

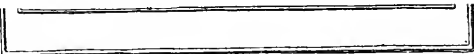


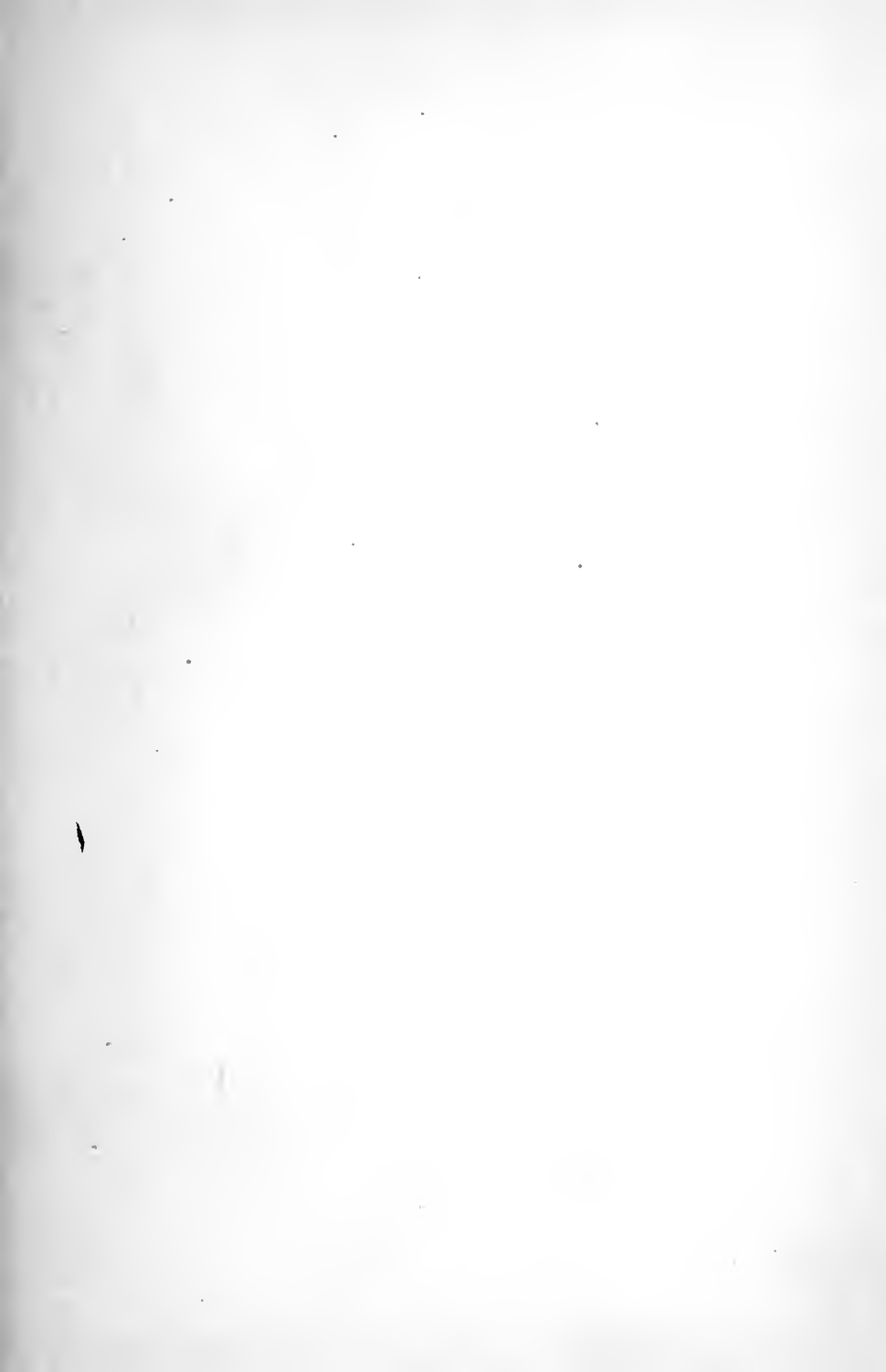
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
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THE GIFT OF  
MAY TREAT MORRISON  
IN MEMORY OF  
ALEXANDER F MORRISON





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ESSAYS AND PAPERS  
OF  
RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE







*R. C. Christie.*

*at the age of 23.*



SELECTED ESSAYS AND PAPERS  
OF  
RICHARD COPLEY CHRISTIE

M.A. (OXON.) HON. LL.D. (VICT.)

EX-CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE OF MANCHESTER  
AUTHOR OF 'ETIENNE DOLET, THE MARTYR OF THE RENAISSANCE'  
ETC.

EDITED WITH A MEMOIR BY

WILLIAM A. SHAW, LITT.D

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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1902

TO VIRU  
ABROGLIAD

ABROGLIAD TO VIRU  
ZILBORA ZOLITA  
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## PREFACE

THE following pages have been given to the world by the widow of Mr. R. C. Christie, as a memorial to his scholarship. For the selection of the essays and papers the editor is mainly responsible, in view of the fact that Mr. Christie himself left no specific directions on the point beyond expressing a wish to have his *Quarterly* articles reprinted. A full list of all his books, essays, papers, and notes is, however, appended to the Memoir, with an indication of the sources where they can be found if reference to them is desired. The reasons for the inclusion of the two final papers, that on the Relations of the Church to the State and the 1889 Charge as Chancellor will be found set out in the Memoir.

Appended to the Memoir will also be found Mr. J. Cree's notes on Mr. Christie's unique collection of books. Mr. Cree has further assisted in the production of the book throughout, and has compiled the index and the bibliography of Mr. Christie's writings.

In a sense all Mr. Christie's work in the present volume may be looked upon as preparatory, as indicating his pre-occupation with a particular school of Renaissance writers, and as foreshadowing his intention of some day treating of them either in a single synoptical work or in a series of monographs on the same scale as his 'Dolet.' That the scheme came not to fruition is to be attributed only to physical prostration. But what the loss is thereby to the world of scholarship is not capable of expression.

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LIST OF MRS. R. C. CHRISTIE'S

It only remains to make warm acknowledgment of the permission so courteously accorded to reprint the essays and papers which form the bulk of this volume: in particular to Mr. John Murray for the four *Quarterly* articles; Messrs. Macmillan for that on Bruno; Messrs. Longman for that on Vanini in England; Messrs. A. and C. Black for the notice of the Scaligers; Mr. D. Nutt for the note on the *Idyll* of Moschus; Mr. J. Y. W. MacAlister for the paper on a dynasty of librarians; the Library Association, through Mr. Frank Pacy, the Hon. Sec., for the papers on the Catalogues of the Library of the Duc de la Vallière, and on Elzevier Bibliography; the Bibliographical Society through its secretary, Mr. A. W. Pollard, for the paper on 'an incunabulum' of Brescia; Mr. Knight for the two notes from *Notes and Queries*; the Manchester Literary Club, through Mr. W. R. Credland, Hon. Sec., for that on the Marquis de Morante; Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey for the shorter reviews from the 'Spectator' and M. Octave Uzanne for the paper on the Chevalier d'Éon from 'Le Livre moderne.'

The exact locality from which the various papers are taken will be found indicated at the head of each separate item. In a very few instances it will be noticed that the text as given in the present volume differs from the text printed in the source from which the particular paper is taken. In such cases the alterations are to be taken as Mr. Christie's own, being made on his own copies or proofs, and as representing his final alterations.

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## MEMOIR

IN the main the life of Richard Copley Christie was that of a scholar of rare devotion and refinement, and the most enduring monument to his memory is that which his own genius as a scholar has reared. That such will be the judgment of posterity cannot be doubted. But whilst the view of posterity is truer in its perspective, it is less exact in the details of its portraiture. And, writing within a few months of his death, it is possible and necessary to give the nearer view and the truer delineation.

He was, in fact, a man of remarkable powers of action, of wide connections and influence as a business man and as a public man, as a practising barrister, magistrate, and ecclesiastical judge, and withal possessed of the keenest interest in every phase of contemporary life. That behind and beneath all this there lay the pure lifelong zeal of the scholar, is proof only of an unusual versatility of nature.

That such an endowment was matter of heredity might be supposed, and is partly demonstrable. Paternally he was descended from the Christies of Montrose, and bore the arms of a collateral branch with a difference.<sup>1</sup>

The Scottish house of Christie has branched widely, and its members have played an important part in the history of several counties and burghs of the northern kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> The grant of arms to Lorenzo Christie, Esq., father of Richard Copley Christie, is dated Edinburgh, Office of Lyon King of Arms, November 27, 1866. The arms there granted are as follows: or, a saltire wavy between four mullets pierced sable. Above the shield a helmet befitting his degree, with a mantling gules, doubled argent: and issuing out of a wreath of his liveries is set for a crest a withered holly branch sprouting out leaves proper, and in an escroll over the same the motto *sic viresco*. The grant recites that John Christie of Forthra (*see* page xi), the ancestor of the Montrose Christies, was, according to family tradition, cousin-german of Archibald Christie of Craigtoune, and that the descendants of the said John had been in the habit of carrying the arms of the said Archibald as recorded in the Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland in or shortly after 1672.



Originating in Fifeshire and increasing largely in that county during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they appear at the opening of the seventeenth century in the counties of Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Forfar, Kincardine, and Banff. The annals of the burgh of Stirling bear ample witness to the importance of that one of these branches which claims to be the representative of the house. But the importance of this branch is rivalled by that of the Forfar Christies, who have similarly adorned the annals of the royal burgh of Montrose.

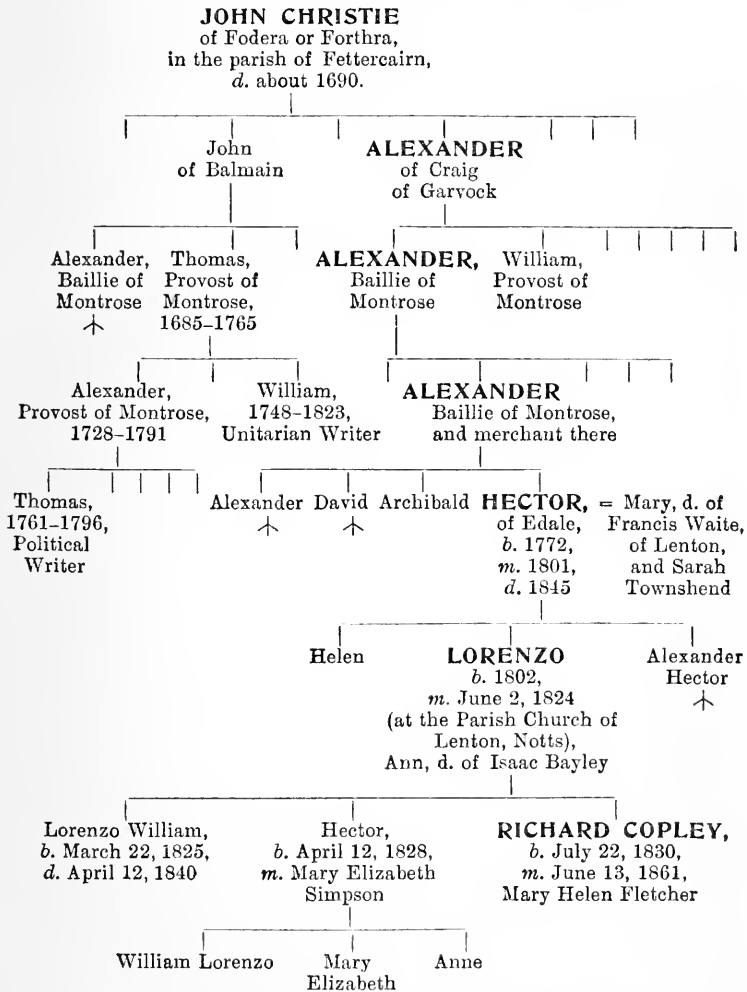
The Forfar Christies appear to have derived more immediately from the parish of Fettercairn, county Kincardine, where the name occurs at the commencement of the seventeenth century. John Christie of Fodera, or Forthra, in that parish, who died about 1690, had for his second and fourth sons, John of Balmain, and Alexander of Craig of Garvock. From the elder of these descended a long line, which includes in its record two of the most public-spirited provosts of Montrose, Thomas and his son Alexander, and at least two writers of distinction.<sup>1</sup>

From the younger of the above-named branches—viz. from Alexander Christie, of Craig of Garvock, descended the subject of this memoir. The second Alexander in descent from Alexander of Craig of Garvock had for his fourth son Hector Christie, who migrated to England and became the founder of the Christies of Settle and Manchester. His migration was not aimless or accidental. The commercial revolution of the eighteenth century, which had followed in the wake of the great era of mechanical inventions, was drawing into England the best mercantile and enterprising

<sup>1</sup> It was to the public spirit of the two provosts that Montrose owed the project of the building of the Lower North Water Bridge across the North Esk in the years 1770-75. The younger provost, Alexander, was also a chief promoter of the scheme for an infirmary and asylum in 1781, which subsequently developed into the institutions at Sunnyside and Bridge Street, Montrose—the first of their kind in Scotland. Of the two writers referred to Mr. Christie, the subject of the present Memoir, wrote interesting notices in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, viz. William Christie, the brother of Alexander the Provost, one of the earliest apostles of Unitarianism in Scotland and America, and Thomas, the son of the same Alexander, a political writer of much note during the French Revolution.

blood of Scotland. Whilst the Bannermans from Perth and the Grants found their way to Manchester, Hector Christie went further afield to Nottingham, to reach Manchester again later by a second remove.

PEDIGREE OF THE CHRISTIES OF MONTROSE.



At Nottingham Hector Christie founded a lace manufacturing business, and there his son Lorenzo was born in 1802.

In 1824 Lorenzo married Ann, a daughter of Isaac Bayley and Elizabeth Copley of Lenton Sands. It is through this maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Copley, that Mr. Christie traced his connection with the Copleys of Batley—a connection which is of some interest for his literary life.<sup>1</sup>

After his marriage Lorenzo Christie went to reside at Lenton, and there his three children were born. In 1833 he purchased property at Edale, in Derbyshire, on which was a cotton mill, and he carried on business as a manufacturer of doubled yarn there until 1861, when he left Edale and moved to near Settle. His wife died at Settle in 1861, and about ten years later he moved to Stackhouse, where he himself died in 1892.

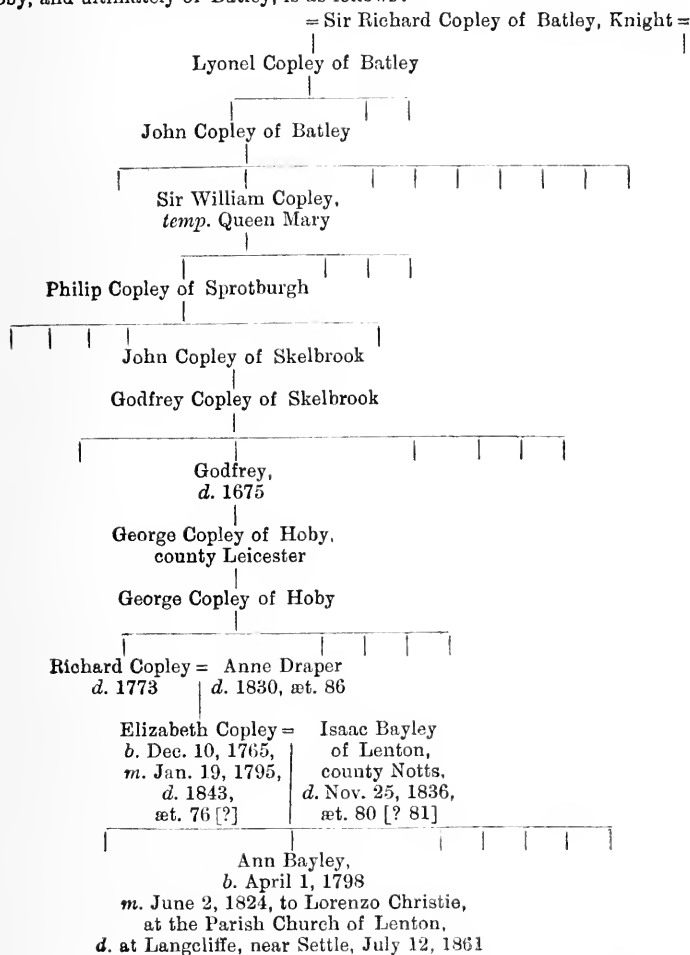
Lorenzo Christie would seem to have inherited not only the commercial ability of his Scotch ancestors, but also a large proportion of those literary and artistic gifts which had so signally characterised them. He was fond of travel, and was an excellent raconteur. Though active minded and an ardent Liberal, he displayed a keen interest in literature, and himself contributed to 'Notes and Queries' many notes on the personalities and events of the first half of the nineteenth century, and on the folklore of Yorkshire and the Midlands. All his qualities, his liberalism, his active-mindedness, and business ability—but, above all, his literary tastes—he transmitted to his sons, and, in the case of the younger of them, in double measure.

Richard Copley Christie, his third son, was born at the

<sup>1</sup> In 1897 Mr. Christie edited the 'Letters of Sir Thomas Copley of Gatton and Roughey, 1572-84,' the volume forming his contribution to the Roxburghe Club, of which he was a member. His interest in the sixteenth century relations between England and France would at any time account for Mr. Christie being drawn to such a subject. He had previously written a notice of this Copley for the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But there is no doubt that in the first instance there was also in his mind some tradition of hereditary connection with Sir Thomas Copley. In the introduction to these letters, therefore, he devoted special pains to the elucidation of the pedigree of the Copleys, but was unable to discover the exact link between the Copleys of Yorkshire (Batley) and the Copleys of Surrey, although there was no question in his mind that Sir Roger (grandfather of Sir Thomas) was a member of the family of Copley of Batley. Amongst his private papers (now in the possession of Mr. Hector Christie) there are many notes and elaborate pedigrees bearing on

Lenton, Notts, on the 22nd of July, 1830. Owing to weak health in his boyhood he was not sent to a public school, but was privately educated by the Rev. T. Coleman, incumbent of St. James's Church, Nottingham. Matriculating at Lincoln College, Oxford, on the 26th of April, 1849, he graduated B.A. in 1853, and M.A. two years later. His University career is remarkable, in the first place as covering

the subject. The gist of the pedigree connecting him with the Copleys of Hoby, and ultimately of Batley, is as follows:—



the most momentous time in the history of the University, and, in the second place, from his association with Mark Pattison. The effect which Newman's secession in October 1845 created in the life of Oxford has been depicted by none with greater force than by Pattison himself in his 'Memoirs.' A sudden lull fell upon the place, the feeling as of a swift end of all things without a new beginning visible. But this was only the void sensation of the moment, and it did not need the railway mania of 1847 or the revolutionary movements of 1848 to stir the waters. The nightmare of fifteen years had, in fact, passed. The barren theological interests which had brought the ordinary studies of the University to a standstill and to so low an ebb were swept out of mind by a new liberalism and by the new prospect of the physical sciences. The obscurantism of the Tractarian movement, with its abject deference to authority, fled away before the free play of intellect to which Oxford awoke from the moment of Newman's secession. Consequently the few years following 1845 witnessed a flood of reform in the University, reform which practically remodelled the whole of its life and institutions, and made the Oxford of 1850 unrecognisable to the Oxford man of 1846.

It was in this time of ferment that Richard Copley Christie entered Lincoln, and, if in nothing else, the liberal or revolutionary movement left one indelible mark upon his later career and nature. As one result of reform, a new school of law and history was organised at Oxford, and of that school he was the first graduate. Of course the wide general movement of liberal reaction affected all the colleges, but it did not affect them equally. In the case of Lincoln College there was an individual reason why the change should have been specially marked. Under the lead of Pattison the junior Fellows had gradually wrought a transformation in the discipline and tone of the college, so that Lincoln, which in 1840 was very low in rank, had risen in 1850 to be one of the best-managed colleges in Oxford. From 1848 to 1851 Pattison, as senior Fellow, was virtually ruler—much more absolute a master than he was even later as Rector and Head.

It is much to be regretted that we do not possess from the pen of Mr. Christie any detailed account of the life of Lincoln College during his undergraduate period. In the *Life of Pattison* which he contributed to the 'Dictionary of National Biography' he sketched briefly from his own recollections Pattison's method as a teacher. It is not possible to doubt that from Mr. Christie's pen the words are also partly autobiographical, and that they have reference to the routine of his own undergraduate days:—

'He was an ideal teacher, grudging no amount of time or labour to his pupils, teaching them how to think and drawing out and developing their mental faculties. He excited the warmest affection on their part, and their success in the schools, if not always commensurate with their or his wishes, was considerable. For several years he invited two or three undergraduates to join him for some weeks in the long vacation at the lakes, in Scotland or elsewhere, and he assisted them in their studies without fee.' And again, speaking of the disgraceful intrigue which lost Pattison the Rectorship in 1851:—'In the account of his feelings, which he wrote thirty years afterwards, he does himself injustice. He did not fall into the state of mental and moral degradation which he there graphically describes, and the language which he uses of his state is greatly exaggerated. The routine of tuition may have become as weary as he represents it, but while his great depression was obvious to all who came in contact with him at this time, his lectures—on Aristotle and on Thucydides—were as able, as suggestive, and as stimulating as ever, and, except for the interruption of a serious illness, the result no doubt of the shock which he had sustained, his interest in his pupils and his efforts to aid them in their studies and to promote their success in the schools were as great as ever.'

That these words of Mr. Christie describe his own experiences at the hands of Pattison is plain from the latter's own words:—

Nor did I spare myself in vacation. I adopted a plan of taking four favourite pupils, one year to Bowness, and another set

the next year to Inverary, for a month each time. I thought the living together might enable me to make more impression upon them than mere college relations allowed of. I did not coach them in their books, but tried to get them interested in poetry and literature, having found that even our best were very narrow and schoolboy-like in their reading. In this respect the plan did not answer my expectation; but I can never regret an experiment which left me as its residuum two of the most valued friendships I have enjoyed since—that of R. C. Christie and William Stebbing.

Mr. Stebbing has kindly furnished his own recollections of these reading parties in the following words:—

Christie came up to Oxford with a character unusually formed for one of his age. Irreproachable in conduct and incapable of coarseness even in language, he was yet a man of the world in comparison with me. With him—naturally on his guard against misconstruction, shy and sensitive—acquaintance with the art of life must have been a product of instinct rather than experience. He had received his instruction, I think, from private tutors, and I do not suppose he had mixed more with men or even boys than ordinary lads thus brought up. On his part he was willing to cultivate the society of professed reading men. We acquired a habit of interchanging evening visits for ‘confabulations,’ as the Sub-Rector, who occasionally honoured us by a call, would nickname our profound discussions on the universe. But Mr. Pattison’s generous invitation to us, along with William Yates, to join him in an unpaying reading-party at Inverary confirmed friendliness into friendship. Our tutor and I shared the same lodgings; but Yates and Christie, while having rooms in another house, boarded with us, and we were together throughout the day. Our admired but formidable chief in his fascinating ‘Memoirs’ has stated that his motive in these self-sacrificing expeditions was a desire to interest a few select pupils in poetry and literature. If the plan may not have fully answered his expectation in this respect, doubtless he was not himself conscious—he really was too modest to have understood—how much any apparent coldness towards topics outside our text-books was due to the awe he inspired. Courage was required to erect a brand-new, four-square edifice, philosophical, social, or literary, with the prospect ever imminent of a douche of cold water, most amiably meant and all in the sacred interest of truth, but not the less sure to wash clean away the whole sensitively fragile structure. Still the audacity

was occasionally forthcoming, and the sufferers not seldom enjoyed the shock even at the moment. At all events, they profited by it in the long future to an extent which their master thinker and critic was never vain enough to appreciate. It was a month which the three pupils—perhaps their guide, philosopher, and friend himself—never forgot; which the one survivor recalls with affectionate regret for a memorable companionship.

In 1853 Mr. Christie graduated first class in the school of Law and Modern History, then newly established at Oxford. In the lists only one other candidate, Thomas Salt of Balliol, appears in the first class. Henry Hallam was one of the examiners on the occasion, with R. Michell and W. C. Lake, and it was probably the high opinion formed by Hallam of the young student's work which led to Mr. Christie's appointment at Owens. In the same year he was elected by the Council of Owens College to the Faulkner Chair of Political Economy and Commercial Science, to which was added at the same time the Chair of History. Amongst others Hallam himself congratulated the new professor on his election. His letter on the occasion is worth preserving:—

Rickhurst, Bromley : Jan. 4, 1854.

DEAR SIR,—I sincerely congratulate you on your success in obtaining the Professorship at Manchester, of which I had been apprised by Mr. James Heywood. He had previously written to me respecting you, and, with a jealousy of which you are likely to find proofs in that Institution, was solicitous to know whether you had very High Church opinions. I told him, of course, that our examination had nothing to do with such matters, and that my acquaintance with you was limited to that. The truth is that the Dissenters claiming the name of Liberal are, in fact, the narrowest of men *sauf quelques exceptions*; and Oxford is a bugbear in their eyes. However, I have no doubt that you will steer a very good course; at all events you have obtained an honourable distinction, which, as far as I can judge, you have well deserved.

I am, Dear Sir, faithfully yours,  
HENRY HALLAM.

It is a little amusing to find that there was yet another



doubt in the minds of the electing body of the college besides this portentously important one of High Churchism at which Hallam naturally, as a Tory, has his somewhat spiteful fling. At the time of his candidature Mr. Christie not only was exceedingly young, but had the additional disadvantage of appearing so. There was accordingly some trepidation in the minds of the Council. One of the electors, Mr. S. Fletcher, who was amongst the earliest and most earnest supporters of the college, on returning from the election, remarked that the new professor's credentials were excellent but that 'he was *so young*.'

In order to appreciate the task which lay before Mr. Christie at Owens it is necessary to bear in mind what the college was in these its early days. He became a professor in it only two years after the institution had opened its doors. But not only was the college young, it was also struggling—struggling against the educational condition of Manchester at the time, struggling for a proper standard of qualification in its men.

In its original conception Owens College had been planned with a loftiness of purpose which proved for long unrealisable. The class of students which the scheme of the college contemplated simply did not exist at first; and it was not until after some years of determined perseverance on the lines laid down that the college succeeded in calling a better class of student into existence by literally pulling up the schools of the neighbourhood to the level of its own requirements. Until that better class of student emerged it had to content itself with such material as offered and to spend half its force on night courses arranged both for general students and for schoolmasters. But not merely was the work of the college at first necessarily on this low level—practically that of a day and evening continuation institution—it was also apparently doomed to death. After the first session the numbers showed a decline, and the local press spoke of the place as a mortifying failure.

To such an institution and at such a point in its history it was that Mr. Christie came in 1853. It surely required courage and conviction of the highest order to adopt for

such a class of student as he there found, and at such a time, the elevation of tone and purpose which he instantly did adopt. It is hardly possible to convey an adequate conception of the merit of such an attitude, so far has Owens College moved away from its original scale and tone, and so far also has the scientific study of history moved away from the standpoint occupied in this country in 1850. The origin of the modern school of historical science will some day, it is to be hoped, form the subject of investigation. If so, it will be a most interesting one. Without doubt it is partly traceable to Germany, as is also so much more of what is best and most characteristic of the intellectual developments of the last generation in England. In its most severely scientific form its foundation is to be ascribed to the practical classes which Ranke got round him in 1830. A practical class in history is a powerful but also a dangerous weapon. The method of instruction will drift inevitably into diplomatic—questions of formularies, of palæography, of textual criticisms, of comparison and derivation of authorities, and so on. The German thesis system, with its immense encouragement of early specialisation, was all that was needed to give expression to the change in method, and from one of its sides, at any rate, the new school was already complete by the time of Mr. Christie's early professorial days. But in 1850 we knew nothing of these things in England. And further than that, it is to be borne in mind that in its completeness, or in its more exaggerated form, the German school or method of history never has been, or is only now at this moment being, followed in this country. In following the lead of Germany in these years from 1850 onwards we have beneficially modified the parent institution. The result is due partly to the individuality of a few English historians who, whilst breathing the atmosphere of the most rigorously scientific method, and displaying all the minuteness of care and research, and all the severe impartiality and detachment of the most insistent scientists, have yet, from their own native genius, never lost their hold on the unity of history as a study, their conception of continuity, their power of synthesis.

In tracing such a development we have in mind such names as Buckle and Gardiner, two minds the apparent difference of which is really a matter of time and not of kind. But there are other names, too, which have contributed to the general result, and among them are those of Pattison and Christie. I say this advisedly and without hyperbole. For with the MS. of Mr. Christie's earliest lectures on history before me, alongside his later and maturer work, there is visible to me through the whole that very line of development which has characterised English historical work during the last generation, *together with* that higher quality of synthesis and reverence for the oneness and continuity of all human phenomena which has saved English historical scholarship from the quagmire of German specialisation. In his later historical work—meaning not so much the 'Dolet' as the introductions he wrote to the Copley letters and the 'Annales Cestrienses'—Mr. Christie showed that he could probe and estimate original authorities with a patience and a balance and an impartiality equal to those of any of the most professed and rigid scientists. In his earlier work, as evidenced in these lectures, we see nothing of this. We see only that reverence for the continuity and unity of history, that conception of synthesis and style, which has always distinguished the best English historical writing. But the memorable point is that this early conception was not effaced by the later, and herein lies the merit of such names as Pattison's and his. As a result, English historical work has not been given over immaturely, body and soul, to rigid science and arid microscopic specialisation. If it is so being given over at the present day, then we need another generation of Pattison and Christie—of pure devotees to the human, as opposed to the scientific, interest in history.

As a further result—and this is more immediately germane to the purposes of this memoir—it is not too much to say that Christie introduced to Manchester, materialistic Manchester, in 1853, a conception of history, lofty and elevating for its time, and capable, as we now know, of all the later developments which have been since traced. The following extracts from his early lectures at Owens display

at once his method of handling historical subjects at so early an age of his life (he was only 23), and at the same time this abiding interest in the human side of history, this pervading and permanent sense of the continuity of all human life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The nature of the duties of a teacher of history differs most materially, as I conceive, from the kind of duties required from a teacher of most sciences, as mathematics or chemistry. Of these the rudiments can be taught, and not only so, must be taught to the student on his first introduction to the science. In mathematics every step rests on what goes before, and a knowledge of the definitions and axioms is necessary as a beginning. But in history this is not the case; here are no rudiments, no definitions necessary as well to be known as understood before advancing further. History cannot be taught; yet the duties of a professor of history are by no means unimportant. He has to guide and direct. Though no knowledge given in lectures can supply the place of the diligent and hard reading of the student, yet his way may be shortened, and his difficulties lightened, by the assistance of a teacher. Again, a lecturer on history must be content that every remark which he makes, every direction which he gives, shall be received, not like a mathematical proposition, as indisputable, and only needing examination to be understood and its truth perceived; but as an opinion which may or may not be true, and which, even if true, has most probably been and still is impugned by many who have specious arguments to bring forward against it.

One chief obstacle to the study of history forming a part of the education of the young consists in the practical passions and interests which it engages; and if this be the case in ancient

<sup>1</sup> The only one of Mr. Christie's early lectures which was published was one 'On the Study of History,' which formed the inaugural address at Owens for the session 1854-55. The lecture was printed by the Trustees of the College (Longmans, 1854), and it also occurs in a little volume, entitled the *Popular Lecturer*, Vol. i., 1855. The class lectures, which are still preserved in manuscript (manifestly incomplete), comprise courses on the History of France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; on the Reign of the Tudors; on the General and Political State of Europe from 1450 to 1600. There are also collections of notes for a course on Ancient History. It will be noticed that even at this early stage the main line of historical interest was that which dominated him throughout life.

<sup>2</sup> From the lecture 'On the Study of History,' *ut supra*.

history (when the state of society and of opinion was so far different from our own), in which the toryism of Mitford leads him to vilify Demosthenes, and the radicalism of Grote to defend Cleon, more especially is it so in modern history. To it nearly all the great questions on which men now most widely differ from each other, properly belong; and however much the lecturer may desire to avoid controversy, and to give with fairness and impartiality a view of both sides of any historical question, yet, in the discharge of his duty as an expounder of history to the best of his ability, he must necessarily express, or at least indicate, his own opinions—opinions which some of his hearers may consider erroneous. He must, in criticising writers, prefer one book to another, and give his reasons for this preference. He must express his admiration or disapproval of men, actions, and political institutions; and while he does this in accordance with his own convictions indeed, but with an earnest desire after truth, it will be for his hearers, in the same spirit, to carry with them to their studies the advice which he has offered, the criticisms which he has made, and the political and religious principles with which he seems to be affected, and to make these the subjects of their own deliberation and investigation. . . .

. . . You have no more studied the history of Charles V. by such a perusal of Robertson than you have that of the insurrection of 1745 by reading 'Waverley.' Yet this is the idea which a vast number of persons, even of those who read, have of history. They look upon it as a study, to be pursued certainly, but as a relaxation after graver pursuits. . . .

To study history really, so as to derive any substantive benefit from it, you must work. You must employ as much energy, as much thought, as much system, as you do in mathematics or logic.

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<sup>1</sup> The social sciences can be studied in a manner truly profitable only by the aid of history. This great storehouse of all political experience contains the only examples proper to enlighten us on the means of attaining the two-fold design which it ought to be the aim of every government to accomplish, to make men happy and at the same time to make them virtuous. The shortness of our life, the impossibility of taking in at one view all the conse-

<sup>1</sup> From MS. lectures on 'The History of France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.'

quences of a mere principle, make theories dangerous in matters of government unless we support them on a basis of facts, unless we correct them by their aid. It is true, on the other hand, that since several causes often simultaneously influence the same fact, and since series of events have often no connection with one another, that the study of facts without philosophy would be no less deceptive than that of philosophy without facts. To derive any advantage from history, we ought constantly to explain and to arrange events by the aid of principles, and at the same time to discover principles in the chain of events, and to develop them by the practical study of their results. Thus history invites the man who knows how to reflect, to the most constant and most sublime exercise of thought; for him from the shock of revolutions she brings forth great moral truths; the spark of philosophy shines across the darkness of time and its clearness penetrates into the depth of chaos. On a sudden this light makes us perceive the connection of incidents which we had believed isolated. We see noble virtues produced in the heart which call for and assist noble action. We see on the other hand great errors in politics or in religion, casting their funereal shade over entire ages. The better history makes us understand man, the greater indulgence we have for his passions and his errors, for it shows us that almost always their cause is far behind him. But it also teaches us to attach ourselves with ardour to what is true in principle, and to what is pure in morals, since it shows us how many dispositions are insincere, how many hearts are corrupted by wretched political institutions, since it brings to light the terrible crime against humanity which those commit who take away all restraints from power, who make religion a political instrument, who, changing citizens into subjects, destroy at once the tie of duty and the love of country.

In these various relations the history of France does not give place to any in useful lessons and distinguished examples. If men could become wise by knowing what they ought to avoid, the eight centuries which we have gone through in this history have already sufficiently directed us. The genealogists pretend that Philip le Bel was the forty-fifth monarch of France; a very few of these princes, it is true, are lost in obscurity; we have studied all the rest; we have seen among them characters opposed to one another, talents of different degrees; yet there is not one who could inspire us with an instant of regret that we had not lived under his reign; not one has united his name to the recollection

of a happy and virtuous age. Whence happens it, then, that in so long a time we have not found any period on which our minds delight to rest? It is because we have seen power founded by violence, increased by craft, sometimes united, sometimes divided in a hundred different ways, but have not seen any securities in the constitution of the kingdom either for the governed or for the governors. From this absence of principles could only result that we should find neither love of their people among the kings, nor love of their country among the people; when force and fear reign, duty has no opportunity for showing itself and virtue cannot be developed. Any devotedness is impossible in him who is always constrained, nor is any generous resolution allowed him who never has any choice. A Government without liberty and without principle has never been able to produce anything but the unhappiness and degradation of all.

During these eight centuries the religious order was no better than the civil. We have seen the Church firmly fixed in its power; we have seen its ministers surrounded by power, laden with wealth, having at their disposal, with which to take vengeance on their enemies, numerous armies and formidable tribunals; we have seen them commanding consciences, and finding no more rebels to the faith which they wished to impose; but we have not seen religion founded on an inquiry into what there was of truth in the system of the universe, of purity in the heart of man; we have never seen any agreement with that fundamental revelation which God has engraved upon our conscience; on the contrary, during these eight centuries, we have seen the authority of the Church constantly employed to confuse the notions of right and wrong, to falsify oaths, to annihilate morality; since nothing could be more fatal to this last than the power which the priest arrogated of tracing its rules and of dispensing with them at his convenience.

The lesson of history is yet incomplete if it only shows us what to hate and what to fear, if it does not at the same time make known to us what we ought to desire or love, if it never brings us into contact with generous sentiments, if it never causes our hearts to beat with admiration nor makes us shed tears of tenderness. We have surveyed eight centuries of the history of the French without ever meeting with these pleasures, or with these noble lessons; and we say it with bitter regret that we have still a long route before us, strewn no more than the past with flowers. Many of our hearers knowing that Philip le Bel first

assembled the deputies of the commons of his kingdom, and that to accomplish the projects which he had formed he sought support among the burghers, will perhaps expect to see the nation at last enter on the scene of history, and elevated sentiments, patriotism and the love of liberty combine themselves with the ancient system of government. They will be deceived. Philip le Bel understood the nation to which he seemed to give rights; no elevated sentiment as yet animated it; from it the moralist had nothing to hope, the despot nothing to fear. In its history for a long time yet, we shall find nothing which kindles the heart, nothing which excites enthusiasm, nothing which elevates man above the cold calculation of selfishness, which reveals to him the power of self-sacrifice, which makes him comprehend heroism. But liberty was not for a long time yet to be secured in France, and no morality is possible to him who not being free has no choice.

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<sup>1</sup> Another plan which suggested itself to me was to continue the course, which I delivered last year from this place, on the constitutional history of England. But apart from my wish to make each course—though part of a general plan—distinct and complete in itself, so that one course, though in harmony with, should yet not be a mere continuation of the other, it scarcely seems to me that the leading points of interest under the Tudors are constitutional ones. The constitutional history of England under the Tudors, though both interesting and important, is less directly so than the same subject under the Plantagenets or Stuarts. The age of the Tudors, though one in which England made immense progress in civilisation, in wealth, in literature, and one which yields in importance to no century in our annals, is yet not an age of direct constitutional progress.

Having thus noticed two other plans which I might have adopted, it remains for me now to sketch out for you the one upon which I have decided, in order that you may be prepared what to expect, and, thus prepared, may with more readiness and ease accompany me through the reigns of the Tudors.

I purpose, then—as the official announcement of these lectures states—to call your attention to the leading points of interest in the history of England under the Tudors, and to the writers who

<sup>1</sup> From MS. lectures on 'The Reign of the Tudors.'



have treated on the whole period or on one or more points of interest in it.

The real subject of the century, the one pervading idea round which must be grouped others as subordinates and accessories, was the religious one. This it was that pervaded the politics, the wars, the literature of the century, nay, that influenced the outward acts even of those statesmen and sovereigns who felt least its spirit in their hearts, or paid the least reverence to it in their lives. . . .

. . . In discussing the causes of the Reformation and the actions and characters of the chief actors in it, as well Roman Catholics as Protestants, great caution will be needful on my part, as well as some indulgence on yours. While I shall studiously avoid harsh criticisms on particular persons, as well as all imputation of motives—a fault which so many writers fall into; while I shall endeavour to use no expressions which can hurt the feelings or prejudices of those with whom I may have the misfortune to differ; while I shall strive to be suggestive rather than dogmatic, guiding you so that you may draw your own conclusions instead of giving you my own ready formed, it will yet be impossible for me to do other than express the opinions which I have formed and the convictions which I hold, opinions and convictions which can hardly fail to be distasteful to some at least among my hearers, since the subject is one upon which almost every person has a decided opinion of his own, an opinion held the more warmly since it is based on his religious convictions, or at least is guided by the opinions of the religious society to which he professes to belong. . . .

. . . I propose, then, not so much to relate to you facts or my own opinion upon them, though this last must necessarily often be done in my recommendations of books, as to direct you to the various writers from whom you may form your own conclusions. This will be one main object of the lectures, to inform you what you will find in the principal writers to whom I shall refer.

The excuse for the length to which these extracts from the early lectures of Mr. Christie have been given lies in the fact that at the time they were delivered history was a new subject in the academic world of England; Owens College was a young institution in that world; and Mr. Christie himself a neophyte in the study. Under such circumstances they furnish evidence of the high stand which the young

professor took, of the elevation of tone and purpose with which he approached his work, but most of all of the complete absence of any contempt for the tone or quality of the men he met in the lecture-room. 'Judging from the experience of a single course,' says Principal Hopkinson, 'his lectures must have been carefully prepared, clear in statement, scholarly in style. Sometimes he would engage with a student in argument on some point of interest—for a new student a formidable but useful ordeal.'

Another of his pupils gives us a closer and more personal touch. 'My impression of him was that he was a true disciple of his teacher [here incorrectly supposed to have been Hallam] and that he tried to weigh and discriminate so minutely that his really careful teaching lost much of its interest and force. He was nervous and sensitive to a degree, and I have never ceased to regret certain silly jokes which we played on him and which evidently caused him real mental suffering.'

But Mr. Christie was not merely teaching history at Owens, and meanwhile developing his own ideal of historical work and method. He took an active-minded share in the government and organisation of the institution. He was one of the promoters of the evening classes started at the college in 1854, and when the Manchester Working Men's College was inaugurated in 1858 he was placed on the committee and taught the English History class. In every direction he took an active and important part in the discussions carried on with a view to establishing Owens on a secure basis. Among the suggestions offered by him in a report drawn up for the use of the trustees in 1856—during these times of the college's early trials—were those of the establishment of a preparatory school and of a diploma of associateship—a proposal which did more to give tone to the early institution than anything else in its history.

In May of this same year 1856, Mr. Christie received a flattering offer from Jowett of Balliol, of the Professorship of General History and Political Economy at the Elphinstone College, Madras. 'From what I know of you,' wrote Jowett, 'I should be very happy to propose your

name to Mr. Singer and Mr. Huxley, if you wished it.' The offer was coupled with the prospect of considerable chance of rising in the educational department of the Civil Service. But though Jowett wrote a second letter in the following October, again pressing the matter on Mr. Christie's attention, it does not appear to have been entertained. Mr. Christie had made his choice, and to that choice he remained unalterably true. His connection with Manchester was to prove an unbroken and lifelong one. In all, his work as a professor at Owens, in one faculty or another, covered a matter of sixteen years. He was first appointed to the Faulkner Chair in November 1853. In the following year he was made Professor of Political Economy in addition, and in 1865 Professor of Law and Jurisprudence. In the following year, 1866, he resigned the History Chair to A. W. Ward, and the Chair of Political Economy to Stanley Jevons. Three years later he resigned that of Law to James Bryce (now the Right Hon.). It is surely given to few men to have three such successors.

Mr. Christie's retirement from active participation in the teaching work of Owens was due to the increase of his practice at the Bar. He had entered at Lincoln's Inn on the 21st of November 1854, and was called to the Bar on the 6th of June three years later, his call being moved by John William Willcock. Commencing practice in Manchester, his connection as a barrister grew rapidly until he became the acknowledged leader of the Chancery Bar in Manchester. Principal Hopkinson, who had been a pupil at his chambers after coming from the same college at Oxford, bears testimony to his high professional standing. 'In court—sometimes he was engaged in nearly every case in the then short sittings of the Palatine Court at Manchester—he was a model of correct demeanour and of accurate statement. The local Bar owes much to the high standard of professional conduct he always maintained. He set his face firmly against the pernicious practices which prolonged and increased the expense of arbitration cases. Though well aware that his attitude in this respect prevented the increase of his practice with work of the kind, he adhered firmly to

it, and those who had the best opportunities of knowledge felt that no one had a higher sense of personal and professional honour. Pupils found his chambers an excellent school of training, and among them was the present leader of the Chancery Bar in Manchester.'

As an illustration of his forensic manner and ability, and as a confirmation—merely accidental and passing—of Principal Hopkinson's words, there has survived in print a full account of the case of *Milner v. Reed* (as to the title or designation of the Oldfield Lane doctor), in February 1870, before Vice-Chancellor Wickens, in which Mr. Christie was (successfully) engaged, James Bryce being with him.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Christie filled the office of President of the Manchester Law Library Society from 1872 to 1878.

It was ill-health, and that alone, which led to his retirement from legal practice in 1876. But so high had his reputation at the Manchester Bar been, that even after his retirement he was compelled to act for a few old clients, who, so long as he could be prevailed upon, would have no other counsel.

But though unequal any longer to bear the physical strain of practice in court, he was still able for many years to discharge the less onerous duties of magistrate and ecclesiastical judge.

It is probably not generally known that Prince Lee, the first Bishop of Manchester, contemplated making Mr. Christie his Chancellor. So great a value did he attach to Mr. Christie's legal advice that he would never sit in a clergy trial without the latter's presence and support. What he was prevented from doing, his successor was enabled to carry out within two years of Bishop Lee's death. In December 1871, Bishop Fraser offered Mr. Christie the Chancellorship of the Diocese of Manchester. The appointment, which dated formally from 1 January 1872, was a peculiarly fitting one, in view not only of Mr. Christie's eminence at the Bar and attainments as a historian, but also by reason of his interests, tastes, and qualifications.

<sup>1</sup> A full report of the case was given in a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages by John Heywood, Manchester.

It had been for long a desire with him to become an advocate of Doctors Commons, and only the practical abolition of that institution prevented his wish from being carried out. Furthermore he had during the episcopate of Bishop Lee sat on three several occasions as assessor with the Bishop at the trial of criminous clergy of the diocese, and reference has been already made to the estimation in which Bishop Lee held him. His interest in Church matters—in Church of England matters—was, however, not merely that of a lawyer, nor even merely that of a student of ecclesiastical history. It was in a fuller sense that of a citizen, of a man of the world moved by the keenest interest in the Church as one of the most important phases and institutions of our national life. So keen and practical indeed was that interest that it even occasionally approached the polemical, and led him, as will be seen, at least on the occasion of one of his Charges as Chancellor, to misunderstanding at the hands of the local press. Any one who has had access to Mr. Christie or to his private papers could not fail to be struck by the enduring tenacity of his interest in everything relating to the Church of England, even after his failing health had begun to seriously restrict his activity. The one impression left on my mind after years of intercourse is that he was potentially a born canon jurist, and that if he had lived a century or two centuries earlier, when Canon Law had not become the enfeebled ghost it now is, he would have ranked with the very greatest Canonists of the Protestant world. This is a deliberate opinion advanced in full knowledge of the devotion which he showed, on other sides of his nature, to the cause of pure reason and full knowledge, too, of his dislike of dogma.

One further requisite he had, and that in a supreme degree, for the post of ecclesiastical judge of a diocese. He was possessed of pre-eminent personal tact. His hearing of a case in the Consistory Court was most patient and sympathetic, his judgment absolutely clear, and his decisions were invariably accepted without demur. ‘Dignified,’ says Principal Hopkinson, speaking of his work as Chancellor, ‘free from bias, anxious to prevent unseemly disputes, possessing

the power of grasping the essential point of a case which is developed by legal training, and yet without legal pedantry, he secured respect for the tribunal while he discouraged useless litigation.' In these latter words Principal Hopkinson touches upon another aspect of Mr. Christie's work as Chancellor which deserves permanent record—the determined stand which he took against useless litigation and the consistent effort he made to minimise both litigation and fees. He simplified the procedure and greatly reduced the cost of applications to the court. In the farewell address to the court which he delivered in December 1893, on the occasion of his retirement from the Chancellorship, he recalled to the mind of his auditors the main results of his twenty-two years of service as ecclesiastical judge. It was probably the only occasion on which he referred to his own work in public, but the utterance was more than justified, erring indeed, if at all, only on the side of dignified restraint. 'It had been his constant endeavour, he said, to make the court as little burdensome as possible to the diocese generally and to the suitors—to make it in fact, as it was in theory, the *forum domesticum* of the Bishop in respect of all those matters that came before it. He had the satisfaction to know that he had been able both to simplify the procedure and to greatly reduce the cost of proceedings in the court, so that whereas the cost of the simplest faculty at the time he was appointed was twelve or fourteen guineas, it had been reduced to two guineas. It had been his constant endeavour to prevent hostile and contentious litigation, and to induce the litigants to arrange their differences in a friendly manner—as the representative of a bishop sitting in his court ought to do, when the cases before the court were less often matters of law or fact than matters which were left by law to the discretion of the judge and in respect of which the personal feelings, and it might be the personal prejudices, of the suitors were largely concerned. It was an additional satisfaction to him to know that, although a greater number of faculties had been each year applied for and a greater number granted in the Manchester Consistory Court than in the Consistory Court of any other English diocese, there had

not been a single appeal from any decision of his during the twenty-two years he had held office.'

In turning over the accounts of the sittings of the Consistory Court there emerge, however, other phases of Mr. Christie's character besides the unfailing dignity and courtesy with which he conducted the proceedings. In matters on which he felt called upon for a clear expression of opinion, he was as strong and fearless as he was otherwise urbane. At the risk of raising long laid controversial dust I feel driven to cite some typical expressions such as these, for they throw a strong light upon his own opinions and temperament. The cases also in connection with which these expressions of opinion were uttered constitute facts in his professional life as an ecclesiastical judge, and in so far they call necessarily for notice in any memoir of him. Further than that, it is considered that on points where strong differences of opinion still exist the uttered decisions of so eminent a Chancellor will still command attention, as being those of a judge merely—those of one who, by the very quality of his legal learning, stood outside and above the mere controversial strife itself.

In the case of an application for a faculty made by the rector and churchwardens of St. John the Baptist, Hulme, Mr. Christie (12th of June 1872) addressed the following remarks to the counsel for the petitioners :—' There is another point of which I am bound to take official notice, and that is the constant use of the word "altar" in your answer. I need not remind you of the remarks of Mr. Justice Willes in a recent case, in which he censured even the clerk to the Justices for using the word altar ; and, having regard to the judgment of the Privy Council in the case of *Westerton v. Liddell*, I cannot allow a plea to be filed in this Court which calls the communion table an "altar." If this case goes elsewhere I shall be blamed for allowing such a word to go from this Court.'

Later in the same month—24th of June 1872—he delivered a lengthy and learned judgment on the vexed and difficult question of chancel gates and parclose screens as raised by this application from St. John the Baptist, Hulme,

for a faculty for certain alterations there. The record of this decision is as follows :—

The learned Chancellor delivered a lengthy judgment, in which he reviewed the legal arguments in the case. He said the two main questions which he had to decide were, first, whether the proposed alterations were in conformity with or in any way violated the law ; and if he should be of opinion that they did not violate the law, whether, in the exercise of that discretion which the law reposed in him, the alterations were expedient. He did not find in the act on petition any allegation that any of the proposed alterations were illegal, nor that they contravened any usage of the Church of England which must be considered to have the force of law. Two objections, however, as to the legality of the proposed alterations were raised at the Bar. It was contended that the greater part of the alterations were in the nature of superfluous ornaments, and that it was clearly the intention of the petitioners to gild and deck with superfluous ornaments the proposed gates and screens in such a manner as to be contrary to the homily against peril of idolatry and the usages of the Church. A very careful examination of the plans had convinced him that there was nothing whatever in the designs or in the ornamental work itself which in any way could be objectionable upon any legal grounds. The defendants also alleged that it was not legal for the church to be open all day long for private prayer, and that, even though legal, it was contrary to the usage of the Church of England. He was certainly surprised to find such a proposition seriously put forward. He was unable to see a single authority to suggest in the slightest degree the impropriety of the church being open for private prayer, and he should be very sorry to sanction any such proposition as that it was illegal or improper for a church to be so open. Having dealt at considerable length with the legal points involved in the petition and objections, the Chancellor said he had next to deal with the question whether the alterations proposed would really add to the seemliness and convenience of the church, and would be for the benefit or comfort of the parishioners, and especially for the church-going parishioners. The first alteration proposed by the petition was to replace the wooden flooring at the east end of the chancel with tiling. No objection had been made, and he, therefore, had no hesitation whatever in granting that alteration. The second alteration was to replace the present chancel stalls by new and more convenient



seats and desks, and that also he would grant. The third proposal he also granted—namely, to replace the present parclose screens by iron ones. The fourth alteration was to place a low wall, 3 ft. 3 in. high and 6 ft. 3 in. long, on each side of the chancel arch, with metal crestings thereon and gates between. These gates, it was alleged, were needed to prevent any fingering with choir books, altar cloth, &c., as also access to the choir vestry and the organ. His first impression upon reading the judgment of Dr. Lushington, in *Westerton v. Liddell*, was that that decision would justify him in refusing the prayer of the petitioners, but he had felt compelled to come to the conclusion that Dr. Lushington's remarks could not be considered as laying down any rule on the subject of a screen and gates. It had been pointed out by Mr. Leresche that in the adjoining parish of St. Mary's, Hulme, there were gates between the chancel and the nave; but he was not informed when or under what circumstances they were erected. He had ascertained that these gates were there when the church was consecrated by the late Bishop of Manchester, on the 12th of November 1858, less than three years after Dr. Lushington's judgment in *Westerton v. Liddell*, and less than two years after the decision of the Privy Council in the same case. Now, no one who knew the late Bishop of Manchester, and especially none who was ever associated with him, as he [Mr. Christie] was, in the administration of the law, but must have been struck as well with his great knowledge of ecclesiastical law as with the anxious care and consideration which he gave lest in any matter the law should be violated. He was bound to come to the conclusion that in St. Mary's Bishop Lee found nothing in any respect objectionable in the screens and gates, and that they were treated by him as matters of absolute indifference. The only objection taken in the act on petition to the screen and gates was that the fastening and locking up of the chancel would interfere with the proper supervision of the churchwardens; but it was not proposed to place a lock upon those gates, but simply a bolt. The matter was one wholly unobjectionable and indifferent in itself, and he was bound not to follow any private opinion of his own, but to grant the prayer of the petition for the erection of the proposed low screens and gates. He was so desirous, however, and bound to be so careful that no abuse should arise from the gates, that he proposed the insertion in the faculty of words requiring the gates to be wide open during the celebration or ministration of any and every divine service, sacrament, rite, or office, and if he should find this part of the faculty

disobeyed, it would be his duty, upon a proper application being made to him, to issue a monition to the minister requiring obedience to the faculty, and to condemn the minister in the costs of the proceedings, and necessary so to modify the arrangement of the screen and gates as to prevent a possibility of a violation of the provision. The fifth alteration, relating to the removal of the pulpit from the north to the south side, he thought an improvement, and would therefore allow it. He should also grant the proposal in regard to the Communion table being made three inches longer, it being understood that there was no intention to make it narrower. He objected, however, to the proposal to raise the height of the present Communion table and to place an additional step between the nave and the Communion step. The additional step must certainly cause inconvenience to the parishioners, and especially to the aged and infirm persons who might desire to receive the Holy Communion. The present steps were unusually numerous, and several of them did not appear to have been sanctioned by any faculty or any other authority. He should therefore insert in the faculty a provision that the height of the Communion table above the floor of the chancel should not be greater than at present, and that there should be no more steps than at present between the table and the nave. He would likewise agree to the seventh alteration for cutting the present reredos in two, the removing the two ends laterally north and south, and inserting a dossal cloth, the object being to get rid of the present objectionable empty side spaces; at the same time he expressed a hope that the tables containing the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which had been removed, would be restored to a convenient position in or near the east end of the church.

Ten years later, however, Chancellor Christie had slightly modified his opinion on this question of chancel gates, as will be seen from the following case. In December 1882 an application was made before him for a faculty to erect in St. Gabriel's Church, Hulme, a low stone wall and iron gates across the entrance to the chancel, together with other minor alterations, such as moving the pulpit and altar steps, &c. The record of his judgment in this case is as follows:—

The Chancellor said the alterations which were proposed appeared to be very proper, except in one particular, and that was

as regarded the erection of iron gates across the entrance to the chancel. He had on two occasions decreed the granting of a faculty for the erection of gates across a chancel, and he had no personal objection to the gates, and if it were a matter of his own discretion, or in the discretion of that court, he would have no hesitation in granting the faculty on the present occasion. But since the last faculty that was granted his attention had been called to a decision of Lord Penzance which decided clearly and distinctly that gates were illegal, and that faculties could not be granted for such a purpose. The decision was in the case of *Bradford v. Fry*, reported in 'Law Reports, Probate Division,' vol. 4, p. 93. There had been a decision, and there were some words used by Dr. Lushington in the case of *Westerton v. Liddell* expressing disapproval of gates, but that did not impress him (the Chancellor) with the idea that there was a positive refusal, but that it was rather an expression of opinion which seemed to have reference to that particular case than that it had a general application.

The Chancellor of London, Dr. Tristram, in two cases—one the case of St. Augustine's, Haggerston, and the other the case of the Church of the Annunciation, Chislehurst—decided that he was bound by the words of Dr. Lushington in *Westerton v. Liddell*, and that he could not grant a faculty for the erection of gates. Then there came the very recent case by Lord Penzance of *Bradford v. Fry*, where there had been the erection without a faculty of a screen and chancel gates, with other alterations, and the application was that they should be taken down. Upon that coming before Dr. Roberts, the Chancellor of the Diocese of Rochester, he ordered that the whole of the articles should be taken down and removed, on the ground that they had been erected without a faculty, and that no faculty had been applied for for their confirmation. Lord Penzance was appealed to, and he decided that he could grant a confirmatory faculty for everything except the gates of the screen, and those he ordered to be taken down. He (the Chancellor) mentioned this in order that their attention might be drawn to it. Lord Penzance, in the judgment referred to, said, 'I do not say that the chancel screen itself in the present case has any ceremonial significance which can offend the feeling of the parishioners, but I do think that the gates attached to the screen are objectionable, for the reasons given by Dr. Lushington in *Beal v. Liddell*. Having regard to all these circumstances I have mentioned, I think the screen may be retained, but that the gates to it ought to be taken down.'

Having regard to that decision, he (Chancellor Christie) was satisfied it was not within the power of that court to grant a faculty for the purpose of erecting the gates in question. It was quite clear that that court was absolutely bound by the decision of Lord Penzance, who was not merely the Dean of Arches, but was now the Judge of the Court of Appeal at York; and his decision was therefore all the stronger. What, however, he would do was this—he would, just as they might find it convenient, grant it with the exception of the point in question, so that if they chose they could appeal, and he would grant them every faculty, if they desired it, for the matter to be argued before Lord Penzance; or he would refuse it, not on the ground that in his opinion it was inexpedient, but simply because he felt himself bound by that decree. Therefore he either adjourn the further hearing until the next court day, in order that they might have an opportunity of considering the case and of consulting with their friends or other gentlemen who were supporting the application as to whether they would like to have a faculty without the gates or whether they would prefer to have the faculty refused.

On the other hand, he never for a moment tolerated any mere factious anti-ritualist agitation, and the display of such motive or of any personal feeling in a purely parochial matter instantly called forth strong and severe condemnation. In the case of the dispute in the parish of Eccles, in April 1883, as to the erection of a new reredos in place of the old one in the parish church he displayed prompt and remarkable firmness, and severely characterised the conduct of the anti-ritualists in the agitation.

In the present case he was of opinion that there was nothing whatever objectionable to the most zealous opponent of what was called Ritualism. He was asked to postpone the matter in order that a further opinion of the parishioners might be obtained. From what he had been able to gather, a great deal of ill-feeling had existed in the parish, and he was quite sure that to keep the matter open any longer would be most injudicious in every respect. He hoped sincerely that those persons who opposed the application would not think that in granting the faculty, there was any desire upon the part of the court in the slightest degree to promote either ritual or ceremonies, or figures or paintings, or anything which was

in the least degree opposed to those principles of the Church of England which it was the duty of that court to maintain, and which he was satisfied it was the wish of the Vicar of Eccles to maintain. In view of the whole of the circumstances, he decided that the faculty be granted as prayed.

These formal *ex cathedra* decisions of Mr. Christie as Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester illustrate his private and deliberately advanced opinions on points which are even now more hotly contested than in the days when the utterances were delivered. They do not, however, exhaust the tale of his contributions towards an Eirenikon between laity and clergy, between Ritualist and Protestant. His tenure of the Chancellorship was made remarkable by his addresses to the churchwardens of the diocese on the occasion of the Easter visitations or admissions, addresses which were received by the laity of the district with the completest admiration. That admiration did not find expression in public print, but it was general from mouth to mouth, and it was accorded, too, by a people who are and have always been keener in their religious polemics than any other in England. On account of their marked influence as well as of their inherent quality it has been thought proper to include one of these addresses in the present volume.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore unnecessary to do more in this Memoir than point out that the dominant note running through them all is conciliation as between lay and cleric, and that, by means of the explaining or the discarding of the legal fallacies involved in many of the points at issue. He never ceased to protest against the distinction and the implied antagonism of interest between rector's and people's churchwardens. Both wardens are wardens of the people or parish, and if by use and custom they have become otherwise recognised it is only by a lamentable and unjustifiable use. In place

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Christie's visitations took place normally every four years, but in 1876 and 1893 he was too ill to hold them. His four Charges were accordingly delivered in 1872, 1880, 1884, and 1889. The Charge printed in the present volume belongs to the year 1889. The Charge of 1872 I have not seen. That of the year 1880 was printed in full in the *Diocesan Churchman*, and again in pamphlet form by Messrs. Aikman and Woodhead of Manchester. Of the 1884 Charge lengthy reports are to be found in the local Press of May 14, 1884.

of the former sterile distinctions and disputes he pointed out to the wardens their sole and common duty as representatives of the parishioners. He took the pains to go carefully through the answers given to the questions put to the wardens in the archdeacon's visitation, and found that there was a systematic disregard of the proper preservation of the parish registers and a complete absence of any idea of the importance of keeping proper terriers and inventories of church goods. So keenly did he feel the necessity of reform—he had found, for instance, that 180 parishes in the diocese had no form of terrier at all—that at considerable trouble he prepared a form of a terrier and inventory as a model or suggestion, and published it in the 'Diocesan Directory' for 1885.

On the remaining and still more vexed question of private ownership of seats in parish churches his attitude was more severely judicial. But at least in one case (that of the Longton old church dispute in June 1881) he was fearlessly outspoken in his declaration of the so-called rights of the pew-owners as illegal in their origin.

Finally, as to the Ornaments Rubric, his deliberately uttered opinion, in his 1880 Charge, was as follows:—

Of the many cases of complaint made to the bishops by churchwardens or parishioners, I do not recollect one in which, in the outset, legal or illegal practices have not been mixed up together and equally made matter of complaint. The placing a cross in a perfectly lawful position,<sup>1</sup> the use of candlesticks with unlighted candles upon the Communion table, the eastward position of itself and irrespective of the question of the breaking of the bread in the sight of the people—nay, even the use of the surplice in the pulpit, and the introduction of a surpliced choir, have quite recently been treated as popish and illegal practices, and have formed the subject of complaint to the bishops.

Now, I am very far from being desirous of encouraging some of these practices. Nothing can be more foolish than the introduction of changes in indifferent matters where such changes are

<sup>1</sup> It is unlawful to place a cross on the Communion Table, or in such a position that to a stranger entering the church it appears to be standing on the table.

distasteful to the church-going parishioners, or even to any considerable section of them. In such case it is the clear duty of the churchwardens to offer their advice, and even remonstrance against such innovations. It may be their duty (I do not say that it is not) to lay the matters before the bishop, and request his advice in reference to them. But to complain of them, to allege that they are popish practices, and to make them matters of grievance, to refuse, or encourage others in refusing, to attend the services of the Church by reason of them, has a tendency to promote an advance from these harmless and unimportant matters to actual violations of the law. The person complained of naturally thinks if lawful and innocent matters are made the subject of grievance and complaint, nothing further can be done if even directly illegal practices are introduced. But still further it must be remembered there are sins of omission as well as sins of commission; practices have undoubtedly grown up in many parishes inconsistent with the rubric and with the law, and when, as frequently happens, a new incumbent introduces a more strict obedience to the law, the churchwardens, instead of giving him, as they are bound to do, their full support, are ready to accuse him of introducing Ritualism and Popery. There can be no rubric or any part of the law of the Church of England more clear than that which requires the use on every Sunday of the offertory sentences, and the prayer for the Church militant. Yet the introduction of these instead of meeting with general approval and support is frequently made the subject of complaint and treated as if it were a violation of the law instead of an act of obedience to it. I must again repeat that if lawless practices and disobedience are to be effectually discouraged, this can be done in no way so effectually as by encouraging the strict observance of the law, not in promoting its observance only where it is agreeable to ourselves, but accepting it in its entirety, giving the fullest and most cordial support to those who endeavour to carry it out, and treating as matters of absolute indifference those things which the law wisely, or unwisely, leaves to the discretion of the minister.

But if in the matter of the performance of Divine Service the law leaves a very wide discretion to the officiating minister and does not permit the interference of the churchwardens, it is otherwise as to the introduction of ornaments in the church. When once the church has been consecrated, the incumbent has no power or authority to introduce any new ornaments, however lawful, in

addition to those that have been sanctioned by the act of consecration, or to effect any alteration in the fabric or the furniture, except under the authority of a faculty, and the churchwardens are only exercising in a proper and praiseworthy manner their rights, and protecting those of the parishioners, if they refuse to sanction any such introductions, and, should they be persisted in, if they apply to the Consistory Court for a faculty for their removal. They must not indeed, as unfortunately has been the case in one or two instances, though not, I think, in this diocese, attempt to remove the unlawful or unauthorised ornaments unless and until a faculty is obtained for the purpose, but if any such are introduced without a faculty they, or either of them, can at once apply to the court for their removal, when their legality, and, if legal, their expediency, can be discussed and considered, and when, if either illegal or inexpedient, an order will be made for their removal.

Turning, however, from the merely parænetic, or the exclusively legal side of these Charges—the plain indication of rights and of forgotten duty, the simple exhortation to peace—they were made on more than one occasion remarkable for fearless polemic. No man was ever less of an agitator than Mr. Christie, but when called upon to speak he could speak strongly. In the visitation of May 1884, he animadverted in a very severe and hostile manner on the bill promoted by Mr. Monk, then Chancellor of Gloucester, which proposed to provide for the admission of wardens by the incumbent. Very significantly his opposition to this proposal was based upon his objection to see the power of the clergy over their wardens increased. The same Charge concluded with an even more severe and outspoken attack on the Liberation Society—an attack for which he was sharply but quite futilely taken to task in the local press.<sup>1</sup>

The incident is noticeable only for the sidelight which it throws on Mr. Christie's character. His urbanity as a citizen of the world, his conciliation as a leader, his impartiality as a judge, proverbial as they were, could not efface the strength of his convictions and the directness of his

<sup>1</sup> The animadversions of the *Manchester Examiner and Times* will be found in the issue of that paper for the 16th of May 1884. Mr. Christie's reply appeared in the following day's issue of the *Manchester Courier*.



utterance when once conviction was evoked and strong utterance needed, and to overlook this latter quality would be to mistake the superficial for the enduring characteristics of the man.

I have preferred to illustrate Mr. Christie's work as Chancellor, and incidentally thereby his private opinions on so many hotly-contested points, from his own addresses in his visitations and his deliberately uttered decisions as judge, rather than from reference to the thorny question of the treatment of Mr. Green. In the former he was himself—a lawyer speaking law to the perception of the commonest layman, an ecclesiastical judge laying down decisions which won for him a pre-eminent place among English Diocesan Chancellors. The interest attaching to the Miles Platting case, on the other hand, is an adventitious one, and especially so as far as Mr. Christie is concerned. It was primarily simply a matter of a refractory clergyman whom the bishop was driven to coerce, and in such a case the intervention of the Chancellor was a purely professional one. He had to advise the bishop at every point as to the legal steps to be taken, and it was in such professional capacity alone that he acted. Beyond the fact that his merely official connection with these proceedings led to some misrepresentation of Mr. Christie in the London press,<sup>1</sup> the episode is of hardly a moment's note in his life.

Whilst, however, the interest in the Miles Platting case is purely accidental, there can be little doubt that, private feelings apart, his principles as a canon lawyer led him to an unflinching support of Bishop Fraser in it. His views on the delicate question of the relation of the Church to the State in respect of ecclesiastical law were fully stated in a paper read by him in his capacity as Chancellor, at the Manchester

<sup>1</sup> The persistent attacks on Bishop Fraser for not giving notice of the avoidance of St. John's, Miles Platting, and so permitting of Mr. Green's release from prison, led Mr. Christie to write a letter to the *Times*, which appeared in that paper on 18th of September 1882. In this letter he laid down the legal conditions governing the bishop's action. It was made the subject of a long leading article in the same paper two days later, which was followed by two other letters from him, as well as by controverting letters from Sir George Bowyer and 'Templar' (see the *Times* for September 20, 23, and 30).

Diocesan Conference on the 16th of October 1879. This paper will be found printed in the present volume. It displays him in what is at first sight a very complex light, at once as a fearless Erastian and as a devotee of canon law. He accepted without flinching the supremacy of the State, as expressed through Parliament, in matters of ecclesiastical legislation. He accepted the Public Worship Regulation Act, and the tribunal created by it. He accepted the Clergy Discipline Act, and, as has already been stated, he sat as one of the assessors on not less than three occasions on which Bishop Lee of Manchester tried clerical offenders. But it was as the devotee of canon law that he accepted them, and with an eclectic dissatisfaction at the judgment of the Privy Council in reference to the Ornaments Rubric, and a still stronger dissatisfaction at the formal portions of the Public Worship Regulation Act, and at the nature of the appeal machinery and costs-making machinery contained in the Clergy Discipline Act. At the bottom, however, it is not difficult to compress this remarkable paper into a single view. It is the utterance of a man whose reverence for canon law was innate as well as bred of historical study; of a man whose strong sense at the same time revolted at the idea of the clergy forming an *imperium in imperio* and questioning the powers of Parliament; and of a man, finally, whose singular humanity fought to the last against the iniquity of costs-making, an iniquity which has turned and is turning so many of our legal remedies into deadliest poison.

For the purpose of unity and completeness I have included in one view the account of Mr. Christie's Chanceryship. His reputation as an ecclesiastical lawyer is evidenced by the fact that in 1892 the late Bishop Durnford wished very strongly to make him Chancellor of the Diocese of Chichester, and would have prevailed upon him had it not been for Mr. Christie's illness.

To return, however, to the other phases of his Manchester life. During most of the period in which he occupied the dignity of Chancellor of the diocese he was also an active civil magistrate. Having practically retired from the Bar in 1876 he was, at the pressing instance of the Chairman of the

Salford Hundred Quarter Sessions, appointed a Justice of the Peace for the county of Lancaster in October 1878. Almost immediately thereupon he began to sit in the Second Court, and in the absence of Mr. W. H. Higgin, Q.C., he frequently took his place as Chairman in the First Court of the Salford Hundred Sessions. His demeanour on the bench was characterised by keen legal acumen of the highest order, but more still by a humaneness which, by contrast, on more than one occasion deeply moved his auditors. One instance is still brought home to me with singular force. On the only day in his life on which my own father was called to perform the irksome duty of a juror he witnessed in the Salford Hundred Court what was to him a most disagreeable display of brow-beating illtemper on the part of the then presiding magistrate. After an interval this nameless magistrate descended, and his place was taken by another. An instant change came over the court, as if the atmosphere had cleared. Calmly, keenly, but quietly, the magistrate heard the case, listening to the prisoner—a poor old man—so gently, so humanely. And when he sentenced him it was still with the same humaneness and subdued feeling. ‘Now treat the old man gently,’ he said, as they took him away. ‘Who is the magistrate?’ asked my father of his neighbour juror. ‘That,’ was the reply, ‘is Chancellor Christie.’

Let it not be supposed for a moment that such demeanour was the outcome of a cultivated and professional urbanity. It was not. It was the intense humanity of the man breaking through even the legal acumen of the lawyer and the professional attitude of the judge. And the impression which his demeanour produced upon the jurors on that occasion was not confined to him who told me the story. Incidents such as this would be trivial in any man’s life but for their serving, as they do, for a corrective against a wrong impression. From the numerous (invariably sympathetic) Press references which appeared after Mr. Christie’s death one would naturally suppose that he was first and last and always a bibliophile. So he was—but a bibliophile with a fund and depth of humanity that was hardly suspected by the outer world, and hardly suspected simply because of his

own fastidiousness and his habitual and intense dislike of any display of feeling.

Besides being a magistrate for the County of Lancaster, he was also a Justice of the Peace for the county of Derby, having been nominated by the Duke of Devonshire after his removal to Darley Dale. He accordingly sat regularly at the Matlock Petty Sessions for some years. During this period he also filled the office of chairman of the North Darley Local Board.

On the 1st of December 1893, Mr. Christie resigned the Chancellorship of the Diocese of Manchester in consequence of now seriously failing health. From that date his active official connection with Manchester practically ended, for he had some time before also ceased to sit as a civil magistrate. But his personal connection with the city of his adoption was never broken till his death. After his resignation in 1869 of his Professorship of Law at Owens College he remained one of the most active and influential of the governors till his death, and also (from 1870 to 1886) a member of the Council of the College. He was an original member, and one of the most energetic, of the Extension Committee appointed in 1867 to provide the college with a new building, and to enlarge its scope. He took part in the scheme for incorporating with the college the Royal Manchester School of Medicine, for the erection of the new Medical School in 1874, and of the Museum in 1879, and became finally one of the most active promoters of the founding of the Victoria University. From the inception of the University he was a member of both its Court and Council (1880-96); and in 1895 received from it the highest honour it could confer in the degree of LL.D.

It would be difficult to express what the College owes to him for his guiding hand during all these years of growth. For the extension movement and the university movement had not been carried through without difficulty and opposition. Some of the original trustees of the College were conservative and timid, and more than once the negotiations with them (for instance, over the question of the erection of a women's college, and of the equal admission of women to

classes and degrees) would have been wrecked but for his tact and influence.

But Mr. Christie did not rest content with the exercise of mere guidance and influence. He long meditated some form of useful gift to the College, and as with the lapse of time his means permitted, the wish took gradually the definite shape of building a library, with the ultimate intention also of presenting to it his own unique collection of books. His offer was made to the College in the autumn of 1893, and at once warmly accepted. The building was designed by Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, the architect of the college buildings. Mr. Waterhouse was given a perfectly free hand in the design, with the object of making the new library conform with the then future intention of completing the college quadrangle. The building was complete five years later, and was formally opened by the Duke of Devonshire on the 22nd of June 1898. By the time of its completion, Mr. Christie had already grown too weak to bear a journey to Manchester. Accordingly he himself never saw the finished building, and was absent from the opening ceremony. He therefore deputed his colleague, Dr. Ward, now Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, to represent him on the occasion. In the letter from him which Dr. Ward read at the ceremony, Mr. Christie made the following reference to what he described as the carrying out of a wish and intention of nearly thirty years' standing.

When the present college buildings were first planned it was out of my power to incur the expense of erecting a library, but I then determined that, in the event of no suitable library being built in my lifetime, I would, if possible, provide by will for the erection of such a building. As time went on, it seemed not impossible for me to carry out my wishes in my lifetime, and learning from you and others how utterly inadequate the accommodation for the books was, and how seriously this interfered with their use and with the convenience of the professors and students, I decided on offering to build a library forthwith. This offer was made and accepted in the autumn of 1893, and I have now the satisfaction of knowing that a building has been provided, adequate not only for the accommodation of the collection of books at present owned by the college, but also for the probable





Fatherly love yours  
Rev. C. Christie

needs of many years to come, and where the bulk of my own library—a collection, I hope, not unworthy of the acceptance of the college—may, after my death, find a permanent resting-place.

It is only necessary to add that his own collection of books now occupies a specially designed room at the west end of the principal floor of the library. They had been bequeathed by Mr. Christie to his widow for her life, and afterwards to the college; but Mrs. Christie generously waived her right and transferred the books within a few months of her husband's decease.

In the same room is the portrait of the donor, robed in a doctor's gown and hood, painted by T. B. Kennington, and presented to the College by some of Mr. Christie's Owens College friends. It may be of interest to add that this portrait was reproduced in the *Library* for March, 1900 (Vol. I., N.S., p. 128), accompanied by a descriptive account of Mr. Christie's bibliographical work.

The total cost of the building of the Christie Library was 21,077*l.* As to the value of the collection of his own books, also thus bequeathed, it is not possible to give any estimate. Many of them are works of extreme rarity in themselves, as well as of beauty in the binding. They represent the outcome of a lifetime's careful and vigilant searching, and it may be safely asserted that it would never again be possible to get together such a collection. An adequate idea of its completeness and value as a library of Renaissance works will only be conveyed by the catalogue, which, it is hoped, will soon appear in print. For the moment Mr. J. Cree's notes which will be found appended to this Memoir may serve to indicate its general richness and some of its chief items.

Unquestionably Mr. Christie's care for the welfare of Owens College, which culminated in this double gift, was the one enduring exoteric interest of his life, combining as it did practical benevolence with the promotion of pure scholarship, always dearest to him. But though a chief preoccupation, it was not the only one. He was called by the will of Sir Joseph Whitworth to play a part in a wider



field. Sir Joseph Whitworth, for some years Mr. Christie's neighbour at Darley Dale, and founder of the gigantic firm of which the latter was subsequently chairman, had that type of mind which in some ways by its fastidiousness militated against its own achievement. His constant ideal was perfection in whatever form, and down to the minutest detail. His determination throughout was to devote his wealth to the best advancement in every sense of the district where he had made both name and fortune. What he desired most to see was a graded system of education of co-ordinated schools and colleges, which should make it possible for any one with the capacity and the desire, to pass from the lowest to the highest range of education—scientific, literary and artistic. He devised many schemes during his lifetime, and made various essays, by building, by scholarships, as if feeling his way to that ideal institution which should express his completest wish. But he never satisfied himself, and in the end he left the bulk of his fortune to his residuary legatees 'they being each of them aware of the general nature of the objects for which I should myself have applied such property,' *i.e.* with only the vague direction that it should be devoted to the best intellectual, moral and material interests of Manchester. In other words, he left his legatees to find and realise that ideal institution which he himself had never found to his own satisfaction. The difficulty of the bequest lay in the vagueness of the wish or ideal. But a still greater difficulty lay unanticipated in the future. Neither Sir Joseph Whitworth himself nor his legatees could possibly have foreseen the sudden revolution which was to be wrought in the educational life of England by the technical education measure and the creation of county councils. Accordingly his legatees proceeded, as he himself had proceeded in his lifetime—tentatively. They provided for the wants of Openshaw, the locality more immediately connected with the Whitworth works, by the public baths and by the free library and municipal buildings, opened in 1890 and 1894 respectively, joining in the latter enterprise with the Free Libraries Committee of the Manchester City Council. They provided the Whitworth Park

for the recreation of larger Manchester, and with a view to the highest intellectual interests of the city they conferred a multiplicity of benefits on Owens College:—by the purchase of the Freeman Library, by the provision of the Engineering Laboratory, by the practical completion of the museum buildings and its equipment, by the donation of the College Hospital estate and the athletic grounds at Fallowfield, and finally, by the completion of the College quadrangle through the gift of the Whitworth Hall. Large as these benefactions were they were looked upon by the legatees themselves as only adjuncts to the main scheme in view. This scheme eventually took shape as ‘the Whitworth Institute,’ an institute which was intended to combine an art school, a technical school, a museum of industrial and commercial products, and an art gallery and library. For the purposes of this comprehensive scheme the Manchester Art School was taken over and provision made for its extension; the existing Technical School was also taken over and provision similarly made for its being rebuilt on a worthy scale in a more suitable locality; and finally, the central institute itself, for governing the whole, was established in the Whitworth Park to serve as a nucleus for the intended fine art gallery, library, and industrial museum. The charter of incorporation was granted 2nd of October 1889, but even before the new buildings were complete the ground was struck from underneath the whole scheme by the Technical Education Bill. Recognising that no private enterprise, however magnificently endowed, could compete, or ought to compete, with organised public effort, the institute yielded to the municipality, and the city of Manchester finally took over both the art school and the technical school, the latter of which was still only in process of rebuilding on the Whitworth Street site. In 1896 Lady Whitworth, one of the three legatees, died. From the date of her death the surviving legatees, Mr. Christie and Mr. R. D. Darbishire, and the executors of Lady Whitworth, agreed to act separately in the administration of the remainder of the residuary estate. Accordingly Mr. Christie devoted the greater part of the portion at his disposal to the best interests of Owens

College by providing the Whitworth Hall to complete the college buildings.

But though the Whitworth Institute thus proved un-realisable in its original form by virtue only of its translation into an even more vigorous municipal institute, the city of Manchester very fittingly determined to show its appreciation of the zeal and public spirit of the legatees. On the 7th of September 1899, the freedom of the city was voted to Mr. Christie and Mr. Darbishire, and it was presented to them on the 6th of October of the same year. Mr. Christie's ill health prevented his attendance in Manchester for the ceremony. Accordingly the casket containing the scroll of the freedom was presented to him at his residence in Surrey, on the 18th of October 1899, by the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Mr. W. H. Vaudrey) and the Town Clerk (Mr. W. H. Talbot). In Mr. Christie's case the honour was signally deserved, for his private gifts to Owens College, as well as his other and wider benefactions to the city generally, both privately and in the capacity of Whitworth legatee. In moving the resolution in the City Council in September 1899, for the presentation of the freedom, Alderman Thompson gave the following account of these his other local activities :—' Mr. Christie was for some years a deputy treasurer of the Infirmary and took an active part in its management. The present constitution and rules of the Infirmary were prepared jointly by him and Sir Joseph Heron. He was for many years chairman of the Clinical Hospital Committee, chairman of the Portico Library, and a member of the governing bodies of the Hulme Trust, the Granby Row Schools, the Ashley Lane Schools, the Education Aid Society, Ann Hinde's Charity, and the various societies connected with the Diocese of Manchester, and is now president of the Cancer Pavilion and Home.'

It is to be borne in mind that, in addition to all this exceptionally wide range of activity, Mr. Christie was a director of several large business concerns, chief among them being, of course, Whitworth's, of which he was chairman from Sir Joseph's death to the completion of the amalgamation between Whitworth's and Armstrong's. It

is no exaggeration to say that in no act or connection of his life was his unflinching tact employed to the greater advantage of his townspeople than in this amalgamation, for it was largely due to his tact and his initiative that the long rivalry between these two firms was brought to a close. From the date of the amalgamation he ceased to sit on the board. In this, as in other of his acts, he had sown the seeds of greater things in the future and then quietly withdrawn.

It would, however, be incorrect to produce the impression that Mr. Christie's public interests were limited to Manchester or Lancashire. His interest in public free library work which he had displayed at Openshaw, was also shown in a practical way by his acting as commissioner of the Putney Free Library from 1889 to 1892, the period of his residence at Roehampton. He was a member of the Committee of the London Library from 1888 to 1897. He assisted in the creation of the Bibliographical Society in 1892, taking the chair at the preliminary meeting and becoming one of its earliest vice-presidents. He also took an active part in the work of the Library Association of the United Kingdom, of which body he was Vice-President, and afterwards Fellow. He attended many of the annual meetings, and was President of the Association in 1889 when its conference was held in London. On that occasion he delivered for his presidential address an interesting paper on 'The Work and Aims of the Library Association.'

In addition to all this, Mr. Christie was one of the original governors of the Royal Holloway College from its inception in 1886, and was chairman of the Library Committee of the College. He continued a governor until his resignation in 1899.

In February 1888 he was elected a member of the Athenæum Club, under the rule which provides for the yearly election of nine persons of distinction in literature, art, science, or the public service. He was also a member of what is probably the most exclusive of all English learned clubs, the Roxburghe, as also of a number of other learned societies—the Spencer Society, and the Société des

Bibliophiles Contemporains, of which he was one of the three English members.

Before touching upon Mr. Christie's creative literary work it may be permissible to bring this brief record of his life to its close. On the 13th of June 1861, he married Mary Helen, daughter of Mr. Samuel Fletcher, of Broomfield, Manchester—a man who had in his day stood at the head of one of the oldest and most respected home-trading houses of Manchester (this firm was located in Parker Street from 1811), and who had in addition played a most active part in the philanthropical and intellectual life of the town. In particular he took great interest in the foundation of the Owens College, was one of its original trustees, and acted as such till his death. He not merely worked hard for the college, but also founded the Victoria Scholarship in connection with it.

In the speech already referred to in the Manchester City Council on the occasion of the voting of the freedom, Alderman Thompson, speaking at the express wish of Mr. Christie, made the following reference to Mr. Fletcher and his daughter:—'Mr. Fletcher was a greatly esteemed merchant who by his generosity supported many valuable institutions, and by his example and wise counsel cheered and encouraged toilers in charitable and self-sacrificing enterprises. Mrs. Christie has always taken the deepest interest in the various charities of Manchester, and continues to do so; and may be regarded as the founder of the Cancer Hospital and its generous supporter, her husband ever helping her in this good work.' These words, which were undoubtedly Mr. Christie's words, spoken through the lips of Alderman Thompson, were found emphasised in his will, in which he left it to his widow to continue his benefactions in perfect trust and without reservation.

Mr. Christie had married whilst living at Cheetham Hill. A few years later he removed to Prestwich, then to Darley Dale, thence, in 1883, to Glenwood, Virginia Water, and then, in 1888, to The Elms, Roehampton. Finally, in 1892, he purchased the estate of Ribsden, in the parish of Windlesham, Surrey, and there he resided until his death on the

9th of January, 1901. By his own directions his body was cremated at Woking, and his remains were interred at St. Saviour's, Valley End, Chobham, on the 15th of the same month.

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Throughout this Memoir I have made no reference to Mr. Christie's literary work—the chief and highest distinction of his life. That life had been so crowded with activity of so varied kinds that it is matter for astonishment that he should ever have accomplished any literary work at all. More than once, in conversations which I have been privileged to have with him, he deplored the fact that he was compelled to spend so much of his day in attending to mere business matters, and this, too, was at a time when he had to all appearances retired from active life.

But the truth was that he was a born student. The love of books was in his blood from his boyhood, for he began collecting even before he went to Oxford. And no amount of worldly preoccupation or success ever dispossessed him of his first love. His connection with Manchester led to much literary work of a more local kind. He was president of the Chetham Society from 1884 until his death, succeeding Mr. James Crossley. For this society he edited 'Worthington's Diary and Correspondence,' vol. ii. part 2; compiled the 'Worthington Bibliography,' and wrote the volume on the 'Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire.'

He was also president of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, and contributed to its publications what probably forms its most interesting volume, the edition (with translation) of the 'Annales Cestrienses, or Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Werburg, Chester.' His interest in these societies never ceased. He had been a member of the Chetham Society for twenty-eight years before his election as president, and after his election he was never absent from its annual meetings until the year 1897.

But though the interest of local history remained with him to the last, it was not his chief literary predilection, nor did it furnish scope for his best and most distinctive work.

His one lifelong scientific preoccupation as a matter of instinct and love, was with pure history in the widest sense. It is no contradiction to this to find that in the end in his creative work this preoccupation found expression in biography. Besides writing historical and other reviews for the 'Spectator,' with the editor of which, Mr. R. H. Hutton, he enjoyed an intimate friendship, he was a valued contributor to the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' The life of Pattison, for instance, which he wrote for that work, is a model of what a dictionary article should be. In addition he was a most watchful critic of the 'Dictionary' for many years. The article on Biographical Dictionaries in the present volume will afford some idea of the extensive equipment he possessed for such work. In addition to that article he devoted several separate reviews in the 'Spectator' specifically to Leslie Stephen's 'Dictionary,' combining several of the earlier of these into a serious review, which appeared in the 'Quarterly' in 1887. It was only after much hesitation that this article was excluded from the present volume, as the single expression of wish which Mr. Christie left behind him relating to his essays was a desire to have the 'Quarterly' articles reprinted—presumably, therefore, among them this particular one. The bibliographical portions, however, of this essay will be found anticipated, and with greater elaboration, in the earlier essay on Biographical Dictionaries already referred to.

This latter article displays the extent of Mr. Christie's attainments as an expert bibliographer. A zeal for bibliography and typography was the inevitable outcome of the study of the period of the invention of printing, as well as of his own inherent tastes. And his pre-eminence as a bibliographer is evinced alike in the formation of his library, as in all his literary work. It will be found exemplified in every page of the present volume. In his knowledge of the Aldines, for example, he was recognised as our first authority, and the British Museum officials frequently had recourse to his expert advice. The very last work he left, the fragment on the Lyons printer, Sebastian Gryphius, treated of a typographical subject of which he was equally the acknowledged first master.

But though a born bibliophile, Mr. Christie was never a mere slave to bibliography. With him it was always subservient to its true purpose, as the handmaid of higher research—a tool valuable only in so far as it assisted his investigations into the works and life of the Renaissance writers in whom he was interested.

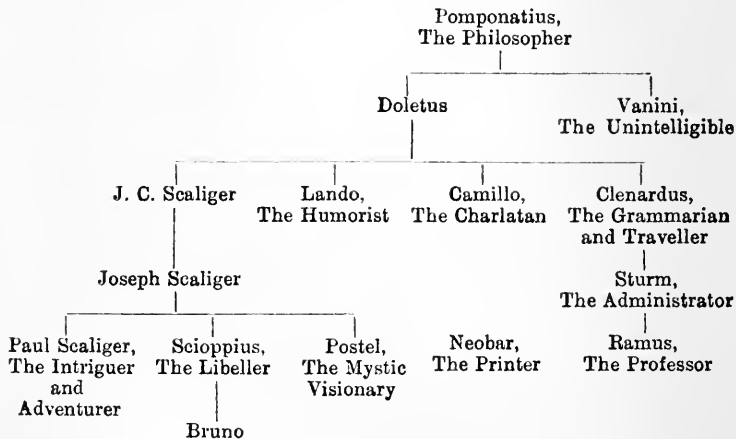
As has just been said this interest was mainly biographical. But such a fact was only the result of the conditions imposed upon all students of history by the very nature of the study itself. The one enduring scientific interest of his very being was throughout, not the life of any single man, not even of Dolet or Scaliger, but the life of man as a whole—of this our human race. I still remember how, in one of those disputations in which he sometimes engaged with me (always with a lurking irony in his words, but such gentle irony), I advanced the objection that the history of the cotton machinery might be of as much interest to a pure student of history as the history of the printing press. How many devotees of the Renaissance would have instantly acquiesced—as he did? He had a quite extraordinary hold on the complexity and diversity of that human life of which the imperfect record is partly strewn around us, partly hidden from us. And it was as to one manifestation of that complex life that he finally turned to the study of the period of the revival of learning.

His experience is curiously parallel with that of Pattison. Pattison had started with the same pure passion for human history as a whole; he had then drifted to the subject of learning in Europe from the fifteenth century as one of the most comprehensive and significant phases of that history; and then finding, as years went by, the absolute impossibility of achieving even so reduced a task, he had riveted his attention to the Scaligers, and then to Casaubon. If identically the same selective process had gone on in the case of Mr. Christie, he would doubtless have similarly settled upon Erasmus for his theme. For to him Erasmus was the embodiment of that spirit of pure rationalism to which the Renaissance, when purged of Paganism and excess, had given a second birth as its offering to the undying cause of human



advance: that pure rationalism which the German Reformation crushed out under a flood of bloodstained polemical dogmatics, that pure rationalism which, as a result of this religious reaction of the Reformation, the modern world has even yet not attained to.

But, as a matter of fact, the selective process was somewhat different in Mr. Christie's case from what it was in Pattison's. His outlook was more cyclical. It was in a group of scholars rather than in a single individual that his interest lay, and not in them as scholars merely, but as representatives of the various phases of the intellectual outburst of the sixteenth century. Among his loose papers found at his death was an exceedingly curious and significant slip on which he had traced, as it were, an intellectual genealogy of the group of scholars in whom his interest centred. As a possible key to Mr. Christie's intended synopsis, as well as of his views regarding these scholars, it is worthy of preservation. It is as follows:—



It is significant of the permanence of view as represented by the terminology employed in this fanciful genealogy that almost the same descriptions of these scholars were found in other portions of Mr. Christie's papers, save that Sturm is characterised in them as the schoolmaster and again the educator, Postel the dreamer, mystic, and so on.

Incidentally it may be observed that in this genealogy the name 'Neobar, the printer' occurs disconnectedly. He was one of the Greek printers of Paris of the earlier half of the sixteenth century in whom Mr. Christie was much interested, having got together a collection of nearly, if not quite, all the books printed by him. This interest in early Greek typography was always strong in Mr. Christie, as is evidenced by the remarkable collection of Greek books of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries which he made, and which now form part of his library at Manchester.

Of the possible synoptical work on the family of scholars which the above genealogy seems to indicate as having been in Mr. Christie's mind some day to write, or, in the alternative, of the possible monographs on each of them which he may have projected, how much was accomplished? At various times he wrote on Pomponatius and Clenardus, Vanini, Bruno, and the Scaligers. He made extensive collections of material relating to, and intended writing upon, Hortensio Lando, Giulio Camillo, Jean Sturm, Peter Ramus, Guillaume Postel, and Gaspar Scioppius; not to mention an article on the French translations of the Bible which, at the time of his death, he had unfortunately only just begun.

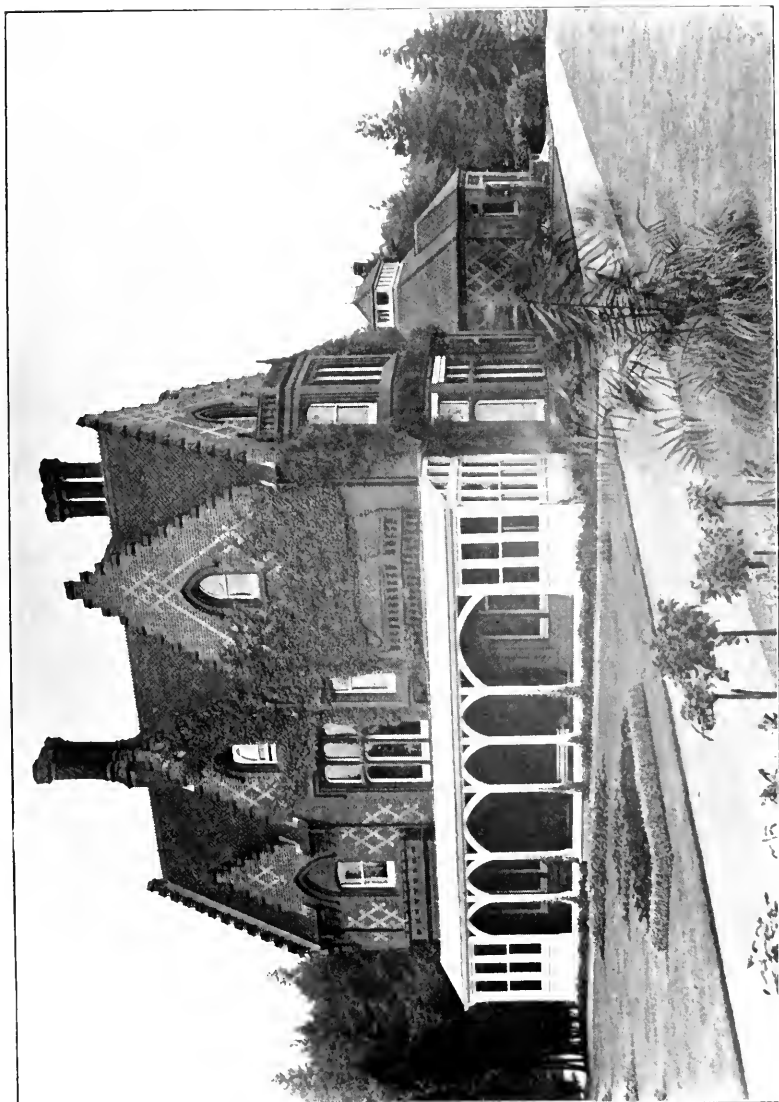
Undoubtedly, therefore, his 'Dolet' is to be regarded as only one of a potential series of works which would have included these names; possibly each of them with the same elaboration of scholarship which characterised the 'Dolet;' or more widely still, as possibly only a preparatory fragment of what would have been a synoptical history of European learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That such a scheme was not realised was due only to physical weakness. At the time of his death there was in an advanced state little more than the fragment on Gryphius, already referred to, which will, it is hoped, appear simultaneously with the present book, in a volume of Owens College essays intended to be dedicated to his memory. For all the unfulfilled remainder we must rest content with what is afforded in the present collection of essays.

