greece, and the voices which had slumbered for centuries woke again; that the accents of ancient Hellas blended with those of regenerated Italy; while Teutonic invention lent its aid in diffusing with unprecedented rapidity both the newly discovered and the nascent literature.

'Another nature and a new mankind'

stood revealed beyond the Atlantic wave. The habitable globe itself dwindled to but a point in the immensity of space; and the lamps of heaven now glimmered with a strange and awful light from the far recesses of infinity. But before we turn to trace out and estimate the changes thus brought about in the culture and mental tendencies of the

CHAP. IV.
Changes
which sever
modern and
medieval
times.

age, it yet remains to attempt a somewhat more connected view than we have as yet been able to gain of the characteristics of university life in the period already traversed. Hitherto we have passed by many interesting minor facts in order to bring out more distinctly the general outline, —the principle indeed which has guided our whole treatment of the subject. We shall now endeavour to bring together a variety of details which tend to illustrate the life and habits of those times, and to give a portraiture of the ordinary student's experiences at Cambridge in the Middle Ages. Such a piecing together will form, at best, but a very defective whole. The mosaic will be wanting both in colour and completeness. But we shall but share the difficulties that beset all similar endeavours to revivify the forms and fashions of a distant age.

A brief survey of the physical aspects of the locality will not be irrelevant to the sketch we are about to attempt. The river Cam¹, formerly known as the Grant, is formed by the union of two minor streams; of which one, the Rhee, rises near Ashwell in Hertfordshire, the other at Little Hemham in Essex. The point of junction is between Hauxton and Grantchester. As it approaches Cambridge the stream widens, but rarely attains to much depth until the town is passed, after which it flows on in greatly increased volume by Chesterton, Waterbeach, Upware, and Harrimere, until Ely is reached. At Harrimere it changes its name to that of the Ouse, a change however which no longer represents the actual point of confluence; at the present time the stream still, save on the occurrence of unusual floods, pursues its course by way of Ely and Prickwillow to Denver before a drop of Ouse water mingles with its current. The cause of this deviation is an important fact in the history of the river system of the whole district. The tract known as the Fen

Outline of the physical aspects of medieval Cambridgeshire.

The CAM.

The Fen Country.

¹ The Celtic word *kam*, which long survived in English, means *crooked*. In Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, Sicinius says of the logic of Menenius Agrippa's arguments, 'This is clean *kam*;'

whereupon Brutus adds, 'Merely' (that is, completely) 'awry.' Act III sc. 1. So also Hooker in his sermons, speaks of a mind that is '*cam* and crooked.' *Works*, fol. ed., p. 562.

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Rivers by
which it is
traversed.

Ancient
course of the
Ouse.

country is traversed by the Nen, the Great Ouse, and the Little Ouse. Of these the first, which now flows in a navigable stream by March, Upwell, and Outwell, and discharges itself into the Ouse near Denver sluice, formerly on arriving at Peterborough turned to the right, and making a circuit through Whittlesey, Ugg, and Ramsey Meres, passed them in a nearly direct course by March to Wisbeach. The second enters the fens near Earith. At this place it formerly bifurcated: the larger stream flowing by Harrimere, Ely, and Littleport, then by what is now called the Welney river to Wisbeach, where in conjunction with the Nen it flowed on to the sea. The other stream flowed towards the west, and is now known as the West Water: its course is from Earith to Benwick, where it formed a junction with the Nen. At the present time however *both these channels* are closed to the Ouse, which is conveyed in a straight line by the Bedford rivers to Denver, where they form a junction with the Little Ouse and are conveyed in its channel to the sea¹. Wisbeach² accordingly constituted the natural outlet of the principal waters whose course lay through the great tract known as the Bedford Level; and such was the 'plenteous Ouse' when Spenser in his *Faery Queene* described it as coming

The course
described by
Spenser.

'far from land,

By many a city and by many a town,
And many rivers taking under-hand
Into his waters as he passeth downe,
The Cle, the Were, the Grant, the Sture, the Rowne.
Thence doth by Huntingdon and Cambridge flit,
My mother Cambridge, whom as with a crowne
He doth adorne, and is adorn'd of it
With many a gentle Muse and many a learned wit³.'

The Bedford
Level.

Of the Bedford Level, the whole extent of which amounts to some 400,000 acres, nearly half lies in the county of Cambridge, representing the fen country. Originally, it is probable, the inundations to which it was exposed were far

¹ See paper by Prof. C. C. Babington, *Cam. Antiq. Soc. Pub.* III 69.

² The name, it has been plausibly

conjectured, is a corruption of Ouse-beach.

³ *Faery Queene*, IV xi 31.

less extensive and disastrous than those of a later period. The Romans, it has been conjectured, brought their science to bear upon the difficulty and mitigated the evil. Others have supposed that the gradual silting up of the channel directly communicating with the Wash sufficiently accounts for the increase of the inundations in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. It would seem certain that with the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII many of the precautions which the monks had vigilantly enforced were no longer observed, and the evil became greatly aggravated. 'The fens of England,' it has been said, 'enter largely into its early history,' and the remark is specially true of Cambridgeshire and its university. In Dugdale's elaborate work, the *History of Embanking and Draining*, there is a map representing the Bedford Level at the time of an inundation. The waters are to be seen extending in one continuous sheet from Downham Market to Horningsey Common, from Peterborough to Mildenhall,—a few tracts of higher ground about Ely, Littleport, Soham, Haddenham, Wingford, Chatteris, and Whittlesea, appearing like islands in the midst¹. On the frontier of this country Cambridge stands, and often shared, though in a less degree, the disastrous consequences of such visitations. In the year 1273 the waters rose five feet above the bridge in what is now known as Bridge Street; in 1290 the Carmelite Friars removed from Newnham into the parish of St. John's, driven from their extensive precincts in the former locality by floods which frequently rendered their attendance at lectures or at market impracticable; in 1520, Garret Hostel bridge, now known as the town bridge, was carried away by the waters. Even so late as the close of the sixteenth century, when legislation had but feebly grappled with the growing evil²,

Extent of the
inundations
in former
times.

¹ The termination *-ey* or *-y* denotes in Saxon an island; and such were formerly Childerley, Denny, Ely, Horningsey, Ramsey, Suthrey, Thorney, Wittlesea, etc.; while the pasture-land called *meare* must once have been the bed of an inland lake. Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 372.

² 'The most important work as to public utility, prior to the Reformation, was the great channel made by bishop Morton, which served the double purpose of discharging the overflowing of the Nene, and affording the convenience of water-carriage from Wisbech to Peterborough.

CHAP. IV. tradition was wont to foretell that all Holland was destined to be submerged by the waters of the Welland and the Ouse, and that the abode of learning would be transferred from Cambridge to Stamford¹.

Gradual
growth of the
town of
Cambridge.

From facts like these we are better able to understand how it was that, in times before the university existed, the town that still represented the *Camboritum* of the Romans was confined to the left bank of the river, where upon the rising ground above, secure from inundations, rose the little church of St. Peter (St. Peter's *juxta castra*), which together with some three or four hundred tenements, many of them fallen into decay, composed the Grantbrigge of the time of the Norman invasion. It is worthy of remark that there is nothing in Domesday Book that lends the slightest countenance to the theory that anything resembling a university existed in those days. The Norman occupation gave however additional importance to the town. Twenty-seven houses were pulled down to make way for the new castle; then followed the erection of the church of St. Giles by Picot, the sheriff of the county; and probably soon after, that of the 'school of Pythagoras,' undoubtedly a structure of this period, and probably the residence of a Norman gentleman. But the attractions of a river in those days

It has been said that after the dissolution of monasteries, the fenny country became more overflowed than it had formerly been, the sewers and banks, which through the care of the religious houses had been kept in a state of good repair, having been neglected by the new proprietors of the monastic estates. The first project of a general drainage (which indeed was before the making of bishop Morton's canal) appears to have been in the reign of Henry VI, when Gilbert Haltoft, one of the barons of the exchequer, who resided near Ely, had a commission for that purpose, under which he proceeded to make laws, but nothing effectual was then done.' Lysons' *Cambridgeshire*, p. 32.

¹ 'And after him the fatal Welland went, | That, if old saws prove true, (which God forbid!) | Shall drowne all Holland with his excrement, | And

shall see Stamford, though now homely hid, | Then shine in learning, more then ever did | Cambridge or Oxford, England's goodly beames.'

Spenser, *Faery Queen*, iv xl 35. The 'old saws' here referred to are those mentioned by Antony Wood, see p. 135. 'Holland', or 'Little Holland,' as it was sometimes called, is a division of the county of Lincoln, the S.E. portion, having the North Sea on the east. The poet's meaning, I apprehend, is that inasmuch as an inundation of this country could not fail to extend southwards, and greatly to aggravate the evils to which Cambridgeshire was periodically liable, the latter county would be rendered comparatively uninhabitable; while Stamford, as lying without the Bedford Level and on the rising land above the Welland, would be beyond the reach of the waters.

were all powerful, and by and bye a suburb was formed on the opposite bank; this suburb gradually extended itself until it incorporated what was probably a distinct village encircling the church of St. Benet. Then the society of secular canons, founded by Picot, crossed the river, as Augustinian canons, to Barnwell; private dwellings began to multiply; numerous hostels were erected; the period of college foundations succeeded; and at last the new town completely eclipsed the old Grantbrigge, which sank into an obscure suburb¹. CHAP. IV.

Such may be regarded as a sufficiently probable theory of the early external growth of Cambridge, but it still remains to explain how such a locality came to be selected as the site of a university. Compared with Stamford, Northampton, or even Huntingdon, all of them seats of monastic education, Cambridge, to modern eyes, would have appeared an unhealthy and ineligible spot². It was the frontier town of a country composed of bog, morass, and extensive meres, interspersed with occasional tracts of arable and pasture land, and presenting apparently few recommendations as a resort for the youth of the nation; the reasons therefore which outweighed the seemingly valid arguments in favour of a more inviting and accessible locality have often been the subject of conjecture. Fuller himself seems at a loss to understand why the superior natural advantages of Northampton did not win for that town the preference of the academic authorities.

As regards the first commencement of the *university*, an obvious explanation is to be found in the fact that, in all probability, no definite act of selection ever took place. Like Paris and Oxford, Cambridge grew into a centre of learning. Somewhere in the twelfth century the university took its

The question, how such a locality came to be selected for a university, discussed.

Answer: no definite act of selection ever took place.

¹ The combined population even towards the close of the thirteenth century does not appear to have exceeded 4000. See Cooper, *Annals*, i 58.

² In the sixteenth century writers begin to recognise this fact. 'Cam-

bridge,' says Harrison, writing in 1577, 'is somewhat lowe and neere unto the fennes, whereby the hol-somenesse of the ayre there is not a little corrupted.' Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 73 b.

CHAP. IV.

rise; originating most probably in an effort on the part of the monks of Ely to render a position of some military importance also a place of education. The little school prospered. The canons of St. Giles lent their aid; and when at length, as at Paris and Bologna, a nucleus had been formed, its existence became an accepted fact; royalty extended its recognition, and Cambridge became a university.

But when we enter upon the wider question, why the drawbacks to the situation did not finally cause the *removal* of the university to a less objectionable locality, we find ourselves involved in a more perplexing but not uninteresting inquiry. It can hardly be supposed that at a time when the university had acquired but little property in the town, and when the smallness of the worldly possessions of the student, as described by Chaucer¹, rendered removal from one part of the country to another a less formidable undertaking in some respects than even at the present day, that the *difficulties* attendant upon a general migration deterred men from attempting it. The question of a *partial migration*, or of the foundation of a third university, stood upon a different footing. Such measures were resisted to prevent the loss of prestige and diminution in importance which it was supposed the older universities would necessarily undergo; losses like those which the foundation of the university of Prague in 1348 undoubtedly inflicted on Paris, and which the foundation of the university of Cracow in 1400 inflicted in turn on Prague. We shall probably find the best answer to our question in a consideration of the very different point of view from which it was regarded in mediæval times. And first of all it is necessary to remember how entirely monastic ideas predominated in the early annals of both Oxford and Cambridge, and also how prominent a place among those ideas asceticism has always, at least in theory, held. The theory that inculcated a rigorous isolation from mankind almost necessarily debarred the monk from the selection of the most inviting and accessible localities; and so long as the locality produced his two chief requisites, timber and water, for fuel

¹ Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*, 257—310.

Why not
then re-
moved?

Migrations
opposed on
principle.

Drawbacks
in modern
eyes recom-
mendations
in mediæval
times.

The ascetic
theory.

and food, he professed to crave for nothing more. If we examine the sites selected for our *earlier* monasteries we shall see that it was neither the bracing air nor the fertility of the soil that allured the founders to the mountain summit or to the far recesses of the vale. It was not until the Church began to rival the temporal power, not until the piety or the penitence of the wealthy found expression in the alienation of large estates to the different orders, not until asceticism had been practically set aside as the rule of the religious life, that the houses of both the old and the new societies began to rise on commanding eminences, in the centre of productive and well cultivated districts, looking over rich slopes and undulating plains whose fertility moved the envy of the wealthiest noble. It is indeed a common observation that the monk had a keen eye for the fattest land and selected the site of his residence accordingly: but it is questionable whether, in many cases, effect has not been mistaken for cause, and whether the skill and industry of the new colonists did not often supply the place of natural advantages and impart attractions which were afterwards supposed to be natural to the locality. Of such a conversion in the district adjacent to Cambridge we find a notable instance in the pages of Matthew Paris, whose account can hardly be better rendered than in the quaint version by Dugdale:—‘In the year 1256, William, bishop of Ely, and Hugh, abbot of Ramsey, came to an agreement upon a controversy between them touching the bounds of their fens; whereof in these our times a wonder happened; for whereas, as antiently, time out of mind, they were neither accessible for man or beast, affording only deep mud, with sedge and reeds; and posset by birds (yea, much more by devils, as appeareth in the life of St. Guthlac, *who, finding it a place of horror and great solitude, began to inhabit there*), is now changed into delightful meadows and arable ground; and what thereof doth not produce corn or hay, doth abundantly bring forth sedge, turf, and other fuel, very useful to the borderers ¹.’

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Results of monastic industry not to be confounded with reasons for the original selection of monastic sites.

Instance from Matthew Paris.

¹ Paris, *Historia Major*, ed. Wats, p. 929; Dugdale, *Embanking and Draining*, p. 358.

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The Fen
Country, as
described by
the chron-
iclers.

There is good reason for believing that the motives which weighed with St. Guthlac were, in a great measure, those which chiefly influenced the monk in his selection of places like Thorney, Ramsey, Crowland, and Ely, as sites of religious houses, all probably originally scenes of 'horror,' but rendered not only habitable but inviting by patient toil¹. The description given by the soldier to William the Conqueror, as recorded in the *Liber Eliensis*², of the localities which he had visited, resembles rather that brought by the spies to Joshua, than the picture which the name of the Fens is apt at the present day to suggest. Fertile islands, like those of Ramsey and Thorney, rose amid the meres, adorned with verdant plains, rich cornfields, and stately woods; timber was plentiful, the ash in particular attaining to unusual dimensions; orchards abounded; the vine was successfully cultivated, sometimes trained aloft, sometimes extending on framework along the ground; the rich turf supplied abundant fuel, and, conveyed up the river in boats, often blazed on the winter hearths at Cambridge. The fertility of the soil surpassed that of all other parts of England. The red stag, now extinct in this country, the roe deer, wild goats and hares, afforded ample occupation for the huntsman. The wild goose and waterfowl of various kinds multiplied in every direction. The tranquil mere, which rolled its tiny wave to the island shore, teemed with all kinds of fish, and yielded an unfailing supply for the Cambridge market. Ely itself, if we may trust the authority of Bede, derived its name from the abundance of eels once found in the surrounding waters³. Perch, roach, bar-

¹ The vigorous diction of Cobbett, in his eccentric *History of the Protestant Reformation*, has effectively illustrated this favourable phase of English monasticism:—'The monasteries built as well as wrote for posterity. The never-dying nature of their institutions set aside in all their undertakings every calculation as to time and age. Whether they built or planted, they set the generous example of providing for the pleasure, the honour, the wealth, and greatness of generations yet unborn. They executed everything in

the very best manner: their gardens, fishponds, farms, were as near perfection as they could make them; in the whole of their economy they set an example tending to make the country beautiful, to make it an object of pride with the people, and to make the nation truly and permanently great.'

² *Liber Eliensis* (ed. 1848), i 232.

³ 'Dicimus autem Ely Anglice, id est, a copia anguillarum quæ in eisdem capiuntur paludibus, nomen sumpsit; sicut Beda Anglorum disertissimus docet.' *Ibid.* p. 3.

bels, and lampreys were scarcely less plentiful; pike, known by the local name of 'hakeards,' were caught of extraordinary size; and the writer in the *Ramsay Register* declares, that though the fisherman and sportsman plied their craft unceasingly the supply seemed inexhaustible. With such resources at its command the fen country was in those days the envy of the surrounding districts; and when spring came the island home of the monk seemed, the chronicler tells us, like some bower of Eden.

It will be observed that we have referred to the *earlier* monasteries as affording the chief examples of the practice of the ascetic theory. But as generation after generation passed away, and Benedictines and Mendicants vied with each other in splendour and luxury, that theory was as little regarded as the theory of Gregory the Great concerning pagan literature¹. Its disregard however always afforded occasion to their adversaries for sarcasms which they found some difficulty in repelling; and the following episode in the life of Poggio Bracciolini, a man who, though his sympathies were with the Humanists, yet always expressed the greatest reverence for the religious life, affords a singular illustration of the whole question with which we are now occupied.

Change in the monastic practice in selection of new sites.

It was about the year 1429, that a new branch of the Franciscan order, calling themselves the *Fratres Observantiæ*, and professing, as was always the case with new communities, a more than ordinarily austere life, attempted to erect in the neighbourhood of Arezzo a convent for their occupation. The rapidity with which these new branches were multiplying had however before this become the subject for serious consideration with the main order, and it had been resolved at a general assembly that no more such societies should be formed without the consent of the chapter. It accordingly devolved upon Poggio, who at that time filled the office of secretary to Martin v, to prohibit the new erection at Arezzo until the pleasure of the chapter should be known. This

The change shewn to be at variance with their professed theory.

Poggio Bracciolini and the *Fratres Observantiæ*.

¹ It would be an interesting inquiry, were we at liberty here to follow it up, whether the change in the above respect did not come in

with the Mendicants, whose profession certainly did not include the idea of isolation from mankind.

CHAP. IV. interference, though simply a discharge of his official duty, at once marked him out for calumnies and invectives like those which at this period were the ordinary defensive weapons of the religious orders. It was notorious that he regarded the Mendicants with no friendly feelings, and the *Fratres Observantiæ* accordingly now began to denounce him as a foe to the Christian faith and a subverter of all religion. Their outcries and misrepresentations were so far successful that the good-natured Niccoli Niccolo was induced to address to Poggio a few words in their behalf. But the antagonist of Filelfo and Valla was quite equal to the occasion, and in his reply to the Florentine Mæcenæ he gladly availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of exposing and censuring the habitual practice of the whole order. 'He was far,' he said, 'from denying that the friars had substantial reasons for grumbling, for they had been driven from a delightful region, the vineyards of which, producing a drink that Jove himself might envy, attracted visitors from far and near. But surely such spots were not for those who professed a life of austerity and poverty! Plato, who had known nought of Christianity, *had selected an unhealthy place for his academy, in order that the mind might be strengthened by the weakness of the body and the virtuous inclinations have free scope.* But these men, although professing to take Christ as their example, chose out pleasant and delightful residences, and these moreover not in retired spots but in the midst of populous neighbourhoods, where everything allured to sensual rather than to intellectual delights¹.'

¹ 'Si qui ex eis fratribus queruntur se privari patria amoenissima, meo judicio hand injuria id agunt. Illud enim nostrum nectar, Jovis potus, multos allicit non solum peregrinos, sed et cives. Plato, vir minime Christianus, elegit Academiæ locum insalubrem, quo magis infirmo corpore animus esset firmitior, et bonæ menti vacaret. At isti, qui se Christum sequi simulant, loca eligunt amoena, voluptuosa, omni referta jucunditate, non in solitudine, sed in summa hominum frequentia, non ut menti vacent, sed corpori.' *Traversarii*

Epistolæ (ed. Mehus, Florentiæ, 1759). Lib. xxv 41, see also xxiv 8. With respect to Plato note Ælian, *Variæ Historia*, ix 10:—'Ὁ Πλάτων, νοσεροῦ χωρίου λεγομένου εἶναι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας καὶ συμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐς τὸ λυκεῖον μετακῆσαι, οὐκ ἤξιωσεν ἐλπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐγῶγε οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀθῶ μετῴκησα ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μακροβιώτερος γενέσθαι.' It is not unlikely however that Poggio had in his mind a passage in St. Basil, *De delegendis libris Gentilium*, c. 19:—Διὸ δὴ καὶ Πλάτωνά φασι τὴν ἐκ σώματος βλάβην προειδόμενον, τὸ νοσῶδες χωρίου τῆς Ἀττικῆς

It is certainly somewhat surprising to find a man of Poggio's intelligence implicitly asserting that the unhealthiness of a locality recommended it as a place of education for youth; but the fact affords decisive evidence that such was the theory then generally recognised. The *mens sana* was not to be sought *in corpore sano*. The modern theory of education requires the simultaneous developement of the physical and mental powers, or rather teaches us to look upon them as only modes of the same force,—a force purely physical in its origin. In those days they were looked upon as antagonistic; the mind, it was held, was strengthened by the weakening of the body. Occasionally indeed men of more than ordinary discernment advocated a sounder view. We find Grosseteste, he who could cheerily suggest to a melancholy brother an occasional cup of wine as a remedy for over depression, objecting on sanitary grounds to low and marshy districts¹; and Walter Burley, if we may trust Dr. Plot's account, seriously believed that philosophers from Greece had selected Oxford as the scene of their labours on account of the healthiness of the situation². But views like these were certainly the exception, and the prevailing theory was that on which Poggio so unmercifully insisted³. Unreasonable

CHAP. IV.
The mediæval theory undoubtedly that on which Poggio insisted.

Sounder views held only by a few.

τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καταλαβεῖν ἐξεπλήρης, ἵνα τὴν ἄγαν ἐνπάθειαν τοῦ σώματος, ὅλον ἀμπελον τὴν εἰς τὰ περιττὰ φερὰν, περικόπτου. The writings of St. Basil were much studied at this time in connexion with the controversy between the eastern and western Churches.

¹ 'Ipse dixit ei quod loca super aquam non sunt sana, nisi fuerint in sublimi sita.' Eccleston, in *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 66.

² 'I think it very considerable what remains upon record in Magdalen College library, in an antient manuscript of Walter Burley's, fellow of Merton (tutor to the famous King Edward III and deservedly stiled *doctor profundus*), who upon the problem *complexio rara quare sanior*, has these words concerning the healthy condition of Oxford and its selection by students for the seat of the muses:—"A healthy city must be open to the north and east, and

mountainous to the south and east; by reason of the purity of the two former quarters in respect of the latter; just as Oxford is situated which was selected by the philosophers that came from Greece.'" Plot's *Hist. of Oxford*, p. 330.

³ The first distinct expression of a counter theory in connexion with university requirements is perhaps that of the Duke of Brabant, the founder of the university of Louvain in 1426, who on announcing the papal sanction of the proposed scheme describes the site as '*loco vinetis, pratis, rivulis, frugibus et fructibus, ac aliis circa victualia necessariis referto, in aere dulci et bona temperie situato, loco quidem spatioso et jucundo, et ubi mores burgensium et incolarum sunt benigni.*' *Mémoires sur les deux Premiers Siècles de l'Université de Louvain*: par le Baron de Reiffenberg, p. 20. This language it will be observed was used three years

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The theory
not without
an element of
truth.

moreover as that theory now appears, it will be found, like many other abandoned crotchets of mediævalism, to contain a germ of truth. The highest state of physical well-being is rarely the most favorable to severe mental application; and many a college tutor in the present day could probably bear testimony, that the high tension of the nervous system produced by athletic training often materially interferes with the ability of the student to devote himself to the sedentary labours of an Honour course.

The uni-
versity
originally
only a
grammar
school.

Having pursued, as far as seems necessary for our present purpose, our inquiry into the causes which may be supposed to have determined the localisation of the university, we may now proceed to examine the character of the student life of these early times. If then we accept the theory already put forward of the commencement of the university, it necessarily follows that we shall be prepared also to accept a very modest estimate of the culture that originally prevailed. We shall postulate neither Greek philosophers nor royal patrons, but readily admit that the instruction given could only have been that of the ordinary grammar school of a later period. The Latin language, or 'grammar' as it was designated, formed the basis of the whole course: Priscian, Terence, and Boethius, were the authors commonly read¹. There were probably some dozen or more separate schools, each presided over by a master of grammar, while the *Magister Glomeriæ* represented the supreme authority. It is in connexion with this officer, whose character and functions so long baffled the researches of the antiquarians, that we have an explanation of those relations to Ely, as a tradition of the earliest times, which formed the precedent for that ecclesiastical interference which was terminated by the Barnwell Process. The existence of such a functionary and of the

The
*Magister
Glomeriæ*.

before the attack of Poggio on the Observantists: but on the other hand it is to be noted that it is the language of a layman, and that the university of Louvain was founded for all the faculties *save that of theology*. (See p. 282, note 2, and *Errata*.) Nothing certainly can justify Dr Newman in adducing Louvain, as

lately in his *Historical Sketches*, as an illustration of mediæval notions with respect to the best sites for universities.

¹ Terence however *par excellence*; the grammar school, at a later period, seems to have been also known under the designation of the *school of Terence*.

grammar schools, prior to the university, enables us to understand how, in the time of Hugh Balsham, an exertion of the episcopal authority, like that which has already come under our notice, became necessary in order to guard against collision between the representatives of the old and the new orders of things,—between the established rights of the Master of Glomery and rights like those which, by one of our most ancient statutes, were vested in the regent masters in the exercise of their authority over those students enrolled on their books. If we picture to ourselves some few hundred students, of all ages from early youth to complete manhood, mostly of very slender means, looking forward to the monastic or the clerical life as their future avocation, lodging among the townsfolk, and receiving such accommodation as inexperienced poverty might be likely to obtain at the hands of practised extortioners, resorting for instruction to one large building, the grammar schools, or sometimes congregated in the porches of their respective masters' houses, and there receiving such instruction in Latin as a reading from Terence, Boethius, or Orosius, eked out by the more elementary rules from Priscian or Donatus, would represent,—we shall probably have grasped the main features of a Cambridge course at the period when Irnerius began to lecture at Bologna, Vacarius at Oxford, and when Peter Lombard compiled the Sentences.

Meagre as such a 'course' may appear, there is every reason for believing that it formed, for centuries, nearly the sole acquirement of the great majority of our university students. The complete *trivium*, followed by the yet more formidable *quadrivium*, was far beyond both the ambition and the resources of the ordinary scholar. His aim was simply to qualify himself for holy orders, to become *Sir* Smith or *Sir* Brown¹, as distinguished from a mere 'hedge-priest,' and to obtain a licence to teach the Latin tongue. For this the degree of master of grammar was sufficient, and the qualifications for that degree were slight:—to have studied the larger Priscian in the original, to have responded in three

Course of
study pur-
sued by the
student of
grammar.

¹ *Sir*, the English for *Magister*; while *Dominus* was contracted into *Dan*; e.g. *Dan* Chaucer.

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public disputations on grammar, to have given thirteen lectures on Priscian's Book of Constructions, and to have obtained from three masters of arts certificates of his 'learning, ability, knowledge, and moral character,' satisfied the requirements of the authorities¹. His licence obtained, he might either be appointed by one of the colleges to teach in the grammar school frequently attached to the early foundations; or he might become principal of a hostel and receive pupils in grammar on his own account; or he might, as a secular clergyman, be presented to a living or the mastership of a grammar school at a distance from the university.

Introduction
of the arts
course at
Cambridge.

With the latter part of the twelfth century the studies of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, or in other words the discipline of an arts faculty, were probably introduced at Cambridge. This developement from a simple school of grammar into a *studium generale* was not marked, it is true, by the same éclat that waited on the corresponding movements at Bologna, Paris, or even Oxford, but it is not necessary to infer from thence that Cambridge was much inferior either in numbers or organization. The early reputation of those seats of learning survives almost solely in connexion with a few great names, and the absence of any teacher of eminence like Irnerius, Abelard, or Vacarius, at our own university, is a sufficient explanation of the fact that no accounts of her culture in the twelfth century have reached us. On the other hand, the influx of large numbers from the university of Paris, which we have already noted as taking place about the year 1229, can only be accounted for by supposing that the reputation of the university was by that time fairly established. Of the frequent intercourse between Paris and the English universities in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and during part of the fifteenth century, we have already spoken. This intercourse, it is to be observed, is to be traced not merely in the direction assumed by the mental activity of Oxford and Cambridge at different junctures, but also in the more definite evidence afforded by their respective statute books. It was natural that when a Cambridge or Oxford

Intercourse
between
Paris and the
English uni-
versities.]

¹ Statute 117. *De Incepturis in Grammatica. Documents*, i 374.


graduate had spent two or three years and perhaps taken an additional degree at Paris, he should, on his return, be inclined to comment on any points of difference between the requirements of the illustrious body he had quitted and those of his own university. The statutes of both Oxford and Cambridge had originally been little more than a transcript of those of Paris; but the changes introduced at Paris among the different 'nations' were so numerous as materially to modify the course of study in the fifteenth century when compared with that of the thirteenth. In many instances we find that these changes were subsequently adopted at Cambridge, and, as the chronology of the statutes at Paris is far more regularly preserved, they often afford us valuable guidance (more especially those of the *Nation Anglaise*, or *Nation Allemande* as it was subsequently called), in determining the relative antiquity of two statutes in our own code.

Assistance afforded by the statute books of the university of Paris in investigating the antiquities of the English universities.

For a considerable period the students and masters of grammar were probably, in point of numbers, by far the most important element in the university, but they receive quite a secondary amount of consideration in the ancient statutes. The career of the arts student, on the other hand, is to be traced with tolerable precision, and, with the collateral aid afforded by the statutes of Paris and Oxford, we are enabled to give a fairly trustworthy sketch of such a career in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is good reason however for supposing that originally the masters and students of grammar were not looked upon as occupying an essentially inferior position: their decline in estimation was probably the result of those new additions to university learning which have occupied our attention in preceding chapters. With the introduction of that portion of the Organon which was known as the *Nova Ars*, logic, the second branch of the *trivium*, began to engross a much larger amount of the student's time. To this succeeded the *Summulæ* of Petrus Hispanus, and logic was crowned in the schools as the mistress of arts, the science of sciences. In the mean time the stores of Latin literature had been but slightly augmented. Discoveries like those with which Petrarch was

Inferior estimation in which the grammar students were held in comparison with those of the faculty of arts.

Causes which conduced to this result.

CHAP. IV.  startling the learned of Italy, failed for a long time to awaken any interest in the northern universities. The splendid library which duke Humphrey bequeathed to Oxford, though received with profuse expressions of gratitude, was valued not for its additions to the known literature of antiquity but for its richness in mediæval theology. Hence the grammarian's art declined relatively in value, and the study of logic overshadowed all the rest. With the sixteenth century the balance was readjusted; the grammarian along with the rhetorician claimed equal honours with the logician, and the course of the grammar student was correspondingly extended¹. During the latter part of the Middle Ages however it was undoubtedly the dialectician's art that was the chief object of the scholar's reverence and ambition. A course of study, moreover, in but one subject and occupying but three years, was obviously not entitled to the same consideration as a seven years' course extending through the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Thus the masters and scholars in grammar gradually subsided into acknowledged inferiority to those in arts, an inferiority which is formally recognised in the statute requiring that the funeral of a regent master of arts or of a scholar in that faculty shall be attended by the chancellor and the regents, and at the same time expressly declaring that masters and scholars of grammar are not entitled to such an honour². The grammarian indeed in those days was nothing more than a schoolmaster, and the estimation in which that vocation was held had perhaps reached its lowest point. The extended sense in which the term *grammaticus* had been originally understood, and in which it was again before very long to be employed, did not apply to the master of a grammar school in the fourteenth century. He taught only schoolboys, and they learned only the elements. It was sadly significant moreover of the character of his vocation that every inceptor in grammar received a 'palmer' (ferule),

The *grammaticus* nothing more than a school-master.

¹ The last degree in grammar at Cambridge was conferred in the year 1542. Peacock, *Observations*, etc. Append. p. xxx note.

² Statute 178, *De Exequiis Defunc-*

torum, 'illis tantummodo exceptis, qui artem solam docent vel audiunt grammaticam, ad quorum exequias nisi ex devotione non veniant supra dicti.' *Documents*, i 404.

and a rod, and then proceeded to flog a boy publicly in the schools¹. Hence Erasmus in his *Encomium Moriae*, dear as the cause of Latin learning was to his heart, does not hesitate to satirize the grammarians of his time as ‘a race of all men the most miserable, who grow old at their work surrounded by herds of boys, deafened by continual uproar, and poisoned by a close, foul atmosphere; satisfied however so long as they can overawe the terrified throng by the terrors of their look and speech, and, while they cut them to pieces with ferule, birch, and thong, gratify their own merciless natures at pleasure.’ Similarly, in a letter written somewhat later, he tells us what difficulty he encountered when he sought to find at Cambridge a second master for Colet’s newly founded school at St. Paul’s, and how a college don, whom he consulted on the subject, sneeringly rejoined,—‘Who would put up with the life of a schoolmaster who could get his living in any other way?’

CHAP. I†.

The class as
described by
Erasmus.

From the career and prospects of a grammar student we may now proceed to examine those of the student in arts³. As the university gathered its members from all parts of the kingdom and many of the students came from districts a

Experiences
and course of
study of an
arts student.

¹ ‘Then shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde Boy, whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys, and the master in Gramer shall give the Boye a Grote for hys Labour, and another Grote to hym that provydeth the Rode and the Palmer etc. *de singulis*. And thus endythe the Acte in that Facultye.’ *Stokes’ Book*, Peacock, *Observations*, Append. A, p. xxxvii.

² Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, 220². See also Mr Anstey’s remarks, *Munimenta Academica*, p. lxiii. It is somewhat surprising, when such was the prevailing estimate of the grammarian’s function, to find that there were notwithstanding enthusiasts in the purely technical branch of the study. The following description for instance might almost serve for the original of the character which Mr Browning has so powerfully delineated in his *Grammarian’s Funeral*:—‘Novi quendam πολυτεχνότατον, Græ-

cum, Latinum, mathematicum, philosophum, medicum, καὶ τὰυτα βασιλικόν, jam sexagenarium, qui ceteris rebus omissis, annis plus viginti se torquet ac discruciat in grammatica, prorsus felicem se fore ratus si tamdiu liceat vivere donec certo statuatur quomodo distinguendæ sint octo partes orationis, quod hactenus nemo Græcorum aut Latinorum ad plenum præstare voluit.’ *Encomium Moriae*.

³ It is difficult to form any very exact conclusion with respect to the estimation in which the advantages of a university education were held in these times. Mr Anstey is of opinion that a lad was sent to Oxford or Cambridge when he seemed ‘fit for nothing else.’ Professor Rogers says, ‘There was as keen an ambition in those days among the small proprietors to send one of their sons to the university, as there is now in Ireland to equip a boy at Maynooth.’ *Historical Gleanings*, 2nd series, p. 17.

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week's journey remote, it was customary for parents to entrust their sons to the care of a 'fetcher,' who after making a preliminary tour in order to form his party, which often numbered upwards of twenty, proceeded by the most direct road to Cambridge. On his arrival two courses were open to the youthful freshman:—he might either attach himself to one of the religious foundations, in which case his career for life might be looked upon as practically decided; or he might enter himself under a resident master, as intending to take holy orders, or perhaps, though such instances were probably confined to the nobility, as a simple layman. In no case however was he permitted to remain in residence except under the surveillance of a superior¹. Unless it was the design of his parents that he should follow the religious life, he would probably before setting out have been fully warned against the allurements of all Franciscans and Dominicans, until a friar had come to be regarded by him as a kind of ogre, and he would hasten with as little delay as possible to put himself under the protection of a master. The disparity of age between master and pupil was generally less than at the present day: the former would often not be more than twenty-one, the latter not more than fourteen or fifteen; consequently their relations were of much less formal character, and the selection, so far as the scholar was concerned, a more important matter. A scholar from the south chose a master from the same latitude; if he could succeed in meeting with one from the same county he considered himself yet more fortunate; if aspiring to become a canonist or a civilian he would naturally seek for a master also engaged upon such studies. The master in turn was expected to interest himself in his pupil; no scholar was to be rudely repulsed on the score of poverty; if unable to pay for both lodging and

Average age
at time of
entry.

Master and
scholar.

¹ Statute 42, *De Immunitate Scholarium*. 'Indignum esse judicamus ut quis scholarem tueatur, qui certum magistrum infra xv dies post ejus ingressum in universitate non habuerit aut nomen suum infra tempus prælibatum in matricula magistri sui redigere non curaverit, etc.'

Documents, i 332. This statute which was promulgated in the fifteenth of Henry III is evidently an echo of that of the university of Paris passed sixteen years before by Robert de Courçon. 'Nullus sit scholaris Parisius qui certum magistrum non habeat.' Bulteau, III 82.

tuition he often rendered an equivalent in the shape of very humble services; he waited at table, went on errands, and, if we may trust the authority of the Pseudo-Boethius, was often rewarded by his master's left-off garments. The aids held out by the university were then but few. There were some nine or ten poorly endowed foundations, one or two university exhibitions, and finally the university chest, from which, as a last resource, the hard-pinched student might borrow if he had aught to pledge¹. The hostel where he resided protected him from positive extortion, but he was still under the necessity of making certain payments towards the expenses. The wealthier class appear to have been under no pecuniary obligations whatever. When therefore a scholar's funds entirely failed him, and his *Sentences* or his *Summulae*, his Venetian cutlery, and his winter cloak had all found their way into the proctor's hands as security for monies advanced, he was compelled to have recourse to other means. His academic life was far from being considered to preclude the idea of manual labour. It has been conjectured, by a high authority, that the long vacation was originally designed to allow of members of the universities assisting in the then all-important operation of the ingathering of the harvest². But however this may have been, there was a far more popular method of replenishing an empty purse, a method which the example of the Mendicants had rendered all but universal, and this was no other than begging on the public highways. Among the vices of that rude age parsimony was rarely one, the exercise of charity being in fact regarded as a religious duty. Universal begging implies universal giving. And so it not unfrequently happened that the wealthy mer-

CHAP. IV.

University
aids to poor
scholars.Practice of
mendicity by
the scholars.

¹ This fund represented the accumulation of successive legacies to the university by persons of opulence: each legacy appears to have been known as a chest, and we find archbishop Arundel, on the occasion of his visit, instituting an enquiry, 'whether the common chests, with the money contained and the keys belonging thereto, were carefully kept.' In the account of his visitation we have also a list of the different bene-

factions up to that time. See Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 201.

² Professor Rogers, *Historical Gleanings*, 2nd series, p. 44. Mr Anstey says, 'Those who left the university probably often walked home, and even begged their way about the country, being, as we find from other sources, quite a nuisance sometimes to the farmers and others at whose doors they sought alms.' *Introd. to Munimenta Academica* p. c.

CHAP. IV. chant, journeying between London and Norwich, or the well-beneficed ecclesiastic or prior of a great house on his way to some monastery in the fen country, would be accosted by some solitary youth with a more intelligent countenance and more educated accent than ordinary, and be plaintively solicited either in English or in Latin, as might best suit the case, for the love of Our Lady to assist a distressed votary of learning. In the course of time this easy method of replenishing an empty purse was found to have become far too popular among university students, and it was considered necessary to enact that no scholar should beg in the highways until the chancellor had satisfied himself of the merits of each individual case and granted a certificate for the purpose¹. It would appear from the phraseology of the statutes that a scholar always wore a distinctive dress, though it is uncertain in what this consisted². It was probably both an unpretending and inexpensive article of attire, but however unpretending it is amusing to note that it was much more frequently falsely assumed than unlawfully laid aside. In like manner ambitious sophisters, disguised in bachelors' capes, would endeavour to gain credit for a perfected acquaintance with the mysteries of the *trivium*; while bachelors, in their turn, at both universities drew down upon themselves fulminations against the 'audacity' of those of their number who should dare to parade in masters' hoods³. In other respects the dress of the undergraduate was left very much to his own discretion and resources, until what seemed excess of costliness and extravagance, even in the eyes of a generation that delighted in fantastic costume, called forth a prohibition like that of archbishop Stratford⁴.

Restrictions
imposed upon
the practice.

Dress of the
scholar.

Assumption
of dress by
those not
entitled to
wear it.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 245, 343. The following authorization occurs among the Chancellor's Acts at Oxford in the year 1461:—'Eodem die Dionysius Burnell et Johannes Brown, pauperes scholares de aula "Aristotelis," habuerunt literas testimoniales sub sigillo officii ad petendum eleemosynam.' Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, ii 684.

² Mr Anstey is of opinion that 'no

academical dress' was worn by those whom he terms 'undergraduates.' Introd. to *Munimenta Academica*, p. lxi. But in statute 42 of our *Statuta Antiqua* it is expressly required that all *qui speciem gerunt scholasticam* shall really be scholars of the university. *Documents*, i 332.

³ *Munimenta Academica*, i 360; *Documents*, i 402.

⁴ See p. 233.

It is most probable that it was usual, in the fifteenth century, for arts students to have gained a certain acquaintance with Latin before entering the university; but it is to be remembered that instruction in such knowledge was not easily to be had away from the two great centres of learning. The ecclesiastical authorities throughout the country, especially after the appearance of Lollardism, regarded the exercise of the teacher's function with considerable jealousy. The creation of new grammar schools was systematically discouraged, and at the same time it was penal for parents to send their sons to a private teacher. At length in 1431 permission was granted for the creation of five additional schools, but these afforded only partial relief, and the numbers at the cathedral and conventual schools throughout the country were still inconveniently large¹. Accordingly in the year 1439 we find one William Byngham, rector of St. John Zachary in London, erecting a 'commodious mansion' called God's House², and placing it under the supervision of the authorities of Clare Hall, 'to the end that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned priest, may be there perpetually educated, and be from thence transmitted, in a constant succession, into different parts of England, to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a state of desolation³.' But whatever might be the freshman's attainments in grammar, it is probable that a certain amount of instruction in the subject was invariably given: in the earlier times nothing more perhaps was taught than what we have already described as included in the course of study pursued by a candidate for the degree of master of grammar; but in the fifteenth century there were introduced larger readings from Terence, Virgil, or Ovid, and

CHAP. IV.

Instruction in grammar to some extent preliminary to the arts course.

Foundation of grammar schools discouraged throughout the country. Concession of 1431.

Foundation of God's House, 1439.

Grammar always included in the arts course.

¹ Knight, *Life of Colet*, pp. 232, 3.

² A literal rendering of the common French *Maison Dieu*.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 189. The contempt in which the vocation of the *grammaticus* was then held seems to have cooperated with ecclesiastical jealousy: Byngham, in his petition for permission to found God's House, says, 'Youre poure Besecher hathe

founde of late over the est parte of the wey leding from Hampton to Coventre and so forth, no further north yan Rypon, seventie Scoles voide, or mo, yat were occupied all at ones, within fiftie yeres passed, bicause yat yere is so grete scarstee of Maistres of Gramar.' *Documents*, III 153, 4.

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Logic.
The
Summulae.

also some instruction in the rules of Latin versification¹. The study of grammar was followed by that of logic: and in this branch the *Summulae* was as much the universal text-book as the Sentences in that of theology. We have already noted its prescribed use in the universities of Prague and Leipsic; Gerson complains that in his day it was thrust into the hands of youthful students at Paris long before they could comprehend its meaning²; Reuchlin when he went as a student to Freiburg found it in general use there³. Its use in our own university is sufficiently indicated by the occasional reference to the *Parva Logicalia*,—a portion of the work which treats of ambiguities attaching to the use of words with a varying connotation⁴; and if other proof were wanting that the Byzan-

¹ Mr Anstey's account of the study of grammar differs somewhat from that which I have given. He seems to me not to have given sufficient prominence to the fact that there existed simultaneously, (1) a distinct faculty of grammar for those who aimed at nothing more than a grammar degree; and (2) grammar schools for those engaged upon an arts course. He has consequently represented the grammar school as altogether distinct from the arts course, and the student as only an artist when he had entered upon the study of logic. The scholar, he says, in his valuable sketch, 'has completed his grammar school life and is now to enter upon his course of training as an "artist."' I cannot think that the first stage of the *trivium* was ever so completely dissociated from the other two. The existence of a distinct faculty of grammar, similar to that presided over by our own *Magister Glomeræ*, is clearly indicated in the *Antiquæ Ordinationes* given in Mr Anstey's second volume, pp. 442—445, where the office of a *regens in grammatica* is distinctly adverted to. The existence of this faculty is briefly mentioned by Mr Anstey towards the close of his sketch. He assigns to these Ordinances a date certainly prior to 1350, and probably much earlier. But on the other hand grammar was certainly part of the 'artist's' course. M. Thurot says that for determining bachelors, 'Le

livre de Priscien, le traité de Donat sur les figures grammaticales, l'Organon d'Aristote, les Topiques de Boèce, furent toujours au nombre des livres que les candidats devaient avoir entendus.' *De l'Organisation*, etc. p. 45. The Oxford statute, of the date 1267, requires that they should have heard the *De Constructionibus Prisciani bis, Barbarismus Donati semel.*' *Munimenta Academica*, p. 34. The statute in our own *Statuta Antiqua* requires 'quod quilibet determinaturus audierit in scholis ordinarie, *librum Terentii scilicet*, per biennium, *logicalia verum per annum, naturalia quoque seu metaphysicalia secundum quod suo tempore ea legi contigerit per annum.*' *Documents*, i 385. While therefore there were certainly many students of grammar who were not 'artists,' it seems to be equally clear that instruction in grammar always formed part of the 'artist's' course.

² 'Apud logicos *Summulae* Petri Hispani traduntur ab initio novis pueris ad memoriter recolendum, et si non statim intellignant.' *Opera*, i 21.

³ Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, p. 8.

⁴ The following passage gives the most satisfactory explanation of the origin of this treatise and its scope that I have been able to meet with:—'*Logica nova...docet principaliter de tota argumentatione et habet quatuor libros, etc.Logica vetus agit de partibus argumentorum et habet duos libros apud Aristotelem (i.e. Cat. and De Interp.)...de proprietatibus*

tine weed-growth, as Prantl terms it, had reached the waters of the Cam, it is to be found in the scanty library of an unfortunate student in the year 1540, where along with the Pandects, the *Gesta Romanorum*, a Horace, and the *Encomium Morie*, the omnipresent Petrus Hispanus again appears, newly edited by Tartaretus¹. In the lectures on logic the lecturer probably had most frequent recourse to the commentary of Duns Scotus. In his fourth year the scholar was required to attend lectures on some of the 'philosophical' writings of Aristotle,—generally it would seem the *Metaphysics* or the *Naturalia*,—where Duns Scotus or Alexander Hales again supplied the office of interpreter. The fifth year was devoted to a course of arithmetic and music; the sixth, to geometry and perspective; the seventh, to astronomy. It would certainly be erroneous to suppose that under the last three subjects nothing more was comprised than was to be found in the treatises of Capella and Isidorus, or that no advance had been made since the days of Roger Bacon, when according to his account the student of geometry rarely succeeded in getting beyond the fifth proposition of Euclid. We find that in the university of Vienna, so early as 1389, the candidate for the degree of master was required to have read the *Theory of the Planets* (a treatise by the Italian mathematician, Campano of Novara), five books of Euclid, common perspective, a treatise on proportional parts, and another on the measurement of superficies². It will be observed that most of these subjects are included in the statute of the university of Prague adopted by the newly founded univer-

CHAP. IV.


Rhetoric.

The Quadri-
vium.Mathematics.
Perceptible
advance in
the study, in
the different
universities.

autem terminorum, sc. suppositione, ampliacione, appellatione, restrictione, alienatione. Aristoteles speciales libros non edidit, sed alii autores utiles tractatus ediderunt ex his, quæ sparsim philosophus in suis libris posuerat, et ista sic edita dicuntur PARVA LOGICALIA eo quod a minoribus autoribus respectu Aristotelis sunt edita.' From Preface to Johannes de Werdea's *Exercitata Parvorum Logicalium secundam Viam Modernorum*. Reutlingen, 1487 (quoted by Prantl, iv 204).

¹ Cooper, *Annals* i 399. See also letter of More to Martinus Dorpius, *Erasmii Epistolæ*, ed. Leyden, pp. 1897—9; and Vives, *De Causis*, Opera vi 148—56. More, in his *Utopia*, speaks of the inhabitants of that island as ignorant of 'all those rules of restrictions, amplifications, and suppositions verye wittelye inuented in the small Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne.' Transl. by Robinson, ed. Arber, p. 105.

² Kollar, *Statuta Universitatis Wiennensis*, i 237.

CHAP. IV. sity of Leipzie in 1409, which we have quoted in a preceding chapter¹. We have also evidence that at Paris, where such precedents were likely to be most influential at Oxford or Cambridge, the same subjects were introduced at nearly the same period, though it is not altogether clear how far they formed an obligatory part of the arts student's course².

It will be observed that we have avoided, in the foregoing account, referring to the student, at any stage, as an *under-graduate*. We have abstained from the use of the term in order to guard against the misconception to which it might lead. The probability is that originally bachelorship did not imply *admission to a degree*, but simply the termination of the state of pupildom: the idea involved in the term being, that though no longer a schoolboy, he was still not of sufficient standing to be entrusted with the care of others³. It is probable that as soon as a student began to hear lectures on logic, he was encouraged to attend the schools to be present at the disputations, but it was not until he had completed his course of study in this branch that he was entitled to take part in these trials of skill and became known as a 'general sophister.' After he had attained to this status he was permitted to present himself as a public disputant, and at least two 'responsions' and 'opponencies,' the defensive and offensive parts in the discussion of a *quæstio*, appear to have been obligatory, while those who shewed an aptitude for such contests were selected to attend upon the *determiners*, or incepting bachelors of arts, as their assessors in more ardent disputes. When the student's fourth year of study was completed, it devolved on certain masters of arts appointed by the university to make enquiry with respect to his age, academical status, and private character⁴. If they were

The Bachelor.

Original meaning of the term.

The Sophister.

¹ See p. 282, note 2 *ad fin.*

² 'Les réformes de 1366 et de 1452 prescrivirent pour la licence quelques livres de mathématiques, et d'astronomie, sans les indiquer avec précision.' Thurot, *De l'Organisation*, etc. p. 81. The same indefiniteness characterises our own statutes on the subject.

³ 'Les réglemens de la Faculté de

théologie montrent clairement que le baccalaureat n'était pas *grade*, mais un *état*. En réalité, ce terme signifiait *apprentissage*, l'apprentissage de la maîtrise. Le bachelier était celui qui n'était plus étudiant et qui n'était pas encore maître.' Thurot, p. 137.

⁴ 'It was the danger of not being able to provide proper testimony of this kind or of not being able to take

satisfied on these points, he was permitted to proceed with the examination which he must pass before he could present himself as a *questionist*, *ad respondendum questioni*. This ordeal took place in the arts schools, where he was examined by the proctors, 'posers,' and regent masters of arts: as a test of proficiency it appears to have corresponded to the present final examination for the ordinary degree or for honours, and when it had been passed the candidate received, either from the authorities of his college or the master of his hostel, a *supplicat* to the chancellor and the senate. This *supplicat* having been favorably entertained he was allowed to present himself as a questionist. Of this ceremony, which was probably little more than a matter of form, we have an amusing account in *Stokys' Book*, a volume compiled in the sixteenth century by a fellow of King's College who had filled for many years the office of esquire bedell, and that of registry of the university. On the appointed day one of the bedells made his appearance in the court of the college or hostel, shortly before nine o'clock, crying '*Allons, allons, goe, Mist'ers, goe,*' and having assembled masters, bachelors, scholars, and questionists, and marshalled them in due order, proceeded to conduct them to the arts schools. As they entered, one of the bedells cried, *Nostra mater, bona nova, bona nova*, and the father of the college¹ took his seat in the responsions' chair, 'his children standing over against him in order.' Then the bedell, turning to the father, said, *Reverende pater, licebit tibi incipere, sedere, et cooperiri si placet*. Then the father proceeded to propound his questions to each of his children in order, and when they had been duly answered he summed up his conclusions. This questioning again was probably purely formal in its character, for it appears to have been regarded as unparental in the extreme if he replied to any

The
Questionist.

The
supplicat.

Stokys'
account of
the ceremony
observed by
the Ques-
tionist.

the necessary oath as to past studies, that the chance of failure consisted; there seems to have been nothing corresponding to our modern *plucking*; if the scholar could provide testimony to his fitness, etc., he was admitted to run the gauntlet of determining without further enquiry, and his successful or non-successful

performance brought with it the consequent applause or disgrace, which seems to have been the only guarantee that he should really exert himself.' Introd. to *Munimenta Academicæ*, p. lxxxv.

¹ The officer who represented the college on such occasions, was thus named.

CHAP. IV. of his children and involved a feeble questionist in argument, it being expressly provided that if he thus unduly lengthened the proceedings the bedell might 'knock him out,' an operation which consisted in hammering at the school doors in such a manner as to render the voices of the disputants inaudible. When each questionist had responded the procession was again formed, as before, and the bedell escorted them back to their college¹.

The
Determiner.

The above ceremony, it is to be observed, was always held a few days before Ash Wednesday: on its completion the questionist became an incepting bachelor, and from being required *respondere ad quæstionem*, was now called upon *determinare quæstionem*, that is, to *preside* over disputations similar to those in which he had previously played the part of opponent or respondent,—in the language of dean Peacock, 'to review the whole question disputed, notice the imperfections or fallacies in the arguments advanced, and finally pronounce his decisions or *determination, scholastico more.*' As he was required to appear in this capacity throughout the whole of Lent, he was said *stare in quadragesima*, and *stans in quadragesima* was the academical designation of an incepting bachelor of arts: as however the minimum number of days on which he was required to determine was never less than nine, and the discharge of such arduous duties for so lengthened a period might prove too serious a demand on the resources or courage of some youthful bachelors², the determiner was allowed, if he demanded such permission, to obtain the assistance of another bachelor and to determine by proxy. We find accordingly a statute which relates to those *determining for others*, whereby it is required that those bachelors whose services were thus called into request should always be at least a year's standing senior to those whom they represented³.

*Stare in
quadragesima.*

Determiners
admitted to
determine by
proxy.

¹ Cole MSS. XIII 215. (Printed in Peacock's *Observations* as Append. A.)

² According to an early Oxford statute determiners were required to dispute logic every day except Friday, when they disputed or presided over disputations in *grammar*: and on the

first and last days of their determination they disputed *quæstiones*, i. e., probably, debated points in the text of different treatises of Aristotle. See Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, I 246.

³ Statute 141. *De Determinatoribus, pro Aliis. Documents*, I 385.

But while the timid or incompetent shunned the lengthened ordeal, the aspirant for distinction hailed the ceremony of determination as the grand opportunity for a display of his powers. In the faculty of arts a scholar was *aut logicus aut nullus*, and every effort was made on these occasions to produce an impression of superior skill. A numerous audience was looked upon as essential. Friends were solicited to be present, and these in turn brought their own acquaintance: indiscreet partisans would even appear to have sometimes placed themselves near the entrance and pounced upon passers-by and dragged them within the building, in order that they might lend additional dignity to the proceedings by their involuntary presence. One of the Oxford statutes is an express edict against this latter practice¹.

CHAP. IV.

Importance attached to the ceremony of determination.

Before the bachelor could become a master of arts, he must pass through another and yet more formidable ordeal, he must *commence*. On notifying his wish to this effect to the authorities, either personally or through the regent by whom he was officially represented, he was required to answer three questions,—*Sub quo*,—*in quo loco aut ubi*,—*quo tempore aut quando*,—*inciperet*. The day selected was, under ordinary circumstances, the day of the Great Commencement, the second of July, and as this was the chief academical ceremony of the year, it was held not in the arts schools, but in the church of Great St. Mary. It would appear that on the preceding day other exercises took place in the arts schools, which from their immediately preceding the day of inception were known as the *Vesperiae*². But the crowning day was undoubtedly that of inception. As the disputations were preceded by the celebration of the mass, the assembly was convened at the early hour of seven, when the sacred edifice became thronged by doctors of the different

The Inceptor.

Inception the great event in the career of the arts student.

Account of the ceremony.

¹ 'Item, inhibet dominus cancellarius, sub poena excommunicationis et incarcerationis, ne aliqui, tempore determinationis bachiliorum, ante ostia scholarum stantes, seu extra per vicos vagantes, transeuntes vio-

lenter trahant, seu iis quaecumque violentiam inferant, nec invite intrare compellant.' *Munimenta Academica*, I 247.

² Peacock, *Observations*, p. 11, Appendix. p. xx.

CHAP. IV. faculties, masters regent and non-regent, and spectators of every grade. When the exercises began, the incepting master, with the regent master of arts who acted as his father, took up his position at an appointed place on the right hand side of the church. The father then placed the cap (*pileum*), the sign of the magisterial dignity, on the inceptor's head, who would then proceed to read aloud a passage from Aristotle. From this passage he would previously have selected and submitted to the chancellor's approval two affirmations of questions, which he proposed formally to defend in logical dispute against all comers. It devolved first of all on the youngest regent, his senior by one year, who was known from his part on these occasions as the *prævaricator*¹, to take up the gauntlet. The inceptor, if placing a modest estimate on his own powers, would probably have selected some easily defended thesis, and the *prævaricator* would find all his dialectical skill called into request by the attempt to turn an almost unassailable position. He was however indemnified to some extent by the licence which he received on these occasions to indulge in a prefatory oration, wherein he was permitted to satirize with saturnalian freedom the leading characters in the university or more prominent transactions of the preceding academical year. When this often dreaded performance was over, and he had fairly tested the defensive powers of the inceptor, the proctor said *Sufficit*, and the place of the regent was forthwith filled by the youngest non-regent. On the latter it devolved to sustain and carry out the attack of his predecessor, and when he, in his turn, had sufficiently tasked the ingenuity of the candidate, the youngest doctor of divinity stepped forward and summed up the conclusions. Other formalities of admission followed, until at last the inceptor was saluted by the bedell as *Noster magister*, who at the same time pronounced his name; he then retired from the arena, and the next incepting master stepped into his place².

Heavy expenses attendant upon the ceremony.

Such formalities, when compared with those of the present day, would seem to constitute a somewhat trying ordeal

¹ Ibid. Append. p. xxvi.

² Cole MSS. XIII 220.

for a diffident man, but it is probable that in many instances they were regarded with far less apprehension than those by which they were succeeded. It has at all times been a distinctly avowed article of faith with the majority of university students that the depression of spirits incident upon severe mental exertion should be relieved by occasional if not frequent festivities, and Cambridge and Oxford, even in those days of professed asceticism, were no exception to the rule. The different stages of academic progress naturally suggested themselves as fitting opportunities for such relaxations, the main dispute between the authorities and the students being apparently simply a question of degree. Thus even the youthful sophister, at the time of his responsions, indulged in an expenditure which the chancellor at Oxford found it necessary to limit to sixteenpence¹; bachelors, *stantes in quadragesima*, scandalized the university by bacchanalian gatherings even in 'the holy season of Lent,' until they were forbidden from holding any such celebrations whatever²; while at Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge, the papal authority was invoked to prevent inceptors expending more than *tria millia Turonensium*, a sum which as thus expressed in the silver coinage of Tours equalled no less than £41. 13s. 4d. English money of the period, or some five hundred pounds of the present day³. It is in the highest degree improbable that the average expenditure of incepting masters of arts made any approach to a sum of this magnitude, but in all cases the expense was considerable. Presents of gowns and gloves to the different officers of the university, together with


Limitations
on such ex-
penses im-
posed by the
university.

¹ Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, II 684.

² *Ibid.* II 453.

³ 'Jurent etiam in quacunq[ue] facultate incepturi quod ultra tria millia Turonensium argenteorum seu eorum valorem in solennitate circa doctoratum aut magisterium habendum non expendant,' *Documents*, I 379. Professor Malden observes that this clause had its origin in a decree of pope Clement V, made in 1311, especially directed against the university of Bologna. It is

another instance of the intimate connexion that existed in those days between Paris and Cambridge, that this statute appears to have been adopted without the slightest modification and even without the trouble being taken to express the foreign standard by its English equivalent. In Wood-Gutch the oath requires 'quod non expendes in inceptione tua ultra tria millia Turonensium grossorum;' the *grossi* and *Turonenses* were the same. Peacock, *Observations*, Append. A. xxi.

CHAP. IV.  their entertainment at a banquet, along with the regents for the time being and the inceptor's personal friends, must at all times have involved a formidable outlay, and enables us to understand how it is that we find the wealthier inceptors sometimes *incepting for others*, a phrase which probably implies defraying the expenses of the ceremony and therewith obtaining increased opportunities for the display of their dialectical skill in the public exercises¹.

Incepting for others.

The Regent.

When the year of his inception was completed the master of arts was required, if called upon, to give an *ordinary* lecture in the arts schools, for *one year at least*: while thus officiating he was known as a regent master of arts².

Such then were the successive stages that marked the progress of the arts student:—that of the sophister, or disputant in the schools,—of the bachelor of arts, eligible in turn to give subsidiary or cursory lectures,—of the incepting master of arts who had received his licence to teach in any university in Europe,—and of the regent master of arts who lectured for a definite term as the instructor appointed by the university.

Lectures.

It will now be necessary to enter upon a subject of some difficulty, namely, the system of instruction that prevailed. The bachelor, after the completion of his year of determination, was, as we have already stated, qualified for the office of a lecturer; as however he discharged this office while his own *course of study* was still incomplete, he was himself known as a *cursor* and was said to lecture *cursorie*; we must be careful not to confound these lectures with the *ordinary* lectures given by masters of arts³. The staple instruction provided by the university for arts students was given by the regents; and as the funds of the university were not sufficient to provide this instruction gratis, while the majority of the students

Lecturing *ordinarie cursorie* and *extraordinarie*.

¹ Anstey, *Introductio to Munimenta Academica*, p. xci.

² Statute 134. *De juramentis a magistris in inceptionibus et solennibus resumptionibus præstandis. Documents*, i 381.

³ The meaning which, under the guidance of M. Thurot, I have ven-

tured to assign to the term *cursorie*, differs from either of those which dean Peacock and Mr Anstey have been inclined to adopt. I have accordingly supplied in Appendix (E) the arguments for the view adopted in the present chapter.

could afford to pay but a trifling fee, it was found necessary to make it binding on every master of arts to lecture in his turn, if so required,—the fees paid by the scholars to the bedells constituting his sole remuneration. The lectures thus given took precedence of all others. They were given at stated hours, from nine to twelve, during which time no cursory or extraordinary lecturer was permitted to assemble an audience. They commenced and terminated on specified days, and were probably entirely traditional in their conception and treatment of the subject. It would frequently happen that overflowing numbers, or the necessity of completing a prescribed course within the term, rendered it necessary to obtain the assistance of a coadjutor, who was called the lecturer's 'extraordinary' and was said to lecture *extraordinarie*¹. If this coadjutor were a bachelor, as was generally the case, he would be described as lecturing *cursorie* as well as *extraordinarie*; but in course of time the term *cursorie* began to be applied to all extra lectures, and hence even masters of arts are occasionally spoken of as lecturing *cursorie*, that is to say, giving that supplementary assistance which usually devolved on the bachelors.

If we now turn to consider the method employed by the lecturers, we shall readily understand that at a time when students rarely possessed a copy of the text of the author under discussion,—the Sentences and the *Summulæ* being probably the only frequent exceptions,—their first acquaintance with the author was generally made in the lecture-room, and the whole method of the lecturer must have differed widely from that of modern times. The method pursued appears to have been of two kinds, of which Aquinas's commentary on Aristotle and the *Quæstiones* of Buridanus on the Ethics may be taken as fair specimens. In the employment of the former the plan pursued was purely traditional and never varied. The lecturer commenced by discussing a few general questions having reference to the treatise which he was called upon to explain,

Methods
employed by
the lecturer.

The
analytical
method.

¹ 'Les cours extraordinaires étaient pour les bacheliers une occasion de recruter un auditoire pour leur maîtrise, et de s'exercer à l'enseigne-

ment.' Thurot, p. 78. See also Pseudo-Boethius, *De Disciplina Scholarium*, c. 5.

CHAP. IV. and in the customary Aristotelian fashion treated of its material, formal, final, and efficient cause. He pointed out the principal divisions; took the first division and subdivided it; divided again the subdivision and repeated the process until he had subdivided down to the first chapter. He then again divided until he had reached a subdivision which included only a single sentence or complete idea. He finally took this sentence and expressed it in other terms which might serve to make the conception more clear. He never passed from one part of the work to another, from one chapter to another, or even from one sentence to another, without a minute analysis of the reasons for which each division, chapter, or sentence was placed after that by which it was immediately preceded; while, at the conclusion of this painful toil, he would sometimes be found hanging painfully over a single letter or mark of punctuation. This minuteness, especially in lectures on the civil law, was deemed the quintessence of criticism. To call in question the dicta of the author himself, whether Aristotle, Augustine, or Justinian, never entered the thoughts of either lecturer or audience. There were no rash emendations of a corrupt text to be demolished, no theories of philosophy or history to be subjected to a merciless dissection; in the pages over which the lecturer prosed was contained all that he or any one else knew about the subject, perhaps even all that it was deemed possible to know.

The
dialectical
method.

The second method, and probably by far the more popular one, was designed to assist the student in the practice of casting the thought of the author into a form that might serve as subject-matter for the all-prevailing logic. Whenever a passage presented itself that admitted of a twofold interpretation, the one or other interpretation was thrown into the form of a *quæstio*, and then discussed *pro* and *con*, the arguments on either side being drawn up in the usual array. It is probable that it was at lectures of this kind,—that the instruction often assumed a catechetical form,—one of the statutes expressly requiring that students should be ready with their answers to any questions that might be put, ‘according to the method of questioning used by the masters,

if the mode of lecturing used in that faculty required questions and answers¹.' Finally the lecturer brought forward his own interpretation and defended it against every objection to which it might appear liable: each solution being formulated in the ordinary syllogistic fashion, and the student being thus furnished with a stock of *quæstiones* and arguments requisite for enabling him to undertake his part as a disputant in the schools. Hence the second stage of the *trivium* not only absorbed an excessive amount of attention but it overwhelmed and moulded the whole course of study. It was the science which, as the student's *Summulæ* assured him, held the key to all the others,—*ad omnium methodorum principia viam habens*. Even the study of grammar was subjected to the same process. Priscian and Donatus were cast into the form of *quæstiones*, wherein the grammar student was required to exhibit something of dialectical skill. It was undoubtedly from the prevalence of this method of treatment that disputation became that besetting vice of the age which the opponents of the scholastic culture so severely satirized. 'They dispute,' said Vives, in his celebrated treatise, 'before dinner, at dinner, and after dinner; in public and in private; at all places and at all times².'

When the student in arts had incepted and delivered his lectures as regent, his duties were at an end. He had received in his degree a diploma which entitled him to give instruction on any of the subjects of the *trivium* and *quadri-*
vium in any university in Europe. He had also discharged his obligations to the university in which he had been educated, and was henceforth known, if he continued to reside,

The Non-Regent.

¹ 'Item statuimus quod, audientes textum in quacunque facultate, pro forma in eadem facultate statuta et requisita rite eundem audire teneantur, una cum quæstionibus juxta modum magistrorum suorum in quæstionando usitatum, si modus legendi in eadem facultate quæstionem requirat.' Statute 138. *Documents*, i 383. Does not the phraseology of this statute offer very strong proof that the term *ordinarie* did not imply, as Mr Anstey has conjectured,

the employment of the catechetical method? Otherwise, why so much circumlocution to express what might have been conveyed in a single word? See Appendix (E).

² *De Corruptis Artibus*, i 345. A good illustration of the application of the disputation to the mathematical thesis will be found in Baker-Mayor, p. 1090, in a description given by W. Chafin of Emmanuel, of an act in which he was respondent.

CHAP. IV. as a non-regent¹. If he left its precincts he was certain to be regarded as a marvel of learning, and he might probably rely on obtaining employment as a teacher and earning a modest though somewhat precarious income. He formed one of that class so felicitously delineated in Chaucer's 'poor clerke,' and, dark and enigmatic as were many of the pages of his Latin Aristotle, he valued his capacity to expound the rest and was valued for it. But as in every age with the majority of students, learning was seldom valued in those days as an ultimate good, but for its reproductive capacity, and viewed in this light the degree of master of arts had but a moderate value. The ambitious scholar, intent upon worldly and professional success, directed his efforts to theology or to the civil or canon law. As this necessitated a further extension of his academic career to more than double the time necessary for an arts course, it was perforce the exception rather than the rule, and we consequently find, as is shewn by the lists given in a previous page², that the numbers of those who received the degree of D.C.L., D.D., or

Professional
prospect of
an ordinary
Master of
Arts.

¹ It will not escape the observation of the reader that the course of study above described must have been attended with considerable expense, and taken in conjunction with the numbers of those who appear to have annually incepted, with the known limits of the town of Cambridge in those days, and with the ascertained numbers in the university of Paris at different and earlier periods, can hardly fail to disabuse our minds of those exaggerated statements with respect to numbers handed down by different writers. Of the university of Paris, M. Thurot says, '*Le nombre des étudiants de toutes les Facultés peut-être évalué en moyenne à 1500, et celui des maîtres régents à 200, aux époques les plus florissantes de l'Université.*' *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement*, p. 33, n. 1. The numbers at Cambridge could scarcely have been much higher. Sir W. Hamilton has stated (*Discussions*, p. 484), that in the thirteenth century the scholars were certainly above 5000, but I have met with no

evidence calculated to substantiate his statement. It was customary both at Oxford and Cambridge to include in the grand total all those attached to the university as servants or tradesmen, and with this fact before us we may perhaps read 3,000 for 30,000 in the celebrated vaunt of Armachanus with respect to the numbers at Oxford in the commencement of the fourteenth century. A similar qualification will be necessary in the statement quoted by M. Victor le Clerc (see p. 130), with respect to the numbers at Paris. But the exaggeration of mediæval writers in the matter of statistics is notorious. Mr Froude (*Hist. of England*, iii² 407), has furnished us with some interesting illustrations of this tendency at a yet later period. Both M. Renan and Mr Lecky have observed that it was not until the introduction of the exact sciences that men began to understand the importance of accuracy in such matters.

² See pp. 319, 320.

B.D., was much smaller than the encouragement extended to these branches of learning might otherwise lead us to expect. CHAP. IV.

As some counterbalance to the expenditure of time and money involved in these courses of study, the bachelors of divinity or of civil or canon law were permitted to lecture in their respective faculties, and these *cursor*y lectures, besides being an immediate source of emolument, would also often enable a civilian or canonist to acquire a considerable reputation before he became fully qualified to practise. The requirements for the degree of doctor of divinity in these times deserve to be contrasted with those until lately in force. It was necessary

Course of study in the faculty of theology.

(1) that the candidate should have been a regent in arts, *i.e.* he must have acted as an instructor in the ordinary course of secular learning; (2) that he should have attended lectures for at least ten years in the university; (3) that he should have heard lectures on the Bible for two years; (4) that during his career he should have lectured cursorily on some book of the canonical scriptures for at least ten days in each term of the academical year; (5) that he should have lectured on the whole of the Sentences; (6) that he should, subsequently to his lectures, have preached publicly *ad clerum*, and also have responded and opposed in all the schools of his faculty¹. It was properly the function of a doctor to deliver the *ordinary* lecture in this course, but the duty would appear to have often devolved upon the bachelors, and thus, though still pursuing their own course of study for the doctoral degree, they were known as *biblici ordinarii* or simply as *biblici*; those of them who delivered the *cursor*y lectures were known as *biblici cursores* or simply *cursores*; and those who lectured on the Sentences were known as the *Sententiarii*².

Bachelors of theology permitted to lecture *ordinarie*.

¹ Statute 124, *De Incepturis in Theologia*. Documents, i 377. The following questions are among those which we find a doctor of divinity determining at Oxford in the year 1466:—‘Si est purgatorium? Utrum ignis purgatorius est materialis? Utrum pœna inflicta in purgatorio sit pœna inflicta a Deo immediate vel per ministros? Si per ministros, an una anima aliam punit? vel per angelos, et tunc utrum per angelos

bonos vel malos vel indifferentes?’ Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, ii 716.

² It would seem that admission to lecture on the Sentences was the intermediate step between lecturing *cursorie* and *ordinarie* on the Bible.—Thurot says, ‘Pour être admis à faire leçon sur le Livre des Sentences, il fallait justifier qu’on avait étudié en théologie pendant neuf années entières, et fait deux cours sur la Bible.’ (*Sur l’Organisation*, etc. p. 141.)—

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Course of
study in the
faculty of the
civil law.

The courses for the doctorial degree in civil and canon law were equally laborious. In the former it was not imperative that the candidate should have been a regent in arts, but failing this qualification he was required to have heard lectures on the civil law for ten instead of eight years; he must have heard the *Digestum Vetus* twice, the *Digestum Novum* and the *Infortiatum* once. He must also have lectured on the *Infortiatum* and on the Institutes, must himself be the possessor of the two Digests and be able to shew that he held in his custody, either borrowed or his own property, all the other text-books of the course¹. In the course for the canon law the candidate was required to have heard lectures on the civil law for three years and on the Decretals for another three years: he must have attended cursory lectures on the Bible for at least two years; must himself have lectured *cursorie* on one of four treatises and on some one book of the Decretals². In both branches it was also obligatory that the candidate should have kept or have been ready to keep all the required oppositions and responsions. It is to be noted that, with the fourteenth century, the labours of the canonists had been seriously augmented by the appearance of the sixth book of the Decretals under the auspices of Boniface VIII, and by that of the Clementines; Lollard writers indeed are to be found asserting that the demands thus made upon the time of the canonist (demands which he dared not disregard, for the papal anathema hung over all those who should neglect their study) was one of the chief causes of that neglect of the scriptures which forms so marked a feature in the theology of this period.

Course of
study in the
faculty of the
canon law.

while, according to our own statutes, lecturing *sententiarie* is made dependent on a certain course in arts and theology (see Statute 108, *Documents*, 1 370), and lecturing *biblice* is in turn made dependent on having already lectured on the Sentences. (See Statute 112, *Documents*, 1 372). Bulæus says, 'Baccalarii vero non ante licentiiari poterant, quam Bibliam Sententiasque exponerent; ut docet File. sacus in libro *De Origine Prisca Facultatis Theologiæ*, p. 14, Bibliæ cur-

sum dixere veteres Sacræ Scripturæ tempus aliquod addictum. *Ab eo vero docendi munere theologicum curriculum suum ordiebantur nuperi Baccalarii cursores; ac postea sententiarum Petri Lombardi libros quatuor interpretabantur. Hinc nata illa distinctio Baccalariorum apud majores, ut alii Biblie alii Sententiarum nuncuparentur.*' 1 657, 658.

¹ Statute 120. *Documents*, 1 375-6.

² Statute 122. *Documents*, 1 376-7.

In the subjoined statute will be found the requirements for the degree of doctor of medicine¹.

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The faculty of medicine. The education thorough of its kind.

Such then was the character of the highest forms of culture aimed at in the Cambridge of those days; and whatever may be our estimate of its intrinsic value, it is evident that, if the statutory course was strictly observed, the doctors of those days could have been no smatterers in their respective departments.* The scarlet hood never graced the shoulders of one who was nothing more than a dexterous logician, nor was the honoured title of doctor ever conferred on one who had never discharged the function of a teacher. Throughout the whole course the maxim *disce docendo* was regularly enforced, and the duties of the lecture-room and the disputations in the schools enabled all to test their powers and weigh their chances of practical success long before the period of preparation had expired. But of the influence which such a curriculum exerted on the character of the theology of that age, it is impossible to speak with favour. The example which Albertus and Aquinas had set, of reconciling philosophy and theology, had gradually expanded into a uniform and vicious practice of subjecting all theology to the formulæ of the logician. Hence, as M. Thurot well observes, men thought themselves bound to explain everything. They preferred new and conjectural doctrines to those which were far more just but long established; they despised all that seemed

Baneful effects on the theology of the time.

¹ 'Item statuimus quod nullus admittatur ad incipiendum in medicina nisi prius in artibus rexerit, et ad minus per quinquennium hic vel alibi in universitate audierit medicinam, ita quod audierit semel libros medicinæ non commentatos, viz. librum Johanniæ, librum Philareti de pulsibus, librum Theophili de urinis, et quemlibet librum Isaac, viz. librum urinarum Isaac, librum de dietis particularibus, librum febrium Isaac, librum Viatici. Item audiat semel antidotarium Nicholai: item audiat bis libros commentatos, viz.: librum Tegni Galieni, librum prognosticorum, librum aphorismorum, librum de regimine acutorum: et quod legerit cursorie ad

minus unum librum de theorica et alium de practica, et quod in scholis suæ facultatis publice et principaliter opposuerit et responderit, et quod ad minus per annum exercitatus fuerit in practica: ita quod ejus notitia in statura moribus et scientia tam in theorica quam in practica fuerit merito approbata ab omnibus magistris illius facultatis secundum depositionem de scientia eorundem modo supradicto: et tunc admittatur cum formam prædictam se complexisse juraverit. Item statuimus quod nullus admittatur ad incipiendum in medicina, nisi per biennium exercitatus fuerit in practica.' Statute 119. Documents, i 375.

CHAP. IV. obvious and clear, and valued only what called forth a considerable intellectual effort. 'The hearts of the learned were dried up in the study of the abstract and the uncertain; devoid themselves of all fervour and unction they understood not how to address themselves to the hearts of their auditors; the disputation left them careless of the homily.'

College life.

Up to the close of the fifteenth century it is evident that college life represented the position of only a highly privileged minority: the hostels, which had superseded the lodging-houses, were, as we have already seen, far more numerous, though in their turn diminishing in number as the colleges multiplied. As however the college life of those times offers the most direct points of comparison with modern experience, it may be worth while to give an outline of the probable career of a scholar of Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus, or Michaelhouse, in the days when the original statutes of each foundation still represented its existing discipline.

Asceticism
again the
dominant
theory.

And here again it becomes necessary to bear in mind that all-dominant conception which has already come so prominently before us. Asceticism, as it was then the professed rule of life with the monk, the friar, and the secular, was also the prevailing theory in the discipline of those whom they taught and trained for their several professions. The man fasted, voluntarily bared his back to the scourge, kept long and painful vigils: the boy was starved, flogged, and sent to seek repose where he might find it if he were able. Even tender girlhood did not altogether escape the pains thus conscientiously inflicted. From the days of Heloise,—entrusted by her natural protector to Abélard, to be beaten into submission if refractory or negligent,—down to the days of Lady Jane Grey,—mournfully plaintive over the nips, bobs, and other nameless petty tortures inflicted by her own parents,—a feminine wail often rises up along with the louder lamentation of the boy. But with the latter the severity of this Spartan discipline often approached a point where it became a struggle for very life. In justification of such treatment the teacher would appeal to instances, like those which occasionally come under our notice, of savage outbreaks on

the part of the taught,—to John Scotus Erigena perishing beneath the stiluses of his own pupils, to the monastery of St. Gall fired by its own *externes*. How far such tragedies were the result of the very system that aimed at their repression we will not here stop to enquire. In one of his amusing dialogues, the *Ichthyophagia*, Erasmus has given a startling record of his own experiences at Paris. The Collège de Montaigu, or Montacuto, in that university, was a well-known school for theologians, presided over by one Standin or Standouk, a man whom Erasmus describes as not wanting in good intentions but deficient in judgement, and who, having himself been reared in the stern school of poverty and privation, believed it to be the best discipline for all over whom he ruled. The scholars accordingly lived, even in the depth of winter, on a scanty dole of coarse bread, accompanied occasionally by rotten eggs, and wine, which from its resemblance to *vinegar*, caused the college to be popularly known by the name of *Montaceto*, but their ordinary drink was a draught from a well of putrid water. Meat they never tasted. They slept on the floors of damp chambers swarming with vermin and pestilent with the stench of adjacent cesspools. It was the professed aim of this régime to crush as far as possible the spirit of the individual¹; unfortunately it often crushed out the life as well. Erasmus declares that many high-spirited youths, of wealthy families and distinguished promise, sank beneath the treatment; others lost their sight, some became insane, some even lepers. He himself, rescued before it was too late by the generous hand of lord Mountjoy, brought away not merely *pediculorum largissimam copiam*, but a constitution impaired by all kinds of humours.

Such is the description given by the foremost scholar of his age (in a volume that within a few years of its first ap-

¹ Sic aiunt dedisci ferociam; ferociam appellant indolem generosiorum, quam studio frangunt ut eos reddant habiles monasteriis.' Compare his very similar account of the treatment of a boy of which he was witness in a school in this country presided over by an eminent divine. *De Pueris Instituendis*, 1505. Seebohm,

Oxford Reformers, 210²-2. With reference to the Collège de Montaigu he says, 'Neque vero hæc commemoro quod male velim illi collegio, sed operæ pretium esse judicavi monere, ne sub umbra religionis humana sævitia corrumpat ætatem imperitam aut teneram.' *Ichthyophagia*.

Account given by Erasmus of the Collège de Montaigu.

CHAP. IV.

pearance had been read and discussed by numberless readers in all the universities of Christendom), of a noted college in the most famous seat of European learning,—a college which could boast that it had sent forth not a few distinguished theologians and men of eminence. Among the number was the celebrated John Major, the author of the *De Gestis Scotorum*, who was resident at the college at the same time as Erasmus, and again resident within a few months of the time when the foregoing description appeared in the first edition of the Colloquies at Basel¹. Yet this description appears to have provoked no outcry or indignant denial, nor does there seem any reason for doubting that it had as good a basis of fact as those terrible delineations of monastic life and character from the same pen, which were then moving all Europe to laughter or alarm. With facts like these before us, we shall probably incline to the conclusion, notwithstanding frequent indications of hardship and discomfort, that the mode of life at the English universities was certainly not below the average continental standard.

His account appears to have called forth no indignant denial.

Our early colleges designed only for poor students.

There is perhaps no feature more uniformly characteristic of our early college statutes than the design of the founder to assist only those who really required assistance and were intent on a studious life. The stringency of the regulations, and the preference to be given to those candidates who had already made some acquirements, must necessarily have excluded the idler and the lover of licence². It was designed that each collegian should be a model of industry and good conduct to the ordinary student. Hence, while offering but moderate attractions to the wealthy, the college held out considerable advantages to the poor scholar: compared with the colleges of Paris, that of Navarre perhaps excepted, the aid afforded was far more liberal and the discipline consequently

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 92, 93.

² The wealthier class of students resided in the hostels: this is clearly shewn in Lever's sermon at St Paul's Cross, preached in 1550, where, contrasting the state of the university at the time with that at an earlier part of the century, he says that many

of the scholars who 'hauyng rych frendes or beyng benefeyced men dyd lyue of theym selues in Ostles and Innes be eyther gon awaye, or elles fayne to crepe into Colleges, and put poore men from bare luynges.' Lever's *Sermons*, ed. Arber, p. 121.

more easily enforced. The standard for admission varied from a moderate knowledge of Latin to an acquaintance with the whole of the *trivium*. It was necessary that those elected should have been born in lawful wedlock, be of good character, nor could a single county furnish more than a certain proportion. Admission to some foundations was not accorded until the scholar had passed through a probationary test for one year: the oath of obedience to the college statutes was administered to all, and it was regarded as an unpardonable breach of fidelity if any divulged the 'secrets of the house.' Once admitted, the student's anxieties as to ways and means appear to have been, for a time, at an end. It is a proof of the youth of those generally admitted, that although a certain amount of previous attainment was indispensable, the average age was such as to call for the discipline of the schoolboy. The 'boys,' as they were termed, were never permitted to go beyond the college gates unless accompanied by a master of arts; they were distributed through the college in threes or fours as joint-occupants of a single room, which served both as dormitory and study: if convicted of any infringement of the college rules they were soundly birched in the hall or the court. With the period of bachelorhood they entered upon a stage more nearly corresponding to that of the modern undergraduate. The bachelor would be permitted to occupy a room jointly with a senior fellow,—association with one of graver years being supposed to be more likely to prove productive of order. The room, scantily furnished, would always be comfortless and in winter often scarcely tenable. There was no fireplace and no stove, this luxury being reserved for the hall alone¹. The wind whistled shrewdly through the crevices of the ill-made case-

Certain attainments necessary in those admitted on the foundation.