In speaking therefore of his 'Dolet' as his chief work, it is,

in the first place, with an important mental reservation, for much other work he actually accomplished, as the present volume bears witness; and in the second place with a sense of inexpressible regret that, at a time when his powers had ripened to their maturest, his physical strength completely gave way, dooming him to a literary inaction which must have been to him the refinement of torture. Surrounded by the choicest collection of Renaissance literature ever got together by a private individual, and possessed of an unrivalled intimacy with the contents of that literature, he was unequal to the exertion of even taking down a book from the shelf. I know of nothing more pathetic and, from the point of view of the loss entailed upon the world of scholarship, nothing more inscrutably deplorable.

But to many a man of letters the 'Dolet' alone would constitute a clear passport to literary fame. It ranks with Pattison's 'Casaubon' as one of the two perfect biographies relating to the Renaissance period which have ever been produced in England, different in style as the two are, but alike in refinement of portrayal and profundity of scholarship. The recognition which the work met with at the hands of the learned was instantaneous. Pattison himself wrote to Mr. Christie that, immediately on receipt of a copy of the book, he had sat down with it in his chair and had not risen from that chair until he had read it through. Alfred Church wrote: 'The volume is one of my familiars. A good biography is one of the most interesting of books, and this is eminently good. Pattison's "Casaubon," Boswell's "Johnson," Trevelyan's "Macaulay," Stephen's "Life and Letters of Freeman," are some of the best, and I put yours with them.'

The general impression produced by the book and the reputation it won him in the learned world of England is sufficiently evidenced by the terms of an offer which Lord Acton made to Mr. Christie when inviting him to write for the Cambridge 'Modern History' the portion of Vol. III. which was intended to cover the history of France and the Reformation, down to the outbreak of the wars of religion. 'I should not know my business if I did not venture to



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express the hope that you will consent to undertake that portion of the work. Nobody else can do it so well, and it is so manifestly yours that the absence of your name would be remarked at once.'

I cannot refrain from adding Mr. Christie's reply to this complimentary offer. ' . . . Much as I could have wished to take part in the work, the state of my health obliges me to decline your offer. I am now a permanent invalid, almost constantly confined to an easy chair, and both unwilling and unfit to undertake any serious literary work. Nor, indeed, can I look forward to being alive at the date at which you expect the issue of the third volume.'

Abroad the reception of the 'Dolet' was even more flattering, not merely at the hands of scholars, but also of the French Government itself. The first edition was published in 1880, the second in 1899. Between the dates of these two editions a French translation by M. Casimir Stryienski (Professeur agrégé de l'Université) had appeared (Librairie Fischbacher : Paris, 1886). It is significant of the esteem in which the work was held in France that M. Goblet, then Minister of Public Instruction, and the Paris municipal authorities, ordered two hundred and fifty copies of the French translation for distribution among the public libraries of Paris and the provinces. Further than this, the renewed attention to Dolet which the book called forth in France led in 1889 to the erection by the Municipality of Paris of a statue to Dolet's memory in the Place Maubert, where the martyr had met his death.

Deserved as such acclamation was, it had not been sought. What Pattison said of his own study of the Scaligers was true of Christie's study of Dolet. No taint of ambition mixed itself with the pure joy of the research. It had been the preoccupation and delight of many years, involving ungrudged expense and protracted visits to Lyons, Toulouse, and other places, and in its completion it was, in its author's eyes, but the offering of a scholar to the sacred cause of pure scholarship.

This devotion to pure scholarship it was which formed Mr. Christie's innermost and unchangeable nature. Throughout

a life of busiest and most varied occupation he remained unalterably true to what was the one love of his being. But, be it borne in mind, it was not as the pastime of a learned and gilded leisure that he studied the Renaissance, for he began it in his boyhood. Neither did he approach it as a mere bibliographer, as a mere bibliophile, or from the point of view of polite literature alone. There was at the bottom an intellectual preoccupation for him in the study of humanism, and it is remarkable how permanent in its nature this intellectual preoccupation was. The passion of moral indignation—for it was nothing short of that—which permeated his early lectures at Owens on the History of France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, breathes again in the 'Dolet.' What he felt strongly at the age of twenty-three he felt strongly still in later manhood. Time had only widened his knowledge, not blunted the force of his conviction, and that conviction finds almost identical expression in his maturest work as in his earliest lectures:—

It seems impossible to conceive of an institution more calculated to bring Christianity into disrepute, on the one hand among thoughtful men, on the other among the still larger class which is neither thoughtful nor reasonable, than the Church of France during the three centuries which preceded the Revolution.

The fact that during this period France produced an abundant crop of men and women who lived and died in the Communion of the Church distinguished by those virtues and graces which Christianity specially claims as its own, is not inconsistent with this opinion. Happily all churches and sects have furnished, and will probably continue to furnish, abundant examples of men who are more and better than their belief. In the worst and most corrupt period of pagan Rome the philosophical historian could say 'non adeo tam sterile seculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.'

But an institution which could sanction and applaud the burning of Berquin and Dolet, the massacre of the Huguenots, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the dragonnades of Languedoc, the judicial murders and horrible tortures of Calas and La Barre (not a century and a quarter since), is wholly out of harmony with, and antagonistic to, Christianity as I understand it ('Dolet,' p. 4).

A writer who could pen these words was surely not drawn to the study of the Renaissance because of its nameless delight, because of the lonely joy of research in a neglected and fruitful field, because of the microscopic pedantry of a mere bibliographer's passion, because of the intoxicating selfishness of a mere lover and buyer of *incunabula*. And if the expression of such conviction, as the outcome of keenest insight and broadest generalisation, based upon tireless and loving research, is not the truest history, and if such an attitude does not subserve that high cause which history ministers to—the making men wise and good—then I know not what history means.

The general impression would seem to be that the 'Dolet' is a superbly excellent piece of biographical and bibliographical work. To my mind, on the contrary, it is to be regarded rather from the point of view of pure history, as one portion of a contribution towards a general account of the progress of learning in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That this wider work was not accomplished is an inestimable loss to the historical literature of Europe. Nevertheless, the fact that the 'Dolet' stands as it were alone does not justify the estimation of it as a mere piece of biography.

If I prefer to conclude this Memoir with a reference to my own recollections of Mr. Christie, it is from no impertinent desire to link my name with his. It is purely from a sense of my intellectual indebtedness to him. It was with him not merely a matter of instinct or of the wisdom that comes with years when he strove, as he perpetually did, to restrain any display of harsh feeling on my part, to moderate strong expressions, to point me to a reasonable construction of motives at times when, from hurt pride, or from passionate resentment, I went wilfully astray in my judgment of contemporaries. Such an attitude was with him a matter of human kindness, and chafe under it as I would, with a sensation at times that such refinement and moderation were too keen-edged for me, and too high-minded for practical life, it quietly wrought its work. It was not merely restraint and



dignity he sought unceasingly to instil, it was also that reasonableness which is the highest and most precious outcome of humanism. Just as in his own study of the Humanism of the Renaissance he had attained the conviction that the pure rationalism of Erasmus would have made a straighter and a truer path for modern progress than the theological violence which plunged Europe into generations of bloody wars, and which bound her intellect anew in the iron chains of a narrow Augustinian theology, just so in private all his intercourse with me was the expression of a parallel conviction that the wisdom of life lay in reasonableness, in moderation of impulse, in restraint of the strong word, the strong thought, and that the endless petty misunderstandings of life would cease under the *régime* of a human self-restraint and self-respect, and sympathetic tolerance. What one man confers upon another by such intercourse cannot be expressed in words, nor can it be repaid by wordy tribute.

This is the one abiding personal impression that comes to me in the retrospect of years of a friendship from which I drew everything of charm and grace whilst giving nothing in return. Other impressions mingle with it, but they are impressions which the outside world can and does equally derive from his written work and from his public life; save only, perhaps, that the impression became more vivid and real from direct intercourse. The personal charm of his conversation was inexpressible, for even in his weakest moments, and when suffering acute pain, he consistently strove to appear bright and chatty to his auditor and punctilious to the last degree, speaking of himself and of his health only with the greatest restraint and dislike. At other times, when he was for the moment free from pain, there was in his conversation an indescribable gaiety, coupled with a perpetual underlying but gentle irony, piquant, rousing but never ruffling or wounding.

So I knew Mr. Christie. The outside world knew him as what this Memoir has striven to show him for, as a public man of wide philanthropic activity and spotless repute, as a canon lawyer of the highest distinction, as a scholar of the most fastidious refinement, and of the purest ambitionless devotion.

NOTES ON MR. CHRISTIE'S COLLECTION  
OF BOOKS

BY MR. JOHN CREE

IT has been truly said of R. C. Christie that as a book-collector he took rank as 'the owner of a library in which the tools of the scholar and the hobbies of the book-fancier met together in pleasant fellowship.' His books were housed at Ribsden in a room specially built for them by their owner, and one which was well worthy of its contents in every way, 'a library in a garden,' and an ideal workshop for a scholar, overlooking as it does the beautiful Surrey landscape. He had gathered together between 7,000 and 8,000 volumes, and though with the instincts of a true bibliophile he found room for many books that appealed to his tastes in a general way, yet he confined himself more particularly to a few classes of books and the productions of a few authors and printers, and of these he made special and almost unrivalled collections in some cases.

Of early printed Greek books Mr. Christie had between four and five hundred volumes of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, including most of the *editiones principes*, and books from the presses of nearly all the Greek printers of the period. He was keenly interested in the subject of early Greek printing, and had compiled for his own use a list of all the Greek books printed in the fifteenth century. One of the facsimiles in Mr. R. Proctor's book, 'The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century' (issued some few months ago by the Bibliographical Society), was taken from a volume in his library; and no one would have welcomed more heartily than he the appearance of Mr. Proctor's book, throwing as it does so much more additional light on the subject.

Mr. Christie had made a study of the books which issued from the press established by Aldus Manutius at Venice in the closing years of the fifteenth century, and his knowledge of them was very extensive. His fine collection of Aldines included almost all the books printed by the elder Aldus, and many of those of his successors, as well as the greater number of the volumes printed at Lyons and elsewhere in imitation of the Aldine editions, and known as Aldine counterfeits. Many of the copies had formerly been in the libraries of Bishop Butler, Renouard, Duke of Sussex, Syston Park, &c., others were interesting from the MS. notes of former owners, while the copy of the Aristophanes of 1498 is noteworthy as having formerly belonged to Brunck, and, in addition, as having bound up with it the original autograph MS. of the Greek preface of Musurus, the editor, on whose handwriting it is said that the elder Aldus modelled some of the Greek types which he employed in his books.

Another printing press in which he became interested was that of the great master printer of Lyons—Sebastian Gryphius, the friend of Etienne Dolet. Gryphius commenced printing in the year 1524, and up to 1556, the year of his death, considerably over one thousand books in various classes of literature issued from his press, and of these Mr. Christie had acquired between six and seven hundred volumes. Though the press of Gryphius did not rival the Aldine in importance, yet it was of great note in its day, and many of the books printed there have now become rare and difficult to meet with. The books are chiefly in Latin, though there are a few in Hebrew, Greek, Spanish, and Italian. Gryphius was the first to issue the classics in a small size—a great boon to students. He further printed many original works, and also gave to the world some splendid specimens of the typographical art, amongst which may be mentioned his Latin Bible, the largest printed up to that time. The collection as it stands represents the gleanings of many years, and is interesting and valuable not alone for the merits of the books themselves, but as illustrating a period in the history of printing. Many references to

Gryphius will be found in 'Etienne Dolet.' The library also included a good number of the books printed by Francis Gryphius (brother of Sebastian) at Paris, as well as many printed by other Lyons and Paris printers of the sixteenth century.

The eight hundred editions, parts of editions, and translations of the works of Horace, and of writings upon that poet, form probably as large a private collection as has ever been got together on the subject of Horace. Beginning with the first dated edition of Milan, 1474 (the Sunderland copy), it includes almost all the known fifteenth century editions and a large number of those printed in the sixteenth century. There are also considerable numbers of editions of the last three centuries, but while Mr. Christie acquired a certain number of these, he was most desirous of possessing all the earlier editions, and in this he was not unsuccessful. When the British Museum issued the catalogue of its Horaces in 1885 it comprised 104 complete editions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of these Mr. Christie possessed copies of 77, and in addition had copies of 59 editions which were not in the Museum, bringing up his total number to 136.

Turning to the writings of individual authors, Mr. Christie as a student of the Renaissance chiefly devoted himself to the writers of that period, and he had gathered together books which it would be very difficult, almost impossible in some particulars, to find elsewhere. His collection of books written, edited, and printed by Etienne Dolet, is of course unrivalled. An account of them will be found in the Bibliography appended to his Life of Dolet. He had also fine collections of the works of, and books relating to, Erasmus, Giordano Bruno, Giulio Camillo, Hortensio Lando, Peter Ramus, Gaspar Scioppius, Jean Sturm, Julius Cæsar Vanini, Pomponatius, Clenardus, and the Scaligers, amounting altogether to several hundred volumes, besides a good many of the books of those writers who were on terms of intimacy, or connected with Dolet, such as Marot, Rabelais, Budæus, Voulté, Macrin, Ferron, N. Bourbon, Omphalius, Gribaldus, &c., as well as those of

other writers of the sixteenth century. The library also included copies of nearly all the editions of the quaint little 'Nugæ Venales' and 'Facetiæ Facietiarum' of the seventeenth century, and a number of books with the title 'De Tribus Impostoribus.'

Mr. Christie had a complete set of the books issued by the Société des Bibliophiles Contemporains of Paris, of which he was a member, the greater portion of those issued by the Roxburghe Club, and sets on large paper of the publications of several Lancashire societies.

The Latin *incunabula* (about 300 in number) included many of the *editiones principes*, and also one or two not in Hain. Amongst the Bibles were several early Greek editions including the Aldine of 1518; the Sunderland copy of the (suppressed) first edition of the Sixtine Bible of 1590, and the second and revised edition of the same Bible printed in 1592, and which is the standard text of the Vulgate. There was also a particularly fine example of the second English (Matthews) Bible of 1537 with the autograph of Archbishop Whately, and a copy of the first edition of the Greek Testament of Erasmus.

The special collections of books were well balanced by a very large number of works biographical, bibliographical, and historical, indispensable to the student, and which were so extensively and so effectively made use of by Mr. Christie in his researches.

In gathering the books together he had not pre-eminently the question of the bindings before him, but his artistic tastes made him both a lover and a judge of fine bindings, and in the course of his long experience as a book-collector he had acquired a very considerable number of volumes which were both valuable and interesting in this respect. Some of these were exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Bookbinding Exhibition, and on several other occasions in different parts of the country. Among the Aldines, and Lyonese books, were many fine and curious contemporary bindings, and specimens of almost all the French and English binders of repute, both past and present, were to be

found on the shelves. Mr. Christie also possessed about thirty volumes from the library of De Thou, several from that of Count Hoym, and others from the Lamoignon, Soubise, Colbert, Crevenna, Meerman, MacCarthy, Renouard, Didot, Beckford, Wodhull, Sunderland, Syston, Morante, Kloss, Turner, Yemeniz, and other collections.

The successive owners of many of the rarer books have been identified and noted in the volumes.

The library contained comparatively few manuscripts, but amongst them were several early MSS. of portions of Horace, unpublished commentaries on that poet by Oudendorp, Wyttenbach, and others, and notes and collections for an elaborate edition of his Works by the Chevalier d'Eon. There was also a fourteenth century MS. of the 'De Senectute' and other writings of Cicero, and transcripts of an autobiography of Scioppius and of several of his works. The other MSS. were chiefly of writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.



A LIST OF BOOKS, ARTICLES, REVIEWS, AND SHORTER  
MEMOIRS AND PAPERS WRITTEN BY MR. R. C. CHRISTIE.

Books.

- Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance: A Biography. 8vo.  
London: Macmillan and Co. 1880.  
New edition, revised and corrected. 8vo. London: Macmillan  
and Co. 1899.
- Richard Copley Christie. Étienne Dolet, le Martyr de la Renais-  
sance, sa vie et sa mort. Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais sous  
la direction de l'Auteur par Casimir Stryienski. 8vo. Paris:  
Librairie Fischbacher. 1886.
- The old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire (Chetham Society,  
n.s. vol. vii.). 4to. [Manchester] Printed for the Chetham Society, 1885.
- The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, vol. ii. part ii.  
Edited by Richard Copley Christie. [Chetham Society, o.s. vol. cxiv.]  
4to. [Manchester] Printed for the Chetham Society. 1886.
- Annales Cestrienses; or, Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg at  
Chester. Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes, by  
Richard Copley Christie. [Record Society of Lancashire and  
Cheshire, vol. xiv.] 8vo. [London] Printed for the Record Society.  
1887.
- A Bibliography of the Works written and edited by Dr. John Worthing-  
ton. Compiled by Richard Copley Christie. [Chetham Society, n.s.  
vol. 13.] 4to. [Manchester] Printed for the Chetham Society. 1888.
- Letters of Sir Thomas Copley of Gatton, Surrey, and Roughay, Sussex,  
Knight and Baron in France, to Queen Elizabeth and her Ministers.  
Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Richard Copley Christie.  
4to. London: Chiswick Press. 1897.  
Seventy-five copies only printed. The volume was Mr. Christie's contribution  
to the Roxburghe Club as a member.

ARTICLES, ETC.<sup>1</sup>

1854.

- Introductory Lecture on the Study of History, delivered at Owens  
College, Manchester. (Printed by the Trustees of Owens College.)  
Reprinted in the 'Popular Lecturer,' vol. i. 1855.

<sup>1</sup> The articles and papers printed in this volume are denoted by an asterisk.



lxx *Bibliography of Mr. Christie's Writings*

1857.

On some Economical Views of the Greek Philosophers. A Paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society, December 18, 1856. 'Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society,' vol. iv. Reprinted in pamphlet form, 1857.

1883.

\* The Marquis de Morante: his Library and its Catalogue. A Paper read before the Manchester Literary Club. 'Manchester Quarterly,' April 1883. Reprinted in pamphlet form, 1883. Translated into French and published by M. Isidore Liseux in 'La Curiosité Littéraire,' 4th series, pp. 265-87.

The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire. A Paper read at the Liverpool Meeting of the Library Association. 'Transactions,' Liverpool Meeting, p. 45.

1884.

\* Biographical Dictionaries. 'Quarterly Review,' No. 313, p. 187.

1885.

\* The Forgeries of the Abbé Fourmont. 'Quarterly Review,' No. 322, p. 503.

\* Was Giordano Bruno really burned? 'Macmillan's Magazine,' October, p. 435.

\* The Catalogues of the Library of the Duc de la Vallière. 'Library Chronicle,' vol. ii. p. 153.

1887.

Dictionary of National Biography. 'Quarterly Review,' No. 328, p. 350.

1888.

\* Elzevier Bibliography. A Paper read before the Library Association at Glasgow. 'Library Chronicle,' vol. v. p. 117. Reprinted in pamphlet form.

(A further short Paper on the same subject will be found in 'The Library' (1898), vol. x. p. 56.)

1889.

\* A Dynasty of Librarians (the Bignon Family). 'The Library,' vol. i. p. 97. The Work and Aims of the Library Association (Presidential Address, London Annual Meeting, 1889). 'The Library,' vol. i. p. 353.

1890.

Un Traducteur d'Horace inconnu. 'Annales Littéraires' of the Société des Bibliophiles Contemporains for 1890.

\* The Article 'Scaligers.' 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' ninth edition.

# *Bibliography of Mr. Christie's Writings* lxxi

1891.

- \* *Le Chevalier d'Eon, Bibliophile, Latiniste et Théologien. 'Le Livre Moderne,'* vol. iv. p. 205.

1893.

- \* *A Scholar and Traveller of the Renaissance (Clenardus). 'Quarterly Review,'* No. 351, p. 141.  
\* *A Sceptic of the Renaissance (Pomponatus). 'Quarterly Review,'* No. 354, p. 495.  
Special Bibliographies. A Paper read before the Bibliographical Society. *'Transactions,'* vol. i. p. 165.

1894.

- \* *The Chronology of the Early Aldines. 'Bibliographica,'* vol. i. p. 193.

1895.

- \* *Vanini in England. 'English Historical Review,'* vol. x. p. 238.

1897.

- \* *The Earliest Appearance in print of the First Idyll of Moschus. 'Classical Review,'* vol. xi. p. 191.

1898.

- \* *An Incunabulum of Brescia, hitherto ascribed to Florence. Communicated to the Bibliographical Society. 'Transactions,'* vol. iv. p. 233.

1901

Sebastian Gryphius. A fragment of an article by Mr. Christie on this printer and his press is to appear in a volume of Owens College Essays, to be published about the same time as this volume.

## ARTICLES IN 'DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY.'

Alexander Christie.  
Hugh Christie.  
Thomas Christie.  
William Christie.

Anthony Copley.  
Sir Thomas Copley.  
Mark Pattison.  
Florence Volusene.

Mr. Christie was a contributor to 'Notes and Queries,' amongst his more important notes being the following:—

The Forgeries of the Abbé Fourmont. 4th series, vol. ix.

\* The Aldine Anchor. 6th series, vol. ix.

\* De Tribus Impostoribus. 7th series, vol. viii.

## NEWSPAPER REVIEWS.

New Edition of Ormerod's 'Cheshire.' *'Manchester Examiner and Times,'* 1876.

Roby's Introduction to Justinian's Digest. *'Manchester Examiner and Times,'* 1884.

- Pattison's Essays, 'Manchester Guardian,' 1889.  
 Chantry Priest of Barnet : Church. 'Spectator,' 1884.  
 Algernon Sydney : Blackburn. 'Spectator,' 1885.  
 \* The Chevalier d'Eon : Telfer. 'Spectator,' 1885.  
 With the King at Oxford : Church. 'Spectator,' 1885.  
 The Official Baronage of England : Doyle. 'Spectator,' 1886.  
 The Owens College : Thompson. 'Spectator,' 1887.  
 \* Giordano Bruno : Frith. 'Spectator,' 1887.  
 Roll of Battle Abbey : Duchess of Cleveland. 'Spectator,' 1889.  
 The Marriages of the Bourbons : Bingham. 'Spectator,' 1890.  
 Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw. 'Spectator,' 1890.  
 \* George Buchanan : Hume Brown. 'Spectator,' 1890.  
 \* The Venetian Printing Press. 'Spectator,' 1891.  
 The Best Books : Sonnenschein. 'Spectator,' 1891.  
 The Pentateuch of Printing : Blades. 'Spectator,' 1891.  
 Sir Walter Raleigh : Stebbing. 'Spectator,' 1892.  
 \* Sebastian Castellion : Buisson. 'Spectator,' 1892.  
 On the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' in 'Spectator' (vols. i. and ii. 1885; vols. iii.-ix., 1887; vols. x.-xiv., 1888; vols. xv.-xxii., 1889; vols. xxi.-xxv., 1891; vol. xxx., 1892; vols. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 1894).

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- \* The Relations of the Church to the State in Respect of Ecclesiastical Law. A Paper read at the Manchester Diocesan Conference, 1879. Printed in the 'Manchester Diocesan Churchman,' 1880.

CHARGES AS CHANCELLOR.

- 1872  
 1880. Printed in the 'Manchester Diocesan Churchman,' also in pamphlet form 1880.  
 1884.  
 \* 1889.





## BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES

1. *Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne.* (Nouvelle édition. 45 tomes imp. 8vo. Paris, 1843-1865.)
2. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale.* (Publiée par MM. Firmin-Didot frères sous la direction de M. le Dr. Hofer. 46 tomes 8vo. Paris, 1852-1866.)

[Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* for January 1884, pp. 187-230.]

'THE biographical part of literature,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is what I love the best,' and his remark is echoed daily in the hearts if not in the words of hundreds of readers. The lives of men of genius, or even of men of learning, are always of interest, however dead may be their writings. How many are there who care nothing for 'Rasselas,' 'The Vanity of Human Wishes,' or the 'Rambler,' who yet take delight in the biography of Johnson! The writings of Casaubon and Scaliger are so dead that, unlike some of their contemporaries, they could not even be galvanized into the momentary appearance of life; yet we have all read with pleasure Mr. Pattison's admirable monograph on the one, and are looking forward with eagerness to his promised biography of the other. The 'Lives' of Plutarch and Suetonius were the novels of the Greeks and Romans, as the *Gesta*, with their mixture of truth and fable, were of the Middle Ages; and though for the last half-century pure fiction has been in the ascendant, the popularity of biography, if not relatively, yet absolutely, seems to be continually increasing. The success of such series as those of 'English Men of Letters' and 'Ancient' and 'Foreign Classics' shows the extent of the interest felt in the lives of men of letters. But not less keen is the desire to know the

details of the personal histories of kings, queens, statesmen, soldiers, and churchmen. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, of the Chief Justices, of the Archbishops of Canterbury, of the Archbishops of York, of the Speakers of the House of Commons, of the Queens of England, of the Princesses of England, of more or less (generally we fear *less*) value, and with a success not always proportioned to their merit, find numerous readers, while single lives appear daily in still greater abundance, if not of superior quality. Formerly it was thought that no one deserved a statue or a biography until his death. But Prince Bismarck, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Bright (to say nothing of men of less mark), have been the subjects of elaborate biographies (or eulogies) in their lifetime, and the grave of a man of any reputation is hardly filled up before an announcement is made of a speedily forthcoming 'Memoir.' The formal announcement of a Life of Archbishop Tait was made before he had been dead six weeks, and the haste of his literary executor to place the journal of Carlyle before the world has hardly contributed to the reputation of the author of 'Sartor Resartus.' The knowledge that Lord Campbell had prepared Lives of his three great rivals may have added a pang to their deaths, but we can hardly doubt that these eminent men would have preferred the suppressed bitterness with which their successes are recorded and the ill-concealed delight with which their failures and their shortcomings are dwelt upon by their vigorous though octogenarian successor, to the sickly panegyrics and feebly inconsequential narratives, which in the case of a recently deceased bishop or divine (whether conformist or nonconformist) generally does duty as a biography. Changing one word, we may use the language of Cowper—

Oh why are *lawyers* made so coarse,  
 And parsons made so fine?  
 A kick that scarce would move a horse  
 Would kill a sound divine.

Of the two classes of biographies—the spiteful and the panegyric—the latter is by far the more numerous, not

only in the case of ecclesiastics, but of laymen. The long obituaries of men of second, third, and fourth-rate eminence, which fill the columns of the 'Times' scarce 'hint a fault, or hesitate dislike;' while those of men of no eminence whatever, appearing daily in still greater number in that child of the affections of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, the provincial press, show that 'the prominent citizens' of our great cities possess every virtue and every talent under heaven. But we would not be thought to be unmindful of the many excellent biographies which the last few years have produced. To say anything in praise of Mr. Trevelyan's Life of his uncle would be merely to re-echo what has been already said by every one competent to form an opinion. In the biography of Bishop Patteson we have the narrative of an heroic life simply and naturally told; and though the biographers of Bishop Wilberforce have written an elaborate defence of their hero, they have neither indulged in panegyric nor attempted unduly to colour their facts. Whatever indiscretions they—or one of them—may have committed, a true and lifelike picture of the Bishop is set before us, and we have no difficulty in seeing him as he really was.

But while no country, not even France, can rival England in the importance and number of the biographies which have appeared during the last half-century, we are still without a Biographical Dictionary—one, that is to say, worthy of the name, or comparable either for value or extent to either of the two works, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article. Upwards of sixteen years has elapsed since their completion, yet no attempt has been made in this country either to displace them from their position as by far the best biographical dictionaries in existence, or even to provide a biographical dictionary in the English language coming anywhere near to them in merit.

That England, indeed, is capable of planning and carrying out a biographical dictionary on a scale at once extended and well-proportioned, which should rival the merits, while it avoided many of the defects, of the Biographies 'Universelle'



and 'Générale,' has been shown by the fragment published under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1842-1844); but the sudden collapse of that work on the completion of letter A, owing chiefly to failure of obtaining support, shows that in England at that time there was no public which required in a biographical dictionary anything but the most superficial and meagre of compilations.

Nor are there any grounds for presently expecting that the 'Biographie Universelle' will be deposed from its unquestioned supremacy. The world has grown too vast for anything like a reasonably exhaustive *universal* biographical dictionary. How many men and women have died in the past twenty years for whom a place would be demanded! How great is the number of names, hitherto omitted, of persons who have been, as it were, discovered and written about, and who are entitled to be included! Every year adds to, and will at least for some time continue to add to, the list. Had the Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge been completed on the scale on which it was commenced, it would have reached at least one hundred and fifty volumes of the same size as the seven actually published, and that without including any names of persons deceased in the last thirty-eight years; while a new edition of the 'Biographie Universelle,' carried out on the same scale as the last, would certainly bring up the forty-five large volumes to at least sixty. The lives, indeed, of the second, third, and fourth-rate French generals and politicians of the Revolution and the Empire might with advantage be diminished in length. Yet the relief thereby gained would be hardly appreciable, in the face of the number of names constantly and increasingly pressing for admittance into a dictionary of universal biography. *Μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν* is a maxim which still holds good in England. In Germany, indeed, a book can never be too long. The excellent Encyclopædia of the last century, known as 'Zedler's Lexicon,' though unfinished, reached sixty-eight folios; and that of Ersch and Gruber, commenced in 1818, has now, after sixty-four years, arrived at its hundred and

fifty-fourth volume, but has not nearly approached its end. The earlier volumes have become obsolete long before the work is completed.<sup>1</sup>

But though a general biographical dictionary on the scale on which such a work ought to be composed is not to be expected, perhaps not even to be wished for, in England, yet books which may supply its place better than any single work could do, may be expected, and are even in progress. The 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology,' edited by Dr. W. Smith, is a book which, with all its shortcomings, especially in the first volume, inevitable in the circumstances in which it was commenced, far surpasses any book of the kind in existence. The 'Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines, during the first Eight Centuries,' edited by Dr. Smith and Dr. Wace, and of which the third volume has just appeared, is a work of still greater merit, and stands on a far higher platform. Many of the articles in the new volume—notably those on Hippolytus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Jerome, Julian, and Justin Martyr (as well as many shorter and less important ones)—show a ripeness and depth of scholarship, a thoroughness of investigation, and a power and clearness of expression, which have rarely been found in the contributors to dictionaries and encyclopædias, and which prove that now at least, whatever may have been the case a few years since, England has no cause to fear a comparison with the best and highest German scholarship.

The 'Biographia Britannica,' projected by Mr. Murray under Dr. Smith's editorship some years since, unfortunately fell through, but we rejoice to know that the task has been

<sup>1</sup> The *Encyclopædia* of Ersch and Gruber has been carried on in three divisions, commenced simultaneously. The first, A—G, has just reached its ninety-eighth and last volume; the second, beginning with H, has arrived at its thirty-first volume and the end of the letter J; the third, beginning with O, has reached the twenty-fifth volume and the word *Physicos*. In an article on Cyclopædias in the *Quarterly Review* for 1863 (vol. 113, p. 371), it was compared to 'a gigantic tunnel for the execution of which three shafts are obliged to be sunk.' The *Encyclopædia* of Krünitz, commenced in 1773, was completed in 1858 in two hundred and forty-two octavos. We may add that both *Zedler* and *Ersch and Gruber* include admirable biographical articles. There are names in *Zedler* which we should seek in vain elsewhere.

taken up by Mr. Leslie Stephen, and we hope shortly to see the commencement of an adequate and exhaustive 'Dictionary of National Biography.' If, when the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography' is completed, it could be continued by a 'Dictionary of Mediæval Literary Biography' on the same scale and equally well done, a grievous *hiatus*, not only in English literature, but in literature generally, would be filled up, and we might point to a series of books in the department of Biography unequalled in Europe.

Nothing in any way resembling our modern Biographical or Historical Dictionary was known to the Greeks and Romans, or even to the Middle Ages. Collections of special biographies, indeed, were not wanting. Those of Plutarch and Suetonius among the ancients, and of St. Jerome and St. Isidore at a later period, are among the most important. But while the Lexicon of Suidas, which combines in one Grammar, Geography, and Biography, came the nearest to an Historical Dictionary of any work of antiquity, it is altogether a misnomer to describe it as such, as is done by Moreri in the Preface to his 'Grand Dictionnaire Historique.'

The direct ancestor of the 'Biographical Dictionary,' and the earliest that has as yet been discovered, is a small volume compiled by Herman Torrentinus (Van Beeck), and printed at Deventer at the end of the fifteenth century, under the title of 'Elucidarius Carminum et Historiarum vel Vocabularius Poeticus, continens Historias Provincias Urbes Insulas Fluvios et Montes Illustres.'<sup>1</sup> It is, as its title implies, and

<sup>1</sup> The earliest edition of this book known to Prosper Marchand was that of Hagenau, 1510; and although Renouard, in his *Annales des Estiennes*, had mentioned the edition of 1501, that of 1510 is given in the *Biographie Universelle* as the original (the *Biographie Générale* omits Torrentinus altogether). A copy of the edition of 1501 is in the British Museum, and it is clear from the words upon the title page, 'Est hoc opus denuo recognitum ac diligenter emendatum quibusdam etiam additis,' that this was not the earliest edition. In fact there are two earlier editions, mentioned by Maittaire and Denis respectively (and inserted in Panzer), printed in 1498 and 1500, though without any reference to Torrentinus. One of these (that of 1500) is stated to be written by Conrad de Mure (a canon of Zurich in the thirteenth century, who, according to Gesner, certainly wrote a book where the names of gods and men which are to be found among the poets are arranged in alphabetical order).

as the author tells us in his Preface, a Dictionary alphabetically arranged of the proper names of gods, illustrious men, provinces, islands, cities and rivers which are to be found in the poets. Its object was the assistance of those reading the poets, and among the authors from whom it is compiled are Terentius Maurus, Sallust, Livy, Strabo, Pliny, Justin, Virgil, Perottus, Tertullian, and Craston. The descriptions of the different places named are generally given in a line or two, but many of the biographical articles are longer, extending in two or three cases to more than half a page. The two longest are those on Ulysses and Medea. The book was found to be most useful and indeed indispensable to students, and no less than twenty-four editions of it (before 1537) are enumerated by Panzer, while we have ourselves seen, or found noticed in catalogues, more than seventeen later editions in Latin, besides two of an Italian translation.<sup>1</sup>

The first step in advance was taken by Robert Estienne, who had in 1530 and 1535 given reprints of the 'Elucidarius.' In 1541 he printed a Dictionary of proper names, incorporating part of the 'Elucidarius,' but with three times as much additional matter. The edition of the book of Torrentinus given by Gryphius in 1540, which is now before us, contains 214 pages, small 8vo; that of Robert Estienne—a

Hain and Brunet give Conrad de Mure as the author of the editions of the *Elucidarius* printed in 1498 and 1500; Brunet stating that the *Elucidarius* was a reprint of the *Repertorium Vocabulorum* of Conrad, and adding an inexplicable note making Conrad the 'éditeur' of an amplified edition of the *Elucidarius* of Torrentinus! But it is clear that neither Hain nor Brunet had seen the books they describe, nor have we ourselves been able to meet with copies of them, or of any edition earlier than that of 1501.

<sup>1</sup> One of the most interesting articles in the *Dictionnaire Historique* of Prosper Marchand is that upon Torrentinus (Part II. p. 283), in the notes to which will be found a long dissertation, not only upon the different editions of the *Elucidarius*, but upon Historical Dictionaries in general, and an account of the first twenty editions of Moreri. The article is the result of careful research in an obscure department of literary history, on which it throws much light. Unfortunately it is disfigured by many errors, especially in the matter of dates and names, each of which should be verified before being relied upon. It also omits many editions as well of the *Elucidarius* as of the other Dictionaries that it notices. The *Biographie Universelle*, in its notice of Juigné-Broissinière, refers its readers to this article in Marchand; but by a strange blunder, unpardonable when repeated in the second edition, the article is stated to be *Terentianus*, instead of *Torrentinus*.

quarto—has 588 pages, and each page contains more than double the quantity of a page of *Torrentinus*. The name and preface of *Torrentinus* have disappeared, and a short preface by Robert Estienne is prefixed, in which, as well as on the title-page, he claims, and justly, that his work is ‘*plane novum nec antea unquam editum.*’ A comparison of the two books, which does not seem to have been made by any writer who has spoken of them, shows how erroneous it is to treat the book of Robert Estienne, as has been frequently done, merely as a new edition, with additions and corrections, of that of *Torrentinus*. A certain number, not one-fourth, of the less important articles of the ‘*Elucidarius*’ are, indeed, textually reproduced in the ‘*Dictionarium*,’ a certain number are altered, enlarged, and corrected, but the greater part of the ‘*Elucidarius*’ has disappeared. All the important articles are new. The names are no longer only those mentioned by the poets, but all the chief names of antiquity, orators, poets, and historians, are inserted. Of Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus real biographies are now to be found. But a still more important advance is made. Several names not belonging to classical antiquity are included. Though why a distinction should be conferred upon Bede, Benedict, Bernard, and Boniface, which is granted neither to Thomas Aquinas, Gregory the Great, nor Charlemagne, it is not easy to understand, especially in a Dictionary of names occurring only in ‘*scriptis prophanis*,’ and which finds no place either for Augustine or Jerome. But, so far as we have noticed, the ‘venerable’ monk of Jarrow, the apostle of the Saxons, the founder of the Benedictine order, and the great abbot of Clairvaux, are the only post-classical names.

In the twelve years which followed 1541, several editions of the book of Robert Estienne appeared, with some additions, but of no great importance. But the year 1553 is an era in the history of Biographical Dictionaries, of which it may be said to be the birth-year, for in it Charles Estienne printed the first edition of his ‘*Historical Dictionary*,’ the first book to which this title was given, and the first that purported to be a universal Dictionary of Biography, modern

as well as ancient. The book is really, as Charles Estienne admits in his preface, a new edition of the ' *Dictionarium Propriorum Nominum* ' of his brother Robert, but it is in all respects greatly extended and improved. It forms a thick quarto, and was destined to hold its ground against all comers for upwards of a century, and more than five-and-twenty editions proved its popularity, and attested its merits. Meagre and full of inaccuracies, and absolutely worthless as it seems to us, it was found to be an enormous help to scholars and students. The second edition published in 1566, two years after the author's death, is greatly improved, while the ' augmentations,' comprising six hundred new articles, besides many corrections, subsequently made (according to Marchand, by Frederic Morel), greatly raised the value and increased the utility of the editions of and subsequent to 1596. According to the preface, much is added, much corrected, and much rubbish (particularly in the mythological part) omitted. But the modern names are still but few and far between, and the information respecting them is most scanty. Notices of a good many emperors and kings, of a few mediæval jurists and philosophers—such as Accursius and Bartolus, Averroës and Avicenna—constitute almost the whole of the modern department. A single line is devoted to ' Franciscus Petrarcha. ' <sup>1</sup> In 1627 (according

<sup>1</sup> No notice that we have seen of the Dictionary of C. Estienne is accurate in the matter of dates and editions, and the *Biographie Universelle* is one of the greatest sinners. In the preliminary discourse to the first edition M. Auger gives 1596 as the date of the first edition. And this is not a mere uncorrected error of the press, for he says it was published ' *à la fin du seizième siècle (1596)*, ' and the mistake is repeated in the body of the work in the Life of C. Estienne, by M. Weiss. In the second edition the error has been noticed, but only partially corrected—1566 being given as the date of the first edition—and the statement remains that the book did not appear until after the death of the author, an unpardonable mistake, after Renouard in his *Annales des Estiennes* had correctly inserted the book under 1553. In an interesting, though very inaccurate, article on Biography, Past and Present, in the *Westminster Review* for 1861 (vol. 76, p. 335), 1596 is given as the date. The bibliography of the three books of Torrentinus, Robert Estienne, and Charles Estienne, is not very easy to unravel. It has always been assumed that R. Estienne's book incorporated and superseded that of Torrentinus, and was in turn superseded by and incorporated with that of his brother Charles—an error easy to be accounted for, since editions of the Dictionary of Robert Estienne were printed (though not so far as we have noticed by Robert himself) to which the name of *Elucidarius* was given. In fact, how-

to the 'Biographie Universelle,' but in 1644 according to the 'Biographie Générale') it was translated into French by Juigné-Broissinière, with some unimportant and frequently incorrect additions, taken, according to Moreri, chiefly from the works of Magin and Sebastian Munster.

Inexact and superficial as the book seems now, yet, as the only Historical and Biographical Dictionary in the French language, it was found so useful that it attained an enormous popularity, and eight or ten editions, successively enlarged and corrected, appeared in the next thirty years. In 1670, Nicholas Lloyd published at Oxford an edition of the 'Dictionarium Historicum' of Charles Estienne, but with numerous additions, corrections, alterations, and omissions, a book which gave the author a high reputation, not only in England, but on the Continent, where it was acknowledged as superior to any of the previous editions of the book of Charles Estienne. But Prosper Marchand thinks the praises given to this book by Moreri and others much in excess of its real merits, and considers the alterations made by Lloyd often disfigurements rather than improvements. A second and in many respects improved edition (London, 1686) was published after the editor's death, and was several times reprinted on the Continent. Yet in some important matters the earlier work would seem the more useful. Many English, and French, kings and German emperors are to be found in the earlier edition, though on what principle they are included it seems impossible to conceive, for the Henries, English, French, and German, are to be found, but neither Francis I. nor Elizabeth. In the second edition, however, all the modern European sovereigns have disappeared, except Charlemagne and Charles V.; yet the preface gives no hint of any article being omitted.

Shortly after the appearance of Lloyd's book a work was printed, the reputation and popularity of which—altogether ever, the original *Elucidarius* of Torrentinus continued to be printed, not only after the appearance of R. Estienne's book, but until the end of the eighteenth century. A copy of an edition, printed at Utrecht in 1787, is in the British Museum. Moreover, after the improved and enlarged Dictionary given by Charles Estienne in 1553, several editions of the original Dictionary of Robert were printed, including one in 1560 by Robert II.

disproportioned to its real merits—were destined to throw all its predecessors into the shade, or rather to cause their complete and permanent disappearance; a work which has passed through more than twenty editions, the last of which, after a lapse of a century and a quarter, is still an indispensable companion of every student of literary history, and ought to be found in every library, but which really owes all its present value to the labours of its successive editors. The original edition of the 'Grand Dictionnaire Historique' of Louis Moreri, in a single folio, was given to the world in 1674. It was received with so much favour, that a new edition was in preparation when its author died in 1680, at the age of thirty-seven, a victim of the labours which he had devoted to the work. The second edition, increased to two folios, appeared in 1681, and far surpassed the first in popularity as in merit. It was received with a chorus of praises. The 'Acta Eruditorum' of Leipsic vied with the 'Journal des Sçavans' in *éloges* of the utility of the dictionary and the learning of its author. It was pronounced the most exact, the most excellent, that had ever appeared. The judiciousness of its criticisms was not less favourably spoken of than its accuracy in matters of fact. It was certainly an improvement on Juigné; it omitted or curtailed some redundancies, it added much, it corrected much. Yet its faults were innumerable, and the words of censure which Moreri used of his predecessors Estienne and Juigné, might, Prosper Marchand suggests, be more fitly applied to himself. But, in truth, we ought rather to use of Moreri the language of Bayle:—

I am of the opinion of Horace with respect to those who show us the way. The earliest writers of dictionaries have committed many faults, but they have performed great services, and they ought not to be deprived by their successors of the glory which is their due. Moreri took great pains, his work has been of some use to every one, and to many has afforded sufficient information. It has thrown light into regions to which other books would never have brought it, and where an exact knowledge of details is not necessary.

Never did a book so completely efface its predecessors as



that of Moreri. For a whole century it had the field to itself. The Dictionaries of Bayle, Marchand, and Chauffepié, were merely supplements to it. The care of successive editors, among whom Saint-Ussan, Leclerc, and Goujet should be mentioned with special praise, corrected and enlarged it. An immense number of biographies were added. Many redundancies were cut off, until at last, in the ten huge folios which constitute the last and best edition of Moreri (the 21st or 22nd) it is difficult to discover any traces of the original work of the author whose name is still given to it. The last edition of Moreri is one of the collections still useful and necessary to the literary student. Upwards of half the work is occupied by biographies; among them are numerous names not to be found in any subsequent Biographical Dictionary. They are no doubt mostly obscure ecclesiastics, scholars, and jurists; yet they include not a few names of men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries whom we are surprised to find omitted from the 'Biographie Universelle.' Again of many writers a much fuller account is to be found than in any subsequent work, with references to authorities which would be sought in vain elsewhere. Nor are the genealogical articles on the great French historical families of less interest and value. Of the non-biographical part, the geographical has entirely lost its value and interest; but among the miscellaneous articles there are many, such as the lists of Cardinals, of Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, those on *Parlements*, on *Lits de justice* containing information which one would have some hesitation in deciding where else to look for. In short, the last edition of Moreri, easy as it would be to draw up a long list of its errors, is a book which is not likely now to be superseded, though a single folio would probably contain all that gives the book its present value.

But Moreri's Dictionary has a claim to distinction beyond its intrinsic merits. It brought for the first time into a field which had hitherto been abandoned to compilers and Dryasdusts a man of real and rare genius, and gave birth to that armoury of obscure learning and acute criticism whence successive generations of scholars and dialecticians have

drawn their choicest and sharpest weapons. Bayle's Dictionary, originally intended merely to fill up the deficiencies and to correct the errors of Moreri, became in the end one of the greatest monuments of erudition and critical acumen which any single scholar has given to the world. The names which occur in the text form so many pegs on which to hang all kinds of recondite and interesting information, acute and profound criticisms, keen and unanswerable attacks on the fallacies of dogmatism and superstition. Never was there a man whose character, equally in its defects as in its merits, so fitted him to be a perfect critic. He is neither creative nor destructive. He doubts, and that is all; or rather he puts forward the two opposing arguments with so much force, so much clearness, and so much impartiality, that they seem to destroy each other and produce doubt in the mind of the reader. As for himself, he is indifferent. He compares himself to the cloud-gathering Jove of Homer. 'Mon talent est de former des doutes; mais ce ne sont que des doutes.' And to 'Peter Bayle' Carlyle has applied the epithet 'stupid'!

We can never calculate with certainty what names we shall find in Bayle; and, as the notes are frequently unconnected with the life to which they are appended, we often find the information we are seeking under the most unlikely heads. 'If Bayle,' says Gibbon, 'wrote his dictionary to empty the various collections he had made without any particular design, he could not have chosen a better plan. It permitted him everything and obliged him to nothing. By the double freedom of a dictionary and notes he could pitch on what articles he pleased, and say what he pleased in those articles.' His critical dictionary first appeared in 1697, in two volumes folio, subsequently amplified into five, and in this century an edition has been published with notes and additions in sixteen octavos. But Bayle's Dictionary is one of the few books which, from its arrangement, can only be read conveniently in folio. The comparatively insignificant text, the long and far more important and interesting notes, and the notes upon notes, make the reading it in any form but a folio an incessant turning of pages backwards

and forwards. But while Bayle's plan was admirably suited to his subject matter, it had the misfortune to be taken as a model for all the historical and biographical dictionaries which followed for nearly half a century. Those of Chauffepié and Marchand, and the 'Biographia Britannica,' have all short and meagre texts, with notes and dissertations many times longer, to say nothing of notes upon notes—making it a weariness to the flesh as well as to the spirit to study or even consult them.

The Dictionary of Chauffepié (1750–56), in four bulky folios, forming, as its title-page tells us, a supplement to that of Bayle, acquires an interest for us, not so much on account of its intrinsic merits as because it was derived from an English source. In 1694 there had been published a translation of the Dictionary of Moreri 'by various hands,' all more or less incompetent. The book, however, sold, and a new edition being called for, the preparation of it was entrusted to Jeremy Collier. He re-wrote much and corrected more, and his edition of 'The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary,' appeared in two folios in 1701, but he was so little satisfied with it that he gave a supplement in 1705, and a further supplement in 1721. These four volumes are known as 'Collier's Dictionary.' Besides what is taken from Lloyd, Bayle, and Hoffmann,<sup>1</sup> there are a considerable number of original articles relating to England and Englishmen.

Passing by the translation of Bayle's Dictionary, published in 1710, in four folios (of which a second edition was put forth in 1734–7, in five volumes), with the remark that it was made by a company of French refugees, whose know-

<sup>1</sup> In 1677, John Jacob Hoffmann, a professor at Basle, gave to the world a *Lexicon Universale Historico-Chronologico-Poetico-Philologicum*, in two closely printed folios. It is based on the Dictionaries of Lloyd, Estienne, and Juigné, though with large additions. A supplement was added in two still larger folios in 1683, and the whole was revised, corrected, and incorporated in an edition given by the author in 1698 in four folios. It contains an immense mass of information on all the subjects mentioned in the title, and its biographical articles may still be referred to with profit. Isaac D'Israeli's remark upon it has often been quoted: 'I heard a man of great learning declare that whenever he could not recollect his knowledge he opened Hoffmann's *Lexicon*, where he was sure to find what he had lost.'—*Curiosities of Literature*.

ledge of the English tongue was wholly insufficient for the work they undertook, we arrive at the 'General Dictionary, Historical and Critical,' which appeared in ten folios (1734–1741). The basis of this work is a new and improved translation of Bayle, but it corrects some errors, enlarges many of his brief notices into complete biographies, and, above all, adds more than nine hundred new lives, including a large number of Englishmen, chiefly men of letters, whose lives, though contained in the collections of Pits, Bale, Boston, Fuller, and Wood, had not before been included in any general, historical, or biographical dictionary. J. P. Bernard, Thomas Birch, John Lockman, and, for the Oriental part, George Sale were the compilers of this book, which, though not wanting in faults, is a most creditable, and in many respects admirable performance, which may still be consulted with advantage, and should be found on the shelves of every well-stored English library. Of several more or less eminent Englishmen it contains exhaustive biographies; and copious extracts from, and often judicious criticisms upon, their writings, are to be found in the notes. But the book is in general eminently unreadable. The English lives are mostly due to Birch. 'Tom Birch,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is as brisk as a bee in conversation, but no sooner does he take a pen in hand than it becomes a torpedo, and benumbs all his faculties.' Soon after its appearance, J. G. de Chauffepié, a Dutch minister of French extraction, translated into French the greater number of those articles which were not themselves translations from Bayle (altering and correcting some few of them), and, with additions compiled from other sources, formed them into the '*Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique pour servir de supplément ou continuation au Dictionnaire de M. Pierre Bayle*,' which was published in four folios, 1750–1756. The bulk of the book, being merely a translation from our own Historical Dictionary, is of little interest; but many of the lives of which Chauffepié was the author, notably those of Postel, G. J. Vossius, and Utenbogaert, are still by far the fullest and best that exist of those learned persons. But the book is intolerably dull reading, and the author's disquisitions are enlivened neither by the wit, the sarcasms, nor the acute

criticisms, of Bayle. Of about fourteen hundred articles that the book contains, six hundred are simply translated from the English, two hundred and eighty are revised by *Chaufepié*, and nearly five hundred are entirely new.

Shortly after the completion of *Chaufepié* there appeared the last of the 'Historical Dictionaries,' or rather supplements to *Moreri* and *Bayle*. The dictionary of *Prosper Marchand* was compiled after his death, from his manuscript notes written upon loose sheets and scraps of paper. It is a series of literary biographies and dissertations by a man of much reading and of literary taste, written in a lively and agreeable style, always interesting, and containing much matter of literary history not elsewhere to be met with; but, as was to be expected from the manner in which it was compiled, full of errors, especially of dates and editions.

With the last edition of *Moreri* in 1760 the canon of the 'Historical Dictionary' is complete. The twenty large folios of *Moreri*, *Bayle*, *Chaufepié*, and *Marchand*, form together a *Biographical Dictionary* of fulness, of accuracy, and of general utility, up to that time unknown and not dreamed of half a century earlier. They contain notices of many men whose names do not appear even in the '*Biographie Universelle*,' numerous dissertations which may still be read with interest and profit, and lives, especially of men of letters, which remain our chief sources of information respecting them. But the books had grown too unwieldy, and the biographies too long. Like *Nares's* '*Life of Burrell*,' the '*Dictionary*' of *Chaufepié* might, 'before the Deluge, have been considered as light reading by *Hilpa* and *Shalum*'; but life is not now long enough to allow any but professed students to wade through the double columns of his closely-printed folios. To the student the books are still invaluable, but even in the middle of the eighteenth century 'the general reader' had become a person to be catered for, and he required a lighter and more easily digested diet. A short and easy book of biographical reference was needed, and the '*Biographical Dictionary*,' properly and strictly so called, though for another half-century generally retaining the old title, was the result.

The 'Historical Dictionary,' though in its final stage of development chiefly biographical, was not exclusively so. Moreri professed to include history, geography and genealogy; and, even in the last edition, not much more than half is devoted to biography pure and simple. Bayle, Chauffepié, and Marchand not only occupied themselves to a large extent with literary criticisms, but admitted numerous articles which were not even in form biographical. The dissertations on Anabaptists and Manicheans in Bayle, Adamites and Picards in Chauffepié, and 'De Tribus Impostoribus' and 'Bibliothèques Beligiques' in Marchand, are still, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, not the least interesting or the least instructive of their articles.

The year 1752 saw the birth of the first book strictly entitled to be called a General Biographical Dictionary. Abundance of special collections of lives, and particularly those of men of letters, had existed for centuries, but the 'Dictionnaire Historique portatif des Grands Hommes' of the Abbé L'Advocat was the first book which purported to comprise the lives of all persons worthy of being commemorated, and to comprise nothing else. The book is merely an abridgment of the biographical part of Moreri, with a certain number of additional lives, some taken from Bayle and Chauffepié, but with a few new names, chiefly ecclesiastics. The book (in two volumes, 8vo) is crowded with faults of every description :

Men, measures, seasons, scenes, and facts all  
Misquoting, misstating,  
Misplacing, misdating,

as the 'young gentleman of Oxford' wrote of the 'Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel Wraxall.' Nor could we expect anything better of a work which, as the author says in his Preface, was composed 'pendant les vacances à la campagne par manière de délassement.' Yet that the book supplied a want is proved by its numerous editions, the last so recent as 1821 (in five volumes), and by translations of it into Italian, German, English,<sup>1</sup> and Hungarian. Successive

<sup>1</sup> The English translation, by Catherine Collignon, in four volumes, was printed at Cambridge in 1782. A second edition appeared in 1799-1801.

editors enlarged and corrected it, and the orthodoxy of its sentiments in the matter of religion preserved for it a certain reputation for the first quarter of the present century.

The 'Dictionnaire Historique littéraire et critique des hommes célèbres' of the Abbé Barral (1758, six volumes) is a work of a much higher character, displaying far more research, far greater accuracy, and is compiled on a scale more proportioned to the importance of its subject. But the pronounced Jansenism of its author, which manifests itself in season and out of season, detracts from its value, and prevented its attaining the success which the learning and research of Barral and his two coadjutors deserved. It has been not unfairly described as 'Le martyrologe du Jansénisme fait par un convulsionnaire.'

Eight years after the publication of the work of Barral, a book appeared which was destined to eclipse all its rivals and to reign supreme in Europe as *the* 'Biographical Dictionary' for nearly half a century. The 'Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique portatif' (four volumes, 1766), printed at Avignon, but with the rubric *Amsterdam*, so as to avoid the censorship, was the sole work of Dom Chaudon, a Benedictine of the congregation of Clugny; though—to escape the necessity of submitting it to the approval (and expurgation) of the congregation of which he was a member—his name nowhere appeared, but the title-page announced it as the work of 'une société des gens de lettres.' The book originated in that of L'Advocat, a copy of which Chaudon had corrected and annotated for his own use. Its innumerable errors, its meagreness, and the prejudice and bigotry shown in that of Barral, from which he had hoped much, determined him to give an improved 'Dictionary of Biography' to the world, and the remainder of his life was devoted to its revision and extension.

A book must be judged from the point of view of its time, its contemporaries, and its predecessors; and, so looked at, our judgment of Dom Chaudon's work will be favourable. It has neither the prolixity of Moreri, the meagreness of L'Advocat, nor the prejudices of Barral. It is marked by

impartiality and good sense. The popularity of the book was great; imitations or translations appeared in English, German, and Italian, and seven editions, with successive improvements, were given by its author. To the seventh edition—that of 1789—was added an appendix of four volumes by Delandine, which in the eighth was incorporated with the original work. In that edition the two authors' names appeared on the title-page—Chaudon consenting very unwillingly to the addition of that of Delandine—and the book has thenceforth been known as 'Chaudon et Delandine.' In 1810 the copyright was purchased by Prudhomme, and a new edition was published in twenty volumes, to which a supplemental volume was afterwards added. To this edition Chaudon contributed only some notes and corrections. But the editor was furnished with more than four thousand notes by Brotier and Mercier de St. Léger. He received the assistance of men like Haillet de Couronne, H. Grégoire, and P. H. Marron. Materials of every kind were furnished him from different quarters. But, whether from the incompetence of Prudhomme as an editor, or from the haste with which the book was hurried through the press, the edition of 1810–12 is crowded with every kind of fault possible to occur in a Biographical Dictionary. Ginguéné called it 'le recueil le plus complet de quiproquos bibliographiques que l'on connaisse.' With this edition the name of 'Chaudon and Delandine' disappears, but the 'Dictionnaire Historique,' edited by J. D. Goigeux, in thirty volumes, 1821–1823, is in fact only a new edition of that of Chaudon and Delandine, much corrected and improved.

But Chaudon had not given universal satisfaction. Though a priest, he was not a bigot, and though he had written against the philosophy of Voltaire, he was imbued to some extent with the liberal spirit of the eighteenth century. The *parti prêtre* was alarmed at the popularity of his book, and the Jesuit Feller took the field against him in a 'Dictionnaire Historique,' the first edition of which was printed in 1781, in six volumes. Feller's method of producing his dictionary was simple enough. He took Chaudon's book, and merely altered it as much or as little as he conceived the



interests of religion to require. The lives of heretics, Protestants and infidels are curtailed in length, their abilities are disparaged, and their merits decried; while the most insignificant Jesuit is lauded to the skies, and genius as well as virtue is shown to be the monopoly of the orthodox:—

‘In the dictionary of Chaudon’ (writes M. Henrion, a recent editor and biographer of Feller) ‘the cause of religion is not sustained in a sufficiently marked manner, dangerous novelties are not combated. A work was needed which should supply these defects. That is what the Abbé Feller undertook to do. He has used the materials of Chaudon, making only such changes as seemed absolutely necessary. Thus, without touching the substance of the work, he has confined himself to supplying omissions, to suppressing blameable reflections, and substituting others more likely to be approved by well-disposed persons, to rectifying the judgments dictated by partiality, to making it, in short, a book which young people may read without risk, and which will be applauded by all pious persons.’

A book compiled on these principles was sure of success. Dom Chaudon and his friends indeed complained of it, and the more so that Feller never acknowledged those obligations to Chaudon which M. Henrion admits, but put his book before the public as a new and original work, and never mentions Chaudon but to find fault or to sneer. His dictionary he calls ‘le moins mauvais de ses ouvrages.’ Feller’s Biographical Dictionary reached thirteen editions; the last, much improved and enlarged, and edited by the Abbé Simonin, appeared so recently as 1860. It has also had the honour of translations into Italian and Dutch.

The book of Feller completes the French Biographical Dictionaries of the eighteenth century, and its immediate successor was the ‘Biographie Universelle.’ But we may turn aside for a moment, to inquire what has been done outside France in the same direction. Italy and Spain had contented themselves with translations from the French. The ten folios into which Moreri had grown were translated into Spanish and printed in 1753, while both Italy and Germany had translations of L’Advocat and Chaudon. In

Germany, while dictionaries of the lives of learned men, and critical or bibliographical accounts of their works, some of them most excellent—witness those of Jöcher and Adelung—abounded, no important dictionary of universal biography, except the translations already referred to, has appeared, though the biographical parts of the later *Conversations-Lexicon*, and of the great *Encyclopædias* of Zedler and of Ersch and Gruber, have attained a high standard of excellence.

In England the '*Biographia Britannica*,' comprising only lives of natives of Great Britain and Ireland, does not come within the scope of this paper, except indeed as the connecting link between the great '*Historical Dictionary*,' already mentioned, and the '*New and General Biographical Dictionary*' of 1761 (eleven volumes 8vo). The last-named work, projected by the well-known bookseller Osborne, and published by him and others, deserves special notice as the first book in any language having the title of *Biographical Dictionary*. 'It is sometimes ascribed to Birch,' remarks Hallam, 'but I suspect Heathcote had more to do with it.' We cannot ourselves find any trace of Birch having taken any part in the compilation of the book, or indeed of the '*Biographia Britannica*,' with which his name is commonly connected, though many of his lives in the great '*Historical Dictionary*' clearly form the basis of the notices in the '*General Biographical Dictionary*.' Ralph Heathcote certainly contributed many of the most important articles.

Not content with the humble though useful position of a book of reference, the '*New and General Biographical Dictionary*' aimed at affording light and entertaining reading, as the following extract from the Preface shows:—

And we have also been attentive to the instruction and amusement of the ladies, not only by decorating our work with the names of those who have done honour to the sex, but by making our account of others sufficiently particular to excite and gratify curiosity, and, where the subject would admit, to interest the passions, without wearying attention by minute prolixity or idle speculations.

Editions, each with improvements, of this useful compilation,

in which, as the title announces, special attention is given to lives of persons of the British and Irish nations, appeared in 1784 and 1798–1810. The latter, in fifteen volumes, was edited as to the first five by W. Tooke, and as to the last ten by Archdeacon Nares and W. Beloe, and contains three thousand four hundred lives, either re-written or wholly new. Much of the additional matter is taken from Chaudon. Early in the present century the book was entrusted to Alexander Chalmers, for a new and improved edition, which was published between 1812 and 1817, in thirty-two volumes. It is still, after sixty-five years, the standard English Biographical Dictionary, and indeed, with the exception of that of Rose, the only one, and is now as necessary a companion for every student of English literature as it was on the day of its completion.<sup>1</sup> It contains many articles valuable for their accuracy and learning, though they are generally among those transferred either from the earlier editions or from some other work. Chalmers's own articles, though not without the merit which characterises a laborious compiler, are too long and tedious for the general reader, and show neither sufficient research nor sufficient accuracy to satisfy the student. No one would read for pleasure an article by Chalmers. Moreover, they are often marked by a narrow and intolerant spirit. The book contains about nine thousand notices: of these three thousand nine hundred and thirty-four are entirely new, and of the remainder, which constitute the articles of the preceding edition of the 'General Biographical Dictionary,' two thousand one hundred and seventy-six have been re-written.

A few years prior in date to Chalmers, and far before it in point of merit, appeared the work of Dr. Aikin (ten volumes, 4to, 1799–1815), assisted in the first volume by Dr. Enfield, and in the later ones by others of less reputation; by far the best of the lives are the work of the editor. But, unfortunately, the book does not profess to be a Dictionary of *Universal* Biography. It contains only the lives of the more eminent persons and, for most of the purposes of a Biographical Dictionary, it is therefore almost

<sup>1</sup> [See note at the end of the present essay, *infra*, p. 57.—Ed.]

useless. But while Aikin surpasses Chalmers in learning, accuracy and criticism, he is nearly, if not quite, as dull and heavy, and hardly less prejudiced, though in an opposite direction. We should not advise our readers to form their judgments of Churchmen from Aikin, or of Dissenters from Chalmers.

The biographical dictionary which passes under the name of Rose, having been planned by Hugh James Rose, and the first volume edited by his brother, Henry John Rose (twelve volumes, 1840–1847), is the only one which has appeared since that of Chalmers,<sup>1</sup> and is the most useful compilation of the kind which we possess, containing a much larger number of names than any other English biographical dictionary. Under the earlier letters of the alphabet more than double the number of names contained in Chalmers are to be found. In general its articles, except as to persons recently deceased, are abridgments; in the case of Englishmen, of those contained in Chalmers, and as to foreigners in the 'Biographie Universelle;' though, especially in the earlier volumes, there are a certain number of original articles of considerable length, and not devoid of merit. The Greek and Roman lives are among the best, and are carefully written. In the later volumes there is a considerable falling-off in every respect, as might be expected from the fact that exactly half the work is devoted to the letters A, B, and C. The book is composed from the orthodox and high church point of view, and abounds in moral reflections and criticisms of the most commonplace character, delivered in a pompous style, which seem inserted rather as being in accordance with the general opinion of the compilers than as required by the subject-matter.

<sup>1</sup> We do not forget the many meritorious and popular Biographical Dictionaries which have appeared in this country and in America during the past half-century. *Gorton's Dictionary* is a closely packed and useful compendium. The Biographical division of the *English Cyclopædia* contains numerous biographies of a very high degree of merit, but it does not profess to be a Universal Biographical Dictionary. Only names of men of eminence are to be found in it. For a review of this work, and other Cyclopædias, see an excellent article in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. 113, p. 354), the writer of which was Thomas Watts.

The 'sceptical tendency and objectionable matter of much in Bayle's work,' we are told, 'renders it unfit for indiscriminate use,' and of Alfieri it is said, that 'under due control, and with religious principles, he might have been a shining light; but he is now only a beacon to warn men against his errors and his vices. His works, indeed, have their admirers, but it is chiefly from the boldness of his views and his attacks on the present state of things.'<sup>1</sup>

It was early in the present century that two French men of letters, the brothers Michaud, conceived the idea, which they subsequently successfully carried out, of a Universal Biographical Dictionary, on a far more extended scale, and on a far superior plan to any that had before appeared. For such a work the co-operation of the foremost men of letters and science then living in France was sought and obtained. The more important articles were entrusted to the most eminent men in their respective departments, and a committee was associated with MM. Michaud, to which each article was submitted for revision before being inserted in the work. The lives of naturalists and geographers were entrusted to men like Cuvier and Malte Brun. Delambre and Biot undertook the mathematicians, Sylvestre de Sacy the Orientalists. The statesmen of Italy were entrusted to Sismondi, and her poets and artists to Guinguené.<sup>1</sup> Guizot and Benjamin Constant wrote the lives of the public men of Germany, and Lally Tollendal and Suard those of England. And round these chiefs of the undertaking were grouped Madame de Staël, Raoul-Rochette, Boissonade, Rémusat, de Barante, Nodier, Quatremère de Quincy, and at a later period Chateaubriand, Villemain, Humboldt, Cousin, and numerous less brilliant lights.

The first volume of the 'Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne' appeared in 1811. The elder Michaud soon withdrew from the direction of the work, and confined himself to writing the articles on the Crusaders and others, for which his historic studies especially qualified him; and M. Michaud *jeune* had the satisfaction of completing it in

<sup>1</sup> What purports to be an edition of *Rose's Dictionary*, printed in 1857, is simply the original impression with a new title-page.

fifty-two volumes in 1828. But completion is not the word. The seventeen years during which the work had been in progress had seen the deaths of numerous men of eminence, including many of the writers in the earlier volumes. In other respects lacunæ had been noticed, and a supplement was immediately commenced. Three volumes were devoted to mythology, and twenty-nine to humanity, bringing up the work in 1857 to eighty-four volumes and to the article 'Vandamme.' In 1862 volume eighty-five appeared, carrying the supplement up to 'Vil.' Three hundred writers had co-operated with M. Michaud, and had received from him little less than half a million of francs for their articles. But the work needed consolidation, revision and addition. With its double supplement it was inconvenient for reference. A too bitter party-spirit (the MM. Michaud were enthusiastic royalists) appeared in many lives, while in others, especially in the early volumes published under the Empire, the censorship had required the excision of passages which both authors and editor wished to restore.

The lives of many philosophical writers, and especially of the schoolmen, were become wholly inadequate, in view of the great advance made both in knowledge and in scientific modes of treatment. Numerous errors required correcting, numerous lacunæ filling up; and accordingly, in 1843, the publication of a new edition commenced. M. Michaud *jeune* again undertook the office of editor, though he had disposed of the copyright to M. Thoissier Desplaces. The founder of this great work did not live to see its completion. He died in 1858, at the age of seventy-five, having retired some time before from the editorship, in which he had been succeeded, after the twelfth volume, by M. Ernest Desplaces. To the second, as to the first edition, the most distinguished men of the time contributed; and among the names of the new writers we find Arago, Barthélemy and Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Brunet, Capefigue, Chaix d'Est-Ange, Philarète Chasles, Dupin, de Falloux, Figuier, Gerusez, Jules Janin, Paul Lacroix, Legouvé, John Lemoine, H. Martin, Mérimée, Montalembert, Paulin-Paris, Quatrefages, E. Renan, Saint-Marc Girardin, Sainte-Beuve, and E. Thierry.

The work was completed in 1865, in forty-five large octavo volumes, each containing as much as four or five volumes of the original edition; and M. Ernest Desplaces could say with truth, and with just pride, that the second edition of the '*Biographie Universelle*' was as superior to the first as the first was to all the biographical dictionaries that had preceded it.

But the progress of the book was neither as smooth nor as rapid as its proprietors and editors had hoped and expected. It had to fight for its very existence in one of the longest, most important and most interesting actions at law that have dealt with literary rights.

Hardly had the first volume of the original edition appeared, when an action was commenced against MM. Michaud by the bookseller Prudhomme, as the assignee of Dom Chaudon, who alleged that the new dictionary was a piratical imitation of his '*Dictionnaire Historique*.' It was not difficult for the defendants to show that their book was wholly original, and in no respect indebted to that of Chaudon, though it would contain much matter common to both. In the forty years which followed, several imitations of the work of MM. Michaud appeared. One of these, by General Beauvais, was published in 1826, under the title of '*Dictionnaire Historique ou Biographie Universelle Classique*.' A second edition was issued by the bookseller Furne in 1833, with the title '*Biographie Universelle, ou Dictionnaire Historique*.' An action was forthwith commenced by MM. Michaud against Furne, with the result that judgment was given for the defendant, and the title '*Biographie Universelle*' declared to be part of the public domain. In 1852 a new and more formidable rival appeared, which threatened the very existence of the *Biographie Michaud*. A '*Nouvelle Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne depuis les temps les plus reculés*' was commenced by MM. Didot, the eminent publishers, which, as in the case of all new publications, was to have all the merits without any of the defects of the *Biographie Michaud*. It was to be at once more extensive and more concise. It was to include all living men of eminence, as well as innumerable

deceased persons worthy of note who were omitted in the older work. But it would not be half the length of the *Biographie Michaud*, and this would be accomplished by merely omitting superfluous details, and by substituting condensation for diffuseness. Above all it was to be cheap, wonderfully cheap, 3 fr. 50 c. the volume, which was to contain about two-thirds as much as a volume of the new edition of the '*Biographie Universelle*,' which cost, and was well worth, 12 fr. 50 c. The MM. Didot were the proprietors of several collections of lives: of the '*Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la France*' of M. Lebas; of the '*Encyclopédie Moderne*'; they had also the right of reproducing articles from the '*Encyclopédie des gens du Monde*,' a work which contained many excellent biographical notices by men of acknowledged eminence. With these and articles from the '*Biographie Universelle*,' and from the dictionaries of Chaudon, Feller, and others, MM. Didot calculated on publishing a complete biographical dictionary on an extended scale, without having to pay, as MM. Michaud had done, for any original articles except such as the editor, Dr. Hofer, — might himself furnish. The book came out in weekly parts, ten making a volume. In the first two volumes, which appeared in 1852 and 1853, no less than 336 articles from the '*Biographie Universelle*,' mostly by men of eminence, including Cuvier, Grégoire, Delambre, B. Constant, and Malte-Brun, were textually inserted in the *Biographie Didot*. Sixty-nine articles were appropriated with slight alterations, and a considerable number besides were clearly based on those in the '*Biographie Universelle*.' Madame Thoisnier Desplaces, upon whom, by the death of her husband, the copyright of the '*Biographie Universelle*' had devolved, hastened jointly with M. Michaud to appeal to the law for the protection of her rights. If MM. Didot were to be at liberty to appropriate the articles of the '*Biographie Universelle*' at pleasure, her late husband in purchasing the copyright had bought nothing, and M. Michaud had sold what was not his to sell. On the 19th of May, 1852, the action of Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud, in respect of fifty-nine articles textually reproduced and twenty-two



slightly altered, which appeared in the first seven numbers of the *Biographie Didot*—all that was then published—was brought before the tribunal of the Seine, and the further publication of the ‘*Biographie Universelle*’ in the meantime ceased. Unless the copyright could be protected, the continuance of the publication would be utter ruin to Madame Desplaces. No one would buy a book at 12 fr. 50 c. the volume, when all the cream of it could be had in another book for 3 fr. 50 c. The defence of MM. Didot was bold and simple. It was summed up in the formula, *Feci, sed jure feci*. The defendants admitted the fact of appropriation, but alleged that the *Biographie Michaud* was not a single work, but a collection of isolated lives by different authors, without unity, without connection, and without plan, and they claimed that on the death of any author his article became public property. To MM. Michaud they gave no other position than that of publishers of the work. As to the use of the words *Biographie Universelle*, they relied on the decision in *Furne’s case*. The tribunal of the Seine gave judgment for the defendants, and Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud forthwith appealed to the Imperial Court of Paris. They were again unsuccessful, for, though the court recognized the unity of the work, acknowledged in MM. Michaud its originators and its editors, yet it held that each writer was to be considered as the independent author of the article to which his name was attached. Again Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud appealed, this time to the Supreme Court, the Court of Cassation. This court confirmed the judgment of the court below so far as related to the title of the book, holding that the words *Biographie Universelle* were public property; but it decided that the *Biographie Michaud* was a single work, and that MM. Michaud were entitled to the position and to the rights of authors of it. The decree of the Court of Paris was quashed, and the action sent to the Imperial Court of Amiens, to be heard and decided on the principles laid down in the judgment of the Court of Cassation. It was now necessary for MM. Didot to change their line of defence. After the decree of the Court of Cassation they could no longer contend that

M. Michaud was not the legal author of the 'Biographie Universelle,' and they now alleged that, having regard to the proportion which the eighty-one inculpatated articles bore to the whole 'Biographie Universelle,' so small an appropriation did not amount to a '*contrefaçon*.' The court took this view, and gave judgment for the defendants. Again Madame Desplaces and M. Michaud appealed to the Court of Cassation: the decree of the Court of Amiens had the same fate as that of Paris, it was quashed, and the action sent for trial to the Imperial Court of Orleans. Here the defendants adopted a third line of defence: they alleged, in their lengthy *mémoire* in answer to the plaintiffs' 'statement of claim,' that the MM. Michaud had put themselves out of court by acts of the same nature as were complained of in the defendants; that a large number of articles in the 'Biographie Universelle' had appeared also in the 'Dictionnaire' of Chaudon and Delandine; and that, as this book was anterior in point of date to the 'Biographie Universelle,' these articles must have been piratically appropriated by MM. Michaud. The answer of the plaintiffs was complete and crushing. The whole of the articles referred to in the *mémoire* of MM. Didot appeared for the first time in the edition of Chaudon and Delandine of 1821, and were borrowed from the 'Biographie Universelle'! The Court of Orleans held that an attempt to deceive it had been made by the defendants, and judgment on all points was given in favour of the plaintiffs. By two decrees of the Imperial Court of Orleans, of the 10th of July, 1854, and the 12th of February, 1855, MM. Didot were declared guilty of piracy (*contrefaçon*) in respect of eighty-one articles in the first six numbers of their dictionary; they were forbidden to use the title 'Biographie Universelle, *Ancienne et Moderne*,' were ordered to pay the costs of the action, and 45,200 francs damages.

For some time after the commencement of the action MM. Didot continued to appropriate the articles of the Biographie Michaud, so that in the remainder of the first volume, and in the second volume of the Biographie Didot, no less than two hundred and seventy-seven further articles were textually reproduced, and forty-seven only colourably

altered. With the commencement of the third volume MM. Didot changed the title of their book. Henceforth (until the tenth volume) it was called 'Nouvelle Biographie Universelle depuis les temps les plus reculés,' the words *ancienne et moderne* being omitted. And from this time very few articles from the 'Biographie Universelle' were textually reproduced, though it was clear that a large number were really based upon those in the older Dictionary.

In August 1853, MM. Didot announced that the entire impression of the first two volumes was exhausted (a statement, to say the least of it, inaccurate) and that they were being reprinted with numerous changes and new articles. In fact, the remaining copies of the first two volumes were withdrawn and reprinted, with important alterations, under the new title, but with not a word in either volume to intimate that it was a new edition, or that it had any alterations. The articles taken from the *Biographie Michaud* were omitted and replaced by others.

Emboldened by the success of the first action, Madame Desplaces did not hesitate to commence a second, claiming that the new title was not less an infringement of her rights than the original one, alleging the piracy of the two hundred and seventy-seven articles reproduced, and the forty-seven colourably altered in the first editions of volumes i.-ii., and of twenty-nine articles textually reproduced in volumes iii.-vii. The action was commenced on September 2, 1854, by the seizure, on behalf of the plaintiffs, of the whole stock of volumes i.-x. of the *Biographie Didot*, including as well many copies of the original as of the new edition of the first two volumes. The tribunal of the Seine declared MM. Didot *contrefacteurs* so far as the two hundred and seventy-seven and the forty-seven articles were concerned, ordered the confiscation of the volumes containing them, and gave Madame Desplaces 300 francs damages, but acquitted MM. Didot in respect of the other charges, and held that the title 'Biographie Universelle' was common property; that Madame Desplaces had been wrong in seizing the remaining volumes; and ordered each party to pay half the joint costs

of the action. Madame Desplaces appealed first to the Imperial Court of Paris, and from it to the Court of Cassation; arguments of great length and of much interest, antiquarian as well as legal, were adduced on each side, as to the right to use the words *Biographie Universelle*; but the decree of the tribunal of the Seine was in the end upheld, except as to the 300 francs damages awarded to Madame Desplaces. This the Court of Appeal held MM. Didot were entitled to set off against the damage done to them by the illegal seizure of volumes iii.–vii. Thus terminated the litigation between Madame Desplaces and MM. Didot which had lasted upwards of three years, during which time the publication of the '*Biographie Universelle*' was entirely suspended. It at once re-commenced under the editorship of M. Ernest Desplaces. With the tenth volume of the *Biographie Didot*, the name of this work was again, and this time definitively, changed to that of the '*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.'<sup>1</sup>

The forty-fifth and last volume of the '*Biographie Universelle*' was published in 1865, and the '*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*' ended with its forty-sixth volume in 1866. To a comparison of these two great works, and of their respective merits and shortcomings, the greater part of the remainder of this paper will be devoted.

The '*Biographie Universelle*' is in every respect greatly improved in its new edition. Numerous errors of fact, particularly as to names and dates, are corrected. A considerable number of names, to be found neither in the first edition nor in the supplement, are added, and these not only of recently deceased persons, but of those who certainly ought to have found a place in the first edition. Thirty-three new names appear in the first volume, fifteen being of persons recently deceased. A considerable number of articles have been in whole or in part re-written, and to a still

<sup>1</sup> At the same time new title-pages were printed for all the copies of volumes i.–ix. still in stock, and a new preface was added to volume i. Of volumes i. and ii. there are thus three varieties: (1) the original edition with the 405 articles taken from the *Biographie Universelle*; (2) the new edition with the title *Biographie Universelle*; (3) the same new edition, but with a fresh title-page and preface, and with *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* for the title.

greater number notes or appendices have been added. In the first volume, sixty-four articles were thus re-written or completely revised, and the editor tells us that not less than 20,000 new notices (and notes) appear in the new edition. Many of the scientific and literary men—particularly the schoolmen and others of the Middle Ages—could not have been adequately treated in the early part of this century. Many were then thought only worthy of a contemptuous notice, whom the more scientific study of later days has seen to be deserving of far different treatment; and the immense mass of documents brought to light in the first half of this century has shown many men in an altogether different light to that in which they necessarily appeared to the men of the Empire and the Restoration. An article on Abelard written in 1811, however accurately it might narrate the facts of his life, could not give an account of his opinions, his writings, or his character, which would seem adequate or satisfactory to a reader in 1850. But the most serious fault of the earlier edition has yet to be noticed. MM. Michaud, and many of the writers whom they associated with themselves, were pronounced royalists and orthodox Catholics, and in too many of the articles dealing with the men of the Revolution and the Empire, and with republicans and free-thinkers generally, a violence and a party spirit is displayed such as we are not surprised to find in the journals of a time when party spirit runs high, but altogether inconsistent with a work of the character and pretensions of the ‘*Biographie Universelle*.’ And none of the writers in the first edition was a more conspicuous sinner in this respect than M. Michaud *jeune*. He as well as MM. Lally-Tollendal, Suard, and de Bonald, speak with the voice of men to whom the Reign of Terror had been a living reality, to whom rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and to whom scepticism in religion and liberality in politics seem to be trees necessarily bearing as their fruit atheism, immorality, and anarchy. In the volumes which appeared after the fall of the Empire (10 *et seq.*),<sup>1</sup> the violent and unfair party-spirit becomes more

<sup>1</sup> Although volume x. bears date 1813, it was not in fact published until after the fall of the Empire. The article ‘Cromwell’ in this volume contained pas-

and more manifest. On the other hand, in the first nine volumes of the first edition the severe censorship of the Empire would allow nothing but what was in harmony with the Emperor's views, and several articles, particularly those of a certain M. Durdent, seem written with a view of gratifying the personal spite of the Emperor. The life of General Acton is little more than a collection of the calumnies which the French journals had, from time to time, heaped on that well-known enemy of French influence in Italy. Of M. Durdent it was said by one who knew him that the same motive which had engaged him under the Empire to heap up praise on the great man, inspired him under the Restoration to produce royalist writings marked with the same exaggerations. In the new edition a new life of Acton is inserted.

After the fall of the Empire, M. Michaud *jeune* took his revenge for the enforced curtailment of some of his articles, and the necessity of saying in others what would be agreeable to the authorities. In his remarkable article on Napoleon (first printed in the supplement to the first edition at a time when the Napoleonic legend, fostered by Louis Philippe and M. Thiers, was entwining itself in the hearts of the French, and preparing the way for the Second Empire), though he has done full justice to the greatness of the Emperor's genius, to the splendour of his achievements, and to the glory which he acquired for France, he has yet set forth with unsparing truthfulness the meanness of the great man, his selfishness, his utter carelessness of truth, justice, and human suffering. He inserts at full length the perhaps exaggerated account, given by Count Waldbourg-Truchsess, of the contemptible behaviour of Napoleon on his way to Elba, and gives verbatim his will, which the Emperor's friends would gladly have forgotten. In the thirtieth volume of the second edition, printed in 1861, though the reprint of a life which had been in free

sages not obscurely pointing at Napoleon, and the censure forbid its appearance without modification. The writer, M. Suard, refused to allow his name to appear to the article as modified, and the publication was delayed until the fall of the Empire permitted it to appear as originally written.

circulation in France for nearly twenty years could hardly be forbidden, it was necessary to make some sacrifices to imperial susceptibilities. A few excisions were made. The narrative of Count Waldbourg-Truchsess is omitted as 'remplie de détails invraisemblables.' The will is also left out. An appendix of sixty-seven columns is devoted to an apotheosis of *l'homme*, and to a bibliography and criticism on his writings; and a running commentary on the text by M. Bégin, the author of the appendix, appears at the foot of the page, flatly contradicting M. Michaud's statements wherever the reputation of the Emperor seems to require it. Notes like the following appear at every few pages, and make the article and its commentary most entertaining reading:—'L'exagération vindicative de l'écrivain écraserait peut-être la vérité si,' &c., 'Ce récit n'est pas exact,' 'C'eût été la pensée d'un fou. Jamais l'empereur n'a pu l'avoir,' 'Cette scène n'est pas vraisemblable;' 'Ceci est une exagération;' 'Pourquoi dénaturer ces belles paroles;' 'Ces expressions vulgaires ne sont pas croyables.'<sup>1</sup>

In the new edition much has been done to remedy the violence and party spirit displayed in the original book. The lives of Diderot, D'Alembert, and of other encyclopedists and philosophers of the eighteenth century have been in some cases modified, in others appendices have been added, and much fairer presentments of the men are given. The same course has been taken in the earlier volumes with the men of the Revolution, while in the later volumes most of the lives which disfigured the original edition have completely disappeared, and have been replaced by articles leaving nothing to be desired in point of fairness or accuracy. For M. Michaud's bitter article on Robespierre, which is little better than a caricature, is substituted a life from the pen of M. Ernest Hamel, which is a model of impartiality. Unfortunately in the earlier volumes, of which M. Michaud was the editor, or in which his influence was still felt, the defect we are noticing has not entirely disappeared. At a time when orthodox churchmen in this country were

<sup>1</sup> The article 'Napoléon,' with its notes and appendix, extends to 160 pages of the new edition, equal to 350 pages of the *Quarterly Review*.

beginning to see the profanity of the comparison between Charles I. and our Saviour, and when the service for the Blessed Martyr was about to be removed from the Book of Common Prayer, the editor of the second edition of the 'Biographie Universelle' finds nothing to modify in M. Lally-Tollendal's life of Charles I., the tone of which will be seen from the following passage :—' On a dit *le martyre*, on aurait pu dire la *passion* de Charles I<sup>er</sup>. Tous les cœurs chrétiens sont d'accord avec celui de Clarendon quand on lit dans son histoire : The most execrable murder that ever was committed since that of our Blessed Saviour.' Cromwell is still described as a mere self-seeking hypocrite. Louis XIV. is the model of all that is great and noble, and Louis XVI. of all that is good and just.

But unfairness and party spirit are the exceptions, and not the rule. It is only in a small number of lives, transferred from the earlier edition, that these faults are found. The new lives are written with an entire absence of party spirit, and generally with conspicuous fairness. But an article originally written from a violent and party point of view can never be made satisfactory by the mere excision of certain passages, and the substitution of others, or even by corrective or explanatory notes. It is irritating to a reader who goes to a book published in 1859, expecting to find there the result of the most recent investigations, the most authentic documents, and the most accurate narratives of the life of Louis XVI., to meet with an article prefaced by a note like the following :—

Le mérite littéraire de cet article, le nom de son auteur, nous ont fait un devoir de le conserver tel qu'il a paru dans la 1<sup>re</sup> édition de la 'Biographie universelle,' en supprimant toutefois les passages qui sont le plus empreints de la violence de M. de Bonald. Il est facile de s'apercevoir que cet article a été composé à une époque de réaction contre la révolution ; outre que les principes de l'absolutisme les moins déguisés y servent de *criterium* à l'appréciation des faits, les faits eux-mêmes n'y sont pas toujours exactement rapportés.

One of two courses ought to have been adopted by the editors in the case of such an article, either to print it in full



as originally written, adding corrective notes, or, better still, to insert an entirely new biography. If the articles on a certain class of men were all written with a strong party bias, the evil would be less, for when once we knew of the tendency we should be on our guard against it. But we cannot read any of the long and generally able articles on the men of the Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration, without an uneasy feeling of doubt as to whether we are reading a patched up article from the first edition, or an original article which really gives the results of the writer's independent investigations based upon the most recent authorities.

In a book to which three hundred writers contributed there must necessarily be a great inequality in style, in treatment and in merit. A large number of the more important articles, written by men of ability and learning, leave little or nothing to be desired, such as those on Fox and Fénelon by M. Villemain, on Buffon and Lavoisier by Cuvier, on Boccaccio by Guinguené, which may be considered as models for articles in a biographical dictionary. On the other hand, we sometimes find meagre and superficial notices where we should least have expected it. Those by M. Durdent are always superficial, and generally inaccurate. But the book, on the whole, has been well edited, and with one exception bears signs of that unity of treatment and sense of proportion and fitness, for which M. Michaud justly claimed credit.

Lives of men of letters form the chief and the most satisfactory part of the work, at least in the earlier volumes. Those of natives of France, Italy, and Spain are in general excellent, and the same may be said of a large number of those of Germany, England, and other countries. Their lives are narrated with fulness and accuracy of detail, and an adequate account of their writings is given. Nor, except in the case of freethinkers, is there much fault to be found on the score of unfairness. The bibliography of the work is deserving of great praise, and is due to a large extent to the labours of M. Weiss, to whom the supervision of this department in the first edition was entrusted. No book in any language contains such an amount of bibliographical

information, much of it not to be found elsewhere, as the new edition of the 'Biographie Universelle.' For precise details on rare books and rare editions indeed, we go to Brunet, to Graesse, or to Lowndes. But no single book contains lists so detailed, and on the whole so accurate, of the works of so large a number of writers, and of their principal editions. These alone would make the work invaluable, and indeed indispensable to literary students. But bibliographical information is worse than useless if it is not strictly accurate; and M. Weiss, though a born bibliographer, and possessed of an enormous fund of literary information, shared that carelessness as to accuracy in trifling matters of detail characteristic of most of his countrymen, which detracts so much from the value of their brilliant generalisations, and makes their admirable literary skill often mislead instead of inform the unwary reader. Nowhere is this failing more mischievous than in bibliography, where accuracy is the one thing needful. It is the extreme care and accuracy of their writings that has given such deserved pre-eminence as bibliographers to Barbier, Renouard, Quérard, and Brunet, and has placed them on so much higher a level than men greatly their superiors in point of literary skill, like Peignot, Nodier, and P. Lacroix. Unfortunately it is among the latter class of bibliographers that we must place M. Weiss. The bibliographical information contained in the 'Biographie Universelle' abounds in errors, especially of names and dates, many of them no doubt mere misprints, showing (in the first edition) only carelessness on the part of the corrector; but when reproduced in the second edition they are unpardonable, and betray great deficiencies in editorial supervision. The substitution of a 6 for a 5, or an 8 for a 3, may perhaps seem a very trifling and venial offence, but when the result is that an edition of the works of Pomponatius is given as 1625 instead of 1525, it will at once be seen how serious is really the error, and what an amount of inconvenience it may cause the reader.<sup>1</sup> That

<sup>1</sup> The error cited caused us to waste many wearisome hours searching for the book, before we came to the conclusion that no edition of 1625 existed, and that the date was a misprint for 1525.

two editions of the entertaining journey of Ambrose the Camaldolese, to which he gave the title 'Hodœporicon,' are cited as printed at Florence in 1431 and 1432, might be supposed to indicate a mere misprint, were it not for the fact that the book itself was not printed until 1678 or 1680, and that 1431 and 1432 are the dates of the journeys which Ambrose took. Nor is there less editorial carelessness shown in the statement that Nicolas Bourdin, who died in 1676, was a son of Jacques Bourdin, who six lines before is accurately stated to have died in 1567.

In the article on the celebrated Rabbi Joseph Albo, one of his works is said to have been edited by *Soncino*. The author, M. Durdent, has mistaken the name of the town, so celebrated for its Hebrew press, for that of an editor; and this mistake, although noticed in the Preface to Rose's 'Biographical Dictionary' in 1840, was continued in the second edition of the 'Biographie Universelle,' printed three years later. The same book notes an error in the article 'Alberti (Cherubino),' who, though born in 1552, is called a contemporary of the celebrated artist, Marc Antonio, who died before 1550. Nor is this mistake corrected in the second edition. These are only specimens of the kind of mistake that is unfortunately frequent in the 'Biographie Universelle,' nor are blunders wanting that show something more than mere carelessness. In the sixth volume there is a short article devoted to an imaginary Gilbert Cagnati, whom the writer (M. L. M. A. Dupetit-Thouars) describes as an Italian author born at Nocera, in the kingdom of Naples, who lived about the middle of the sixteenth century, and was the author of the poem 'De Horti Laudibus' (Basle, 1546), afterwards printed and inserted by Joachim Camerarius II. in his collection of treatises 'De re Rustica.' In fact, however, the treatise 'De Hortorum Laudibus' is one of the works of Gilbert Cousin, called in Latin *Cognatus*. At the end of the book of Camerarius, 'Opuscula de re Rustica' (Norimbergiæ, 1596) is a list of authors and treatises *de re rustica*, among which is 'Gilberti Cognati Nozerani de Hortorum Laudibus,' Basileæ apud Oporinum, 1546. The work itself, however, is not inserted in the

Opuscula of Camerarius. M. Dupetit-Thouars clearly knew nothing of the book or its author, but having copied the title from the book of Camerarius, and never having heard either of Gilbert Cognatus or of Nozeray in Burgundy, and knowing there was a town of the name of Nocera in Naples, he made an unsuccessful guess, and then amplified an imaginary fact into a detailed biography.

The English department of the '*Biographie Universelle*' cannot on the whole be considered as satisfactory. In the treatment of our sovereigns, our leading statesmen and generals, our men of science and our travellers, and a certain limited class of our men of letters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we have indeed in general nothing to complain of.<sup>1</sup> Addison and Pope, and other writers of the eighteenth century, to whom Voltaire introduced his countrymen, are amongst the best of the English biographies; but when we go further back, and particularly all through our history in that important department of literature, theology, we find an inadequacy of treatment which would be ludicrous, were it not so entirely to be expected as a matter of course. A Frenchman, unless (if we may be pardoned something like a bull) he is from Geneva or Lausanne, is, whether a Catholic or a freethinker, absolutely incapable not only of appreciating Protestant theology, but of understanding that any intelligent human being exists to whom it can possibly be of importance or interest. Those of our divines, indeed, who were in the '*Historical Dictionary*,' and whose lives were translated by *Chaufepié*, are treated with sufficient fulness, but the rest and our earlier men of letters generally receive but scant justice.

That the book abounds in a certain class of errors as regards English names and titles is unfortunately a matter of course, in a book written and printed on the other side of the Channel; but it is only just to say that we know of no book where these errors are so few in proportion to the great extent of the work. An immense number which

<sup>1</sup> There are, however, some notable exceptions, especially in the earlier volumes. The articles '*Bacon*,' '*Clarendon*,' '*Cromwell*,' '*Melbourne*,' and '*Walpole*' (*Robert*) are wholly inadequate.

appeared in the first are corrected in the second edition; yet there still remain many which a little care and attention would have obviated, besides errors of a more serious character, of which two specimens must suffice. In the life of Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, it is stated that he was eighty-eight years of age at his death. 'His English biographers,' says the author (M. Lefebvre-Cauchy), 'state that shame and chagrin at seeing himself despised by all rightminded people, threw him into an illness in which he died in March, 1687, in his eighty-eighth year.' Now as M. Lefebvre-Cauchy had written a few sentences before, and as is the fact, that Bishop Parker was born in 1640, he must, one would suppose, have written eighty-eight instead of forty-eight by a mere clerical error, but so careless is he that he founds upon his mistake a reason for distrusting Parker's English biographers. He thus continues, 'La passion perce évidemment dans ce récit : à un pareil âge on peut bien mourir sans les effets du chagrin.'

The 'ever memorable' John Hales is honoured with two notices, one as Ales (Jean) described as originally a Calvinist and afterwards a Catholic, author of a tract on Schism; the other as Hales (John), Anglican Theologian, whose works were collected and published under the title of 'Golden Remains.' Each of the notices is most inadequate. It would be easy to give a long list of the errors in English biographies, though in general not so flagrant as those relating to Bishop Parker and John Hales.