Extreme youth of the majority at the time of their admission.

Their treatment.

Bachelors.

Rooms.

¹ Bucer, the German reformer, who resided at the university from 1549 to his death in 1550, found this form of hardship almost insupportable. Edward VI, hearing of his ill health, presented him with a German stove. *Zurich Letters*, II 550. Even in the college hall a fire appears to have been very sparingly indulged in. We are told of the lady Mil-

dred Burghley, who died in the latter half of the sixteenth century, that 'She gave a some of money to the master of St. John's Colledg, to procure to have fyres in the hall of that colledg upon all sondays and hollydays betwixt the fest of all Sayntes and Candlemas, when ther war no ordinary fyres of the charge of the colledg.' Baker-Mayor, p. 595.

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The college library.

Description of a college library of these times.

Description of student life by a master of St. John's in the year 1550.

ment and the dim flame of the oil-lamp flickered fitfully, as the student kept his vigils, intent upon some greasy parchment page over which amanuensis and reader had alike laboured with painful toil. The volume over which he pored was probably from the college library, and it was one of the most envied privileges of the collegian that he had access to such aids as these. The library was accessible to all the members of the college, but only fellows were permitted to take away volumes to their own rooms; and an inspection of one of our earliest library catalogues, that of Peterhouse, affords interesting evidence, in the different proportions of the number of volumes thus withdrawn in each class of literature, of the comparative popularity of different branches of study¹. If from such stray facts as have reached us we were to endeavour to form an idea of one of these ancient hiding-places of learning, we should generally find rising before our mental vision a long, dark, damp room little better than a hayloft, reached by a staircase composed of blocks of timber, placed one above another, with rows of rudely constructed book-stands where the volumes lay chained, and where the young scholar might commence his acquaintance with Bonaventura or Aquinas. If the volumes were too numerous for the shelves they were stowed away in chests, and sometimes exposed for sale.

The allowance for the maintenance of a fellow never exceeded the weekly sum², expressed in modern money, of from sixteen to eighteen shillings; in some colleges it was much less. Lever, the master of St. John's, in an oft quoted passage, describes the scholars of his college, then the poorest it is to be observed in proportion to its numbers in the whole university, as going to dinner at ten o'clock, content with a penny piece of beef among four, having a little 'porage' made of

¹ The volumes, as entered in the catalogue, are distinguished as *cathenati* and *divisi inter socios*: the *libri logice divisi inter socios* are 29, those *cathenati*, also 29; the *libri theologie cathenati*, 137, *assignati sociis*, 41; the *libri juris civilis cathenati*, 9, *divisi inter socios*, 15; the *libri juris canonici cathenati*,

17, *divisi inter socios*, also 17; *libri naturalis et moralis philosophie cathenati*, 156, *divisi inter socios*, 75; *libri medicine cathenati*, 13, *divisi inter socios*, 3.

² The '*communæ*,' or commons, were the expenses of maintenance: all meals being at that time taken in the common hall.

the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, 'and nothing else.' After this slender dinner, he continues, 'they be either teaching or learning until five of the clock in the evening, when as they have a supper not much better than their dinner. Immediately after the which, they go either to reasoning in problems or unto some other study, until it be nine or ten of the clock, and then being without fire are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to get a heat in their feet when they go to bed¹.' It is to be observed that this description, given in the middle of the sixteenth century, describes an exceptional state of affairs, when, owing to the rapacity of courtiers and nobles, the college had been reduced to the lowest ebb of its fortunes, and, to use Lever's own words, scholars were unable to remain 'for lack of exhibition and help.' The speaker, moreover, was addressing a wealthy congregation at Paul's Cross, and endeavouring to awaken their sympathy on behalf of the universities. We have however other evidence which may be taken without qualification. There is abundant indirect proof that Oxford was at this period considered by far the more luxurious university; and yet we find that, compared with the scale of living among the better classes of the time, Oxford fare was considered to rank somewhat low. Sir Thomas More, after the great reverse of his fortunes, in discussing with his family plans of future economy, says, 'But my counsel is, that we fall not to the lowest fare first, we will not therefore descend to *Oxford fare*, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet.' In hall and in college generally the use of the Latin language in conversation was imperative²: but in some of the earlier statutes, given at the time when French was the language of the legislature, the use of the latter

This description refers to an exceptional state of affairs.

Other evidence less open to exception.

Use of Latin required in conversation, but French occasionally spoken.

¹ Lever's *Sermons*, ed. Arber, p. 122. This account conveys perhaps to most readers an impression of greater hardship than it really implies. The penny in the sixteenth century was quite equal in value to the shilling of our own day. Meat, on the other hand, was then far cheaper when compared with other provisions, and a 'penny piece' was probably not less than two lbs. Then it will be ob-

served that the dinner at five o'clock was somewhat better: and it is evident that the students had meat twice a day. As for fires, at a time when the use of coal was limited to the immediate neighbourhood of the coal mines, wood and turf being the ordinary fuel, these were a luxury with every class.

² Peacock, *Observations*, p. 4, App. A, note 2, p. v.

CHAP. IV. tongue was occasionally permitted. An Oxford statute of this period enjoins that grammar students shall construe their author into both English and French, in order that the latter language may not be forgotten¹. It is evident that the scholar or fellow was always presumed to be in residence, and if in residence to be studying. If he absented himself, unless upon business of the college, the allowance for his weekly expenses was stopped. In the course of time he was permitted to be absent if he could shew good reason: the supervision of a parish, or an engagement as tutor in a noble family, appears to have been accepted as a valid excuse; but the time of absence was always defined, and his return at its expiration, or a renewal of leave, was indispensable to the retention of his fellowship². If the property of the house increased in value, this increase was to be applied to the creation of new fellowships, not to be distributed among those already on the foundation. Lectureships were held in rotation, and as each lecturer retired he was supposed to apply himself to a new line of study. On the other hand the master of the college appears to have enjoyed unrestricted freedom of action, a fact which partly explains the mismanagement that often characterises the rule of some of the earlier foundations. Though the election, or rather the nomination to the office, was vested in the fellows, and to be made from their own number, this privilege was often set aside by episcopal authority or by royal letter, and an entire stranger placed in authority over the society. In addition to this he was capable of holding other emoluments, sometimes even at another college. Thus John Sickling, the last master of God's House, held at the same time a fellowship at Corpus; Shorton, the

Fellows required to be in residence.

Colleges increasing in wealth to add to the number of their fellowships.

Autocracy of the master.

The office of master frequently combined with other preferments.

¹ *Munimenta Academica*, p. 438. Mr Anstey conjectures that this statute, which is without date, is at least as early as the thirteenth century. It is, I presume, by a misprint that he is made to speak of it in the preface (p. lxx), as 'not one of the ancient statutes on grammar schools,' for the whole statute evidently relates to grammar students, and his marginal summary clearly implies that such is the case.

² The earliest instance that has come under my notice of such leave of absence is that of Richard Whitford, the 'wretch of Sion,' who on the 23rd of March, 1497, received from the master and fellows of Queens' College, of which he was a fellow, five years' leave of absence that he 'might attend upon Lord Mountjoy in foreign parts.' Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, p. 64.

first master of St. John's, was also a fellow of Pembroke. Like Rotheram when master of Pembroke, Story when master of Michaelhouse, Fisher when president of Queens', the head of a college was often at the same time the holder of a bishopric¹. CHAP. IV.

Of the sports and pastimes of these days we have little record; but we know the use of the crossbow to have been a favorite accomplishment; cock-fighting, that 'last infirmity' of the good Ascham, was also a common amusement; while from certain college statutes requiring that no 'fierce birds' shall be introduced within the precincts of the college, we may infer that many of the students were emulous of the falconer's art². The river again appears to have possessed considerable attractions, though of a kind differing from those of the present day. By legal right it belonged to the town, being held by the corporation 'with all and singular waters, fishings, pastures, feedings, etc.,' in fee simple of the crown³; and let it be added to their credit, that the men of Cambridge, though they might have been puzzled to furnish a chemical analysis of the waters of their native stream, nevertheless did their best to guard it from pollution, and any attempt to treat it as a common sewer was met by prompt action on the part of the town authorities⁴. In another respect they were less able to protect their property. They asserted their claim not merely to the river but to its produce; and in those days the right of fishing was as jealously guarded in our southern streams as it is to-day in the salmon fisheries of the north. Their rights however were but too often openly and audaciously ignored. Even the 'religious' were

Sports and pastimes.

Fishing.

The river really the property of the town.

The rights of the corporation set at defiance by

¹ The late Dr Ainslie, in his *Inquiry concerning the earliest Masters of the College of Valence Mary*, p. 276, a manuscript to which I have had access, even raises the question whether the language of the earliest extant statutes of Pembroke College absolutely requires that the master should not be a layman! He quotes the expression *qui nulli facultati sit astrictus*: but he also observes that the omission was supplied in the second edition of the statutes by the words *dum tamen sacerdos fuerit*. He adds 'I feel satisfied both by this and other passages and by the avowed

object of the foundation itself that the Master was from the first a priest.' This conclusion enables him to decide without hesitation that Robert de Thorpe, the first master of the society, was not the same person as lord chancellor Thorpe, whom Blackstone expressly notes as having been, contrary to custom, a layman.

² The early statutes of Peterhouse specify falcons and hawks; St. John's statutes (1516), c. 21, *canes aut rapaces aves*; do. (1530 and 1545), c. 26, hounds, ferrets, hawks, singing birds.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 353.

⁴ *Ibid.* i 258 *et passim*.

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both the
religious and
the uni-
versity.

not blameless in this matter, and on one occasion the whole community was scandalized by learning that the prior of Barnwell and the mayor, after an angry altercation as to certain rights of fishing at Chesterton, had proceeded to lay violent hands on each other¹. But the university appears to have furnished by far the most pertinacious aggressors. It could never be brought to see that the Cam was not its own; and the patience of the burgesses was sorely tried as they saw exultant undergraduates, in broad daylight, continually landing goodly perch and pike² to which they had not the shadow of a claim. As a last resource they farmed out their rights piscatorial to a number of 'poor men,' who, it was supposed, as less able to sustain pecuniary loss, would exercise a corresponding vigilance in protecting their property. But the 'poor men' fared no better than the original proprietors; their just complaints were treated with derision; their nets were cut and broken; and they themselves, in the indignantly remonstrant language of the corporation, 'many times driven out of their boats with stones and other like things, to the danger of their bodies and their lives³.'

Scholars re-
quired to
take their
walks with a
companion.

Features of
the ancient
town and
university.

It is not uninteresting to note that a custom of the present day, which it might be supposed was merely a matter of obvious convenience, the daily walk with a single companion, was originally inculcated by college statute⁴, while this in turn is said to have derived its precedent from apostolic example. The country in those days was soon gained. God's House, standing on the present site of Christ's College, looked out from behind over a wide extent of corn-land. The road

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 277.

² The pike at this time seems, especially when of unusual size, to have been regarded as a great delicacy, and the price it commanded in the market must have made the right of fishing in waters where it was to be found one of considerable value. On the occasion of cardinal Wolsey's visit to the university in 1520, we find in the proctors' list of expenses, 'for 6 great pikes, 33s. 4d.'; on the occasion of a royal visit in 1522 'twelve grete pyks, 55s. 8d.'; and in 1533, 'payed for a great pyke govyn in present to my lord Mount Egle, 4s.'

From these entries it would appear that a single pike would often command a higher price than would be given for a turbot in the present day.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 353.

⁴ 'We wish that the fellows who are willing to walk out should seek each other's society, and walk together conversing with each other in pairs on scholarship or on some proper and pleasant topic, and so return together betimes.' *Statutes of Canterbury Hall given by Simon Islip*, 1366. See also *St. John's Statutes*, (1516), c. 25; and *Whitaker's Whalley*, p. 70.

to Trumpington was skirted on either side by dreary marshes, the marshes to which the steeds of Chaucer's scholars of 'Soler Hall' broke away when liberated by the too cunning miller. Beyond the river, at the 'Backs,' no houses were to be seen until Newnham was reached. Where many a good road now renders intercommunication an easy matter, there was only a narrow and often treacherous path traversing long tracts of oozing mud covered by sedge and rushes. In the town itself, the ground between the river and the Hospital of St. John and Michaelhouse appears to have consisted chiefly of orchards. King's College, on the north side of the chapel, occupied the site of the present new library building; the magnificent chapel rose amid a wide expanse of grass land, with a few private dwellings forming a frontage towards the street. The site of the present senate house was partly occupied by St. Mary's hostel and was partly a vacant space in front of the common schools, the latter being approached by a narrow lane known as University Street, with houses on either side. The encroaching tendencies of the waters were conspicuous in a stream of some size, known as the King's Ditch, which, branching off from the river near St. Catherine's Hall, passed to the east of Petty Cury and Trinity Church, flowing through the grounds of the Franciscans (afterwards those of Sidney College), under Jesus Lane, and then in a direction partly corresponding with the present Park Street across the common, until it rejoined the river near where the locks now stand. In one instance land was to be seen where we now see only water,—the river at the back of Trinity Hall flowing round a little island known by the name of Garrett's Hostel Green.

But the topographical antiquities of Cambridge are not within the scope of the present chapter, and we must now hasten to bring our sketch of student life in those distant days to a close. In looking back at the various features of that life, its arid culture and ascetic discipline, it seems at first not easy to understand how such a career could have attracted large numbers, have excited such displays of enthusiasm, and have nerved men to such prodigies of toil.

The majority of mediæval students actuated by the same motives as those of modern times.

CHAP. IV. But in truth it does not require a very extended acquaintance with the history of learning to be aware, that the subject matter whereon precedent has decided that the intellectual energies of each generation are mainly to be expended has but little to do with the numbers of those who may enter the learned professions. In every age there will always be a certain proportion of individuals with clear brains, retentive memories, and superior powers of mental application. Conscious of these natural gifts they will not fail to turn them to account in those fields where such qualifications come most prominently into play. The abstract value of the different studies wherein they are required to manifest their ability will be to them a matter of little concern. The subject matter may be congenial or it may be absolutely repellant to the taste of the individual, but his disciplined faculties will be but slightly affected by such considerations, and the irksomeness of the labour will be counterbalanced by the exhilarating consciousness of success. When his object is gained, and he has achieved the distinction or realised the substantial reward at which he aimed, he will feel little inclination for further and more independent research in fields of science or learning associated with the recollection of so many painful hours. He will not indeed be disposed to regard his past labours as time intellectually altogether misspent, for he will be well aware that they involved no small amount of both moral and mental discipline; but if his studies have been pursued entirely with reference to some ulterior end, adjusted throughout solely with regard to the exigencies of severe competition, they will have done little to inspire a genuine love of knowledge or reverence for truth. It may even be well if the race has not overtaxed his powers and left him for the remainder of his life enfeebled both in mind and body.

Notwithstanding then the enthusiasm that greeted renowned teachers, the ardour with which disputations were waged and the applause that they evoked, notwithstanding the fortitude with which many students encountered great hardships, we see no reason for concluding that the intellec-

tual ambition of the large majority of mediæval seekers for knowledge was in any way of a higher order than that of subsequent periods. Whenever the eagle glance of genius, whether that of Roger Bacon, Petrarch, or Poggio, surveyed the contests of the schools, it detected the counterfeit and held it up to lasting scorn. But while such were the majority, it seems equally reasonable to suppose that there was also a minority, however small, composed of those who had been attracted to the university by a genuine thirst for knowledge, men to whom it seemed that they could be said to live, only so long as they continued to possess themselves of new truth and daily to engage in the pursuit of more. And if such there were, in those faintly illumined days, it is hard to withhold from them our sympathy and interest. We cannot but feel what a mockery of true knowledge this mediæval culture must have appeared to many a young, ardent, and enquiring spirit. The feats of the dialectician, whose most admired performance was to demonstrate by syllogism the truth of what even to the untutored reason was obviously false—the tedious ingenious trifling of the commentators—what fare for those who were seeking to grow in mental stature and to find satisfaction for the doubts within! We can picture to ourselves one of this despised minority, some young bachelor standing in *quadragesima*, weary with the austerities of Lent and harassed by his long probation. It is his last day, and his performance hitherto has earned for him but little credit, for he is one who finds more satisfaction in revolving difficulties within his own mind in his chamber than in attempting an off-hand solution of a *quæstio* in the schools. His ‘determinations’ this afternoon are not felicitous, and now he is summing up after a hot disputation between two strapping young north countrymen, each ready of utterance, of indomitable assurance, and with most excellent lungs. He half suspects, from a peculiar gleam in the eye of the opponent, that the latter feels confident that if he, the determiner, were in the respondent’s place, he, the opponent, would have him in Bocardo before the act was over. But at last the task is accomplished, though

A possible
minority.

Imaginary
experiences
of one of the
latter num-
ber.

CHAP. IV. his final 'determination' is greeted with but faint applause, and he hurries out of the crowded buzzing schools, thankful that he shall have to stand in *quadragesima* no more. Heedless of college statute and apostolic precedent, solitary and dejected, he seeks some lonely country path, troubled less by a sense of his recent failure than by a feeling of dissatisfaction at whatever he has yet learned or achieved. If this be all, he thinks, that Cambridge can do for him, it were better he were back at home, again guiding his father's plough or casting the falcon in the dear old fields. And so he wanders on, until the waning day warns him that he must be turning back if he would reach his college before dark. The dull level landscape, we may well suppose, has small power to win him to a less sombre mood. Communion with nature is not for him the fountain at which he renews his strength. The painter's pencil and the poet's song have never stimulated his fancy or thrilled his heart. Yet even to this poor student as he hastens homewards,—what time the sun, now approaching the horizon, is gathering new splendour amid the mists that rise over the marish plain, while tower and battlement gleam refulgent in the western sky,—there rises up a vision of a city not made with hands. And as the twilight descends, and ere he reaches his college gate the stars come forth overhead, he seems to see, very near, the mansions of the blest. He sees that mystic chain of sentient being of which Dionysius and Bonaventura have told,—that chain of which he is himself a link,—vanishing in the immortal and the divine. And he believes with a perfect faith, for which our modern scientific enlightenment seems but a poor exchange, that when a few fitful, feverish years are over, he too shall be admitted to those bright abodes, and the doubts and anxieties that have harassed him here shall be exchanged for full assurance and unending peace.

CHAPTER V.

CAMBRIDGE AT THE REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.

PART I:—THE HUMANISTS.

IT was at Avignon, in the early part of the fourteenth century, that a father and his son might one day have been seen standing by a fire into which the former was thrusting books. Had the volumes represented the literature of some condemned heresy, and had the son, the guilty and obstinate student of their contents, been destined to perish martyr-wise in the same flames, he could hardly have exhibited more emotion. The father half relents as he witnesses his sorrow, and rescuing two of the volumes hands them to the lad. 'Take this,' he says, as he hands him back a Virgil, 'as a rare amusement of your leisure hours, and this' (the Rhetoric of Cicero), 'as something to aid you in your real work.'

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Petrarch,
b. 1304.
d. 1374.

. In this chapter the sources of information to which I have been mainly indebted, in addition to the original authors whose works I have frequently consulted, are the following, and throughout the chapter the reference to each author will be given with merely his name:—(1) Hody, *De Græcis Illustribus Linguae Græcæ Instauratoribus* (ed. Jebb), 1742; (2) Boerner, *De Doctis Hominibus Græcis*, Lipsiæ, 1750; (3) *Ambrosii Traversarii Generalis Camuldulensium Aliorumque ad Ipsum et ad Alios de eodem Ambrosio Latine Epistolæ*, etc. *Accedit ejusdem Ambrosii vita in qua Historia Litteraria Florentina ab Anno 1192 usque ad Annum 1440 ex Monumentis potissimum nondum editis deducta est a Laurentio Mehus Etruscæ Academicæ Cortonensis Socio*, Florentiæ, 1759. Of these three Hody is probably the best known in England, but his work is a much less careful production than that of Boerner, who, as well as Mehus, writing somewhat later, has pointed out not a few important errors in the treatise of the Oxford professor. To these I must add professor Georg Voigt's very able volume *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, Berlin, 1859.

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It was an experience of a kind far from uncommon in the history of early genius,—a total inability on the part of the well-meaning but mediocre parent to recognise or to sympathise with the as yet undeveloped genius of its own offspring. The worldly prudence of Francesco di Petracco designed that his son should gain his livelihood as a professor of civil law; while the ardent intellect of the youthful Francesco was already being attracted, as by some magnetic power, to the neglected and almost forgotten literature of antiquity.

Effects of the
revival of
classical
learning con-
trasted with
preceding
influences.

The new influence to which our attention must now be directed is distinguished from all the preceding influences that affected the course of learning by one important feature,—its purely secular character. The canon law was the direct outcome of the exigencies and corruptions of the Romish Church; the civil law was the favorite study of the ecclesiastic and, in his hands, as we have already seen, was closely combined with the canon law; the New Aristotle had for the most part been manipulated into supposed agreement with Christian theology; the Sentences were nothing more than a formal exposition of that theology as interpreted by four eminent doctors of the Latin Church. But the revival of classical learning involved the study of a literature altogether differing from these: it was of its very essence that the student should for a time forget his scholastic culture and identify himself in feeling with the spirit of cultivated paganism; ‘the cowl and the gown,’ to use the language of Voigt, ‘had to be flung aside for the tunic and the toga;’ and from the monotonous rounds and arid abstractions of the schools men now entered into a world of thought which, more than any other, may be said to express the aims and aspirations of civilised but not christianised humanity,—whose whole concern is

*Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus ———.*

And with this new experience there awoke again a keen delight in the external world, an admiration of the beautiful in nature, and an art that fashioned itself upon nature. It

was as the shining of a soft and bright spring day after a long and uninterrupted reign of wintry frost and gloom¹.

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Extravagancies of the Averroists at this period.

It was indeed time that some new spirit breathed upon the waters over which the ancient darkness seemed threatening to resume its reign. Scholasticism was reaching the length of its tether with the nominalism of Occam, while its method was being exhibited in all its impotence by the follies of the Averroists². That method, as embodied in the writings of Aquinas or Duns Scotus in enquiries concerning the divine nature or the mysteries of Christian doctrine, even though it failed to establish a single conclusive result, might still perhaps be defended as an invigorating and elevating exercise of the human faculties: but when the pseudo-science of the Averroists, while it discarded with undisguised contempt all efforts at demonstrating the logical consistency of the orthodox theology, proceeded to apply the same method in discussing the nature of the phoenix or the crocodile, the subject matter no longer shielded it from criticisms that successfully exposed its radical defects. The prospect was scarcely more encouraging in other fields. Gleams of classic culture like those that have from time to time engaged our attention were becoming rarer and rarer. The Latin literature was less and less studied; and Dante, happily for his fame, had abandoned a language so imperfectly understood by his contemporaries, and enshrined the great masterpiece of his genius in the beautiful dialect of Si.

General decline in the attention to Latin authors.

In the prose works of Francesco Petrarch we have the earliest indications of the verdict which the modern mind has either tacitly or formally passed upon the method, the conceptions, and the aims of the scholastic era³; the verdict,

Petrarch as a reformer.

¹ 'Die Italiener,' says Burckhardt, 'sind die frühesten unter den Modernen welche die Gestalt der Landschaft als etwas mehr oder weniger Schönes wahrgenommen und genossen haben.' See his interesting sketch of the progress of this tendency in the chapter entitled *Die Entdeckung der Welt und der Menschen*, in *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, pp. 222—82.

² 'Leider kennen wir diese wissen-

schaftliche Secte nur aus Petrarca's Schilderung, und dieser hebt als ihr Gegner allein die negativen und anstössigen Lehren hervor.' Voigt, p. 52.

³ What Voigt says of Petrarch in relation to his entire volume, I may apply to the present chapter:—'Die Saat, die er ausgeworfen, hat Tausende von Menschen zu ihrer Pflege gerufen und Jahrhunderte zur Reife

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PART I.

His estimate
of the logi-
cians of his
day,

and of the
universities.

His influence:

it must be added, unaccompanied by those reservations and qualifications that at a later period have been very forcibly urged by more dispassionate critics. It is perhaps almost essential to success in a reformer that his censures should be sweeping and his invectives unsparing. When the work of reform has been well nigh completed and the last vestiges of the old order of things seem likely to disappear, a spirit of conservatism again sets in and rescues much that is valuable from the general destruction. Petrarch, it is evident, saw nothing in the whole system of scholasticism that he considered worthy to be thus spared. The labours of the schoolmen were, in his eyes, only a vast heap of rubbish wherein lurked not a single grain of gold. He was altogether unable to understand how any man could find a real pleasure in chopping the prevailing logic, and believed even the most famous disputants in the schools to be actuated by no higher motive than the professors of the civil law, but simply to ply their trade for the love of gain¹. The universities appeared to him only 'nests of gloomy ignorance,' while he derided the frequent investiture of the totally illiterate with the magisterial or doctorial degree as a solemn farce². On one occasion, it is true, he is to be found adopting a less contemptuous tone, and styling Paris 'the mother of learning,' 'the noble university,' but this was when the poet's crown conferred by that famous body had but just descended on his brows.

It would be a difficult and almost an endless task, to endeavour to trace out all the different channels through which Petrarch's genius acted upon the succeeding age, but the two most important innovations upon mediæval culture

bedurft. Nicht nur auf allen Seiten dieses Buches, wohl auch auf allen Blättern, welche die Weltgeschichte der folgenden Jahrhunderte erzählen, wird der feinfühlende Leser den Geist des neubelebten Alterthums und gerade in der Gewandung rauschen hören, die er durch Petrarca empfangen.' *Ibid.* p. 102.

¹ *Rerum Memorand.* Lib. 1 *Opera*, p. 456. *De Vita Solitaria*, 1 iv 1.

² 'Juvenis cathedram ascendit, nescio quid confusum murmurans. Tunc majores certatim ut divina locutum laudibus ad cælum tollunt; tinniunt interim campæ, strepunt tubæ, volant annuli, figuntur oscula, vertici rotundus ac magistralis biretus apponitur; his peractis descendit sapiens, qui stultus ascenderat.' *De Vera Sapientia*, *Opera*, 324.

attributable to his example,—the revival of Latin scholarship in connexion with the discovery and study of the writings of Cicero, and, though less directly, the awakening of Italy to the value of the Greek literature and, as a collateral result, the resuscitation of the Platonic philosophy and the commencement of a less slavish deference to the authority of Aristotle,—admit of a comparatively brief discussion. An accurate estimate of his more immediate influence is to be arrived at only by a careful study of the writings of those Italian scholars who adorned the succeeding generation. Their reverence and regard for his genius while he lived and for his memory when dead, rested, as their language clearly shews, on a very different basis from that which has sustained his reputation in later times. During the last three centuries his fame has been derived chiefly from his merits as a poet; the sonneteer has almost completely eclipsed the reviver of classical learning. But such was certainly not the view of the generations to whom he was more directly known, living as they did surrounded by the trophies of his great triumph. Nor was it his own view. His poems were the productions of his ardent but immature youth, and he never for a moment believed that they were destined to outlive his later writings¹. This seeming reversal of the original verdict can however be easily if not satisfactorily explained. It was one of the services, though by no means the greatest, rendered by Petrarch to the cause of learning, that he brought back the use of the Latin tongue to something more nearly approaching a classic standard. From the days of Boethius down to the fourteenth century, we may seek vainly for any author who appears even to have aimed at an imitation of the models of antiquity. Mediævalism altogether ignored those models and set up a standard of its own. It can scarcely therefore be considered surprising that Petrarch himself failed, all unaided as he was, in reaching the highest excellence. His Latinity, though of Ciceronian elegance when compared with that of Matthew Paris, of Anselm, or of Dante, is still characterised by numerous defects. Gramma-

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(1) on Latin scholarship:
(2) as a reviver of the study of Greek.

Change in the modern estimate of his genius from that of his contemporaries.

Reason of this change.

¹ Voigt, pp. 13, 14.

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tical errors and even barbarisms are not infrequent; the structure of the sentences is often awkward and obscure; the affectation of antiquity often clumsy and overwrought. Thus neither his letters, his essays, nor his orations can compare as specimens of a correct style with the prose of a later period,—with the standard of elegance attained to by Politian, Bembo, or Muretus; and hence the undeserved neglect into which they have been allowed to fall by those who, careless of their historical value, have chosen to set mere elegance of form above vigour of thought. It is only when we consider that Petrarch's merits as a Latin writer were the result solely of his own efforts,—that his models were chosen with no other guide than the intuitions of his own genius,—and that his errors have evidently been greatly multiplied by the carelessness of transcribers and errors of the press,—that we begin to perceive that his style, when compared with the barbarous idiom of the schoolmen, was, in spite of the severe criticisms of Erasmus and Cortesius¹, itself no inconsiderable achievement.

His services
in relation to
the works of
Cicero.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Cicero was his chief model; to Petrarch's efforts it was mainly due that, long before the more general revival, the great Roman orator had ceased to be any longer regarded as an *ἄγνωστος θεός*, and that appreciation of his merits which culminated under Erasmus was first awakened in the student of Latin literature. The list of his works that up to this time had been known to scholars would seem to have been singularly meagre, but the frequent quotations and allusions to be found in other writers were sufficient to indicate the existence of numerous productions still buried in oblivion². From this oblivion it was Petrarch's ambition to rescue them; in fact,

¹ See criticisms quoted by Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, i⁶ 84.

² The only orations of Cicero known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, according to Voigt, were the *Catilines*, the *Philippics*, part of the *Verrines*, and the *Pro Lege Manilia*, with one or two other minor ones. This however is an inference from merely

negative evidence: — 'So schliesse ich daraus, dass ich nur diese Werke in Dante's poetischen und prosaischen Schriften erwähnt gefunden,' p. 23. Certain of Cicero's philosophical treatises were of course known both in Italy and other countries at this period: see catalogue printed *supra* p. 101.

in his efforts to recover the long lost masterpieces of antiquity he represented very much the part of Richard of Bury in England, though far the superior of his indefatigable contemporary both in genius and learning; and without entering upon the question as to how far he is entitled to be considered the discoverer of any one treatise¹, we may safely assume that he was the first who directed the attention of scholars to the value of Cicero's writings, and who kindled among his countrymen that spirit of active research which brought again to light so many a long lost treasure and so largely enriched the literary resources of Europe.

When we remember how superficial was his knowledge of the Greek tongue²,—it was with difficulty that he spelt out the Iliad with the wretched version by Pilatus at his side,—it may seem a somewhat overstrained interpretation of his influence to speak of him as in any sense the originator of the Florentine school of Platonism. But if there be any truth in the dictum of Coleridge, that every man is born either an Aristotelian or a Platonist, there can be no doubt as to which genius presided over Petrarch's birth. In an age when every pretender to knowledge was hastening to

His knowledge of Plato.

¹ Voigt sums up the conclusion of the matter in the following terms: 'So ist es nun im Allgemeinen kein Zweifel, dass Cicero's Werke, auch die philosophischen und rhetorischen, durch Petrarca's Anregung unendlich mehr copirt und gelesen wurden als vorher; davon zeugt ihre Verbreitung im Beginne des folgenden Jahrhunderts. Aber um zwei Klassen derselben hat Petrarch ein unmittelbares Verdienst, um die Reden und Briefe. Einen Codex, der eine Reihe von Reden enthielt, copirt er Jahre lang mit eigener Hand, damit ihm nicht die bezahlten Abschreiber den Text verdürben. Mehrere einzelne Reden hat er auf Reisen gefunden, doch besass er noch lange nicht alle diejenigen, die wir jetzt lesen. Aber welchen Triumph empfand er, als ihm 1345 zu Verona die seit dem 10 Jahrhundert völlig verschollenen sogenannten familiären Briefe Cicero's in die Hand fielen. Zwar besass er wahrscheinlich damals schon die beiden an-

dern Sammlungen dieser Briefe und hatte bereits die tullianische Epistolographie in die neuere Literatur eingeführt, in der sie eine grossartige Rolle zu spielen berufen war, aber der neue Fund gab diesem wichtigen Belegungsmittel des humanistischen Verkehrs sofort einen erhöhteren Schwung und hat so eine unmessbare Wirkung geübt,' p. 27. See also Mehus, pp. 213–20.

² The manner in which Pilatus, whose knowledge of Latin was ludicrously insufficient, rendered the opening lines of the Iliad, will serve as a specimen:—

*'Iram cane Dea Pelidæ Achillis
| Corruptibilem, quæ innumerabiles
Græcis dolores posuit. | Multas autem
robustas animas Inferno antea misit |
Heroum; ipsorum autem cadavera or-
dinavit canibus | Avibusque omnibus.
Iovis autem perficiebatur consilium, |
Ex quo jam primitus separatim liti-
gaverunt | Atridesque Rex Virorum
et Divus Achilles.'* Mehus, p. 273.

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PART I.

join the noisy throng in the Lyceum, he turned aside to explore the dim solitudes of the Academy. His actual knowledge of Plato, it is true, was but slight; but, as Voigt observes, he was guided in this direction by a kind of instinct, an instinct awakened of course, in the first instance, by the study of Cicero's philosophical treatises. Like the geologist, though he himself sank not the shaft, he pointed out to his followers where the hidden wealth lay buried. To the Aristotelians of his time Plato was no better known than Pythagoras, and in fact they believed, for the most part, that the *Timæus* and the *Phædo*¹ were the only two treatises he had ever written. Petrarch however was the possessor of sixteen; and though these reposed on his shelves dark as the utterances of the Sibyl, he knew that Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine had held them in high esteem, while the professed contempt of the Aristotelians served rather to commend them to his respect. In his highly characteristic essay, *De sui ipsius et aliorum ignorantia*, we have the earliest intimations of that impending struggle between the modern partisans of the Platonic and Aristotelian schools of philosophy, which under varying forms may be said to have lasted to our own time, and to be even yet undecided.

He initiates the struggle against the supremacy of Aristotle.

His position in relation to Aristotle compared with that of Aquinas.

It is interesting in connexion with this controversy to compare the position of Aquinas with that of Petrarch. The schoolman, in his endeavour to introduce the New Aristotle, had found his most formidable difficulty in the evident disagreement between that literature and traditional dogma; the Italian scholar, in his efforts on behalf of a more liberal culture, found himself confronted in every direction by the supposed infallibility of what, but a century before, had been looked upon as heterodox! It was not much to say,—but to say it in those days at Padua and at Venice was the height of boldness,—that though Aristotle was a man of vast learning, he was after all only a man and liable to error.

¹ *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, Opera, 1162. Voigt, p. 48. I presume that the *Phædo* was the second. Cousin informs us that the library of the Sorbonne contains a

Latin translation of this dialogue in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. *Fragments Philosophiques*, Abelard. Appendix.

The absolute value of the Aristotelian decisions was not the only article of the schoolman's faith that he was now compelled to hear called in question. It marks the singular insensibility to literary excellence of form induced by the scholastic training, that it was commonly believed that the works of the great master, even in the shape in which they were then known, were models of style and expression. And here again Petrarch ventured upon a decided demurrer, declaring that though Aristotle's discourses, as originally delivered, might have been characterised by considerable grace of style, no such merit was discernible either in the treatises which survived the fall of the empire or in those which had more recently been brought to light¹. While, finally, even the ethical system of the Stagirite failed to awaken much admiration in the poet's fervid and enthusiastic nature, the doctrine of the Mean appeared to him cold and formal when compared, not merely with the Christian morality, but with the lofty Stoicism of the Academicians².

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He attacks
the style of
the existing
versions.

He rejects
the ethical
system of
Aristotle.

The services of Petrarch to the cause of the new learning, as marking the initial chapter of its history and scarcely perhaps estimated at their full value by many modern writers, have seemed to call for the foregoing comments; but the history of the Italian Humanism after his time is, in its main outlines, a well-known episode in the annals of European culture, and, even if our limits permitted, it would be unnecessary here to recall the varied phases of the onward movement. The activity of that little band of enthusiasts who, assembling within the walls of the convent of San Spirito, sustained and enriched the traditions he had bequeathed to them,—the wider extension and deeper flow of the same spirit as seen in the researches and discoveries of Poggio, in the masterly criticisms of Valla (Erasmus's great exemplar), and in the scholarship and satirical genius of Philelphus,—the circle of laborious though less original literati, chiefly known as translators, that gathered round the court of Nicholas V,—the splendid array of genius fostered under the

The Italian
Humanists
of the later
times.

¹ *Rerum Memorand. Lib. II; Opera*, p. 466.

² *Opera*, p. 1159.

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successive protection of Cosmo, Lorenzo, and their descendant on the papal throne (a care they so well repaid), the teachers of Germany, France and England,—all these require no illustration at our hands; and for our special purpose it will suffice to give a brief consideration to the labours of those few in the long array, whose names are most prominently associated with the revival of Greek learning and its consequent introduction into the Transalpine universities.

Florence and
Constanti-
nople con-
trasted.

In the fifteenth century there was but one capital in Europe that could vie with Florence in the combination of the beautiful in art with the beautiful in nature, and that capital was the city of the Golden Horn. But while marked by this general resemblance, the two cities offered in their culture, their sympathies, and their political circumstances, a yet more striking contrast. Even at this long interval of time, it is difficult for the believer in human progress and the lover of art and literature to look back upon what Florence then was, and what she afterwards became, without something of emotion. Alone among the Italian republics she still reared aloft the triple banner of freedom, virtue, and patriotism. While other republics had become subject to a tyrant's yoke, or, like Genoa and Venice, were pursuing an isolated, ignoble, and selfish policy, Florence was still to be found the champion of the common weal. With a spirit of heroism that has often been deemed characteristic solely of a martial race, she combined a rare genius for commercial enterprise that had raised her to the summit of mercantile greatness. Her bankers ruled the markets of Europe. Her surrounding territory in its wondrous productiveness bore witness to the skill and industry of her agriculturists. Within her walls successively arose those marvels of architectural art round which the ancient glory still seems to linger, though her greatness and power have fled. In the desolation that followed upon the Great Plague the university had been broken up, but it had been refounded and endowed with ample revenues by the state: and it is significant of the liberal conception of learning that there prevailed, that in the year 1373 a chair had been established, at the special request

Florence in
the four-
teenth and
fifteenth cen-
turies.

of many of the citizens, for promoting the study of the works of Dante, which was afterwards combined with the chair of philosophy and rhetoric. It was fit that at such a centre the genius of intellectual freedom should gird itself for a conquest compared with which the proudest achievements of Florence on the field of battle seem insignificant indeed.

To all these features the city of the Bosphorus offered a complete antithesis. It was the tottering seat of a moribund dynasty. At the time that the palaces of the Medici reflected back the joyous spirit of the Tuscan capital, the home of the Palæologi was haunted by gloomy forebodings or echoed with the utterances of actual dismay. The learning of the two capitals was in like contrast. As we turn the pages of the Florentine writers, from Petrarch to Politian, all is ardent, enthusiastic, and inspiring; a glow of youthful vigour lends a charm to the crudest fancies of the scholar exultant in the discovery of a new world. The sentiment often, it is true, now strikes us as singularly trite and little beyond that of a clever schoolboy, the scholarship is often of an order that many a modern schoolboy would blush to own; but the defects are those of immaturity not of incapacity, of ambitious talent rather than of hopeless mediocrity. Even its most serious blemish, its grossness, seems venial when compared with the sycophancy that repels us at a later time,—with the pedantic despotism of the Averroists that ushered in the decline that awaited it in the sixteenth century, or with the yet deeper degradation that befel it in a yet later age,—when a greater than Petrarch visited that classic land and lamented over the servile condition to which letters had there been brought, until ‘the glory of Italian wits was damped,’ and ‘nothing written but flattery and fustian¹.’ In Constantinople, on the other hand, learning had deteriorated even when compared with the period which has already occupied our attention, when Psellus compiled his treatise on logic². The capture of the capital by the Crusaders in 1204, and the discouragement to literary culture given by their barbarous rule, mark the complete

Constantinople.

Contrast between the culture of the two cities.

¹ Milton, *Arcopagitica*.

² See *supra*, pp. 175–6.

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disappearance of authors, or different works of authors, that had survived up to that time. In the days of Petrarch the city had regained its independence, but not its literary spirit. It was again an acknowledged centre of learning, and attracted numerous students from far and near, but its culture, in many respects strongly resembling that of the western scholasticism, had become mechanical in spirit and purely traditional in method; whatever of genuine mental activity was to be discerned seems to have been mainly expended on those theological subtleties to which perhaps the peculiar refinements of the Greek language offered a special temptation.

Causes of
variance be-
tween the two
cities.

To differences thus marked must be added the great political elements of variance. Ever since that eventful day when Pope Leo placed upon the head of Charlemagne the diadem of the Roman empire, the attitude of the Byzantine emperors and their subjects towards the nations of western Christendom had been one of sullen aversion¹; and ever since that inauspicious day in the succeeding century, when Photius drew up the articles of faith that were to divide, it would seem for ever, the Churches of the East and the West, political estrangement had been intensified by theological antipathies.

Italian scholars at Constantinople.

Philelphus,
b. 1398,
d. 1481.

Nevertheless the Italian scholar bent a longing eye towards the city of the Bosphorus, for there were still treasured the masterpieces of a literature which he regarded with none the less veneration because it was to him so imperfectly known. Occasionally, like John of Ravenna, Philelphus, Giacomo of Scarparia, and Guarino of Verona, he was to be seen in the streets of Constantinople, seeking to acquire a knowledge of the language, and to gain possession of copies of the most esteemed authors. But instances like these were rare, and attended with but partial success. Philelphus thus describes his own experience in the year 1441:—‘When

¹ ‘The coronation of Charles was in their eyes an act of unholy rebellion; his successors were barbarian intruders, ignorant of the laws and usages of the ancient state, and with

no claim to the Roman name except that which the favour of an insolent pontiff might confer.’ Prof. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 191³.

there,' he says, 'I studied hard and long, and made diligent search for some one or other of the full and careful treatises of Apollonius or Herodian on grammar, which however were nowhere to be found. The text-books used and the introduction given by the lecturers in the schools are full of the merest trifles, and nothing certain or satisfactory is to be gained from their teaching with respect to the grammatical construction of a sentence, the quantity of syllables, or accent. The Æolic dialect, which is that chiefly used by Homer and Callimachus in their compositions, the teachers of to-day are altogether ignorant of. Whatever I have learned of those matters has been the result of my own study and research, although I would be far from denying the important aid that the instructions of my father-in-law, Chrysoloras, have afforded me¹.'

His account
of Greek
learning at
Constantinople.

Occasionally, on the other hand, the teacher sought his pupils, and a native Greek crossed the Adriatic and announced in Italy his ability and willingness to impart the coveted knowledge. But from Barlaamo downwards these men were mostly impudent charlatans, and their pretensions were soon exposed even by those whom they pretended to teach². The true commencement of a systematic study of Greek in Italy, dates from the arrival in 1396 of Emmanuel Chrysoloras³, a relative of the John Chrysoloras of whom Philelphus above makes mention, as an ambassador from the emperor of the eastern empire to solicit aid against the Turks.

Emmanuel
Chrysoloras,
d. 1415.

Chrysoloras was honorably distinguished from those of his countrymen who had hitherto assumed the literary character in Italy, by his noble descent, his high and not unde-

His high
character
and literary
reputation.

¹ Hody, p. 188.

² Æneas Sylvius, in his *Europa*, c. 52, tells an amusing story of how Ugo Benzi of Sienna, the learned physician, discomfited a whole party of these pretenders in a formal philosophic discussion.

³ Many writers, among whom I notice so recent a contributor to the literature of the subject as Dr Geiger, have dated this revival from the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Voigt

justly observes of the Greek refugees on that occasion, 'Sie waren in keiner Weise die Männer, von denen eine tiefgreifende Bewegung hätte ausgehen können. In der That wurde der Anstoss schon bedeutend früher durch Chrysoloras und seine Schüler gegeben, unter denen wir die rüstigsten Förderer beider Literaturen finden, und auf dem Unionseoncil wurde der Funke zur Flamme.' Voigt, p. 330.

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He masters
the Latin
language.

served reputation, and his real knowledge of the Greek literature. To the man of letters he added the man of the world and the diplomatist; he was acquainted with most of the countries of Europe, and had visited our own court in the reign of Richard II in an official capacity. He was, however, like most of his countrymen, ignorant of the Latin tongue, for the Greeks, while still claiming for their emperor the sovereignty of the Roman empire, had well-nigh lost all traces of western civilisation. It attests the energy of his character, that though already advanced in years, he now applied himself to the study of the language, and eventually mastered it¹. The literary fame of Chrysoloras had preceded him; for Guarino of Verona had studied the Greek language for five years under his guidance at Constantinople, and he now drew the attention of his countrymen to the rare opportunity presented by the arrival of so illustrious a scholar. Eventually the services of Chrysoloras were secured by the university of Florence, and he soon found himself the centre of an enthusiastic circle of learners. His success in the field of labour to which he was thus unexpectedly summoned was as conspicuous as his efforts as an ambassador were fruitless.

His eminence
as a teacher
of Greek.

Most of those who had listened to Petrarch's famous pupil, John of Ravenna, at Ferrara, in his exposition of the Latin literature, now gathered with many others round the new teacher of Greek at Florence. For their use he compiled a Greek grammar, the *Erotemata*,—*egregium libellum grammaticum*, as Boerner justly terms it,—the same that afterwards served Reuchlin for a model at Orleans², that was used

His Greek
Grammar.

¹ Voigt's language implies that Chrysoloras was already acquainted with Latin, but the statement of Julianus is explicit:—'Nam cum jam grandis esset, nullius præceptoris auxilio nostras perdidicit literas, neque sibi oneri visum est, eum tot annis philosophiæ studiis vacasset, ad puerilia literarum elementa reverti.' Boerner, p. 31.

² See authorities quoted by Boerner, p. 21. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, 19, 20. Reuchlin himself compiled a Greek grammar, the *μικροπαιδεία*, for

his own scholars. This however was never deemed worthy of being printed, and as the title suggests contained probably the merest elements, while the *Erotemata* went through many editions, and was *par excellence* the Greek grammar of the first century of the Renaissance. See Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, ist 101. According to Constantine Lascaris it suffered considerably from being often abridged by ignorant compilers,—τὸ βιβλίον οὐκ οἷδ' ὅπως τινὲς τῶν ἀμαθῶν συστellaντες διέφθειραν. Hody, p. 22.

by Linacre at Oxford and by Erasmus at Cambridge, and long continued to hold its ground against formidable rivals. Aretino has left on record the feelings with which he hastened to join the circle. He was at that time occupied in studying the civil law; 'but now,' he exclaimed to himself, 'it was in his power to gain a far higher knowledge, an acquaintance with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes, with all those poets, philosophers, and orators, in short, of whom he had so often heard. Could he possibly let slip so glorious an opportunity? For seven hundred years no one in Italy had really understood the Greek language, though through that language well nigh all knowledge had been handed down to men. Of doctors of civil law there was plenty, of whom he might learn at any time, but of teachers of Greek this was the only one¹.'

Chrysoloras taught not only at Florence but also at Venice, Padua, Milan, and Rome; and from the last city he addressed to his relative, John Chrysoloras, that graceful letter wherein he describes the resemblance of the City of the Seven Hills to the City of the Golden Horn, and tells how, as he gazed from each surrounding eminence, he fancied himself again in his native city, until his eye was fain to seek out his own home with its cypresses and hanging garden².

His visit to Rome.

In such useful but tranquil labours he would, it seems, have been well content to pass the remainder of his days, had he not suddenly been called away to duties of a more arduous character. The closing scene in his career, though less directly relevant to the progress of letters, is deserving of careful study as affording a very apt illustration of the state of the political and religious world at that time. If we may trust the account given by Julianus, the illustrious exile appears, in his latter years, to have ceased to hope for the country of his birth, and his aims and sympathies had begun to centre in the land that had afforded him so generous a reception, and seemed destined to so glorious a future³.

Closing years of his life.

¹ Muratori *Scriptores*, xix '920; Hody, pp. 28—30.

² Codinus, *De Antiquitatibus Constantinop.*, quoted by Boerner, p. 23.

³ 'Nam cum Græcos nihil aut parum literis suis animum advertere sentiret, easque sensim sinistra rerum ac temporum varietate extinguere cognosceret,

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Critical condition of the eastern empire.

His efforts to arouse the western powers to concerted action against the common enemy had signally failed, while the tide of invasion in the East had begun to threaten the walls of Constantinople itself. In the opinion of Gibbon it was little more than a feeling of generosity in the foe that spared the imperial city when the crescent already gleamed from the walls of Adrianopolis¹. An urgent summons had recalled Chrysoloras for a short period to Constantinople to receive Greek instructions, and what he then heard and witnessed appears to have convinced him that the fall of the capital could not much longer be averted. Unlike the majority of his countrymen in their exile, he had been led to renounce the distinctive tenets of the Greek Church, and had given additional proof of his orthodoxy by a treatise on the chief question in dispute—the Procession of the Holy Ghost. It was probably this fact, combined with his high reputation as a diplomatist, that now marked him out in the eyes of pope John XXII as an eminently fit person to accompany the papal delegates to the council of Constance, where it was designed that the union of the Churches of the East and the West should again become a subject of discussion. The project was one which commanded his warmest sympathies²; and, apart from the religious aspect, the circumstances under which that council was convened must have had for every Greek a peculiar significance. It was summoned not by the pope, but by the emperor Sigismund³. For the first time,

He becomes a convert to the Western Church.

He attends the council of Constance as a delegate of the Pope.

ne ipsorum studiorum vetus illa gloria deficeret, in Italiam navigavit,' etc. *Andreae Juliani pro Manuele Chrysolora Funebris Oratio*, Boerner, p. 32.

¹ Gibbon—Milman—Smith, viii 28.

² 'Nam cum summus pontifex Constantiam ire constituisset, nonnullosque summæ auctoritatis viros et sapientiæ, atque erga hanc nostram religionem insigni quadam pietate affectos sibi delegisset, Manuelem inter primos habere constituit, qui in hanc laudatissimam rem necessariumque negotium ita omnem curam, studium, diligentiamque contulit ut neque vim ullam, neque insidias, neque metus prospicere, nec senectutis suæ incommoda aut labores æstimare videretur. Quocirca hujus tam diu

agitatæ, divisæ, laceratæque religionis nostræ divino prope affectu permotus, pontificibus maximis, qui ipsius gravitatem, prudentiam et vitam, tanquam cæleste oraculum venerabantur, concilli sententias, quantum in se fuit, suscipiendas fore, suadere conatus est. Et ut ceterorum bonorum judiciis adhereret, omnem itineris longitudinem, frigora, hiemes, viarum asperitates atque mortem, si opus esset, perferre instituit. Quæ cum, ut cogitaret, perfecta fuissent, inveteratos Græcorum errores ad Romanam religionem sua opera ac diligentia deduxisset.' Boerner, pp. 26-7.

³ It was on this occasion that Sigismund declared himself, as *rex Romanus*, to be *super grammaticam*.

the ruler of western Christendom had assumed the highest prerogative of his imperial dignity, as the coequal or superior of the chief pontiff himself¹. At the very time, therefore, that the eastern empire appeared on the eve of dissolution, its rival of the West was rising to the just level of its high ideal; and to Chrysoloras,—who, as he gazed from the heights that surrounded Rome had half imagined he beheld again the city of his birth,—who had seen the literature of his native tongue, at the very time that it was dying out on the shores of the Bosphorus, taking vigorous root on the banks of the Tiber,—it may well have seemed that the faith and the sovereignty of *Nova Roma* were also summoned by no obscure or trivial portents to find their future home in the Italian land.

In sentiments like these we have a sufficient explanation of the readiness with which he accepted the task confided to his hands, and, though advanced in years, boldly faced the severities of a winter journey across the Alps to Constance: they serve also to explain the bitterness of the disappointment with which he witnessed the sudden breaking up of that memorable assembly. He was seized with fear and died after a few days; the victim, according to Julianus, of grief rather than of disease². His remains received honorable interment within the precincts of the Dominican convent at Constance: and his epitaph,—the grateful tribute of Poggio to his memory,—declared that he had acquired in Italy that lasting fame which it was no longer in the power of his native country to confer. His

His death at
Constance.

¹ 'It can hardly be said that upon any occasion, except the gathering of the council of Constance by Sigismund, did the emperor appear filling a truly international place.' Prof. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 253³.

² 'Sed cum, præter suam opinionem atque omnium bonorum iudicium, communem omnium libertatem obsessam videret, et ad unius voluntatem redacta omnia, tandemque pontificem suum ad fugam redactum, assiduus febribus obsessus est, paucosque post dies, dolore magis

urgente quam morbo, excessit e vita.' *Juliani Funeris Oratio*, Boerner, pp. 26, 27. *Unius* is, of course, Sigismund; Chrysoloras was the partisan of pope John. Julianus's version of the story is worthy of note. Hody, who is followed by Voigt, represents Chrysoloras as sent by the emperor as interpreter to Constance, and as dying there before the council had assembled. The quotation in n.(2) in preceding page shews this view to be erroneous: see also Boerner, pp. 14, 26, 27. *Facius, De Viris Illustribus*, p. 8.

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His funeral
oration by
Julianus.

epitaph was not the only memorial reared by the scholar to his memory. With the revival of the ancient literature there had been rekindled among the men of letters of that day much of the oratorical spirit of Greece and Rome, and by the fifteenth century it was rarely that any important public event was allowed to pass unaccompanied by some rhetorical effusion¹. Among such efforts the funeral oration held a conspicuous place; and on the death of Chrysoloras an oration of this kind was pronounced in Venice, where he had once taught with such signal success, by Andreas Julianus, a noble of that city. This composition, equally deserving of notice for its elegant Latinity and as a record of some interesting facts respecting the father of Greek learning in Italy, is still extant; and making all allowance for the hyperbole of a Ciceronian diction and the partiality of private friendship, we may conclude that Chrysoloras had earned in no ordinary degree, both by his public and private character, the esteem and admiration of his contemporaries.

Guarino,
b. 1370.
d. 1460.

His fame as
a teacher.

Among the disciples of Chrysoloras Guarino was undoubtedly the one on whom the mantle of the master descended. His reputation as a teacher induced the authorities of the university of Ferrara to engage his services, leaving him to fix the amount of his own salary. Nor was their liberality misplaced; for his fame soon attracted to the city learners from every country. Poggio preferred his instruction for his youthful son to any that Florence could offer; and his contemporaries were wont to apply to him the saying of Cicero respecting Isocrates,—that more learned men had issued from his school than chieftains from the Trojan horse². Even Englishmen, little as learning was then in vogue in their country, were to be found among the hearers of Guarino. Of this number was the unfortunate John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, the author of various orations delivered before pope Pius II, and one of the earliest translators from the Latin into his native language,—Robert Fleming, the papal protho-

Famous
Englishmen
among his
pupils.

¹ For an account of the different forms which this spirit assumed, see Burckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, 180-7.

² This however was a kind of stock compliment at this period: Maffei de Volterra applies it to John of Ravenna, Platina to Bessarion.

notary, and author of the *Lucubrationes Tiburtianæ*¹,—John Free, a lawyer of considerable eminence, whose performances as a translator from the Greek were sufficiently meritorious to induce the Italians to claim them as the work of their celebrated countryman, Poggio Bracciolini²,—John Gundorp, and William Gray, afterwards bishop of Ely³. To the last named learning in England was indebted for an important accession to its resources. On his return from Italy, Gray brought with him a collection of manuscripts, some of them of authors that had never before crossed the channel, and all of them well calculated to impart to the few scholars to be found among his countrymen a notion of the movement in progress in the Transalpine universities. His collection included the letters of Petrarch, and numerous orations by Poggio, Aretino, and Guarino,—compositions that by their more classic diction and genuine admiration of antiquity could hardly fail to awaken a like spirit in the northern centres of learning; a new translation of the *Timæus* and another of the *Euthyphron* were a contribution to an extended knowledge of Plato; the Institutions of Lactantius, versions of the Golden Verses of Pythagoras (a favorite text-book at Cambridge in after years), hitherto unknown orations and treatises by Cicero and Quintilian, and many of the discourses of Seneca, were also important additions; while Jerome's Letter to Pammachius, on 'Origenism,' is deserving of notice as the first instalment of a special literature which was shortly to give rise to a controversy of no ordinary significance⁴. We have no direct proof that bishop Gray was actuated by feelings of resentment towards the university like those which Baker, as we have already seen, attributes to bishop Fordham and bishop Morgan, but so far as the bequest of his valuable collection may be looked

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William
Gray.

MSS.
brought by
Gray to
England.

His collection
bequeathed
to Balliol
College.

¹ Johnson, *Life of Linacre*, p. 91.

² Thomæ Caii, *Vindiciæ Antiquit.* Acad. Oxon. II 334, ed. Hearne.

³ Bentham says, 'being possessed of an ample fortune, he removed to Ferrara, where he studied under Guarini of Verona, with as great benefit to himself as credit to his master; especially in the Greek and

Hebrew languages.' *Hist. of Ely Cathedral*, p. 177. See also Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I 672; Poggio, *Epist.* 39 *Episcopo Eliensi in Mai Spicileg. Rom.* x 296.

⁴ *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur.* Confecit Henricus O. Coxe, M.A., Oxonii, 1852. Pars I.

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upon as evidence the existence of such resentment is far from improbable. It is evident at least that his affection for his own college at Oxford exceeded his care for the university of his diocese, for his library was bequeathed to Balliol¹; and it may easily be conjectured that the one or two scholars at Cambridge in those days to whom the destination of such a legacy appeared a matter of any interest, when they heard to whose keeping these treasures had been confided, observed that they might thank pope Martin v and the Ultramontanists for the loss sustained by their own university. Like Isocrates, Guarino also attained to an advanced and vigorous old age, which found him still busied on his literary labours. His productions were chiefly translations from the Greek; and only two years before his death, at the age of 88, he completed a translation of the Geography of Strabo².

Old age of
Guarino.

Leonardo
Bruni,
b. 1382.
d. 1443.

Not less eminent than Guarino, though distinguished in a somewhat different manner, was Leonardo Bruni, known from the place of his birth as Aretino, and by his learned contemporaries as 'the modern Aristotle.' From him we date the commencement of a more intelligent study of Aristotle's writings,—an improvement which the increasing critical faculty of the age rendered indispensable if the authority of the Stagirite were still to hold its ground. The conviction that forced itself upon Grosseteste and Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century was now the sentiment of every Italian Humanist. Even pope Pius II, though ignorant of Greek, was ready to declare that, if Aristotle were to come again to life, he would be totally unable to recognise as his own the thoughts for which he was made responsible by his Latin interpreters³. Among those who were attracted by the fame of Aretino, was cardinal Beaufort's great rival, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. He had already become acquainted with Aretino's translation of the Ethics, and he now besought him to give to the world a translation of the Politics,—a copy of which had recently been brought from Constantinople by Pallas de Strozzi. Aretino acceded to his request, and laying

His trans-
lations of
Aristotle.

He translates
the Politics at
the request of
Humphrey,
duke of
Gloucester.

¹ Bentham says that he also built a good part of the college library.

Hist. of Ely Cathedral, p. 176.

² Voigt, p. 257.

³ *Asia*, c. 71.

aside the senseless word-for-word method of translation hitherto in vogue, and totally disregarding the endless subtleties of the Arabian commentators, produced, after three years' labour, a version that with respect to clearness and elegance threw every preceding version into the shade. Scholars to whom criticisms like those of Petrarch had appeared unanswerable, began to say that they could now understand how Cicero could praise the Aristotelian style. It was the first real advance towards a true knowledge of the text of Aristotle since the time of Aquinas, though soon to be completely outdone by the achievements of Argyropulos. When the translation was completed, Bruni, it is said, dedicated the work to duke Humphrey, and forwarded a copy to England. But his noble patron, immersed probably in the anxieties of his political career, delayed his acknowledgements, and the haughty Italian recalled his dedication and laid it at the feet of pope Eugenius instead¹.

But if forgetful of Italy, duke Humphrey was not unmindful of Oxford, and it is not improbable that the splendid collections of manuscripts with which he enriched the university in the year 1439 and 1443,—donations which Mr Anstey declares 'did more for the university than any other benefaction, before or after, has done,'—were partly the means of awakening that active interest in the new learning that in the latter part of the century was exhibited by various members of the community. The theological authors, that occupy so large a proportion of the catalogues² of these two collections, would of course appear to the majority of the students of the time the most valuable element; but the above-named translations by Aretino, both included in the earlier list, and a new translation of the Republic of Plato, could scarcely fail to attract the attention of the 'artists.' A copy of Dante and numerous copies of Petrarch's best known treatises must have also been singularly suggestive of bold

Duke Humphrey's bequests to Oxford.

Novel elements thus introduced.

¹ Voigt, p. 373.

² Both the catalogues are printed by Mr Anstey in *Munimenta Academica*, pp. 758-72. Only three volumes are still to be found in the

Bodleian :—the translation of the Politics above mentioned, (the identical copy presented by Guarino, splendidly illuminated), the Epistles of Pliny, and a copy of Valerius Maximus.

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and novel habits of thought. The Verrines and Philippiques of Cicero and the letters *Ad Familiares* were an appreciable addition to the stores of the Latin scholar; while the theologian would find no little material for reflexion, and much that was startling and strange, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius.

Fall of Constantinople,
1453.

As the first half of the fifteenth century drew to its close, it became evident that the progress of the Turkish arms in the East was likely before long to be signalized by a decisive triumph, and in the year 1453 all Christendom learned with unmistakeable dismay, that the last of the Constantines had fallen fighting at the gates of his imperial city, and that the cry of the muezzin had been uttered from the loftiest turret of St. Sophia. Though long anticipated, the event did not fail to

The flight to
Italy.

awaken in Italy a feeling of profound commiseration. For a time it was forgotten that the hapless fugitives who came fleeing across the Mediterranean were schismatics, only to remember that they were Christians, and they were received with every manifestation of sympathy and respect. Among them there came a few scholars of eminence,—Argyropulos, Chalcondyles, Andronicus Callistus, Constantine and John Lascaris,—bearing with them whatever literary treasures they had been able to snatch from destruction. The efforts of the preceding half century had fortunately already introduced into Italy many of the Greek classics; the collection imported by John Aurispa in 1423 forming probably the most important contribution. He had brought, according to Traversarius, nearly all the extant works of Plato, and also those of Plotinus, Proclus, Lucian, Xenophon, Dio, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, the Orphic Hymns, the Geography of Strabo, Callimachus, Pindar, and Oppian¹. To this array the poor exiles contributed the last instalment of any magnitude, but the loss was enormous. Quirinus, a Venetian, writing to pope Nicolas V, asserts that more than a hundred and twenty thousand volumes had been destroyed by the conquering Turks. In his eyes the loss would seem to have appeared not merely irreparable in itself but fatal to the cause of Greek

Prior importations of
Greek literature.

Forebodings of Italian
scholars

Lament of
Quirinus.

¹ Ersch and Gruber, *Griechenland*, VIII 290.

learning; and he predicts, in language that seems the utterance of a genuine emotion, that the literature 'which had given light to the whole world, that had brought in wholesome laws, sacred philosophy, and all other branches of a noble culture,' will absolutely be lost to men¹. Æneas Sylvius, in a speech delivered a few months later before the assembled princes of Germany at Ratisbon, echoed his despairing tones. Constantinople, he declared, had been the home of learning, the citadel of philosophy, and now that she had fallen before the Infidel, the wisdom of Hellas was destined also to perish. 'Poetry and philosophy,' he exclaims, in a letter written at nearly the same time, 'seem buried. There are, I admit, not a few illustrious seats of learning among the Latin race,—Rome, Paris, Bologna, Padua, Sienna, Perugia, Cologne, Vienna, Salamanca, Oxford, Pavia, Leipsic, Erfurt,—but these are all but rivulets from the fountains of the Greeks, and if you sever the stream from its source it dries up².' It would be unjust to set down these exaggerated expressions as mere rhetorical outbursts, and we may fairly suppose that the writers were in ignorance at the time of how much had already been done towards averting a calamity like that which they foreboded. They both lived to see the promise of a very different future. The light in Constantinople was far from being altogether quenched³, while in western Christendom the capture of the eastern capital, with its immediate consequences, served only to lend a new impulse to the ardour of the scholar. 'It is hardly credible,' says an author of this age, writing but a few years later, 'how many of our countrymen became almost like Greeks bred in Attica and Achaia, in their capacity for comprehending the Greek literature⁴.' At the very time moreover that the fugitives from Constantinople were hastening across the Adriatic, it is probable that the sheets of the Mazarin Bible were issuing from the press

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Predictions
of Æneas
Sylvius.

His predictions
falsified
by the sequel.

¹ Hody, p. 191-2.

² *Ibid.*

³ 'Quin vero constat in urbe Constantinopoli, postquam a Turcis capta fuisset, floruisse magno numero literarum non modo aliarum verum etiam Græcarum studiosos. Testa-

tur enim Reuchlinus (*De Arte Cabalistica*, lib. 1), "plus illic fuisse discipulorum quam decem millium, e Persia, Græcia, Latio, et Judaismo." *Ibid.* p. 193.

⁴ Angelus Decembrius, *De Literatura Politia* (quoted by Hody).

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of Guttenberg at Maintz ; and thus, while Italy was rescuing from destruction the most valuable thought of the ancient world, Germany was devising the means for its diffusion, in lands of which Strabo never heard and to an extent of which the Sosii never dreamed.

Conduct of
the Greek
scholars in
Italy.

There was now no lack of teachers of Greek, or rather of those who professed to teach the language. But, as Voigt observes, the estimation in which the scholarship of the new comers was held appears for the most part to have declined in proportion as the knowledge of their language and literature increased among those whom they aspired to teach. 'As they continued,' he says, 'to arrive in ever-increasing numbers and yet more and more in the character of mendicants, the respect with which these scions of the Homeric heroes and of the ancient Athenians were at first regarded altogether vanished. It was seen that they were totally unable to lay aside their Byzantine arrogance ; that they were surly and peevish, though dependent for their very existence on charity, destitute of the ordinary comforts of life, and under the necessity of occupying themselves as teachers or of paying court to the great. Men thought they would do better if they were to endeavour to adapt themselves to the customs of their new homes, to shave their white beards, and lay aside their dull affectation of superiority. They shewed moreover a notable incapacity for acquiring either the Latin or the Italian language. Of the former, but few, and these only after long years of toil, acquired any command, while not more than three or four attained to facility and elegance of expression¹. To the Latins, who acquired the Greek language with such ardour and rapidity, and so zealously betook themselves to the study of its literature, they consequently appeared as boorish and indolent men. The sluggish By-

Their decline
in the general
estimation.

¹ Even the ablest among them seem to have despaired of attaining to a complete mastery of the language: Bessarion himself says:— 'Nostris impossibile est aliquid æquali gratia atque Latini in lingua Latina scribere, quantumcumque vel Græci in Latina, vel Latini in Græca lingua

profecerint. Cujus rei tum ego tum alii de nostris digni sumus testes, qui Latinam utcumque mediocriter intelligimus linguam, nil tamen, quod ornatum Latineque compositum sit, scribere possum.' *Epist. ad Lasca- rin*, Hody, p. 177.

zantine temperament ill consorted with the lively Italian character: and even in the time of pope Eugenius (1431—1447) the readiness to assist these Greek wanderers, who were almost entirely useless members of society, had already sensibly declined¹.

The chief patron of the unfortunate exiles at this juncture was the celebrated Bessarion, a native of Trapezus but of Greek descent², and distinguished by his patriotic zeal in behalf of the national cause. His efforts to sustain the tottering empire had been of no ordinary kind, though he had been absent in Italy when the final catastrophe occurred; we even find indeed one of his admirers asserting that to his absence that calamity was mainly due, and that the capital had never fallen had Bessarion been there to animate the spirit of its defenders³. Long after the event, he was still foremost among those who urged aggressive measures against the Turks, and he is said to have built and equipped at his own expense a trireme to cooperate with the Venetian fleet. In pursuance of the same policy he sought, like Chrysoloras, to promote the union of the two Churches; for it was, he maintained, the religious differences of the East and the West which gave the infidel his chief advantage; it was those differences that had brought about the overthrow of the great Churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria; and unless so prolific a source of disunited counsels were removed, he predicted that Europe would share the fate of Africa, and the Crescent everywhere be seen triumphant over the standard of the Cross⁴. Such were the sentiments

Bessarion.
b. 1395.
d. 1472.

His patriotic
zeal.

His efforts to
unite the two
Churches.

¹ Voigt, p. 332.

² 'Ex vetere Græcia oriundus, natusque in Asia, utriusque collegit generosi spiritus semina.' Platinæ *Panegyricus*, Boerner, p. 82. This panegyric, which contains much valuable material for the life of Bessarion, was composed during the lifetime of the cardinal, and gives no facts subsequent to the elevation of his rival, Pius II, to the papal chair. Hody, who had never seen it, speaks of it (p. 152) as a funeral oration!

³ 'Constans est certe, Quirites, omnium bene sentientium opinio, et eorum maxime qui suo periculo ista-

rum calamitatum gnari sunt, duo illa imperia nunquam fuisse corrumpitura, si Bessarion, magni animi atque consilii vir, illis in locis tum fuisset, cum tempestas illa contra non Græcos tantum sed humanum genus exorta est. Excitasset enim vir omnium vigilantissimus dormientem Græcam, armasset nimio otio languentes animos, ire in hostem suos, et a cervicibus tantam calamitatem avertere quantam passi sunt, spe veræ et integræ laudis proposita, compulisset.' *Ibid.* pp. 84-5.

⁴ 'Dicebat enim, quod verissimum est, Mahometanam perfidiam late

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to which he gave expression in the year 1438, at the council of Ferrara. On the convening of that assembly he had appeared as the advocate of the Greek faith, and had seen in the opposite ranks men like Guarino, Traversari, and Aurispa, whom Pope Eugenius had deputed to defend the Latin tenets. As the debates proceeded Bessarion had been brought to the conclusion that the chief question in dispute, —that respecting the Procession of the Holy Ghost,—turned on a merely verbal distinction; and had consequently, with a candour that offered a marked contrast to the characteristic obstinacy of his countrymen, given in his adhesion to the Romish faith as the representative of his party¹. He was shortly after created cardinal, and twice during his lifetime it seemed more than probable that the supreme dignity of the tiara would also fall to his lot. The attempted union of the two Churches however it was beyond his power to bring about. He continued firm in his allegiance to the western communion, and his bearded countenance, along with that of another convert of eminence, the cardinal of Kiew, was conspicuous in the throng of ecclesiastics at the papal court; but his example attracted few or no followers. The great majority of his countrymen still insisted with wearisome pertinacity on their distinctive views, which they vindicated by appeals to the early fathers of the eastern Church. It was

His conversion to the western Church.

His example productive of little result.

crevisse dum religionis nostræ capita inter se dissiderent; procedatue Spiritus Sanctus a Patre tantum, ut Græci, an a Patre et Filio ut Latini volebant; his enim controversiis factum, ut ad Mahometanos, partim vi, partim sponte, deficerent populi, dum Christianæ religionis principes quid potissimum teneant incertos vident. Hinc amissam esse Antiochenam ecclesiam, hinc Hierosolymitanam, hinc Alexandrinam; hinc denique omnem ferne Asiam et totam Africam hanc pestem occupasse, et, quod gravius est, Europæ quasdam partes jamjam infecisse ac longius evagaturam, ni, proptere sublatis tam perniciosiis controversiis ac pulsâ Christianæ reipublicæ hostibus, in possessionem veterem labore vigiliis ac sanguine martyrum comparatam, armati eum

vexillo crucis pervenerint.' *Ibid.* p. 86.

¹ Voigt says of the conduct of the representatives of the Greek party on this occasion:—'Sie kamen und suchten Hülfe; schon in dieser einfachen Situation war es stillschweigend ausgesprochen, dass sie bereit waren, sich um guten Preis den Dogmen der lateinischen Kirche zu fügen. Dennoch wurden erst lange gelehrte Schcingefeelte eröffnet, möchte nun der griechische Klerus nicht ganz so glaubensbereit sein wie der Kaiser oder möchte man auch nur den Schein retten wollen.' p. 333. Hody, who has taken his account entirely from Sguropulos, *Hist. Conc. Florent.*, gives a somewhat different aspect to the proceedings, see pp. 137-42.

thus that, unhappily for the progress of classical learning and the peace of the scholar, the Greek language became in the minds of many associated with heresy, and an opposition far more irrational even than that which the New Aristotle had evoked, confronted the professors of the Greek literature not only in Italy but also in Germany and in England.

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Greek becomes associated with heresy.

We have already mentioned John Argyropulos as one of the few men of learning in the promiscuous throng of fugitives from Constantinople. He was a native of that city and of noble birth. Along with the majority of those whose attainments encouraged them to look for assistance at the hands of the patrons of letters, he betook himself to Florence, where Cosmo de Medici was then at the height of his popularity and power. Argyropulos was hospitably received, and the instruction of the youthful Lorenzo was confided to his care: he thenceforth attached himself to the family of the Medici, and by the lustre which his numerous dedications, the expressions of genuine gratitude and admiration, cast upon that noble house, may be held to have more than repaid the many favours he received. His real learning, united to such powerful patronage, soon drew around him a distinguished circle of scholars seeking to gain a knowledge of the Greek literature, among whom the most eminent was undoubtedly Politian. Driven by the plague from Florence, Argyropulos next took refuge in Rome, where his lectures on Aristotle still further enhanced his reputation. According to the testimony of his illustrious scholar, his range of knowledge was unusually extended, embracing not merely grammar and rhetoric but a perfected acquaintance with the whole course of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*¹; he was however singularly disdainful of the Latin language and literature, and his efforts were almost entirely concentrated on promoting a more accurate acquaintance with the Aristotelian philosophy. Philelphus, Cortesius, and Politian vie with each other in their praises of his services in this field. *Plura virorum*, says Boerner, after quoting their emphatic

Argyropulos.
b. 1416.
d. 1486 (?).

The Medici
his patrons.

He devotes
himself to
improving
the know-
ledge of
Aristotle.

Admitted ex-
cellence of
his transla-
tion.

¹ — 'disciplinarum cunctarum, quæ tissimus est habitus.' *Miscellanea*,
Cyclicæ a Martiano dicuntur, erudi- c. i. Hody, p. 199.

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encomiums, *taceo testimonia, quibus de insigni eximiaque illius eruditione predicarunt*. Theodorus Gaza, whose modest worth stands in such favorable contrast to the vanity and arrogance of many of the scholars of this period, burnt his own translations of the *Naturalia* and the *Ethics* when he heard that Argyropulos had also versions of them forthcoming¹. We realise the change that had come about since the time of Petrarch, when we find the haughty exile declaring that Cicero,—from whose writings Petrarch had chiefly gained his knowledge of the ancient philosophy,—Cicero, whose ascendancy over the minds of educated Italy was increasing with every year,—had no true knowledge either of the Greek language or of the systems of the great Greek thinkers². This jealousy of all Roman interpreters of the Greek oracles was however too often exhibited by these ungrateful dependants on Italian charity. *Latinos*, said Politian *sarcastically, *in participatum suæ linguæ doctrineque non libenter admittit ista natio*.

His depreciation of Cicero as a philosopher.

His literary labours.

Unlike Chrysoloras and Guarino, his rivals in professional fame, Argyropulos left behind him considerable contributions to classical literature. They were chiefly translations from Aristotle, but translations which afforded such assistance to the student of philosophy as was to be found in no other existing versions. Dissatisfied with the labours of Boethius and Petrus Hispanus, he translated anew the *Prædicamenta* and the *De Interpretatione*. Roger Bacon, if not completely reassured, would certainly have taken fresh heart could he have seen the versions that now appeared of the *Posterior Analytics*, the *Physics*, the *De Cælo*, the *De Anima*, and the *Metaphysics*. When we find the most eminent critics of the age disputing whether these translations are to be praised more for their elegance or for their fidelity, it seems reasonable to conclude that both characteristics are present in a

¹ Boerner, p. 146.

² 'Et ut homo erat omnium (ut tum quidem videbatur) acerrimus in disputando, atque aurem (quod ait Persius) mordaci lotus aceto, præterea verborum quoque nostrorum funditor maximus, facile id vel nobis vel

ceteris tum quidem suis sectatoribus persuaserat, ita ut, quod pene dictum quoque nefas, pro concessio inter nos haberetur, nec philosophicam scisse M. Tullium nec Græcas literas.' Hody, p. 199.

marked degree. Their general excellence was rarely called in question, and they altogether surpassed the versions that appeared under the auspices of Nicholas v, by George Trapezuntius, Gregory Tifernas, or even those by Theodore Gaza¹.

At Rome Argyropulos was wont to see cardinals, nobles, and others of high civic dignity assemble around him. On one of these occasions, when he was on the point of commencing a lecture on Thucydides, a young man whose modest retinue and address afforded a strong contrast to those of many of the august audience, stepped forward and introduced himself to the lecturer. He expressed in courtly phrase his sympathy with the exiled Greeks, and described himself as a German not wholly ignorant of Greek, but anxious to increase his knowledge of the language. Argyropulos, to test his attainments, forthwith invited him to proceed with the translation of one of the Thucydidean orations. Whether or no it was the 'Funeral Oration' by Pericles we are not informed, but the lecturer was startled by the correctness of the new comer's pronunciation and the fidelity of his rendering. *Nostro exilio*, he exclaimed, *Græcia transvolavit Alpes*².

A.D. 1452.
Reuchlin and
Argyropulos.

The flight of Greece across the Alps had however taken place long before Argyropulos became apprised of the fact through the visit of John Reuchlin to Rome. Before the close of the first half of the century, the scholars of Germany had heard something about the new learning, and were now already welcoming, though not without certain manifestations of that defiant spirit with which Teutonism has ever been prone to regard the fashions of the Latin race, in their own land, the culture to which they were in turn to impart

Learning in
Germany.

¹ 'Freilich ist ihr Verdienst so wie das Bruni's in der Folge durch Argyropulos verdunkelt worden, und für ewige Zeiten haben sie alle nicht gearbeitet.' Voigt, p. 355. 'Diversa et contraria inter se de Argyropuli versionibus virorum doctorum sunt judicia. R. Volaterranus eleganter magis quam fideliter Aristotelis libros eum convertisse censet. Contra ea Ioach. Perizonius fideliter magis quam ornate eleganterque illos ipsos

translatos ab eo fuisse ait. Petrus Nannius autem, ad verba magis quam ad sensum, Argyropulum attendisse, ipsiusque adeo interpretationes nec fideles nec elegantes esse pronuntiat. Attamen accurate interpretandi laudem illi haudquaquam denegandam esse, Huetius arbitratur.' Boerner, p. 149. See also Hody, 208-9.

² The authority for this is Melancthon; see his *Oratio de Iohanne Capnione, Declamationes*, 1 625.

CHAP. V.
PART I.Æneas
Sylvius
Piccolomini.
d. 1464.Gregory
Heimburg.The Italian
scholar and
German
jurist con-
trasted.Hegius,
b. 1420,
d. 1480.

the impress of the national genius. Of this movement Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II, is perhaps entitled to be regarded as the inaugurator. At the time that he became attached to the imperial court, all around him seemed dull and mechanical as of old, and it was with but small success that he endeavoured to arouse the phlegmatic nobles to a sense of the higher pleasures now within their reach. He describes them much as Poggio some thirty years before had described the nobility of England. 'They prefer their horses and their dogs to poets,' he says, 'and like their horses and their dogs they shall perish and be forgotten¹.' It must have been an agreeable surprise for him when he one day, at the court of Neustadt, heard a German voice boldly and forcibly defending the merits of the new learning. The voice was that of Gregory Heimburg, a sturdy Teuton, who though at that time, in the enthusiasm of his youth, led captive by the fascinations of the new school, lived to repudiate them almost entirely and to exemplify, in his career as a jurist, that nervous manly style of eloquence which he regarded as altogether preferable to what seemed to him the effeminate niceties of Italian scholarship. When Æneas Sylvius filled the papal chair he was himself exposed to the lash of Heimburg's vigorous rhetoric; and Voigt in an admirable criticism has enlarged upon the characteristics of these two,—the Italian scholar and the German jurist,—as affording an apt illustration of the points of national contrast that were afterwards more fully brought out in connexion with the progress of the Humanismus in their respective countries². Pope Pius died in the year 1464, and very soon after we have ample evidence that his efforts, and those of others like him, had not been expended on a wholly ungrateful soil. Hegius, who combined in a remarkable degree the learning of the school-

¹ In another of his writings he thus contrasts the character of learning in demand in Germany with that in Italy:—'Teutones omnes cancellariæ aplos arbitrantur qui vel civilis vel canonici juris periti dicuntur, aut quos vocant magistros artium, qui præter garrulam et loquacem dialecticam nihil aliarum artium didi-

cere. Florentini eos assumant, quibus Ciceronis et Quintiliani præcepta notissima sunt, poetarum et oratorum imbuti doctrinis, . . . atque eos si domi non inveniant foris quærent.' *Hist. Friedrich III* p. 327, (quoted by Prantl, iv 160.)

² Voigt, pp. 383-9.

man with the spirit of an innovator, is to be found teaching at Deventer, and, though his own knowledge of Greek was slender, strenuously exhorting his scholars to the acquirement of the language. He had himself been a pupil of the renowned Rudolphus Agricola, and among his scholars was a boy named Gerard. One day Agricola was on a visit to his old pupil, and the youthful Gerard was brought before him as one of whom the master entertained more than ordinary expectations: the great teacher looked at the boy's bright eyes and well-shaped head, and prophesied the future greatness of Erasmus¹. At Munster we find the indefatigable Rudolf von Lange watching with untiring greatness over his famous school, introducing new text-books and discarding the old, and remodelling the whole system of instruction, until the monks of Cologne were ready to denounce him as a heretic. The counsels of Agricola sustained him in his work. 'Your efforts,' wrote the latter, 'inspire me with the fondest hope, and I predict that we shall one day succeed in wresting from proud Italy that ancient renown for eloquence of which she has hitherto retained almost undisputed possession, and shall wipe away that reproach of barbarian slothfulness, ignorance, poverty of expression and whatever marks an unlettered race, with which she unceasingly assails us, and Germany shall be seen to be in learning and culture not less Latin than Latium herself².' In spirit a not unworthy compeer of these, the theologian, John Wessel, was manfully advocating a less tame submission to the scholastic yoke, and sturdily asserting that if Aquinas was a doctor he was a doctor too,—that he was conversant with three of the ancient tongues, while Aquinas had known but one, and that imperfectly,—that he had gazed upon Aristotle in his native dress, while Aquinas had scarcely beheld his shadow³.

CHAP. V.
PART I.

His school at
Deventer.

Rudolf von
Lange.
b. 1439.
d. 1519.
His innovations
on the
traditional
methods of
instruction.

John Wessel.
b. 1420.
d. 1489.

He disputes
the authority
of Aquinas.

¹ Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, Einleitung, pp. x-xi. Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, I 86-9.

² 'Unum hoc tibi affirmo, fore aliquando ut priscam insolenti Italiæ et propemodum occupatam bene dicendi gloriam extorqueamus vindicemusque nos, et ab ignavia, qua nos barbaros indoctosque et elingues,

et si quid est his incultius, esse nos jactitant, exsolvamus, futuramque tam doctam et litteratam Germaniam nostram, ut non latinus vel ipsum sit Latium.' Eichhorn, *Geschichte der Litteratur*, II 157.

³ Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, II 285-685.

CHAP. V.
PART I.Rudolphus
Agricola.
b. 1443.
d. 1485.His *De
Formando
Studio*.

Of the foregoing, Agricola, short as was his career, attained to by far the greatest eminence¹. His translations from the Greek were numerous and accurate; his Latinity was considered by so competent a judge as Vives, superior to that of Politian; and his treatise on logic became a text-book in our own university. It was not however by these performances that he exercised his chief influence on the age. His most enduring monument is a short, but as Geiger terms it, an 'epoch-making' treatise, the *De Formando Studio*, which first appeared in the form of a letter to Jacob Barbirianus, dated June 7, 1484.