But probably few Englishmen will go to the 'Biographie Universelle' for the lives of their countrymen. If, however, any one should desire a piece of most amusing reading, we can refer him to the long and elaborate article, ten pages (equal to about twenty-two of the 'Quarterly Review,' and more than twice the amount of space devoted to Hume or Holbach) on Theodore Hook, written by M. Parisot, an enthusiastic admirer of Hook, of whom he relates many well-known stories paraphrased in a thoroughly French fashion, in order, as we suppose, to suit the received French ideas of English manners and customs. The well-known story of Hook dining at a house at which he was not invited is

related with extraordinary fulness, if not accuracy, of details. It occupies three columns, and its 'vraisemblance' to the original may be judged by the fact that Hook is represented as informing his Amphitryon that he believed the house to be that of 'Le correct et ponctuel Noll Dick Jack Smith'!<sup>1</sup>

We have said that there is one exception to the unity of treatment and sense of proportion generally to be found in the 'Biographie Universelle.' As far back as 1837, Hallam, in the preface to his 'History of Literature,' remarked, 'there seems a redundancy of modern French names; those, above all, who have even obscurely and insignificantly been connected with the history of the Revolution—a fault, if it be one, which is evidently gaining ground in the supplementary volumes.' The fault has gained enormous ground in the second edition, and has greatly increased in the later volumes. As a rule, before a Biographical Dictionary arrives at its termination, the editor, the publisher, and perhaps the subscribers, become wearied. The book is hurried to its conclusion; important names are crowded out, and those that are inserted are treated in a superficial and perfunctory manner. This, at least, is not a characteristic of either edition of the 'Biographie Universelle.' The lives become more and more lengthy and elaborate the further we advance in the alphabet. The first volume (of the new edition) has 1643 names, the fifth 1376, the twentieth 776, the fortieth 827, the forty-fourth 1100, and the forty-fifth 947.<sup>2</sup> But each volume is within a few pages of the same length. Thus, in the later volumes, every name has on the average nearly double the amount of space allowed to an article in the first. But though undoubtedly many men of the highest eminence

<sup>1</sup> The *Biographie Générale* is not less complimentary to Hook, to whom it devotes a long article (eight columns), which, though written in a less absurd manner than that of M. Parisot, contains the following astounding piece of criticism: 'Parmi les romanciers de nos jours, en un mot, nous ne voyons que deux peintres exacts de la vie réelle: Théodore Hook pour la classe élevée et la classe moyenne; Charles Dickens pour les classes populaires!' Dickens is only honoured with half a column, in which we have remarked five mistakes.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of members of the same family several names are frequently included in what at first sight looks like a single article.

are more adequately treated in the second half of the work than would have been the case had their names appeared in the earlier volumes, it is, unfortunately, the second, third, and fourth-rate men of the Revolution, the Empire and the Restoration that crowd the pages of the 'Biographie Universelle,' and have, especially in the later volumes, articles altogether disproportioned to their importance and interest. The *soi-disant* Count de Monbreuil did nothing in his whole life of the slightest interest to any human being, except rob the Queen of Westphalia of her jewels, and slap Talleyrand on the face; yet eight columns are devoted to his worthless life—as much as to Lorenzo de' Medici, and nearly twice as much as to Melanchthon! The latter, is, indeed, most inadequately treated. Forty-six columns may not be too much for Robespierre, or thirty-three for Talleyrand, but surely sixty-eight is too much for Fouché, twenty-six for Marmont, and twenty for Merlin (de Douai), when we find that Wellington has only sixteen columns, Suvaroff six, and Von Stein two and a half. In fact, in the case of French names of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the editors have confused the functions of biographers and historians—two entirely distinct things. The lives of Louis XVIII., Charles X., and Louis Philippe are histories of France during their respective reigns. Nor has the 'Biographie Universelle' escaped the tendency common to all Biographical Dictionaries, to exaggerate the importance of royal and princely personages, and to devote to them long historical articles, with hardly a single biographical detail.

But with all its shortcomings, no literary student can have any other feeling towards the 'Biographie Universelle' than that of deep admiration and gratitude. It is impossible to pursue any investigation bearing upon literary history or biography, especially of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, without having the book constantly at one's elbow; and although it is to be regretted that the authorities for so few of the lives are specifically stated, yet the articles themselves generally point to the sources for verifying their statements, correcting their errors, and amplifying their details.

Turning now to the 'Biographie Générale,' the first point

which must strike every reader is the utter want of proportion in the book, and, in most of the volumes, the want of any guiding principle for the insertion or exclusion of a name, or for the length or importance of the respective articles. We have noticed as a fault in the 'Biographie Universelle' the greatly increased length of the articles in the later volumes devoted to inferior men; in the 'Biographie Générale' the fault is precisely the opposite. Of its forty-six volumes, upwards of thirty-six are devoted to the letters A—M, leaving less than ten for N—Z; and long before the middle of the book is reached, the professions with which it was commenced, as to the insertion of names, are wholly thrown aside, and the evident desire of the editor and proprietors is seen to be to bring the work to a conclusion as speedily as possible, and to omit as many names as can with any decency be omitted. The original intention was to insert, first, all the names in the 'Biographie Universelle'; secondly, a large number to be found neither in that work nor in any other Biographical Dictionary; thirdly, all living persons worthy of note. The first three volumes are devoted to the letter A, and contain more than nineteen hundred and fifty names of deceased persons, chiefly (though with some not unimportant exceptions) obscure Spaniards, Portuguese, and Orientals, omitted from the 'Biographie Universelle,' besides notices of more than one hundred persons then living. But the additions become fine by degrees and beautifully less, until at length, before the end of the work, they wholly disappear, while the later volumes do not include nearly all the names in the 'Biographie Universelle.' Of nine hundred and eighty names in the thirty-ninth volume of the 'Biographie Universelle,' five hundred and thirty-four are omitted, and of eleven hundred in the forty-fourth volume of the 'Biographie Universelle,' more than seven hundred and sixty are omitted from the 'Biographie Générale'! In fact, in the last few volumes it is useless to look for any less important name, and on nearly every page there is evidence of the strongest desire to bring the book to a close.

We have already remarked how many articles are merely abridgments or reproductions of those in the 'Biographie



Universelle,' and the mistakes of the original are in many cases left uncorrected. The ridiculous blunder in the life of Joseph Albo, as to Soncino, is duly reproduced in the 'Biographie Générale,' while the error as to the date of the first edition of the 'Hodœporicon' is hardly corrected by being altered from 1431 to 1451. The duplication of John Hales has not been followed by Dr. Hoefer, yet both in the name and in the details respecting *Jean Alès* we have some difficulty in recognizing the 'ever memorable'; while in the article immediately preceding, on the Scotchman Alexander Alès, we have the extraordinary statement that he must not be confounded with *his elder brother who bore the same præ-nomen of Alexander*, and who published the 'Expositio in xii. libros Aristotelis Metaphysicæ'! But Dr. Hoefer did not always confine himself to copying the errors of the 'Biographie Universelle.' M. Briquet has pointed out in the 'Bulletin du Bibliophile'<sup>1</sup> several errors in the articles 'Amalthée' and 'Aléandre' in the 'Biographie Universelle,' all of which have been faithfully reproduced in the 'Biographie Générale,' every other error which was possible being added concerning the relationship of the several members of the Amalteo family, besides making of Marco Antonio Amalteo two distinct persons, and devoting to him two articles. So that, as M. Briquet remarks:—

Dans cette *farce biographique* le plus ancien des Amalthée est classé le dernier; les fils deviennent les frères de leur père et de leurs oncles; le père devient le frère cadet de son fils; le frère devient le fils aîné de son frère cadet. C'est le désordre élevé à sa plus haute puissance.

The general editing of the book is in fact disgraceful. Of the editor, Dr. Hoefer, we know nothing, except from the laudatory article on himself which he caused to be inserted in the twenty-fourth volume, where twice the space (nine columns) is devoted to his life to that which is given to Thomas Hobbes, more than is given to Madame Roland, and, to go to his contemporaries, four times as much as is devoted to Michelet, and eight times as much as is thought

<sup>1</sup> 12<sup>me</sup> série p. 360.

sufficient for the Vice-Emperor, M. Rouher. Yet M. de Bellecombe, the author of the article, informs us in a note that 'par un sentiment de modestie et de convenance, à notre avis exagéré, le directeur le la "Biographie Générale" ait cru devoir supprimer une grande partie de notre article'! But though, according to this article, he was a man of universal genius, who 'took all knowledge for his province,' he certainly does not shine as the editor of a Biographical Dictionary. Innumerable are the names, even of persons of eminence, mentioned in the book as to which we are referred to non-existing articles in other volumes.

Under the name 'Liset' is the reference 'voy. Lizet,' but no article 'Lizet' is to be found, nor does a life of this celebrated first President appear in the book. In the article 'Du Pont, sieur de Drusac,' we are referred to the article 'La Borie' for a notice of 'Arnaut de La Borie,' but no such article is to be found, the notice of La Borie being given under 'Arnaut.' For Duplessis-Bellière we are sent to 'Rougé,' but neither under that nor any other name does the life of Jacques de Rougé, Marquis Duplessis-Bellière, appear, nor any other member of that distinguished family; the only Rougé mentioned in the book being a contemporary professor of philology in the Collège de France. In the article 'Saint-Florentin' we are referred to the article 'Vrillière' for Saint-Florentin's father Louis, but under 'Vrillière' we simply find 'voy. Saint-Florentin et la Vrillière,' but no article 'La Vrillière' is to be found. Under 'Bamboche' is the reference 'voy. Laar,' but on referring to 'Laar dit Bamboche' we find only 'voy. Laer,' and no article 'Laer' is to be found, nor does any notice of this celebrated Dutch painter appear in the book. Polydore Virgil is omitted, though under 'Virgile' we read 'voy. Polydore.' These are merely specimens out of a much larger number which we have ourselves accidentally lighted upon, and we doubt whether there is a single volume which does not contain many references to non-existing articles.

One of the principal points upon which the proprietors of the 'Biographie Générale' took credit to themselves for its

superiority over the 'Biographie Universelle,' was, that to every life a list of the authorities would be appended; certainly a most useful feature, the absence of which deprives many of the articles of the 'Biographie Universelle' of much of their value. We have ourselves repeatedly found the greatest advantage from these lists of authorities in MM. Didot's book, in many instances when sources of information have been indicated which we might otherwise have been unable to discover without much labour and research. But unfortunately truth obliges us to add, that in many cases authorities are cited which contain no reference whatever to the persons in question. In a large number of lives, particularly those simply borrowed from the 'Biographie Universelle,' the plan seems to have been to refer to Œttinger's 'Bibliographie Biographique,' and to copy his list of authorities, adding the names of any other books the subjects of which make it seem probable that they may contain references to the person in question. We have already mentioned the invention of Gilbert Cagnati, by M. Dupetit-Thouars, in the 'Biographie Universelle.' Dr. Hoefer has simply pitchforked M. Dupetit-Thouars' article textually into the 'Biographie Générale,' adding however (as was his wont, in order to suggest independent research) imaginary authorities to the imaginary biography. The authorities cited in the 'Biographie Générale' for the notice of Gilbert Cagnati are *not* the 'Biographie Universelle,' but 'Biographie Médicale,' and 'Eloy, Dict. de Médecine,' neither of which, it is needless to say, contains any mention of Gilbert Cagnati, or indeed of Gilbert Cousin or Cognatus. For the life of Nicolas Berauld as a native of Orleans, 'Les Hommes Illustres de l'Orléanais' is cited, but no biography or notice of him is there to be found, though his name once occurs. For the great architectural Bishop of Limoges, Jean de Langeac, 'La Croix du Maine' is given as an authority, but the 'Bibliothèque Française' will be searched in vain for any mention of him. For the life of Gui Breslay, 'Taisand, Vies des plus célèbres jurisconsultes,' is cited, but there is neither a life nor any mention of him in that useful but inaccurate work. It is assumed

that the life of every physician is in Eloy, or the 'Biographie Médicale,' and of every jurist in Taisand.

The lives of Englishmen are not in general an improvement on those in the 'Biographie Universelle.' Though upwards of a column is given to Bishop Bonner, there is not the slightest reference to the persecutions with which his name is connected, or, indeed, to any event whatever of his life during the reign of Queen Mary. But this does not appear to have arisen from any desire to screen Bonner from censure, but simply from the carelessness with which most of the lives of the less important persons are written.

But we now turn with pleasure from the shortcomings to the merits, and they are many, of the 'Biographie Générale.' And first let us say that the book seems to us to be perfectly fair, and generally free from any party spirit or party bias. Again, though most of the articles are inferior to those of the 'Biographie Universelle,' the exceptions are numerous and important. Many of the longer articles, written and signed by men of literary eminence, are in every way admirable. The articles on the Aldes, the Estiennes, Dolet, Josse Bade, and other printers, by M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, and one or two by Gustave Brunet, are far superior to those on the same persons contained in the 'Biographie Universelle.' To the general crowding of the last few volumes, the article on Voltaire, by M. Eugène Asse, is a noteworthy exception. It extends over eighty-five columns, and is the best life of Voltaire of that length which we have met with. A certain number of other literary biographies, not perhaps equal in merit to these, but of a very high character, and also occasionally elaborate literary analyses, will be found throughout the work, though it is not easy to say on what principle they have been selected nor where they will be found.<sup>1</sup> Nothing but praise can be given to those (principally of men of science) written by Dr. Hoefler himself. Again, several of the series of lives of members of the same family, particularly of royal or

<sup>1</sup> To the lives of Augustine and Jerome are appended long and elaborate analyses of their works (that of Augustine being extracted from Du Pin, and occupying twenty-one columns).

quasi-royal houses, are of a high degree of merit. The articles on the princes of Condé and of Conti, the families of Sforza and Visconti, are instances which may be cited.

But it would be improper, in a review of the 'Biographie Générale,' to pass over without notice the most remarkable series of articles in the book—those upon Napoléon, his dynasty, and the members of his family. They occupy five hundred and thirty-eight columns<sup>1</sup> of the thirty-seventh volume, which appeared in 1863, at the time when the Second Empire was at the height of its glory. Apart from the internal evidence derived from the articles themselves, it is clear from the printing and the pagination that the entire series, as originally printed, has been suppressed, and that the present articles are double the original length. They are all written from the imperial point of view, and the source of their inspiration is not far to seek. The glories, the talents, and the virtues of the imperial family are set forth in the most glowing terms, and without even that amount of shade which a judicious portrait painter will always know when to insert. All the men are brave, and all the women (with one exception) are virtuous. The life of Prince Napoléon Jérôme is especially entertaining. Two columns are devoted to his military abilities, and the bravery which he showed in the Crimean War and the Italian campaign; and the like space is given to his oratorical distinctions. Nor is there a single word, in the nine columns occupied by his life, which affords the slightest hint of any of those traits in his character which, ten years after the downfall of the Empire, have occasioned his being left without a single friend or admirer among the party of which he is the nominal head. The single exception to the universal pæan of praise is found in the life of the Empress Marie Louise; but though her heartless conduct to her husband and son are duly censured, and her disgraceful *liaison* and subsequent marriage with her chamberlain, Count Neipperg, are duly chronicled, for some reason her third marriage is not even hinted at, and the reader is left in ignorance of the fact that the wife of the greatest captain

<sup>1</sup> Equal to 580 pages of the *Quarterly Review*.

and sovereign of the age died *Madame de Bombelles*! But the articles contain an immense fund of information respecting the Bonaparte family. With the exception of this series of articles, for which clearly the editor must not be considered as responsible, it cannot be said that any particular class of men are treated at too great length or receive undue notice. The long articles are all of persons who may fairly be said to be of exceptional merit, or to deserve exceptionally lengthy treatment. If we are to have articles of a disproportionate length, we at least prefer them to be of Augustine or Voltaire, rather than of Joseph Fouché or Dr. Francia.

Of the larger number of the less important literary men there is very little more than their names, the dates of their birth and death, and the titles of their principal works, without any of that information respecting the contents or subjects of their writings, which adds so much value to the articles in the 'Biographie Universelle.' Nor are these lists so full, or compiled with so much accuracy, as those in the 'Biographie Universelle.' In one point, however, and that of no small importance, the bibliographical information of the 'Biographie Générale' is superior to that of its rival. The titles of books written in Latin, or in any modern European language, are invariably given in the original language. In the 'Biographie Universelle' there is no fixed rule on this subject. In general, the titles of books written in English, Italian, or German, are translated into French, while those written in Latin are given in that language; but as this rule is not universally followed, it is often impossible to guess whether the title of the book is accurately given by the 'Biographie Universelle,' or in what language the book was in fact written. Another excellent feature in the 'Biographie Générale,' which may appear trifling, but which is really important, and of great convenience to the reader, is that each article begins with the date, and in most cases the place, of the birth and death of the person in question. This ought never to be omitted in a biographical dictionary. In many of the longer articles of the 'Biographie Universelle' we have to spend some time before we

can discover the date of the death of the subject of the article.

We have thus noticed at some length the merits and the defects of, and the differences between, the two great biographical collections. Giving the preference in general to the 'Biographie Universelle,' we have seen that there are points, and those of no small importance, in which the 'Biographie Générale' is superior. In the letters A-M we are more likely to find any obscure name in the 'Biographie Générale,' under N-Z in the 'Biographie Universelle.' In fact, the two books are complements of each other; each is necessary for the student. But, alas! how many hundreds of names there are, which ought to be included in a biographical dictionary, which are to be found in neither! In the case of a large number of lives the greater conciseness of the 'Biographie Générale' is an improvement. But, perhaps, this is hardly ever so in the case of literary men, where we generally seek in a biographical dictionary more details than we want in the case of great historical or political characters.

We end as we began, by saying that there is little prospect of an English universal dictionary of biography on anything like the scale of either of the two French dictionaries, still less of one upon a scale which we should now consider satisfactory, nor do we think that such a work is, on the whole, to be desired. Special biographical collections such as those edited by Dr. W. Smith, to which we have before referred, are better for the scholar and student, while for the ordinary reader compilations like that of Rose are perhaps sufficient. We look forward with the greatest possible interest, and with some anxiety, to the new 'Dictionary of National Biography,' about to be edited by Mr. Leslie Stephen, which we hope may prove a worthy companion of the two dictionaries of National Biography now in course of publication, the 'Biographie Nationale de Belgique' and the 'Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.'

The first question which the editor will have to decide, and certainly one of the greatest importance, is what names are to be included; and we cannot but express regret that, to

judge from the tentative list of names proposed to be inserted under the letter 'A,' it is not intended to include nearly so many names as were contemplated in the 'Biographia Britannica' formerly announced by Mr. Murray under Dr. Smith's editorship.

'I exclude names,' Mr. Stephen has written in the 'Athenæum,' 'which are only names, because otherwise I should have to publish (amongst other things) all the parish registers. A biographical dictionary should surely consist of biographies, however brief; and this circumstance seems to me to define the point at which the province of such a dictionary divides from mere catalogues of books and lists of names. . . . I hope to have as many thousands of obscure names as possible, so long as they are not merely names. If nothing is known of John Smith except the bare fact that he published a pamphlet, he belongs, in my opinion, to the bibliographer, and not to the biographer. As soon as anything more is known of him he has some claim to a place in a biographical dictionary.'

Now while we are glad to have the promise of as many thousand obscure names as possible—for these, in our judgment, form the most valuable part of a biographical dictionary—we think Mr. Stephen cannot have fully considered the effect of the rule here laid down. It would exclude the John Smiths of the sixteenth century, about whom the student wants to know something, and would include the John Smiths of the nineteenth century, about whom no one wants to know anything. Innumerable are the John Smiths of the nineteenth century about whom there is much more known than the fact that they published pamphlets, yet whom, to judge from his tentative list, Mr. Stephen does not intend (and, in our judgment, rightly) to include in the new Dictionary. Of nearly every one of the many thousand deceased persons of this century, and of most of those of the last, who have written nothing but insignificant pamphlets, much may be known by any one who takes the trouble to inquire; yet in the tentative list many writers, not of insignificant pamphlets but of substantial books, are omitted, of whom copious biographical details exist. Indeed, when we examine this list, we are altogether at a loss to discover



any principle upon which some names which are little more than names have been inserted, and many others which are much more than names omitted. In the printed specimen of the Dictionary is a notice of John Angus, a Dissenting minister (whose name did not appear in the tentative list), whose sole claim to distinction appears to be the publication of several funeral sermons. If any persons who in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries have printed funeral sermons or pamphlets are to be considered merely as names, we should have thought that this worthy minister was one, and we are altogether at a loss to conceive on what principle he is inserted, unless several hundred others of whom just as much is known, and who have published sermons just as interesting and important, are also added. We are far from complaining of the insertion of a memoir of Mr. Alchin, the late librarian of the Guildhall, and the compiler of several indices and calendars of wills, but we fail to see on what principle he is included, and innumerable other writers of more or less useful and successful books which have appeared during the past century are omitted.

Whether every writer of a meritorious book ought to be noticed is a question which we have not space to discuss, but we are satisfied that the point requires more consideration than Mr. Stephen has given to it, and that the rule as laid down by him in the 'Athenæum' must be withdrawn, or materially modified. Up to a certain (or uncertain) period every one who has written the most insignificant pamphlet deserves some notice if the Dictionary is to be of real use to the literary or historical student. If nothing more can be discovered of a John Smith who lived in the reign of Henry VII. than the fact that he wrote a pamphlet, his name and the title of his pamphlet, and the fact that nothing more can be discovered, ought to be recorded. But there may be many writers of substantial volumes in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries who do not deserve this—or rather who, as Mr. Stephen suggests, must be relegated to books like Lowndes, Watt, or Allibone. To include them, however briefly, would be to extend the book beyond practicable limits. The date before which every writer is entitled

to a notice is not easy to fix; we should ourselves place it towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Revolution synchronizes with the commencement of an enormous increase in the publication of pamphlets and other ephemeral literature. From this time and for a century onwards Mr. Stephen's rule not to insert names that are only names, may be fairly applied. But from somewhere about the latter part of the eighteenth century, a different rule than that of nothing more being known about an author than the fact of publishing a book must be adopted, unless the length of the Dictionary is to be enormously extended. For this period no rule can be laid down. The editor himself must wade through the titles of innumerable worthless books and tracts, and weigh the claims of their authors to a niche in his Dictionary.

The question as to the length of the respective articles, and the maintenance of a due proportion, is one of no less difficulty. No fixed rule can be laid down, but the inconsistencies of the great French collections in this respect will at least afford suggestions of what is to be avoided. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the length of the article ought not in every case to be proportionate to the importance or interest of the person treated of. It is not the most important persons to whom the longest and most elaborate articles should be devoted. For an account of our great writers and chief historical characters we naturally go to special biographies or literary and civil histories. Few readers turn to an article on Shakspeare or Milton in a biographical dictionary for any other purpose than that of being reminded of names and dates. Marvell and Prynne demand fuller and more elaborate treatment; while the articles on Dr. Dee and Hugh Speke should be still more nearly exhaustive.

A word of caution may be added as to modern and contemporary lives, which there is always a tendency in biographical dictionaries to treat at too great length, so difficult it is to have a due regard to historical perspective in painting those who are close to us—especially those to whom accidental circumstances have given a temporary and wholly

factitious notoriety. Above all things the editor must impress upon his contributors, in reference to the lives of royal, political, or military persons, that they are to write biography, and not history. What is wanted are commonplace biographical details illustrating personal character, concisely stated, duly marshalled in order, and accompanied by dates and authorities. The presentment of the person, and not military or political disquisition, is what we seek in the case of a general or statesman. We do not go to a biographical dictionary for a narrative of the campaigns of Marlborough or Wellington, or for the political history of the reign of George III., but to have the *men* and their lives and characters brought before us. So much history as is necessary for a connected view of their lives, in the briefest possible form, must indeed be stated. The reign of George III. is one of the most important in our annals, but the King's biography is comparatively uninteresting and unimportant, and requires no extended treatment. Political affairs must indeed be touched upon so far as they were affected by or had an influence upon his personal character, and so far as is necessary for a connected narrative of his life, but the political history of his reign would be quite out of place.

In the lives of literary men, while the account of their writings and the bibliographical information must be full and accurate, anything like elaborate and detailed criticism must be avoided, nor should any place be found for critical theories and general views such as are now so much in fashion.

Turning to the specimen which has been printed of the Dictionary, we have nothing but praise to give to the life of Addison by the editor, which occupies nine out of the fourteen pages. It is a model of what an article on a writer like Addison ought to be; it is full of details, yet clear and concise. The criticisms, though brief, are sufficient and satisfactory, and to nearly every statement is appended its authority, and a reference to the page whence it is taken. If Mr. Stephen will induce his contributors to follow strictly this model, we shall have no fear for the result so far as the

lives of the more important characters are concerned. But when we come to the bibliography, and the statement of the authorities at the end of the article, we are unable to give the same measure of praise. Six collected editions of the works of Addison are enumerated without a word to suggest which is the best, the most critical, or the most nearly complete. One of the principal editions is omitted, and, strangest of all, Bohn's is simply described as a reprint of Bishop Hurd's edition, without any reference to the fact that it contains a great number of elucidatory notes, many letters never before printed, and upwards of one-fifth more matter than is in Hurd's edition. In fact, whatever shortcomings there may be in the editing, it is the most nearly complete, the most useful, and the most accurate of all English editions of the works of Addison.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the list of authorities, the letters in Bohn's edition, and the life of Addison in 'the General Dictionary, Historical and Critical,' ought to have found a place. 'It is of primary importance,' as Mr. Stephen has himself remarked in the 'Athenæum,' 'to give in all cases, and upon a uniform plan, a clear reference to the primary authorities, and in the case of literary biographies it is important to give a bibliographical notice.'

But a bibliographical notice is worse than useless, unless it is the result of the writer's personal examination of the books referred to, or states where the information it purports to give is derived. Judging, however, from internal evidence, we should say that the writers of several of the articles in the specimen have not personally examined nearly all the books to which they refer, while in more than one article important primary authorities are omitted, and modern compilations alone cited.

If we have noticed what seems to us faulty, either in Mr. Stephen's design or, so far as the specimen goes, in its execution, it is with the view, before it is too late, of indicating some points which may deserve reconsideration by the editor, and of making suggestions which we believe,

<sup>1</sup> We say English edition, because Mr. Stephen cites an edition edited by G. W. Green, of New York, which we have not seen.

if adopted, would tend to enhance the value and promote the success of the book. We cannot doubt either the ability or the special qualifications of Mr. Stephen; and while we are sure that in each department of English literature and English history he will receive the assistance of those who are most competent to afford it, it will principally depend upon the editor himself whether a national biography is produced to which Englishmen may point with pride as a monument no less worthy of the men whom it commemorates than of those by whom it was written; or whether a mere commonplace book is produced, a little better than Chalmers and Rose, and a little, or even more than a little, worse than the 'Biographie Universelle.'

We rejoice to read Mr. Stephen's statement that the editor must be autocratic. We sincerely hope that, though no doubt a considerate autocrat, he will not permit himself to be turned into a constitutional monarch, who only reigns and does not govern. If there is to be a uniform sense of proportion and evenness of treatment, it can only be by the exercise, and sometimes the severe exercise, of the editorial sceptre; nor, however eminent may be the contributor, must he be allowed to disregard the editorial rules. The history of literature, as Hallam has remarked, like that of empires, is full of revolutions, and our public libraries are cemeteries of departed reputations. The articles of a biographical dictionary are the tombstones which mark the site of each grave, which record at least the dates of the birth and death of its occupant. Yet, beyond this, they are little more to be relied upon than monumental inscriptions generally. It is not the most worthy that receives the most splendid monument, the most elaborate inscription, or the most emphatic praise. We hope to see a dictionary of national biography which shall apportion to each his due meed of praise or blame, shall assign to each his proper position, and while it does not neglect those illustrious men who constitute the true glory of their country, and of whom the whole world is the sepulchre, yet devotes its greatest space and its most anxious care to those less known, and it may be insignificant, persons of whom the world knows little and cares less,

but whose lives, whose actions, and whose writings have contributed in no small degree to the greatness of their country, and must ever be of profoundest interest to the literary or historical inquirer.

[Since Mr. Christie wrote this essay its point of view and relevancy have been somewhat modified by the appearance of the following Dictionaries of Biography: 'The Dictionary of National Biography,' 63 vols. and 3 vols. of continuation (London, 1885-1901). 'Allgemeine deutsche Biographie,' 45 vols. (Leipzig, 1875-1901). Wurzbach, 'Biographisches Lexikon d. Kaiserth. Österreich.' 60 vols. (Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1857-92). Appleton's 'Cyclopedia of American Biography,' 6 vols. (Appleton, New York, 1887-9). 'Biographie Nationale de Belgique, A—Mo, vols. i.—xii. (Brussels, 1866-97). 'Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden,' A—Z, 21 vols. (Haarlem, 1852-78); a new edition of 'Biografiskt Lexikon öfver namnkunnige svenska män,' under the title 'Svenskt biografiskt Lexikon' vols. i.—ix. (Örebro and Stockholm, 1857-83). As will be seen, however, from the list, all these dictionaries are national, being confined each to the biography of one nation only. None of them are of the nature of general or universal dictionaries on the lines of the two works passed in review in the above essay. Similarly such works as L. B. Phillips's 'Dictionary of Biographical Reference' (London, 1889), and Lippincott's 'Dictionary of Biography and Mythology' (New York, 3rd edition, 1901) are of too compendious a nature to supply the need for a new General Dictionary of Biography on which Mr. Christie insisted.—Ed.]

## THE FORGERIES OF THE ABBÉ FOURMONT

*Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, auctoritate et impensis  
Academiæ Litterarum Regiæ Borussicæ, edidit Augustus  
Boeckhius.* (Berolini. 4 vols. fo. 1828-1877.)

[Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* for October 1885, pp. 503-30]

No sooner had the revival of learning commenced, and with it the enthusiasm for classical literature, than writings purporting to be amongst the earliest productions of Greece and Rome were put forth, and for a time believed to be genuine, which the more critical spirit of later generations has decided to be spurious. There were few more popular works in the latter part of the fifteenth century than the Epistles of Phalaris. They were among the first Greek books printed; two editions of the original, more than twenty-three of the Latin translation of Aretin, seven of the Italian translation of Bartolommeo Fonizio, and one of that of Andrea Ferabos, were given to the world before 1500. The Epistles of Phalaris, like those of Themistocles, of Plato, and of Brutus, have long been relegated to the limbo of spurious books; and if the Odes of Anacreon have been allowed to retain the rank of a classic, they are admitted only on the footing of being productions of a much later age than that of the Teian bard.

But the authors of all these writings, and the dates of their composition, are absolutely unknown to us. They all seem to have been first printed by editors who sincerely believed that they were giving to the world genuine remains of antiquity, the work of the writers whose names they bear. But while the authors of the comparatively few spurious Greek works have generally remained unknown—except,

indeed, those which our contemporary Simonides produced—forgeries of Latin writings, some serious and intended to deceive permanently, others by way of jest only, have been much more numerous, and their authors have been in most cases unmasked. Many of them were the productions of the fifteenth century, when the eagerness for discovering the lost remains of antiquity was at its height. The most important, as well as the most remarkable, were the remains of Berossus, Manetho, Megasthenes, Fabius Pictor, Cato, and others, given to the world under the title 'Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de Antiquitatibus loquentium confecta' <sup>1</sup> by Annius of Viterbo in 1498. A man undoubtedly of great learning—a Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek scholar, the acknowledged author of books of reputation, according to all accounts a man of great piety, a popular preacher, a commentator on the Scriptures—it is not easy to believe that Annius of Viterbo devoted, as the author of the 'Commentaria' must have done, many years of labour to the production of elaborate, ingenious, and learned forgeries; yet it is still more difficult to believe that one man should have collected from different quarters so many spurious writings, of which no copies have ever been heard, except those which he professed to have used, and of which no trace was found after his death. But, ingenious as was the fraud, appealing as it did to the patriotic spirit of so many Italian towns whose foundation in times of remotest antiquity was narrated at length, it was not long before the authority of the book was called in question; and in less than a decade after its appearance, Sabellicus, Crinitus, and Raphael Maffei of Volterra expressed doubts of its genuineness, though they did not suggest, and perhaps did not suppose, that it was a forgery of the pious and learned editor. It was not long, however, before the good faith of Annius was suspected, and for more than two centuries and a half the question whether the book was an imposture, and if so whether Annius was the author or the dupe, continued to be discussed. As late as 1759 the genuineness of the book and the *bona fides* of its editor were

<sup>1</sup> The later editions generally bore the title, under which the book is often cited, of *Antiquitatum Variarum volumina xvii*.



vindicated by a German scholar, P. A. Flörchen;<sup>1</sup> and twenty years afterwards, the Abate Giovanni Battista Favre again undertook the defence of the same cause.<sup>2</sup> That the book is spurious no one now doubts. That it must have been composed not very long before its publication is all but demonstrable, but whether the master of the Papal household was the impostor may possibly admit of question; and there may still be those who, with Tiraboschi and Apostolo Zeno, give credit to the Dominican Lequien, who asserts that he found in the library of Colbert a MS. of the thirteenth century, which cited Berosus, Megasthenes, and others. At all events, the Dominicans still maintain the *bona fides* of their brother.<sup>3</sup>

If the collection edited (or composed) by Anniius of Viterbo is the most important of the serious forgeries of the Renaissance, the 'Testamentum Cuspidii' and the 'Contractus Venditionis' are the most interesting of those which were perhaps intended as *pastiches* rather than written with a serious intention to deceive. Joannes Pontanus was the author of the pretended 'Contractus,' while the 'Testamentum' was the work of Pomponius Lætus. Apart from their ingenuity, their interest arises from the fact that they deceived Rabelais, who edited them in 1532.<sup>4</sup> In the dedication to Amaury Bouchard, Maître des Requestes, Rabelais says he has printed 2000 copies of the book; but before it was published, he discovered, to his intense mortification, that he had been duped, and thereupon he caused nearly the whole of the impression to be destroyed. The book is now so rare, that no editor of Rabelais has been able to see a copy or to give the dedication in its entirety.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apologia vindiciaria pro Beroso Anniano ut vocant, &c.* Auth. P. Angelo Flörchen, Ordin. S. Benedicti. Hildesii, M.D.CCLIX.

<sup>2</sup> Favre's defence is contained in his *Memorie apologetiche in risposta alle opposizioni contro il decreto del Re de' Longobardi Desiderio, &c.* Viterbo, 1779.

<sup>3</sup> The inquisitor-general Leander Alberti says that he saw the MS. of Berosus in the hands of Annio!

<sup>4</sup> Under the title *Ex reliquiis venerandæ antiquitatis Lucii Cuspidii Testamentum. Item contractus venditionis antiquis Romanorum temporibus initus.* Apud Gryphium, Lugduni, 1532.

<sup>5</sup> The successive editors of Rabelais have had to content themselves with the extracts given by Prosper Marchand. Yet a diligent search in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, that vast receptacle of books, considerable portions of which are

But if scholars of great name and of justly eminent reputation have maintained the genuineness of apocryphal remains of antiquity, on the other hand, the canon of the Greek and Roman Classics has been impugned by men of undoubted learning, though of no less undoubted fondness for paradox. Of these the Jesuit Father Hardouin is certainly the most celebrated, and perhaps the most erudite. He maintained that all the Greek and Roman classics, with the exception of the works of Cicero, Homer, Herodotus, and the elder Pliny, the Georgics of Virgil, and the Satires and Epistles of Horace, were the works of the monks of the thirteenth century, composed under the direction of a certain Severus Archontius, and that ancient history has been entirely reconstructed from these writings with the aid of coins and medals.<sup>1</sup> Yet the Reverend Father was as credulous in some matters as he was sceptical in others. He tells us with the utmost gravity and good faith the exact year, day, hour, minute, and second at which the world was created, namely, on October 23, 4004 B.C., at 41 minutes 39 seconds past two of the afternoon (Jerusalem mean time)!

In our own days attempts have not been wanting to

almost a *terra incognita* to the officials, has led to the discovery of a copy there, and the present writer is the owner of a second. The book was reprinted as genuine in the following year (1533) by a scholar of at least more pretensions than Rabelais, Henricus Glareanus of Freiburg in the Breisgau. A copy of this edition is in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Hardouin's arguments applied equally to the books of the Holy Scripture, and to those of the Fathers, the authenticity of which was thus thrown into doubt. He was reprimanded by his superiors and obliged to retract. But he none the less retained his opinions, and left a manuscript repeating and elaborating his views, which was printed after his death, entitled, *Ad Censuram Scriptorum Veterum Prolegomena* (London, 1766); but its sale was forbidden in France. The following epitaph was written for him by Jacob Vernet, of Geneva:—

‘ In expectatione judicii  
 Hic jacet hominum paradoxotatos,  
 Natione Gallus, religione jesuita,  
 Orbis litterati portentum,  
 Venerandæ antiquitatis cultor et deprædator :  
 Docte febricitans  
 Somnia et inaudita commenta vigilans edidit,  
 Credulitate puer, audacia juvenis, deliriis senex :  
 Verbo dicam, hic jacet—Harduinus.’

prove that some of those writings which we justly consider as the most precious remains of antiquity are forgeries. Professor Peerlkamp has published editions of Horace in which he attempts to stigmatize about one-sixth of the *textus receptus* of the poet as spurious, and, still more lately, a large volume has been written to prove that the Annals of Tacitus are a forgery of Poggio Bracciolini in the fifteenth century.

The scholars of the Renaissance troubled themselves but little with the study of inscriptions. It was left for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to discern the extraordinary flood of light which they throw upon Greek and Roman history and archæology, but it was not until the nineteenth that epigraphy was raised to the rank of a science. Yet the sixty or eighty thousand Latin inscriptions collected up to this time, and the fifteen or twenty thousand found on Greek soil, form the richest collection of documents extant for enabling us to understand the public and private life of the ancient Greeks and Romans. And it is remarkable that the Greek inscriptions contain a much larger proportion of articles of importance than those of Rome, and also that fraudulent and forged Greek inscriptions are much more rare than Latin ones.

Yet the one man who devoted himself to this study in the fifteenth century, Cyriacus of Ancona, did not escape the charge of forgery—a charge which it is satisfactory to know has been completely disproved by more recent investigation. He had not the learning necessary to enable him to decipher, or even accurately to copy, the often half-effaced inscriptions. He was careless and inaccurate; but there is no doubt that he was one of the earliest scholars to discern the importance of the study of Greek inscriptions, and that every inscription found among his MSS. was a *bonâ fide* copy, made with every desire of accuracy, and with no other aim than that of preserving and handing down to posterity the precious remains of antiquity.

Three centuries after Cyriacus of Ancona had travelled through the Morea, collecting and copying inscriptions, the French Government determined on making a serious

attempt to copy all the inscriptions which remained in Greece, and at the same time to collect and preserve all the manuscripts which could still be found. Mehemet Effendi had been for some years ambassador from the Porte to France, and he and his son, Zaid Aga, returned to Constantinople, full of admiration for Western civilisation, and with a desire of introducing its benefits among their countrymen. In 1726 they set up a printing establishment, and the year following Zaid Aga wrote to the Abbé Bignon, who was then the librarian of the King's library (Bignon IV.),<sup>1</sup> informing him that if a member of the Academy were sent on a special mission to Constantinople it might not be impossible to obtain access for him to the library of the Grand Seignior, and permission to copy its catalogue. For nearly three centuries—ever since the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453—this library had been the Eldorado of manuscript treasures to the scholars of Western Europe. In the recesses of the Seraglio the library of the Greek Emperors was believed to be preserved intact. Priceless manuscripts, dating not only from the time of Constantine but from a much earlier period, the accumulations of a thousand years of imperial rule, were to be found there—a complete Diodorus and a complete Livy were hoped for; and of those writings happily still preserved to us, it was believed that manuscripts would be found, if not coëval with the authors themselves, yet of a period when classical Greek was still a living language, and when the writers of the gold and silver age were still read and studied. But since the fall of Constantinople this library had been impenetrably closed to Western Europe. No Christian had been permitted to enter its walls, and no account of its contents had been communicated to the world, though frequent application had been made by the members of the Western embassies.

Bignon lost no time in mentioning the letter of Zaid Aga

<sup>1</sup> The Bignon dynasty reigned in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* almost uninterruptedly for 140 years. Jerome I. was appointed 'Master of the Library' in 1642. His descendant, Jean Frédéric Bignon (VI.), resigned his office of 'The King's Librarian' in 1782 (or 1783). [See the article on this Bignon dynasty of librarians *infra*, pp. 291-6.]

to the King. The Academy of Inscriptions interested itself in the matter, and as the result it was decided to send two Academicians to Constantinople, to make what discoveries might be possible respecting the library and manuscripts of the Greek emperors, and also to travel through Greece to collect manuscripts and to copy the inscriptions, which it was said were rapidly disappearing, especially in the Morea, since its conquest by the Turks in 1715. The King did the Abbé Sevin the honour to appoint him to this important mission, and a few days afterwards, by the influence probably of Bignon and Fréret, and possibly of Maurepas, the Abbé Michel Fourmont, Professor of Syriac at the *Collège Royal* and Chinese interpreter at the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, was added as the second member of the mission.

With the Abbé Sevin we need not here occupy ourselves. He was an accomplished and learned man, and afterwards became the keeper of the manuscripts of the King's library. It is upon his colleague, the Abbé Fourmont, that the personal interest of the expedition turns. Michel Fourmont was born in 1690. Left an orphan and completely destitute in his infancy, he was brought up by a relation, a *procureur*, who afterwards handed him over to a half brother who was *procureur fiscal* at Cormeilles. In his employment the boy remained until he was seventeen years of age—learning nothing, it would seem, but the routine of a *procureur's* office. Yet the youth, eager to learn, was ambitious and impressionable. On one occasion he left Cormeilles, went to Paris, and implored the aid of his brother Etienne (Fourmont *l'aîné*), who had already acquired a great reputation by his lectures on Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, in obtaining some instruction and a more congenial occupation. But Etienne had neither time nor inclination to occupy himself with poor relations, nor indeed did he desire to educate a brother who might become a formidable rival. Michel was sent back to his parchments and his copyings at Cormeilles, no doubt with much good advice as to making the best of things and devoting himself to the business of an *avoué*. In the neighbourhood of Cormeilles there lived at this time, in the strictest retirement, devoted wholly to

prayer, meditation, and works of piety, a certain M. le Bret, the brother of the first President of the Parliament of Provence. In a lucky—or unlucky—moment, young Fourmont, sick at heart with his experience of a world consisting of unsympathetic procureurs and unkind brothers, and where there was no escape from the wearisome routine of copying common forms, fell in his way. By the influence of M. le Bret he was converted: he resolved to quit a world which if sinful was also unpleasant, and to work out his salvation after the model of M. le Bret, in solitude, meditation and prayer. Without informing the procureur fiscal of his intentions, he left Cormeilles, and buried himself in the hermitage of Les Gardelles in Anjou. Of all places and periods in the world's history we least readily connect France in the eighteenth century with hermits and hermitages, yet they existed there until the Revolution, though we may, without disrespect, permit ourselves to say with the editors of Moreri, 'ils ne mènent pas une vie si austère que les hermites des premiers siècles.'

The hermits of Les Gardelles had for their founder or restorer a pious solitary, who has been identified by several learned persons with the Count de Moret, natural son of Henry IV., who, instead of being killed, as historians tell us, at the battle of Castelnaudari in 1632, miraculously recovered from his wounds, and spent the remaining sixty years of his life either as a hermit himself, or in founding, visiting, and restoring hermitages in different parts of France. Among these solitaries Michel Fourmont remained for eight years. But his zeal soon grew cool. Prayer and meditation, where there was nothing to pray for except a change which it seemed hopeless to expect, and nothing to meditate on except the advantages and merits of a life of abstinence, soon lost their charm. He became disgusted with a life passed in a barren routine of external practices where the mind and soul were left without nourishment. He no longer loved to

'confront the lean austerities

Of Brethren who, here fixed, on Jesu wait

In sackcloth, and God's anger deprecate

Through all that humbles flesh and mortifies.'

His spirit craved for more solid pabulum. But his fellow-hermits would not or could not teach him anything. He was even refused permission to take holy orders. He again applied to his brother, who had become still more eminent, to assist him in withdrawing from a life which was as hateful to him as that of a procureur's clerk, but again without result. Shortly after this, however, the community of hermits had some favour to request from a neighbouring proprietor. To Fourmont's delight he was selected to make a journey to Paris for this purpose. Once away from Les Gardelles, he resolved never to return. His family had believed him dead, and had divided his small share in the paternal heritage between them. He recovered a trifle from his sisters, and arranged with his brother Etienne to take payment of his share in lessons, and determined to devote himself entirely to letters. At this time, though twenty-five years of age, his biographer (Fréret) tells us he did not know even the rudiments of Latin. In three years he became proficient, not only in Latin and Greek, which his brother had taught him, but in Hebrew and Syriac. Etienne had refused to give him lessons in the two latter languages, and he had learned them from grammars and a Hebrew Bible, and from being occasionally present when a Hebrew lecture was given by his brother. At first he concealed his Oriental studies; but on one occasion, being present at a Hebrew lesson, when neither student nor professor seemed able to understand an obscure passage, Michel astonished the professor by saying that he could see no difficulty in it. Etienne brusquely ordered his brother to be silent, and not to meddle with matters of which he was ignorant; but on his insisting, the book was put into his hand, to force him to admit his ignorance; but instead of doing this, he recited the passage from memory, and explained it, as well as that which preceded and followed. In the meantime he had taken orders, and began to give lectures on the Latin, Greek and Oriental languages, and on his brother devoting himself entirely to Chinese, he became the leading private tutor in Paris for Hebrew and Syriac, and achieved a high reputation. In 1720 Victor

Amadeus offered him the chair of Hebrew at Turin. He refused it; and the same year, the professorship of Syriac at the *Collège Royal* becoming vacant, he obtained it through the influence of Bignon, who was always ready to help a struggling and deserving scholar. The Abbé Fourmont completely justified the recommendation; his lectures were a decided success. They were not confined to mere instruction in the Syriac language, but extended to something like comparative philology. Syriac was compared with Hebrew, Chaldee, Ethiopic, Arabic and Greek. Nor did he neglect his own studies; he became so proficient in Chinese and other languages, that he was appointed his brother's assistant, and was attached to the Royal Library with the title of interpreter of Chinese and Indian languages.

In 1723 Peter the Great sent to the Academy a manuscript found by some Russian soldiers in a Tartar tomb, and written in unknown characters. Fourmont *l'ainé* undertook to decipher and translate it. He recognised it at once as being in the ancient language of Thibet, of which he possessed a short Latin-Thibetan vocabulary, given him by a missionary who had returned from that country. With the aid of this vocabulary, which, confessedly, did not contain many of the words in the manuscript, the brothers Fourmont purported to decipher and translate it. They found it to be a portion of a sermon by a Thibetan Lama on the immortality of the soul, attacking the doctrine of Metempsychosis. Several German *savants* have bitterly criticised this translation. It is certainly inexact, and much of it clearly mere guesswork, but no doubt the brothers did their best with most insufficient knowledge. Yet they would perhaps have given a higher idea of their veracity as well as of their learning, though they might have made a less readable translation, had they admitted or allowed to appear the numerous *lacunæ* in the manuscript, and the no less numerous words which they did not understand.

Passing over the *démêlés* which this Tartar manuscript caused among the learned, we need only mention that in 1724 Michel Fourmont was elected an Associate of the Academy of Inscriptions, at the *séances* of which he became a regular



attendant, and where in that and the two following years he read a Memoir on the Origin and Antiquity of the Ethiopians and Dissertations to prove that there have never been but one Mercury and one Venus. These papers gained him much reputation, but they are in fact mere disputes about words, and miss altogether the true significance and interest of Greek mythology.

The two Abbés, accompanied by Claude Fourmont, a nephew of Michel, arrived at Constantinople early in December 1728. They soon learned that the library of the Greek Emperors no longer existed, and that it was hopeless to attempt to penetrate into that of the Grand Seignior, which was in the Seraglio. The Abbé Sevin was not in good health; he found Constantinople an agreeable residence, and was indisposed to undertake the hardships, and perhaps dangers, which a journey through Greece would involve. It was arranged that he should remain in Constantinople for the purpose of collecting manuscripts, and that the Abbé Fourmont, accompanied by his nephew Claude, should visit Chios, Attica, the islands of the Archipelago, and the Morea, where they were assured great treasures of manuscripts still remained in the monasteries, and where abundance of inscriptions could be copied. The two Fourmonts started on the 8th of February 1729, in a small caique. They stayed fifteen days in Lesbos, but found only twenty inscriptions and no manuscripts. The plague forced them to a hasty departure, but had arrived before them at Chios, where the monastery of Agiamoni, which, notwithstanding the Turkish conquest, remained possessed of vast property and vast influence, was believed to be especially rich in manuscripts. Fifty priests took their turns at saying mass, one hundred and fifty lay brothers cultivated the neighbouring land, and of the sixty-six villages which then existed in the island, thirty-two were the property of the monastery. Abundance of manuscripts were found, and all sorts of advantageous proposals were made by the travellers to the Abbot, who, however, was fully aware as well of the value of the contents of his library as of the duty which devolved upon him as their guardian; and he informed

M. Fourmont that, so far from being disposed to part with any of them, he was in treaty with the monks of St. Isidore of Ephesus to obtain the manuscripts which they possessed, and he bitterly complained of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had carried off several from Agiamoni. The Abbé's visits to the other islands resulted equally in disappointment : he found the monks indisposed to part with their treasures or even to exhibit them to travellers whose avowed intention was to carry them off if possible.

On his arrival at Athens, the Abbé Fourmont changed his tactics ; he gave himself out as a traveller desirous only of copying inscriptions with a view of preserving those records of the antiquity and learning of Greece which the barbarism of the Turks and the ignorance of the peasantry were fast causing to disappear. But here he was met by difficulties of another kind. It was the period of Lent and Bairam ; Greeks and Turks vied with each other which could keep their fast with the greatest strictness ; neither business nor pleasure could be attended to until Easter had arrived. But, what was still more unpromising to the objects which the travellers had in view, the Greeks of Athens had adopted in many points the manners and customs of the Turks. Their women were concealed with little less strictness, and no male stranger could be permitted to penetrate into their houses, still less into the courts and enclosures appertaining to the women. Yet it was in these houses and enclosures that the great majority of the inscriptions were to be found. Nowhere in the East was there a greater jealousy and hatred of foreigners than at Athens. The Frankish dominion had left only hostile recollections, and while to the Turks one Christian was as obnoxious as another, to the Greeks the Latins, and particularly Latin priests, were little less hateful than Turks. A Roman Catholic priest who had been converted at seventeen, and who had passed eight years among the hermits of Les Gardelles, was hardly, one would suppose *a priori*, a man capable of dealing with and breaking down these prejudices. But, to our surprise, the Abbé Fourmont showed himself a supple and accomplished man of the world, able and willing to follow the Apostolic command of making

himself all things to all men, as interpreted by the members of the Society of Jesus. His difficulties were great, but, as he himself tells us, he did not despair of surmounting them, and he flattered himself that he should be able to gain the confidence of the Athenians by regulating his conduct from his knowledge of their character. He expressed himself as delighted with everything he saw : when he had any opportunity of conversing with a leading Greek or Turk, the wonders and beauties of their city were his chief topic of conversation. He gave himself out as a stranger desirous of seeing and examining the remains of antiquity ; but if, charmed by his conversation, a Greek or a Turk invited him to enter into his house to see an inscription or a bas-relief, he modestly refused the invitation, saying that he was himself a priest, and that it would ill become him, who knew the wise custom of the Athenians, to enter into a house where there were women. If in going through the streets he met any women, however closely veiled, going to or from the baths, accompanied by their slaves, he hastily turned into another street.

The Athenians of the eighteenth century appear to have resembled those of the first ; they ' spent their time in nothing else but to tell or to hear some new thing,' and in a very few days every one at Athens knew of the Latin phoenix who had appeared among them, with habits, feelings and opinions so different from those of his countrymen generally. They hastened to show him that confidence of which he had proved himself deserving. The Voyvode set the example to the Turks ; the Capitanaki, the Cavallari, and the Chalcochondilos led the Greeks ; and, with a single exception, every Turk and Greek of importance insisted upon his coming into their houses and examining all the remains of antiquity which could there be found. All aided him in his search for inscriptions and antiquities. He was able to make a more accurate plan both of the ancient and the modern city than any traveller before him, and no less than seven hundred inscriptions, besides numerous bas-reliefs, were the reward of his assiduity. But the number of Athenian inscriptions, great as it is, does not adequately represent their value ; most of them (according to the ' Relation ' of the Abbé's Journey,

abridged by himself, or by Fréret from the longer paper read to the Academy on his return) were of great historical importance. Among them, for example, were more than one hundred lists of young men of all the tribes of Attica who were the conquerors in the different games. We read on these different marbles the names and descriptions of the magistrates of Athens under whose government these games had been celebrated, from which many elucidations of the chronology of the time can be drawn. There are lists of priests and priestesses of the different gods, which throw no less light on some points of the religion of the ancients. The decrees of the Amphictyons for regulating the tribute of each subject city of Athens, and finally 'the original tables of the laws of Athens, so wise, so celebrated and so long sought for, which had been believed to be lost during so many ages, and of which we have in so many different ancient authors only fragments—precious, indeed, but which have left us ignorant of the greatest part of the civil law of the Athenians.'

Among the decrees of the Amphictyons was one earlier than any hitherto known, dealing with a non-religious matter. It was dated 355 B.C., and decreed, as a clause of the general treaty of peace, that the Greek cities which had others under their protection or subjection should withdraw their garrisons.

With Pausanias in his hand, Fourmont examined every site of importance in Attica, and identified numerous towns and villages, the localities of which had become quite unknown. The favour of the Voyvode placed workmen under his authority, and allowed him to dig wherever he pleased in search of inscriptions. Walls and houses, which the Turks, equally with the Greeks, had built with fragments of ancient sculpture or ancient inscriptions, were pulled down and the foundations were dug up. At Eleusis, fifteen workmen of the Voyvode dug under M. Fourmont's directions for five days. Orders were given that all persons who had inscriptions in their possession should bring them to him, and as the result a harvest was reaped in Attica little less favourable than that of Athens. One of the inscriptions was

written in the Boustrophedon order—that is to say, the lines disposed alternately from left to right and from right to left; and when nothing was left in Attica for future travellers to discover, the two Fourmonts turned their steps towards the Peloponnesus, where their discoveries were to be of even greater interest than in Attica. The Peloponnesus was almost virgin ground for the inscription-hunter. Neither Spon nor Wheler had visited it. The Venetians had carried off all the manuscripts that they had been able to discover, and had employed the marbles of the temples in building the tower of Palamedes and other fortresses. It would be too long here to follow the travellers in detail through the Peloponnesus. Corinth, Megara, Argolis, Achaia and the borders of Arcadia were visited. The Abbé discovered the tomb of Terence, the ruins of Epidaurus, of Trœzene and of Hermione, and ascertained the site of nearly every place of importance. He drew maps of an accuracy not before known, kept a diary with every detail of the journey, and copied numerous sculptures and inscriptions, being aided in this latter work by his nephew Claude. Of the bas-reliefs which he copied, one had relation to the human sacrifices of Lycaia. At Mauromatia he recognised the site of the ancient Mycenæ, which he judged to have been at one time the largest town of Peloponnesus, and of which he has left us a detailed description.

But it was in and near Sparta that his greatest discoveries were to be made. Sixty men were employed for fifty-five days in demolishing the castles of the Palæologi, and more than three hundred inscriptions were thus rescued from destruction, many of them far more ancient than any hitherto brought to Western Europe. There were lists of the Ephori, Nomophylakes, and other magistrates of Sparta; bas-reliefs representing shields, on which were written the names of the Kings of Sparta and their pedigrees; a bas-relief representing the flagellation of a young Spartan before the altar of Artemis, in the presence of the priestesses; catalogues of the priests; the epitaphs of Agesilaus and Lysander, as well as of many Kings and Queens of Messenia; the decrees which were affixed to the temple of Lycurgus; while the laws of

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Agis, of which no writer had spoken, and which made important changes in those of Lycurgus, were a still more precious discovery.

The interest of the Abbé's journey, and the value of his discoveries, increased the nearer he approached its termination. Near Sparta he found a column containing the name of the city of Jerusalem, which proved to be a monument of that alliance between the Jews and the Spartans recorded in the First Book of Maccabees. At Sparta he had the happy idea of visiting Amyclæ, and there he made the discoveries which were the crowning triumph of his expedition. In the temple of Apollo was found written in the Boustrophedon manner, a catalogue of the priestesses from the time of King Eurotas, the father-in-law of Lacedæmon, an inscription of the time of Teleclus (775 B.C.), with a list of the seven Kings from Agis to Teleclus; and in the temple of the goddess Onga or Oga, in the immediate neighbourhood of Amyclæ, a remarkable inscription showing the ancient name of the Spartans to have been **IKTEPKEPATEEZ**, and a bas-relief the figures upon which proved, what had not before been suspected, that human sacrifices were not unknown to the ancient Spartans.

But in the Peloponnesus a new phase of the Abbé's character appeared. The courteous and supple man of the world whom we have seen in Attica had disappeared, and a barbarous and brutal iconoclast had taken his place. In the 'Relation' of his Journey, one sentence tells us that he demolished the foundations of the temples of the gods, the *sacella* of the heroes, and the sepulchres of the kings, but he leaves it to be inferred that this was almost necessary in the demolition of the castles of the Palæologi. But in his letters to Maurepas and Fréret, some extracts of which have been printed by Dodwell, he is less reticent. Whether, as he himself suggests, from motives of patriotism, that France might be the only possessor of the remains of antiquity which he had obtained for her; or whether, as his modern apologists have suggested, influenced by a misguided religious zeal, the remains of the lessons of fanaticism learned from M. le Bret and the hermits of Les Gardelles, but of which

we find no traces in the rest of his career; or whether, as his enemies have suggested, in order that there might be no means left of ascertaining the accuracy or otherwise of his discoveries—as soon as he had copied his inscriptions and bas-reliefs, he caused the originals to be either wholly destroyed, or effaced so as to be undecipherable. He razed to the ground temples and other buildings, destroyed sculptures and marbles, and displayed everywhere a brutal barbarity, instead of the zeal for ancient learning and discovery which he so much vaunts.

He tells his correspondents that he had scattered the ashes of Agesilaus to the winds; he had entered and destroyed the sepulchres of Lysander and Orestes; Mantinea, Tegea and Olympia he had completely demolished. The temple of Apollo at Amyclæ occupied him six days in destroying; and he boasted, in like manner, of numerous other pieces of vandalism.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite possible, and indeed probable, as Firmin Didot and Tocqueville have suggested, that in his letters he exaggerated and perhaps invented many of these statements; yet it is certain that his memory was long preserved in the neighbourhood of Sparta as that of one who had destroyed temples and effaced inscriptions; and among the undoubtedly genuine inscriptions found among his papers are some of which the originals have since been discovered, defaced and

<sup>1</sup> The following are some extracts from his letters:—‘Je l’ai fait non pas raser, mais abattre de fond en comble. Il n’y a plus de toute cette grande ville une pierre sur une autre.’ ‘Depuis plus que trente jours, trente et quelquefois quarante et soixante ouvriers abattent, détruisent, exterminent la ville de Sparte.’ ‘A vous parler franchement, je m’étonne de cette expédition. Je n’ai lu que depuis le renouvellement des lettres il soit venu dans l’esprit de quelqu’un de bouleverser ainsi des villes entières.’ ‘Dans le moment je suis occupé à la dernière destruction de Sparte. Imaginez-vous, si vous pouvez, dans quelle joye je suis.’ ‘Si en renversant ses murs et ses temples, si en ne laissant pas une pierre sur une autre au plus petit de ses *sacellums*, son lieu sera dans la suite ignoré, j’ai au moins de quoi la faire reconnaître, et c’est quelque chose: je n’avais que ce moyen-là pour rendre illustre mon voyage.’ ‘Ce n’est pourtant qu’en agissant de cette manière que l’on peut être utile aux lettres. Sparte est la cinquième ville de Morée que j’ai renversée; Hermione et Trœzene ont subi le même sort. Je suis actuellement occupé à détruire jusqu’à la pierre fondamentale du Temple d’Apollon Amycléen.’ See these and other similar extracts in Dodwell’s *Tour through Greece* (4to, 1819) vol. ii. p. 406.

injured, not by time or accident, but clearly by the hammer and chisel of a wilful iconoclast.

For some reason which is entirely unknown, the French Government cut short the Abbé's journey at Sparta. The expedition was brought to an end, the Abbé was recalled, and returned to France at the beginning of 1732, bringing with him a large number of coins and medals, copies of interesting bas-reliefs, and, as he alleged, more than 3,000 inscriptions, all up to that time unknown to the West. It need hardly be said with what favour M. Fourmont was received by the Academy of Inscriptions, and indeed by men of letters in France generally. It was believed that he had made more important discoveries than any previous scholar, which would throw a flood of light upon many of the obscure parts of Greek antiquity; and when he read to the Academy the relation of his journey, in which he mentioned all the important matters we have before noticed, and promised the Academy that upon each of them a memoir should be forthcoming, he at once stepped into the foremost rank of European scholars, at whose feet Barthélemy, Mazzocchi, and others, sat as humble students.

But the Abbé Fourmont was in no hurry to give his discoveries to the world; he required time in order properly to copy, study, decipher and explain them; and he was desirous of publishing at least the most important, with a full apparatus of notes, comments, and explanations, extending to several volumes. Nor could he be prevailed upon to communicate any of his treasures until he could put them forth in this complete form. The Government, equally with the *savants*, became impatient at finding no results from an expedition on which so much expense had been lavished, and which had produced so rich a harvest. The Abbé was informed by M. de Maurepas that his collection must be arranged and transmitted to the King. In 1740, nine years after his return, he laid before the Academy, as the first-fruits of his discoveries, facsimiles of three inscriptions, which he had found in Messenia and Laconia.<sup>1</sup> They were all of the same character, and contained lists of kings, senators,

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, xv. 395 419.



and magistrates of Sparta, during the first Messenian war. They were engraved, according to the elaborate memoir of M. Fourmont by which they were accompanied, in the reigns of Alcamenes and Theopompus, kings of Lacedæmon. The earliest, found at Amyclæ, was of the first or second year of Alcamenes (about 743 B.C.), and was made for the purpose of perpetuating the remembrance of the resolution of the Lacedæmonians to make war *à outrance* against the Messenians, in order to avenge the death of King Teleclus. The two others found in Messenia were a few years later, and proved that this resolution was not in vain, but that the war had been vigorously prosecuted. These inscriptions, of a date of which no other authentic and contemporary records exist, would be of the highest interest and importance, as well for the information they afford respecting the internal government and constitution of Sparta, as for the points in early chronology, which they settle authoritatively. But their form is no less extraordinary than their antiquity; they are all signed by the public secretary, and authenticated with what M. Fourmont conceived to be a representation of the seal of Lacedæmon in the centre of each. The earliest of these marbles was found at Amyclæ in the immediate vicinity of a temple of the rudest construction and the most venerable antiquity, very small—only 16 feet long by 10 wide—and built of huge symmetrical stones, after the manner of the buildings at Larissa, Tiryns and Mycenæ, attributed by Pausanias to the Giants: a single stone resting upon two other larger ones formed the base: each side consisted of but one stone, five feet in thickness; the roof was a single huge stone, upon which were placed two others, so as to form a talus or slope. The narrow entrance was not more than four feet in height, and above it was an inscription in ancient characters, difficult to decipher, to the effect that the temple was dedicated to the goddess Onga or Oga, by Eurotas, king of the *Ikterkeratees*, thus confirming the statement of Hesychius that this was a name of the Laconians, and leading to the conjecture that it was their most ancient name, only changed to Lacedæmonians after the time of Lacedæmon,

son-in-law and successor of Eurotas. The date of the foundation of this temple would be about 1500 B.C.

Two years later, at the *séance* of the Academy of the 7th of September 1742, M. Fourmont drew from his portfolio three other drawings, representing votive marble shields or bucklers, which he had dug up in the ruins of the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ.<sup>1</sup> They are remarkable by their shape, the figures inscribed upon them and their inscriptions. On one is engraved the pedigree of King Teleclus. Another is inscribed with the name of Anaxidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, who reigned at Sparta towards the close of the eighth century, with his pedigree at the foot, and above, a representation of foxes and of serpents, alluding apparently to the story related by Apollodorus of these animals appearing miraculously on the respective altars of the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, and shadowing forth the event of the war in which they were engaged. The third inscription, much more recent, contained the name of King Archidamus, the son of the great Agesilaus.

The Abbé Fourmont died in 1746 without having published any other of his discoveries. He had, however, under the strict orders of M. de Maurepas, devoted his last years, with the assistance of his nephew Claude, to arranging and copying his collections. A volume containing nine hundred and forty-nine inscriptions had been already copied and transmitted to the Court, and above a hundred and fifty others—some only in fragments—remained among his papers. Of more than three thousand, which in the account of his journey he stated he had brought with him, nearly two-thirds had unaccountably disappeared. No traces were to be found of the laws of Athens, or of Agis, or of numerous other important discoveries which on his return from Greece the Abbé had announced to the world. Most of those which remained were unaccompanied by any notes except a reference to the place where they were found, but in a few cases there were found among the Abbé's papers notes and comments of more or less elaboration prepared to be given to the world. Two of these were laid before the

<sup>1</sup> *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres*, xvi. 101-110.

Academy by his friend the Abbé Barthélemy, accompanied by a long memoir.<sup>1</sup> They were among the most ancient, the most remarkable, and the most interesting, of Fourmont's discoveries, and were nothing less than lists of all the priestesses of the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ, inscribed at different times from the date of the foundation of the temple, 1500 B.C., down to the Roman conquest, including the name of Laodamia, the granddaughter of Eurotas, who is the third priestess in the list. Besides these, two sculptures found by M. Fourmont in the temple of Onga, from which he took drawings, were published by Count Caylus in his 'Recueil d'Antiquités.' They represented human limbs, knives, and other things, which evidently implied human sacrifices; and it seems from several other inscriptions and notes among his papers, that had the Abbé Fourmont lived he would have propounded the doctrine that human sacrifices were at this time common in Greece. These sculptures, it need hardly be said, caused much curiosity and interest among the learned. With these, and one or two other, but unimportant, exceptions, no steps were taken to publish any of the Abbé's discoveries; yet those which had already appeared, and which we have noticed, were undoubtedly, if genuine, among the most important and most venerable monuments of Greek antiquity, and they were received with unquestioned faith by scholars of the greatest eminence and reputation. The Abbé Barthélemy incorporated the whole of them into his 'Voyage du jeune Anacharsis'; Count Caylus engraved them in his 'Recueil d'Antiquités.' D'Hancarville, in his 'Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit et les progrès des Arts de la Grèce,' treats them as among the most important discoveries of modern times, and devotes to them nearly a third of his second volume. He describes Fourmont as a poring, heavy antiquary, without taste or invention, of immense industry and rigid exactitude in compiling, and so devoted to ancient learning that he understood Greek and Hebrew better than his native French. And Count Caylus explains that the expense necessary to make engravings of such a number and variety of characters

<sup>1</sup> *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* xxiii. 421.

as are contained in the papers of the Abbé, was the sole cause of their being withheld from the public. Winkelmann, Mazzocchi, Anssé de Villoison, Torremuzza, and the authors of the 'Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie,' accepted them as genuine, and treated M. Fourmont as one of the most distinguished promoters of Greek history and Greek learning.

No doubts as to the good faith of the Abbé Fourmont seem to have arisen for many years after his death. His learning, and the explanations he had given of his published inscriptions, were indeed soon called in question, and the character given of him by Fréret in the *éloge* which he pronounced upon him after his death was universally accepted. He is there described as a man not indeed of great learning, but of spotless integrity and simple manners, and of complete ignorance of the proper way of dealing with men.<sup>1</sup>

But shortly before the publication of d'Hancarville's book in 1785, suspicions as to the genuineness of at least some of the inscriptions seem to have arisen, and to have caused the custodians of the Royal library to place obstacles in the way of those who wished to consult the Abbé's manuscripts. These suspicions had occurred especially to Richard Payne Knight, who first put together his objections for the use of d'Hancarville, and though our countryman is nowhere referred to by name in the 'Recherches sur les Arts,' the author enters into an elaborate defence of the genuineness of the inscriptions, in answer really to Payne Knight's objections. For such a task, d'Hancarville was wholly unfitted. He was a man of much reading and intelligence, and had a considerable knowledge of ancient art; but he was neither a scholar nor a philologist—even as scholarship and philology were understood in the eighteenth century—and he has put together in the second chapter of his second book, by way of commentary on the Abbé Fourmont's inscriptions, a collection of such astounding statements, and has displayed such ignorance of the first principles

<sup>1</sup> This seems hardly consistent with his own account of his adventures at Athens.

of grammar and etymology, as to justify the severe remarks made upon him afterwards by Payne Knight :—

‘The author of the “Recherches” dived deep into the matter which he professedly undertook to discuss; and, had he confined his enquiries to that, he would have done honour to himself and service to the publick; for many of his explanations of the monuments of antient art show a degree of acuteness and sagacity almost unparalleled. But when he invades the province of grammarians, and endeavours to explain antient words, he almost makes us doubt whether or not he continued to possess the same faculties, so totally is he changed by changing his subject.’

It was in 1791 that Payne Knight published his ‘Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet,’ the sixth and seventh sections of which are devoted to an examination of the inscriptions which Fourmont professed to have discovered, and which he and Barthélemy had published in the ‘Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.’ He undertakes to prove that they are all forgeries of the Abbé Fourmont :—

‘The inscriptions published contain specimens of writing from the earliest period of fabulous tradition down to the subversion of the Greek Republics—from Eurotas, a king supposed to have reigned in Laconia seven generations before the Trojan war, down to Philip of Macedon. In monuments, engraved at periods so remote from each other, we might expect to find great variations both in the form and use of the letters; but, nevertheless, they are so nearly the same as to appear of one hand-writing, and of one person’s composition. . . . The forms of the bucklers also, upon which two of the inscriptions are engraved, are totally unlike the simple round shields of the antient Greeks, or indeed of any other antient people, they being in absurd fanciful shapes, wholly unadapted to the purposes of defence. The mode of writing the titles of the magistrates, too, in larger letters than those employed in their names, is without example in any genuine monument of antiquity that I have seen; and it is observable, that one of the stones is represented as broken in so artist-like and regular a manner, that it could not have been the result of accident; for if so many fractures had been caused by the fall of ruins or the decay of time, the edges would necessarily have been splintered or corroded so as to destroy many of the letters. I shall, however, waive the consideration of these suspicious peculiarities, as well as the singular forms

of the shields and letters, because whim and caprice might have operated in antient as well as modern times; but errors in orthography, grammar, and dialect, the blunders of dictionary-makers, transcribers, and editors, transferred into monuments attributed to remote antiquity, will, I flatter myself, if proved, be deemed of themselves sufficient evidence of imposture.'

Fourmont seems to have been well acquainted with Pausanias, with the 'Miscellanea Laconica' of Meursius, and the work of Nicolas Cragius, 'De Republica Lacedæmoniorum,' both of which he found reprinted in the 'Thesaurus Græcarum Antiquitatum' of Gronovius. The conjectures and sometimes the mistakes of each of them he accepted as certainties, frequently misunderstanding them, and confusing them with the customs and antiquities of his native land, as well as with those of the Jews. He had adopted the theory that Greek was derived from Hebrew, and that the Jews and Lacedæmonians were sprung from a common stock, and accordingly he introduced many Hebraisms into his inscriptions. Conscious of his own want of scholarship, he prudently confined himself almost entirely to publishing lists of proper names, no doubt in the hope that his want of critical scholarship would be less easily discovered. Yet the names themselves show the imposture. They are full of ridiculous blunders. We find there letters and inflections which were certainly not used until centuries after the pretended date of the inscriptions; some are Ionic, some apparently Roman, some a mixture of Greek and Latin, others of Greek and Hebrew. Moreover, such was his difficulty in finding a sufficient number of names, that nearly all occur many times over, and in one list the name Demetrius occurs no less than forty times.

In his 'Memoir' read before the Academy of Inscriptions in 1740, where he gives for the first time an account of the temple of the goddess Onga, he states the inscription in the front to be ΟΓΑΙ ΙΚΤΕΡΚΕΡΑΤΕΕΣ. In the early editions of Hesychius, and indeed in all that were in existence in the time of Fourmont, was found the following—'Ικτευκρατεῖς Λάκωνες, whence Meursius suggests that Ikteukrateis or Ikteokrateis was an ancient name of the

Laconians. In a temple erected and dedicated by King Eurotas, it was, of course, necessary to find some name to be given to his subjects other than Laconians or Lacedæmonians, as it was not until the time of his grandson Lacedæmon that these appellations were given. Accordingly he hit upon Ikterkeratees, and gave, as inscribed upon his fictitious temple, this fictitious inscription, of which, curiously enough, no trace is to be found in his papers, though the word in slightly various spellings is found there several times. But the word Ἰκτενκρατεῖς in Hesychius is merely the error of a careless scribe. The true reading is not clear, but it is certain that it is two words, of which the second is the explanation of the first (probably ἴκτεν = κράτει), and the word *Lakones* explains that the first word is a Laconian idiom.

‘Thus, by a succession of error and imposture, a fabulous personage of antient tradition has been made to anticipate the blunders of a transcriber committed in copying a dictionary-maker of the third century of Christianity, by which means the French academicians have been enabled, not only to call into being a people who never existed, but also to fix the date of their dominion in the Peloponnesus as readily and accurately as that of the Franks and Normans in their own country.’<sup>1</sup>

‘No man in his senses,’ says Boeckh, ‘can believe this inscription to be genuine,’ though at first, and writing before the letters of Lord Aberdeen had appeared, he was disposed to treat it as a forgery, not of Fourmont, but of a very much earlier date, by which he assumed that the Abbé had been misled. The two Boustrophedon inscriptions are little less absurd than the dedication of the temple of Onga. They contain lists of all the priestesses of Apollo at Amyclæ, from about the time of Eurotas to the Roman conquest, engraved at different periods, although the earliest is little later than the pretended temple of Onga. These priestesses are called **ΜΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΥΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ** (mothers and virgins of Apollo) a title for which neither Fourmont, Barthélemy, nor d’Hancarville, were able to adduce any authority, but which reminded Payne Knight of the corre-

<sup>1</sup> Payne Knight, p. 115.

sponding titles in a modern French convent of nuns, *Les mères et les filles du Bon Dieu*. This expression was undoubtedly familiar to Fourmont, and Payne Knight suggests that the French title gave birth to the Greek.<sup>1</sup>

'The Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet' was reviewed by Porson in the 'Monthly Review' for 1794, and the great scholar accepted the views of Payne Knight on the subject of Fourmont as conclusive. Meantime the believers in the Abbé kept silence. No notice was taken of Payne Knight's book, either by the 'Journal des Savants' or by the Academy of Inscriptions. But in 1817 the Earl of Aberdeen contributed 'Remarks on the Amyclæan Marbles' to Walpole's 'Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey' (p. 446). In these remarks he thoroughly exposes one of the forgeries, that relating to the temple of Onga. But although Payne Knight's arguments had been convincing to the learned in England and Germany, they had not been so to the French, and when Lord Aberdeen spoke of the 'impudent frauds' of Fourmont, he roused a defender of the Abbé in the person of M. Raoul Rochette, a man undoubtedly of real learning, who, although only twenty-nine years of age, had already attained the highest possible reputation in France by his 'Histoire Critique de l'établissement des Colonies Grecques,' a work which in 1814 had received the first prize of the Academy. But the learning of M. Raoul Rochette was of that character which we are accustomed to associate with his countrymen rather than with the Germans. He was a skilled dialectician, his knowledge was extensive, his style agreeable, and he was able to draw those brilliant generalisations with which, even when based upon an imperfect or a mistaken induction of facts, French divines, philosophers, and historians, know so well how to charm our imaginations and almost to convince our reason. M. Raoul Rochette could not bear that a French scholar who had enjoyed the highest reputation for

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Ross, however, in his *Ad virum cl. Aug. Boeckhium Epistola Epigraphica* (Halle, 1850), has attempted to show that Fourmont had authority for the title *ματέρες και κόυραι του 'Απόλλωνος*. He was answered by Boeckh, in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1850 (No. 23, *Fourmontsche Inschriften*).



three-quarters of a century should be treated by an Englishman as an impudent forger, and in 1819<sup>1</sup> he published 'Deux Lettres à my Lord Comte d'Aberdeen sur l'authenticité des inscriptions de Fourmont,' in which he maintains what has been justly termed 'an untenable and exploded paradox,' namely, that the inscriptions of Fourmont were genuine, and that the arguments of Payne Knight and Lord Aberdeen were entirely baseless. His book is ingenious, able, and interesting; he succeeds in proving that on several minor points Payne Knight was wrong, and that his essay is written with a dogmatism and an assumption of superiority over other scholars which his learning does not always justify. But on the main points he has nothing better to say, in substance, than that the Abbé Fourmont was very ignorant, and probably made mistakes in his copies and his drawings, as he certainly did in his interpretations.

Letronne had at that time the greatest name in France as a Greek scholar, and he reviewed the work of Raoul Rochette in three articles in the 'Journal des Savants.' At this time Raoul Rochette was one of his most devoted adherents. It was before their great quarrel, before Letronne's damaging and severe review of 'Les Monuments inédits d'antiquité,' before the discovery of the 'Vases de Bernay' and the 'affaire Rollin,' which caused so much sensation and so many heart-burnings among the learned in France. In his articles he expresses the opinion, though with some reservations, that Raoul Rochette has shown that Payne Knight's arguments are inconclusive, and has adduced grounds for the belief that Fourmont was not a forger, though he admits that Rochette has not brought any positive proof of the Abbé's veracity, and he sums up his judgment in the matter as follows:—

'En attendant que nous puissions jouir du travail complet que nous promet M. Raoul Rochette, ses observations sur les anciennes inscriptions de Laconie, en même temps qu'elles offrent une multitude de recherches curieuses d'histoire et de paléographie, et qu'elles donnent une haute idée de ses connoissances en antiquités,

<sup>1</sup> In August 1818, M. Raoul Rochette and M. Louis Petit Radet each read a paper before the Institute in defence of the Abbé Fourmont.

présentent dès à présent l'avantage de détruire la plupart des objections élevées par M. R. P. Knight, de montrer que l'opinion qu'on s'étoit faite de ces curieux monumens n'est au fond qu'un préjugé, et de disposer très-favorablement les esprits judicieux et impartiaux pour la défense en forme que l'auteur de ces lettres fait espérer au monde savant.'

The book of Raoul Rochette, and the favourable judgment passed upon it by Letronne, drew from Lord Aberdeen 'A Letter relating to some statements made by M. R. Rochette in his late work on the authenticity of the Inscriptions of Fourmont.'<sup>1</sup> In this letter he proves conclusively that Fourmont had taken his temple of Onga from a small Greek chapel situate exactly where Fourmont had described it, and of precisely the same dimensions.

'The building is a small Greek chapel, possibly two hundred years old. It is constructed, like other edifices of the same description, of common masonry composed of small stones and cement; but from being apparently deserted at present, as well as from having been slightly built at first, it is probable that it may not stand a hundred years longer. The interior dimensions may, perhaps, be nearly correct, and the door not much more than four feet high, as stated by him; but this is not uncommon in Greece, and is adopted by the Christian inhabitants in order to prevent the Mussulmans from turning their horses into the churches or houses.'

Moreover, Lord Aberdeen tells us that in this very chapel, in the precise position in which Fourmont had professed to find the inscriptions and the bas-reliefs of human limbs, with knives and other articles implying human sacrifices, and which had been engraved by Count Caylus,<sup>2</sup> he had found the identical inscriptions on marbles of the same size and shape, but with innocent cups, vessels, and articles of female attire, which could by no possibility be mistaken for limbs, knives, and implements of sacrifice!

This time Letronne was convinced. In an article in the 'Journal des Savants'<sup>3</sup> he admits that the plea of ignorance

<sup>1</sup> *Walpole's Travels in various Countries in the East*, 1820, p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. ii. fol. 31.

<sup>3</sup> 1821, p. 104.

could no longer avail; that no mere mistake in copying could have transferred the innocent bas-reliefs into the sacrificial objects engraved by Count Caylus—still less have turned a modern Greek chapel into a temple of the remotest antiquity.<sup>1</sup> After referring to some of the passages of Fourmont's letters, which we have before quoted, he is obliged to conclude as follows:—'En lisant ces passages inconcevables, où l'extravagance le dispute à l'imposture, ce qu'on peut imaginer de plus favorable à la mémoire de Fourmont, c'est de dire qu'il étoit plus d'à moitié fou.'

Thus the case stood, until in 1828 there appeared the first *fasciculus* of the great 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum,' edited by Augustus Boeckh, and, as the published inscriptions by Fourmont all purported to be of the remotest antiquity, it became the duty of the learned editor, at the outset of the work, to examine most thoroughly the question of their genuineness. He was on terms of the greatest friendliness with Raoul Rochette and other *savants*, who still believed, as he himself had done originally, in the *bona fides* of the Abbé; and having been permitted by the French Government to have complete copies of all the inscriptions contained in the papers of Fourmont, as well as his notes thereon, he applied himself to the consideration of the question, as he himself tells us, as a judge and not as an accuser. One hundred and four large folio pages of double columns are devoted to the examination of the matter, which is investigated and decided on with the thoroughness and the accuracy which, at least at that date, were rarely to be found outside Germany, and which, if genius consisted alone in taking pains, would place some German scholars, Boeckh among them, at its highest point. Every writer who has cited these inscriptions, and every passage where they are mentioned, is referred to and weighed. All justice is done to the learning and to the ability of Raoul Rochette. The

<sup>1</sup> M. Raoul Rochette had cited as a witness in support of Fourmont's accuracy a certain Dr. Avramiotti, who, in a review of Chateaubriand's *Travels in Greece*, published in 1816, reproaches that traveller for not having visited and described the temple of Onga, which he implies that he has himself seen; but Letronne points out that Avramiotti had merely derived his knowledge of this temple from Barthélemy's description of it in the *Travels of Anacharsis*.

good faith of Barthélemy and others who accepted the inscriptions as genuine is warmly admitted. Each inscription, each statement of Fourmont, and the notes and comments of those who have accepted them as genuine, are examined in the minutest detail with the most searching criticism and the most accurate scholarship, and undoubtedly with every disposition, as he elsewhere proves, to accept whatever was found to be probably genuine. And as the result of this most careful examination, Boeckh came to the conclusions, that, as a matter of fact, no trace could be found among the papers of Fourmont of many of the most important discoveries and inscriptions which he alleges he made when in Greece; that it had been clearly proved by Lord Aberdeen that no such temple as Fourmont describes the temple of Onga, existed, or could have existed at the time he wrote; that no one of the inscriptions he gave to the world, or which had been published since his death by Barthélemy and Caylus, could possibly, from the language, from the forms of the letters, and from other circumstances, have existed in Greece, but that they were modern forgeries, the work of an ignorant man, based almost entirely upon the conjectures of Meursius and Cragius, and often upon misunderstandings of such conjectures; and lastly, that the forger was no other person than the Abbé Fourmont himself.

Since the publication of the *Corpus*, the genuineness of the inscriptions published by the Abbé Fourmont, and by Barthélemy from his papers, has not been seriously maintained.<sup>1</sup> Even the French, unwilling as they were to admit the fraud of their countryman, have been obliged to admit the truth of the conclusions of Boeckh; and M. Egger, in his interesting articles on Greek inscriptions in the '*Journal des Savants*' for 1871, admits that 'M. Boeckh has victoriously demonstrated the falsity of the apocryphal inscriptions of

<sup>1</sup> Captain Renczynski's *Chronology of Dates on the two Amyclean marble slabs which were dug out of the ruins of the Temple of Apollo of Delphi by Rev. l'Abbé Fourmont* (London, Reeves and Turner, 1884) deserves a place in De Morgan's *Budget of Paradoxes*. The writer's ignorance of the language, literature, history, and geography of Greece, is only equalled by the absurdity of his explanations and translations.

Michel Fourmont.' Yet in illustration of the truth of Lord Aberdeen's remark, that in France a reluctance still exists to view these forgeries in their proper light, a writer in 'Notes and Queries' in 1872 remarks that 'incredible as it may appear, it is the fact that in the long and elaborate life of the Abbé Fourmont by E. Bréhaut, contained in the eighteenth volume of Didot's "Nouvelle Biographie Générale" (1858), there is not a word to suggest that the alleged discoveries of the Abbé were not genuine, nor even a hint that doubts had been thrown on them! He is censured indeed for his vandalism in destroying so many monuments of antiquity, but his inscriptions and his discoveries are all treated as genuine.' And another writer in 'Notes and Queries' remarks, that 'it is still more surprising that in the "Supercheries littéraires dévoilées," published in 1869, the name of the Abbé Fourmont does not appear at all!'<sup>1</sup>

The most curious part of the story has yet to be told. Although every inscription which the Abbé either gave to the world, or left in the state in which he proposed to publish it, was a forgery, yet he really had copied, and there still exist among his papers, many hundreds of genuine inscriptions; some, of the earliest times of which any are known to exist, others, of an interest and importance little if anything less than the Amyclæan inscriptions would have possessed had they been genuine. They have all been included in the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.' Of the 42 inscriptions judged by Boeckh, from the archaic forms of the letters, to be of the most ancient times, and which form the first part of the Corpus, no less than 16, unquestionably genuine, are from the papers of the Abbé Fourmont. Of the 980 inscriptions found in Attica, which Boeckh and his colleagues were able to collect, 353 were copied by Fourmont. His papers have furnished 29 of the 61 from Megara, 83 of the 118 from Argolis; while of the 273 from Laconia and Messenia, he had copied no less than 228. Of these inscriptions, copies of some have since been found among the then unpublished papers of Cyriacus of Ancona; of others, the originals have been discovered, and copies published by Chandler, Dodwell,

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., vol. ix. pp. 370 and 415.

and more recent travellers ; while a considerable number are judged by Boeckh to be genuine, from internal evidence merely. But the mere number does not afford an adequate idea of the importance of the Abbé's collections. They include not only, as we have said, some of the most ancient, but some of the most important and interesting inscriptions which are in existence.

It is not too much to say that Boeckh's great work on the public economy of Athens is founded on the facts derived from Greek inscriptions. Those numbered in the Corpus 76, 157, and 158, contain perhaps the greatest amount of information respecting the revenues of Athens, public debts, money, weights, and measures of any inscriptions known to exist. They are quoted over and over again by Boeckh, more frequently, indeed, than any others. From one of them we learn that the treasurers of the goddess Athene were obliged to have an account of what they had received, disbursed and delivered to their successors engraved on stone, and set up in the Acropolis ; that money in the hands of the *Hellenotamiæ* was assigned about 410 B.C. to the redemption of the public debt. They give us a decree, that whatever should remain over and above the moneys assigned for the payment of the public debts should be applied to the repairs of the wharves and walls. No. 157 is a fragment of the account of the treasurer of the administration and manager of the public revenue, and probably the very one made by Lycurgus<sup>1</sup> about 330 B.C. No. 158 is the inscription of the famous Sandwich marble, now in the British Museum, which has been the subject of so many learned dissertations since its arrival in England soon after Fourmont's time. It is the report of the auditors, or *Amphictyons*, sent from Athens in or about 374 B.C. to examine the management of the revenues of the temple of Apollo at Delos for the three previous years, and is full of details of the greatest interest. Copies of all these inscriptions—and of the first two the only copies known, the originals having perished—were among the papers of Abbé Fourmont.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cited in *The Lives of the Ten Orators*, ascribed to Plutarch.

<sup>2</sup> No. 171 in the Corpus is also from a marble now in the British Museum

To have preserved and given to Western Europe these inscriptions alone, would have been sufficient at any time to constitute a lasting title to our gratitude, and would have entitled the Abbé Fourmont to a far higher place among the promoters of Greek learning and Greek antiquities than he would have been entitled to merely as the discoverer of the Amyclæan inscriptions, even if these were genuine. But important as these inscriptions are now, when more than fifteen thousand Greek inscriptions have been collected and published, far greater would have been the glory of Fourmont if, at a time when less than two thousand inscriptions were known, he had added to them more than nine hundred—a greater number than had been collected by any single scholar or traveller, and including those of the first degree of importance which we have already referred to.<sup>1</sup> But the Abbé Fourmont was ‘wise only for evil.’ His egregious vanity and utter want of principle persuaded him to throw away the substantial glory which, particularly at that time in France, would have attached to a man who had collected and preserved nearly one thousand unknown and precious Greek inscriptions. His ambition was to produce inscriptions far earlier than any then known, and which might support his own absurd hypothesis respecting the language and the antiquities of Greece. Entirely unable from his want of scholarship to appreciate their value, and probably even to

It is a list of persons buried in the Ceramicus of Athens, and has been thought worthy to be edited and explained, not only by Boeckh in the *Corpus* as well as in his *Proem. Catal. lect. Univers. Berol.*, but by E. D. Clarke in his *Travels*, and by Ozanne in his *Sylloge Inscript.* The copy made by Fourmont must have been taken when the stone and the inscription were in a much more perfect condition than at present, and is, as Boeckh remarks, ‘contra quam solet præstantissimus.’ No. 248 in the *Corpus* is from a marble now in the British Museum, brought to this country by Askew, and described in Taylor Combes’s *Description of a Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, vol. ii. xxxvi. No. 353 in the *Corpus* was afterwards seen by Pocock and Chandler, and is described and commented on at length by each of them. All these were copied by the Abbé Fourmont.

<sup>1</sup> When J. F. Séguier in 1749 made his catalogue of Greek Inscriptions, he was only able to enumerate two thousand, whether in collections like those of Gruter and Muratori, or in the books of the learned in different branches of the antiquity of Greece, such as those of Van Dale and Corsini.—Egger, in the *Journal des Savants*, Mars, 1871.

decipher (or understand those which he had copied, he printed his lists of proper names, where he thought he was less likely to be detected, and no doubt intended to use his genuine inscriptions, had he lived, as models for fictions far more absurd and more elaborate than those which related to the temple of Onga and the priestesses of Apollo at Amyclæ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most important, certainly the most impudent forgery of a Greek inscription, after those which form the subject of this article, is that put forth by Demetrius Petrizzopulo in his *Saggio Storico sulle prime età dell' Isola di Leucadia*, Florence, 1814 (described by Boeckh in the *Corpus*, No. 43). Not content with forging an inscription of a date earlier than the Trojan war, Petrizzopulo has cited in support of it, and of his arguments, a considerable number of books which do not exist. He cites a book of Gottlieb Wernsdorff, *De Lycurgi epochis specimen*, Norembergæ, 1741, 8vo, but no life of Wernsdorff mentions such a work, nor was Boeckh able to find any trace of its existence. He cites the *Travels* of a certain Norden in Greece (Copenhagen, 1752), and Chardin's *Mémoires conservés sur le saut de Leucade* (Amstelodami, 1709, 4to), which are unknown to catalogues, to libraries, and to bibliographers, as well as other books which Boeckh was unable to discover.



## A SCHOLAR AND TRAVELLER OF THE RENAISSANCE

*Nic. Clenardi Epistolarum Libri duo quorum posterior jam primum in lucem prodit.* (Antverpiæ: Ex officina Christophori Plantini. 1566.)

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WHEN Bennet Langton happened to mention his having read a good deal in Clenardus's Greek Grammar, 'Why, sir,' said Dr. Johnson, 'who is there in this town who knows anything of Clenardus but you and I?' Nor, judging from a correspondence in the pages of our esteemed contemporary, 'Notes and Queries,' does the number of those who know anything of Clenardus seem to have increased since the days of Langton and Johnson. One correspondent inquires who Clenardus was, and another informs the reader that 'Nicolas Clenardus is so obscure that his name is found in few biographical dictionaries,' and then proceeds to discuss the question of where he lived, and cites 'Mortimer'—whoever he may be—to the effect that he died after 1606. Yet there are few of the scholars of the later Renaissance whose books have passed through more editions, nor of the details of whose life we have more ample, accurate, and precise information than Nicolas Cleynaerts (Kleynarts) or Clenardus. His Greek Grammar, first printed in 1530, held its place for nearly two centuries in France, England, Germany and Italy, as the best Greek Grammar in existence—at once the clearest, the simplest, and the most scientific. Nor had his Hebrew Grammar less reputation, though, owing to the more limited interest of the subject-matter, it never attained the popularity of its Greek brother. But if Clenardus had been merely a grammarian, however eminent, we might have

left him to slumber in the obscurity which he shares with much greater names—with Theodore Gaza, who was not only a grammarian, but a Greek scholar of the highest merit; with Budæus, the restorer of Greek literature in France; and with Santes Pagninus, whose Hebrew studies threw those of all his contemporaries into the shade. But while Budæus, Gaza, and Santes Pagninus are names and nothing more, Clenardus is a real man, who has left us in his 'Epistolæ' one of the most entertaining and vivacious works of the sixteenth century. Many of the collections of letters *clarorum virorum* are the very personification of dreariness and dulness. Even the letters of Cicero sometimes lack human interest, but most of his imitators in the sixteenth century generally impress us as written by those who have in general nothing to say, but who desire to say it in at once the most elegant and the most redundant manner. Happily Clenardus is not one of these. In his letters written to his friends during the last twelve years of his life, he narrates his adventures in Spain, Portugal, and North Africa, from 1530, when he set out on his travels, to September 1542, probably a few days only before his death at Granada. In 1550 his friend Hoverius, Master of the School of Malines, printed at Louvain a thin small volume containing five letters from Clenard to the editor himself, and ten to Jacques Latomus (Masson), then Rector of the University of Louvain, under the title of 'Nicolai Clenardi Peregrinationum ac de rebus Machometicis epistolæ elegantissimæ.' A second edition appeared at the same place in 1551, enlarged by the addition of ten letters to Arnold Streyter, Abbot of Tongerlo, Joachim Polites, Martin de Voorda, and Rutger Rescius, professor and printer of Greek at Louvain. A third edition appeared at Louvain in 1561; and a fourth, with the addition of a second book, containing twenty-two new letters, fourteen to Jean Vassée, five to Jean Petit, Bishop of Cape de Verde, one to 'Cœlius,' and two respectively addressed to 'Christians' and to the Emperor Charles V., was edited by Charles de L'Ecluse, and printed by Plantin at Antwerp in 1566. This—the best edition—is described by the Marquis du Roure in his

'Analectabiblion' as *rarissime*. A fifth and last edition was printed at Hanau in 1606.

It is strange that so entertaining a book, worthy to rank with the Letters of Busbequius, has never been translated into any modern language. The style of Clenardus is anything but Ciceronian. He writes, not as most of the Latin letter-writers of the sixteenth century, polished and pompous periods intended to be printed, or at least to be shown about to other scholars, where the value of the matter is in an inverse ratio to the polish and finish of the style, but racy familiar epistles, written only to let his friends know all that was happening to him—sometimes a little too prolix, but always lively and amusing.

Nicolas Kleynants was born at Diest in Brabant in 1495. He studied at Louvain at the College of the Three Languages, then recently founded by the learned Jacques Busleiden, the friend of Sir Thomas More. His teachers were especially Rutger Rescius, and Jacques Masson, better known under his Latinized name of Latomus—afterwards Rector of the University, who survived his pupil by two years. Masson then enjoyed a considerable reputation with the Catholic party, owing to his writings against Luther and the Reformers, whom he was thought to have successfully refuted, and to have convicted of *mala fides* in their arguments and their quotations; to us, the chief characteristic of his writings is their bitter intolerance. The parents of Clenardus seem to have been persons of position and substance. He was intended for the Church from his youth, and took Holy Orders with a view of succeeding in due course to what seems to have been a sort of family living, that of the Church of the Béguines at Diest, of which those ladies claimed the patronage. Some of the biographers of Clenardus tell us that he was subsequently Professor of Hebrew and Greek at Louvain, but in fact he does not seem ever to have held any official position in the University or in the Collegium Trilingue, but only to have been what the Germans call a *Privat-docent*, authorized to give lectures on Hebrew and Greek on his own account at the College of Housterlé, of which institution he appears to have been what

we may term a fellow, and perhaps at that of the Three Languages. In or soon after February 1528 he published, specially for the use of his pupils, a Hebrew Grammar, based upon the more elaborate treatise of his friend and teacher, Campensis—of which in part it is an abridgment—but simpler, clearer, and much better adapted for beginners. It does not claim to be a complete grammar, but has the modest title ‘*Tabula in Grammaticen Hebræam.*’ It was printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain, and is the last book that issued from the press of that learned printer. It had a considerable success, and passed through more than twenty-four editions before the end of the century. The author tells us indeed, with a perhaps pardonable exaggeration, that by its assistance his pupils were able, after only three months’ study, to write letters in Hebrew upon familiar topics! The success of the Grammar induced him a few months later to publish, as a text-book for his Greek lectures, an edition of S. Chrysostom ‘*De Sacerdotio.*’ He selected this book, as he tells us in the preface, in order that sound Christian doctrine might be united with Greek scholarship. This was followed in the same year by the Greek text of the ‘*De Orando Deum*’ of the same Father. The two are among the very few and rare books in which the name of Joannes Sturmius appears as the printer in conjunction with that of Rutger Rescius.