Few perhaps on turning to the treatise described by so high-sounding an epithet, will fail at first to experience a sense of disappointment. The opening remarks are certainly not distinguished by any great appearance of novelty. Agricola commences by observing that all students have to decide for themselves two preliminary questions,—what they shall study, and how they shall study it. Some, as capacity or circumstances may direct, choose the civil law; others, the canon law; others, medicine. The majority however devote themselves to the empty verbal trifling of an arts course, and give up their time to bewildering disputations and riddles which for many centuries have found no Œdipus, and are never likely to find one². Nevertheless it is his counsel to Barbirianus to make philosophy his choice; 'only let it,' he says, 'be a philosophy entirely different from that of the schools, let it be the art of thinking aright and of giving fitting expression to each thought².' Philosophy may be divided into two provinces, moral and natural; the former is

Philosophy
defined.

¹ 'Kann ein Mann als der Anfänger und Vorkämpfer deutscher Bildung im 15ten Jahrhundert betrachtet werden, so ist es gewiss Rudolph Agricola.' Von Raumer, i 62.

² 'Civilo jus alius, alius pontificum sanctiones, alius medicine artem discendam sumit; plerique etiam loquaces has et inani strepitu crepitan-tes, quas vulgo artes jam vocamus, sibi vindicant et perplexis disputationum ambagibus veletiam, ut verius dicam, ænigmatibus diem terunt . . .

His miseras adolescentium onerant aures, hæc subinde ingerunt inculcantquo et in plerisque meliorem ingenii spem atque frugem in teneris adhuc annis encant.' Libellus *De Formando Studio*, (Coloniæ, 1532), p. 4. The words italicised are worthy of note as corroborating the observations in the preceding chapter, on the extent to which the whole of the arts course was pervaded by the dialectical element.

not to be sought exclusively in Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca, is but to be gathered from the actions and examples which history offers to our notice, and especially from the Holy Scriptures, and the divine and sure precepts they contain. In the latter alone can we find a right conception of the true end of life and perfect freedom from error. The science of nature is less important than that of the moral law, and is to be regarded as chiefly ancillary in its character; he recommends however the study of geography, botany, geology, medicine, architecture and painting. But both natural and moral philosophy must be studied in the classical authors, if we would learn at the same time the art of rightly expressing our thoughts; these authors again should be rendered with the greatest possible accuracy into one's mother tongue, and then the student on seeing a Latin word will gradually come to associate it directly with its equivalent in his vernacular. Whatever, on the other hand, he may wish to express in Latin he must always first of all reduce to accurate expression in his own mind in his own language¹. To write with purity and correctness must always precede any attempt at elegance. Further on, he observes that there are three points to which every student must give particular attention: (1) first a clear understanding of his author's meaning; (2) the firm retention of each idea in his memory; (3) the acquisition of a habit of *adding to and enriching each idea out of his individual thought*. After giving a few hints on the way to study a difficult author and to render the memory more tenacious, Agricola proceeds to amplify on the third point. If we ourselves, he says, fail to bring to our acquired knowledge something of fresh thought in turn, our learning lies, not like seed in the fruitful soil, but as it were dead within us; and to prevent this it is necessary that we should not store away what we have acquired and then forget it, but have it, as it were, ready to hand, in order that we may always be able to

Natural science ancillary to philosophy.

Use of the native language in classical studies.

Acquired knowledge to be not only stored but assimilated.

¹ 'Quidquid apud autores leges, utilissimum fuerit, id ipsum quam maxime propriis et idem significantibus verbis reddere vernaculo sermone . . . Si quid scribere voles, op-

timum erit, id ipsum quam plenissime rectissimeque patrio sermone intra animum tuum formare, deinde Latinis pure proprieque id significantibus verbis explicare.' *Ibid.* p. 8.

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compare it with whatever we may ourselves discover by original research. It is accordingly useful to categorize our conceptions and to distribute our knowledge under different heads; and also carefully to analyze every conception and acquire a habit of surveying it on every side. In this way the student will acquire the facility of the ancient sophist, who possessed the faculty of speaking *impromptu* on every given theme.

Real novelty
of thought in
this treatise.

The thought contained in the foregoing outline is now almost as commonplace as it was then novel, but it is deserving of notice that we have here,—(1) a distinct repudiation of scholastic models and an appeal to the literary standards of antiquity, at a time when the schoolmen were still omnipotent in Germany; (2) the necessity of an accurate connotation in the use of words, and the value of the vernacular speech in aiding in such a result, clearly pointed out; (3) a plea for the rights of the individual thinker and an assertion of the dignity of the individual enquirer, at a time when almost every mind was bowing in servile submission to the authority of a few great names and that of their almost equally servile commentators.

His *De
Inventione*.

In Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica* we are presented with what Prantl characterizes as entirely 'eine ciceronisch-quintilianische Topik.' The dialectical art, the author considers, is simply a method of establishing the probable. In discussing *genus* and *species* he endeavours to reconcile the views of Aquinas with those of Duns Scotus. The treatise, though highly praised by Melancthon as the best of his day, is not one to which Prantl concedes any real originality¹: it was however in general use long after the author's

A popular
manual of
logic.

¹ 'Aber bezüglich des logischen Gebietes denkt er ausschliesslich nur an eine Sammlung topischer Gesichtspunkte, und die Dialektik ist ihm nur eine Methode der Wahrscheinlichkeit, daher er unter den Schriften des Aristoteles, dessen unentwirrbare Dunkelheit auch er, wie die Uebrigen, beklagt, lediglich die Topik berücksichtigt, und zwar dieselbe nach des Boethius Weise mit der ciceronischen verschmelzen will. In solchem

Sinne gibt er im 1 Buche eine Aufzählung der Topen, wobei er gelegentlich der Definition auf die Begriffe *genus*, *species* u. dgl. kommt und sich veranlasst findet, betreffs der Universalien die thomistische Auffassung einer *similitudo essentialis* in Verbindung mit des Scotus Häecceität als den richtigen Standpunkt zu bezeichnen.' Prantl, *Gesch. d. Logik*, iv 168.

death, and appears to have been one of the most popular of the two or three manuals that, up to the time of Seton, superseded for a time the purely scholastic logic¹.

It is not necessary that we should here follow any further the progress of the new learning either in Germany or in Italy; our sole aim in the preceding pages having been to illustrate a few important points in that progress, respecting which a certain amount of misapprehension has often prevailed. It will be seen that, so far from Aristotle being displaced and set aside by the earlier Humanists, his works engaged a large amount of their attention, and that we may date from the labours of Bruni and Argyropulos the commencement of that more intelligent Aristotelianism which, after a long and arduous struggle, succeeded in banishing both the fanciful interpretations of the Averroists and the mechanical versions of the schoolmen. It will also be seen that, at the very outset, indications were not wanting of the uses to which the Teutonic and the Latin races would respectively convert the revived literature of antiquity. With the German, it became the means of widening his whole range of thought, of modifying his conception of education, and of opening up a new field of doctrinal and speculative theology. With the Italian, it served to refine his style, to quicken his fancy, and to convert him into a meditative but generally urbane and genial man of letters or philosopher. The former betook himself to the study of the early fathers, especially those of the Greek Church, and was thus gradually led to reconsider and purify his religious faith; the latter, lost amid the speculations of the Academicians, became in many instances the victim of a shallow scepticism which he scarcely cared to veil. It was exactly in harmony with these tendencies, that the German scholar, content with acquiring a fairly correct and vigorous Latin style, remained indifferent to those minuter elegances and *nuances* of expression which lend a charm to the productions of Ovid, Catullus, and Martial; while the excessive attention devoted by the Italian scholar

General conclusions from preceding outline.

Italian and German scholarship compared.

¹ Von Raumer (*Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, i 83) observes, 'Agricola selbst

erklärte sich auf's Schärfste gegen die scholastische Dialektik.'

to these same niceties, led him to regard with servile admiration the genius of those authors by whom they had been most successfully cultivated. Hence, in his enthusiasm, he imitated not only the elegance of the Latinity, but the impurity of the thought. We are here under no necessity of illustrating, as Voigt and other writers have done, the prevalence of this element in the writings of the Transalpine scholars of this period; but the most adverse critic of that now somewhat neglected literature will find no difficulty in admitting, that in the above respect the imitators fully reached the standard of their originals. From this taint the learning of Germany was for a long time comparatively free; and to the last, men like Reuchlin, Mutian, and Erasmus, could recall with honourable pride, that the party they represented had never sullied a noble cause by productions like the *Facetiæ* of Poggio or the *Hermaphroditus* of Beccadelli¹.

Their respective affinities to the Reformation.

If we pursue our comparison into the days of the Reformation we shall find the above contrast still holding good. The Humanists of Italy were for the most part hostile to the Reformers, and the denunciations of Savonarola were in turn not unfrequently directed against both the learning and the licentiousness of the writers who adorned the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent. In Germany, on the other hand, though Protestantism was still far from implying free thought, the two parties drew much more closely together: and had Savonarola lived to witness the rise of Luther, he could scarcely have denied, that the victory won by those whom he denounced in Italy, largely contributed to the victory won by those who represented his spirit among the Teutonic race. It was undoubtedly the success in Italy that made success in Germany and England possible, or at least much less arduous. To the example of a Nicolas V, a Pius II, and a Leo X, the Humanists chiefly owed it that the

¹ Von Raumer (*Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, i 109 n. 1) has, as it appears to me somewhat unjustly, compared the Colloquies of Erasmus to the *Facetiæ* of Poggio, and severely censures the former writer for his occa-

sional grossness. But in the mere question of degree there can be no comparison between the two, and the coarseness of the Colloquies is but their accident, while that of the *Facetiæ* is their essence.

odium theologicum was not more powerfully and actively invoked against them, especially after the spread of Greek learning had lent new force to the old arguments, from the supposed connexion of its literature with a formidable and widespread heresy.

In reviewing these different features it is easy to perceive that the moot question of the advantages and disadvantages of classical learning was again already challenging the attention of the world: and it is impossible not therewith to be reminded of those warning voices which, some seven centuries before, had been so emphatically lifted up against the allurements of pagan genius. The evils which conservatism foretells are certainly not always mere chimæras. We may feel assured that could Gregory the Great have revisited Italy at this crisis, and have seen the licentious muse of the Italian scholars sheltering itself from censure by pleading the example of classic models,—or could Alcuin again have trod the soil that once acknowledged the rule of Charlemagne, and have witnessed the changes that resulted from the teaching of Erasmus and the Reformers,—they would each have pointed to what they beheld as affording the amplest justification of their own oft-repeated warnings. And not merely this,—they would also have seen that the ancient power of the Church, to eradicate evils like those which had come to pass, was no longer hers. With the discovery of printing the tares sown by the enemy had acquired a new and irrepressible capacity of reproduction. With the rise of the art of criticism a new weapon had been brought to bear upon the defenders of the Church; a weapon which, it has been aptly said, changed the whole character of the strife between mind and mind, as completely as did the invention of firearms that of the art of war. The student of pagan literature was no longer an isolated solitary monk, timidly and often furtively turning the page of Terence or Virgil, exposed to the sarcasms of his brethren or the rebuke of his superior, but one of an illustrious band whose talents and achievements were winning the admiration of Europe. The bigotry of the adherents to the old discipline found itself confronted by

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The forebodings of Gregory and Alcuin partially verified by the result.

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weapons to which it could offer no effectual resistance; the ancient terrorism was in its turn besieged by the combined forces of reason, eloquence, and satire.

The Humanists and the religious orders.

As might be easily conjectured, but few of the Humanists were to be found among either the monastic or the mendicant fraternities. Traversari belonged to the order of the Camuldules; Antonio da Rho was a Franciscan, and Cardinal Bessarion was protector of the same fraternity; Maffeo Begio retired in his latter life to a Benedictine monastery¹. But these were notable exceptions, and generally speaking it was among the religious orders that the most obstinate and bigoted opposition was to be encountered. As regards the universities, it is of importance to observe the general character of their culture at this period. We have already incidentally noted the progress of nominalism in one or two of the most influential of these centres, and those who may be desirous of tracing its progress more in detail will find ample guidance in the fourth volume of Prantl's exhaustive treatise. Everywhere the Byzantine logic, with its Scotian developement and Occamistic illumination², was giving birth to a series of manuals, each designed to introduce some new refinement on the theory of the *suppositio* or the theory of the Terminists, or on the distinctions between *scientia realis* and *sermocinalis*, or on *quidditas*, *hæcceitas*, and *formalitas*. The realists and nominalists however, now known as the *Antiqui* and *Moderni*, constituted the two great parties, and at almost every university,—Leipsic, Greiswald, and Prague being the principal exceptions,—were still waging, or had but just concluded, the struggle for preeminence. At Paris, as we have already seen, the overwhelming strength of the theologians, notwithstanding the position assumed by Gerson, still kept the nominalistic doctrines under a ban. At Heidel-

The Humanists at the universities.

Progress of nominalism at the universities.

¹ Voigt, 468-74.

² Occam appears to have been, in the opinion of many, the real cause of the interminable warfare. Leonardo Bruni in his treatise *De Disputationum Usu*, says,—‘Quid est, inquam, in dialectica, quod non Britannicis sophismatibus conturbatum

sit?’ It was in his eyes another proof of the degrading tendencies of the study of logic that it found acceptance among a race so barbarous as our own, ‘etiam illa barbara quæ trans oceanum habitat in illam impetum facit.’ p. 26.

berg, on the other hand, which was now becoming a noted school of liberal thought, the nominalists had expelled their antagonists. It was much the same at Vienna and at Erfurt,—a centre of considerable intellectual activity, which its enemies were wont to stigmatise as *novorum omnium portus*. At Basel, under the able leadership of Johannes a Lapide, the realists, though somewhat outnumbered, maintained their ground. Freiburg, Tübingen and Ingoldstadt appear to have arrived at a kind of compromise, each party having its own professor and representing a distinct 'nation.' At Maintz a manual of logic was published with the sanction of the authorities, which, with certain reservations, was essentially a nominalistic manifesto. A period of internal discord might naturally be supposed to have favoured the introduction of a new culture, but the attitude of the universities seems to have been almost invariably hostile to the new learning, and both nominalists and realists laid aside their differences to oppose the common foe. To the Humanists, Prantl observes, two courses were open: they could either insist on a restoration of the true logic of Aristotle and a general rejection of the misconstructions and unjustifiable additions made by Petrus Hispanus and his countless commentators, or they could denounce the whole study of logic, as worthless and pernicious, and demand that it should be altogether set aside and its place be filled by rhetoric¹. In Italy, the latter course was unfortunately the one almost universally adopted, and the tone of the Humanists was irritating in the extreme. Looking again at the position of the universities, when compared with that when the New Aristotle claimed admittance, we see that two centuries had materially modified its character. They had acquired distinct traditions in all the branches of learning; they possessed, in many instances, well-endowed chairs, whose occupants were tenacious of the received methods of interpretation, and strongly prejudiced in favour of the current system of instruction. The literature which it was sought to introduce was not only open, as formerly, to the

Attitude of
the univer-
sities with
respect to the
new learning.

¹ Prantl, *Geschichte d. Logik*, iv 151-2.

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suspicion of heresy, but was undeniably exposed to the charge of licentiousness. Compromise accordingly appears to have been desired by neither party; and canonists and civilians offered as hostile a front as the logicians. Bologna, jealous on behalf of that special learning to which she owed her fame, shut her gates in the face of the new comers. On the one side the cry was 'No surrender,' on the other, 'No quarter.'

The Humanists attack the civilians.

The civil law was not, it is true, the weakest point in the prevailing culture, but the absorbing attention given to the study constituted it a central position which the assailants seemed bound at almost any cost to carry, and it was consequently selected for their most energetic attack. It was the predominant school not only at Bologna but also at Padua and at Pavia; and when Valla received his appointment to the chair of rhetoric in the last-named university, he soon found that his own readiness for the battle was for once fully equalled by that of his opponents. His previous utterances had not failed to attract the attention of the civilians. The mercenary spirit in which they pursued their calling had, as we have already seen, been sharply commented on by Poggio; but the criticisms of Valla in his *Elegantia*,—the foremost production of the age in the field of Latin philology,—had wounded their pride much more sensibly. In pursuance of the general assertion which he had therein maintained,—that the want of an accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue obscured the true meaning of the writers of antiquity to students in every department of learning,—he had proceeded to compare the style of the ancient commentators on the Pandects with that of the more modern school, represented by Accursius, Cînus, Baldus, and Bartolus (the most highly esteemed commentators in his own day), and had pointed out how deplorably the latter fell short of the lucid diction and terseness of expression of the former. Most probably even Valla, notwithstanding his dauntless and fiery nature, would not have cared to revive the controversy in the very heart of such a stronghold of the civil law; but he was not suffered to remain at peace. A jurist of some

Valla at the university of Pavia.

eminence in the same city proceeded to inveigh against the Humanists in a manner which could not be left unnoticed. As Valla had called in question the merits of Cinus, the deity of the civilians, the jurist retorted by calling in question the merits of Cicero, the deity of the rhetoricians. He assumed the most irritating of all attitudes, the attitude of calm unquestionable superiority. To argument he did not condescend, but he laid it down as beyond dispute that the efforts of the greatest rhetorician could not compare with those of an average jurist. The most unimportant treatise to be found in the literature of the civil law,—for example that by Bartolus, entitled *De Insigniis et Armis*,—was, he asserted, of far greater value than the most admired production of the Roman orator. ‘All the rhetoricians set style above matter and preferred the foliage to the fruit; Cicero was but an empty-headed babbler.’ Incensed beyond measure, Valla hastened to borrow of his friend Cato Sacco a copy of this precious treatise by Bartolus, and falling upon it tooth and nail, composed, in a single night, a furious diatribe which he subsequently circulated far and wide. ‘Ye gods!’ he exclaims, after a merciless exhibition of the triviality of thought and barbarous diction exhibited in the dissertation of the defunct jurist, ‘what folly, what puerility, what inanity is here! One would think that the book had been written by an ass rather than a man!’ In his wrath he turns upon the whole body of commentators, until he seems to threaten even the awful majesty of Justinian. As to the existing representatives of the study, he avers that there are scarcely any who are not completely worthless and despicable. They are nearly always ignorant of all other branches of a liberal education. They know nothing of that precision and refinement of diction on which the ancient jurists had bestowed such labour, and which must in turn be apprehended by the reader before the treatises of those writers can become really intelligible. Their poverty of thought, their triviality of treatment are such, that he cannot refrain from commiserating the study they profess, since it seems equally unable to attract professors of any merit and

to rid itself of those who at present prey upon it. The upshot of the controversy, if such it can be called, appears to have been, that Valla narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the students of the civil law at Pavia¹.

It is evident that had the whole struggle been waged after the manner of Valla and his antagonist it would have been as interminable as the controversy concerning universals. Style *versus* matter is to a great extent a question of taste, and so long as men by reading Bartolus could qualify themselves for a lucrative profession, Bartolus would continue to be read. No one had ever called the genuineness of the Pandects in question, and the great weapon of the Humanists, the art of criticism, was consequently here unavailable. It was however far otherwise when they brought their artillery to bear upon more vulnerable points, and when once they had succeeded in convincing the educated few that reason and even logic were on their side, they had gained an advantage which told in their favour along the line of battle. While accordingly Valla attacked with but little success the abstract merits of the civilian commentators, the effect produced when he laid bare that most impudent of all forgeries,—the Donation of Constantine,—or that most feeble of all myths,—the joint parentage of the *Symbolum*,—was unmistakeable. The popular belief in the canon law was not less severely shaken by the criticisms of Poggio, and from the same able pen there had also proceeded the first exposure of the fictitious character of the Decretals and of the sordid motives that had given rise to the whole of this literature. The scholar could not conceal his derision when he found the contemporaries of Tacitus and Quintilian cited as speaking the barbarous Latin of the twelfth century, and popes, who lived two centuries before Jerome was born, quoting from the Vulgate. In short, Poggio denounced the work of Gratian as that of a forger, and declared that the chief result of his labours and those of his successors had been to afford facilities for squabbling over ecclesiastical benefices².

Poggio and
the canonists.

¹ Voigt, 451-2.

² Voigt, p. 453.

But strenuous as was the opposition offered by the Italian universities, it was of short duration when compared with that encountered in the universities of France and Germany. Politian, long before his death, must have felt himself master of the field; while Erasmus, who about the same time was seeking to gain a knowledge of Greek at Paris, found the Scotists fiercely denouncing all polite learning as incompatible with the mysteries of the schools, and seems even to have been fain to imitate their barbarous Latinity in order to escape molestation¹; and Melanchthon, half a century later, was exposed to the full brunt of the ancient prejudice at Wittenberg. Of this difference the less impulsive character of the northern nations, their inferiority at this period in refined culture of every kind, and the absence of that direct contact with the learning of Constantinople which operated so powerfully in Italy, will suggest themselves as obvious explanations. But not less potent than these was perhaps the different constitution of the respective universities. In the short outline given in our first chapter of the universities of Paris and Bologna, it will have been noticed that while the constitution of the latter was democratic that of the former was oligarchical, and just as the Italian universities had been modelled on Bologna, so those of the Transalpine nations had nearly all been modelled on that of Paris. Hence, as we should naturally expect, there prevailed in the latter centres of learning a strongly conservative feeling: a feeling which was again more or less intense in proportion as each university had acquired a special reputation as a seat of theological learning, and imagined that that reputation would be endangered by the introduction of studies either entirely pagan or partially heretical.

But as in Italy, so in Germany and in England, the successive victories of the Humanists produced an impression which could not be withstood. One by one the strongholds of mediæval culture and the idols of mediæval credulity fell before them. Grocyn, mounting the pulpit at St. Paul's Cathedral, to confess with deep humiliation, that the same

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The opposition in the northern universities far more persevering.

Causes of this difference.

Difference in the constitution of the respective universities offers a further explanation of the fact.

Victories of the Humanists.

¹ *Letter to Thomas Grey, Opera*, iii 77.

long-revered treatise by Dionysius, the genuineness of which he had in his first lecture so vehemently asserted, he was unable on honest scrutiny to defend,—Colet, turning his earnest searching gaze on Erasmus as they sat communing at Oxford, and disburthening himself of the conviction that had long been growing up within, that the decisions of Aquinas were characterised by both arrogance and presumption,—Erasmus, in his study at Queens' College, exposing the countless errors of the Vulgate and revolting from the Augustinian despotism,—William Tyndal at Cologne, setting aside the commentaries of Nicholas de Lyra, with the customary interpretations moral, anagogical, and allegorical, and affirming that Scripture has but one meaning, the obvious, literal sense,—were each but indications of the revolution that was going on in every department of study, in every province of thought, as scholasticism tottered to its fall.

CHAPTER V.

CAMBRIDGE AT THE REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.

PART II:—BISHOP FISHER.

IN the 'famous old cytye' of Beverley, as Lydgate terms it¹, was born, about the year 1459, John Fisher, afterwards CHAP. V.
PART II. bishop of Rochester and, during the first quarter of the JOHN
FISHER.
b. 1459 (?).
d. 1535. sixteenth century, the leading spirit in the university of Cambridge. He was the son of Robert Fisher, mercer of Beverley, and Agnes his wife. It was the father's wish His parent-
age and
early educa-
tion. that the boy should receive a better education than ordinary, and John was accordingly sent to receive instruction in grammar in the school attached to the collegiate church at Beverley. It appears that at the time when he was a scholar there, Rotheram, the munificent chancellor of Cambridge, was provost of the church², and it is not improbable that young Fisher, as a boy of promise, may even thus early have attracted the notice of one whom he must have often met in after years. When Fisher was still a lad of thirteen he lost his father; the latter was, it would seem, a man of considerable substance, and, judging from his numerous bequests to different monastic and other foundations, religious after the fashion of his age. In the course of a few more years the son, then about eighteen, was entered at Michaelhouse, under William de Melton, Entered at
Michael-
house. fellow and afterwards master of the college. In 1487 he proceeded to his degree of bachelor of arts; was soon after elected fellow, proceeded to his degree of master of arts in 1491, filled the office of senior proctor in 1494, and became

¹ See Appendix (A).

² Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 1.

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Elected to
the master-
ship, 1497.

Prosperity
of Michael-
house con-
trasted with
the condition
of other found-
ations.

Character
and views
of Fisher
at this
period.

master of his college in 1497:—facts which, as his biographer observes, sufficiently indicate the estimation in which he was held¹.

It may be reasonably inferred that Michaelhouse had throughout enjoyed the benefits of good government and that its resources had been wisely administered, for not long after the time that Fisher succeeded to the mastership we find that, with respect to revenue, it stood sixth in the list of college foundations². That Fisher himself was a conscientious administrator admits of little doubt; and at a time when the neighbouring hospital of St. John the Evangelist was sinking into decay under the reckless rule of William Tomlyn, until the very stones of the street were silent witnesses against him³, and when the depredations of bishop Booth, as master of Gonville, were still fresh in the memory of the university⁴, the members of Michaelhouse may well have congratulated themselves on the character of their head⁵. On the other hand, we have nothing to indicate that Fisher was, at this time, an advocate of extensive reforms or of startling innovations. All in fact that we know about him would lead us to infer the contrary. He appears to have been generally recognised as a man of exemplary life, signal ability, extensive learning, and unusual disinterestedness; but he was now approaching his fortieth year; he had received his early education in a city and at a school pervaded by monastic influences, and his more advanced education in one of the most monastic and conservative of our English colleges; over that college he was now called to preside; it was natural that he should be

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 4.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 370.

³ He was 'presented' at the Law Hundred or Lect of the town in 1502, for having the pavement in front of the college 'broken and ruinous.' *Ibid.* i 258.

⁴ Booth, bishop of Exeter, master of Gonville, 1465–78, was charged with having 'most disgracefully made away with the best cup and the best piece of silver plate, together with as much money as he could scrape

together.' Riley's *Second Report of the Royal Commission of Historical MSS.*

⁵ At the survey of the colleges in 1515, conducted by Parker, Redman, and May, Michaelhouse and Queens' College (a foundation, it is to be borne in mind, that had also for some years the benefit of Fisher's administration) were the only two where the expenditure was not found considerably to exceed the revenue. See Cooper, *Annals*, i 431–8.

strongly disposed in favour of the traditions of its rule, and there were probably few in the university who looked for much that was novel at the hands of the master of Michaelhouse. It will accordingly be of no little interest to note the manner in which a mind like this, tenacious of its convictions, yet candid and honest in investigating what was new, was gradually led to recognise the value of a culture in which it had not shared, and to enter upon the path of moderate but energetic reform.

There is little reason for believing that if Fisher had failed to apply himself to the work, other reformers would have been forthcoming. Not that men of mark were wanting at Cambridge at this time; on the contrary, we are struck by the fact that at no former period had the university been better able to sustain a comparison with Oxford. The spiteful exultation of Wood, as he points out that, at a somewhat later juncture, nearly all the bishops were from his own university¹, would have found considerably less cause for triumph in the list of the episcopal bench in the year 1500. Out of the twenty bishoprics into which England and Wales were then divided, nine were filled by Cambridge men. Rotheram was archbishop of York; Savage, bishop of London; Alcock, bishop of Ely; Fox, bishop of Durham; Story, bishop of Chichester; King, bishop of Bath and Wells; Redman, bishop of Exeter; Jann and Deane (claimed, it is true, by both universities), were bishops of Norwich and Salisbury respectively. But though these, and not a few others, may be pointed out as men conferring honour upon their university, none of them, with the notable exception of Fox, seem to have been possessed by any new ideas with respect to learning. Rotheram, munificent as were his benefactions, was rather a promoter of it in others than learned himself. John Barker, 'the sophister of King's,' and author of the *Scutum Inexpugnabile*, was a much admired dialectician, but nothing more. William Chubbes, the first who bore the title of president of Pembroke College, was the author of an Introduction to Logic and a Com-

Eminent men
at Cambridge
at this time.

Bishops.

Rotheram.

John Barker.

William
Chubbes.
d. 1505.

¹ Wood-Gutch, II 8.

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PART II.John
Argentine.
d. 1503.His proposed
Act in the
Schools.Robert
Hacomblene.
d. 1523.Henry
Horneby.
d. 1513.These, and
other emi-
nent men
in the uni-
versity, able
workers
but not re-
formers.

mentary on Duns Scotus; he was also afterwards the first master of Jesus College, and is said to have been the chief adviser of bishop Alcock in his design of that foundation¹. John Argentine, provost of King's, and physician to the two sons of Henry VII, was also a dialectician of some repute. There is extant from his pen a series of verses on all the faculties (twelve in number), which he designed as subjects for his 'act,' as incepting master of arts in the year 1470. It appears, however, that the ambitious disputant subsequently discovered that it was indispensable that the subject for each disputation should be thrown into the form of a *quæstio*, and his elaborate preparation was consequently thrown away. The manuscript still remains in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford², and may be regarded as a good illustration of the scope of the dialectical practice in the schools of those days. Hacomblene, the eighth provost of King's College, was known as the author of a commentary on the Ethics of Aristotle, but his text was the traditional text of the schoolmen, and his commentary continued to slumber in manuscript in the library of his college. Horneby, fellow of Michaelhouse, and afterwards master of Peterhouse, was distinguished as a high-minded and energetic administrator. But the limited views of these men and others like them are sufficiently shewn in the nature of the work they devised and carried out. The erection of the different schools, as narrated in a previous chapter³,—the commencement in 1479 of the rebuilding of Great St.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 10.

² At the commencement of the poem is pasted a slip on which is written in a different hand,—*Actus Mrⁱ Jo. Argentyn publice habitus in universitate Cantabrigiæ contra omnes Regentes hujus universitatis quoad oppositiones*, A.D. 1470. (The year is erroneously given in Nichols's edition of Fuller, as 1407.) The following lines, in the same handwriting as the slip, seem to indicate the ambitious design of the young inceptor:—*Neu sit turba Regens nostros tacitura per annos, | Hinc canere est animo variis ludendo cicutis. | Dulcia plectra mihi tua porridge cautor Apollo | At Stil-*

bontis (Mercury) ope mea fistula per-sonet apte. | Sic mihi crinitus cytharam concedat Iopas | Threiciam ut Thelim (? Chelyn) Phebeus spondeat Orpheus. | Ac me si foveat caute lato ubere mater | Exigua ista suis modulabor carmina rivis | Et velit huc conferre pedem sacra turba Regentum | Ut ferat (? sciat) an motis sociem bene caruina nervis. I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. E. L. Hicks, M.A., librarian of the college, for the foregoing particulars, and also for two conjectural emendations of the Latin verse.

³ See *supra*, pp. 300–1.

Mary's (a task of forty years)¹,—and other minor improvements of the kind,—did nothing to stimulate the intellectual life of the university. Nor can we deny that the national experiences of that age were not such as to encourage sanguine sentiments or bold innovations. The early years of Englishmen of that generation had been darkened by many a tale of horror, and their maturer years saddened by the sense of exhaustion that came over the country when the long struggle was at an end. The flower of the nobility, now the chief patrons of learning, had fallen on the battlefield. In the more distant horizon the steady and ominous advance of the Turkish power, by land and by sea, was striking terror throughout Christendom. From the general dejection induced by such circumstances the university was not exempt. 'Somehow, I know not how,' said bishop Fisher, when in brighter days he looked back upon these times, 'whether it were the continual strifes with the townsmen, and the wrongs they did us,—or the long abiding of the fever, that tried us with a cruelty above the ordinary, carrying off many of our learned men,—or that there were few or no helpers and patrons of letters,—whatever were the true cause, doubtless there had stolen over well nigh all of us a weariness of learning and study, so that not a few did take counsel in their own minds how that they might effect their departure so as it were not to their own hurt².' The circumstances of the time indeed were precisely of the kind wherein we should expect to meet with a revival of the

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PART II.

The phenomena of the age not of an inspiring character.

Fisher's description of the prevalent tone of the university.

¹ Or yet longer if we take Fuller's view of the matter:—'The mention of St. Mary's mindeth me of church-work indeed, so long it was from the founding to the finishing thereof; as begun May 16th, 1478, when the first stone thereof was laid in the 17th of Edward IV; the church ended (but without a tower or belfry) 1519, in the eleventh of Henry VIII. The tower finished 1603, in the sixth of King James; so that from the beginning to the ending thereof were no fewer than an hundred and thirty years.' Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 180.

² —'nescio quo infortunio, sive

continuis litibus et injuriis oppidanorum (quibus eramus implicati), sive diuturna plaga febrium, quibus supra modum vexabamur, (nam ex literatoribus complures amissimus, et ex ipso doctorum numero decem viros graves et valde eruditos), seu tertio bonarum artium fautores et benefactores pauci erant et prope nulli. Sive his sive aliis occasionibus, profecto literarum et studiorum nos prope omnes tedium cepit: adeo ut multi secum cogitarent, quorsum hinc abirent commode.' *Oratio habita coram illustrissimo rege Henrico VII, Cantabrigiæ, A.D. 1506.* Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, App. VIII.

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PART II.

A counter
influence.

old theological notion of the approaching end of the world; and the dreary spectacle of the unfinished structure of King's College chapel,—which from the death of Henry VI until within a few years of that of Henry VII was almost abandoned by the workmen,—might well seem, to the Cambridge of those days, to give a tacit sanction to such forebodings. But in the midst of all this lethargy and depression, one startling event, the significance of which could be in some measure grasped by all, stood out in bright contrast to the general gloom. It was hard to believe that the Old World was about to perish, when the genius of the navigator had just revealed the existence of the New. By that discovery as it were an electric shock was sent through the whole of Europe and the preconceived ideas of the ancient world; and the faces of men, long bent with eager but wearying gaze to where the light of ancient tradition gleamed dimly in the east, were suddenly turned to greet the tale of wonder borne upon the breeze that blew freshly over the western main.

Continued
progress of
the new
learning in
Italy.

It is probable that, very early in his Cambridge course, Fisher had heard of the great library which duke Humphrey had bequeathed to Oxford. He must also certainly, we should imagine, have heard how bishop Gray's valuable collection had been left to Balliol College. But the interest that a few isolated occurrences like these might awaken would soon be merged in a far deeper curiosity, as the intense and almost servile admiration with which Italian scholarship now began to be regarded in England plainly indicated, that it would be impossible much longer to ignore additions to learning and literature compared with which the New Aristotle seemed insignificant. Those few of our countrymen who, in the earlier part of the century, had been found among the hearers of Guarino, were now represented by a long array of names which will shortly claim more lengthened notice at our hands. Italy herself was fully sustaining the reputation she had acquired. Guarino, Valla, and Bruni, it is true, had passed away. Argyropulos, if still living, was in extreme old age; but his chair at Florence was ably filled by

Chalcondyles, an illustrious Athenian,—the teacher of Grocyn and Linacre. His laborious zeal had just given to the world that great glory of early typography,—the Florence Homer of 1488¹,—a volume whose antique splendour recalls to us the change, so ably touched by a living poetess, that had come to pass since the days of Petrarch,—

CHAP. V.
PART II.
Demetrius
Chalcondy-
les,
b. 1424.
d. 1511.
His edition
of Homer.

‘No more, as once in sunny Avignon,
The poet-scholar spreads the Homeric page,
And gazes sadly, like the deaf at song:
For now the old epic voices ring again
And vibrate with the beat and melody
Stirr’d by the warmth of old Ionian days.’

Politian, the rival of Chalcondyles, had been appointed in 1483 to the chair of both Greek and Latin in the same city, and the appearance of his *Miscellanea*, in 1489, was justly regarded as marking an era in the progress of Latin criticism. Theodorus Gaza, the protégé of Bessarion, had died in 1479, after teaching with eminent success at both Rome and Ferrara: to him belongs the honour of having been the first to appreciate the varied excellences of Plutarch and the satiric genius of Aristophanes². His rival, Georgius Trapezuntius, whose morose vindictive nature contrasted strongly with the modest worth of Gaza, after forfeiting the favour of Nicholas v by a series of worthless and dishonest translations from the Greek Fathers, and that of Bessarion by a singularly venomous attack on Plato and his philosophy, had ended at Rome his long and unhappy career; leaving behind him however a manual of logic that, as an effort at an eclectic system, attained to considerable popularity at the universities, and was introduced at Cambridge after the fall of Duus Scotus³. At Messina, in the land which had once

Angelus
Politianus.
b. 1454.
d. 1494.
His *Miscel-
lanæ*.

Theodorus
Gaza.
d. 1479.

Georgius
Trapezun-
tius.
b. 1396.
d. 1455.

His *Logic*.

¹ Boerner, pp. 181–91; Hody, pp. 211–26. See the glowing description of the typographical beauties of the volume in Maittaire, *Annal. Typograph.* i 183; and for facsimile of p. 1, plate 35 in Humphrey’s *Hist. of Printing*.

² ‘Plutarchum Chæronensem, præter ceteros scriptores Græcos in deliciis habuit Gaza . . . Magnifice idem ille de Aristophane, comicorum prin-

cipe, existimabat, et omnibus quot-quot Græcas literas discere vellent, hunc scriptorem Atticæ elegantissimæ elegantissimum, assidua versandum manu commendabat.’ Boerner, 128.

³ *Ibid.*, 105–20; Hody, 102–35. His treatise on logic, *De Re Dialectica*, was often printed: see *Georgii Trapezuntii De Re Dialectica Liber, scholiis Ioannis Neomagi et Bartholomæi Latomi illustratus*. Lugduni,

CHAP. V.
PART II.Constantine
Lascaris,
d. 1500 (?).
Hermolaus
Barbarus.George Her-
monyus.Greek gram-
mars of Theo-
dorus Gaza,
Chalcondy-
les, and Con-
stantine Las-
caris.

reflected so much that was most splendid and imposing in the old Hellenic civilization, Constantine Lascaris was reviving with signal success the ancient admiration for the masterpieces of Greek literature¹. Hermolaus Barbarus, at Venice, was rendering valuable service by the restoration of the text of different Greek authors, and his reputation as an elegant Latinist was second to that of none of his time. Nearer home, the Spartan, George Hermonymus, at Paris, was assisting, though in a somewhat mercenary spirit, and if the account of one of his pupils is to be trusted, with but small ability, the efforts of Reuchlin, Budæus, and Erasmus, to gain a knowledge of the Greek tongue². The purely technical treatment of that language had also been considerably developed. The little grammar by Chrysoloras, owing to its admirable terseness and simplicity, still held its ground, but in respect of scholarship had been altogether thrown into the shade by the appearance, in 1495, of the treatise by Theodorus Gaza,—a production which competent judges at once recognised as superior to all other manuals of the kind, which Budæus praised as a masterpiece of the grammarian's art, and which Erasmus translated to his class at Cambridge and Richard Croke to his class at Leipsic³. As a mean between this and the work of Chrysoloras, Chalcondyles had compiled his *Grammaticæ Institutiones Græcæ*⁴; while Con-

1559. Prantl speaks of the treatise as a medley of the Ciceronian rhetorical conception with the usual Aristotelian school tradition and a slight infusion of the treatment by the *Moderni*. The following extract will explain to the student of logic its scope:—'Nunc breviter dabimus operam ea primo exponere quæ Græci voces, Latini prædicabilia, solent appellare, deinde de prædicamentis et de prædicatorio syllogismo pauca admonēbimus, postremo de propositione hypothetica et syllogismo et de definitione et divisione disseremus nec omnino ea præcepta contemnemus, quæ ejus rei, quam juniores obligationem vocant, vim et naturam complectuntur.' Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, iv 169.

¹ Jerome of Ragusa in his *Eulogia Siculorum* says:—'Postremo in Sici-

liam navigans Messanæ perpetuam sedem fixit, cæli salubri temperie, soli amœnitate, humanissimis civium moribus allectus, quodque frequens esset navium appulsus Messanam ex Oriente, unde suorum litteræ ultro citroque perferrentur facilius.' See Boerner, pp. 170–80.

² Boerner, p. 195, n. 4; Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, p. 17.

³ 'Id tamen plerique vere notarunt, provectionibus et Græcarum litterarum gnaris magis illam inservire quam Græca discere incipientibus; et librum primum, brevitate nimia obscuriorem, quartum vero, qui est de structura sermonis et variis dicendi modis, et in quo Apollonium maxime secutus est Gaza, prioribus longe esse difficiliorem.' Boerner, pp. 180–1.

⁴ 'Hanc eo composuisse videtur

stantine Lascaris had also put forth a treatise, less elaborate than that of Theodorus, but, in the opinion of Erasmus, second to it alone in merit¹.

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PART II.

We can hardly be in error in supposing that the master of Michaelhouse and his contemporaries at Cambridge were frequently receiving intelligence respecting the new studies that were slowly fighting their way in the continental universities, but there is also good reason for believing that the intelligence created, in the first instance, much more alarm than emulation. They could not have failed at the same time to be aware, that those cities where the new learning most flourished were also becoming the centres of a yearly more faintly disguised infidelity and a yearly more openly avowed licentiousness². The religious tone which the example of Nicholas v had imparted to the circle of scholars whom he patronised had passed away; and the idea of a reconciliation between Christian dogma and the doctrines of the Academy, similar to that which the schoolmen had attempted on the appearance of the New Aristotle, had, after a brilliant effort at Florence, been contemptuously abandoned³. The scientific scepticism of the Averroists was now reinforced by the philosophic scepticism of the Platonists. Universal doubt and distrust of all authority appear to have been the prevailing sentiments of those who gave the tone to public thought; and concurrently, as is almost invariably the case, the public morality, which had already seemed at its worst, manifested a yet further decline. Machiavelli, no squeamish censor, openly declared that Italy exceeded all other nations in irreligion and depravity⁴. The young Savonarola, when he fled to the Dominican convent at Bologna, declared in his letter to his father, that he could no longer endure the 'enormous wickedness' of his countrymen,—the right of virtue everywhere despised,

Sentiments with which the progress of the new learning was regarded at Cambridge.

Progress of scepticism in Italy.

General depravity of the nation.

Testimony of Machiavelli and Savonarola.

consilio ut auditorum suorum Græcas literas ab ipso discentium consuleret utilitati, ita videlicet comparatum, ut et plenior sit Ἐρωτημασι Chrysoloræ et intellectu faciliior institutionibus Gazæ.' *Ibid.* p. 187.

¹ 'Inter Græcos grammaticos nemo non primum locum tribuit Theodoro Gazæ, proximum mea sententia

Const. Lascaris sibi juresuo vendicat,' *De Ratione Studii* (quoted by Hody).

² Burekhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, p. 404.

³ *Ibid.*, 341-65. See also Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, 1 55-6.

⁴ *Discorsi*, 1 12 (quoted by Burekhardt, p. 342).

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Feelings of
the sup-
porters of the
traditional
learning.

of vice everywhere in honour¹. To facts like these, that could not but awaken the alarm of the more earnest and conscientious leaders of the university, must be added those apprehensions which aroused the hostility of a far more numerous and prejudiced section, actuated only by a dull antipathy to all change. Both sections again were united by a common jealousy, as they became aware that the Humanists were waging a war of something like extermination against all those studies to which their own best years had been devoted, and wherein whatever academic reputation they possessed had been acquired. They must expect, if teachers of the new school once gained a footing in Cambridge, to have all those subtle distinctions, in which they had so long delighted, treated as the creations of a perverted ingenuity,—those latent meanings of Scripture which they had laboured to evolve, characterised as unauthorised tamperings with the plain and literal sense,—their great oracle disparaged,—their own efforts at interpreting his thought described as vain and nugatory,—each of them, in fine, would be called upon to confess

‘After a search thus painful and thus long
That all his life he had been in the wrong.’

‘Behold these men,’ had been the cry of Petrarch at the very commencement of the struggle, as he exulted in the prospect of a certain victory, ‘who devote their whole lives to wrangling and to the cavillings of sophistry, wearying themselves unceasingly in idle speculations, and hear my prophecy concerning them all! All their fame shall perish with them! For

¹ The position of Savonarola with reference to the Humanists in Italy is worthy of note, as illustrating the entirely different spirit in which the revival of learning was there carried on from that which characterised the scholarship of Germany and England. When he became prior of St. Mark he kept entirely aloof from the court of Lorenzo; and the scheme of government that he drew up during his short supremacy as ruler of the destinies of Florence, was merely a somewhat servile transcript of the

political theory of Aquinas. Of the Italian Humanists Burekhardt truly observes, ‘Dass Menschen von einem so beschaffenen Innern nicht taugen, um eine neue Kirche zu bilden, ist unläugbar, aber die Geschichte des abendländischen Geistes wäre unvollständig ohne die Betrachtung jener Gährungszeit der Italiener, während sie sich den Blick auf andere Nationen, die am Gedanken keinen Theil hatten, getrost ersparen darf.’ *Ibid.* p. 443–4.

their name and their bones the same sepulchre shall suffice¹! And his trumpet note of defiance had been echoed by almost every Humanist since the poet's time.

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Among the earliest indications that the new thought in Italy was beginning to be a matter of interest to Cambridge scholars, is the presence of a copy of Petrarch's letters in the original catalogue of the library of Peterhouse, of the year 1426, referred to in preceding chapters². A few years later we find Ottringham, who preceded William de Melton as master of Michaelhouse, borrowing a copy of Petrarch's well-known treatise *De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ*. The manuscript was the property of one Robert Alne, who, in his will dated 24 December, 1440, directs that Ottringham shall be allowed to retain possession of the volume during his lifetime, after which it is to become the property of the university, along with other works directly bequeathed by the testator³. In the catalogue of the university library drawn up in 1473, of which some account has been given in a preceding chapter⁴, we accordingly find the treatise in question among the volumes enumerated,—though it is not one of those few that have been preserved down to the present time. We have no evidence that Fisher ever read this treatise, but the fact that it had been borrowed from the owner by a former master of Michaelhouse, shews that there were some among the influential members of the university who were beginning to take an interest in the writings of the Humanists. Perhaps after the volume had been deposited in the common library, and had been duly chained as No. 57 in its appointed place, other students were occasionally to be found intent upon its pages, contrasting its comparatively pure Latinity with the uncouth diction to which they were more accustomed, or—as vague rumours of great battles reached the half-deserted university, while Red and White were contending for the

Earliest traces of some attention to the writings of the Humanists at Cambridge.

A treatise by Petrarch at Michaelhouse.

¹ 'Respice hos, qui in altercationibus et cavillationibus sophisticis totum vitæ tempus expendant seque inanibus semper quaestiunculis exagitant, et præsagium meum de omnibus habeto: omnium nempe cum ipsis fama corruet, unum sepulchrum

nomini ossibusque sufficiet!' *Epist. Familiar.* i 571.

² See supra, pp. 324, 370.

³ See Paper by Mr. Bradshaw in *Cam. Ant. Soc. Com.* ii 239-40.

⁴ See supra, pp. 323-4.

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Caius Auberinus lectures on Terence in the university.

mastery,—gathering consolation from the placid stoicism preached by the great Florentine. If to such rare indications as the foregoing, we add that there was an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, resident in the university, writing Latin letters on formal occasions for a fee of twenty pence each, and also giving by permission a Terence lecture in vacation time¹, we shall have before us nearly all the existing evidence that, with the commencement of the sixteenth century, may be held to shew that there was at Cambridge a certain minority, however small, to whom it seemed that the prevalent Latinity was not altogether irreproachable, and who were conscious that a new literature was rising up which might ere long demand attention, even to the displacement of some of the scholastic writers and mediæval theologians.

Fisher at court.

He attracts the notice of the king's mother, Margaret, countess of Richmond.

Baker's account of her ancestry.

We have already mentioned the election of Fisher to the senior proctorship in the year 1494. The duties of the office at that time appear to have involved occasional attendance at court, and in his official capacity Fisher was sent down to Greenwich where the royal court was frequently held. It was on this occasion that he was introduced to the notice of the king's mother, the munificent and pious countess of Richmond. 'I need say nothing,' says Baker in his History of St. John's College, rising to unwonted eloquence as he recalls the proud lineage of the foundress of his house,— 'I need say nothing of so great a name: she was daughter of John Beaufort duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt, and so descended from Edward the Third; consort of Edmund Tudor earl of Richmond, son of Catharine of France, and so allied to the crown of France; and mother of Henry the Seventh, king of England, from whom all our kings of England, as from his elder daughter Margaret, who bore her name, all the kings of Scotland, are ever since descended. And though she herself was never a queen, yet her son, if he had any lineal title to the crown, as he derived it from her, so at her death she had thirty kings and queens allied to her within the fourth degree either of blood or affinity, and since her death she has been allied in her posterity to thirty

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 240; *Athenæ*, i 9.

more¹. This august lady appears to have at once recognised in Fisher an ecclesiastic after her own heart, and in the year 1497 he was appointed her confessor. It was an auspicious conjunction for Cambridge; for to the wealth and liberality of the one and the enlightened zeal and disinterestedness of the other, the university is chiefly indebted for that new life and prosperity which soon after began to be perceptible in its history. 'As this honourable lady,' says Lewis, 'was a person of great piety and devotion, and one who made it the whole business of her life to do good, and employed the chief part of her noble fortune for that purpose, this her confessor, who was a man of the same excellent spirit, soon became very dear to her, and entirely beloved by her. Thus Mr Fisher, a good while after, very gratefully remembers her affection towards him. He styles her an excellent and indeed incomparable woman, and to him a mistress most dear upon many accounts; whose merits whereby she had obliged him were very great².'

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Fisher appointed her confessor.

Her character.

His promotion at court served still further to recommend Fisher to the favour of his university, and in the year 1501, when he had already commenced D.D., he was elected vice-chancellor. In the same year that the countess appointed him her confessor (though how far her design is attributable to his influence is uncertain) we find her obtaining a royal licence for the establishment of a readership in divinity in each university; and a course of lectures on the *Quodlibeta* of Duns Scotus, given by one Edmund Wilsford in the common divinity schools at Oxford³, and certain payments made for the delivery of a similar course at Cambridge⁴, are sufficient evidence that the scheme was forthwith carried into effect. The final regulations however, in connexion with each readership, do not appear to have been given before the year 1503, when the deed of endowment was executed⁵. In

Fisher elected Vice-Chancellor, 1501.

Foundation of the lady Margaret Professorship, 1503.

¹ Baker-Mayor, p. 55.

² Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 5.

³ 'Edmund Wylsford, doctor of divinity and fellow of Oriol College, began to read this lecture on the morrow after the Trinity, ann. 1497.' Wood-Gutch, ii 828-9.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, i 247.

⁵ The countess, according to Wood, 'for several years maintained a reader without any settled revenue on him and his successors. At length making a formal foundation according to law by her charter, bearing date on

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the absence of any assigned motive, it is not difficult to conjecture the reasons that led the foundress to entrust the management of the revenues set apart for the readers' salaries to other than the academic authorities. The lax morality of the age in financial matters, the frequent instances of maladministration in the different colleges, and the poverty of the university, would hardly fail to suggest the possibility, if not the probability, of misapplication of the funds. If however there was one corporate body in England that from feelings of gratitude towards the countess, from its reputation for sanctity, and its enormous wealth, might be supposed superior to such temptations, it was the great abbey of Westminster; and to this society the administration of the estates and the payment of the salaries were entrusted¹. The salary of the reader must have seemed a liberal one in those days, for it amounted yearly to £13. 6s. 8d.; it was, that is to say, more than three times that of the Rede lectureships (founded twenty years later), considerably more than that of any of the parochial livings in Cambridge, and nearly equal to the entire yearly revenue of the priory of St. Edmund or to a third of that of St. Catherine's Hall. As so considerable an endowment might be expected to command the best talent of the university, and as the instruction was to be entirely gratuitous, the theological students must have looked upon the newly-created chair as no slight boon, and it is deserving of notice that the regulations laid down seem to have been singularly well adapted for guarding against a perfunctory discharge of the specified duties. Each reader was bound to read in the divinity schools *libere, soleniter, et aperte*, to every one thither resorting, without fee or other reward than his salary, such works in divinity as the chancellor or vicechancellor with the 'college of doctors,' should judge necessary, for one hour, namely from seven to eight in the morning, or at such other time as the chancellor

The revenues entrusted to the abbey of Westminster.

The salary attached to the office.

The subjects chosen by the lecturer to be subject to the sanction of the authorities.

the Feast of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin (18 Hen. vii 1502), did then agree with the abbat and convent of Westminster, (to whom she had, or did then, give divers

lands and revenues) to pay to the reader, and his successors of this lecture, a yearly pension of twenty marks.' Wood-Gutch, ii 826.

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 7.

or vicechancellor should think fit. He was to read *every accustomed day* in each term, and in the long vacation up to the eighth of September, but to cease in Lent, if the chancellor should think fit, *in order that during that season he and his auditors might be occupied in preaching*. He was not to cease from reading in any term for more than four days, unless licensed for reasonable cause, to be approved by the chancellor or vicechancellor and major part of the doctors of divinity, such licence not to extend to more than fourteen days, and his place to be supplied in the mean time by a sufficient deputy to be paid by him. The election was to take place *biennially*, on the last day of the term before the long vacation, in the assembly house, the electors being the chancellor or vicechancellor, and all doctors, bachelors, and inceptors in divinity, *both seculars and regulars* (having been regents in arts), who were to swear to choose the most worthily, without favour, partiality, reward, fear, or sinister affection¹.

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A lecture to be given every legible day in term, and also in the long vacation.

The time of Lent to be given to preaching.

The election to be biennial, and vested in the doctors, inceptors, and bachelors of divinity.

It can be a matter of little surprise that the choice of the first election to the lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity fell upon John Fisher. By the regulations given in 1503, it was provided however that the reader, if elected to the office either of chancellor or vicechancellor, should vacate his chair within a month from the time of such election. With the new academic year, Fisher accordingly resigned the office, and Cosin, master of Corpus, was elected in his stead. Cosin, at the expiration of two years, was succeeded by Burgoyne, afterwards master of Peterhouse, and he in turn by Desiderius Erasmus.

Fisher the first professor.

His successors.

The clause in the second provision, directing that lectures shall be discontinued during Lent, in order that both the reader and his class may devote themselves to preaching, is deserving of special note as the corollary to the main object of the lectureship. The revival and cultivation of pulpit oratory of a popular kind had for a long time past been strongly urged by the most eminent reformers both at home and abroad. Nearly a hundred years before, Nicholas de

Neglect of the art and practice of preaching at this period.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 271-2.

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Clemangis, a leading spirit in the university of Paris in his day, had maintained that the chief end of theological studies was the training of able preachers¹. But with the close of the fifteenth century both theology and the art of preaching seemed in danger of general neglect. At the English universities, and consequently throughout the whole country, the sermon was falling into almost complete disuse; and however truly it might, in a later century, be affirmed of the laity,—

‘The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,’

Preaching
discounte-
nanced on
account of
the fear of
Lollardism.

the description was never truer than in the days of bishop Fisher. By some indeed the usefulness of preaching was openly denied; or rather it was maintained, that its liability to abuse outweighed its probable advantages; and, completely as Reginald Pecock's doctrines had been disavowed by the Church, his views on this point were, at least in practice, very widely adopted. Times had greatly changed since the day when Grosseteste declared that if a priest could not preach, there was one remedy, let him resign his benefice². The activity of the Lollards had brought all popular harangues and discourses under suspicion, and a secular found preaching without a licence was liable to summary punishment. Thus the sermon had ceased to form part of an ordinary religious service. The provincial clergy were directed to preach once a quarter to their congregations, but no penalty appears to have attached to the neglect even of this rare duty; and Latimer tells us that, in his own recollection, sermons might be omitted for twenty Sundays in succession without fear of complaint³. Even the devout More, in that ingenious romance which he designed as a covert satire on many of the abuses of his age, while giving an admirably conceived description of a religious service, has left the ser-

Consequent
rarity of
sermons.

¹ Neander, *Church History*, (Clark's Series), ix 78—81.

² ‘Also Lincoln sayeth in a sermon that begynneth, *Scriptum est de Levitis*: “Yf any prieste saye he cannot preache, one remedye is resigne he uppe his benefyce.”’ See *A com-*

pendious olde treatyse shewyng howe that we ought to have the scripture in Englysshe, Arber's ed. of *Rede me and be not wrothe*, p. 176.

³ Blunt, *Hist. of the Reformation*, c. 4; Latimer, *Sermons*, i 182.

mon altogether unrecognised¹. In the universities, for one master of arts or doctor of divinity who could make a text of Scripture the basis of an earnest, simple and effective homily, there were fifty who could discuss its moral, anagogical, and figurative meaning, who could twist it into all kinds of unimagined significance, and give it a distorted, unnatural application. Rare as was the sermon, the theologian, in the form of a modest, reverent expounder of scripture, was yet rarer. Bewildered audiences were called upon to admire the performances of intellectual acrobats. Skelton, who well knew the Cambridge of these days, not inaptly described its young scholars as men who when they had 'once superciliously caught'

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Artificial and extravagant character of the preaching in vogue.

Skelton's description of the young theologians of his day.

'A lytell ragge of rhetoricke,
A lesse lumpe of logicke,
A pece or patche of philosophy,
Then forthwith by and by
They tumble so in theology,
Drowned in dregges of diuinite,
That they juge them selfe able to be
Doctours of the chayre in the vintre
At the Thre Cranes
To magnifye their names².'

The efforts made towards remedying this state of things had hitherto been rare and ineffectual. We find in the year 1446, one Thomas Collage bequeathing forty pounds for the payment of 6s. 8d. to preachers in each of the universities, so long as the money lasted, 'to the end that encouragement might be bestowed upon divinity, *now at a low ebb*³; while in 1503, pope Alexander VI, in response to a special application, issued a bull, empowering the chancellor of the university

Efforts towards a reform. Fund bequeathed by Thomas Collage at Oxford and Cambridge.

Bull of Alexander VI, 1503.

¹ *Utopia*, ed. Arber, pp. 153-7.

² *A Replycation agaynst certayne yong Scholers abjured of late, etc.* Skelton-Dyce, i 206. These lines, it is true, were really aimed, some twenty years after the foundation of the lady Margaret preachership, at the young Cambridge Reformers: but they describe with perfect accuracy the ordinary theological training of the time. Petrarch's corresponding criticism on the theo-

gians of Italy in his day, is worthy of note:—'Erant olim hujus scientiæ [theologiæ] professores; hodie, quod indignans dico, sacrum nomen profani et loquaces dialectici dehonestant; quod nisi sic esset, non hæc tanta tam subito pullulasset seges inutilium magistrorum.' *De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ*, p. 45.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 198; Wood-Gutch, i 596.

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yearly to appoint under the university seal, twelve doctors or masters, and graduates, being priests, most capable of preaching, to preach the word of God in all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, both to the clergy and the people, notwithstanding any ordinance or constitution to the contrary¹. But the evangelizing spirit had been too long and too sternly repressed for merely permissive enactments to restore it again to life. Men began to surmise that, in seeking to extirpate the 'tares,' the rulers of the Church had also torn up much of the good wheat; and to some it seemed that the certainty of an uninstructed and irreligious laity was a worse evil than the possibility of heretical preaching. Among these were the lady Margaret and her adviser. Like One of old, they were moved with compassion as they saw the flocks wandering and fainting for want of the shepherd's care. The lady Margaret preachership was the outcome of no pedantic effort to uphold a system of effete theology; it was an eminently practical design for the people's good; and it reflects no little credit on the discernment of bishop Fisher, that this endeavour was a direct anticipation of like efforts on the part of the most enlightened reformers of his own and the succeeding generation,—from moderate Anglicans, like Parker, to unflinching denouncers of abuses, like Latimer. Nor was his aim confined to the simple revival of preaching; he was also anxious, as we learn long afterwards from Erasmus, whom he incited to the composition of his treatise *De Ratione Concionandi*, to change the whole character of the pulpit oratory then in vogue, 'to abolish the customary cavillings about words and parade of sophistry, and to have those who were designed for preachers exercised in sound learning and sober disputations, that they might preach the word of God gravely and with an evangelical spirit, and recommend it to the minds of the learned by an efficacious eloquence².'

Foundation
of the lady
Margaret
Preacher-
ship.

Double aim
of Fisher: to
revive the
practice,
and to re-
form the
method, of
preaching.

Testimony of
Erasmus.

Regulations
of the
preachership.

By the regulations now given in connexion with the new foundation, the preacher was required to deliver six sermons

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 260.

² *Erasmii Opera*, iii 1253. Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 10, 277.

annually, that is to say, one in the course of every two years at each of the following twelve places :—on some Sunday at St. Paul's Cross, if able to obtain permission, otherwise at St. Margaret's, Westminster, or if unable to preach there, then in one of the more notable churches of the city of London ; and once, on some feast day, in each of the churches of Ware and Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, Bassingbourne, Orwell, and Babraham in Cambridgeshire ; Maney, St. James Deeping, St. John Deeping, Bourn, Boston, and Swineshead in Lincolnshire. The preacher was to be a doctor of divinity if a competent doctor could be found to undertake the duty, otherwise a bachelor in that faculty and perpetual fellow of some college ; by a clause subsequently added the preference was to be given, *ceteris paribus*, to members of Christ's College. The preacher was to be resident in the university and to hold no benefice. The election to the office was vested in the vicechancellor and heads of colleges, the vice-chancellor having the right of giving a casting vote. The appointment was to be made *triennially*, the salary being fixed at ten pounds *per annum*, payable by the abbat and convent of Westminster¹.

The appointment to be made triennially.

On the whole, looking at the scope of these several designs of the countess and her adviser,—the provision for gratuitous theological instruction in the university,—the direct application of the learning thus acquired, in sermons to the laity,—and the introduction of a more simple and evangelical method of scriptural exposition,—we can scarcely deny Fisher's claim to rank with the theological reformers of his own and the preceding age, with Gerson, Hegius, Rudolf von Lange, and Rudolphus Agricola, and those other eminent men whose services have entitled them to the honorable designation of 'reformers before the reformation.'

Fisher's claims to be regarded as a reformer.

Both at the university and at court Fisher continued to grow in favour. In the same year that the foregoing preacher-ship was founded, he was elected chancellor of the univer-

He is elected chancellor of the university, and nominated

¹ Cooper, *Annals* i 273-4. 'The preacher,' says Wood, 'was probably the only person that preached

in English to the university.' Wood-Gutch, ii 827.

CHAP. V.
PART II.bishop of
Rochester,
1504.Circum-
stances under
which he
succeeded to
the bishopric.Fisher's
influence
with the
countess.

sity, and at nearly the same time was promoted to the bishopric of Rochester. The circumstances under which he succeeded to the latter dignity were of an exceptional and more than ordinarily gratifying kind. In those days the royal court,—or as Wolsey began to grow in influence, Hampton Court,—was thronged by eager and often far from scrupulous candidates for office and promotion; unobtrusive merit and the faithful discharge of duty rarely won for the parish priest the recognition of the dispensers of ecclesiastical rewards; and it would seem that no one was more taken by surprise than Fisher himself, when, without solicitation or expectation on his own part, as yet unbeneficed, and still somewhat under the age when long service might be held to mark him out for such signal favour, he was called upon to succeed Richard Fitzjames (who was translated to the see of Chichester), as bishop of Rochester. Conjecture would naturally incline us to refer his promotion to the influence of his patroness, but the account given by Lewis, authenticated by the express statement of Fisher himself¹, proves that the initiative was taken by king Henry—desirous, it would seem, as he approached the close of life, of redeeming many an ill-considered act of preferment by promotion that shewed a more careful consideration of the personal merits of the individual.

The influence of Fisher on behalf of his university now began to make itself still more distinctly perceptible. In the scheme of the foundation of the professorship, Oxford, as we have seen, was an equal sharer in his patroness's bounty; and in that of the preachership, Anthony Wood has endeavoured to prove that it was her intention to have equally befriended the sister university². That his assumption is entirely unwarranted by the facts is clearly shewn by Baker, and Cooper's industrious research has discovered nothing that gives it countenance. It seems accordingly not unreasonable to conclude that the university was chiefly in-

¹ 'Quippe qui paucos annos habuerim, qui nunquam in curia obsequium præstiterim, qui nullis antea dotatus beneficiis. Et quam ob rem ego ad episcopatum assumerer? Nihil profecto aliud nisi ut studiosis om-

nibus liquido constaret illorum causa id factum esse. . . Te nullius aut viri aut feminae precibus adductum ut id faceres asserebas.' Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, II 270.

² Wood, *Annals*, II 827.

debted to Fisher for the latter benefaction; while, in the design that next claims our attention,—the foundation of a new college,—it is certain that the countess was not only decided in her choice between the two universities by his counsels, but that neither Oxford nor Cambridge would have been thus enriched had those counsels been wanting.

Among the most noticeable characteristics of the munificence of nearly all founders of great institutions in these præ-reformation times, is one on which it would perhaps be unwise to insist too strongly as detracting from the merit of really generous acts, but which cannot be altogether disregarded in estimating the motives that led to the alienation of so much wealth. It is certain that the patrons of learning never themselves sought to disguise the fact that their own spiritual welfare entered largely into their calculations. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Augustinian theory, set forth with so much emphasis by Peter Lombard in the *Sentences*,—that good deeds are to be performed, not from conformity to any abstract conception of right and wrong, but as acts of obedience to the mandates of the Great Disposer of earthly events and human destinies¹,—was the all-prevailing doctrine; and this principle, conjoined with the belief in purgatory, not unfrequently imparts to the designs of genuine benevolence an air of deliberate calculation that might seem, to a superficial observer, to divest them of all claim to disinterestedness. The efficacy of prayers offered up on behalf of those in purgatory was universally taught. The more masses offered up for the souls of the departed, the shorter, it was held, would be the period of their suffering. And thus it was rarely indeed that either a church was built, or a monastery, college, or ‘hospital’ founded, without a proviso requiring that every year so many masses or prayers should be offered for the spiritual repose of the founder or foundress and of their families. Both the lady Margâret professor and the lady Margâret preacher were bound to pray at stated seasons, and whenever they took part as celebrants in the mass, for

Motives of
founders in
these times.

¹ See *supra*, p. 59, note 4.

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PART II.

Design of the
countess in
connexion
with the
abbey of
Westminster.

She is dis-
satisfied by the
arguments of
Fisher.

Signal gain
of the univer-
sity.

the souls of the countess and certain of her relations. While respecting king Henry, we learn on the authority of Fisher, that notwithstanding his habitual parsimony, 'there was in his realm no virtuous man that he might be credibly informed of, but he gave him a continual remembrance yearly and daily to pray for him; some ten marks and some ten pounds¹.' But the prayers of the secular clergy were never so highly prized as those of the regulars, and over the mind of the devout countess the great community of Westminster, with its ancient sanctity, new splendour, and imposing organisation, appears to have exercised no ordinary fascination. The gorgeous chapel in the abbey church, which perpetuates the memory of her royal son, was already commenced, and it was designed that at his side she too should find her earthly resting place; and though the wealth of the abbey was enormous and had been already largely augmented by her liberality, it would seem that her remaining charities would have been similarly bestowed, had it not been for the disinterested and unanswerable remonstrances of Fisher. 'That,' in the language of Baker, 'the religious house at Westminster was already wealthy enough (as it was the richest in England), and did not want support or maintenance,—that the schools of learning were meanly endowed, the provisions for scholars very few and small, and colleges yet wanting to their maintenance,—that by such foundations she might have two ends and designs at once, might double her charity and double her reward, by affording as well supports to learning as encouragements to virtue²,'—were cogent arguments that fortunately prevailed over the superstitious devotion of the countess, and brought it to pass that her wealth, instead of swelling the coffers soon to be plundered so mercilessly³, was given to the foundation of two societies, which, after having graced the university for more than three centuries with

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 30.

² Baker-Mayor, p. 59.

³ 'Nothing shows more clearly the force of the shock that followed, than the upheaving even of the solid rock of the Abbey as it came on.

Nothing shows more clearly the hold which the Abbey had laid on the affections of the English people, than that it stood the shock as firmly as it did.' Dean Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 167.

many a distinguished name, are still contributing with undiminished efficiency to its reputation, adornment, and usefulness.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

The foundation of God's House, as a school of grammar under the government of the authorities of Clare and in the immediate vicinity of the college, has already come under our notice¹. Shortly after its foundation, in consequence of the numerous alterations involved in the erection of King's College, it was removed to St. Andrew's parish²; here it appears to have attained to independence of Clare College³, being aided by a grant from Henry VI of property once in possession,—‘two cottages formerly belonging to the abbey of Tiltey and a tenement adjoining which had formerly belonged to the abbes of Denny, with gardens adjacent.’ We learn indeed from the charter of Christ's College, that it was the design of the good monarch ‘to have endowed the society with revenues sufficient for the maintenance of sixty scholars, but the revenues actually granted sufficed only for four⁴.’ In the second of Edward IV we find the society receiving a slight accession of revenue in the shape of a rent of ten marks —‘which the prior of Monmouth used to pay to the chief lord of the priory in foreign parts,’—and also a rent of forty shillings which the prior of Newstead-upon-Ancolme used to pay to the abbat and convent of Longvillers⁵. Such was the foundation which the lady Margaret, acting under the advice of Fisher as above described, resolved to take under her protection, and to raise from a grammar school to a school of arts. The revenues of the present society afford accordingly an instance

History of
God's House
from its foundation.

Design of
Henry VI.

Accessions to
the revenues
of the society.

Design of the
lady Margaret.

¹ See p. 349, and *Licencia fundandi collegium vulgariter nuncupatum Godeshous* (given 20 Henry VI), in *Documents*, III 155-9.

² The fact that Christ's College stood in this parish is said to have decided the historian, John Major, in his choice of a college (St. Andrew being the patron saint of his nation). He resided at Christ's for about a year. Cooper, *Atheneæ*, I 93.

³ There is no mention in the licence, given 24 Hen. VI, of the master and scholars of Clare Hall; but the head of the society of God's House is still

spoken of as a proctor (procurator).

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, I 189; Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 369. The society was also endowed with certain revenues from the monasteries of Monmouth, Totness, Newstead, Sawtre, and Causwell in South Wales; with the priory of Chipstowe, the priory and manor of Ikeham, and the advowsons of Fen Drayton and of Naumby in Lincolnshire. *Documents*, III 168-9.

⁵ *Documents*, I 59. The same grants had been made in the preceding reign (*Ibid.* p. 55); there would consequently appear to have been a resumption.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

of a double conversion,—from monastic uses to those of a grammar school, and from those of a grammar school to those of a college.

The precise time at which Fisher resigned his mastership at Michaelhouse, is not recorded, but in the year 1505 we find one John Fotehede elected to the post¹, and Fisher's retirement was therefore probably somewhat earlier. Though chancellor of the university, the duties of that office were such as he could for the most part easily delegate to his subordinate, and the affairs of his bishopric and the necessity for frequent attendance at court may naturally have induced him to make his palace at Rochester his habitual residence. So soon however as the countess had resolved upon carrying out her new scheme, his presence at Cambridge, in order to superintend the new works, became apparently indispensable; and it appears that his election to the presidency of Queens' College, which now took place, was not improbably designed, as Lewis suggests, as a means of providing him with a suitable place of residence during the erection of Christ's College². The president of the former society, Thomas Wilkinson, voluntarily retired from his post at the request of the countess³, and his place for the next three years was filled by Fisher. There can be little doubt that while the latter rendered important service to the rising society, it was in no way at the expense of the one over which he presided, for we find that when he resigned the presidency in 1508, the fellows were unanimous in their expressions of regret, and that, at their urgent request, he undertook the responsibility of appointing his successor⁴.

In the year 1505 appeared the royal charter for the foundation of Christ's College, wherein, after a recital of the facts already mentioned together with numerous other details,

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 23.

² Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 16.

³ Wilkinson had succeeded Andrew Doket in the presidentship in 1484, and was probably at this time an elderly man. He died in 1511.

⁴ 'The bishop,' they said, 'was a man that, without flattery, was very

dear to them all not only on account of his ingenuous humanity, but for his excellent learning and prudence, who they wished had as great a desire to be their president, as they had of continuing him.' Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, p. 26.

Fisher elected president of Queens' College, Apr. 12, 1505.

Foundation of Christ's College, 1505.

it was notified that king Henry, at the representations of his mother and other noble and trustworthy persons,—*percaris-simæ matris nostræ necnon aliorum nobilium et fide dignorum*—and having regard to her great desire to exalt and increase the Christian faith, her anxiety for her own spiritual welfare, and the sincere love which she had ever borne ‘our uncle’ (Henry VI), while he lived,—had conceded to her permission to carry into full effect the designs of her illustrious relative. That is to say,—to enlarge and endow the aforesaid God’s House sufficiently for the reception and support of any number of scholars not exceeding sixty, who should be instructed in grammar or in the other liberal sciences and faculties or in sacred theology. The arrival of the charter was soon followed by the intelligence of the countess’s noble benefactions; and the university next learned that the humble and struggling society hitherto known as God’s House, had received, under its new designation as Christ’s College, endowments which placed it fourth, in respect of revenue, among existing colleges¹.

‘On the 14th of July, 1507,’ says Cooper, ‘the king granted to the countess the abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, at Creyke in Norfolk, with licence to assign the same to this college, to which it was subsequently granted with the sanction of the pope. The king, by other letters patent of the same date, empowered the countess to grant to the college the advowson of Manobre in Pembrokeshire, which she accordingly did. She also granted the manors of Malton, Meldreth, and Beach, with lands in those places, and in Whaddon, Kneesworth, Oakington, Orwell, and Barrington,

Estates
settled on
the society
by the lady
Margaret.

¹ It is to be observed that the new college was an extension not a suppression of the original institution,—the developement of a grammar school into a college for the whole course of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. The mode of procedure was therefore altogether different from that whereby the nunnery of St. Rhadegund was converted into Jesus College, and the house of the Brethren of St. John into St. John’s College; of this the expressions *addere*, *annectere*, *unire*,—used with respect to the election of the new scholars by the exist-

ing society,—and the appointment of John Sickling, the proctor of God’s House, to the mastership of Christ’s, are evident proof. Baker, in his *History of St. John’s College*, speaks of the old society as having been ‘suppressed upon the founding of Christ’s College,’ and considers that this ‘suppression’ was the reason that ‘we meet with so few degrees in grammar after that foundation.’ He also, with equal inaccuracy, speaks of God’s House as originally an adjunct to King’s College instead of to Clare. See Baker-Mayor, p. 30.

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Other be-
quests to
the college.

in Cambridgeshire, the manor of Ditesworth, with lands there, and in Kegworth, Hathern, and Watton, with the advowson of Kegworth in Leicestershire, also the advowson of Sutton Bonnington in Nottinghamshire, and the manor of Roydon in Essex, and procured the appropriation of the churches of Fendrayton and Helpstone. By her will, she directed that the college buildings should be perfectly finished and garnished at her cost; that the college should have other lands, of the yearly value of £16; that £100 or more should be deposited in a strong coffer for the use of the college, to which she gave a moiety of her plate, jewels, vestments, altar-cloths, books, hangings, and other necessities belonging to her chapel; and that the manor-house at Malton should be sufficiently built and repaired at her cost, "soo that the maister and scolers may resort thidder, and there to tarry in tyme of contagiouse siknes at Cambrige, and exercise their lernyng and studies¹."

The countess
visits Cam-
bridge in
1505.

Before the close of the year 1505 the countess honoured the university by her presence. We have no details of this visit, beyond the fact that she was met at a distance of three miles from the town by the dignitaries and other members of the community, whose gratitude she had so well deserved²; but in the following year we find her repeating her visit, accompanied by her royal son. King Henry, with that ostentatious devotion wherewith in his latter years he strove to efface the recollection of many a cruel act of oppression, was on his way to visit the famous shrine of St. Mary at Walsingham. He was met, in the first instance, at three miles distance from the town, by the civic authorities; as he approached within a quarter of a mile, he found awaiting him, in long array, first the four orders of the Mendicants, then the other religious orders, and finally the members of

Her second
visit, with
king Henry,
in 1506.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 275.

² It was perhaps on this occasion that the incident recorded by Fuller occurred:—"Once the lady Margaret came to Christ's College to behold it when partly built; and, looking out of a window, saw the dean call a faulty scholar to correction; to whom

she said *Lente, lente!* "Gently, gently," as accounting it better to mitigate his punishment than to procure his pardon: mercy and justice making the best medley to offenders.' 'This,' says Fuller, 'I heard in a *clerum* from Dr Collings.' Fuller—Prickett & Wright, p. 182.

the university according to their degree. As the monarch passed along he stooped from his saddle to kiss the cross borne by each order, and at last arrived where the university cross was planted, with a bench and cushion beneath. Here the chancellor, with the other doctors, was stationed to give him welcome; the monarch alighted from his horse; and Fisher thereupon delivered what Ashmole terms 'a little proposition,' or in other words, a short Latin oration, which has fortunately been preserved entire. It is not certainly in the florid oratory customary on occasions of this kind that we should expect to meet with the most severe fidelity to historic truth; but, after making all allowance for any necessity that the orator may have felt himself under to play the courtier, it must be admitted that the speech in question does more honour to his heart than to his head, and affords a noteworthy illustration of that intense and credulous reverence for tradition, which, notwithstanding his natural good sense and discernment, Fisher so often exhibited in the course of his life. The speech opens with the usual expressions of fulsome adulation. King Henry is complimented on his skill in languages and on his finished eloquence; on his stately form and grace of figure, his strength, fleetness, and agility; these natural gifts however the orator seems rather disposed to regard as miraculous, 'inasmuch as,' he observes (complimenting the son, it would seem, somewhat at the expense of the mother), 'the countess was but small of person, and only fourteen years of age when king Henry was born.' But however this may be, it is impossible not to discern the direct interposition of Providence in the frequent 'royal escapes from peril and danger in early life, and from the plots and treasons that at a later period had endangered the stability of the throne. Other subjects of congratulation, the orator holds, were to be found in the prosperity of the kingdom, the warlike prowess of the people, and the monarch's enormous wealth. It seems singular that, at a time when the country was groaning under the extortion of the royal commissioners, so delicate a topic should have been touched upon; but Empson was at that time steward of the

CHAP. V.
PART II.

King Henry's
reception.

Fisher's ora-
tion to King
Henry.

His excessive
adulation.

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PART II.

Traditions
concerning
the founda-
tion of the
university.

university¹, and it is not improbable that Fisher may have believed him to be unjustly assailed and have designed a rebuke to the prevalent discontent. Then follows a recital of some of the most extravagant fables respecting the origin of the university. Cambridge was founded by Cantaber, a king of the East Saxons, who had been educated at Athens. The archives, unfortunately, that should have preserved the records of this illustrious commencement, had been lost in the 'carnage, conflagrations, and plunderings' of a former age. But other facts in the early history of the university were attested by independent evidence. It was notorious that Cambridge had been known as a seat of learning long before the time of Honorius, 'for we have,' says Fisher, 'copies, *sub plumbo*, of a letter which he sent us, and in that letter he expressly refers to times far more ancient than his own.' Honorius again, as every one knew, was pope sixty years before Charlemagne 'founded the university of Paris;' nor could it be reasonably doubted that Paris owed its origin to Cambridge, when we know that Alcuin, John Scotus, and Rabanus Maurus were educated here,—*Gaguinum testem citabimus*². After thus propping up one fiction by another, the orator turns to the less questionable records of the successive benefactions of former monarchs; and recalls, in a passage already partly quoted³, how the favour of the monarch whom he addressed had quickened the university to new life when sunk in lethargy and despondency. Then follows an undoubtedly genuine expression of feeling,—Fisher's acknowledgement of the benefactions he had himself received at the royal hands; and finally the oration closes with a devout prayer that length of days, an undisputed succession (prince Henry appears to have been standing at

Fisher's acknowledgement of the favours he had himself received.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 14.

² Gaguinus was an accepted authority at this time. He was the author of *De Origine et Gestis Francorum*, a chronicle of French history from the time of Pharamond down to 1491, and held a chair of rhetoric in the university of Paris. His account of contemporary history has

generally been regarded as trustworthy. See Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Ævi*, ed. 1862, 240, 325. Erasmus speaks of him in the highest terms,—'Robertus Gaguinus, quo uno litterarum parente, antistite, principe, Francia non injuria gloriatur.' *Opera*, iii 1782.

³ See *supra*, p. 427.

his father's side), and every temporal and spiritual blessing may descend on the monarch and his son.

CHAP. V.

PART II.

This ceremony over, the king remounted his horse, and the procession moved on; it appears to have made a kind of circuit of the best part of the town, passing by the house of the Dominicans, where Emmanuel College now stands, until the monarch alighted at the lodge of Queens'. It was not his first visit to this society, for he had already, in 1497, during the presidency of Wilkinson, been entertained under the same roof. After resting for an hour, he again rose and 'did on his gown and mantle of the Garter,' his example being followed by all the knights of that order in his train, and then mounting his horse rode in solemn state to King's. The chapel there, commenced half a century before, was at this time only half completed¹; ever since the accession of Edward IV the work had either altogether stood still, or been carried on in a spiritless and inadequate fashion, owing to the want of funds. As yet the red rose of Lancaster gleamed not from the variegated pane; the rich details of the architecture, wearing the greyhound of Beaufort and the portcullis of Blanche of Navarre, were still mostly wanting;

The procession through the town.

King Henry attends the service in King's College Chapel. Incomplete condition of the building.

¹ King Henry VI had set apart, from the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster, a special fund for carrying on the building. But 'after Edward IV was proclaimed King,' says Cole, 'which was on 5th March, 1460, an entire stop was put to the works, for the duchy of Lancaster and the whole revenue of the college was seized by him, part of which was regranted to the provost and scholars for their maintenance, but *nothing from the duchy for the building*..... 1479—83. £1296. 1s. 8d. were expended on the works, of which £1000 was given by the King, and £140 by Thomas Rotherham, bishop of Lincoln and chancellor of England, and formerly fellow of the college 1483. Thomas Cliff was by Ric. III appointed overseer of the works, and continued so till December 23 following, A. R. 2 Ric. III; during this time £746. 10s. 9½d. was expended on the works, of which the King seems to have given £700..... At this time the E. end of the chapel

seems to have been carried up to the top of the E. window, and the two first vestries towards the E. on the N. side were covered in, but the battlements over them were not set up, and thus the building stood sloping towards the W. end, being carried no higher than the white stone rises, till 28th May, A. R. 23 Henry VII, from which time the work went on at the expense of Henry VII and his executors, till the case of the chapel was finished, which it was 29 July, A. D. 1515, A. R. 7 Hen. VIII.' Cole MSS. i 105-7. The roofing of the chapel was not commenced until A. D. 1512. The clause in the royal will relating to the completion of the chapel is printed by Cooper, *Annals*, i 289—90. A further sum of £5000 was given by the executors in 1512—13. The windows, according to contract of 1526, were to be after 'the form, manner, curiosity, and cleanness of those in the King's new chapel at Westminster.'

CHAP. V.
PART II.Possible good
effects of the
royal visit.

the building was not yet roofed. Sufficient progress had however been made to admit of the performance of divine service, in which Fisher took part as chief celebrant.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the monarch's visit, and personal observation of the fate that seemed threatening to overtake an unequalled design, may have roused him to his after liberality in behalf of this great memorial to the 'holy Henry's shade.' He had at one time, it is said, intended that 'the body and reliques of his uncle of blissful memory should rest in his own chapel at Westminster,' but this design was never carried into effect: perhaps, in abandoning it, he conceived the idea, which he carried out only on his death-bed, of proving his regard for the memory of his Lancastrian ancestor in another way,—by finishing, in noble fashion, the work that Henry VI had commenced at Cambridge. However this may have been, within three years after the above visit, he left those princely bequests that converted a sad spectacle of apparent failure into one of splendid completion. Three weeks before his death he made over for this purpose to the college authorities the sum of five thousand pounds, and left directions in his will, that his executors should from time to time advance whatever additional sums might be required for the 'perfect finishing' of the whole. We can better estimate the magnitude of these grants in the eyes of that generation, when we find that a gift of one hundred marks to the university, and another of a hundred pounds towards the rebuilding of Great St. Mary's, made by king Henry before his departure from Cambridge on the foregoing occasion, were hailed as indications of special favour in one whose parsimony was so notorious.

The monarch's subsequent bequests for the completion of the chapel.

His gifts to Great St. Mary's and to the university.

ERASMUS.
b. 1467.
d. 1536.

There is some reason for conjecturing that, among those who followed in the royal train on this occasion¹, was Desiderius Erasmus, for we find that he was in England during

¹ Dr John Caius directly asserts (*Hist. Cant. Acad.* p. 127), that Erasmus was living at Cambridge at the time when King Henry visited the university,—‘quo tempore Hen-

ricus etiam Septimus Angliæ rex prudentissimus Cantabrigiam invisit:’ but this statement appears to be without sufficient authority. See Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, pp. 85-8.

the spring of the same year, and we also know that he was, about the same time, admitted by accumulation to the degrees of bachelor and doctor of divinity of the university¹. He was already well known to Fisher, whose guest he afterwards became at the lodge of Queens' College; it is therefore far from improbable that in the statutes of Christ's College given about this time by the lady Margaret, the influence of the great scholar was not without effect, and that, in the clause which provides for the study of the poets and orators of antiquity, is to be discerned the result of many a conversation between the president of Queens' and his illustrious guest. But be this as it may, it is certain that in the statutes that now invite our attention we have a more important and interesting code than any that has hitherto come before us,—presenting as it does the first endeavour to introduce a new element of culture,—being also a code given as the rule of a third society by a distinguished leader in the university, who had already presided over the discipline of two other foundations,—a code destined moreover afterwards to serve as the rule of a fourth society, and one yet more illustrious than that for which it was first compiled².

In the commencing chapter we miss the ordinary preamble respecting the motives and designs of the foundress, it being evidently understood that the college is to be looked upon as an extension of the design of God's House: and it is expressly stated that Sickling and the three remaining fellows of the old society have given their assent to the new rule. The prefatory chapter contains a somewhat quaint comparison between the human frame and the organisation of a college.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

Admitted
D.D. 1506.
The friend
and guest of
Fisher.

Original statutes of
Christ's College, given
1506.

¹ This fact is referred to by dean Milman as a mere report, and Mr Seebohm omits all notice of it in his *Oxford Reformers*; the entry in the Grace Book however places it beyond dispute:—'Anno 1505 conceditur Des. Erasmo ut unicum vel si exigantur duo responsa una cum duobus sermonibus ad clerum sermonemque examinatorio, et lectura publica in *Epistolam ad Romanos*, vel quævis alia, sufficient sibi ad incipiendum in theologia sic quod prius admit-

tatur baccalaureus in eadem et intret libros Sententiarum bedellisque satisfaciatur.' *Liber Gratiar.* B, fol. 229 b. The *sermo examinatorius*, according to Caius (*Antiq. Cant. Acad.*, Lib. II), was so called, 'quia ante a doctoribus theologicis examinabatur quam de suggesto pronuntiabatur propter Wicliffi doctrinam.' The fear of Lollardism was evidently far from extinct.

² These statutes are printed in *Documents*, III 174—212.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

The master:
numerous re-
strictions im-
posed upon
his authority.

Conditions
compared
with those
imposed at
Jesus Col-
lege.

Residence
strictly en-
forced.

Half-yearly
accounts to
be rendered
of the college
finances.

In the statute which follows next, relating to the duties and authority of the master, a contrast to preceding codes is observable in the numerous limitations imposed. Hitherto the main object would seem to have been to secure obedience to his rule; no apprehension is manifested lest he should overstep the proper bounds and prove forgetful of the college interests while promoting his own; and he is generally to be found enjoying what was virtually almost unrestricted liberty of action. We find, it is true, in the statutes given to Jesus College a few years before, that he is required to take an oath that he will neither alienate, pledge, nor mortgage any of the property without the consent of the visitor and the majority of the fellows; and he is also required to consult with the fellows *in rebus et negotiis arduis*¹. But these obligations are vague and easily evaded when compared with those here imposed. To the master of Christ's it is forbidden to take action with respect to any complaint or concession, until the majority of the fellows have given their assent; to alienate or farm out the lands, houses, tithes, dues, or other sources of revenue 'whether spiritual or temporal,—to bestow any office, fee, or pension from the college revenue,—to present to any of the college livings,—and finally, to enter upon any matter wherein the college may be liable to suffer disgrace or detriment,—until all the fellows have been summoned and the consent of the majority obtained.' It is also required, 'inasmuch as it is not fit that the head should be separated from the body' (the statute here following up the metaphor originally instituted), that the master shall be resident two months out of every three throughout the year, unless engaged elsewhere in college business, or able to plead exceptional circumstances. He is also required to render, twice a year, a true and faithful account of all receipts and disbursements and to account for the surplusage.

The fellows, twelve in number, are required, at the time of their election, to be masters of arts or at least of bachelor standing, and in priest's orders, or within a year of admission to the same; they are to be chosen if eligible from the

¹ Documents, III 98.

scholars, but, if fitting candidates be not forthcoming from among the number of these, from the whole university: at no time are there to be more than two who are not in priest's orders. The northern sympathies of both the foundress and her adviser are evinced in the statute requiring that at least half, but not more than nine, of the fellows shall be natives of one or other of the nine counties of Northumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, York, Richmond, Lancashire, Derby, and Nottingham; no one of these counties however is to be represented by more than one fellow at a time. The remaining three fellows to be from any three of the remaining counties of the realm.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

Qualifications required for fellowships. Preference to be given to north countrymen.

In connexion with both the mastership and the fellowships there is one feature which calls for special notice, namely the form of oath administered at the time of election. In the statutes of Jesus College we also find forms of oath imposed, but between the oaths prescribed at the two colleges there is an important difference; as regards the point in question, a comparison of the two *fellowship* oaths will suffice. The fellow of Jesus College is required to swear,—‘I will hold and maintain inviolate all and each of the statutes and ordinances of this college, without any cavilling or wrongful or perverse interpretation whatever, and as far as in me lies I will endeavour to secure their acceptance and observance by others¹.’ Similarly the fellow of Christ's is required to swear,—‘I will truthfully and scrupulously observe all and each of the statutes which Margaret, the mother of our most illustrious king Henry VII and foundress of this college, has either herself or by her advisers given for its rule, and will as far as in me lies enforce their observance by my brother fellows².’ Thus far the oaths are evidently substantially the

Form of oath at election.

Comparison of this form with that prescribed in statutes of Jesus College.

Clause against dispensations.

¹ ‘Ego N. in verum et perpetuum socium hujus collegii electus, admissus et institutus, juro ad hæc sancta Dei evangelia, per me corporaliter tacta, quod omnia et singula statuta et ordinationes hujus collegii absque omni cavillatione, aut mala aut sinistra interpretatione, quatenus ipsa me concernunt, inviolabiliter tenebo et observabo, et

quantum in me erit ab aliis teneri et observari faciam, etc.’ *Ibid.* III 103.

² ‘—nullam ullo tempore adversus aliquod statutorum Fundatricis nostræ sive adversus hoc juramentum meum dispensationem impetrabo, nec curabo impetrari, neque ab aliis impetratam acceptabo ullo modo.’ *Ibid.* III 194.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

Precedent
for this
clause in
statutes of
King's Col-
lege.

Question
raised by
dean Peacock
in connexion
with this
clause.

same, but in a subsequent clause of the oath administered at Christ's we find this addition,—‘I will at no time seek for a dispensation with respect to any one of the statutes of our foundation, or this my oath, neither will I take any steps for the obtaining of such dispensation or in any way accept it if obtained by others.’ It is to be observed that this latter clause has a precedent in the fellowship oath administered at King's College (which in dean Peacock's opinion Fisher had taken as his model)¹, that it is inserted in the oath administered at St. John's,—as contained in the later codes drawn up by Fisher in the years 1524 and 1530²,—that it is retained in the statutes given by Elizabeth to the same society in 1576, and in those that received the royal sanction in the twelfth of Victoria. It is also to be observed that at each of the above three colleges, as also at Queens', Clare Hall, and Pembroke³, the queen in council has always been the supreme authority; and that to this authority there has always belonged, as either implied or distinctly asserted in the several codes, an unquestioned right to alter, rescind, or dispense with any of the statutes of each foundation. In dean Peacock's view we are consequently here presented with ‘a most difficult question.’ ‘How,’ he asks (in discussing the clause as it appears in the statutes of King's College), ‘could the authorities of the college, the provost and fellows, consistently with the oath which they had taken, either propose a change themselves, or accept it, if procured by others?’

¹ Dean Peacock, *Observations*, etc. p. 103.

² *Early Statutes of St. John's College* (ed. Mayor), pp. 306 and 600.

³ ‘In Caius, Corpus, Downing, Trinity Hall, Catherine Hall, it is the queen in council or in a court of equity. In Peterhouse, Jesus, Magdalen, Sidney, Emmanuel, the visitors, as representing the founders and deriving from them peculiar jurisdiction and authority, would either be competent to sanction such changes, or at all events to authorise an application to the queen in council or in a court of equity.’ Peacock, p. 101. Dean Peacock observes with reference to Christ's College, ‘There is no power expressly reserved by

the statutes of this college to effect or to authorise such alterations as time and other circumstances might render necessary’ (p. 99). This does not quite agree with the conclusion of the final statute, chapter 48, where we read, ‘Et reservamus item nobis auctoritatem mutandi et innovandi quęcunque statuta priora aut alia adjiciendi pro nostro arbitrio cum expresso consensu magistri et sociorum prædictorum.’ *Documents*, III p. 212. In the oath taken by the master he again swears to observe all ‘ordinationes et statuta.....jam edita sive in posterum edenda.’ *Ibid.* III 187—8.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 96.

In other words, how could the crown reserve to itself a right to alter, and the master or the fellow swear at the same time never to accept any alteration whatever. 'It is known,' he subsequently adds, 'as an historical fact, that such dispensations were repeatedly granted by the authority of the crown, and it was never contended, nor even conceived, that the same royal authority which in those days was considered competent to dispense with or alter the whole body of the statutes, could be controlled in the exercise of a temporary dispensation of one or more of them, in favour of any specified individual. But if it be admitted that the same power which gave the statutes, did not, from the moment of the completion of that act, abdicate and renounce its authority, but continued to retain and practically to exercise it in the modification and dispensation of its own laws, and that consequently the clause in the oath against the acceptance of dispensations, could not refer to those which were granted by the crown, it may very reasonably be asked *what were the dispensations which it was designed to exclude*, by subjecting those who sought for or accepted them to the imputation of perjury?' The answer which he gives to the question he raises is somewhat unsatisfactory, inasmuch as he discusses it in connexion with the original statutes of Trinity College, 'when,' as he observes, 'the reformation of religion in this kingdom was only in progress towards completion, and when the minds of all men were familiar with the dispensations from the distinct obligations of oaths which were so readily granted and accepted, both in the university and elsewhere'.¹

It is obvious that this latter observation is not applicable to the præ-Reformation period, and we are consequently under the necessity of enquiring what may be supposed to have been the design of this oath as originally framed in the fifteenth century? It is to be noted then that there is satisfactory evidence that these precautions were, in the first instance, aimed at *dispensations from Rome*. In the twentieth of the statutes given by the lady Margaret to Christ's College, we have what is entitled *Forma et Conditio Obliga-*

The clause originally aimed at dispensations from Rome.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 97.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

Clause in the form of oath administered to the master of Christ's.

Probable explanation of the retention of the clause in subsequent revisions of the Statutes.

tionis qua Magister sive Custos obligabitur: and by this statute the master is required to execute a bond for the payment of £200 to the provost of King's and the master of Michaelhouse. So long however as he abstains from obtaining *litteras aliquas apostolicas dispensatorias* releasing him from his own oath, and also refuses to allow the acceptance of any such letter by any of the fellows, the bond is to remain inoperative (*nullius in obnoxiis*). In other words, the dispensations referred to were *papal dispensations from an oath of obedience to the royal authority*; and the spirit in which the prohibitory clauses were enacted was identical with the spirit of the law which made it high treason for any ecclesiastic to exercise the powers of a legate *a latere* in England,—the law so basely called into action by the crown in the prosecution of Wolsey. So far therefore from this clause presenting any 'great difficulty,' as enacted before the Act of Supremacy, it would appear to be entirely in harmony with the legislation of the period. The difficulty, if such it can be termed, belongs to times subsequent to that Act, when of course the oath became almost unmeaning, and, as we learn from Baker,—who found many of these bonds among the archives of St. John's,—the name of the *king* was inserted instead of that of the *pope*². After this alteration the statute necessarily wore the appearance, to which dean Peacock adverts, of direct contradiction to the founder's reservation of a right to alter or rescind any statute in the future. But it is sufficiently notorious that statutes of every kind are frequently to be found embodying clauses which, whatever may have been their original utility, have in the course of time lost much of their significance and effect. If however any explanation can be given of the

¹ *Documents*, III 188; see also *Early Statutes of St. John's*, p. 64.

² 'The fellows at their admission were to take a strict oath for the observance of the statutes, and withal to give a bond of £100 not to obtain or cause to be obtained, directly or indirectly from the pope, the court of Rome, or any other place, any licence or dispensation contrary to their oaths, or to accept or use it so obtained. Many of which bonds are yet extant, only the pope was soon

after altered for the King, or else the bonds run in general expressions.' In Baker's opinion these bonds 'were a just and reasonable security,' and 'such as it were to be wished had been continued.' Baker-Mayor, p. 99. By what refinement the fellow was supposed to be debarred from obtaining a dispensation dispensing him from his oath not to obtain a dispensation, I do not pretend to explain.

retention of this clause down to the reign of Victoria, that suggested by the above writer would certainly appear to be the most probable,—that the object was ‘to prevent the juror from seeking, by any direct or indirect exertions of his own, to procure a dispensation from the obligations and penalties of the statutes, or from availing himself of an offer or opportunity of procuring it by the indulgence or connivance of those persons or bodies with whom was lodged the administration of the laws’¹.

In the statute relating to the scholars (*discipuli scholares*), we find that they are to be students of promise, as yet neither bachelors nor in holy orders, able to speak and understand the Latin tongue, and intending to devote themselves to literature (*bonas artes*), and theology, and the sacred profession. They must be competent to lecture in sophistry, at least; in elections the same preference, under the same restrictions, as in the elections to fellowships, is to be shewn to candidates from the nine northern counties already named. Throughout the statutes we find not a single reference to the canon or civil law or to medicine, and the master is bound by his oath not to allow any of the fellows to apply himself to any other faculty than those of arts and theology.

The scholars: to be sufficiently instructed in grammar, and to be trained in arts and theology.

The canon and civil law and medicine excluded.

The admission of pensioners or *convivæ*, as they are also termed, is here first provided for; and it is required that special vigilance shall be exercised in admitting only such as are *probatae vitæ et famæ inviolatæ*, and who are prepared to bind themselves by oath to a strict observance of the prescribed order of discipline and instruction.

Pensioners to be admitted, who are of good character.

In the course of study innovation is again apparent. A college lecturer is appointed who is to deliver four lectures daily in the hall; one on dialectics or sophistry, another on logic, a third on philosophy, and a fourth *on the works of the poets and orators*². The other provisions, it is to be noted, also make a much closer approach towards bringing the college course into rivalry with that of the schools.

A college lecturer appointed.

His lectures to include readings from the poets and orators.

¹ Peacock, *Observations*, p. 98.

² ‘Quem librum vero in quaque harum facultatum sit expositurus, et qua hora, magistri et decanorum ar-

bitrio relinquimus quoad ipsi conducibilis auditorio fore judicaverint,’ *Documents*, III 201.

CHAP. V.
PART II.Lectures to
be given in
the Long
Vacation.Fisher ap-
pointed visi-
tor for life.Allowance
for commons.Object of
these restric-
tions.

There are to be 'oppositions' every Monday and Wednesday, between twelve and one; sophistry exercises every Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, between three and five; a problem in logic every Monday after supper until seven; a problem in philosophy every Friday between three and five; and in the morning a disputation in grammar between nine and eleven; and in the long vacation, in addition to all the foregoing, there are to be sophistry exercises on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, from eight to ten, *in quibus omnibus*, says the statute, *diligentia et industria utetur sua, quomodo speraverit se auditorio profuturum*.

In the statute relating to the visitor, *Joannes Roffensis episcopus, nunc universitatis Cantabrigiæ cancellarius*, is appointed to the office for life¹.

Another provision among those contained in these statutes, though apparently a mere matter of detail, is probably as significant a fact as any that the statutes present. We have already had occasion to notice in connexion with earlier foundations the sums allowed for the weekly expenditure in commons²: and it is to be remembered that by stringent regulations in relation to expenses of this kind, the founders availed themselves of the only means in their power for preventing the introduction of luxury like that which had proved the bane of the monasteries. The pleasures of the table were extolled and sought with little disguise in these ruder times, and if the colleges rarely presented a scene like that which startled Giraldus at Canterbury, it was mainly because they were under definite restrictions, while the monastic foundations were in this respect ruled only by the discretion of the abbat or prior. Wherever at least such limitations were not prescribed, abuses seem generally to have crept in. The house of the Brethren of St. John was at this very time sinking into ruin, chiefly as the result of unchecked extravagance of this character. At Peterhouse, where no amount had been prescribed, 'the whole being left indeterminately to the judgement of the master,' the bishop of Ely found, when on his visitation in 1516, that 'no little

¹ *Documents*, III 203, 208, 201, 209.² See *supra*, pp. 254, n. 2; and 370.

disadvantage and considerable damage had arisen to the said college,' and decided that the amount for the fellows' weekly commons should not in future exceed fourteen pence¹. The amount now fixed upon for Christ's College by bishop Fisher was only *twelve pence*: and when we consider that the same amount had been assigned for the maintenance of the fellows of Michaelhouse more than two centuries before, we can only infer that he regarded an ordinarily frugal table as an indispensable element in college discipline. It is to be observed also that he prescribed the same amount for the commons at St. John's, and maintained it, notwithstanding the general rise in prices, in the revisions of the code of the latter foundation which he instituted in the years 1524 and 1530². Long after Fisher's death, in the year 1545, the fellows of the same society found that this compulsory economy had done them good service; for when the greedy hand of the courtier was stretched out to seize the property of the college, king Henry refused to sanction the spoliation, observing that 'he thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in land and living, by so little land and rent³.'

The same amount subsequently prescribed in the statutes of St John's, and maintained by Fisher throughout his life.

Fortunate result of this frugality.

The university had scarcely ceased to congratulate itself on the foundation of Christ's College, when it became known that the lady Margaret was intent on a somewhat similar design in connexion with the ancient Hospital of the Brethren of St. John. In this case however the original stock had gone too far in decay to admit of the process of grafting, and the society, as we have already noticed, presented a more than usually glaring instance of maladministration. Throughout its history it appears to have been governed more with

Proposed foundation of St John's College, by the lady Margaret.

The Hospital of the Brethren of St John.

¹ Heywood, *Early College Statutes*, p. 57. See *supra* p. 254, n. 2; Fuller mentions the fact that archbishop Arundel, in 1405, granted a faculty for increasing a fellow's weekly commons to 16*d.*; and this is the amount prescribed in the early statutes of Jesus College.

² *Early Statutes* (ed. Mayor), pp. 153, 320, 379.

³ *Parker Correspondence* (Parker Society), p. 36: quoted in Baker-Mayor, p. 572. The allowance was

maintained at the same sum up to the reign of Edward vi, when, in consequence of the great rise in prices, it became really insufficient, and the college addressed a remonstrance to the protector Somerset, representing that 'the price of everything was enhanced, but their income was not increased; insomuch that now they could not live for twenty pence so well as formerly they could do for twelve pence.' Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, II 248.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

Its condition
at the com-
mencement
of the six-
teenth cen-
tury.

Its proposed
dissolution.

Endowments
set apart by
the lady Mar-
garet for the
new college.

King Henry
gives his as-
sent.

regard to the convenience of a few than to extended utility; for though possessed of a revenue amounting to nearly one-third that of the great priory at Barnwell, a house of the same order, it never maintained more than five or six canons, while the priory, though noted for its profuse hospitality and sumptuous living, often supported five or six times the number¹. But with the commencement of the sixteenth century, under the misrule of William Tomlyn, the condition of the hospital had become a scandal to the community, and in the language of Baker, who moralises at length over the lesson of its downfall, the society had gone so far and were so deeply involved 'that they seem to have been at a stand and did not well know how to go farther; but their last stores and funds being exhausted and their credit sunk, the master and brethren were dispersed, hospitality and the service of God (the two great ends of their institution) were equally neglected, and in effect the house abandoned².' Such being the state of affairs, the bishop of Ely,—at this time James Stanley, stepson to the countess,—had nothing to urge in his capacity of visitor against the proposed suppression of the house, and gave his assent thereto without demur: but the funds of the society were altogether inadequate to the design of the countess, who proposed to erect on the same site and to endow a new and splendid college, and she accordingly found herself under the necessity of revoking certain grants already made to the abbey at Westminster. To this the consent of king Henry was indispensable; and the obtaining of that consent called for the exercise of some address, for the monarch's chief interest was now centred in his own splendid chapel at Westminster. The task was accordingly confided to Fisher, who conducted it with his usual discretion and with complete success. 'The second Solomon,' as the men of his age were wont to style him, was now entering upon the 'evil days' and years in which he found no pleasure: he responded however to his

¹ The revenues of the hospital at its dissolution amounted to £80. 1s. 10d.: those of the priory to £256. 11s. 10½d. (Cooper, *Annals*, i 370.)

Baker in estimating the latter, by what he calls 'a middle computation,' at £300, has placed them too high.

² Baker-Mayor, p. 60.

mother's petition in a 'very tender and affectionate' manner, but, as Baker informs us, 'his sight was so much appayr'd' that 'he declares on his faith "that he had been three days or he could make an end of his letter."' His consent having been readily given, nothing more was wanting to enable the countess to proceed with her design, and everything would seem to have been progressing towards a satisfactory accomplishment, when, before the legal deeds could be duly drawn up and ratified, king Henry died, and, within little more than two months after, the countess also was borne to rest by his side in the great abbey. Erasmus composed her epitaph¹; Skelton sang her elegy²; and Torrigiano, the Florentine sculptor, immortalised her features in what has been characterised as 'the most beautiful and venerable figure that the abbey contains.'³ Upon Fisher, who had already preached the funeral sermon for the son, it now devolved to render a like tribute to the memory of the mother.

Death of
king Henry,
Apr. 22, 1509.
Death of the
lady Marg-
aret, June 29,
1509.

A large gathering at St. Paul's listened as he described, in thrilling tones and with an emotion the genuineness of

Fisher
preaches
her funeral
sermon.

¹ MARGARETÆ. RICHE-
MONDIÆ. SEPTIMI HEN-
RICI. MATRI. OCTAVI. AV-
LÆ. QVÆ. STIPENDIA
CONSTITVIT. TRIB. HOC.
COENOBIO. MONACHIS.
ET. DOCTORI. GRAMMATI-
CES. APVD. WYMBORN.
PERQ: ANGLIAM TOTAM.
DIVINI. VERBI. PRECONI.
DVOB. ITEM. INTERPRÆ-
TIB. LITTERAR: SACRAR:
ALTERI. OXONIIS. AL-
TERI. CANTABRIGIÆ.
VBI. ET. COLLEGIA. DVO.
CHRISTO. ET. IOANNI.
DISCIPULO. EJUS. STRUX-
IT. MORITUR. AN. DOMINI.
M.D. IX. III. KAL. IVLII.

² In his capacity of laureate, in the year 1516, of which the following lines may serve as a specimen of the standard attained at Cambridge in Latin elegiacs at that time:—

Aspirate meis elegis, pia turma
sororum, | Et Margaretam collacry-
mate piam; | Hac sub mole latet
regis celeberrima mater | Henrici

magni, quem locus iste fovet; | Quem
locus iste sacer celebrat poly-
andro, | Illius en genetrix hac tumu-
latur humo! | Cui cedat Tanaquil
(Titus hanc super astra reportet), |
Cedat Penelope, carus Ulixis amor; |
Huic Abigail, velut Hester, erat pie-
tate secunda: | En tres jam proceres
nobilitate pares!
etc. etc.

Skelton's *Works*, by Dyce, i 195.

³ Dean Stanley, *Historical Memo-
rials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 164:
'More noble and more refined than
in any of her numerous portraits, her
effigy well lies in that chapel, for to
her the King, her son, owed every-
thing. For him she lived. To end
the Civil Wars by his marriage with
Elizabeth of York she counted as an
holy duty. On her tomb, as in her
life, her second and third husbands
have no place. It bears the heraldic
emblems only of her first youthful
love, the father of Henry vii. She
was always "Margaret Richmond."
Ibid. p. 165.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

which none could doubt, the manner of her life¹. On the ears of the present generation, much that most edified and moved the audience he addressed, falls doubtless somewhat strangely. We hear with more of pity than of admiration the details of her devout asceticism,—of her shirts and girdles of hair, her early risings, her interminable devotions and countless kneelings, her long fasts and ever-flowing tears,—but charity recalls that in features like these we have but the superstitions which she shared with the best and wisest of her contemporaries, while in her spotless life, her benevolence of disposition, and her open hand, may be discerned the outlines of a character that attained to a standard not often reached in that corrupt and dissolute age.

Her executors.

Charter of the foundation of St. John's College, 1511.

Robert Shorton, first master.

Characters of the executors.

With the death of his patroness the troubles of bishop Fisher began. In conjunction with seven others he had been appointed executor for the purpose of carrying out her designs: his coadjutors were Richard bishop of Winchester, and Charles Somerset lord Herbert; Thomas Lovell, Henry Marney, and John St. John, knights; and Henry Hornby and Hugh Ashton, clerks. On the ninth of April, 1511, the executors proceeded to draw up the charter of the foundation, setting forth the royal assent together with that of the pope, and of the bishop and convent of Ely, whereby the old hospital was formally converted into 'a perpetual college *unius magistri, sociorum et scholarium ad numerum quinquaginta secularium personarum vel circa, in scientiis liberalibus et sacra theologia studentium et oraturarum*: it being also ordained that the college should be styled and called St. John's College for ever, should be a body corporate, should have a common seal, might plead and be impleaded, and purchase or receive lands under the same name. At the same time Robert Shorton was elected first master, and James Spooner, John West, and Thomas Barker, fellows, on the nomination of the bishop of Ely, of the said college².

Of the above-named executors, the four laymen appear

¹ The Sermon has been twice edited; in each case by fellows of St. John's College: in the last cen-

tury by Baker, and in the present by Dr Hymers.

² Baker-Mayor, p. 68.

to have taken little or no active interest in the scheme. Lovell, described by Cavendish in his *Life of Wolsey* as 'a very sage counsellor and witty¹,' was probably well able to render good service, for he stood high in the royal favour; but he was throughout his life a busy politician and was at this time much occupied as executor to the late monarch². Of the four ecclesiastics, Fox, next to Fisher, was by far the most influential, and, as master of Pembroke, might fairly have been expected to interest himself in an undertaking on which his services could be so easily bestowed. But he had received his earlier academic education at Oxford, and according to Baker, his sympathies with that university, which subsequently found expression in the foundation of Corpus Christi College, were already beginning to declare themselves. He was also the intimate friend of Wolsey, who was believed to be adverse to the design of the lady Margaret, while with Warham, who warmly befriended that design, and who was generally to be found in opposition to Wolsey, he was at this time engaged in an irritating lawsuit³. Ashton, who had also received his education at Oxford, though afterwards a distinguished benefactor of the college, seems to have possessed at this time but little power to afford effectual aid. Hornby, formerly fellow of Michaelhouse and now master of Peterhouse, alone appears to have entered heartily into the scheme⁴, and it soon became evident that on Fisher would mainly devolve the arduous task of bringing to its accomplishment, in spite of the dishonest rapacity of a few and the indifference of many, the final and most important design of the greatest benefactress that Cambridge has ever known. But at the very outset, grounds for considerable apprehension began to appear. The revenues of the estates bequeathed by the lady Margaret, together with those of the hospital, amounted annually to nearly £500, an income second only to that of King's in the list of college foundations. It was well known however that

CHAP. V.

PART II.

Lovell.

Fox.

His Oxford sympathies.

Ashton.

Hornby.

The burden of carrying out the design devolves on Fisher.

The legal deeds not having been finally completed, the revenues bequeathed by the foundress

¹ Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (ed. Singer), p. 71.

³ *Ibid.* i 527.

⁴ Baker-Mayor, p. 78.

² Cooper, *Memorials*, i 30.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

become sub-
ject to the
royal dis-
posal.

Apparent
contradiction in
the original
licence.

Bishop
Stanley
opposes the
dissolution
of the Hos-
pital.

His charac-
ter.

it depended entirely on the royal pleasure whether the executors would be permitted to carry into full effect a scheme, which, though there could be no doubt of the executrix's design, had never received the final legal ratification; the young monarch, to use the language of Baker, 'not having the same ties of duty and affection, was under no obligation to make good his father's promises; and having an eye upon the estate, had no very strong inclination to favour a design that must swallow up part of his inheritance'. The executors indeed already found considerable cause for perplexity in the fact, that in the royal licence above referred to, granted Aug. 7, 1509, the revenue which the new society was permitted to hold ('the statute of mortmain notwithstanding'), over and above the revenues of the hospital, was limited to fifty pounds. But as the licence also permitted the maintenance of fifty fellows and scholars, and it was evident that so large a number could not possibly be supported on an income of £130 a year, the executors were fain to hope that the royal generosity would provide the most favorable solution of the difficulty thus presented, and determined on the bold course of carrying on the works as though nothing doubting that the intentions of the countess would be respected. A new difficulty however met them in another quarter, in the reluctance exhibited by Stanley to take the final steps for dissolving the old house. The influence of his mother-in-law could no longer be brought to bear upon him, and though as the promulgator of the statutes of Jesus College and founder of the grammar school attached to that foundation, it might have been hoped that he would not be wanting in sympathy with the new scheme, he was evidently little disposed to favour it. The fact that he was visitor of the hospital, and that its suppression might appear to reflect on his past remissness, partially accounts perhaps for his disinclination, but the explanation must mainly be sought in his personal character. From his boyhood he had evinced if not actual incapacity, at least considerable averseness to study; but with so splendid a prize as a bishopric

¹ Baker-Mayor, p. 62.

within his reach, it was necessary that he should prove himself not totally illiterate, and when a student at Paris he endeavored to gain the assistance of Erasmus. Indolence promised itself an easier journey on the back of genius. But the great scholar flatly refused to undertake the instruction of a pupil who could bring him no credit, and the noble youth was obliged to seek the requisite aid elsewhere¹. His promotion to the see of Ely, for which he was entirely indebted to the interest of the countess, took place in due course. 'It was the worst thing,' says Baker, 'that she ever did.' The diocese soon began to be scandalized by the bishop's open immorality; and, with all the meanness of a truly ignoble nature, he now thought fit to exhibit his gratitude to his late benefactress by thwarting her benevolent design. The dishonest, self-indulgent Tomlyn was a man far more to the heart of James Stanley than the austere and virtuous Fisher. The necessary steps for the dissolution of the hospital were met by repeated evasions and delay. It was found necessary to have recourse to Rome. A bull was obtained. When it arrived it was discovered that certain omissions and informalities rendered it absolutely nugatory, and application was made for a second. The latter was fortunately drawn up in terms that admitted of no dispute. 'For this pope,' says Baker, (it was *Julius Exclusus*), 'was a son of thunder; it struck the old house at one blow, did both dissolve and build alone, without consent either of the king or of the bishop of Ely.' 'And so,' he adds, 'the old house, after much solicitation and much delay, after a long and tedious process at Rome, at court, and at Ely, under an imperious pope, a forbidding prince, and a mercenary prelate, with great application, industry, and pains, and with equal expense, was at last dissolved and utterly extinguished on the 20th day of January, an. 1510, and falls a lasting monument to all future ages and to all charitable and religious foundations, not to neglect the rules or abuse the institutions of their founders, lest they fall under the same fate².'

The executors obtain a bull from Rome. It proves defective.

A second bull is obtained.

Dissolution of the Hospital.

¹ Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 19.

² Baker-Mayor, p. 66.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

The college
still in em-
bryo.

Decision in
the Court of
Chancery in
favour of the
college.

A second
suit institut-
ed by the
Crown.
The execu-
tors abandon
their claim.

The loss thus
sustained at-
tributed to
Wolsey's in-
fluence.

During all this time the newly constituted society could scarcely be said to exist. The three fellows received their pensions, lodging in the town; and Shorton, in his capacity of master, was rendering valuable service by the energy with which he pushed on the erection of the new buildings, while the infant society awaited with anxious expectation the decision respecting its claim to the estates bequeathed by the lady Margaret. At first there seemed reason for hope that the voice of justice might yet prevail. The cause of the defendants was not altogether unbefriended at court, and Warham, in his double capacity of chancellor of England and archbishop, rendered them good service. At last a tedious suit in chancery terminated in the legal recognition of the validity of the late countess's bequest, and it was thought that the chief cause for anxiety was at an end. But the laborers in the cause of learning were now beginning to enter upon that new stage of difficulty when the little finger of the courtier should be found heavier than the thigh of the monk. Through the influence of 'some potent courtiers,' a fresh suit was instituted by the royal claimant. The executors perceived the hopelessness of a further contest and reluctantly surrendered their claims. The beneficent bequest of the lady Margaret was lost to the college for ever. Fuller, —in recording this 'rape on the Muses,' as he quaintly terms it,—vents his anger, in harmless fashion, on certain nameless 'prowling, propping, projecting promoters,' such as, he says, 'will sometimes creep even into kings' bedchambers.' But the rumour of the day was less indefinite, and it was generally believed that Wolsey had been the leading aggressor¹. It is certain that, many years after, the college assumed it as unquestionable that their loss had been mainly owing to his hostility². It may seem singular that one to whom the learning of that age was so much indebted, should have advised an act of such cruel spoliation. But the sympathies

¹ Baker-Mayor, p. 72.

² See abstract of Latin letter from the college to John Chambre, M.D. (*Ibid.* p. 349). The college, writing in 1531, the year after Wolsey's death,

solicit his aid in a suit with which they are threatened by Lord Cobham. 'The cardinal,' they say, 'had before robbed them of lands to the yearly value of £400.'

of the 'boy-bachelor of Magdalen' were chiefly with his own university, and very early in his career of power he seems to have detected, with his usual sagacity, the presence of an element hostile to his person and his policy at Cambridge. Along with Fox, he may also have grudged to see the latter university thus enriched by two important foundations, when Oxford,—if we except the then scarce completed foundation of Brazenose,—had received no addition to her list of colleges since Magdalen College rose in the year 1457.

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Motives by which he was probably actuated.

It was only through Fisher's direct application, and even then not without considerable difficulty, that, as some compensation for the heavy loss thus sustained, the revenues of another God's House (a decayed society at Ospringe in Kent), with several other estates, producing altogether an income of £80, were made over to the college by the Crown. 'This,' says Baker, 'with the lands of the old house, together with the foundress' estate at Fordham which was charged with debts by her will and came so charged to the college, with some other little things purchased with her moneys at Steukley, Bradley, Isleham and Foxton (the two last alienated or lost), was the original foundation upon which the college was first opened; and whoever dreams of vast revenues or larger endowments, will be mightily mistaken. Her lands put in feoffment for the performance of her will lay in the counties of Devon, Somerset and Northampton, and though I should be very glad to meet with lands of the foundation in any of these three counties, yet I despair much of such a discovery. But whoever now enjoys the manors of Maxey and Torpell in the county of Northampton, or the manors of Martock, Currey Reyvell, Kynsbury and Queen Camell, in the hundreds of Bulston, Abdike and Horethorn in the county of Somerset, or the manor of Sandford Peverell with the hundred of Allerton in the county of Devon, though they may have a very good title to them, which I will not question, yet whenever they shall be piously and charitably disposed, they cannot bestow them more equitably than by leaving them to St. John's¹.

The executors obtain the Hospital at Ospringe as a partial compensation. Baker's observations on the lost estates.

¹ Baker-Mayor, p. 74.

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Formal opening of the COLLEGE OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, July, 1516. Fisher presides at the ceremony. Is delegated to declare the statutes.

Thirty-one fellows elected. Alan Percy succeeds Shorton as master.

The statutes given identical with those of Christ's College.

Such were the circumstances under which the college of St. John the Evangelist was at last opened in July, 1516. Fisher presided at the ceremony and was probably thankful that they now knew the worst. He had not anticipated being present, for he had been delegated to the Lateran Council at Rome, and was already counting upon the companionship of Erasmus in the journey thither, when he was recalled by some fortunate chance at the last moment¹. To his presence in England at this juncture, the college was solely indebted for the partial compensation which made it the possessor of the estate at Ospringe. He now came up from his palace at Rochester², with full powers, delegated to him by his fellow-executors, to declare the rule of the new society and to arrange the admission of additional fellows and scholars. Thirty-one fellows were elected, and Alan Percy was appointed master in the place of Shorton. The latter, from some reason not recorded, voluntarily retired, carrying with him no slight reputation as an able and vigorous administrator, and was shortly after elected to the mastership of Pembroke College. His successor, a man of greatly inferior abilities, held the mastership only two years, when he in turn gave place to Nicholas Metcalfe, whose long and able rule, as we shall hereafter see, contributed largely to the consolidation and prosperity of the college.

The statutes given by Fisher were, as we have already stated, identical in their tenour with those of Christ's College; and there were now accordingly two societies commencing their existence at Cambridge, under a rule which may be regarded as almost the exclusive embodiment of his views and aims with respect to college education. It is not

¹ 'Ante biennium igitur adornaram iter, comes futurus R. Patri D. Iohanni Episcopo Roffensi, viro omnium Episcopatum virtutum genere cumulatissimo: et ut compendio landes illius explicem, Cantuariensi,' (*Warham*), 'cui subsidiarius est, simillimo. Verum is ex itinere subito revocatus est.' *Letter to Cardinal Grymanus*, *Erasmi Opera*, III 142.

² Fisher had received, just before leaving Rochester, a copy of Eras-

mus's *Novum Instrumentum*, and he hastened to acknowledge it. 'Etsi plurimis negotiis impediatur (*pero enim me Cantabrigiam iturum pro collegio nunc tandem instituendo*), noluit tamen ut is tuus Petrus meis litteris vacuus ad te rediret. Ingentium gratiarum debitorem me constituisti ob Instrumentum Novum, tua opera ex Græco traductum, quo me donaveras.' *Erasmi Opera*, III 1587.

difficult to recognise in the different provisions at once the strength and the weakness of his character. His life presents us with more than one significant proof, how little mere moral rectitude of purpose avails to preserve men from pitiable superstition and fatal mistakes. As his faith in the past amounted to a foolish credulity, so his distrust of the future became an unreasoning dread. And consequently, we here find, side by side with a wise innovation upon the existing course of studies, a pusillanimous anxiety to guard against all future innovations whatever. Nor can it be accepted as a sufficient justification of this vague jealousy of succeeding administrators, that herein he only imitated the example of William of Wykeham, just as Wainflete had imitated it at King's. The experiences that surrounded men at the time that Fisher drew up the rule of Christ's College, were of a very different character from those of a century before. The age in which he lived was manifestly one in which the old order of things was breaking up; and the leaders of thought at so significant a crisis were specially called upon, not only to recognise this fact in their own policy, but to foresee the possibility, if not the probability, of yet greater changes in the future. In proof that there were those who could thus rightly interpret the signs of the times, we may point to one illustrious example. Within two years after the day when St. John's College was formally opened, a contemporary of Fisher,—in no way his inferior in integrity of life, in earnestness of purpose, in ripe learning, or even in the practice of a rigid asceticism, but gifted with that spirit of 'prophetic liberality,' as it has been termed¹, in which Fisher was so signally deficient,—drew up a body of statutes as the rule of a foundation for the education of youth, to which he had consecrated his entire patrimony. In the original statutes of St. Paul's School² given by John Colet, we find the following clause,—a provision which every would-be bene-

The clauses directed against all future innovation contrasted with a clause in Colet's statutes of St. Paul's School.

¹ Dean Milman, *Essays*, p. 105.

² St. Paul's School was founded by Colet in the year 1510, as a school 'where the Latin adulterate which ignorant blind fools brought into this world' should be 'utterly ab-

anished and excluded,' and 'to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners among the children.' Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, 208-9².

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factor of his race in future times will do well to ponder, ere he seeks to ensure for any institution immunity from the great law of human progress, the law of frequent and constant change,—lest securities devised against imaginary evils prove eventually a shelter for actual abuses, and the stepping-stones laid down for one generation become the stumbling blocks of another:—

‘And notwithstanding the statutes and ordinances before written, in which I have declared my mind and will; *yet because in time to come many things may and shall survive and grow by many occasions and causes which at the making of this book was not possible to come to mind*; in consideration of the assured truth and circumspect wisdom and faithful goodness of the mercery of London, to whom I have confided all the care of the school, and trusting in their fidelity and love that they have to God and man, and to the school; and also believing verily that they shall always dread the great wrath of God:—Both all this that is said, and all that is not said, which hereafter shall come into my mind while I live, to be said, I leave it wholly to their discretion and charity: I mean of the wardens and assistances of the fellowship, with such other counsel as they shall call unto them,—good lettered and learned men,—they to add and diminish of this book and to supply it in every default¹.’

ERASMUS.
b. 1467 (?).
d. 1536.

The presence of Erasmus in Cambridge in the year 1506, and his admission to the doctoral degree, have already come under our notice. Of his visit on that occasion there is nothing more to be recorded, as none of his extant letters were written during his stay, or supply us with any further details; but, either in the year 1509 or 1510, he repeated his visit, and resided for a period of not less than four years. His lengthened sojourn at the university on this occasion, is probably to be attributed to the inducements held out by Fisher, whose influence appears to have obtained for him the privilege of residence in Queens’ College,—though Fisher himself was no longer president of the society; and a room

His second
visit to Cam-
bridge, 1509-
1510.

Object of his
visit.

¹ Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, 465².

*at the top of the south-west tower in the old court was, according to tradition, the one assigned for his occupation. So far as we can gather from his own statements the main design of Erasmus, on this his second visit to the university, was to gain a position, at once independent and profitable, as a teacher. He seems, at one time, to have imagined that he might be at Cambridge what Guarino had been at Florence or Argyropulos at Rome; that he might there gather round him a circle of students, willing to learn and well able to pay, such as his experience of the generous Mountjoy and the amiable young archbishop of St Andrews had suggested that he might find, and, while thus earning an income that would amply suffice for all his wants, at the same time prosecute those studies on which his ambition was mainly centered. That his project ended in disappointment, and that his Cambridge life was clouded by dissatisfaction, despondency, and pecuniary difficulties is undeniable; and we shall perhaps better understand how it was so, if we devote some consideration to the previous career and personal characteristics of the great scholar.

It will be an enquiry not without interest, if we first of all examine the circumstances that led to Erasmus's selection of Cambridge, as the field for his first systematic effort as an academic professor, at a time when France and Italy, Louvain and Oxford, were all, according to his own express statement, either willing to welcome him or actually making overtures to prevail upon him to become their teacher. It would seem that Paris, as his *alma mater*, might have fairly claimed his services, but the considerations against such a choice were too weighty to be disregarded. It was not the dismal reminiscences of his student life that repelled her former disciple; for, to do him justice, Erasmus always speaks of that ancient seat of learning in terms of warm, if not exaggerated, admiration¹. But in truth, the university

Circumstances that led to his selection of Cambridge, in preference to

PARIS,

¹ 'Quæ semper in re theologica non aliter principem tenuit locum quam Romana sedes Christianæ religionis principatum.' *Opera*, III 600.
'Parisiensis academia, certe in hoc

litterarum genere, quod sibi proposuit, semper primas tenuit.' *Letter to Vives*, *Ibid.* III 536. 'Academia omnium regina Lutetia.' *Ibid.* III 127.

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ITALY,

of Paris, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, as we have already had occasion to note, was no longer what she had once been. Louvain was now competing with her, not unsuccessfully, as a school of theology; and to the maintenance of her theological reputation Paris had subordinated every other branch of liberal culture. The new learning had accordingly found, as yet, but a cold reception at her hands. Erasmus, in his thirtieth year, and almost entirely ignorant of Greek, had been sought out as the ablest instructor in the university¹. When in quest, in turn, of a teacher of that language, he had been compelled to fall back on his own unaided resources. Her students had perhaps regained nearly their former numbers, but they were drawn from a far more limited radius². The nations of Europe no longer assembled round the 'Sinai of the Middle Ages'; but, already leaving behind them the desert wastes of scholasticism, and nearing what seemed to be the Promised Land, were exulting in the fair prospect that lay before. The fame that deserted Paris had undoubtedly been transferred to Italy, and Italy had offered to Erasmus a friendly welcome and a permanent home. Notwithstanding his satire of the Roman court, in his *Encomium Moriae*, he seems always to have spoken of the Italian land as at least one where the man of letters, whatever his nationality, was had in honour³; and he readily admitted that, in finished scholarship, its men of learning greatly surpassed those of Germany or France⁴. In a letter to Ambrosius Leo, a physician of Venice, he cannot refrain

¹ 'Videbant enim Angli inter professores bonarum litterarum in tota academia Parisiensi nullum existere, qui vel eruditius posset, vel fidelius docere consuesset.' Rhenanus, quoted by Knight, p. 13 n. 1.

² 'Au commencement du xvi^e siècle, l'université de Paris comptait peut-être plus d'étudiants qu'elle n'en avait jamais eu; mais elle avait perdu sa puissance et sa grandeur. Au lieu d'être le séminaire de la chrétienté, elle tendait à devenir une institution purement nationale. La réforme de 1598 ne fit que sanctionner des changements accomplis depuis un siècle.' Thurot,

De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement, etc. p. 2.

³ 'Equidem faveo gloriæ Italiæ, vel ob hoc ipsum, quod hanc æquiorum experiar in me quam ipsam patriam.' *Letter to Wm. Latimer* (1518), *Opera*, III 379. 'Exosculor Italiæ candorem, quæ favet exterorum ingeniis cum ipsi nobis invidemus.' *Letter to Bartholinus*, *Ibid.* III 635. See also his letter to More in 1520, III 614-5.

⁴ 'Gallus aut Germanus cum Italis, imo cum Musuri posteris inire certamen, quid nisi sibilos ac risum lucrifactorus?' *Letter to Ambrosius Leo*, *Ibid.* III 507.

from expressing his envy at the lot of one who could look forward to passing his life in that splendid city, surrounded by the learned and the noble¹. But Italy, at the time of Erasmus's own residence there, had been the scene of civil war; Mars, to adopt old Fuller's phrase, was frightening away the Muses. She had moreover recently lost her most distinguished scholars; while her Latin scholarship was becoming emasculated by a fastidiousness of diction and foppery of style, which, as a kind of heresy in learning, all the most eminent teachers,—Politian and Hermolaus Barbarus among her own sons, Budæus in France, and Linacre in England,—in turn deemed it their duty loudly to disavow. How Erasmus himself, in after years, directed against this folly those shafts of ridicule by which it was most effectively assailed, is a familiar story². But the learning of Italy also lay under another and graver imputation, one moreover to which its ablest representatives were equally exposed,—the imputation of infidelity; and Erasmus, who amid all his antipathy to mediæval corruptions retained throughout life a sincere faith in Christianity, openly expressed his apprehensions lest the scholars of Italy in bringing back the ancient learning should also rebuild the temples of paganism³. If to considerations such as these we add, that the light-hearted and witty scholar, in whom discretion of speech was by no means a conspicuous virtue, mistrusted his own prudence and reticence in the land of the Inquisition⁴, we shall be at no loss to understand how it was that Italy wooed Erasmus in vain. His frequent visits to Louvain would seem to prove that that rising school possessed for him considerable attractions. It was natural that such should be the case. Louvain was on the confines of his native country. He speaks, more than once, in high terms of the courteous manners and studious

LOUVAIN,

¹ *Letter to Ambrosius Leo, Ibid.* III 507.

² See his *Ciceronianus*.

³ 'Suspicio istie esse ἀλλοφύλους, quos intra sinum urit, quod nego quicquam esse facundum, quod non sit Christianum... Verum adversus istos omni, quod aiunt, pede standum est, qui moliuntur ut sub isto titulo

nomineque bonarum litterarum repullulascat Paganitas.' *Letter to Germanus Brixius, Opera*, III 1119.

'Unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum, ne sub obtentu priscae litteraturæ renascentis caput erigere conetur Paganismus.' *Letter to Capito (1518), Ibid.* III 186.

⁴ Jortin, I 31.

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OXFORD.

Friends of Erasmus at the university.

habits of its youth, and its freedom from turbulent outbreaks like those which he had witnessed at Paris and at Oxford¹. He was charmed by its pleasant scenery and genial climate. But at Louvain, as at Paris, theological influences were as yet all-predominant; in after years we find him speaking of the university as the only one where an unyielding opposition to polite learning was still maintained²; it prided itself, moreover, on a certain cold, formal, stately theology, that offered a singular contrast to the Parisian *furor*³, but was in no way less adverse to the activity of the Humanists; and Erasmus saw but little prospect of a peaceful career at Louvain. Under these circumstances it can hardly be a matter for surprise that he again sought the English shores; but the question naturally arises how it was that he did not return to Oxford. His early experiences there, during his eighteen months' sojourn in the years 1498 and 1499, had been among the most grateful in his whole career. He had found a home in the house of his order, the college of St. Mary the Virgin, then presided over by the hospitable Charnock; and at an age when new friendships have still a charm, he had been brought into contact with some of the noblest spirits in England,—with the genius of More and the fine intellect of

¹ 'Nusquam est academia, quæ modestiores habeat juvenes, minusque tumultuantes, quam hodie Lovanium.' *Letter to Iodocus Noëtius, Opera*, iii 409.

² 'Ceterum illud sæpe mecum admiram, quum omnes ferme totius orbis academici, veluti resipiscentes, ad sobrietatem quandam component sese, apud solos Lovanienses esse, qui tam pertinaciter obloquentur melioribus literis; præsertim quum nec in hoc sophistico doctrinæ genere magnopere præcellant.' *Letter to Ludovicus Vices* (A.D. 1521). *Ibid.* iii 689.

³ See an interesting letter, written from Louvain, 1522, by one fellow of St. John's to another, giving an amusing account of the university (Harleian MSS. 6989, f. 7; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, Hen. viii, iii 880-1). Nicholas Daryngton tells Henry Gold that he finds the theological exercises

very little to his taste; they read and argue coldly, what they call with modesty, but they are lazy and tedious. 'Parisiis clamatur vere sardonice; et voce (quod dicitur) stentorea, fremunt aliquando ad spumam usque et dentium stridorem.' He would like something between the two. Like Erasmus he admires the beauty of the scenery, but he dislikes the habits of the people. They are great gluttons and drinkers. They go on draining fresh cups till hands, feet, eyes, and tongue refuse their office; and you are an enemy if you don't keep up with them. Their food is coarse and greasy, et (ut ita loquar) *ex omni parte butyratus*: a dinner without butter would be thought monstrous. 'Ecce descriptus tibi felicitatem Teutonicorum!' See also Ascham's very similar testimony, *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 220.

Colet;—while in acquiring a further knowledge of Greek, he had been aided and encouraged by the able tuition and example of men like Grocyn, Linacre, and William Latimer. We have it on his own statement that Oxford would have been glad to welcome him back, and yet we find that he preferred availing himself of Fisher's invitation to go down to Cambridge. According to Knight¹ his chief reason for this preference was the removal or death of most of his former friends at the sister university; but our information respecting Oxford at this time, together with the few hints to be gathered from Erasmus's own language, will perhaps enable us to arrive at the conclusion that there were other reasons, of a less purely sentimental character, which for the present rendered his return thither at least inadvisable. And here it will be necessary to turn aside for a while, to trace out the successive steps whereby the study of Greek had, in the preceding century, again become planted on English soil.

Probable reasons of his non-return to Oxford.

Outline of the history of the introduction of Greek into England in the fifteenth century.

Among the earliest, if not the first, of those who in this country caught from Italy the inspiration of the Grecian muse, was William Selling, a member of the recently founded and singularly exclusive foundation of All Souls, Oxford, and subsequently one of the society of Christchurch, Canterbury. His own taste, which was naturally refined, appears in the first instance to have attracted him to the study of the Latin literature, and this, in turn, soon awakened in him a lively interest in the progress of learning in Italy². He resolved himself to visit the land that had witnessed so wondrous a revival, and having gained the permission of his chapter to travel,—partly, it would seem, under the plea of adding to his knowledge of the canon and civil law,—lost no time in carrying his design into execution. At Bologna, it is stated, he formed the acquaintance of Politian, and forthwith placed himself under his instruction³. From this

William Selling, d. 1495.

Studies Greek in Italy under Politian.

¹ *Life of Erasmus*, p. 123.

² 'Ecce subito illi prae oculis nocet atque dies observabatur Italia, post Græciam, bonorum ingeniorum et parens et alatrix.' Leland (quoted by Johnson), *Life of Linacre*, p. 6.

³ I give this statement on the au-

thority of Johnson. If, as Anthony Wood implies, Selling was a fellow at All Souls at the time that Linacre was born, he must have been considerably Politian's senior. Greswell, in his *Life of Politian*, makes no mention of that eminent scholar's

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eminent scholar he gained a knowledge of Greek, while his leisure was devoted, like that of William Gray, to the collection of numerous manuscripts. On his return to England, Selling bequeathed these treasures to his own convent, and his acquirements in Greek and genuine admiration for the Greek literature became the germ of the study in England. His attainments as a scholar now led to his appointment as master of the conventual school, and among his pupils was Thomas Linacre. From Selling, Linacre received his first instruction in Greek, and when, at the age of twenty, he in turn went up to All Souls, Oxford, it was probably with a stock of learning that, both as regards quality and quantity, differed considerably from the ordinary acquirements of an Oxford freshman in those days. In the year 1484 he was, like Selling (to whom he was probably related), elected to a fellowship at All Souls, and became distinguished for his studious habits. Like Caius Auberinus at Cambridge, there was at this time, at Oxford, a learned Italian of the name of Cornelius Vitelli; but while Auberinus taught only Latin, Vitelli could teach Greek. Linacre became his pupil, and his intercourse with the noble exile soon excited in his breast a longing to follow in the steps of his old preceptor. It so happened that Selling's acquirements as a scholar had marked him out for a diplomatic mission to the papal court, and he now gained permission for Linacre to accompany him on his journey. On his arrival in Italy, he obtained for his former pupil an introduction to Politian, who, removed to Florence, was there, as narrated in the former part of this chapter, dividing the academic honours with Chalcondyles. After studying for some time at Florence,—where he was honoured by being admitted to share Politian's instruction along with the young Medicean princes,—Linacre proceeded to Rome. In the splendid libraries of that capital he found grateful employment in the collation of different texts of classical authors,—many of them far superior in accuracy and authority to any

Thomas
Linacre.
b. 1460.
d. 1524.

The pupil of
Selling at
Christchurch,

and of Vitelli
at Oxford.

He accompa-
nies Selling to
Italy, about
1485.

Becomes a
pupil of
Politian.

residence at Bologna. See Johnson, *et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. II p. 177.
Life of Linacre, p. 5. Wood, *Hist.*

that it had previously been his fortune to find. One day while thus engaged over the *Phædo* of Plato, he was accosted by a stranger; their conversation turned upon the manuscript with which he was occupied; and from this casual interview sprang up a cordial and lasting friendship between the young English scholar and the noblest Italian scholar of the period,—Hermolaus Barbarus. It became Linacre's privilege to form one of that favored circle in whose company the illustrious Venetian would forget, for a while, the sorrows of exile and proscription; he was a guest at those simple but delightful banquets where they discussed, now the expedition of the Argonauts, now the canons for the interpretation of Aristotle; he joined in the pleasant lounge round the extensive gardens in the cool of the evening, and listened to discussions on the dicta of Dioscorides respecting the virtues and medicinal uses of the plants that grew around. It seems in every way probable that, from this intercourse, Linacre derived both that predilection for the scientific writings of Aristotle for which he was afterwards so distinguished, and that devotion to the study of medicine which afterwards found expression in the foundation of the College of Physicians, and of the Linacre lectureships at Merton College, Oxford, and at St. John's College, Cambridge. From Rome Linacre proceeded to Padua, whence, after studying medicine for some months and receiving the doctorial degree, he returned to England. His example, and the interest excited by his accounts at Oxford, proved more potent than the example of Selling. Within a few years three other Oxonians,—William Grocyn, William Lily, and William Latimer,—also set out for Italy, and, after there acquiring a more or less competent acquaintance with Greek, returned to their university to inspire among their fellow-academicians an interest in Greek literature. To the united efforts of these illustrious Oxonians, the revival of Greek learning in England is undoubtedly to be attributed; but the individual claims of any one of the four to this special honour are not so easily to be determined. That Grocyn was the father of the new study, is in Stapleton's opinion incontestable, inasmuch as

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Makes the acquaintance of Hermolaus Barbarus at Rome.

Important results of their subsequent intercourse.

Influence of his example at Oxford on Grocyn, Lily, and Latimer.

Different candidates for the title of restorer of Greek learning in England.

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he was the first who publicly lectured at Oxford on the subject¹; 'if he who first publishes to the world the fruits of his studies,' says Johnson, 'merits the title of a restorer of letters above others, the award to Linacre will not be questioned'; while Polydore Virgil considers that Lily, from his industry as a teacher, ought to be regarded as the true founder of a real knowledge of the language³.

Testimony of Erasmus to the merits of his Oxford friends.

Such were the men from all of whom Erasmus, when he came to Oxford in 1498, received that guidance and assistance in his studies which he had so vainly sought at Paris, and of whom, in his letter to Robert Fisher, he speaks in oft-quoted terms of enthusiastic admiration⁴. But to Linacre his obligations were probably the greatest, and in that eminent scholar Cambridge may gratefully recognise an important link in the chain that connects her Greek learning with the scholarship of Italy. Oxford indeed has never ceased to pride herself on the obligation under which the sister university has thus been laid; and there are few of Gibbon's sayings more frequently quoted than that wherein he has described Erasmus as there acquiring the Greek which he afterwards taught at Cambridge. The statement however, like many of the epigrammatic sentences in which the great historian has epitomised his judicial awards, is not to be accepted without considerable qualification⁵. It is certain, on the one hand, that Erasmus knew something of

Debt of Cambridge to Oxford.

Gibbon's dictum.

¹ 'Recens tunc ex Italia venerat Grocinus, qui primus ea ætate Græcas litteras in Angliam invexerat Oxonique publice professus fuerat, a cujus sodali Tho. Linacro (Morus) Græcas litteras Oxonii didicit.' *Tres Thomæ*, in *Thomæ Mori Vita*, c. 1.

² *Life of Linacre*, p. 152. 'His translation of the Sphere of Proclus,' Johnson adds, 'was the first correct version of a Greek author executed in this country after the revival of letters, and in this the justice of his claim is vested.'

³ *Historia Anglica* (Basel, 1570), lib. xxiv p. 618.

⁴ 'Coletum meum cum audio, Platonem ipsum mihi videor audire. In Grocino quis illum absolutum dis-

ciplinam orbem non miretur? Linacri judicio quid acutius, quid altius, quid emunctius? Thomæ Mori ingenio quid unquam finxit natura vel mollius, vel dulcius, vel felicius?' *Opera*, iii 13.

⁵ Hallam goes to the opposite extreme in describing the statement as 'resting on no evidence' (*Lit. of Europe*, i^o 237): the following passage in a letter from Erasmus to Latimer in 1518, can hardly be otherwise understood than as implying that he had formerly benefited by his correspondent's instructions as well as those of Linacre:—'sed ut ingenue dicam quod sentio, si mihi contingat Linacrus aut Tonstallus præceptor, nam de te nihil dicam, non desiderarim Italiam.' *Opera*, iii 379.

Greek when he went to Oxford; it is equally certain on the other hand, that when he left he did not know much; considerably less, that is to say, than he knew when he entered upon the duties of instructor in Greek to our own university. In the year in which he left Oxford, we find him speaking of an acquirement of the language as still the object he had most at heart, and of himself as yet unpossessed of the necessary authors for his purpose¹. Nearly twelve years elapsed from that time before he gathered round him a Greek class at Cambridge, and it was undoubtedly during this period of his life that his chief acquirements in the language were made. Writing to Colet in 1504, he describes himself as having been for the last three years intent on the study, as he found he could do nothing without it². The year 1507 he spent in Italy,—at Florence, Padua, Rome, and Venice,—where his acquirements could scarcely fail to be augmented by his intercourse with scholars like Marcus Musurus and Scipio Carteromachus³. But his own indefatigable industry, it is evident, accomplished the main part of the work; and his expression in relation to the subject, as being himself *αὐτοδιδάκτος*, clearly shews, as Müller observes, that he was his own chief instructor⁴.

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When and where Erasmus acquired his knowledge of Greek.

Chiefly indebted to his own efforts.

During the time that Erasmus was resident at Oxford, the study of Greek appears to have gone on among the few earnest students by whom it was pursued, quietly enough. There was as yet nothing, in the application they seemed disposed to make of their acquirements, that afforded any pretext for interference on the part of those who hated the new study simply because it was an innovation. Linacre, who was Aristotelian to the backbone, and heartily despised the Platonists, was occupied in translating Galen; while, in conjunc-

Progress of Greek studies at Oxford.

Linacre's translations.

¹ 'Ad Græcas litteras totum animum applicui; statimque ut pecuniam accepero, Græcos primum auctores, deinde vestes enam.' *Letter to Jacobus Battus, Opera*, III 27.

² 'Quamquam autem interim rem tracto, fortassis humiliorem, tamen dum in Græcorum hortis versor, multa obiter decerpo, in posterum usui futura etiam sacris in litteris. Nam

hoc unum expertus video, nullis in litteris nos esse aliquid sine Græcitate.' *Letter to Colet, Ibid.* III 96.

³ Jortin, I 28. 'Italiam adivimus Græcitatæ potissimum causa, verum hic jam frigent studia, fervent bella, quo maturius revolare studebimus.' *To Servatius* (Bologna, 1507), *Ibid.* III 1871.

⁴ Müller, p. 171.

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tion with Grocyn and Latimer, he had conceived the vast design of giving to the world a new Latin version of the whole of Aristotle's writings¹. Neither Grocyn² nor Latimer gave, by their pens, the slightest clue to their sentiments with respect to those questions out of which a controversy was likely to arise; and it was probably not before some years of the sixteenth century had elapsed, that the growing jealousy of the continental theologians began to find expression among theologians in England. In the first part of the present chapter it has already been pointed out, how materially the schism between the eastern and western Churches had impeded the progress of Greek learning, by the belief which was concurrently diffused that Greek could not fail to be heretical; and it is easy to understand that such a conviction must have operated with no little potency in universities like Paris, Oxford, Maintz and Louvain, whose reputation, as yet, was almost entirely derived from their theological activity. Up to the fifteenth century however we hear but little of this distrust; and during the pontificate of Clement v, in the year 1311, Greek had been expressly sanctioned as an orthodox study, by a decree for the foundation of two professorships of the language, at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca³. At the same time a like provision was made for instruction in Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee. Neither Grosseteste and the continental translators of Aristotle in his day, nor Richard of Bury and Nicholas Oresme, at a later period,—though imputations of heresy were sufficiently rife in their time,—betray any consciousness of any such stigma attaching to the study of Greek. The earliest indication of the Church's mistrust is perhaps the fact that, somewhere in the fifteenth century, it was discovered that, in the papal decree above referred to, the provision for the study of Greek had been silently withdrawn, while that for the three other languages was retained. The subsequent

The *odium theologicum*.

The study of Greek sanctioned in the fourteenth century by papal decree.

Subsequent omission of Greek in the text of the Clementines.

¹ *Life*, by Johnson, p. 204.

² Grocyn's reputation for orthodoxy was such, that More, writing in 1519, considered it no little proof that Erasmus was sound in the faith, in that he had been honored by Gro-

cyn's friendship. See his *Letter to a monk*, Jortin, II 673.

³ Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement*, etc., p. 85. Vives, *De Causis*, iv 141.

commentators on the Clementines had the hardihood to assert, that Greek had never been included in the original decree that received the pontiff's signature¹; but the testimony of Erasmus², and his comments on the motives that had led to the alteration, are satisfactory evidence that their assertion obtained no credence among scholars; and his letter to Christopher Fisher (in which his observations are to be found) is an interesting indication of the approach of the great struggle between the old theology and the new scholarship.

It is evident that the prejudices against Greek did not diminish as its literature, especially the patristic writings, began to be better known. An acquaintance with the early Greek fathers awakened in many only additional mistrust; and that acquaintance was now more easily to be gained. Traversari had translated portions of the writings of both St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; versions of the latter had also appeared from the competent hand of Theodorus Gaza; George of Trebizond had given to the world translations of some of the treatises of Eusebius. But the chief alarm was undoubtedly excited, not by the direct study of these and similar writers, but by the tone of thought and occasional bold expressions of those who were able to form their opinions on the subject without the aid of translations. Sentiments were now to be heard which sounded strangely in the ears of men who had been taught to regard Augustine as an infallible oracle. Vittrarius,—that noble Franciscan in whom, and in whom alone, Erasmus could recognise a genius that might compare with that of Colet,—preferred Origen,—Arian though he was called,—to any of the other fathers³; Erasmus himself, who entertained a decided preference for the Greek theology, declared that Jerome was worth the whole of the

The Greek fathers begin to be better known.

Their influence on the views of eminent Humanists.

Vittrarius.

Erasmus.

¹ *Constitutiones Clementinæ Papæ Quinti, una cum Apparatu Ioannis Andree* (Venice, 1479); *Johannes de Imola, In Clementinorum Voluminibus Opulentissima Commentaria* (1539), p. 126.

² 'Quo in loco rursus admiror, quo consilio Græcam linguam eraserint.'

Letter to Christopher Fisher, Opera, III 99. Erasmus, it is to be noted, speaks of provision being made originally for instruction in only three languages, of which however Greek was one.

³ Müller, *Leben des Erasmus*, p. 146.

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Colet.

Reuchlin.

True cause of
the dislike
shewn to-
wards the
Greek fathers
by the op-
posite party.

Spirit of the
Greek and
the Latin
theology con-
trasted.

Latin fathers; and even ventured to point out how far, by virtue of his long and arduous study of the Scriptures and his real knowledge of Greek, he was entitled to rank as an authority above Augustine, who knew but little of the language, and whose labours had been carried on amid the onerous duties of his episcopate¹; Colet, though ignorant of Greek, shared the same views, and, of all the fathers, seems to have liked Augustine the least; Reuchlin confessed to an admiration for Gregory of Nazianzum far exceeding that which he felt for any of the oracles of the western Church².

It is hardly necessary to point out that none of the early Greek fathers could fairly be charged with the special heresy of the Greek Church, for they had lived and written long before the doctrine of the *Filioque* became a subject of dispute: nor can it be said that they gave countenance to the Reformers, by affording authority for rejecting the method of interpretation that characterised the mediæval Church,—for, as is well known, it was this very same allegorising spirit, in the works of the Alexandrian fathers, that Porphyry singled out for special attack; nor did they necessarily encourage an appeal from the ceremonial traditions of the Romish Church, as countenanced by Isidorus and the Decretals, for Laud and Andrewes are to be found among their chief admirers in the seventeenth century. The gravamen of the charge against them, in the days of Erasmus, was, that *they favored rebellion against the authority of Augustine*. The theologian, as he turned their pages, found himself in a new atmosphere; he sought in vain for those expressions so familiar to the western Church,—the reflex of the legal ideas that dominated in the Roman mind,—‘merit,’ ‘forensic justification,’ ‘satisfaction,’ ‘imputed righteousness;’ he found little that favored the doctrine of predestination; while there was often discernible a tolerance of spirit, a diversity of opinion, and a wide sympathy with whatever was most noble in pagan philosophy, which fascinated the man of letters no less than it alarmed the dogmatist. Nor was it possible to deny that, compared with Augustine, these early Greek fathers stood for the most

part much closer to apostolic times, and were more nearly related, not only chronologically but ethnically and geographically, to the most ancient Christian Churches; that some of them,—a fact singularly calculated to win the reverence of mediæval minds,—had lived, written, died, in that very land

‘Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed
For man’s redemption to the bitter cross,’—

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that land for the recovery of which Christendom had so long and so unsuccessfully contended. It was thus that some even ventured to maintain that Augustine, and not Origen or Eusebius, was the real schismatic, and such was the position taken up by those who at a later period advocated the doctrine of free-will. ‘I follow the doctrine of the Greek Church,’ says Burnet, in the preface to his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, ‘from which St. Austin departed and founded a new system.’

Position assumed by the anti-Augustinian party.

But the authority of the great African father, intertwined with the traditions of a thousand years, was not easily to be set aside; and whether we consider the teaching of Luther or of Calvin, of the Romish or of the Lutheran Church, it must be admitted that Augustinianism has held its ground with remarkable tenacity. The educated few and the philosophic divine have from time to time risen in revolt against its sombre tenets; the eminent school of Platonists that graced the university of Cambridge in the seventeenth century, were distinguished by their advocacy of a different doctrine; but with the systematic theologian and the rigid dogmatist, not less than with the illiterate multitude, the traditional theory has always commanded by far the more ready assent.

Permanence of Augustine’s influence.

There is a story told by Eusebius, in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, concerning the deacon Dionysius Alexandrinus, which certainly had its moral for the theologians of Oxford and Cambridge in Erasmus’s day. Dionysius, it seems, was in the habit of reading the works of heretical writers, being desirous of knowing the arguments of those from whom he dissented, in order that he might the more successfully refute them. An elder of the church however remonstrated with him on this practice, and pointed out the danger he ran of

Story from Eusebius.

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becoming contaminated by the specious reasonings of error. Dionysius admitted the justice of the rebuke, and would have probably for ever turned aside from such literature, had he not been reassured by a dream from heaven (*ὄραμα θεόπεμπτον*), and heard a voice utter these words:—‘Examine whatever comes into thy hands; for thou art able to correct and to test all doctrine, and the foundations of thy faith were laid even in this manner¹.’ Perhaps if this story could have been brought under the notice of those who, at this time, were denouncing the study of Greek in the universities of Germany, France, and England, it might have been not without avail in inducing them to reconsider the reasonableness of their opposition. But unfortunately the passage lay hid in that very literature which they so greatly feared; and the Grecian muse,—as, to use the expression of Argyropulos, she winged her flight across the Alps,—seems to have been regarded by the great majority as little better than an evil spirit. Erasmus himself, ardent as was his love of learning, was well-nigh turned back in his youth from the pursuit of lore which might expose him to the imputation of heresy; he could not forbear giving expression to his surprise, on hearing Vittrarius praise Origen, that a friar should thus admire a heretic; to which the gentle Franciscan could only reply, that he would never believe that one who wrote with so much learning and fervent piety could be otherwise than divinely inspired. Even the application of a knowledge of Greek to the text of Aristotle was looked upon by many with suspicion; and Reuchlin tells us that when he first attempted such a method of treatment at Basel, and was already diverting large numbers from the disputations of the schools, he was vehemently assailed by the seniors of the university, who declared that to give instruction in the opinions of schismatic Greeks was contrary to the faith and ‘an idea only to be scouted².’ It was precisely the same spirit

Greek studies begin to be regarded as heretical.

Reuchlin's experience at Basel.

¹ Πᾶσιν ἐντύγχανε οἷς ἂν εἰς χεῖρας λάβοις· διευθύνειν γὰρ ἕκαστα καὶ δοκιμᾶζειν ἱκανὸς εἶ, καὶ σοι γέγονε τοῦτο ἐξαρχῆς καὶ τῆς πλῆτews αἰτίου. *Hist. Eccles. lib. vii c. 7.* Migne, xx 648.

² *Dedication to Cardinal Hadrian*, prefixed to his *De Accentibus et Orthographia*, quoted by Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, p. 17.

that was now beginning to manifest itself at Oxford. In many cases, no doubt, those who were loudest in their outcries against Greek, would have been quite unable to prove, by the citation of a single passage, the existence of those heretical tenets in the Greek fathers from which they professed to shrink with such alarm; and it may serve as evidence how little the much-vaunted logical training of those times availed to preserve the judgement from error, that the majority of the dialecticians at both Oxford and Cambridge saw no inaccuracy in the framing of a syllogism, which, having for its major premise the admitted heterodoxy of certain Greek authors, deduced from thence the necessity of excluding the whole body of Greek literature. At Oxford however, as we have already explained, these prejudices were most active; and it is in every way probable that the knowledge of this fact materially influenced Erasmus, in his election between the two universities¹, and decided him to make his first essay as a teacher of Greek in England, under the powerful protection of bishop Fisher at Cambridge.

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Prevalence of
the same
spirit at Ox-
ford.

In entering upon the experiences that now befell the great scholar, some attention to the peculiarities of his character will perhaps be of service, in enabling us to form our conclusions without injustice either to himself or to the university. It is impossible to deny to Erasmus the attribute of genius, though that genius was certainly not of the highest order, and sympathetic rather than creative in its manifestations. He could appreciate and assimilate with remarkable power whatever was best and most admirable in the works of others, and it would be difficult to name a scholar, whose influence has been equally enduring, gifted with a like capacity for recognising true excellence in whatever quarter it might appear. But nothing that Erasmus himself designed or executed, strikes us as of more than secondary merit. He left behind no such finely-wrought conception as the *Utopia* of More; he lacked altogether the prophetic instinct of Colet; in his boldest enterprise, his *Novum Instrumentum*, he was inspired by Valla; the most powerful passages of the *Enco-*

Character of
Erasmus.

¹ See *infra*, p. 496, n. 3.

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Implications
of character
afforded by
his letters.

Luther on
Erasmus.

Impulsive-
ness of Eras-
mus's charac-
ter.

mium Morie pale by the side of the fury and the scorn of the *Julius Exclusus*. In his letters we naturally look to find the man; and however much they may increase our sympathy for him in his career, it can scarcely be said that they tend to raise our respect for his character. The proud, sensitive scholar, easily elated and easily depressed, impulsive, sanguine, resentful, vain, stands out amid all the apparent contradictions of the evidence. He affected the philosopher, but his philosophy was often discredited by a querulousness somewhat below the ordinary measure of manly fortitude. He wished to be thought indifferent to applause, but the praise of others,—the praise, be it in justice admitted, of the best and wisest of his time,—was his most cherished reward for all his toil. ‘Erasmus,’ said Luther,—who, though unable to appreciate the tolerance and charity that formed one of the best phases of his antagonist’s character¹, clearly saw through his weaknesses,—‘Erasmus wishes to be thought contemptuous of the world’s opinion, but wants the contempt to be all on his own side².’ His temperament was singularly impulsive: a few courteous phrases, a dexterous tribute to his reputation, together with a very moderate amount of substantial kindness, at once gained his good opinion and drew from him profuse expressions of gratitude³. But when the temporary impression thus produced had subsided, and the poor scholar was left to contrast vague assurances with subsequent performances, his resentment at neglect or insufficient aid was proportionably keen. Of all the eminent men who befriended him in England, there are few,

¹ We may search in vain through Luther’s writings for such a truly Pauline sentiment as the following:—‘*Sacris quidem litteris ubique prima debetur auctoritas, sed tamen ego nonnunquam offendo quadam vel dicta a veteribus, vel scripta ab ethnicis, etiam poetis tam caste, tam sancte, tam divinitus, ut mihi non possim persuadere, quin pectus illorum, quum illa scriberent, numen aliquod bonum agitaverit. Et fortasse latius se fundit spiritus Christi quam nos interpretamur. Et multi sunt in consortio sanctorum, qui non*

sunt apud nos in catalogo.’ *Convivium Religiosum*.

² ‘*Pecunie studium nunquam me attigit, famæ gloria nec tantillum tangor.*’ *Erasmus to Servatius, Opera*, iii 1527. ‘*At ille sic contemnere gloriam voluit, ut contemptus esset non ab aliis sibi illatus sed apud sese cogitatus.*’ (Luther, quoted by Müller, *Leben des Erasmus*, p. 296.)

³ ‘*Erasmus, whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition.*’ Tyndale-Walter, p. 395.

—Fisher and Warham being the most notable exceptions,—of whom, after having spoken in terms of heartfelt gratitude, he is not subsequently to be found complaining as parsimonious and forgetful. Hence the contradictions with which his letters abound; contradictions so glaring and so frequent, that both the panegyrist and detractor of the men and tendencies of these times, have claimed the sanction of his authority. If we seek to gather his final and deliberate estimate of the scholarship of Italy at this period, we are confronted by the fact, that almost every complimentary phrase in his letters has to be weighed against an equally uncomplimentary criticism in his *Ciceronianus*. When he left Rome, in 1509, his *Encomium Morice* was mainly dictated by chagrin at the neglect he had experienced at the Roman court¹; in letters of a later date, he declares that Rome was of all capitals the one that had extended to him the most flattering recognition,—that Italy was the one land where learning, whatever its nationality, was certain of receiving due honour². His native Holland is at one time stigmatised as a country of barbaric ignorance and the grossest sensuality; he would sooner, he asserts, take up his abode among the Phæacians of antiquity³; while on another occasion, when repelling the sarcasms of an antagonist, he exalts his countrymen to the skies⁴. On his first visit to England nothing could exceed his delight at the climate, the men, the learning, and the manners: in writing to his old pupil, Robert Fisher, he assures him that he has found at Oxford

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Contradictory character of his criticisms:

On Rome and Italy;

On Holland;

On England;

¹ Jortin, i 35. Knight, p. 137.

² See quotations supra p. 474. Consult also his letter to More, written 1520. *Opera*, iii 614-5. 'Uebrigens sind seine Urtheile über Rom und Italien an verschiedenen Orten seiner Schriften sehr ungleich. Hier nennt er die Italiäner das Volk das ihm am besten gefallen, dessen Umgang ihm am angenehmsten gewesen sei; an einem andern Orte spricht er von ihrem gänzlichen Mangel an Aufrichtigkeit; einmal rühmt er ihre grosse Gelehrsamkeit und ihren glühenden Eifer für die classische Litteratur, und anderswo sagt er, er habe ge-

glaubt mehr Gelehrsamkeit, ein lebendigeres Leben in den Wissenschaften daselbst anzutreffen; ja er fügte hinzu, er wünschte Italien mehr schuldig zu sein, als er ihm sei; denn er habe eher neue Kenntnisse und Bildung dahin gebracht als daraus zurück genommen.' Müller, p. 195.

³ 'In Hollandia fere bimestres non sedimus quidem, sed, uti in Ægypto canes, assidue cucurrimus ac bibimus. Equidem malim vel apud Phæacas vivere.' *Jacobo Tutori*, iii 35.

⁴ Müller, p. 222.

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such finished scholarship, both in Greek and in Latin, that his motives for desiring to visit Italy have lost half their original force¹; in writing to Faustus Andrelinus, he tells him that, if he only knew England, he would long to exchange the boorish society in France for a land so highly adorned with every attractive grace²; and yet within five years later,—before any additional experience of our country could have afforded grounds for a change in his opinion,—he is to be found lavishing, in a deliberately composed oration, pronounced in the presence of a distinguished audience, the most unbounded praise on France and its capital, and ranking Englishmen with the Scythians and Carians of antiquity³. Swayed by the mood of the hour, while that mood in turn often reflected only some petty disappointment or delusive hope, he left on record each transient impression; little deeming, we may charitably suppose, how each hasty verdict would be pondered and quoted by distant generations.

In studying the details of his more familiar intercourse, we are struck by the fact that he rarely seems to have added to his reputation by his personal presence. It was not merely that his modest stature, with the blue eyes and flaxen hair that bespoke his Batavian extraction, was not imposing; his timid, vacillating, sensitive spirit faltered in the presence of more robust though far more vulgar natures; and even over those few who could discern the finer traits of his character, much as they envied his attainments and admired his devotion to letters, his genius cast no spell. Lavater, who carefully compared five portraits of the great scholar, declared that they all indicated with remarkable agreement the same

His portrait
as analysed
by Lavater.

¹ See *supra*, p. 474, n. 3, 4.

² 'Tu quoque, si sapias, huc advolas, quid ita juvat te hominem tan nasutum inter merdas Gallicas consenescere?... Quanquam si Britanniae dotes satis pernosces, Fauste, nã tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres: et si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum to fieri optares.' III 56.

³ 'Annon videmus, ut inter feras, ita et inter nationes hominum, fero-

cissimas quasque, maximeque barbaras, pugnacissimas esse? sicuti Cares, Scythas, et Britannos.' *Oration to Philip, duke of Burgundy*, A.D. 1504 (Jortin, II 171). Jortin understands the reference to be to the English of Erasmus's own day; but it is at least possible that Erasmus meant to refer to the ancient Britons. See also Knight's observations, p. 121.

characteristics. In each there was the same retreating, timorous, half-suspicious bearing of the head; the furtive humour playing round the well-formed mouth; the quiet half-closed eyes, gleaming with the self-constrained enjoyment of a shrewd observer and skilful, dexterous contriver; the nose, full of refinement and sensibility; the broad well-shaped chin, indicating a meditative nature, equally removed from indolence and from violence. In the lines that crossed the forehead the physiognomist saw traces of a less favorable kind, a want of moral strength; while nowhere could he discern the signs of destructive power, of a bold, resolute, combative nature¹.

Such was the man, and such had been his career, who early in the October term of the year 1511, saw gathered round him at Cambridge a small circle of auditors to whom he offered instruction in this same Greek language, the study of which they all had probably heard both violently abused and warmly defended; and, with all his defects, we may yet allow that learning, in that day, could have had no worthier apostle than Erasmus,—the student no more inspiring example. Like some ship,—to use the trite simile under which he often spoke of his vicissitudes²,—driven from its course by violent storms or becalmed in strange latitudes, the poor scholar had many a time been carried whither he would not, and left with no guide save that one dominant resolve which formed the polar star of his career. One he was, whom a cruel fate had bastardised and driven from his native land,—whom mercenary guardians had coerced into that very profession which most of all threatened to mar his projects and to break his spirit,—who had been exposed to all that could crush life and high purpose out of a young heart amid the harsh discipline of the friars of Herzogenbusch, to all that

His first lecture at Cambridge.

His past career an example to the student.

¹ Quoted by Müller, pp. 108-9. The portrait by Holbein, now the property of the earl of Radnor, recently on view at the Royal Academy of Arts, has the disadvantage of having been taken when Erasmus was in his fifty-seventh year; but it closely corresponds to Lavater's criticism.

² 'Quippe qui jam annum solidum adversis ventis, adverso flumine, irato cælo navigem.' *Opera*, III 83.—'Cum me meus genius pluribus casibus atque erroribus exercnerit, quam unquam Neptunus Ulyssem Homerium.' *Ibid.* III 506.

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could ensnare and chain down the intellect among the sensual unlettered natures that composed the community at Stein,—who had known the pestilential precincts, unwholesome fare, and merciless floggings of ‘Montaceto,’—in whom an excruciating malady, that left him only with his life, marred the very enjoyment of existence,—and who yet, triumphant over every difficulty and every disaster, had risen to be an oracle in Enrope, to gain the favour of princes and courts, who was finally to inaugurate a new religious era, and to win a deathless fame. Such was Desiderius Erasmus, as, with the little grammar of Chrysoloras in his hand, he stood confronting the gaze, half curious, half reverent, of his Cambridge class,—emphatically one of those who, in a higher sense than the poet’s, *vitui lampada tradunt*.

Uncertain
chronology of
his Cam-
bridge letters.

In endeavouring to connect together the few disjointed facts that have reached us respecting Erasmus’s Cambridge experience, we find an additional source of uncertainty in the doubtful chronology of his letters written during this time¹. So far however as the correct dates are to be inferred from the contents, it seems probable that his earliest Cambridge letter is one to Ammonius, written from Queens’ College, wherein he speaks of himself as in but indifferent health and even deferring work with pupils until more thoroughly recruited². Ammonius of Lucca was a courtly, refined, and kindly hearted Italian, who, by virtue of his attainments as a scholar, was afterwards appointed to be Latin secretary to Henry VIII; and also held the post of collector of the papal dues in England³. He seems to have taken a special interest in Erasmus’s Cambridge prospects, and throughout the period of the latter’s residence there, to have acted the part of a generous and sympathising friend. It is in a second letter to Ammonius, accordingly, that we find the oft-quoted passage, in which Erasmus states that he has already lectured on the

Ammonius
of Lucca.
b. 1477.
d. 1517.

Erasmus’s
first Greek
lecture at
Cambridge.

¹ On the chronology of Erasmus’s earlier letters see Prof. Brewer’s observations, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Hen. viii*, vol. i, letters 1842 and 1849; and Mr Seebohm’s *Oxford Reformers*, p. 136.

² ‘Auditoribus nondum copiam mei

feci, cupiens valetudini inservire.’ *Opera*, iii 108.