Up to this time no Greek Grammar for beginners, as we understand it, existed. There were, indeed, in print several Greek grammatical treatises, of which the three that were by far the most in favour, and which certainly surpassed all others in merit, were those of Manuel Chrysoloras, Theodore Gaza, and Demetrius Chalcondylas. The ‘*Erotemata*’ of Chrysoloras was the earliest in point of date, both as to composition and printing. Written some time before the death of the author in 1415, it was printed for the first time with a Latin translation in 1484, and was frequently reprinted in the fifty years which followed. The book is a series of questions dealing with the most elementary parts of grammar, but is confused and unsystematic; yet it is the direct ancestor of the grammars which, until very recently, were in use

throughout the whole of Europe, in all of which, from that of Chrysoloras downwards, we find the conjugation of our old friend *τύπτω* as the type of the first conjugation of the regular verbs. The 'Institutiones Grammaticæ' of Theodore Gaza, first printed in 1495-96, were a distinct advance on the 'Erotemata' of Chrysoloras. The book is undoubtedly of great merit, and is the earliest work in which the principles of grammar, as we understand them, were in any way formulated; but it is not less unsystematic than that of Chrysoloras, is thoroughly ill arranged, and being written in Greek, could only be made use of by one who had already some practical knowledge of the language. The Latin translation of Erasmus, however, removed this difficulty. The 'Erotemata' of Chalcondylas, like the work of Chrysoloras, was not so much a regular Grammar as a set of grammatical questions and problems with elaborate answers, and, being wholly in Greek, was of no use to young students. The Grammar of Constantinus Lascaris ought not to be forgotten, if only that the first edition of it in 1476 was the first book printed in Greek; but it did not attain the popularity of the three first named. The earliest Greek Grammar calculated to be of use to young students and beginners, was that of Adrian Amerot, a professor of Louvain, printed by Thierry Martens about 1520. It is well spoken of by Nève in his 'Mémoire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à Louvain.' He describes it as a work entirely practical, prepared with a view to the needs of youth, wherein are set forth the rules which concern grammatical forms, a complete view of the conjugation of verbs, regular and irregular, and states that there are few books of grammar which are superior to that of Amerot. But however this may be, the book does not seem to have met the needs of the time, as it never reached a second edition, though another treatise of the same author upon Greek dialects was several times reprinted. About the same time Ceperinus, a professor of Zürich, composed a compendium of Greek Grammar, dividing it into three parts; the first treating upon the article and the noun, the second upon the verb, and the third upon pronouns, prepositions, and accents. But this little book, though it attained to more than a dozen editions (the third, revised by the author,

was printed by Simon de Colines in 1529), had but little success, and is scarcely to be found mentioned either by bibliographers or grammarians.

Clenardus had felt the need of a grammar for schoolboys. He must have been acquainted with that of Amerot, and probably with that of Ceporinus, and would be able to gauge their deficiencies. Accordingly, in 1530, he gave to the world through the press of his friend, Rutger Rescius, who had succeeded Thierry Martens as the Greek printer at Louvain, his 'Institutiones in Linguam Græcam.' Except four pages of syntax at the end, it contains nothing original—nothing but what may be found in Gaza or Chalcondylas—but, nevertheless it has great merits. It is written in Latin, is simple and clear in language, and is well and systematically arranged. In the preface, dated April 1, 1530, addressed to his friend Hoverius, he tells us that for some years past he had felt what benefit his pupils would derive from a work in which the rules of the Greek Grammar were shortly set forth, and that he had accordingly prepared these 'Institutiones,' which he had wished to print the previous year, but had been prevented by circumstances. The book had a conspicuous and immediate success; the impression was soon exhausted, and a second edition called for, which was printed at Louvain in April 1531, and a third at Paris the same year, under the author's superintendence, at the press of Simon de Colines, and of which, writing to his friend Hoverius in October of that year, he states that four hundred copies had been sold. Innumerable editions followed—at least a hundred before the end of the century—and it continued in name to be the popular Greek Grammar, especially in France, for two centuries, and formed largely the basis of its two celebrated successors, those of the Port Royal and of Furgault. As late as the latter half of the seventeenth century a 'Clenard' was, as usual, a synonym for a Greek grammar, as 'Despautère' was for a Latin one, or with us as 'Lindley Murray' was for an English grammar, and La Fontaine has—

'Un écolier qui ne s'amusait guère  
A feuilleter Clénard et Despautère.'

But long before the disappearance of the grammar of Clenardus, the work itself had become so overlaid with additions, scholia and commentaries, that it was difficult to discover in it the original lines of the author. It had been edited by the greatest Greek scholars of their day; Henry Estienne, Sylburg, G. J. Voss, to name only a few, had all published it, each with his own and many of his predecessors' additions. The best editions are certainly those of G. J. Voss, given by the Elzevirs in 1651, 1660, and 1672.

The 'Institutiones' were intended for those students who had the advantage of a teacher. But those who could teach Greek in the first half of the sixteenth century were few in number. There were many who wished to study the language as Joseph Scaliger did a few years later, without the aid of a master. For these, Clenardus composed and published in 1531 his 'Meditationes Græcanicæ.' This book consisted of the Greek text—as yet unprinted—of S. Basil's Epistle to S. Gregory, 'De vita in solitudine agenda,' accompanied by two Latin translations, one that of Budæus, the other by Clenardus himself, together with a grammatical analysis, in which each word of the original is parsed. This book, though frequently reprinted, had less success than the 'Institutiones.'

The life of Clenardus had hitherto been uneventful, with nothing to distinguish it from that of innumerable other scholars of the sixteenth century. But he was content neither with his own acquirements as a scholar—though possessing a fair knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—nor yet with the peaceful and, as he afterwards described it, somewhat dull and narrow life of a Professor at Louvain. He passed his time between study and lecturing, rarely leaving the College of Houterlé, and never venturing out of doors after dark. A visit to his friend Louis Le Blois,<sup>1</sup> just (1530) elected Abbot of Liesse, in Hainault, seemed

<sup>1</sup> An English translation of the most popular work of Le Blois (Blosius), the *Speculum Religiosorum*, was printed at Paris in 1676, under the title of *A Mirrour for Monkes*. It received the honour of a new edition in 1872, with a preface by Lord Coleridge.

a most arduous undertaking, yet it was accomplished so pleasantly that it induced him to travel as far as Cambrai to visit Latomus, and even gave rise to visions of a journey, which, as we have seen, he accomplished in 1531, to distant Paris.

After studying Hebrew under Campensis, then Professor of that language at Louvain, and reputed the first Hebraist in the Low Countries, he went on to Chaldee, but did not find this subject specially attractive. He did not, however, confine himself either in Hebrew or Chaldee to the text of the Old Testament, but devoted himself to the study of the books of such Jewish commentators as he could find. The works of Aben Ezra, including his commentaries on the Pentateuch and the minor Prophets, had been printed before the end of the fifteenth century; other works followed in the early part of the sixteenth, and some at least of them had reached Louvain, and had fallen into the hands of Clenardus. He constantly found references to the Arabic language, as well to the sound of the letters as to the meaning of words, which seemed to show that a knowledge of Arabic would greatly facilitate the study of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Aben Ezra frequently used the Arabic words *Phi Rapha*, as though they threw light upon many obscure matters. Clenardus constantly asked himself the meaning of these mysterious words, and sighed to think he had no means of discovering it. Having applied to Joannes Campensis, that learned man said, '*Phi Rapha* is the same with the adverb *tunc*,' an explanation which was naturally hardly satisfactory to our student. Whether the Professor was in fact ignorant of the meaning of *Phi Rapha*, or whether Aben Ezra used the expression somewhat in the sense of 'that blessed word Mesopotamia,' is not altogether clear. But from this time a burning desire possessed Clenardus; it was, to become acquainted with Arabic, and to use that language in his studies of the Old Testament; then to obtain a copy of the Koran, with a view to study, translate, and refute it; and finally to preach the Gospel in their own language to the followers of Mohammed. For years there seemed no chance of the accomplishment of his wishes. 'There was



not,' he states, 'a single person in Flanders who knew a word of Arabic.' A visit to Louvain of Daniel Bomberg, the celebrated Hebrew printer of Venice, afforded him hopes, which, however, were followed by no results. He learned that there were certain Jewish physicians at Venice who were skilled in Arabic, and Bomberg promised to send him some pages written in this language. 'This,' he writes, 'caused me the greatest joy, for at that time I thought of nothing but of becoming acquainted with the Arabic letters and words.' But time passed, and no pages came from Bomberg.

No Arabic grammar in which Arabic characters were employed had as yet appeared. It was reserved for William Postel, scholar, linguist, and visionary, to compile—with assistance furnished by Theseus Ambrosius—and to print in 1538 the first attempt at such a work. His '*Grammatica Arabica*,' a thin and meagre quarto, little more than a pamphlet, of forty-four pages only, and forming a supplement to his '*Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium Alphabetum*,' would have been a priceless boon to Clenardus. A few words purporting to be Arabic had indeed appeared in the '*Hypnerotomachia*' in 1499, and a so-called Arabic alphabet had been printed in the '*Sanctæ Peregrinationes*' of Breydenbach in 1486, a work several times reprinted; but the alphabet, exactly copied in the successive editions, bore hardly the slightest resemblance to the true Arabic characters, and it was perhaps fortunate for Clenardus that a copy of the book had not fallen into his hands. But there were not wanting learned Arabic scholars in Europe who would have promoted its study if their efforts in that direction had not been thwarted by the Church, which had already changed into the harsh step-mother from the nursing mother and handmaid of learning which she had shown herself under Nicolas V. and Leo X. No fact is better established, though it has been frequently denied, than that the Koran in Arabic was actually printed in or shortly before 1530 at the press of Paganino at Venice, and that the entire impression was destroyed by the orders of Clement VII. so completely that no copy or even fragment is known to

exist.<sup>1</sup> Not only was every copy of this worse than heretical book burned, but the types were destroyed, and the publication of the Koran in its original language was suspended for more than a century and a half. Yet it would be unfair to charge exclusively on the Catholic Church this hostility to the study of Arabic. More than twelve years later, in 1542, the Protestant and comparatively liberal and tolerant city of Basle was thrown into a ferment of excitement, on the proposal of Bibliander to edit, and Oporinus to print, the Latin translation of the Koran made in the twelfth century by our countryman Robert Retensis, Archdeacon of Pampeluna, though accompanied by ample refutations. It was only by the personal intervention of Luther that the book was allowed to appear, and that Oporinus escaped imprisonment. Among the ministers of Basle who showed themselves the bitter opponents of the work, we are astonished and disappointed to find the name of the learned Hebraist and geographer, Sebastian Munster!<sup>2</sup> But the opposition of the Church to the study of Arabic was as futile as that to the study of Hebrew and Greek a few years earlier. Several books, partially in Arabic, were already in existence. A species of grammar and a dictionary, Spanish and Arabic, compiled by Pedro de Alcalà, but wholly printed in Gothic letters, had appeared at Granada in 1505.<sup>3</sup> A little book of prayers, 'Precatio Horarii,' printed at Fano in 1514 at the press of Gregorius e Gregorio, containing the Lord's Prayer and a few other prayers, is the first book printed (partially) in Arabic

<sup>1</sup> The correspondence between Postel and Theseus Ambrosius in the *Introductio in Chaldaicam Linguam* of the latter, printed at Pavia in 1539, leaves no doubt on the matter. See also the Dissertation of J. B. de Rossi, *De Corano Arabico Venetiis Paganini typis impresso sub in. sec. xvi.*, Parma, 1805. The earliest edition of the Koran in Arabic of which copies are known to exist is that given by Hinckelman at Hamburg in 1694.

<sup>2</sup> See a notice of this affair in Monsieur Ferdinand Buisson's recently published work, *Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, Hachette, 1892) which we are glad of this opportunity of strongly recommending to our readers. It is full of information respecting the scholars and the literature of the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Two editions of the Grammar or *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua Araviga* seem to have been printed in 1505 (though only one of the Dictionary or *Vocabulista*). See Nos. 1485 and 1486 of the catalogue of the Heredia Library (Paris, 1892).

characters. But few copies of it were issued, and it was probably unheard of north of the Alps. The only other work in which Arabic characters were employed was far more important, and its publication marks an era in the history of Arabic studies in Europe. In 1516 Pietro Porro printed at Genoa, under the editorship of Augustino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbia in Corsica, his celebrated Polyglot Psalter, known from the See of its editor as the 'Psalterium Nebiense.' It gave in parallel columns Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Arabic, and three Latin versions. Two thousand copies were printed of this magnificent work—the most important that has ever issued from the presses of Genoa—which long continued to be one of the few books capable of serving as a foundation for the study of Oriental languages, but which is now sought for, especially across the Atlantic, more on account of its curious note to the verse of Psalm xix. :—'Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world,' giving a life of Columbus, and an account of the discovery of America—than for its philological merits.

While Clenardus was expecting to receive from Daniel Bomberg a page written in Arabic, a copy of the Genoese Psalter arrived at Louvain, and fell into his hands. His delight may be imagined. But alas! the key to his treasure was yet to seek. He knew neither a word nor a letter, and the Psalter contained no Arabic alphabet. He turned over its pages again and again, reading the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and the Greek, and looking hopelessly at the Arabic. He had somewhere read that there was considerable affinity between Hebrew and Arabic, and he rightly assumed that, like Hebrew and Chaldee, Arabic must be read from right to left. After many searchings of heart, he came to the conclusion that he must attempt, in the first instance, to identify some proper name which would probably be formed of the same letters as the Hebrew. He guessed that the Arabic letters were all consonants; but he had not even such assistance as might have been given by the vowel points; for in the Genoa Psalter, while these are added to the Hebrew and Chaldee texts, they are omitted from the

Arabic. At length he determined to devote himself to the eighty-third Psalm, as containing more proper names in proportion to its length than any other. His eye and his mind rested on that line in the seventh verse, which runs in the Vulgate, 'tabernacula Idumæorum et Ismaelitæ.' The descendants of these Ishmaelites were the enemies against whom he was to fight, and he set himself to find their name in the parallel line of Arabic. At first his efforts were fruitless. In vain he sought help from the peoples whose names followed. The Moabites and the Hagarenes, Gebal and Ammon and Amalek, rendered him no assistance. Yet as he went over and over again through the Latin verses of the Psalm, hopelessly comparing each with its parallel line of Arabic, the text constantly seemed to come under his eye—'Asshur also is joined with them and hath holpen the children of Lot.' The name of Lot repeatedly attracted his attention. Surely that righteous man would come to his help. At length it flashed across his mind that Lot would be represented by L T, and that the same two letters would be the last in Ismaelitæ. He discovered what seemed to be a word of two letters in the line that contained 'Lot,' which was identical with part of a word in the line that contained 'Ismaelitæ.' He had obtained the clue that he needed. Salmana (S L M N), a few lines further on, afforded the necessary confirmation. Gebal and Ammon and Amalek now furnished assistance, and Clenardus was master of S M L T. How these were followed up by the identification of R, B, and D from the other names in the same Psalm, and then, though after long time and with much labour, by nearly the whole of the rest of the alphabet, he tells us with a little too great prolixity, and a somewhat too artificial rhetoric, in his 'Epistola ad Christianos,' written in the last few months of his life. But even when he had mastered the Arabic alphabet he did not know the meaning of a single word. Bearing in mind, however, that there was a certain affinity between Hebrew and Arabic, and that most of the Hebrew proper names had special meanings, he found many words that were identical in spelling, and, as he rightly concluded, identical in meaning in the two languages. By

degrees he succeeded in reading the whole Psalter in Arabic, and formed a vocabulary, and even a species of grammar. But of the pronunciation, the vowel points, and of many words, and even some letters, he was entirely ignorant; moreover he knew nothing beyond the language of the Psalter, and his wish to become an Arabic scholar seemed as far from accomplishment as ever. In 1531, however, as we have seen, he paid a visit to Paris. He there became intimate with a Portuguese Franciscan named Roch Almeida, who followed him to Louvain, and became his pupil in Hebrew. Almeida sounded the praises of the Universities of Coimbra and Salamanca, especially the latter, where he assured Clenardus he would find professors not only of Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee, but even of Arabic! This last word fired his imagination, and from this time he had but one thought—how to get to Salamanca.

About this time the benefice for which he had been destined became vacant, but an obstacle to his institution had arisen. The Béguiques' right of patronage was disputed, and a suit instituted in the Consistory Court of the diocese against the ladies and their *protégé* Clenardus. Swiftness of procedure has never been a characteristic of Ecclesiastical Courts, and the suit—commenced as it would seem in 1531—was not terminated until 1538, when Clenardus was residing at Braga as the tutor or companion of the Archbishop.

In 1531 the accomplished *bibliophile* Don Fernando Colon, natural son of the great Columbus, visited Louvain in search of books for the library which he was then forming at Seville, and which is still one of the glories of that city, and indeed of Spain itself. He was accompanied as secretary and companion by Resendius, the most learned Portuguese of the day, celebrated as the restorer of letters in the Peninsula, at once a scholar, a poet, a historian, and a courtier. Resendius and Clenardus soon struck up a friendship, and the secretary induced Don Fernando to attend one of the Professor's lectures on Chrysostom 'De Sacerdotio,' and at the close introduced Clenardus to him. Don Fernando was not less pleased with the man than with the Professor. He invited him to accompany him to Spain, to reside at Seville as his

librarian and companion. His invitation was accepted. Clenardus agreed to spend three years with him—his parents would consent to no longer time—and within a few days he started for Spain in company with Don Fernando, and with his friend, Jean Vassée, who had also accepted service with the learned Spaniard.

From Louvain they proceeded to Paris, by way of Cambrai, where Clenardus paid a farewell visit to his friend Latomus. At Paris the travellers rested two days, thence to Tours and Bordeaux, and having crossed the Bidassoa, to the great joy of Clenardus they took the route to Salamanca, where Don Fernando had some legal business.

That Africa begins with the Pyrenees has long been an axiom of French geography, and certainly, to judge by the letters of Clenardus, European civilisation, as far as travellers were concerned, ended with the Bidassoa.

‘ We crossed the frontier on the Eve of St. Martin, and should have had to keep a rigid fast had not one of us gone to search for bread, another for wine, a third for fish, and a fourth for raisins. It is most truly said that in France you must spend money whether you wish or no, but in Spain, however much you wish it, you cannot spend anything. But our patron, the lord Fernando and our poet Resendius did all in their power to smooth the difficulties of the journey, and showed every anxiety that nothing should be wanting to the two Brabantines who were unaccustomed to the hardships of travelling. But the genius of the country overcame all their anxiety and liberality. . . . Just imagine the misfortune that befell us not far from Vittoria. When the table was set, there was only one glass, which we passed from hand to hand. When it came to Vassée he let it fall, and broke it, and there was nothing for it but to drink from the hollow of our hands, like Diogenes. On another occasion as we were dining at an inn other travellers arrived, and the single dish had to be passed from one set to the other. From this you can judge how barbarous a country is Spain. As soon as we reached the Asturias we were deprived of the luxuries we had been accustomed to in Flanders, and so were made fit to bear further hardships. Burgos we found as cold as Louvain—indeed colder—for there was hardly any fire to be obtained. I remember near this place a fairly populous village where we could only obtain a single bundle of faggots. Not another was to be

found, and the winter was unusually severe. I pass over Valladolid, where we stayed ten days until we knew that a suitable residence was ready for us at Medina del Campo, whither we were bound, and where the Empress then held her Court.'

The travellers reached Salamanca at the end of April, 1532. Scarcely had they alighted at the inn, when Clenardus rushed to the University in search of the Professor of Arabic. He reached an open space, where a crowd of students was waiting the commencement of the lectures. Though his foreign appearance and dress drew down upon him much curious attention, he remarked with pleasure that it excited no ridicule, and that the students comported themselves with due Spanish gravity. Entering into conversation with one of them, he learned to his great disappointment that he had been deceived by Roch Almeida, and that the University possessed neither a Professor of Arabic nor of Chaldee. One can understand the bitterness of his disappointment, but all hope was not gone. The most learned man in Spain at this time was Fernando Nuñez, of the noble house of Guzman, who after having been a collaborator at the Complutensian Polyglot, and the first Professor of Greek in the University of Alcalá, had now retired to Salamanca, where he filled the double chairs of Greek and Rhetoric. The young man informed Clenardus that Fernando Nuñez had formerly cultivated Arabic. He was not less celebrated for his kindness and goodness of heart than for his learning, and the youth recommended Clenardus to call upon him, assuring him that he would meet with a hearty welcome. The Professor received him with open arms, listened to his story, but discouraged and disapproved of his aim. 'What concern have you,' he said, 'with this barbarous language, Arabic? It is quite sufficient to know Latin and Greek. In my youth I was as foolish as you, and, not content with adding Hebrew to the other two languages, I also took up Arabic; but I have long given up these two last, and devote myself entirely to Greek. Let me advise you to do the same.' But finding Clenardus unwilling to take his advice, and learning that the immediate and pressing anxiety of his visitor was to see some Arabic manuscript which showed the vowels, and

to learn the vowel sounds, he promised to look through his library, where he thought he had such a manuscript, though long since laid aside and forgotten. On the next visit of Clenardus, Nuñez presented him with a copy of the four Gospels in Arabic, written in a magnificent character, with the vowel points, the use of which he explained; he also solved some doubts as to those letters used in the Genoese Psalter which Clenardus had been unable to make out, and subsequently furnished him with a small Arabic grammar, which Clenardus calls 'Gurremia.' He afterwards became possessed of a copy of the grammar of Abulcasin. On the whole he was delighted with Salamanca, and persuaded Don Fernando Colon to allow him to remain behind to pursue his studies. Thus, when the Spaniard, accompanied by Vassée proceeded to Seville, it was settled that Clenardus should rejoin Don Fernando there in six months, and complete his three years' engagement. During these six months he devoted himself to study, and seems to have made a most favourable impression, not only on Fernando Nuñez, but on the other doctors and professors at Salamanca. He began to have hopes of a Chair in the University, and great was his gratification when, on the 3rd of November (1532), two doctors, professors in the University, arrived at The Cross, an inn where he resided, near the Market-place, and in the name of the Senate offered him an appointment of one hundred ducats per annum in return for his giving two lectures weekly, either Greek or Latin, with an absolute liberty as to the choice of author and method. The offer was accepted. The Bishop of Cordova, John of Toledo, afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Burgos, having been favourably impressed by his merits, entrusted him with the direction of the studies of his nephew Luis, son of the Duke of Alva, Viceroy of Naples, and soon afterwards successfully used his credit with Don Fernando Colon to obtain the complete release of Clenardus from the engagement with that personage. Henceforth he was free to follow his own devices. His lectures were successful, and were attended by crowds of auditors, students and others. His course upon St. Chrysostom was especially approved. The society which he found at



Salamanca was in all respects agreeable to him, but he was not content with his position; he desired to obtain a formal professorship in the University, which would constitute him a member of the Senate. At the end of 1534 he achieved the object of his wishes; he was appointed to the Chair which he had coveted for three years. Twelve days after he received it he resigned his post. John IV., King of Portugal, aspired to be a patron of learning, and certainly had, as well as his wife Catherine, sister of Charles V., a taste for literature and learning. A tutor was required for the King's brother Henry, lately named Archbishop of Braga, who more than fifty years afterwards, on the death of his great-nephew, the unfortunate Don Sebastian, was to become King of Portugal. Resendius warmly recommended Clenardus; the King approved the recommendation, and Resendius was despatched to Salamanca with the offer of the post. At first Clenardus seemed confounded by the honour proposed to be conferred upon him, and doubted whether he should accept the office. 'How,' he wrote, 'can I ever become a courtier? I have never changed my rustic manners, and cannot hope to do so now that I am nearly forty years old.' But the proposal was too brilliant to be refused. Besides, his position at Salamanca, pleasant as it was, had its drawbacks.

'At Salamanca,' he writes, 'one must in some sort live in public and devote all one's time to that vulgar friendliness which consists in paying and receiving visits. I have found this burdensome, and have not known how to behave with the requisite politeness. At my age one does not change one's habits easily, especially when one has been born under the cloudy skies of Brabant. Another Spanish custom which prevails here and in Italy is very distasteful to me. It is not enough to give lectures. The Professor is treated as a species of oracle, whom all can consult, and who is expected to reply seriously to all the questions that it pleases the caprice of any of the students to put to him.'

Resendius promised him repose, peace, and leisure at the Court of Evora. His love for Arabic, which seems to have slept for some time, was again awakened. Evora was not far from Africa and the kingdom of Fez. Moorish slaves abounded there, and there was even a Court physician who

read Avicenna in the original. Added to all this, the salary was magnificent. Instead of the hundred ducats which he had at Salamanca, he was offered double the amount at Evora, besides board, lodging, and a pension for his old age, but he accepted the engagement for four years only.

On his arrival at Evora he was received with the utmost kindness and distinction by the King and Queen of Portugal, who forthwith made him a present of fifty ducats. The pupil of twenty-three years of age, showed himself docile and affectionate. The tutor's duties were little more than nominal. He had only to devote one hour a day to the Prince's instruction, and this not very regularly. He writes to Martin de Voorda :—

‘ I have only one hour a day to give to my duties, and this I spend either in giving lessons to the Prince, or in talking pleasantly with him ; but even this is not required every day. I have many holidays. I am free on Sundays and feast days, and a week rarely passes but that I am entirely free on one or two days, the Prince being occupied either in hunting or in some other matter. When he is hunting, I stay at home and devote myself to the Muses ; for what have I as a theologian to do with hunting, unless indeed, like most Court chaplains, I should hunt benefices ? ’

Clenardus spent three years happily at Evora, devoting himself chiefly to the study of Arabic, in which he obtained great assistance from the physician of whom Resendus had spoken. Clenardus visited this personage constantly, and obtained much profit from these visits, though the physician seems to have been not only extremely deaf, but of morose and disagreeable manners. The two men became at last on terms of intimacy, and an epistolary correspondence in Arabic took place between them. Clenardus now gave himself up to the study of the Arabic grammar, and soon obtained a perfect knowledge of it, and by the assistance of the text of Avicenna, and an Arabic version which he obtained of the Aphorisms of Galen, he arranged and completed the Dictionary which he had commenced at Louvain, and corrected at Salamanca. After some months of hard labour he believed himself in a position to return to Louvain, and to introduce a new department of study into the University

there. But though enjoying an ample income, surrounded by learned personages, lodged with Resendius, and treated with great favour by the Court, Clenardus does not seem to have been favourably impressed either with Portugal or the Portuguese, of whom he gives the following account in a letter to Latomus, written in March 1535 :—

‘ There is no great abundance of artisans, nor are they expected to offer their wares to you. You have not only to pay the price, but to offer up prayers before you can get anything. And one soon falls so completely into their customs as to think that whatever is offered to one must be worth less than is asked for it. If you want meat, you must wait for it in the market for two or three hours, and then must almost take it by force. But I have not told you the story of the barber. If you want shaving, you send your servant to beg that he will come to you. After waiting for a long time he comes at last; not, however, like our barbers, bringing with him his basin and water jug. It would not be becoming that so distinguished a personage should carry anything in his hands. Your own servant must fetch the jug and basin, and must take it back again, or you will remain as unshaven as Apollo. Here we are all nobles, and it is a sort of disgrace to exercise any manual calling. Do you suppose that the mother of a family personally goes to market, buys the fish, or cooks the vegetables? By no means. She makes use of nothing except her tongue, with which she takes care to guard the position which she considers her marriage gives to her. Even had I but a fourth part of my present income, I could not find a woman to marry me who would look after the house and attend to domestic affairs, as our Brabant women do. How then, you ask, do we live here? Every house is full of slaves. Negro and Moorish captives do all the servile work; and Lisbon is stuffed so full of them that I believe there are more slaves than native Portuguese. You will hardly find a house that has not at least one maid-servant of this sort, who does the marketing, washes the clothes, sweeps the floor, and does all sorts of disagreeable work—in short, is a slave, and differs from a beast of burden in nothing but appearance. Those who are rich possess several slaves, and of each sex; some make no small profit by the sale of the slaves that are born in their houses, whom they breed for this purpose as we do pigeons. . . .

‘ At Salamanca there was at least plenty of everything, and it was possible to arrange one’s household in the Flemish manner with

men-servants and maid-servants, whom one treated as free men ought to be treated. But as soon as I reached Evora I seemed to have arrived at a city of demons. Everywhere one meets negroes, whom I so much dislike, and whose mere presence makes me long to get away. Had not God given me a friend in the person of Master Jean Petit, a doctor of Paris [Bishop of Cape de Verde], I do not know how I could have existed among the Portuguese. . . . I live near him and dine with him daily. At dinner a portion of the Old Testament in Hebrew, or of the New in Greek, is read, afterwards we discuss what we have read, and each profits by the other's erudition. He has with him also two relations, who are not less learned than himself. Our whole conversation turns either upon literature or theology. As yet I have had nothing to do with these wretched slaves. I have one servant only, William, whom I brought with me from Salamanca. . . . If I wished to be in the fashion I should have a regular establishment, with four slaves and a mule. What would it matter, though I had no food at home and was over head and ears in debt, if I made a splendid appearance out of doors? This is how the perfect courtier lives here. I will give you an instance. A Portuguese had excited the hatred of a Frenchman who had come here in the train of King Emanuel, and become a member of the household of Queen Leonora. The Portuguese displayed considerable pomp, and made a great outward show; but the Frenchman, knowing the habits of these people, was curious to find out his expenditure, and succeeded at length in getting a sight of his account book, in which the Portuguese entered his daily expenditure. There he found each day: water, four sous; bread, two reals; radishes one real and a half. The same magnificent expenditure occurred each day until he came to Sunday, when the Frenchman expected to find a little more extravagance; but instead of this there was the entry: "To-day no radishes, because there were none in the market." This is the way, my dear Latomus, many of these radish-eating Portuguese live, who make a great show. They have more slaves to attend them abroad than they spend reals at home. I really believe that many whose income is not greater than mine have as many as eight servants, whom they maintain, if not upon food, at least upon hunger.'

Among the advantages of Evora neither a library nor booksellers were included, and Clenardus had to obtain books from Salamanca through the intervention of Vassée, now settled there as a professor. No part of his correspondence with this friend is more interesting than the commissions he

is constantly giving him for the booksellers of Salamanca. He has dealings with three of these, John Augustin, Peter, and Jasper. He desires Vassée to ascertain whether John Augustin still has a good copy of the Hebrew Bible in two volumes at the price of two ducats. If so, he is to buy one, but not if it is 'exemplar non nitidum aut insigne quid vitii.' He had given a commission for an Aetius, but only one volume arrived, namely that translated by Cornarius and printed by Froben. He writes to Vassée that he wants the other volume also, translated by an Italian, whose name he does not know, and printed at Venice, but probably reprinted by Froben. (He does not seem to know of the edition of the original Greek given by Aldus.)

In the summer of 1537 the young Archbishop took possession of his see of Braga, whither Clenardus, accompanied by his faithful servant William and three negro slaves, whom, notwithstanding his dislike of negroes, he had purchased, shortly followed his pupil. In a letter to Latomus, and again in his autobiographical 'Epistola ad Christianos,' he gives a long and detailed account of this journey of fourteen days.

'I should require many pages to give you a full account of my journey to Braga. I started on the 30th of July—William and myself on horseback, three sumpter mules, with two muleteers, and my three negroes, Dento, Nigrinus, and Carbo. You would have thought from the pomp and the great boxes that it was some bishop setting out on his journey. It was late in the afternoon before we could get off from Evora; and as we lost our way and went more than a league in the wrong direction, it was very late before we arrived at the first halting-place. At the inn there was no wine. They told us there was some for sale at the next house, but they were all gone to bed there. We had therefore to have recourse to the wine which Jean Petit had kindly provided for us for use on the third day, when we were to pass over a long desert tract of country where there were no habitations. We found plenty of bread at the inn; but a Brabantine like myself needs something more than bread for supper. Our horses fared better than we did, for they had water—six buckets full—for which, however, I had to pay three reals apiece, about the price of wine at Louvain. My bed was far too short, so that if it had been winter my feet and legs up to my

knees would have been frozen. The next night when we arrived at Montargil we found a single hovel, hardly large enough to hold our baggage, no stable, and not the ghost of a bed. First we asked the host, "Have you any barley?"—"No," he replies, "but I have some bracken!" (Throughout Spain, my dear *Latomus*, they use for horses neither hay nor oats, but barley and chaff.) Here we had a rabbit for supper, which with prudent forethought we had bought on the way. Horses and men slept on the ground in the open air. I reclined for a few hours, resting my head and back on the baggage, with my legs dangling on the ground. We started long before dawn, and I verily believe we rode for at least ten hours before we breakfasted. We almost finished our stock of wine, and had a long rest, being assured by the muleteers that we should cross the Tagus before night, and that on the further side we should find everything we required—wine, fowls, partridges, and mutton; but we arrived too late to cross the river that night. On the bank we found a single inn, whose landlord, if I were king, I would imprison or crucify, he received us so uncivilly. I scolded the muleteers for having loitered so long at breakfast, so making us too late for the ferry. The host was a veritable Polyphemus. I saluted him, and asked him if he had any chaff. He seemed doubtful whether to return my salute, but walked about with a view as I believed of preparing our supper. I repeated my question. He merely replied, "I have no chaff." Oh, wretched Portugal! "Beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt." At last one of the muleteers found there was an abundance of chaff in the house, and with great difficulty obtained some for the horses. Exactly the same thing happened with respect to the barley. . . . "Now, what can we have for supper?"—"We have nothing in the house," said the host. "You can kill a fowl for us."—"I don't feed fowls for your benefit." "Eggs, then?"—"I will see if there are any." None were forthcoming. "Have you no fish from the neighbouring river?"—"Fish!" he answered, "who would eat fish on a flesh day?" William prepared the table. A salt-cellar and two pieces of bread were put upon it for our supper. Looking round I saw a small jar standing near the fire, and asked what was being cooked in it. "Bacon," said the landlord. I begged that we might have some of it to flavour our bread. "No, it is required for the servants." At length after much entreaty I obtained about half an ounce, and the same quantity for William. I looked about to see what I could find to allay the cravings of my stomach. "At least you can give us some of the fat in which the bacon has been fried?"—"It is

unwholesome." "Nevertheless, give it to us to dip our bread in." —"It is no good." . . . Fortunately, we discovered a small cupful of wine, left from our breakfast. I thereupon toasted some bread and dipped it into the wine. This only seemed to increase our hunger. "Is there no more bacon in the house?"—"No." Whatever were we to do? Fortunately it occurred to me that as a boy I had eaten roasted onions. "Have you any onions?" I asked, fearing that he would say no.—"I will see," he replied. After some time passed between hope and fear, Jove being more propitious than before, we obtained two onions. William ate one, I the other, licking my fingers afterwards, for the onions were dressed with oil and vinegar, of which last there was great plenty in the house, for what they called wine did duty for both. After this sumptuous repast, William said to the host, "Have you a bed for this gentleman?"—"This is not the season for beds," replied the Cyclops. "You do not want a bed in summer." You can imagine how this reply astounded me. However, at last, after many entreaties, I obtained a bed for twenty reals, the usual price being five or ten.'

They reached Braga on August 12, having stayed a day at Coimbra on their way. The flourishing state of the recently founded University greatly pleased Clenardus. Unfortunately it was the vacation, and the only lectures given were the Greek course of Vincentius Fabricius. Our traveller attended a lecture by the Professor which greatly astonished him:—

'Fabricius expounded Homer, not translating the Greek into Latin, but lecturing almost wholly in Greek, just as if he was at Athens, a thing which I never heard before. And the students in no sluggish manner imitated their master, for they also made use of Greek. If we may draw an augury from this, Coimbra is about to become a great linguistic school.'

He had hardly arrived at Braga before he started on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, and immediately after his return wrote to the Bishop of Cape de Verde a letter containing an account of his journey:—

'I had often heard Galicia ill-spoken of on account of the dirt and wretchedness of its inns. But I found the country very pleasant, with an abundance of commodities of every kind; and I fared much better in Galicia than between the Douro and the Minho.

The country indeed all the way from Braga to the Minho is wonderfully pleasant, with mountains, meadows and streams, which, if there were nothing else, would greatly delight me. But in addition we found bread, meat, wine, and everything that the wearied traveller requires, and all far better in Galicia than in Portugal. Mutton, such as you could not get at Evora, was sold at Compostella at four reals the pound—beef, three. In short, everything went well with us, thank God! On our return, when we had reached Ponte da Lima, and were only five leagues from Braga, we were delayed five days owing to William's pony. Just as we were departing it was seized with a trembling of the legs. By chance there was a horse doctor near at hand, and he said the horse was *aguado*, and that as we were proceeding rapidly the day before, it must have drunk largely of water in a single draught in the heat of the day. This was the fact, and the cause of its illness. He bled the wretched beast in four places, and certainly a watery fluid poured forth. Afterwards its feet were bandaged, it was smeared with its own blood, mixed with salt and ashes, accompanied with innumerable ridiculous ceremonies, and it was ordered to fast until night. Meanwhile, we were much vexed at our involuntary halt. The next day vinegar and I know not what other drugs were applied. . . . The horse was so much exhausted by the loss of blood that it had to be carefully treated, so we took the opportunity of visiting some neighbouring places. We first made for Vianna, three leagues distant, and spent the day there.'

The year which Clenardus spent at Braga seems to have passed very pleasantly. His time was occupied partly in study, partly in establishing and organising a school for the education of young Portuguese nobles. A crowd of great personages and place-hunters frequented the Prince's court, and as Clenardus was understood to have great credit with his master, his influence was eagerly sought for, and his good-nature taken advantage of. It was reported in Louvain that he was made a Bishop, and a poor priest from Diest made his way to Braga to ask for a benefice. But Clenardus was already becoming homesick and contemplating a speedy return to his native land. He obtained for his friend Vassée the position of Rector of the School at Braga, and forthwith travelled to Salamanca, where he found Vassée in a state of great distress. They returned together



by way of Coimbra, where the Archbishop then was staying. Having installed Vassée, he finally separated from Prince Henry in November 1538. The latter liberally recompensed him, and provided him with ample funds, and also conferred upon him a pension, which, however, does not seem to have been very regularly paid. In September he had written to Hoverius, 'Nothing could induce me to prolong my exile. Day and night I think of nothing but my native country. Already I see myself at Louvain.' But before returning to Brabant, he decided to make a tour in the south of Spain, and especially to go to Granada, in the hope of securing and saving from destruction the numerous Arabic manuscripts which he had learned were in the possession of the Inquisition, and were about to be committed to the flames as infected with heresy. He also hoped to buy an educated Moorish slave, who could converse with him in Arabic and otherwise aid him in his studies, and accompany him to Louvain, where it was his wish to devote himself to lecturing on Arabic, and to printing books in that language. A little later he wrote to Latomus (12th July 1539), 'I am dreaming a royal dream. The Hebrew books which Bomberg prints at Venice go everywhere to find the Jews, to Egypt, to Africa, to India. It will be the same with the Arabic books that we shall print at Louvain. We shall print the Koran with a Latin translation, and a refutation which you theologians will provide for us.'

He made his journey by way of Coimbra, Salamanca, and Seville. At Coimbra he heard of a converted Moorish potter of Seville, a man of great learning, and well fitted to aid him in his studies. He found the potter in the market there—an old man with his hands horny and grimed with clay; but the neophyte feared some plot of the Inquisition, and declined to give Clenardus any assistance, saying that he did not wish to occupy himself with teaching what would recall to his mind the superstitions of his youth. He refused even to answer a few grammatical questions. Then Clenardus discovered a learned Moor from Tunis, who agreed to accompany him to Louvain, unless his ransom should arrive from Fez by a certain day. But alas! at the appointed time the ransom arrived.

Clenardus was in despair. The Tunisian, however, informed him that at Almeria, thirty leagues beyond Granada, there was to be found an accomplished Moorish slave well versed in Arab learning and literature. As there was nothing to be done at Seville, Clenardus at once started for Granada, and had a wretched journey in the middle of an unusually cold winter, over mountains deep in snow. He was well received and hospitably entertained by the Viceroy, the Marquis of Mondexar, who wished to retain him as tutor in Greek to his son. The slave was found at Almeria by the intervention of the Marquis, but two hundred ducats were asked for him. This was more than the narrow means of Clenardus could afford. He declined the purchase, and looked out for another learned slave; but in vain. It seems strange to us that less than fifty years after the conquest of Granada by the Catholic kings, and only thirty-eight after the expulsion of the Moors, the knowledge of Arabic should have so completely disappeared that hardly one person acquainted with the language could be found in the kingdom. It shows how thoroughly the Inquisition had done its work. After two months spent in ineffectual search for a learned Moor, Clenardus intimated his willingness to give the two hundred ducats. But in the meantime the price had risen to three hundred! The Viceroy offered to buy the slave if Clenardus would remain with him in the Alhambra as his son's tutor. Very reluctantly Clenardus agreed to remain until January 1540. The slave was ultimately bought for a hundred and eighty ducats, and proved an admirable teacher, both in language and theology. Clenardus now devoted himself to study under the guidance of the Moor, and to an endeavour to rescue the Arabic manuscripts from the Inquisition. But in this, though he obtained the intervention with the Emperor both of the Marquis and his old friend the Cardinal Archbishop of Burgos, he was wholly unsuccessful. In vain he urged the eminently pious and Christian purpose for which he required them. At length, after repeated applications, he was informed by Siliceo, the tutor of Philip II., whom he had probably known at Salamanca, that if he would establish his school for the purpose of refuting and converting the Mohammedans, at

Granada, the manuscripts should be given to him. But Clenardus, though in general wanting in worldly wisdom, saw that the course proposed to him was impracticable, and had enough sense not to fall into the trap laid for him by the Inquisition. 'It is in Brabant,' he wrote, 'and not in Spain that I must lay the foundations of my work. I seek for companions in arms to fight with me on conditions on which the struggle can be loyally and openly conducted. The inhabitants of Granada dare not reply to me, since the terror of the Inquisition forces them to call themselves Christians, whatever their real opinion may be. The combat is impossible where no one dares to assume the rôle of enemy.'

Clenardus, who had in some way become possessed of a copy of the Koran, now made rapid progress in Mohammedan theology. But it was clear that no books or manuscripts were to be obtained in Spain.

Of all the cities of Africa, Fez had at this time the greatest reputation. The kingdom, not yet swallowed up by the barbarous Morocco, enjoyed a more civilised and settled government than any other African state. The city was large and well built, full of mosques and colleges. On the expulsion of the Moors from Spain the refugees had flocked to it partly from its nearness to the kingdom of Granada, partly from the fact of its being a sacred city, second only to Mecca. The book of Leo Africanus, which was to carry the fame of his native city through all the civilised world, though already written, was not yet published; and though the statements there made must be taken as somewhat exaggerated, and though its schools of religion, philosophy and astronomy were already on the wane, if, indeed, the two latter had not completely disappeared, yet it certainly stood far above any other African city in civilisation and culture.

The learned slave was not slow to sound the praises of the city of Fez. He assured his master that abundance of manuscripts could be obtained there, and that in that city learned men were numerous, and that letters and learning were cultivated and greatly flourished, and he promised Clenardus letters of introduction which would ensure him a

hospitable reception, both from the King and the most learned theologians. Peace had recently been made between the Emperor and the Sultan of Fez, and accordingly Clenardus decided to cross the Straits and spend a few months in Africa in the hope of returning to Europe with a rich harvest of manuscripts. He then determined to revisit Portugal to make his final adieus to the King and Prince Henry, and then to make his way by Italy and Germany to his beloved Brabant, taking with him his learned slave. He passed Easter at Gibraltar in order to listen, perhaps for the last time, to the Alleluia chanted in Europe, and crossed to Ceuta, then a Portuguese settlement, on the 10th of April 1540. After spending four days at that town he proceeded to Tetuan. There he carefully concealed his sacerdotal character, and presented himself as a grammarian only, come to Africa to procure books, and to perfect himself in a knowledge of Arabic, in order to teach that language in the Christian schools, where already other languages were taught. 'Great,' he writes to Latomus, 'was the surprise of this people, when they heard a Fleming make quotations from the Koran and speak their language more accurately than they did themselves, since I had learnt it from books.' They brought to him a young man, a distinguished student of Fez. 'I had a dispute with him on certain questions of grammar, and I carried off the victory. I do not say this by way of boast, but that you may know that I am likely to make many friends at Fez.'

The journey from Tetuan to Fez occupied five days. At the commencement the rain was so heavy that Clenardus and his escort had to remain two days and two nights in their tents, and the road was made completely impassable by torrents. At Fez his reception was all that he could wish; he obtained an audience of the King, and presented his letter from the learned slave, whom he had left at Granada, a letter in which the captive spoke very highly of the kindness and goodness of his master. The King received him most cordially, and promised him even more than he asked for. He was to be entertained free of cost, but only on condition that he would allow the slave whom he had

left in Spain to be ransomed and set at liberty. Clenardus, notwithstanding the large sum of five hundred ducats which the King was willing to pay, consented to this with regret, as he had hoped to take the slave with him to Louvain, and to have his assistance in his plans for teaching Arabic. The King, however, promised that if he would set him free, and send for him to come at once to Fez, he should be allowed to accompany Clenardus to Louvain, and to stay there for some time. It appeared that his reputation was very great as a man of learning.

‘If the King of Fez keeps faith with me,’ Clenardus writes to the Bishop of Cape de Verde, ‘I shall have made a very prosperous journey into Africa, for I have sold for five hundred ducats my Arab of Granada, for whom I only gave one hundred and eighty. I am about to undertake a great work, in which I hope to interest all Christian princes: namely, that of introducing among the Mohammedans Christian controversy in the Arabic tongue. If the princes do not assist me, I shall have recourse to the Universities, and as I am not influenced by the desire either of acquiring riches or vain-glory for myself, I think that God will crown this work with success.’ ‘It is with this intention,’ he writes to Latomus, ‘that I have come to Fez, a city situate about forty leagues from the Straits of Gibraltar. My arrival caused a great sensation; every one said that a learned Christian had arrived. Fez is a large, populous, and ancient city, which is said to contain one hundred temples or mosques, and as many baths. A great number of Christian slaves languish in the public works. The old city is half a league distant from the new one, where the palace of the King is situate. At a little distance is the Jewish town, surrounded by its own walls, containing eight or nine synagogues, and about four thousand inhabitants, most of them well educated, and paying a tribute to the Arab sovereign at Fez. Education consists exclusively in learning by heart the Koran, and the Sunna, which treats of the actions of the Prophet; there are very few books, and no booksellers’ shops. The Mohammedans are very subtle reasoners, and there are many heresies among them; not long since one of their doctors paid with his head for holding the opinion that the Prophet had never sinned. I had made a bargain with the King for certain Arabic books, but I have since learned what Punic faith means. I do not so much blame the King as a wretch of a Portuguese, who has devoted himself to making my journey abortive; but

God protects me, and each day affords me the means of escaping the wretch's machinations. We are at this moment the prey of certain insects called locusts, which become in their turn the prey of man. In a single night they destroyed the entire harvest, and the next day peasants brought cartloads into Fez, where they are salted and eaten ; but for my part I prefer a partridge to twenty locusts. I shall depart almost immediately for Granada.' 'I am here,' he writes to the Bishop of Cape de Verde, 'in the midst of Jews, who are even more surprised that Christians still exist than I am to find Jews. They know nothing of us, except that we burn them alive. How foolish and cruel we are ! Would it not be much better to refute their errors by reasoning and learning than to burn both them and their books, which they would be themselves the first to destroy when once we had made them into sincere Christians ? We have expelled the Jews from Spain, and what profit have we drawn from that ? We say, indeed, we want neither slaves nor slave merchants ; but is it not better to keep them as slaves than to burn them as freemen ? If we were to pay some Jews in Europe to translate and explain to us the Talmud, so that we might see with their eyes, where would be the harm ?'

It seems that the Granada slave was really a traitor, who had found the means of making known at Fez his master's plan of proselytising. The King's promises were not kept ; Clenardus was surrounded with spies, and care was taken that he should not accomplish the object of his journey. He succeeded only in obtaining a very few manuscripts, and instead of being paid five hundred ducats for the Arab of Granada, the King compelled him to accept instead two Christian slaves. In the meantime the Portuguese renegade whom he mentioned in his letter to the Bishop of Cape de Verde had spread about a report that these two Christian slaves were relatives of Clenardus, and accordingly the King determined seriously to augment their price. At the same time the fanaticism of the Mussulman doctors became aroused, and a plot was laid against Clenardus's life ; he only escaped by means of the warning of a Christian slave. It was clearly necessary that he should return to Spain as soon as possible, but, unfortunately, money was wanting to him. The faithful William, who had accompanied him, was despatched into Portugal with letters for Prince Henry ; but

for some reason, we know not why, he returned with empty hands. The fatigues of the journey caused him to be attacked with serious illness, and this added both to the troubles and the expenses of Clenardus. At length he communicated with the Bishop of Cape de Verde, who furnished him with the means of returning to Europe. A Jewish astrologer of eighty years of age, to whom Clenardus was teaching Latin, cured William of his tertian fever, and at the same time prophesied that his master would some day be a Cardinal, and perhaps a Pope!

He started from Fez at the commencement of September 1541; but at a few leagues from that city his horse fell, and his shoulder-blade was broken. For forty days he was confined to bed in a town which he names Azyle, attended by William. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived in safety at Granada at the end of October, but without his precious manuscripts. They were all stolen from him on the journey! The Marquis of Mondexar received him with the same hospitality as before; but the ill-news was brought to him that his pension from Portugal was to be discontinued. He wrote to the Bishop of Cape de Verde to protest against this, and to ask for his intervention with the Prince Archbishop. 'The misfortune,' he wrote, 'would not trouble me, if it did not deprive me of the means of returning to my native country.' In January 1542 he addressed to the Emperor Charles a long letter, in which he again complained of the Inquisition for destroying the Arabic manuscripts, and again entreated that those which remained might be handed to him, but still without success. In the meantime, forgetting his troubles and misfortunes in Fez, he again turned his eyes to that country in the hopes of recovering his manuscripts. William was sent over to renew his relations with the King, and Clenardus prepared to return there; but before doing so he determined to compose an Epistle addressed to all Christians—'De Professione Arabica militiaque constituenda adversus Machometum.' This was really an autobiography, most entertaining as far as it goes, but unfortunately it breaks off with his residence at Braga.

It was while he was writing this Epistle that death overtook him, as seems probable, in September 1542, only a few days after his last letter to the good Bishop of Cape de Verde. The Marquis of Mondexar caused him to be buried in the Mosque of the Alhambra, which Ferdinand and Isabella had converted into a Christian church. Besides a Latin Grammar, there was found among his papers the Arabic Grammar and Lexicon, of which he so often speaks in his letters, and which he had intended to print at Louvain. These writings, entrusted to his friend Juan Perez, of Valentia, are probably lost.

The extracts we have given from the letters of Clenardus are but specimens of the entertaining character of the collection, which is full of interest. We know of no other scholar of the later Renaissance who has revealed to us so much of his real self in so lively and so modern a fashion. We are far from suggesting that Clenardus was in any sense a great man, or that he played an important part in the world, but the combination of the genial, jovial and good-tempered Dutchman with the ardent and enthusiastic scholar and student, arouses in his readers the same sort of affectionate regard that we feel for his great countryman and contemporary Erasmus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Notices of Clenardus and his writings will be found in the following works: *Analectabiblion*, by the Marquis du Roure (Paris, 1837); 'Notice sur Nicolas Cleynaerts de Diest, son enseignement, ses œuvres et ses voyages,' in *Annuaire de l'Université Catholique de Louvain* (1844, Louvain); 'Relation d'un Voyageur Chrétien sur la ville de Fez et ses écoles dans la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,' in *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique* (Année 1845, Gand).



POMPONATIUS—A SCEPTIC OF THE  
RENAISSANCE

1. *The Sceptics of the Italian Renaissance.* (By John Owen. London, 1893.)
2. *Pietro Pomponazzi. Studi storici su la Scuola Bolognese e Padovana del secolo XVI.* (Per Francesco Fiorentino. Firenze, 1868.)
3. *Sulla Immortalità dell' Anima di Pomponazzi. Esame storico-filosofico con l' aggiunta di molti documenti inediti.* (Per G. Fontana. Sienna, 1869.)
4. *La Psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi secondo un manoscritto inedito dell' Angelica di Roma.* (Del Prof. Luigi Ferri. Roma, 1876.)

[Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* for October 1893, pp. 495-524.] "

IN the 'Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance,' a continuation of his 'Evenings with the Skeptics,' Mr. Owen has given us a book of unusual merit and of great interest, yet one in which he lays himself open to some not altogether favourable criticism. The book consists of a series of essays of various degrees of excellence on Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Pulci, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Pomponatius, Giordano Bruno, and Vanini, accompanied by what seems to us awkward and sometimes commonplace and diffuse comments on the essays in the form of a dialogue. We should be disposed to demur to the application of the term 'sceptic' (even when spelled with a *k*), used in its philosophical sense, to several of these thinkers; in fact it can scarcely be applied with strict accuracy to any of them, as Mr. Owen himself admits, except to Pomponatius; nor do we think that either Dante, the earliest, or Vanini, the latest of the so-called sceptics, can be properly described as thinkers of the Renaissance. In the writings of Dante no trace of the Renaissance is to

be found. In form as well as in thought, Dante is wholly medieval; while the Renaissance had spent its force even in England, perhaps the latest country where it was developed, before Vanini had written a line. But it would seem that Mr. Owen would carry on the Renaissance to the eighteenth century, for from his references to his forthcoming work, '*The Skeptics of the French Renaissance*,' it appears that he includes among them Huet, who died so late as 1721; and though in his '*Traité de la Foiblesse*' the learned Bishop of Avranches shows himself in the strictest sense of the term a philosophic sceptic, we fail altogether to see how it is possible to consider him as one of those of the Renaissance. But as a contribution to the history of Philosophy, and to our knowledge of the thinkers and writers whom he discusses, Mr. Owen's book has very high merits. We do not indeed always find ourselves in agreement with his philosophical views, nor are these always expressed with sufficient clearness and definiteness to enable us precisely to understand them. But the book displays at once wide and deep research, freshness and liberality of thought, and throws a flood of light upon persons and subjects upon which English literature is singularly deficient. Mr. Owen rightly conceives of the Renaissance as a movement towards the emancipation of human thought from the trammels of medievalism and sacerdotalism, a movement in favour of intellectual freedom, not indeed from an anti-religious, but from an exclusively non-religious standpoint. The essays on Dante, Boccaccio, Pulci, Machiavelli and Guicciardini are, we think, decidedly inferior to the rest of the work—they are somewhat commonplace and superficial. The author has nothing to tell us of these personages but what has been said before and, he must forgive us for saying, has been said better. But on Petrarch he gives us much that is both new and true; and although the position of Petrarch as the first of the moderns, the first humanist of the Renaissance, has often been recognised, yet his hostility to scholasticism, his criticism of medieval dogma, his clear recognition of inordinate power as disastrous to the true aims of Christianity, his broad culture and his liberal sympathies, are set forth by Mr. Owen more clearly and

more forcibly than we have noticed elsewhere, except perhaps in Renan's 'Averroès et l'Averroïsme.' But on the vexed question of Laura we are not prepared entirely to agree with him, and we must demur to the justice of his remark that 'either the Laura of those highly-wrought productions—the sonnets—must have been an ideal personage, or her lover was a profligate below contempt.'

The special interest and excellence of Mr. Owen's book consists in the essays on Pomponatius, Bruno, and Vanini, to whom more than half the volume is devoted. Of Bruno indeed much has previously been written even in English, and the English reader has had the means of acquiring at least some superficial knowledge of his life, his character, and his writings; but a really satisfactory biography of him, with an accurate account of his works, and a just view of his philosophical system by one who has thoroughly studied and understood his writings, is still to seek. For innumerable as are the books and essays upon him in Italian, German, French and English, and admirable as is the *Life* by Professor Berti, the documents discovered at Venice and Rome since the publication of that work in 1868 have thrown a flood of light upon his history and his character, as well as on his trial and execution; and though these have been made use of by Mr. Owen, much still remains to be done before we get an adequate presentment of this remarkable man.

But on neither Pomponatius nor Vanini have we anything in English. To each indeed Hallam has devoted a page of judicious comment, and reference is made to both in Lecky's 'History of Rationalism,' and in one or two philosophical Handbooks. Bayle's sympathetic account of Pomponatius is to be found in the translations of his 'Dictionary'; Miss Young's 'Life and Times of Paleario' contains a brief analysis of the 'De Immortalitate Animæ'; and an interesting though not entirely satisfactory notice of his opinions may be read in Symonds's 'Renaissance in Italy.' The superficial and unfair 'Life of Vanini' by David Durand was translated into English in 1730, and a chapter concerning him largely taken from Durand's work is contained in Miss

Plumptre's 'History of Pantheism,' and with some alterations is repeated in the 'Antiquary' for 1886, but with these exceptions even the names of Pomponatius and Vanini are hardly to be found in any English book. The absolute neglect of Vanini by English writers is the more remarkable in that he passed two years in England, and much interesting matter relating to his visit is to be found in our State Papers; extracts from which, first given by Palumbo in his *Life of Vanini* (Naples, 1878), have been made use of by Mr. Owen, whose essay on Vanini, and particularly his defence of the unfortunate philosopher from the misleading account given by Victor Cousin in his '*Fragments Philosophiques*,' is one of the most acceptable and satisfactory parts of his work.

Though Mr. Owen devotes to Bruno the longest, and to Vanini the most interesting chapter of his book, Pomponatius (for we prefer to call him by the name by which he is generally known, rather than by his Italian name of Pomponazzi), perhaps a less attractive personality than either, and one, of the details of whose life we have but few particulars, is the central figure of his book—the single 'philosophical skeptic,' as he candidly admits, in his list; the first in date of modern philosophers, the earliest original thinker of the Renaissance, who in his book '*De Immortalitate Animæ*' and its continuations, the '*Apologia*' and the '*Defensorium*,' laid the foundation of the philosophy of the Italian Renaissance, and perhaps of all modern philosophy. Without going quite as far as Mr. Owen in giving to him the same position in the intellectual history of Italy as Descartes in that of France, or Bacon in that of England, we may agree that he is 'the founder of a new method, the first to break off, on the ground of logic rather than feeling, from scholasticism and medieval philosophy—to refuse allegiance to the traditional standards of preceding centuries, to insist upon the indefensible right of human reason to inquire and determine for itself what is true in philosophy and religion.'

Although, as we have said, nothing has before been written on Pomponatius in English, yet he has not been neglected on the Continent, and of late years much attention

has been given to him and his writings, particularly indeed in Italy, but also to some extent in France and Germany. During the century which followed his death, the controversy respecting the nature and existence of the soul and his opinions respecting it continued to be carried on with as much bitterness as during his life; but until lately the histories of Philosophy of Brucker, Buhle, and Tennemann, and the articles in Bayle's 'Dictionary' and Nicéron's 'Mémoires,' were the only available sources of information, except his own works, for the life and opinions of the Italian philosopher. In the brilliant essay on 'Averroës and Averroism' with which M. Renan may be said to have commenced his literary career in 1852, he gave to the world an admirable, though at least in the first edition a somewhat superficial, account of the doctrines of Pomponatius, accompanied, however, with a more precise and accurate statement of the philosophical opinions of the school of Padua, and of the position of Pomponatius in relation to Averroës and Alexander of Aphrodisias, than had elsewhere appeared. It was reserved, however, for Professor Fiorentino, in his remarkable monograph on Pomponatius, to give to the world for the first time, in 1868, an adequate biography of the man, resting largely on unprinted correspondence and on entries in the Archives of Padua and Bologna, and an almost exhaustive account of his philosophical opinions, based on a thorough and independent study, not only of his three best known treatises—the 'De Immortalitate,' the 'De Incantationibus,' and the 'De Fato'—but also of the 'Apologia,' the 'Defensorium,' and the 'De Nutritione,' which had previously been very little studied. Professor Fiorentino's book lends itself to only one unfavourable criticism—he is too great an admirer of his hero, too anxious to show that in his philosophy he was always right, too ready to make excuses for him, and not always quite fair to his opponents. His book was reviewed by A. Franck in his 'Moralistes et Philosophes' (Paris, 1872), where that writer, while fully recognising its merits, shows himself less favourable to Pomponatius and his opinions, and does more justice to his opponents than was done by Fiorentino. The main

interest of Signor Fontana's book consists in the fact of its containing several unpublished letters to and from Pomponatius, as well as other documents relating to him, which had escaped the researches of Fiorentino. In 1877, Luigi Ferri printed in the Proceedings of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei (and issued a certain number of copies as an independent work) 'La Psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi,' based principally upon an unpublished manuscript in the Angelica Library at Rome, 'Pomponatius in Libros de Anima,' a large part of which is printed as an Appendix to the volume, and which Ferri considers to be a copy of the lectures of Pomponatius on the 'De Anima' of Aristotle delivered at Bologna in 1520.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Owen gives us a very brief biography of Pomponatius, accompanied by a full and satisfactory account of his opinions, largely taken from Professor Fiorentino's book, though showing that he has read with care and appreciation the treatises of Pomponatius on the Immortality of the Soul, on Fate, and on Enchantments. But we regret that he gives us so meagre an account of the controversy to which the publication of the first mentioned book led, and that he does not seem to have made an independent study of the 'Apologia' or the 'Defensorium,' the two books of Pomponatius which are the fullest in biographical as well as controversial detail.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Ferri's work was reviewed very unfavourably by Fiorentino in the *Giornale Napolitano* for April 1877, where the soundness of Ferri's views of the doctrines of Pomponatius is no less impugned than the accuracy of his transcript of the manuscript. Fiorentino considers that accuracy cannot be expected from one who in his Life of Cardinal de Cusa mistakes the word 'Retribucionis' for a proper name, and creates an imaginary 'Petri Bucionis'! Ferri replied in *La Filosofia di Scuole Italiane* for June 1877, and a rejoinder was given by Fiorentino in the *Giornale Napolitano* for August 1878, in an article on the 'MSS. of Pomponatius at Arezzo.'

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Owen is strangely inaccurate in his bibliographical statements. He tells us that the *De Incantationibus* was 'published' in 1520, while in fact though written in 1520 it was not printed until 1556, and that the *Apologia* was first published 1578 (perhaps a misprint for 1518); he includes the *Contradictoris Tractatus doctissimus* of Contarini among 'the most valuable of all the writings of Pomponatius for forming an estimate of his character,' and he describes the edition of the two treatises *De Incantationibus* and *De Fato*, printed in 1567, as 'the Basle edition of his collected Works,' and calls it a folio instead of an octavo.

Pietro Pomponazzi—known to his contemporaries, partly from his small stature, partly from the Italian fondness for diminutives, as Peretto—was born at Mantua on September 16, 1462. His family is said to have been noble, and was certainly well known there, having enjoyed the protection of the house of Gonzaga during two centuries. His father, John Nicolas, he seems to have had in much affection, since he commemorates his name at the end of nearly every one of his works. All that we know of his youth is that he studied medicine (the department which then included philosophy) at the University of Padua, and that he there had for his teachers the two Trapolinos, Antonio and Pietro,<sup>1</sup> Francesco de Neritone, and Pietro Roccabonella—all, except perhaps Antonio Trapolino, Professors at Padua, eminent in their day, but now little more than names; he speaks of them all, however, with respectful admiration. In 1487 he took his degree of Doctor in Medicine, and in the following year was appointed extraordinary Professor of Philosophy in conjunction with Alessandro Achillini, who had four years before been appointed to a like chair, and who, although described by Mr. Owen as then ordinary Professor, did not attain that coveted position until some years later.

The University of Padua was at this moment at the height of its reputation as a School of Philosophy and Free-thought. The doctrines officially taught were indeed those of Aristotle, but, as understood and explained by Averroës 'che 'l gran commento feo,' and the latter half of the fifteenth century is the period of the absolute reign of Averroës at Padua. His Great Commentary was the text-book of the professors of Philosophy; and when, as is frequently the case in the philosophical writings of the fifteenth century, 'the commentator' is spoken of, it is Averroës who is intended. From the middle of the fourteenth century he had been read and lectured on at Padua, but a great impetus was given to the study of his writings in 1436, when Gaetano of Teano—sometimes spoken of as the founder of Averroism at Padua—began to lecture on the Great Commentary, and from this time his influence increased not only

<sup>1</sup> Not 'Antonio and Trapolino,' as Mr. Owen writes.

in Padua but throughout all North Italy during the remainder of the fifteenth century. With the students of scholastic philosophy, who were still and through all the sixteenth century numerous notwithstanding the opposition of the humanists, no writer was more popular. His Commentary on the 'De Anima' of Aristotle was one of the first books printed at Padua (in 1472), and during the century which followed hardly a year passed without the publication of an edition of some of his works in Latin—at first in the barbarous translations of the thirteenth century, but latterly in revisions made by learned Jews, after the more accurate Hebrew translations.<sup>1</sup> Opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church as the doctrines of Averroës seems to us, they were taught for some years, at least as philosophical opinions, even by orthodox theologians, without any objection on the part of the rulers of the Church. Thomas de Vio Cajetan had himself lectured on the Commentaries of Averroës, and it was not until the later years of the fifteenth century, that the heresy which lurked under the teaching seems to have been noticed. From 1471 to 1499, Nicoletto Vernias was ordinary Professor of Philosophy and one of the most determined Averroists. He maintained and openly taught—at least as a philosophical theory—the opinion of Averroës, that the individual soul emanates from, and is again absorbed into, the soul of the universe; thus practically, if not theoretically, denying the immortality of the individual soul: yet when the same doctrine was put forward more clearly and distinctly by his pupil Augustino Nifo (Niphus) in his treatise, 'De Intellectu et Dæmonibus,' scandal was caused, and it needed all the authority of the pious and tolerant Barozzi, then Bishop of Padua, to allay the anger of the partisans of Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, whose arguments against the doctrine of Averroës were treated in the book with but little respect. At the date of the appointment of

<sup>1</sup> Even the great edition of the complete works of Averroës given by the Giunta at Venice in 1552-3 was not made direct from the Arabic. It was in part a new translation from the old Hebrew translations, in part a revision of the old thirteenth-century Latin translations. Averroës himself knew no Greek, and his acquaintance with Aristotle was only through the imperfect and often incorrect Arabic translations.



Pomponatius as extraordinary Professor of Philosophy, the somewhat emasculated Averroism which Niphus then and afterwards professed and taught, was the recognised doctrine at the University of Padua. But it was not really a philosophical system, it was little more than a barren and soulless verbiage. 'Neither life nor thought,' remarks Renan, 'is to be found within that dry husk. The boldness is only in the mere words; the philosophical language, twenty times distilled, contains nothing within it; the psychology is merely a jingle of sonorous words and realised abstractions.' The chief exponent of this philosophy was Achillini; for though, as Ritter has pointed out, he expressly rejected the opinions of Averroës on the unity of souls and collective immortality, yet where it was possible to do so without clearly falling into heresy, he followed the Great Commentary not only in its language and its scholastic method, but also in its doctrines.

With the advent of Pomponatius, all this was changed, and a new era was opened for the philosophical school of Padua. Living thought took the place of mere verbal discussion; ideas took the place of words; the true nature of the soul, the great problems of natural religion, of providence and of personal responsibility, of 'fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,' began to be discussed with freedom and with intelligence even while the scholastic method was followed. Speculations not less daring than those of the eighteenth century were openly and freely propounded, and led naturally to the examination of theological questions, and to conclusions that were the reverse of orthodox. While neither neglecting nor despising Averroës, Pomponatius avowed himself in philosophy a disciple of Alexander of Aphrodisias, who admitted not even collective immortality, but simply and absolutely denied the immortality of the rational soul.

Although the importance of the disputes between the followers of Averroës and Alexander of Aphrodisias has been unduly magnified, and though it is perhaps scarcely accurate to divide the Paduan school at this period, as some have done, into Averroists and Alexandrists, yet undoubtedly

the nature of the intellect and the soul, interpreted according to these opposite views, formed, if not the chief subject, at least that which excited the most interest, not only in Padua but in other Universities of the North of Italy, in the first years of the sixteenth century. *Quid de anima?* 'Tell us about the soul' was the almost universal cry with which the Professors of Philosophy were greeted by the students, until at length the teaching which followed upon this drew the attention and excited the alarm of the rulers of the Church, so that at the Lateran Council held in 1512 the doctrines of the two philosophers respecting the soul were equally censured. The Bull, which is dated 19th December, 1512, condemned those who taught with Alexander that the individual soul is not immortal, as well as those who with Averroës maintained the doctrines of collective unity and collective immortality. It went further still; and anticipating the argument of the 'De Immortalitate' of Pomponatius (which, however, not improbably had been already put forward by him in his lectures, and which indeed he shared in common with several contemporaries and predecessors), that these opinions, although contrary to the faith, might be true philosophically, it declared all who held such doctrines to be heretics and infidels. The Bull, however, seems to have received scarcely any obedience and to have had little or no effect; indeed Renan finds it difficult to treat seriously a Bull on such a subject issued by Leo X. and countersigned *Bembo*!

The disputations between candidates for University degrees, or between a candidate and a Professor, which so long continued and of which traces still exist, had a curious development in the University of Padua, and possibly in other Italian Universities. It was the custom there for two professors of the same subject to dispute and to maintain opposite opinions with a view to stimulating the intelligence of the students. These disputations or discussions were looked forward to by both students and professors with as much interest and excitement as the debate at Oxford on the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems, before the Polish Prince Albert à Lasco, of which Giordano Bruno, the champion of

the Copernican system, has left us so animated and graphic an account in 'La Cena de le Ceneri.' It appears, indeed, that the two Professors of Philosophy were respectively selected from those who were known to hold different views on philosophical subjects; and as Achillini had been for four years the champion of the emasculated Averroism which as we have said then reigned at Padua, Pomponatius, who was known to be an adherent of Alexander of Aphrodisias, was probably for this, among other reasons, chosen as a professor 'extraordinarius,' with a view to his being the opponent of Achillini in the disputations.

Achillini, now at the height of his reputation as a philosopher and Averroist, his only rival being Augustino Nifo—'Aut diabolus aut Magnus Achillini' is said of him, as similar words have been applied to other eminent scholars—was only four years older than Pomponatius, but four years makes an immense difference in a University career. He was an experienced debater of great learning and much dialectical power, but his young rival—'Peretto,' as the students called him—carried off the honours of the debates. Mr. Owen has attempted, not without considerable success, a detailed representation of one of these discussions, from which our space only allows us to make a few extracts:—

'Achillini is a striking-looking man of about thirty years of age. He is rather tall and stout in proportion, though a student's stoop of the shoulders detracts somewhat from his height. He possesses an intellectual countenance, which in repose seems placid and reflective, with large dreamy-looking eyes. He walks up to his desk with a careless slouching gait. His professor's gown, we notice, is torn in several places, and is further remarkable by its narrow sleeves and general scanty proportions. Instead of forming a train behind him, it scarcely reaches below his knees. Evidently a man regardless of personal appearance. His adversary, on the other hand, is almost a dwarf, with a powerful-looking face, a broad forehead, a hooked nose which imparts a somewhat Jewish cast to his features, small piercing black eyes, which, as he turns here and there, give him a peculiar expression of restless vivacity. His thin lips are almost continually curled into a satirical smile. He has scarce any hair on his face, so that there is nothing to hide its sudden and perpetual change of expression. . . .

'Achillini, with a loud and rather coarse voice, but with great deliberation of manner, lays down in a short speech the proposition he intends to defend. 'The intellect is simple, uniform, indecomposable. This is clearly,' he affirms, 'the opinion of Aristotle, as testified by Averroës, his greatest commentator; and he is willing to defend this position against all comers.' When Achillini thus ends his brief preparatory address, his partisans applaud for several seconds. But a still greater storm of cheering arises when Pomponazzi stands forward at his desk and throws his restless eagle glance over the noisy crowd. So short is his stature that he can hardly be discerned. . . .

'When these amenities have ceased, Pomponazzi begins to speak; and in a tone of voice, full, clear and round, which makes itself heard in every part of the hall, he takes exception to Achillini's argument. The intellect, he maintains, is not simple but multiple; and this he will prove is Aristotle's real opinion, who must be interpreted not by the misty and incomprehensible comments of Averroës—a man of alien race and mental sympathies—but by the lucid testimony of his great fellow-countryman, Alexander of Aphrodisias. . . .

'Both combatants profess to be guided by Aristotle; but as there is no Greek text which each equally acknowledges (and if there were, neither would have been able to read it), the advantages of possessing a common authority are merely nominal. Achillini is evidently a man of immense erudition and dialectical power, and his tactics are directed either to overwhelm his adversary with some formidable and crushing dictum, or to ensnare him in the meshes of an involved and insidious argument. In either case his attempts are utterly foiled by the caution and vigilance of his foe. Pomponazzi is too wary to allow himself to be impaled on the horns of a dilemma, or caught in a well-baited half-concealed dialectical trap. He is also prompt to turn the tables on his powerful, though somewhat unwieldy, antagonist. In quickly uttered sentences, he takes exception to a few words, or some short proposition, in the long-drawn argument which Achillini has just announced; and with flashing eyes and a sarcastic smile he burlesques them by a witty parallel statement, points out their inherent absurdity, and thus raises a laugh at the expense of his foe. Or, more at length, and in serious measured tones, he analyses Achillini's propositions, points out some glaring inconsistency between their different parts, or between the conclusion sought to be deduced and the dicta of standard authorities. . . .

‘Achillini typifies scholasticism : with its methods and ratiocination—formal, ponderous, elaborate, and inelastic. Pomponazzi represents modern thought : keen, eager, restless, vivacious, caring little for traditional processes and authorities merely as such, and much for the clear, simple dictates of unfettered human reason. The fact that such a scene was possible, that popular and academic sympathies were already enlisted on the side of philosophical neologianism, is a clear indication of the transition of thought which was taking place in Italy ; and which claims Pomponazzi as one of the earliest and most potent of the instruments which combined to effect it.’

Fiorentino cites a document dated 1495, in which Pomponatius is styled ordinary Professor of Natural Philosophy, but it was certainly not until 1499 that he really obtained that position as successor of the venerable Nicoletto Vernias, who had held it since 1471, and whose special distinction it was that he was allowed to retain it without a colleague or opponent. A letter from Pomponatius to Bernardo Bembo—father of his friend and pupil the future Cardinal—lets us know that the influence of Bernardo (not of the Cardinal, as Mr. Owen states) had been used in his favour, and that to this he owed the position. Of his life at Padua we have hardly any details. In 1500 he married the daughter of Francesco Dondi dall’ Orologio, but does not seem to have had any issue by this lady, who died in 1509. Though he knew no Greek, the ‘*De Anima*’ of Aristotle, with the Commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias, and the writings of Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Richard of Swineshead, were the special subjects of his studies and of his lectures. In 1509 the war of the League of Cambrai compelled the University of Padua to close its doors, and its professors equally with its students had to seek new homes. Pomponatius found a refuge at the University of Ferrara, where he continued his studies and his lectures for two years. When the death of his former colleague and rival Achillini, who had been invited to Bologna in 1509, rendered vacant the chair of Philosophy there, Pomponatius—who at this time was at Mantua—was invited to fill it, with a salary of nine hundred Bolognese lire.

Whatever censure we may pass upon the policy of the Popes and upon the personal ambition which led to the aggrandizement of the temporal power, there can be no doubt of the benefits which accrued to Bologna by its incorporation with the States of the Church by Pope Julius II. in 1506. The city had long been misgoverned and tyrannized over by various small despots, who had interfered no less with its municipal freedom than with the growth and development of the University, which during the second half of the fifteenth century had lost much of the reputation which it had acquired in the fourteenth, and was to regain under the peaceful and liberal administration of the Popes. A senate of forty magistrates was appointed for the city and province, and their administration, as Sismondi tells us, recalled the liberty and the independence of the city, while a body known as the 'Riformatori dei Studi' was appointed to regulate the affairs of the University, which was administered with no less wisdom and liberality than was displayed by the forty magistrates in their government of the city and province. It was to this body that Pomponatius was indebted for the invitation to fill the Chair of Philosophy; he enjoyed the sympathy and the confidence of its members until his death, and, as Mr. Owen remarks, he was indebted to them for much kindness and support during the most critical part of his life.

In 1514 Pomponatius published his first work, 'De Intensione et Remissione Formarum ac de Parvitate et Magnitudine.' It is partly a commentary and defence of the opinions of Aristotle upon the measurement of form, partly an answer to the work on the same subject of our countryman, Richard of Swineshead, known as Suiseth, and styled 'Calculator,' of which several editions appeared at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The Physics of Aristotle, unlike his ethical and logical treatises, have ceased to have for us any living interest, but the subject of the work was one of the accustomed controversies of the time. Niphus tells us that he had disputed on it at Bologna, and we learn from the preface of Pomponatius that the idea of the work had been formed

at Ferrara, and that he had disputed (possibly with Achillini) on the subject at Padua. The following year (1515) he wrote another work, entitled 'De Reactione,' in which he comments upon the opinion of Aristotle that everything is at once active and passive; and this was followed by another tract on the question, whether a real action can immediately arise from a spiritual species. In these works we find no original thought. The matter, equally with the style, is that of the innumerable commentators not only on Aristotle, but on other philosophical subjects, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where the aim seems to be rather to display the ingenuity of the commentator, particularly in trifling and verbal distinctions, than to arrive at the truth, or even at the meaning of the writer commented on.

It was not until 1516, at the age of fifty-four, that Pomponatius published his famous treatise of the 'Immortality of the Soul,' in which, as Fiorentino remarks, 'ceasing to be a commentator, he reveals himself as an original thinker, and lays the foundation of the philosophy of the Italian Renaissance.' Like most of his works, this was in its origin a mere *pièce de circonstance*. During an illness he held discourses with his pupils concerning the future world. One of them, Girolamo Natalis of Ragusa, a Dominican friar, thus addressed him after one of these discourses: 'Master, you said the other day that the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas respecting the immortality of the soul, although absolutely true and admitting of no manner of doubt, was yet inconsistent with that of Aristotle. Now I wish you would tell me first, what—entirely apart from revelation, and dealing merely with natural reason—you think on the subject; and next, what is Aristotle's opinion on the matter.' The request was supported by numerous other pupils who were present, and the book is its answer.<sup>1</sup>

The book—a folio of thirty-two pages only—is not less

<sup>1</sup> We are at a loss to understand to what Mr. Owen refers when he says that 'the immediate occasion of writing this book is differently told,' and then proceeds to say that 'Fiorentino tells the story' which we have narrated above. We are not aware of any other account of the occasion of writing the book than that given in the text, which is told to us by Pomponatius himself in the preface to the *De Immortalitate*.

repulsive in style and manner than the previous works of its author. Whatever the novelty and freedom of its conclusions, it is in form, as Mr. Owen justly remarks, 'rigidly scholastic; it has its full quota of the ponderous argumentation, puerile distinctions, and subtle refinements, which characterize generally the productions of the Schoolmen.' But if it is conservative in style, in substance it is revolutionary. To discuss, however, the 'thorny labyrinth of dialectics' of which the treatise mainly consists, would be foreign to the intention of this paper; it is sufficient here to say that Pomponatius maintains that, according to reason and according to Aristotle, the soul appears destined to die at the same time as the body, and that the authority of revelation and the infallible teaching of the Church alone make us believe that the soul is immortal. The argument, in fact, whatever the real opinion of Pomponatius, amounts to a denial of immortality as maintained by the Christian Church; and as M. Franck has remarked in his '*Moralistes et Philosophes*,' the treatise might be called more justly *Concerning the Mortality*, rather than *Concerning the Immortality, of the Soul*. Pomponatius confessed that as a Christian he believed, but as a philosopher he did not believe in the immortality of the soul. The doctrine of two-fold truth—that is to say, that there are two spheres of thought, the sphere of reason and the sphere of revelation, and that these two are totally distinct—has been discussed by Mr. Owen at considerable length and with considerable ability in his '*Evenings with the Sceptics*,' and we shall not here attempt to decide the question whether it is possible to maintain and to sincerely hold this paradoxical doctrine. Certainly it was professed not only by Pomponatius, but by other philosophers of Padua and Bologna. Under the guidance of reason alone, they examined philosophical and even certain theological doctrines with unflinching logic, and without in the least caring to what conclusions, however unorthodox, their inquiries led them; nor were they in the least troubled that these conclusions were diametrically opposed to the doctrines of the Church which they professed to accept as matters of faith. They made no attempt to reconcile reason and faith, and the fact that these were



treated as two distinct spheres of thought enabled them to pursue their investigations with absolute independence, and with a purely rational method.

In the case of Pomponatius it is certainly doubtful to what (if any) extent his profession of religious belief was put forth with a view to divert attention from the extent and preponderance of his philosophical scepticism. In expressly submitting to the authority of the Church, he used the current language of philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which, as Hallam has remarked, must be judged by other presumptions. Yet we should be unjust to Pomponatius if we considered him either as a hypocrite or insincere. He had no desire to oppose the doctrines of the Church, but was willing to acquiesce in them, and was no more (though perhaps no less) an unbeliever than Nifo, Bembo, or Leo X. himself. He probably persuaded himself that he actually believed the doctrines of the Church. 'Heaven forbid,' he says in one of his later works—the 'Defensorium'—'that an honest man should have one thing in his heart and another in his life.'

But the 'De Immortalitate' is not merely a philosophical disquisition on the soul and the duration of its life. The doctrine of a morality antecedent to and resting on a higher authority than Christian dogma, and to be followed neither in the hope of future reward nor the fear of future punishment, is here for the first time set forth with a clearness and force that we are accustomed to associate with the philosophy of two centuries later. 'The essential reward of virtue,' he says, 'is virtue itself, that which makes a man happy; the punishment of the vicious is vice itself, than which nothing can be more wretched and unhappy.' And again, 'Suppose one man acts virtuously without hope of reward, another, on the contrary, with such hope: the act of the second is not so virtuous as that of the first,' and he concludes that, 'whether the soul be mortal or immortal, death must be despised, and by no means must virtue be departed from, no matter what happens after death.' He admits that the mass of mankind, 'brutish and materialised,' can only be induced to act virtuously and honestly by the belief in immortality and in

future rewards and punishments, and accordingly approves of the wisdom and prudence of those legislators, whether Christian or other, who have adopted these hypotheses as the basis of their ecclesiastical systems.

We cannot be surprised that a work containing such opinions, notwithstanding the author's formal submission to the Holy See, should have at once aroused the indignation of the clergy. At Bologna, indeed, it was received with admiration, and neither the University nor the Legate, in the first instance, seem to have had any fault to find with it. It was at Venice, strangely enough, not in the Papal dominions, that the storm burst forth.

It was to a noble Venetian, Marco Antonio Flavo Contarini, a relation of the future Cardinal, that the book was dedicated. Other copies speedily arrived in the city. The attention of the Doge was called to its impiety, and it was referred by him to Bartolomeo di Spina, a Minorite friar—who seems to have been the very person who invoked the inquiry—to report upon. This man distinguished himself by the bitterness of his attack on the book and its author. He denounced it with great violence from the pulpit as well as in his official report; the clergy were aroused, the sale of the book was forbidden, and a copy of it formally and publicly burned by order of the Doge. The author and the book were equally declared from the pulpit to be heretical and schismatical. Nor did the really learned men of Venice receive it with much more favour. They were especially indignant that the authority of Aristotle should be adduced against the immortality of the soul, and declared that the book was untrue, and was not in accordance with the principles of the Stagirite.

The priests and monks might well be alarmed. Whatever their real opinions, they could not see without dismay a doctrine attacked upon which the whole ecclesiastical system rested. The pious and sincere Christians—for a few such there were even in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, some of them fanatical followers of Savonarola, some sincere but reasonable Christians of the school of Sadolet and Contarini—could not fail to be shocked, not only

at the opinions of Pomponatius on the mortality of the soul, but at his irreverent, and sometimes even contemptuous treatment of the language of the founder of Christianity, and at his treating Christianity itself as if it were merely on an equal footing with other religions of the world. But there was another point on which the popular feeling was scandalised. For more than two centuries, Aristotle, to the credit of the Catholic Church be it said, had been recognised as 'the master of those that know;' he had been considered almost as a Father of the Church; his doctrines, at least as interpreted by Avicenna and Averroës, had been reconciled with those of Christianity, and his infallibility was no less assured than that of Augustine or Aquinas. Petrarch's remark that, after all, Aristotle was only a man, and did not know everything, has been characterised by Professor Mézières as '*une parole mémorable, la plus hardie peut-être qu'ait entendue le moyen âge.*' The shock was great to find it asserted that Aristotle doubted, if he did not actually disbelieve in, the immortality of the soul, and that his writings, if carefully studied, proved its mortality.

The first pen that was employed in a reply to the book was that of the virtuous and excellent Gaspar Contarini, perhaps the most learned, and, with the exception of Sadolet, the most Christian Italian of the day, distinguished no less as a theologian than as a philosopher, a mathematician, and a diplomatist, and who nearly twenty years later was to be raised to the dignity of a cardinal. In his youth (he was now thirty-three years of age) he had studied philosophy at Padua under Pomponatius, whose favourite pupil he appears to have been, but, unlike his master, he was at heart a devoted and pious Christian, though philosophy was his favourite subject of study, and he had at least this advantage over his master, that he was able to read Aristotle in the original Greek, and had thus made himself thoroughly acquainted not only with his philosophical works, but also with those of the Greek commentators. In his reply to his master's work he treats both him and his arguments with the profoundest respect; and if he is not always successful in his disproof of the argu-

ments of Pomponatius, he at least shows always with fairness and candour, that the arguments of Pomponatius are not entirely conclusive, and his exposition of Aristotle not always sound. Before the book of Pomponatius had appeared, Contarini, having heard that he had on hand a treatise which was reputed to be contrary to the faith, wrote to him begging him not to publish it ; but Peretto was not to be persuaded, though he courteously replied to his former pupil. As soon as Contarini had written his refutation, he sent it, apparently in manuscript, by the hands of their common friend, Pietro Lippomanno, Bishop of Bergamo, to Pomponatius, who immediately sat down to prepare a rejoinder, which he completed in 1517, and which was published at Bologna in February the following year, under the title of '*Apologia.*' It is dedicated to Cardinal Sigismund Gonzaga, and is accompanied by a letter recommending it to Pietro Bembo. The first book is a temperate and moderate answer to Contarini ; the second, equally temperate, is a reply to Father Vincentio de Vicenza, a professor of Bologna, who, in a lecture on the '*Summa*' of Thomas Aquinas, had criticised the work unfavourably. In the third book, Pomponatius replies to the bitter attacks which had been made upon him in the pulpits and elsewhere, and especially to those of Ambrogio Fianidino, Bishop of Zamora and suffragan of Mantua, whose sermons in the cathedral church of his native city had especially chagrined Pomponatius, who here not only defends but develops the theory of the '*De Immortalite,*' and inveighs with no less bitterness than his adversaries had used against him, and with abundance of sarcasm, against the vices and the ignorance of the clergy. It is from this book that we learn the details of the attacks made upon him by the monks—'*cucullati,*' as he calls them ; of the burning of his book at Venice, and the attempts made by the monks to have him and his work condemned by the Pope.

In order that there might be no suspicion of unfairness in the answer to Contarini, his treatise—though without the name of the author—'*Contradictoris Tractatus doctissimus,*' was printed by Pomponatius as an Appendix to his '*Apologia,*' and, with the rejoinder of Contarini to the

‘*Apologia*,’<sup>1</sup> appears in the collected works of the Cardinal (printed at Paris in 1571) as one treatise, ‘*De Immortalitate Animæ adversus Petrum Pomponatium*.’ In the meantime, a complaint against the book (by whom is not certain) had been laid before Leo X. ; but by the influence of Bembo—not then a cardinal but Pontifical Secretary only, to whose father’s influence, as we have seen, Pomponatius owed his first important preferment—nothing further was done by the Pope, except that it would seem, from a document cited by Ranke, in his ‘*History of the Popes*,’ that Leo ordered the retractation of Pomponatius, though without any formal condemnation. But a refutation was thought necessary by one who would be less friendly to Pomponatius, and less moderate than Contarini, and who would be able to adduce a greater weight of argument than Fiandino. The man of the highest reputation in Italy as a philosopher at this time was Augustino Nifo ; as a Professor of Padua he had, as we have seen, commenced his philosophical career as a determined Averroist. A pupil of Vernias, he wrote a treatise, ‘*De Intellectu et Dæmonibus*,’ which caused a terrible scandal at Padua in 1492. The publication of the book was only allowed with the suppression of several passages and the correction of others. Nifo was not of the stuff of which martyrs were made. He was ambitious not only of fame but even more of Court favour, and henceforward he devoted himself to the reconciliation of reason and faith ; and although from this date forwards Nifo is known as the leading Averroist of Padua, and a few years later the editor of the works of his master, yet he was careful to interpret Averroës as far as possible in accordance with orthodoxy, and wherever this was impossible to protest against the ignorance of Averroës, and to separate himself clearly from his opinions. Indeed his orthodoxy is always ostentatiously displayed. In his commentary on the ‘*Destructio Destructionum*’ of Averroës, Renan tells us that we find constantly these expressions : ‘*At nos christicolæ. . . at nos catholici*,’

<sup>1</sup> This second tract of Contarini does not seem to be anywhere referred to by Pomponatius. Possibly it may not have been brought to his notice, or not even composed until after his death ; certainly it was not printed in his lifetime.

while his marginal notes often run as follows :—‘ Non potest intelligere Averroës quod Deus sit in omnibus : o quam rudis !—Male intelligis, bone vir, sententiam Christianorum !’ But his name was inseparable from that of his master. Averroës alone had understood Aristotle ; Nifo alone had understood Averroës.

‘ Solus Aristotelis nodosa volumina novit  
 Corduba, et obscuris exprimit illa nodis :  
 Gloria Parthenopes, Niphus bene novit utrumque  
 Et nitidum media plus fecit esse die.’

Each of the Universities of Italy desired to have him as a Professor, and he lectured with ever increasing reputation at Padua, Pisa, Bologna, and Rome. He obtained the good graces of Charles V., and was the favourite of several learned princesses, among others Jeanne of Arragon, to whom he dedicated his treatise ‘ De Pulchro,’ where he praises the several parts of the person of the princess, which he describes as the *criterium formæ*, in a manner hardly consistent with our modern notions of decorum. But his chief patron was Leo X. He was exactly the theologian and philosopher to please the Pope in his writings, and still more in his conversation. He knew how to pass from grave to gay, from lively to severe, and his conversation was full of broad jests and facetious stories, as fitted for amusing Leo X. as those with which a century earlier Poggio had entertained the Gentlemen of the Chancery of Martin V. The Pope created him a Count Palatine, and permitted him to quarter with his own the arms of the Medici. It was to Nifo that Leo committed the charge of refuting the work of Pomponatius, and thus, as Renan has remarked, by a strange inversion of rôles, the Averroists, who up to that time had represented the negation of human personality, became for a moment against Pomponatius the defenders of immortality and the supporters of orthodoxy. His book, which appeared in 1518, is shallow, superficial, and confused. He aims at showing that Pomponatius had misinterpreted Aristotle, that individual immortality is more conformable with philosophical truth than even the collective immortality admitted by the Averroists, and

that Averroës had on this point misunderstood Aristotle. The book was considered to be a complete and satisfactory refutation of that of Pomponatius. It was dedicated to the Pope, who probably enjoyed greatly the controversy between his favourite theologian and the Professor of Bologna, upon a subject which no doubt seemed to him of no sort of practical importance.

In the meantime two much more violent and less cogent replies to the book of Pomponatius had been printed by the two ecclesiastics who had been the first to sound the note of disapproval—the Bishop of Zamora and Bartolomeo di Spina. The Bishop's book<sup>1</sup> appeared at Mantua about the middle of 1519: the name of Pomponatius nowhere appears in it, but he is the 'Assertor Mortalitat' named on the titlepage. The book is in the form of a dialogue, in which Pomponatius figures as one of the interlocutors under the name of 'Sophista'; and, as is usual in controversial dialogues, an easy victory is obtained over him by the other disputants, in language much more forcible than the arguments themselves. 'O execrandum hominis caput, o pestiferam et perniciosam linguam, et ex agro hujus vitæ radicibus evellendam, o labem, o maculam, o tabificum venenum societatis humanæ. . . . O hominem ad odium natum, ad contentionem instructum, ad perfidiam educatum,' is one of the specimens given us by Fiorentino of the language used of Pomponatius by the Bishop.

Bartolomeo di Spina devoted two works to the same subject.<sup>2</sup> The object of the first of these is to confute the 'De Immortalitate' of Pomponatius, the second to reply to that part of the 'Apologia' where the author refers to Bartolomeo and his other opponents. Di Spina is, if possible, more violent than Bishop Ambrogio, and appeals to the Inquisition to do its duty in suppressing both the man and the book.

Pomponatius replied to Nifo by his 'Defensorium,' which

<sup>1</sup> *De Animorum Immortalitate a doctore Magistro Ambrosio Neapolitano Episcopo Lamosense et suffragano Mantuano . . . contra assertorem mortalitatis.* Mantua, 1519.

<sup>2</sup> *Opusculum contra Petrum Pomponatium Mantuanum quod tutela veritatis de immortalitate animæ nominatur, and Flagellum in Apologiam Peretti.* Venetiis, 1519.

appeared at Bologna on the 18th of May, 1519. He answers the book of his opponent chapter by chapter; and though he certainly develops in the direction of materialism the opinions and arguments of the 'De Immortalitate' and the 'Apologia,' he equally, as in those books, submits himself to the Church, and ends by the declaration of his own firm belief, in conformity with the Catholic faith, in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body.

Before the publication of the 'Defensorium,' the author with the approval of the Vice-Legate and the Inquisitor of Bologna, submitted it, together with the 'De Immortalitate,' to the judgment of Chrysostomo Javelli di Casale, a learned Dominican, Professor of Theology at Bologna, who returned the books to the author accompanied by a very courteous and even complimentary letter and by a number of 'Solutiones,' or 'answers to the arguments tending to prove the mortality of the soul which are to be found in the first treatise of the most excellent Pomponatius and in his defence against Nifo.' These 'Solutiones' were forthwith submitted to the Vicar-General of the Cardinal Archbishop of Bologna and to the Inquisitor of the City, and both these authorities declared that the 'Solutiones' having been accepted by Pomponatius, they were content that the books should be printed and sold together with the explanations of Javelli, 'notwithstanding the order issued by us in pursuance of the decree of the Lateran Council.' These approvals are dated 3rd and 4th of March 1519.<sup>1</sup>

These three treatises—'De Immortalitate,' 'Apologia,' and 'Defensorium'—constitute the philosophical system of Pomponatius, and really form but one book, which must be studied in its entirety in order to obtain an exact idea of the author's position, and of his opinions on the soul and the intellect.

A further treatise, 'De Nutritione et Augmentatione,' published by Pomponatius in 1521, brings the controversy

<sup>1</sup> Fiorentino (p. 45) cites the approvals of the *De Immortalitate* as dated in March 1518. We think he is in error. In our own copy of this most rare document the date is M.DXVIII, which at first sight looks more like 1518 than 1519.



to a close as far as he is concerned. In this work—a commentary on certain doctrines of Aristotle, or rather attributed to him in the barbarous translations and paraphrases of some of his writings, written in the repulsive and scholastic style of the 'De Reactione' and 'De Intensione'—Pomponatius, in the opinion of Fiorentino, repeats and develops in a materialistic direction the doctrines he had laid down in the 'De Immortalitate.' But this is denied by Professor Ferri in his 'Psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi,' and the controversy on this subject was continued in Italian philosophical reviews with a degree of warmth, as Mr. Owen justly remarks, out of all proportion to the intrinsic importance of the point at issue. The question is one which depends on extreme refinements of language and dogma as to the nature and functions of the intellective soul, and is really of little interest or importance; indeed it is one which can only be understood or appreciated by those whose minds are thoroughly imbued with both the language and the doctrines of scholasticism. It is sufficient for our purpose that in the 'De Nutritione' the author in no way withdrew from the position he had previously taken in the 'De Immortalitate,' the 'Apologia,' and the 'Defensorium.'

But though Pomponatius's part in the discussion was finished, the actual controversy itself may be said to be only begun. The ball started by our philosopher was kept rolling by a series of men of more or less eminence and ability for upwards of a century. The ablest of those who in the sixteenth century adopted the views of Pomponatius was undoubtedly Simon Porzio of Naples, whose treatise 'De Humana Mente' (Florence, 1551), if it has had less reputation than that of Pomponatius, not only equals it in ability, but surpasses it both in style and in the fact that Porzio was acquainted with Greek, and had read and understood Aristotle in the original.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Pomponatius had been occupied with

<sup>1</sup> The latest work intended as a direct refutation of Pomponatius is that of the Jesuit Antoine Sirmond, who, so late as 1625, printed (at Paris) *De immortalitate animæ demonstratio physica et Aristotelica adversus Pomponatium et asseclas.*

two works, not directly bearing on the immortality of the soul, but not less sceptical and rationalistic in their tendency. In 1520 he completed two treatises, the one 'Concerning Incantations or the Causes of marvellous Effects in Nature,' the other 'Concerning Fate, Free Will, and Predestination.' These works, though often stated to have been printed at Bologna in the year in which they were completed, were in fact never printed during the life of the author, but remained in manuscript for about forty years after their completion.

In 1550 the physician William Gratarolo, who had both studied and taught at Padua, was forced to leave his native country on account of his Lutheran opinions. He brought with him to Basle copies of these two treatises, and printed the 'De Incantationibus' there in 1556, with a long and interesting dedication to Otho Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine.<sup>1</sup> Eleven years later, in 1567, he gave at the same press a second edition, accompanied by the 'De Fato, Libero Arbitrio, et De Predestinatione,' with a dedication to Frederick, Count Palatine, the son of his former patron. If these two works have not had the actual celebrity of the 'De Immortalitate,' they have undoubtedly enjoyed a greater popularity. They have been more read and more quoted, and probably for these reasons: they are printed in a clear type and without contractions, which makes the reading of them much easier than the other works of Pomponatius; the style is by comparison natural, easy, and flowing; and the matter is entertaining. Although the author is careful always to write as a Peripatetic, there is but little trace of scholastic dialectics, and nothing of the 'ponderous argumentation, puerile distinctions, and subtle refinements' which have already been noticed as characterising the 'De Immortalitate.'

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Gratarolo in the *Biographie Universelle* literally bristles with mistakes, particularly in the references to Pomponatius. It is there stated that Gratarolo was a pupil of Pomponatius at the moment when Pomponatius was spreading among the young students the doctrines of Luther! As a matter of fact, Gratarolo was nine years old at the death of Pomponatius, who had ceased to lecture at Padua six years before his birth. Moreover, it is curious that in no work of Pomponatius, nor in any one of those written to refute him, is there the slightest reference to Luther, or any intimation that the writer had even heard of the German reformer or of the new doctrines then being preached in Germany.

Quotations from both these treatises abound in the works of Vanini; but though that writer professes himself an ardent disciple of Pomponatius, and though his writings are frequently referred to as largely based on the study of the 'De Immortalitate,' this is an entire error. In neither of the works of Vanini is there any trace of a knowledge of the 'De Immortalitate,' or indeed of any of the writings of Pomponatius which appeared in the author's lifetime. His quotations, his arguments, and his references are entirely based on the two books printed by Gratarolo, and in his 'Amphitheatrum' he admits that though he had heard of the 'De Immortalitate,' he had never seen a copy—a circumstance which should not surprise us, considering the excessive rarity of the only two editions which existed in Vanini's time. The other editions bearing the impress 1534, as well as those—three according to Brunet—which are without date, are really productions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, certainly most and probably all of them printed subsequent to the death of Vanini.

Vanini was an ardent Averroist, a student of the writings of John of Baconthorpe, 'the prince of Averroists, from whom I have learned to swear only by Averroës.' But though he calls Pomponatius his divine teacher, and styles his book 'De Incantationibus' a 'golden work,' he could never have written his famous sentence 'that Pythagoras would have said that the soul of Averroës had passed into the body of Pomponatius,' if the earlier works of his divine teacher had been known to him.

In the 'De Incantationibus,' Pomponatius professes to write at once as a Peripatetic and as a Christian. He believes that his statements are in accordance with the Peripatetic philosophy, and consonant with the truth of the Christian religion. If anything that he writes is not so consonant, he submits wholly to the Church and to its correction. Yet his arguments, like those of the 'De Immortalitate' and the 'Apologia,' are absolutely inconsistent with the theological doctrines of the Catholic Church. The book was written, as the author tells us, in answer to inquiries by a physician of Mantua respecting cures which, as he alleged, had been

effected by charms and incantations. Accordingly Pomponatius discusses the possibility of the existence of supernatural powers, of angels and spirits, good and bad, with powers for good or evil. As a Peripatetic, he denies their existence; they only exist in popular imagination; natural effects, he argues, can proceed only from natural causes. It would be ridiculous and absurd to despise what is visible and natural in order to have recourse to an invisible cause, the reality of which is not guaranteed to us by any solid probability. He proceeds to the subject of miracles, which he considers as rare natural phenomena, in no way opposed to nature, but arising from natural causes of which we are ignorant. Many of these so-called miracles, however, arise merely from the subjective influence of the faith of the subject. Physicians and philosophers know that the causes of so-called miraculous cures are faith and imagination, and that in the case of relics, the bones of dogs would have the same effect as those of holy men if the imagination and faith of the patient were equally applied to them. But here again he puts forward the doctrine of double truth. The Church recognised the existence of angels and spirits, and as a Christian he is therefore compelled to acknowledge their existence. The Church has recognized miracles; and though many of these he considers to be simulated, and others, even some of those recorded in the Bible, natural events, producing the appearance of miracles upon ignorant people, yet he fully acknowledges the reality of others, where the occurrence cannot be produced by natural causes.

'All these cases,' says Mr. Owen, 'therefore afforded scope for his bipartite faith. As a Christian he received them; as a natural philosopher, pledged to a belief in the irreversible laws of the universe, they transcended both his knowledge and belief. They remained in his intellect, with other truths of the same kind, like an insoluble precipitate, resisting the action of all the chemical substances his knowledge enabled him to apply to their solution.'

Nor does he confine himself merely to expressing a philosophical disbelief, but employs weapons of irony and sarcasm with as much force as Pascal two centuries later.

Pure spirits can only operate on matter by material means, and he therefore suggests that spirits who perform bodily cures on men must go about with bottles of medicine and varieties of plasters and unguents, like so many ghostly apothecaries. But while in all these respects Pomponatius writes with a boldness and clearness most remarkable, far in advance of his time, and even of his most enlightened contemporaries, we do not find in him an absolute freedom from what we should now call superstitious ideas. Occult properties and magical powers, which he rejects in demons, he finds in the stars, in plants, trees, and stones, and to these he attributes many of the events which were ordinarily considered as miracles, or as the work of good or bad spirits; and absurd as seem to us his notions on these subjects, we must remember, as Mr. Owen reminds us, that all progress is relative, and that the step from demons and such supernatural agencies to plants, animals, and stones, represents a decided and appreciable advance in knowledge and scientific attainments.

In his book on Fate, Free Will, and Predestination, which he completed four months after the 'De Incantationibus,' Pomponatius still writes as a Peripatetic and as a commentator on the work on Fate and Free Will attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias; but in this book more than in any other of his works he seems to endeavour to reconcile reason and faith. His general position, indeed, is the same as in his former books. As far as he can do so without distinctly contradicting the doctrines of the Church, he asserts the doctrine of human liberty as the absolute source and condition of morality. But he is not more successful in his attempts to reconcile human free will with Divine Omniscience than his numerous predecessors and successors have been. He lets us see that his sympathies are with Aristotle and Alexander in their denials of special providence, but he seems in this book to be more cautious in putting forward opinions contrary to those of the Church than in his former works. He attempts, though entirely unsuccessfully, to reconcile philosophy with the teaching of the Church; and as Mr. Owen remarks, 'he only adopts the

alternative of double truth after every conceivable method of reconciling the foes has been exhausted, and in order to avert the flat contradiction of his philosophical conscience.'

Pomponatius died on the 18th of May 1525, in his sixty-third year. Of the last few years of his life we know scarcely anything. He had married a second time soon after leaving Padua, and was again left a widower, this time with two daughters. A third wife is mentioned, by whom he had one daughter. He continued until his death to enjoy the protection and support of the authorities of the University of Bologna, and repaid them with warm affection; and although his biographer Fiorentino—with whom Mr. Owen, though with some hesitation, seems to agree—treats him as a confessor, almost as a martyr, 'worn out by years, harassed by sickness, extended on the bed of pain, fighting the battles with his enemies without the splendour of martyrdom, unsustained by the hope of the future, with austere virtue placed before him, without reward and without hope as the true and final end of the human race,' we confess we can find no evidence to support this view. That he was violently and bitterly attacked in the writings and the pulpits of his opponents there is no doubt; that the fanatics would gladly have seen him burnt with his books is equally certain, but, in fact, he never seems to have been in any danger. He was protected not only by the University and city of Bologna, but by the Vice-Legate, who allowed his books to be circulated with the 'Solutiones' of Chrysostomo Javelli. Other Universities, notwithstanding his unorthodox reputation, sought to have him as their Professor of Philosophy. At one time he was disposed to accept the offer of a chair at Pisa, accompanied by a most liberal salary, but the Bolognese were unwilling that the most celebrated Italian professor should leave them, and increased his stipend to sixteen hundred ducats. The House of Gonzaga continued its protection, and he retained to his death the friendship of many eminent and influential ecclesiastics, of whom no less than five then were, or afterwards were to become, Cardinals—Pietro Bembo, Gaspar Contarini, Domenico Grimani, Sigismund Gonzaga, and Hercules Gonzaga. Leo X., as M. Renan

has pointed out, while formally condemning him, really supported him and encouraged disputes between him and his opponents, in order that he might have the pleasure of reading their controversial writings, and, with his friend Bembo as Pontifical Secretary, he was certainly not in any danger from the Court of Rome. Possibly the stern orthodoxy of Adrian VI., had that Pontiff lived, might have interfered with his safety, or at all events with his prosperity; and had Pomponatius survived a few years longer, it is not improbable that a recantation might have been required of him, and that, like his friend Bembo, he might have been induced to show himself an orthodox Christian. But the papal reaction had scarcely commenced when death removed him from the chance of persecution. He was carried off by fever, though he is stated to have been failing in health for about a year. The University of Bologna paid a high tribute to his honour in its Register of Doctors, where it is stated, that by his death the University had lost its greatest ornament. His former pupil, Hercules Gonzaga, afterwards a Cardinal and the First President of the Council of Trent, caused his remains to be transferred to Mantua, and there erected a bronze monument in his honour in the Church of St. Francis d'Assisi. The church with the bust or statue of Pomponatius was destroyed in 1804, but the inscription was removed to the Church of St. Andrea, where it still exists.

Pomponatius had the satisfaction of living to see the second and collected edition of his printed works, which appeared at Venice at the press of the heirs of Octavian Scotus, the same from which, four years before, the treatise of Nifo against him had issued. The printing was completed on the 1st of March 1525, just two months before the death of the author. The volume, to the publication of which no objection seems to have been taken either by the civil or ecclesiastical authorities, is entitled '*Petri Pomponatii Mantuani Tractatus acutissimi [utilissimi [sic]] et mere peripatetici*,' and includes as well the answer of Contarini to the '*De Immortalitate*' as the '*Solutiones*' of Chrysostomo Javelli to the '*Defensorium*,' the title of which, curiously enough, is printed, not as '*Solutiones*' but as

'*Approbationes rationum Defensorii per fratrem Chryso-stomum*'! and what is perhaps still more curious is that although the answers of Javelli to the reasons proving the mortality of the soul in the 'Defensorium' are given, together with the formal approvals of the Vicar-General and Inquisitor of Bologna of the 'Defensorium' if accompanied with the 'Solutiones' of Javelli, yet the tract '*De Immortalitate Animæ*,' to which one would have thought the 'Solutiones' were more necessary than to the 'Defensorium,' is printed without them.

Of the tracts comprised in this volume, the only one (with the exception of that by Contarini) which has been reprinted is the '*De Immortalitate*,' several editions of which appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sometimes without date or titlepage, sometimes with the false date 'M.D.XXXIV.,' but in no case with the name of the printer or place of printing. The earliest known to the present writer seems printed early in the seventeenth century, without titlepage. All appear to be based upon the edition of 1525, and contain all the errors in that volume, together with a considerable number in addition; the punctuation is especially incorrect and misleading. In 1791 an edition was given by Professor Bardili at Tübingen, based upon three earlier impressions, but the editor did not consult either of the original editions of 1516 and 1525, and his book can therefore have very little real value.<sup>1</sup> Although at the present day the tract of Pomponatius has ceased to have any other than a historical interest, yet as a book that has had so much influence, and that has played so important a part in the history of Philosophy, it deserves an accurate and critical edition based upon a collation of those of 1516 and 1525, with the numerous misprints and erroneous punctuation corrected and the references verified.

Pomponatius appears to have left a considerable number of works, probably notes of lectures, in manuscript. A portion of one of these, being a commentary upon the '*De*

<sup>1</sup> The present writer has been unable to see a copy of this edition. He has sought for it ineffectually through English and foreign booksellers for many years past. No copy is in the British Museum.



Anima' of Aristotle, has been published by Professor Ferri, as we have before noticed, in his volume entitled 'La Psicologia di Pietro Pomponazzi.' Another, 'Dubitationes in quartum Meteorologicorum Aristotelis librum,' was printed by Arrivabene at Venice in 1563, but with the name of Franciscus Francisci on the titlepage as the publisher. It is dedicated by Arrivabene to Madrucci, the well-known Bishop of Trent, and is so rare that neither Fiorentino nor Mr. Owen has been able to see it. No copy is in the British Museum. Both Fiorentino and Mr. Owen treat the book, however, as the earliest in point of date of the compositions of Pomponatius; and Fiorentino, whose knowledge of its contents seems principally derived from the article of Brunatius on Pomponatius in the 'Raccolta' of Calogiera (vol. xli.), conceives that it was written at Padua. In this, however, he is certainly in error. Although the book rather resembles the earlier than the later works of Pomponatius in being exclusively a commentary, without the attempt at anything original, and with hardly any independent criticism; and although Pomponatius seems careful to avoid the controversial matter of his more celebrated works, yet it is tolerably certain that it was written at Bologna, and is one of the latest of its author's writings. It is in fact obviously the substance of a course of lectures upon the fourth book of the Meteorology of Aristotle. That it was not composed until after Pomponatius had left Padua, and probably not until 1521, results from the following facts. The author more than once refers to something as happening when he was a student at Padua in terms which he would hardly have used had he been then residing there ('adducam ego argumentum quo scolasticus ad huc Patavii usus sum'); and again, 'My colleague Alexander Achillini held (*tenebat*) this opinion'—a reference hardly compatible with Achillini being at that time his colleague. But further, in the 'Dubitationes' the volume of translations from Aristotle by Alcyonius is quoted. These were only printed in 1521 (by Aldus, at Venice); and although it is possible that they might have been communicated to Pomponatius in manuscript at an earlier period, yet as Alcyonius was certainly

not born until after 1490, it is clear that the translation could not have been made until after Pomponatius had left Padua. There are also quotations from and references to contemporary writers which, though not absolutely inconsistent with the earlier date, strongly confirm the view that the work was written and the lectures delivered in the later years of Pomponatius's life. The excellent type and absence of contractions, and the general arrangement, make the book agreeable reading by comparison with the other works of the author. It is simply lectures, or rather notes for lectures, clearly not prepared or intended for the press. The questions discussed are in general as to the meaning of Aristotle as explained by his various commentators. Much of it, like the 'De Intensione,' is a discussion of the views of Richard of Swineshead, always referred to as 'Calculator'; much is a discussion of the Commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias, to whose views Pomponatius here as elsewhere attributes extraordinary weight. Yet though there is no originality in the 'Dubitationes,' there is a certain independence of thought, and the book gives us a high idea of both the candour and the modesty of its author. Pomponatius is no slave, even to Alexander. Thus in the fourteenth 'Dubitatio,' on the saying of Aristotle that air, water, and earth putrefy, but that fire does not putrefy, he discusses the opinion of Alexander with great freedom, and himself inclines to that of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, yet he concludes that the matter is doubtful, and that perhaps Alexander knows best: 'ego autem quia non sum hoc expertus dubito quid in hoc dicam; forte id expertus est Alexander.' Sometimes he ventures to point out an inconsistency between different passages of the master, and even to doubt whether Aristotle is right. He is frequently unable to come to any satisfactory conclusion, and ends one of his lectures with this remark, 'You must take this explanation for what it is worth,' and another with 'I have no better explanation to give you than this: if you have one, tell it me.' Once, and only once so far as we have noticed, his doubt is whether Aristotle has been accurately translated.

He says that Alcyonius interprets 'stateusis' (στάθεις) as 'tostio,' and he doubts whether that is quite correct.<sup>1</sup>

The original manuscript of the 'De Fato' is said by Arpe ('Theatrum Fati,' p. 59) to be in the Escorial. Fiorentino has given, in the 'Giornale Napolitano' for 1878, an account of several volumes of manuscripts preserved at Arezzo; and from a letter from Gaffarel to Bourdelot, written from Venice in May 1633, and forming the Preface to the very scarce tract of Gaffarel, 'Thomæ Campanellæ De Reformatione Scientiarum Index,' it appears that Gaffarel had sent to Bourdelot six large manuscript volumes containing 'the whole philosophy of Pomponatius,' a catalogue of the contents of which would seem, according to Olearius ('Dissertatio de Pomponatio,' Jena, 1709), to have been printed at Paris in 1633.<sup>2</sup>

Laying aside the revolutionary character of the doctrines of Pomponatius, we are most struck by the extreme conservatism of his style, his method, and his reading. There is no trace of humanism or of the Renaissance in any of these. His style, though not wanting in a certain amount of vigour, is that of his mediæval and scholastic predecessors, not a trace of that Ciceronianism of which his pupil Bembo was one of the leading exponents. Indeed it is difficult to understand, in turning from a book by Pomponatius to one by Bembo, that the men could have been contemporaries and friends and be supposed to be writing in the same language. Speroni is, however, hardly fair in saying that Pomponatius knew no language except the *patois* of his native Mantua. His reading is extensive, but it is almost wholly in his own subject. The Greek and Arabic philosophers (of course only in Latin translations), Aquinas, Scotus, Albertus Magnus, and Suiseth of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Aliud dubium. Agit Aristoteles in textu de stateusi (quam Alcionius interpretatur tostionem). Hic dubito. Nam tostio fit à magno calido excessivo, ob id enim dicimus torridam zonam quia torret, et adurit, stateusis autem non fit per excessivum calorem, et adustionem, sed ob defectum caloris.' (Dub. xxxix.)

<sup>2</sup> *Operum Pomponatii evulgatorum e MSS. nomenclator e Bibl. Jo. Bourdelotii.* Paris, 1633. The present writer has been unable to discover a copy of this catalogue.

medieval writers, are those with whom he has the greatest familiarity, and who are oftenest quoted. Occasionally, but very rarely, we have a reference to or a quotation from the poets. In the 'De Immortalitate' there is one long quotation from the Georgics, and two or three other references to Virgil, Ovid, and Plutarch. The contemporaries whom he quotes are almost entirely writers on philosophy, but we have not noticed any contemporary referred to in the 'De Immortalitate'; nor except for the suggestion which he makes somewhat sneeringly in one place, that from the torpor of the Christian faith, and from the fact that it had long ceased to work miracles, its end was probably approaching, is there anything to intimate that he in any way sympathised with, or even that he was aware of the enormous change that was taking place in the minds of men, as well in the direction of the more thorough and appreciative study of Greek and Roman antiquity, as in reference to the thought and action of the present and the future. Nor does Pomponatius in his life resemble the scholars of the Renaissance. We find in him nothing of the restlessness, either of mind or body, which characterised so many of them as they went about lecturing and studying from University to University. For the first forty-five years of his life his travels extended no further than between Mantua and Padua, and during the remainder of his life we find no trace of any journeyings beyond Ferrara and Bologna.

Only one of the works of Pomponatius has received the honour of a place in the Index, namely, the 'De Incantationibus.' The circulation of the rest seems to have been permitted. Of the original editions of the 'De Immortalitate,' 'Apologia,' and the 'Defensorium,' it is probable that very few copies were issued; while of that of 1525, the 'Solutiones' of Javelli and the tract of Contarini, which forms part of the volume, together with the work of Nifo, which seems to have been often bound up with it, were probably considered to be sufficient antidotes, and to render harmless the perusal of the books; and whatever may be the violence and unfairness of the attacks on Pomponatius by Nifo, Ambrogio Fiandino, Bartolomeo di Spina, and others, we

think the history of the controversy cannot be said to be an instance of the bigotry or intolerance of the Church, but rather of the willingness of her rulers, until an opposite course was forced upon them by the preaching of Luther, to look at least without serious disfavour upon philosophical and theological speculation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We know of two engraved portraits of Pomponatius, one given by Olearius in his *Dissertatio de Pomponatio* (Jena, 1709), which purports to be a copy of a medallion of the sixteenth century, taken no doubt from the bust or statue erected by Cardinal Gonzaga. The medal itself (two specimens of which are known to the present writer) is of admirable execution, but the engraving is completely disfigured and made little more than a caricature by the aquiline nose of the original being converted into what can only be described as a bottle-nose. The other engraving is in Freher's *Theatrum Virorum Eruditione . . . Clarorum* (Nuremberg, 1688), and, like so many of the portraits in that book, seems to be simply a fancy sketch, possessing not the smallest resemblance to the face which appears on the medallion.

## WAS GIORDANO BRUNO REALLY BURNED ?

[Reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine* for October 1885, pp. 435-40.]

IN the month of January 1593, Giordano Bruno, then a prisoner in the Inquisition of Venice, charged with heresy and apostasy, was handed over, with the sanction of the government, to the Papal Nuncio, in order that he might be sent to Rome to be dealt with by the Inquisition there. From this time he completely disappears from view, unless we accept the statement, which has been generally believed, that he was burned alive at Rome seven years later. About the year 1620, there first appeared in print a letter, purporting to be written from Rome by Gaspar Schoppe, or Scioppius, on the 17th of February, 1600, to Conrad Rittershusius, professor of law at Altdorf, giving a detailed account of the trial of Bruno by the Inquisition, and of his burning, which, as the writer alleged, had occurred that day, and at which he was present. In this letter, after giving an account of the life, the travels, and the heretical opinions of Bruno, the writer continues :—

‘ Finally, at Venice, he fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and after being retained there for some time he was sent to Rome. Interrogated on many occasions by the Holy Office, and confuted by eminent theologians, forty days were given him to reflect; he promised to abjure his errors, then he commenced again to maintain them, then he demanded another delay of forty days. In fact he thought only of playing with the Inquisition and the Pope. Accordingly, on the 9th of February last, about two years after his arrest, in the palace of the Grand Inquisitor, and in the presence of three illustrious cardinals, of the theologians who had been consulted, and of the secular magistrates, Bruno was introduced into the Hall of the Inquisition, and there, on his knees, heard the sentence pronounced against him. It set forth at length his life, studies

opinions, the zeal which the Inquisition had displayed in trying to convert him, and the obstinate impiety of which he had given proof. Finally he was degraded, excommunicated, and delivered to the secular magistrates with the prayer that he should be punished with as much clemency as possible and without the shedding of blood. To all this Bruno only replied with a threatening air: 'The sentence you pronounce perhaps troubles you more at this moment than it does me.' The guards of the governor then conveyed him to prison. There, another effort was made to induce him to abjure his errors, but in vain. To-day then he was led to the stake. When the image of the Crucified Saviour was shown to him he repelled it with disdain and with a savage air. The wretch died in the middle of the flames, and I have no doubt that he has gone to relate in those other worlds which he had imagined, how the Romans are accustomed to treat the blasphemers and the impious. You see, my dear friend, in what manner we proceed here against this species of men, or rather of monsters.'

Ever since the appearance of this letter in print, it has been all but universally admitted to be genuine, and though doubts have been occasionally expressed, no serious attempt has been made until recently to impugn its substantial accuracy or its authenticity. Certainly after being handed over to the Roman Inquisition Bruno entirely disappears from view, and unless he was burned, as the letter relates, his fate is an entire mystery.

M. Desdoutis, Professor of Philosophy at the Lycée of Versailles, the writer of several philosophical treatises which have brought to their author a considerable reputation—two of them, on 'Metaphysics' and the 'Philosophy of Kant,' having been crowned by the French Institute—has lately published a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages, the title of which sufficiently indicates its object and the motive of its argument—'La Légende tragique de Jordano Bruno—comment elle a été formée—son origine suspecte—et son invraisemblance.'

To treat the burning of Bruno as a legend resting on no solid foundation of fact, but invented by a Protestant propagandist, with a view of throwing discredit on the Church of Rome generally and the Roman Inquisition in particular, requires at least some boldness, and to support this theory

with arguments of so much plausibility and ingenuity as to induce the editor of a journal of great influence and deserved reputation, the *Manchester Guardian*, besides several French periodicals, to reproduce them without a word of dissent, but with an evident opinion that they are well grounded, makes it expedient, in the interests of historical truth, to inquire whether the theory rests on any solid foundation, and to state for the first time (at least in English) the evidence which exists on the subject.

According to M. Desdouits, the sole piece of evidence on which the burning of Bruno rests is the letter to which I have referred, purporting to be written by Scioppius. It was first printed (in Germany) in or about 1620, at the end of an extremely rare pseudonymous tract, which bears the title 'Machiavellizatio.'<sup>1</sup> No writer, according to the belief of M. Desdouits when he printed his paper, quoted this letter, or had any knowledge either of the 'Machiavellizatio' or the fate of Bruno, until J. H. Ursin referred to it in 1661, in the preface to his 'Commentaries on Zoroaster.' But in a supplement M. Desdouits tells us that a friend has called his attention to a line of Mersenne, who, in his 'Impiété des Déistes,' printed in 1624, speaks of Bruno as '*un athée brûlé en Italie.*' (This shows that M. Desdouits has not even read Bayle's article on Bruno, to which nevertheless he often refers, for Bayle cites this very line of Mersenne.) Nicodemo, in his 'Addizioni alla Biblioteca Napoletana, 1683,' quotes Ursin, but only to throw doubts on the statement of Scioppius, and it was not until 1701 that the letter of Scioppius was really made known to the world, having been reprinted in full by Struvius in his 'Acta Litteraria.' 'It

<sup>1</sup> Of the many writers who have quoted this book I cannot think that any of them have seen it, except Ursin, Toland, C. A. Salig, and, perhaps, Vogt. Brucker is the authority from whom M. Desdouits and most writers for the last century and a half have taken its title. But I am satisfied that Brucker merely derived his knowledge of it from Ursin and Toland. A reprint (or possibly the original) of the first part of the tract is in the British Museum, but unfortunately it does not contain the letter of Scioppius. The only writer who gives what seems to me to be the complete or accurate title is Vogt in his *Cat. Lib. Rar.* (Hamburg, 1747). It would be interesting to ascertain where a copy containing the letter of Scioppius is to be found.



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is from that date, and from that work,' says M. Desdovits, 'that the tradition of the punishment of Bruno, up to that time uncertain and nebulous, takes consistence and reaches its full development.' In 1726, Haym, in his 'Notizia dei Libri rari nella Ling. Ital.,' expressed an opinion that Bruno was only burned in effigy; and before this time, Bayle had cited Nicodemo, and had seemingly shared his doubts.

In brief abstract M. Desdovits' arguments are as follows :

'There are two grave reasons against the authenticity of the letter of Scioppius: first, it has been found in mysterious circumstances which do not allow us to mount to its origin; secondly, it contains many passages which it is difficult to attribute to a friend of the Court of Rome. Printed first in this obscure and unknown book, *Machiavellizatio*, where it was discovered seventy-five years later by Struvius, there is no sort of external evidence that it was written by Scioppius, while the internal evidence from the letter itself is altogether the other way. That the style is in harmony with that of Scioppius is no proof of its authenticity, for a clever forger would take care that no suspicion on that score could arise. But in other respects it is not such a letter as Scioppius would be expected to write. Why does he relate to Rittershusius in detail the life and adventures of Bruno during the last eighteen years, as if Rittershusius would not be well acquainted with them? It is clear that this is put in, in order that the tissue of falsehoods with which the letter concludes might be preceded by the accurate recital of facts. But in the year 1600 Scioppius was entirely devoted to the Church of Rome, which it was only two years since he had formally joined. All his writings at this time show a great zeal for orthodoxy. How improbable, then, that in a letter written to the Protestant Rittershusius to justify the Church of Rome from the reproach of cruelty he would add to the aggravating circumstances, calumnies of a nature to augment the fury of the Lutherans against the Church of Rome. But, in fact, the letter contains one manifest falsehood and atrocious calumny. 'Bruno,' says the letter, 'will be able to relate in other worlds, how the Romans are accustomed to treat the blasphemers and the impious.' Would any friend of the Church of Rome have written the words '*are accustomed*'? for every one knows that it is a falsehood; every one knows that the rigours which were habitual in other countries in Europe were not habitual at Rome. No doubt plenty of victims

will be found in Spain, in England, and in France, but at Rome, how many can be discovered? What were the rigours of the ecclesiastical authority when one compares them with the lay tribunals? It is clear that the letter is not that of a friend of the Church, it is probably the work of a German Lutheran, and this explains the impossibility of discovering its origin, and it seems probable that some details of the letter were borrowed from the account given by the President de Gramond, in 1619, of the punishment of Vanini. Turning from the letter itself, the punishment of Bruno is, *a priori*, improbable; the absolute silence of contemporaries is inexplicable; if Bruno were really burnt publicly at Rome, where the spectacle of burning at the stake was unusual, any such punishment would be sure to be noticed, especially when the victim was one of the most illustrious philosophers in Europe, the most redoubtable enemy of the Papacy and the Christian faith. When nineteen years later Vanini was executed at Toulouse, the attention of the whole literary world was drawn to it, but *no contemporary makes the least mention of the tragical death of Bruno*. The absolute silence of the ambassadors of Venice in their despatches to their government is alone an irrefutable argument against the punishment of Bruno, *nor is the absence of any official record of his trial and execution at Rome less important or less decisive*. The probability is, then, that he finished his life at Rome in a convent of his order. Nothing proves that Giordano Bruno was burnt at Rome, and the hypothesis of his punishment is not only uncertain but improbable (*invraisemblable*).

Such, in a somewhat abbreviated form, are the arguments of M. Desdouits, and they are maintained with much ingenuity and ability. Taken by themselves they seem to be, if not absolutely conclusive, at least highly probable, and to deserve the detailed examination which I proceed to give them. And first of the letter of Scioppius. The 'Machiavelizatio' is certainly now very scarce, but it was a well-known book for some time after its appearance. It had the honour to be placed in the 'Index.' At least two answers were given to it within a year after its appearance—one by no less a person than Balasfi, Bishop of Bosnia—and an account of it is given by Salig, in his 'History of the Augsburg Confession.' Now, as the book was printed, at the latest, in 1621, it is strange if it never came to the knowledge of Scioppius, who

lived until 1649, and it is quite certain that if he had learned that a forged letter purporting to have been written by him was contained in the 'Machiavellizatio,' or in any book, the world would very soon have heard his loud and furious complaints. But that Struvius dug the letter out of the 'Machiavellizatio,' as stated by M. Desdouits, is incorrect. Had he referred to the book of Struvius, instead of merely deriving his knowledge of it from Brucker, or some other secondhand source, he would have known that the letter was communicated in manuscript to Struvius by Gottlieb Krantz, a professor of Breslau, and it is clear that both of them believed it to be unpublished.

M. Desdouits inquires why the author of this forged letter should have attributed it to Scioppius, and addressed it to Rittershusius, and he replies that it was necessary that it should take the name of some writer who was at Rome at the date of the pretended burning, that Scioppius was the best known of those then residing there, and that as he had himself written and printed, in 1599, an epistle to Rittershusius, this suggested the name of the person to whom the letter was to be addressed. But M. Desdouits seems to be ignorant that Scioppius was at this very time in close correspondence with Rittershusius, and that Struvius published in his 'Acta Litteraria,' from the original autograph, nine other letters from Scioppius to the Altdorf professor. All these were written between January 1599, and February 1600, and the letter of February 17, 1600, not only contains the long account of Bruno and his execution, but also much matter of general literary interest, precisely of the same character as the earlier letters, to which it forms a consistent sequel. The same persons, the same books, the same subjects are spoken of. The Vatican manuscript of Sulpicius Severus, which was being copied for Rittershusius under the directions of Scioppius, is referred to in the letter of the 17th of February, just as we should expect from the mention of it in the previous letter of the 29th of January. But when Struvius published the letter of February 17, he was not acquainted with the existence of the nine other letters, which he only printed sixteen years later in the fifth part of his

second volume. If, therefore, the letter in question is a forgery, the forger must have had before him these earlier letters which remained unknown for a century after the publication of the 'Machiavellizatio.' But among the letters first printed in 1717 is the angry letter of Rittershusius renouncing the friendship of Scioppius and declining all further intercourse. This letter, written on February 14, 1600, must have crossed Scioppius's letter of the 17th, and thenceforward all intercourse between the two men absolutely ceased. If, therefore, the (Bruno) letter is a forgery, the forger must have accidentally hit upon the very latest date at which it was possible for Scioppius to write to Rittershusius in friendly terms, or he must have been acquainted with this letter of Rittershusius which was not printed until a century afterwards, and he must have fixed the date of the burning so as to harmonise with it.

Next as to the tone of the letter itself. Is it the kind of letter likely to have been written by a friend of the Church of Rome to a Protestant, or is it clearly the work of an enemy? (I pass over M. Desdoutis' indignant comments on the words 'are accustomed,' for I have been unable to find a complete list of the heretics burned at Rome from 1580 to 1620, but certainly, though they were not so numerous as in Spain, they were not so rare at Rome as to cause much sensation when they occurred.) Scioppius, it must be remembered, was at this time a recent convert, and whatever the motives of his conversion he was at least full of that ardour for his new faith which neophytes proverbially display, and he was certainly desirous of commending it in every way possible to one who had long been, and whom he was most anxious to retain as, his most intimate friend. Scioppius commences by saying that if his correspondent were then at Rome, he would no doubt hear it commonly reported that a Lutheran had been burned, and would thus be confirmed in his opinion of the cruelty of the Roman Church. For the common people in Italy did not distinguish between Lutherans and other heretics, but called every kind of heresy Lutheranism, 'but in fact,' he continues, 'neither Lutherans nor Calvinists are in the slightest danger at Rome; on the contrary, the Pope

has given directions that they should be treated with extraordinary attention and civility, and nothing is attempted against them; they are only exhorted to investigate the truth.' Then he proceeds to give the history of Bruno and his doctrines, showing that there was hardly any heresy, old or new, which the philosopher did not hold, and he is evidently quite satisfied that Rittershusius would agree with him that the punishment was entirely justifiable. He adds, in a very different tone from that which he used of the same eminent person a dozen years later, that Casaubon was setting an excellent example (it was then rumoured that the great scholar was about to join the Church of Rome), and he prays that his correspondent may follow the same course.

The tone of the letter is exactly what we should expect from a friend and adherent of the Church of Rome. Romanists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans, differing upon almost every other doctrine, were all agreed upon this one, that it was a Christian duty to burn atheists and heretics. The only point as to which they differed was the definition of heresy. It was less than half a century since Calvin and the Grand Inquisitor, Orry, had vied with each other which was to have the credit of burning Servetus, and that the Genevan Reformer had sneered at the primate of primates for allowing so notorious an atheist to live unharmed within the confines of his cathedral city.

When we read the earlier correspondence with Rittershusius the argument of the Bruno letter becomes still more clear. In the epistle printed by Scioppius himself in 1599, which so seriously offended Rittershusius, as well as in several subsequent letters, the mildness and gentleness with which Lutherans were treated at Rome is much insisted upon. Scioppius was now endeavouring by every means in his power, but in vain, to smooth the justly irritated professor, and he felt that when his correspondent should hear, as he probably soon would do, that a Lutheran had been burnt at Rome, he would believe that all the specious statements of his correspondent, as to the gentleness of the Court of Rome and the favour shown by it to Lutherans were mere pretence, and that in urging Rittershusius to visit Rome, Scioppius

desired to place him in the power of the Inquisition, when possibly he might share the fate of Bruno.

Nor is it the fact that until this letter was unearthed by Struvius, the terrible fate of Bruno was not generally known, or that except the single reference to it by Mersenne, Ursin was the first to announce it. Not only does Mersenne, in 1624, refer to Bruno in the line cited by Bayle and M. Desdouts as '*un athée brûlé en Italie*,' but in the same work—a work, by the way, that had a large circulation, and is cited by nearly every writer on atheism in the 17th century—in a long chapter devoted to Bruno, which M. Desdouts has evidently not read, Mersenne remarks (p. 363), in speaking of the dialogue *De la causa, principio et uno*, 'ce sont ces dialogues pour lesquels il a esté brûlé à Rome comme quelques uns m'ont assuré,' implying that it was not from the '*Machiavellizatio*,' but from contemporary information that his knowledge was derived. But if any doubts remain as to the genuineness of the letter, and as to the fact of the presence of Scioppius himself at the execution of Bruno, they are resolved by Scioppius himself, who in one of the best known of his books, the '*Ecclesiasticus*,' printed in 1611, and solemnly burned by order of the Parliament of Paris on the 24th of November 1612, refers to the burning of Bruno, almost in the same words as occur in the letter of Rittershusius (p. 264). 'It happened to me about ten years since, at Rome, to be a witness of this memorable obstinacy in the case of *Giordano Bruno, of Nola, who, rather than recant, preferred to be burnt alive in a blazing fire surrounded by miserable faggots (infelicibus sarmentis circumseptus luculento igne vivus ustulari maluit)*.' But a remarkable piece of evidence remains, in the '*Correspondence*' of Kepler and Brengger, first printed in 1858. On the 30th of November 1607, Kepler wrote, 'Nor was that unfortunate Bruno who was burnt (*prunis tostis*) at Rome the only one who held the opinion that the stars were inhabited; my friend Brabeus took the same view.' Brengger replies on the 7th of March, 1608, 'When you write of *Giordano Bruno prunis tostis*, I understand you mean he was burned (*crematum*). I beg of you to tell me whether this is so, and when and where this

happened.' On the 5th of April, Kepler replies, '*I learned from Wacker that Bruno was burned at Rome, and that he suffered the punishment with firmness, asserting the vanity of all religions, and turning God into the universe, into circles, or into points.*' A further letter of Brengger of the 8th of June refers to the same subject.<sup>1</sup>

Now there could not possibly be a better authority than J. M. Wacker, who in February 1600 was residing at Rome as the Imperial Ambassador, and was also, curiously enough, one of the chief patrons of Scioppius. His name frequently occurs in the correspondence with Rittershusius.

I could cite other references to the burning of Bruno from writers of an earlier date than Struvius, among others Charles Sorel and G. Spitzel (Spizelius), but I think sufficient has been said to prove that the fact of the burning of Bruno was generally known in the seventeenth century to those interested in the matter, and that it was as generally believed.

I now turn to the second head of M. Desdouits' arguments: namely, that which refers to the absence of all official record of the trial or execution. His studies have evidently stopped short with the excellent work of Bartholmess printed at Paris in 1846, and he seems to be entirely ignorant of the investigations of several Italian scholars during the last twenty years in the Archives of the Vatican and of the Inquisition, the results of which have been published by Signor Berti in the two following works—'*Copernico e le vicende del systema Copernicano in Italia con documenti inediti intorno a Giordano Bruno e Galileo*' (Rome, 1876), and '*Documenti intorno a Giordano Bruno*' (Rome, 1880). The Records of the Inquisition state that on the 27th of February, 1593, Giordano Bruno arrived at Rome, and was incarcerated in the prison of the Holy Office; that in February 1599 his trial commenced; that on the 20th of January 1600 the Pope ordered the sentence to be passed which terminates with those well-known words, so terrible in their operation, so vague in their terms, '*dictus Fr. Jordanus*

<sup>1</sup> *Kepleri Opera, edidit Frisch, 1658-70, ii. 591, 592, 596.*

*tradatur curiæ seculari* ;' that on February 8 this sentence was actually pronounced, and the prisoner forthwith delivered to the Secular Court. So much for the Records of the Inquisition. Among the manuscripts of the Vatican is a collection of newsletters (*Avvisi di Roma*), which in those days did duty as gazettes or newspapers. In one, dated Saturday, February 12, 1600, the gazetteer writes that they were expecting that day a solemn act of justice on a Dominican of Nola who, on the Wednesday previous, had been condemned to be burnt alive. But it seems the pious multitude were disappointed of their entertainment for several days. In the *Avviso* of the 19th of the same month, it is written that 'on Thursday morning, in the Campo de Fiore, that wicked Dominican friar of Nola, of whom mention was made in the last letter, was burnt alive. A most obstinate heretic, and having of his own caprice formed divers dogmas against our faith, and in particular against the most holy Virgin and the saints, in which the wretched man was obstinately determined to die, saying that he was dying as a martyr and willingly, and that his soul would ascend with the smoke into Paradise.'

Signor Berti has further discovered in a book of accounts an entry of a payment of twenty scudi to the Bishop who performed the ceremony of the degradation of Bruno.

Most persons will probably consider that the facts here stated are sufficient to prove beyond reasonable doubt that Giordano Bruno was burned alive at Rome. But it is understood that M. Desdovits does not accept as final or conclusive the evidence from the Archives of the Inquisition, and the *Avvisi di Roma*, which have been brought under his notice by the Italian press. I have therefore thought it not inexpedient to point out, at what may seem unnecessary length, that, apart from the discoveries which have been given to the world by Signor Berti, there is abundant proof of the fact in the writings of the seventeenth century, and that the genuineness of the letter of Scioppius is not open to the suspicions which have been cast upon it.



## VANINI IN ENGLAND

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OF the foreigners who visited England in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. perhaps the most interesting figures are those of Giordano Bruno and Giulio Cesare Vanini. Although it would be absurd to place the lucubrations of Vanini on a level with the philosophical, if not always intelligible, speculations of Bruno, yet the similarity of the subject matter of their audacious writings, their wandering and adventurous lives, and perhaps most of all the similarity of their tragical fate, make us constantly link their names together, and perhaps have contributed to shed upon Vanini some sparks of the halo which surrounds the name of Bruno. We have hitherto had no contemporary account of the visit of either to our shores. We have known only what they themselves have been pleased to tell us in their works—in the case of Bruno a mixture of ‘Wahrheit und Dichtung’ which excites in us a desire to know how the matters recorded appeared to those eminent persons—Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville among others—with whom it seems to be clear that during his visit he was intimately associated. But Vanini tells us hardly anything of his visit except that he passed two years in England, that his zeal for the Catholic faith occasioned his imprisonment for forty-nine days, and that he was prepared to receive the crown of martyrdom with all the zeal imaginable.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, among the State Papers in the Record Office a number of letters, two by Vanini himself, others by those

<sup>1</sup> *Amphitheatrum Æternæ Providentiæ*, pp. 117-8. But he is not very accurate in his statement, and implies—if he does not actually assert—that he came to England on a religious mission:—‘Ego sane vel minimus militantis Ecclesiæ Tyro, cum anno præterito Londini ad agonem Christianum destinatus essem, adeoque 49 diebus in latomiis tanquam palæstra quadam exercebam, eo eram pro Catholicæ Ecclesiæ autoritate defensanda effundendi sanguinis

with whom he was immediately connected whilst in England, which give us a tolerably detailed account of his residence in this country, and throw an important though not altogether favourable light upon his life, his character, and his opinions.

Among the sources of information for the reign of James I., the latter part of Elizabeth, and the first years of Charles I., an important place must be given to the correspondence between Sir Dudley Carleton—afterwards Viscount Dorchester—successively ambassador at Brussels, Venice, and The Hague, and John Chamberlain. Chamberlain, well described by Mr. Thompson Cooper in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' as 'an accomplished scholar and an admirable letter-writer, the Horace Walpole of his day,' during more than a quarter of a century was in the habit of writing long and frequent letters to his friends, especially to those who filled diplomatic appointments abroad, full of interesting details, including not only public events but all the court gossip of the time. A private gentleman of good position and ample fortune, intimate with many men of eminence, and mixing in the best society of his time, he seems to have been singularly free from ambition, and to have desired neither place nor money. Copies (now in the British Museum) of a large number of his letters, made a century and a half since by Dr. Thomas Birch from the originals in the Record Office, form the principal and by far the most interesting part of two works entitled 'The Court and Times of James I.' (2 vols. London, 1848) and 'The Court and Times of Charles I.' (London, 1848). A volume of his letters written in the reign of Elizabeth has been printed by the Camden Society. Many others are to be found in Nichols's 'Progresses of James I.,' and in Sir Ralph Winwood's 'Memorials.' A considerable number of Chamberlain's letters, however, are still in the Record Office

desiderio accensus, et inflammatus, ut mihi a Deo immortali vel majus donum, aut melius contingere nullo modo potuisset, ita quidem, si non superiorem, inferiorem certe nullo martyre propriæ conscientiæ testimonium me indicavit et confratrum, qui mecum in eodem erant Xisto et teatro fortissimi, et digni sane qui tale Deo spectaculum exhiberent.'

and unprinted, many of these being as full of interest as those which have appeared in the volumes just referred to.

In 'The Court and Times of James I.' there are several letters from Chamberlain and one from Carleton referring to two Carmelite friars professing to be Protestants, who came to England from Venice in 1612 with an introduction from Carleton to Archbishop Abbot, by whom they were for some time entertained at Lambeth. Their names are not given, but in the printed 'Calendar of State Papers,' besides many other letters not printed in 'The Court and Times of James I.,' are two letters in Italian from one of them called in the Calendar, Julio Cesare Vandoni: one to Carleton thanking him for the introduction to Archbishop Abbot, the other to Isaac Wake, then Carleton's secretary. The name certainly at first sight looks much more like Vandoni than Vanini, but on a comparison with the only other specimen of Vanini's handwriting known to exist—the oath taken by him on receiving the degree of doctor, which has been brought to light from the Archives of the University of Naples by Professor Settembrini, and a facsimile of a part of which is given by Signor Palumbo in the book hereinafter referred to—the 'n' forming the third letter of 'Vanini' in the signature of the letters to Carleton and Wake will be seen to be identical with the letter 'n' in the word 'spondeo' in the oath, and to have the same flourish resembling a 'd' at the end of it, whilst other similarities show that the handwriting of the oath and of the two letters is identical. That these two letters were written by Vanini and that the State Papers contain several references to his visit to England was first made known by Signor Raffaelle Palumbo in 1878, in a brochure of one hundred pages entitled 'Giulio Cesare Vanini e i suoi tempi. Cenno biografico-storico corredato di documenti inediti' (Naples). The object of this book, the author tells us, 'is to make known some documents discovered by me in London in the Archives of the State. These documents, which have remained unknown for three centuries, enable us to understand both the character and many details respecting Giulio Cesare Vanini, who died at the stake at Toulouse and was one of the last of the

philosophers of the Italian Renaissance.' Signor Palumbo is entitled to much credit, and ought to receive our gratitude, for the discovery that these documents refer to Vanini, but unfortunately he has made but little use of them in his book. He prints in full, indeed—though not quite correctly—the two letters in Italian from Vanini himself, which are really among the least interesting of the whole series, but of those of Archbishop Abbot and John Chamberlain to which he refers, he gives very brief extracts and incorrect summaries. He was evidently unaware that several of these letters had been printed, and it is clear that he had only actually read the two written by Vanini, and that of the rest, he was entirely ignorant of the existence of some of the most important, and of the others he has contented himself with reading the summaries given by Mrs. Green in the 'Calendar of State Papers.' On several important points—possibly from a want of familiarity with our language and our history—he has misunderstood and misstated the effect of these summaries, and has thus deprived his narrative of any value whatever, either for the details of Vanini's residence in England, or for enabling us to form any conclusions as to his character or his object in visiting this country.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, of the nineteen letters which I have been able to find in the Record Office relating to Vanini and his visit, Palumbo refers only to ten, and has not even noticed perhaps the most important of all—one from Archbishop Abbot to Sir Dudley Carleton, written March 16, 1614.

Signor Palumbo's work was reviewed by Professor Fiorentino in the 'Nuova Antologia' for September 1878, but so little attention did it receive in England that no copy

<sup>1</sup> Signor Palumbo's inaccuracies are not confined to English affairs. He speaks of Bayle (who was born in 1643) as a contemporary of Vanini, and states that Gramond the historian was president of the parliament of Toulouse at the time of Vanini's execution, that he presided at the trial and suborned the chief witness against him, Francon by name. Brutally as Gramond treats Vanini in his *History*, it is only just to him to say that he was in no way concerned in the trial. It was not until some years later that he succeeded his father, with whom he has been confounded, in the office of *Président des Enquêtes* in the parliament of Toulouse. But though his father then held that office, there is no evidence that he, any more than his son, took part in the trial of Vanini.

of it is to be found in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> nor has it, or the remarkable discovery made by Signor Palumbo, so far as I know, been noticed by any English writer except the Rev. J. Owen, who in his recent work, 'The Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance,' has devoted several pages to Vanini's visit to England. But unfortunately Mr. Owen has not consulted the documents themselves, or even the printed calendars, and has merely based his account upon that of Palumbo, or rather, perhaps, upon Fiorentino's article in the 'Nuova Antologia,' borrowing all the Italian author's mistakes, and adding one or two others of his own. He, like Palumbo, is entirely ignorant of the fact that several of the letters have been printed in 'The Court and Times of James I.' Both writers take a very favourable view of the character of Vanini, and neither of them has extracted from the letters any of the passages which tend to give an opposite impression.

Each of them represents Vanini as a sincere and conscientious man, an orthodox but liberal-minded Catholic, hoping to find in the Anglican Church greater intellectual freedom than in the Roman communion, and returning to the Church of Rome when he found that of England not more but less liberal and giving less opportunity for freedom of thought. This is certainly not the impression the letters themselves give us. Mr. Owen's chapter on Vanini is, notwithstanding, one of the most interesting in his book, and it is greatly to be regretted that he has missed the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the facts as to Vanini's stay in England, and of giving them to the world. They would certainly—after making all allowance for the narrow-minded prejudices of Archbishop Abbot—have obliged him to modify his opinion of the character of Vanini, and to have represented it less favourably.

Lucilio, or, as he preferred to style himself, Giulio Cesare Vanini (perhaps copying a man for whom he more than once expresses great admiration, Julius Cæsar Scaliger), was born at Taurisano, near Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples, in 1585. His taste for learning induced his father to send him

<sup>1</sup> [Since this article appeared a copy of Palumbo's book has been added to the British Museum Library.]

to the university of Naples, where he took the degree of Doctor *utriusque juris* in 1606. Philosophy and physical science were his two favourite subjects of study, and his two masters were, as he tells us, John Bacon (*i.e.* Baconthorpe), 'the prince of Averroists, from whom I have learned to swear only by Averroës,' and Pomponatius, whose book 'De Incantationibus' he styles 'a golden book,' and of whom he writes—strangely enough, since Pomponatius was an opponent of Averroës, and a disciple of Alexander of Aphrodisias—'that Pythagoras would have said that the soul of Averroës had passed into the body of Pomponatius.' Renan, in his 'Averroës et l'Averroïsme,' seems hardly as fair as usual in attributing to Vanini a deliberate falsehood in this statement as to his masters, one of whom died two hundred and forty years and the other fifty years before his birth, and I agree with Mr. Owen that he only intended to express the obligations he was under to the works of these two philosophers, and not to suggest that he had actually been their pupil. His other favourite authors were Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, and Jerome Cardan.

For the details of his life between June 1606, when he took his doctor's degree, and the spring of 1612, when we find him in Venice, we have only the scattered references to be found in his two only extant books, the 'Amphitheatrum Æternæ Providentiæ,' printed at Lyons in 1615, and his 'De Admirandis Naturæ . . . Arcanis,' printed at Paris in 1616. That he became a Carmelite friar, and received priest's orders; that he studied for some time at Padua and there (probably) made the acquaintance of a fellow student, one Giovanni Maria Genochi<sup>1</sup>; that he travelled through Germany, having there Genochi as his companion, Bohemia, Holland, and Switzerland, disputing with atheists and Protestants, and always professing himself to be an orthodox Catholic; then for a time staying in France—probably in Paris, but (perhaps) driven from thence by the false accusations of a certain Henricus Sylvius—is really all that we know of his history during these years. In the spring of

<sup>1</sup> Variouslly called by the biographers of Vanini, Genochi, Gennochis, Guinnochi, and Sinnochi.

1612, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, we find him at Venice, and it is there that our special interest in him in connection with his English visit begins.

It appears from the letters which I shall shortly quote at length, that in or shortly prior to March 1612, Sir Dudley Carleton, then ambassador to Venice, and his secretary, Isaac Wake, had made the acquaintance of two Carmelite friars, men of considerable learning, who professed a secret attachment to the reformed doctrines, and a desire to visit England. Carleton, who though a shrewd diplomatist was now at least a zealous Protestant—he had been suspected of being a Roman Catholic in his youth—was convinced of their sincerity: ‘Their discovery of light even in the midst of darkness hath been very miraculous.’ Accordingly he wrote to Archbishop Abbot, recommending them to him, and received from him a reply to the effect that if they visited England they would be well received. These letters I have not been able to find, but it seems from a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton of June 17, 1612, that notwithstanding the desire as well of Carleton as of the two friars themselves that their visit ‘should be with all secrecy,’ the matter had not been kept private, but had been talked of two months before their arrival: ‘They were expected long before they came, and the bishop of Ely [Andrewes] could tell me two months since that two such were on their way . . . some while before they set forth.’

One of these friars was Vanini, the other—the younger of the two—called himself Giovanni (Battista?) Maria de Franchis.<sup>1</sup> They would seem to have started from Venice soon after April 29, furnished with a letter of introduction of that date from Carleton to Chamberlain, who had accompanied him on his embassy to Venice in 1610, and had lately (in November 1611) returned to England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Whether he is the same person with Giovanni Maria Genochi I shall consider later on.

<sup>2</sup> Signor Palumbo, as a foreigner, may be excused for knowing nothing of Chamberlain, but it is strange that Mr. Owen should have failed to identify Carleton's correspondent—a man well known to every student of the reigns of James I. and Charles I., whose letters, especially those to Carleton, are so frequently quoted by our historians and biographers. Signor Palumbo and

Good Mr. Chamberlain,—You must be content to be troubled sometimes with commissions from your friends with which variety will make the quietness you enjoy so much the more pleasing. This that I now recommend to you is a work of charity to be assistant to two honest strangers, who were yet never nearer England than this place nor never spake with Englishman but with myself and some of my house: and yet as they are carried thither by their affection, so are they well settled in our religion. For this cause I have recommended them to my Lord Archbishop's grace, by whom I have good assurance they will be well received: and because it is difficult for strangers to find access, I will desire this of you; if you are known to my Lord to bestow the conducting of them yourself; if otherwise to address them to some one of his chaplains whom you hear to be of most trust about his Lordship for as their mission hath been with all secrecy, so I desire their reception may be. And as their discovery of light even in the midst of darkness hath been very miraculous so those good parts of learning that are in them I promise myself will add much to the bright shining thereof through all the world. Of their outward appearance and manners you must respect no more than of those who have always lived in cloisters but their ingenuity will (I assure myself) give you the same satisfaction it hath done me. Their course of life you shall more particularly understand from themselves: and I pray you as for their first access so likewise for their other occasions let them be aided hereafter by your friendly advice: and as I shall be glad to have from you what satisfaction they both give and receive so where they will write I pray you to give their letters conveyance. And thus with wonted good wishes I commit you to God's holy protection. From Venice this 29 of April, 1612.<sup>1</sup>

Of the two friars' journey from Venice to London we have no details, though it is not impossible that some of the adventures and conversations which Vanini records as occurring in Germany, France, Holland, or Switzerland, may have taken place on this occasion. Fuhrmann<sup>2</sup> seems

Mr. Owen both erroneously and strangely describe him as *Mayor of Canterbury*, an office which he never filled, having, indeed, no connection whatever with that city; and Mr. Owen adds to the blunder of Signor Palumbo, by knighting him and describing him as 'Sir somebody Chamberlain.'

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers Dom.* lxxviii. No. 103 (*Cal.* 1611-18, p. 127). Printed in *The Court and Times of James I.* p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> *Leban und Schicksale, Geist, Character und Meynungen des Lucilio Vanini* (Leipzig, 1800).



to have thought that he went to England by way of Paris, and, as well as others of Vanini's biographers, that his visit to this country was occasioned by some hostile proceedings on the part of one Henricus Sylvius, of whom he more than once speaks with much bitterness. Mr. Owen also writes: 'Driven out of France by the malevolence of a certain Enrico Sylvio [*sic*] we next find Vanini in England.' But I do not understand Vanini's words as necessarily implying this. Speaking of the different meanings or applications of the word 'fatale' he writes: '*Alterum versatur circa exiliora, veluti dicam, fatale mihi fuit ut ab Henrico Sylvio injustissime læsus Britanniam inviserem.* Dr. Ernst Münch ('Julius Cæsar Vanini: sein Leben und sein System') says that Vanini took ship for England at Havre, but I have failed to find any authority for this statement. The two friars arrived in London (not Canterbury, as Signor Palumbo and Mr. Owen strangely imply) shortly before June 17,<sup>2</sup> on which day Chamberlain wrote to Carleton a long letter containing all the news of the day, from which the following is an extract:

My very goode Lord: yo<sup>r</sup> two Carmelites are come, and have delivered me yo<sup>r</sup> letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, I have since received letter of the 22 of May. Touching yo<sup>r</sup> friars yt was my chauce to be out of towne when they came and they unwilling to loose any time found accesse to the archbishop in my absence, w<sup>ch</sup> came very well to passe, for I shold have proved but a bad conductor, having no manner of acquaintance in that house but Mr. Robert Hatton who is steward: neither can I tell wherein to pleasure them more than in conveying theyre letters which I send here inclosed whereby you shall receive from themselves a full relation of theyre present estate. They are now lodged at Lambeth in the bishop's house where the elder of them is still to remain, the other is to be sent shortly to the Archbishop of Yorke by the king's appointment though I thinke he had rather have continued in these parts yf he might have been permitted. Theyre reception could

<sup>1</sup> *Amphitheatrum*, Ex. 42, p. 285. Rousselot, *Œuvres philosophiques de Vanini*, p. 166, states that this Sylvius was an alchemist who was put to death for his crimes at the time that Vanini was in France.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear that they did not arrive until after June 11, as on that day Chamberlain had written to Carleton without any mention of them.

not be so private as yt seems you wished for they were expected longe before they came and the Bishop of Ely could tell me two months since that there were two such upon the way, w<sup>ch</sup> yt seemes was some while before they set foorth. He told me likewise the other day of a certain bishop in the venetian territorie (but he had forgot his name) that is writing a worke against the Popes usurping jurisdiction. To tell you freely my opinion as far as I understand this business, though yt cannot be denied but that you have done a very goode and charitable worke in reducing these strayinge sheep, yet I doubt you wil reape no great thanks on either side, for I find our bishops here not very fond of such guests, and thinke they might have enough of them, yf they could provide them maintenance so that unless they be very eminent and men of marke they shall find little regard after a small time. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Their abjuration of the Roman Catholic faith and their reception into the reformed Italian church took place on Sunday, July 5, at the chapel of Mercers' Hall, then used as the place of worship of the Italian Protestants, of which Ascanio Spinola was the minister.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately for us,

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I. lxxix. No. 71 (Cal. p. 135); Court and Times of James I. i. 173.*

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to find any account either of Ascanio Spinola or of the Italian church in London (as reconstituted in 1609) prior to the arrival of the Archbishop of Spalato in 1616. The only notice of them with which I am acquainted is contained in Baron de Schickler's *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre* (3 vols. Paris, 1892), i. 387-8: 'La chapelle de Mercers' Hall avait été rouverte et le culte rétabli en 1609, après une longue interruption, par un ancien moine venu de Bruxelles, Ascanio Spinola, avec le concours du Conseil privé, de l'archevêque Bancroft et de Ravis qui fut évêque de Londres de 1607 à 1609. Mais, ainsi qu'il s'en plaignait au consistoire flamand, Spinola avait vainement essayé de renouer les liens avec les deux autres Eglises étrangères: il avait demandé à plusieurs reprises à M. Burlamachi de parler aux frères français en vue de la rentrée de son troupeau dans l'ancienne union; il offrait de participer avec eux à la cène, s'engageait à n'y admettre de son côté aucun étranger sans leur consentement, sollicitait leurs conseils sur la discipline, priait ceux qui comprenaient la langue d'assister quelquefois à son culte "pour nuire à l'Antéchrist qui cherche à empêcher l'existence d'une communauté italienne à Londres." Les consistaires flamand et français persistèrent dans leur abstention, justifiée bientôt par le retour de Spinola au catholicisme (1616). M. de Schickler quotes this letter from the *Memoirs of Simon Ruytinck*, published (in Dutch) by La Marnix Vereeniging (Utrecht, 1873). Ascanio Spinola seems to have left England about the time of the arrival of the Archbishop of Spalato, who succeeded him as minister of the Italian church, to

Chamberlain was not present, but he gives the following account of the matter to Carleton in a letter dated July 12, 1612:

My very goode Lord: yo<sup>r</sup> two Carmelites made a publike confession of theyre fayth and conversion w<sup>th</sup> an abjuration of theyre former errors on Sunday last at the Italian Church in the p<sup>re</sup>sence of a great assemblie, whereof sr Francis Bacon was the man of most marke. I was not there by the error of my man whom I sent to learne and he brought me worde the appointment held not that day: but I understand the elder acquitted himself best in point of learning and the other in language, as likewise he hath the voyce of my L. of Cannterburie's house of the more prompte and quicke spirit and they wish that they might kepe them both still, or yf they must part w<sup>th</sup> one that they might retain him. . . .<sup>1</sup>

It appears from a subsequent letter of Archbishop Abbot, in which he refers to the younger friar as the one that afterwards went to York, that Vanini was the one here referred to as the elder, and it appears that he made himself less agreeable and produced a less favourable impression upon the members of the Archbishop's household than his younger colleague, though Vanini was the more learned. It is probable that their sermons at the Italian church referred to in the next letter would be on Sunday, July 19, for before the 23rd the two friars had accompanied the Archbishop by his invitation to his summer palace at Croydon, and from thence they wrote to Carleton, as appears from a letter of that date from Chamberlain to Carleton enclosing the friars' packet, the contents of which, however, are not among the State Papers.

Yo<sup>r</sup> two friars are gon thether [Croydon] w<sup>th</sup> him [the Archbishop] and are not yet otherwise disposed of: they have both preached of late at the Italian Church w<sup>th</sup> reasonable approbation. Here is

Chamberlain writes to Carleton on January 18, 1617: 'Here is a rumour that the Italian preacher, Ascanio, is run away; being, as is said, enticed by one Grimaldi kinsman of Spinola's, whom he accompanied on his way as far as Dover, and since his wife nor friends have no news of him.' *Court and Times of James I.* p. 389.

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxx. No. 1 (*Cal.* p. 186); *Court and Times of James I.* i. 179.

a packet from them w<sup>ch</sup> I send as I received yt from Mr. Wimark to whom yt was delivered (as he sayes) in the dark from Dick Martin, and thinkeinge it to be somewhat concerning himself opened it before he was aware but finding what it was protests he sought no secrets in it.<sup>1</sup>

We have already seen from Chamberlain's first letter that by the King's appointment one of the friars was to be sent to the Archbishop of York, and the younger, Giovanni Maria, was chosen. He accordingly started for Bishopsthorpe on or about July 23, furnished with a letter from Abbot to Tobie Matthew, then Archbishop of York. He arrived at Bishopsthorpe on the 27th, and two days later Matthew wrote the following letter to one of the high officers of the Court, probably the Earl of Suffolk, then Lord Chamberlain, or Sir Thomas Lake, who was then performing the duties of Secretary of State though not actually appointed to that office.

My very good Lord,—I have thought meet with all convenient expedition to advise your lo: that Mr. Johannes Maria the converted friar carmelite came hither unto me upon Monday last the xxvii of this month accompanied with a letter from the most reverend father my Lord of Cant: his grace, dated the 23 of the same to the effect of that his Majesty's letter which I formerly received from your lordship for entertainment of the said stranger who is and shall be welcome to me not doubting but he will well deserve so to be by his religious and civil carriage whereof I see no cause but to conceive a very good opinion. Thus loath to trouble your Lordship any longer than needs I must and eftsones intreating that my readiness to receive him into my house may be signified to his most excellent majesty. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Bishopsthorpe, 29 July 1612.

Your L. ever most assured  
TOBIAS EBORACENSIS.

Though we hardly gather from this letter that Archbishop Matthew was very much delighted to receive the guest whom the King had sent to him, yet it seems from a

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxx. No. 12 (*Cal.* p. 138).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* lxx. No. 16 (*Cal.* p. 139). This letter is not addressed or endorsed, but is described in the *Calendar* as 'Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York to the earl of Suffolk or Sir Thos. Lake.'

letter of Vanini to Isaac Wake that he received de Franchis kindly and hospitably.

We hear nothing more of either of the friars for upwards of two months; but then, under date of October 9, 1612, we find two letters written by Vanini himself, one to Carleton, the other to Isaac Wake his secretary. The following are translations of these letters, which are printed in their original Italian, though not quite accurately, by Signor Palumbo. The first is addressed to Carleton, the second to Wake :

Most illustrious and excellent Sir,—After I have made my most humble reverence to your excellency, knowing your affection and anxiety for my welfare I write to inform you how much I am enjoying myself in these parts, and what affection I have for my respected lord the most illustrious archbishop of Canterbury. And it is so much the more pleasant to me that I am sure by showing gratitude to his illustrious and reverend Lordship I am doing what is agreeable to you who have placed me at this court, and since I am not able to render you any recompense I shall always remain your excellency's most obliged servant : to whom I make a profound reverence and pray that you may receive from our Lord all the happiness that you can wish.

From Lambeth, 9 Oct. 1612.

Di V. S. Ill.

GIULIO CESARE VANINI.<sup>1</sup>

Milord,—I owe you a reply to your lordship's letter of last month which owing to my having been until now at Croydon I have not been able to reply to as I ought to have done.

To give you news of myself, I am well and happy, praise the Lord, and am treated most affectionately by Monsignor the most illustrious archbishop, who constantly entertains me at his table and gives me hopes that one day he will confer some office on me.

For three months past my brother Giovanni Maria has been at York at the court of the archbishop, by whom he is liked and treated with much kindness, and he has lately written to me that he is in so much favour that he expects to receive a benefice from the archbishop.

Mr. Josias Robinson tells me that he knew your lordship at the University of Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I. lxxi. No. 13 (Cal. p. 151).*

I have not yet seen Signor Chamberlain, but I shall not fail to go to visit him as soon as possible and to do what your lordship has written to me.

I beg you to let me know if my box or trunk of clothes which I left in the chamber of the chaplain has been put on board ship for London; if not, I beg you to send it to me.

I shall be very glad if any opportunity occurs to be of service to you (as I have been to my lord) by praising the admirable way in which your excellency has behaved in the embassy.

For the rest I kiss your excellency's hands and those of the chaplain, praying for you from our Lord all happiness.

From Lambeth, 9 Oct. 1612.

Di V. S. Ill<sup>o</sup>.

GIULIO CESARE VANINI.

P.S.—Chamberlain has just told me that my box has arrived. I thank you that it has not happened otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

Up to this time Vanini and his friend seem to have been well satisfied with their reception and entertainment in England. They were hospitably entertained by the two archbishops, and each of them was expecting a benefice. They had evidently believed that their zeal for Protestantism would have led to some liberal preferment; and it is by no means improbable that, had their expectations been fulfilled, their faith would have been confirmed, and that Vanini, instead of perishing at the stake at Toulouse, might have lived and died a member of the Church of England, and might probably have persuaded himself and his patrons that he was actuated by no other motive than that of zeal for the truth. But the benefices did not come. To do Abbot justice, notwithstanding his narrow Puritanism, he never

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I. lxxi. No. 14 (Cal. p. 151).* The name in this letter which I have printed as Chamberlain, is given in Palumbo's book as *Ciaberth*—an impossible name, at least for an Englishman—but as I read the original, it is 'Ciáberlá,' with marks which seem to indicate abbreviations over the 'a,' so that the name would be 'Ciamberlan,' a not improbable mode of spelling Chamberlain for an Italian. In writing that he had not yet seen Chamberlain—whose letter of June 17, 1612, certainly implies that he had seen the friars, and who, indeed, we can hardly suppose would have been so neglectful of Carleton's wishes as not to have visited them as soon as he returned to London—I take it that Vanini's meaning is that he had not seen Chamberlain since the receipt of Wake's 'letter of last month.' He had probably only just returned to Lambeth from Croydon.

seems to have been very eager after 'convertitoes' (as he calls them in a subsequent letter) from the Romish faith, and seems always to have had a shrewd suspicion that they were looking after the loaves and fishes rather than after the word of life; while Tobie Matthew, who was more of a statesman than a divine (though a bitter persecutor of recusants), had no fondness for foreign converts, and still less any intention of paying them for their change of opinion. Vanini was beginning to be impatient for a benefice, and Giovanni Maria found Bishopsthorpe dull. A letter from Chamberlain to Carleton of January 14, 1612-13, first makes known to us the discontent of the friars:

. . . Your Italian friar was with me this other day with a long discontented discourse for want of money and that he was sometimes fain to make his own bed and sweep his chamber, things he was never put to in the place whence he came. I advised him the best I could to patience, and told him that seeing he was well provided for food and raiment he might fashion himself to endure somewhat *per amor di Christo*. It seems his companion Giovanni is no better pleased in the North, for he wrote lately to him that his patron the Archbishop was *strettissimo di danari* and that they lived not in cities nor towns, but *in villa*, and thereupon subscribed his name *Johannes in Deserto*.<sup>1</sup>

This extract from Chamberlain's letter is translated at length by Signor Palumbo (p. 14), but he has not read the first few words accurately, for he translates them, *I due frati italiani da voi raccomandati vennero oggi da me*, whereas it will be seen that it was Vanini alone that called on Chamberlain, his companion being still at Bishopsthorpe.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxxii. No. 13 (*Cal.* p. 167); *Court and Times of James I.*, i. 155, 156. This letter is dated January 14, 1612, but is clearly 1613; according to our reckoning, treating the year as beginning on January 1. There is much (almost inevitable) confusion in the *Calendars*, in the arrangement of letters dated in January February and March, as the writers seem sometimes to have used the legal, sometimes the common, year. Consequently, both in the *Calendars* and in the *Court and Times of James I.*, several of them occur out of their proper place, and a year earlier than they should do. A careful consideration of these, however, has enabled me to arrange them in their proper order, and to ascribe to them their true dates.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Owen, still possessed with the idea that Chamberlain lived at Canterbury, paraphrases the statement in the letter as follows:—The day

The presence of two Carmelite friars, professed converts to the reformed faith, and the fact that they had made public abjuration, and subsequently preached in the Italian church, were of course well known, and could not but have been very distasteful to the authorities of the Church of Rome, and it is probable that at an early stage of their visit efforts were made to increase, or perhaps arouse, their discontent, and to induce them to return to the bosom of the Church. Their movements were carefully watched by the emissaries of the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, whose house was the focus for intrigues of every sort for the furtherance of the faith, and who about this time was detaining as prisoner in his house a converted Italian priest, who had come to England for refuge, as appears from a letter of Abbot to the King, of August 17, 1612. But the immediate agent in the matter was the chaplain of the Venetian ambassador, Hieronymo Moravi, who now appears upon the scene, and who seems to have played an important, though rather mysterious, part in the subsequent adventures of Vanini in England. Moravi is mentioned by name by Vanini in the 'De Admirandis Naturæ,' p. 217. He is there described as 'a most excellent and very learned man, who was my confessor during my stay in London.' I have not found any mention of his name in the letters in the Record Office; but it appears from a letter of Abbot of March 16, 1613-14, that the chaplain of Foscarini had admitted to him that 'now a year ago Julius Cæsar upon his knees did beg of him to be a means to the Nuntio living at Paris to write to the pope that a pardon might be procured to the two friars for leaving their order; which accordingly he did.'

But as yet Abbot was quite unaware that his guests had begun to be dissatisfied with his entertainment. In a letter to Carleton, dated February 24, 1612-13, he writes :

after, Sir — Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that his two *protégés* [*sic*] were come to Canterbury to find him. They were in great difficulties, which he had for the time relieved.' He has immediately before referred to a letter of January 13, 1613, from the Archbishop to the Bishop of Bath; this letter, however, was not until a year later, *i.e.* January 13, 1613-14.



The two honest men whom the last year you sent unto me do very well, and as I trust receive nothing but contentment.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Giovanni Maria, who had probably not yet given up hopes of a benefice, had written a Latin poem upon the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Count Palatine. The marriage took place on February 14, 1613, and the poem would be printed about the same time that the other Epithalamia appeared, namely, in February or possibly a little later. It is from this poem alone that we learn the surname of the author, or at least that by which he passed in England, for his Christian names only are mentioned in the correspondence. A copy of the poem is in the British Museum, and the following is the title :

De auspiciatissimis nuptiis illustrissimi Principis D. Friderici sacri Romani Imperii Archidapiferi et Electoris &c. Comitiss Palatini ad Rhenum, Ducis Bavarie, &c., cum illustrissima Principe D. Elizabetha serenissimi Magnæ Britannie &c. Regis Filia unigenita Poema.

Anno Domini 1613.

It has no printer's name or place, but the suggestion in the catalogue of the British Museum is that it was printed in London. No entry of it, however, appears in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. The book is a small quarto, the pages unnumbered ; it commences with a brief dedication in praise of the Elector Palatine signed Joannes Maria Franch. Then follow fifteen pages of hexameters, ending with an epigram of twelve lines in elegiacs.

Although dealing in terms with classical mythology, yet it is really directed to a large extent against the Church of Rome, and lest the allegorical references should be misunderstood, the author is careful to make his meaning clear by his marginal annotations. Thus to the lines

Quippe cohors scelerata specu Phlegetontis iniqui  
Exilit atra,

the marginal note is :

Innuit ad Jesuitas et transfugas qui ex Orco mittuntur ad  
seditiones in Angliam infernalibus armis, nempe igne sulphure, &c.

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I. lxxii. No. 39 (Cal. p. 171).*

And to the line

Est pia credulitas dictus temerarius error,

the note is :

Quia in novis articulis ab ipsis fundatis cum destituuntur a Scriptura dicunt est pium credere.

Another note is :

Præcipua ars Antichristi est simulare se Dei advocatum.

The poem, as printed, consists of one book only ; but it appears that the author had written three books, and that his friends were so much pleased with it that one of them, Samuel Hutton by name, translated the whole of the three into English, and the translation was published about June 7, in the same year, on which day we find the following entry in the Stationers' Registers :

7 Junii Master Elde Entred for his Copie under th[e h]ands of Master Nydd and Master Warden Hooper a booke called 'of the most Auspicious Mariage betweene the County Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth' Three bookes composed in Latyn by Master Johannes Maria de ffranchis and translated in to English.

A copy of this also is in the British Museum. The title is as follows :

Of the most auspicious marriage betwixt the high and Mightie Prince Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine chief server to the Sacred Roman Empire Prince Elector and Duke of Bavaria &c. and the most illustrious Princess the ladie Elizabeth her grace sole daughter to the high and Mightie James King of Great Britain &c. In iii Bookes. Composed in Latin by M. Joannes Maria de Franchis and translated into English. At London. Printed by G. Eld for William Blaincker, and are to be sold in Fleet Lane at the sign of the Printers Press. 1613.

The volume consists of eighty-eight pages in all, eight at the commencement and three at the end unnumbered, and seventy-seven numbered. It is dedicated by the author to Charles, Prince of Wales, and the following is an extract from the dedication :

At the first I intended to have only a short and ordinary Epithalamium, but afterwards having considered better of it, I found

it much fitter to divide it into three bookes. The first Booke I sent to the right Reverend Father the Lord Archbishop of York who presented it unto the King. . . . At length some of my friends having received this Poeme printed it being delighted with the novelty of the matter. . . . At the first it grieved me a little that my book being not fully perfected should be printed; but at last having no desire to have it printed again after that the solemnities were ended some of my friends began to importune me that I would impart my book unto them. I being easily overcome with their urging yielded unto their requests. This booke they have now translated into English, to the ende that the ladies may be partakers of this curious symetrie. This book I offer up to your Highnesse of whom I have heard many honourable relations at the Right Reverend Father in God my lord Archbishop of Yorke's house.

At the end is a short poem addressed to the Princess Elizabeth signed 'Samuel Hutton,' who seems to claim to be the translator. The name of Samuel Hutton does not appear in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and I have failed to find any notice of him. There was, however, at this date a prebendary of York of this name, a nephew of Matthew Hutton, Tobie Matthew's predecessor in the archbishopric, by whom on February 4, 1602-3, he had been collated to the prebend of Ulleskelf, which he held until November 27, 1628.<sup>1</sup> He is probably the author of the translation, which is the merest doggerel. A single specimen will suffice :

For sons of Jove, Earth tooke the slaves of hell ;  
 Babell was termed a Reverend Sanctuary ;  
 Idolatry Devotion ; high pride Zeal ;  
 Rash error a religious credulity ;  
 Hypocrisie was called laws complement :  
 Thus every vice got virtue's own accent.

I now come to the question whether Vanini's companion may not have been the Joannes Maria Genochius or Ginochius, who, as he tells us in the 'De Admirandis Naturæ

<sup>1</sup> Le Neve's *Fasti*, edited by Hardy, iii. 220; *Hutton Correspondence* (Surtees Society), pp. 13, 230. He is, no doubt, the person of that name who took his degree of B.A. at Oxford (college not named), July 11, 1600; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

Arcanis,' accompanied him to Germany, and was with him at Strasburg when they embarked on the Rhine together. Genochius was at first unwilling to start, having seen a crow, which, as he thought, portended shipwreck. He here describes Genochius as *præclarissimus theologus*, and mentions him with great praise in several other places—one in the 'De Admirandis' (p. 160), where, discussing evergreen and deciduous trees, he cites but dissents from the opinion of 'Joannes Maria Genochius Clavaro-Genuensis Philosophorum præstantissimus' that the cause of ever-greenness, is that evergreen trees *cæteris calidiores sunt et sicciore*s. Another mention is in the 'Amphitheatrum' (p. 304), where, discussing the problem of reconciling the existence of evil with that of a Divine Providence, he says: 'Cæterum qui omnium optime de hoc argumento scripserit, est Dominus Joannes Maria Genochius Clavaro-Genuensis, vir sane Reipublicæ colendissimus, in suo celebri opusculo de Gratia et lib. Arbitrio.' Now the friar who accompanied Vanini to England is generally called in the letters simply Giovanni Maria: once, however, in the letter of Chamberlain of the 11th of March, 1613-14, Giovanni *Battista*, either a mistake for Giovanni Maria, or showing that his full Christian name was Giovanni Battista Maria. But in the translation of the Latin poem which he wrote on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine, he is called Joannes Maria de *Franchis*. It may be said that this is inconsistent with his being the same person as Genochius, but this is not, I think, conclusive. The poem is a strongly Protestant production: the Pope is branded as Antichrist; yet at the very time of the publication of this poem it is certain that Vanini and probable that both the friars were planning a return to the continent, and a reconciliation with the Church of Rome. It does not therefore seem improbable that in England he may have published his poem under a feigned name so as not to hinder his return to his own country if his hopes of a benefice in England turned out to be vain. Giovanni Maria was, as appears by the letters, younger than Vanini, and it may be thought that the language which the latter uses of Genochius is inapplicable to one who, at the

date of the publication of the 'Amphitheatrum,' was certainly under thirty years of age.

I have searched ineffectually for any trace of the treatise on grace and free will which Vanini states to have been written by Genochius. I have, however, found a notice of the man himself in the 'Athenæum Ligusticum' of Oldoini (Perusiæ, 1680, p. 358), where the following brief account is given of him :

Joannes Maria Ginocchius of Chiavari, a pious priest, a learned theologian, a zealous and eloquent preacher, and a poet of no common merit, published at Perpignan in 1620 'Cantica Centum Spiritualia' in praise of the Blessed Virgin, in various metres. He also adorned the coronet of George, Duke of Centuri, with a poem.

Oldoini then refers to the 'Bibliotheca Mariana' of Hippolytus Maraccius (Romæ, MDCXLVIII., Pars Prima, p. 756), where there is a similar statement, only making no mention of the poem upon Georgius Dux Centurionis. Genochius is also mentioned by Jöcher, who simply quotes Oldoini as his authority. No copy of either of the books of Genochius is in the British Museum, and I have been unable to meet with them. It would be interesting to compare them, especially the poem upon the Duke of Centuri, with the Epithalamium. Such a comparison might assist us in coming to a conclusion whether Giovanni Maria de Franchis was identical with Joannes Maria Genochius. The very meagre accounts of him given by Oldoini and Maraccius are in no way inconsistent with the opinion that he was the companion of Vanini and the author of the Epithalamium.

On the 11th of March, 1612-13, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton a letter which contains a reference to the Latin poem :

. . . Your Friar Giovan Battista (that is with the Archbishop of York) hath published a Latin poem upon this late marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with the Palsgrave and sent them to present to all his friends in these parts. The verses seem good, but the Invention old and ordinary and his Epistle to the young couple is altogether built upon a fabulous friarly tradition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxxii. No. 74 (Cal. p. 175); *Court and Times of James I.* p. 234.

Among the best known of the Italian residents in England at this time was Giovanni Francesco Biondi, a convert to Protestantism, not less distinguished as a diplomatist than as a writer.<sup>1</sup> He also was a correspondent of Carleton, and kept him well informed of various matters of interest from October 1612 to November 1613. Fifteen of his letters, all in Italian, are to be found among the State Papers in the Record Office. Biondi had of course heard of the arrival of the friars, and that they had been sent by Carleton; not improbably he had made their acquaintance, and had heard them preach at the Italian church. In a long letter from him to Carleton dated March 17, 1612-13, he writes :

As I believe your Excellency has not yet seen the little book of Signor Giovanni Maria, one of the two Carmelites sent here, I also send it to you.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his life and a list of his works in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Signor Palumbo erroneously states that he accompanied De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, into England, and then apostatised. In fact he had settled in England and become a Protestant in 1609, seven years before the arrival of De Dominis.

<sup>2</sup> Signor Palumbo has strangely misunderstood this letter. He writes: 'G. F. Biondi, when sending to Carleton the Epithalamium written by the companion of Vanini and speaking of the apostasy of these two friars, states that the Spanish ambassador was in great fury against Vanini and his accomplices, threatening that they should be all sent to the stake.' But the passage to which he refers has nothing to do with the friars or the *operetta* of Giovanni Maria, but refers to the Oxford *Epithalamia*, and the words given by Palumbo in inverted commas, '*che sarebbero tutti mandati al rogo*,' are certainly not to be found anywhere in the letter, which it seems clear that he has not read, but has contented himself with reading (and misunderstanding) the summary given in the printed *Calendar*, p. 176, which is as follows: 'vol. lxxii. no. 80, 17 Mar. 1613. Giov. Franc. Biondi to Carleton. His [Carleton's] conduct in Venice much praised by the Venetian Ambassador in England, who is not popular. The King favours him because he professes to be a Protestant, but the Councillors ridicule him. The King not yet returned. The nobles eagerly waiting for office. Sends a work of Giov. Maria, one of the two friars sent into England; also the *Epithalamia* [on the Palatine's marriage] written at Oxford. The Spanish Ambassador complains of one of them, and his adherents say they will all be burnt.' Mr. Owen, who knows no more of Biondi than of Chamberlain, as usual somewhat amplifies the statement of Palumbo: 'Fallen from the good graces of English Protestants, Vanini and his companion had long become loathsome to the Catholics. A certain Biondi wrote to Sir D. Carleton on 17 Mar. 1613 that the Spanish ambassador was in a rage against Vanini and his accomplices on account of his apostasy, and threatened him with the stake.'

Although this letter contains no other reference to either of the friars, it mentions a curious and interesting fact, not, I think, elsewhere recorded, and hitherto unnoticed, relating to the well-known Oxford 'Epithalamia' on the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, a copy of which he sends also to Carleton, and concerning one of them he writes: 'The Spanish ambassador makes great complaints, and his people say that they [i.e. the 'Epithalamia'] will all be burnt, which I do not believe.' I have examined four copies of these 'Epithalamia,' with a view of ascertaining whether the Spanish ambassador had a substantial grievance, and whether any steps were taken to remedy it. I find on the reverse of folio F 3 (printed by mistake E 3) in two copies of the book in the British Museum (1213, l. g., and 161, b. 43) the following ode signed 'R. Rands e coll. Trin. in Art. Mag.':

*Ad Hispaniam.*

Mitte, nimium importuna, mitte, perfida,  
 Legationibus novis de nuptiis  
 Agere: labori sumptibusque si sapis,  
 Parcas, peracta cum scias omnia: minas  
 Prodesse credis, aut dolos? Clades tuæ  
 Veteres loquuntur arma, mentemque Britonum;  
 Para novam classem: secundo supplica  
 Jovem tuum, ut cœptis tuis benediceret;  
 Aut potius artes Patre cum sancto novas  
 Meditare; classem mitte, mitte pulverem  
 Bombardicum, quia suspicamur; Roma habet  
 Novas, inauditas petitas ab inferis  
 Artes nocendi: illinc novas technas pete  
 Et nuptias. Idola cum Christo, Bethel  
 Cum Bethaven constare qui possunt? pete  
 Romam; illa consortium tibi dabit parem,  
 Qualemque velles; nempe formarum ferax:  
 Quas si minus probas roga Papam, ut velit  
 Mutare sexum, non novo miraculo.

In my own copy of the book (formerly the Rev. W. E. Buckley's) this leaf is missing, but in the third copy at the British Museum (the Grenville copy, 17499) folio F 3 has been reprinted; the poem 'Ad Hispaniam' is omitted, and

there are substituted for it sixteen inoffensive and commonplace elegiacs commencing

Ludite nunc Hilares pullam deponite vestem  
Musæ ; pro tristi funere venit hymen.

On the reverse of folio P in the two first mentioned copies there commences a poem entitled 'Prosopopœia ad comitem Palatinum' :

I pete conjugium fœlix fœlicius illo  
Quod, quæ Teutonicis late dominatur in arvis  
Austriacæ generosa domus prosapia vestris  
Dilectis potuit thalamis, Germane, dedisse.  
Hic tibi pro dote eximii numerantur honores  
Divitiæque suis quas Anglia mittit ab oris,  
Et quæ divitias superat celeberrima virtus,  
Quæ tanto fulgore micat, miratus ut illum  
Non semel in thalamos spretus voluisset Iberus,  
Non semel uxorem petiisset Gallus. At illi  
Alter habendus amor restat simul altera sedes.

It ends on the next page (fol. P 2) with the following verses :

Gordius Hispano non est resecandus ab ense  
Nodus, et alterius lætetur Gallia tædis.  
Post tot neglectos remanes, Comes inclyte, solus,  
Qui nodum solvas, et tanta trophæa reportes.

Gu. Crosse Sancti-Mariensis.

In the Grenville copy, and also in my own, folio P has been reprinted, and instead of the 'Prosopopœia ad Comitem Palatinum' are substituted eight feeble and commonplace elegiacs addressed 'Ad Regem,' with the catchword at the end 'Vere' instead of, as in the original impression, 'Gor.' But, notwithstanding this, folio P 2 has not been reprinted, but in both the Grenville and my own copies the original four verses appear, beginning 'Gordius Hispano non est resecandus ab ense.' In the Grenville copy I can find nothing to account for this, but in my own I find the following note on the fly-leaf, in Mr. Buckley's writing : 'On P 2 at top some verses have been pasted over.' An examination of the page shows clearly that this has been the case, but unfortunately



Mr. Buckley or some former owner has removed the paper that was pasted over the first four lines, and which no doubt contained the conclusion of the poem 'Ad Regem' beginning with *Vere*; of this a fragment containing a part of a single word alone remains. The conclusion to be drawn from an examination and comparison of these four copies is clearly this. The Spanish ambassador had made complaints, as Biondi states, concerning the 'Ad Hispaniam' and the 'Prosopopœia,' but instead of the volume being burnt as his people (*i suoi*) expected, the two obnoxious pages were ordered to be reprinted, and inoffensive verses to be substituted for those which had given offence, and, instead of reprinting P 2, the first four lines were ordered to be pasted over, and when this was done the book was allowed to be circulated.<sup>1</sup>

At the date of Biondi's letter of March 17, 1613, the two friars, so far from having fallen from the good graces of English Protestants were still in favour, and there seems as yet to have been no suspicion that they were otherwise than sincere in their professions of adherence to the reformed faith.

In the summer of 1613, Giovanni Maria, having become tired of Bishopsthorpe, returned to London on the pretext that he was about to print some other book—possibly the English translation of his poem. He asked to be placed with the Bishop of London, and this was agreed to, but, as it seems, the bishop was unwilling to receive him until he had been discharged of an English converted Jesuit, of whom he was then the somewhat unwilling host. On his arrival in London, he was lodged in a private house until the bishop was ready to receive him. While there he fell sick, and in order that he might have the company of Vanini, was brought to Lambeth and lodged there, at the expense of Archbishop Abbot, 'in an honest house,' where he remained until shortly before February 10, 1614.

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to find any further reference to the complaints of the ambassador, or to any order sent down to the university from the government as to the book. It would be interesting to know whether in the archives of the university any such order is to be found.

In the meantime, Vanini had become heartily tired of Lambeth and of England, and, as we have seen, was taking steps privately to obtain pardon for himself and his companion from the Pope for leaving their order, through Moravi, whom he begged to write to the Nuncio living at Paris, for this purpose, and one hundred crowns were sent to the Nuncio to pay for the pardon. But he still professed himself a Protestant, frequented prayers, received the communion in the chapel at Lambeth, and attended the sermons in the Italian Church. On November 25, 1613, we find the following in a letter from Chamberlain to Carleton :

I know not how yt comes to passe but the two friers you sent over are in poor case, and have been both lately sick specially the younger that was w<sup>th</sup> the Archbishop of Yorke but wearie of that place and belike lingering after this goode towne could not agree with that air forsooth, so that he was appointed to the Bishop of London who making stay to receive him till he might be discharged of an English converted Jesuit committed to him, he fell sicke in the meantime and the best relief I learn he found was that he was begged for in some churches and his companion goes up and down to gather the charitie of all their acquaintance and well wishers.<sup>1</sup>

About this time Vanini paid a visit to Cambridge, where 'he had good store of money given to him,' and shortly after Christmas he went to Oxford, where he had more money bestowed upon him. There he confided to one who had formerly been a Roman priest, that he was in heart a papist, and meant before long to leave the country; he seems to have spoken freely of his intentions, as well as 'undutifully' of the king and 'unreverently' of the archbishop. His visit to Oxford was only a few months after that of Casaubon, and he must have arrived immediately after the expulsion of Jacob the Jew, of whose stay at Oxford and simulated conversion Mr. Pattison has given us so entertaining an account in his *Life of Casaubon*. It seems probable from the mention of him in the '*Amphitheatrum*,' that Vanini had made his acquaintance in England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxxv. No. 28 (*Cal.* p. 212); *Court and Times of James I.* i. 278-81.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fuit quidam temporibus meis Judæus in Anglia, ut Christi susciperet, et ab Oxoniensi Academia perhumaniter fuit exceptus; cum

Vanini returned to Lambeth shortly before January 22; a report of his imprudent language there was sent to the archbishop, whose suspicions had been already aroused by information that Vanini had written to Rome, and, as the archbishop rightly conjectured, with a view of obtaining absolution for his departure from his order. A watch was set upon the friars: they were found to be removing their effects from Lambeth, and were clearly preparing for flight. But they still made outward profession of Protestantism, and attended the Italian services at Mercers Hall on Sunday the 22nd, when Vanini agreed to preach the following Sunday, having in fact made arrangements to leave England before that day. After service on the 22nd they were both separately examined and afterwards confined to their respective chambers, while Vanini was soon after removed to the Gatehouse at Lambeth.<sup>1</sup> Shortly before January 27, 1613–14 Abbot wrote full details to James Montagu, Bishop of Bath, then in attendance on the king at Royston:

There is one thyng falen out here wherein I humbly crave his majestys direction as being in my opinion a matter of some importance. By motion from Sr Dudley Carleton at Venice his ma<sup>tie</sup> was graciously contented that twoe Italian Carmelite ffriers shold come into England who pretended to fly hither for their conscience. They came and after the abode of him here for a month or twoe the younger of them was sent to my L. of Yorke where he was very well intreated for one year and since hath remayned at London,

ad sacrum lavacrum deducendus esset, aufugit, captus est. Rex ex benignitate dimisit. Offendi eum aliquo tempore post Lutetiæ Parisiorum in aula regia, ubi in sermone mutuo quem duximus, Anglorum avaritiam mirum in modum sugillabat, ut tum præ cæteris nationibus vel maxime dediti sint uni liberalitati, illamque quibuscunque possunt rationibus erga extraneos ostendant, præcipue vero in ipsum Hebræum, quem per duo annos magnificis impensis aluerunt, ut Christianam religionem amplecteretur.' (*Amphitheatrum*, p. 65.)

<sup>1</sup> There can, I think, be little doubt of the correctness of the date above given for the arrest of Vanini. Abbot's letter to the Bishop of Bath, though undated, is clearly written shortly before January 27, and speaks of the first examination of Vanini as on 'Sunday last': this would be the 22nd. The letter was certainly written a few days later. Vanini's escape from the Gatehouse at Lambeth took place—as subsequently appears—shortly before March 16. He tells us that he was imprisoned for forty-nine days. If his imprisonment commenced on January 24 the forty-nine days would expire on March 14.

and in Lambeth detayned by sicknes that he was not placed in my Lo. of London's house, whither notwithstanding care this very weeke he hath been removed. The other also in my house being enterteyned with such humanity and expense as is not fit for me to report, but I am sure it was too good for him. Theise men in the Italian church at London publicly renounced their popery in a solemn form, preached there divers times, frequented our prayers and participated of the Eucharist after the manner of the Church of England severall times. And yet it now appeareth they have all this time ben extremely rotten. About 3 months since I by a secret meanes understood that the elder of them had written to Rome and I had cause to conjecture that it was for an absolucion for their departure from their order. I caused one to speake with him thereabout but he gave such an answer as I cold not contradict but yet thought fitt to carrye an eye over him.

But now about 16 dayes since he asked leave of me to go see Oxford which I granted unto him and tooke order that he was furnyshed with money to bear his charges. Being there he was most humanely entreated and had some money given him to the value of twenty markes as he sayeth but as some from thence write to the somme of twenty poundes. There to one or two who had been in Italy he let fall divers words declaring his dislike to our religion and shewing that his ma<sup>tie</sup> had not dealt bountifully with him, and that I had not shewed myself liberall unto him together with divers other both unfitt and untrue speeches without honesty or shame. And divers intimacions he gave of his purpose to withdrawe himself out of England wyth all speed: w<sup>ch</sup> now he sayeth shold not have ben without the leave of his ma<sup>tie</sup>.

These thynges are advertised unto mee from Oxford twoe or three severall wayes, Whereupon at his return causing him to be observed I found by his secret conveyance of some things out of my house and by the recourse of both of them extraordinarily into London that there was great cause to suspect that they intended to be gon. And hereupon in a fair manner I severed them both each from other and examined them aparte: where at first they seemed to contynue constant in our profession though upon a second examination it proved otherwise. By one passage your Lordship shall judge of the strange wickedness of the men. On Sunday last the elder of them upon his examination under his hand did say *quod renunciasset Papismo et pontificiis opinionibus; et se velle vivere et mori in fide Eccle Anglicane*, yesterday this being urged unto him and not seeing his former examination he said it

was true *quod Papatui renunciasset quia non erat verisimile se unquam futurum Papam*. And touching *opinionones Pontificias* he expounded it that *si quis inter Pontificios opinaretur eum unquam in Papatum promerendum*, he did disclayme that from being a good opinion. And for his living and dying in the faith of the Church of England he expoundeth that to be the faith which was here a hundredth or two hundredth agone.

He now also sayeth that he was never otherwise than a Papist in his faith; and that their coming into England was for nothing but to evayd the hard measure which their Councell used to them and because they heard that strangers were entertheyned here with great humanity. Such hath been the strange dissimulacion of the men if they have all this while been Papists to their hearte, but I have reason to suppose that some instrument of a sovereign Ambassador hath been tampering with them, and hath both with money and faire promises corrupted them.<sup>1</sup>

On January 27 Sir Thomas Lake sent a copy of the archbishop's letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, accompanied by the following letter:

My lord Ambassador,—By this enclosed copie which is of a lre of my lo. of Cantorburies to my lo. Bishop of Bath following his maj: at Court your lo. shall perceave what is become of your two friers you sent us. I am commanded to send to you, and to require you to advertise what you have heard or observed of their caryage here or of any traffike they have had there since their being in England. Their excusations of their submission here and abjuration are very grosse. But I never had anie great confidence in renegados there be few that do it upon religious respect but on worldly consideration. I fear much my Lo. of Canterbury hath of our owne country very many proseleytes wherein he much glories that be of none other temper for I marke that as soon as ever they come over to us they are gredy of wiffes and benefices. . . .