³ Knight, pp. 132–3; Jortin, i 35–6; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii 4, 139. Ammonius was the successor of Polydore Vergil when Wolsey had thrown the latter into prison.

grammar of Chrysoloras, but has had but few hearers. 'Perhaps,' the poor sanguine scholar goes on to say, 'I shall have a larger gathering when I begin the grammar of Theodorus; it is also possible that I shall undertake a lecture in theology¹.' The lectureship to which he refers is no other than that recently founded by the lady Margaret, and in this respect his hopes were realised; for he was not only appointed lady Margaret professor, but was re-elected at the expiration of the first two years and continued to fill the post during the period of his residence². But with respect to his Greek class he was doomed to almost complete disappointment. The elaborate treatise by Theodorus possessed no more attractions for Cambridge students than the more elementary manual by Chrysoloras. In fact, it is evident from Erasmus's own occasional observations, that the few students who were disposed to occupy themselves with Greek learning were not sons of wealthy families, but comparatively poor men seeking to add to their store of marketable knowledge, and of course totally unable to shew their appreciation of his services after the fashion of lord Mountjoy, Grey, and the young archbishop of St. Andrews. Erasmus had looked forward to receiving handsome presents, and appears to have stipulated for no fees³. He was accordingly chagrined beyond measure, when his pupils literally interpreted his courteous refusals of the ordinary payments, and, if they learnt but little, paid less. 'I see no prospect,' he says, in another letter to his friend Colet, 'of making money, for how can I demand it of men with empty pockets, inasmuch as I am not without some sense of shame; and was born, moreover, with

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He is appointed lady Margaret's professor.

Failure of his hopes as a teacher of Greek.

His account of his disappointments.

¹ 'Hactenus prælegimus Chrysoloræ grammaticen, sed paucis; fortassis frequentiori auditorio Theodori grammaticam auspicabimur; fortassis et theologiam lectionem suscipiemus, nam id nunc agitur.' *Opera*, III 110. See also *supra*, pp. 392 and 430.

² Fisher, *Funeral Sermon for the Countess of Richmond* (ed. Baker and Hymers), p. 63.

³ It is most probable that his profession, as an Augustinian canon, rendered it difficult for him to teach

openly for gain, without incurring censure. In a letter to Servatius, the prior of his convent at Stein, written the same year that he finally quitted Cambridge, he says, 'Cantabrigiæ menses complures docui Græcas et sacras litteras, idque gratis, itaque semper facere decretum est.' (*Opera*, III 1529.) Whatever construction we may put upon this assertion, it certainly contrasts strangely with his complaints quoted in the following notes.

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Mercury entirely unpropitious'. 'The gain is too contemptible to be worth taking into account', he writes somewhat later to Ammonius; while in a third letter, he seems to imply that he might get pupils if he were disposed to tout for them³. At one time he had quite resolved to leave for London, but the plague had broken out there, and he was also detained at Cambridge by the hopes of shortly receiving some thirty nobles which he had earned⁴. Then the plague travelled on to the university; most of the students dispersed, and his hopes of pupils grew fainter than ever. If indeed we were to form our conclusions respecting Erasmus's success at Cambridge, solely from his own statements *during the period of his residence*, we should infer that his projects were attended by unredeemed failure. It is only when we turn to note the eventful changes that followed upon his teaching, long after his voice was no longer heard from the professorial chair, that we perceive that his exertions were really productive of important and lasting results. And not only this: even during his stay, his own pecuniary loss proved the world's great gain. Disappointed in the class-room, he took refuge in his study; and to his labours there, the men of his generation were indebted for his two most notable achievements,—the *Novum Instrumentum* and his edition of Jerome⁵. By the one he directly paved the way for the Reformation; by

His failure on the whole apparent rather than real.

His literary labours while resident.

Their vast importance.

¹ 'De quæstu nihil video, quid enim auferam a nudis, homo nec improbus et Mercurio irato natus.' *Ibid.* III 109.

² 'Quæstus minor est quam ut me moveat.' *Ibid.* III 110.

³ 'Tum quæstus video nonnihil si quis ardelionem possit agere.' *Ibid.* III 112.

⁴ 'Londini non minus sævit pestis, quam isthic Mars. Itaque Cantabrigiæ nos tenemus, quotidie circumspicientes ut commode avolemus. Sed non datur opportunitas. Et retinent triginta nobiles quos ad Michaelis exspecto.' *To Ammonius, Ibid.* III 109.

⁵ To the latter work he applied himself with more than usual ardour:—'Ad Hieronymum emendandum et scholiis illustrandum, ita

mihi fervet animus, ut afflatus a Deo quopiam mihi videar. Jam pene totum emendavi collatione multorum ac veterum exemplarium. Atque id ago incredibili meo sumptu.' *To the same, Ibid.* To these labours we may add a collation of certain manuscripts of Seneca's writings,—'Porro Cantabrigiæ nacti veteres aliquot codices, adgressi sumus Seneceam oratorem, magnis quidem laboribus nostris, sed quorum editio parum feliciter cesserit.' The manuscript was entrusted to a friend and lost. Jortin (Appendix), II 424. Cooper (*Annals*, I 282) mentions a short treatise, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, as both written and printed by Erasmus during his residence; but the work had certainly been written long before: see Jortin, I 15; Knight, p. 87.

the other he guided the student of his age to that juster estimate of the value and authority of mediæval theologians, which so largely, though less immediately, conduced to the same great revolution. In brief, we cannot perhaps better express the importance and significance of his work, than when we say that the new Margaret professor,—whom, during the greater part of his residence at Cambridge, we may picture to ourselves as thus toiling away in his chamber, high up in the south-west tower of the first court of Queens' College,—was mostly engaged in investigations the result of which was to be the eventual consignment to neglect and oblivion of nearly nine-tenths of the literature on which the theologians in the university around him looked with most reverence and regard.

It is certainly a remarkable circumstance that holding, as he did, those decided opinions to which he had a few years before given expression in his letter to Christopher Fisher, the papal prothonotary at Paris,—a letter of which Von der Hardt speaks as 'a presage of the Reformation'¹, and described by Mr Seebohm as 'an assertion of the grammarian's rights in relation to theology,'—Erasmus, notwithstanding, appears to have succeeded in avoiding anything approaching to a collision with the opposite party during the time that he filled the professorial chair. We can hardly suppose that, in the discharge of his office, he made any attempt to conceal his views,—especially when we remember how those views began to operate soon after he had quitted the university; it is equally difficult to believe that, with his habitual want of reticence², he could have managed to steer clear of such questions in his more familiar intercourse. Very soon after he had taken up his residence at Queens' College, we find him intimating in a letter to Colet, that he

No record of any collision on his part with the Cambridge theologians.

Forewarned by Colet.

¹ *Hist. Litt. Reformationis*, p. 4. Mr Seebohm gives some account of the letter in his *Oxford Reformers*, pp. 97–8. The letter is also translated at length by Müller, *Leben des Erasmus*, pp. 247–59.

² 'Ut ingenue quod verum est fatear, sum natura propensior ad jocos

quam fortasse deceat, et linguæ liberioris quam nonnunquam expedit, metior enim aliorum animos ex meo.' (quoted by Knight, p. 321). 'Ammonius non ignorabat quanta libertate soleam apud amicos effutire quicquid in buccam venerit.' *Opera*, III 1459.

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Protected by
Fisher.

His admira-
tion of
Fisher's cha-
racter.

was beginning to be aware of the presence in the university of a certain class of men respecting whom his friend had forewarned him¹. They were probably men of the same intolerant character as those who, a few years later, at one of the colleges, prohibited the introduction of his edition of the New Testament. That their opposition was not more demonstrative during his stay, is perhaps to be attributed to the influence of Fisher. The latter indeed was at this time almost omnipotent at Cambridge; he had been regularly re-elected chancellor, at the expiration of each term of office, ever since his first election; and it would have been perhaps impossible to find, in an equal degree, in any one of his contemporaries, at once that moderation, integrity of life, and disinterestedness of purpose, which left the bigot no fault to find, and that liberality of sentiment and earnest desire for reform, which conciliated far bolder and more advanced thinkers. Over Erasmus, whose wandering career had not, by his own ingenuous confession, been altogether free from reproach², a character so saintly and yet so sympathising exercised a kind of spell. Of all the men whom he ever knew, Fisher seems to have most inspired his reverence and regard. To Fisher's influence he attributes all that is most hopeful and encouraging in the university; to Fisher Cambridge was indebted for the peaceful introduction of the study of Greek³, and for that salutary effort on behalf of theological learning,—the lady Margaret professorship, to which he had himself been appointed; he praises with special emphasis the design of the lady Margaret preachership, as opposed to the prevailing artificial style of pulpit oratory; of Fisher himself, he observes that he preserved the golden mean,—neither adhering doggedly to the ancient learning, nor siding with those who were wishing to set all tradi-

¹ 'Jam nunc subodoror genus hoc hominum, de quo memineras; quæ de re plura coram.' *Opera*, iii 109.

² 'Voluptatibus, etsi quando fui inquinatus, nunquam servivi.' *Ibid.* iii 1527. See also letter 671, *Ibid.* iii 790.

³ 'Anglia duas habet academias

haudquaquam incelebres, Cantabrigiam et Oxoniam. In utraque traduntur Græcæ litteræ, sed Cantabrigiæ tranquille, quod ejus scholæ princeps sit Johannes Fischerius episcopus Rossensis, non eruditione tantum, sed vita theologica.' *Ibid.* iii 407.

tional studies aside¹; he describes him as one in whom were united the highest attainments and the most blameless character, and in whom every virtue that became a bishop was combined in an extraordinary degree². On the other hand, it is equally evident that Fisher was not less influenced, though in a different manner, by his successor in the professorial chair. Of the moderation which Erasmus so much admired in his patron, he was himself a conspicuous example. The good bishop took heart in his advocacy of the new learning, when he found the foremost scholar of the age not less ready to denounce the profanity of the Italian sceptics than the degeneracy of the mendicant orders, and able both to discuss with masterly discrimination the merits of classical authors and to recognise the real value of the writings of St. Thomas or St. Jerome. The various evidence indeed which we find of their interchange of opinion on such subjects, would seem to indicate that Erasmus's influence over Fisher, and through Fisher over Cambridge at large, was far greater and more enduring than their respective biographers would lead us to suppose. In their views with respect to the necessity for a thorough reform in the prevailing style of preaching, they were so far at unison, that Fisher, as we have already noted, could think of no one better qualified than Erasmus to prepare a manual of the preacher's art³. After Erasmus had left Cambridge we find Fisher writing to tell him that he had, on his recommendation, bought and read Agricola's *De Inventionē*⁴, and only regretted that he had not himself had the benefit of Agricola's instruction in his youth, for he had never read anything at once so elegant and masterly⁵. Under the same influence again Fisher was led to conceive

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, I 12.

² 'Vir unus vere episcopus, vere theologus.' *Letter to Vives* (A.D. 1521), *Opera*, III 690. 'Vir omnium episcopatum virtutum genere cumulatissimus.' *Letter to cardinal Grymnus* (A.D. 1515), *Ibid.* III 142. 'Vir pietate doctrinaque singulari.' *Letter to cardinal St. George* (A.D. 1515), *Ibid.* III 145.

³ See *supra*, p. 439.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 412.

⁵ 'Perlegimus, Erasme, his diebus Rodolphi Agricolæ *Dialecticam*: venalem enim eam reperimus inter bibliopolas..... Paucis dicam, nihil unquam, quantum ad artem illam pertinet, legimus jucundius et eruditius, ita singula quidem puncta expressisse videtur. Utinam juvenis præceptorem illum fuissem nactus! Mallem id profecto, neque sane mentior, quam archiepiscopatum aliquem.' *Opera*, III 1813.

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that respect for the learning and character of Reuchlin, which made him not only a student of his works, but a warm sympathiser with the great scholar in the struggle in which he afterwards became involved¹.

Influence of
Erasmus on
members of
the univer-
sity.

Nor was Erasmus's influence at Cambridge confined to that which he exerted through its chancellor. Other and younger men sought the acquaintance of the illustrious foreigner, and recalled, long after he had left, and with no little satisfaction, the details of their intercourse. It is evident indeed that none but those who felt a more or less genuine interest in his work, were likely to become his friends; and it may be safely inferred that these were only to be found among the most able and promising men in the university at that time. The whole genius of the man,—his wit, his pleasantry, his learning, his cosmopolitanism,—were in exact antithesis to academic dulness. He again, on the one hand, could speak no English; while, on the other, there were few with whom he conversed at Cambridge, but must have often shocked his ears by their uncouth Latinity and strange pronunciation. The one of whom, next to Fisher, he speaks in the most emphatic praise, is perhaps Henry Bullock (whose name, after the usual fashion, he Latinised into *Bovillus*), a fellow of Queens' College, mathematical lecturer in the university, and afterwards vice-chancellor². In him Erasmus found an enthusiastic pupil during his residence³, and a valued correspondent when far away. Bullock too it was, who along with one or two others, sustained the tradition of Greek learning, in the perilous interval between their preceptor's departure and the advent of Richard Croke; and somewhat later, we find his talents and attainments earning for him the notice of Wolsey, by whom he was induced to enter the lists against the Lutheran party, and was rewarded by a chaplaincy in the cardinal's household. Another student for whom Erasmus seems to

Henry Bul-
lock.
d. 1525.

¹ 'Ei (Johannes Crullius) commenda-
davi codicem, in quo erant Reuch-
linica quæ misere desiderabat Roffen-
sia.' *Erasmus to More* (A.D. 1517),
Opera, iii 234. Geiger, *Johann Reuch-*

lin, p. 338.

² Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 33-4.

³ 'Bovillus graviter Græcatur.'
Letter to Ammonius, iii 106.

have entertained a real regard, was William Gonell, also afterwards one of Wolsey's household, and at one time tutor in the family of Sir Thomas More¹. There was also a young fellow of King's, whom he styles *doctissimus* and *carissimus*,—of the name of John Bryan, who subsequently attracted to himself no little criticism in the university, as an assertor of the more genuine Aristotle of the Humanists against the traditional Aristotle of the schoolmen². Another fellow on the same foundation,—a youth who had but just donned his bachelor's hood,—was Robert Aldrich, the *juvenis blandæ cujusdam eloquentiæ*, who accompanied Erasmus on his famed expedition to Walsingham,—to interpret for him on the journey, to quiz the guardian of the relics, and to make fun over the 'Virgin's milk;' who lived however to become bishop of Carlisle, to sit in solemn judgement on the rites and ceremonies of the Church, and to be a commissioner against heretics in queen Mary's reign³. There was also one John Watson, fellow of Peterhouse, a select preacher before the university, and afterwards master of Christ's College; scarcely, it would seem, so friendly to the new learning as might be desired, for Erasmus rallies him as a Scotist, but to whom he was attracted by the fact that he had travelled in Italy, and numbered among his friends there, some with whom Erasmus was also well acquainted⁴. There is still extant a pleasant letter to the latter, written by Watson from Peterhouse, informing him that the writer has just been presented to the living of Elsworth, 'only seven miles from Cambridge;' 'there is a capital rectory,' he adds (somewhat in the mood, apparently, to fancy himself passing rich on twenty pounds a year), but I shall have to spend half my first year's income in repairs; such as it is however, it is completely at your service whenever you may be disposed to come⁵. Among other of Erasmus's acquaintance were two

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William Gonell.

John Bryan.
d. 1545.

Robert Aldrich.
d. 1556.

John Watson.
d. 1530.

His letter to Erasmus.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 94.

² *Ibid.* i 87; Knight, p. 146.

³ Knight, p. 144; Erasmus, *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*; Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 142.

⁴ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 39, 40; Knight,

p. 145.

⁵ 'Nactus sum sacerdotium intra septem millia a Cantabrigia, ædes habet pulchras, et mediocriter ad victum utile est; porro valet viginti nostrates libras supra omnia annua;

CHAP. V.
PART II.John Fawne.
d. 1619.
Richard
Whitford.Richard
Sampson.
d. 1554.Gerard, the
bookseller.

fellows of Queens' College, of maturer years,—Dr Fawne, his successor in the lady Margaret professorship, and Richard Whitford (to whom he dedicated his translation of Lucian's *Tyrannicida*), confessor to lord Mountjoy, and chaplain to bishop Fox,—and lastly, of greater note than either of these, there was Richard Sampson of Trinity Hall, another of Wolsey's clients, afterwards bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and an active participator in the affairs of state¹. It is not improbable however that Erasmus found in the shop of Gerard the bookseller, conversation as much to his mind as anywhere in the university. It was customary in those days for the authorities to license only foreigners to this trade², for as the great majority of new works issued from the presses on the continent, the necessary knowledge of books was rarely possessed by Englishmen. During some part of his stay, it would seem indeed that Erasmus was resident with Gerard, for we find him speaking of him in one letter as his host³; and we picture to ourselves the great scholar as often dropping in, to while away a tedious hour, and discussing with the worthy bookseller the typographical merits of the last production of the press at Venice or Basel, or the possibility of getting a respectable Greek fount at Cambridge, or

sed hoc anno nunc primo fere dimidiata portio fundetur in reparationem domus; hoc si tibi aut voluptati, aut ulli usui esse potuerit, tuum erit, tibi que mecum commune, quomodo et erit quicquid et aliud est meum.' *Erasmi Opera*, III 1882.

¹ Cooper, *Athens*, I 22, 79, 119; Knight, p. 43.

² The booksellers were also regarded as agents by whom the suppression of heretical books was to be generally carried out. In a petition presented by the university to cardinal Wolsey in 1529, in the matter of Dr Cliffe, considerable importance is attached to the selection of those appointed:—'unum istud non leve momentum habere credimus, ad ejusmodi in perpetuum profligandos errores (quod tamen, sine tuæ celsitudinis ope, efficere non valeamus), nempe si regia indulgentia concedatur academix nostræ, tres habere biblio-

polas, homines probos atque graves, qui sacramento et muleta grandi adstringantur, nullum vel importare vel vendere librum, quem non prius viri aliquot absolutæ eruditionis (quos censores huic rei præficient academia), talem pronunciarint ut qui tuto vendatur. Quos tum bibliopolas, quoniam e re nostra magis erit, alienigenas esse, sic enim consuletur librorum pretiis, summe credimus necessarium, illa uti libertate et immunitate gaudere, quibus indigenæ tuæ fruuntur, ita provinciali jure donati, ut Londini aliisque regni hujus emporiis, ab exteris negotiatoribus libros emere possint.' *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*, Collection 25.

³ 'Salutabis diligenter meis verbis amicos, quos animo mecum circumfero, Doctorem Phaunum, doctissimum Joannem Brianum, ... ac veterem hospitem meum Gerardum bibliopolam.' *Opera*, III 130.

perhaps the commercial prospects of his own forthcoming editions of the Greek Testament and St. Jerome.

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But though Erasmus undoubtedly found at Cambridge some staunch friends and not a few admirers,—while Fisher's patronage protected him from anything like molestation,—it would be contrary to all that we know of the prevailing tone of the university at this time, to suppose that he could long be resident without finding out how strongly his views ran counter to the traditional teaching. The school of theology with which his name is identified, was in direct antagonism to the whole system then in vogue. The historical element in the Scriptures, the existence of which he clearly discerned and so ably unfolded, was precisely that element which the mediæval theologian, with all his untiring industry and elaborateness of interpretation, had neglected and ignored. To those (and such there were) who seriously believed that the Vulgate was to be preferred as a textual authority to the Greek original from which it had been derived, his labours over his *Novum Instrumentum* appeared a pedantic impertinence; while men of real ability and learning, like Eck of Ingoldstadt, were shocked when they heard of the non-classicality of the New Testament Greek and of erroneous quotations from the Septuagint. His estimate of the whole patristic literature, again, was almost a complete inversion of that then accepted at all the universities. Of St. Chrysostom,—the only father of the eastern Church who appears to have received much attention from mediæval students,—he spoke with undisguised contempt¹. St. Augustine was, according to his award, to be ranked far below St. Jerome, whom he styled *theologorum omnium princeps*²; while with respect to Origen, then but little known and much suspected, he declared that a single page of this neglected writer taught more

Views of Erasmus compared with those prevalent in the university during his stay.

His estimate of different fathers.

St. Chrysostom.

St. Jerome.

Origen.

¹ It must be observed however that these criticisms applied only to writings falsely attributed to St. Chrysostom (see Jortin, II 15). In some of his letters Erasmus speaks of this father in terms of high admiration; see *Opera*, III 1343, 1432.

² *Ibid.* III 146. —‘in hoc uno

συλλήβδην, ut aiunt, conjunctum fuit, eximium fuit, quicquid in aliis per partes miramur... poterat hic unus pro cunctis sufficere Latinis, vel ad vitæ pietatem, vel ad theologica rei cognitionem, si modo integer ac incolumis exstaret.’ Jortin, II 530, 531. Append. 52. See also *Opera*, III 142.

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PART II.

St. Hilary.

Nicholas de
Lyra and
Hugo of St.
Victor.

Christian philosophy than ten pages of St. Augustine¹. Of St. Hilary, it is true, he spoke with praise; but in the preface to his subsequent edition of that father's works, there occurred what was perhaps to the scholastic theologian the most galling passage Erasmus ever wrote,—a passage that roused the doctors of the Sorbonne to a man. It is that wherein he contrasts the reverent and moderate tone in which St. Hilary approaches the mysteries of Christian doctrine, with the fierce and shallow dogmatism and unhesitating confidence shewn by the interpreters of such subjects in his own time². Towards Nicholas de Lyra and Hugo of St. Victor, the two great lights of mediæval theology,—whose pages were more diligently studied at Cambridge than those of any other mediæval theologian, Lombardus alone excepted,—he shewed but scant respect. He considered indeed that the errors of De Lyra might repay the trouble of correcting, and of these he subsequently pointed out a large number, and challenged any writer to disprove the arguments whereby he impugned their accuracy; with regard to Hugo however, he declared that his blunders were too flagrant to deserve refutation³. But

¹ 'Aperit enim quasi fontes quosdam, et rationes indicat artis theologicæ.' *Opera*, III 95.

² 'Subinde necessitatem hanc [de talibus pronunciandi] deplorat sanctissimus vir Hilarius haudquaquam ignarus quam periculi plenum sit, quam parum religiosum, de rebus ineffabilibus eloqui, incomprehensibilia scrutari; de longe semotis a captu nostro pronunciare. Sed in hoc pelago longius etiam proventus est divus Augustinus, videlicet felix hominis ingenium, quærendi voluptate, velut aura secundiore, aliunde alio proliciente. Moderatio est et Petrus Lombardus, qui sententias alienas recitans non temere de suo addit; aut si quid addit, timide proponit. Res tandem usque ad impiam audaciam progressa est. Sed veteribus sit venia, quam precantur, quos huc adegit necessitas. Nobis qua fronte veniam poscemus, qui de rebus longe semotissimas a nostra natura, tot curiosas, ne dicam impias, movemus quæstiones; tam multa defini-

mus, quæ, citra salutis dispendium, vel ignorari poterant, vel in ambiguo relinqui?..... Doctrina Christi, quæ prius nesciebat λογισματα, coepit a philosophiæ præsidii pendere: hic erat primus gradus ecclesiæ ad deteriora prolabantis. Accreverunt opes, et accessit vis. Porro admixta huic negotio Cæsarium auctoritas, non multum promovit fidei sinceritatem. Tandem res deducta est ad sophisticas contentiones, articulorum myriades proruperunt. Hinc eventum est ad terrores ac minas. Quumque vita nos destituat, quum fides sit in ore magis quum in animo, quum solida illa sacrarum Litterarum cognitio nos deficiat, tamen terroribus huc adigimus homines, ut credant quod non credunt, ut ament quod non amant, et intelligant quod non intelligunt.' *Ibid.* III 693, 696.

³ 'Qui quicquid Lyranus scripserit oraculi instar haberi volunt, tueantur illum in illis locis in quibus ab eo dissentio. Nam in Hugone quærere quod reprehendas, stultissi-

the most unpardonable offence of all, in the eyes of the majority of contemporary theologians, was probably the open countenance he gave to that bold heresy of the coldly critical Grocyn, respecting the authenticity of the Hierarchy of Dionysius. Almost alone amid the accepted oracles of the Middle Ages, that plausible forgery, with its half mystic, half Platonic tone, and glowing speculations, inspired the student with a rapture and an ecstasy which the passionless *doctrinale* of the schoolmen could never awaken,—and of this too, the merciless critic demanded the total sacrifice!

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The Hierarchy of Dionysius.

It is true that there were some of these views which Erasmus had not as yet put forth, beyond recall, through the press; but it is in every way probable that they were already perceptibly foreshadowed by his tone and conversation; and, if so, we can hardly doubt that, throughout the latter part of his residence at Cambridge, he must have been conscious of a surrounding atmosphere of dislike and suspicion; while it is evident that his sojourn was, in many respects, an irritating and depressing experience. Disappointed in his main object, he was little disposed to take a favorable view of minor matters. He professed to be scandalized at a university where a decent amanuensis could not be met with at any price¹. He disliked the winter fogs²; he grumbled sadly over the college ale, which aggravated his complaint, and was always writing to the goodnatured Ammonius for another cask of Greek wine³. Unable, from his ignorance of their language, to converse with the townspeople, he probably misunderstood them, and, being in turn misinterpreted, encountered frequent annoyances, which led him to denounce them as boorish and malevolent in the

His Cambridge experiences of a trying character.

mum arbitror. Paucula tantum annotavi, sed insigniter absurda, quo nimirum cautiores redderem eos, qui hujusmodi scriptores summa fiducia nullo judicio legunt.' *Ibid.* III 128.

¹ 'Et hic (O Academiam!), nullus inveniri potest, qui ullo pretio vel mediocriter scribat.' *Ibid.* III 120.

² 'Nam hic æstivare malim quam hibernare.' *Ibid.* III 112.

³ —'pro vino bibimus vappam, et si quid vappa deterius.' (*Ibid.* III 105.) 'Cervisia hujus loci mihi nullo modo placet, nec admodum satisfaciunt vini; si possis efficere ut uter aliquis vini Græcanici, quantum potest optimi, huc deportetur, plane bearis Erasmus tuum, sed quod alienum sit a dulcedine.' *Ibid.* III 108.

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PART II.

Minor
sources of dis-
satisfaction.

extreme¹. When accordingly he took exercise, he seems to have contented himself either with pacing up and down the long walk which skirts the grounds of Queens' College on the other side of the river², or else he mounted the white horse with which Ammonius had generously presented him, and rode round and round the Market-hill³. Many a friar in black or in grey, darted, we may be sure, far from friendly glances at the dreaded satirist of his order. Many a staunch conservative eyed askance the foreign scholar, who had come to turn his little university world upside down. Even from the community of his own order at Barnwell, he received no such flattering attentions as had been paid him by prior Charnock at Oxford; and there were probably not a few of the members who thought it was quite time that their truant brother was back at Stein. With ordinary prudence, his income must have more than sufficed for his wants; he received from his professorship over thirteen pounds annually; he had been presented by Warham to the rectory of Aldington in Kent⁴; and, though non-resident, he drew from thence an income of twenty pounds⁴, to which the archbishop, with his usual liberality, added another twenty from his own purse. To these sums we must add an annual pension of a hundred florins from Fisher, and a second pension, which he still continued to receive, from his generous friend, lord Mountjoy⁵. His total income, therefore,

¹ 'Nisi vulgus Cantabrigiense inhospitales Britannos anteedidit, qui cum summa rusticitate summam malitiam conjunxere.' (Quoted by Fuller).

² Wright and Jones, *Queens' College*, p. 14.

³ Ascham, *English Works* (ed. Bennett), p. 77.

⁴ An exception to Warham's practice, and a deviation from Erasmus's principles, honorable, under the circumstances, to both. See Knight, pp. 158-60.

⁵ Jortin, i 56; Knight, p. 159; *Opera*, iii 1528-9. The statements in the text are, of course, made under the supposition that these sums were actually paid and that

the recipient was not too heavily mulcted by those through whose hands the moneys passed. In a letter written some seventeen years later, he says:—'E duabus Angliæ pensionibus debentur quotannis plus minus ducenti floreni, sed ea pecunia ad me pervenit aecisa, nonnunquam usque ad quartam partem, interdum et intercipitur.' iii 1292. He was however one of the few foreigners who in the heavy tax imposed on the clergy in 1522 was allowed to pay 'only as natives did.' Burnet-Pocock, i 53. To the notice of those who hold up this age to our admiration, as one of rough but honest virtues, I would commend the fact that, at no period in our national

could scarcely have been less than £700 in English money of the present day; but Erasmus was no economist, and his literary labours involved a considerable outlay; notwithstanding therefore these liberal aids, he was always pestering Ammonius for further loans, as he preferred to call them,—though he appears to have taken a flat refusal with perfect good temper. An acute attack of his chronic complaint completed the long list of his misfortunes.

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PART II.

His pecuniary circumstances.

At last the plague, which had long been hovering in the distance, again made its appearance at Cambridge¹. The university sought safety in flight, and Erasmus was left almost alone. It was then that, in his last Cambridge letter to Ammonius, he gave full vent to his distress and despondency. 'For some months past,' he writes, 'I have been living the life of a snail in its shell, stowing myself away in college, and perfectly mum over my books. The university is a solitude; most are away through fear of the plague, though even when all are here, I find but little society. The expense is past enduring; the gain, not a farthing. Believe me, as though I were on my oath: it is not five months since I came back and I have spent sixty nobles, while I have received only one from my pupils, and that not without much protesting and declining on my part. I have decided not to leave a stone unturned this winter, and in fact to throw out my sheet-anchor. If this succeeds, I will build my nest here; if otherwise, I shall wing my flight,—whither I know not².'

Erasmus's last Cambridge letter, Nov. 1513.

history,—not even after the Restoration,—have we more frequent evidence of contemptible swindling and corrupt practices pervading all classes.

¹ In consequence of this, a grace had already been passed for dispensing with the ordinary lectures, and those in divinity and sophistry, until the feast of St Leonard's. Baker, MSS. xxxiii 173; Cooper, *Annals*, i 295.

² 'Nos, mi Ammoni, jam menses aliquot plane cochleæ vitam vivimus, domi contracti conditque mussamus in studiis. Magna hic solitudo: absunt pestilentia metum plerique, quanquam quum adsunt universi,

tum quoque solitudo est. Sumptus intolerabiles, lucrum ne teruncii quidem. Puta me jam hoc tibi per omnia sacra dejerasse. Nondum quinque menses sunt, quod huc me contuli, interim ad sexaginta nobiles insumpsi. Unum duntaxat ab auditoribus quibusdam accepi, eumque multum deprecans ac recusans. Certum est his hibernis mensibus πάντα λίθον κινεῖν, planeque sacram, quod aiunt, ancoram solvere. Si succedit, nidum aliquem mihi parabo; sin minus, certum est hinc avolare, incertum quo: si nihil aliud, certe alibi moriturus. Bene vale.' *Opera*, iii 116. This letter, in the Leyden edition, bears the date, Nov.

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PART II.

The last
glimpse of
Erasmus at
Cambridge.

Such then is the final glimpse that we gain of Erasmus at Cambridge:—it is that of a solitary, isolated scholar, prematurely old with anxiety and toil, weighed down by physical suffering, dejected by disappointment, and oppressed with debt; rarely venturing beyond the college gates, and then only to encounter hostile or indifferent glances; while all around there waited for him an invisible foe,—the pestilence that walketh at noon-day; often by night, in his study high up in the south-west tower, ‘outwatching the Bear’ over the page of St. Jerome, even as Jerome himself had outwatched it many a night, when transcribing the same pages in his Bethlehem cell, some eleven hundred years before. Then winter came on, and, towards the close of each shortening day, Erasmus could mark from his window the white fogs rolling in from the surrounding marshes, reminding him of the climate he most of all disliked,—the climate of his native Holland; while day after day, the sound of footsteps, in the courts below, grew rarer and rarer. At last the gloom, the solitude, the discomfort, and the panic, became more than he could bear; and, one night, the customary lamp no longer gleamed from a certain casement in the south-west tower. And when the fear of the plague was over, and the university returned, it was known that Erasmus had left Cambridge; and no doubt many a sturdy defender of the old learning said he was very glad to hear it, and heartily hoped that all this stir about Greek, and St. Jerome, and errors in the Vulgate, was at an end.

It would be obviously unjust to interpret the hasty expressions used by Erasmus, when embittered by a sense of

28, 1511, and the reply of Ammonius (in 164), is dated Nov. 24, in the same year. The internal evidence however clearly proves the assigned year to be erroneous, for both letters contain a reference to the epitaph by Carmilianus on the death of the King of the Scots at Flodden, and must consequently have been written subsequent to Sept. 9, 1513. Carmilianus thought himself a master of

Latin verse, and to the great amusement of both scholars had made the first syllable in *pullulare* short. By the expression, *quod huc me contuli*, Erasmus must therefore refer to his return after one of his journeys to London, which he appears to have visited more than once during his residence at Cambridge; I have accordingly translated the words agreeably to this sense.

failure and in perplexity as to his future course, as his deliberate estimate of a university which, in reality, afforded him far more substantial aid than he received from any other learned body throughout his whole life; and the following passages from subsequent letters may fairly be regarded as altogether outweighing his peevish complaints to Ammonius. 'There are there,' he says, speaking of Cambridge in a letter to Servatius, written in the *same year* that he left the university, 'colleges of such devoutness of spirit, such sanctity of life, that were you yourself a witness thereof the comparison would make you ready to despise the houses of the religious orders'.¹ In a letter, written some seven years later, to Everard, the stadtholder of Holland, he declares that sound theology is flourishing at Paris and at Cambridge more than at any other university. 'And whence,' he says, 'is this? Simply because these two universities are adapting themselves to the tendencies of the age, and receive the new learning,—which is ready, if need be, to storm an entrance,—not as an enemy but courteously as a guest'.² And again, in a third letter, to the archbishop of Toledo, written in his sixty-fourth year, when his recollections of Cambridge must have begun to grow dim, he yet recalls with special delight 'those *three colleges*, where youth were exercised, not in dialectical wrestling matches, which serve only to chill the heart and unfit men for serious duties, but in true learning and sober arguments; and from whence they went forth to preach the word of God with earnestness and in an evangelical spirit, and to commend it to the minds of men of learning by a weighty eloquence'.³

Counter testimony of Erasmus in favour of Cambridge.

Progress in theology at the university.

His praise of three colleges.

¹ 'Sunt hic collegia, in quibus tantum est religionis, tanta vitæ modestia, ut nullam religionem eis præ hac non contempturus, si videas.' *Opera*, III 1529.

² 'Lutetiæ Cantabrigiæque sic floret theologiæ studium, ut nunquam alias æque. Quid in causa? Nimirum quod sese accommodant seculo alio se flecenti, quod has meliores litteras, vel vi irrupere conantes, non repellunt ut hostes, sed ut hospites comiter amplectuntur.' *Ibid.* III 677.

³—'in quibus non ea tradantur quæ juvenes ad sophisticas palestras instruant, ad serias functiones frigidos reddant et ineptos, sed unde prodeant veris disciplinis ac sobriis disputationibus exercitati, qui graviter evangelicoque spiritu prædicent verbum Dei, et efficaci quadam eloquentia commendent eruditorum animis.' *Ibid.* III 1253. The three colleges, it is hardly necessary to say, are Queens', Christ's, and St. John's. With respect to his deliberate estimate of

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His own language and that of his biographers implies a sense of failure.

His failure apparent rather than real.

His *Novum Instrumentum*.

Nevertheless, judging from his own account and from the silence of contemporaries, it must be admitted that Erasmus appears to have regarded his sojourn at Cambridge as a failure, and the language used by his different biographers implies apparently, that such was also their opinion. He had almost totally failed to gather round him a circle of learners in any way worthy of his great reputation; respecting his lectures, as divinity professor, not a single tradition remains; while so completely were his efforts, as a teacher of Greek, ignored by the university, that on the occasion of Richard Croke (his virtual successor in this respect) being appointed to the office of public orator a few years later, the latter was honored by admission to certain special privileges, expressly on the ground that he 'had been the first introducer of Greek into the university.' But on a careful examination of the tendencies perceptible within a short time after Erasmus's departure, we shall probably be inclined to infer that his failure was far more apparent than real; and even to believe, that if the impulsive, sensitive scholar could have abided his time, he might have been rewarded by the realisation of substantial success, and have for ever directly associated his name with the most important movement that Cambridge has ever originated. It is certain, that in the years immediately following upon his residence, we are met by indications of a mental and speculative activity that is almost startling when compared with the lethargy that had reigned only a few years before, and we can have no hesitation in assigning his *Novum Instrumentum* as the centre round which that activity mainly revolved.

The *Novum Instrumentum*² of Erasmus, appeared, as is

England at large, we can ask for no more favorable verdict than the following:—'ubi favore principum regnant bonæ litteræ, viget honesti studium, exsultat aut jacet, cum fucata personataque sanctimonia, futilis et insulsa doctrina quondam ἀπαιδευτῶς πεπαιδευμένων.' *Letter to Richard Pace* (A.D. 1517), *Opera*, II 237.

¹—'quia ille primus invexit litteras ad nos Græcas.' *Stat. Ant.* p 112.

² 'Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum, non solum ad Græcam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae codicum, eorumque veterum simul et emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem, et interpretationem, præcipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, *Vulgarii*, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosii,

well known to every scholar, from the printing press of Frobenius at Basel, on the 1st of March, 1516; but, as Professor Brewer observes, 'it was strictly the work of his residence in England' (that is at Cambridge). 'In the collation and examination of manuscripts required for the task, he had the assistance of Englishmen; Englishmen supplied the funds, and English friends and patrons lent him that support and encouragement without which it is very doubtful whether Erasmus would ever have completed the work....The experiment was a bold one,—the boldest that had been conceived in this century or for many centuries before it. We are accustomed to the freest expression of opinion in Biblical criticism, and any attempt to supersede our English version, to treat its inaccuracies with scorn, to represent it as far below the science and scholarship of the age, or as a barbarous, unlettered production, made from inaccurate manuscripts, and imperfectly executed by men who did not understand the language of the original, would excite little apprehension or alarm. To explain the text of Scripture exclusively by the rules of human wisdom, guided by the same principles as are freely applied to classical authors,—to discriminate the spurious from the genuine, and decide that this was canonical, and that was not,—might, perhaps, be regarded as audacious. Yet all this, and not less than this, did Erasmus propose to himself in his edition and translation of the New Testament. He meant to subvert the authority of the Vulgate, and to shew that much of the popular theology of the day, its errors and misconceptions, were founded entirely on a misapprehension of the original meaning, and inextricably

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The outcome
of his work in
England and
of English
patronage.

Professor
Brewer's
criticism.

Hilarii, Augustini, una cum annotationibus quæ lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas veram theologiam, lege, cognosce, et deinde judica. Neque statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutandum sit.' Erasmus preferred the word *Instrumentum* to *Testamentum* on the ground that it more fittingly expressed the deed or written document containing the Testament, and he defended his preference by citing

the authority of both Augustine and Jerome:—'Nec intelligunt ad eum modum aliquoties loqui divum Hieronymum, nec legisse videntur Augustinum, qui docet aptius dici *Instrumentum* quam *Testamentum*. Idque verissimum est, quoties non de re, sed de voluminibus verba fiunt. Nam Testamentum esset, etiamsi nullum exstaret scriptum: quum enim Dominus diceret, "Hic est calix Novi Testamenti," nullus erat liber Novi Testamenti proditus.' *Opera*, III 1006.

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entangled with the old Latin version. It was his avowed object to bring up the translation of the sacred books, and all criticism connected with them, to the level of that scholarship in his day which had been successfully applied to the illustration of ancient authors; to set aside all rules of interpretation resting merely on faith and authority, and replace them by the philological and historical. And it was precisely for this reason that Luther disliked the work. In this respect the New Testament of Erasmus must be regarded as the foundation of that new school of teaching on which Anglican theology professes exclusively to rest; as such it is not only the type of its class, but the most direct enunciation of that Protestant principle which, from that time until this, has found its expression in various forms: "The Bible alone is the religion of Protestants." Whatever can be read therein or proved thereby, is binding upon all men; what cannot, is not to be required of any man as an article of his faith, either by societies or by individuals. Who sees not that the authority of the Church was displaced, and the sufficiency of all men individually to read and interpret for themselves was thus asserted by the New Testament of Erasmus¹?

Defects and errors in the work.

If from the foregoing general estimate of the influence of the work, we turn to the consideration of its abstract merits, we may discern, from the vantage-ground of three centuries of progressive biblical criticism, more clearly than either bishop Fisher or bishop Lee, its merits and defects. Nor is it possible to deny the existence of numerous and occasionally serious errors and shortcomings. The oldest manuscript to which Erasmus had access, was probably not earlier than the tenth century; the typographical inaccuracies are frequent; the very title-page contains a glaring and singularly discreditable blunder²; he even shews such ignorance of ancient

¹ Preface to *Letters and Papers*, vol. II pp. cclxiv-v.

² 'This was the mention, in the list of the Fathers whose works had been used in the preparation of the text' (see note 2, p. 508), 'of Vulgaris, a writer no one had ever heard of before. The mistake arose in

the following way. Erasmus had a copy of Theophylact on Matthew, with this title: Τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας κυρίου Θεοφύλακτου ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἐυαγγέλιον. In his haste he took Θεοφύλακτου for an epithet, while for Βουλγαρίας he must have read Βουλγα-

geography as to assert that Neapolis, the port where the apostle Paul arrived on his journey from Samothrace to Philippi, was a town in Caria; and even in subsequent editions, he stubbornly maintained, in opposition to his critics, that the Herodians mentioned by St. Matthew were the soldiers of Herod the Great! But even errors like these become trifling, when weighed in the balance against the substantial service nevertheless rendered to the cause of biblical studies,—the conscientious labour,—the courageous spirit of the criticisms,—the scholarly sagacity which singles out the Gospel by St. Luke as superior to the others* in the purity of its Greek, which discerns the peculiar mannerism of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and detects the discrepancies in the quotations from the Septuagint.

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Its great merit.

On the 13th of the August following the appearance of the work, Bullock wrote from Cambridge to inform his old preceptor how matters were there progressing, and his report was certainly encouraging. Greek was being studied at the university with considerable ardour; the *Novum Instrumentum* was in high favour; and Erasmus's Cambridge friends would be only too glad to see him among them once more¹. It is evident indeed that by all, whose good opinion was most worth having, Erasmus's performance, even on its first appearance, was regarded as a highly meritorious achievement. Fisher had throughout steadily promoted the scheme. Warham was emphatic in his praise. Fox,—whose opinion on such a subject carried perhaps as much weight as that of any living Englishman,—publicly declared, in a large assembly, that he valued Erasmus's labours more than those of any ten com-

Bullock's letter to Erasmus; Aug. 13, 1516.

Favorable reception of the *Novum Instrumentum*, among influential men.

plou, which he converted from the name of a country into the name of a man, and translated "Vulgarius"; and under this name Theophylact was quoted in his notes. To make matters worse, he attributed to Vulgarius a reading which is not to be found in Theophylact, and in one place grossly misconstrued him.' See an article, *The Greek Testament of Erasmus*, by R. B. Drummond. *Theological Review* v. 527.

¹ 'Tuus in Angliam reditus, pre-

ceptor doctissime, est omnibus amicis tuis Cantabrigianis oppido quam gratus: super ceteros tamen mihi longe gratissimus, utpote qui aliis omnibus sum tibi multis partibus devinctior... Hic acriter incumbunt litteris Græcis, optantque non mediocriter tuum adventum: et hi magnopere favent huic tuæ in Novum Testamentum editioni: dii boni, quam eleganti, argutæ, ac omnibussanigustusuaviacpernecesariæ!' *Opera*, III 197.

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cepts the de-
dication.Counter de-
monstrations
at Cam-
bridge.

mentators¹. Cuthbert Tunstall, just created Master of the Rolls, was an avowed patron of the undertaking. The fact indeed that the dedication of the work had been accepted by Leo X, might alone seem sufficient to disarm the prejudices of the most bigoted. But the suspicions of the theologians were not thus to be lulled to sleep; and in Erasmus's reply to the foregoing letter from Bullock, dated Aug. 31, we find that he had already become informed of the manifestation at Cambridge of a very different spirit from that which Bullock had reported. In the *Novum Instrumentum* the opponents of Greek had recognised, as they believed, the opportunity for which they had long been watching; and having now more definite ground whereon to take their stand, they were endeavouring by mere force of numerical superiority to overwhelm the party of reform.

Sarcastic al-
lusions in the
commentary
of the *Nov.
Instrumentum*.The secular
clergy, the
monks and
mendicants
and the
schoolmen
all attacked.

It would however be unjust not to admit, that the opponents of the work had more definite grounds for their hostility than a mere general aversion to the special culture with which that work was identified, and that their opposition was not, as Erasmus himself alleged, commenced and carried on in utter ignorance of the contents of the volume. Merits and defects like those to which we have already adverted, lay, it is true, somewhat beyond the range of their criticism; but there was in the commentary another feature, which touched them far more closely,—and this was the frequent application, which the sarcastic scholar had taken occasion to make (often with considerable irrelevance and generally without necessity) of particular texts to the prevailing abuses of the times. For example, he had progressed no further than the third chapter of St. Matthew, before he contrived to find occasion for dragging in a slur upon the whole priestly order²; in commenting on Matt. xv. 5, he censures

¹ 'Wintoniensis episcopus, vir ut scis prudentissimus, in celeberrimo coetu magnatum, quum de te ac tuis lucubrationibus incidisset sermo, testatus est omnibus approbantibus, versionem tuam Novi Testamenti, vice esse sibi commentariorum decem, tantum afferre lucis.' *Opera*, m 1650.

² It is when speaking of the MSS. of the Gospels to which he had had access at the College of St. Donatian at Bruges. 'Habebat ea bibliotheca,' he goes on to say, 'complures alios libros antiquitatis venerandæ, qui neglectu quorundam perierunt, ut nunc ferme sunt sacerdotum mores

the monks and friars for the artifices whereby they prevailed on the wealthy to bequeath their estates to religious houses rather than to their rightful heirs; in a note on Matt. xxiii. 2, he indulges in a tirade against the bishops; Mark vi. 9 affords an opportunity for attacking the Mendicants,—Christ, he says, never belonged to that order; when he comes to the mention of Dionysius the Areopagite, in Acts xvii. 34, he does not omit to tell, with evident relish and in his very best Latin, the story of Grocyn's humiliating discovery¹; while in a note on Timothy i. 6, he attacks the disputations of the schools, and supports his criticisms by a long list of *quæstiones*, designed as specimens of the prevailing extravagance and puerility of the dialecticians. Whatever, accordingly, may be our opinion of the policy that imperilled the success of a work of such magnitude, by converting it into a fortress from whence to shoot singularly galling darts against the enemy, there can be no doubt that it was by criticisms like the foregoing that the active hostility of the conservative party at Cambridge was mainly provoked, and that they were induced to have recourse to acts of retaliation like that referred to in the following letter from Erasmus²,—a letter that affords perhaps the most valuable piece of contemporary evidence with respect to the state of the university that remains to us of this period.

The letter is dated from Fisher's palace at Rochester; and Erasmus commences by saying, in response to Bullock's expressed wish for his return, that he would be only too glad to resume his old Cambridge life and to find himself again

Erasmus's
reply to Bul-
lock: Aug.
31, 1516.

magis incumbere patinis quam paginis, et potius habere curam nummorum quam voluminum.' (Quoted by Jortin, II 206.)

¹ 'Ante complures annos, ut memini, vir incomparabilis Willelmus Grocynus, ut theologus summus, ita in nulla disciplina non exquisitè doctus et exercitatus, auspicaturus Londini in æde Divo Paulo sacra enarrationem Cœlestis Hierarchiæ, meditata præfatione multum asseveravit hoc opus esse Dionysii Areopagitæ, vehementer destomachans in eorum impudentiam, qui dissentirent. At idem priusquam operis

dimidium confecisset, ubi gustum attentius cepisset, ingenue coram auditorio fassus est, sibi verso calculo non videri id opus esse Dionysii Areopagitæ.' *Ibid.* II 211. In the present day, it has seemed fit to the modern representatives of Erasmus's antagonists, to maintain that Grocyn's first view was the right one!

² *Epist.* 148, *Opera*, III 126. This letter, by an evident anachronism, is dated in the Leyden edition 1513: but a very cursory examination of its contents will shew that it is a reply to Bullock's letter of Aug. 13, 1516. *Ibid.* III 197.

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He attacks
his opponents
with acrimony.

among so delightful a circle of friends, but at present he is looking forward to wintering at Louvain. He is delighted to hear that his *Novum Instrumentum* finds favour with those whose good opinion is most to be desired; 'but,' he goes on to say, 'I also hear, on good authority, that there is one most theological college (*collegium θεολογικώτατον*) among you, ruled over by a set of perfect Areopagites, who have by formal decree forbidden that the volume be introduced within the college walls, either by horse or by boat, by cart or by porter. Is this,' he exclaims, '*doctissime Boville*, more to be laughed at or lamented? Unfortunate men, how their sympathies are vitiated! Hostile and angry against themselves, grudging at their own profit! Of what race can they be, who are by nature so savage, that kindness, which soothes even wild beasts, only irritates them; who are so implacable that no apologies can soften them? Who, what is yet more to their discredit, condemn and mangle a book that they have never read, and could not understand if they had. Who know nothing more than what they may have heard over their cups or in public gossip, that a new work has come out with which it is designed to hoodwink the theologians; and straightway attack with the fiercest abuse both the author, who by his protracted labours has aimed at rendering service to all students, and the book, from whence they might themselves reap no small advantage¹.' After pointing out what excellent precedents for his performance were to be found in the productions of different scholars at various times, he turns to the new translations of Aristotle as his most pertinent illustration. 'What detriment,' he asks, 'did the writings of Aristotle suffer, when Argyropulos, Leonardo Aretino, and Theodorus Gaza brought forth their new ver-

Justifies him
self by ap-
pealing to the
precedent
afforded by
the new ver-
sions of Aris-
totle.

¹ 'Quod genus hoc hominum, usque adeo morosum, ut officiis irritentur, quibus mansuescunt et ferre bellum; tam implacabile, ut eos nec tam multe apologiæ lenire possint? immo (quod est impudentius), isti damnant ac lacerant librum, quem ne legerint quidem, alioqui nec intellecturi si

thos, aut in conciliabulis fori, prodisse novum opus, quod omnibus theologis, seu cornicibus, oculos tentet configere: ac mox meris conviciis insectantur et auctorem qui tantis vigiliis studiis omnium prodesse studuerit, et librum, unde poterant proficere.' III 126.

sions? Surely the translations of these scholars are not to be suppressed and destroyed, simply in order that the old interpreters of the Aristotelian philosophy may be regarded as omniscient?' He then falls back, reasonably enough, on the argument *ad verecundiam*: his work had gained the warmest approval of Warham; Capito, professor at Basel, and Berus, at Paris, two of the most eminent theologians of the day, had been equally emphatic in their praise; so had Gregory Reischius, who was listened to as an oracle in Germany; so had Jacob Wimpheling. 'But to say nothing of others,' he continues, 'you yourself well know what a distinguished man the bishop of Rochester, your chancellor, is, as regards both character and attainments. And are not these obscure men ashamed to hurl reproaches against what one of such distinguished worth both sanctions and reads? Finally,' he adds, 'if with one man learning has most weight,—I can claim the approval of the most learned; if with another, virtue,—I have that of the most virtuous; if with a third, authority,—I have the support, not only of bishops and archbishops, but of the supreme pontiff himself.'

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Refers to the distinguished approval his work had already obtained.

'But perhaps,' he goes on to say, 'they fear lest, if the young students are attracted to these studies, the schools will become deserted. Why do they not rather reflect on this fact. It is scarcely thirty years ago, when all that was taught in the university of Cambridge, was Alexander¹, the Little Logicals² (as they call them), and those old exercises out of Aristotle, and *quæstiones* taken from Duns Scotus. As time went on, polite learning was introduced; to this was

Compares the Cambridge of 1516 with that of thirty years previous.

¹ Lewis (*Life of Fisher*, i 27) explains this, as referring to 'Alexander de Hales', called doctor irrefragabilis, *Expositio in libros Metaphysicæ Aristotelis*. Jones and Wright (*Queens' Coll.*, p. 13) say, 'the middle-age poem of Walter de Castellis.' Neither of these, I think, is right, and Mr Demaus who, in his *Life of Latimer* (p. 19), suggests Alexander of Aphrodisias, is still further from the mark. It was more probably the 'Alexander, a gander of Menander's pole,' referred to by Skelton in his 'Speke Parrot,' (ed. Dyce, ii. 8—9, and 347,) as a common text-book at Cambridge.

Alexander de Villa Dei was the author of the *Doctrinale Puerorum*, for some centuries the most common text-book on grammar. It was a compilation from Priscian, and in leonine verse (see Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, ii 347, n.). Compare also the following,—'Qui præter commentarios in *Alexandrum grammaticum* et Brunelli poetæ fabulas et Buridani vulgarium dialecticorum sophismata... nihil unquam legissent, epistolas meas lucem in tenebris putaverunt.' Aeneas Sylvius, *Epistolæ*, p. 935.

² See *supra*, p. 350, n. 4.

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added a knowledge of mathematics; a new, or at least a regenerated, Aristotle sprang up; then came an acquaintance with Greek, and with a host of new authors whose very names had before been unknown, even to their profoundest doctors. And how, I would ask, has this affected your university? Why, it has flourished to such a degree *that it can now compete with the chief universities of the age*, and can boast of men in comparison with whom theologians of the old school seem only the ghosts of theologians. The seniors of the university, if candid men, do not deny this; they congratulate others on their good fortune, and lament their own loss. But perhaps these friends of ours are dissatisfied because, since all this has come to pass, the Gospels and the Epistles find more numerous and more attentive students; and, grudging that even this amount of time should be subtracted from studies to which, forsooth, all the student's entire time ought to be devoted, would prefer that his whole life should be wasted in the frivolous subtleties of *quæstiones*? But I shall, on this account, certainly little regret my midnight toil. It is notorious that hitherto there have been theologians who have altogether neglected the Scriptures; and that too, not for the purpose of studying the Sentences, nor indeed with a view to any other single thing save only the dilemmas of *quæstiones*. Is it not well, that such as these should be summoned back to the fountain-head? I long, my friend, to see the toil I underwent, with a view to the general good,—toil of no ordinary kind,—fruitful of benefit to all...It is my hope, that what now meets with the approval of the best among you, may, ere long, meet with that of the larger number. Novelty which has often won favour for others, has, in my case, evoked dislike. A corresponding diversity of fate awaits us, I fancy, in the future. Time, while it deprives them of the popular regard, may perhaps bestow it on me. This do I confidently predict; whatever may be the merit of my literary labours, they will be judged with greater impartiality by posterity¹.

He hopes his work may lead men to study the Scriptures more, and to trouble themselves less with *quæstiones*.

Believes posterity will do him more justice.

¹ 'Ante annos ferme triginta, nihil tradebatur in schola Cantabrigiensi,

præter Alexandrum, Parva Logicalia, ut vocant, et vetera illa Aristotelis

Erasmus's prediction was abundantly fulfilled; and, within a few years from the date of the foregoing letter, he saw the publication of his *Novum Instrumentum* attended by effects of both a character and a degree far outrunning his calculations, and even his wishes, when laboring over those pages in his study at Queens' College. At present however it is sufficient to note the satisfactory evidence above afforded of the progress of the new learning at Cambridge; more trustworthy testimony can scarcely be required than that thus incidentally given, in a confidential letter, written by an emeritus professor to a resident fellow.

The movement in favour of the study of Greek and the opposition it excited, continued, it would seem, to be the chief subject of interest at Cambridge for some years after Erasmus thus wrote. In the year 1518, Bryan, his former pupil, ventured upon a startling innovation on the traditional method of instruction. On succeeding to his regency, as master of arts, he not only put aside the old translations of Aristotle, but had recourse to his knowledge of Greek in his exposition of the new versions. It is scarcely necessary to add that in adopting this mode of treatment, he found little time for the discussion of the prevalent nominalistic disputes.

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His prediction fulfilled.

The subject of Greek continues to excite the chief interest at Cambridge.

Bryan lectures in the schools on Aristotle, from the new versions.

dictata Scoticasque quæstiones. Progressu temporis accesserunt bonæ litteræ; accessit matheseos cognitio; accessit novus, aut certe novatus, Aristoteles; accessit Græcarum litterarum peritia; accesserunt auctores tam multi, quorum olim ne nomina quidem tenebantur, nec a summatis illis Iarchis. Quæso, quid hisce ex rebus accidit academiciæ vestræ? nempe sic effloruit, ut cum primis hujus sæculi scholis certare possit; et tales habet viros ad quos veteres illi collati umbræ theologorum videntur, non theologi. Non inficiantur id majores, si qui sunt ingenio candido. Aliis suam felicitatem gratulantur, suam complorant infelicitatem. An hoc istos male habet, quod posthac et plures legent Evangelicas Apostolicasque litteras, et attentius; et vel hoc temporis his studiis decidi dolent, quibus omne tempus oportebat impartiri; malintque univer-

sam ætatem in quæstionum frivolis argutiis conteri? Atqui hoc sane nomine non admodum poenitet me mearum vigiliarum. Compertum est hactenus quosdam fuisse theologos, qui adeo nunquam legerant divinas litteras, ut nec ipsos Sententiarum libros evolverent, neque quicquam omnino attingerent præter quæstionum gryphos. An non expedit ejusmodi ad ipsos revocari fontes? Ego, mi Boville, labores quos certe non mediocres omnibus juvandis suscepi, cupiam omnibus esse frugiferos..... et spero futurum, ut quod nunc placet optimis, mox placeat plurimis. Aliis gratiam conciliavit novitas, ut huic operi novitas invidiam peperit. Proinde diversum opinor accidit. Illis ætas favorem admittit, mihi fortassis apponet. Illud certe præsagio de meis lucubrationibus, qualescunque sunt, candidius judicaturam posteritatem.' *Opera*, III 130.

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The young regent incurred, of course, a large amount of hostile criticism, but he probably felt more than compensated by the cordial praise and increased regard of his old instructor¹.

Sir Robert Rede founds the Rede lectureships. A.D. 1518.

In the same year, the foundation of the Rede lectureships gave additional sanction to the new learning. Sir Robert Rede, who, at the time of his death, was lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, had formerly been a fellow of King's Hall; and in his will, he bequeathed to the university certain revenues, payable by the abbey at Waltham, of the annual value of £12. This sum he directed to be divided among three lecturers, appointed by the university, in philosophy, logic, and *rhetoric*².

Sense of the importance of the study of Greek induced by the controversy respecting Erasmus's *Nov. Inst.*

In the mean time, Fisher's zeal in behalf of the study of Greek appears not only to have remained unabated, but to have been considerably enhanced by his sense of the growing importance of a knowledge of the language, as he watched the controversy that was agitating both the universities in connexion with the *Novum Instrumentum*. That great event in literature had indeed aroused not a few to a perception of the value of the study; and Colet, while bewailing his own ignorance, declared that not to know Greek was to be nobody. In the year 1516, Erasmus returned, for a short time, to England. He was everywhere received with marked expressions of respect and consideration. Both king and cardinal appear to have held out to him tempting inducements to remain. Warham, whose deeds, as usual, went beyond his words, made him a munificent present. The grateful scholar, with his usual impulsiveness,

Erasmus again visits England.

¹ 'Aristotelem publice per biennium publicis in scholis, non ex spinosis realium et nominalium (quorum tum altercationes academiam perturbabant) subtilitatibus, sed ex ipsis fontibus proponebat. Quo nomine multis factus invisior, at Erasmo, eruditissimo illi ingeniorum censori, carissimus est effectus.' MSS. *Tenison* (quoted by Knight, p. 147). Compare the similar course pursued by Melancthon at almost exactly the same time at Wittenberg. On

being appointed professor there, he found the nominalists and realists filling the university with their disputes. He proposed to them that they should apply themselves to the joint pursuit of truth in those books 'which they quoted but had not read,' gave each of them a Greek and a Latin grammar, and established peace. Nisard, *Etudes sur la Renaissance*, p. 448.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 301.

declared in a letter to a friend, that Britain was his sheet-anchor, his only refuge from beggary¹. He does not appear to have visited Cambridge; but writing from London at the close of the year to Berus, he again bears testimony to the remarkable and decisive change that had come over the spirit of the university, and encourages his correspondent by the assurance that he will, ere long, witness a like change at Paris².

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His testimony to the change at Cambridge.

It was during his stay at Rochester on this occasion, that his patron gave convincing proof of his sense of the value of Greek, by announcing his wish, though then fifty-two years of age, to receive instruction in the language; and there is still extant an amusing correspondence between Erasmus, More, and Latimer, on the subject. It appears that the former two were endeavouring to prevail on Latimer to become Fisher's Greek master. The triumvirate however all betray an uncomfortable foreboding that the undertaking, as likely to end in failure, would probably prove less agreeable than might be desired. They seem to have thought that the good bishop himself only half apprehended the difficulties of the enterprise,—especially to one of his advanced years;

Fisher aspires to a knowledge of Greek.

Embarrassment of his friends.

'Expertus disces quam gravis iste labor,'

was the sentiment that doubtless often rose to their lips, but regard and reverence checked its utterance. Moreover, was there not the encouraging precedent of Cato, to be pleaded in justification³? The pressure put upon Latimer was not slight, but he backed out of the engagement by declaring that he had not opened either a Greek or Latin classic for the last eight years, and he advised that an instructor should be sought in Italy⁴. It appears indeed

Latimer declines undertaking the office of instructor.

¹ Jortin, i 110.

² 'Videbis eas ineptias magna ex parte explodi. Cantabrigia mutata: hæc schola detestatur frigidas illas argutias, quæ magis ad rixam faciunt quam ad pietatem.'

³ *Erasmi Opera*, III 1573, 1574.

⁴ 'Sed cum octo aut novem annos in aliis studiis ita sim versatus, ut

vix ullam interim paginam, vel Græcam vel Latinam attigerim, quod vel me tacente hæc litteræ tibi facile declarabunt, quid debui, aut etiam quid potui vel Moro roganti, vel tibi postulanti promittere, quando etiam vehementer pudet, *χρη γάρ οἶμαι τῷ ληθὲς εἰπεῖν*, vel ad te scribere, hominem, ut nihil aliud dicam, dissertis-

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more than doubtful whether Fisher ever acquired the knowledge he so much coveted¹.

Shortly after this, Erasmus left England for Louvain. In the following year Ammonius was carried off by the sweating sickness; and in the year after that, Colet also was taken from the world. In them Erasmus lost his two dearest friends, and he never again visited the English shores.

Cambridge
also in want
of a teacher
of Greek.

In the mean time, the university was, like its chancellor, lacking a teacher of Greek; and it was especially desirable that when the whole question of this study was, as it were, on its trial, the chief representative of such learning at Cambridge should, like Erasmus, be one whose eminence could not be gainsaid. Bryan and Bullock, though young men of parts, do not appear to have acquired a decisive reputation as Grecians; and the friends of progress now began to look somewhat anxiously round for a successor to the great scholar who had deserted them some three years before. The battle was still undecided. No chair of Greek had, as yet, been established in the university; while of the unabated hostility and unscrupulousness of the opposite party, Oxford, just at this time, had given to the world a notable illustration.

Violent op-
position to
the study at
Oxford.

As we have before had occasion to observe, the tendencies of the sister university were more exclusively theological than those of Cambridge, and the result was naturally a correspondingly more energetic resistance to a study, which, as it was now clearly understood, was likely, if it gained a permanent footing, completely to revolutionise the traditional

simum?.....Quapropter si vis ut procedat episcopus, et ad aliquam in his rebus frugem perveniat, fac peritum aliquem harum rerum ex Italia accersat, qui et manere tantisper cum eo velit, donec se tam firmum ac validum senserit, ut non reperere solum, sed et erigere sese ac stare atque etiam ingredi possit. Nam hoc pacto melius, mea sententia, futuræ ejus eloquentiæ consules, quam si balbutientem adhuc et pene vagien-

tem, veluti in cunis relinquant. Erasmus *Opera*, III 294-5. Erasmus and More, it may be added by way of explanation, had wanted Latimer to undertake the office of tutor for a month, just as an experiment.

¹ The sole evidence in favour of the affirmative adduced by Lewis (I 61),—the presence of a Greek quotation on the title-page of the bishop's treatise against Luther,—can hardly be considered satisfactory.

theology of the schools. It was exactly at this time, moreover, that a bold declaration of policy, on the part of one of the chief supporters of Greek at Oxford, had roused the apprehensions of their antagonists to an unwonted pitch. In the year 1516, bishop Fox had founded the college of Corpus Christi. Though at the time still master of Pembroke, his Oxford sympathies predominated, or he perhaps thought, that with so powerful a patron as Fisher, Cambridge had little need of his aid. In the following year, he drew up the statutes for the new foundation, which, while conceived in the same spirit as those already given by Fisher at Cambridge,—by whom indeed they were subsequently adopted in many of their details, in his revision of the statutes of St. John's College, in the year 1524,—were also found to embody a far more bold and emphatic declaration in favour of the new learning. The editor and translator of bishop Fox's statutes has indeed not hesitated to maintain, that Fox was the true leader of reform at Oxford at this period, and that Wolsey was little more than 'an ambitious and inconstant improver upon his hints'.¹ It is certain that few Oxonians, at that day, could have heard with indifference that at Fox's new college,—besides a lecturer on the Latin classics² and another on Greek³,—there was also to be a

Foundation
of CORPUS
CHRISTI COL-
LEGE at Ox-
ford, 1516.

Bp. Fox's
Statutes.

¹ *The Foundation Statutes of Bishop Fox for Corpus Christi College in the University of Oxford, A.D. 1517. Translated into English, with a Life of the Founder. By R. M. Ward, Esq., M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, etc. 1843, p. xli.*

² The first lecturer, who is to be 'the sower and planter of the Latin tongue,' the statute directs 'to manfully root out barbarity from our garden, and cast it forth, should it at any time germinate therein.' He was required to read 'Cicero's Epistles, Orations, or Offices, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, or Suetonius Tranquillus; next,—Pliny, Cicero de Arte, De Oratore, the Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian; next,—Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, or Plautus.' He was also to read 'privately in some place of our college, to be appointed by the president, to

all of the household who wish to hear him, either the elegancies of Laurentius Vallensis, or the Attic Lucubrations of Aulus Gellius, or the Miscellanies of Politian.' *Ibid.* c. 22.

³ 'But the second herbalist of our apiary is to be, and to be called, the Reader of the Grecists and of the Greek language: whom we have placed in our bee-garden expressly because the holy canons have established and commanded, most suitably for good letters and Christian literature especially, that such an one should never be wanting in the university of Oxford' [the reference is evidently, to the original decree in the Clementines of 1311, see *supra*, p. 482] 'in like manner, as in some few other most famous places of learning.....He is to read on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, some part of the grammar of Theo-

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He appoints not only a lecturer on the Latin classics, and another on the Greek, but also a lecturer in divinity who is expressly enjoined to read the Greek fathers and to discard the mediæval commentators.

third lecturer,—whose special task it was to be, not only to familiarise the minds of the students with those very Greek fathers whom so many were violently denouncing, but also to discourage the study of those mediæval theologians who then occupied so considerable a space in all the college libraries, and whose authority was regarded as only inferior to that of St. Augustine himself. With that fondness for metaphor which characterises the language of many of our early college statutes, Fox spoke of his college as a garden, of the students as bees, and of his lecturers as gardeners. ‘Lastly,’ he accordingly goes on to say, ‘there shall be a third gardener, whom it behoves the other gardeners to obey, wait on, and serve, who shall be called and be the Reader in Sacred Divinity,—a study which we have ever holden of such importance, as to have constructed this our apiary for its sake, either wholly or most chiefly; and we pray, and in virtue of our authority command, all the bees to strive and endeavour with all zeal and earnestness, to engage in it according to the statutes. This our last and divine gardener is, on every common or half-holiday throughout the year, beginning at two o’clock in the afternoon, publicly to teach and profoundly to interpret, in the hall of our college during an entire hour, some portion of Holy Writ, to the end that wonder-working jewels which lie remote from view may come forth to light...But in alternate years, that is, every other year, he is to read some part of the Old Testament and some part of the New, which the president and major part of the seniors may appoint; *and he must always in his interpretation, as far as he can, imitate the*

dorus, or some other approved Greek grammarian, together with some part of the speeches of Isocrates, Lucian, or Philostratus; but on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, he is to read Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, or Hesiod, or some other of the most ancient Greek poets, together with some portion of Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, or Plutarch; but on holidays, Homer, the Epigrams, or some passage from

the divine Plato or some Greek theologian. Also, thrice every week, and four times only, at his own option, during the excepted periods of the vacation, he shall read privately in some place of our college, to be assigned for the purpose by the president, some portion of Greek grammar or rhetoric, and also of some Greek author rich in various matter, to all of the household of our college who wish to hear him.’ *Statutes*, by Ward.

holy and ancient doctors, both Latin and Greek, and especially Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Origen, Hilary, Chrysostom, Damascenus, and that sort,—not Liranus, not Hugh of Vienne, and the rest, who, as in time so in learning, are far below them; except where the commentaries of the former doctors fail¹.

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The theologians of Oxford had scarcely recovered from the shock which the institution of bishop Fox's 'gardeners,' and the formal declaration of a crusade against Nicholas de Lyra and his school, must necessarily have occasioned, when they were startled by another and equally bold manifestation,—this time from without. In the beginning of the year 1519, appeared the second edition of Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*. So far as the title was concerned, they were probably not displeased to find that it had been altered back to the more orthodox designation of *Novum Testamentum*; but, on further inspection, it was discovered that this was but a delusive sign of the author's real intentions, and that the volume was in reality the vehicle of a more serious innovation than any that had yet been ventured on. The Latin text of the *Novum Instrumentum* was that of the Vulgate; that of the *Novum Testamentum* was a substantially new translation by Erasmus himself, for which the venerable Vulgate had been discarded! While, to fill up the measure of his offence, he had prefixed to the volume a discourse entitled *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, wherein, in opposition to the whole spirit of mediæval theology, he insisted yet more emphatically than ever on the necessity of applying to the study of the Scriptures that historical method which had so long been neglected in the schools².

Appearance
of Erasmus's
*Novum Testa-
mentum*.

He discards
the Vulgate
translation.

The new learning, it was now evident, was about, to use Erasmus's own expression, 'to storm an entrance,' if admission could be obtained on no other terms; and the theologians of Oxford were called upon to decide whether they would impose so stern a necessity on its supporters. Un-

State of
feeling at
Oxford.

¹ *Ibid.*

² For the characteristic merits of this edition, as well as for other

points of interest, see Mr Seebohm's admirable criticism in the fourteenth chapter of his *Oxford Reformers*.

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fortunately, their decision was, in the first instance, not in favour of the wiser course. The Mendicants were numerous in the university; their influence was still considerable; their hatred of Greek intense. And it was not accordingly until the students had signalised themselves by an act of egregious folly, such as is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of either university, that Oxford conceded to the study of Greek an unmolested admission to the student's chamber and a tranquil tenure of the professorial chair. The men whose character and reputation had upheld the study in former years, were no longer resident. Grocyn, now a palsied old man, was living on his preferment as warden of the collegiate church at Maidstone. Linacre, as court physician, resided chiefly in London. Pace was immersed in political life. Latimer had subsided into the exemplary and unambitious parish priest. More, the youngest of those who, twenty years before, had composed the academic circle that welcomed and charmed Erasmus, had long ago removed to London; his interest however in the progress of his university was unabated; and it is to his pen that we are indebted for the details of the tactics whereby the defenders of the 'good old learning' at Oxford now endeavoured to make head against heresy and Greek.

The earlier teachers of Greek no longer resident.

Conduct of the Oxford students.

It would appear that the younger students of the university, who shared the conservative prejudices of their seniors, were becoming alarmed at the steady progress of their adversaries, and resolved on the employment of simpler weapons and more summary arguments. Invective had been found unavailing, and recourse was now had to arms against which the profoundest learning and the acutest logic were equally powerless. These youthful partisans formed themselves into one noble army, rejoicing in the name of 'Trojans!'. One of their leaders, to whom years had not brought discretion, dubbed himself Priam; others assumed the names of Hector and Paris; while all gave ample evi-

Grecians versus Trojans.

¹ — 'in Trojanos istos aptissime quadrare videtur vetus illud adagium, *sero sapiunt Phryges*,' was More's

sarcastic observation in his letter. Jortin, II 663.

dence of their heroic descent, by a series of unprovoked insults to every inoffensive student who had exhibited a weakness for Greek. While the seniors vilified the study from the pulpit, the juniors mobbed its adherents in the streets. The unfortunate Grecians were in sore straits; Fox's 'bees' dared scarcely venture from their hive. They were pointed at with the finger of scorn, pursued with shouts of laughter, or attacked with volleys of abuse. To crown all, one preacher,—a fool even among the foolish,—delivered from the pulpit a set harangue, in which he denounced, not only Greek, but all liberal learning, and declared that logic and sophistical theology were the only commendable studies¹. 'I cannot but wonder, when I think of it,' says poor Anthony Wood,—at his wits' end to devise some excuse for what could neither be denied nor palliated².

More was at Huntingdon, in attendance on the king, when he heard of that sermon. He was watching with no little interest the progress of events at the university, and had already been informed of the conduct of the 'Trojans'; but this additional proof of their bigotry and stupidity was more than even his gentle nature could endure, and roused him to earnest though dignified remonstrance. He lost no time in addressing to the authorities at Oxford a formal letter, written March 29, 1519, wherein, after a concise recital of the above facts as they had reached him, he proceeded to implore them, on grounds of the most obvious prudence, to put a stop to so senseless a crusade. 'You already see,' he writes,—at the conclusion of a cogent statement with respect to the claims and merits of Greek,—'that there are many (and their example will be followed by others), who have begun to contribute considerable funds in order to pro-

More remonstrates with the university authorities on behalf of the Grecians.

¹ Jortin, II 663-4, Wood-Gutch, II 16-17.

² M. Laurent, who in his suggestive work takes occasion to tell this story, observes:—'Ces guerres nous paraissent aujourd'hui dignes de celle des grenouilles chantée par Homère; au quinzième siècle, on ne l'entendait pas ainsi: c'était en

réalité la lutte du catholicisme contre la civilisation moderne. La première faculté de théologie de la chrétienté, la Sorbonne osait dire devant le parlement, *que c'en était fait de la religion si on permettait l'étude du grec et de l'hébreu.*' *Histoire du Droit des Gens*, Tome VIII, *La Réforme*, p. 392.

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He contrasts the disposition shewn by the Oxonians with the conduct of the Cantabrigians.

A royal letter to the university secures the Grecians from further molestations.

Wolsey, in the following year, founds a chair of Greek at Oxford.

mote the pursuit of studies of every kind in your university, and particularly that of Greek. But it will be surprising indeed, if their friendly sentiments are not chilled, when they learn that their excellent designs have become the object of unbounded ridicule. Especially, when at Cambridge, which you were always wont to outshine, even those who do not learn Greek are so far actuated by a common zeal for their university, that, to their credit be it told, they contribute to the salary of the Greek professor¹. How far these temperate and unanswerable remonstrances might have availed unaided, we can only conjecture; but fortunately both More and Pace, from their presence at court, were able to represent the matter, in its true light, to king Henry himself. And one morning all Oxford was startled by the arrival of a royal letter, commanding, under the severest penalties, that all students desiring to apply themselves to Greek studies, should be permitted to do so without molestation. This was in the year 1519; and in the following year, Wolsey,—into whose hands the university had already surrendered itself, tied and bound, for a complete revisal of its statutes according to his supreme will and pleasure,—founded a professorship of Greek. Then, even to the dullest intellect, the whole question of this new lore assumed another aspect. The Trojans suffered sorely from numerous defections, and ultimately disbanded. Priam, Hector, and Paris retired into private life. It began to be understood that Greek was the road to favour at court and to preferment, and consequently probably, after all, a laudable and respectable branch of learning. ‘And thus,’ says Erasmus,—who narrates the sequel with no little exultation, —*rabulis impositum est silentium*².

¹ ‘Præterea multos jam cœpisse videtis, quorum exempla sequentur alii, multum boni vestro conferre gymnasio, quo et omnigenam literaturam promoveant et modo nominatim Græcam. Quorum nunc servidus in vos affectus mirum ni frigescat, si tam pium propositum summo ludibrio isthic haberi sentiant. *Præ-*

sertim quum Cantabrigiæ, cui vos prælucere semper consuevistis, illi quoque qui non discunt Græce, tam communi suæ scholæ studio ducti, in stipendium ejus qui aliis Græca prælegit viritum perquam honeste contribuant. Jortin, II 666.

² *Opera*, III 408.

The honorable and unimpeachable testimony above given in favour of Cambridge at this same period, sufficiently exonerates us from the necessity of exposing the tissue of misrepresentation and misstatement in which Anthony Wood endeavours to veil the real facts, and even to make his own university appear the less hostile to Greek of the two¹. It will be more to our purpose, if we direct our attention to the appearance at Cambridge of this new professor of Greek, who, wearing the mantle of Erasmus, was the fortunate recipient of so much larger a measure of encouragement and support.

Among the young students whom Eton had sent up to King's College, early in the century, was one Richard Croke, a youth of good family and promising talents. He proceeded to his bachelor's degree in the year 1509-10; and then, having conceived a strong desire to gain a knowledge of Greek, repaired to Oxford, where he became the pupil of Grocyn. It would seem that before he left Cambridge, he had already made the acquaintance of Erasmus; for we find the latter subsequently giving proof of a strong interest in his welfare, and on one occasion even endeavouring to obtain for the young scholar pecuniary assistance from Colet². From Oxford Croke went on to Paris; and having completed there his course of study as an 'artist,' and acquired a considerable reputation, he next proceeded to Germany in the capacity of a teacher. He taught at Cologne, Louvain, Leipsic³, and Dresden, with remarkable success. Camera-rius, who was one of his class at Leipsic, was wont to tell in after life, how he had suddenly found himself famous simply from having been the pupil of so renowned a teacher⁴.

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Richard
Croke.
b. 1489 (?)
d. 1558.

Befriended
by Erasmus.

His career
on the con-
tinent.

¹ Wood-Gutch, II 16-17.

² *Opera*, III 131.

³ 'Crocus regnat in academia Lipsiensis, publicitus Græcas docens litteras.' *Letter from Erasmus to Linacre* (A.D. 1515), *Ibid.* III 136.

⁴ 'In qua parte' [Erfurt] 'ego, quanquam admodum adolescens, tamen ferebar in oculis, quia audiveram Ricardum Crocum Britannum, qui primus putabatur ita docuisse Græcam linguam in Germania ut plane

perdisci illam posse, et quid momenti ad omnem doctrinæ eruditionem atque cultum hujus cognitio allatura esse videretur, nostri homines sese intelligere arbitrantur. Nos quidem certe ita statuebamus, hanc esse viam virtutis atque sapientiæ, et iter directum cum pietatis et religionis, tum humanitatis et laudis in hac vita et in terris.' Joach. Camerarii, *Narratio de Helio Eobano Hesso* (ed. Kreyssig, Misenæ, 1843), p. 5.

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He returns to
Cambridge,
and proceeds
M. A. in 1517.

Lectures on
Greek in the
university in
1518.

1519, is ap-
pointed
Greek reader.

His antecede-
dents better
fitted to dis-
arm hostility
than those of
Erasmus.

Emser, writing to Erasmus, informs him, that the young Englishman's professorial career, during two years, at Dresden, had won for him the highest regard. It was from Dresden that, after a seven years' absence, Richard Croke returned to his own university; he there proceeded to his master of arts degree, and at about the same time was appointed instructor in Greek to king Henry. In the year 1518 he commenced a course of lectures on the language at Cambridge¹. These lectures however, like those of Erasmus and John Bryan, were given without the direct sanction of the authorities; and it was not until the year 1519, that Croke received his formal appointment as Greek reader to the university. It was then that, about the month of July in the same year, he inaugurated his entrance upon the duties of his office, by an oration equally noteworthy as an illustration of the ability and individual characteristics of the orator, and of the learning and (we may perhaps add) of the ignorance of his age.

Apart from the numerous indications that the opponents of Greek were fighting a losing battle, it is evident that there was much in the new professor's antecedents that was calculated to thaw the icy hostility of the dullest conservative. He had not, like Erasmus, to confront the antipathies of insular prejudice. It was no satirical, poverty-stricken, little Dutchman, ignorant and disdainful of their vernacular, that now pleaded the cause of the Grecian muse with the Cambridge men; but one of their own number, whom many must have well remembered in his undergraduate days, and have occasionally heard of in his subsequent career. A youth of ancient descent, educated at their most famous public school and at one of their most distinguished colleges, he had gone forth from their midst into the world; and wherever he had gone he had added to the fame of his university. While Erasmus had been teaching Cambridge, Croke had been teaching Germany. And they might even find satisfaction in noting that while the former had failed in England, the continental career of the latter had

¹ Cooper, *Athence*, i 178.

been one of brilliant success. From that career this young fellow of King's had now returned to take up his abode among them. Instead of the timid, anxious valetudinarian, verging upon fifty, they now saw before them a man of scarcely thirty,—full of hope and vigour, and flushed with well-earned success. In after life, an act of base ingratitude towards their great patron and protector lost for him much of the esteem of all honorable men; but as yet nothing had arisen to cast a shadow on the fair fame of Richard Croke. He appeared as that patron's delegate, to urge them on to new paths of intellectual effort. And, as thus accredited, and laurel-crowned from the chief seats of continental learning, the young orator sought their attention, and proceeded with an effective eloquence and a choice Latinity,—that bespoke however the influence of Quintilian rather than of Cicero¹,—to urge upon them the claims of that learning of which he was their chosen representative, it is reasonable to suppose that he saw around him a far more sympathising and numerous audience than it had been Erasmus's fortune to find some eight years before.

Croke's inaugural oration, on his appointment as Greek reader, delivered July 1519.

The following abstract of his oration will be found by those to whom the original may not be accessible², to present not a few points well worthy of note as illustrative of the learning and rhetoric of the period:—

It is with a somewhat elaborate *occupatio benevolentiae* that the orator commences: he would not, he declares, have ventured to address so formidable an audience, had he not well known that it was composed of those who looked rather at the matter of a speech than its diction. There were those in the university on whom his task might have much more fitly devolved; but he reminds them, that they have often listened not only with deference but with pleasure, when the delegates of princes have spoken before them in a barbarous and even ludicrous style, simply out of feelings of deference for those whom the speakers represented. On the same grounds he too claims a like consideration;—for he represents their chancellor, one unsurpassed

He claims the attention of his audience, as the delegate of their chancellor.

¹ Croke had perhaps been led to form this preference through Linacre's influence; Erasmus, in his *Ciceronianus*, tells us that the latter 'prius habuisset esse Quintiliano similis quam Ciceroni.'

² For the perusal of this very rare little volume I am indebted (as for many similar advantages) to the choice and extensive library of Prof. J. E. B. Mayor.

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in watchful care for their interests, and to whom they owe those two distinguished ornaments of the university,—Christ's College and St John's. It would be nothing else than signal ingratitude, were they to withhold a ready hearing from the representative of one to whom they already owed so much!

Fisher has enjoined upon him the task of explaining the advantages of Greek studies.

What then is the message of my lord of Rochester? Why, he exhorts them to apply themselves with all diligence to the study of Greek literature,—that literature in praise of which so many able men have recently sent forth dissertations. The exhortation of one who had never urged them to aught but what was most profitable, might alone suffice; but it has been specially enjoined upon the speaker to explain in detail the advantages of Greek literature.

The study of the language defended, as that of an eminently superior race.