From the Court at Royston this 27 January, 1613-14.

THOS: LAKE.<sup>2</sup>

A few days later Chamberlain wrote to Carleton a letter containing the following passage:

I heard lately that the two friers you sent over are returned to their vomit and prove notable knaves professing now that they

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I. lxxvi. No. 9<sup>1</sup> (Cal. p. 221).*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid. lxxvi. No. 9 (Cal. p. 221).*

were never other than Romish Catholikes wherein they will live and die and that theyre come hither and theyre dissembling was only *per guadagnare et fornicare* they have solicited theyre return and to be received again into theyre mother church by the Venetian ambassador here and other meanes at Rome. How their juggling came out I know not but my L. of Cannterburie hath committed them to safe custodie and makes it appear that want would not drive them to any extremity for besides *victum* and *vestitum* they have had fifty pounds in money of him, thirty of the bishop of London besides the Archbishop of Yorks the bishop of Elyes and other bishops bountys of whom they were ever begging as well as of meaner ffolks as Sr Harry Fanshawe and myself and they had of Burlamachi ten pounds, of the Prince Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth ten pounds apiece with I know not how many more we shall hear of hereafter for I had this but at first hand of an Italian that says he spake with them since their restraints, as I understand more of them you shall have it. . . .

3 Feb. 1613-14.<sup>1</sup>

A few days after the date of the last letter Giovanni Maria escaped from Lambeth, where he had been placed by the archbishop in the house of 'a sworn servant of the king, a warder of the Tower.' He let himself down from the window at midnight by means of his sheets, which he tied together, and fled to the house of the Spanish (or Venetian) ambassador, where he remained some twenty days, and then was conveyed out of England. On February 10 Chamberlain wrote to Carleton and informed him of the escape :

I have been lately twice or thrice with the Bp. of Ely. . . . He confirmed the revolt of the friars from the king's own mouth, where he first heard it, and says he never had any great mind to new and sudden converts having had many trials of their knavery and inconstancy. I understand one of them has escaped to the Venetian ambassador's.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxxvi. No. 18 (*Cal.* p. 222).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* lxxvi. No. 20 (*Cal.* p. 223). The sentence immediately following the above extract is as follows :—'I cannot learn that the King had any speech or conference of or with the fellow that lies at Alderman Bolles, and his return is not expected till towards his day the 24th of March.' I was at first disposed to think it referred to Giovanni Maria, and that Alderman Bolles' was the 'honest house at Lambeth' where, as appears by a subsequent letter, he had

On February 18 Biondi writes to Carleton, 'Gio. Maria is fled, as your Excellency will have heard; the other is in prison, and ready as he says for martyrdom. I pray God it will be granted to him, but I doubt it, for his Majesty is more religious than politic.'<sup>1</sup> But Vanini was in no danger of martyrdom. He was imprisoned in the Gatehouse at Lambeth for a fortnight, and then brought before the ecclesiastical commission. There he was censured, excommunicated, and sentenced to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and the help of the temporal sword was implored 'that he might be banished to the Bermudas there to dig for his living.' Fortunately for Vanini—or perhaps unfortunately, for the Bermudas might have been better than the flames at Toulouse—he, like his friend, found the means to escape soon after this sentence was pronounced, and before any steps were taken for carrying it into execution. He was assisted in his escape by a Florentine—a servant of Lord Vaux—employed probably either by Moravi or the Spanish ambassador. The keeper of the Gatehouse was said to have been corrupted, but it is not improbable—as no one seems to have been punished for assisting his escape—that it was connived at by the authorities, for to send a foreigner to the Bermudas or Virginia for no other offence than abjuring Protestantism would have been a high-handed measure which could hardly have failed to irritate—and justly—the Spanish ambassador, whom James was at all times desirous to conciliate.

As the friars had been *protégés* of Carleton, Abbot thought well on March 16, 1613–14, to write to him a long and most interesting letter, with full details as to their conduct while in England and as to their escape. It is partially written in cipher (which is, however, deciphered):

Your letter of the 28th of February is lately come into my hands and thereby I perceive that which formerly I heard from lodged. But as he had of late been in the house of a sworn warder of the Tower, and had escaped before this letter was written, I think it most probable that the sentence refers to some other person.

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxxx. No. 35 (*Cal.* p. 274). This letter is displaced, and inserted in the *Calendar* under date 1615 instead of 1614, to which it clearly belongs.

the king himself that Sir Thomas Lake had advertised you of the ill demeanour of the two Italian friars. There is no wiseman but must commend your endeavours and not judge of them by the event because you are a man and not in the place of God who only knoweth the heart. I cannot deny but that for outward show they did bear themselves well until January last, although for some months before I saw some private inking of the trafficking of the elder of them by letters to Rome which I laid by in my memory, but did not very hastily give credit thereunto.

The manner of their entertainment here was thus. For about two months they remained in my house together, being lodged apparelled and dietted at my charge. The younger of them was proffered a place in Oxford where he should freely have had all things requisite for him to follow his study, but he desired rather to go to my Lord Archbishop of York which was yielded unto so that he was furnished with money thither, and there he remained for a year being fully provided for. In the meantime he frequented prayers, received the Communion, published a book in verse on the marriage of the Count Palatine, wherein he branded the Pope to be Antichrist. At a years end he desireth to return to London under colour of printing something else, moveth the king that he might be placed with my Lord of London which is yielded unto. But before the accomplishment thereof, he falleth sick and lieth in a private house in London where he had physick freely and much money was given to his brother for him, and upon his amending, for the company of the other, was brought over to Lambeth, and being lodged there in a honest house was maintained at my charge till his final departure.

The elder from the beginning to the end was held in my house dietting at my own board or if that were full at my stewards table had lodging bed and utensils for chamber provided for him as well at Croydon when I lay there in the summer as otherwise at Lambeth so that besides meat and drink and lodging, they two in the time they were in England had in money from me for apparell and other necessaries above <sup>lv</sup> besides such money as the younger had from my Lord of York and more than six score pounds which came to their hands otherwise as may be showed by the particulars. In the time of his abiding with me he frequented prayers, received the Communion twice or thrice in my chapel, preached divers times at the Italian Church in London especially at his first coming as his brother also did.

Before Christmas I gave him leave to see Cambridge where he



had some good store of money given unto him. After Christmas last I permitted him to go to Oxford where he had more money bestowed upon him. There to one who had formerly been a Roman priest and lived much in Italy he opened himself that he was in heart a Papist and meant before long to fly out of the kingdom. He gave to some other persons semblances of the like and could not forbear to speak undutifully of the king and unreverently of me, uttering many lies concerning his entertainment by me. All which things being by letter made known unto me I secretly learned that they had conveyed divers things of their own out of my house and questioning them for it had shifting answers for the time. In their first examination they avowed their constancy in our religion and strongly denied any purpose of flight, which indeed they carried so covertly, that on the day of their apprehension they were at the sermon in the Italian Church and the elder of them did promise to preach there the next Sunday when his purpose was to be gone in the meantime as since he hath confessed.

From the time of their first examination they were committed to their lodgings severally. Upon the second touch they discovered themselves to be resolute papists so that never did I find in all my life more impudent and unworthy varlets. It is beyond the wit of man to conceive the height of wickedness whereunto they were grown. I will give you a short example. The elder of them had said in his first examination 'Quod in ecclesia Italica Londinensi renuntiasset Papismo et Pontificiis opinionibus, et se velle vivere et mori in fide Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; et quod si ad vomitum rediret, mereretur haberi singularis hypocrita, et is cuius cor Sathanas occupavit.' In his third examination he explained all this with a strange qualification that by *Papismo* he meant *Papatui*, and that he had renounced any hope that ever he should be Pope, and for *opiniones Pontificiæ* his intendment was that if any of that side did think that ever he should be elected Pope, he disliked that their conceite. He would live and die in the faith of the Church of England, that is the same faith which the Church of England possessed a hundredth or two hundredth years ago. And if he did *redire ad vomitum*, that is of his evil life, or merely behaviour etc. which he might well mean, if Ascanio the preacher of the Italian Church do say true, for he hath long kept Julius Cæsar from preaching in his church, as taking him to be of no religion, but a profane person, a filthy speaker and a grosse fornicatour, and could not be induced to think of him otherwise,

although many of that congregation were sore offended with him for the same, which now they see was not without ground. And I had found both by the books themselves and by their own confession that the greatest matter which they have studied for many months past were the works of Petrus Aretinus and Macciavelli in Italian so virtuous was their disposition.

I imagine by this time you will ask of me two questions, first what is become of them, and secondly what hath been the reason of their desertion. To the former I answer that the younger of them being kept prisoner in his chamber at Lambeth Towne in the house of a sworn servant of the kings a warder of the Tower did about midnight break forth at a window and tying his sheets together, so escaped. I do guess where he lay hid for 20 days

Ye Sp :  
Ambr

that is in the house of 94 but since as I understand he is conveyed out of England. To keep the other safe I sent him to the Gatehouse where when he had remained about 14 days he was convented before the Commission Ecclesiasticall and there censured by excommunication imprisonment during the kings pleasure and the imploring of the help of the temporal sword, that he might be banished into the Barmudas there to dig for his living. But before the accomplishment hereof, by corrupting of the keepers, as I suppose, and by a trick played by some other Italian, he hath broken prison, to the great offence of the kings majesty which hath laid up diverse in safer custody.

The first overture to their desertion came as I think from the

c h a p l a n  
23 31 14 42 35 10 39 of 95 who is a very lewd man and hath done here many ill offices. This party hath confessed to me that now a year ago Julius Cæsar upon his knees did beg of him to be a

Sig<sup>r</sup> Fos-  
c[arini]

Nuntio

Paris

Ye pp

means to the 100 living at 177 to write to 230 that a pardon might be procured for the two friars, for leaving of their order, which accordingly he did. And Julius Caesar hath confessed to me that this was effected, and by the means of the party above named

Ye Nuntio Paris

a hundred crowns were by him sent to 160 at 177 to pay for the said pardon. So that by this you may see that the friars were splendidly provided for here, when besides their viaticum to convey them into Italy they have so much money to spare to send

Ye Sp :  
Ambr

out of the realm before them. But 94 since his coming into

England hath much bestirred himself in this and the like businesses which I conceive will procure him a rappe here before it be long for the eye of the state is upon him. He hath much money

from 124<sup>Ye K of Sp :</sup> and corrupteth almost all that come in his way. There

is skant any 259<sup>Amb<sup>r</sup></sup> here residing but he winneth his servants to his purposes as namely he hath gained the 24 32 14 41 36 12 40 of

93<sup>Ye Fr. Amb.</sup> and the same domestic together with the 162 of 95 so that they are more his servants than the parties to whom they belong. The

same laboureth in the house of 62 of 69 and divers other of 78.<sup>1</sup>

The 'works of Petrus Aretinus and Macciavelli' which were studied by the two friars, and which so scandalised the archbishop, were not, we may be certain, 'La Passione di Gesù,' or 'Il Principe,' but, of Aretin, either the comedies, or the 'Ragionamenti,' and of Machiavelli, the 'Mandragola' or 'L'Asino d' Oro.'

Chamberlain refers to the escape of Vanini in a letter written to Carleton the day following that of the archbishop (March 17) :

. . . The elder friar that was in the Gatehouse<sup>2</sup> hath found the means to escape so that now they are both gone. The keeper is committed and a Florentine that serves the Ld Vaux is suspected to be privy to his escape. For my own part I am not sorry we be so rid of them, for though they were notorious rascals, yet I know not what we should have done with them, yet it was in consultation to send them both to Virginia but I see not to what purpose. . . .<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.P.D. James I. lxxvi. No. 48 (Cal. p. 227).

<sup>2</sup> Signor Palumbo tells us that the two friars were imprisoned *in the Tower*. He thinks he has identified the actual cell, a very small, dark, circular room, too low for it to be possible to stand upright in. And he draws a harrowing picture of the anguish of *il povero filosofo* at the silence and horror of the place *donde non si usciva che per essere consegnati al carnefice*. Mr. Owen, as usual, follows suit, and states that the two friars were committed to the Tower.

<sup>3</sup> S.P.D. James I. lxxvi. No. 49 (Cal. p. 227) ; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 23. This letter is there undated, but is placed between a letter of Carleton of March 12, 1612-13, and one of Chamberlain of March 25, 1613. The word 'friar' is strangely enough printed 'Taylor,' so that it does not seem, as printed, to have any reference to the friar.

I find only one subsequent reference in the State Papers to Vanini and his companion. It occurs in a letter of Abbot to Carleton, of March 30, 1613-14.

I know nothing of Signor Francesco Biondi but good, and therefore I will hope the best. But hereafter we shall be wary how we hastily entertain the Convertitoes of that nation so inestimable hath been the hypocrisy and lewdness of the two Carmelites lately remaining with us. I by my last wrote my mind at large concerning them.<sup>1</sup>

When writing this letter the archbishop little thought that he was soon to entertain a 'convertito' of much greater importance, and one who would cause him much more serious inconvenience and annoyance than the two Carmelites. Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, was already preparing to leave the Church of Rome and to visit England, where he arrived in December 1616, and was forthwith handed over to Archbishop Abbot for entertainment at Lambeth.

With his escape from the Gatehouse at Lambeth, Vanini disappears for a time from view. A few months later we find him in France enjoying the protection of the Marshal de Bassompierre, and probably receiving some consideration as one who had been persecuted in England for his attachment to the Catholic faith. But Catholic France proved in the end even more inhospitable than Protestant England. In the prison of Toulouse, after hearing the brutal and terrible sentence of the parliament, and whilst awaiting the flames which were to consume him a few days later, he may well have regretted the Gatehouse at Lambeth. His tongue was cut out, he was then strangled and his body burnt in the Place Saint Etienne on February 19, 1619.

The letters of Chamberlain and Abbot are not calculated to give us a favourable impression of the character of Vanini, and I am therefore glad to be able to conclude this

<sup>1</sup> *S.P.D. James I.* lxxii. No. 97 (*Cal.* p. 178). This volume contains the documents from January to May 1612-13, but it is clear that this letter was written in 1613-14, and should have been inserted in vol. lxxvi., which contains the letters of that date.

paper with a fact which, I think, deserves to be set down to his credit. He was certainly disappointed with the result of his visit to England, but in neither of his printed works is there an unfriendly word relating to this country or to those with whom he came in contact here. On the few occasions that he mentions England in his writings, it is always with goodwill and sometimes with admiration. He praises our temperate climate, and says that he never felt it colder here in the depth of winter than at Padua and Bologna in November. He speaks of the mild disposition of the English, which he attributes, curiously enough, to their habit of drinking cold beer (*frigida cervisia*), and, as appears by the passage already quoted referring to the Jew Jacob, he writes with high praise of the liberality with which foreigners were treated in England. Even when he speaks of his imprisonment he utters no word of complaint. It is pleasant to think that he did not follow the example of Jacob Barnet in railing at his English benefactors.

## THE SCALIGERS

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THE name has been borne by two scholars of extraordinary eminence in the world of letters.

(1) Julius Cæsar Scaliger (1484–1558), so distinguished by his learning and talents that, according to De Thou, no one of the ancients could be placed above him and the age in which he lived could not show his equal, was, according to his own account, a scion of the illustrious house of La Scala, for a hundred and fifty years princes of Verona, and was born in 1484 at the Castle of La Rocca on the Lago di Garda. At the age of twelve he was presented to his kinsman, the Emperor Maximilian, and placed by him among his pages. He remained for seventeen years in the service of the emperor, following him in his expeditions through half Europe, and distinguishing himself no less by personal bravery as a soldier than by military skill as a captain. But he was unmindful neither of letters, in which he had the most eminent scholars of the day as his instructors, nor of art, which he studied with considerable success under Albert Dürer. In 1512 he fought at the battle of Ravenna, where his father and elder brother were killed. He there displayed prodigies of valour and received the highest honours of chivalry from his imperial cousin, the Emperor conferring upon him with his own hands the spurs, the collar, and the eagle of gold. But this was the only reward he obtained for his long and faithful devotion. He left the service of Maximilian, and after a brief employment by another kinsman, the Duke of Ferrara, he decided to quit the military life, and in 1514 entered as a student at the university of Bologna. He determined to

take holy orders, in the expectation that he would become in due time cardinal, and then be elected Pope, when he would wrest from the Venetians his principality of Verona, of which the Republic had despoiled his ancestors. But though he soon gave up this design he remained at the university until 1519. The next six years he passed at the castle of Vico Nuovo, in Piedmont, as a guest of the family of La Rovère, at first dividing this time between military expeditions in the summer, in which he achieved great successes, and study, chiefly of medicine and natural history, in the winter, until a severe attack of rheumatic gout brought his military career to a close. Henceforth his life was wholly devoted to study. In 1525 he accompanied M. A. de la Rovère, bishop of Agen, to that city as his physician.

Such is the outline of his own account of his early life. It was not until some time after his death that the enemies of his son first alleged that he was not of the family of La Scala, but was the son of Benedetto Bordone, an illuminator or schoolmaster of Verona; that he was educated at Padua, where he took the degree of M.D.; and that his story of his life and adventures before arriving at Agen was a tissue of fables. It certainly is supported by no other evidence than his own statements, some of which are inconsistent with well-ascertained facts.

The remaining thirty-two years of his life were passed almost wholly at Agen, in the full light of contemporary history. They were without adventure, almost without incident; but it was in them that he achieved so much distinction that at his death in 1558 he had the highest scientific and literary reputation in Europe. A few days after his arrival at Agen he fell in love with a charming orphan of thirteen, Andiette de la Roque Lobejac. Her friends objected to her marriage with an unknown adventurer, but in 1528 he had obtained so much success as a physician that the objections of her family were overcome, and at forty-five he married Andiette, who was then sixteen. The marriage proved a complete success; it was followed by twenty-nine years of almost uninterrupted happiness, and by the birth of fifteen children.

A charge of heresy in 1538, of which he was acquitted by his friendly judges, one of whom was his friend, Arnoul Le Ferron, was almost the only event of interest during these twenty-nine years, except the publication of his books, and the quarrels and criticisms to which they gave rise.

In 1531 he printed his first oration against Erasmus in defence of Cicero and the Ciceronians. It is a piece of vigorous invective, displaying, like all his subsequent writings, an astonishing knowledge and command of the Latin language and much brilliant rhetoric, but full of vulgar abuse, and completely missing the point of the 'Ciceronianus' of Erasmus. The writer's indignation at finding it treated with silent contempt by the great scholar, who thought it was the work of a personal enemy—Aleander—caused him to write a second oration, more violent, more abusive, with more self-glorification, but with less real merit than the first. The orations were followed by a prodigious quantity of Latin verse, which appeared in successive volumes in 1533, 1534, 1539, 1546 and 1574. Of these, a friendly critic, Mr. Pattison, is obliged to approve the judgment of Huet, who says: 'par ses poésies brutes et informes Scaliger a déshonoré le Parnasse.' Yet their numerous editions show that they commended themselves not only to his contemporaries, but to succeeding scholars. A brief tract on comic metres ('De Comicis Dimensionibus') and a work 'De Causis Linguae Latinæ'—the earliest Latin grammar on scientific principles, and following a scientific method—were his only other purely literary works published in his lifetime. His 'Poetics' was left unpublished, and only appeared in 1561, after his death. With many paradoxes, with many criticisms which are below contempt, and many indecent displays of violent personal animosity—especially in his reference to the unfortunate Dolet, over whose death he gloated with brutal malignity—it yet contains much acute criticism, and shows that for the first time a writer had appeared who had formed an adequate idea of what such a treatise ought to be, and how it ought to be written.

But it is as a philosopher and a man of science that J. C. Scaliger ought to be judged. His tastes were for metaphysics



and physics rather than for literature. Classical studies he regarded as an agreeable relaxation from severer pursuits. Whatever the truth or fable of the first forty years of his life, he had certainly been a most close and accurate observer and had made himself acquainted with many curious and little-known phenomena, which he had stored up in a most tenacious memory, and which he was able to make use of with profit. His scientific writings are all in the form of commentaries, and it was not until his seventieth year that (with the exception of a brief tract on the 'De Insomniis' of Hippocrates) he felt that any of them were sufficiently complete to be given to the world. In 1556 he printed his 'Dialogue' on the 'De Plantis' attributed to Aristotle, and in 1557 his 'Exercitationes' on the work of Cardan, 'De Subtilitate.' His other scientific works, 'Commentaries' on Theophrastus's 'History of Plants' and Aristotle's 'History of Animals,' he left in a more or less unfinished state, and they were not printed until after his death. They are all marked by the same characteristics: arrogant dogmatism, violence of language, irritable vanity, a constant tendency to self-glorification, which we expect to find only in the charlatan and the impostor, are in him combined with extensive real knowledge, with acute reasoning, with an observation of facts and details almost unparalleled. He displays everywhere what Naudé calls 'an intellect teeming with heroic thought.' But he is only the naturalist of his own time. That he anticipated in any manner the inductive philosophy cannot be contended; his botanical studies did not lead him, like his contemporary, Gesner, to any idea of a natural system of classification, and he rejected with the utmost arrogance and violence of language the discoveries of Copernicus. In metaphysics and in natural history Aristotle was a law to him, and in medicine Galen, but he was not a slave to the text or the details of either. He has thoroughly mastered their principles, and is able to see when his masters are not true to themselves. He corrects Aristotle by himself. He is in that stage of learning when the attempt is made to harmonise the written word with the actual facts of nature, and the result is that his works have no real

scientific value. Their interest is only historical. His 'Exercitationes' upon the 'De Subtilitate' of Cardan (1557) is the book by which Scaliger is best known as a philosopher. Its numerous editions bear witness to its popularity, and until the final fall of Aristotle's physics it continued a popular text-book; as late as the middle of the seventeenth century an elaborate commentary upon it was published by Sperling, a professor at Wittenberg. We are astonished at the encyclopædic wealth of knowledge which the 'Exercitationes' display, at the vigour of the author's style, at the accuracy of his observations, but are obliged to agree with Naudé that he has committed more faults than he has discovered in Cardan, and with Nisard that his object seems to be to deny all that Cardan affirms and to affirm all that Cardan denies. Yet it is no light praise that writers like Leibnitz and Sir William Hamilton recognise J. C. Scaliger as the best modern exponent of the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle. He died at Agen 21st October, 1558.

(2) Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), the greatest scholar of modern times, was the tenth child and third son of Julius Cæsar Scaliger and Andiette de la Roque Lobejac (see above). Born at Agen in 1540, he was sent when twelve years of age, with two younger brothers, to the college of Guienne at Bordeaux, then under the direction of Jean Gelida. An outbreak of the plague in 1555 caused the boys to return home, and for the next few years Joseph was his father's constant companion and amanuensis. The composition of Latin verse was the chief amusement of Julius in his later years, and he daily dictated to his son from eighty to a hundred lines, and sometimes more. Joseph was also required each day to write a Latin theme or declamation, but in other respects he seems to have been left to his own devices. The Latin verse of Julius, faulty as it is in all that constitutes poetry, yet displays a more extensive knowledge of the Latin language, and a greater command of its resources, than is to be found in the verse of any of his contemporaries; and this constant practice in writing and reading or speaking Latin, under the supervision of one who knew the language thoroughly, was

probably the foundation of Joseph's Latin scholarship. But the companionship of his father was worth more to him than any mere instruction. He learned from Julius what real knowledge was, and that it did not consist in discussions on words and phrases, and to his father he owed it that he was not a mere scholar, but something more—an acute observer, never losing sight of the actual world, and aiming not so much at correcting texts as at laying the foundation of a science of historical criticism.

In 1558, on the death of his father, he proceeded to Paris, and spent four years at the university there. Of his life at Paris we know but little. Hitherto he had not studied Greek. Now he felt that not to know Greek was to know nothing. It was in the literature of Greece that he must look for the true key of antiquity; and he forthwith began to attend the lectures of Turnebus. But after two months he found out his mistake. He had much to learn before he could be in a position to profit by the lectures of the greatest Greek scholar of the time. He shut himself up in his chamber, and determined to teach himself. He read Homer in twenty-one days, and then went through all the other Greek poets, orators, and historians, forming a grammar for himself as he went along. From Greek, at the suggestion of Postel, he proceeded to attack Hebrew, and then Arabic; of both he acquired a respectable knowledge, though not the critical mastery which he possessed in Latin and Greek. The name of Dorat then stood as high as that of Turnebus as a Greek scholar, and far higher as a professor. He has left nothing to justify his reputation as a scholar; but as a teacher he undoubtedly possessed the highest qualifications. He was able not only to impart knowledge, but to kindle enthusiasm for his subject in the minds of his hearers and pupils. It was to Dorat that Scaliger owed the home which he found for the next thirty years of his life. In 1563 the professor recommended him to Louis de Chastaigner, the young lord of La Roche Pozay, as a companion in his travels. A close friendship sprung up between the two young men, which remained unbroken till the death of Louis in 1595. The travellers first proceeded to Rome.

Here they found Muretus, who, when at Bordeaux and Toulouse, had been a great favourite and occasional visitor of Julius Cæsar at Agen. Muretus soon recognised Scaliger's merits, and devoted himself to making his stay at Rome as agreeable as possible, introducing him to all the men that were worth knowing. After visiting a large part of Italy the travellers passed to England and Scotland, taking as it would seem La Roche Pozay on their way, for Scaliger's preface to his first book, the '*Conjectanea in Varronem*,' is dated there in December 1564. Scaliger formed an unfavourable opinion of the English. Their inhuman disposition, and inhospitable treatment of foreigners, especially impressed him. He was also disappointed in finding few Greek manuscripts and few learned men. It was not until a much later period that he became intimate with Richard Thompson and other Englishmen. In the course of his travels he had become a Protestant. His father, though he lived and died in the communion of the Church of Rome, had been suspected of heresy, and it is probable that Joseph's sympathies were early enlisted on the side of Protestantism. On his return to France he spent three years with the Chastaigners, accompanying them to their different châteaux in Poitou, as the calls of the civil war required their presence. In 1570 he accepted the invitation of Cujas, and proceeded to Valence, to study jurisprudence under the greatest living jurist. Here he remained three years, profiting not only by the lectures but even more by the library of Cujas, which filled no less than seven or eight rooms and included five hundred manuscripts.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew—occurring as he was about to accompany the bishop of Valence on an embassy to Poland—induced him with other Huguenots to retire to Geneva, where he was received with open arms, and was appointed a professor in the academy. He lectured on the '*Organon*' of Aristotle and the '*De Finibus*' of Cicero with much satisfaction to the students, but with little to himself. He hated lecturing, and was bored to death with the importunities of the fanatical preachers; and in 1574 he returned to France, and made his home for the next twenty

years in the châteaux of his friend, the lord of La Roche Pozay. Of his life during this period we have for the first time interesting details and notices in the 'Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger,' edited by M. Tamizey de Larroque (Agen, 1881), a volume which adds much to our knowledge of Scaliger's life. Constantly moving from château to château through Poitou and the Limousin, as the exigencies of the civil war required, occasionally taking his turn as a guard when the château was attacked, at least on one occasion trailing a pike on an expedition against the Leaguers, with no access to libraries, and frequently separated even from his own books, his life during this period seems in one aspect most unsuited to study. He had, however, what so few contemporary scholars possessed—leisure, and freedom from pecuniary cares. In general he could devote his whole time to study; and it was during this period of his life that he composed and published the books which showed how far he was in advance of all his contemporaries as a scholar and a critic, and that with him a new school of historical criticism had arisen. His editions of the 'Catalecta' (1574), of Festus (1576), of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (1577), are the work of a man who writes not only books of instruction for learners, but who is determined himself to discover and communicate to others the real meaning and force of his author. Discarding the trivial remarks and groundless suggestions which we find in the editions of nearly all his contemporaries and predecessors, he first laid down and applied sound rules of criticism and emendation, and changed textual criticism from a series of haphazard and frequently baseless guesses into a 'rational procedure subject to fixed laws' (Pattison). But these works, while proving Scaliger's right to the foremost place among his contemporaries as far as Latin scholarship and criticism were concerned, did not go beyond mere scholarship. It was reserved for his edition of Manilius (1579), and his 'De Emendatione Temporum' (1583), to revolutionise all the received ideas of the chronology of ancient history—to show for the first time that ancient chronology was of the highest importance as a corrector

as well as a supplement to historical narrative, that ancient history is not confined to that of the Greeks and Romans, but also comprises that of the Persians, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians, hitherto neglected as absolutely worthless, and that of the Jews, hitherto treated as a thing apart and too sacred to be mixed up with the others; and that the historical narratives and fragments of each of these, and their several systems of chronology, must be carefully and critically compared together, if any true and general conclusions on ancient history are to be arrived at. It is this which constitutes his true glory, and which places Scaliger on so immeasurably higher an eminence than any of his contemporaries. Yet, while the scholars of his time admitted his pre-eminence, neither they nor those who immediately followed seem to have appreciated his real merit, but to have considered his emendatory criticism, and his skill in Greek, as constituting his claim to special greatness. 'Scaliger's great works in historical criticism had overstepped any power of appreciation which the succeeding age possessed' (Pattison). His commentary on Manilius is really a treatise on the astronomy of the ancients, and it forms an introduction to the '*De Emendatione Temporum*,' in which he examines by the light of modern and Copernican science the ancient system as applied to epochs, calendars, and computations of time, showing upon what principles they were based.

In the remaining twenty-four years of his life he at once corrected and enlarged the basis which he had laid in the '*De Emendatione*.' With incredible patience, sometimes with a happy audacity of conjecture which itself is almost genius, he succeeded in reconstructing the lost '*Chronicle*' of Eusebius—one of the most precious remains of antiquity, and of the highest value for ancient chronology. This he printed in 1606 in his '*Thesaurus Temporum*,' in which he collected, restored, and arranged every chronological relic extant in Greek or Latin. In 1590 Lipsius retired from Leyden, where for twelve years he had been professor of Roman history and antiquities. The university and its protectors, the states-general of Holland and the Prince

of Orange, resolved to obtain Scaliger as his successor. He declined their offer. He hated the thought of lecturing, and there were those among his friends who erroneously believed that with the success of Henry IV. learning would flourish, and Protestantism be no bar to distinction and advancement. The invitation was renewed in the most gratifying and flattering manner a year later. Scaliger would not be required to lecture. The university only wished for his presence. He would be in all respects the master of his time. This offer Scaliger provisionally accepted. About the middle of 1593 he started for Holland, where he passed the remaining thirteen years of his life, never returning to France. His reception at Leyden was all that he could wish. A handsome income was assured to him. He was treated with the highest consideration. His rank as a prince of Verona was recognised. Placed midway between the Hague and Amsterdam, he was able to obtain, besides the learned circle of Leyden, the advantages of the best society of both these capitals. For Scaliger was no hermit buried among his books; he was fond of social intercourse with persons of merit and intelligence, and was himself a good talker.

For the first seven years of his residence at Leyden his reputation was at its highest point. His literary dictatorship was unquestioned. It was greater in kind and in extent than that of any man since the revival of letters—greater even than that of Erasmus had been. From his throne at Leyden he ruled the learned world, and a word from him could make or mar a rising reputation. The electric force of his genius drew to him all the rising talent of the republic. He was surrounded by young men eager to listen to and profit by his conversation, and he enjoyed nothing better than to discuss with them the books they were reading, and the men who wrote them, and to open up by his suggestive remarks the true methods and objects of philological and historical study. He encouraged Grotius when only a youth of sixteen to edit *Capella*; the early death of the younger Douza he wept as that of a beloved son; Daniel Heinsius, from being his

favourite pupil, became his most intimate friend. But Scaliger had made numerous enemies. He hated ignorance, but he hated still more half learning, and, most of all, dishonesty in argument or in quotation. Himself the soul of honour and truthfulness, with a single aim in all his writings, namely, to arrive at the truth, he had no toleration for the disingenuous arguments and the mis-statements of facts of those who wrote to support a theory or to defend an unsound cause. Neither in his conversation nor in his writings did he conceal his contempt for the ignorant and the dishonest. His pungent sarcasms were soon carried to the ears of the persons of whom they were uttered, and his pen was not less bitter than his tongue. He resembles his father in his arrogant tone towards those whom he despises and those whom he hates, and he despises and hates all who differ from him. He is conscious of his power as a literary dictator, and not always sufficiently cautious or sufficiently gentle in its exercise. Nor, it must be admitted, was Scaliger always right. He trusted much to his memory, which was occasionally treacherous. His emendations, if frequently happy, were sometimes absurd. In laying the foundations of a science of ancient chronology, he relied sometimes upon groundless, sometimes even upon absurd hypotheses, frequently upon an imperfect induction of facts. Sometimes he misunderstood the astronomical science of the ancients, sometimes that of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe. And he was no mathematician. But his enemies were not merely those whose errors he had exposed, and whose hostility he had excited by the violence of his language. The results of his system of historical criticism had been adverse to the Catholic controversialists, and to the authenticity of many of the documents upon which they had been accustomed to rely. The Jesuits, who aspired to be the expounders of antiquity, the source of all scholarship and criticism, perceived that the writings and authority of Scaliger were the most formidable barrier to their claims. It was the day of conversions. Muretus in the latter part of his life professed the strictest orthodoxy; Lipsius had been reconciled to the Church of Rome; Casaubon was supposed to be



wavering ; but Scaliger was known to be hopeless, and as long as his supremacy was unquestioned the Protestants had the victory in learning and scholarship. A determined attempt must be made, if not to answer his criticisms, or to disprove his statements, yet to attack him as a man, and to destroy his reputation. This was no easy task, for his moral character was absolutely spotless.

After several scurrilous attacks by the Jesuit party, in which coarseness and violence were more conspicuous than ability, in 1607 a new and more successful attempt was made. Scaliger's weak point was his pride. Brought up by his father, whom he greatly revered, in the belief that he was a prince of Verona, he never forgot this himself, nor suffered it to be forgotten by others. Naturally truthful, honourable, and virtuous in every respect, he conceived himself especially bound to be so on account of his illustrious ancestry. In 1594, in an evil hour for his happiness and his reputation, he published his 'Epistola de Vetustate et Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ et J. C. Scaligeri Vita.' In 1607 Gaspar Scioppius, then in the service of the Jesuits, whom he afterwards so bitterly libelled, published his 'Scaliger Hypobolimæus' ('The Supposititious Scaliger'), a quarto volume of more than four hundred pages, written with consummate ability, in an admirable and incisive style, with the entire disregard for truth which Scioppius always displayed, and with all the power of that sarcasm in which he was an accomplished master. Every piece of gossip or scandal which could be raked together respecting Scaliger or his family is to be found there. The author professes to point out five hundred lies in the 'Epistola de Vetustate' of Scaliger, but the main argument of the book is to show the falsity of his pretensions to be of the family of La Scala, and of the narrative of his father's early life, and to hold up both father and son to contempt and ridicule as impudent impostors. 'No stronger proof,' says Mr. Pattison, 'can be given of the impression produced by this powerful philippic, dedicated to the defamation of an individual, than that it has been the source from which the biography of Scaliger, as it now stands in our biographical collections, has mainly flowed.' To Scaliger the

blow was crushing. Whatever the case as to Julius, Joseph had undoubtedly believed himself a prince of Verona, and in his 'Epistola' had put forth with the most perfect good faith, and without inquiry, all that he had heard from his father as to his family and the early life of Julius. It was this good faith that laid the way for his humiliation. His 'Epistola' is full of blunders and mistakes of fact, and, relying partly on his own memory, partly on his father's good faith, he has not verified one of the statements of Julius, most of which, to speak most favourably, are characterised by rhodomontade, exaggeration, or inaccuracy. He immediately wrote a reply to Scioppius, entitled 'Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum.' It is written, for Scaliger, with unusual moderation and good taste, but perhaps for that very reason had not the success which its author wished and even expected. In the opinion of the highest and most competent authority, Mr. Pattison, 'as a refutation of Scioppius it is most complete'; but there are certainly grounds for dissenting, though with diffidence, from this judgment. Scaliger undoubtedly shows that Scioppius has committed more blunders than he has corrected, that his book literally bristles with pure lies and baseless calumnies; but he does not succeed in adducing a single proof either of his father's descent from the La Scala family, or of any single event narrated by Julius as happening to himself or any member of his family prior to his arrival at Agen. Nor does he even attempt a refutation of what seems really to be the crucial point in the whole controversy, and which Scioppius had proved, as far as a negative can be proved—namely, that William, the last prince of Verona, had no son Nicholas, the alleged grandfather of Julius, nor indeed any son who could have been such grandfather. But whether complete or not, the 'Confutatio' had no success; the attack of the Jesuits was successful, far more so than they could possibly have hoped. Scioppius was wont to boast that his book had killed Scaliger. It certainly embittered the few remaining months of his life, and it is not improbable that the mortification which he suffered may have shortened his days. The 'Confutatio' was his last work. Five months after

it appeared, 'on the 21st of January, 1609, at four in the morning, he fell asleep in Heinsius's arms. The aspiring spirit ascended before the Infinite. The most richly stored intellect which had ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge was in the presence of the Omniscient' (Pattison).

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Of Joseph Scaliger the only biography in any way adequate is that of Jacob Bernays (Berlin, 1855). It was reviewed by the late Mark Pattison in an excellent article in the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. cviii. (1860). Mr. Pattison had made many MS. collections for a life of Joseph Scaliger on a much more extensive scale, which it is greatly to be regretted he left unfinished, and in too fragmentary a state to be published. The present writer has had access to and made much use of these MSS., which include a life of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, written some years since. For the life of Joseph, besides the recently published letters above referred to, the two old collections of Latin and French letters and the two 'Scaligerana' are the most important sources of information. For the life of Julius Cæsar the letters edited by his son, those subsequently published in 1620 by the President de Maussac, the 'Scaligerana,' and his own writings—which are full of autobiographical matter—are the chief authorities. M. De Bourousse de Laffore's 'Étude sur Jules Césaire de Lescale' (Agen, 1860) and M. Magen's 'Documents sur Julius Cæsar Scaliger et sa famille' (Agen, 1873) add important details for the lives of both father and son. The Lives by M. Charles Nisard—that of Julius in 'Les Gladiateurs de la République des Lettres,' and that of Joseph in 'Le Triumvirat Littéraire au Seizième Siècle'—are equally unworthy of their author and their subjects. Julius is simply held up to ridicule, while the life of Joseph is almost wholly based on the book of Scioppius and the 'Scaligerana.' A complete list of the works of Joseph will be found in his Life by Bernays.

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY ALDINES

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To ascertain with exactness and accuracy the dates at which the first editions of the Greek and Latin classics were printed is a matter not only of bibliographical interest but of importance in literary history. To know with certainty whether at any specific moment the works of a particular author had or had not been printed is often of no little significance in the biography of the scholars of the Renaissance. And the dates of the Greek *editiones principes* are of much greater importance than those of the Latin classics. The manuscripts of these latter were comparatively common, and a scholar of the fifteenth century had but little difficulty in obtaining access to them and acquiring familiarity with them, even if they had not been actually printed—as most of them were, in the first thirty years after the art of printing by movable types had been invented.

But in the case of Greek it was different. Greek manuscripts were excessively scarce. The knowledge of the language was confined to very few, even in Italy, while those who before Aldus set up his press in 1494 had any skill in Greek, north of the Alps, might almost be counted on the fingers. Thus the few Greek classics of which the contents were familiar were only known through Latin translations, generally barbarous and always inaccurate. It is to Aldus Manutius the elder more than to any other single person that we owe it that this was changed, and that access to the masterpieces of Greek antiquity was afforded to all who desired it. When he commenced the work of his press in 1494 with the issue, as specimens or trial pieces, of the

'Musæus' and the 'Galeomyomachia,' only four or five Greek classics at the most had been printed—Homer, Æsop, Isocrates, and probably a volume containing eighteen Idylls of Theocritus.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen other books in Greek had also appeared—grammars, lexicons, psalters, and two editions of the 'Batrachomyomachia.' In the twenty-one years which followed, Aldus gave to the world for the first time editions of Aristotle and Plato, of Æschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Pindar, of Herodotus and Thucydides, Demosthenes and Æschines, Athenæus and Philostratus, besides other Greek writers of but little less importance, and the well-known series of Latin classics in duodecimo, which was such an inestimable boon to students, who had hitherto been confined to cumbrous folios and quartos. As the exact date at which the printing of each book was completed is given in nearly every volume, it might be thought that there would be no room for doubt as to the order and the time of the appearance of the successive works, and in fact all the biographers of Aldus and the historians of his press have agreed on this point, and have treated the chronology of his impressions as self-evident, admitting of no dispute or doubt.

Every student of Mediæval or Renaissance history is, however, aware of the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact date at which events recorded as of the first three months of any particular year took place, owing to the different days on which in different countries and localities the year was held to commence.

In England, while the historical year has begun—what time the memory of man runneth not to the contrary—on the 1st of January, the civil, ecclesiastical and legal year, until the end of the thirteenth century, began at Christmas. In the fourteenth century, however, and down to 1753, it began on

<sup>1</sup> Although the date of the *Theocritus* is doubtful, some bibliographers placing it as early as 1480, and others as late as 1494, there is strong probability that it appeared before Aldus began to print, and not later than 1493. Three other Greek classics appeared about the same time with the Aldine *Musæus* and *Galeomyomachia*—the *Anthologia* printed at Florence by Laurentius de Alopa in August 1494, *Callimachus*, and four Plays of Euripides, both without date, place, or printer's name, but probably printed by Alopa not long after the *Anthologia*.

the 25th of March,<sup>1</sup> and as some historians use the legal, others the historical, year, the date of any event recorded as happening in the first three months is at first sight a matter of doubt, and often requires much consideration before placing it in its due order. Thus—to take two events often used to illustrate this point—the date of the execution of Charles I. is sometimes given as January 30, 1648, sometimes as the 30th of January, 1649, and the accession of William and Mary sometimes as February 13, 1688, sometimes as February 13, 1689. With events so recent and of such general notoriety no difficulty arises in attributing them to their proper year, but the dates of less notorious and less important events recorded by our earlier annalists, and of the State papers down to the middle of the seventeenth century, are often most difficult to ascertain, and, in the case of the papers preserved in the Record Office, the dates given in the printed Calendars are often erroneous.

In France down to 1563 (or 1567) the confusion was still greater. In some provinces the year began on Christmas Day, in some on the 1st of January, in some on the 25th of March, and in some on Easter Sunday. By an edict of Charles IX., issued in January 1563, but not accepted or registered by the Parliament of Paris until 1567, the 1st of January was fixed as the commencement of the year.

In Italy considerable diversity prevailed. In Rome, Milan, and many other cities the year began at Christmas. At Florence down to 1749 or 1750 the 25th of March was New Year's Day, and at Venice, though the common use was to treat the year as beginning with the 1st of January, the legal year which was used in all public Acts and official documents was reckoned as beginning on the 1st of March, down to the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.

On no point are the historians of Aldus and his press in more absolute accord than in the assertion that he used the legal Venetian computation in the dates contained in his books, and consequently that those dated in January and February in any year did not in fact appear until a year

<sup>1</sup> By 24 Geo. II. chap. 23, the legal year was ordered to commence January 1.

later according to our mode of computing the year from the 1st of January, and consequently that a book dated February 1495 was not issued until February 1496 new or common style, and nearly a year after one dated March 1495. On this point Renouard, Firmin-Didot, and Castellani are all in accord, and the two latter assert the fact in the most positive and distinct manner possible, and reassert it over and over again. Renouard, indeed, in his admirable 'Annales des Alde,' assumes rather than asserts the fact, except in one or two instances where he expressly states it. In the case of the first dated book issued by Aldus, the Greek Grammar of Lascaris, he says :

'Effectivement le "Lascaris," de février 1494, est daté de la fin de cette année, février étant alors le douzième et dernier mois ; et l'*Alphabetum græcum* qui termine ce volume est de mars 1495, ce qui prouve que la publication et mise en vente n'auront pas eu lieu avant le commencement de l'année 1495.'

Again after placing the 'Lucretius' of January 1515 as the last issued of those edited or prepared for the press by Aldus, and placing it after those issued in September and November of that year, he concludes the list of the impressions of Aldus's books with the words :

'Dans cette année 1514 le 6 février, style vénitien, et 1515, nouveau style, Alde termina sa laborieuse carrière.'

In general, however, he arranges the volumes for each year, without comment, in the order in which he conceives them to have appeared, commencing with those issued in March or April, and ending with those dated January and February. Yet he is not absolutely consistent throughout. The volumes of the 'Aristotle' he places, not in chronological order, but in that indicated by Aldus in the preface to the second and third volumes and in the catalogue of 1498. In one or two other years he seems, without any reason that I can discover, to have placed the volumes without any attempt at either chronological or other systematic arrangement.

But neither the late M. Didot, in his 'Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise,' nor Signor Castellani, the

accomplished Prefect of the Library of San Marco, in his 'La Stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore' (Venezia, 1889), admits that there is or can be any doubt; they lay down the rule absolutely and repeatedly, without admitting a single exception.

Beginning with the two dates of the first and second parts of the Grammar of Lascaris, 'Anno M.cccc.lxxxxiiii ultimo Februarii' and 'M.cccc.lxxxxv. octavo Martii,' Didot says (p. 64):

'Cette différence, choquante au premier abord, prouve précisément qu'Alde suivait le calendrier vénitien qui commençait l'année le 1<sup>er</sup> mars, car il n'aurait certes pas mis un an à imprimer une cinquantaine de pages de cette seconde partie, dont le contenu était d'ailleurs annoncé sur le titre de la première. Or le dernier jour de février 1494, *more veneto*, était le dernier jour de l'année vénitienne 1494, et correspond à notre dernier jour de février 1495; par conséquent la seconde partie, datée du 8 mars 1495, a été imprimée non pas un an, comme on pourrait le croire, mais seulement huit jours après.'

He repeats the statement in similar terms several times, and on every mention of a volume dated January or February in any year generally adds 'more veneto' or some similar expression, and invariably gives the date a year later, followed by 'n. st.' in brackets.<sup>1</sup>

Castellani is equally positive. Having called attention on p. 17 to the fact that, until the fall of the Republic in 1797, the Venetian year began on March 1st, subsequently, when

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that Didot invariably commits a strange blunder in translating into French the dates of the volumes dated in the Calends of any month. He treats the calends as running forward instead of backwards. Thus the Grammar of Theodore Gaza, which is dated octavo Calendas Januariæ (i.e. December 24), he gives as 8 Janvier, and the dedication of the *Astronomici Veteres*, xvi Calendas Novem., as 17th November. If Aldus had been a barbarous writer of the twelfth or the thirteenth century, it would be possible to doubt whether he treated the Calends according to the classical rule, or fancied that they ran forwards from the first of the month, but the humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries certainly observed the classical rule. Moreover, for Aldus to have intended by xvi Calendas Novembres, the 16th (or 17th) of November, would be entirely inconsistent with the fact that we find he correctly makes use of the Nones and Ides when occasion requires it.



giving the double date of the Grammar of Lascaris, he writes (p. 40) :

‘ Questa differenza di anno è una prova evidente e decisiva che Aldo, come generalmente i tipografi in Venezia, seguiva nel datare le sue edizioni il calendario veneziano, secondo il quale febbraio era l’ ultimo mese dell’ anno, che per ciò principiava col 1<sup>mo</sup> marzo.’

And whenever he has occasion to speak of a book dated in January or February in any year he, like Didot, adds in brackets the following year. Thus, after giving the colophon of the ‘ Suidas,’ ‘ Mense Februario 1514,’ he adds ‘ (1515 st. com.).’

In the twenty-one years during which Aldus the elder exercised the profession of a printer he published 130 volumes including those which were in the press or ready for the press at the time of his death, and which appeared within a few weeks or months afterwards, and from a careful examination of each of them, and a repeated perusal of their prefaces, dedications, colophons, and dates, I have come to the conclusion—certain in some cases, probable in others, possible in all with perhaps one exception—that Aldus did not use the Venetian legal calendar for the dates of his impressions, but that for this purpose he in general used the common reckoning,<sup>1</sup> and commenced his year with the 1st of January, and consequently that books dated in January or February in general preceded those dated in the other months of the same year.

Among the books bearing date 1502 are two folios, which are frequently found, as Aldus in one of his prefaces expresses a hope that they would be, bound together—the ‘ Onomasticon’ of Julius Pollux, and the treatise ‘ De Urbibus’ of Stephanus of Byzantium. Each is dedicated by Aldus to a professor at Brescia, the ‘ Julius Pollux’ to Elias Capreolo, and the ‘ Stephanus’ to Giovanni Taberio. The printing of the text of the ‘ Stephanus’ was completed and dated ‘ Mense Januario MDII,’ the ‘ Julius Pollux’ ‘ Mense Aprili MDII.’ Accordingly in

<sup>1</sup> I shall indicate the common reckoning by which the year commences with January 1 by n.s. (New Style).

Renouard's work the 'Julius Pollux' commences the list of those printed in 1502, and the 'Stephanus' is put some months later, immediately before the books dated 1503; M. Didot, here as elsewhere, states precisely his view of the order of their appearance, saying (p. 238) : 'Les deux ouvrages in folio: Julius Pollux ("Vocabularium") et Stephanus ("De Urbibus") publiés, le premier en Avril 1502, et le second en Janvier 1502 (1503 n.s.).' Now there is conclusive evidence that the 'Stephanus' preceded the 'Julius Pollux.' The dedication of the 'Stephanus' is dated 'xv Cal. Apriles [*i.e.* March 18] MDII.' Now if the book itself was not printed until January 1503, this dedication would be one of the very rare exceptions to the usual practice of Aldus not to write his dedications or prefaces until the text of the volume was actually printed. In nearly every instance where there is a date to the dedication or preface, and also a date to the printing of the text of the volume, the date of the dedication is subsequent to that of the printing of the text, and that this was so in the case of the 'Stephanus' is clear from the words of the dedication itself. If the theory of Renouard and Didot were the correct one, we should have Aldus writing to Taberio on the 18th of March, saying that he was then sending to him a book which was not printed until ten months afterwards. Whereas if the date January 1502 precedes April 1502 the dedication will stand in its natural and ordinary relation to the printing of the text. Moreover, Aldus ends the dedication with the words, 'Expecta brevi Julium Pollucem et Thucydidem et quosdam alios.' Accordingly the 'Julius Pollux' was issued in April and 'Thucydides' in May 1502.

Turning now to the 'Julius Pollux,' we find at the end of the text the date of the impression, 'Mense Aprili MDII.' The dedication, which is dated 'III Id. April. MDII,' is also, as I have said, to a Brescian professor, and in it occurs the following sentence :

'Præterea quia cum *superioribus diebus* Io. Taberio nostro Stephanum de Urbibus dicarimus, quem cum Polluce a compluribus una colligatum iri, ob eam, quæ est inter ipsos, convenientiam, certo scio, volui vos et hoc in libro esse conjunctos, ut animo estis.'

Both Renouard and Didot wrote with these two dedications before them. Renouard prints nearly the whole of the one, and Didot of the other. Yet neither noticed how completely the two demolish their schemes of the chronology of the volumes, and prove that the volume dated January 1502 was printed before that dated April 1502. A further corroboration of the date of the 'Stephanus' is the fact that it does not contain an impression of the anchor, while if it did not really appear until January 1503, *n.s.*, it would be the single work of importance printed by Aldus after August 1502 on which that mark is not seen.

But we have an additional, and in itself a conclusive proof that the 'Stephanus' was printed before the middle of August 1502 in a letter of Aldus preserved to us in the celebrated '*Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ ad Joannem Reuchlinum*,' printed at Tübingen in 1514. The letter, which is in other respects of much interest, is an answer to one from Reuchlin ordering a number of books; it is dated August 17, 1502, and apparently accompanied the despatch of part of the order: 'Of the books which you have ordered I am sending you Julius Pollux, Stephanus '*De Urbibus*,' Thucydides, the '*Etymologicum Magnum*,' the Christian Poet Prudentius, with which I have printed some Greek pieces.'<sup>1</sup> He then gives a list of the other Greek books which he had printed 'since the Aristotle of which you have already a copy.' Then he informs Reuchlin what Greek books he has in the press, and what Latin books he has already printed and is about to print. A translation of this letter, though with a wrong date (October 28), is actually given by M. Didot, who does not see how completely it disproves his system of chronology, though he specifically comments, not very accurately, on the dates of several of the books referred to.

It is thus absolutely certain that in the case of the Stephanus '*De Urbibus*' Aldus did not use the legal Venetian Calendar, but dated the book according to the common reckoning by which the new year began on January 1. And

<sup>1</sup> '*Ex libris autem quos petis, mitto Julium Pollucem, Stephanum de Urbibus, Thucydidem, Etymologicum Magnum, Prudentium Christianum poetam cum quo et Græca quædam impressa sunt.*'

with this fact before us, I now invite the reader's consideration to the twenty volumes printed by him which are dated in January and February.

The first four of these are the Grammar of Lascaris of which I have already given the dates, that of 'Theodore Gaza' dated 'octavo calendas Januarias MCCCCLXXXV.'; 'Theocritus,' dated 'mense Februario MCCCXCV.'; and the 'Ætna' of Bembo, dated 'mense Februario M.VD.' None of these volumes contains a dated dedication, nor do their contents afford us much assistance in determining the order of their appearance. The Grammar of Lascaris, as we have already seen, is dated 'm.cccclxxxiiii. ultimo Februarii,' and as the supplement is dated 'M.CCCC.LXXXV. octavo Martii,' I agree that it is most probable that in the former date Aldus used the Venetian reckoning, and that the printing of the first part (the Grammar) was completed on February 28, 1495, *n.s.* This is confirmed by the fact that in some copies (one of which is in the 'Bibliothèque Nationale') the last sheet of the Grammar (before the supplement) has been reprinted with several alterations and corrections and with the date 'ultimo Februarii, MCCCCLXXXV.' We thus obtain the important fact that Aldus having first dated the book according to the Venetian style, when he reprinted the last sheet altered the date to the common style, from which we can only infer either that he used the two styles promiscuously, or that having in the first place adopted the Venetian style, subsequently, and on further consideration, he abandoned this for the common style. For the 'Theodore Gaza' and the 'Theocritus' we cannot obtain the same certainty, but I think in both cases there is a probability that Renouard and Didot are right, and that in these two volumes the Venetian style was used, and that, though dated January and February 1495, they did not appear—the 'Theodore Gaza' until after December 25, 1495, and the 'Theocritus' until February 1496—otherwise we should have to place them before the 'Lascaris,' and to consider them as the earliest dated productions of the press of Aldus. But a comparison of the types used in the volumes, and a collation of the texts of the 'Golden Verses' of Pythagoras and the 'Moralia' of Phocylides,

both of which form parts of the 'Lascaris' and of the 'Theocritus' volume, show as well the superiority of the types used for the latter over those used for the 'Lascaris' as the greater accuracy of the printing of the 'Pythagoras' and the 'Phocylides,' and thus render it most probable that the 'Theocritus' followed rather than preceded the 'Lascaris,' and consequently did not appear before February, 1496, N.S., and the 'Theodore Gaza' shortly after December 25 (8 Cal. Jan.) 1495.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the 'Aristotle' of 1495-1498, a truly stupendous work which well deserves the admiration it has almost universally met with during the past three centuries, and the panegyric which Renouard gives to it:

'To obtain an idea,' he says, 'of the difficulties and the boldness of such an enterprise, we must bear in mind the numerous treatises of which the five folio volumes of the works of Aristotle are composed, all at this time unpublished, and of which the different manuscripts were either almost illegible or disfigured by the ignorance of the copyists, often partially mutilated or obliterated and almost all presenting different readings. All this mass of writings was in the hands of an editor who could obtain no assistance from any earlier edition, who found himself at every moment delayed by doubts, for the solution of which he had to rely for the most part on his own sagacity and critical scholarship.'

Of the five volumes of which the *editio princeps* of Aristotle (and Theophrastus) consists,<sup>2</sup> the dates of the first

<sup>1</sup> That two of the sheets of the *Theocritus* differ in different copies has been noticed as well by critics as by bibliographers, and Reiske in his edition has given a precise account of the differences between the two impressions, of which the second is more correct, though less rare, than the first, but it has hitherto escaped notice that the second page of the first sheet of the *Theodore Gaza* containing the dedication was also reprinted and differs in different copies. The lines are differently arranged, and there is a slight difference in the wording of one of the sentences. Moreover, in the one—the first—the two Greek words in the preface, μέσα and πᾶθη, are left blank, and generally filled in by hand, but in the other, though the word πᾶθη is left blank, the word μέσα is in a coarse square Greek type not elsewhere used by Aldus. I am fortunate enough to possess a copy of each impression, the first being that formerly of Mac Carthy (No. 2139 in the sale catalogue of his library) and afterwards of Bishop Samuel Butler.

<sup>2</sup> I prefer, with Renouard, to treat the work as in five volumes, rather than with Didot as in four, as it seems more in consonance with the language and

—the Organon—and the fifth—the Ethics, Economics, and Politics—present no difficulty, being respectively 'calendis Novembris M. CCCC. LXXXV' and 'M. IID Mense Junio,' but the second, third, and fourth, which Renouard—for once unmindful of his canon as to the Venetian style—has arranged sensibly enough according to the instructions of Aldus himself in his dedication to the Prince of Carpi, have been thrown into the greatest confusion by M. Didot in his determination to insist on the use by Aldus of the Venetian style for the months of January and February. The second volume comprising the Physics is dated 'Mense Februarii M. IID.'; the third, the History of Animals and other treatises 'Mense Januario M. IID,' and the fourth—commencing with Theophrastus's 'Historia Plantarum'—'Calendis Junii M. IID.' It is perfectly clear from the dedications of volumes 2 and 3 to the Prince of Carpi that this is the order in which the volumes were intended to appear, and did in fact appear, and accordingly that in dating two of the volumes in January and February 1497 the Venetian style was not used, but that these two preceded the printing of the fourth volume dated June 1497. It is unfortunate that none of the long and interesting dedications are dated, but we may assume that, as usual in the editions of Aldus, the dedication and title were printed shortly after the completion of the text and immediately before the issue of the volumes. Now M. Didot is so wedded to his theory that Aldus invariably used the Venetian style that he arranges the publication of the successive volumes of the Aristotle as follows: vol. 1, November 1495; vol. 4, June 1497; vol. 3, January 1497, 'à la manière vénitienne, qui correspond au Janvier, 1498;' vol. 2, February 1497, 'that is to say 1498.'

'Ainsi donc, selon l'ordre de la tomaisou attribuée aujourd'hui intentions of Aldus himself, though his words in one place are not very clear, and it may be a question whether what is generally called the first and second volumes was not intended to form one volume only. The first catalogue of his publications which Aldus printed—that of 1498—however, treats the work as divided into five volumes. One—the *Organon*—he places under *Logica*, and the four others (*Primum*, *Secundum*, *Tertium*, and *Quartum*) under *Philosophica*.

aux œuvres d'Aristote, l'ordre de publication des volumes a été le suivant: tome 1<sup>er</sup>, tome iv, tome iii, tome ii, et tome v. C'est pourquoi dans mon analyse je suivrai l'ordre réel d'apparition de ces volumes comme plus important pour l'exposition du développement de l'imprimerie aldine.'

Now a very little attention to the dedications of the successive volumes will show that this arrangement of the volumes is altogether wrong, that the common order in which the various works of Aristotle are arranged is that which was adopted by his first editor, Aldus, and that the volumes dated in January and February 1497 belong in fact to that year (N.S.) and precede the volume dated in June 1497. In the dedication of vol. 2 Aldus writes:

'In a short time I hope you will have in your hands almost all the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus printed with my types. Now I have completed the first. . . . Very soon I shall publish the other works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and dedicate them to you.'

In the dedication to vol. 3 he is most precise as to the order in which he has arranged and intends to issue the volumes:

'Quare vero hos Aristotelis in philosophia libros hoc ordine curarimus imprimendos, ut præposuerimus physica cum cæteris in eodem volumine; hos dein libros de animalibus; hinc de plantis Theophrasti libros, atque Aristotelis et problemata καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά. . . . Libellos præterea Theophrasti, necnon Aristotelis quosdam, qualescunque habere potuimus, dedimus.'

In the dedication to the fourth volume these words occur: 'hos *etiam* de Philosophia libros in tuo nomine publicare constitui.' These passages make the order in which the volumes were issued perfectly clear, and show that vol. 2 and vol. 3 appeared before vol. 4, and not seven or eight months afterwards, and in his catalogue of 1498 Aldus confirms this order.

It will be noticed that the date of the completion of the printing of the text of vol. 3 preceded by a month that of vol. 2, but its appearance was delayed by the addendum of

sixteen pages comprising additional fragments of the History of Animals which had come to the knowledge of Aldus after the volume was printed, and it is clear from the dedication that it was not actually issued until after vol. 2. It is probable that the two volumes appeared about the same time, in or shortly after February 1497, n.s. The publication of the fifth volume completing the book was delayed until June 1498, owing to the desire of Aldus to include in it all the works of Aristotle, of which translations had been given by Leonard Aretin. He had sent to Rome, to Florence, to Milan, to Greece, and even to Britain, in the hope of obtaining manuscripts of the 'Rhetoric' and the 'Poetics,' but in vain. The work had to be published without them, and they were not printed (in the original Greek) until 1508, when they formed part of the collection known as the 'Rhetores Græci.'<sup>1</sup>

In the remaining Aldine Incunabula I have found nothing bearing on the question under consideration. Only two are dated in January or February, the 'Ætna' of Bembo, dated 'Mense Februario anno M.VD,' and the 'Institutiones Græcæ Grammatices' of Urbanus Bolzanius, 'M IIIID Mense Januario.'

With 1501 we come to two works of which the order and dates of publication have been a terrible puzzle to bibliographers, and to the biographers of Aldus—the 'Poetæ Christiani' and the 'Philostratus.' To the 'Poetæ Christiani,' which Renouard justly describes as 'Collection infinitement rare et précieuse,' and of which he says that the few copies that exist are almost all imperfect, he has devoted an elaborate and interesting notice. He has corrected many

<sup>1</sup> It has escaped the notice of bibliographers and editors of Aristotle that in the *editio princeps* one line in vol. 3 has been accidentally omitted. It is the last line of p. 100*b*, or the first of 101*a*. It would seem that after the volume was completed and a certain number of copies issued, the omission was discovered and the line printed on a slip of paper, and pasted into such of the volumes as remained in stock. It is so in my own copy, the types and paper being precisely similar to those used in the volume, but it is not to be found in two of the three copies in the British Museum, though in one of them it is clear the slip has been formerly pasted in, though it has now disappeared.



errors of his predecessors, and especially has established the fact that there only exists one edition of the 'Prudentius' of Aldus: namely, that which bears the date of 1501. I have noticed only one error in this description: namely, the statement that in the different parts of this collection the date 1502 is found in several places. The date 1502 is certainly found only once: namely, at the end of the dedication of the second volume ('Sedulius' and others). The four volumes (including the 'Nonnus') of the 'Poetæ Christiani' are not only of great rarity but of great literary interest, as being the *editiones principes* of several of the works comprised in the collection (including the first five chapters and the greater part of the sixth of the Gospel of St. John in Greek), while, besides other points of interest to the bibliographer, the arrangement of the various pieces, the order in which they were printed, the dates at which they appeared, the intercalated pages, and the very singular series of signatures, commencing in the first volume with ff, raise a number of questions of considerable interest. Each of the first two volumes is dedicated to Daniel Clario, the dedication of the first being undated, but that of the second bearing date 'Mense Junio MDII.' The only other dates are the following. On the recto of the last page of the 'Prudentius,' 'Mense Januario MDI'; in the second volume, on the recto of the last page of the Latin poems just half way through the volume, 'MDI Mense Januario'; in the third volume, the 'Nazianzen,' the only date is that at the end of the Latin translation, 'Mense Junio MDIII'; while the 'Nonnus' is entirely undated.

Now the order in which the several portions of this collection were printed by Aldus is certainly not the same with that of their publication, but can, I think, be ascertained with tolerable certainty by a dissection of the volumes, and a careful study of their dedications, prefatory matter, errata, colophons, and signatures, after the 'natural history' method. And this order will throw much light upon the dates. It would seem that Aldus originally contemplated only an edition of the Latin Christian poets, that he first printed Sedulius and Juvencus, that these were followed by Arator

and the two poems of Prudentius—'Psychomachia' and 'Paschale'—these being probably the only poems of Prudentius of which Aldus then possessed a manuscript. These were followed by 'Prosper.' By this time he had obtained from Britain (probably from Linacre or Grocyn) a manuscript of the whole of Prudentius (he seems to have been unacquainted with the Deventer *editio princeps*), and then, becoming for the first time impressed with the great merits of Prudentius, and forming the opinion, which was generally held for the following three centuries, though not assented to by recent scholars, that he was superior both as a poet and as a writer of Latin to Sedulius and Juvencus, he decided that the complete 'Prudentius' should form the first volume of the collection, and accordingly proceeded to print the remainder, adding the 'Centones' and the short poems by different authors which follow. The printing of this portion of what now forms the first volume, and of the first part of the second volume, was finished 'Mense Januario M.DI,' as stated in the volumes themselves. Then followed (though why these should form part of the collection of Christian poets it is difficult to say) the prose Life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus, and a Latin translation by Leonardo Giustiniani of the Life of St. Nicholas, composed in Greek by Simeon Metaphrastes. In the meantime, with a view to extending the educational usefulness of the work, Aldus had decided that the Greek Christian poets should form part of the collection, and should be accompanied by Latin translations. He began with St. John Damascenus, and the hymns of Cosmas and Epiphanius, which he forthwith translated into Latin and printed. These were followed by the Greek texts of the 'Homero-centra,' 'Gregory Nazianzen' and 'Nonnus.' So soon as he had completed and printed the translation of St. John Damascenus and the hymns of Cosmas and others, which would be shortly before June 1502, he issued the first volume comprising Prudentius, Prosper, St. John Damascenus, and the minor poems, and this was followed shortly afterwards by the second volume containing Sedulius, Juvencus, the miscellaneous poems, the prose Lives of St. Martin and St. Nicholas, and the 'Homero-centra' in

Greek and Latin with a tract on the Annunciation intercalated. It was not until 1504 that he found leisure to complete the translation of Gregory Nazianzen, and in, or soon after, June of that year, he issued the third volume containing the Greek and Latin with the chapters of the Gospel of St. John intercalated. He tells us at the end of the volume that 3,047 verses of Nonnus in Greek had been already printed for three years past, but that he had not yet been able, on account of his other occupations, to translate them into Latin. This translation, as the reader knows, he never accomplished. In fact, the 'Nonnus' was never published; the greater portion of the impression was no doubt destroyed or lost, and it is probable that the few copies which now exist were merely such as Aldus gave as presents to his friends.

In the dedication of the second volume (the 'Sedulius') to Daniel Clario, dated 'Mense Junio MDII,' Aldus begins by saying that he dedicates to him 'the Christian poets printed in our workshops a year since' (*Christianos poetas jam annum in thermis nostris excusos*) but which he had been prevented until then from issuing. Now the printing of the first half of the second volume being finished in January, the second half would probably be some months later, as the Greek text of the 'Homero-centra,' and the tract on the Annunciation, had not only to be printed but translated, so that it is improbable that it would be completed much before June, and therefore, if we take the date 'Mense Januario MDI' to be 1501, n.s., this harmonises with the statement in the dedication, but if it is to be taken as 'more veneto,' i.e. 1502, n.s., we have Aldus in June of that year writing that the volume of which only the first half was finished in the January preceding, had been printed a year since. Further, at the end of the translation of the 'Nazianzen,' dated June 1504, he tells us that 'Nonnus' had been printed for three years past, and it certainly seems clear that 'Nonnus' with the text of the 'Nazianzen' was printed about the same time with the 'Homero-centra' and 'John Damascenus.' Moreover, in the petition of Aldus to the Senate of Venice upon which a Privilege was granted to him on the 23rd of March 1501, and which

would therefore be dated shortly before that day, he states that he is then printing Sedulius and others, 'Et perchè al presente stampa "Sedulio," "Juvenco," "Aratore," "Prudentio," poeti Latini et antiqui, et similiter *in greco* in versi "Nonno," "San Gregorio Nazanzeno" et "San Joanne Damasceno,"'<sup>1</sup> which perfectly agrees with the date 1501, n.s., but would be inconsistent with 1502, n.s.

The three dates of the 'Philostratus,' March 1501, February 1502, and May 1504, are at first sight little less puzzling than those of the 'Poetæ Christiani' and have given rise to numerous mistakes among bibliographers, but the dedication to Zenobio (May 1504) explains the matter. After printing the Greek text (of the Life of Apollonius) which was finished in March 1501, Aldus became disgusted with the book, which he found quite different from his anticipations, *Nihil enim unquam memini me legere deterius lectuque minus dignum*. However, he proceeded—though slowly—with the printing of the Latin translation of Alemanno Rinuccino, and then with a Latin translation, made by Zenobio for this edition, of the tract of Eusebius against Hierocles, the original text of which he had appended to the 'Philostratus' in order that it might be an antidote to the poison contained in the Life of Apollonius. This was completed 'Mense Februario MDII.' But it was not until May 1504 that he could be induced to publish the work. I can find no evidence as to whether the date February 1502 in this and the Latin of the same year is 'more veneto' or n.s.

The only other volume which bears date in January or February 1501 is the Latin Grammar of Aldus, with the same supplemental matter as he had added to the Grammar of Lascaris, and with the eight pages of the well-known 'Introductio perbrevis ad Hebraicam Linguam,' which appears here for the first time. At the end of the Grammar proper is the following date: 'Ven. Mense Febr. DI,' but the preface, which occupies part of the first, the second, and part of the third pages, and is addressed 'Literarii Ludi Magistris,' is dated 'Mense Junio MCI' (*sic*). It does not

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Baschet's *Aldo Manuzio, Lettres et Documents*, p. 7.

seem, like most of the dedications of Aldus, to have been printed after the body of the volume, but to have formed part of the printing of the first sheet. If we had nothing but the volume itself to guide us we could come to no conclusion as to whether the date 'Febr. DI' was 1501 Venetian style or common style; it would depend upon whether 'MCI' is a misprint for 'MD' or for 'MDI'; but we are here fortunate in having external evidence which shows us that the book had appeared before July 1501, and consequently that the date at the end is common style. In a letter to Conrad Celtes, dated 'Nonis Julii 1501,' printed originally in 'Centuria Epistolarum Philologicarum e Bibliotheca M. Goldasti' (Lipsiæ, 1674), and reprinted by Renouard, Aldus, after mentioning some books not yet printed, writes that he sends as a gift to his correspondent two copies of each of the following: Horace, Virgil, and 'the Latin Grammar which I have composed.'

Coming to the year 1502, we find in four volumes the date January or February. I have already shown that the Stephanus 'De Urbibus' appeared in 1502, n.s. The 'Catullus,' Mense Januario MDII, is no less certainly n.s., for it is one of the Latin books which, in the letter to Reuchlin of the 18th of August 1502, Aldus mentions as already printed.

I now come to the single volume in which Aldus seems to have used the Venetian reckoning for one at least of its dates. It is the third volume of the edition of Ovid, and contains the 'Fasti,' the 'Tristia,' and the 'De Ponto.' The first volume, containing the 'Metamorphoses' and the preliminary matter, is dated at the end 'Mense Octobri M.DII'; the dedication to Marino Sanuto is undated, but is followed by a Privilege from the Doge of Venice, dated November 14, 1502. The signatures in this volume are, for the preliminary matter, a to h, for the body of the volume a to z, followed by A, B, C. The second volume containing the 'Epistles' and 'Elegies' is dated at the end 'Mense Decembri MDII,' and the signatures run a a to z z, and then A A, B B, and C C. It is therefore clear that these two volumes appeared consecutively in the end of 1502. The third

volume contains at the end of the 'Fasti' 'Mense Januario MDII,' and at the end of the 'De Ponto' 'Mense Febr. MDIII'; the signatures begin with a a a going on to z z z, then A A A to c c c. There can be little hesitation in concluding that this volume appeared after the first two, and consequently that the first date, 'Mense Januario MDII,' must be 'more veneto,' *i.e.* 1503, *n.s.*<sup>1</sup> Inconsistent as it may seem to date the first half of the book according to the Venetian style, and the second half according to the common style, I think the probability is that such is the case, and that 'Mense Febr. MDIII' is common style and not Venetian, otherwise there would be an interval of upwards of a year between the two parts of the same volume, and, although this is by no means an impossibility, it would be unusual for so long an interval to elapse without some reference in the dedication or preface to the cause of the delay, and with the signatures running on consecutively through the earlier and the later portions. Here the last signature in the 'Fasti' is l l l, on page 5 of which is the date, then follows a blank leaf, then the 'Tristia' beginning with m m m.

The second catalogue of Aldus is dated June 22, 1503, and contains 'Ovidius tribus voluminibus,' but we cannot infer from this that the work had been completed and issued before the date of the catalogue, since it contains several books which in June 1503 were certainly only in the press, and of which the printing was not finished until the end of that year. The same is the case in the other catalogues, and they do not therefore afford any certain information as to the date of the completion of any volume, as it is clear that each catalogue included all the books which Aldus had at the time in the press.

In 1503, at the end of the text of the 'Origen,' we find the date 'Mense Februario MDIII.' The dedication to Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo is dated April 1503, and as this, with the rest of the prefatory matter, was clearly printed and probably written after the printing of the text of the volume, we have here strong internal evidence that the date at the end is common style and not Venetian. The only other volume of

<sup>1</sup> It is no doubt possible that MDII is a misprint for MDIII.

February 1503 is the 'Euripides,' the dedication of which is not dated, and the book itself affords no evidence whether the date is 1503 or 1504, N.S.

I now come to a volume in which, at first sight, Aldus would seem to have used the Venetian and not the common style. 'Mense Octobri MDIII' appears at the end of the 'Xenophon' of that year as the date of the completion of the printing. The dedication, which is in Greek and fills the verso of the first leaf, is addressed to Guido Duke of Urbino, and is dated at the end 'Αυθσητηριῶνος τετάρτη καὶ δέκα .α.φ.γ'. *i.e.* February 14, 1503. Either then, contrary to his usual practice, Aldus wrote this dedication before any part of the volume was printed, or the date given in Greek must be taken to be 'more veneto' and in reality 1504, N.S. Now, in each of the other volumes which have dedications dated subsequently to the printing of the text, there is clear internal evidence that these dedications formed no part of the volume as originally printed, but were added afterwards (as is the case in the 'Origen'). In some instances, they formed part of the general prefatory matter with an independent set of signatures, in others (as in the case of the Stephanus 'De Urbibus,' and the 'Onomasticon' of Julius Pollux), though forming with the title the first two pages of the first sheet, yet the difference of type and arrangement of the page shows an extreme improbability that they were printed at the same time with the rest of the first sheet, and raises a strong presumption that the first two pages were left blank until the volume was printed, and then that upon these two blank pages the title and dedication were impressed. But in the 'Xenophon' there is no such appearance. Whatever may be the case with the title, the type and arrangement of the dedication are precisely similar to that of the pages which follow. It occupies an entire page, is in the same type and presents every appearance of having formed part of the original typographical arrangement of the first sheet, of which it seems clearly to form a part. No one comparing this dedication with the others to which I have referred, and with the numerous dedications in the other volumes of the Aldine series, even though he may

have no practical knowledge of the mode of printing in the sixteenth century, will have any difficulty in seeing the distinction to which I have referred, or in coming to the conclusion that there is internal evidence from the volume itself that the dedication of the 'Xenophon' was printed before the remainder of the volume, as part of the first printed sheet; consequently the probability is that the date at the end is new style.

I now pass over a period of nine years, during which no volume appeared dated in January or February, and arrive at the 'Pindar' of 1513, one of the most important books for the question which we are considering. The 'Pindar' is dated at the end 'Mense Januario MDXIII,' the dedication to Navagero is undated, but it is clear from the signatures and arrangement that both the dedication and the other prefatory matter were printed after the body of the volume. Towards the end of the dedication, Aldus informs Navagero that he had then in the press the collection known as the 'Rhetorum Orationes,' and that this would be followed by the works of Plato. Now the 'Orationes' appeared in May 1513, and the Plato in September of the same year, but if, in the date of the 'Pindar,' Aldus used the Venetian reckoning, when the book with this dedication was published, both the 'Orationes' and the 'Plato' had been issued some months. M. Didot has noticed this difficulty and suggests, by way of explanation, that the dedication must have been written some months before the book was printed. But it is easy to show that this was not the case. At the beginning of the dedication Aldus writes: 'Sunt jam quatuor anni cum statui duram hanc provinciam nostram intermittere.' It was in 1509, in the month of March, or April at the latest, that Aldus discontinued the work of his press, compelled to do so by the war of the League of Cambray. The last book that he printed in that year is dated in the month of April. But he must have decided to close his press and to undertake no new work some time earlier, and this would be about four years before the date of the dedication of the 'Pindar,' if we are to take the date January 1513 as common or new style.

The Commentaries of Alexander of Aphrodisias upon



the 'Topics' of Aristotle afford no less strong corroboration of my argument than the 'Pindar.' The volume is dated at the end 'Mense Septembri MDXIII.' It is preceded by a long preface addressed to the Prince of Carpi, dated 'xv Feb. MDXIV,' in which Aldus first explains the cause of the delay in publishing a volume which had been printed last year (*superiore anno*), and states at the end that he is about to print Strabo, Athenæus, Pausanias, Xenophon, and some others. Of these volumes the 'Athenæus' appeared in the month of August 1514, but if we are to take the date of the preface, February 15, 1514, to be 'more veneto,' and to be 1515, n.s., we should have the same absurdity as in the 'Pindar,' namely, that Aldus, writing after the 'Athenæus' had appeared, speaks of it as one of the books about to be printed. But there is still stronger evidence that, in this book at least, Aldus used the common style. On the 15th of February, 1515, he had been dead nine days. His death occurred, as I have already noticed, on the 6th of February, 1515, n.s. Even M. Didot is puzzled by this fact, and finds it difficult to explain. He writes :

' Cette épître est datée du 15 février 1514, ce qui selon le style vénitien correspondrait au 15 février 1515. Or une grande difficulté se présente au sujet de cette date. Le testament d'Alde est du 16 janvier 1514, soit 1515, et sa mort est marquée au 6 février suivant, d'où il résulte que l'épître d'Alde datée du 15 février 1514, serait postérieure de neuf jours à la mort de son auteur, ce qui n'a pas besoin d'être réfuté . . . Il en faut conclure que la date de l'épître de l'édition d'Aphrodisias est erronée et qu'il faut lire 1513 et non 1514, le dernier chiffre du millésime MDXIII ayant pu être ajouté par erreur, à moins d'admettre que cette date a été mise non pas par Alde, mais après sa mort, au moment de la publication du volume. D'ailleurs, de toute manière, cette question est difficile à résoudre.'

Signor Castellani has also noticed this difficulty and is equally puzzled, but offers no solution. It is certainly strange that the natural explanation occurred to neither, namely, that Aldus used the common reckoning and not the Venetian.

Passing over the Poems of the two Strozzi, dated February 1513, and the 'Suidas,' February 1514, I come to

the edition of Lucretius, which was certainly prepared by Aldus for the press, and the date of the completion of the printing of which, except the preface and other prefatory matter, 'Mense Januario MDXV,' is stated at the end. This would be shortly before the death of Aldus if we are to take the date as the common reckoning, but both Didot and Renouard place it a year later, eleven months after the death of Aldus. It is preceded by a preface addressed to the Prince of Carpi, undated, but containing internal evidence that it was written after the volume was printed and just before it was issued. '*En igitur tibi Lucretius*' and '*quod autem longe correctior emittitur nunc Lucretius ex ædibus nostris,*' are passages surely inconsistent with this preface or dedication being written nearly a year before the printing of the volume to which they refer.

With the death of Aldus the elder I end this paper. The books printed by his successors are generally of less interest, whether literary or bibliographical, than those which issued from his own press, and I have not given to the dates which appear in them the same serious and detailed consideration; but wherever I have come across any dated in January or February, I have found nothing to interfere with the opinion that Andreas de Asola, Paulus Manutius, and Aldus the younger followed the course adopted by the founder of the press, and continued to use the common date, and not the Venetian reckoning for the beginning of the year. The results at which I have arrived, and which, I think, are conclusively proved, are these:—That in the first instance, when he began to print, Aldus was in doubt whether to use the Venetian or the common reckoning; that for the first three or four books printed by him in the months of January and February he probably used the Venetian reckoning, changing it in the one case when he reprinted a sheet of the book, for the common style; that in a large number of the volumes printed subsequently by him, and bearing the dates of January or February, he certainly used the common and not the Venetian reckoning; that in only one volume, the third of the 'Ovid,' is there any evidence of the Venetian style being used, and that we may therefore conclude that, after the

years 1495 and 1496, he in general used the common reckoning, by which the year began on the 1st of January, and consequently, that several of the most important Greek *editiones principes* were printed a year before the date to which, following the leading authorities for the Aldine press, it has hitherto been customary to attribute them.

It must not be supposed that in this paper I have in any way exhausted the subject of the Chronology of the Early Aldine impressions, or attempted to solve the numerous problems, many of them of great interest, to which the volumes give rise. Although more has been written upon the three Aldi and the volumes that issued from their presses than upon any other printers, and great as is the literary as well as bibliographical merit of several of the books on the subject, yet much remains to be done before we have an adequate and exhaustive work dealing with the Aldine impressions from the different points of view of the scholar, the biographer, the literary historian, and the bibliographer.

## THE ALDINE ANCHOR

[Reprinted from *Notes and Queries*, Series 6, vol. ix. p. 109.]

THE Aldine anchor is perhaps the most celebrated of all printers' marks. It is singularly graceful in design, eminently characteristic of the distinguished scholar who first adopted it, and is affixed to a series of works which contributed more than those of any single printer or family of printers to the progress of learning and literature in Europe. The origin of the mark and the earliest book in which it appeared are, therefore, matters of considerable interest, and statements more or less inaccurate, and showing a very imperfect knowledge either of the books themselves or of what has been written on the subject, are constantly cropping up in the pages of 'N. and Q.' and other literary and bibliographical periodicals.

One of your correspondents announces the discovery of an Aldine 'Philostratus' containing the anchor, dated 1501, and thus earlier than the little 'Dante' of 1502, for which, the writer says, 'the anchor is usually said to have been first used.' Another writer puts forward the claim of the second 'Juvenal' with the date of 1501. Now considering that the Manutii and their impressions have been the subject of at least a dozen works, and that one of them—the 'Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde' of Renouard—is the acknowledged authority on the subject, and the model for all books of the kind, it might be expected that, before making a communication respecting an Aldine edition, a writer would refer to 'Renouard,' and would also look carefully into the book itself to see if there were any, and if any, what, indications of the date of publication. The 'Philostratus' and 'Juvenal' are well known, and will be found described in 'Renouard'

as well as in other bibliographical works. To be complete (which it rarely is) the 'Philostratus' should have the following contents: A title-page containing the large anchor and dolphin and the words ALDUS. MA. RO., as usually to be found in the later folios of the elder Aldus; 126 pages containing the Greek text of the Life of Apollonius and the tract of Eusebius against Hierocles, ending with 'Venetiis apud Aldum Mense Martio M.DI.' Then, after a blank folio, comes a long Latin preface by Aldus, addressed to Zenobio Acciolo, dated 'Mense Maio M.DIIII'; then, after six more preliminary folios, the Latin translation of the two works, and on the recto of the last folio 'Venetiis in Ædibus Aldi Mense februario M.DII.' This is followed by one more folio, the recto of which is blank, but with the anchor and dolphin on the verso as on the title-page. Now, at first sight the three dates are a little puzzling, but if any one will take the trouble to read the first few lines of the preface of Aldus, the matter is satisfactorily cleared up. He tells us that when he first undertook the impression he believed the work to be one of much greater merit than on printing he found it to be, and so laid it aside for some time, but at length determined to publish it with Zenobio's translation of the tract of Eusebius and that of Rinuccino of the Life of Apollonius. The book was in fact completed and published between May 1504, the date of the preface, and July 17 of the same year, for on that day Aldus wrote a letter to Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, sending her the volume together with the poems of Gregory Nazianzen (the date of which is 'Mense Junio MDIIII') as two books which he had just published. This letter was discovered by M. Armand Baschet in the archives of Mantua, and printed by him in 1867 in his most interesting privately printed monograph, 'Aldo Manuzio, Lettres et Documents, 1495-1515.' It is not probable that the title-page (on which is the anchor) which enumerates the whole of the contents, Latin as well as Greek, of the volume, was printed until after the date of the preface, namely in 1504—certainly not before February 1503, the date of the completion of the printing of the Latin translation of Eusebius.

As to the second 'Juvenal' with the date 1501, the statement at the end that it is printed 'in ædibus Aldi et Andreae Soceri' shows that 1508 is the earliest date that can be attributed to the book, and that the words 'Mense Augusti M.D.I' are simply copied by mistake from the edition printed in that year.

In the first edition of his 'Annales,' published in 1803, Renouard did not express any opinion as to the earliest volume in which the anchor appeared, but in his second edition (1825) he suggested for the first time that the 'Dante,' with the date August, 1502, was the earliest: 'C'est avec cette édition qu'Alde a commencé l'usage de sa marque typographique, l'ancre Aldine, qu'il a su rendre si célèbre' (vol. i. p. 81). And again, vol. iii. p. 97: 'Il n'en fit cependant usage (de l'ancre) que quelques années après, en août 1502, sur le 'Dante' in-8°, dont plusieurs exemplaires n'ont point d'ancre, ce qui prouve qu'elle a été ajoutée pendant le tirage, et établit d'une manière positive le temps où elle a été employée pour la première fois.' And both these remarks stand without any qualification in the third edition, and form the authority on which the 'Dante' has been since held to be the earliest volume bearing the anchor. But I venture to think this is not so, and that there is strong probability that the 'Sedulius' of 1502 (forming the second volume of the series known as the 'Poetæ Christiani Veteres') is earlier in date than the 'Dante,' and is the first on which the anchor appears. This rare volume contains two dates. On the recto of the last folio of h h, just before the Life of St. Martin, is 'Venetiis apud Aldum. M.D.I. Mense Januario.' On the verso of the title-page is a short preface of Aldus dated 'Mense Junii M.D.II.' Now, having regard to the fact that Aldus and his editors invariably dated their prefaces immediately before the appearance of the book, this date is, if not conclusive, yet very strong evidence that the 'Sedulius' appeared before the 'Dante' of August 1502. And Renouard himself seems to have really admitted this, for though in the two passages above cited he makes no reference to the 'Sedulius,' yet when describing that volume he says, 'Dans le 'Sedulius,' sur le dernier feuillet des préliminaires, on voit

*l'ancre Aldine, dont l'emploi commence à ce volume et au 'Dante' de 1502.'*

But the mark in the 'Sedulius' presents one peculiarity which I have not noticed in any other volume. It is *not*, as erroneously stated by Didot in his 'Alde Manuce' (p. 210) that the anchor is larger than that which appeared in the 'Dante,' the 'Sophocles,' the 'Statius' and the 'Herodotus' of 1502, and in the subsequent small editions given by Aldus. An exact measurement shows the form and dimensions of the anchor and dolphin of the 'Sedulius' to be precisely the same in every respect as those of the other volumes engraved by Renouard and numbered 1 in his book, so that except for the peculiarity I am about to notice they would seem to be struck from the same block. But against this is the fact that in the 'Sedulius' the mark is in a border of double lines, which certainly seems to be part of the same woodcut, though it is possible that the border was added afterwards. This border, which is in the two copies of 'Sedulius' which I possess, does not reappear in any subsequent volume, though in all the volumes with the date 1502 which contain the anchor (except perhaps the 'Dante,' of which I cannot speak, the page in my own copy which should contain it being missing) there are dots in the position in which the border appears in the 'Sedulius.'

The large anchor in a border of double lines first appears in the 'Philostratus' of 1501-1504, and in the 'Lucian' of 1503, which certainly preceded by some months the 'Ammonius Hermeus' of the same year, since, though both have the date of June 1503, the preface of the 'Ammonius' is dated November of that year.

The mark, a dolphin twisted round an anchor, is said to be found on coins of Augustus and Domitian. It appears on a denarius of Vespasian, a specimen of which, as Erasmus tells us in his 'Adages' (f. 112, edit. of 1508), was sent by Bembo when a young man to Aldus. But Erasmus does not say—as has been repeated by many writers, on the authority, it would seem, of L. Dolce—that Bembo suggested the mark and the motto 'Festina lente' to Aldus, though the great printer certainly contemplated using them

some years before the mark actually appeared upon a printed volume. In his preface to Linacre's translation of the 'Sphera' of Proclus (printed with other treatises in 1499 in the volume known as the 'Astronomi Veteres') Aldus writes: 'Sum ipse mihi optimus testis, me semper habere comites, ut oportere aiunt, Delphinum et Anchoram, Nam et dedimus multa cunctando et damus assidue.' Erasmus (*loc. cit.*) has a long dissertation on the mark and motto, explaining that both have the same meaning, the anchor being the emblem of the firmness and solidity which slow and careful work alone produces, and the dolphin of that perpetual and rapid labour which is no less necessary for the accomplishment of great undertakings. 'Ces deux emblèmes,' writes M. Didot, 'expriment avec justesse que, pour travailler solidement, il faut un labeur sans relâche accompagné d'une lente réflexion' ('Alde Manuce et l'Helénisme à Venise,' p. 211).

The mark itself, as it appears in the volumes of Aldus, is clearly taken from one of the engravings (on the recto of d 7) of the 'Hypnerotomachia' of 1499, where it is figured as an illustration to the following passage: 'Dal altra parte tale elegante scaltura mirai. Uno circulo. Una ancora sopra la stangula dillaquale se revolvea uno Delphino. Et questi optimamenti cusi io li interpretai. ΑΕΙ ΣΠΙΕΤΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ, semper festina tarde.'

In a future paper<sup>1</sup> I propose to make some observations on the chronology of the early Aldine editions, and to adduce reasons for thinking that Renouard and Didot have fallen into error on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 223-246.



AN INCUNABULUM OF BRESCIA,  
HITHERTO ASCRIBED TO FLORENCE

[Reprinted from *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. iv.  
pp. 233-37.]

THE complaint made by Aldus of those Lyonese printers who imitated the series of small Latin editions printed in the cursive type invented by him, which he commenced in 1501, has been well known since the publication by Renouard in 1803 of the 'Monitum in Lugdunenses Typographos,' dated March 16, 1503, a copy of which had been discovered and communicated to the writer of 'Annales des Alde' by Mercier de St. Léger. In this 'Monitum' Aldus specifies the counterfeit editions of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Lucan, Catullus and Terence, and in addition to these, Renouard has noticed several other counterfeits including Dante and Petrarch, of about the same time, but printed probably after the date of the 'Monitum,' or at all events, which had not then come to the knowledge of Aldus. In this 'Monitum' he makes no complaint of any imitations except those printed at Lyons, but it appears from an order made by the Senate of Venice on the 17th of October 1502, printed for the first time by Castellani in his 'La Stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio Seniore' (which first appeared in the 'Ateneo Veneto' in 1887, and was published as a separate work in 1889), that in the petition upon which the order was made, Aldus, after complaining generally of the counterfeiting at Lyons of his cursive letters and of his publications, had stated that one of his books had been reprinted in Brescia, with place of impression falsely given as Florence :

'Et perche li vengono tolte le sue fatiche et guasto quello che lui conza, come e stato facto in Bressa, che hano stampato una de sue opere et falsato, dicendo impressum Florentiæ.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Castellani, p. 77.

Signor Castellani was not able to discover what the volume was which was printed at Brescia with the impress of Florence :

'Quali fossero quelli di Brescia o per conto di chi contraffacessero, non si è venuto ancora a sapere.'<sup>1</sup>

A careful examination of all the books printed by Aldus prior to October 1502, and as exhaustive an examination as I have been able to make of books purporting to be printed at Florence before this date has led me to the irresistible conclusion that the volume to which Aldus referred as having the impress Florence, but really printed at Brescia, was the edition of the works of Politian of 1499, with the colophon '*Impressum Florentiæ : & accuratissime castigatum opa & impensa Leonardi de Arigis de Gesoriaco, die decimo augusti, M. ID.*,' which is ascribed to Florence in all lists of Florentine *incunabula*, including those of Hain, Audiffredi, and Panzer.

My reasons for this conclusion are as follows :

*First*: Laire, in the second volume of his 'Index Librorum ab inventa Typographia ad annum 1500' (Sens, 1791), p. 253, describes this book as a reimpression of the Aldine, and though Audiffredi in his 'Specimen Editionum Italicarum Sæculi XV' (Rome, 1794), p. 371, has objected to this description, and has rightly pointed out that the Florentine edition contains neither the 'Miscellanea,' the translation of Herodian, the 'Lamia,' nor the 'Epistemon,' yet it may, I think, be fairly described as a colourable and even fraudulent imitation of the Aldine edition, since it reprints without any acknowledgment or reference to that edition, the preface and dedication of that book addressed by Aldus to Marino Sanuto, and although, as Audiffredi remarks, the title does not, like that of the Aldine, profess to include 'Omnia Opera Politiani,' yet there are given in the dedication the very words of Aldus, '*Quare tibi Politiani quæcunque habere potuimus opera Marine suavissime dicata, muneri mittimus,*' and the further passage in which Aldus regrets that he has not been able to obtain the second century of

<sup>1</sup> Castellani, p. 49.

'Miscellanea,' the 'Epiphyllidæ,' or the 'Annotations' on Suetonius, Terence, Statius and Quintilian. Although, therefore, the word *Omnia* is omitted on the title, the preface of Aldus is both misleading and inaccurate when applied to the so-called Florentine reprint. It implies that the whole of the works of Politian that could be obtained are comprised therein; and it further implies that Aldus was the editor, though not the printer of the volume. That Aldus had a right to feel aggrieved at this edition and to treat it as a piracy there can be no doubt, even though it does not profess to have been printed by him.

*Secondly*: I have been unable to find any other volume purporting to be printed at Florence before October 1502, which had already been printed by Aldus. That none of his Greek books were reprinted at Florence before that date is certain; that no other of his Latin books was so reprinted prior to the 1st of January 1501, is equally certain. As to the Latin books printed at Florence in 1501, and the first three quarters of 1502, I cannot speak with the same absolute certainty, there being, so far as I know, no exhaustive list of Florentine books for this period, but the probability is very strong that no such book exists. No such book is mentioned by Panzer, nor have I been able to find, until many years later, any trace of any volume purporting to be printed at Florence which is a reprint of any Aldine volume except the 'Politiani Opera' of 1499.

*Thirdly*: There are only five distinct species of Greek characters that I know as used by any Florentine printer in the fifteenth century: namely, those of the 'Homer' of 1488, the two sets employed by Franciscus de Alopa in the remarkable and interesting series that he printed in and after 1494—the 'Anthologia,' 'Callimachus,' 'Euripides,' the 'Gnomic Poets,' 'Musæus' and 'Lucian'—the characters used by Filippo Giunta for the 'Zenobius' of 1497 and the 'Orpheus' of 1500, and lastly, those used by Miscominus in 1489 for the Greek passages of the 'Miscellanea' of Politian, printed by him in that year. Now the Greek characters of the Politian of 1499 have no resemblance whatever to any of these except the 'Miscellanea' of 1489. The Greek types

of both volumes, as Dibdin has remarked ('Bib. Spencer.' III, 465, and VI, 233), resemble those used by Jenson, but each of them presents features differing as well from those of Jenson as from those of the other, and a careful examination makes it clear that the Politian of 1499 is not printed either as to the Roman or as to the Greek characters from the same types as those of the 'Miscellanea' of 1489.<sup>1</sup>

Now there are several books printed at Brescia about this date which contain passages, some of them long passages, in Greek, and though the name purporting to be that of printer is not in all cases the same, and though trifling differences may be found in the Greek types used in different volumes, yet there is a strong family likeness going through all of them, leading to the conclusion that all were produced by one printer, and that the differences in the characters were merely those which arose from different founts of practically the same types being used interchangeably. In 1501 an edition of Macrobius was printed at Brescia, of which the well-known Angelus Britannicus is stated in the colophon to be the printer, and in which the Greek characters strikingly resemble those of the Florentine 'Politian.' But there is a still greater similarity between the Greek type of the 'Politian' and that of a volume of Miscellanies (the first of which is 'Philippi Beroaldi Annotationes Centum') published by Britannicus in 1496 ('sumptibus A. Britannici'), but printed by Bernardinus Misinta. Audiffredi (p. 177) noticed this similarity and thus writes of the Brescia volume:—'Character Græcus, non invenustus, eique simillimus quo usus est Leonardus de Arigis in editione Florent. operum Politiani anni 1499, cum qua colligata est haec editio in Casanat.'

The fact noted by Audiffredi that the copy of the Brescian 'Beroaldus' in the Cassano Library was bound up with a copy of the 'Politian' of 1499 is not without interest

<sup>1</sup> There is one Florentine Greek *incunabulum* which I have had no opportunity of seeing: namely, the first edition of the Greek Epigrams of Politian, ascribed by Panzer (i. 423), on the authority of Freytag (*Adpar.* i. 673) and Denis (*Suppl.*, 396), to Florence, 1495. No copy is in the British Museum and I do not know where one is to be found.

and may have some bearing on the question I am discussing, especially as I have found in a sale catalogue of 'Incunabula, &c.,' of A. Gheno (Rome, 1897, No. 811), a similar instance of copies of the two books bound in one volume in, apparently, contemporary binding. The 'Beroaldus' is a volume of 112 leaves, of which nearly half is occupied by the 'Miscellanea,' the 'Panepistemon,' and the 'Lamia' of Politian—the whole of the works of this author included in the Aldine edition, which are omitted in the (so-called) Florentine edition, with the exception of the translation of Herodian. Can it be that the edition of 1499 was in fact intended to form a supplement to the 'Beroaldus' of 1496, so that the two might form one volume, which should include all that could be found of the original writings of Politian?

For the foregoing reasons, I have come to the conclusion that the 'Politian' of 1499 is the volume which Aldus referred to in his petition, and that it was printed at Brescia, at the press of Bernardinus Misinta or Angelus Britannicus.

I may add that, except in reference to this volume, Leonardus de Arigis Gesoriacus (of Boulogne?) is not known as a printer, and it will be noticed that though on the strength of this volume his name is included in many lists of fifteenth century printers, the colophon only gives him as the editor and possibly the publisher of the volume, and does not state that the volume was printed by him.

THE MARQUIS DE MORANTE :  
HIS LIBRARY AND ITS CATALOGUE <sup>1</sup>

[Reprinted from the *Papers of the Manchester Library Club* for  
1883, pp. 129-152.]

ON the thirteenth of June 1868 there died at Madrid the most eminent bibliophile that Spain has produced—one of the very few Spaniards worthy of the name of a bibliophile—the collector of by far the most extensive private library that has ever been formed in the Peninsula, or that has anywhere been collected in the nineteenth century. The name of Don Joachim Gomez de la Cortina, Marqués de Morante, is all but unknown on this side the Channel. The British Museum and the Bodleian indeed each possess the nine volumes of his catalogue, but I doubt whether any other complete copy, except my own, exists in England; and although the library has now been disposed of by auction, and many of the rarer volumes are included in the treasures of the British Museum, yet the sales neither had the pecuniary success nor attracted the attention which the collection certainly deserved. But a library of one hundred and twenty thousand volumes—the great majority in Latin (though with numerous books in Greek, Italian, French, and Spanish), which included many *editiones principes* of Greek and Latin classics, books printed on vellum, rare productions of the early Paris press, books in the richest and most beautiful bindings, ancient and modern, and from the libraries of the most distinguished amateurs—may be thought not unworthy of attention at a time when the sales of the Sunderland and Beckford collections have

<sup>1</sup> This paper was translated into French by M. Isidore Liseux, and printed in the 4th Series of *La Curiosité littéraire*, pp. 265-87.

been received with so much enthusiasm,<sup>1</sup> and the books themselves have been so keenly contended for, and have fetched such enormous prices.

It was not until about the year 1840 that the eminent booksellers in Paris who particularly devoted themselves to the sale of fine and rare books, and to compiling the catalogues for the great sales by auction, Techener, Potier, Merlin, and others, began to learn, and to learn with no little surprise, that Africa no longer commenced at the Pyrenees, but that a book collector existed in Spain; and soon afterwards the Paris binders whose artistic productions have so enormously enhanced the value of the books to which they have devoted their labours and their talents, Capé, Thouvenin, Bauzonnet, and Duru, began to receive books to be richly bound for, and stamped with the arms and monograms of, the same amateur. But it was not until the first volume of the Marquis de Morante's catalogue appeared in print, in 1854, that his name was known except to a few booksellers and binders, and it was an article in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, in 1862, by G. Brunet, on the completion of the eighth volume of the catalogue, that first introduced the marquis generally to the knowledge of the French collectors and men of letters; and as no bibliophile had been heard of in Spain since the death of Don Vincente Salva of Valencia, the existence of such a library as that of the Marquis de Morante caused no little interest.

'I remember,' writes the bibliophile Jacob (Paul Lacroix), in the interesting note prefixed to the first sale catalogue of the collection, 'that one day I met Mottely, the model bibliophile, coming out of the *atelier* of his fetish the binder Duru. He was pensive, full of care and anxiety. "I have just seen," he said, "a collection of astonishing bindings on which the incomparable Duru is lavishing all his marvellous imagination and genius, but I have not yet been able to discover the name of their fortunate possessor. I admire while I execrate them, for they have caused our friend Duru

<sup>1</sup> Enthusiasm for the *books*, but contempt and disgust for the meanness or extravagance which has led the inheritors of great names to regard their ancestral treasures of art and literature merely as a means of acquiring money.

to delay the execution of some of mine. There is only Monseigneur the Duc d'Aumale to whom Duru would sacrifice me in this way; and, indeed, if it were any one else, I should never forgive him. No one but a 'past master' in book collecting would order such bindings, and it is only a prince who could pay for them." The bindings were for the Marquis de Morante. When Mottely was informed of this he cried out: "At length Spain possesses a bibliophile."

Don Joachim Gomez de la Cortina was born in Mexico on the 6th of September 1808. He was the third son of Don Vincente Gomez de la Cortina, a member of a noble Spanish family of the province of Santander, whither he returned on the revolt of Mexico from the Spanish crown. In right of his wife, Don Vincente was Count de la Cortina. Don Joachim passed with distinction through the University of Alcalá, and, after taking the degree of Doctor *utriusque juris*, received the appointment of Professor of Canon Law in that University; and on the transfer of the University of Alcalá to Madrid, in 1840, though only thirty-two years of age, he was nominated Rector of that great institution, an office which he held at this time for only two years, the death of his father in 1842 having obliged him to proceed to Mexico in order to arrange his family affairs. On his return to Spain, in 1844, he was appointed Supernumerary Judge of the Court of Appeal of Madrid; in 1847 he received the title of Marquis de Morante, and shortly afterwards the Grand Crosses of Charles the Third and Isabella the Catholic, and was made a Knight of the military Order of Santiago de Compostella. From 1851 to 1853 he held for the second time the office of Rector of the University of Madrid, which he vacated upon being made a member of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice. In 1859 he was raised to the dignity of Senator. Señor F. A. Barbieri—no less distinguished as a musical composer than as an enthusiastic bibliophile, from whose biographical notice of the Marquis de Morante, prefixed to the sale catalogue of 1872, the foregoing details are taken—inform us that the marquis always refused to receive the income attached to the various offices which he held, in some instances renouncing them in favour



of the State, in others assigning them for the benefit of the poor.

Some time before his death he resigned all his offices, in order to give himself up exclusively to his library and his studies. From a very early age he had devoted himself with ardour to the collection of books, and when a student at the University of Alcalá, had laid the foundations of his great library, and had employed all that he could spare from his allowance in the purchase of books. His income for many years before his death was about 5,000*l.* per annum, two-thirds of which he spent on his library.

Although the Marquis de Morante filled from time to time so many important posts, his affections were wholly with his books, and he never willingly left his library; business and duty alone took him beyond its walls. He never travelled except from necessity; twice only he visited Paris, once on his way to Mexico in 1842, and again in 1848. London he merely passed through once on his Mexican journey, and from the time that he resigned his public offices it was only on very rare occasions that he went out of his house. His library was placed in three magnificent halls, paved with marble, which he had built for the purpose. There from morning till night the marquis might be found, wearing a short jacket of coarse ticking, with a pair of old slippers on his feet. This dress he found the most convenient, and it was never changed. Visitors would generally find him at the top of a lofty ladder like Dominie Sampson, partly arranging, partly reading his books, for it must not be supposed that the marquis was a mere collector; he was an excellent Latin scholar, and his main aim and object was to collect all the editions of the Latin classics and all books bearing upon Latin philology and criticism. Latin was the language which he always desired to speak; and his chief amusement, and indeed the only one in which he indulged in the later years of his life, was to entertain in the evening a few friends for the purpose of discussing in Latin philological and literary subjects. Yet these discussions, we may suppose, would be more entertaining to him than to his friends. Accustomed in all that part of his life which was not passed in his library

to act either as a professor or as a judge, believing thoroughly in his own infallibility and in his own good fortune, he could not bear the slightest opposition, and a contradiction persisted in involved the disgrace of the contradictor. He was so tenacious in his opinions that on several occasions, Señor Barbieri tells us, having cited as an authority a text which on being referred to turned out exactly the contrary of what he had stated, he preferred to alter it as an error, rather than to admit that he was wrong. He never asked advice, and when it was offered never took it. Punctually as the clock struck nine, however interesting might be the conversation it sharply closed, and the guests hastened to take their leave,

Yet notwithstanding all this he was a man of solid learning if not of much judgment, and his 'Etymological Dictionary of the Latin and Spanish Languages,' whatever may be its absolute merits, certainly must take a high place amongst the books of Latin scholarship which the Peninsula has produced. Besides this book, his only literary productions, with the exception of his catalogue and its numerous dissertations, were a few unimportant philological and literary tracts.

His habits, as may be supposed, were of the simplest. Caring for money only for the purpose of buying books or of relieving the poor (for of the third of his income which he devoted to his personal wants a large portion went in charity), he was yet most methodical in his accounts, and finding on one occasion that his laundress had made a mistake of an *ochavo* (rather less than a farthing), he apostrophised her in most severe and harsh terms on the subject of the error, but presented her at the same time with a twenty-franc piece, to show his approval of her skilful laundry work. His servants were numerous, and he was a most kind master, leaving pensions by his will to each of his domestics, and to his cook the handsome income of eight francs per day. Yet her labours cannot have been very arduous, for the marquis ate the simplest food, drank with it a very little wine, never taking tea, coffee, or spirits, and neither smoking nor taking snuff. He seems to have been a good deal bored by his official duties as a judge, for whenever he sat in Court a volume of

Horace or Virgil would be seen peeping from his pocket ready to be taken out at any moment of leisure, or possibly during the too long speech of a tedious advocate. Theatres and public amusements were entire strangers to him; sometimes he indulged in a game at cards with a few intimates, and he possessed no mean skill at *tresillo* and *revesino*. But at cards, as in discussion, he could not bear to lose, being unable to understand either that his skill could be surpassed or that his good fortune could fail.

During the latter part of his life he was deaf, irritable, and with a perpetual cold in the head, caused by passing his whole time in the cold galleries of his library. He amused himself, according as any of his friends pleased or displeased him, by making fresh codicils to his will, adding or omitting their respective names. Yet he was by no means ungenial, and took pleasure in relating to his friends various incidents in his life, but absolutely refusing to assign dates or to give any information which would allow of the possibility of his Life being written. Nor would he ever allow his portrait to be taken. He was very little, very thin, with prominent cheek-bones, a dark complexion, and very bright eyes. The Marquis de Morante died from the effects of a fall from a ladder in his library. His body was embalmed, and then, placed in a magnificent bronze sarcophagus which he had himself caused to be prepared for its reception, was buried in the church of which his father had been the founder; at Salazar, in the province of Santander.

The library of the Marquis de Morante consisted at the time of his death of 21,021 articles, comprising, according to M. Paul Lacroix, more than 120,000 volumes. First and foremost came the editions of the classics, and specially of the Latin classics. There were 'Editiones Principes,' among them those of Cicero 'De Oratore,' of Quintus Curtius (now in my possession), Valerius Maximus, Claudian, Orosius; other still rarer editions, the Livy of Udalric Gallus of 1469, the Martial of 1473; many other *incunabula*, including a large paper copy of the 'Bible' printed at Naples by Moravus in 1476. Of editions and translations of, and dissertations on Horace, we find no less than 545; there are

117 editions of Sallust, 169 of Virgil, 93 of Terence, 89 of Ovid, 76 of Tacitus, 73 of Quintus Curtius. These figures will give some idea of the extent of the collection of Latin classics. The commentators and the critics are even more numerous. I know of no library except the Sunderland which is so rich in those of the sixteenth century. After the classics and their commentators come the modern Latin writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including a larger collection of modern Latin poetry than is, I think, to be found elsewhere. Early and rare books, written against the Church of Rome, the works of heretics, reformers, sectaries, and atheists, form by no means the least interesting or the least numerous section of the library—a section which one is surprised to find in a Spanish library, and in that of an orthodox Catholic, who died in faith after receiving the last sacraments of the Church. Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian books on all these subjects are numerous. Of Ochino, no less than seventeen articles appear in the catalogue, mostly original editions. Faustus Socinus and Servetus are both well represented; of the latter there is a truly remarkable collection. Numerous books in all classes of literature, in French, Spanish, and Italian, but I have only noticed three or four English books and none in German, though several of the Latin works of Luther are to be found.

Many of the books came from celebrated libraries; a presentation copy from Joseph Scaliger of his 'De Emendatione Temporum' to De Thou, with the autographs of both these eminent persons; between forty and fifty other examples of books, now so eagerly sought for, from the library and with the arms of De Thou. There were books from the collections of the kings, queens, dauphins, and princes of France, from those of popes, of kings of England and Spain, of Calvin, Philippe de Mornay, Cardinal Richelieu, Leonard Aretin, Cardinal Granvelle, the inquisitor Torquemada, of the great bibliophiles Longepierre, Maioli, Count de Hoym, Bishop Huet, and nearly every collector of this and the last century; books with the autographs of Colletet, Desportes, Robert Estienne, Malherbe, Ramus, Aldus the younger,

Erasmus, Joseph Scaliger, and, as the marquis loved to persuade himself, of Rabelais and of Racine. Nor was the library less rich in bindings. It included curious and splendid specimens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—books bound by Clovis Eve in the sixteenth, by Le Gascon and Du Seuil in the seventeenth; by Boyet, Padeloup, Derome, and Bradel in the eighteenth, and by nearly every one of the eminent French binders of the nineteenth century, some in considerable numbers, and nearly all in excellent preservation. Of the books which were not thought by the marquis worthy of being sent to the great French binders, or which were not already bound, a large number were in the rich if not always tasteful binding of Schæfer, and others were bound by Gil, of Madrid, in mottled calf, or green or plum-coloured morocco, or in basane, a preparation of sheep most admirably and artistically prepared by Gil to imitate morocco. The arms of the marquis, with their eight quarterings and surmounted by the coronet of a marquis, were generally stamped in gold on the sides, in some cases with a monogram at the four corners. Above the arms were the words, '*J. Gomez de la Cortina et amicorum,*' and below, '*Fallitur Hora Legendo.*' The bookplate in the inside had sometimes the arms surmounted by a count's coronet, the words, '*Bibliotheca Cortiniana*' underneath, and on the three other sides, '*Egregios cumulare libros præclara supellez.*' Yet, although following the example of Grolier (of whose books no authentic specimen was possessed by the marquis) and of Maioli, he stated on the books themselves that they were for the use of his friends as well as himself, he was extremely unwilling to lend, or even to exhibit any of his treasures. If the volume asked for was a rare one, it was generally 'at the binder's'; if a common and modern book, and especially if the applicant were a poor student, the marquis would not unfrequently buy a copy and present it to the would-be borrower.

Yet rich as was the collection of the Marquis de Morante, and numerous as were the books—valuable by their beauty, their rarity, their magnificent bindings, or their intrinsic merits—there was something wanting to the perfection of the

library. Of hardly any author, and in hardly any department were the rarest of all editions to be found; there were but two books printed on vellum, and neither of them of much interest; one was a modern impression, the other a copy of the 'Epistles of Raulin,' printed at Paris in 1521. Of the 'Editiones Principes' of the Latin classics there were but few, and indeed hardly any of the rarest. Nor were the 'Incunabula' generally of the highest degree of rarity. There was no Horace earlier than 1477; the first Virgil was dated 1492; the Cæsars commenced with the second edition, that of Jenson (1471); of Cicero the 'De Oratore' of Sweynheym and Pannartz, of 1469, and the 'De Finibus' (Venice), 1471, were the earliest and the only two of very much interest, while the early editions of the other Latin classics were still less worthily represented. Among the Aldines, though we find both editions of the 'Hypnerotomachia' of Poliphilo, there was neither the Horace, the Virgil, nor the Petrarch of 1501, and very few of the books printed by Aldus in the fifteenth century. It was in editions of the latter half of the sixteenth and of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that the library was especially rich, and these, except when in splendid bindings or coming from the library of a celebrated person, do not, meritorious and interesting as many of them are, add to the glories of a library. Moreover, one singular feature of the collection, which certainly detracted to a large extent from its value, was the extraordinary number of common books and editions, represented not by duplicates or triplicates, but by a still greater number of copies. The 'Lampasive Fax' of Gruter, is a book which one expects to find in the library of every classical scholar and student; it is a work which no one interested either in Latin criticism or in literary history can conveniently dispense with, but it is neither rare, costly, nor a fine specimen of typography, yet no less than thirteen copies of the first edition (seven volumes, usually bound in seventeen) are to be found; and it is clear from the position of the book in the original catalogue and its successive supplements, that the Marquis de Morante bought a copy every time he met with one, and would probably have doubled the number had he lived long enough.

Those that appeared in the last supplement to the catalogue, printed after the death of the marquis, are clearly inferior copies to those he already possessed, one of the finest of which, in his dark green basane, with gilt edges and his arms on the sides, now reposes on the shelves of my own library. Of the imperfect second edition (really a different work) in four volumes, folio, seven copies were in the library. Of the 'De Charlataneria Eruditorum' of Mencken there were two copies of the edition of 1716, two of 1721, two of 1726, two of 1727, and three of 1747. Of the 'Elegantia' which passes under the name of Meursius there were three copies of the edition of 1678 and six copies of that of 1774. Of the 'Polyhistor' of Morhof there were two copies of the best edition, that of 1747 (the finer of which I possess), and at least five of the earlier and really worthless editions of 1708 and 1714. Of the 'Bibliotheca Latina' of Fabricius, of 1773, six copies, and seven of the 'Zodiacus Vitæ' of Palingenius, of 1722. Of the 'Lexicon Ciceronianus' of Nizolius there were numerous examples, including two copies of the edition of 1734 and four of the modern reprint of 1820. There were four copies of the poems of Lotichius Secundus of 1754, the same number of the Epistles of Casaubon of 1709, three copies of the Delphin Martial of 1680, of the works of Muretus of 1789, and of the Basle edition of Nonius Marcellus of 1842. Why the Marquis should have desired to acquire these numerous copies of common books it is difficult to say, for, unlike Heber, who wished to have a complete library in every one of his various residences, the Marquis, as I have before said, confined himself almost entirely to his house in Madrid.

It was in 1854 that the Marquis de Morante completed and caused to be printed the first volume of the catalogue of his library, with the following title: 'Catalogus librorum Doctoris D. Joach. Gomez de la Cortina March. de Morante qui in ædibus suis exstant.'<sup>1</sup> Successive volumes appeared in 1855, 1857 (two), 1859 (two), 1860, and 1862; and after the marquis's death a supplementary volume, the ninth, was

<sup>1</sup> Though the title is in Latin, the notes and biographies which the catalogue contains are in Spanish.

printed in 1870. The book is one of the most remarkable, one of the most interesting, and one of the rarest catalogues in existence, and is perhaps the only catalogue of a great library compiled by the collector of the books himself. Five hundred copies only were printed, nearly the whole of which, bound in the green basane before mentioned and stamped with the arms of the marquis, were presented to private friends and public libraries, mostly in Spain.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement is alphabetical according to the name of the author. In the sixth volume, on p. 374, the first alphabet reaches its conclusion; a supplement, again in alphabetical order, extends to the rest of the sixth, the seventh, and a part of the eighth volume; the remainder of the eighth is occupied by a second supplement; while the ninth volume, which appeared in 1870, contains a further supplement, also alphabetical. But the arrangement is extremely faulty; the alphabetical principle was not rigorously adhered to by the marquis. Books which have not the name of the author on the title-page, however well known he may be, appear sometimes under the author's name, sometimes under the first or some subsequent word of the title. It is thus impossible to ascertain, merely by referring to the name of the author, whether a copy of any book was possessed by the marquis. The same book will sometimes be found in different parts of the catalogue, in one place under the name of the author, in another under the title of the book. Numerous also are the books which, being bound together, are placed only under the name of the author of the one which comes first in the

<sup>1</sup> A copy was sold in the second sale in 1872 (No. 3005) for 110 fr., and an imperfect copy, six volumes only, I purchased at Sotheby's or Puttick's some eight or ten years since; but I am not aware of any other copy having come to the hammer or having appeared in any bookseller's catalogue. My own complete copy, bound in green basane and stamped with the Morante arms, was one of those retained by the marquis up to his death and sold with his library. It was used by M. Léon Scott de Martinville, who selected the books for the first three sales by auction, and who compiled the sale catalogue. I purchased it from M. Bihn, the bookseller in the Rue de Richelieu, to whom it was sold by M. Scott. M. Bihn found it a most useful book of reference for the purposes of his business, and it was only after repeated requests, and a protracted negotiation, that he was induced to part with it. The Bodleian was long unable to procure a copy.



volume, for cross references are entirely wanting. Of the several editions of the same book, the intention of the author seems to have been to arrange them in chronological order, but in numerous instances earlier editions are postponed to later ones, and in the case of many authors no principle is discernible in the arrangement of their several books and editions. Nor is there even any semblance of a system or principle in the mode in which the titles are given. Frequently—and this adds greatly to the value and utility of the catalogue—the full title-page appears, sometimes only a meagre abridgment of it. Duplicates of the same book are often inserted under titles so different as to make it at first sight appear that they are different works, and an inferior and worthless edition often has a longer and more elaborate title than the best edition of the same book.

One most curious and interesting feature of the catalogue is that to every book the price which it cost the marquis is appended. These vary greatly. Of the books purchased from Techener (usually from the catalogues of the 'Bulletin du Bibliophile') and other leading French booksellers, and of a considerable number of classical editions and commentaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the prices are high; yet of a large portion of the library—consisting partly as it would seem of the books which the marquis had bought in his earlier days, partly of classes of books like those of Ochino, Servetus, and other reformers and heretics, which have only recently become much sought after—we are astonished at the trifling sums which they had cost. Of the books bought from his collection for the British Museum, many fetched ten times the price which had been paid for them; but on the average, the full value had been given by the marquis, according to the prices of the time.

The great value and interest of the catalogue, however, consist in the numerous biographical and bibliographical notes and notices which it contains, and which vary in extent from half a line to two hundred and eighty pages, the longer notices being sometimes original articles, sometimes complete translations into Spanish of Latin or French lives of the authors in question.

In the first volume the notices seldom extend to more than a few lines, comprising references to Brunet, to the 'Bulletin du Bibliophile,' or short original descriptions of the books. The appendix to the second volume, of more than one hundred pages, contains a Spanish translation, with additions, of Nisard's life of Justus Lipsius, and succeeding volumes contain translations of the same author's lives of Scaliger and Casaubon. In the body of the third volume is an article of fifty pages devoted to Olympia Morata, one of nine pages to Muretus, one of seven pages to Navagero, one of eight pages to Bernard Ochino, besides numerous short notices, while an appendix of more than one hundred pages is devoted to a biography of Don Manuel Marti, Dean of Alicante, a prolific Spanish writer. In the fourth volume is a long life of Aonio Paleario (thirty-five pages), of Poggio Bracciolini (twenty-two pages), of Pontanus (ten pages), and an appendix containing, besides other matter, translations of Nisard's life of Scaliger, and an anonymous French life of Passerat. The fifth volume, which has no less than eleven hundred and fifty-three pages, contains lives of Sabellicus, Sadolet, and others, and an appendix containing a long life of Francisco Sanchez de Las Brozas (better known as Sanctius, author of 'Minerva') and extracts from his works; also a translation of M. Bonafous' life of Politian. The sixth contains long lives of Gerard and Isaac Vossius, Joannes Pierius Valerianus, Laurentius Valla, Gaspar Barlæus, and Gaspar Barthius, while the appendix of two hundred and eighteen pages contains a life of Vida, by Don Gaspar Bono Serrano, and Vida's three books of 'Poetics' in the original Latin, and a translation into Spanish verse. In the seventh volume are lives of Guillaume Canter, Giovanni de la Casa, Mathurin Cordier, Etienne Dolet (twenty-five pages, extracted from the work of Boulmier), and Gaspar Dornavius, and in the appendix a life of Leon de Castro, by Don Vincente de la Fuente. The eighth volume contains lives of Paul Jovio and Lotichius Secundus, and in the appendix a biography of Juan Sobrarias, with long extracts from his Latin poems. Moreover, to three of the volumes elaborate introductions are prefixed by Fr. Cutanda, Al. Mendiburu, and

Rom. Goicoerrotea ; while the fifth is preceded by an introduction to the study of literature, by Don Augustus Echavarría, who indulges in an amusing tirade against Protestant Bibles, Protestant missionaries, and Protestantism in general.<sup>1</sup>

But the longer lives and notices to which I have referred do not exhaust the interest of the book. The short notes are perhaps more interesting than the long biographies, yet they do not in general reflect much credit upon the literary acumen or the bibliographical exactness of their author. They abound in errors, and seem frequently to have been extracted from Brunet, the 'Bulletin du Bibliophile,' and other books, without their accuracy having been verified. Yet this censure does not apply to the whole. Many notes contain bibliographical matter which would be in vain sought for elsewhere, and are well worthy of being reprinted. Indeed a volume of no little interest might be compiled from the literary, biographical, and bibliographical notes which are scattered throughout the first eight volumes. And when all deductions are made for the imperfections which I have noted, the book will always remain of interest and importance, not only bibliographical, but also literary, and its compiler is certainly entitled to the benefit of the '*advertencia final*' with which the eighth volume terminates, and which I here translate :—

At last I have arrived at the end of my labour, and if I have not attained the success at which I originally aimed, and which some of my readers may have expected, at least I shall be credited with the good intentions which have induced me to undertake the work. To-day, when I finish a task much more arduous than we are accustomed to think a catalogue can be, may I not say with Ovid :

'Ablatum mediis opus est incudibus istud,  
Defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis  
Et veniam pro laude peto laudatus abunde,  
Non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.'

<sup>1</sup> After saying that Protestantism is a mixture of egotism, pride, and wrong-headedness which is happily incommunicable to the Spaniards, and is steadily dying out, and after ridiculing Protestant Bishops with *Madame la Señora Bishopess* and their innumerable little cubs, he apostrophises (in what he supposes to be English) '*Patent-brandy and suggar, tee and butter Missionaries!*

Occupations of various kinds to which from my youth upwards I have been obliged to give my attention, and latterly the infirm state of my health, have prevented me from devoting myself to this work with all the intensity and fervour which its special character required.

Those who are competent to form a judgment in this difficult branch of literature will not be surprised to find here and there an opinion too rashly expressed, a departure from the rigorous order of authors or subjects, a carelessness or solecism of style, which the intelligence of the reader will know how to correct. They will pardon other and more serious faults resulting from the inherent imperfections of our wretched human nature, as when for example (at p. 398 of vol. v.), by a veritable *lapsus calami*, I have referred to Grolier and Maioli as *binders*.

As the compilation of this catalogue was undertaken without any idea of profit, and still less with the desire of displaying my learning (for there is nothing more opposed to my ideas and my character than to make a parade of my erudition), five hundred copies only have been printed, destined exclusively for my friends, or for other persons specially devoted to the studies of classical antiquity. I hope that, in spite of the unfavourable circumstances in which this catalogue has been arranged and compiled, it will open to its readers a wide field of investigation. In it will be found curious notices respecting a large number of works of merit, interesting and circumstantial details serving to illustrate the learning and character of eminent writers, and a vast arsenal for tracing the development of Latin literature in its different phases. The scarcity of works of this kind among us is what has most encouraged me to take up the pen. Even in the nations in which a marked preference has been shown for these studies, although biographies abound, biographical catalogues are wanting; and it is no doubt to this circumstance, rather than to its intrinsic merit, that my catalogue is indebted for the repeated compliments which it has had the good fortune to receive from the most eminent humanists of Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and other foreign capitals. Perhaps I shall be censured for having been too minute in certain of the biographies interspersed in the eight volumes which compose the work. But we must not lose sight of the fact, that in order to properly appreciate the labours of an author it is indispensable in some sort to identify ourselves with him; and nothing contributes so surely to this as the knowledge of certain characteristic traits which we meet with in his private life. These often make known to us the idea which was present

in his mind and which guided his pen. Lastly, to those who reproach me with being too prolix in the specimens which I have given of certain authors, and particularly of poets who are little known and less studied, I shall repeat what the learned Dean of Alicante, Manuel Marti, has said in speaking of the works of learned antiquity: 'E veterum nimirum scriptis nec voculam prætereuntum sine piaculo. Quemadmodum enim in quolibet speculi fragmento rei objectæ integra nobis species repræsentatur, haud aliter in quantulumcumque antiqui scriptoris superstite particula, prisæ illius simplicitatis, candoris, puritatis, leporis, elegantiaæ imaginem perspicies.'

EL MARQUÉS DE MORANTE.

Madrid, 31 Jan. 1862.

In the six years which elapsed between the publication of the eighth volume of his catalogue and his death, Don Joachim had acquired about five thousand further volumes, chiefly modern and of little interest. An alphabetical list of the titles and the prices given for them was printed in 1870, and forms the ninth and last volume of the catalogue.

The heirs of the Marquis de Morante having, it may be presumed, neither taste for books themselves, nor any desire that so great a collection should be preserved in Spain, hastened to dispose of his library. In little more than a year after the death of its creator it was sold *en bloc* to M. Bachelin-Deflorenne, the well-known French bookseller, with a view to its sale by auction forthwith. The purchaser no doubt expected to obtain a large profit, since at that time fine books, like all other articles of luxury under the Empire, were selling at great prices, though not approaching those which they have reached during the last two or three years. But unfortunately before the books could be removed to Paris, the Franco-German war broke out. The fall of the Empire, the siege of Paris, and the troubles of the Commune left neither leisure nor taste for book sales. The Commune fell at the end of May 1871. Soon book sales recommenced, and within six months the approaching sale of the choicest portion of the library of the Marquis de Morante was announced. A large part of the library was brought to Paris, and M. Léon Scott de Martinville, the accomplished librarian of M. Firmin-Didot (to whom we owe the fragment

of the catalogue of M. Didot which appeared in 1867) was employed by Bachelin to select the books and to prepare the sale catalogue. The first sale took place at the Hôtel Drouot, on the 27th of February, 1872, and ten following days.

The catalogue contained 1,909 lots, comprising the rarest and the choicest volumes of the collection. There were manuscripts, illuminated books, books printed on vellum, *editiones principes*, books of figures, books in rich and choice bindings, books with autograph notes, and others coming from the libraries of kings and princes and distinguished amateurs. But Paris had not sufficiently recovered from the shocks of the siege and the Commune for such a sale to be successful. The great majority of the books possessed but little interest for the ordinary French collector, except what was given by their bindings or the celebrity of former owners. Early-printed French books, fine impressions of the French classics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are what the French bibliophile especially cares for. *Incunabula*, even the rarest and finest *editiones principes*, are comparatively little in demand in France, and the systematic neglect by the French of even their own countrymen who, in the sixteenth century, wrote in Latin has been often noticed. In England, where the taste for such books was and is much more extended and the demand much greater, there seems to have been no attempt to bring the sale to the knowledge of the collectors and booksellers; though even in England, ten years since, the demand for early-printed Latin books was far less than it is at present. In the 'Bibliophile Français' for March 1872, M. Bachelin-Deflorenne announced that 120,000fr. (5,000*l.*) had been obtained at the sale, and added: 'Le succès de la vente a dépassé toute attente.' In reality the sale was a complete *fiasco*; for many of the books there was not a single *bona-fide* bid; many others, especially of the rarest, did not reach the very high reserved prices put on them by their owner, and about half were bought in by Bachelin or his agents.<sup>1</sup> Of the rare books, those in French, especially early

<sup>1</sup> Though it was well known to the initiated, yet there was no public avowal of the fact, that the books sold were the property of Bachelin-Deflorenne, who

Gothic editions and Protestant tracts, were generally sold, and fetched high prices, many of the former being no doubt bought for the Duc d'Aumale, and of the latter for M. Gaiffe. The principal purchaser, however, was Mr. Ellis, of Bond Street, who bought 113 lots for the British Museum<sup>1</sup> at an entire cost of 506*l.*—certainly very much less than the present value of the same books, but in excess, on the whole, of the amount which they had cost the marquis. The late M. Tross repeated several times to Mr. Ellis in the course of the sale: '*Monsieur, vous êtes la providence de la vente.*'

Nearly all the books at this sale were in fine bindings, and far superior on the whole in condition to the books in

assumed to be the *bona-fide* purchaser of the books which had been bought in by or for him. One of the least satisfactory features of the Paris book sales is the impossibility of knowing whether the bids are *bona-fide* or merely those of an agent employed by the vendor to run up the price. This was said to be the case to an enormous extent at the Didot sales, a large number of books which purported to be sold being really bought in for the vendors.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ellis has been so obliging as to furnish me with a list of the books purchased by him for the Museum. They comprise several of the rarer tracts of the French and Italian reformers, and a few unusually fine and rare Incunabula, but with these exceptions were not perhaps books of much general interest. Those for which more than one hundred francs were paid were as follows:—(No. 26) *Quadernos Ystóricos de la Biblia*, printed by Jean de Tournes at Lyons in 1553, which is remarkable as containing the first impressions of the woodcuts of Solomon Bernard, being earlier than any of the editions in French. The marquis had paid for it only 180 reals, *i.e.* 1*l.* 16*s.* It fetched 190*fr.*—(51) *Christianæ Religionis Arcana* of Thomas Elysius (1569), in a magnificent binding à la Grolier of the sixteenth century, 300*fr.* It had been purchased from Techener (*Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1855, p. 197) for 250*fr.*—(99) *Orations of Caceres Pacheco*, 1570, the presentation copy to Pius V., to whom the book is dedicated, 260*fr.* Cost 250*fr.* (*B. du B.*, 1855, p. 122.)—(100) *Energumenicus* of B. Faye, 1571, in a splendid binding à la Grolier, 140*fr.* Cost 210 reals (2*l.* 2*s.*)—(112) *Calumniæ nebulonis cujusdam* and *Calvini responsio*, 1558, 150*fr.* Cost 2*l.* 11*s.*—(113) *L'impiété huguenotte découverte par Maistre Jehan Calvin*, 1656, 320*fr.* Cost 8*s.*—(115) *La Physique papale* of Viret, 1552, 190*fr.* Cost 15*s.*—(116) *Le Requiescant in pace de Purgatoire* of Viret, 1552, coming from the collections of Girardot de Prefond, Nodier, and Giraud, 420*fr.* Cost 2*l.* 11*s.*—(118) *Exposition familière* of Viret, 1561, 255*fr.* Cost 1*l.* 1*s.*—(126) *Anatomie de la Messe* of P. Du Moulin, 1638, 140*fr.* Cost 2*l.* 11*s.*—(135) *De l'institution, usage et doctrine du Saint Sacrement* of Philip de Mornay, 1598, the author's own copy, in the original brown morocco binding, with his initials and those of his wife on the sides and back, 300*fr.* Cost 13*s.*—(143) *De idolis Lauvetano* of Vergerio, 1554. 40*fr.* Cost 120*fr.* *B. du B.*, 1852,

the Sunderland library, though not equal to those of the Beckford collection. Four books only passed 1,000fr. No. 967, a rare production of Geoffroy Tory of 1523, then and still believed to be unique, reached 1,450fr.; No. 1459, the collection of French classics printed by Didot at the end of the last century, twenty-two volumes, quarto, green morocco, with the arms of the House of Orleans on the sides, reached 1,250fr.; and No. 1529, a manuscript on vellum of the *Gesta* of Simon de Montfort, 1,380fr. Besides these, which appear to have met with *bona-fide* purchasers (at least I have not noticed them reappear in any of Bachelin's catalogues), No. 1719, the 'Chronica Regni Aragonum,' a magnificent manuscript on vellum, was bought in by Bachelin at 1,950fr., and subsequently reappeared in several of his catalogues marked 2,200fr. But for a large number even

p. 808.)—(147) *Le Glaive du geant Goliath* of C. Leopard, 1561, an extremely rare pamphlet, 210fr. Cost 10s.—(148) A still rarer tract, *Sentence Decretale et condemnatoire au fait de la paillarderie papanté*, 1561, 210fr. Cost 14s.—(185) *Ochino De Cena Domini*, 1556, 110fr. Cost 2l. 2s.—(187) *Ochino Liber de Corporis Christi presentia in Cœnæ Sacramento*, 230fr. Cost 2l. 10s.—(188) *De Arbore scientiæ* of S. Frank, 1561, 225fr. Cost 16s.—(204) *De exercitatione jurisperitorum*, presentation copy to Julius III., with his arms, in magnificent binding, 185fr. Cost 6l. 8s.—(264) *Caton, Les motz et sentences dorées*, Lyons, 1538, 110fr. Cost 3l. 2s.—(273) Spanish translation of Petrarch, *De los remedios contra fortuna*, 1505, 160fr. Cost 19s.—(275) *Le doctrinal de Sapience* of G. Roye, 550fr. Cost 1l. 6s.—(560 bis) Uncut copy of the *Grammatica latina* of Ramus, 1572, 160fr. Cost 5l. 5s.—(1157) *De bragardissima villa de Soleris* of Antonio de Arena, Poitiers, 1546, 130fr. Cost 2l. 13s.—(1245) *Celestina*, Lisboa, 1540, 240fr. Cost 2l.—(1246) Same, Zaragoza, 1545, 200fr. Cost 3l. 4s.—(1250) Same, Venice, 1525, 165fr. Cost 3l. 8s.—(1251) Same, Venice, 1531, 116fr. Cost 2l. 19s.—(1294) Noirost, *L'Origine des masques*, 1609, 160fr. Cost 2l. 4s.—(1318) *Carcel de Amor* by Diego de San Pedro Burgos, 1526, 400fr. Cost 3l. 4s.—(1320) *Question de Amor*, Medina del Campo, 1545, 195fr. Cost 1l. 8s.—(1380) *Proverbia Gallicana*, Troyes, s.d., 110fr. Cost 15s.—(1477) *Pomponius Mela*, Salamanca, 1498, 875fr. Cost 2l.—(1518) French translation of John Bale's lives of Bishops and Popes, 1561, 120fr. Cost 13s.—(1522) French translation of Hutten's life of Julius II., 1615, 120fr. Cost 1l. 4s.—(1523) *Des faits et gestes du pape Jules III.* of Vergerio, 1551, 130fr.—(1525) *Dialogue et ung merueilleux parlement*, 1522, 800fr. Cost 3l. 12s.—(1526) *Pontificius Orator*, 1524, 110fr. Cost 17s.—(1527) *Quivi e descripto quello ha exequire le oratore del Pontifice*, 1522, and other tracts, 160fr. Cost 2l.—(1590) Saliat's French translation of Sallust's Orations, 1537, 150fr. Cost 3l.—(1611) Spanish translation of Valerius Maximus, 1495, 260fr. Cost 6l. 10s.



of rare and interesting books in fine bindings there seems to have been no demand, as many of them were bought in at extremely small amounts. Of the celebrated 'Amatus Fornacius,' which so long enjoyed the doubtful honour of being the original of the 'Alcibiade Fanciullo,' but which is now recognised to be an altogether different and uninteresting book, the Marquis de Morante possessed two copies, one (No. 1353) bound up with several other books was knocked down for 10fr., and the other (No. 2613 at the second sale) fetched only 11fr.; but I have been unable to trace either of them in the subsequent catalogues of Bachelin, though I can hardly believe that they were allowed to be sold for such small sums. A copy of the Dialogues of Jonas Philologus, bound by Padeloup (now in my possession) was bought in for 3fr.! It was subsequently marked 20fr. in Bachelin's catalogue. Of the books which reached more than 200fr., the number at the first sale was only ninety-four; of these, sixteen were bought by Mr. Ellis, forty-two I have been unable to trace, and therefore assume that they also met with *bona-fide* purchasers, while no less than thirty-six were bought in and appeared in subsequent catalogues of Bachelin.

The second sale, comprising 1,064 articles, took place in May 1872, and a third of 1,039 lots in January 1873; and although in each of these sales a certain number of books of the highest rarity and a large number in fine bindings were included, the prices obtained were extremely small, a still larger proportion than in the first sale having been bought in by Bachelin-Deflorenne.

Shortly after the second and third auctions, Bachelin published catalogues of rare books for sale, principally from the Morante library. The latter of these catalogues contained 2,556 articles, about two-thirds of which are books which had been bought in at these three sales. The high prices at which they were marked by Bachelin, and the utter want of a demand for fine Latin books in France, prevented a ready sale; most of them remained on hand and many reappeared in the catalogue of the same bookseller of 1875, but without

finding purchasers. Ultimately those which still remained unsold were disposed of by auction at the Salle Sylvestre in April 1875, generally at low prices, far below those at which they had been marked in Bachelin's catalogues, and in many instances at even lower prices than they had been bought in at, in the sales of 1872.<sup>1</sup>

But an immense quantity still remained in his hands, and accordingly in 1878 and 1879 six thousand two hundred and thirty lots were brought to the hammer, in four sales, at the Salle Sylvestre. These successive sales, however, comprised only about two-thirds of the library. The remainder, consisting for the most part of books devoid of any interest, have been gradually disposed of by auction, without it even being stated that they came from the library of the Marquis de Morante. Thus has been dispersed the largest and one of the most important collections of books that has been formed within this century. Many of the rarest of the volumes are on the shelves of the British Museum, many others have been sold at subsequent sales at several times the prices they realised in 1872, and will no doubt hereafter reappear and will surpass the somewhat high prices at which they were valued by Bachelin-Deflorenne.

Of the commoner books there is hardly a catalogue of a French second-hand bookseller but contains some of them, while others have fallen so low in the world that they are exposed on the Quais in Paris without finding a purchaser. All those indeed in the binding of the marquis and stamped with his arms will always have an interest for book collectors; but it is hardly likely that the mere fact of having formed one of the hundred and twenty thousand

<sup>1</sup> I was a purchaser of a considerable number of books at the sale of 1872. A copy of the *Adagia* of Erasmus, 1556, in a magnificent contemporary binding, was bought in at the first sale (No. 1372) for 50fr.; it subsequently appeared in successive catalogues marked 80fr., and was purchased by me at the sale in 1875 for about 20fr. The *editio princeps* of Quintus Curtius, bought in at the second sale for 100fr. (a copy of which sold at the Sunderland sale for 20l.), was marked in successive catalogues 270fr., and was purchased by me at the sale in 1875 for 41fr.

volumes of the Marquis de Morante will ever in itself be a distinction to a book.

[Of the choicer bindings engravings of thirty-seven were given in the sixth and seventh volumes of the *Bibliophile Français Illustré*. An article upon the marquis is given by M. Guigard in his *Armorial du Bibliophile*, Tome II. p. 135. A review of the great catalogue, from the pen of Gustave Brunet, will be found in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* for 1862, pp. 1069 and 1401, and a short notice in *Le Bibliophile Illustré* of Berjeau for 1862, p. 156. To the first part of the sale catalogue of 1872 will be found prefixed three interesting articles, a brief biography of the marquis, by Señor Barbieri; a bibliographical appendix, signed Gustave P—i; and *Quelques mots sur la Bibliothèque du Marquis de Morante, et sur ce Catalogue*, from the pen of the Bibliophile Jacob, M. Paul Lacroix.]

THE CATALOGUES OF THE LIBRARY OF  
THE DUC DE LA VALLIÈRE .

[Reprinted from the *Library Chronicle* for December 1885,  
vol. ii. pp. 153-9.]

THERE is no catalogue of the eighteenth century, and perhaps not one of the nineteenth, which is so often quoted, which contains so much bibliographical information, and which comprises so extensive a collection of books of extraordinary rarity and interest, as that of the portion of the library of the Duc de la Vallière compiled by De Bure and Van Praet in 1783. After the lapse of a century, the information which it contains is as valuable and indispensable to the book-collector and the librarian as it was the day on which it first appeared ; and if the book itself has lost some of its interest, it is only because the greater part of its contents is incorporated in the Bible of the Bibliophile—Brunet's 'Manuel.'

The library of the Duc de la Vallière is not less remarkable for its intrinsic value and for its catalogues than for its librarians and for the bitter quarrel to which the compilation of the principal catalogue gave rise. The name of the Abbé Rive, and his book, 'La Chasse aux Bibliographes,' is known to every librarian, but it is not so generally known that this book is a bitter attack by the *ci-devant* librarian upon the Duke, his library, his catalogue, and Messrs. De Bure and Van Praet its compilers.

But all these points of interest would not have been sufficient to induce me to write this paper, were it not for the fact that there are no less than five catalogues, three of great though unequal merit, of portions of the Library of the Duc de la Vallière, and as I find that these are

perpetually confounded together, and as I know nowhere any account of them, or of their differences, except the brief note of Dibdin in the 'Bibliomania,' second edition, p. 130—which like most of Dibdin's notices is inaccurate and misleading—I have thought that it might be of service to the members of the Library Association, to have an exact and accurate account of the several catalogues, so that they might know which to refer to, and might not in attempting to verify a volume from the Duke's library, waste precious time, or no less precious temper, in a vain search through a wrong catalogue.

Louis-César de la Baume-le-Blanc, Duc de la Vallière, was the great-nephew of the charming Duchess, whose amiable qualities and long penitence have placed her on a pedestal to which no other mistress of a king has attained. He was born on October 9, 1708, and died November 16, 1780. Possessed of a great fortune, without ambition, with no great talents, but with a taste for literature and the society of men of letters, he began at an early age to form the great collections which have immortalised his name, and if he was not learned himself he certainly knew how to appreciate learning in others, and showed the most perfect taste and knowledge in forming his library. Manuscripts, books printed on vellum, the *editiones principes* of the Latin and Greek classics, texts and versions of the Bible, Missals, Horæ, early French romances and poetry are to be found in abundance, together with nearly every Greek, Latin, French, and Italian book and edition possessed of intrinsic merit and interest. For forty years he was the chief book-collector in the world, employing agents not only in France, but in England, Holland, and Italy, purchasing the choicest books at every sale of importance, and frequently buying entire collections *en bloc*. Thus he bought the entire libraries of M. Guyon de Sardière, M. Bonnemét, M. Jackson, as well as the more famous library of the D'Urfé family, so celebrated by Duverdier and Le père Jacob; at the Gaignat sale, he purchased books to the amount of between eighty and ninety thousand livres, many of these being *editiones principes* of the Greek and Latin

classics, and books printed on vellum, which he had himself sold to M. Gaignat some years before. At Dr. Askew's sale in London in 1775, De Bure purchased for M. de la Vallière books to the value of upwards of 600*l.*, and the Duke thus left at his death a library such as neither before nor since has ever been put together by a single person, and which at the present day no single person, however rich, would find it possible to acquire. Unlike some book-collectors, the Duc de la Vallière delighted to exhibit his treasures, and his library was the centre of *réunions*, not only of bibliographers, but of men like Voltaire, Voisenon, Moncrif, and others no less distinguished by literary ability than by their high rank and their general accomplishments. The Duke was an admirable and delightful host, and the discussions which took place on the merits and rarity of different books and editions are celebrated by more than one contemporary. His successive librarians, Boudot, Marin, and the Abbé Rive, were all men of learning and merit.

The Duc de la Vallière aspired to be a man of letters, as well as a bibliophile; but we cannot give very high praise to his writings, if, indeed, any of them exist. His verses, collected by Moncrif, in his 'Choix de Chansons,' 1757, 12mo, though they were received by the high society of the day with the favour which the poetry of a Duke always obtains, are poor and commonplace; and it is doubtful whether he or Moncrif was the author of them. The Duke's 'Bibliothèque du Théâtre Français depuis son origine,' 1768, 3 vols. 8vo, is a collection of analyses of and extracts from French comedies, of which the first half, treating of the comedies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is both entertaining and interesting; but it is not probable that the Duke took more than a very small share, if any, in the production of the work. According to a MS. note of the Abbé de St. Léger in the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, it was the work of St. Léger, Marin, Capperonier and Boudot. Another work inserted under the Duke's name by Quérard in 'La France Littéraire' and by Weiss in the 'Biographie Universelle—Ballets, Opéras et autres lyriques, par ordre chronologique'—would seem to be the

book which appears in the catalogue of 1783 (No. 3511) as 'Catalogue des Ballets et Opéras qui sont dans la Bibliothèque de M. le Duc de la Vallière.'

Purchasing as the Duke did whole libraries *en bloc*, and never resting satisfied until he had obtained the finest possible copy of every rare book, he necessarily acquired a considerable number of duplicates; and these, with other books which for any reason he ceased to care for, he sold from time to time, when in all probability his great expenditure on his library rendered him in want of money. Thus twenty years before his death he had sold to the King his entire collection of books on Natural History, a collection which formed the foundation of that department in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1767, in 1772, and in 1777, sales of some of his books took place. The catalogue of the sale of 1767 is in two volumes, and has the following title:—'Catalogue des Livres provenans de la Bibliothèque de M. L. D. D. L. V. [Monsieur le Duc de la Vallière] disposé et mis en ordre, avec une Table Alphabétique des Auteurs, par Guill. Franc. de Bure le jeune.' Paris, 1767, 8vo. It comprises 5,633 articles, and is, as would be expected from its compiler, in all respects admirable. It contains a considerable number of books of the highest degree of rarity—a copy of the Bible of Fust and Schoeffer of 1462, which one would have thought the Duke would have desired to retain, even though he possessed the fine copy of the same Bible printed on vellum, which he had purchased at the Gaignat sale for 3,200 livres. The copy on paper sold at the sale of 1767 for 2,500 livres,<sup>1</sup> and this is the highest price obtained for any book at this sale, for in general they sold at very small prices even for that day. A copy of the French Bible of Lefèvre d'Étaples, printed at Antwerp by Martin l'Emperour in 1530, sold for 25 livres 1 sol, while a copy of that printed at Antwerp by Antoine de la Haye, 1541, only obtained 3 livres; the French

<sup>1</sup> The same copy sold at the Crevenna sale in 1790 for 1,460 florins; a copy at D'Ourches' sale, 1811, 2,101 francs; Willett, 105*l.*; Duke of Sussex, 170*l.* According to Brunet, there are forty copies on vellum and only about twenty on paper.

Psalter of Lefèvre d'Étaples, printed by Simon de Colines in 1523, bound up with a manuscript Psalter of the same date, 1 livre 2 sols; the Marot of Roffet, 1532, 1 livre 15 sols; the Venice Dante (of Peter of Cremona) of 1491, 16 livres 19 sols; and the Lyons Rabelais of 1564, 3 livres.<sup>1</sup> But this collection and this catalogue would have been thought worthy of a very high place among catalogues and collections, if they had not been completely overshadowed by the great collection which the Duke left at his death. It is, however, this catalogue of 1767 that is very frequently confused with *the* La Vallière catalogue—*i.e.* that of 1783; and though the catalogue of 1767 ought to find a place in every large library, and will be found frequently useful for reference, yet every librarian must beware of confusing it with its more celebrated namesake, and when a book is cited from the La Vallière catalogue he must satisfy himself that this is not the catalogue from which it comes. The two other catalogues of sales—'Catalogue des livres de M. . . . par De Bure fils aîné,' 1772, 8vo, and 'Catalogue des Livres provenans de la Bibliothèque de M. L. D. D. L. V.,' 1777, 8vo, need not detain us; they contained much smaller collections of books than that of 1767, and are not so frequently met with or quoted, yet each of them contains books of rarity and interest.

At the time of the death of the Duc de la Vallière, the position of his librarian was held by one of the most learned bibliographers of the day, the Abbé Rive. He had filled the office of librarian to the Duke for twelve years, and it cannot be denied that the perfection and importance of the library owed much to his care. But he was also, unfortunately, one of the most spiteful and cantankerous of men. It says much for the good nature and good temper of the Duke that he had been so long without quarrelling with his librarian. Upon the death of the Duke, and upon the the determination of his only child and heiress, the Duchess

<sup>1</sup> It would almost seem as if the Bible of 1541, the Psalter of 1523, and the Rabelais of 1564, all of them books now eagerly sought after, and which fetch large prices whenever they appear, were turned out of the library as mere rubbish, for no copies of them are to be found in the library left by the Duke at his death.



de Châtillon, to dispose of the library, the Abbé Rive fully expected to be entrusted with the preparation of the catalogue, but his utter want of method and order, and the confusion in which the Duchess found the library, as well as the fact that during the long period of his librarianship he had prepared little more than a mere fragment of a catalogue, decided her to entrust the work to more able and experienced hands, and Guillaume De Bure, the cousin and partner of the author of the 'Bibliographie Instructive,' was entrusted with the charge of preparing the catalogue and selling the library. He obtained the assistance for the MSS. of J. B. B. Van Praet, who was then young, but who afterwards obtained so high eminence as a bibliographer and as keeper of the printed books of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The two selected the 5,668 articles of the Duke's library which appeared to them the most valuable and the most interesting, and the catalogue appeared in 1783. It fills three volumes, which to be complete should contain the following:—Vol. I. A portrait of the Duc de la Vallière as a frontispiece; an *avertissement* of 35 pp., the last numbered xxxiii *ter*; then tables of *divisions* and *explications*, extending to p. lxiv; seventy-one pages of additions, numbered 1-71; 602 pp. for the catalogue itself (numbered 1-602), followed by a supplement of x + 90 pages. There should be a folding plate, representing the torments of hell, opposite p. 255. The second volume has 758 pp., besides five leaves of facsimiles. The third volume has 388 pp. for the text of the catalogue, besides a folding leaf of a facsimile, and should be followed by 376 pp., containing a table of names of authors, engravers, painters, writers, and the titles of their works; a second table of anonymous works, pp. 1-92, and a list of prices, 42 pp., followed by a page containing two notes. These volumes, says Gustave Brunet ('Le Bibliophile Français,' tom. 3, p. 67), 'sont fort recherchés, fort appréciés de tous les amateurs. Nulle trace de charlatanisme; point d'assertions hasardées, de recommandations emphatiques, mais des descriptions exactes, suffisantes, sans développements superflus.'

This catalogue forms a necessary supplement to the

'Bibliographie Instructive,' and the catalogue 'Gaignat,' and the three together form the most ample and accurate bibliographical manual which had appeared until the great work of Brunet. Yet, though I describe it as a supplement to the 'Bibliographie Instructive,' the La Vallière catalogue is in every respect but one—the number of articles—a far more important and useful bibliographical work. Meritorious as is the 'Bibliographie Instructive,' and greatly superior as it is to any bibliographical work published up to that date, yet dealing, as he does, with the whole of literature, the author necessarily describes numerous books which he had not seen, and for which he was obliged to content himself with the often erroneous and careless descriptions of others; and the result is, as in the case of every other book of the kind, even Brunet, that it is full of errors and inaccuracies. But in the La Vallière catalogue, every article actually passed through the hands of the compiler, and every description was written with the book before him; the result is a remarkably accurate description, and singularly few errors, and in many cases the descriptions given subsequently in Brunet's 'Manuel' are taken almost *verbatim* from those in this catalogue. The most elaborate and valuable part is, however, the description of the manuscripts written by Van Praet. Here we have not merely a catalogue, but a complete and exhaustive description of every manuscript of importance, with most interesting and valuable details concerning their authors, scribes and illuminators, with full information as to the contents of the manuscripts themselves, forming, especially as to the French manuscripts, a most important contribution to the literary history of France during the Middle Ages. The sale commenced on January 12, 1784, and continued to May 5. It excited the greatest enthusiasm among collectors, not only in France but throughout the rest of Europe, and what was a most unusual event at that time, English booksellers and agents attended it. No such sale had hitherto taken place, and it is not too much to say that the bibliomania for which our countrymen became so celebrated a few years after, took its rise from the La Vallière sale. The books fetched higher prices than had

ever before been known. The 5,668 lots realised 464,677 livres (about 18,585*l.*) a sum which then seemed enormous, yet M. Gustave Brunet ('*Le Bibliophile Français*,' p. 68) states that a similar collection of books would then (1869) fetch five or six millions of francs, *i.e.* more than 200,000*l.*; but in the quarter of a century which has since elapsed prices of rare books have so greatly increased, that comparing the prices in or about 1869 with those obtained at the Didot, Sunderland, Beckford, and Syston Park sales, a very much larger sum would have been obtained at this time. Certainly the prices which astonished contemporaries as enormous strike us at the present day as ridiculously small. Only fourteen lots realised over 2,000 livres, and of these eight were manuscripts. The highest price was for a manuscript '*La Guirlande de Julie*' (No. 3247), ornamented with flowers and miniatures, painted by Robert, which realised 14,510 livres. The only printed books above 2,000 livres were the following. The Bible of 1462 on vellum, which sold for 4,085 livres;<sup>1</sup> the '*Rationale*' of Durandus, Fust and Schoeffer, 1459, on vellum, 2,700 livres;<sup>2</sup> the '*Christianismi Restitutio*' of Servetus, 1553, 4,120 livres;<sup>3</sup> the '*Catholicon*' of Balbus de Janua, Fust and Schoeffer, 1460, on vellum, 2,001 livres;<sup>4</sup> (two other copies were in

<sup>1</sup> No. 28. The Duke had given 3,200 fr. for it at the Gaignat sale, and the same copy afterwards appeared successively in the MacCarthy sale, where it sold for 4,750fr.; Watson Taylor (1823), 215*l.* 5s.; Dent (1825), 173*l.*; and was bought at the Perkins sale in 1873, for 780*l.* by Quaritch. The Sunderland copy sold for 1,600*l.* and the Syston Park copy for 1,000*l.*

<sup>2</sup> No. 214. This copy of the *Rationale* is now in the Imperial Library of Vienna. It had cost the Duke 1,050fr. at the Gaignat sale. Van Praet enumerates more than forty copies printed on vellum; one of these was in the Sunderland collection (No. 4154) and was purchased by Quaritch for 790*l.*

<sup>3</sup> No. 913. This volume was then believed to be unique, and is so described in the catalogue. It had passed by exchange from Dr. Mead to De Boze, then it fell into the hands of De Cotte, who sold it to Gaignat. At the Gaignat sale it was bought by the Duc de la Vallière for 3,810 livres, together with a fragment of a MS. of Servetus. It passed from the La Vallière collection into the Bibliothèque du Roi (Nationale), where it still remains. A second copy is in the library of Vienna.

<sup>4</sup> No. 2,199. Bought by the Duke at the Gaignat sale for 1,222fr. It was afterwards sold at the MacCarthy sale for 2,620fr., to Mr. Grenville, and is now in the British Museum. A copy was bought at the Solar sale (1860), by Quaritch for 12,450fr. Of impressions on paper the Solar copy sold for 1,010fr., the Sunderland, 285*l.*, and the Syston Park, 400*l.*

this La Vallière sale, and were sold, one described as *gâté* for 85 livres, the other for 975 livres); the Virgil of Sweynheym and Pannartz, *s.d.* but 1469, first impression, wanting two folios (not *one* as stated by Brunet), 4,101 livres; <sup>1</sup> and Caumartin's 'Récherches de la Noblesse de Champagne,' 1673, on vellum, 7,601 livres. <sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the 'Museum Florentinum' of A. F. Gori, 1731-66, which realised 1,200 livres, sold in 1858 for 375fr. The Appian of 1478 sold for 1,000 livres; a copy at the Syston Park sale only realised 16*l.* 5*s.*

But perhaps the most interesting lots are those which fetched, even for that time, small sums, and have since risen to many times their then value. A copy of the 'Internelle Consolation,' 1539, sold for 1 livre 4 sols; a copy of the same book in Monmerqué's sale fetched 58 francs, and the value, according to the Supplement to Brunet, is now from 60fr. to 80fr. 'La Chronicque et hystoire singulière' du Chevalier Mabrian, 1530, fetched 19 livres 15 sols; the 'Manuel' records the successive sales of this copy, at higher and higher prices, until it reached 1,550fr. at the sale of M. Leopold Double, upwards of seventy-seven times as much as it was sold for in 1783. A copy of 'Le Livre de Baudoyne,' Lyon, 1478, which sold for 175 livres 1 sol, sold at the Solar sale for 4,300fr. A copy of Verard's edition of 'La Fleur des Batailles' of Doolin de Mayence, with the arms of Count Hoym, which sold at his sale for 9 livres 19 sols, was resold at the La Vallière sale for 40 livres, and again at the Solar sale for 1,000 francs. The 'Rymes' of Pernette du Guillet, Lyon, 1545, sold for 3 livres 1 sol; a copy was bought by M. Yemeniz in 1850 for 1,005fr., and sold at his sale for 2,900fr. The 'Doctrinal du temps présent' of Michault (*s.d.* but about 1480) sold for 33 livres; a copy (probably the same) has since sold at the following prices:—Heber, 23*l.* 10*s.*; Essling, 1,000fr.; Libri, 23*l.*; Yemeniz, 2,795 fr. 'Les quatre fils d'Aymon' (Lyon, about 1480) in the catalogue (No. 4036), under the title of

<sup>1</sup> No. 2432. Bought for the Bibliothèque du Roi. No copy has since been offered for sale.

<sup>2</sup> No. 5420. Now in the Library of the Arsenal.

'Histoire du Chevalier Montauban,' sold for 118 livres, and resold at the Roxburghe sale for 32*l.* 11*s.*; Essling, 996*fr.*; Yemeniz, 5,000*fr.*; a copy of another edition (Lyon, 1493) sold for 20 livres, and resold at the Solar sale for 1,000*fr.*

A considerable number of the finest books found their way to England to the collection of George III., and now form part of the British Museum library. Among them, besides the 'Catholicon' already mentioned, was the magnificent MS. Missal according to the Sarum use (No. 273) prepared for John Duke of Bedford, but not quite completed at his death in 1435. It sold for 5,000 livres.

It is not to be supposed that either the catalogue or the sale was received with enthusiasm by the Abbé Rive. Nothing could exceed his chagrin and mortification at not being selected to prepare the one or to superintend the other, and as soon as the catalogue appeared, he printed a severe and bitter attack upon De Bure and Van Praet, in the form of a prospectus of an intended work, intituled, 'Essai sur l'art de vérifier l'âge des Miniatures peintes dans les Manuscrits depuis le quatorzième jusqu'au dix-septième siècle inclusivement,' in which he 'devotes to the rods of the critics and the laughter of the public the bibliopoles who presume to catalogue and sell MSS. which they do not understand,' and comments most unfairly on the catalogue, the notes and the authors. The attack was answered with the greatest moderation and courtesy by De Bure and Van Praet in the 'Avertissement' which I have noticed as prefixed to the first volume of the catalogue, in which the tables are turned on the Abbé Rive, and his own shortcomings as a bibliographer and a scholar are exposed. Six years later, in 1789, the Abbé repeated and amplified his attacks in 'La Chasse aux Bibliographes et antiquaires mal-avisés,' in which he rakes together everything that the most vindictive spite can suggest, not only concerning the two bibliographers and their catalogue, but concerning his late patron, the Duc de la Vallière, and, indeed, all others whom he deemed his enemies, or who had any part in the slight which he conceived had been put upon him. Although the book is stated on the title page to be by 'un des élèves de M. l'Abbé Rive,' it is really

by the Abbé himself, and is the only one of his books which at this day preserves its value or interest, for undoubtedly, in spite of all its vindictive bitterness, or perhaps, partly owing to this, it is a book full of interest to all bibliophiles and bibliographers, as well as of no little use for elucidating some obscure points in literary history. But the bitter and spiteful criticisms of the Abbé Rive, which can only be equalled by those of the Père Garasse, Scioppius, and others of the gladiators of letters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only recoiled on their author, and injured neither the reputation of De Bure and Van Praet nor that of the catalogue of which they were the authors.

There remains to be noticed the larger part of the library left by the Duke which was not included in the catalogue of 1783. This was entrusted to the bookseller Nyon, a bibliographer inferior indeed to the De Bures, but of considerable experience and ability. The catalogue appeared in 1784, in six large volumes comprising 26,537 articles, under the following title, 'Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de feu M. Le Duc de la Vallière, seconde partie, disposée par Jean-Luc Nyon l'aîné.' The notes are few, and the absence of an index of authors' names makes it not easy to consult, especially as Nyon has adopted in part a new system of classification, differing in several respects from that which was then and has ever since been in use among the French bibliographers. This new system may have had its advantages in the case of the particular collection under notice, but is certainly confusing, and will hardly commend itself as one suited for general adoption. The greater number of the books are not distinguished by the same degree of rarity or bibliographical interest as those comprised in the catalogue of 1783, but they include a very large number of works on French topography, and the most extensive collection that has ever been formed of French and Italian poets and romances. Among them are many works which at the present day are absolutely *introuvables*. It was intended to complete this catalogue by an index of authors, and a printed list of the prices obtained for the volumes at the contemplated sale, but before the auction took place, the

library was sold *en bloc* to the Marquis de Paulmy, and was added to the already enormous collection of books, from which he (or rather Contant d'Orville) compiled the great work to which the Marquis's name is attached, 'Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque,' 70 volumes, Paris, 1779-84. In 1785, M. de Paulmy sold his library to the Comte d'Artois, reserving, however, the use of the books for his life. He died in 1787 and, when two years later the Comte d'Artois emigrated, the library was taken possession of by the State, and formed the foundation of the Library of the Arsenal, at present consisting of between two and three hundred thousand volumes, and containing the richest collection of French poets, dramatists and romances that anywhere exists, including many works of the highest rarity, and of some the only copies known. Nor is the Library of the Arsenal less rich in some important departments of history. It also contains above 6,000 manuscripts. An excellent manuscript catalogue has been lately compiled—the old one was full of errors—and has added greatly to the utility of the library.

THE BIGNON FAMILY  
A DYNASTY OF LIBRARIANS

[Reprinted from *The Library*, vol. i., 1889, pp. 97-102.]

THE greatest library in the world is, as every one knows, that which has been successively called the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, then the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, then *Impériale*, then *Royale*, then *Nationale* again, then *Impériale* again, and now once more, but for how long we know not, *Nationale*. For the number of its volumes it is without a rival (indeed, its actual contents are so vast that portions of them are almost *terre incognita*, even to the zealous, learned, and accomplished librarians to whose charge it is committed). But it is not so well known that, for a century and a half, it was almost uninterruptedly ruled by the members of a single family, who formed a dynasty of librarians without parallel in the history of libraries.

From the accession of Jérôme I. in 1642 to the death of Jean Frédéric in 1783, the Bignon family reigned supreme in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, so that, in a report to the *Assemblée Nationale* in 1795, M. Villiers referred to the library as having been 'réservée à quelques familles privilégiées dont elle sembloit être l'héritage.'

During the sixteenth century, and the first half of the seventeenth, while the actual duties of librarian were performed by the *Garde de la librairie*, the supreme charge of the library was generally entrusted to a high official styled *Maître de la librairie*, and among those who held these offices we find the greatest names in the literary history of France. In 1500 the most distinguished Greek scholar on this side the Alps, in whose veins flowed the blood of three emperors—the celebrated Jean Lascaris—was appointed to



the office of *Garde de la librairie*. In 1530 the more distinguished post of *Maitre* was constituted, and no less a person than Guillaume Budé (Budæus) appointed to fill it. Le Fèvre d'Étaples and Mellin de Saint-Gelais successively served under him as *Gardes*. The successors of Budæus were Pierre du Châtel, Pierre de Mondoré, Jacques Amyot, J. A. de Thou, and François de Thou. It was during the mastership of J. A. de Thou that Casaubon held the office of *Garde de la librairie*, and had the actual charge of the books. In 1642 François de Thou perished on the scaffold, and was succeeded by Jérôme Bignon, the founder of the dynasty, and one of the most remarkable men of his time. His first work was published at the age of ten, and we find him shortly afterwards engaged in friendly correspondence with all the most learned men of the day, among others Scaliger, Casaubon, Grotius, Pithou, de Thou, and Cardinal du Perron. Before he was twenty he was the author of numerous works, and according to one of his biographers he had then read everything and remembered everything that he had read! Devoting himself to jurisprudence, he achieved great success at the bar, and attained the position of King's Advocate in the Parliament of Paris. His learning acquired for him the title of the French Varro, but none of his books have lived, or seem in any way adequate to his great reputation. He died in 1656 leaving, as Voltaire remarks, 'rather a great name than great works.' His epitaph (which will be found in *Chaufepié*) describes him as 'sui seculi amor, decus, exemplum, miraculum.' His appointment as *Maitre de la librairie*, according to *Niceron*, was owing to his reputation as a lover of literature, so that Richelieu, who was not personally well affected towards him, felt bound to nominate him to an office for which the public had already designated him in advance. The number of the volumes of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* at his accession amounted to no more than 6,000 volumes. In 1651 Jérôme I. resigned his office in favour of his son Jérôme II., whom Louis XIV. appointed as his successor, and who reigned until his death in 1672, when he was succeeded in his turn by his son, Jérôme III. Jérôme III. seems to have been somewhat of a *Roi fainéant*,

and during his reign, as well as during the latter part of that of his father, the affairs of the library were administered by members of the family of the great minister Colbert, and under his supervision. Upon Colbert's death, in 1683, the Marquis de Louvois assumed the direction of the library and induced Jérôme III. to resign the office of *Maitre*, and Louis Colbert that of *Garde*, both of which were conferred at the instance of the minister, with the title of *Bibliothécaire du Roi*, on his son Camille, then a boy of only nine years of age. Camille Le Tellier, known as the Abbé de Louvois, who, according to the well-known *Chanson*, expected to become a Cardinal, but died only 'Curé de Chaville,' proved an excellent administrator, and retained the office until his death in 1718. When this event occurred the sceptre returned to the Bignon dynasty, as to its rightful holders, in the person of the Abbé Jean Paul Bignon, sometimes referred to as 'Bignon IV.,' younger son of Jérôme II. and the inheritor of his magnificent private library. The patent of September 15, 1719, by which the office of *Bibliothécaire du Roi* was conferred on the Abbé Bignon, recognises, as it were, his hereditary right to the office, for, after enumerating his own personal qualifications, it proceeds to speak of 'la satisfaction que nous trouvons à rendre en cette occasion un honneur dû à la mémoire de ses pères, en confiant à un de leurs descendants le soin d'une bibliothèque qui a si longtemps été entre leurs mains, pendant le siècle passé, et qu'ils ont enrichie du fruit de leurs veilles.'<sup>1</sup>

The Abbé showed himself a most efficient librarian, and the library was completely remodelled under his direction. His first step was to prepare a complete inventory of the library and of all its possessions—a task which occupied fifteen months, and he then proceeded to its reorganisation, dividing it into departments: I. Manuscripts. II. Printed Books. III. Charters and Genealogies. IV. Prints. V. Medals. Each had its own special keeper and assistants.

But the Abbé Bignon was not content with reorganising the library; he devoted himself, with the greatest energy, to increasing its contents. The MSS. of Baluze—a thousand

<sup>1</sup> *Précis de l'Histoire de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, par Alfred Franklin, p. 212.

in number—the eight hundred Chinese books brought by the French missionaries, the sixty thousand pamphlets given by Morel de Thoisy, and the MSS. of the President de Mesmes, were but a portion of the acquisitions of the library during his reign, and most of them were due to his personal exertions. And it was to him that the mission to Constantinople of the Abbés Sevin and Fourmont, from which so much was expected, but which had so singular a result,<sup>1</sup> was due. But perhaps the most signal facts of his administration were the removal of the library to its present *locale* in the Rue de Richelieu, and the opening of it for the first time to the public.

The readers of Mr. Pattison's Essay on Scaliger, and his life of Casaubon, will remember how jealously, a century and a quarter earlier, Gosselin, then *Garde de la librairie*, watched over the treasures committed to his charge, and how unwilling he was to allow access to them, even to men of learning like the two great scholars. It was not until 1720 that the doors of the library were opened as matter of right, even to men of letters. In that year the Abbé Bignon obtained a decree from the Council of State, declaring the library open to 'les sçavans de toutes les Nations' at such times as the librarian should appoint, and to the public once a week, from eleven to one o'clock. But this decree was not carried out; the library was closed to the public for fifteen years longer, and it was not until 1735 that the exertions of the Abbé were successful, and that the library was opened to the public from eleven to one o'clock on Wednesdays and Fridays. This continued to be the rule during the remainder of the eighteenth century.

Nor was the Abbé less an enlightened bibliophile than an energetic librarian. He had inherited the magnificent library—sixty thousand volumes—of his father and grandfather. It occupied the upper part of his house in the Rue des Bernardins and, unlike the libraries of some collectors, was easy of access to all students and men of learning. But, on being appointed to the office of librarian, he presented to the Royal Library all his Oriental books and sold the

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, pp. 58-91.

rest, in order that he might give his whole mind to his public duties, and that care for his private library might not interfere with his attention to the great national collection entrusted to him.<sup>1</sup>

In 1741, being eighty years of age, the Abbé Bignon resigned his office, and was succeeded by his nephew Bignon de Blanzý. He had held the office of *Bibliothécaire du Roi* for two years only when he died, and his brother, Armand Jérôme Bignon, was appointed in his place. Of these two brothers but little is recorded in connection with the library. Though Armand Jérôme, like his uncle, was a Member of the Academy, neither he nor his predecessor left his mark on the great institution which they successively administered, but, as they faithfully carried out the rules and principles which their predecessors had laid down, the contents of the library greatly increased under their rule.

A sinister reputation, however, has attached itself to the name of Armand Jérôme Bignon. He had the misfortune to hold the office of *Prévôt des Marchands* at the time of the marriage of the Dauphin (Louis XVI.) with Marie Antoinette, and the terrible accidents in connection with the display of fireworks on that occasion, which cost the lives of more than three hundred persons, were attributed to his negligence. As he was visited with no punishment for his carelessness, Paris avenged itself by *bons-mots*. An (imperfect) anagram was formed out of his name—Armand Jérosme Bignon, *Ibi non rem sed damna gero*.

In 1772 Armand Jérôme died, and was succeeded by his son Jean Frédéric, the last of the dynasty, who held office until the eve of the Revolution. His administration was marked by a reorganisation of the arrangements for the delivery to the library of a copy of each book printed in France, by the acquisition of the large collection of medals (32,000) of Joseph Pellerin, of the MSS. of Capperonier, and of the eight thousand charters and deeds of Jault. Jean Frédéric resigned in 1782 (or 1783), and died soon after. With

<sup>1</sup> Most collectors possess volumes from this library with the somewhat ugly stamp impressed on the sides—a shield bearing the words *Biblio heca Bignon*.

his resignation the sceptre departed from the house of Bignon, and the reign of this family over the *Bibliothèque* came to an end. Their 140 years of power had seen the growth of the library, from the 6,000 volumes of which it consisted on the accession of Jérôme I. in 1642, to the 152,868 volumes which we are told it possessed shortly after the resignation of the last librarian of this distinguished family.

## ELZEVIER BIBLIOGRAPHY

[A paper read before the Library Association at Glasgow in September, 1888. Printed in the *Library Chronicle*, vol. v. pp. 117-123.]

To judge by the use made by novelists and essayists of Aldines and Elzeviers, these words would seem to be synonyms for rare books. Priceless Aldines and Elzeviers are almost exclusively the books that fill the libraries of bibliophiles, as they are recorded in the pages of our popular novelists, all Aldines and Elzeviers are treated as books of great rarity, and Mr. Andrew Lang, in a delightful article in the 'Magazine of Art' (May, 1884), cites a lady novelist who mentions an Elzevier 'Theocritus,' and quotes from Mr. Hepworth Dixon a notice of an Elzevier Greek Testament 'worth its weight in gold.' To the young collector as to the novelist every Aldine and every Elzevier, whatever its condition, is rare and worth buying, and it is only after some painful experience that he learns that Aldines and Elzeviers are as common as blackberries, that of the majority of them it is only when they are in fine condition that they are worth buying, and that only a few Elzeviers, such as 'Le Pastissier François,' the 'Imitatio' without date, the 'Cæsar' of 1635, the 'Virgil' of 1636, and the 'Corneille' of 1644, are really rare and desirable to the collector, whatever their condition. The majority of the Elzeviers are only worth collecting when they are tall and fine copies, and of no class of books is the value so dependent upon the height. As Mr. Lang remarks—'the Philistine may think a few millimètres more or less in the height of an Elzevier are of little importance. When he comes to sell he will discover the difference. An uncut, or almost uncut, copy of a good Elzevier may be worth fifty or sixty pounds or more; an ordinary copy may bring fewer pence.'

An ordinary Elzevier indeed is less worth buying and less thought of by collectors than an ordinary Aldine. Every book printed by the elder Aldus, whatever its condition, is worth possessing, and to form a complete collection of the Aldine series, though an impossible task, is no unworthy aim for a collector to set before himself, but we should doubt whether anyone has ever desired to possess the 2,000 volumes which are noted in 'Les Elzevier' of M. Willems. Many of these in the larger forms, octavos, quartos, and folios, are entirely without interest and without value. It is the 'stumpy' duodecimos that are the special objects of the affection of the bibliographer. The taste for Elzeviers, as that for other classes of books, has had its vicissitudes. After rising to a considerable height, it fell off greatly, but in the last few years the taste has revived, and really fine Elzeviers, like really fine books of every kind, now fetch prices quite equal to those of the days of the Roxburghe Club.

In the present paper I do not propose to give any account of the Elzeviers, or their presses, or the volumes that issued from them, but, having regard to the numerous works on the subject which have appeared during the present century, I think it may not be useless to the members of the Library Association to mention and characterise these, with a view of aiding librarians in their selection of an Elzevier bibliography to place upon their shelves.

It was not until the year 1822, when the rage for Elzeviers was already on the decline, that a separate work on the subject appeared, if we omit the fifteen catalogues printed by the different members of the family, from the Leyden Catalogue of 1628 to that given at Amsterdam in 1681, the four catalogues of miscellaneous books, including many Elzeviers, and the sale catalogues of the typographical material, sold after the death of Daniel Elzevier in 1681, and of Abraham Elzevier in 1713. Three important bibliographical articles had, however, appeared in the eighteenth century—the 'Catalogue des Républiques,' by De La Faye, inserted by Sallengre in his 'Mémoires de Littérature,' the chapter which Maittaire devoted to the Elzeviers in the

third volume of his 'Annales,' and the catalogue given in 'L'Art de désopiler la rate,' in 1758. In 1822 M. A. S. L. Bérard gave to the world his 'Essai Bibliographique sur les éditions des Elzéviros les plus précieuses et les plus recherchées, précédé d'une notice sur ces imprimeurs célèbres' (Paris, F. Didot, 8vo.) The 'Essai' is preceded by a notice of the family of the Elzeviers, taken, though with some additions, from one somewhat more extended written by Père Adry, and inserted in the 'Magasin Encyclopédique,' and this forms by far the most valuable part of the book.

The 'Essai' is very incomplete and full of mistakes, some of which are almost inevitable in the first book published on such a subject, but others show at once carelessness and ignorance on the part of the author. The book is now absolutely without bibliographical value, can be of no real use to a librarian, and ought never to be cited as an authority, as we frequently see it, in booksellers' catalogues, and sometimes in works of more literary pretension, yet it certainly does not deserve the contempt with which it is treated by M. Willems, and from its publication in 1822 until the appearance of the first edition of M. Pieters' book in 1851 it ranked, as it was entitled to do, as the most important work for the Elzevirian collector. The author speaks with great modesty of his book; he admits its imperfections, and only hopes that it may serve, as it certainly has done, as a ground-work for more extended and more accurate publications. In the meantime the second and subsequent editions of Brunet's 'Manuel' contained special catalogues of the Elzevirian collection, and upon these catalogues and the work of Bérard, added to his own knowledge, Charles Nodier founded his 'Théorie complète des éditions elzeviriennes,' published in his 'Mélanges tirés d'une petite bibliothèque,' 1829, in which there are suggested for the first time the different classes into which the Elzevier volumes ought to be divided, with rules and principles for distinguishing true Elzeviers from the numerous volumes which were, and still are, commonly included under that name. Upon the publication of the fourth edition of the 'Manuel' in 1843, and *à propos* of the Elzevier catalogue therein contained,



Charles Motteley, a well-known French bibliophile, who had at that time perhaps the greatest knowledge of the Elzevier editions of any living person, published a tract of no small merit with the title 'Aperçu sur les erreurs de la bibliographie spéciale des Elzevirs et de leurs annexes, avec quelques découvertes curieuses sur la typographie hollandaise et belge du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle' (Paris, Panckoucke, 1847, 12mo), in which he points out a certain number of errors and omissions of Brunet. 'In Motteley,' as M. Willems has remarked, 'we find two different men; loving books above all things, and having a vast and accurate bibliographical knowledge, he combined the speculator in books with the enlightened bibliographer.' In the catalogues of the successive libraries which he formed and sold, his notes were, not unnaturally perhaps, written with a view of enhancing the value of the books, and as Elzevirs were then fetching high prices, he included many among them which had no right to that position. But where he writes independently he always shows himself acute, and may be thoroughly relied on. Hence, while the descriptions and notes in his catalogues are of no value whatever, the tract of which I have just given the title is of great utility to the Elzevier collector, and our only source of regret is that the author has not referred to more than one hundred volumes. A sale catalogue of the collection of Elzevirs and other rare books, composing the cabinet of the Baron de Montaran (Paris, Delion, 1849), and a small and beautifully printed catalogue, chiefly of Elzevirs, on sale by Potier, in 1853, may here be noticed as of great interest to the collector. Each is difficult to meet with, the latter especially so.

It was in 1843 that M. Charles Pieters printed anonymously his 'Analyse des matériaux les plus utiles pour de futures annales de l'imprimerie des Elsevier.' Fifty copies only were printed for private circulation, in the hope that it might lead to a more extended publication on the subject, and to communications from those who possessed further information. The hope was not disappointed. The brochure fell into the hands of M. Rammelman Elzevier, a direct descendant of Louis the first. It induced him to search

among the family papers and the archives of the town and university of Leyden, and the result was the publication by him, in 1845, of a work bearing the following title, 'Uitkomsten van een onderzoek omtrent de Elseviers, meer bepaaldelijk met opzigt tot derzelver genealogie. Een noodige voorarbeid tot de geschiedenis der Elseviersche drukkers,' Vandermonde, Utrecht, 8vo. (Results of an inquiry concerning the Elzeviers, especially in regard to their genealogies. A preparatory labour necessary for the history of the Elzevirian press.) Of this work, written in Dutch, I cannot speak from personal knowledge, but M. Pieters and M. Willems are agreed that it is exhaustive, and leaves nothing to be desired as a biography and genealogy of the members of the family, and that it must ever remain the principal source of information for all that concerns their personal history. In 1847 a certain M. A. de Reume issued a work under the title of 'Recherches historiques, énéalogiques et bibliographiques sur les Elsevier' (Brussels, 8vo). It is dedicated to M. Rammelman Elzevier, and purports to be an original and independent work, but is neither more or less than a translation of M. Rammelman Elzevier's book, with a certain quantity of useless and incorrect additions. It is full of the most grotesque blunders; M. de Reume frequently misunderstands the statements of his original, and wherever he ventures upon anything original he commits the most ludicrous mistakes. Willems has cited a few of them. He takes the Piræus for the name of a man, imagines that *Hagæ Comitum* signifies Leyden, and in reference to a book with the well-known fictitious imprint 'Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau' he informs us that a certain Pierre Marteau printed this volume at Cologne for Daniel Elzevier! Yet scarcely any book is more commonly cited. Its single merit is the entertainment which its blunders will afford to the enlightened reader—an entertainment which cannot but give rise to uneasiness when the book falls into the hands of one who is prepared to accept its statements as accurate.

I have already mentioned that the most valuable part of M. Bérard's 'Essai' consisted in his 'Notice sur les Elzeviers,' taken almost wholly from a more extended notice inserted

by Père Adry in the 'Magasin Encyclopédique.' Père Adry had also compiled and, as it seems, prepared for the press a *catalogue raisonné* of Elzeviers in small form, with a chronological list of those in large form, together with much other information on the subject. This manuscript was acquired by M. Pieters at the Bignon sale in 1848 and, with the materials furnished by the work of Rammelman Elzevier, the manuscript of Père Adry, several articles which had appeared in Holland, and other information which had reached him, M. Pieters decided to undertake the History of the Elzeviers, and published in 1851 his 'Annales de l'imprimerie elsevirienne, ou Histoire de la famille de Elsevier et de ses éditions' (Gand, 1851, 8vo). M. Pieters' book was a conspicuous success. It was a great advance on any previous catalogue, and hostile criticism was disarmed no less by its value than by the modesty of its author. A second edition, much enlarged and improved, appeared in 1858, xxxii + 502 pp. + one page of errata, and in 1860 a supplement of 26 pp. of additions and corrections was issued.

The introduction is chiefly occupied with an analysis of the manuscript of Père Adry, though it also contains a genealogical tree of the fourteen Elzeviers who were booksellers or printers, a description of the catalogues issued by the Elzeviers themselves, with a notice of the family and of the press. The three parts into which the work is divided comprise excellent biographical accounts of the members of the family ; notices of 282 editions which bear the names of Louis Elzevier the first, his sons, and the sons of Matthew from 1583 to 1626 ; 370 editions of Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevier from 1626 to 1653 ; 155 editions given at Leyden from 1652 to 1712, with the name of Elzevier on the title ; 136 anonymous or pseudonymous editions of the Leyden Elzeviers between 1628 and 1696 ; 497 editions given at Amsterdam from 1638 to 1681, with the name of Elzevier on the title ; 171 anonymous and pseudonymous editions given by the Elzeviers at Amsterdam from 1639 to 1681 ; 10 given by Pierre Elzevier at Utrecht from 1668 to 1675 ; 44 editions from 1641 to 1770, bearing the name of Elzevier but not

printed by any member of the family; and 354 editions usually annexed to the Elzevier collections.

But a careful examination of M. Pieters' work shows several serious shortcomings; he places far too much reliance on the statements of Adry and Bérard: indeed, whatever he finds in Adry he accepts as absolute fact; and many of the statements of Bérard which a little investigation would have shown to be erroneous are also reproduced as accurate. Nor has he made so searching an examination as he ought to have done of the libraries to which he had access, by the aid of which he might not only have corrected several of the errors of his predecessors, but would have added to their catalogues a considerable number of books. His general knowledge of the literature of the 17th and 18th centuries is by no means extensive, and he has thus fallen into errors respecting the books and the authors that he quotes; and, lastly, he has not studied with sufficient precision the peculiarities characteristic of the Elzevier volumes, and thus does not afford sufficient information to his readers to enable them to distinguish a genuine from a false Elzevier.

In the twenty years which followed the publication of the second edition of M. Pieters' work several volumes and brochures appeared, each containing matter of interest and supplementing in various ways M. Pieters' book. The titles of the more important of these I enumerate in a note.<sup>1</sup>

In 1880 appeared the great work of Alphonse Willems, 'Les Elzevier: Histoire et Annales Typographiques,' Bruxelles, large 8vo, cclix + 607 pp., which forms a perfect encyclopædia, biographical and bibliographical, of the Elzeviers, their presses, their editions, and their counterfeits. Besides a useful bibliographical introduction on the labours of his predecessors,

<sup>1</sup> *Les Elzevir de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg.* St. Pétersbourg, 1862, 8vo.—*Les Elzevir de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg. Catalogue bibliographique et raisonné, publié sous les auspices et aux frais du prince Youssouppoff et rédigé par Ch. Fr. Walther.* St. Pétersbourg, 1864, 8vo.—*Verzeichniss einer Sammlung von Elzevir-Drucken.* Winterthur, 1864, 8vo.—*Recherches sur diverses éditions elzeviriennes extraites des papiers de M. Millot, mises en ordre et complétées par Gust. Brunet.* Paris, 1866, 12mo.—*Les Elzevir de la Bibliothèque de l'Université Impériale de Varsovie.* Varsovie, 1874, 8vo.

the first part is occupied by a history of the presses of the several members of the family, a notice of their types, typographical ornaments and marks, their paper, the forms of their volumes, their pseudonyms, their correctors of the press, besides several other matters relating to their editions, and detailed biographies of fourteen members of the family. The second part is a *catalogue raisonné* of their productions. The third part deals with imitations and supposititious works. M. Pieters' book mentions 1622 volumes which he believed to be printed by members of the Elzevier family ; M. Willems has added a considerable number, yet he does not admit more than 1608 in all as genuine productions of these printers. He has, however, noticed 571 among the ' Annexes,' of which 73 bear the name of Elzevier on the title. It is this work of Willems that every librarian should desire to place upon his shelves. For any practical purposes of utility he may safely dispense with all those that had previously appeared ; Willems has corrected the errors of his predecessors, and has incorporated in his work all that is valuable in theirs. In order to decide whether any particular volume has proceeded from the press of the Elzeviers, all that is necessary, in general, is to see whether it is contained in M. Willems' volume. Accurate and sufficient details respecting it will be found there, whether it be really an Elzevier, or a volume that has been formerly, but erroneously, classed among them.<sup>1</sup>

When the really remarkable work of Willems appeared, it was thought that the last word had been said on the subject of the Elzeviers and their editions, yet within only

<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind that neither M. Willems nor M. Pieters include in their works the Academical Theses printed by the Elzeviers. To have done so would have required a further volume of at least equal extent, without in any way adding to the utility of their books, for these Theses have long since ceased to have any interest either literary or otherwise. Willems states that the University of Leyden possesses a complete series of these Theses from the year 1654, amounting to 2,737 separate tracts. The total number printed by different members of the Elzevier family, from 1620, would probably not fall much short of 4,000 articles. More than once an enthusiastic collector has shown me a tract printed by one of the Elzeviers, and informed me with great satisfaction that it was ' unknown to Willems,' and I fear he has felt a little mortified to learn that it was an Academical Thesis, which did not come within the scope of Willems' work.

five years from its issue the publication of the beautifully printed and illustrated volume of Dr. Berghman ('*Études sur la bibliographie Elzevirienne basées sur l'ouvrage Les Elzevier de M. Alphonse Willems*' (Stockholm, 1885, large 8vo, IV + 76 pp. + 18 ff. plates), showed us how greatly it was possible to supplement Willems, and how much useful additional information might be given to the lovers of these printers, and suggested several points on which it is clear the last word has not even yet been spoken. It is from an examination and a comparison of the types, fleurons, vignettes and tail-pieces employed by the Elzeviers, that it is possible to ascertain with some degree of precision and accuracy, whether a volume is or is not the product of an Elzevier press. It was Millot who first perceived that it was only by such an examination and comparison that the many difficult problems relating to the Dutch presses of the seventeenth century could be solved, and the results of his examination were given to the world by Gustave Brunet in the '*Recherches*' before cited. Willems proceeded on the same track and added greatly to the results obtained by Millot, but it has been reserved for the Scandinavian bibliographer to advance still further in this direction and to reduce this investigation to a system. Dr. Berghman's volume is of great interest; it gives us the most precise details of every variety of type, title-page, fleuron, vignette, tail-piece, ornament, and typographical mark used by the different members of the family, and the book is illustrated with no less than 470 different engravings, representing every typographical mark, vignette, tail-piece, and floriated capital which the author has been able to discover. Of floriated capitals he finds no less than 396 varieties. His book also contains notes on about 70 volumes described by M. Willems, supplementing and correcting the information given in '*Les Elzeviers.*' Two of these notes will be found of special interest to English librarians. Of the '*Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.*,' by Salmasius, two editions, one in folio, and one in 12mo, given by Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevier, in 1649, are well known, and are noticed by Willems, Nos. 657 and 658. Dr. Berghman has pointed out that in addition to the

Elzevier duodecimo of 1649, two other editions of the book, of the same size, form, title and date appeared, one well executed with 444 pp., the other *détestable*, with 468 pp., neither of them being genuine Elzeviers. An edition of the work of Thomas Fyens, 'De viribus imaginationis tractatus,' appeared in 1657, in 12mo, with the imprint, 'Londini ex officina Rogeri Danielis,' which has been ascribed both by Pieters and Willems to the Amsterdam Elzevier press. It was printed, according to Willems, by Louis and Daniel Elzevier, on account of a London bookseller. Dr. Berghman is certain that this volume was not printed by the Elzeviers of Amsterdam, and is almost certain that it did not issue from any Elzevier press; '*il faut la reléguer parmi les faux elzeviers.*'

The work of Dr. Berghman forms an almost indispensable supplement to that of M. Willems, but unfortunately only one hundred copies have been printed, and it is therefore useless to advise bibliographers or librarians to place it on their shelves.<sup>1</sup>

The only work in English devoted to the Elzeviers is one by Mr. Edmund Goldsmid (privately printed by him in his 'Bibliotheca Curiosa') entitled—'A complete Catalogue of all the Publications of the Elzevier Presses at Leyden, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht, with Introduction, Notes, and an Appendix containing a list of all works, whether forgeries or anonymous publications, generally attributed to these Presses. By Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S., F.S.A. (Scot.). In three volumes. Privately printed. Edinburgh, 1885.' The author describes his book as no more than a revised and abridged translation of the work of Willems. It is a useful compendium of much of the contents of Willems, though where I have noticed any

<sup>1</sup> As the book of Dr. Berghman is difficult to obtain, it may not be useless to enumerate the articles contained in *Les Elzevier* of M. Willems which are there supplemented and corrected. Nos. 93, 126, 130, 353, 379, 389, 412, 450, 505, 539, 658, 673, 717, 725, 762, 881, 1014, 1015, 1017, 1021, 1050, 1056, 1110, 1140, 1152, 1157, 1214, 1237, 1299, 1302, 1305, 1358, 1384, 1409, 1441, 1461, 1462, 1525, 1536, 1592, 1599, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1610, 1615, 1616, 1627, 1638, 1639, 1650, 1672, 1742, 1743, 1767, 1823, 1842, 1851, 1926, 1936, 1937.

variations in the description of the volumes contained in the two works, that in the English abridgment appears to be less accurate than that of the original.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, his abridgments are sometimes misleading, and librarians and collectors must be careful not to accept his statements of the money value of books without referring to Willems' original.<sup>2</sup>

The members of the Elzevier family themselves cannot be compared to the Manutii, either as scholars, or as men of letters, nor have the books printed by them the merits, either literary or typographical, of those given by the founder of the Aldine family, or of many of those of his son and grandson. But though the Elzeviers were mere tradesmen, looking on the books they published simply as commercial speculations, yet their editions, as well for their typographical merit as for the fact that many of them are intrinsically valuable books, must always possess a real and well-deserved interest, and an important place in the literary history of modern Europe, so that some knowledge of their character, their merits, and their faults, will always be desirable for the librarian, even though the free libraries of the present and future may perhaps place but few of them on their shelves. The place which is held by Renouard in

<sup>1</sup> In the *Antiquæ Musicæ auctores septem*, given by Meibomius in 1652, the collation of Willems is strictly accurate, giving two preliminary folios each to Aristoxenus, Euclides, and Nicomachus, four to Alypius, two to Gaudentius, and two to Bacchius, whereas in Mr. Goldsmid's book, these folios are inaccurately given as pages. In Mr. Goldsmid's description of the *Catalogus librorum officinæ Elsevirianæ* of 1638, he gives to it 32 pp. Willems (correctly) gives only 16 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in his description of *La Conjuración du Comte Jean-Louis de Fiesque* (p. 108) he states 'It is rare, and fetches about £5'—a somewhat astounding statement. A reference to Willems (p. 344) will show that the two copies mentioned by him as fetching 135fr., and 110fr., were in morocco bindings by Trautz-Bauzonnet and Chambolle-Duru respectively, and were of unusual height. Moreover, throughout the work, Mr. Goldsmid frequently writes as though he were giving original matter, when he is merely borrowing from Willems. Thus on the *Medicamentorum Simplicium* of H. a Bra, Mr. Goldsmid's note is—'I mention this book on the authority of Paquot (*Mémoires*, vol. ix. p. 89),' but on a reference to Willems (p. 14) we find the book described, with the note 'Cité par Paquot, *Mémoires*, t. ix. p. 89.'