The broad ground on which, first of all, he rests the claims of such learning, is the preeminence of the race whom it represents. The Greeks surpassed all who came after them, in wisdom and in invention, in theoretical sagacity and in practical ability. What city or what republic could compare with Lacedæmon, in the administration of justice, in religion, in morality? what city, with Athens, in genius and learning? what, with either, in dignity and greatness of soul? Cicero, it was true, had ventured to assert that these last-named features first appeared at Rome; and had cited as examples, the Camilli, the Decii, the Scipios, the Catos. But let them compare these heroes with Codrus, Themistocles, Leonidas, Pericles, Aristides, Xenoerates, and will it not rather seem that moral greatness was a legacy from Greece to Rome? Let those who praised the piety, sanctity, and other Spartan virtues of Numa, consider how much more conspicuously the same qualities shone forth in Lyeurgus: the former raised to kingly power on account of his character for justice, the latter preferring justice even to a throne,—the one ennobled by a crown which he would have fain declined, the other by his voluntary resignation of the sceptre which he already swayed,—the former so distinguished by his virtues that he was deemed worthy of the supreme power, the latter so distinguished by his contempt for power, that he seemed above the sceptre itself! Numa again had but restrained the heroic ardour of his people, Lyeurgus had augmented it; for the latter expelled from Lacedæmon not bridles, swords, and spears, but banquetings, costly attire, and the 'cursed lust of gold.' And herein alone it might be seen how far Greece excelled not only other nations but Rome herself, in that she had driven from her midst not simply vice but its parent cause. Admitting, again, the truth of Livy's assertion,—that in no republic had luxury and profligacy made their way more slowly than at Rome,—it must also be added that nowhere did they take root more deeply. If indeed of Grecian origin, they so grew in Italy, as to owe far more to their nurse than to their parent. Lyeurgus had expelled them from Sparta when that state was already weakened by their pre-

Comparison between Lyeurgus and Numa.

valence, a feat that at Rome surpassed the power of any ruler even in the stage of their early growth.

He then proceeds to apply the conclusion which these somewhat labored antitheses were designed to establish. These illustrious Greeks had dignified not merely their country and their race but also their native tongue. It is remarkable that it is on this ground alone,—the superior moral excellence of the Roman people,—that he asserts the claims of Latin over French or Celtic. It is by the superiority of the race, he says, that their language becomes diffused. Persia and India first received the Greek tongue when they experienced the weight of Alexander's arms; and the Latin language was learned by the subjugated nations, only when they had submitted to the sway and received the institutions of Rome. Marius had despised the study of Greek, because he looked upon it as disgraceful and ridiculous to bestow toil upon a literature the masters of which were slaves. A lofty impulse urges the mind of man to that which is associated with the supreme. Greece had conferred on mankind by far the most precious boons,—the weaver's art, the architect's; to plough, to sow; all, in fine, that has raised man from the savage to a civilized state, he owes to Greece. *In summa quicquid habemus in vita commodi, id totum Græcorum beneficio habemus.* A people thus devoted to the arts and refinements of life were not likely to be neglectful of the study of language. The testimony of antiquity is unanimous with respect to the care with which they elaborated and polished their native tongue. What Cambridge man was there who knew not the Horatian verse,—

Graii ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui?

Had not Cicero, again, affirmed that if Jupiter were to deign to speak in mortal tongue, he would use the Greek which Plato wrote? Let them note too how writers of all nations had preferred Greek to their native language: Phavorinus the Gaul, Porphyry the Phœnician, Jamblichus the Syrian, Philoponus the Egyptian, Ammonius the Phrygian, Simplicius the Thracian, Philo the Jew, and Musonius born at Volsinii near to Rome, Trismegistus, Musæus, and Orpheus; the historians,—Josephus the Jew, Ælian the Roman, Arrian, and Albinus,—Albinus whom Cato could never pardon for his assertion that it was evident that the Latin tongue when brought into rivalry with the Greek, must disappear and die out. He then quotes, from the *Noctes Atticæ* of Gellius, a passage wherein the writer points out how inferior, on careful comparison, the Latin comedies are found to be to their Greek originals,—Cæcilius to Menander. How harshly again Latin grates on the ear when compared to Greek! How vastly superior in power of expression is the Attic dialect! What Latin writer could find a single word that served as an equivalent to *πολυφιλία*, *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, *ἡθοοσύμωρος*? How imperfectly did any amount

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The language of a people deserves to be diffused, in proportion to their intellectual and inventive superiority.

Care bestowed by the ancient Greeks in refining their language.

Preference shewn by writers of all nations for Greek over their own tongue.

Inferiority of Latin.

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of periphrases enable the Romans to express what the Greeks often conveyed in a single word! How absurdly moreover did they blunder, who, ignorant of the large infusion of Greek in the ancient Latin, actually supposed that the vocabulary of a language was a matter at the arbitrary discretion of individuals, and despised the aids afforded by the Greek¹.

Respect
shewn for the
language by
the Roman
emperors.

Favours
shewn to
Reuchlin and
Erasmus.

Favours he
had himself
experienced.

To turn to another aspect of the case. How often had even those who wore the Roman purple clad themselves in the eloquence of this mighty tongue! Julius Cæsar, Augustus Germanicus, Tiberius, Clandius, Nero, Vespasian, Severus, Theodosius. To come nearer to their own time, how had Leo, the supreme pontiff, and the emperor Maximilian, shewn their regard for the devoted to the new learning, by interposing to rescue the innocence of Reuchlin and Erasmus 'from those double-dyed younger brethren of the giants!'² He would name too George, duke of Saxony, but that he felt it was beyond his power to render due praise to one who had recommended him to Henry VIII and defrayed the expenses of his labours with princely munificence. Then again there was the bishop of Mayence³, one of the wealthiest ecclesiastics in Germany, whether as regarded his mental endowments or worldly fortune, who had given him no less than sixty nobles for an inscription of Theodorus IV. To say nothing, again, of his grace of Canterbury, 'my noble and chief Mæcenæ', or my lord Cardinal, 'my lord bishop of Rochester is a host in himself.'

Extreme anti-
quity of the
Greek lan-
guage.

Look again at the antiquity of the Greek tongue. Allowing that, in this respect, the first place must be conceded to Hebrew, the *lingua Attica* is certainly entitled to a second. Other cities boasted of their founders; but Athens had no founder, for her sons were *αυτόχθονες*. All the reverence that waits on antiquity is fairly her's.

Utility of a
knowledge of
Greek in the
studies of the
trivium and
quadrivium.

He passes on to shew the utility of the study; and here he is almost wearied by the mere contemplation of the field,—*ipsa susceptæ provinciæ cogitatione pene defatiger*. To commence with the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and first of all with grammar,—which many, 'inflated with a vain pretence of knowledge,' cavil at, as

¹ 'Neque sustinuit conscius sibi dissimulari id gratissimus Lucretius qui igitur multis se dicit Græcis usum, quod Latine ea dici non possent. O quam parum istud putant, qui ignorant veteri sermoni Latino plurima Græca fuisse inmixta, quique arbitraria omnia vocabula sic esse volunt, ut quovismodo a se ficta auctoritatem habitura fiant, supino quodam Græci fontis contemptu, ex quo si non veniant detorta, nemo, nisi cum risu, novationem admittat!'

² 'Cujus innocentia ab dibaphis istis Gigantum fraterculis toties af-

flicta, tandem succubisset, nisi fessis doctissimi et optimi hominis rebus sanctitas Leonis et Maximiliani pietas succurrissent.' The interference of Leo X between Reuchlin and his antagonists, a virtual triumph for the reform party, had taken place in the year 1516. See Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, pp. 290—321.

³ Luther's primate, and one of the seven Electors of Germany; but a faithless and unscrupulous politician. See Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, III xiii—xvii.

trivial and sterile,—he offers to point out a few facts from which they will perceive that it is of higher excellence than all other branches of knowledge. What does the name of ‘grammarian’ imply? He quotes the passage in Suetonius¹, to shew that the grammarian with the Greeks was the *litteratus* of the Romans,—that is, the man who, either orally or by his pen, professed to treat on any subject with discrimination, critical knowledge, and competent learning. Properly however those who expounded the poets were designated as *grammatici*; and what a range of acquirements such a function would involve, might be seen from Lucretius, Varro, and Empedocles. He reminds them how Aurelius Opilius voluntarily abandoned philosophy and rhetoric for grammar, and how Cicero, fresh from the prætorship, was found at the school of Gniphō; how liberally, at Rome, the grammar schools were encouraged and the professors remunerated. Again, the very Latin alphabet was borrowed from the Greek; its *k* was the representation of the Greek *κάππα*; the aspirate (*h*) so often found in Latin words, denoted a Greek origin; the reduplication in such words as *poposci*, *totondi*, *momordi*, was nothing else than the *παρὰκειμένον* of the Greek verb; many constructions in Cicero are to be explained by a reference to the Greek idiom. If we turn to etymology, the debt of Latin to Greek is found to be yet greater: Priscian, the most learned of the Latins, was chiefly a compiler from Apollonius and Herodian. With respect to rhetoric, it is needless to point out, how the use of metaphor, the frequent sententiousness of the proverb, and the exact force of words, receive their best illustration from a knowledge of Greek. As for mathematics, *it was notorious that no mathematician could detect the grave error that had found its way into Euclid’s definition of a straight line, until the collation of a Greek codex exposed the blunder*². Boethius too compiled his Arithmetic from the Greek. Even music is indebted for its nomenclature to Greece; while as for medicine, the names of Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides, are sufficient.

The utility of Greek in connexion with the *trivium* and *quadrivium* having been thus vindicated, he passes on to theology. He begs in the first place that they will not consider him to be, like many men of his school (*plerique meæ farinæ homines*),—a foe to theological learning. He loves Mayronius, he admires Erigena, he esteems Aquinas, and the subtlety of Duns Scotus he actually embraces; he only desiderates that culture which imparts brilliancy to all the rest. Let them only add to the study of these authors the cultivation of Greek and Latin literature, and learn to speak in such fashion that their diction may recall

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Functions of
the ancient
grammaticus.

Greek
element in
Latin.

A definition
in Euclid
restored to
sense by
comparison
of a Greek
codex.

Utility of
Greek to the
theologian.

He declares
himself no
foe to the
schoolmen.

¹ See supra, p. 7, n. 2.

² ‘De mathematica istud dixisse sufficiat, priusquam bonorum diligentia Atticæ litteræ a tenebris essent vindicatæ, neminem ejus professionis

virum a prodigioso indocti interpretis errore Euclidem potuisse explicare,—lineam esse longitudinem sine latitudine, cujus extrema duo essent puncta.’

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The use of
words not
arbitrary.

Evils result-
ing from ex-
cessive atten-
tion to logical
disputes.

The Bible
neglected.

He implores
them not to
be out-
stripped by
the Oxonians.

the city and the youth of Rome! But, some one might say, the schoolmen spoke Latin. Latin! aye, but who of the orators or poets ever spoke as they did? No doubt those on whom polite learning had never smiled, saw no harm in a man using the phraseology that pleased him best. But what a gross absurdity was this! They laughed at the man who mingled Scotch or French with his native speech, while wishing themselves to be at liberty to import into Latin any barbarism they might think fit. For his own part, he had no wish to see the disputations in the schools abolished, but he did *not* like to see men growing old in them: for subtleties like these were harmful, not to those who studied them only for a time, but to those who were continually engaged in them. *When the mind was thus exclusively concentrated on extremely minute distinctions its powers were wasted and impaired, and the student was diverted from more useful learning, —from the Pauline Epistles, from the Evangelists, from the whole Bible; and these had a paramount claim on the theologian, whose true function it was, so to guide the minds of men as to draw them away from the things of earth and fix them on those above.* The example of many of the fathers, like that of the great men at Rome, is next held up as a further incitement to classical studies; and a few additional considerations, derived from the importance of Greek to those engaged in historical researches, conclude the argument drawn from the abstract merits of the literature.

An appeal to the spirit of emulation holds a prominent place in his peroration. 'The Oxford men, *whom up to the present time ye have outstripped in every department of knowledge*, are betaking themselves to Greek in good earnest. They watch by night, suffer heat and cold, and leave no stone unturned, to make this knowledge all their own. And if that should come to pass, there will be an end of your renown. They will erect a trophy from the spoils they have taken from you, which they will never suffer to be removed'. They number among their leaders the cardinals of Canterbury and Winchester, and in fact all the English bishops, Rochester and Ely alone excepted. The austere and holy Grocyn is on their side, the vast learning and critical acumen of Linacre, the eloquence of Tunstal, whose legal knowledge is equalled by his

¹ 'Oxonienses, quos ante hac in omni scientiarum genere vicistis, ad litteras Græcæ perfluere, vigilant, jejunt, sudant et algent; nihil non faciunt ut eas occupent. Quod si contingat, actum est de fama vestra. Erigent enim de vobis trophæum nunquam succenbituri.' Croke's meaning appears to be that if Oxford once succeeds in gaining the reputation of being the school for Greek, students will get into the habit of going there to learn the lan-

guage; just as mathematicians, in the present day, generally prefer Cambridge. Compare with the words in italics, More's observation, addressed to the Oxonians, already quoted: *Cambrigia, cui vos præluere semper consuevistis*. Perhaps we may reconcile these diametrically opposed statements, made in the same year, by inferring that neither university had much real reason for priding itself on superiority to the other.

skill in either tongue, the threefold linguistic learning of Stokesley¹, the pure and polished elegance of More, the erudition and genius of Pace, commended by Erasmus himself, unsurpassed as a judge of learning.—Erasmus! once, would he were still, your own Greek professor! I have succeeded to his place. Good heavens! how inferior to him in learning and in fame²! And yet, lest I should be looked upon as of no account whatever, permit me to state that even I, all unworthy though I be, have been recognised by the leading men, doctors in theology, law, and medicine, besides masters of arts beyond counting, as their acknowledged teacher; and what is more, have, in most honorable fashion, been escorted by them from the schools to church, and from church to the schools. Nay, still further, I solemnly assure you, gentlemen of Cambridge, that the Oxonians themselves have solicited me with the offer of a handsome salary besides my maintenance. But feelings of respectful loyalty towards this university—and especially towards that most noble society of scholars, King's College, to which I owe my first acquirements in the art of eloquence,—have enjoined that I should first offer my services to you. Should those services find favour in your eyes, I shall esteem myself amply rewarded; and I shall conclude that such is the case, if I see you applying yourselves to the studies which I advise. To imitate what we admire,—such is the rule of life. And, in order that you may clearly perceive how much I have your interests at heart, I shall make it especially my object, so to adapt myself to each individual case, as to run with those who run, and stretch out a helping hand to those who stumble. I shall adapt myself to the standard of each learner, and proceed only when he is able to keep me company. And if, perchance, there should be some to whom this learning may appear to be beset with toil, let them remember the adage, that the honorable *is* difficult. It is nature's law, that great undertakings should rarely be speedy in their accomplishment, and that, as Fabius observes³, the nobler races in the animal world should be longest in the womb. Let them reflect too that nothing worth having in life is to be had without considerable labour. Wherefore, gentlemen of Cambridge, you must keep your vigils, and breathe the smoke of the lamp,—practices which though painful at first become easier by habit.

Oxford wanted to have him, but he felt bound to his own university.

He promises to help his pupils to the best of his power.

Great things not easily accomplished.

¹ The name is printed *Stopleius*, and Wood (*Annals*, i 17) has translated it as *Stopley*, without apparently having an idea who was meant. There can, however, be no doubt that Croke intended *Stokesley*, principal of Magdalen Hall, and afterwards bishop of London. Compare the encomium of Erasmus, 'Joannes Stokleius, præter scholasticam hanc theologiam, in qua nemini cedit, *trium etiam linguarum* haud vulgariter peritus.' *Opera*, iii 402.

² Erasmus had heard of Croke's appointment, and wrote to congratulate him thereon, in the best possible spirit:—'*Gratulor tibi, mi Croke, professionem istam tam splendidam, non minus honorificam tibi quam frugiferam academæ Cantabrigiensi, cujus commodis equidem pro veteris hospitii consuetudine peculiari quodam studio faveo.*' *Letter to Croke* (April, 1518), *Opera*, iii 1679.

³ Quintilian, x iii 4.

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Greek not of
superhuman
difficulty.

No harm in
a variety of
studies.

A last appeal
to their pro-
per pride.

Nerve yourselves, therefore, to courses such as these, and ere long you will exult in the realisation of the words of Aristotle, that the muses love to dwell in minds emulous of toil. But if some, after the manner of smatterers, should shirk the inevitable amount of effort,—or some again (which I hardly look for), of the theological or philosophical faculties, I mean those crotchety fellows, who seek to make themselves pass for authorities by heaping contempt on every one else, should dart back when they have scarcely crossed the threshold,—it does not follow that you are, one and all, to become despondent of this learning. Let each of you reflect that the mind of man has enabled him to traverse the seas, to know the movements and to count the number of the stars, to measure the whole globe. It cannot be, then, that a knowledge of Greek is inaccessible or even difficult to a race so potent to accomplish the ends it has in view. Do you suppose that Cato would have been willing to devote himself to this study when advanced in years, had it presented, in his eyes, much of difficulty?...A certain order however is necessary in all things. The wedded vine grasps first of all the lower branches of the tree, and finally towers above the topmost; and you, Sir, who now discourse so glibly in the schools, once blubbered over your book, and hesitated over the shapes of the letters. Therefore, gentlemen of Cambridge, bring your whole minds to bear upon this study, here concentrate your efforts. The variety of your studies need prove no impediment; for they who plead that excuse, forget that it is more laborious, by far, to toil over one thing long together, than over a variety of subjects. But the mind, forsooth, cannot safely be employed in many pursuits at once,—why not then advise the husbandman not to cultivate, in the same season, ploughed lands, vineyards, olive-grounds, and orchards? Why not dissuade the minstrel from taxing, at once, his memory, his voice, and his muscles? But, in truth, there is no reason whatever why you should not come to me, when deaf with listening to other teachers, and give at least a share of your attention to Greek. Variety will pleasantly beguile you of your weariness; for who among you can have the audacity to plead the want of leisure? We should lack no time for learning, were we only to give to study the hours we waste in sleep, in sports, in play, in idle talk. Deduct from each of these but the veriest trifle, and you will have ample opportunity for acquiring Greek. But if there be any who, after listening to my discourse, blush not to confess themselves blockheads and unteachable, let them be off to the desert and there herd with wild beasts! With beasts, did I say? They will be unworthy to associate even with these. For only the other day, there was an elephant exhibited in Germany who could trace, with his trunk and foot upon the sand, not only Greek letters but whole Greek sentences. Whoever then is so dense as to be unable to imbibe a modicum of Greek culture, let him know, that though more a man, he is in no way more

humane¹, as regards his educated faculties, than the dullest brute. You see, gentlemen of Cambridge, there's no excuse for you,—the capacity, the leisure, the preceptor, are all at your command. Yield not then to the promptings of indolence, but rather snatch the opportunity for acquirement. Otherwise, believe me, it will seem either that I have pleaded with you in vain to-day, or that you have been unmindful of the saying of Cato, *Fronte capillata post hæc occasio calva*.

Stripped of its Latin garb, the foregoing oration will appear occasionally wanting in the gravity that becomes the academic chair; but those familiar with the licence often indulged in on like occasions, up to a much later period, will make due allowance for the fashion of the time. The age of Grote and Mommsen may smile at a serious attempt to compare the merits of Numa and Lycurgus, or at the assemblage of names, mythical and historical, adduced to prove the estimation in which the Greek tongue was held in ancient times. Many of the audience, doubtless, stared and gasped, as the orator planted his standard at the line which, he declared, was the only true boundary of the grammarian's province in the realm of the Muses. Many a learned *sententiarius*, we may be well assured, listened with ill-disguised vexation at the claims set up in behalf of strictly biblical studies. But it was not easy to call in question the general reasonableness of the orator's arguments; and, at a time when the study of Greek is again on its defence, as an element in the ordinary course of study at our universities, it might not be uninteresting to compare the claims put forward three centuries and a half ago for its admission, with those which at the present day are urged on behalf of its retention. A comparison however more within the scope of the present pages may be found, if we proceed to contrast Croke's oration with the far better known address, entitled *De Studiis Corrigendis*, delivered by young Philip Melanchthon, before the university of Wittenberg, in the preceding year². Nor will the comparison be

Merits of the foregoing oration.

The oration compared with that delivered by Melanchthon at Wittenberg, 1518.

¹ Croke intends apparently a play upon the word *humanus*.—'Quisquis igitur adeo hebes es, ut nihil Græcarum litterarum imbibere queas, scias te magis hominem esse, sed ne se-

cundum quidem naturam editam magis humanum quam imperfectissima quæque animalia.'

² It may perhaps appear scarcely fair to compare the composition of a

altogether to the disadvantage of the Cambridge orator. To many indeed the oration delivered by the German professor will probably appear to be the expression of more strictly logical and philosophic habits of thought¹. The admirable outline in which he traces out the progress of learning from the fall of the Empire up to his own day,—an outline that contains scarcely a sentence that the modern critic would deem it necessary to expunge,—indicates the presence of the true historic spirit to an extent far beyond anything of the kind in Croke; nor is there any one passage in the Cambridge oration that can compare with that wherein Melanchthon touches upon the intimate affinities between the new learning and religious thought,—‘unrolling,’ as it has been eloquently said, ‘the hopeful picture of an approaching new era; shewing how the newly discovered mines of antiquity subserve the study of the Scriptures; how every art and science would, through the refreshing return to the sources, blossom anew, in order to present their spices to an ennobled human existence².’ Thought of this order lay somewhat beyond the range of Croke’s sympathies. But, on the other hand, if the purpose of the orator be really mainly to persuade, and the object of both Philip Melanchthon and Richard Croke was to prove to those who listened to them, that the study of Greek was not, as many would have them believe, a passing extravagance soon to be abandoned,—it may be fairly questioned whether the address delivered at Cambridge was not the more likely to produce the desired effect. If the oration of Melanchthon commends itself to the reason by its real learning and thoughtful, modest, earnest tone, that of Croke,—by its copious and

youth of one and twenty with that of a man of thirty; but Melanchthon was a singularly precocious genius.

¹ Compare, from Melanchthon’s own account, the arguments employed against Greek at Wittenberg with those used at Oxford and at Cambridge:—‘Germanicam juventutem paulo superioribus annis alicubi conatam in hoc felix certamen litterarum descendere, jam nunc quoque non pauci, velut e medio cursu com-

mento plusquam Thracico revocant: difficilior esse studium litterarum renascentium quam utilis; Græca a quibusdam male feriatis ingeniis arripi, et ad ostentationem parari; dubiæ fidei Hebræa esse; interim a genuino litterarum cultu perire; philosophiam desertum iri; et id genus reliquis conviciis.’ *Declamationes*, i 16.

² Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology* (Clarke’s Series), i 116.

apposite illustration,—its far greater command of an elegant Latinity,—its dexterous resort to the recognised weapons of the rhetorician,—and even its broad humour,—must, we cannot but think, have been the better calculated to win the suffrages of an enthusiastic and for the most part youthful audience.

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Within a short time after Croke delivered another oration,—but one inferior in interest to the first, and chiefly designed to confirm his scholars in their allegiance to Greek, in opposition to the efforts that were being made to induce them to forsake the study. It contains however one noteworthy passage, wherein he speaks of Oxford as *colonia a Cantabrigia deducta*, and again exhorts the university not to allow itself to be outstripped by those who were once its disciples. It was this passage that more particularly excited the ire of Anthony Wood, and induced him to rake up, by way of retaliation, the venomous suggestion of Bryan Twyne, that the 'Trojan' party at Oxford were the real Cambridge colony;—an assertion that certainly finds no countenance from anything in More's letter, and that may be looked upon as entirely gratuitous.

Croke's second oration.

Oxford 'a Cambridge colony.'

Retort of Anthony Wood.

That Croke's exertions found a fair measure of acceptance with the university may be inferred from the fact, that when in 1522 the office of Public Orator was first founded, Croke was elected for life; while it was at the same time provided, that when he had ceased to fill the office it should be tenable for seven years only. As a mark of special honour it was decreed, that the orator should have precedence of all other masters of arts, and should walk in processions and have his seat at public acts, separate from the rest¹. The salary however was only forty shillings annually; 'a place,' (to use Fuller's comment), 'of more honour than profit.'

Institution of the office of Public Orator, 1522.

Croke elected for life.

With regard to the amount of success that eventually attended Croke's efforts to awaken among the Cambridge students an interest in Greek literature, and to stimulate them to an active prosecution of the study, no more decisive testimony need be sought than is supplied by the hostile

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 305.

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John
Skelton,
b. 1460.
d. 1529.

pen of the poet Skelton. In a satire composed about the year 1521 or 1522, the writer represents, though with evident poetical exaggeration, this new growth of learning as overshadowing and blighting all the rest. The poet, who at this time was probably more than sixty years of age, was one who had won his earlier distinctions in the old paths; he had proceeded to his degree of master of arts so far back as 1484, and had subsequently been laureated not only at Cambridge but also at Oxford and Louvain. Few who have read his compositions with attention will deny that he possessed true genius. Erasmus, indeed, styles him *unum Britannicarum litterarum lumen et decus*; but this was written during his first visit to England, when his criticisms contained little but indiscriminate eulogy of all about him, and in this instance, as he was unable to read a line of English, could only have been the reflex of the estimate of others,—an estimate almost as exaggerated as Pope's epithet of 'beastly Skelton' is unjust. The animosity with which Skelton attacked Lilly, the grammarian, might alone lead us to infer that the poet sympathised but little with the new learning; and the following lines,—his indignant protest at the attention now given to Greek at Cambridge,—are evidently the expression of genuine alarm and dislike such as were shared by many at both universities at the time.

His satirical
verses on the
attention
now given to
Greek at
Cambridge.

'In *Academia* Parrot dare no probleme kepe;
For *Græce fari* so occupyeth the chayre,
That *Latinum fari* may fall to rest and slepe,
And *sylogisari* was drowned at Sturbrydge fayre¹:
Tryuyals and quadryuyals so sore now they appayre,
That Parrot the popagay hath pytye to beholde
How the rest of good lernyng is rousled up and troid.

'Albertus² *de modo significandi*,
And Donatus be dryuen out of scole;
Prisian's hed broken now handy dandy,

¹ For a complete collection of facts respecting this ancient fair, the existence of which is to be traced back as far as the thirteenth century, see *Life of Ambrose Bonwicke*, ed. Mayor, pp. 152—65. It was, in Skelton's time, and long afterwards, much resorted to by the undergraduates, and

generally completely interrupted for the time the studies of the university.

² Not, according to Warton, the great schoolman, but 'the author of the *Margarita Poetica*, a collection of *Flores* from the classic and other writers, printed at Nuremberg, 1472, fol.' *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, II 347.

And *inter didascolos* is rekened for a fole;
 Alexander, a gander of Menander's pole¹,
 With *De Consales*², is cast out of the gate,
 And *Da Racionales*³ dare not shew his pate⁴.'

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In the year following upon that in which Croke delivered his two orations the university was honored by a visit from cardinal Wolsey. Hitherto Cambridge had endeavoured with but little success to ingratiate herself with the omnipotent minister. In the year 1514, Fisher, on his appointment as one of the royal delegates to the Lateran council, had deemed it necessary to resign the chancellorship,—to which he had been regularly re-elected for ten successive years,—and at his suggestion Wolsey had been solicited to accept the office. We shall scarcely be justified in inferring from this fact, that Fisher himself did not attribute the heavy loss that St. John's College had sustained to the cardinal's influence⁵; but he doubtless felt that the power of the royal favorite had reached a point at which it became almost indispensable that the university should conciliate his good will, and, with his usual spirit of self-abnegation, waived his personal feelings out of regard for the general welfare. Wolsey did not accept the proffered honour. In a letter, wherein the pride that apes humility is conspicuous in almost every sentence, he declared that his numerous and important engagements rendered it impossible for him to accede to the wishes of the university; at the same time, he intimated that he should be glad to mark his sense of the honour done him, by serving them to

Thomas
 Wolsey.
 b. 1471.
 d. Nov. 1530.

His relations
 to Cam-
 bridge.

He declines
 the chancel-
 lorship.

¹ i.e. (according to Dyce) 'Mæander's pole,' the stream or pool of the famous river: for Alexander see *supra*, p. 515, n. 1. The poet seems to have confounded the Mæander with the Cayster. See *Iliad*, II 460.

² The *Concilia* or Canon Law.

³ Logic.

⁴ *Speke Parrot*, Skelton-Dyce, II 8-9.

⁵ In the revised editions of the statutes of St John's College (given by Fisher in the years 1524 and 1530), Wolsey's name is included in the list of benefactors for whom the prayers of the college are to be regularly offered up. This is probably attributable to the fact, that he used

his influence to obtain for the college the estates of the nunneries of Higham and Bromehall, as a partial compensation for the loss of the estates bequeathed by the founders; a loss, as we have seen, laid at his door. The forgiving spirit shewn by the college was certainly politic; but it is to be noted that the list of 'benefactors' also included the name of James Stanley, bishop of Ely, *cujus concessione domus vetus et attrita in collegium, quale nunc est, eximium sane, commutata est.* (!) Baker-Mayor, p. 88. *Early Statutes of St John's* (ed. Mayor), pp. 92, 310. Cf. *supra*, pp. 466-7.

CHAP. V.
PART II.Fisher elect-
ed for life.

the best of his power¹. Accordingly, as Fisher, in the sequel, did not go to Rome, and Wolsey declined the office, the university thought it could do no better than re-elect the former to the chancellorship for life; and thus, for nearly thirty years, John Fisher continued to represent the chief authority in the community which he so ably and faithfully served.

Wolsey visits
Cambridge,
1520.

The visit of the great cardinal to Cambridge was probably gladly hailed as a sign of his favour, and every effort was made to shew him an amount of respect in no way inferior to that which ordinarily greeted royalty itself. The streets were cleansed²; the pavement was repaired; swans and huge pike were brought in to grace the feast; and a temporary platform was erected at the place of his formal reception³. Imperial ambassadors and sundry bishops followed in his train. In the preceding year he had received the appointment of sole legate; and his power and wealth, and it must be added his arrogance and ostentation, were now nearing their culminating point. We have no details of the circumstances of his entry into the town, but it may be presumed it was marked by his customary display; and Roy, who afterwards described him as he was wont to appear in processions,

‘More lyke a god celestiall
Then eny creature mortall
With worldly pompe incredible,’

¹ ‘Studebo igitur non solum gratias quas possum maximas vestris humanitatibus agere; sed etiam dabo operam, ut quam sæpiissime (si quibus in rebus possim), non tam vobis pro meo virili gratificari, quam de omnibus et singulis vestræ universitatis, ubi locus et tempus crunt, bene mereri.’ See Fiddes, *Collections*, xxviii and xxix, p. 50.

² Mr Demaus observes, in connexion with Wolsey’s visit,—‘Not uncommonly the reception of such visitors was followed by a plague, so severe as to compel the discontinuance of the ordinary university work; and the explanation of this phenomenon throws a curious light (or shade?) upon the domestic manners of our ancestors. When any visitor

of rank was expected, special care was taken to cleanse the streets; and as they were usually dirty and unscavenged as those of an oriental city, the common receptacle for the filth and *débris* of the town, it is not surprising that the occasional stirring of this accumulated litter should beget a plague.’ *Life of Latimer*, p. 18. It is certain that, in this instance, the prevalence of the epidemic prevented for a time the re-assembling of the students in the following year. See Cooper, *Annals*, i 304.

³ Cooper, *Annals*, i 303. The reception, judging from the close of Bullock’s oration (see *infra*, p. 547), was at Great St Mary’s.

may not improbably have been a spectator on the occasion.

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But in the academic throng that went forth to meet the cardinal, the chancellor was not to be seen; and the fact could hardly have excited much surprise in the university; for it was probably well known that, within the last two years, the relations of Fisher to Wolsey had assumed a character which must have made it equally difficult for the former to give utterance to the customary phrases of congratulation and flattery, and for the latter to receive them through that channel as the expressions of even ordinarily genuine sentiments of regard. In the year 1518, Warham, whose efforts towards counteracting the widespread corruption of the clergy were strenuous and sincere, had summoned a council of the suffragans of his diocese for the purpose of discussing future plans of reform. But though Wolsey himself had only four years before received, at Warham's consecrating hands, his admission to the see of Lincoln, the cardinal and the legate *a latere* could not endure that any such council should have been summoned without his sanction, and he accordingly compelled the archbishop to recall his mandates¹. In order however to meet the views that found forcible expression in influential quarters, he subsequently convened another council for the purpose proposed by Warham; and Fisher, who looked upon the matter as one of paramount importance, had even deferred his journey to Rome in order to be present. When therefore the council at last met, and it was evident that nothing practical was designed,—but, to quote the language of Lewis, ‘the meeting was rather to notify to the world the extravagant pomp and

Fisher absent
on the occasion.

Relations of
Fisher to
Wolsey.

Fisher, at the
council of
1518, denounces the
pride and
luxury of the
superior
clergy.

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 68. Wolsey's language to Warham is worthy of note:—‘My lorde, albeit such and many other things, as be specially expressed in your said monicyons, be to be reformed generally through the church of England, as well in my province as in youre, and that being legate *a latere* to me chiefly it apperteyneth to see the reformation of the premyssis, though hyderto no in time coming, I have ne

woll exeunte any jurisdictioun as legate *a latere*, but only as shall stande with the King's pleasure; yet assured I am, that his grace woll not that I shulde be so lytle esteemed, that ye shulde enterpryse the said reformation to the expresse derogacyon of the said dignitee of the see apostolike, and otherwise than the law woll suffre you, without myne advyse, consent, and knowledge.’ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii 660.

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authority of the lord legate, than for any great good to the Church, in reforming the abuses and irregularities of the clergy,'—his disappointment was intense, and, rising from his seat, he gave free though dignified expression to feelings which were shared by not a few of those around. In language that admitted of but one construction, he proceeded to inveigh against the growing luxury, pride, covetousness, and worldliness of the superior clergy. 'How were they,' he demanded, 'to warn their flocks to shun the pomps and vanities of the world, while they themselves minded nothing more? What had bishops to do with princes' courts? If really desirous of reform on the part of their humbler brethren, they must first themselves, in their own persons, set an example of holy living and true devotion to their calling'. The high, the spotless, character of the speaker gave irresistible force to his appeal. Cambridge had never, perhaps, better cause for priding herself on her chancellor, than on that day; and many then present must have afterwards recalled the scene as one of the most memorable in their lives. The attention of the most careless observer could scarcely fail to have been arrested by the striking contrast between the characters of the great cardinal and the good bishop. Both high in the favour of the monarch to whose wrath they were ultimately alike to fall victims, but having won it by strangely dissimilar careers! The one so 'unsatisfied in getting,' that he was already the wealthiest ecclesiastic in the realm; the other so unambitious of preferment, that it came to him unexpected and unsolicited. The one with his visage so disfigured by a vicious life², that Holbein could paint him only in profile; the other with a face so emaciated by habits of long asceticism, that the same pencil has preserved to us the features of a mummy³. The one seeking to overawe the assembly, by the same energy of will and arrogance of demeanour that

Fisher and
Wolsey con-
trasted.

¹ Lewis, pp. 69-70.

² Skelton-Dyce, ii 62; Roy (ed. Arber), p. 58.

³ '—his face, hands, and all his body were so bare of flesh as is almost incredible; which was occa-

sioned in a great measure by the strict abstinence and penance to which he had long accustomed himself, even from his youth.' Lewis, ii 215.

had disconcerted even the majesty of France; the other pleading the cause of virtue and religion, with the calm dignity and graceful elocution, that had so often charmed the ears of royalty! 'After the delivery of this speech,' says one of Fisher's biographers, 'the cardinal's state seemed not to become him so well¹;' and we can well understand how it was that Fisher was not now among those who hastened to greet, with slavish adulation, the half-welcome half-dreaded guest on his arrival at Cambridge. Upon Bullock, at that time fellow of Queens' College, it devolved to deliver the congratulatory address.

Though the acts whereby Wolsey most startled not only the university but all England, were still in the future, his character must, by this time, have been tolerably well understood; his haughty nature and insatiable greed of flattery were notorious; and his state policy and administrative merits could not fail to be a constant topic of discussion at both Oxford and Cambridge. That his sympathies were chiefly with his own university is undeniable,—it was but natural that it should be so; and that learned body exulted not a little at the prospect of all the benefits which his favour might confer; while to its annalist, the name of Wolsey appears surrounded by a halo of virtues that language must fail adequately to describe. From mere policy however, Wolsey was not altogether disregarding of the sister university, and his household already included not a few Cambridge men. His subsequent biographer, Cavendish, had been educated at the university, and was now his gentleman usher. Burbank, the friend and correspondent of Erasmus, was his secretary, and a follower on this occasion in his train. In that train was also to be found Richard Sampson, another friend of Erasmus referred to in a preceding page, who was one of the cardinal's chaplains. Out of compliment to their patron, both Burbank and Sampson were now admitted to the degree of doctor of canon law². Shorton was subsequently made dean of his private chapel; he had perhaps already

Wolsey well understood at Cambridge.

¹ Baily (quoted by Lewis, i 71).

² Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 41, 119. Fiddes mentions also Dr Taylor, archdeacon

of Buckingham, as receiving the same honour on this occasion, and lays considerable stress on the compli-

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PART II.

attracted the cardinal's notice; for, within four years after, we find Wolsey availing himself of his assistance in connexion with his magnificent foundation at Oxford.

Bullock's
oration well
suited to the
occasion.

Whatever may be our opinion of the merits of Bullock's oration in other respects, it can hardly be doubted that it was well calculated to win the favour that it was designed to conciliate. Scarcely from the obsequious senates of Tiberius and Domitian did the incense of flattery rise in denser volume or in coarser fumes. In Wolsey the orator recognises not only the youth who at Oxford outshone all competi-

Grossness of
his flattery.

tors,—the man in whom all the virtues, *probitas, innocentia, pudor, integritas, religio*, were blended,—the masterly negotiator whose ability attracted the discerning eye of Henry VII,—the counsellor whose excellences had earned such loving favour from the reigning monarch,—the ecclesiastic whose services to the Church had been so highly honored by the supreme pontiff,—but he salutes him as the universal benefactor of his race. Wolsey it is, who shields the humble from the powerful, the needy from the rich, who rescues the innocent and simple from the meshes woven by the crafty and unscrupulous; he it is, who rebuilds the villages sinking into ruins through the avarice of wicked men, who gives back to the husbandmen the fertile acres converted by mercenary owners into sheep-walks. Nor is his power confined to Britain; it has extended its benign influence over the whole of Christendom. 'If,' says the orator, 'we ransack the past annals of the Church, the lives of pontiffs, in whom the virtues of cardinals so often again meet our view, we shall find that neither all the cardinals in any one age, nor any one cardinal in all the ages, achieved within so short a time such signal services to Europe. This Italy herself admits, prone though she be to praise only her own sons, and ready to yield to other nations anything rather than renown; this Germany confesses, where the common voice proclaims thee worthy of the pontiff's chair; this France acknowledges, whose most

Extolled by
foreign na-
tions.

ment thus paid to Wolsey, these doctors being admitted 'freely and fully,' 'as if they had performed the usual

exercises pre-required to that degree.' *Life of Wolsey*, p. 186.

Christian king of late declared, that he would prefer thee for his counsellor to half his realm; the Bohemians, the Poles, "the nations of the isles," in fine the whole globe resounds thy fame,—*eisdem sane finibus quibus ortus et occasus, tui nominis claritudo terminatur.*

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PART II.

His world-wide fame.

'Felix tellus,' exclaims the orator in conclusion, 'quæ te in lucem edidit; feliciores principes, quibus accessisti; felicissima respublica, quæ talem moderatorem sortita est. Et nos Cantabrigiarii non postremam sed vel primam felicitatis partem videmur adepti, non solum quod huic nostræ academix tam impense faves, adeo ut nonnullos ejus alumnos huic tuæ nobilissimæ adscripseris familiæ, beneficiisque non medicribus cumulaveris; sed quod nos tua præsentia longe suavissima ornare dignatus es, quod hunc tuum vultum multo gratiosissimum liceat intueri, hanc tuam celsitudinem amplecti; haud facile fuerit explicare quanto tripudio, quam hilari vultu, quam ingenti lætitia, salientibus præcordiis, tui adventus nuntios excepiamus. Facilius fuerit cuipiam æstimare quam nobis exprimere. Ipse vidisti quam exporrectis frontibus, quam blando ac sereno vultu, quam incredibili omnium applausu, certissimis non ficti pectoris testimoniis, exceptus es. Hi parietes, hæ columnæ, hæc subsellia, hoc sacrum, hi omnes denique scholastici videntur mihi non modo gestire sed et serio gloriari sese nobilitatos tali hospite. Utinam hæc nostra præcordia, has animi latebras, hos affectus, istis tuis vivacissimis oculis introspicere posses; tum clare deprehenderes, quam sinceriter, nullo asciticio colore, nullis phaleris, nullo fuco, hæc dicerentur. Ut enim opibus, ædium magnificentia, supellectilis gloria, ab aliis superemur, nemini concesserimus, hoc precati ut te propitium huic academix, ut omnibus solitus es, exhibeas patronum, Deus optimus maximus te in usus publicos quam diutissime conservet incolumem¹.'

Bullock's peroration.

The love of flattery must have been inordinate indeed in Wolsey, if language like this,—language which may well be permitted to remain veiled in the ornate Latinity of the original,—left him still dissatisfied. He went back from

Wolsey's victims at the universities.

¹ Fiddes, *Collections*, 43-5.

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PART II.Stafford,
duke of
Buckingham.

Skelton.

Pace.

Cambridge, having made splendid but indefinite promises. In the following year, the university learned that one of its former scholars and distinguished benefactors¹,—the courtly, munificent, chivalrous Stafford,—had perished on the scaffold, the victim as it was commonly believed of the resentment of this paragon of virtue. ‘The butcher’s dog,’ said Charles v, ‘has killed the fairest buck in England’². A few years more, and it saw one of its most brilliant geniuses, the poet Skelton, flying for shelter to the sanctuary at Westminster, there to end his days, a fugitive from the wrath of this eminent protector of the weak against the powerful. While at nearly the same time, it was told at Oxford how one of the most accomplished and blameless of her sons, the amiable Richard Pace,—whose virtues almost merited the praise that Bullock had heaped on Wolsey,—had become the object of equally fierce persecution at the same hands; until, in poverty and insanity, he exhibited a pitiable warning to all who should venture to cross the path of one so powerful and so merciless³. But to the great majority, proofs such as these of the cardinal’s might and energy of hate seemed only to prove

¹ Stafford was generally looked upon as the founder of Buckingham (afterwards Magdalene) College, where his portrait is still preserved. Cooper notices however that the college was certainly called Buckingham College before the duke’s time. In the University Calendar the foundation of Magdalene College is incorrectly assigned to the year 1519; but the foundation of Baron Audley belongs to the year 1542 (see Cooper, *Annals*, i 404), and consequently no account of the college is given in the present volume.

² Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 198. This was certainly the general belief at the time; cf. Roy’s comment,

‘Also a ryght noble prince of fame
Henry, the Duche of Buckingham,
He caused to die, alas, alas.’

(ed. Arber), p. 50.

Prof. Brewer (Preface to *Letters and Papers*, m exvi) has represented this view of the duke’s fate as taking its rise solely out of the misrepresenta-

tions of Polydore Vergil; ‘from whom,’ he says, ‘the calumny was derived and rests on no other authority.’ He also denounces Vergil’s narrative, which he shews to be incorrect in detail, as ‘a tissue of misrepresentation, exaggeration, and falsehood, devised by this partial historian to gratify his hostility to the cardinal.’ (p. cexl.) But, without laying any stress on the saying attributed to Charles v, it is certain that Roy’s satire was published about 1528; while the first edition of Vergil’s *Historia Anglica*, in which his account of Wolsey is to be found, was not published until 1534.

³ Richardus Pacæus qui regis sui nomine legatus ad nos venit, vir est insigni utriusque litteraturæ peritia præditus, apud regiam majestatem multis nominibus gratissimus, fide sincerissima, moribus plusquam niveis, totus ad gratiam et amicitiam natus.’ (Erasmî *Opera*, iii 441.) Pace lived however to survive his persecutor, and to regain, to some

the necessity of conciliating his favour at almost any price ; and at Cambridge it appeared of supreme importance to shew that the university was in no way inferior to her rival in solicitude for his good will and in deference to his authority. Oxford however had recently set an example of slavish and abject submission which it was not easy to outvie. In the year 1518, that venerable body had, to quote the language of Wood, 'made a solemn and ample decree, in a great convocation, not only of giving up their statutes into the cardinal's hands to be reformed, corrected, changed, renewed, and the like, but also their liberties, indulgences, privileges, nay the whole university (the colleges excepted), to be by him disposed and framed into good order¹.' It might appear impossible that such a demonstration of abject servility, as the surrender of the laws and privileges of an ancient and famous corporate body into the hands of one man, could be surpassed by the sister university. Cambridge, it might have been supposed, could but add to a like act of sycophancy the reproach of servile imitation. According however to Fiddes, the terms in which a similar measure, that passed the assembly of regents and non-regents in the year 1524, and received the common seal, was expressed, appear yet 'stronger, more specific and diversified.' 'To shew further,' he adds, 'how much they desired to augment the cardinal's authority, and to render it, if such a supposition might be made, yet more despotic, they complain as if they wanted words to denote the powers wherewith they moved he might be invested, and the absolute conveyance of their rights and privileges as an incorporable body to him....They desire their statutes may be modelled by his judgement, as by a true and settled standard. They consider him as one sent by a special divine providence from heaven for the public benefit of mankind, and particularly to the end they might be favoured with his patronage and protection. They salute

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PART II.

The university of Oxford places its statutes in Wolsey's hands to be altered at his pleasure.

This example followed by the university of Cambridge, 1524.

Fiddes's criticism on the tone of the letter of the university.

extent, both his mental powers and former emoluments. Erasmus writing to congratulate him on his recovery, just after the cardinal's fall,

says, 'Video non dormire numen, quod et innocentes eruit et feroces dejicit,' Jortin, i 147.

¹ Wood-Gutch, ii 15.

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PART II.

him by a title which even appears superior to that of "majesty" from the other university, but the proper force of which cannot, I believe, be expressed by any word of the language wherein I write. Though an extract of several other passages might be made from this submission, which discover the profound deference and esteem which that university then entertained of the cardinal, yet...I shall only observe that the powers here vested in him, were not limited to any determinate time, or such whereby himself, when he had once executed them, should be concluded, but they are granted for a term of life, and under such express conditions, that he might exercise them as often, in what manner, and according to what different sanctions he might think most expedient¹.

The above a humiliating episode in the history of both universities.

It must be admitted that the correctness of Fiddes's representations cannot be denied. An examination indeed of the original document² rather tends to enhance the impression conveyed in his description. When we find his 'most pious benignity' implored 'not to spurn or desert such humble clients,' or to turn a favoring regard upon 'his most humble and obsequious slaves³,' we feel that the phraseology of flattery must have been well-nigh exhausted. Our deduction from the facts must however differ somewhat from that of the Tory historian. This unmeasured self-abasement of two ancient and learned bodies, while forming a humiliating passage in their history, can surely tend but little to enhance our estimate of the cardinal himself. The sense of honour, the moral nature, must have been hopelessly blunted, in one who could imagine his own dignity enhanced by such degradation in such a quarter; and we gladly turn away from an

¹ *Life of Wolsey*, p. 185.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 307-9. 'Nos et unusquisque nostrum atque adeo gymnasium hoc universum, leges, sive scriptas sive non scriptas, statuta ordinationes et consuetudines quascunque (privilegiis et statutis particularium collegiorum semper salvis), eidem amplissimo Patri submittimus dedimusque humillime, talem in vos legesque nostras, statuta, ordinationes seu consuetudines, breviter ordina-

tiones omnes et singulas quocunque nomine vocitentur.....talem in nos et in hæc omnia prefato reverendissimo concedimus potestatem, ut pro libero animi sui arbitrio (quod non potest non esse gravissimum), jam constituta abroget, derogat, obroget, mutet, reformet, interpretetur, suppleat, adjuvet, corroboret, et omnem in partem verset et tractet.' *Ibid.*

³ 'Agnoscatque obsequentissimos servulos.'

episode creditable to none, thankful that the fact of the measure having remained altogether inoperative, absolves us from the necessity of further discussing its scope and character.

CHAP. V.
PART II.

It only remains to be noted, that, at nearly the same time that the foregoing supplication was agreed upon, a letter was also forwarded to the cardinal informing him that the university, from feelings of gratitude for the many favours he had bestowed upon them, proposed 'to appoint yearly obsequies for him, to be celebrated by all graduates, with the greatest solemnity.' In what these favours consisted does not appear. Cambridge possesses no foundations, scholarships, or exhibitions, that perpetuate the name of Wolsey. It is probable therefore, that reference is intended rather to the promotion of individual members of the university to appointments in his household or other posts of honour and emolument, like those mentioned by Bullock in his peroration, than to any permanent benefits conferred on the corporate body. The presence of queen Catherine at the university in the same year as Wolsey's visit, and that of king Henry himself, two years later, may perhaps be looked upon as indications that the favour of the cardinal had not been sought in vain. But he could scarcely have loved the university where Fisher was the man most potent and most esteemed. His genuine regard for learning, one of the bright phases of his character, found its fullest expression elsewhere; and it soon became known at Cambridge, that he was erecting at Oxford a new and splendid college, on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. By the royal licence, he received permission to endow it with a yearly revenue of £2000¹,—nearly three times the amount of the income of the wealthiest college at the sister university. The endowment however

Yearly obsequies appointed for Wolsey at Cambridge.

Royal visits to Cambridge.

Foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford, 1525.

¹ See Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv 670. The following contributions, levied upon different colleges at Oxford and Cambridge for the royal loan in 1522, are probably a fair index to their relative resources:—OXFORD.—Magdalen, £330; New, £336; Al Sowle, £200; Martyn, £133. 6. 8;

Corpus Christi, £133. 6. 8; Lincoln, 100; Oryal, £100; University, £50; Exeter, £40; Bayly £40; Queen's, £40. CAMBRIDGE.—King's, £333. 6. 8; King's Hall, £333. 6. 8; Queens', £200; Benet, £66. 13. 4; St John's, £100; Christ's £100. *Ibid.* iii 1048.

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PART II.Scholars
from Cam-
bridge placed
on the founda-
tion.

was not drawn from his own plethora of wealth, but represented,—an ominous sign for the monks,—the revenues of sundry suppressed monasteries¹. If any jealousy were felt at Cambridge, it was probably to some extent allayed, when the intelligence arrived that the cardinal was desirous of placing on his new foundation some of the most promising young scholars of their own university, in order that the infant society might from the first be distinguished by the presence of men of ascertained ability, and be known as a school of the new learning. How this part of his scheme was viewed at Oxford does not appear; but it was difficult to call in question, in connexion with the organisation of a college, the judgement of one who had just been nominated sole legislator of both universities. In many respects, again, Wolsey, who reflected the transitional tendencies of his time, was able by his reputation to disarm the apprehensions of the conservatives; and even those who regarded with distrust his partiality for Greek, were reassured when they recalled that his admiration for Aquinas had gained for him the epithet of *Thomisticus*². And here before we turn to note the previous history and subsequent fate of those who composed the little Cambridge colony at Cardinal College, it will be necessary to enter fully into the circumstances under which our own university was now about to pass through a new experience, which,—brief, tragical, and blood-stained though it be,—is yet one of the brightest chapters in her records, the commencement of that important part which she was ere long to play in the political and theological contests of England in the sixteenth century.

¹ Cardinal College itself was founded on the site of the suppressed monastery of St. Frideswide (Burnet-Poore, i 55). This was a bold step at that day. Even Jeremy Collier seems half suspicious that an apology is needed. 'If,' he says, 'we consider the new application, there will be no reason to charge the cardinal with sacrilege. For he did not alienate the revenues from religious service, but only made a change in the disposal. Now everybody knows,

these societies (*i.e.* colleges) are expressly dedicated to God Almighty.' Collier-Lathbury, v 20-21. See also Lewis's observations in his *Life of Fisher*, i 166-9. He there refers to a theory that the suppression of the nunneries at Higham and Bromhall, in connexion with St. John's College (see Baker-Mayor, pp. 88, 89), was 'a leading case' to the cardinal's measure.

² Fiddes, p. 252.

CHAPTER VI.

CAMBRIDGE AT THE REFORMATION.

WITH the third decade of the sixteenth century, we enter upon a period when the contentions of opposing theories of philosophy in the schools, and the warfare between the supporters of the old learning and the new, were for a time to be lost sight of in the all-absorbing interest of a religious struggle, more extended in its action and more momentous in its results than any that mediæval Europe had known.

It is significant of the complex character of the questions which the Reformation opened up, and of the variety of the interests it affected, that even at the present day there prevails the greatest diversity of opinion with respect to its real origin and essential character. By some writers it is regarded as the inevitable and natural result of that increased intellectual freedom, which, commencing with the earlier schoolmen and deriving new vigour from the habits of thought encouraged by the Humanists, culminated in a general repudiation of the mental bondage that had attended the long reign of mediæval theologians¹. Others maintain, that it consisted rather in a general rejection of both the dogmas and the speculation of the preceding ten centuries, and was a simple reversion to the tenets of primitive Christianity². A third school are disposed to consider it, so far at least as the movement in England is involved, as chiefly the outcome of political feeling, and having in its commencement but little reference to the question of doctrinal deve-

CHAP. VI.
THE REFORMATION.

Different theories respecting its origin.

A consummation of preceding movements.

A return to primitive Christianity.

A political movement.

¹ Lecky, *Hist. of Rationalism*, 1 285². Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity* ix³ 150, 266.

² D'Aubigné, *Hist. of the Reformation* (transl. by White), 1 16-17. Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, 1 2.

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A war of
races.
An assertion
of moral free-
dom.

A recoil from
the corrup-
tion of the
age.

A friars'
squabble.

A miscon-
ception.

lopement¹. That it rose out of a deep-rooted antagonism between the Latin and Teutonic races², that it was the assertion of the principle of individual freedom and individual responsibility³, that it was a revulsion from the widespread and utter corruption of the age, are views which the student of the period finds himself called upon to weigh against assertions to the effect that it grew out of nothing more dignified than a petty squabble between the Augustinian and Dominican orders⁴, that the age by which it was followed was not one whit less corrupt than that by which it was preceded⁵, or that it is to be attributed to a fatal error on the part of the Reformers, who confounded the essential and accidental phases of Catholicism,—the abuses of the times and the fashions of scholasticism, with the fundamental conceptions of the one universal and indivisible Church⁶.

¹ Dean Hook, *Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 37.

² Döllinger has not failed to note the use to which Luther skilfully converted the national antipathy in his invectives against 'die Wahlen,' as he was wont to style the Italians. *Kirche und Kirchen*, p. 11. See Luther's *Tischreden*, Waleh xxii 2365.

³ A view recently reiterated by Prof. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 326³. See Hallam's sensible observations on this theory, *Lit. of Europe*, i⁷ 382. 'Historisch ist nichts nrichtiger, als die Behauptung, die Reformation sei eine Bewegung für Gewissensfreiheit gewesen. Gerade das Gegentheil ist wahr. Für sich selbst freilich haben Lutheraner und Calvinisten, ebenso wie alle Menschen zu allen Zeiten, Gewissensfreiheit begehrt, aber Andern sie zu gewähren, fiel ihnen, wo sie die Stärkeren waren, nicht ein.' Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, p. 68.

⁴ 'Personne n'ignore que ce zèle de réforme tant vanté, et sous le prétexte duquel on a bouleversé l'Eglise et l'Etat dans une grande partie de l'Europe, a eu pour principe une misérable jalousie entre moines mendiants au sujet de la prédiction des indulgences. Léon x fit publier en 1517 une croisade contre les Turcs, et il y attachait des indulgences, dont

il faut avouer que le but n'était pas bien canonique ni exempt d'intérêt. La commission de prêcher les indulgences en Saxe se donnait communément aux Augustins. Elle fut donnée aux Jacobins. Voilà la source du mal, et l'étincelle chétive qui a causé un si furieux embrasement. Luther, qui était Augustin, voulut venger son ordre que l'on privait d'une commission fructueuse.' Crevier, v 134-5. This was the view on which Voltaire insisted:—'Un petit intérêt des moines, qui s'enviaient la vente des indulgences, alluma la révolution. Si tout le Nord se sépara de Rome, c'est qu'on vendait trop cher la délivrance du purgatoire à des âmes dont les corps avaient alors très-peu d'argent.' Quoted by Laurent, *La Réforme*, p. 431.

⁵ 'Neither authentic documents, nor the literature and character of the times, nor, if national ethics are essentially connected with national art, its artistic tendencies, warrant us in believing that the era preceding the Reformation was more corrupt than that which succeeded it.' Brewer, *Introd. to Letters and Papers*, iii ccccxvi.

⁶ Moehler, *Symbolik*, p. 25. Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, pp. 25—30.

An investigation of the merits of these different theories, or rather of the comparative amount of truth that each embodies, would obviously be a task beyond our province; it will suffice to note the illustration afforded by our special subject of the real nature of the movement in our own country. Nor can it be said that the light thus to be gained is dim or uncertain, or that at this great crisis our Cambridge history still lies remote from the main current of events; for it is no exaggeration to assert that the origin of the Reformation in England is to be found in the labours of the lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge from the years 1511 to 1514¹, while its first extension is to be traced to the activity of that little band of Cambridge students who were roused by those labours to study, enquiry, and reflexion.

The Reformation in England begun at Cambridge.

We have already cited facts and quoted competent authority to shew that the Reformation was not a continuation of the reform commenced by Wyclif². Though the term Lollardism still served, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, to denote forbidden doctrines, political or religious, the movement itself had been effectually repressed. It has indeed been long customary with writers of a certain school, to speak of Wyclif as 'the morning star of the Reformation;' and to such an epithet there can be no objection, if, at the same time, we are not required to acquiesce in the old fallacy of *post hoc, propter hoc*, and are at liberty to hold that Wyclif was no more the author of the Reformation, than the morning star is the cause of day. It was the New Testament of Erasmus,—bought, studied, and openly discussed by countless students, at a time when Wyclif's Bible was only

Not a development from Lollardism,

but to be traced to the New Testament of Erasmus.

¹ 'It was not Luther or Zwinglius that contributed so much to the Reformation, as Erasmus, especially among us in England. For Erasmus was the man who awakened men's understandings, and brought them from the friars' divinity to a relish of general learning. He by his wit laughed down the imperious ignorance of the monks and made them the scorn of Christendom: and by his learning he brought most of the

Latin fathers to light and published them with excellent editions and useful notes, by which means men of parts set themselves to consider the ancient Church from the writings of the fathers themselves, and not from the canonists and schoolmen.' Stillingfleet (quoted by Knight, p. vii). See to the same effect Burnet-Pocock, i 66-7.

² See supra, pp. 274-5.

CHAP. VI. obtainable at ten times the price, and rendered the reader in whose hands it was discovered liable to the penalty of death, —that relit the extinct flame; and the simple confession of Bilney, in his letter to Tunstal, supplies us with the true connecting link: ‘but at the last,’ he says, ‘I hearde speake of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latine than for the word of God (for at that time I knew not what it meant), I bought it, even by the providence of God, as I doe now wel understand and perceive¹.’

Bilney's
testimony.

Proclama-
tion of in-
dulgences
by Leo X.,
A.D. 1516.

Those who may have occasion to consult the work to which our own obligations have been so numerous,—Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*,—will find that there is but one year in the sixteenth century, the year 1517, under which the indefatigable compiler could find nothing that he deemed deserving of record. And yet, in this same year, the whole university was startled by an event as notable and significant as any in its history. In the preceding year, as is well known, Leo X had sent forth over Europe his luckless proclamation of indulgences. The effects of the suicidal policy of preceding popes, which led them to seek the aggrandisement of their own families in the alienation of the fairest possessions of the Church, had been for some time more and more sensibly felt by each successive pontiff, and were exceptionally intensified by the lavish expenditure of Leo. His proclamation was a last expedient towards replenishing an exhausted treasury. Each copy of the proclamation was accompanied by a tariff of the payments necessary for the expiation of every kind of crime; and though by many of the Humanists the proceeding was treated with open ridicule, the great majority of the devout only saw therein a heaven-sent opportunity for securing their religious welfare. Copies were of course forwarded to all the universities; and on the arrival of a certain number at Cambridge, it devolved on Fisher, as chancellor, to give them due publicity. The good bishop received them, apparently nothing doubting, and

A copy of
the pro-
clamation
affixed by
Fisher to the
gate of the
common
schools.

¹ Foxe-Cattley, iv 635.

ordered that, among other places, a copy should be affixed to the gate of the common schools. The same night, a young Norman student, of the name of Peter de Valence, wrote over the proclamation, *Beatus vir cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias falsas ISTAS*. When with the morning the words were discovered, the excitement was intense. Fisher summoned an assembly, and, after explaining and defending the purpose and nature of indulgences, named a day, on or before which the sacrilegious writer was required to reveal himself and to confess his crime and avow his penitence, under pain of excommunication. On the appointed day Peter de Valence did not appear, and Fisher with manifestations of the deepest grief pronounced the dread sentence¹. It is asserted by one of Fisher's biographers, a writer entitled to little credit, that eventually De Valence did come forward, made open confession of his act, and received formal absolution². The statement however is not supported by any other authority, nor is the question of its accuracy material to our present purpose. But our thoughts are irresistibly recalled by the story to that far bolder deed done in the same year at Wittenberg, —when, on the eve of All Saints' day, one of stouter heart than the young Norman, pressing his way at full noon through the throng of pilgrims to the doors of the parish church, there suspended his famous ninety-five theses against the doctrine of indulgences³.

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Act of Peter de Valence.

His excommunication.

The whole aspect of affairs seemed to change when the sturdy figure of Martin Luther strode into the foreground. Up to that time, it is undeniable that there had been much to warrant the hopes of those who looked forward to a moderate and gradual reform within the Church, by means of the

Prospects of reform prior to A.D. 1517.

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i 62-6.

² Baily, *Life of Fisher*, pp. 26-7, 'A book which when lately in manuscript, I then more prized for the rarity, than since it is now printed I trust for the verity thereof.' Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 196.

³ There seem to be no data for determining whether Luther's or De Valence's was the prior act; but in nei-

ther case is there any reason for inferring that the one suggested the other. There had long before been observable in the universities a growing distrust of this superstition. Both Jacob von Jüterbrock at Erfurt, and John Wessel, his disciple, at Maintz and Worms, attacked the doctrine in more than one treatise. See Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology*, p. 75.

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diffusion of liberal culture and sounder learning. Erasmus, writing a few months later, records in triumphant tones the progress of the Humanists in every nation in Christendom¹.

Events of the
year 1516.

The year 1516 had witnessed not a few significant indications that the growing intelligence of the educated class was more and more developing in antagonism not merely to specific doctrines but to the whole spirit of mediæval theology. It was, as we have already seen, the year in which the *Novum Instrumentum* of Erasmus appeared, in which Reuchlin triumphed over the machinations of his foes, in which Fox, at Oxford, so boldly declared himself on the side of innovation. In the same year there had also appeared the famous

*Epistolæ
Obscurorum
Virorum.*

Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, that *πάρεδρος* to the *Encomium Moriæ*, which, emerging from an impenetrable obscurity, smote the ranks of bigotry and dulness with a yet heavier hand; which, in the language of Herder, 'effected for Germany incomparably more than Hudibras for England, or Garagantua for France, or the Knight of La Mancha for Spain.' Then too was given to the world the *De Immortalitate Animæ* of Pomponatius, wherein a heresy that involved

Pomponatius
*De Immor-
talitate.*

all other doctrinal belief, was unfolded and elaborated with a candour that the transparent artifice of *salva fide* could not shield from punishment². While finally, in the *Utopia* of

*Utopia of
More.*

More, the asceticism of the monk was rejected for the theory of a life that followed nature, and the persecutor, for the first time for centuries, listened to the plea for liberty of conscience in matters of religious belief. Amid indications like these of extending liberty and boldness of thought,—though monasticism no longer sympathised with letters and the Mendicants were for the most part hostile to true learning,—

Hopes of the
Humanists.

there were yet not a few sincere and enlightened Catholics who looked forward to the establishment throughout Europe

¹ 'Nunc nulla est natio sub Christiana ditione in qua non omne disciplinarum genus (invisis bene fortunantibus) eloquentiæ majestatem eruditionis utilitati adjungit.' *Erasmi Opera*, III 350.

² Pomponatius did not, as has often been asserted, himself deny the immortality of the soul. He simply

reargued more at length the question which had already been discussed by Averroes (see *supra*, pp. 115-7). His denial extended only to the *philosophic evidence*, and he readily admitted the authority of revelation. His book was however burnt by the inquisitors of Venice and placed in the *Index*.

of a community of men of letters, who while, on the one hand, they extended the pale of orthodox belief, might, on the other, render incalculable service to the diffusion of the religious spirit. Learning and the arts, protected and countenanced by the supreme Head of the Church, would in turn become the most successful propagandists, and would exhibit to the nations of Christendom the sublime mysteries of an historic faith in intimate alliance with all that was best and most humanising in the domain of knowledge. Such at least was undoubtedly the future of which men like Erasmus, Melancthon, Reuchlin, Sadolet, More, Colet, Fisher, and many others were dreaming; when athwart this pleasing creation of their fancy there rushed the thundercloud and the whirlwind; and when after the darkness light again returned, it was seen that the old familiar landmarks had disappeared, and like mariners navigating in strange waters, the scholar and the theologian sounded in vain with the old plummet lines, and were compelled to read the heavens anew.

Turning now to trace the progress at Cambridge of that movement of which Peter de Valence's act was perhaps the first overt indication, we perceive that the protest of the young Norman really marks the commencement of a new chapter in our university history. Hitherto it would seem to have been the pride of Cambridge that novel doctrines found little encouragement within her walls. A formal theology, drawn almost exclusively from mediæval sources, was all that was taught by her professors or studied by her scholars. To Oxford she resigned alike the allurements of unauthorised speculation and the reproach of Lollardism. It was Lydgate's boast that

—'by recorde all clarks seyne the same
Of heresie Cambridge bare never blame¹.'

But within ten years after Erasmus left the university, Cambridge was attracting the attention of all England as the centre of a new and formidable revolt from the traditions of the divinity schools.

¹ See Appendix (A).

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Thomas
Bilney.
b. 1500 (?).
d. 1531.

His eccentric
character.

His account
of his spiri-
tual ex-
periences.

Among the scholars of Trinity Hall who came up to the university soon after Erasmus was gone, was a native of Norfolk, one Thomas Bilney; who to the reputation of an indefatigable student united two less enviable claims to distinction. The one, that of being of very diminutive stature, —which caused him to be generally known as ‘little Bilney’, —the second, that of being possessed by an aversion to music that amounted to a monomania. It is a story told by Foxe, that the chamber immediately under Bilney’s was occupied by Thirleby, afterwards bishop of Ely, who, at this time at least, was as devoted to music as Bilney was averse; and whenever Thirleby commenced a tune, sprightly or solemn, on his recorder, Bilney, as though assailed by some evil spirit, forthwith betook himself to prayer. Even at church the strains of the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* only moved him to lamentation; and he was wont to avow to his pupils that he could only look upon such modes of worship as a mockery of God². By the worldly-minded young civilians and canonists of Trinity Hall, it was probably only looked upon as a sign that Bilney’s craze had taken a new direction, when it became known that he was manifesting a morbid anxiety about his spiritual welfare,—that he fasted often, went on lengthened pilgrimages, and expended all that his scanty resources permitted in the purchase of indulgences. The whole need not a physician; and to his fellow students, the poor enthusiast could scarcely have been a less perplexing enigma than Luther to the friars at Wittenberg. In an oft-quoted passage he has recorded in touching language, how completely the only remedies then known in the confessional for the conscience-stricken and penitent failed to give him peace. ‘There are those physicians,’ he says in his letter to Tunstal, ‘upon whom that woman which was twelve years vexed had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as at the last she came unto Christ, and after she had once touched the hem of his

¹ In this respect Bilney resembled his celebrated contemporary and fellow-worker, Faber or Lefevre, the reformer of Paris, to whom indeed

he presents in many respects a singular likeness. See Beza *Icones*.

² Foxe-Cattley, iv 621.

garment through faith, she was so healed that presently she felt the same in her body. Oh mighty power of the Most Highest! which I also, miserable sinner, have often-tasted and felt. Who before that I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physicians, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession, so that there was but small force of strength left in me, which of nature was but weak, small store of money, and very little knowledge or understanding; for they appointed me fastings, watching, buying of pardons, and masses: in all which things, as I now understand, they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and perishing soul¹.

There is perhaps no passage in the records of the Reformation in England, that has been more frequently cited than this, by those whose aim has been to demonstrate the existence of an essential difference between the spirit of the mediæval and Romish Church, and the spirit of Protestantism,—between the value of outward observances and a mechanical performance of works, and that of an inwardly active and living faith. But it may at least be questioned whether this contrast has not been pressed somewhat beyond its legitimate application. That the clergy throughout Europe, for more than a century before the Reformation, were as a body corrupt, worldly, and degenerate, few, even among Catholic writers, will be ready to deny; and as was the manner of their life, such was the spirit of their teaching. But that this corruption and degeneracy were a necessary consequence of mediæval doctrine is far from being equally certain; nor can we unhesitatingly admit, that if Bilney, at this stage of his religious experiences, had been brought into contact with a spirit like that of Anselm, Bonaventura, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas a Kempis, or Gerson, he would not have found in considerable measure the consolation that he sought. But men like these were not to be found among the priestly confessors at Cambridge in Bilney's day, and he accordingly was fain to seek for mental assurance and repose elsewhere. It was at this juncture that, as we have already

The contrast instituted by Bilney perhaps somewhat too much insisted upon by Protestant writers.

¹ *British Reformers*, i 267.

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Bilney reads
the New
Testament of
Erasmus.
Change in his
religious
views.

seen, attracted rather by his tastes as a scholar than by the hope of lighting upon new truth, he began to study the *Novum Testamentum* of Erasmus. It was the turning-point in his spiritual life. He became a strenuous opposer of the superstitions he had before so assiduously practised; and, though he retained to the last his belief in purgatory and in transubstantiation, was soon known as a student and admirer of the earlier writings of Luther. Notwithstanding his eccentricities, his honest earnest spirit and high attainments won for him the hearing of the more thoughtful among his associates: while his goodness of heart commanded their sympathy. 'I have known hitherto few such,' wrote Latimer to Sir Edward Baynton, in reviewing his career, 'so prompt and so ready to do every man good after his power, both friend and foe: noisome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable, so seeking to reconcile them as he did, I have known yet not many, and to be short, in sum, a very simple good soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world'. By Foxe he is styled 'the first framer of the universitie in the knowledge of Christ,' and he is undoubtedly to be looked upon as, for some years, the leading spirit of the Cambridge Reformers.

His character
as drawn by
Latimer.

His converts
at Trinity
Hall.

In his own college Bilney's converts were not numerous; nor should we look to find a keen interest in theological questions in a society professedly devoted to legal studies. It is also probable that any open declaration of novel opinions would there have soon been met by repressive measures, for among the more influential members of the college at this time, was Stephen Gardiner,—already distinguished by his attainments not only in the canon and civil law but also in the new learning,—who in 1525 succeeded to the mastership². We meet however with a few names that indicate the working of Bilney's influence. Among these was Thomas Arthur, who in 1520 migrated to St. John's, having been elected a fellow of that society on the nomination of the bishop of Ely³, and who about the same time was

Thomas
Arthur,

¹ Latimer-Corrie, II 330.

² Cooper, *Athenæ*, I 139.

³ *Ibid.* I 46.

appointed master of St. Mary's Hostel. There was also a young man of good family, named William Paget, afterwards lord high steward of the university and a watchful guardian of its interests. He is said to have delivered a course of lectures in the college on Melanchthon's Rhetoric, and to have actively circulated Luther's earlier writings¹. One Richard Smith, a doctor of canon law, perhaps completes the list of Bilney's followers among his fellow-collegians. In another relation however his influence is to be far more distinctly traced. Local associations, as we have before noticed², retained their hold, in those days, even among university men, with remarkable tenacity; and Bilney, as a native of the county of Norfolk, found his chief sympathisers and supporters among Norfolk men³. Among this number was Thomas Forman, a fellow of Queens' College, and subsequently for a short time president of the society. He was somewhat Bilney's senior, and his position in the university enabled him to be of signal service in secreting and preserving many of Luther's works when these had been prohibited by the authorities⁴. In the year 1521, the governing body of the same college received from queen Catherine a letter desiring them to elect to a vacant fellowship another Norfolk man, a native of Norwich, of the name of John Lambert. He had already been admitted bachelor and his attainments were considerable, but from some unassigned cause his master and tutors declined to give the usual certificate of learning and character. The election however was ultimately made, and Lambert was soon numbered among

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William
Paget.and Richard
Smith.
His influence
especially
perceptible
among na-
tives of his
own county
of Norfolk.Thomas
Forman of
Queens'.John
Lambert of
Queens'.

¹ In so doing, it would seem that he must have managed to evade detection at the time, for he was subsequently taken by Gardiner into his household, when the latter became bishop of Winchester. See Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 221.

² See *supra*, p. 239.

³ It is of course also to be remembered that Norfolk, from its traffic with the continent, was one of the counties that first became acquainted with Luther's doctrines, but this would apply to the eastern counties

generally. Strype, speaking of Nix, says, 'Some part of his diocese was bounded with the sea, and Ipswich and Yarmouth, and other places of considerable traffic, were under his jurisdiction. And so there happened many merchants and mariners, who, by converse from abroad, had received knowledge of the truth, and brought in divers good books.' *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 42.

⁴ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 37; Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 202.

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Bilney's converts, and subsequently played a conspicuous part in connexion with the new movement¹. Another Norfolk man, of about Bilney's academic standing, was Nicholas Shaxton, fellow of Gonville Hall, and also president of the society; in after life, as bishop of Sarum, though his sympathies were certainly with the Reformers, he brought no little discredit on the cause by a vacillating policy and at one time by actual recantation; but during his residence at Cambridge he seems to have boldly advocated Lutheran doctrines, and under his influence the college probably received that bias which caused Nix, the malevolent and worthless bishop of Norwich, to declare at a later time, that he had heard of no clerk coming from the college 'but savoured of the frying-pan, spake he never so holily².' From the county of Norfolk came also John Thixtill, fellow of Pembroke, a warm supporter of the Reformation and also known as an able disputant in the schools; but the most conspicuous of all those who, from their intercourse with Bilney as his countymen, were led to adopt his religious opinions, was undoubtedly Robert Barnes, a Norfolk man from the neighbourhood of King's Lynn, and at this time prior of the community of Augustinian friars³ at Cambridge.

The Augustinians would seem at this period to have generally deserved the credit, whatever that might be worth, of being the least degenerate, as they were the least wealthy⁴, of the four Mendicant orders. They shewed evidence of being actuated by a more genuine religious sentiment and

Nicholas
Shaxton of
Gonville
Hall.

Gonville
Hall noted
for its sym-
pathy with
the Re-
formers.

John Thix-
till of
Pembroke.

Robert
Barnes,
prior of the
Augustinian
friars.

Character of
the Augus-
tinians as a
body.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 67.

² *Ibid.* i 158. Nix was a member of Trinity Hall and founded three fellowships in that society. 'A vicious and dissolute man, as Godwin writes.' Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, pp. 40, 694-6.

³ It may be of service here to distinguish between the Augustinian *canons* (or *canons regular*), and the Augustinian *friars*, as existing at this period at Cambridge. The former were represented by the priory at Barnwell and the dissolved community of the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John; the latter, over whom

Barnes presided, had their house on the site of the old Botanical Gardens, to the south of what was formerly known as the Peas Market. The former order was first established in 1105; the latter first came to England in 1252. See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi 38, 1591; Cole MSS. xxxi 213; Wright and Jones, *Memorials*, vol. ii; Baker-Mayor, p. 48.

⁴ They do not appear to have received, like the Franciscans and Dominicans at both universities, any grants from the crown. See Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii 365.

were distinguished by a more unselfish activity. At Oxford CHAP. VI. they had almost engrossed the tuition of grammar¹, and at one time were noted for giving their instruction gratuitously². The houses of their order in Germany had listened to many a discussion on grave questions of Church reform, long before either Luther or Melancthon made their appeal to the judgement and conscience of the nation. At Cambridge their church, as not included within the episcopal jurisdiction, gave audience on more than one occasion to the voice of the reformer, when all the other pulpits were closed against him; while tradition attributes to a former prior of the same house, one John Tonnys, the credit of having aspired to a know- John Tonnys, d. 1510. ledge of Greek, at a time when the study had found scarcely a single advocate in the university³. In the year 1514 Barnes, then only a lad, had been admitted a member of this community; and, as he gave evidence of considerable promise, was soon after sent to study at Louvain, where he Barnes sent to study at Louvain. remained for some years⁴. The theological reputation of that university at this period, led not a few Englishmen to give it the preference to Paris; and during Barnes' residence it acquired additional lustre by the foundation of the famous *collegium trilingue*. The founder of the college, Jerome Jerome Busleiden. Busleiden, a descendant of a noble family in the province of Luxembourg, was distinguished as a patron of letters and well known to most of the eminent scholars of his age. His reputation among them not a little resembles that of our Richard of Bury, and Erasmus describes him as *omnium librorum emacissimus*⁵. It need scarcely be added that, with tastes like these, he was an ardent sympathiser with the Humanists in their contests at the universities. Dying in the year 1517, he left provision in his will for the foundation Foundation of the collegium trilingue, A.D. 1518.

¹ Anstey, *Introd. to Munimenta Academica*, p. lxiii.

² 'Et quia magistri scholarum apud fratres Augustinenses, in disputationibus ibidem habitis, sine mercede graves sustinent labores, magistri autem grammaticæ sine laboribus ad onus universitatis salaria percipiunt, ideo statuimus et ordinamus, quod ipsa summa data magis-

tris grammaticæ convertatur ad usum magistrorum scholarum apud fratres Augustinenses.' *Ibid.* p. 363.

³ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* i 74.

⁵ Nève, *Mémoire Historique et Littéraire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à l'Université de Louvain* (1856), p. 40.

CHAP. VI.

of a well-endowed college, which, while similar in its design to the foundation of bishop Fox at Oxford, represented a yet bolder effort in favour of the new learning, being exclusively dedicated to the study of the three learned languages,—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The measure was singularly opportune; for the party whom it was designed to aid, though now inspirited by the presence of Erasmus in their midst, was still but a small minority; and Barnes, during his sojourn at Louvain, must have witnessed not only the rise of the new college, but also many demonstrations, on the part of the theologians, of jealousy and alarm, almost as senseless and undignified as those of which Oxford was at the same time the scene¹. He remained long enough however to see the star of the Humanists manifestly on the ascendant; and returned to Cambridge an avowed champion of the cause and with largely augmented stores of learning. With him came also one William Paynell, who had been his pupil at Louvain, and who now cooperated with him as a teacher at Cambridge². Under their united efforts the house of the Augustinian friars acquired a considerable reputation; and many a young student now listened within its walls, for the first time and with wondering delight, to the pure Latinity and graceful sentiment of Terence, Plautus, and Cicero. It is evident however that a follower of Erasmus could scarcely rest content within these limits of innovation; the lectures on the classics were soon followed by lectures on the Scriptures; and Barnes, in the language of Foxe, ‘putting aside Duns and Dorbell³,’—this is to say the schoolmen and the

Jealousy of
the conser-
vatives.

Barnes re-
turns to
Cambridge
with Paynell.

His lectures
on the Latin
classics.

Barnes lec-
tures on the
Epistles of
St. Paul.

¹ ‘Quand le nouveau collège venait d’être ouvert près du marché aux Poissons, des étudiants de la faculté des arts, excités peut-être par l’un ou l’autre de leur maîtres ou bien par leur mépris naturel pour les belles-lettres, prenaient plaisir à crier partout:—*Nos non loquimur Latinum de foro Piscium sed loquimur Latinum matris nostræ facultatis.*’ *Ibid.* p. 62. Andrea, *Fasti Academici studii generalis Lovaniensis*, p. 277.

² Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 78.

³ Nicholas de Orbellis or Dorbellus (d. 1155), was one of the best of the

multitudinous commentators on Petrus Hispanus. Prantl (*Gesch. d. Logik*, iv 175) speaks of him as ‘ein viel geleseener und häufig benutzter Autor, welcher (abgesehen von seiner Erläuterung des Sententiarus und der aristotelischen Physik) zu Petrus Hispanus einen umschreibenden und zugleich im Einzelnen reichlich belehrenden Commentar verfasste.’ Dorbellus says in his preface, ‘Juxta doctoris subtilis Scoti mentem aliqua logicalia pro juvenibus super summulas Petri Hispani breviter enodabo.’ In one of his prefaces we

Byzantine logic,—next began to comment on the Pauline Epistles. CHAP. VI.

It is evident from the testimony of contemporaries, that Barnes' lectures were eagerly listened to and commanded respect by their real merit¹; but whatever might have been the views of the academic authorities, the lecturer was beyond their control. There is however good reason for believing that his efforts formed a precedent for a similar and yet more successful innovation, shortly afterwards commenced by George Stafford within the university itself. This eminent Cambridge Reformer was a fellow of Pembroke and distinguished by his attainments in the three learned languages²; and on becoming bachelor of divinity was appointed an 'ordinary' lecturer in theology. In this capacity, as a recognised instructor of the university, he had the boldness altogether to discard the Sentences for the Scriptures³,—a measure that could scarcely have failed to evoke considerable criticism; but the unrivalled reputation and popularity of the lecturer seem to have shielded him from interference, and for four years, from about 1524 to 1529, he continued to expound to enthusiastic audiences the Gospels and Epistles. Among his hearers was a Norfolk lad, the celebrated Thomas Becon, who in after years, and perhaps with something of the exaggeration that often accompanies the reminiscences of youth, recorded his impressions of his instructor's eloquence. His sense of the services rendered by his teacher to the cause of Scriptural truth, was such that he even ventures to hazard

George Stafford, M.A. 1523. d. 1529.

He lectures on the Scriptures instead of the Sentences.

Becon's estimate of the value of his services.

meet, for the first time, with the oft-quoted memorial verses on the subjects embraced in the *trivium* and *quadrivium*,

'Gram' loquitur, 'Dia' vera docet,
'Rhet' verba colorat,
'Mus' canit, 'Ar' numerat, 'Ge'
ponderat, 'Ast' colit astra.

¹ 'Surely he [Barnes] is alone in handling a piece of Scripture, and in setting forth of Christ he hath no fellow.' *Latimer to Cromwell*, Latimer-Corrie, II 389.

² 'A man of very perfect life, and approvedly learned in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues.' Becon,

Jewel of Joy (ed. Ayre), 426.

³ That is to say, exactly like Luther at Wittenberg, Stafford chose to be a *doctor biblicus* rather than a *doctor sententiarum*. This step, which D'Aubigné and others have spoken of as a previously unheard-of innovation, was of course strictly within the discretion permitted by the statutes, though the Scriptures had been for a long period almost totally neglected by the lecturers appointed in the universities. See *supra*, p. 363, n. 2; Walch, xvi 2061; Mathesius, *Lutheri Vita*, p. 7.

CHAP. VI. a doubt, whether Stafford's debt of gratitude to St. Paul was not fully equalled by St. Paul's obligations to Stafford,—so successful was the latter in exhibiting, in all their native vigour and beauty of thought, the divinely inspired eloquence and wisdom which had before been hopelessly obscured by the 'foolish fantasies and elvish expositions of doting doctors'¹.

Barnes and Stafford dispute in the divinity schools.

Concurrently with these efforts both Barnes and Stafford ventured on the yet bolder course of challenging for their new method of instruction the attention of the schools. The former indeed was throughout his career distinguished rather by zeal than discretion², and shortly before Stafford commenced his 'act' as bachelor of divinity, began to appear as a disputant on *questiones* bearing on Christian doctrine, and taken in all probability from the New Testament. According to Foxe, Stafford, as a bachelor keeping his 'act' in the schools, was called upon to reply to Barnes and was the prior's first respondent. 'Which disputation,' says the Martyrologist, 'was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly spirited³.'

Barnes converted to Bilney's religious views.

After a renunciation of the old for the new learning, and of scholastic for scriptural divinity, the surrender of mediæval for apostolic doctrine was easy,—perhaps inevitable. It was not long before the prior was himself, in turn, called upon to

¹ 'I doubt whether he was more bound to blessed Paul for leaving those godly epistles behind him, to instruct and teach the congregation of God, whereof he was a dear member, or that Paul, which before had so many years been foiled with the foolish fantasies and elvish expositions of certain doting doctors, and, as it were, drowned in the dirty dregs of the drowsy dunces, was rather bound unto him, seeing that by his industry, labour, pain, and diligence, he seemed of a dead man to make him alive again, and putting away all unseemliness to set him forth in his native colours; so that now he is both seen, read, and heard not without great and singular pleasures of them that travail in the studies of his most godly epistles. And as he

beautified the letter of blessed Paul with his godly expositions, so likewise did he learnedly set forth in his lectures the native sense and true understanding of the four evangelists, vividly restoring unto us the apostles mind, and the mind of those holy writers, which so many years before had lien unknown and obscured through the darkness and mists of the Pharisees and papists.' Becon, *Jewel of Joy* (ed. Ayre), 426. For an illustration of Stafford's method of lecturing see Latimer-Corrie, i 440.

² Latimer in writing to Cromwell in 1537 evidently implies that he considers Barnes to be wanting in 'moderation and temperance of himself.' Latimer-Corrie, ii 378.

³ Foxe-Cattley, v 415.

listen to arguments which he found it hard to refute, and was added to the number of Bilney's converts. Under the combined efforts and influence of these three,—Bilney, Barnes, and Stafford,—the work of reform went on apace; while at the same time the introduction of new contributions to the literature of the cause began to give to the movement at Cambridge a more definite aim and a distincter outline.

In the year 1520 appeared those three famous treatises by Luther¹, wherein by general consent is to be recognised the commencement and foundation of the doctrines of the Reformers². From their first appearance it was seen that the religious world was now called upon to choose not merely

Appearance
of Luther's
early
writings.

¹ These were (1) *The Au den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (an address to the nobles of Germany on the Christian condition); (2) *The De Captivitate Babylonica*; (3) *The Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*. In the first of these Luther attacks the Romish distinction between the rights of the laity and of the clergy in the Church; developing, in contradistinction, the idea of the independent Christian state on the basis of a universal Christian priesthood. He also disputes the claim of the pope to be the sole interpreter of Scripture, and denies his exclusive right to convene oecumenical councils. He next proceeds to indicate propositions of reform to be discussed at a general free council; and, in particular, demands a reformation of the whole system of education, from the grammar school to the university, and the displacement of the Sentences for the Bible. He also advises the rejection of all Aristotle's writings that relate to moral or natural philosophy, but is willing that the Organon, the Rhetoric, and the Poetics should continue to be studied. The whole host of commentators are however to be abolished. The studies he most strongly recommends are Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, mathematics, and history, of which last he says, 'welche ich befehle verständigen, und sich selbst wohl geben würde, so man mit Ernst nach einer Reformation trachtete; und fürwahr viel daran gelegen ist.' Walch, x

370-80. The *De Captivitate Babylonica* was a fierce attack on the special dogmas of Romanism; instead of seven sacraments Luther admitted only three,—baptism, the Lord's Supper, and repentance. A lengthened analysis of this is given in Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, c. xi. The third treatise is comparatively free from the polemical element, and is devoted to an exposition of the working of faith and love as living principles in the true believer. An able criticism of each work is given by Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology* (Clark's series), i 97-113.

² 'It is the Reformation proclaimed in these writings and no other, which the German nation has accepted.' Dorner, *Ibid.* 'In diesen Schriften that sich zwischen der neuen Lehre und der alten Kirche ein Abgrund auf, der nicht mehr überbrückt werden konnte. Verwerfung der ganzen kirchlichen Ueberlieferung und jeder kirchlichen Autorität, Aufstellung eines Dogma über das Verhältniss des Menschen zu Gott, von welchem der Urheber selbst bekannte, dass es seit den Zeiten der Apostel bis auf ihn der ganzen Kirche unbekannt geblieben sei, diese Dinge traten unverhüllt hervor. Die Forderung lautete nicht mehr wie bis dahin: dass die Kirche sich reformiren solle an Haupt und Glieder, sondern auflösen solle sie sich, und das Gericht der Selbstzerstörung an sich vollziehen.' Döllinger, *Kirche und Kirchen*, p. 67.

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These writings handed over to the Sorbonne for examination.

Rapid spread of the Lutheran doctrines in the eastern counties and at Cambridge.

Wolsey adverse to extreme measures.

Luther burns the papal bull at Wittenberg.

between conservatism and reform, but between conservatism and revolution, and that a new path, altogether independent of that of the Humanists, had been struck out, leading—few could venture to say whither. At Paris, these writings were handed over for examination to the doctors of the Sorbonne,—and Crevier represents all Europe as waiting for the decision of that learned body¹. But in England the decision that was most anxiously awaited was undoubtedly that of the London Conference. The rapidity with which the new doctrines were spreading in this country, soon became a fact that it was impossible to disguise, and fully justified the confidence with which the Lutherans in Germany anticipated the responsive echo on the English shores. ‘We will send them to England,’ said the German printers, when the nuncio Aleander notified that Luther’s works were prohibited throughout the empire; and to England the volumes were sent. The commercial intercourse between the eastern counties and the continent rendered their introduction a matter of comparative ease; and Cambridge, drawing as she did a large proportion of her students from those districts, was necessarily one of the earliest centres that became familiarised with the Lutheran doctrines². Nix, furious at the spread of heresy in his diocese, called loudly for repressive measures. Wolsey however, who saw how impolitic would be a system of violent repression amid such unmistakeable proofs of the tendency of popular feeling, shewed little eagerness to play the part of a persecutor, and pleaded that his powers from Rome did not authorise him to order the burning of Lutheran books³. But on the tenth of December, 1520, Luther still further roused the fury of his antagonists, by publicly burning the papal bull, along with sundry volumes of the canon law, at Wittenberg. It was then that Wolsey convened a conference in

¹ Luther’s writings were condemned by the Sorbonne to be burnt, April 21, 1521.

² The rapid spread of Luther’s writings in Europe is remarkable. The writer of the able article on the Reformer in Herzog’s *Real-Encyclopædie* (viii 578) states that even in

1519 they had penetrated into France, England, and Italy; and Erasmus writing so early as May 15, 1520, to Eccolampadius, states that they had narrowly escaped being burned in England. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii 284.

³ *Ibid.* iii 455.

London, to sit, as the Sorbonne had long been sitting, in judgement on the obnoxious volumes. In these proceedings some of the most influential men at Oxford and Cambridge took part, and about three weeks after the Sorbonne had given its decision, the conference arrived at a similarly adverse conclusion¹. The Lutheran treatises were publicly burnt, on the twelfth of May, in the churchyard at Paul's Cross²; and Fisher, in a sermon delivered on the occasion in the presence of Wolsey and numerous other magnates, not only denounced the condemned volumes as heretical and pernicious, but in his excess of religious zeal and indignation, declared that Luther, in burning the pope's bull, had clearly shewn that he would have burnt the pope too had he been able. The saying was not forgotten; and a few years after, when Tyndale's New Testament was treated in like fashion, the translator caustically observed, that the bishops in burning Christ's word had of course shewn that they would willingly have also burnt its Divine Author³.

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Wolsey convenes a conference in London. Decisions of the Sorbonne and the London Conference. Luther's books burnt at Paul's Cross, May 12, 1521. Fisher's sermon against Luther.

Within two days after Fisher's sermon, Wolsey issued his mandates to all the bishops in England, 'to take order that any books, written or printed, of Martin Luther's errors and heresies, should be brought in to the bishop of each respective diocese; and that every such bishop receiving such books and writings should send them up to him⁴.' And before the Easter term was over similar conflagrations were instituted at both universities,—that at Cambridge being held under the joint auspices of Wolsey, Fisher, and Bullock⁵.

Wolsey authorises a general search for Luther's writings.

Luther's books burnt at Oxford and Cambridge.

¹ 'Whereupon after consultation had, they' [the authorities at Oxford] 'appointed Thomas Brinknell, about this time of Lincoln College, John Kyn-ton, a Minorite, John Roper, lately of Magdalen College, and John de Coloribus, doctors of divinity, who meeting at that place divers learned men and bishops in a solemn convocation in the cardinal's house, and finding his doctrine to be for the most part repugnant to the present used in England, solemnly condemned it: a testimony of which was afterwards sent to Oxford and fastened on the dial in St. Mary's churchyard by Nicholas Krat-

zer, the maker and contriver thereof, and his books also burnt both here and at Cambridge.' Wood-Gutch, ii 19.

² Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii 485.

³ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, ii 21; De-maus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 150.

⁴ Strype; *Memorials*, i 55-6.

⁵ Wood (see *supra*, note 1) is right in placing these conflagrations in 1521. Cooper (*Annals*, i 303-4), who took his extracts of the proctors' accounts from Baker and has regularly placed them at the beginning of each year, has thus left it to be inferred that the burning at Cambridge took place in 1520-1; and R. Parker

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King Henry
and Fisher
write against
Luther.

Then, in the following year, king Henry himself compiled his celebrated polemic, *Contra Martinum Lutherum Heresiarchon*; and in 1523 appeared Fisher's *Assertionis Lutherane Confutatio*. Yet still, in spite of pope, king, chancellor, and lawgiver, the religious movement at Cambridge continued to gather strength, and to the systematic study of the Scriptures there was now added that of the Lutheran doctrines.

Meetings of
the Reform-
ers at Cam-
bridge.

It was not possible however to treat the edicts of Rome, enforced as they were by the action of the authorities in England, with an indifference like that which had confronted the denouncers of Erasmus's New Testament, and a policy of caution and secrecy had now become indispensable. It was accordingly resolved to appoint a place of meeting where discussions might be held in comparative freedom from the espionage of the college. On the present site of the Bull Inn or closely adjacent to it, there stood in those days the White Horse Inn, at that time the property of Catherine Hall¹. A lane, known as Mill Street, passed then as now to the rear of the buildings that fronted the main street, and afforded to the students from the colleges in the northern part of the town, the means of entering the inn with less risk of observation². The White Horse was accordingly chosen as the place of rendezvous; and as the meetings before long

The 'White
Horse.'

(*Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 197), actually states that it was in 1520. But the following entries by the proctors (*Grace Book*, B 411, 416), coming as they do at the conclusion of the entries for the Easter term, 1521, clearly shew that the proceedings were consequent upon the decision of the conference held in London:—
• *Expensa Senioris Proctoris*: 'Item solutum Petro bedello misso domino Cardinali et Cancellario cum literis pro operibus Lutheri, 20s.' *Expensa Junioris Proctoris*: 'Item solvi doctori Bullocke pro expensis Londini circa examinationem Lutheri ad mandatum domini Cardinalis, 53s. 4d.' 'Item doctori Umfrey pro ejus expensis in consimili negotio, 53s. 4d.' 'Item doctoribus Watson et Ridley pro eorum expensis in eodem negotio, £5. 6s. 8d.' 'Item doctori Nycolas gerenti locum

vice Cancellarii pro munere quod dedit tabellario domini Cardinalis, 4s.' 'Item eidem pro consimili munere dato tabellario Regine, 4s.' 'Item eidem pro potu et aliis expensis circa combustionem librorum Martini Lutheri, 2s.'

¹ 'The sign of the White Horse remains, but it appears doubtful if the old White Horse mentioned by Strype in his *Annals*, has not given way to the Bull Inn: especially as all that ground does belong to Catherine Hall, and there is no record of the college having parted with the White Horse, which was once their property.' Smith, *Cambridge Portfolio*, p. 364. Mr Smith conjectures, from an indenture referred to in the register of Catherine Hall, that the White Horse stood 'on the site now occupied by Mr Jones's house and the present King's Lane.' *Ibid.* 531.

² Strype, *Memorials*, I 568-9.

became notorious in the university, and those who frequented them were reported to be mainly occupied with Luther's writings, the inn became known as 'Germany,' while its frequenters were called the 'Germans.' With these increased facilities the little company increased rapidly in numbers. Their gatherings were held nominally under the presidency of Barnes, whose position enabled him to defy the academic censures, but there can be no doubt that Bilney's diminutive form was the really central figure. Around him were gathered not a few already distinguished in the university and destined to wider fame. From Gonville Hall came not only Shaxton, but also Crome the president of that society, and John Skip, who subsequently succeeded, like Shaxton, to the office of master,—a warm friend, in after life, of the Reformers, and at one time chaplain to Anne Boleyn. Undergraduates and bachelors stole in, in the company of masters of arts. Among them John Rogers (the protomartyr of queen Mary's reign) from Pembroke, with John Thixtill of the same college,—the latter already university preacher, and one whose *ipse dixit* was regarded as a final authority in the divinity schools. Queens' College—perhaps, as Strype suggests, not disinclined to cherish the traditions of the great scholar who had once there found a home,—sent Forman its president and with him Bilney's ill-fated convert, John Lambert; and not improbably Heynes, also afterwards president of the college and one of the compilers of the first English liturgy. John Mallory came in from Christ's; John Frith from King's; Taverner, a lad just entered at Corpus, and Matthew Parker, just admitted to his bachelor's degree, came perhaps under the escort of William Warner, 'up' from his Norfolk living. Such were the men who, together with those already mentioned as Bilney's followers, and many more whose names have passed away, made up the earlier gatherings in 'Germany.'

The inn becomes known as 'Germany.'

Barnes presides at the meetings. Shaxton, Crome, Skip, Rogers, Thixtill, Forman, Lambert, Heynes, Mallory, Frith, Taverner, Parker, Warner, and many others attend the meetings.

In the old-fashioned inn, as at the meetings of the primitive Christians, were heard again,—freed from the sophistries and misconstructions of mediæval theology,—the glowing utterances of the great apostle of the Gentiles. There also,

Character of their proceedings.

CHAP. VI. for the first time, the noble thoughts of Luther sank deeply into many a heart; while his doctrines, if not invariably accepted¹, were tested by honest and devout enquiry and by the sole standard of Scriptural truth. To men who had known many a weary vigil over the fanciful and arid subtleties of Aquinas or Nicholas de Lyra, this grand but simple teaching came home with power. Turning from a too absorbing study of tessellated pavement, elaborate ornament, and cunning tracery, their eyes drank in, for the first time, the sublime proportions of the whole. The wranglings of the theologians and the clamour of the schools died away and were forgotten in the rapture of a more perfect knowledge. 'So oft,' said one of the youngest of the number, as in after years he looked back upon those gatherings, 'so oft as I was in the company of these brethren, methought I was quietly placed in the new glorious Jerusalem².'

It was a favorite mode of expressing contempt among those who disliked the movement at the time, and one which has been adopted by some modern writers, to speak of those who thus met, and of the Cambridge Reformers generally, as 'young men;' but the ages of Barnes, Coverdale, Arthur, Crome, Latimer, and Tyndale, are sufficient to shew that the reproach thus implied of rashness and immaturity of judgement was far from being altogether applicable. And on the other hand it is to be remembered that it is not often among men in middle life, in whom the enthusiasm of youth has subsided, whose opinions are fully formed, and round whom social ties have multiplied, that designs like those of these Cambridge students are conceived and carried out. That those designs were not adopted until after long and earnest counsel and thought will scarcely be denied; and if in the final ordeal some lacked the martyr's heroism, it is also to be remembered, that as yet the sentiments which most powerfully sustained the resolution of subsequent Reformers were partly wanting, and that religious conviction was not as yet rein-

The Cambridge Reformers not all young men.

Circumstances that plead in their behalf in connexion with their subsequent career.

¹ Barnes (see *infra*, p. 580) appears, at least while at Cambridge, not to give his assent to Luther's doctrinal theology, and this was certainly the

case with others, as for instance Matthew Parker and Shaxton.

² Becon-Ayre, ii 426.

forced by the political feeling with which the Reformation afterwards became associated, when the Protestant represented a widespread organisation actuated by a common policy, which it was regarded as treachery to desert. CHAP. VI.

It was not long before intelligence of the meetings at the White Horse and of the circulation of Luther's works in the university, reached the ears of the ecclesiastical authorities in London, and some of the bishops are said to have urged the appointment of a special commission of enquiry, but the proposal was negatived by Wolsey in his capacity of legate¹. Wherever indeed the cardinal's personal feelings and interests were not involved, it must be acknowledged that his acts were generally those of an able, tolerant, and sagacious minister. It is probable moreover that in the designs which he had already conceived in connexion with the property of the monasteries, he foresaw the opposition and unpopularity which he should have to encounter from those whose interests would be thereby most closely affected; he would therefore naturally be desirous of enlisting on his side the goodwill of the opposite party, and at Cambridge the sympathies of that party with the new doctrines were too obvious to be ignored. Unfortunately it was not long before he was compelled to adopt a different policy; and the indiscretion of the leader of the Reformers at Cambridge soon gave their enemies the opportunity they sought. Their meetings reported in London.

On the eve of Christmas-Day, 1525, Barnes was preaching in St. Edward's Church². We shall hereafter be better able to explain how it was that he was preaching there instead of in the church of his own convent. His text, taken from the Epistle of the day³, was one which might well have Wolsey declines to appoint a commission of enquiry.

¹ 'When reports were brought to court of a company that were in Cambridge...that read and propagated Luther's books and opinions, some bishops moved in the year 1523, that there might be a visitation appointed to go to Cambridge, for trying who were the fautors of heresy there. But he, as legate, did inhibit it (upon what grounds, I cannot imagine), which was brought against him afterwards in parliament (art. 43

of his impeachment).' Burnet-Pocock, i 70.

² It will be observed that by preaching in a parish church Barnes brought himself under the chancellor's jurisdiction.

³ *Phil.* iv 4: 'Rejoice in the Lord alway: and again I say, Rejoice. Let your moderation be known unto all men.' Foxe adds that he 'postilled the whole Epistle, following the Scripture and *Luther's Postil*.' (Foxe-

Barnes' sermon, Christmas Eve, A.D. 1525.

CHAPTER VI. caused him to reflect before he indulged in acrimony and satire. But controversial feeling was then running high in the university; and among his audience the prior recognised some who were not only hostile to the cause with which he had identified his name, but also bitter personal enemies. As he proceeded in his discourse, his temper rose; he launched into a series of bitter invectives against the whole of the priestly order; he attacked the bishops with peculiar severity; nor did he bring his sermon to a conclusion before he had indulged in sarcastic and singularly impolitic allusions to the 'pillars and poleaxes' of Wolsey himself¹.

Articles
lodged
against him
with the vice-
chancellor.

We can hardly doubt that these censures and allusions constituted the real gravamen of his offence; but the passages noted by his hostile hearers served to furnish a list of no less than five-and-twenty articles against him. Among these he was accused of denouncing the usual enjoined observance of holy days and of denying that such days were of a more sacred character than others,—of affirming that men dared not preach the 'very Gospel,' for fear of being decried as heretics,—of objecting to the magnitude of the episcopal dioceses, and generally attacking the pride, pomp, and avarice of the clergy,—the *baculus pastoralis*, the orator was reported to have said, 'was more like to knocke swine and wolves in the heed with, than to take shepe;' 'Wilt thou know what their benediction is worth?—they had rather give ten benedictions than one halfpenny².'

Barnes is
confronted
with his
accusers
before the
vice-chan-
cellor in the
schools.

Early in the ensuing week Barnes learned that articles of information had been lodged against him with the vice-chancellor, and at once proposed that he should be allowed to explain and justify himself in the same pulpit on the

Cattley, v 415); another of those incautious statements of the Martyrologist that so often land us in doubt and difficulty. Compare Barnes' own statement, *infra* p. 580.

¹ See Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Singer), p. 44; and compare Roy, *Rede me* etc. (ed. Arber) p. 565.

'After theym folowe two laye men
secular,
And eache of theym holdynge a
pillar

In their hondes steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his
mule
Trapped with golde under her
cule
In every poynt most curiously.
On eache syde a pollaxe is borne
Which in none wother use is
worne,
Pretendynge some hid mistery.'

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 313-5.

following Sunday. Unfortunately the vice-chancellor for that year, Natares, master of Clare, was avowedly hostile to the Reformers; Foxe indeed does not hesitate to style him, 'a rank enemy of Christ.' He responded accordingly to Barnes' proposition by inhibiting him from preaching altogether, and summoning him to answer the allegations contained in the foregoing articles. The matter was heard in the common schools; and according to Barnes' own account, the doors were closed against all comers, and he was left to contend single-handed with Natares, Ridley (the uncle of the Reformer), Watson, the master of Christ's, a Dr. Preston, and a doctor of law, whose name, at the time that he composed his narrative, he had forgotten¹. The articles having been read over, the prior gave in a general denial of the respective allegations; he admitted having used some of the phrases or expressions that they contained, but even these, he said, had been most unfairly garbled. 'Would he submit himself?' was the peremptory demand of the vice-chancellor; to which he replied, that if he had said aught contrary to the Word of God, or to the exposition of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, or of 'the four holy doctors,' he would be content to recall it. 'Or to the laws of the Church,' added Ridley and Preston; but to this he demurred, on the plea that as he was not a doctor of law he knew not what was included in that phrase. At this stage of the proceedings there came a loud thundering at the doors. It had become known throughout the university that Barnes was undergoing the ordeal of an examination, and that his judges and accusers were denying him a public hearing; and the students, now hurrying *en masse* to the common schools, demanded admittance. The bedell endeavoured to pacify them, but in vain. Then Natares himself appeared at the entrance; but, though 'he gave them good and fair words,' his remonstrances were equally unsuccessful. 'They said it appertained to learning, and they were the body of the university;' and finally the hearing of the matter was adjourned.

The proceedings interrupted by a demonstration on the part of the students.

¹ 'Theire was also one mayster Fooke, and mayster Tyrell whiche was appoynted amonge them to be the presenter of these artycles.' *Ibid.* i 316.

CHAP. VI.

He is again examined at the lodge of Clare, and the proceedings are again interrupted.

He refuses to sign a revocation.

Wolsey resolves on energetic measures.

Search made for Lutheran books.

Barnes is arrested and conveyed to London.

Is tried before Fisher and other bishops at Westminster.

Within a few days after, Barnes was summoned to the lodge at Clare College, and subjected to a further cross-examination by the same authorities; and again a similar demonstration on the part of the university put a stop to the proceedings. An interval of about a month followed, during which no further overt measures were resorted to; but during that time Watson and Preston prepared a form of revocation to which they called upon Barnes to affix his signature; but as the document implied the correctness of the articles originally preferred against him, he declined to do this until he had first consulted with eight of his friends, among whom were Bilney and Stafford, and the result of his conference was a formal refusal.

In the meantime his enemies had not been idle in London; and when Wolsey heard how his 'pillars and poleaxes' had been singled out for scorn, his tolerance was at an end. A Dr. Capon and a serjeant-at-arms named Gibson were forthwith despatched to the university with instructions to make strict search for Lutheran books and to bring the prior to London. On their arrival they were enabled, by information treacherously supplied, to go straight to the different hiding places where the poor 'Germans' had concealed their treasures. They were however forestalled by Forman, the president of Queens', who gave private warning to his party; and when the inquisitors entered the different college rooms, and took up planks and examined walls, the objects of their search had already been removed. Barnes, who had either received no warning or scorned to fly, was arrested in the schools and brought to London; and soon found himself face to face with Wolsey in the gallery at Westminster. At first his natural intrepidity and confidence in the justice of his cause sustained him. Even in that dread presence before which the boldest were wont to quail, he still defended his theory of bishoprics, and dared to say that he thought it would be more to God's honour if the cardinal's 'pillars and poleaxes' were 'coined and given in alms.' But the interview with Wolsey was succeeded by the public ordeal in the chapter-house, before six bishops (of whom Fisher and

Gardiner were two), and other doctors. So far as may be inferred, Fisher inclined to a favorable view of the matter; and when the first article, charging Barnes with contempt for the observance of holy days, was read over, he declared that he for one 'would not condemn it as heresy for a hundred pounds;' 'but,' he added, turning to the prior, 'it was a foolish thing to preach this before all the butchers of Cambridge.' On the other hand, Clerk, bishop of Bath and Wells¹, who had recently been promoted to that see in acknowledgement of his services against the Lutheran party, was evidently little disposed to mercy, and pressed more than one point with vindictive unfairness against the accused. The proceedings, extending over three days, followed the course almost invariably pursued when the accused was a clergyman. There was a great parade of patristic and scholastic divinity; a continual fencing in dialectics between the bishops and the prior; the usual recourse to threats, subterfuges, entreaties; and at last, the sole alternative before him being death at the stake, Barnes consented to read aloud before the assembled spectators the roll of his recantation. The story cannot be better concluded than in his own words:—

'Then was all the people that stode ther, called to here me. For in the other thre dayes, was there no man suffered to here one worde that I spake. So after theyr commandement that was gyven me, I red it, addyng nothyng to it, nor saying no word, that might make for myn excuse, supposyng that I shuld have founde the byshops the better.

His own narrative of the conclusion.

'After this I was commaunded to subscribe it, and to make a crosse on it. Than was I commaunded to goe knel downe before the byshop of Bathe, and to require absolucion of hym, but he wolde not assoyle me, except I wold first swere, that I wolde fulfyll the penaunce that he shuld enjoyn to me. So did I swere, not yet suspectyng, but these men had had some crom of charite within them. But whan I had sworne, than enjoyed he me, that I shuld retourne that nighte agayne to prisone. And the nexte day,

¹ He had been educated at Cambridge, though at what college does not appear.

CHAP. VI. which was fastyngame Sunday, I shuld do open penaunce at Paules.

‘And that the worlde shulde thynke that I was a merveyulous haynous heretyke, the cardynal came the nexte daye, with all the pompe and pryde that he could make, to Paules Church, and all to brynge me poor soule out of conseite. And moreover were ther commaunded to come all the byshoppes that were at London. And all the abbotes dwellynge in London, that dydde were myters, in so muche that the pryour of sainte Mary’s Spittal, and another monke, whyche I thinke was of Towre Hylle, were ther also in theyr myters. And to set the matter more forthe, and that the worlde shulde perfytly knowe and perceive, that the spiritual fathers had determined my matter substancially, the byshop of Rochester must preache ther that same daye, and all his sermon was agaynst Lutherians, *as though they had convicted me for one: the whyche of truth, and afore God, was as farre from those thinges as any man coulede be, savynge that I was no tyraunt nor no persecutour of God’s worde.* And al this gorgyous fasyng with myters and cros-staves, abbotes, and pryours were doone, but to blynde the people, and to outface me. God amende all thyng that is amisse¹.’

In the sequel Barnes was sentenced to imprisonment in the house of his order at Northampton. From thence, after nearly three years’ confinement, he effected his escape and fled to Germany. Here he made the acquaintance of many of the leaders of the Lutheran party. It is evident however, that, though his career was terminated at the stake, he only partially embraced the doctrines of Protestantism; and from the time of his recantation his history can no longer be associated with that of the Cambridge Reformers.

But before Barnes was lost to the cause, there had been added to the reform party another convert, who, if inferior to the prior in learning, was at least his equal in courage and oratorical power, and certainly endowed with more discretion and practical sagacity. This man was the famous Hugh Latimer. At the time that Barnes preached his Christmas

Hugh
Latimer.
b. 1485 (?).
d. 1555.

¹ *The Supplication of doctour Barnes, etc.*, (quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, i 322).

Eve sermon, Latimer was probably over forty years of age, and his adhesion to the new doctrines had not been given in until long after the time when such a step could justly be represented as that of a rash and enthusiastic youth. A fellow of Clare College, he was distinguished in the earlier part of his career by everything that could inspire the confidence and esteem of the grave seniors of the conservative party. He was studious, ascetic, devout, and of irreproachable life; and without being altogether unversed in the new learning, he nevertheless shewed a far greater liking for the old; he looked upon Greek with suspicion, nor does he appear indeed ever to have made any real attainments in the language; he inveighed with warmth against Stafford's innovations, and even went so far, on one occasion, as to enter the schools and harangue the assembled students on the folly of forsaking the study of the doctors for that of the Scriptures; while at the time that the rising genius of Melancthon at Wittenberg first began to challenge the admiration of the learned throughout Europe, he availed himself of the opportunity afforded when keeping his 'act' for the degree of bachelor of divinity, in 1524, to declaim with all his power against the principles advocated by the young German Reformer¹. There were not many among the party whose cause he had espoused who combined high character with marked ability, and the authorities lost no opportunity of shewing their appreciation of his merit. He was invested with the honorable office of crossbearer to the university, in the public processions; he was elected one of the twelve preachers annually appointed as directed by the bull of Alexander VI; nor are other indications wanting to prove that he was regarded as a fit person to represent the university in negotiations of an important and confidential nature².

CHAP. VI.
His early career and character.

He attacks Melancthon.

His position in the university.

Among those who listened to Latimer's harangue against Melancthon was 'little Bilney.' He perceived that the orator was 'zealous without knowledge,' and determined, if possible, to open his eyes to the truth. The plan he adopted

He is converted by Bilney.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 130; Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, c. 11.

² See *infra*, p. 584, n. 3.

CHAP. VI. in order to accomplish his purpose, was judiciously conceived; he sought out Latimer, not as an antagonist in the schools, but in the privacy of his college chamber; not as one who by virtue of superior wisdom assumed the office of a spiritual instructor, but as a penitent who sought his counsel and direction. He asked Latimer to hear his confession, and Latimer acceded to his request; and in his own words, spoken long afterwards, 'learned more than before in many years¹.' In short, the confessor became the convert of him to whom he listened; and it was soon known throughout the university, that the saintly crossbearer, the denouncer of Luther and Melancthon, had himself gone over to the 'Germans.' In Latimer's own quaint language, 'he began to smell the Word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries.' The date of his conversion is assigned by his latest biographer to the earlier part of the year 1524, and from that time he became the intimate friend and associate of Bilney, in whose company he was now generally to be found; one particular walk where they were frequently to be seen, engaged in earnest converse, was known among their satirists as the 'Here-tics' Hill.' Together they visited and comforted the sick; preached in the lazar-cots or fever hospitals; their charity extending even to the helpless prisoners confined in the tolbooth and the castle.

He becomes
Bilney's in-
timate
associate.

Effects of
Latimer's ex-
ample.

The influence of Latimer's example,—unimpaired as it was by eccentricities like Bilney's or indiscretion like that of Barnes,—soon began to be perceptible in the university; his converts were important and numerous; and frequent reports at last aroused the attention of the bishop of the diocese.

¹ 'We cannot doubt what the tenor of Bilney's confession would be. Latimer had just been denouncing the study of the Holy Scripture as dangerous to the soul, and had recommended his hearers to seek for peace and spiritual life in implicit obedience to the teaching of the Church and the prescriptions of her ministers. In reply to all this, Bilney would repeat the touching story of his own spiritual conflict,—how he had gone about seeking to find health and

comfort to his sick and languishing soul; how he had applied to those physicians that Latimer so much commended, and had diligently used all their remedies but had found no benefit; how he had fasted and done penance;...how at last he had read that Book which Latimer had condemned as fatal to the soul, and all at once he had felt himself healed as by the hand of the Divine Physician.' Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, pp. 36-7.

West, who at this time filled the see of Ely, was now nearly sixty years of age. His university education had been received at King's College, of which he was for some time fellow; and his later life had been largely devoted to political affairs and the discharge of important embassies. As a prelate he was distinguished for his ostentation, and for a splendid style of living, inferior only to that of Wolsey himself. One morning when Latimer as the appointed preacher for the day was about to commence a sermon at St. Mary's Church, the audience were startled by the sudden and unanticipated appearance of the bishop. The manœuvre, for such it undoubtedly was, failed to disconcert Latimer, but it roused his spirit. Gravely observing that the advent of so august an auditor called for a change of subject, he selected another text, and proceeded to discourse from Hebrews ix. 11¹,—a passage which enabled him to take for his theme the one subject which at that time most employed the tongues and pens alike of the friends, the foes, and the satirists of the Church,—the shortcomings of the superior clergy, and the contrast that their lives presented to the teaching and practice of their great Exemplar. West listened with attention, disguised his chagrin, and, when the sermon was over, sent for Latimer, and thanked him for the admirable manner in which he had expounded the duties of the episcopal office. There was but one favour that he had yet to beg of him. 'What is your lordship's pleasure that I should do for you?' said the Reformer. 'Marry!' said West, 'that you will preach me, in this place, one sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine.' 'My lord,' replied Latimer, 'I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we permitted here to read his works, and therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrine, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinion he holdeth. Sure I am that I have preached before you this day no man's doctrine, but only the doctrine of God out of the Scriptures. And if Luther do none otherwise than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I under-

CHAP. VI.
Nicholas
West,
bp. of Ely,
1515—1533.

West attends
Latimer's
university
sermon.

He requests
Latimer to
preach
against
Luther.

¹ 'But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come.'

CHAP. VI. stand that he doth teach against the Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound his doctrine as much as lieth in me¹.

The dexterity with which Latimer at once eluded the request and returned the thrust; upset the bishop's composure; bishop Nix's phrase, the phrase of the time, rose irrepressibly to his lips:—'Well, well, Mr. Latimer,' said he, 'I perceive that you somewhat *smell of the pan*: you will repent this gear one day.' It was accordingly not long before the

West inhibits
Latimer from
preaching.

bishop's voice was uplifted against Latimer at Barnwell Abbey; and he finally inhibited him from preaching any where in the diocese or in any of the pulpits of the university.

Latimer
preaches at
the church of
the Augusti-
nian friars.

It was then that Barnes invited Latimer to preach in the church of the Augustinian friars, where the episcopal veto could not reach him; and it was thus that, as before narrated, on Christmas Eve, 1525, Barnes happened to be preaching at St. Edward's Church, his own pulpit being filled by Latimer. Eventually Latimer too was summoned before Wolsey in London. But his language had throughout been far more discreet than that of Barnes, and he was also, what was much more in his favour, guiltless of having uttered aught that touched the cardinal himself. He found accordingly a fair and even a courteous hearing. Wolsey's brow relaxed when he found that the accused was well read in Duns Scotus; he cross-examined him at some length with reference to his whole treatment at the bishop's hands; and at last said, 'If the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have *my* licence, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will.' And from this ordeal Latimer returned unscathed and triumphant to Cambridge².

Latimer is
summoned
before Wol-
sey in Lon-
don.

Wolsey li-
censes La-
timer to
preach.

Sir Thomas
More elected
high stew-
ard.

Towards the close of the year 1525, the high stewardship was offered to and accepted by Sir Thomas More, who continued to hold the office for several years³; and with Fisher

¹ Latimer-Corrie, pp. xxviii, xxix.

² Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, pp. 55-58.

³ More was to have been elected in the preceding year, but Sir Richard

Wingfield, 'a sad and ancient Knight' (see Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 32), had set his heart upon succeeding to the honour, and More, at the request of king Henry, retired from the candi-

for chancellor, and the statutes of the university at the discretion of Wolsey, the friends of the new learning could now have felt little misgiving respecting the ultimate issue of the contest in which they had so long been engaged. But throughout Europe the battles of the Humanists were for a time lost sight of in the graver struggle that had supervened. The writings of Luther absorbed almost the whole attention of educated Europe, and created a demand unparalleled in the previous experience of the publishing world. From a letter written by Erasmus to Vives in December, 1524, we find that the latter had applied to Frobenius, to know whether he would undertake the printing of a new edition of his works. The illustrious Iberian was then at the height of his reputation; but the printer sent word that it was useless at that time to print anything but what bore upon the Lutheran controversy. It is said that there were nearly two thousand pamphlets circulating against the doctrine of transubstantiation alone. It was a season of deep disquiet, fierce excitement, and gloomy forebodings; and the universal anxiety and agitation told sensibly on men of earnest and reflecting minds. Melancthon, writing to Erasmus from Germany, complains that he is a prey to constant sleeplessness; Pace makes a precisely similar complaint; Fisher, seriously ill at Rochester and doubtful of the sequel, writes to Erasmus, urging him to expedite the publication of his *De Ratione Concionandi*, intimating however that he scarcely expects that it will find him still alive¹; Erasmus himself, in whose character

Absorbing attention given to Luther's writings throughout Europe.

General disquietude of the times.

ature. Wingfield was accordingly elected; but his death, at Toledo in July of the following year, left the office again vacant, and More was elected his successor. From the following extract from a letter written by Latimer to Dr Green, who was master of Catherine Hall and vice-chancellor in 1523, it appears that a salary was at that time attached to the office:—‘...non quod tantillo salario sit opus tam honorifico viro’ [Wingfield] ‘et rerum omnium affluentia tam insigniter locupletato, sed pro liberali sui animi generositate

quam maxime cupit cum litteratis viris et musarum cultoribus familiaritatem contrahere....Et hæc res tam serio agitur, et tam grato atque adeo tam ardenti petitur animo, ut quum nihil præter fidem antea venerando Moro datam causari supererat nobis exoretur jam Morus, sed regia id quidem (ut fertur) intercessione, ut Wynfyldo cedat, liceatque nobis citra omnem ignominie notam Wynfyldi votis obsecundare.’ Latimer-Corrie, II 467.

¹ Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, c. xvii.

CHAP. VI the superstition of his age and his superiority to it were oddly blended, declares that omens so dire and so frequent as those he saw around him, cannot but be looked upon as heralding the final consummation of earthly destinies¹; while amid the deepening tumult and alarm there rises up the rugged refrain chanted at Strassburg by Roy and Barlow,

—‘Alas, alas!

The world is worse than ever it was,
Never so depe in miserable decaye,
But it cannot thus endure alwaye.’

Natural phenomena.

Predictions of the almanac-makers.

With these convulsions in the political and religious world nature seemed herself to sympathise; and for nearly two years the greater part of Europe was visited by fearful storms and disastrous inundations. The predictions of the almanac-makers intensified the prevailing dread. The year 1524 it had been foretold would be marked by wondrous conjunctions of the heavenly bodies and by events of awful moment to all living beings; and the author of a lugubrious production, entitled *Epistola Cantabrigiensis*, took occasion to descant on the universal corruption and depravity of the age, and chanted once more the forebodings of an Augustine and a Gregory concerning the approaching end of all things².

¹ ‘Velum templi scissum est, effe-runtur omnia, etiam quæ sacerdoti dixeris in sacramentalissima confessione. Caveat sibi quisque; Dominus venit.’ *Letter to John Cæsarius*, (A.D. 1524) *Opera*, III 841.

² After detailing the signs of the corruption of the age, especially of the clergy, the writer goes on to say, ‘Unde nec mirum si nobis plurimum irascitur, in ejus aurbus peccatorum nostrorum horrida vox quotidie clamat, eumque ad ultionem provocat: irascuntur quippe et astra ipsa nobisque propinquum minantur interitum. Dudum sane in quibusdam ephemeridibus, seu diariis, quod vocant’ (here Brown stoutly annotates in the margin, *nos Cantabrigienses non solemus, ut plurimum, multum almanacographis tribuere; quodcumque hic bonus vir e Monteregio college-*

rit), ‘cujusdam Joannis de Monteregio insignissimi astrologi de anno salutiferæ incarnationis quingentesimo vicesimo quarto supra millesimum memini me ita legisse, “Hoc anno nec solis nec lunæ eclipsim conspiciamus; sed præsentī anno syderum habitudines miratu dignissimæ accident; in mense enim Februario viginti conjunctiones cum minime mediocres, tum magnæ accident, quarum sedecim signum aqueum possidebunt, quæ universo fere orbi, climatibus, regnis, provinciis, statibus, dignitatibus, brutis, belluis maximis cunctisque terræ nascentibus indubitatam mutationem, variationem, ac alterationem significabunt, talem profecto qualem a pluribus seculis ab historiographis aut natu majoribus vix percepimus, &c.” Neque is solum insueta prodigia minatur

Such were the characteristics of the times, when in England a new element of controversy, lighting fresh bonfires and evoking renewed denunciations, still further intensified the all-prevailing excitement. The day had come when the scholar and the priest were no longer to be the sole students and interpreters of Scripture, and their dogmas and doctrine were to be brought home to an ultimate test by those whom they had neglected to teach and whose judgement they had despised. If the priest was incompetent or too indolent to instruct the laity in the Scriptures, might not the laity claim the right to study the Scriptures for themselves? Such in reality was the simple question to which the appearance of William Tyndale's New Testament gave rise,—a question answered even by men of noted liberality and moderation of sentiment, like Fisher, More, and Tunstal, with so emphatic and passionate a negative. Nor will their vehemence appear less surprising if we recall, that exactly ten years before Tyndale's New Testament was seen in England, the idea which he had carried out had been suggested and enlarged upon in a volume to which these eminent men had given an unreserved sanction and encouragement,—the *Novum Instrumentum* of Erasmus. 'I totally dissent,' said the lady Margaret professor, in his admirable *Paraclesis* prefixed to the work, 'I totally dissent from those who are unwilling that the sacred Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by the unlearned, as if Christ had taught such subtle doctrines that they can with difficulty be understood by a very few theologians, or as if the strength of the Christian religion lay in men's ignorance of it. The mysteries of kings it were perhaps better to conceal, but Christ wishes his mysteries to be published as widely as possible. I could wish even all women to read the Gospels and the Epistles

Appearance
of William
Tyndale's
New Testa-
ment.

His transla-
tion exactly
what Eras-
mus had ex-
pressed the
greatest de-
sire to see.

mortalibus; audiui jam nuper ex gravissimorum virorum relatu esse modernos aliquos in ea scientia probatissimos qui tantam tamque mirandam ex celestium corporum influxione augurantur brevi eventuram

immutationem, ut vix homines diu posse subsistere verisimiliter credant.' *Epistola Cantabrigiensis cujusdam Anonymi de misero Ecclesie statu, Gratius Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum*, Appendix by Brown, vol. II.

CHAP. VI.

of St. Paul. And I wish that they were translated in all languages of all people, that they might be read and known, not merely by the Scotch and the Irish, but even by the Turks and the Saracens. I wish that the husbandman may sing parts of them at his plough, that the weaver may chant them when engaged at his shuttle, that the traveller may with their narratives beguile the weariness of the way¹. It cannot be doubted that these words were noted and pondered alike by Fisher, More, and Tunstal; there is accordingly but one explanation of the change which had come over their views when, in 1526, they loudly condemned what, in 1516, they had implicitly commended; and that explanation must be, the alarm that Luther's attitude and doctrines had awakened throughout Christendom among all those who yet clung to the theory of a one supreme visible Head and of a one universal and undivided Church. In exact correspondence with this change of sentiment, we find Erasmus himself, at the earnest entreaty of Tunstal, entering the lists against Luther, and maintaining, in opposition to the doctrine of predestination so inexorably asserted by the Reformer, that counter theory which, while plainly supported by the teaching of the Greek fathers, was far from being altogether uncountenanced by the great lights of the western communion. It is not impossible indeed that, as he witnessed the progress of events, Erasmus might have even wished to recall some of the sentiments to which he had given expression in his *Paraclesis*. His enemies were now never tired of pointing out, not altogether without reason but with much unfairness, the undeniable connexion between the new doctrines and the new learning. In the opinion of not a few he had sown the wind and was reaping the whirlwind; or, in the homelier metaphor of the day, 'he had laid the egg and Luther had hatched it.' It was in vain that the alarmed scholar protested and disclaimed,—declaring that he had laid only a harmless hen's egg, while that which Luther had hatched was of an altogether different bird²,—the monks and

Reason of the dislike with which it was now regarded.

Erasmus writes *De Libero Arbitrio* against Luther.

His enemies denounce him as the cause of the Reformation.

¹ *Opera*, iv 104-1.

² 'Ego, peperi ovum, Lutherus ex-

clusit. Mirum vero dictum Minoritarum istorum magnaque et longa

friars only reiterated their assertions yet more loudly, and at Louvain, it would appear, he was at one time even reported to be the author of the *De Captivitate Babylonica*.

But whatever might have been Erasmus's later sentiments, the noble sentences above quoted had been given to the world past recall; they had been read by Bilney at Cambridge, and it is in every way probable that they had been pointed out by Bilney to the notice of William Tyndale. It has been supposed by some writers that Tyndale was one of Erasmus's pupils at the university; but this supposition rests on very insufficient evidence, and other facts would rather incline us to believe that Tyndale did not go to Cambridge until after Erasmus had left¹. It is certain that nothing in the latter's correspondence, or in the manner in which Tyndale afterwards spoke of him, in any way implies the existence of intimate or even of friendly relations between the two². We only know that for a certain period,—from about 1514 to 1521,—Tyndale was resident in the university; and it may safely be inferred that he was among the number of those who listened to Croke's inaugural oration and subsequently profited by his teaching. He had originally been a student at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he had already performed the office of lecturer, when he decided on removing to the sister university. His reasons for this step are not

William Tyndale, b. 1486 (?) d. 1536.

Probably a pupil of Croke but not of Erasmus.

pulte dignum. Ego posui ovum galinaceum, Lutherus exclusit pullum longe dissimillimum.' *Opera*, III 840.

¹ Canon Westcott, *Hist. of the English Bible*, p. 31; Demaus, *Life of William Tyndale*, p. 29; Mr Demaus himself assigns the period of Tyndale's residence at Cambridge to between the years 1514 and 1521; and Erasmus, as we have already seen, left at the close of 1513.

² The sole reference to Tyndale in the *Epistolæ* of Erasmus with which I am acquainted, is the following passage in a letter from More, written about 1533;—'Rex videtur adversus hæreticos acrior quam episcopi ipsi. Tyndalus, hæreticus nostras, qui et nusquam et ubique exsulat, scripsit huc nuper Melancthonem esse apud regem Galliarum; semet collo-

cutum cum illo, qui illum vidisset exceptum Parisiis comitatu et equorum. Addebat se timere Tyndalum nisi Gallia per illum reciperet verbum Dei, confirmaretur in fide Eucharistica contra Vileficam sectam. Quam sollicitè isti tractant hoc negotium, tanquam illis delegasset Deus instituendum et rudimentis fidei inbuendum orbem!' *Opera*, III 1856. There is certainly nothing in this language, nor in the way in which Tyndale speaks of Erasmus (see supra, p. 488, n. 3), that would lead us to infer that the Reformer was an old pupil of the great scholar. As for his statement that he waited on Tunstal because Erasmus had praised the bishop's munificence so highly, it is evident that these encomiums may have reached him by hearsay.

CHAP. VI. recorded, and the language of Foxe is hopelessly vague. 'Spying his time,' says that writer, 'he removed from thence to the university of Cambridge.' It is however at least a reasonable hypothesis, that he quitted Oxford from the same motives that probably weighed with Erasmus when he gave the preference to Cambridge,—in order to escape the persecutions of the 'Trojan' party¹. In after years we find him referring to persecution of this kind in terms that could only apply to Oxford, and which are evidently the vivid recollections of a painful personal experience. 'Remember ye not,' he says in his famous 'Answer' to Sir Thomas More, written in 1530 (and More, we may well believe, must have remembered very well indeed), 'how within this thirty years and far less, and yet dureth to this day, the old barking curs, Duns' disciples and like draff called Scotists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin, and Hebrew? And what sorrow the schoolmasters, that taught the true Latin tongue, had with them; some beating the pulpit with their fists for madness, and roaring out with open and foaming mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burn them therein, though it should cost them their lives; affirming that all good learning decayed and was utterly lost, since men gave them unto the Latin tongue².'

His reminiscences of Oxford.

At Cambridge, according to Foxe, Tyndale 'further ripened in knowledge of God's Word.' Though his writings contain no reference to the fact, it is not improbable that he witnessed the burning of Luther's writings in the university in 1521. But in the same year, under the constraint of

¹ See *supra*, pp. 487, 524-6.

² *Works*, iii 75. D'Aubigné assures us that Oxford 'where Erasmus had so many friends' (at this time he had scarcely one there left) was 'the city in which his New Testament met with the warmest welcome.' *Hist. of the Reformation* (transl. by White), v 220. Some notion of the correctness of this writer's account of the

Reformation in England may be formed, when we state that, in one short chapter, he represents Bilney as a fellow of Trinity College thirty years before its foundation,—Tyndale as lecturing at Oxford on Erasmus's New Testament years before the first edition appeared,—and as converting Frith at Cambridge three years after the former had left the university.

poverty, for he appears to have belonged to no college and to have held no fellowship, he went down to his native county of Gloucester, to be tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh. We hear of him there as bringing forward for discussion, among the neighbouring clergy who assembled at Sir John's hospitable board, the questions he had learned to handle at Cambridge, and as winning easy victories over well-beneficed divines whose learning was of another century, and incurring of course their dislike and suspicion. It was there that he conceived and perhaps commenced his great design of translating the New Testament into the English vernacular¹. From thence, after about two years' residence, we trace him to London; where in citizen Humphrey Monmouth he found so generous a friend, and where from his fellow university man, Cuthbert Tunstal, he experienced such different treatment. The memorable interview between these two eminent Cambridge men has often been the subject of comment, and affords perhaps as striking an illustration as any incident of the kind, of the widely different spirit and aims by which at this critical period the mere Humanist and the Reformer were actuated.

Cuthbert Tunstal, who was some ten years Tyndale's senior, had originally been a student of Balliol College, but the outbreak of the plague having compelled him to quit Oxford, he had migrated to King's Hall,—at that time one of the most aristocratic and exclusive of the Cambridge foundations,—and had subsequently completed his student career at Padua. On his return to England his talents and learning attracted the attention of Warham, who made him his chancellor, and from that time his rise in life was rapid and continuous². For that kind of success which depends on personal popularity and social advancement, he was, no doubt, eminently qualified. He had a stately presence³, a winning courtesy of manner, and consummate tact. His virtues, if not of an heroic order, stood often in favorable contrast to the passions of

CHAP. VI.
He leaves
Cambridge
circ. 1521.

His life at
little Sodbury.

Cuthbert
Tunstal.
b. 1474.
d. 1559.

His character.

¹ See the interesting sketch of this period in Tyndale's history in Mr. Demaus's second chapter.

² Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 199.

³ 'A man right meet and convenient, as Warham assures Wolsey, to

CHAP. VI.

His tempo-
rising policy.

His writings.

that tempestuous age. Naturally averse to violence and contention, he was equitable, humane and merciful; his bitterest enemies could not deny that his feet were never swift to shed blood; while among all his contemporaries the character of none stood higher for prudence and moderation. But all these advantages, natural and acquired, were marred by an excess of caution ill-suited for stirring times; and precisely at those junctures when his influence might have been exerted with appreciable benefit to the state, he was to be seen himself drifting with the current. He wrote in favour of the divorce, and then sought to conciliate its opponents by pleading the queen's cause; he preached against the Act of Supremacy, and subsequently gave it his unqualified support; foremost among the patrons of Erasmus's Greek Testament, he gave Tyndale's translation to the flames. His literary performances were characteristic of the man,—of that safe and respectable kind which, while earning for an author a certain reputation, neither expose him to envy nor involve him in controversy. He published hymns and sermons, a small volume of devotional exercises, a synopsis of the Ethics of Aristotle,—of whose doctrine of the Mean he was himself so eminent an example,—and lastly, though not least, an admirable Arithmetic. By this last work indeed there can be no doubt that Tunstal rendered a genuine service to his age. The science of numbers was then still in its infancy, and in an age familiar with the knotty questions of Duns Scotus, a teacher like Melanchthon found it necessary, in order to incite his scholars to the study, to reassure them, on the one hand, with respect to its difficulty, and, on the other hand, to allure them by pointing out its uses with reference to astrology¹! The treatise *De Arte Supputandi* has been

entertain ambassadors and other noble strangers at that notable and honorable city of London, in the absence of the king's most noble grace.' Hook's *Lives*, vi 213.

¹ For this amusing oration see Melanchthonis *Declamationes*, i 382-91. After pointing out some of the uses of arithmetic, he continues 'Vi-

det quam late pateat usus arithmetics in œconomia et in Republica. Aristoteles scribit Thraces quosdam esse qui numerando non possunt progredi ultra quattuor; quæso te, an talibus putes commendandam esse gubernationem, non dico magni mercatus aut venarum metallicarum sed alicujus mediocris œconomiae? Exis-

censured by Deschales for insufficiency in demonstration; but, to quote the late professor De Morgan's comment, 'Tunstal is a very Euclid by the side of his contemporaries.' 'The wonder is,' observes the same critic, 'that after his book had been reproduced in other countries, and had become generally known throughout Europe, the trifling speculations of the Boethian school should have excited any further attention. For plain common sense, well expressed, and learning most visible in the habits it had formed, Tunstal's book has been rarely surpassed, and never in the subject of which it treats!'

CHAP. VI.
Hls De Arte
Supplandi.

On Cuthbert Tunstal Tyndale now waited,—carrying with him his translation of Isocrates, in the hope that the bishop might not be unwilling to extend to him a helping hand. It was his object to obtain from Tunstal aid of a kind frequently rendered by wealthy ecclesiastics to men of letters in those days,—a chaplaincy in his household,—which would have secured to the needy scholar the requisite leisure for carrying on his literary labours. His hopes were high; for Erasmus had lauded the bishop's generosity to the skies, and,

Tyndale
waits on
Tunstal.

timemusne a talibus posse rationes paululum modo intricatas evolvi et explicari? Nequaquam. Sed horum Thracum similes sunt in magnis rationibus et obscuris omnes qui destituti sunt hujus artis presidio.' After having similarly recommended the study of geometry to their attention, he adds, 'His qui in studiis versantur et perfectam doctrinam expetunt, illam sibi utilitatem proponunt, quod ad doctrinam de rebus cælestibus nullus aditus patet nisi per arithmetica et geometria. Et quidem tanta vis est arithmetices in doctrina de rebus cælestibus, ut mediocri arithmetico pene omnia in doctrina rerum cælestium sunt pervia; certe magnam partem ejus doctrinæ sine ullo negotio assequi potest. Jam vide quam exiguo labore quantum pretium operæ possis facere. Nihil facilius est quam has (ut vocant) species, in arte numeranda discere. His mediocriter cognitis, propenodum tota astronomia statim percipi sine ulla difficultate potest....

Harum ope sublatis in cælum, lustrare oculis universam rerum naturam, cernere spatia metasque maximorum corporum, *videre siderum fatales congressus, denique causas rerum maximarum quæ in hac hominum vita accidunt, animadvertere poteritis.*'

¹ 'The book,' adds De Morgan, 'was a farewell to the sciences on the author's appointment to the see of London. It was published (that is, the colophon is dated) on the 14th of October, and on the 19th the consecration took place. The book is decidedly the most classical which ever was written on the subject in Latin, both in purity of style and goodness of matter. The author had read everything on the subject in every language which he knew, as he avers in his dedicatory letter to Sir Thomas More, and he spent much time, he says, *ad ursi exemplum*, in licking what he found into shape.' *Arithmetical Books*, p. 13.

CHAP. VI. from a scholar like Tyndale, a request for a chaplaincy was but a modest petition. It has been assumed by some writers that he explained to Tunstal the precise character of the undertaking he had in view, and that Tunstal then and there turned his back on so 'perilous' an 'emprise.' But there is nothing in Tyndale's narrative to sanction such an inference, and it seems therefore more reasonable to conclude that, in canon Westcott's words, the bishop was 'not informed of his ultimate design'.¹ It is far from improbable however that Tunstal may already have heard something about his visitor from other quarters, as a man of 'very advanced opinions,' and consequently have regarded him as a dangerous person to patronise. Nor can we altogether avoid the surmise that, in the applicant before him, who, according to his own description of himself, was 'evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow withal'²—the courtly ecclesiastic instinctively recognised an uncongenial spirit, and one little likely to prove a complaisant inferior in his household. It is certain that he met Tyndale's application by a polite but cold refusal. The latter, in his long-lived resentment, described him, many years after, as 'a still Saturn, that so seldom speaketh, but walketh up and down all day musing, a ducking hypocrite made to dissemble.'... 'His house was full,' the bishop said, 'he had more than he could well find' (*i.e.* provide for); and he advised Tyndale to seek in London, 'where,' he said, 'I could not lack a service.'

Tunstal declines to assist him.

The two men and their work contrasted.

The poor scholar went forth from Tunstal's presence disheartened and humiliated, and it was left for a generous layman to afford the aid which the cautious bishop had withheld. The reasons that dictated the decision of the latter were, we may be sure, of a kind that would have commended themselves to the approval of not a few; but nevertheless as we turn to compare the subsequent achievements of these two men, it is difficult altogether to avoid the conviction, that though prudence and 'common sense' are doubtless in-

¹ *Hist. of the English Bible*, p. 417.

² Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, p. 78.

valuable qualities, there are undertakings and junctures in which 'the nicely calculated less or more' fails sadly as the guide of action. Bishop Tunstal lived to a good old age; and though even his circumspect policy and foresight could not secure for him complete immunity from the rude shocks of the times, he reaped his reward in the fewness of his personal foes, and died in a mild and honorable imprisonment. His excellent Arithmetic went through several editions; but in 1552 there appeared the greatly superior work of Record and swept it to oblivion. William Tyndale passed, as is well known, the remainder of his life in weary exile, and died a martyr's death. But he accomplished the work on which he had set his heart, and it has won for him the gratitude of countless thousands and of long distant generations; even at the present day, after the lapse of more than three centuries, the divine and the scholar are eloquent in his praise; and throughout the wide globe, wherever and whenever the representatives of the English race are gathered in the temples of Protestantism, the words of Scripture that fall upon their ears recall the priceless service to his countrymen rendered by William Tyndale.

'That low man seeks a little thing to do,
 Sees it and does it:
 This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
 Dies ere he knows it...
 That has the world here—should he need the next,
 Let the world mind him!
 This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed
 Seeking shall find Him...
 Lofty designs must close in like effects:
 Loftily lying,
 Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
 Living and dying.'

The story of Tyndale's life, from the time that he left Cambridge, belongs to a wider current than that of university history; and his journey to Hamburg, his subsequent intercourse with Luther at Wittenberg, the commencement of the printing of his New Testament at Cologne, the discovery of his proceedings by Cochlæus, his flight up the Rhine to Worms, and finally the appearance of numerous

Tyndale's
 career on
 leaving Eng-
 land.

CHAP. VI.

copies of the interdicted work in England in the spring of 1526,—are facts that have within the last few years been abundantly illustrated by the research of others. There is however one point which cannot here be dismissed entirely without comment: it seems certain that Tyndale was mainly indebted to Cambridge for whatever Greek scholarship he possessed, and the question of his acquirements in this respect is consequently one in which the reputation of his university is to some extent involved.

His attainments as a scholar misrepresented by More,

It is not a little remarkable that it should have been reserved for the research of the last few years to vindicate the labours of Tyndale,—whose translation, it is to be borne in mind, is essentially that of the present authorised English version,—from the charge of being a servile reproduction of the German version by Luther and of the Vulgate. The calumny, for such it may fairly be termed, seems to have taken its rise with the assertion of More, who affirmed that Tyndale's New Testament was merely a translation of Luther's version¹. Misrepresentation on the part of so prejudiced a judge is small matter for surprise; but in the following century we also find Fuller, in his Church History, implying that Tyndale, in his translation of the Old Testament, owing to his ignorance of Hebrew, was almost entirely dependent on the Vulgate². While within the present century, even so competent a scholar as bishop Marsh, sitting in the chair of Erasmus, gave deliberate countenance to the same view³; and still more recently the authority of Hallam

Fuller,

Herbert Marsh,

and Hallam,

¹ 'Whiche who so calleth the New Testament, calleth it by a wrong name, excepte they wyll call it Tyndal's Testament or Luther's Testament. For so hadde Tyndale after Luther's counsayl corrupted and changed it from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to the develishe heresyes of their own, that it was cleane a contrary thing.' *A Dialogue concerning Heresies and Matters of Religion*, *English Works* (ed. 1557), p. 228.

² 'He rendered the Old Testament out of the Latin, his best friends not entitling him to any skill at all in

the Hebrew.' *Church History*, III 162.

³ See Walter's Letter to Marsh, *On the Independence of the Authorized Version of the Bible* (1823). 'While I enjoyed the advantage of attending your lectures, a painful impression was forced upon me; that I must, for the future, cease to view the authorized version of the Bible in a higher light than as a secondary translation.... It was the combined effect of your language and manner which induced me to believe, that Tyndal... instead of translating directly from the original Scriptures,

and the pages of an eminent living writer have not simply given further sanction to these conclusions, but have involved the history of our early translations of the Scriptures in a complete tissue of misstatement. From these misapprehensions the masterly and lucid treatise of canon Westcott has triumphantly vindicated the character both of the translator and of his work¹; and the annals of Cambridge at the Reformation have acquired a new lustre, since the heroic student, who so long labored in the university, has been exhibited in his true light as the profound, accomplished, and conscientious scholar, whose great achievement has merited and received the following high eulogium. 'Before Tyndale began,' says canon Westcott, 'he had prepared himself for a task of which he could apprehend the full difficulty. He had rightly measured the momentous issues of a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures, and determined once for all the principles on which it must be made. His later efforts were directed simply to the nearer attainment of his ideal. To gain this end he availed himself of the best help that lay within his reach, but he used it as a master and not as a disciple. In this work alone he felt that substantial independence was essential to success. In exposition or exhortation he might borrow freely the language or the thought that seemed best suited to his purpose, but in rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. *From first to last his style and interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English Version.* For not only did Tyndale contribute to it directly the substantial basis of half of the Old Testament (in all probability) and of the whole of the New, but he established a standard of Biblical translation which others followed. It is even of less moment that by far the greater part of his translation

but completely vindicated by canon Westcott.

Canon Westcott's summary.

did but compile a version from the Latin Vulgate and the German of Luther's Bible,' pp. 1-2. This Marsh disclaimed, but he endeavored in his reply to shew that Tyndale depended a good deal on Luther and

was ignorant of Hebrew. See Baker-Mayor, pp. 887-8.

¹ *Hist. of the English Bible*, c. i and App. viii; Hallam, *Hist. of Literature*, i 386; Froude, *Hist. of England*, c. xii.

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remains intact in our present Bibles, than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come after the secret of success. The achievement was not for one but for many; but he fixed the type according to which the later labourers worked. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanence. He felt by a happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms, and enriched our language and thought for ever with the characteristics of the Semitic mind¹.

Tyndale Lutheran in respect to doctrine.

But while Tyndale's independence of Luther as a translator may be regarded as beyond question, it was far otherwise in matter of doctrine; for in this respect, as his Prologues clearly shew, he completely submitted himself to the teaching of the great Reformer². And hence, although the Cambridge Reformers undoubtedly derived their first inspiration from Erasmus, under the new influence their theology soon diverged from that of Rome to an extent which Erasmus had never anticipated, and on some points altogether discouraged that latitude of belief which he had sought to establish. Both the German and the English Reformer upheld in its most uncompromising form the doctrine of predestination. They consequently treated Jerome and the Greek fathers with but little respect. Luther indeed stigmatised the former as a heretic, and declared that he 'hated' him more than any of the would-be teachers of the Church³. And these views, though not perhaps adopted by all the early Reformers⁴, were certainly those that now prevailed at both universities.

The Cambridge Reformers consequently desert the theology taught by Erasmus.

¹ *Hist. of the English Bible*, pp. 210-1.

² 'Whose booke be nothing els in effect, but the worst heresies picked out of Luther's workes, and Luther's worst wordes translated by Tyndall and put forth in Tyndal's own name.' More, *English Works*, p. 228.

³ 'Hieronymus soll nicht unter die Lehrer der Kirchen mit gerechnet noch gezehlet werden, denn er ist

ein Ketzer gewesen.....Ich weiss keinen unter den Lehrern, dem ich so feind bin als Hieronymo.' *Tischreden*, Walch, xxii 2070.

⁴ The testimony of George Joye, fellow of Peterhouse, seems to point to contrary tendencies. In his narrative of his interview with Gascoigne, Wolsey's treasurer, he says:—'I came to Mr. Gascoigne, whyche I perceyued by his wordes fauored

Among the first to sound the note of alarm, as the report of Tyndale's New Testament began to spread abroad, was Edward Lee, at that time king's almoner and afterwards archbishop of York. A fit representative of the bigotry of Oxford, he had already distinguished himself by a dishonest and despicable attack on Erasmus's *Novum Testamentum*, and had nearly quarrelled with Fisher on account of that prelate's friendship for Erasmus himself¹. Having heard while on the continent that Tyndale's work was on its way to England, Lee forthwith wrote to king Henry to apprise him of the fact. 'I need not,' he said, 'to advertise your grace what infection and danger may ensue hereby if it be not withstood. This is the new way to fulfil your realm with Lutherans.....All our forefathers, governors of the Church of England, have with all diligence forbid and eschewed publication of English Bibles, as appeareth in constitutions provincial of the Church of England².' Spalatin, in Germany, all absorbed as his thoughts might well have been with the progress of events in his own country, noted down in his diary under 'Sunday after St. Laurence's Day, 1526,' that the English, in 'spite of the active opposition of the king, were so eager for the Gospel as to affirm that they would buy a New Testament even if they had to give a hundred thousand pieces of money for it³.' The alarm excited by the publication of the volume was not diminished on an examination of its pages. The circumstances that attended its appearance were indeed almost an exact repetition of those that marked that of Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum*; there was the abstract hostility to the undertaking as an innovation upon the current theological notions, and there was the direct hostility to the volume itself as the vehicle of much that was distasteful. It was soon recognised that another formidable blow had been dealt at the whole system of mediæval

CHAP. VI.
Edward Lee,
archbp. of
York.
d. 1544.

Lee sounds
the alarm on
the appear-
ance of
Tyndale's
New Testa-
ment.

Demand for
the work in
England.

me not, and he rebuked me because I studied Arigene [Origen] whyche was an heretike, said he; and he saide that I helde such opinions as did Bilney and Arture.' Quoted by Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 9.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 85; Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, ii 201-2.

² Froude, *Hist. of England*, ii 31, note.

³ Schelhorn, *Amoenit. Lit.* iv 431 (quoted by Westcott, p. 42).

CHAP. VI.

Anti-Romish renderings of certain Greek words.

Complaint of Ridley.

The volume burnt at Paul's Cross.

Tunstal's sermon on the occasion.

doctrinal teaching. The Greek words which in the Latin of the Vulgate had been translated as equivalent to 'church,' 'priest,' 'charity,' 'grace,' 'confession,' 'penance,' had in Tyndale's version been rendered by the words 'congregation,' 'elder,' 'love,' 'favour,' 'knowledge,' 'repentance.' Ridley, the uncle of the Reformer, writing to Warham's chaplain, complained bitterly of the first of these substitutions. 'As if,' he says, 'so many Turks or irrational animals were not a congregation, except he wishes them also to be a church.' 'Ye shall not need,' he adds, 'to accuse this translation. It is accused and damned by the consent of the prelates and learned men'.¹ Wolsey advised Henry to condemn the volume to be burnt, and the royal mandate to that effect was forthwith issued. Cuthbert Tunstal, who presided at the burning at Paul's Cross, declared in his sermon on the occasion, that the version contained two thousand errors²; while More, at a somewhat later period did not scruple to assert, that Tyndale's New Testament was 'the father of all the heresies by reason of his false translating³.' Such was the reception originally afforded by the ecclesiastic and the man of letters to the

¹ Westcott, *Hist. of the English Bible*, p. 42, n. 2. So also More in his *Dialogue* (bk. III c. 8), 'Now dooe these names in our Englishe toungue neither expresse the thynges that be ment by them, and also ther appeareth (the circumstances wel considered) that he had a mischievous minde in the chaunge.' *English Works*, p. 229.

² Westcott, p. 43. Or, according to Roy, a yet larger number:—

'He declared there in his furiousnes

That he fownde erroures more and les

Above thre thousande in the translation.'

Rede me, etc. (ed. Arber), p. 46.

More in his *Dialogue* says, 'wrong and falsely translated above a thousand textes by tale.' *English Works*, p. 228.

³ 'Of these bookes of heresies ther be so many made within these fewe yeres, what by Luther himself and by his felowes, and afterwards by the new sectes sprongen out of his, which

like the children of Vippara would now gnaw out their mother's bely, that the bare names of those bookes wer almost inough to make a booke, and of every sort of those bookes be some brought into this realme and kepte in hucker mucker, by some shrewde maisters that kepe them for no good.—Besides the bokes of Latin, French, and Dutch (in which there are of these evill sectes an innumerable sorte), there are made in the English tongue, first, Tindale's Newe Testament, father of them al by reason of hys false translating. And after that, the fyve bookes of Moysses, translated by the same man, we nede not doubt in what maner, when we know by what man and for what purpose.' *Confutation of Tyndale, English Works* (1532), p. 341. 'For he had corrupted and purposely chaunged in many places the text, with such wordes as he might make it seme to the unlearned people, that the Scripture affirmed their heresies it selfe.' *Ibid.* p. 310.

volume which must be looked upon as essentially the same with that over which the foremost biblical scholars of our country are at the present time engaged in prolonged study and frequent consultation, and while aiming at the removal of whatever is obsolete in expression or inaccurate in scholarship, are none the less actuated by reverent regard for what is at once the noblest monument of the English language and the edifice round which the most cherished associations and the deepest feelings of the nation have for three centuries entwined.

In the mean time the erection of Wolsey's college at Oxford had been rapidly progressing. As the scheme of a single foundation it was on a scale of unprecedented magnificence, and when in the year 1527 the university took occasion to address a formal letter of thanks to the cardinal for his numerous favours, they did not fail to select the new college as the principal theme of congratulation and dwelt in exuberant diction on the 'varied splendour and marvellous symmetry' of the architecture, the 'sanctity of the ordinances,' the provisions for the celebration of divine service, the 'beauty and order' that pervaded the whole design¹. It was certainly no insignificant compliment to Cambridge that Wolsey paid in inviting some of her most promising young scholars to transfer themselves as teachers and lecturers to the new foundation; nor can we ask for more unequivocal testimony to the character and reputation of the younger members of the reform party than the fact that it was almost exclusively

Progress of
Cardinal Col-
lege.

Magnificence
of the design.

Motives that
possibly guided
the selection
of the
Cambridge
students.

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, III 709. 'The cardinal's plan in this benefaction was large and noble, as appears by a draught of the statutes sent to the society under his hand and seal. By this scheme, there was a dean and sub-dean, threescore canons of the first rank and forty of the second, thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, and sixteen choristers; to which we must add, lecturers or professors in divinity, canon law, civil law, physic, philosophy, logic, and humanity. There were likewise four censors of manners and examiners of the proficiency of the students; there were also three treasurers, four stewards, and twenty inferior servants,—in all,

186. And lastly, there was a revenue settled for the entertainment of strangers, the relief of the poor, and the keeping of horses for college business. As to the building, it was magnificent in the model, curious in the workmanship, and rich in the materials; and if the cardinal had lived to execute the design, few palaces of princes would have exceeded it. Neither would the library have been short of the nobleness of the structure; for the cardinal intended to have furnished it with the learning and curiosities of the Vatican, and to have transcribed the pope's manuscripts for that purpose.' Collier-Lathbury, IV 57.

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upon these that the choice fell. It is of course quite possible that Shorton, who then filled the post of master of Pembroke College and to whom Wolsey mainly entrusted the matter¹, was well aware of what was going on on the other side of Trumpington Street within so short a distance of his own lodge,—and he may even have often noted Rogers and Thixtill stealing out from the college to join the conferences of the malcontents. But he may also not improbably have thought that for a number of young men whose heads were full of crude notions, and who were still in the first ardour of their attachment to a cause they had but just embraced, there could be nothing better than removal to a distant and busy scene of action, where their minds would be absorbed in active duties, and where, with the responsibility of instructing others devolving upon them, they might consider more dispassionately the opinions they had embraced. Nor is it impossible that Wolsey, whose acknowledged leniency towards the Reformers had not yet been exchanged for a harsher policy, may have been a participant in this view and have applauded Shorton's discretion². But however this may have been, we certainly cannot assent to the representations of Antony Wood³, who would have us believe that learning at Oxford at this time was in so prosperous a state that the aid thus afforded by Cambridge to the sister university was altogether superfluous. The men who had most promoted the new studies some twenty or fifteen years before, had given place to another generation. Linacre, perhaps the ablest scholar of them all, died in the same year that the Cambridge students were transferred to Cardinal College. His will, dated October 12, 1524, gave ample proof that his attachment to the cause of science was still unabated⁴; and it is certainly not to be attributed to any defect in his design or in his liberality that the founder of the College of

The aid thus given to learning at Oxford not superfluous.

Death of Linacre, Oct. 20, 1524.

¹ Strype (*Life of Cranmer*, p. 3) mentions Dr. Capon, master of Jesus College, as also acting on Wolsey's behalf in the matter.

² According to Dr. London's statement to Warham (Froude, II 46),

some of the migrators to Oxford 'had a shrewd name,' i.e. for heresy.

³ Wood-Gutch, II 25.

⁴ Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, IV 322; Johnson, *Life of Linacre*, p. 272.

Physicians failed to identify his name with the rise at both Oxford and Cambridge of schools of medicine that might have rivalled the fame of Salerno and of Padua. Unfortunately his executors, though men of unquestioned integrity, were already over-occupied with other important duties¹, and the founder's scheme remained for a long time inoperative; troublous times followed and the universities were wantonly pillaged; and ultimately the Linacre foundations,—originally designed and not inadequately endowed as the nucleus of an efficient school of natural science at both universities,—dwindled to two unimportant lectureships, each at the disposal of a single college, and offering in the shape of emolument but small attraction to recognised ability².

The
Linacre Lec-
tureships.

¹ The trustees were More, Tunstal, Stokesley, and Shelley. It was not until the third year of the reign of King Edward vi that Tunstal, the surviving trustee, assigned two of the lectures to Merton College, Oxford, and one to St. John's College, Cambridge.

² The management of Linacre's bequest has been criticised by Dr. Johnson in his life of the founder, published 1835, in the following terms :—'Amongst the many instances of misapplication and abuse on the part of feoffees of funds, the appropriation of which has been specifically prescribed, a more glaring one has seldom occurred than the following, which recent enquiries have been the means of exposing to the world. Tunstal...seems on this occasion either to have sacrificed the consistence of his character to private friendship, or to have been diverted from his duty by arguments against which his old age and imbecility of mind rendered him a very unequal opponent. It is evident from the tenour of the letters patent that the inheritance of the *ample estates*, which Linacre had assigned to his trustees, was intended to be vested in the *university of Oxford*, for the performance of the obligations which the letters specified. Wood admits that the trustees meditated such a disposal of them, but that owing to the great decay of the university in the reign of Edward vi,

the survivor was induced to settle them in Merton College, and that he was induced to this disposition of the funds by Dr. Rainhold, the warden, and by the preference which that college had long enjoyed over others in the university, as a foundation whence inceptors in physic generally proceeded. By an agreement between these parties, dated 10th of December in the above year, a superior and inferior reader were appointed, the one with an annual salary of £12, the second with a salary of £6. *The appointment to these lectures had been originally vested in the trustees*, but it was agreed that it should be transferred to the college....The same influence which prevented the intention of the founder from being carried into effect at Oxford, prevailed equally at Cambridge. The remaining lecture was there settled in St. John's College, in whose statutes the reader is expressly mentioned, and the duties of his office defined at large. It is provided that the lecture should be publicly delivered in the schools, unless a sufficient reason to the contrary should be assigned by the master and a majority of the eight seniors. The lecturer was to explain the treatises of Galen *De Sanitate Tuenda* and *De Methodo Medendi*, as translated by Linacre, or those of the same author *De Elementis et Simplicibus*. He was to continue in office three years and a half; but his

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The Cambridge students at Cardinal College.

Spread of the reformed doctrines at Oxford.

Wolsey's treatment of the young Reformers at Cardinal College.

The history of those Cambridge students who accepted Wolsey's invitations forms a well-known chapter in Foxe and D'Aubigné, and has been retold, with all his wonted felicity of narrative, by Mr. Froude. The principal names that have been preserved to us are those of John Clerke¹, Richard Cox, Michael Drumm, John Frith, Richard Harman, Thomas Lawney, John Salisbury, and Richard Taverner.

Though acting with greater circumspection and secrecy, they appear to have formed at Oxford a society like that they had left holding its meetings at the White Horse at Cambridge; and the infection of Lutheran opinions soon spread rapidly to other colleges. The authorities at Oxford, before the lapse of two years, became fully apprised of their proceedings, and the movement was clearly traced to the activity of the new comers. 'Would God,' exclaimed Dr. London, the warden of New College, when he learned that these pestilential doctrines had penetrated even the exclusive society over which he presided, 'would God, that my lord his grace

salary was to increase at the end of the third year; the funds of the remaining half year to be appropriated to indemnify the college. He was to be at least a master of arts who had studied Aristotle and Galen, and during the continuance of his office was interdicted from the practice of medicine. The members of the college were to have preference before other candidates, but in the event of a deficiency of proper persons the master and seniors had a power of election from some other college. An election was to take place immediately upon a vacancy, or at least twenty weeks previously to the commencement of the lectures, that time might be afforded to the reader to prepare himself for his duty. At the expiration of his term a reader might be re-elected.' Johnson, *Life of Linacre*, pp. 275-7. It will be seen from the foregoing extract that Johnson's censures apply to mismanagement of very ancient date. Of late the appointment of Linacre lecturer has been sought rather as a recognition of acknowledged professional ability than on account of

its emoluments. In the statutes sanctioned by the queen in Council, in 1860, it was ordered by statute 41 that the election should be vested in the master and seniors of St. John's College; that the lectures should be open to any student of the university; and that the lecturer should receive all payments to which he was entitled by the foundation, together with any other advantages or emoluments which might be assigned to him by the master and seniors. The advantages thus resulting to the university, in the shape of most competent scientific instruction, have undoubtedly been fully commensurate with the moderate salary that still represents the original foundation. Further information on the subject will be found in Appendix B to Lord Brongham's Commission.

¹ It is doubtful, as there were several of his contemporaries of the same name, whether this John Clerke is the same as the one whose death in prison was attended by such touching circumstances. Mr. Cooper (*Athenæ*, i 124), inclines to the negative conclusion.

had never motioned to call any Cambridge man to his most godly college! It were a gracious deed if they were tried and purged and restored unto their mother from whence they came, if they be worthy to come thither again. We were clear without blot or suspicion till they came¹! But at the same time he was compelled to admit that the proselytisers had found their converts among 'the most towardly young men in the university.' Wolsey's chagrin at the discredit thus brought upon his new foundation was extreme, and those students who were convicted of having Lutheran volumes in their possession were treated with barbarous cruelty. They were thrown into a noisome dungeon, where four died from the severity and protracted duration of their confinement, and from which the remainder were liberated in a pitiable state of emaciation and weakness. Of the latter number however it is worthy of note that nearly all subsequently attained to marked distinction in life.

In the meantime a rigorous enquiry had been going on at Cambridge; and as the first result, towards the close of the year 1527, George Joye, Bilney, and Arthur, were summoned by Wolsey to appear before the chapter at Westminster to answer to sundry charges. Joye's narrative of his individual experiences is familiar through various channels to many readers. Arriving in London one snowy day in November, he found on proceeding to the chapter-house that Bilney and Arthur were already undergoing examination; and, in his own language, 'hearing of these two poore shepe among so many wolves,' was not 'over hasty to thrust himself in among them.' Perceiving that he was circumvented by treachery, he successfully outmanœuvred his enemies, and effected his escape from London to Strassburg. On arriving there he lost no time in publishing certain letters of the prior of Newnham Abbey, by whom he had been accused to the authorities, and vindicated with considerable ability the orthodoxy of the heresies for which he had been cited². His subsequent

Proceedings
against the
Reformers at
Cambridge.
George Joye,
d. 1553.

His flight to
Strassburg.

¹ Dr. London to Warham, Rolls House MS. (quoted by Froude, ii 46). For Dr. London see Wood,

Colleges and Halls (ed. Gutch), p. 188.

² *The Letters whyche Johan Ash-*

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His charac-
ter.

disingenuous performances in connexion with Tyndale's New Testament, and Tyndale's description of his character¹, will perhaps incline us to conclude that the severity with which Dr. Maitland has commented on his want of veracity, in common with that of other of the early Reformers, is in this instance not altogether undeserved².

Examination
of Arthur
and Bilney at
Westminster.
Articles
against
Arthur.

With Arthur and Bilney, whom Joye had left undergoing their examination at the chapter-house, it fared much the same as with Barnes. The indictments against Arthur were not numerous; and of these, while he admitted some, he denied the most important. He denied that he had exhorted the people to pray for those in prison on account of their religious tenets, or that he had preached against the invocation of saints and image worship; but he confessed to having used bold language in favour of lay preaching; to having declared that every layman was a priest³; and more especially to having said, in a sermon before the university on Whit Sunday, 'that a bachelor of divinity, admitted of the university, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let for no man of what estate or degree soever he were: and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, his curses should turn to the harm of himself.' Of these latter articles he now signed a revocation and submitted himself to the judgement of the authorities⁴.

His recanta-
tion.

Articles
against Bil-
ney.

Bilney, who was regarded as the archheretic, and who probably felt that on his firmness the constancy of his followers materially depended, gave more trouble. He had offended

*well, priour of Newnham Abbey besydes Bedforde, sent secretly to the bishope of Lyncolne, in the yere of our Lord 1527. Wheer in the sayde priour accuseth George Joye, that tyme being fellow of Peter College in Cambraye, of fouer opinyons: with the answere of the sayde George unto the sayde opinyons. Strassburg. 'I believe the date from Strassburg to be merely a blind, and that the book was printed in London.' Maitland, *Essays on the Reformation*, p. 12.*

¹ Canon Westcott, *Hist. of the*

English Bible, pp. 56-60, 69.

² *Essays on the Reformation*, pp. 4-12.

³ 'By the authority of God, where He saith *Euntes in mundum, prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ*; by which authority every man may preach.' (*Second Article*, Foxe-Cattley, iv 623). Arthur's inference almost suggests a doubt whether he rightly translated the Latin.

⁴ Cooper, *Annals*, i 325; Foxe-Cattley, iv 620-3.

against the authority of the Church far more seriously by his obstinate practice of the theory which Arthur had asserted. The friars had twice dragged him from the pulpit; his voice had been heard at Christchurch and St. George's in Ipswich, inveighing against pilgrimages and the pretended miracles of the day; in the same city he had held a public disputation with a friar on the practice of image worship; he had been no less vehement though less personal than Barnes, in his attacks on the pride and pomp of the superior clergy; and finally, he was a relapsed heretic¹. At first it seemed that he was resolved to incur the direst penalties rather than abjure a second time. When urged by Tunstal he three times refused his submission; but the persuasions of his friends ultimately prevailed, and he again consented to sign an act of recantation. On the following Sunday, the 8th of December, he publicly, along with Arthur, bore his fagot in procession at Paul's Cross. After this he was re-committed to prison; was a second time examined and abjured by Wolsey; and finally after twelve months' imprisonment regained his liberty, and was once more seen at Cambridge, walking and conversing with Latimer on Heretics' Hill.

He recants a second time.

It seems beyond question that it was with reference to this occasion² that Skelton attacked the Cambridge

Skelton's satire of the Cambridge Reformers.

¹ Bilney denied that he had wittingly taught any of Luther's opinions. 'Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he would not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but would impugn the same everywhere? He answered that he had made such an oath; but not lawfully.' Foxe-Cattley, iv 622. 'not judicially (*judicialiter* in the Register).' Burnet-Pocock, i 70.

² 'For ye were worldly shamed
At Poules crosse openly,
All men can testify;
There lyke a sorte of sottes,
Ye were fayne to bear fagottes,
At the *feest of her conception*
Ye suffred suche correction?'
Skelton-Dyce, i 211. It will not be possible to reconcile this reference to Bilney's recantation in 1527, with

Mr. Dyce's theory that Skelton (who dedicated the 'Replycacion' *Cardinali meritissimo et apostolicæ sedis legato, a latereque legato superillustri ... necnon præsentis opusculi fautore excellentissimo*), fled to the Sanctuary at Westminster so early as 1523. 'It would be absurd,' he says (i lvii), 'to imagine that, in 1523, Wolsey continued to patronise the man who had written *Why come ye nat to Courte?*' But this objection rests entirely on the assumption that Wolsey identified Skelton thus early as the author of that satire, of which we have no evidence; while there is certainly no other act of penance on the part of Cambridge Reformers recorded as having taken place in a prior year, on the 8th of December, i.e. the *Feast of the Conception*.

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Reformers in the lines,—the most contemptible of his extant compositions,—whereby he sought to second the terrors of the law by the lash of satire. In his ‘Replycacion against certain yong Scholers abjured of late,’ dedicated to his former patron, we meet neither with the poetic fancies of the ‘Garlande of Laurell’ nor the vigorous irony of ‘Colyn Clout’ or of ‘Why come ye nat to Courte?’ but a mere outpouring of coarse invective and rancorous spite. He grudges the poor scholars the exhibitions which their talents and industry had gained for them at the universities¹; declares,—a singular charge for a theologian of the old school to prefer,—that they so ‘cobble and clout’ the Gospels² and Epistles, that the laity are thrown into the utmost mental perplexity; and reviles them in unmeasured terms for their rejection of pilgrimages, Mariolatry, and image worship³.

Coarseness of
his attack.

It does not appear that Bilney on his return to Cambridge was regarded with less esteem by his friends, but he was a humiliated and saddened man, and his sufferings from self-reproach were such, that it was for some time feared that his reason would give way. It is certain that he no longer assumed the part of a leader; while, in the same year that he returned, his party sustained another serious blow in the death of the eloquent and highminded Stafford. It was in the generous discharge of the offices of Christian charity that the latter met his end. During the prevalence of the plague he had the courage to visit one of the infected,—a master of arts of Clement’s hostel. This man, whose name was Henry, although a priest, was known under the designation of ‘the Conjuror,’ owing to his reported addiction to the study of necromancy. His malady, therefore,

Death of
Stafford.

¹ ‘Some of you had ten pounde
Therewith for to be founde
At the unyversyte
Employed whiche might have
be
Moche better other wayes.’

Skelton-Dyce, i 213.

² *Ibid.* i 216. It may be noted that it was on account of their attention to the Gospels rather than to the Sentences, that the early Reformers were often designated as ‘Gos-

pellers.’

³ *Ibid.* i 217–8. It will be observed that these are precisely the practices against which Bilney directed his attacks. There can be no doubt that it is to Bilney’s trial that More in his *Dialogue* (written 1528) refers; for the same heretical tenets are there animadverted upon in connexion with a recent and important conviction for heresy. See his *English Works* (ed. 1557), p. 113.

not improbably, was regarded as a special judgement; and Stafford, seizing the opportunity, urged upon him the unlawful nature of his studies with such effect, that before he left the 'conjuring books' had been consigned to the flames. His purpose accomplished, Stafford went home, and was himself attacked by the plague and carried off in a few hours¹.

With Stafford dead, Bilney discredited, and Barnes in prison, the Cambridge Reformers might have lacked a leader, had not Latimer at this juncture begun to assume that prominent part whereby he became not only the foremost man of the party in the university but 'the Apostle of the Reformation' in England. His 'Sermons on the Card,'—two celebrated discourses at St. Edward's Church in December, 1529,—are a notable illustration of the freedom of simile and quaintness of fancy that characterise the pulpit oratory of his age. Delivered moreover on the Sunday before Christmas, they had a special relevancy to the approaching season. It was customary in those days for almost every household to indulge in card-playing at Christmas time. Even the austere Fisher, while strictly prohibiting such recreation at all other times of the year, conceded permission to the fellows of Christ's and St. John's thus to divert themselves at this season of general rejoicing². By

Latimer's
Sermons on
the Card,
Dec. 1529.

Card-playing
a general
Christmas
diversion.

Permitted by
Fisher to the
fellows of St.
John's at this
season.

¹ Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 206. Cooper's conjecture (*Annals*, i 327 n. 5), that the conjurer was perhaps only a mathematician, seems scarcely compatible with what we know of the estimation in which mathematical studies were held at this time; nearly a century before, John Holbrook, master of Peterhouse, had compiled and bequeathed to that society a complete set of astronomical tables; while Melancthon, as we have already seen (*supra*, p. 592), had openly commended the study of astrology. For Holbrook's labours, the *Tabulæ Cantabrigienses*,—which belong to the history of mathematical studies in the university,—see Mr. Halliwell's *Catalogue of the Contents of the Codex Holbrookianus*, 1840.

² The scholars were forbidden to play even at Christmas time. 'Ad

hæc nemo sociorum tesseris, aleis, taxillis, chartis aliisque ludis jure canonico vel regni prohibitis utatur, præterquam solo Nativitatis Christi tempore, neque tum in multam noctem aut alibi quam in aula, atque id duntaxat animi remittendi causa, non questus lucræ gratia. *Discipulorum vero neminem dictos ludos exercere ullo unquam tempore permittimus, aut intra collegium aut extra.*' *Early Statutes of St. John's* (1530), ed. Mayor, p. 138: for statutes of 1524 see *Ibid.* p. 334. Latimer does not seem to have in any way hinted disapproval of the practice; but the Reformers, generally, denounced it; and at the Council of Augsburg it was decreed that those who countenanced any game of chance should not be admitted to the communion. See Taylor's *Hist.*

CHAP. VI. having recourse to a series of similes drawn from the rules of primero and 'trump', Latimer accordingly illustrated his subject in a manner that for some weeks after caused his pithy sentences to be recalled at well nigh every social gathering; and his Card Sermons became the talk of both town and university. It need hardly be added that his similes were skilfully converted to enforce the new doctrines he had embraced; more especially, he dwelt with particular emphasis on the far greater obligation imposed on Christians to perform works of charity and mercy than to go on pilgrimages or make costly offerings to the Church. The novelty of his method of treatment made it a complete success; and it was felt, throughout the university, that his shafts had told with more than ordinary effect. Among those who regarded his preaching with especial disfavour, was Buckenham, the prior of the Dominican foundation at Cambridge, who resolved on an endeavour to answer him in like vein. As Latimer had drawn his illustrations from cards, the prior took his from dice; and as the burden of the former's discourses had been the authority of Scripture and an implied assumption of the people's right to study the Bible for themselves, so the latter proceeded to instruct his audience how to throw *cinque* and *quatre* to the confusion of Lutheran doctrines—the *quatre* being taken to denote the 'four doctors' of the Church, the *cinque* five passages in the New Testament, selected by the preacher for the occasion².

Buckenham attempts a reply to Latimer.

Spread of the controversy in the university.

But an imitation is rarely as happy as the original, nor was Buckenham in any respect a match for the most popular and powerful preacher of the day; and his effort at reply only served to call forth another and eminently effective

of *Playing Cards*, pp. 249-88, for the games at cards in vogue at this period. Seven of the cards in the *Jeu de Mantegna* were named from the subjects of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.

¹ From the French *trionphe*: so Latimer in his first sermon: 'The game that we will play at shall be

called the *trionphe*, which, if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same.' Latimer, *Sermons* (ed. Corrie), p. 8. For the game of *La Triomphe*, see Taylor, p. 372-3; it is, he says, 'the parent of *écarté*.'

² Demaus, *Life of Latimer*, p. 97.

sermon, by way of retort, from Latimer. Others thereupon engaged in the controversy. The duel became a battle; and the whole university was divided into two fiercely hostile parties. West again entered the lists against the Reformer, at Barnwell. John Venetus, a learned foreigner, preached against him from the pulpit of St. Mary's¹. St. John's College, it was rumored under Fisher's influence, distinguished itself by a peculiarly bitter hostility; and it was not until the arrival of the following missive from the royal almoner to Dr. Buckmaster, the vice-chancellor, that peace, at least in outward observance, was restored to the university:

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The contest
stopped by
royal inter-
vention.

'Mr. Vice-chancellor, I hastily commend me unto you, advertising the same that it hath been greatly complained unto the kinges highnes of the shamefull contentions used now of late in sermons made betweene Mr Latymer and certayne of St. John's College, insomuch his grace intendeth to set some ordre therein, which shulde not be greatly to yours and other the heades of the universities worship. Wherefore I prey you to use all your wisdom and authoritie ye can to appease the same, so that no further complaints be made thereof. It is not unlikely that they of St. John's proceedeth of some private malice towards Mr. Latymer, and that also thei be anymated so to do by their master, Mr Watson, and soche other my Lorde of Rochester's freendes. Which malice also, peradventure, cometh partly for that Mr. Latymer *favoureth the king's cause*, and I assure you that it is so reported to the kinge. And contrary, peradventure, Mr Latymer being by them exasperated, is more vehemente than becometh the very evangeliste of Christe, and *de industria*, speaketh in his sermons certen paradoxa to offende and sklaunder the people, which I assure you in my mynde is neither wisely donne *ut nunc sunt tempora*, neither like a goode evangeliste. Ye shall therefore, in my opynyon do well to commaunde both of them to silence, and that neither of them from henceforth preche untill ye know farther of the kinge's pleasure, or elles by some other waies to reduce them in concordance, the wayes how to ordre the same I remyt to your wysdom and Mr. Edmondes, to whom I praye you have me heartily commended, trustinge to see you shortly. At London, the xxiiiith day of January.

Your lovinge freende,

EDWARD FOXE².'

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 40.

² Lamb, *Cambridge Documents*, p. 14.

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THE ROYAL
DIVORCE.

The allusion in the foregoing letter to 'the king's cause' refers to another important controversy then dividing the sympathies of the English nation, and in connexion with which the universities played a prominent though little honorable part,—the question of the Royal Divorce. When Wolsey, in the year 1524, was holding out inducements to the ablest scholars in Cambridge to transfer themselves to his new foundation at Oxford, there were some who, doubtless from good and sufficient reasons, declined his tempting offers; and, characteristically enough, among this number was the wary and sagacious Cranmer. Cranmer was at that time in his thirty-fifth year and a fellow of Jesus College. The circumstances under which he had been elected were peculiar, inasmuch as he was a widower and had vacated a former fellowship by marriage. At the Bridge Street end of All Saints' Passage there stood in those days a tavern of good repute known by the sign of the Dolphin. From its proximity to Jesus Lane it was probably especially patronised by Jesus men; and Cranmer in his visits fell in love with the landlady's niece, to whom his enemies in after years were wont to refer under the designation of 'black Joan'.¹ His marriage soon after he had been elected in 1515 a fellow of Jesus College, involved of course the resignation of his fellowship, and for a time Cranmer maintained himself by officiating as 'common reader' at Buckingham College. But within a twelvemonth his wife died; and it may be looked upon as satisfactory proof both of the estimation in which his abilities were held and that no discredit attached to the connexion he had formed, that he was again elected to a fellowship by the authorities at Jesus.²

Thomas
Cranmer.
b. 1489,
d. 1556.

The
'Dolphin.'

Cranmer's
marriage.

His wife's
death.

A second
time elected
fellow of
Jesus Col-
lege.

¹ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 145. According to Fuller, Cranmer's 'frequent repair' to the Dolphin 'gave occasion to that impudent lie of the papists that he was an ostler.' Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 203; Morice, *Anecdotes of Archbp. Cranmer*, in Nichols, *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 269.

² 'I know the statutes of some houses run thus: *Nolumus socios*

nostros esse maritos vel maritatos. It seems this last barbarous word was not, or was not taken notice of, in Jesus College statutes. Cranmer herein is a precedent by himself, if that may be a precedent which hath none to follow it.' *Ibid.* p. 203. A recent election, to a fellowship on the foundation of the college of the same name at the sister university, has falsified Fuller's last words.

In the long vacation of 1529 the outbreak of the plague at Cambridge had driven away the members of the university, and among the number Cranmer had taken refuge with two pupils, also relatives, of the name of Cressy, at their father's house at Waltham. It so happened that during his residence there, the same epidemic had compelled the court to leave London; Waltham had likewise been selected for the royal retreat; and Fox, the writer of the above letter, then provost of King's College, and Gardiner, then master of Trinity Hall, were lodged at Cressy's house. Cranmer was probably already well known to both, and as his reputation as a canonist was almost unrivalled at Cambridge, they naturally adverted to the canonical difficulty that was then alleged to be troubling Henry's mind,—the legality of his marriage with his brother's wife. It was then, according to the oft-told story, under the shadow of earl Harold's foundation,—that nobly conceived innovation on the monastic monopoly of learning¹,—that the fellow of Jesus College threw out the suggestion, which, as adopted and carried out by Henry, was in the course of a few years to prove the downfall of the monastic system in England.

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Cranmer at Waltham suggests that the universities should be consulted respecting the royal divorce.

It is unnecessary that we should here enter upon the merits of a controversy respecting which, amid all the sophistry and ingenuity that have been expended on it, few candid students of the period are probably much at variance; but the morality of the royal divorce and the morality of the universities in relation to the question are distinct subjects, and the latter, though its details are correctly described by Mr. Froude as 'not only wearying but scandalous,' lies too directly in our path to be passed by without comment. The question propounded to the universities, it is to be observed, was very far from embracing those considerations of expediency that have been urged by different writers in extenuation of Henry's policy. The loss by death of one after another of the royal children, the possibility of a disputed succession and of the revival of civil war, were not matters of which the pundits of Oxford and Cambridge

The question as laid before the universities.

¹ See supra 160-3.

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The question really involved that of the supreme authority of the pope.

were supposed to have any cognisance. The question, which as canonists and theologians they were called upon to decide, was simply *whether a man may lawfully marry his brother's wife, after that brother's death without issue*¹; and there were possibly some half-dozen men of education and intelligence in the kingdom who seriously believed that the verdict of these learned bodies would be in scrupulous conformity with what they found to be the preponderance of authority in the Scriptures, the fathers, the canonists, and the schoolmen. It was however patent to all that a far wider question was tacitly laid before the universities as an inevitable corollary to that which was formally submitted. Pope Julius II had granted a dispensation for Henry's marriage with Catherine; and every effort on the king's part to prevail on Clement to annul this dispensation had been unavailing²; in referring the question to the universities it was therefore obvious that Henry was tacitly reviving the fifteenth century theory of œcumenical councils—that of an authority which could control the pontifical decrees. Apart therefore from the known sympathies of Ann Boleyn with the Reformers, the appeal to the universities at once evoked in the most direct manner fresh demonstrations of that party spirit which Cambridge had already seen raging so hotly under the influence of Latimer.

Fallacious character of the expedient.

On the continent, as at home, it soon became evident how small was the probability that the different centres of learning would consent to adjudicate upon the question on its abstract merits, as tested by the authority of Aquinas or Turrecremata. In Germany the Lutherans, partly from hostility to Henry, partly from fear of the emperor, were almost unanimous in opposing the divorce. Italy under the machinations of Richard Croke proved more favor-

¹ 'An sit jure divino et naturali prohibitum ne frater ducat in uxorem relictam fratris mortui *sine liberis*.' Lingard, whose account of the conduct of the universities in relation to the question appears to be in other respects correct, has made a serious omission in leaving

out the words in italics. See *Hist. of England*, iv⁵ 593, Append. m.

² Burnet himself admits that 'to condemn the bull of a former pope as unlawful, was a dangerous precedent at a time when the pope's authority was rejected by so many in Germany.' Burnet-Pocock, i 81.

able to the king's wishes. That eminent scholar, who was now Greek lecturer at St. John's, had been sent out, at the suggestion of Cranmer, to collect the opinions of the most distinguished foreign canonists and jurists. Of the candour and impartiality with which he might be expected to discharge his mission he had recently given the university no encouraging promise. In the preceding January it had been decreed by the senate that a solemn annual posthumous service should be celebrated at St. John's College in commemoration of the great benefactor of the university, its chancellor, bishop Fisher. Croke had some six years before been elected a fellow of the college, and there were few of its members who lay under greater obligations to him whom it was now decided thus to honour; from motives however which are not recorded he did his best to discourage the proposal, and even declared that Fisher was intent on usurping the honours due to a founder, 'in derogation of the right and honour of the lady Margaret.' His contemptible meanness and ingratitude only served to draw from Fisher an earnest and unanswerable letter of self-vindication, and at a later time, from the historian of the college, the not undeserved epithets of 'an ambitious, envious, and discontented wretch'.¹ He was now to be heard of at Venice, professedly engaged in poring over ancient Greek manuscripts for passages bearing on the all-engrossing question, or at Bologna and Padua, whence he reported endless conferences with various professors and divines; but his more serious business consisted in collecting subscriptions, duly recognised by an adequate *honorarium*, to an opinion favorable to his royal employer.²

CHAP. VI.
Croke in Italy.

His activity in bribing the universities in Italy.

¹ Baker-Mayor, p. 97.

² For a detailed account of Croke's mission see Burnet-Pocock, I 151-8. Burnet quoting the sums named by Croke in his letters, thinks they can hardly be looked upon as bribes, from the smallness of the amounts: 'they' [the recipients] he says, 'must have had very prostituted consciences if they could be hired so cheap.' In Dodd-Tierney (I 201), we

find however larger sums quoted: but the most conclusive evidence is perhaps to be gathered from Croke's letter book. Cotton MS. Vitellius B 13. The statement of Cavendish [*Life of Wolsey* (ed. Singer), p. 206], is perhaps as trustworthy as that of any independent contemporary, and he says 'there was inestimable sums of money given to the famous clerks to choke them, and in especial to

CHAP. VI.

King Henry
menaces
Oxford.

At home, though there is no evidence of bribery, there was undeniable intimidation. The very first letter that Henry addressed to the university of Oxford, where it was well known that there existed a large and influential party opposed to the divorce, contained a distinct and intelligible threat¹; in a second, written when it had become apparent that the anticipated opposition was likely to result in an unfavorable verdict, the threat was yet more plainly repeated²; and in a third letter, written after the Cambridge verdict had been made known, the example thus set was appealed to in order to quicken the irresolute counsels of the sister university³. Having pledged himself to a theory of the history of the divorce which represents it as 'a right and necessary measure,' and conceived by Henry solely from honorable and conscientious motives, Mr. Froude, in comparing the policy respectively pursued by these two learned bodies, has not hesitated to draw the contrast entirely to the disadvantage of the community to which he himself belongs. 'The conduct of the English universities,' he says, 'was precisely what their later characters would have led us respectively to expect from them.....Cambridge, being distinguished by greater openness and largeness of mind on this as on the other momentous subjects of the day than the sister university, was able to preserve a more manly bearing, and escape direct humiliation⁴.'

Mr. Froude's
comparison
of the con-
duct of Ox-
ford and
Cambridge.

such as had the governance and custody of their universities' seals.' See also Lingard, *Hist. of England*, iv^o 593.

¹ 'And in case you do not uprightly, according to divine learning, humble yourselves herein, ye may be assured that we, not without great cause, shall so quickly and so sharply look to your unnatural misdemeanour herein, that it shall not be to your quietness and ease hereafter.' Froude, i 258.

² 'And if the youth of the university will play masteries as they begin to do, we doubt not but they shall well perceive that *non est bonum irritare crabrones*.' *Ibid.* i 262.

³ 'And so much the more marvel we at this your manner of delays,

that our university of Cambridge hath within far shorter time not only agreed upon the fashion and manner to make answer to us effectually, and with diligence following the same: but hath also eight days since sent unto us their answer under common seale, plainly determining, etc.' Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, Collect. No. 85. (This letter is not referred to by Mr. Froude). 'So many thunderclaps of his displeasure,' says Anthony Wood, 'had been enough, if our famous university had not been consecrated to eternity, to have involved our colleges among the funerals of abbeys.' Wood Gutch, ii 40.

⁴ *Hist. of England*, i 257, 262.

Without entering upon the question how far the comparison thus drawn is to be justified on a consideration of the continuous history of the two universities, it may be worth while to examine to what extent Mr. Froude's eulogium of Cambridge is borne out by the documentary evidence. The following royal letter, the first formal step in the proceedings, was received by Dr. Buckmaster, the vice-chancellor, a fellow of Peterhouse, in February, 1529:—

CHAP. VI.

His criticism
tested by the
documentary
evidence.

'To our trusty and well-beloved, the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, and Regentes and Non-Regentes of our Universitie of Cambridge.'

King Henry's
letter to the
university of
Cambridge.

‘BY THE KING.

‘Trusty and well beloved, we grete you well. And whereas in the matter of matrimonie between us and the Quene, upon consultation had with the gretest clerks of Christendom, as well without this our realme as within the same, thei have in a grete nombre affermed unto us in writing, and thereunto subscribed their names, that *ducere uxorem fratris mortui SINE LIBERIS sit prohibitum jure divino et naturali*, which is the chief and principall point in our cause; we therefore, desirouse to knowe and understande your myndes and opynions in that bihalfe, and nothing dowtinge but like as ye have all wayes founde us to you and that our universitie favourable benivolent, and glad to extend our auctoritie for youre wealthe and benefite when ye have required the same, ye will now likewise not omytt to doo anything whereby ye shulde ministre unto us gratuite and pleasor, specially in declaration of the truthe in a cause so nere touching us your prince and soveraine lorde, our soule, the wealth also and benefite of this our realme, have sent hither presently for that our purpose, our trusty and right well beloved clerkes and counsaillors, Maister Doctor Gardyncr our secretery and Maister Fox, who shall oon our bihaulf further open and declare unto you the circumstances of the premises. Wherefore we will and require you not oonly to gyve ferme credence unto them, but also to advertise us by the same, under the common seale of that our universitie, of such opynyon in the proposition aforesaid as shul be then concluded, and by the consent of lerned men shall be agreed upon. In doying whereof, ye shall deserve our especiall thanks, and geve us cause to encrease our favor towards you, as we shall not fail to do accordingly. Geven under our signet at Yorkes Place the xvith daye of February¹.’

Some months before the arrival of this missive the university had been familiarised with the main arguments

Cranmer's
treatise.

¹ Lamb, *Cambridge Documents*, p. 19.

CHAP. VI. for and against the divorce by the appearance of Cranmer's treatise on the lawfulness of marriage with a brother's wife¹, and its judgement, so far as that might be supposed to be amenable to the influence of abstract reasons, had thereby undoubtedly been biased in favour of 'the king's cause.' It is evident indeed, on a comparison of the above letter with the first of those that Henry addressed to the university of Oxford, that he had grounds at the outset for anticipating a far more ready assent to his wishes at Cambridge. Under these circumstances it is therefore of special interest to note the following report made to him by Gardiner and Fox of the proceedings that followed upon the arrival of his letter:—

Gardiner and Fox report on the course of events consequent upon the receipt of the royal letter at Cambridge.

'TO THE KING'S HIGHNESS,

Pleaseth it your highness to be advertised, that arriving here at Cambridge upon Saturday last past at noon, that same night and Sunday in the morning we devised with the vice-chancellor and such other as favoureth your grace's cause, how and in what sort to compass and attain your grace's purpose and intent; wherein we assure your grace we found much towardness, good will, and diligence, in the vice-chancellor and Dr. Edmunds, being as studious to serve your grace as we could wish and desire: nevertheless there was not so much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our party, by them, ourself, and other, for attaining your grace's purpose, but there was as much done by others for the lett and impeachment of the same; and as we assembled they assembled; as we made friends they made friends, to lett that nothing should pass as in the universities name; wherein the first day they were superiors, for they had put in the ears of them by whose voices such things do pass, *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your grace. Upon Sunday at afternoon were assembled after the manner of the university, all the doctors, batchelors of divinity, and masters of arts, being in number almost two hundred: in that congregation we delivered your grace's letters, which were read openly by the vice-chancellor. And for answer to be made unto them, first the vice-chancellor, calling apart the doctors, asked their advice and opinion; whereunto they answered severally, as their affections led them, *et res erat in multa confusione*. Tandem they were content answer should be made to the questions *by indifferent men*; but then they came to exceptions against the abbot of St. Benet's, who seemed

¹ It is remarkable that not a single copy of this treatise is known to be in existence, and even its exact title

is a matter of doubt. See Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 146.

to come for that purpose ; and likewise against Dr. Reppes and Dr. Crome ; and also generally against all such as had allowed Dr. Crammer's book, inasmuch as they had already declared their opinion. We said thereunto, that by that reason they might except against all, for it was lightly, that in a question so notable as this is, every man learned hath said to his friend as he thinketh in it for the time ; but we ought not to judge of any man that he setteth more to defend that which he hath once said, than truth afterward known. Finally, the vice-chancellor, because the day was much spent in those altercations, commanding every man to resort to his seat apart, as the manner is in those assemblies, willed every man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with such an order as he had conceived, for answer to be made by the university to your grace's letters ; *whereunto that night they would in no wise agree.* And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the vice-chancellor continued the congregation till the next day at one of the clock ; at which time the vice-chancellor *proposed a grace* after the form herein enclosed ; *and it was first denied ; when it was asked again it was even on both parties to be denied or granted ;* and at the last, *by labour of friends to cause some to depart the house which were against it,* it was obtained in such form as the schedule herein enclosed purportheth ; wherein be two points which we would have left out ; but considering by putting in of them we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the determination for your grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one point is, that where it was first that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit* should be taken for the determination of the university, now it referred *ad duas partes*,—wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other point is, that your grace's question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honorable ; and it is agreed amongst us that in that disputation shall answer the abbot of St. Benet's, Dr. Reppes, and I, Mr. Fox, to all such as will object anything, or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your grace's part. And because Mr. Dr. Clyff hath said, that he hath somewhat to say concerning the canon law ; I, your secretary, shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein. In the schedule, which we send unto your grace herewith, containing the names of those who shall determine your grace's question, all marked with the letter (A) be already of your grace's opinion ; by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the rest. Thus we beseech Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal estate. From Cambridge, the.....day of February.

Your Highness's most humble subjects and servants,

STEPHEN GARDINER,
EDWARD FOX.'

CHAP. VI.

Grace proposed to the senate.

THE GRACE.

'Placet vobis ut
Magistri in theologia

(A) Vicecancellarius

Doctores

(A) Salcot, the abbot of St.

Benets,

Watson,

(A) Repps,

Tomson,

Venetus, *de isto bene speratur.*

(A) Edmunds,

Downes,

(A) Crome,

(A) Wygan,

(A) Boston,

(A) Heynes,

Mylsent, *de isto bene speratur.*

(A) Shaxton,

(A) Latimer,

(A) Simon (Matthew),

Longford, *de isto bene speratur.*

Thyxtel,

Nicols,

Hutton,

(A) Skip,

(A) Goodrich,

(A) Heth,

Hadway, *de isto bene speratur.*

Dey,

Bayne,

(A) (A) Duo Procuratores,

habeant plenam facultatem et auctoritatem, nomine totius universitatis respondendi litteris Regie Majestatis in hac congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius universitatis definiendi et determinandi questionem in dictis litteris propositam. Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præsentium inter se decreverint respondendi dictis litteris, et definierint ac determinaverint super questione præposita, in iisdem habeatur et reputetur pro responsione definitione et determinatione totius universitatis, et quod liceat vicecancellario procuratoribus et scrutatoribus litteris super dictarum duarum partium definitione et determinatione concipienda sigillum commune universitatis apponere: sic quod disputetur questio publice et antea legantur coram universitate absque ulteriori gratia desuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your highness may perceive by the notes that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two *and obtain of another to be absent*, it is sufficient for our purpose¹.

Such were the means by which, on the ninth of the following March, a decision was eventually obtained favorable to the divorce; but even then the decision was coupled by an important reservation,—that the marriage was illegal *if it could be proved that Catherine's marriage with prince*

¹ Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, Records i ii 22. Cooper, *Annals*, i 337-9.

Important reservation by which the decision of the university is accompanied.

*Arthur had been consummated*¹. It was however no slight achievement to have gained thus much from the university; and when Buckmaster presented himself at Windsor as the bearer of this determination, he was received by Henry with every mark of favour, and Cambridge was praised for 'the wisdom and good conveyance' she had shewn. The only point indeed with respect to which the king intimated any dissatisfaction was the omission of any opinion concerning the legality of pope Julius's dispensation. Having received a present of twenty nobles the vice-chancellor took his leave, but ill at ease in mind. 'I was glad,' he says in a letter to Dr. Edmunds, giving an account of the whole business, 'I was glad that I was out of the courte, wheare many men, as I did both hear and perceive, did wonder on me.....*All the world almost cryethe oute of Cambridge for this acte*, and specially on me, but I must bear it as well as I maye.' He then goes on to narrate how on his return he found the university scarcely in a more pleasant mood. Fox's servant had been beaten in the street by one Dakers, a member of St. Nicholas's Hostel; and Dakers on being summoned before him (the writer), had demurred to his authority, 'because I was famylyer, he said, with Mr. Secretary [Fox] and Mr. Dr. Thirleby.' Thereupon he had ordered Dakers into custody, who on his way to close quarters effected his escape from the bedell; 'and that night there was such a jettyng in Cambridge as ye never harde of, with such boyng and cryeng even agaynst our colleage that all Cambridge might perceave it was in despite of me².'

CHAP. VI.

Buckmaster's account of his reception at court,

and of the indications of popular feeling at the university.

Whatever accordingly may be our opinion of the expediency of the course whereby Cambridge escaped, in Mr. Froude's words, 'the direct humiliation' that waited upon Oxford, it seems impossible on the foregoing evidence to deny, that this end was attained by the nomination of a commission which, if we examine its composition, can only be regarded in the light of a packed jury,—that the nomina-

Facts which tend to qualify Mr. Froude's eulogium.

¹ 'Quod ducere uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis cognitam a priori viro per carnalem copulam....est pro-

hibitum jure divino ac naturali.' Lamb, *Cambridge Documents*, p. 21.

² Cooper, *Annals*, i 340-2.

CHAP. VI. tion of this commission was at the outset opposed by the senate, being on the first division non-placeted, on the second, obtaining only an equality of votes, on the third carried only by the stratagem of inducing hostile voters to stay away,—that even of this commission, thus composed and thus appointed, it was found necessary to persuade at least one member to absent himself,—and that finally its decision was qualified by an important reservation, which, if the testimony of queen Catherine herself, independently of other evidence, was entitled to belief, involved a conclusion unfavorable to the divorce¹.

Position of
Fisher.

It is almost unnecessary to say that from these proceedings Fisher stood altogether aloof. He was throughout a firm and consistent opponent of the divorce; and the troubles which beclouded the last year of his life now began to gather thickly round his path. But neither increasing anxieties, the affairs of his bishopric, nor the infirmities of old age, could render him forgetful of Cambridge. Over St. John's College, more particularly, he watched to the last with untiring solicitude, and in its growing utility and reputation found

¹ The statement of Lingard in the matter appears undeniable:—that both Clement and Henry were sensible that, 'independently of other considerations,' the decisions of the universities *did not reach the real merits of the question*; for all of them were founded on the supposition that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had actually been consummated, a disputed point which the king was unable to prove and which the queen most solemnly denied.' *Hist. of England*, iv⁵ 551. The general feeling of the two universities is worthy of note in connexion with Mr. Froude's assertion that "in the sixteenth century, queen Catherine was an obstacle to the establishment of the kingdom, an incentive to treasonable hopes. In the nineteenth, she is an outraged and injured wife, the victim of a false husband's fickle appetite." 194. Perhaps side by side with this representation we may be permitted to place a *seventeenth* century and *eighteenth* century view: the first,

that of the author of the *Ductor Dubitantium*; the second, that of Dodd, the Catholic historian.—'Who [*i.e.* the learned men of the time] upon that occasion, gave too great testimony, with how great weakness men that have a bias to determine questions, and with how great force, a king that is rich and powerful, can make his own determinations. For though Christendom was then much divided, yet before that time there was almost general consent upon this proposition that the Levitical degrees do not, by any law of God, bind Christians to their observance.' *Ductor Dubitantium*, p. 222. "It belongs not to us to judge, whether Julius II had any sufficient reasons to dispense with Henry and Catherine; but we may say, that Henry having married Catherine by virtue of that dispensation, and lived near twenty-five years with her as his wife, could not lawfully and in conscience be parted from her, that he might marry another.' (written 1737). Dodd-Tierney, i 231.

his best reward. The promotion of Metcalfe to the mastership in 1518 had proved eminently favorable to the best interests of the society. Metcalfe was himself indeed no proficient in the new studies; but in Fuller's phrase, though 'with Themistocles, he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a little college a great one¹;' and before Fisher's death, the overflowing numbers of the students, their conspicuous devotion to learning, and names like those of Ascham and Cheke, had already caused the college to be noted as the most brilliant society in the university². In the year 1524 Fisher had drawn up a new code as the rule of the foundation, modelled to a great extent upon that of Fox at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and in 1530 he gave a third body of statutes in which he incorporated many of the regulations given by Wolsey for the observance of Cardinal College. Of the minuteness of detail and elaborateness of the provisions that characterise these last statutes some idea may be formed from the fact, that while the original statutes fill forty-six closely printed quarto pages, and those of 1524, seventy-seven, the statutes of 1530 occupy nearly a hundred and thirty. Alarmed at the signs of the times and timorous with old age, Fisher seems to have sought with almost feverish solicitude to provide for every possible contingency that might arise. Of the new provisions some,—such as the institution of lecturers in Greek and Hebrew, and the obligation imposed upon a fourth part of the fellows to occupy themselves with preaching to the people in English,—are undoubtedly entitled to all praise; but the additions that most served to swell the new statute-book were the lengthy and stringent oaths imposed alike on master, fellows, and scholars, and the introduction of innumerable petty restrictions, which it is difficult to suppose might not safely have been left to the discretion of the acting authorities from time to time.

Fisher's
statutes of
1524 and
1530.Multiplicity
and elabo-
rateness of
the details

It illustrates the fallacious nature of such elaborate

¹ Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 227; Baker-Mayor, 107-8.

² For Cheke's celebrity in the

university see Ascham, *Epistolæ* (ed. Elstob), pp. 74-5.

CHAP. VI.

The statutes however contain a grave omission in fixing no standard of acquirement with respect to pensioners.

Testimony of Ascham to harm resulting from this laxity.

precautions that, though the good bishop's care extended to details so trifling that the statute against 'fierce birds' was extended to include the most harmless of the feathered race,—the thrush, the linnet, and the blackbird¹,—he yet nevertheless omitted altogether to make provision with respect to one most important point,—an omission which fifteen years later it was found necessary to repair. We have already noted that the statutes of Christ's College are the first that contain a provision for the admission of pensioners², and that it was therein required, as also in each of the three codes given by Fisher to St. John's, that students thus admitted should have previously furnished satisfactory evidence with respect to character. Unfortunately it was not deemed necessary to insert a similar requirement with respect to *attainments*, and an inlet was thus afforded at both colleges to a class whose ignorance was only equalled by their disinclination to study, and who, as it was soon found, were a scarcely less formidable element of demoralisation than the riotous and dissolute. In less than twelve years after Fisher's death we accordingly find Ascham in writing to Cranmer (then archbishop), informing him that there were two things 'which proved great hindrances to the flourishing estate of the university;' and of these one was occasioned by such as were admitted, 'who were for the most part only the sons of rich men, and such as never intended to pursue their studies to that degree as to arrive at any eminent proficiency and perfection in learning, but only the better to qualify themselves for some places in the state, by a slighter and more superficial knowledge³.' Of the general concurrence of the college authori-

¹ *Early Statutes* (ed. Mayor), p. 138.

² See *supra*, p. 459; though pensioners are not recognised by college statutes, they existed in practice long before the sixteenth century. When the number of fellows on the different foundations was but small, it was common for members of the university, generally masters of arts, to rent a chamber of the college, for which they

paid a *pension*, and hence the name of *pensioner*. Dr. Ainslie, in his *Inquiry concerning the earliest Masters of the College of Valence Mary*, p. 297, notes an example of this practice, in the case of William Humberston, vicar of Tilney, as early as the fourteenth century.

³ Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, i 242.

ties in the view thus expressed by Ascham, we have satisfactory proof in the fact that in the statutes given by king Henry to St. John's in the year 1545, an endeavour is made to remedy the above evil (so far at least as the college was concerned), by the insertion of a clause requiring that no pensioner should be admitted who did not already possess such a knowledge of Latin as would enable him to profit by the regular course of instruction, and prevent his proving an impediment to the progress of others¹.

CHAP. VI.

The omission
repaired at
St. John's
in the sta-
tutes of 1545.

It must however be acknowledged that Fisher's mistrust of the tendencies he saw around him was far from singular, and the action of the university in reference to one important matter, at about the same time, sufficiently proves that a policy of repression and coercion was rapidly gaining ground. It was soon seen that Tunstal's plan of burning the Lutheran writings was of but small avail, and the efforts of the ecclesiastical authorities were now directed to a more effective method,—that of stifling the press itself. The first Cambridge printer was Erasmus's friend, John Siberch: and in the year 1521 he printed seven books, one of which, Linacre's translation of Galen *De Temperamentis*,—a prescribed text-book in the medical course of study,—claims to be the first book printed in England containing Greek characters. In the following year he printed two more volumes, and after that time we lose sight of his productions.

THE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS.

John
Siberch.

¹ 'Maximum itaque quod formidamus ex his provenire malum potest, si quosdam præter hunc numerum convictores et pensionarios intra collegium admiserimus, quorum non integra conversatio ceteros inficiat, atque ita sensim reliquo corpori pernicies inferatur. Magnopere etiam collegii interest ut adolescentes, priusquam in collegium admittuntur, aliquam progressionem et cursum in litteris factum habeant. Debet enim nonnihil inter ludos litterarios et academiam interesse, ut nisi fundamentis bene jactis e scholis grammaticorum ad academiam non procedant. Et fere cernitur eos postea maximum fructum studiorum percipere, qui ante in linguis mediocriter profecerunt. Itaque nullus in

hoc collegio quemquam, ne externum quidem aut puerum, grammaticam in cubiculo suo aut intra collegium doceat, tum quia magnum studiis suis impedimentum erit, tum quia majora docenda in collegiis sunt, grammatica in ludis litterariis discenda est. Habeant autem qui in collegium admissi sunt aliquam in litteris progressionem, ut postquam ad dialecticam se contulerint, majorem operam et diligentiores cum fructu in Aristotele ponant. Hoc nisi fiat, permagnam in logica discenda jacturam facient, et eruditio ea quæ necessaria propter usum est insuavis propter illorum in discendo tarditatem erit.' *Early Statutes of St. John's* (ed. Mayor), p. 85.

CHAP. VI. The humble dimensions of the publishing trade in those days often led to the publisher, bookseller, and printer being represented in one person; and the opponents of the Reformation probably flattered themselves that they had discovered an effectual means of excluding heretical literature, when in the year 1529 they petitioned Wolsey that only three booksellers should be permitted to ply their trade at Cambridge, who should be men of reputation and 'gravity,' and foreigners, with full authority to purchase books of foreign merchants¹. The petition appears to have received no immediate response; but in the year 1534 a royal licence was issued to the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university to appoint, from time to time, three stationers and printers, or sellers of books, residing within the university, who might be either aliens or natives. The stationers or printers thus appointed were empowered to print all manner of books approved of by the chancellor and his vicegerent, or three doctors, and to sell them, or any other books, whether printed within or without the realm, which had been allowed by the above-named censors. If aliens were appointed to the office, they were to be reputed in all respects as the king's subjects. In pursuance of this grant, Nicholas Speryng, Garrat Godfrey, and Sygar Nicholson, were appointed stationers of the university. The licensed press was however singularly sterile; and for more than half a century, from the year 1522 to 1584, it would appear that not a single book was printed at Cambridge.²

Licence of
1534.

Sygar
Nicholson.

Of the three booksellers above appointed, the third, Sygar Nicholson, had been educated at Gonville Hall, and justified bishop Nix's description of the college, by so strongly 'savouring of the pan,' that he had already been charged in 1529 with holding Lutheran opinions and having Lutheran books in his possession. He had consequently been for some time imprisoned, and, according to Latimer, was treated with cruel severity³. That a member of the university should

¹ Cooper, *Annals* i 329; see also *supra*, p. 500, n. 2.

² See an article, *The Cambridge University Press*, in *The Bookseller*

(Feb. 1860), by Mr. Thompson Cooper, F.S.A.

³ Cooper, *Athenæ*, i 51; Latimer-Corrie, ii 321.

have engaged in a trade so directly and honorably associated with learning calls for little comment; but it is not undeserving of notice that it was far from unusual for students in those days to betake themselves to crafts and callings that had much less direct affinities to academic culture. Nor does it appear that any discredit attached to such a change in their vocation; it is certain at least that many who thus turned their energies into a different channel saw no necessity for seeking a distant scene of action. The disputant who perhaps made but a poor figure in the schools of the university, not unfrequently reappeared as a prosperous tradesman in the town. With his wits sharpened on *quæstiones* and by necessity, he flung aside his clerical attire, espoused a wife, and commenced business as an innkeeper, grocer, baker, or brewer, or devoted himself, in the language of the corporation, 'to other feats of buying and selling, getting thereby great riches and substance.' Though naturally jealous of such competition, his fellow-tradesmen might have contemplated his endeavours with tolerable equanimity, had he pursued a consistent course, and shewn his readiness to bear his part in the civic burdens and imposts. But the habits of the schools were still strong upon him, and he too often eluded the bailiff's appeals with Protean facility. *Qua* profits and emoluments he was a townsman; *qua* taxes, attendances, and contributions, he was a master of arts of the university. The indignation of the honest burgesses, in their petition to the lord chancellor and chief justices, evidently exceeds their powers of expression¹.

Singular
phase of the
relations of
town and
university.

In the meantime significant events in the political world came on in rapid succession; and not long after Fisher had drawn up his last code for St. John's College, it began to be evident to all that the care and vigilance he had so often exercised in the cause of others would soon be needed in his own behalf. The credence which he, in common with so many other able men, gave to the pretensions of the Maid of Kent, and his subsequent refusal to take the oath imposed by the Act of Supremacy, resulted in his committal to the

Fisher's
last days.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, 1347.

CHAP. VI.

Fisher com-
mitted to
prison.

Tower. Superstitious he might be, but where his superstition did not come into play he was clear-sighted and sagacious, and his conscience and his intellect alike refused assent to 'the Anglican solecism.' The foresight he thus displayed was indeed in striking contrast to the indifference shewn by his episcopal brethren, by whom a question of really fundamental importance was treated as but of small moment.

Feeling of
the univer-
sity.

The story of his trial and death are matters that belong to English history, and, as admirably told by Mr. Froude, are still fresh in the memories of our readers, and require no further illustration at our hands. When it was known at Cambridge that the chancellor was under arrest, it seemed as though a dark cloud had gathered over the university; and at those colleges which had been his peculiar care the sorrow was deeper than could find vent in language. The men who, ever since their academic life began, had been conscious of his watchful oversight and protection, who as they had grown up to manhood had been honored by his friendship, aided by his bounty, stimulated by his example to all that was commendable and of good report, could not foresee his approaching fate without bitter and deep emotion; and rarely in the correspondence of colleges is there to be found such an expression of pathetic grief as the letter in which the society of St. John's addressed their beloved patron in his hour of trial¹. In the hall of that ancient foundation his portrait still looks down upon those who, generation after generation, enter to reap where he sowed. Delineated with all the severe fidelity of the art of that period, we may discern the asceticism of the ecclesiastic blending with the natural kindness of the man, the wide sympathies with the stern convictions. Within those walls

Letter of St.
John's
College.

¹ 'Tu nobis pater, doctor, praeceptor, legislator, omnis denique virtutis et sanctitatis exemplar. Tibi victum, tibi doctrinam, tibi quicquid est quod boni vel habemus vel scimus nos debere fatemur.....Quaecunque autem nobis in communi sunt opes, quicquid habet collegium nostrum, id si totum tua causa profunderemus,

ne adhuc quidem tuam in nos beneficentiam assequeremur. Quare (reverende pater) quicquid nostrum est, obsecramus, utere ut tuo. Tuum est eritque quicquid possumus, tui omnes sumus erimusque toti.' (Quoted in Baker-Mayor, p. 465). See also Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, II 356-8.

have since been wont to assemble not a few who have risen to eminence and renown. But the college of St. John the Evangelist can point to none in the long array to whom her debt of gratitude is greater, who have labored more untiringly or more disinterestedly in the cause of learning, or who by a holy life and heroic death are more worthy to survive in the memories of her sons!

Yet a few more months and both at Oxford and Cambridge the changes that had before been carried by argument, persuasion, and individual effort, were enforced in ampler measure by the authority of law. Cromwell succeeded to the chancellorship at Cambridge; and a ruder hand than that of Fisher or Wolsey ousted the professors of the old learning from the academic chair, and gave the pages of scholasticism to the winds. At both universities Duns Scotus, so long the idol of the schools, was dragged from his pedestal with an ignominy that recalls the fate of Sejanus. The memorable scene at Oxford, as described by one of Cromwell's commissioners, though often quoted, we shall venture to quote once more:—'We have set Duncie in Bocardo,' writes commissioner Leighton, 'and have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with all his blind glosses.....And the second time we came to New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Duncie, the wind blowing them into every corner. And there we found one Mr. Greenfield, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, gathering up part of the same book leaves, as he said, to make him sewells or blawnshers, to keep the deer within his wood, thereby to have the better cry with his hounds¹.'

At Cambridge Cromwell was in the same year appointed visitor as well as chancellor, and the letter that notified this second appointment to the university also conveyed the following Royal Injunctions, imposed upon 'the chancellor, vice-chancellor, doctors, masters, bachelors, and all other students and scholars, under pain of loss of their dig-

C IAP. VI.

Cromwell
succeeds
Fisher as
chancellor
1535.

His commis-
sioners at
Oxford and
Cambridge.

Leighton's
account of
proceedings
at Oxford.

¹ Strype, *Memorials*, i 324.

CHAP. VI. nities, benefices, and stipends, or expulsion from the university:—

THE ROYAL
INJUNCTIONS
of 1535.

‘(1) That by a writing to be sealed with the common seal of the university and subscribed with their hands, they should swear to the king’s succession, and to obey the statutes of the realm, made or to be made, for the extirpation of the papal usurpation and for the assertion and confirmation of the king’s jurisdiction, prerogative, and preeminence.

(2) That in King’s Hall, King’s, St. John’s, and Christ’s Colleges, Michaelhouse, Peterhouse, Gonville, Trinity, and Pembroke Halls, Queens’, Jesus, and Buckingham Colleges, Clare Hall, and Benet College, there should be founded and continued for ever by the masters and fellows, at the expense of those houses, *two daily public lectures, one of Greek the other of Latin.*

(3) That *neither in the university or any other college or hall, or other place, should any lecture be read upon any of the doctors who had written upon the Master of the Sentences, (a) but that all divinity lectures should be upon the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, according to the true sense thereof, and not after the manner of Scotus, etc.*

(4) That all students should be permitted to read the Scriptures privately or to repair to public lectures upon them.

(5) That as the whole realm, as well clergy as laity, had renounced the pope’s right and acknowledged the king to be the supreme head of the Church, *no one should thereafter publicly read the canon law, nor should any degrees in that law be conferred.*

(6) That all ceremonies, constitutions, and observances that hindered polite learning should be abolished.

(7) That students in arts should be instructed in the elements of logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, music, and philosophy, and should read Aristotle, Rudolphus Agricola (β), Philip Melancthon, Trapezuntius (γ), etc., and not the frivolous questions and obscure glosses of Scotus, Burleus (δ), Anthony Trombet (ε), Bricot (ζ), Bruliferius (η), etc.

(8) That all statutes of the university or of any college, hall, house, or hostel, repugnant to these articles and injunctions should be void.

(9) That all deans, presidents, wardens, heads, masters, rectors, and officers in every college, hall, house, or hostel in the university, should on their admission be sworn to the due and faithful observance of these articles¹.

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i 375.

(α) see *supra*, pp. 59-62.

(β) see *supra*, pp. 412-3.

(γ) see *supra*, p. 429.

(δ) see *supra*, p. 197.

(ε) One of the newest commentators on Duns Scotus (*d.* 1518), ‘welcher *Questiones quodlibetales* als

Erläuterung der *Quodlibeta* des Scotus schrieb unter dem Titel *In Scotti Formalitates* und einen höchst ausführlichen controvertirenden Commentar zu Sirectus verfasste, wobei er im Hinblick auf die unerlässliche Reinheit der Parteistellung die Ansicht Brulifer’s schon ziemlich

The day that saw the leaves of Duns Scotus fluttering in the quadrant of New College, may be regarded as marking the downfall of scholasticism in England; and here, if anywhere, may be drawn the line that in university history divides the mediæval from the modern age. Yet a few more months, and Erasmus, weary of life and even of that learning to which his life was given, sank painfully to rest at Basel; Tyndale died at the stake at Vilvorde; and the inaugurators of the changes now finding their full effect in a revolution thus widespread and momentous, gave place to another generation. The men of that generation at Cambridge were witnesses too of changes neither uninteresting nor unimportant. They saw the authority of the scholastic Aristotle more rudely shaken by Ramus in the schools than it had ever been shaken before; they saw in the foundation of Trinity College the rise of a new conception of college discipline under distinctly Protestant auspices; and with the Statutes of Elizabeth they saw the constitution of the university assume that form which with but few modifications has lasted to our own day. But with these changes we find ourselves in the presence of new characters and new ideas; and the final triumph of the Humanists seems to mark the point at which this volume may most fitly close.


In recording the fall of that system which in its unceasing and yet monotonous activity has so long engaged our attention, and against which the preceding pages have been a more or less continuous indictment, our inclination is less to reiterate the conventional phrases that express the common verdict on its merits, than to recall the services which amid

deutlich als zum Thomismus hinneigend verdächtigte.' Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, iv 269.

(f) *Textus totius logices per magistrum Thomam Bricot abbreviatus et per eundem novissime emendatus*. (Basileæ, 1492),—'zeigt sich uns derselbe als einen rasonirenden und zugleich rechtfertigenden Auszug aus dem aristotelischen Organon mit Einschluss des Porphyrius, so dass wir jede weitere Bemerkung über diese an sich untergeordnete Arbeit

unterlassen könnten.' *Ibid.* iv 200.

(g) Another commentator on *Sirectus*; printed in different editions of that author, Venet. 1501, 1514, 1526, 1588. He labored to reduce the *distinctio* to two kinds,—the *distinctio formalis*, and the *distinctio realis*. 'Diese Dichotomie aber wurde hinwiederum... von anderen conservativen Scotisten geradezu als eine Hinneigung zum Thomismus bezeichnet.' *Ibid.* iv 198.

CHAP. VI.  much extravagance, much puerility, and much bigotry, scholasticism yet rendered to civilisation. We would fain remember how dim was the age in which it rose; that its chief names are still the beacon lights whereby, and whereby alone, the student can discern the tradition of Roman culture and Athenian thought across centuries of barbarism, ignorance, and superstition; that at a time when the ancient literature had been either forbidden or forgotten, and the modern literature was not, it found at once a stimulus and a career for the intellect, and generated a wondrous, far-reaching, and intense, if not altogether healthy, activity; that with a subtlety and power not inferior to that of the best days of Hellas, it taught men to distinguish and define, and left its impress on the language and the thought of Europe in lines manifold, deep-graven, and ineffaceable; that the great contest in philosophy which it again initiated still perplexes and divides the schools; that the study it most ardently cultivated and in which it had, as it were, its being, has after long neglect been revived at our universities and pursued with developements of system and method of which Aquinas and Duns Scotus never dreamed; and thus while unhesitatingly acknowledging that scholasticism mostly led its followers by bitter waters and over barren plains, and that its reign can never be restored, we may yet recognise therein a salutary, perhaps a necessary, experience in the education of the world.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

(A), pp. 66 & 559.

Lydgate's Verses on the Foundation of the University of Cambridge.

(From the copy in Stokys' book f. 80 seq. in the registry, Cambridge.)

Johannes Lidgatus.

- 1 By trew reeorde of the Doctore Bede,
That some tyme wrotte so mikle with his hande,
And specially remembre as I reede
In his cronicles made of England
Amonge other thynges as ye shall vnderstand,
Whom for myne auethour I dare alleage,
Seith the translacion and buylding of Cambridge.
- 2 With hym accordinge Alfrido the Croniclere,
Seriously who lyst his bookes to see,
Made in the tyme when he was Thresurere
Of Beverley an old famouse eytie,
Affirme and seyne the vniuersitie
Of Cambridge & studye fyrst began
By their wrytinge as I reporte can.
- 3 He rehersing first for commendacion,
By their writinge how that old eytie
Was stronglie whalled with towers manye one,
Builte and finished with great libertie
Notable and famous of great auctoritie,
As their authors accordinge sayne the same,
Of Cantabro takyng first his name.
- 4 Like as I finde reporte I can none other.
This Canteber tyme of his lvyng
To Pertholyne he was germayne brother
Duke in the daies in Ireland a great Kyng,
Chieffe & principall cause of that building.
The wall about and towers as they stode
Was set and builte vpon a large floode,

- 5 Named Cantebro a large brode ryver,
 And after Cante called Cantebro,
 This famous Citie, this write the Cronieler,
 Was called Cambridge; rehersing eke also
 In their booke their aucthors bothe twoe
 Towching the date, as I rehearse can,
 Fro thilke tyme that the world began
- 6 Fower thowsand complete by accomptes clere
 And thre hundreth by computacion
 Joyned therto eight and fortie yeare,
 When Cantebro gave the fundacion
 Of thys cytie and this famous towne
 And of this noble vniuersitie
 Sett on this ryver which is called Cante.
- 7 And fro the great transmigracion
 Of kynges reconed in the byble of old
 Fro Iherusalem to babylon
 Twoe hundreth wynter and thirtie yeares told.
 Thus to writte myne aucthour maketh me bold,
 When Cantebro, as it well knoweth,
 At Atheynes scholed in his yought,
- 8 Alle his wyttes greatlye did applic
 To have acquayntaunce by great affection
 With folke experte in philosophie.
 From Atheines he brought with hym downe
 Philosophers most sovereigne of renowne
 Vnto Cambridge, playnlye this is the case,
 Anaxamander and Anaxagoras
- 9 With many other myne Aucthous dothe fare,
 To Cambridge fast can hym spede
 With philosophers, & let for no cost spare
 In the Schooles to studdie & to reede;
 Of whoes teachinge great profit that gan spreade
 And great increase rose of his doctrine;
 Thus of Cambridge the name gan first shyne
- 10 As chieffe schoole & vniuersitie
 Vnto this tyme fro the daye it began
 By cleare reporte in manye a far countre
 Vnto the reigne of Cassibellan,
 A woorthie prince and a full knyghtlie man,
 As sayne cronicles, who with his might[ic] hand
 Let Julius Cesar to arryve in this laude.

- 11 Five hundreth yere full thirtie yere & twentie
 Fro babilons transmigracion
 That Cassibelan reigned in britayne,
 Which by his notable royall discrecion
 To increase that studdie of great affection,
 I meane of Cambridge the vniuersitie,
 Franchized with manye a libertie.
- 12 By the meane of his royall favor
 From countreis about manye one
 Divers Schollers by diligent labour
 Made their resorte of great affection
 To that stoddie great plentie there cam downe,
 To gather frutes of wysdome and science
 And sondrie flowers of sugred eloquence.
- 13 And as it is put eke in memorie,
 Howe Julius Cesar entring this region
 On Cassybellan after his victorie
 Tooke with him clarkes of famouse renowne
 Fro Cambridg and ledd them to rome towne,
 Thus by processe remembred here to forne
 Cambridg was founded longe or Chryst was borne,
- 14 Five hundreth yere thirtie and eke nyne.
 In this matter ye gett no more of me,
 Reherse I wyll no more [as] at this tyme.
 Theis remembraunces have great auuthoritie
 To be preferred of longe antiquitie;
 For which by recorde all clarkes seyne the same,
 Of heresie Cambridge bare never blame.

(B), p. 136.

Nearly all that is known about the university of Stamford, its fabled foundation as Bladud's university in A.C. 863, its probable first foundation under the patronage of Henry de Hanna, the second Provincial general of the Carmelites in England, and its final dispersion in 1335 (according to Wood 1334), is to be found in the *Academia Tertia Anglicana*, or *Antiquarian Annals of Stanford*, compiled by the laborious antiquary, Francis Peck, himself a native of Stamford. Whether the foundations there can be held to have constituted a *university* as Peck (*Lib. VIII.* p. 44) claims, may perhaps be questioned: Wood hesitates to decide; and the language of the letter of Edward III commanding the return of the Oxford students, 'we not being minded that schools or studies should in any sort be any where held within

our kingdom, *save than in places where there are now universities*,' certainly implies the contrary. All the four mendicant orders had foundations there, and respecting the activity of the Carmelites and the importance of their college there can be no doubt. 'It was,' says Peck, 'a royal foundation, as is evident by the arms of France and England quartered, and insculped in the stone work of the gate, yet remaining. It was situate in the east suburb, and by the out walls which are yet standing,' (*written 1727*) 'appears to have been near a mile in circumference. If we may believe tradition it was a very magnificent structure, and in particular famous for its beautiful church and steeple, which last, they say, was very like that fine spire now belonging to All Saints' church in the mercat place at Stamford. As for the house, history, as well as tradition, agrees, it was always made use of for reception of our English princes, who were lodged and entertained here, in their progresses and other journeys into or out of the north.' (*Lib. VIII p. 44.*) 'Certain it is,' he adds, 'this convent was as happy in the many famous men it produced, as their schools and house itself were remarkable for the strictness of their discipline.' Among these 'famous men' he names William Lidlington, John Burley, John Repingdale, Walter Heston, Ralph de Spalding, John Upton, Nicholas Kenton, and William Whetely. Of the last-named, styled by Leland 'Boetianus,' Wood tells us that he 'was governor of the schools' (at Stamford) 'five and twenty years and above, before the Oxonians received commands from studying and abiding there, as it appears from a note at the end of his commentaries on Boetius, *De Disciplina Scholarium*, going thus,—*Explicit liber Boetii de disciplina scholarium in hunc modum ordinatus ac compilatus per quendam Magistrum qui rexit scholas Stamfordiae, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCIX.*' Wood-Gutch, I 431. This commentary, on a treatise falsely ascribed to Boethius, is still preserved among the MSS. in Pembroke College Library, commencing *Hominum natura multipliciter est*. The note quoted by Wood belongs, according to Peck, to a copy preserved at Merton College, Oxford. See *Camb. Ant. Soc. Communications*, II 20; Peck, *Hist. of Stamford*, Lib. x p. 3.

(C), p. 220.

The following Statute occurs on the last page of one portion of a miscellaneous volume in the University Library, (MS. Mm. 4. 41), none of the contents of which can well be later than the 14th century, while the part in question may probably be assigned to the reign of Edward the First. The handwriting is the same as that of the treatises immediately preceding it, and it is quite possible that it was copied into this book very soon after the time at which it was first made.

Statuta Universitatis Cantabrigiae.

Si aliquis velit habere aliquam principalitatem alicujus hospitii in dicta universitate, veniat ad dominum hospitii illius in die Sancti Barnabae apostoli ; quia ab illo tempore [11 Jun.] usque ad Nativitatem Beatae Mariae [8 Sept.] possunt offerri cautiones et admitti, et nullo alio tempore anni.

Item qui prior est tempore prior est jure ; ita, qui prius offert cautionem domino domus, stabit cautio ; et illa cautio debet praeferri coram cancellario.

Item scholaris ille qui dare debet cautionem ipse debet venire domino hospitii in praedicto die vel infra illud tempus, sed quanto citius tanto melius, et in praesentia bedelli vel notarii vel duorum testium et cautionem sibi exponere cum effectu, si velit ; ita videlicet cum effectu, vel cautionem fidejussoriam vel pignoratitiam, id est, vel duos fidejussores vel unum librum vel aliud tale ; et, si non admittatur, ille scholaris debet statim adire cancellarium et sibi exponere cautionem in praesentia illorum testium et dicere qualiter dominus hospitii te minus juste recusavit in cautione recipienda ; et hoc probato cancellarius statim te admittet ad illam cautionem et ad illam principalitatem invito domino hospitii.

Item ille qui scholaris est et principalis alicujus hospitii non potest cedere nec alicui clerico scholari socio renuntiare juri suo, sed tantum domino hospitii.

Item cessiones hujusmodi prohibentur quia fuissent in praejudicium domini hospitii ; quod fieri non debet.

Item si aliquis sit principalis alicujus hospitii, et aliquis alius scholaris velit inhabitare tanquam principalis in eodem hospitio, adeat dominum hospitii et exponat sibi cautionem, ut dicitur supra, ita dicens : Domine, si placeat tibi, peto me admitti ad principalitatem hospitii tui in illa parochia, quandocunque principalis velit cedere vel renuntiare juri suo, ita quod ego primo et principaliter et immediate possim sibi succedere, si placeat tibi, salvo jure suo dum principalis fuerit. Si non vult, exponas cautionem cancellario, ut te admittat ad illam conditionem quod quandocunque non fuerit principalis, quod tu possis esse principalis et sibi succedere in eodem hospitio prae omnibus aliis ; et cancellarius te admittet invito domino et invito principali.

Item si aliquis dominus dicit alicui scholari : Vis tu esse principalis illius hospitii mei ? Scholaris dicit quod sic ; sed dominus hospitii dicit quod non vult quod hospitium taxetur aliquo modo ; scholaris dicit quod non curat ; scholaris ingreditur tanquam principalis et accipit sibi socios scholares in hospitio suo. Isti scholares hospitii possunt adire cancellarium et facere hospitium eorum taxari invito principali et invito domino, non obstante contractu inter dominum et principalem, qui contractus privatorum non potest praejudicare juri publico.

Item nullus potest privare aliquem principalem sua principalitate nec aliquo modo supplantare, dummodo solvit pensionem, nisi dominus hospitii velit inhabitare, vel nisi dominus vendiderit vel hospitium alienaverit.

(D), p. 234.

The Statutes of Michael House under the seal of Harveey de Stanton.

(The earliest college statutes of the university.)

Universis Christi fidelibus præsentibus et futuris, Hervieus de Stanton clericus salutem, ad perpetuam memoriam subscriptorum. Celsa Plasmatoris omnium magnifice bonitatis immensitas, creaturam suam rationalem quam sue similitudini conformarat, ingenuam volens ad interne discretionis intelligentiam offerri, et in fide catholica solidari, superna pietate disposuit creaturam ipsam fulgere virtutibus et doctrinis, ut creatorem et redemptorem suum fideliter credendo cognosceret, et eidem, absque criminis contagione mortiferi, deserviret. Cumque per divini cultus obsequium et scripturæ sacre documentum juxta sanctiones canonicas sancta mater extollatur ecclesia. Quibus ab excellentissimo principe et domino reverendo, domino Edwardo Dei gratia rege Anglie illustri, devotione saluberrima pensatis, Idem dominus rex ad honorem Dei et augmentum cultus divini michi gratiose concedere dignatus est, et per literas suas patentes concessit et licentiam dedit pro se ac heredibus suis, quod in quodam mesuagio cum pertinentiis in Cantebri: ubi exercitium studii fulgere dinoscitur, (quod quidem mesuagium michi in feodum adquisivi) quandam domum scolarium, capellanorum et aliorum, sub nomine Domus Scolarium Sancti Michaelis Cantebri: per quandam magistrum ejusdem domus regendam juxta ordinationem meam, instituere et fundare possim et assignare predictis magistro et scolaribus, habendum sibi et successoribus suis pro eorum inhabitatione in perpetuum. Super quo venerabilis pater dominus Johannes Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus, loci diocesanus, in hac parte, precibus meis, de consensu capituli sui, salubriter annuendo, gratiose concessit, predictam Domum Scolarium Sancti Michaelis, ut predicitur, per me fundari et firmitate perpetua stabiliri.

S. 3. Quapropter convocatis in presentia mea magistro Roberto de Mildenhale, magistro Waltero de Buxton, magistro Thoma de Kyningham, et Henrico de Langham presbiteris; Thoma de Trumpeshale et Edmundo de Mildenhall presbiteris et baccaluriis in universitate Cantebri: studentibus, qui artium liberalium philosophic, seu theologie studio intendebant: dictam domum in Sancte et Individue Trinitatis, Beate Marie matris Domini nostri Jesu Christi semper Virginis, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, et omnium Sanctorum venerationem, sub nomine Domus Scolarium sancti Michaelis, ut predicitur, predictis Roberto,

Waltero, Thoma, Henrico, Thoma, et Edmundo, scholaribus de plano consentientibus, in ipsorum scolarium personis, collegium originaliter facio, ordino, stabilio, et constituo in hac parte: quibus magistrum Reginald de Honyng subdiaconum associari concedo. Et prefatum magistrum Walterum de Buxton eisdem domui, collegio, et societati, in magistrum preficio: et ipsum magistrum ad salubre et competens regimen eorumdem constituo, quibus quidem magistro et scolaribus, et eorum successoribus, locum inhabitationis in mesuagio meo predicto cum pertinentiis situato in parochia Sancti Michaelis in vico qui vocatur Melnstrete, quod perquisivi de magistro Rogero filio domini Guidonis Butetourte, in perpetuum concedo et assigno. Quam quidem Domum Scolariū Sancti Michaelis volo imperpetuum nuncupari.

S. 4. Super statu vero predictæ domus scholarium, sic ordinandum duxi et statuendum: primum quidem quod scholares in eadem domo sint presbyteri, qui in artibus liberalibus seu philosophia rexerint, vel saltem baccalarii in eadem scientia existant, et qui in artibus incipere teneantur, et postquam cessaverint studio Theologiæ intendant. et quod nullus de cetero in societatem dictæ domus admittatur preter presbyteros, vel saltem in sacris ordinibus constitutos, infra annum a tempore admissionis sue in domum prædictam, ad ordinem sacerdotalem canonice promovendos, honestos, castos, humiles, pacificos, et indigentes qui consimiliter in artibus liberalibus seu philosophia rexerint, vel saltem baccalarii in eadem scientia existant, et studio theologie ut prædicitur, processu temporis vacent et intendant.

S. 5. Quibus magistrum præesse volo, et eidem magistro, seu substituto ab eodem, (cum legitimo impedimento ipsum magistrum abesse, vel adversa valetudine detineri contigerit) volo, ordino, et stabilio ceteros dictæ societatis scholares, tam presbyteros quam alios subesse, et eidem in canonicis et licitis, pro statu, utilitate et regimine dietarum domus et societatis salubriter obedire.

S. 6. Et quod magister et scholares capellani et alii, mensam communem habeant, in domo predicta: et habitum conformem, quanto commode poterint, quorum quilibet in ordine presbyterus constitutus quinque marcas, et quilibet in diaconum aut subdiaconum ordinatus quatuor marcas tantummodo, de me et rebus meis annuatim percipiat: donec, Dei suffragio, pro ipsorum sustentatione, in tenementis, redditibus, seu ecclesiarum appropriationibus provideatur; unde possint in forma predicta sustentari. Ita quod singulis septimanis sumptus cujuslibet eorumdem in esculentis et poculentis duodecim denarios, nisi ex causa necessaria et honesta, non excedat. Et si quod, anno revoluto, de predictis quinque et quatuor marcis supererit, computatis expensis cujuslibet juxta ordinationem predictam, distribuatur inter socios dictæ domus pro equali portione. Habeant insuper dicti scholares duos famulos ad ministrandum eis in hospitio suo, quorum uterque pro sustentatione sua in esculentis et poculentis percipiat singulis septimanis decem denarios

pro stipendio vero eorundem duorum famulorum, et barbitonsoris et lotricis, percipiant dicti scolares quadraginta solidos per annum, et si pro minori stipendio inter eos convenerit, quod residuum fuit inter ipsos scolares distribuatur, sicut superius dictum est.

S. 7. Numerus vero capellanorum scolarium et aliorum, ut predicetur, juxta quantitatem bonorum et proventuum dicte domus, processu temporis augmentur. De expensis vero dictorum capellanorum et scolarium super esculentis et poculentis, per unum sive presbyterum aut alium ex sociis dicte domus, per magistrum deputandum vicissim ac alternatim, singulis septimanis ministretur; et inde, singulis diebus Veneris aut Sabbati, coram magistro et sociis fideliter computetur.

S. 8. Nec aliquis in societate dicte domus ponatur seu admittatur nisi per magistrum et scolares dicte domus; qui per scrutinium socios eligendos in virtute juramenti sui, eligant simpliciter meliores; non habendo respectum ad aliquam affectionem carnalem, nec instantiam, nec aliquorum requisitionem, seu precationem.

S. 9. Si vero dictorum presbyterorum seu scolarium alicui talis egritudo supervenerit, quod inter sanos commode conversari non debeat; seu quis eorum religionem intraverit; seu aliunde vagando se transtulerit; seu ab eadem domo per tres menses continuos, sine licentia magistri, se absentaverit; seu in ipsa domo studere neglexerit dum potens fuerit ad studendum; seu in divini cultus ministerio, juxta status sui exigentiam et ordinationem predictam, negligens aut remissus notabiliter extiterit; seu aliunde substantiam ad valentiam centum solidorum annuorum in temporalibus seu spiritualibus consecutus fuerit; cesset ex tunc omnino in ejus persona exhibitio in domo predicta. Ita quod nichil inde percipiat in futurum. Quod si publica turpitudinis nota eorum aliquem involverit, aut in ipsa domo per eorum aliquem grave scandalum fuerit suscitatum; vel adeo impacificus et discors erga magistrum et socios, seu jurgiorum aut litium creber suscitator extiterit; seu de perjurio, sacrilegio, furto, seu rapina, homicidio, adulterio, vel incontinentia super lapsu carnis notorie diffamatur; ita quod, per socios dicte domus statuto sibi termino, se purgare non possit, dicta sustentatio omnino sibi subtrahatur, et ipse velut ovis morbida, que totam massam corrumpit, a dicta congregatione juxta discretionem magistri et senioris partis societatis predicte, penitus excludatur. Nec alicui a domo predicta sic ejecto actio competat, contra magistrum dicte domus aut scolares, seu quoscunque alios de dicta domo, agendo, appellando, conquerendo, sive in integrum restitutionem petendo; nec aliquibus literis seu impetrationibus, in foro ecclesiastico seu seculari subveniatur: hujusmodi literis seu impetrationibus, qualitercunque optentis, utendo.

S. 11. Et ne litibus, placitis, seu querelis, bona dicte domus distrahantur, per aliquem seu aliquos societatis predicte, aut in usus alios convertantur, minuantur, aut dissipentur; sed duntaxat in pios usus ut predicatur, erogentur; ordino, statuo, et stabilio, ne qui in dicta

sustentatione aut bonis diete domus proprietatem habeant, nec aliquod sibi vendicare possint, nisi dum obedientes, tolerabiles, humiles fuerint, adeo et modesti ut magister et socii diete domus eorum conversationem et societatem laudabilem approbaverint, et inde decreverint se contentos in forma predicta.

S. 12. Hoc autem scolares diete domus diligenter inter se attendant, ut nullus eorum, extraneos aut propinquos inducendo, diete sue societati, onerosus existat; ne per hoc aliorum turbetur tranquillitas, aut contentionis seu jurgiorum materia suscitetur, aut bonorum diete societatis in ipsorum dispendium portio subtrahatur, seu in usus alios minus provide convertatur.

S. 13. Contentiones vero et discidia inter socios diete domus suborta, studeat magister ejusdem, juxta consilium sanioris partis eorundem, diligenter corripere et sedare, viis et modis quibus poterit opportunis. Sed ingruente super hoc correptionis seu correctionis importunitate, dominus episcopus Elyensis qui pro tempore fuerit, vel cancellarius universitatis Cantebrię. juxta factorum contingentium qualitatem, si necesse fuerit consulatur. Preterea visitetur dicta domus per cancellarium universitatis semel, vel pluries, cum per magistrum diete domus aut scolares fuerit requisitus. Et si quid corrigendum invenerit, emendari faciat, juxta consuetudinem universitatis predictę; nichil tamen novi attemptet, statuatur, ordinetur, seu introducat per quod ordinationi mee predictę in aliquibus derogetur, seu valeat derogari.

Capellani et scolares societatis predictę, singulis diebus festivis majoribus, in predicta ecclesia Sancti Michaelis, ad matutinas et alias horas canonicas competentur psallendas, personaliter conveniant; et ad missas de die prout decet juxta festorum exigentiam, cum nota quatenus commode vacare poterint, celebrandas. Singulis vero diebus feriatis dicant omnes horas canonicas, prout decet. Hoc semper observato quod singulis diebus in quibus licet celebrare, *Missa beate Virginis* et *Misse defunctorum* extra festa majora, perpetuo celebrentur. Et quod quilibet in ordine sacerdotali constitutus quinquies in septimana missam celebret, cum commode vacare poterit, nisi per infirmitatem aut alias ex causa legitima fuerit impeditus. Singulis vero diebus Dominicis, a tempore inceptionis hystorie que dicitur *Deus omnium* usque ad adventum Domini, celebretur *Missa de Trinitate*. per singulos autem dies Lune, *Missa de Sancto Michaeli Archangelo*. Et quolibet die Martis, *Missa de Sancto Edmundo Rege* et *Sancto Thoma Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Martyribus et omnibus Martyribus*. Quolibet die Mercurii, *Missa de Sancto Johanne Baptista* et alia *Missa de Sancto Petro Apostolo et omnibus Apostolis*. Quolibet die Jovis, *Missa de Sanctis Etheldreda, Katerina, Margareta, et omnibus Virginibus*. Quolibet die Veneris, *Missa de Sancta Cruce*, et quolibet die Sabbati, *Missa de Sanctis Nicholao, Martino, et omnibus Confessoribus*. Et quod ille missis speciales, extra festa dupplicia, celebrentur per capellanum quem magister diete domus ad hoc vicissim duxerit assign-

nandum, prout ad missas illas speciales horis captatis intendere poterint celebrandas.

17. Per hoc autem intentionis meo non existit, ipsorum scolarium capellanorum aliquem ultra possibilitatem suam congruam, super hujusmodi missarum celebrationibus faciendis, onerare, quo minus lectionibus, disputationibus in scolis, sive studio valeant vacare competentem; et hec eadem ipsorum conscientis duxi relinquenda. Psalmos vero penitenciales cum psalmis quindecim, scilicet *Ad Dominum cum tribularer*, et aliis usualibus: et litania, *placebo*, et *dirige*, et *animarum commendationem*, dicant secundum usum Sarum, conjunctim vel separatim, horis quibus vacare poterint competentibus, suarum periculo animarum.

18. In omnibus vero et singulis missis celebrandis, tenentur dicti capellani scolares orare, pro statu universalis Ecclesie, et paco et tranquillitate regni, et pro salute dicti domini regis, domine Isabello regine, domini Edwardi dicti regis primogeniti, et aliorum ipsius regis liberorum, et prefati domini episcopi Elyensis, prioris et conventus ejusdem loci, Mea, magistri Rogeri Butetourte, Dere de Wad-dyngle et omnium parentum amicorum, et benefactorum meorum: et ipsorum cum ab hoc seculo migraverint, animabus, et omnium regum Anglie animabus neenon specialiter pro animabus dominorum Radulphi de Walpol et Roberti de Oreford quondam episcoporum Elyensium; Johannis de Northwoldo quondam abbatis de sancto Edmundo; Johannis de Berwisco, Henrici de Guldeford, Johannis de Vivon, Ade de Ikelyng-ham, Galfridi de Kyngeston, Johannis de Ely, Parentum et benefactorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum.

19. De cameris vero in manso habitationis predicto dictis scolariis assignandis, habeat magister cameram principalem, et quo ad alias cameras preferantur seniores.

20. Item habeant dicti magister et scolares communem eistam, pro cartis, scriptis, et hujus modi rebus suis custodiendis, cum tribus serruris et clavibus; quarum unam clavem custodiat magister dicte domus, et aliam clavem unus capellanorum, et tertiam clavem alius capellanus, per magistrum et scolares ad custodiam illam deputandi.

21. Cedente vero aut decedente magistro dicte domus, alius magister ydoneus, providus, et circumspectus, in ordine sacerdotali constitutus, saltem qui in arte rexit dialectica, per socios ejusdem domus seu majorem et seniore partem eorundem secundum numerum, de seipsis aut aliis, eligatur; et hujus modi electio cancellario universitatis Cantebri: notificetur, simpliciter, approbanda, sed non examinanda. Nec per hoc habeat cancellarius dicte universitatis potestatem sive jurisdictionem dictam electionem quassandi, seu de statu dicte domus aliqualem ordinandi, seu aliquem in societatem dicto domus ponendi, contra formam ordinationis mee supradicte.

22. Quod si forsitan scholares dicte domus, cedente vel decedente magistro ejusdem, alium magistrum ad regimen dicte domus, infra duos

nienses a tempore cessionis aut decessus magistri, eligere neglexerint: tune statim post lapsum illorum duorum mensium, dominus episcopus Elyensis, qui pro tempore fuerit, magistrum preficiat et deputet ad regimen antedictum; et hujus modi profectio magistri, facta per predictum dominum episcopum, cancellario notificetur, modo superius annotato, salva semper dictis scholaribus electione libera magistrum eligendi, in singulis aliis vacationibus, per mortem aut cessionem magistri sui, contingentibus in futurum.

§ 23. Cum autem aliquis scholaris, sive presbiter sive alius, in sacris tamen ordinibus constitutus, ad societatem dicte domus sit recipiendus; statim in admissione sua hujus modi recente, eoram magistro [vel] presidente dicte domus, et sociis, jurabit, inspectis sive tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis, quod predictas ordinationes et statuta, ut predicatur, toto posse suo fideliter observabit, quatenus absque nota perjurii, juxta conscientie sue serenationem, ea tenere poterit et observare.

24. Ceterum liceat mihi, omnibus diebus vite mee, predictis ordinationibus addere et easdem minuere, mutare, declarare, et interpretari prout et quando, secundum Deum, michi placuerit et videbitur expedire.

25. In quorum testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui, testibus domino Ffultone Priore de Bernwelle, Roberto Dunning majore Cantebri: Eudone de Impringham, magistro Henrico de Trippelowe, Johanne Morris, Roberto de Cumberton, Petro de Bermingham, Adam de Bungeye, Willelmo de Heywarde, Roberto de Brunno, Reginaldo de Trumpeton, Bartholomeo Morris, Johanne Pilat, et aliis. Datum apud Canteb. die Iovis proxima ante festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno Domini millesimo trecentissimo vicesimo quarto, et regni domini regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi decimo octavo.

(E), p. 358.

Legere ordinarie, extraordinarie, cursorie.

The following passages contain the different views to which I have referred in the text:—

‘A distinction is made in the statutes of all universities between those who read *ordinarie et cursorie*, though it is not very easy to discover in what the precise difference consisted: it is probable however that whilst *cursorie lectures* were confined to the reading of the simple text of the author, with the customary glosses upon it, the *ordinary lectures* included such additional comments on the text, as the knowledge and researches of the reader enabled him to supply. The *ordinary lectures* would thus appear to have required higher qualifications than the *cursorie lectures*,—a view of their character which is confirmed by a statute of the university of Paris, ordering that “Nullus magister qui leget ORDINARIE lectiones suas debet finire CURSORIE.” Peacock, *Observations*, App. A, pp. xlv, xlv.

‘What these *cursor*y lectures were we can only conjecture; probably they were more what we should call lectures, while the *ordinary* lectures were actual lessons: in the *cursor*y lecture the master was the sole performer, in the ordinary the scholar was heard his lesson.’ Anstey, *Introd. to Munimenta Academica*, p. lxi.

‘Les leçons étaient distinguées en *ordinaires* et *extraordinaires*. Les leçons ordinaires étaient ainsi appelées parce que la matière, la forme, le jour, l’heure et le lieu étaient déterminés par la Faculté et par la Nation. Ces leçons ne pouvaient être faites que par les Maîtres. L’objet, la forme, le jour, l’heure et le lieu des leçons extraordinaires étaient laissés dans de certaines limites au libre arbitre de chacun. Elles pouvaient être faites soit par des maîtres, soit par des bacheliers.’ Thurot, *De l’Organisation de l’Enseignement*, etc. p. 65. M. Thurot then quotes in a note the phrases *lectiones cursoriæ*, *legere ad cursum*, *lectio cursoria*, *legere cursorie*; *cursor*y lectures being, he supposes, nearly identical with *extraordinary* lectures,—the view which I have adopted in the text. In support of this view, and also to shew that the original use of the terms *ordinary* and *cursor*y had no reference to any special *mode of lecturing*, I would offer the following considerations:—(1) The meaning I have assigned to these terms harmonises with the etymology; but if *ordinarie* be supposed to have reference to a *peculiar method of lecturing*, what sense is to be assigned to the expression *extraordinarie*? (2) In the few early college statutes that relate to *college lectures*, no such distinction is recognised: yet some of these statutes specify not only the subjects but the authors to be treated. On the other hand, the view indicated by M. Thurot,—that the *cursor*y lecture was an extra lecture, given in most instances by a bachelor, whose own course of study was still incomplete, and upon a subject which formed part of that course,—derives considerable support from the following facts:—(a) *Cursor*y readers had, in some instances, their course of reading assigned to them by the reader in *ordinary*. Thus in statute 100 (*Documents*, i 365, 366), *De cursorie legentibus in jure canonico*, we find the *cursor*y reader required to swear *se lecturum per duos terminos infra biennium in lectura sibi assignanda per ordinarie legentem*. That is, according to Mr Anstey’s theory, the lecturer engaged upon the more elementary part of the instruction determined what should be read by the lecturer who taught the more advanced pupils! (β) Those *incepting* either in medicine, in civil or canon law, or in divinity, are required to have previously lectured *cursorily* in their respective subjects before admission to the degrees of D.M., D.C.L., J.U.D., or D.D. (see statutes 119, 120, 122, 124, *Documents* i 375–377); but to have lectured *ordinarily* is never made a prerequisite: for before a lecturer could be deputed to deliver an ordinary lecture, he must have passed through the *whole course* of the faculty he represented. (γ) Among other statutes of our own university we find the following: *Item nullus baccalaureus in artibus aliquem textum*

publice legat ante anni suæ determinationis completum. (Statute 142, Documents 1385). This statute is entitled *De artistis cursorie legendis*; if therefore the title be taken in conjunction with the statute, it is difficult not to infer that lecturing by bachelors was what was usually understood by *cursor*y lectures; an inference which derives confirmation from the following statute among those which Mr Anstey has so ably edited: 'Item, ordinatum est, quod quilibet *Magister* legens *ordinarie* metaphysicam, eam legat per terminum anni et majorem partem ad minus alterius termini immediate sequentis, nec cesset a lectura illa donec illam rite compleverit, nisi in casu quo fidem fecerit coram Cancellario et Procuratoribus, quod non poterit commode et absque damno dietam continuare lecturam, in quo casu, facta fide, cessare poterit licenter, dum tamen *Magister* alius regens fuerit continuaturus et completurus lecturam: quod si *Magister* alius tunc in ea non legerit, poterit licenter per *Bachilari*um aliquem compleri quod dimittitur de lectura, et valebit pro forma in casu præmisso *cursoria lectura*, non obstante ordinatione priore.' *Munimenta Academica*, p. 423. It remains to examine the evidence for Mr. Anstey's theory contained in the following statute, on which he lays considerable stress: 'Cum statutum fuerit ab antiquo quod *Magistri* tenentes scholas grammaticales *positivæ* *informationi* Scholarium suorum, ex debito juramenti vel fidei præstitæ, summopere intendere debeant et vacare, quidam tamen eorum luero et cupiditati inhiantes ac propriæ salutis immemores, prædicto statuto contempto, *lectiones cursorias*, quas vocant audientiam abusive, in doctrinæ Scholarium suorum evidens detrimentum legere præsumperunt; propter quod Cancellarius, utilitati eorundem Scholarium et præcipue juniorum volens prospicere, ut tenetur, dietam audientiam, quam non tantum frivolum sed damnosam profectui dietorum juniorum reputat, suspendendo statuit quod, quicumque scholas grammaticales deinceps tenere voluerit, sub pœna privationis a regimine scholarum, ac sub pœna incarcerationis ad libitum Cancellarii subeundæ, ab *hujusmodi* lectura cursoria desistant, ita quod nec in scholis suis, nec alibi in Universitate hujusmodi cursus legant, nec legi faciant per quoscunque, sed aliis omnibus prætermisissis, instructioni positivæ Scholarium suorum intendant diligentius et insudent. Alii vero a *Magistris* scholas tenentibus, qui idonei fuerint reputati, in locis distantibus a scholis illis, si voluerint, hujusmodi cursus legant, *prout antiquitus fieri consuevit.*' (*Munimenta Academica*, pp. 86, 87.) This statute is referred to by Mr Anstey as 'one forbidding *cursor*y lectures except under certain restrictions.' 'The most remarkable part of the statute is,' he adds, 'that it complains that teachers led by hope of gain indulged their scholars with *cursor*y lectures, so that it would really seem that it was not uncommon for the boys to bribe the master to excuse them their parsing!' (Introduct. p. lxi.) The whole of this criticism, so far as it applies to the question before us, falls to the ground, if we observe that it is not *cursor*y lectures that are the subject of animadversions, but a

certain mode of delivering them: this appears to be beyond doubt if we carefully note the expressions italicised: and finally the title of the statute, *Quomodo legi debent lectiones cursoriæ in scholis grammaticalibus*, evidently signifies that cursory lecturers in grammar are to observe a certain method, not that cursory lectures are to be discontinued. In fact, in another statute, which seems to have escaped Mr Anstey's notice, it is expressly required that *cursory lectures in grammar* shall be given. (*Mun. Acad.* 438—9.)

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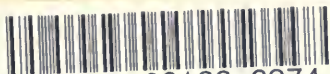
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