Aldine bibliography, has been taken and will, I think, be maintained by Willems, and though supplemented and corrected by Berghman, and perhaps hereafter by others, it is probable that his book will not be superseded, but will remain the standard work on the subject of the Elzevier Bibliography.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A note by Mr. Christie in a supplement to Dr. Berghman's book will be found in *The Library*, vol. x. p. 56.

## 'DE TRIBUS IMPOSTORIBUS'

[Reprinted from *Notes and Queries*, Series 7, vol. viii. p. 450.]

DURING the sixteenth, seventeenth,<sup>1</sup> and eighteenth centuries rumours were current of the existence of an extraordinarily blasphemous book bearing this title. It is referred to by innumerable writers (Genthe cites no fewer than ninety-one, and his list might be largely increased). Yet certainly no one of them had seen it, or was able to give any precise details as to its contents. Twenty-seven men of more or less eminence have been credited (or discredited) with its authorship, among others Averroës, Frederick I., Frederick II., Boccaccio, Poggio, Pomponatius, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Aretin, Dolet, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano Bruno, and Milton; and although Mr. Hudson is inaccurate in referring to a letter of Pope Gregory IX., cited by Matthew Paris, as ascribing the authorship to the Emperor Frederick II., yet the statement in the letter that the emperor asserted that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet, possibly was the foundation of the report that such a book existed, and certainly gave rise to the subsequent suggestion that the emperor himself was its author. During the early part of the eighteenth century, however, and perhaps during the latter part of the seventeenth, there circulated in manuscript a short treatise, bearing this or a somewhat similar title, which was believed to be the celebrated book in question. The earliest of these manuscripts of the existence of which we have undoubted and authentic evidence was in the library of J. F. Mayer, of Berlin; and at the sale of his collection, in 1716, it was purchased by Prince Eugene of Savoy, and from it several of the MSS. now existing were copied. One of these,

apparently made soon after 1716, is in my possession, and bears the following title:—

'De Imposturis Religionum, breve Compendium. Descriptum ab exemplari mscto quod in bibliotheca Joh. Friderici Mayeri, Theologi, publice distracta Berolini Anno 1716, deprehensum, et a Principe Eugenio de Sabaudia 80 Imperialibus redemptum fuit.'

It is a small quarto of 44 pp., and is legibly written, the paper and handwriting being of the first half of the eighteenth century.

In 1712 La Monnoye published a dissertation in the form of a letter to the President Bouhier, to prove (which he does satisfactorily) the non-existence of *the* book so often referred to in mediæval and modern times. (This dissertation will be found at the end of the editions of the 'Menagiana' given by La Monnoye.) He was replied to in 1716 in a 'Réponse à la Dissertation de M. De La Monnoye sur le Traité des Trois Impostenrs.' It is signed 'J. L. R. L.,' and has been attributed, but not upon any substantial ground, to J. P. Arpe, author of an 'Apology for Vanini.' The writer asserts that he was the possessor of a MS. of the book in question, which he had obtained in 1706 from a German officer at Frankfort; to whom he had taken a solemn oath that it never should be copied; but though he conceived himself bound strictly by his oath, he did not consider that this prevented him from translating the book, and he and a friend did accordingly translate it into French; and he then proceeds to give a sketch of the argument of each chapter. The pretended translation has since been printed in full, as hereafter mentioned. It is clear that it has no relation whatever to Mayer's MS., and unquestionably it never had a Latin original. An account of it, and of its true history and origin, with the ridiculous story of how the original came into the writer's possession, may be read in Prosper Marchand's interesting dissertation on the book 'De Tribus Impostoribus' contained in his 'Dictionnaire Historique' (La Haye, 1758), vol. i. pp. 312-329.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century a printed book was found to exist bearing the following title: 'De

*Tribus Impostoribus. Anno MDIIC.* It is described as small octavo of 46 pp. Three copies of this are mentioned, but the whereabouts of only two of these is now known. One is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and comes from the collection of the Duc de la Vallière, at whose sale in 1784 it was purchased for 474 livres. A second copy was in the Crevenna collection, and was announced in the sale catalogue of 1790. It was not, however, then sold, but was stated to be withdrawn; and its subsequent history and present locality are not known. The third copy was purchased by Renouard in 1812, at the sale of the books of a German professor, who had written upon it that it had been given to him at Rotterdam in 1762 (*Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'un Amateur*, vol. i. p. 118). At the sale of Renouard's library in 1854 it was sold for 140 francs, and passed into the collection of Prince Michael Gallitzin, where it probably now remains. Its most recent editor, however, Emil Weller, asserts the existence of a fourth copy, in the Royal Library of Dresden; but according to Falkenstein (*Beschreibung der Königlichen Bibl. zu Dresden*, 1839, cited by G. Brunet) this is a copy of the edition printed at Giessen in 1792 by Krieger. The copy in the Bib. Nat. is substantially the same book as that of which the MS. was in Mayer's collection, and which was sold to Prince Eugene in 1716, but it contains several additional pages at the end, and has also numerous variations in the text, showing that it was not printed from Mayer's MS. or from any copy of it. The book has very little literary or theological merit or interest. It is chiefly commonplace argument to prove that Moses and Mahomet were both impostors, and that the Old Testament is not inspired. While the author expresses great respect for the Gospel, and says nothing directly against Jesus Christ, it is clear that he is intended as the third impostor mentioned on the title. The dates at which this book was composed and the three copies referred to were printed have been the subject of much discussion among critics. Emil Weller is of opinion that the date 1598 is genuine, and that the book was, in fact, composed in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and printed at Cracow in 1598. Barbier (*Dict. des Anonymes*), Brunet (*Manuel*)

and others contend—and this is the general opinion—that the book was, in fact, printed at Vienna in 1753 by P. Straube, and that he or his editor based it upon one of the MSS. which had been for some time in circulation, but made some additions thereto. Certainly the style and matter seem to me to be those of the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century rather than those of the latter half of the sixteenth. I have not seen the copy in the Bib. Nat., and can therefore express no opinion as to the date of the printing of the volume. The book has been frequently reprinted and translated into French, Italian, German, and perhaps Spanish. The best edition is that given in 1867 by Gustave Brunet under the following title:—

Le Traité des Trois Imposteurs (De Tribus Impostoribus; M.D.IIC). Traduit pour la première fois en Français; Texte Latin en regard, collationné sur l'exemplaire du Duc De La Vallière, aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris, augmenté de variantes de plusieurs manuscrits, etc., précédé d'une Notice Philologique et Bibliographique par Philomneste Junior. Paris et Bruxelles, 1867.

As only 237 copies were printed (mine is No. 164), it is now difficult to meet with. The same editor had previously given an edition of the Latin text, with a notice 'Philologique et Bibliographique,' in 1860 (Paris, Gay). Two other excellent editions are those of Weller (Heilbronn, 1876) and F. W. Genthe (Leipzig, 1833). The latter has an introduction containing much interesting matter, and bears the title 'De Impostura Religionum Breve Compendium, seu Liber de Tribus Impostoribus. Nach zwei MSS. und mit Historisch-Litterarischer Einleitung.' It is not a reprint of one of the three copies bearing date MDIIC, but is based on several of the MSS. before referred to. Prior to the Heilbronn edition Weller had printed the book with a German translation in 1846. Other editions are those of Berlin (or rather Giessen), 1792 (with another tract), under the title (according to Weller) 'Zwei seltene antisupernaturalistische Manuscripte.' This I have not seen. Daelli, of Milan, printed in 1864 an edition with an Italian trans-

lation, as well of the text as of the 'Notice Philologique et Bibliographique' of G. Brunet. A Spanish translation is cited by Weller, but not otherwise known to me, with the impress 'Londres (Burdeos), 1823.'

The celebrity of the book, and the interest to which it, or its title at least, has given rise during so many centuries has led to the publication of several treatises with an identical or similar title, some intended to induce the unwary reader into buying and reading them under the impression that they were the genuine 'De Tribus Impostoribus.' The earliest that I know was written by J. B. Morin in 1644 (reprinted 1654), 'Vicentii Panurgi Epistola ad Cl. Virum J. B. Morinum De Tribus Impostoribus.' The three impostors referred to are Gassendi, Naudé, and Bernier. A book entitled 'De Tribus Nebulonibus,' specially against Mazarin, the two others being Masaniello and Cromwell, appeared in 1647, and in 1669 Evelyn published his well-known 'History of the Three late famous Impostors, viz. Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei, and Sabatai Sevi.' It is not probable that the title of any of these was intended to deceive, or did, in fact, deceive any one; but the next book which I notice is more deceptive, and is frequently cited in catalogues as being the genuine book. Its title is 'De Tribus Impostoribus Magnis Liber.' The impostors are Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hobbes, and Spinoza. The author was Christian Kortholt. The first edition was printed at Kiel in 1680; the second, edited, after the author's death, by his son, at Hamburg in 1700. A German translation of it was made by Michael Bern (not Born, as G. Brunet states) and printed at Hamburg in 1693, under the title 'Altar der Atheisten, der Heyden und der Christen.'

The Kiel edition of the original is stated by Marchand, Genthe, and G. Brunet to be printed 'Kiloni, apud Richelium.' My copy however bears 'Kiloni, literis & sumptibus Joachimi Reumanni, Acad. Typogr. 1680.' I have not a sufficient acquaintance with Kiel printers to know if there was one named Richel; but is it impossible that in Marchand 'Richelium' is a misprint for 'Reumannum,' and that Genthe and G. Brunet have simply copied Marchand, without

'verifying their references'? The Hamburg edition of 1700 is also printed by Reumann.

In the early part of the eighteenth century there circulated in MS. a treatise directed against the Christian as well as the Jewish and Mahometan religions, bearing the title 'Esprit de Spinoza.' It was at first attributed to a pupil of Spinoza, a physician named Lucas; but Marchand considers that Lucas was not the author, but that it was the joint production of one Vroese, J. Aymon and J. Rousset. It was printed in 1719 at the Hague, with a life of Spinoza prefixed, under the title 'La Vie et l'Esprit de M. Benoit Spinoza.' According to Marchand nearly the whole impression of the latter part (the 'Esprit de Spinoza') was burnt on account of its profanity; but one copy fell into the hands of a disreputable literary adventurer named Ferber, who caused it to be printed at Rotterdam by M. Bohm with some modifications, without the life of Spinoza, under the title 'De Tribus Impostoribus,' Frankfort, 1721. Both these editions (of 1719 and 1721) are now extremely rare, and I know them only from the descriptions of Marchand, Barbier, J. C. Brunet ('Manuel'), and G. Brunet, but I doubt whether any one of the three last-named has seen a copy of either, or knows them otherwise than from the description given by Marchand. The 'Esprit de Spinoza' was reprinted in 1768 with the title 'Traité des Trois Imposteurs. A Yverdon, de l'Imprimerie du Professeur de Felice.' This is (probably) the earliest edition bearing the French title 'Trois Imposteurs.' A copy of it is in my possession. In addition to the treatise itself, it contains an interesting appendix, comprising 'Sentimens sur le Traité des Trois Imposteurs,' the 'Réponse' to the dissertation of La Monnoye, and an extract from the 'Mémoires de Littérature' of Sallengre. Other editions are cited by G. Brunet, of 1767 (with other tracts, the first of which is entitled 'De l'Imposture Sacerdotale,' and the impress 'Londres'), 1775, two of 1776, and 1793. In 1796 an edition printed at Paris was given by Mercier de Compiègne. This is the book of which Mr. Hudson possesses a copy, and of which he gives the full title, but I cannot agree with him that it is 'very

witty.’<sup>1</sup> Though occasionally amusing it seems to me in general laboured and dull. An English translation of it is cited by G. Brunet as published at Dundee in 1844 by J. Myles, entitled ‘The Three Imposters.’ This was made from the edition of Amsterdam of 1776, and was reprinted in 1846 at New York by G. Vale. According to G. Brunet a Spanish translation was printed in 1823 at Bordeaux under the rubric of London; but as I have before stated, Weller gives this as a translation of the Latin treatise ‘De Tribus Impostoribus.’ A German translation appeared at Berlin in 1787.

‘Le Traité des Trois Imposteurs’ was placed in the Index in 1783. The Yverdon edition has the honour of being cited, and the impress is curiously given as ‘Yverdon, de l’Imprimerie des Professeurs de Félicité.’

An interesting article on the subject will be found in the ‘Analectabliblion’ of the Marquis du Roure, vol. i. p. 412. In ‘Blackwood’s Magazine,’ vol. viii. p. 306, will be found what purports to be an original contribution, but is really a translation of a part of the ‘Réponse’ to the dissertation of La Monnoye. As the articles in Brunet’s ‘Manuel’ (last edition), Barbier’s ‘Dict. des Anonymes’ (third edition) and Quérard’s ‘Supercherics’ (second edition) are not always under the heads to which we should naturally turn, it may be convenient to note that they will be found in Brunet in vol. v. col. 944, under ‘Tribus’; and col. 1207, ‘Vie et l’Esprit de M. B. Spinosa’; in Barbier, vol. iv. col. 285, under ‘Réponse’; col. 788, ‘Traité’; and col. 1224, ‘De Tribus’; in Quérard, vol. i. col. 386, under ‘Arpe.’

Though this reply has extended to too great length, I have confined myself to the barest bibliographical details. To adequately discuss the title, the books, the editions, and the various controversies, literary, theological, biographical, and bibliographical, to which they have given rise, and which have never yet been satisfactorily treated, would demand an article of the length allowed by a quarterly Review, and could not be achieved in the space to which a reply in ‘Notes and Queries’ must necessarily be confined.

<sup>1</sup> The present note was furnished by Mr. Christie in reply to a query from Mr. Robert Hudson in *Notes and Queries*, series 7, vol. viii. p. 347.



THE EARLIEST APPEARANCE IN PRINT OF  
THE FIRST IDYLL OF MOSCHUS

[Reprinted from the *Classical Review*, xi. pp. 191-2, 1897.]

THE rare volume printed by Goltz at Bruges in 1565 under the editorship of Adolph Mekerch holds the rank of the *editio princeps* of Moschus and Bion. But, as is well known, the three principal and longest idylls of Moschus, together with several of those of Bion, are to be found mixed up with those of Theocritus in the volume printed by Aldus in 1495-6, which purports to contain the Eclogues of Theocritus, the verses of the Gnostic poets, those of Hesiod, and some others. This book has hitherto been supposed to be the earliest printed volume which contains any of the idylls or fragments of Moschus, and it has escaped the notice as well of the editors of this poet as of all bibliographers that his first idyll, "Ἐρως δραπέτης, had been printed six years earlier and is in fact one of the earliest printed pieces of classical Greek: since at the date of its appearance thirteen Greek books only had issued from the press, and of these there are only three that can be considered as classics—Homer, Æsop, and the *Batrachomyomachia*—the other ten being Psalters, grammars, and dictionaries.

Although a few words were printed with Greek letters as early as 1465, in the 'Paradoxa' of Cicero given by Fust and Schoeffer in that year, and though in the works that issued from the press of Sweynheym and Pannartz from 1465 to 1470, and notably in the Aulus Gellius of 1469, as well as in one or two books of other printers, there are long passages in Greek characters, the earliest volume printed in Greek was the first book of the 'Grammar' of Lascaris, which appeared at Milan in 1476 or 1477 (the colophon being

dated M CCCC LXXVI die xxx Januarii); a second edition, with a Latin translation by Craston, was printed also at Milan in 1480, and a third with the same translation by Leonardus de Basilea at Vicenza in 1489. In this third edition the Grammar ends on the *recto* of the ninety-seventh leaf, and is followed on the same page by the colophon. Then on the two next pages come twenty-nine Greek verses, being in fact the first idyll of Moschus, without either the name of the author or the usual title Ἔρως δραπέτης, but with the rather mysterious heading, *στίχη ἡρωικοὶ εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα*. The only writer, so far as I know, who has mentioned these verses is Dibdin, who in the third volume of the 'Bibliotheca Spenceriana,' p. 82, thus refers to them: 'On the reverse of this leaf we read nearly one-half of twenty-nine verses (printed widely apart in a large, full Greek type, not very dissimilar to that of the first Isocrates) which are thus whimsically entitled:—

*στίχη ἡρωικοὶ εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα*

The remaining number of these verses is on the *recto* of the following and last leaf, which completes the tenth leaf of signature M.' But Dibdin did not recognise these verses as those of Moschus, and, indeed, probably did not read them. The volume, like most early Greek impressions, is carelessly printed and full of mistakes, and the 'whimsical' title is probably a misprint for

*στίχοι ἡρωικοὶ εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα.*

The idyll was certainly printed from a different manuscript from that from which the copy in the Aldine Theocritus was taken, and presents numerous variations from that text, most of them perhaps errors of the copyist or of the printer, but some few deserving the attention of the editors and students of Moschus. The *variæ lectiones* are as follows:—

<i>The Lascaris</i>		<i>The Aldine Theocritus</i>
Line 1, ἔβοεισται	for	ἔβώσται
,, 3, μνηστὰς	,,	μανστὰς
,, 4, δ before ἀγάγης is omitted		

<i>The Lascaris</i>		<i>The Aldine Theocritus</i>	
Line 6, ἔστι δὲ παῖς	for	ἔστι δ' ὁ παῖς	
„ 10, δὲ χολᾶ	„	δὲ χολᾶ	
ἠπτεροπευτὰς	„	ἠπτεροπευτὰς	
„ 13, τίνω	„	τήνω	
„ 16, ἐφίπταται	„	ἐφίπταται	
„ 17, οπλάγχνοις	„	σπλάγχνοις	
„ 18, τόξω	„	τόξω	
„ 19, βέλεμον	„	βόλεμον	
„ 21, κῆμε πρόσκει	„	κάμῃ τιτρώσκει	
„ 22, αὐτῷ	„	αὐτῷ	
„ 23, ἀνάσθει	„	αἰθεῖ	
„ 24, δαμάσας	„	δάσας	
„ 25, χλέοντα	„	κλαίοντα	
φιλάξεω	„	φυλάσσειο	
„ 26, γελᾶ	„	γελᾶ	
φιλήσαι	„	φιλάσαι	
„ 28, ἦν λέγει	„	ἦν δὲ λέγει	
ὄσα μοι	„	ὄσα μοι	

LE CHEVALIER D'ÉON, BIBLIOPHILE,  
LATINISTE ET THÉOLOGIEN<sup>1</sup>

[Reprinted from *Le Livre Moderne*, vol. iv. pp. 205-10.  
(Paris, 1891. Quantin.)]

HÉLAS ! le ténébreux mystère qui entoura jadis la vie du chevalier d'Éon est dissipé depuis longtemps ! La publication de 'Le Secret du Roi' du duc de Broglie a parfaitement expliqué, en même temps que la situation d'Éon comme un des agents secrets de Louis XV, les causes de sa disgrâce et l'ordre qui lui fut donné par le gouvernement français de prendre des vêtements de femme et de ne les point quitter sous peine de perdre sa pension. Mais bien qu'il ait fait le sujet d'innombrables biographies et romans—les biographies pour la plupart, moins véridiques encore que les romans déclarés—il n'a pas été écrit grand'chose sur les trente dernières années de la vie du chevalier en Angleterre. Qu'il fût bibliophile et qu'il possédât une bibliothèque précieuse, surtout par ses manuscrits, c'est, il est vrai, chose connue ; mais ce qui sera, je crois, nouveau pour le lecteur, c'est que le chevalier ait eu le désir de poser pour le latiniste et le théologien.

Antérieurement à 1790 le chevalier avait réuni une bibliothèque d'une réelle valeur, comprenant parmi les manuscrits les papiers du maréchal de Vauban, un grand nombre de pièces relatives à l'histoire et aux finances de la France et beaucoup d'écrits en langues orientales. En livres imprimés il possédait des éditions de la Bible, dont beaucoup étaient de la plus grande rareté, surtout en hébreu, et une grande collection d'ouvrages divers. Ils étaient dis-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Christie originally wrote this paper in English. It was translated into French for the purpose of insertion in *Le Livre Moderne*.

tribués en six catalogues formant un volume in 8° de cent pages, imprimé en 1791, lequel, comme M. Propiac l'écrit dans 'La Bibliographie Universelle,' 'est très rare en France.' Il aurait pu ajouter 'en Angleterre aussi.' Plusieurs de ces livres sont en ma possession, et tous portent de la claire et belle écriture d'un collectionneur l'inscription : 'De la bibliothèque de la chevalière d'Éon.' La vente eut lieu le 3 et le 4 février 1792, mais les livres n'atteignirent que des prix peu élevés, même pour ce temps-là. Les manuscrits de Vauban furent retirés, comme nous l'apprend le mémoire dans lequel le chevalier offre ses services à l'Assemblée Législative, et où il dit qu'il les a conservés comme une offrande à l'Assemblée Nationale pour la gloire de son pays et l'instruction des braves généraux employés à sa défense. Il y eut une autre vente publique du 'reste de la bibliothèque de M<sup>lle</sup> d'Éon' le 22 mai 1793.

Pendant ce temps la vente de la bibliothèque du D<sup>r</sup> Douglas avait eu lieu. Parmi les articles se trouvait la célèbre collection d'éditions et de traductions d'Horace, réunie par le docteur et se composant de 560 volumes, dont le catalogue avait été imprimé en 1739. Elle se vendit en un seul lot, et l'on est surpris de voir que bien que la vente du chevalier d'Éon paraisse avoir été due uniquement à son besoin d'argent, ce fut lui qui acheta en lot au prix de 100 livres sterling. Cette collection était, suivant l'expression d'Éon, 'un assemblage incomparable.' Il la garda jusqu'à sa mort, et il semble avoir consacré beaucoup de temps et de soins à l'examiner, à rédiger avec les plus grands détails le catalogue raisonné des volumes dont elle se composait, et à préparer une édition d'Horace sur une gigantesque échelle. La série de ses manuscrits sur ce sujet est entre mes mains : elle consiste en

(1) Un catalogue raisonné de la collection, écrit sur des cartes. Chaque édition a au moins une et quelquefois deux ou trois cartes qui lui sont consacrées, chacune reproduisant complètement la page de titre, et donnant en bien des cas des renseignements descriptifs et des remarques critiques aussi bien que bibliographiques.

(2) Un grand nombre de notes et d'extraits pour son

édition projetée d'Horace. Cette édition devait se composer de cinq ouvrages différents, dont voici la description :

## DIFFÉRENS HORACES.

'*Horatius prophanus.*'

'*Horatius christianus.*'

'*Horatius catholicus, apostolicus et Romanus.*'

'*Horatius reformatus.*'

'*Horatius Gallus, sive purgatus, expurgatus, castratus et eunuchus [sic] secundum Societatem Jesu defunctam etc. et amplissimas Europæ Universitates.*'

Ce qui suit est le 'Titre (de ma composition) pour mon "Horatius Prophanus."'

'*Horatii Opera omnia in duo Volumina distributa, cum Notis et Emendationibus, adjunctis insuper Veterum Scholiis et Prolegomenis ab Erroribus ut plurimum repurgatis. Cum MSS. Codicibus variis et præstantissimis collata, recensuit et observationes suas adjecit Carola, Genoveva, Ludovica, Augusta, Andrea, Timothea D'Éon, Ordinis Regalis et Militaris Sancti Ludovici Eques, &c. &c.*'

Un peu plus tard, cependant, le 'Horatius Prophanus' fut étendu de deux à six volumes, et devait contenir 'uniquement la crème des notes et bonnes pièces dans les différentes éditions d'Horace.'

Le tome premier contiendrait . . . mon épître dédicatoire . . . Le texte d'Horace en beau caractère romain, ou de Didot, ou de Basquerville.

Le tome deuxième contiendra l'interprétation latine de 'l'Horace,' avec de courtes notes latines à côté des pages en dehors et quelques-unes en bas.

Le tome troisième contiendra la meilleure traduction 'd'Horace' en françois, avec quelques courtes notes à côté des pages et de plus longues au bas des pages.

Le tome quatrième contiendra l'abrégé ou la crème de tous les meilleurs commentaires latins sur Horace.

Le tome cinquième contiendra l'abrégé ou la crème des meilleurs commentaires italiens, françois, anglois et allemands, hollendois, &c.

Le tome sixième contiendra tout ce que les Grecs, les Latins, les Italiens, les François, les Anglois, les Allemands, les Hollendois et savans des autres nations ont écrit de mieux sur la vie d'Horace et ses écrits.

Plusieurs révisions des titres eurent lieu subséquemment, dans l'une desquelles l'éditeur déclare que le texte est fondé sur '155 manuscriptos auctoritate digniores et 550 tam antiquas quam novas editiones in Europa acquisitas et collectas.'

La méthode de l'excellent chevalier dans la préparation de ce grand ouvrage était simplement d'extraire des autres ce qui lui sembla convenable pour son dessein, sans aucune tentative de composition originale ou de recherche critique — choses pour lesquelles il était d'ailleurs, quoique assez bien latiniste, tout à fait incompetent. Les parties les plus amusantes de ses manuscrits sont en général celles qui forment des liasses à part étiquetées 'Note pour moi seulement.' Un seul échantillon suffira pour en faire comprendre la nature, en même temps que la méthode, du chevalier.

Dans 'l'Horace' in 4° de Bernardinus Parthenius, imprimé à Venise en 1584, il y a au commencement de cette édition une épître 'Nobilissimis atque illustribus Academicis Olympicis Vicentinis,' qu'il faut relire et prendre ce qui me conviendra pour mon projet; plus, il se trouve à la suite de cette belle épître, en bon latin, 'de Laudibus Vicentionorum Carmen,' bonne encore à prendre en partie ou à imiter pour l'appliquer aux habitans de l'Angleterre!!!

Comme de tant d'autres projets de l'infortuné chevalier il ne résulta rien de ses labeurs. Il garda la collection du D<sup>r</sup> Douglas jusqu'à sa mort; elle fut ensuite dispersée avec le reste de sa bibliothèque et une partie de ses manuscrits en février 1813. Il laissa une énorme quantité de manuscrits de sa propre main, dont beaucoup sont aujourd'hui au 'British Museum'; d'autres appartiennent à des particuliers; enfin il en reste encore à Tonnerre un grand nombre se rapportant à la première période de sa vie, et qui paraissent n'avoir jamais été examinés. Parmi ceux qui sont en ma possession les plus curieux qui représentent le chevalier sous un jour entièrement différent de celui sous lequel ses biographes le connaissent se rapportent à des questions théologiques. Ses manuscrits, tout en critiquant parfois les prêtres et les moines, montrent que le chevalier

fut un catholique sincère, bien que tenant pour les opinions gallicanes, et qu'il était versé dans la connaissance des Saintes Écritures et tout particulièrement des psaumes. Il fait un vigoureux plaidoyer en faveur de l'étude des Écritures, disant qu'il a passé une grande partie de sa vie à les lire et à les méditer ! Ses écrits religieux, quelque étrange que cela paraisse, rappellent les disciples de Port-Royal, et l'on s'imaginerait certainement lire les réflexions d'un disciple quelque peu médiocre et vulgaire de Fénelon ou d'un ami de M<sup>m</sup>s Guyon—sans rien, toutefois, des absurdités des convulsionnaires—bien plutôt que celles du bizarre aventurier qui s'appelait M<sup>lle</sup> d'Éon. En outre d'un ouvrage qu'il intitula 'Extrait de mes Pensées sur la Prière par et pour Charlotte-Geneviève-Louise-Auguste d'Éon de Beaumont' il se proposait de faire paraître une publication religieuse hebdomadaire, rédigée partie en français et partie en anglais, et à laquelle il voulait d'abord donner pour titre 'The D'Éon Journal, ou la Semaine du Chrétien sanctifiée par la Prière et la Méditation.' Plus tard il le changea ainsi : 'The d'Éon Christian Journal, ou le Livre le plus nécessaire à l'Heureuse Journée du Voyageur Chrétien sur la Terre.' Les deux premiers numéros ont été faits complètement, tout prêts pour la presse ; mais je n'ai rien pu découvrir qui indique qu'ils aient été effectivement imprimés ; et il nous est permis de croire que, comme pour 'l'Horace,' il ne se trouva pas d'éditeur disposé à se faire les frais. On peut d'ailleurs se demander quelle partie du public le chevalier espérait intéresser à ses élucubrations religieuses.

Peu d'hommes ont joué des rôles si nombreux et si divers que le chevalier d'Éon sur la scène de la vie, et peu ont, de leur temps, excité au même degré l'attention ; aussi bien qu'il soit depuis longtemps relégué dans la catégorie des 'oubliés et des dédaignés' la plupart des lecteurs trouveront-ils quelque intérêt peut-être—de la nouveauté, à coup sûr—à le voir dans le personnage d'un latiniste et d'un théologien.



SHORT REVIEWS REPRINTED FROM  
THE 'SPECTATOR'

## THE CHEVALIER D'EON

*The Strange Career of the Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont.*

By Captain J. B. TELFER, R.N. (London: Longmans and Co. 1885.)

[From the *Spectator* of May 16, 1885.]

It is perhaps doubtful whether the misfortunes of the Chevalier d'Eon in his lifetime were equal to those which he has met with since his death at the hands of his biographers. When he came to London in 1762, as Secretary of the French Embassy, with a high reputation as a soldier, and no slight one as a diplomatist and a man of letters, good-humoured, vivacious, interested in everything, whether politics, finance, war, literature, or society, a favourite of the Ministers, a confidential agent of the King, it might have been expected that he was entering on a career which would lead to honour, fortune, and fame. To the courage of a soldier, however, he united the small and slender person, and the delicate features, of a woman; and to these he added a coldness of temperament which is not ordinarily characteristic of the military profession. He had cultivated letters no less successfully than diplomacy or military affairs. A Doctor of Laws of the Sorbonne, he had already produced, besides several slighter books, a really remarkable work on the French finances, and another on taxation among the ancients, which not only shows wide reading, and a complete knowledge of antiquity as it was then understood, but

contains many acute observations in reference to the state of France, and an amount of knowledge and good sense in dealing with political and economical questions, rare, or perhaps unique, among the adventurers of the eighteenth century. But his life, beginning with high hope and much brilliancy, was embittered by disappointment and failure, and perhaps worse than this, by the ridicule necessarily attaching to a captain of dragoons, and Knight of St. Louis, who spent the last forty years of his life in the disguise, and under the description, of a woman, and in the shadow of a mystery which, though long since really explained, has served as a peg upon which unprincipled writers have hung, without any foundation, all sorts of stories discreditable to the unfortunate Chevalier.

Upon the retirement of the Duc de Nivernois, the Chevalier was promoted to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary, and for six months represented France at the Court of St. James's. But he had also other duties to perform. That Louis XV. intrigued against his recognised Ministers is well known; and the complete history of his correspondence with his secret agents has been revealed by the Duc de Broglie, in his remarkable and interesting work, 'Le Secret du Roi,' intended principally as a defence of his uncle, the Count de Broglie, for many years at the head of the secret correspondence of the King. Among these secret agents was the Chevalier d'Eon, who, besides his official communications with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, kept up a close correspondence with the King or with the head of the Secret Department; and who at the time when the Duc de Praslin was, in perfect good faith, contracting a treaty of peace and alliance with England, was engaged with the King and the Count de Broglie in preparing an elaborate scheme for the invasion of this country, behind the back as well of Praslin and Choiseul as of their great supporter, Madame de Pompadour. It was with the arrival of the Count de Guerry as Ambassador that d'Eon's misfortunes commenced. Empty, pompous, stupid, and avaricious, the former was in all respects the opposite of the Chevalier, and possessed neither the good nor the bad qualities which are

generally considered to mark his countrymen, and which d'Eon possessed in a large degree. How the Chevalier quarrelled with the Count, how he refused to descend from the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary to that of Secretary, and to present his letters of recall at the Court of St. James's, how he accused the Count of attempting to murder him, and induced the Grand Jury of Middlesex to return a true bill against the Ambassador, are matters of history. They will be found detailed at length in the two large volumes which the Chevalier printed in 1764 and 1765; and they are related quite as tediously, and at almost as great length, in Captain Telfer's book, more than one-third of which is occupied with the history of these discreditable squabbles, in which the folly, extravagance, and insolence of the Chevalier can only be explained upon the assumption, as Louis XV. wrote to Tercier, that his promotion to the rank of Plenipotentiary had turned his head, and that he had for the moment taken leave of his senses. In the meantime, rumours were afloat—whether originally started by the Chevalier or by his enemies it seems now impossible to say, but arising, no doubt, from his personal appearance—that he was really a woman in the disguise of a man. These rumours soon reached the French Court, and in the end a pension was only granted to d'Eon upon the terms that he was 'to resume,' and never to quit, the dress of his sex. To these humiliating terms the Chevalier, when over forty years of age, agreed, and passed the greater part of the rest of his life in the dress of a woman, and under the style of *Mademoiselle la Chevalière d'Eon*. Whether the French Government was really persuaded that he was of the female sex, or whether the disguise was originally insisted upon in the expectation, which, indeed, proved well grounded, that he would thus lose the power of inflicting further annoyance on the King and the Ministers, we do not know; but one thing is certain, that there is not the smallest particle of evidence of the Chevalier having ever adopted this disguise previously to 1764. The last thirty years of his life were spent in England, where he died in 1810 in great poverty.

A career so strange naturally linked itself to romances

and adventures of all kinds. In 1836, M. Frédéric Gaillardet published 'Mémoires du Chevalier d'Eon,' professedly founded upon the family papers of the Chevalier preserved at Tonnerre, and upon the archives of the Foreign Affairs of France. A more discreditable tissue of lies never issued from the press. Every kind of story which could be suggested by the strange career of the Chevalier, and which would be suitable to the reputation of a Faublas or a Casanova, is there seriously stated as a fact. These stories include intrigues with ladies of the highest rank and the most unblemished virtue. More than twenty years later there appeared a new work on the subject, with the name of Louis Jourdan (the editor of the 'Siècle') on the title as its author. It did not fall under M. Gaillardet's notice until 1866, when he found that it was simply an unblushing plagiarism, copied word for word from his 'Mémoires.' On his calling attention to the matter, M. Jourdan said that he had not written a word of it, that it was composed by a young journalist of the day, M. 'E. D.,' to whom he (M. Jourdan) had merely lent the use of his name to enable him to sell his book! M. Gaillardet now, in order to render the discomfiture of MM. Jourdan and 'E. D.' complete, publicly announced that there was not a word of truth in a large part of his work, that it was nothing but an amplification of imaginary facts, and a tissue of romantic adventures, which he thought it probable, when he wrote the book, might have happened to the Chevalier, but which he was now satisfied had no foundation of truth. It is hard to say which of the three actors in this discreditable drama comes out the worst. M. Gaillardet then published what purports to be the authentic 'Mémoires' of the Chevalier, and it is this volume which has served as the basis of the book before us.

Captain Telfer writes (as a biographer should do) with a warm admiration for his hero, and a determination to clear his character from the censures of the Duc de Broglie, and to prove that in his *démêlés* with the Count de Guerchy and the French Ministers, the Chevalier was in the right. But we cannot accept the Captain's narrative as accurate; nor can we acquit him of misleading statements on matters of

importance. He relies absolutely upon Gaillardet, and justifies his reliance by the authority of the Duc de Broglie, who, though he certainly goes out of his way to compliment Gaillardet upon 'his trustworthy work printed in 1866,' adds, 'But even this contains many unfounded assertions, whose falsehood I have been able to detect.' Yet Captain Telfer deliberately inserts documents, and extracts from documents, printed by Gaillardet, and purporting to emanate from the 'Archives Etrangères,' which the Duc de Broglie (writing with the authority of a Minister for Foreign Affairs) had rejected as absolutely inconsistent with undoubtedly genuine papers to be found in the 'Archives,' and he more than once comments on M. Gaillardet's 'too ready credence to lying narratives and apocryphal documents.' In a passage which, among other things, may be taken as an example of the irritating manner in which Captain Telfer mixes up his pronouns, and refers to the Chevalier sometimes as 'she,' sometimes as 'he,' he writes:—

There is good evidence that d'Eon was received by the Empress [Elizabeth] in female habiliments; that in this disguise *she* ingratiated *herself* with her Majesty, gained her confidence, and, interesting her in the object of *his* mission, had succeeded in reviving her old feelings of attachment towards France and towards Louis XV., her suitor of days gone by.

We have failed to find a single trace of this 'good evidence' in Captain Telfer's book, or elsewhere. The story is unhesitatingly rejected by the Duc de Broglie, who says justly 'that this piquant narrative has no foundation whatsoever. Not the least trace of it can be discovered in any authentic document at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.'

We regret that Captain Telfer, who has had access to the large collection of the Chevalier's papers, which at his death fell into the hands of his generous friend, Christie, the auctioneer, and are now in the possession of his descendant, has not given us an account of the substance of these papers, and that he has added no new information respecting those portions of the Chevalier's career which it would really be most interesting to elucidate, namely the first twenty-eight

and the last thirty years of his life. These last, one would suppose, would be dealt with in the papers in question; while no biography can pretend to be adequate which is not based upon an investigation of the manuscripts at Tonnerre, which unquestionably would throw much light upon the early part of his life. Yet these Captain Telfer does not profess even to have looked at. Nor has he consulted, or even traced, the other manuscripts of d'Eon. Among the most curious of these are collections and notes for a most elaborate edition of Horace, and 'The d'Eon Christian Journal; ou, Le Livre le plus nécessaire à l'Heureuse Journée du Voyageur Chrétien sur la Terre.' Even on the points that we should have thought the papers to which Captain Telfer has had access would give him accurate information, he is full of mistakes. The sale of the Chevalier's library, originally advertised for May 1791, took place, not as here stated, on the 24th of May 1793, but on the 3rd and 4th of February 1792. The sale in May 1793 was of an entirely different collection, and was made by Leigh and Sotheby. Nor is there anything in the book from which we can infer that the author has read a word of any of the published works of d'Eon, except those relating to Guerchy and Beaumarchais. He gives us neither an accurate nor a complete list of these works, and has evidently never heard of d'Eon's curious correspondence with Anacharsis Clotz, or, indeed, of other books that he wrote or translated. But his economical and financial writings give us a much higher opinion of the Chevalier's abilities than the actions of his life, and really deserve, what they have never received, a serious examination and a judicious criticism. A more accurate acquaintance with the usages and history of France would have enabled Captain Telfer to avoid such blunders as the references to the Duc de Broglie as 'his Grace,' and Louis XV. as 'his most Catholic Majesty.'

## GIORDANO BRUNO

*Life of Giordano Bruno, the Nolan.* By J. FRITH. Revised by Professor Moriz Carrière. (London : Trübner and Co. 1887.)

[From the *Spectator* for April 16, 1887.]

THE nineteenth century finds it no easy task to understand, still less to accurately appreciate at his true value, the half-charlatan, half-philosopher who was so common in the sixteenth. Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, Giordano Bruno, the elder Scaliger, Vanini, and our countrymen Dee and Kelly, were all made up, though in varying proportions, of the two characters. The world has, however, long since rightly decided that Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, J. C. Scaliger, and Dr. Dee were men of real science and learning; but that in Vanini and Kelly, the charlatan was much in excess of the philosopher. The position of Bruno has remained more doubtful. Was he one of those 'who talk of the truth, but have never sounded the depths where she dwelleth'; or was he a true priest who has passed beyond the veil, who has entered into the holy of holies, and who has seen, sometimes it may be through a glass darkly, sometimes with marvellous clearness and accuracy, truths unknown to his contemporaries, which, though rejected in his own day, were to receive universal assent under the teaching of other and later masters, who have obtained the glory which was denied to Bruno? It is difficult to persuade ourselves that a man could be other than a mountebank and an impostor who sometimes used an unintelligible jargon like that of Vanini, and who described himself in his letter to the University of Oxford as,—

'A doctor in the more perfect theology, a philosopher known, approved, and honourably received by the chief Universities of

Europe, nowhere save among the barbarians and the vulgar a stranger, the awakener of sleeping souls, the trampler upon presumptuous and recalcitrant ignorance, who in all his acts shows forth universal benevolence to all, whom upright and sincere men love, whom noble souls receive with acclamation.'

Yet the man who used this bombastic language was none the less one of the profoundest and most original thinkers of his day, in many of his hypotheses a remarkable precursor of modern thought and modern science, one who anticipated some of the most important theories of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, and Hegel, and who possessed a conception of the universe which, if not true, was in advance of his time. But Bruno was essentially a speculator, and not a reasoner; his speculations, frequently perhaps no more than guesses, were always ingenious, always audacious, and not seldom capable of verification; yet in his writings they remain vague theories, mere hypotheses. He seems incapable of close reasoning, and especially of that severe and unsparing criticism of his own theories which is characteristic of the true scientific mind. Though he prefers the deductive to the inductive method, he belongs really to neither school, for in him the imagination has more force than reason; he is a poet rather than a philosopher. Yet no writer or thinker of his time accepted so fully the Copernican theory, or saw so clearly the momentous revolution in philosophy which the acceptance of that theory involved.

But whatever the position of Bruno as a philosopher, the man is certainly a most interesting personality. His life was full of exciting episodes. Devoted from his youth to literature, he had scarcely assumed the Dominican habit ere he found its restraints personally irksome, as well as incompatible with that freedom of thought which he carried to such unbounded lengths. For thirteen years he endured the monastic rule, dividing his time between his ecclesiastical duties and his philosophical studies, and writing during this period some of his lighter pieces. After being three times charged, if not with heresy, at least with heretical proclivities and forbidden studies, he at length left his convent, and thenceforth devoted himself to the career of a wandering



philosopher ; studying, teaching, speaking, and writing at Geneva, Toulouse, Paris, London, Oxford, Wittenberg, Helmstadt, and Frankfort ; everywhere making friends, not only of men of the highest rank, but of those who were the most cultivated and enlightened, and who were able to see his real merits through the cloud of boastful and bombastic language in which he delighted to envelop his ideas. At Geneva, he was the friend of Caracciolo ; at Toulouse, a readership and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy were conferred on him ; at Paris, he was appointed by Henry III. his reader-in-ordinary. Passing to London in the suite of his chief protector and friend, the learned and virtuous Castelnau de la Mauvissière, he there enjoyed the intimacy of men like Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville ; and if the Oxford dons (‘ pigs,’ as he calls them) were unable to discover his merits, and judged him, as they might not unfairly do, from his absurd letter to the Vice-Chancellor, the Professors of Wittemberg on the other hand, received him with open arms. At Prague, the Emperor Rudolph was favourably disposed towards him ; Duke Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was delighted to appoint him to a professorship at his new University of Helmstadt ; at Frankfort, he was hospitably entertained by the Carmelites, and enjoyed the intimacy of the learned printers Wechel and Fischer. So far from being, as Mr. Frith tells us, ‘ hunted from town to town by the ban of excommunication,’ everywhere, except at Geneva, he might have stayed and have had an honourable career ; only his restless disposition, his feverish anxiety for new scenes, new societies, and new opportunities of displaying his learning, drove him from city to city. Of his residence at each place he has left us most interesting notices, and none more so than those of London and Oxford. His account of Oxford, indeed, is a little tinged with the mortification occasioned by the chilling and contemptuous reception he met with ; while his description of the ‘ stubborn and pedantic ignorance, mixed with rustic incivility,’ which he found there, is not unlike other unfavourable criticisms of Oxford from time to time during the two centuries which followed, from those visitors and students whose unorthodox and somewhat revo-

lutionary opinions excited the suspicions and dislike of the conservative University. But his animated pictures of his life in London, of the courteous, cultivated, and hospitable gentlemen he met with, and of the rude and almost savage manners of the lower classes, and their hatred of foreigners, form one of the most interesting and graphic pictures we have of England and Englishmen in the reign of Elizabeth. It is strange that we have no reference to Bruno in the contemporary literature of the time, especially as seven, if not eight of his books, were printed in London; yet we cannot but think that a serious examination of what can be discovered as to his residence here, whether in his own writings or elsewhere, would lead to some interesting conclusions on the subject of his influence on the writings of his friends and associates, and on the extent to which their intercourse with him affected his own works. Certainly the two years he spent in England were among the happiest years of his life.

Bruno left Frankfort in February 1591, on the invitation of the Venetian Mocenigo, who has eternally disgraced the noble name which he bore by his treacherous denunciation of his guest to the Inquisition, just fifteen months later. With the sanction of the Venetian Government, Bruno was handed over to the Inquisition of Rome, charged with heresy and apostasy, and then for seven years he absolutely disappears from view. On the 8th of February, in the Jubilee year, 1600, by the direction of Clement VIII., 'Fr. Jordanus' was declared an apostate and a heretic; he was delivered to the secular arm to be punished, and with the brutal hypocrisy which characterised the capital sentences of the Holy Office, the Civil Governor of Rome was exhorted 'so to mitigate the severity of the sentence that there might be no danger of death or of shedding of blood.' Nine days later, Giordano Bruno was burned alive in the Campo di Fiore.

A detailed biography of Bruno, with an account of his writings and his opinions, especially one dealing, in the manner we have indicated, with his residence in England, is still a desideratum in our literature. Mr. Frith has studied with great care the books of Bartholmess, Berti, and

Brunnhofer ; he has made himself master of many of Bruno's works ; and he is evidently a man who has read and thought much on philosophical subjects, and who is acquainted with the writings of many German thinkers of the last as of the present century, and in his work the English reader will obtain, for the first time, a detailed narrative of the philosopher's life, and an account of many of his works. But we find nothing in addition to what has been given us by the three writers just named.

That Mr. Frith is an admirer of the man, and a thorough-going partisan of the philosopher, is perhaps to be expected. But his tone of unmitigated eulogy is not that in which the biography of Bruno should be written, and in this respect Mr. Frith contrasts unfavourably with Bartholmess and Berti, to whom, and especially to the former, the student must still turn if he wishes to obtain a sober appreciation of Bruno's character and philosophy, for neither sobriety of judgment nor sobriety of language are characteristics of our author. The keynote of his work, the impression which he desires to produce of the philosophy of Bruno, will be found in the concluding page of his book :—

‘The fame and honours which allure vulgar minds, to him were nothing. His life was a long protest. God is, God is truth ; and that truth shines forth in Nature, which is his handiwork. God is, and all is in God, but in a manner befitting his protection. . . . The things of Nature by which we are surrounded, are shadows, unreal and not abiding ; but the spirit, the soul, the form, the act of the divine cognition, the substance which no human eye had ever seen, the Monad which can never be perceived by mortal sense, this alone is real, abiding, and true ; this was before the worlds were ; this is Infinity. To perceive it is the only true knowledge ; to be joined with it is the only true happiness. The majesty and immutability of God dawn upon the eye of man, and, led by love, the great revealer, the eager human spirit is united with its Giver. If this assurance should penetrate the heart of one reader, the Nolan will not have died in vain, nor will the humble labours of his biographer be counted as nothing.’

Though it ought to be possible to make a most interesting and readable biography of Bruno, we cannot say that

Mr. Frith has succeeded in so doing. He seldom continues his narrative for many sentences together, without long extracts from Bruno's works, or quasi-philosophical disquisitions in the style we have just quoted, so that whenever we are beginning to feel interested in any portion, we are irritated at being interrupted by dreary declamation. Nor when he is not philosophising is Mr. Frith always easy to read. He says in one place that Bruno 'took no pains either to prune his style, or to lay the demon of quotation which came from his vast stores of learning.' Mr. Frith has certainly neither pruned his style, nor laid the demon of quotation in his own case. Where he does not indulge in fine writing, his pages are little more than things of shreds and patches, or rather mosaic pavements tessellated with quotations. On the page in which he speaks of the 'demon of quotation,' he quotes Tiraboschi, Saisset, Manzoni, Schiller, and Lord Bacon. Pp. 104-5 are made up of extracts from Clement, Goujet, Tiraboschi, Lewes, Piron, Ueberweg, Tschischwitz, Furness, and 'the excellent Mrs. Pott' (whoever this lady may be). Often for many pages we get nothing of Mr. Frith's own, except the few words here and there which connect the quotations. Nor has he aimed at uniformity in his methods of reference; sometimes, and most frequently, he adds to the unpleasantness of reading the book by inserting the references in the text. Sometimes he gives them in the notes, and occasionally he cites passages taken from what he calls 'an old chronicle' without any other reference. Thus, speaking of Toulouse, he has the following:—'The students,' says an old chronicle, 'rose at four in the morning, and after their prayers were said, they were on their way to the college by five o'clock, with their folios under their arms and lanterns in their hands.' In the 'old chronicle' we recognise the 'Mémoires' of Henri de Mesmes, whose statement of what 'we' did (in the first person) is thus paraphrased. But to quote these 'Mémoires' (or, indeed, any work of the seventeenth century) as *an old chronicle* is a singular misapplication of words. The book is full of trifling mistakes, some of them, no doubt, errors of the press. The biographer of Sidney is several times referred to as 'Zonch;' the 'Cabala

del Cavallo Pegaseo' is translated more than once as the Cabal of the 'Pagasean Horse;' the Order of the Holy Ghost is said to have been instituted by Henry IV.; and we are told that the question of Melanchthon's belief or unbelief was discussed at Rome by the Pope, and by Cardinal Bembo, *the future Pope!*

The absence of an index deprives the work of all value as a work of reference; but the alphabetical list of authorities (compiled by Mr. W. Heinemann) is not without use, though it is merely a long (but incomplete) list of books and articles—the majority of them absolutely worthless and uninteresting—in which Bruno is spoken of, yet omitting many real authorities and valuable books and essays. For instance, it mentions neither the excellent dissertation of P. A. de Bruijn (Groningen, 1837), nor the article in the 'Quarterly Review' for April 1878; and though Dr. Willis's rubbishy life of Spinoza is inserted, the exhaustive and learned work of Professor Pollock is omitted. The occasional brief criticisms on the works given are in several cases ludicrously inaccurate; a number of the (original) 'Spectator' is said to be 'written from the Puritan point of view;' while Buddeus, the well-known Lutheran divine, is described as writing 'from the Roman Catholic point of view'! Mr. Symonds's chapter on Bruno in the last volume of his 'Renaissance in Italy' is not mentioned. We differ widely from several of the philosophical views there expressed; but the chapter is not only most interesting in itself, but it gives by far the most satisfactory account of Bruno and his writings which as yet is to be found in our language, and we rejoice to see that Mr. Symonds gives us a half promise of returning to the subject in a separate essay.

GEORGE BUCHANAN, HUMANIST AND REFORMER

*George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer: a Biography.*  
By P. HUME BROWN. (Edinburgh: David Douglas.)

[From the *Spectator* for June 21, 1890]

OF the many eminent men that Scotland has produced, the name of one only of those born before the eighteenth century is known beyond the limits of this island as that of a scholar and a man of genius. But though it is to his Latin verses, and to them alone, that George Buchanan owes his unique reputation, yet in many respects he is worthy of a detailed biography. Not only were he and Roger Ascham the chief connecting links between the humanists of Great Britain and those of the Continent; but they were the only two real scholars—as scholarship was then understood—that Great Britain produced in the sixteenth century. But Buchanan was not a mere scholar. As a historian he attained a high reputation; as an educationist, if not in advance of his age he was certainly in the foremost rank, and though we cannot say that he originated anything, yet he readily adopted and advocated that reformed system of University studies which Sturm had established at Strasburg, and Baduel had promoted at Nimes. Moreover, in the last twenty years of his life he played an important though secondary part in the public affairs of Church and State, and was highly esteemed as well for his abilities as for his integrity by the statesmen who had the chief government of Scotland from 1562 to 1582.

In Mr. Hume Brown's 'George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer,' we have for the first time an adequate biography of this distinguished man. The author has

laboriously collected together all the facts of Buchanan's life so far as they can be ascertained. He has given us ample details and judicious criticism on his various works; and where, as in the case of Buchanan's long residences at Paris and at Bordeaux, particular facts are not forthcoming, he affords us, what is specially valuable and interesting, accounts of contemporary University life and studies which enable us thoroughly to understand and appreciate what we may call the social atmosphere in which Buchanan lived, and allow us to realise his mode of life there perhaps more clearly than any mere details of the facts of his history, if we could obtain them, would do.

David Irving's life of Buchanan, the second edition of which was given in 1817, is a most meritorious production, a model literary biography for the period at which it appeared. But no life of a scholar and reformer of the sixteenth century, written in the first quarter of the nineteenth, can possibly be adequate having regard to the flood of light which during the last fifty years has been thrown on the civil, religious, and literary history of the time, light which has enabled Mr. Brown not only to supplement the facts of Buchanan's life, but to correct the not always sound views expressed by Irving, as well on the character of Buchanan as on other matters. Above all, Mr. Brown thoroughly appreciates the spirit of humanism of which George Buchanan was the eager disciple in France and the zealous apostle in Scotland, and he loses no opportunity of insisting on the undoubted fact, not always, we think, borne in mind by Englishmen and Scotchmen, that though both a humanist and a reformer, George Buchanan was essentially a humanist first and only a reformer afterwards. 'His interests as the scholar of the Renaissance were stronger than his interests as the reformer of the corruptions of the Church.'

George Buchanan's life divides itself, more sharply than that of any other man of letters of the time, into two portions. For the first fifty-three years it was the common life of the scholar of the sixteenth century, to whom the writing of Latin, and especially of Latin verse, was an end and not a means, and not an end only, but *the* end at which all

culture aimed. Restlessly roaming, from city to city and from university to university, teaching sometimes as a private tutor, sometimes as a public lecturer or professor, alternately at Paris, where he spent, at different times, more than twenty years, Bordeaux, Coimbra, Edinburgh; successively tutor to Lord James Stewart, the Earl of Cassillis, and Timoleon de Cossé, having no love for teaching—if not like the younger Scaliger, absolutely detesting it—and adopting it only as a means of living, happy only when in France and enjoying the cultivated society of Paris and Bordeaux, ridiculing the clergy—and especially the Franciscans—and consequently disliked, and sometimes denounced as a heretic when he was only a humanist and a Gallio, he differed in only one respect from the crowd of scholars, lecturers, and verse-writers of the sixteenth century in the fact that his Latin verses were incomparably superior to those of most of his contemporaries.

From his return to Scotland in or about 1561, and thenceforth for the last twenty years of his life, all this is changed. The lively and even genial humanist is transformed into the stern reformer, the wandering professor into the moderator of the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk, and the affectionate teacher of Timoleon de Cossé into the severe and irritable tutor of the young King James. The lover of France and its institutions has become a bitter opponent of the rights of Kings, and the elegiac and sometimes erotic poet, a diplomatist and a Latin secretary. But there is no room for charging Buchanan with insincerity in this great change. Until he was fifty years of age he does not seem to have given much thought to the subject of religion as a personal or spiritual matter:—

‘During his last years in France, he for the first time began to make a serious study of the questions at issue between Rome and the Protestant reformers. His own words are so remarkable that they deserve to be quoted. These five years, he says, he mainly devoted to the study of the Bible in order that he might be able to form definite opinions for himself on the controversies which were then exercising the majority of men. These controversies, he proceeds, were now on the point of being settled at home, since



the Scots had got rid of the tyranny of the Guises. Returning thither, he gave in his adhesion to the Scottish Church. Till the very eve, therefore, of his final return to Scotland, and when he was already in his fifty-fifth year, we are bound to regard Buchanan as emphatically the product of the Renaissance, not of the Reformation.'

Though a scholar and a man of letters, George Buchanan, notwithstanding his great reputation, was neither a man of learning nor a man of genius, neither a Casaubon nor a Scaliger. That he has left behind him no book of any living interest to the nineteenth century is common to him with most of the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But in fact his writings contributed nothing in their own day to the advancement of learning or to the sum of human knowledge, not even to the knowledge of classical antiquity. His 'History of Scotland' shows in its earlier part that he was without the faintest idea of that historical criticism which at least attempts to weigh authorities and to discriminate between truth and fable; while the later and contemporary books, like his other prose writings, are little more than party pamphlets. Notwithstanding the praise lavished on his History by men of such eminence and capacity as De Thou, Usher, and Dryden, we incline to agree with Mr. Hill Burton that 'it is of little more use and value than as a bulky exercise in the composition of classical Latin.' But as a Latin writer, his style or 'eloquence,' as it was then called, is not easily surpassed. His version of the Psalms, and several others of his poems, place him in the first line of the writers of Latin verse of the sixteenth century—the equal of Vida and Sannazar, and both in verse and prose above any Frenchman of that age, except Muretus—while if he did not attain in verse to the exquisite grace and elegance of Muretus, or in prose to that perfect Ciceronian style of which the French scholar alone of the moderns is master, yet he is as superior to Muretus in substance, in vigour of expression, and in the good sense and human interest of what he writes, as he is inferior to him in form. Buchanan, though master of an admirable style, was in no sense like Muretus a mere master of style. He had distinctly some-

thing to say, and he said it at once with vigour and elegance, and if in his verses he sometimes

‘sports with Amaryllis in the shade,  
Or with the tangles of Neæra’s hair,’

it is only because it was the fashion of the verse-writers of the day to do so in their attempts at that imitation of the Roman poets which seemed to them the highest imaginable form of poetry. Mr. Brown has appraised his writings at their true value, and has judiciously characterised them:—

‘Underlying all Buchanan’s work, both prose and verse, there is the solid foundation of strong sense quickened by strong feeling, and this for Buchanan’s age, with all its fatuous pedantries and affectations, is praise that can be estimated only after some acquaintance with his contemporary humanists. In his *History of Scotland* there is no suggestion of the great original thinker; but in the firm texture of its style, and the logical process of the narrative, we feel ourselves always in contact with a mind eminently sane, and a character bent on making itself felt on every page that he wrote. Verse, however, and not prose, was Buchanan’s natural language. He tells us this himself, and there can be no doubt that he judged himself aright. The range of his poetical faculty is certainly remarkable. In ‘*Franciscanus*’ we have humour as broad as that of ‘*The Jolly Beggars*,’ and in his version of the *Psalms* there is a strain of spiritual feeling which not even its artificial form can wholly obscure. That he had a delicate play of fancy, both sportive and serious, many of his shorter pieces prove beyond a doubt; and it is impossible to read his ode on the *First of May*, and not recognise that on occasion he had also at command the special note of the poetic imagination.’

The bibliographical information which Mr. Brown gives us is singularly meagre. For all editions of Buchanan’s works up to 1715, he refers us to the ‘full bibliography’ contained in Ruddiman’s edition of that date; but Ruddiman’s list is neither complete nor exact, and though we are told in Mr. Brown’s preface that editions of Buchanan’s works ‘that have appeared since 1715 are specified as the works themselves come up for notice,’ this promise is certainly not performed. We have been unable to find any reference to

any edition either of Buchanan's version of the Psalms, or indeed of any other of his poems, that has appeared since 1715; and even where mention is made of the recent editions, this is done in so vague and cursory a manner as to afford no information of any value or interest. Nor are we told what is the best edition, either of the works generally, or of any single production. At least a few words should have given us Mr. Brown's opinion on the respective merits of the two editions of the works of Buchanan—that of Rudiman of 1715, and that of Burmann of 1725—while as Mr. Mackay, in his life of Buchanan in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' has cited an edition of 1735, we should have expected some notice of this edition, if, indeed, it really exists, and if the date is not, as we suspect, a misprint for 1725. We have still to refer to Irving's *Life* for the only notice, so far as we know, of the differences between, and the respective merits of the editions of 1715 and 1725. To Irving, again, we must have recourse for a useful list of publications relating to Buchanan, of several of which—notably Love's 'Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan from the aspersions cast on him by Camden, and from the horrible ingratitude he is charged with to Queen Mary'—we are surprised to find no mention made by Mr. Brown. Nor have we noticed any reference to the books which Buchanan is said to have presented to St. Leonard's College, and of which Irving thought that he had identified nine, several of them enriched with marginal notes in Buchanan's own handwriting.

Without agreeing with all Mr. Brown's conclusions, or with all his statements of fact, especially in minor details, we can heartily recommend his book to all who wish to make themselves acquainted with the history of humanism in the sixteenth century. To Englishmen and Scotchmen, George Buchanan will always be an interesting personality, but the notices which Mr. Brown gives us of many of his contemporaries adds greatly to the value of his work, which is a scholarly contribution to the history of the Renaissance in France and Scotland.

## THE VENETIAN PRINTING-PRESS

1. *La Stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore.* Ragionamento storico di CARLO CASTELLANI, Prefetto della Biblioteca di San Marco. (Venezia: Ongania. 1889.)
2. *The Venetian Printing-Press: an Historical Study.* By HORATIO F. BROWN. (London: Nimmo. 1891 [*sic*].)

[From the *Spectator* for January 10, 1891.]

THE almost simultaneous appearance of Signor Castellani's 'La Stampa in Venezia' and Mr. Horatio Brown's 'Venetian Printing-Press'—each of them a work of great merit and original research—is a remarkable testimony to the interest and importance of the Venetian Press in the history of literature and learning. Though the honour of the invention of printing belongs to Germany, and though in Italy itself Venice was preceded by Subiaco and Rome, where, under the editorship of the Bishop of Aleria, the press of Sweynheym and Pannartz gave to the world the invaluable series of *editiones principes* of Latin classics and Fathers; yet when the art of printing was once introduced, Venice first equalled and then rapidly surpassed all other cities, in the number of her printers, the perfection and variety of her types, and in the number and merit of the volumes she gave to the world. In the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, it is calculated that not less than two millions of volumes were issued from the presses of Venice; and during the same period the names of more than two hundred Venetian printers and publishers are recorded.

The accomplished Prefect of the Library of St. Mark, in his *brochure* of 182 pages, has devoted himself exclusively to the palmy days of Venetian printing—that is, from its

introduction by John of Spires in 1469, to the death of Aldus the elder in 1515. Commencing by a lengthy, and, as it seems to us, wholly unnecessary introduction, intended to disprove the claims of a certain Pamfilio Castaldi of Feltre to be the inventor of printing, Signor Castellani then gives us a list of Venetian printers before 1515, based principally upon the works of Panzer and Fulin, though with some additions, the authorities for which are, unfortunately, not always cited. Then comes the essay itself on the Press of Venice, almost wholly devoted to John and Vindelin of Spires, Nicholas Jenson, Aldus, and a less-known name, Petrucci of Fossombrone, perhaps the inventor, certainly the earliest who is known to have exercised the art of printing music with moveable types. An appendix of documents follows, many of them hitherto unpublished, and of great interest. They include the will of Nicholas Jenson, and two wills of Aldus containing some curious details. In the first, made in March 1506, only a year and a half after his marriage, Aldus leaves his wife five hundred ducats, but only on condition that within a year after his death she either becomes a nun or marries into a family of Carpi, Asola, or Ferrara. In his last will, however, made a few days before his death in 1515, after his wife had borne him three sons, and when he had found her *prudens et optima honesta vita*, he appoints her his administratrix until she marries again, and leaves her four hundred and sixty ducats without any condition. The book terminates with a specially excellent index.

Mr. Brown's large and solid quarto volume, issued with all those excellences of paper and type which we are accustomed to expect in books printed at the Chiswick Press, is of more importance and still greater value than the slender though interesting essay of Signor Castellani. The author modestly styles it 'a historical study, based upon documents for the most part hitherto unpublished, rather than a history of the Venetian Press.' In fact, the book is really a history of the Press laws of Venice, and their application to books and booksellers. Copyright, Censorship, the Index, the Inquisition, and the Booksellers' Guild, occupy three fourths

of the text, and nearly the whole of the appendix of documents, which extends over more than half the volume. These subjects are treated with a fulness and an accuracy which we should in vain look for elsewhere; and the authority for every statement, where not printed *in extenso* in the appendix, is carefully cited. The documents printed are of supreme interest and importance, not only for the history of literature, but of the great struggle between Venice and the Church, in which Paul Sarpi so vigorously, though unsuccessfully, maintained the cause of the Republic, and at the same time that of the freedom of the Press and the freedom of thought:—

‘In this study,’ writes Mr. Brown, ‘I trace the history of the Venetian Press from its introduction, through the sixteenth century—noting especially how press legislation grew up, preceded by custom and practice, and then formulated in law; how the Government dealt with such questions as copyright, protection, and censorship; how the Guild of Printers and Booksellers was founded and governed; how the book trade came under the influence of the Index and the Inquisitorial censorship, and how the Republic endeavoured to protect the trade, thereby involving itself in a long struggle with the Church of Rome—till we reach the slow decline of the Venetian press through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in spite of the legislation which was designed to preserve it.’

The most valuable and interesting part of Mr. Brown’s work is that which relates to the Index, the Censorship, and, above all, to the Inquisition. Though during the two centuries that the Holy Office existed in Venice no less than 2,910 trials took place before it, of which 191 were for Press offences, though torture was occasionally used even as late as the year 1695, though no less than nine cases of the infliction of capital punishment are recorded—five of them for heresies, properly so called—yet, if we compare the Inquisition of Venice with that of Rome, still more with that of Spain, the author’s statement is perhaps not inaccurate, that ‘the Holy Office in Venice was by no means harsh in its procedure.’ The Government of Venice, recognising as it did the authority of the Church in matters of faith and morals, was

careful to maintain its own political supremacy, and never recognised the Inquisition as a distinct and independent power when acting within the dominions of the Republic. The presence on every proceeding before the Holy Office of three lay assessors—the *savii sopra l'heresia*—proclaimed the political independence of Venice, and at least tended to secure to the accused a trial which might be called fair if compared with what he would have had at Rome or at Seville.

It was in 1547 that the religious censorship of the Press was formally acknowledged by law in Venice, and two years later the first prohibitive catalogue to appear in Italy was published there. The fact that its compiler was La Casa, the Papal Nuncio and Archbishop of Benevento, throws light, as Mr. Brown remarks, 'upon the way in which the Church made use of the repressive power of prohibitions not so much in the interests of morality as in support of its own dogmatic claims.' To appoint the author of the 'Capitolo del Forno' to draw up a catalogue of immoral and irreligious books was like employing M. Zola to compile an 'Index Prohibitorum' of modern literature. Mr. Brown gives us a full abstract of one of the earliest Holy Office prosecutions for the possession of prohibited books—that of Francesco Stella in 1549—and devotes the chapters which follow to the Index and the book trade, the disputes with Clement VIII., the Clementine Index and the Concordat, the Interdict and Paul Sarpi, and concludes with two less interesting chapters on the Press legislation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The second half of the volume is occupied with the documents upon which the narrative is largely based, and includes the full text of the laws and edicts of the Republic relating to the printing-press; the rules and the minute-book of the Printers' Guild; a catalogue of Venetian printers and booksellers from 1469 to 1796; a complete list of the trials before the Holy Office for Press offences; and abstracts from the day-book of a bookseller in 1484—this last, with the chapter devoted to it in the text, forming one of the most curious and interesting portions of the work.

But full of interest as is Mr. Brown's book, it is, on the whole, disappointing. As the author so distinctly states in his preface that it is not a history of the Venetian Press, but a study only, we should be unreasonable to expect an exhaustive treatise on the subject. Still, we had hoped to find something more than a history of the Press laws, with a few brief and not altogether satisfactory notices of other matters. Mr. Brown confesses that he is not a bibliographer, but surely in a study on the Venetian Press that forms a quarto volume of 463 pages, we might expect adequate biographical and literary, if not bibliographical, notices of most of the great Venetian printers and their productions. Of Aldus, Jenson, Ratdolt, the two Spires, we have, indeed, interesting but brief accounts. To the 'immortal memory of Christopher Valdarfer' and his productions, including his celebrated 'De Oratore,' and his more celebrated 'Decameron,' eight lines are devoted. Daniel Bomberg, to whom perhaps the student of the Old Testament in its original tongue owes more than to any single man, and who is personally one of the most interesting figures of his time, is just mentioned, as celebrated for his Hebrew press and his Hebrew type. The name of 'Griffo' (Joannes Gryphius) certainly occurs, but in such a way as to show that the writer is entirely ignorant of the claims to recognition of the printer of the Greek 'Ocellus Lucanus' of 1559, and of the Latin translations of Meletius and Polemon, made by Petreius, and printed in the same year. Of John of Cologne, of Manthem de Gheretzen, of the Giunti, of Gregorio de Gregoriis, of Giolito, we find the names, but the names only; while of Melchior Sessa, the Zanettis, Bartolomeo Cesano, and many others, even the names are absent. Of the interesting literary and bibliographical questions that cluster round every one of these names we are told nothing. In the whole history of the study of Oriental languages and literature in Europe no question is more interesting or more important than whether the Koran in Arabic was, in fact, printed in or about 1530, and if so, what was the cause and history of its absolute disappearance. Yet all that Mr. Brown has to say on this matter is, that 'De Rossi quotes a Koran in Arabic published by Paganino in 1530.'



In commencing his account—interesting and accurate as far as it goes—of the elder Aldus, Mr. Brown has a remark which enables us to gauge his bibliographical knowledge. ‘It would be superfluous,’ he writes, ‘after the exhaustive works of Renouard, Didot, Baschet, and others, to dwell at length on the life and labours of the great scholar and printer Aldus Manutius.’ So far are the works of Renouard and Didot from being exhaustive—Baschet’s book, though most interesting and valuable, does not claim to be so, and is, indeed, little more than a collection of documents—that each of them has missed much of the most significant literary and bibliographical matter in the prefaces to the very books they take in hand to describe. Neither the one nor the other has been successful in unravelling the obscure and confused chronology of the issues from the press of Aldus—a most perplexing matter, since the books and prefaces are sometimes dated as if the year began on the 1st of January, and sometimes in accordance with the Venetian reckoning, in which the 1st of March was the first day of the new year. (But, indeed, we could hardly expect a writer who permits his publisher to follow the pernicious practice of placing a deliberately false date on his title-page, to appreciate the importance of accuracy in matters of literary chronology.) Further, much remains to be done to determine what really is the actual and correct text of the Greek *editiones principes* of Aristotle, Plato, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and others, for which we are indebted to the elder Aldus. Without going so far as to say—as some bibliographers think—that no two copies of any book printed in the fifteenth century can be found that are absolutely identical, it is certain that during the progress of a book through the press frequent corrections were made, with the result that there are important variations in different copies of what purports to be the same book, nor until we find someone who is at once a scholar and a bibliographer, and who will examine the Aldine Greek classics as the late Henry Bradshaw was wont to examine and compare different copies of the books that interested him, almost word by word and letter by letter, shall we be able to arrive at a knowledge of what really is the text that

Aldus and his colleagues, Musurus, Lascaris, Demetrius Ducas, and others, intended to approve and give to the world as correct.

The value and interest of the book is greatly enhanced by the series of admirable and well-chosen facsimiles of early Venetian printing with which it is enriched. The specimens of Greek typography from the 'Batrachomyomachia' of 1486, the 'Aristotle' of 1495, the 'Æsop' of 1498, the 'Suidas' of 1499, are of real value to the student; while in choosing for one of the illustrations the first page of the 'Mocenici Gesta' of Cepio, printed by Ratdolt in 1477, with its elaborate woodcut border, Mr. Brown has given us one of the most beautiful and artistic productions of Bernardus Pictor, the rich and yet delicate foliage of whose borders and initials have never been surpassed, and rarely equalled. But, indeed, there is hardly one facsimile which is not worth reproduction for its own sake, as well as for the illustration which it affords of the types of the printer whose name it bears.

## THE FIRST PREACHER OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

*Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son œuvre, 1515-1563.* Par FERDINAND BUISSON. (2 vols. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1892.)

[From the *Spectator* for August 20, 1892.]

MONSIEUR FERDINAND BUISSON, who holds an important position in the French Ministry of Public Instruction as Directeur de l'Enseignement Primaire, and who is well known as one of the editors of the 'Revue Pédagogique,' has deserved the gratitude of every one who is interested in the literary history of the sixteenth century, or, in what is still more important, the history of human thought, by the two solid volumes which he has consecrated to the memory of Sebastian Castellion, and to which he has devoted the leisure of twenty-five years.

Although Castellion has been the subject of several German and French monographs, no satisfactory life of the remarkable man, who, as Michelet has said, 'posa pour tout l'avenir la grande loi de la tolérance,' has previously appeared; and M. Buisson is to be congratulated on having taken the matter in hand, and on the successful manner in which he has performed his task. He has not only exhausted all the printed sources of information, but has thoroughly examined the large mass of unprinted correspondence of Castellion and his contemporaries, preserved in the libraries of Basle, Geneva, Zurich, St. Gall, and Rotterdam, and has thus been able to enrich his book with much that is both new and interesting. If we miss in M. Buisson the vivacity and *verve* which we meet with in the writings of so many of his countrymen, we find in his book that seriousness and earnestness which characterises so many French Protestant

writers, and that patient searching after truth and fact which is of so much more real value than the most brilliant generalisation. But though a Protestant, M. Buisson writes with a candour and fairness which—at least until very recent years—is rarely to be met with in works on the Reformers and the Reformation. He is able to do full justice to the great qualities of Calvin, to recognise the services which he rendered to the cause of human progress, while he sees clearly and condemns his bigotry, his intolerance, and his social tyranny.

It is as the first preacher of the principles of toleration in matters of religion, the first apostle of religious liberty, the author of the first work in which persecution for heretical opinions is deprecated, that Castellion really interests us. Born in 1515, in a village among the mountains of Bugey, which during the Middle Ages had been one of the principal asylums of proscribed or fugitive Waldenses, Castellion, whose name has been more generally written Castalio, seems to have adopted the principles of the Reformation in or before 1540 at Lyons, where he had been first a student and then a teacher, and retiring to Geneva, he was shortly afterwards named Director of the Collège Versonnex, recently established or revived by Calvin. Here he introduced many reforms in the method of teaching, some borrowed from those of Sturm at Strasburg, others from those of Baduel at Nîmes, and published his 'Dialogi Sacri,' which continued for more than two centuries the chief Latin school-book in German Switzerland, Baden, and Würtemberg, and which only the reputed heresies of its author prevented from attaining equal popularity in Geneva and French Switzerland :—

'There are few school-books,' remarks M. Buisson, 'which have had in the modern world so long a success. It is the simplicity of this little book which has caused the old method of education, that which made Latin written and spoken the foundation of studies, to live so long. But it is curious to notice that he who during two centuries has taught Latin to the whole of Protestant Europe, who has been the *præceptor Germaniæ* for beginners, was a Frenchman unknown in France.'

The book had an enormous popularity. M. Buisson enumerates twenty-three editions in the author's lifetime, and a hundred and eleven editions and translations after his death, including nine printed at London, one at Edinburgh, and one at Dublin.

On the retirement of Castellion from the office of schoolmaster in 1544, the Council of Geneva at first thought of sending him as minister to Vandœuvres; but Calvin had already felt doubts as to his orthodoxy. Castellion had ventured to raise objections to the descent of our Lord into Hell, and to deny the inspiration of the Song of Solomon, which his studies had led him to conclude was a mere Jewish love-song, and though in a discussion with Calvin the great reformer proved, at least to his own satisfaction, that Castellion's view on both these questions was absolutely untenable, the latter declined to give up his opinions. On these grounds he was excluded from the ministry, though Calvin gave him a testimonial setting forth his efficiency as a schoolmaster, and the purity of his life. Having retired to Basle, the least bigoted of the Protestant cities, Castellion was for the next seven years a corrector of the press of Oporinus, and was appointed in 1553 Reader in Greek to the University. In 1551 he published his Latin translation of the Bible, an indifferent performance, which displayed many of the absurdities of the Ciceronians, as ridiculed in the 'Ciceronianus' of Erasmus, without the elegant Latin style which characterised the writings of Bembo and Longolius. But the book was remarkable by its preface, addressed to King Edward VI., in which Castellion propounds for the first time the great doctrine of toleration, and earnestly deprecates religious persecution.

'Is it not,' he says, 'an absurdity to use terrestrial arms in the spiritual battle? It is by Christian virtues alone that vices are to be overcome. These are the true arms which will achieve the victory of the Christian religion, the defence of which ought not to be committed to the executioner.'

But at the time this preface was written and published, persecution, though not confined to the Church of Rome, or to

those States which were under her influence, had not been formally advocated by the Reformers as a principle of orthodox Christianity, and the preface to the Bible of Castellion seems to have attracted little attention, and to have been considered merely as a pleading on behalf of the persecuted Protestants.

Servetus was burned at the stake on the 26th of October, 1553. The Reformation by the mouth of Calvin had formally asserted the principle of persecution, had placed itself on the side of the Church of Rome in declaring that heretics ought to be punished with death, and had shown that it was ready and willing to carry this principle into practice. An all but universal chorus of approval followed. Congratulations on all sides were showered on Calvin for his zeal in the maintenance of the orthodox faith. Melancthon, Bullinger, Farel, and Beza vied with each other in warm expressions of approval of the crime. But it was thought necessary formally to justify the act, and at the end of February, 1554, Calvin published in Latin and French his 'Defence of the doctrine of the Trinity against the detestable errors of Michael Servetus, wherein it is also shown that it is lawful to punish heretics with the sword.' A few weeks afterwards there appeared, also in Latin and French, with the rubric Magdeburg for the Latin, and Rouen for the French, but both really printed at Basle, a 'Treatise concerning Heretics,' with the name of Martin Bellie as the author. It is a collection of passages from different authors—several by Castellion himself—in favour of toleration. In the prefaces addressed to the Duke of Würtemberg and the Landgrave of Hesse there is propounded for the first time the rationalistic doctrine of the innocence of intellectual error, the unimportance of questions such as those of predestination or free-will, of imputed righteousness or gratuitous remission of sins, and it is asserted that to persecute for questions which have no moral influence, is not only absurd but atrocious, and that Christianity is rather a system of life than a system of dogma.

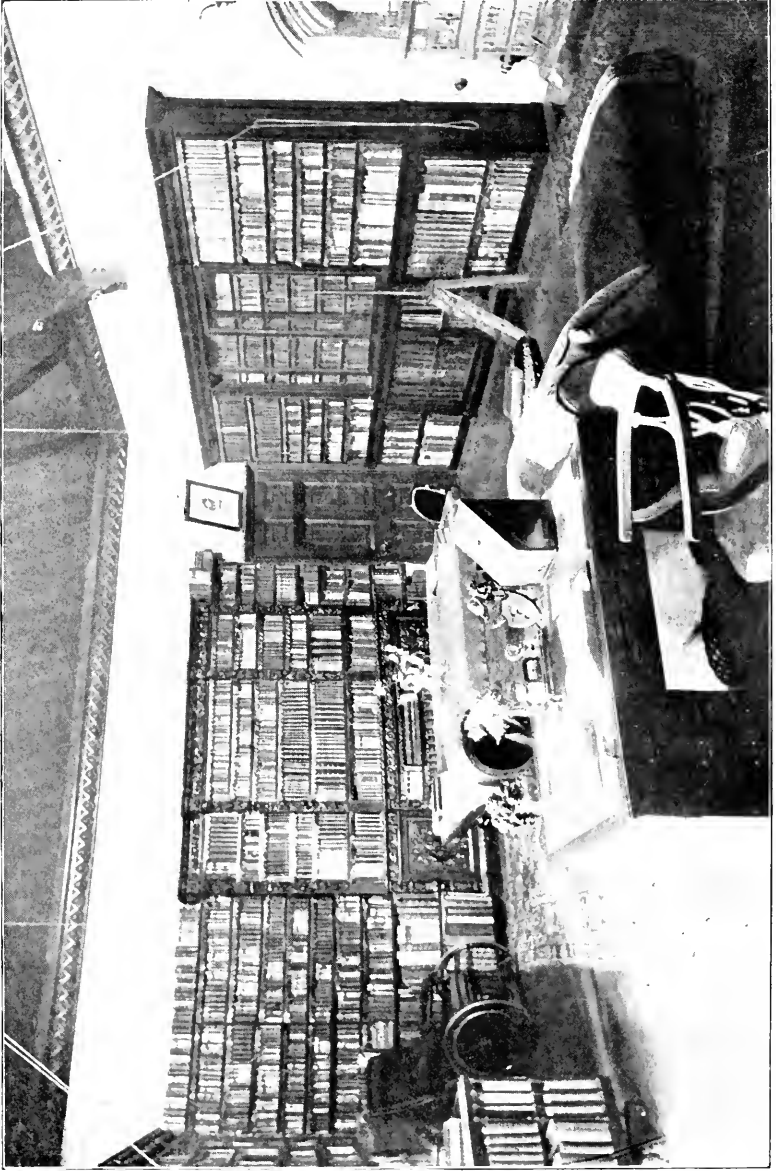
It is difficult at the end of the nineteenth century to realise the indignation and horror which such sentiments

produced even in the master minds of the sixteenth. Calvin and Beza at once recognised the hand of Castellion in the 'Treatise concerning Heretics,' and from that moment pursued him for the rest of his life with relentless persecution and bitter hatred, besides pouring upon his head that fierce vituperation, in the use of which they were both past-masters. Besides striving to procure his expulsion from Basle, and to blast his character by the foulest and most groundless calumnies, Beza wrote that 'nothing more impious or diabolical had ever proceeded from the lowest pit of hell than the book of Martin Bellie,' while Calvin declared that Castellion had been chosen by Satan to deceive the thoughtless and indifferent. *Blasphemum, malignum, plenum bestialitatis, impurum canem, impium, obscœnum*, are a few only of the epithets which Calvin permitted himself to apply to this learned and virtuous man, whose sole offences were that he dared to censure the murder of Servetus, and—what was perhaps a still graver crime—to repudiate, in the most emphatic terms, the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. Though Castellion was more than once denounced to the Council of Basle, Calvin did not succeed in obtaining his expulsion, yet he seems to have felt that that city would no longer afford him a safe shelter from his relentless persecutor, and to have been preparing to retire to Poland or Transylvania, where alone a heretic could ensure an asylum, when death overtook him in December 1563, in his forty-eighth year.

Castellion was in no sense either a great man or a great scholar. His translations of the Bible into Latin and French show neither linguistic knowledge, critical ability, nor the gift of literary expression. His editions and translations of Greek classics were little more than commonplace school-books, hardly ever showing any independent work, and not one of them any trace of real or original scholarship, even as scholarship was understood in the sixteenth century. We do not expect to find him a Scaliger or a Casaubon, but he hardly takes rank as an editor even with Sturm or Ramus, still less with Lambinus or Turnebus. The merits of the 'Dialogi Sacri,' though undoubtedly great, are still only those of a







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successful school-book. But the man himself deserves our respect, and conciliates our esteem and even affection. He was a man of transparent honesty of purpose, of spotless character, warmly attached to, and beloved by, his friends, and indeed by all—except Calvin and Beza—with whom he came in contact, one who was keenly sensitive to the attacks of which he was the object, and who, whatever may be the truth or error of his opinions, displayed in his life and character all the marks of a true Christian. We rejoice to see, after three centuries and a half almost of forgetfulness, a memorial of this excellent man in every respect so admirable as that which M. Buisson has given to the world in these two volumes.

# APPENDICES

## THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE IN RESPECT OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW

### I.—AS TO RITUAL. II.—AS TO DISCIPLINE OF THE CLERGY

*A Paper read at the Manchester Diocesan Conference, Oct. 16, 1879,  
by Richard Copley Christie, Chancellor of the Diocese.*

THE two subjects which, at the request of the Bishop, I am to introduce to-day, although they seem to differ widely from each other, are really closely connected, not only in theory but in practice. It is almost inevitable that the two classes of offences, those in reference to Ritual and those in reference to morals, should be dealt with by the same courts, by the same judges, and under procedure emanating from the same authority. It is indeed to be regretted that the term 'criminous clerk' should be equally applied to one who is guilty of the grossest immorality and to one whose offence is that he has erred in some trifling question of Ritual.

The interest taken in the two subjects with which I have to deal is in an inverse proportion to their intrinsic importance, for I imagine that whether we look upon Christianity as a system of doctrines to be received as generally necessary to salvation, or as a practical system to regulate the lives of men, to purify their minds, and to direct them in the paths of virtue and goodness, the importance of maintaining a salutary discipline in matters of life and morals will be admitted to be of far more vital importance than the establishment or the maintenance of the most perfect system of Ritual.

Now, in considering the relations of Church and State as regards Ritual, I shall proceed upon the assumption that it is for the welfare of the Church and people of England that the connection between Church and State which has so long existed should remain unimpaired. But I am not blind to the drawback inherent in a union

of Church and State. If there is to be such an union the Church must perforce give up some part of her independence, she cannot exist as an *imperium in imperio*, and for some purposes and for some functions, and these not unimportant, she must consent to have her freedom of action controlled.

Now, commencing by this assumption, I proceed to three inquiries: First—What have been the relations of Church and State as regards Ritual in time past? Secondly—Have these relations, in any, and, if any, in what, respects altered in the last few years? and the consideration of these two questions will lead to a third: Are there any, and, if any, what reforms either of a legislative or of a judicial character, which can lessen the tension which seems to exist between a considerable section of Churchmen and the laws of the realm, as interpreted by the highest judicial authorities, and which can promote the peace of the Church and the unity which ought to exist between her members?

I cannot, indeed, hope that I shall have any suggestions to make which are likely to prove acceptable to those whose point of view is very widely different from my own. All that I can and do propose to myself is to try to clear away a few preliminary difficulties, to indicate the lines on which, and the tone in which, I think the discussion should proceed, if it is to be of any practical utility, and is to bring in any degree nearer together those who differ on these important matters.

As to the first question: What have been the relations of Church and State as regards Ritual in time past? I have only to remind you of one or two facts with which you are all well acquainted, but which are not always borne in mind. From a very early period conflicts have existed between the Church and the State. Each claimed the supremacy, and this conflict was in England settled now several centuries since in favour of the State. The date of the settlement may be matter of argument, but to take the latest date which can be assigned for the final establishment of this supremacy—namely, the first year of Elizabeth—we have the undoubted fact that for more than 300 years last past the authority of the State has been supreme. Let us now proceed to inquire how that supremacy has been exercised in the way—first, of legislation; secondly, of administration.

Few will be found to deny that the King and Parliament of England have exercised during these three centuries, whenever it has seemed good to them to do so, a legislative jurisdiction in matters of Ritual. Alterations in Ritual have been effected for

300 years solely by the State, without anybody formally and separately representing the Church having had a substantial voice in the matter. It is true that Convocation, down to the early part of the seventeenth century, sometimes gave a formal sanction to such alterations. But assuredly no one who has studied the history of England in general, or of the Church or Convocation in particular, can seriously maintain that the Convocations of Henry VIII., or the earlier one of Elizabeth, really represented the Church of England. I do not indeed wish to seem to pass over this fact, that the legislative interference in matters of Ritual since the first year of Queen Elizabeth has generally, though not always, been in reference to what may be considered trivial matters of detail, and that the Ritual as established in that reign, has (subject to a question raised by a recent decision of the Privy Council), in fact, remained unaltered. I am aware that it may be said that the Ritual established by the first of Elizabeth was a Ritual, so far as relates to the ornaments of the Church and the minister, of a different character from that which subsequently grew up, or, according to the Privy Council, was subsequently established by the Queen under legislative authority; but it must be borne in mind that, whether the view taken by the Privy Council be right or wrong as a historical fact, both sets of Ritual, both sets of ornaments, rest exclusively on Parliamentary legislation, and that the legislation of the second year of Edward VI. was certainly as distasteful to the great majority of the clergy, and, I think, I may say, of the laity, of that time, as was the subsequent legislation of Elizabeth.

In matters of administration the supremacy of the State is as unquestionable as in matters of legislation. 'That we are the supreme governor of the Church of England' is the voice, not only of James I., but of each subsequent Sovereign, is formulated in the Book of Common Prayer, and must undoubtedly be held to have the sanction of both the Church and the State. It is in that branch of administration which is of a judicial character that the questions which now agitate the Church have arisen.

It has undoubtedly been the law of the Church as well as of the State for the last three centuries that the (King or) Queen's Majesty is in all causes and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within these her dominions, supreme. By an Act of the 25th year of Henry VIII. the powers which had been formerly vested in the Pope were transferred to the Crown, and for the three centuries which followed that date appeals in ecclesiastical

cases, whether Ritual or otherwise, were heard by a body of delegates specially appointed by the crown for the hearing of each particular case. The appeal thus lay to a purely arbitrary body of men, selected absolutely at the will of the Sovereign, or, in a later part of the time, by his advisers. In ordinary cases six persons were appointed, three being judges of the common law, and three advocates of Doctors Commons. In some cases, however, the common law judges outnumbered the civilians, in others the civilians were in the majority, while it sometimes happened that both spiritual and temporal peers were appointed members of the court.

There can hardly be conceived a court less in accordance with every ecclesiastical principle, with every doctrine and practice laid down by the canon law, than the court of delegates appointed as it was at the arbitrary will of the Sovereign or his ministers, for the hearing of each particular case as it arose. Inferior jurisdictions were of a more purely spiritual character. The court of the first instance was in all ecclesiastical matters, as undoubtedly, according to the universal law of Christendom, it ought to be, the *forum domesticum* of the Bishop, the Consistory Court presided over by his Chancellor, whose authority emanated directly from the Bishop. From this court an appeal lay to the Provincial Judge appointed by the Archbishop, thence the appeal lay to the King, who exercised it through his delegates, as I have before mentioned. No change either in the constitution or in the jurisdiction of these courts took place between the 25th year of Henry VIII. and the reign of William IV.

Having proceeded very briefly to indicate the relations of Church and State as regards Ritual which subsisted for three centuries, I now proceed to inquire how have these relations been altered in the last few years? In legislative matters it seems to me that no alteration has taken place. The legislative power, though still resting in the Crown and Parliament, has not for many years past been exercised in matters of doctrine, and in matters of ritual in only three cases—the abolition of three out of the four so-called State Services; the enactment of the present Table of Lessons; and the modification of the Act of Uniformity, allowing the shortened services. These changes, which were generally acceptable to the clergy and laity, simply carry on the continuity of that legislative power of the State which had previously existed. But the statement that the legislative authority remains the same as it has ever been is a proposition which I am aware is open to

contention; and the case of those who contend that the Church of England ought not to be required to be bound by the legislative enactments of Victoria, while they admit the validity of one of Elizabeth or Henry VIII., is, that so long as the electors and elected were members of the Church of England, and formed substantially the whole body of the Church, so long the Parliament was entitled to be considered as representing the Church, but that since the admission of Dissenters, Roman Catholics, Jews, and others who do not profess any form of Christianity, it can no longer be so treated, but is a body now incompetent to deal with ecclesiastical questions, and that whatever may be its power as a brute force, no Churchman is bound *in foro conscientiæ* to obey its enactments if, in his private judgment, they are contrary to what was before the law of the Church of England, and this in matters themselves indifferent.

I am far from denying that this argument is worthy of consideration—the point of view which it represents is one which commends itself *prima facie* to a class of mind which I may specially term ecclesiastical, which includes, and has ever included, many of the most learned and most esteemed among the clergy.

But the argument is, I venture to say, more specious than solid. If, indeed, we were to construct a new and ideally perfect Christian Church, we should certainly not give a share in its legislation to any who were not among its members, but even those to whom the argument commends itself do not contemplate any such course, they, equally with others, will admit that we have to take things as they are, that in every system of ecclesiastical polity, as in our civil polity, there must, from the complex nature of our civilisation and of our past history, be many anomalies, and, in theory, even absurdities.

That the objection to the constitution of Parliament as a legislative body for the Church is a purely theoretical one, I will not say; but the answer which I would give to it is this:—First, if there is to be a connection between Church and State, Parliament, of whomsoever it may be composed, *must* be the supreme legislative authority; and secondly (and this is the more practically important), Parliament has not, and, I think all will agree, is not likely to interfere with the Ritual, or with the internal administration of the Church of England, unless in the case of the great majority of the members of the Church desiring it. That it may interfere with its revenues, or with the political status of its ministers, is another question. It may even refuse to pass some reforms which the

majority of the members of the Church may desire, but no one can really have the least fear of Parliament interfering to effect changes in matters of doctrine and Ritual, unless at the instance of the Church herself. It was neither the Dissenters nor the Roman Catholics who promoted or who passed the Public Worship Regulation Act; that Act undoubtedly had the support and approval of a large section (I do not say of the majority) of the clergy, certainly of the majority of the laity, and of the great political party in the State which is almost exclusively composed of the clergy and laity of the Church of England, and it is quite certain that no such Act, nor any other Act interfering with the doctrine or Ritual of the Church of England, would have the very smallest chance of success if introduced, or mainly supported in Parliament, by non-members of the Church of England, nor unless it had the support generally of Churchmen.

When the clergy and laity have agreed upon any changes or upon any reforms which do not trench upon the authority of the State, Parliament will certainly be ready to sanction them.

I now proceed to notice the changes which have been made during the past half century in the judicial system as applied to ecclesiastical cases, and these are three in number. (1) The substitution of a Committee of the Privy Council for the old Court of Delegates; (2) The enactment of the Church Discipline Act; and (3) the Public Worship Regulation Act. Of these the first and last seem especially to have occasioned dissatisfaction in the minds of some; the first, as it would seem, from its practical result in some very recent cases; the last, from objections to its theory and principles, as well as to its practical effect. It is difficult to see why the Committee of the Privy Council as now regulated should be less fitted to deal with ecclesiastical cases than the old Court of Delegates.

The judgments of the Privy Council in several cases show that some at least of the members of the Judicial Committee are as learned in ecclesiastical law as any man who has ever sat either as Dean of Arches or as member of the Court of Delegates, and in the Hatcham case, whatever complaints may be made against the judgment, there can be no question that a great knowledge of ecclesiastical law was shown by the judges. Surely if we look at the facts impartially, and apart from any particular judicial decision, we must be of opinion that a selection of members of the Privy Council, *who have either held high judicial office* in the United Kingdom or its Colonies, or who have been expressly taken from



the bar for their eminence, with the assistance of two Bishops, form a Court of Final Appeal likely to be more satisfactory in practice, certainly more satisfactory in theory, more in accordance with the rules and principles of ecclesiastical law, than a Court of Delegates, which the minister for the time being might select from judges, counsel, bishops, and lay peers at his own absolute discretion.

Perhaps, with some whom I address, my opinion on this subject will be thought more worth listening to if I admit, speaking as I do with the profoundest respect for every judgment of the Privy Council, and with the perfectly sincere belief that its judgment upon any question of law, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is far more likely to be right than my own, that I fail to follow the reasoning of their lordships in reference to the ornaments rubric. I am unable to accept as entirely proved some of the facts upon which their lordships relied, and I am unable to see how these facts, if proved, could lead to the opinion and the judgment which they pronounced. As an ecclesiastical judge I am, of course, bound to be guided by and to follow implicitly that judgment; as a member of the Church of England, I feel equally bound to accept it as the law of the Church; but I do not think I am guilty of an impropriety or of any disrespect if I say that I could have wished that judgment had rested upon grounds which would have commended themselves more clearly to the minds of ordinary historical and legal students; and I am certainly curious to see on what grounds their lordships will make that judgment applicable to the province of York if a question arising in this province should come before them. But, surely, a single decision is not to shake our trust in an institution or a court. It is a matter of daily occurrence that the decisions of judges, even the most learned, are reversed. When a question of first impression comes into a court, and especially when the question is one of extreme difficulty, requiring great research, great learning, and great knowledge of fact to deal with, it has not unfrequently happened that a series of decisions, which have ultimately turned out to be erroneous, have been given, and occasionally, even a judgment of the highest Court of Appeal has been either reversed or, after a lapse of years, has been upheld for very different reasons from those upon which it was first given. But the judgment in this particular case deals in no way with any question of doctrine, nor with any question which even those who most earnestly maintain what is termed a high ritual consider in any way of vital importance,

either to Christianity, to the constitution of the Church, or to the due administration of her sacraments or of her offices. Whether the ornaments of the Church and the minister should be those which have prevailed in the Church of England for at least the last 250 years, or whether they should be those established in the second year of King Edward VI., seems hardly to be a matter of sufficient importance to cause the most violent dissensions amongst its members and its clergy, and to induce men, otherwise in favour of an Established Church, to advocate the separation of the Church and State. It cannot, surely, be seriously contended that the decision of one who is a purely spiritual judge—that is, one whose appointment emanates from the authority of the Bishop—has, or ought to have, weight as an ecclesiastical decision greater in degree and different in kind from the decision of the most distinguished judges of the land. The decision of a Chancellor is that of a purely spiritual judge, but no reasonable person can contend that it is more likely to be in accordance with ecclesiastical law than the decision of such a court as the Committee of the Privy Council. But I shall probably be told that the judgment in the Hatcham case is merely the culminating point of a series of decisions of the Privy Council, several of which have over-ruled the judgments of the very learned judge who lately filled the office of Dean of Arches.

I cannot now go into these questions further than to say in brief that it should be borne in mind (1) that in no case has the Privy Council decided a question of doctrine by which the liberty of the members of the Church of England, or her clergy, has been lessened; (2) that there have been several points of importance, doctrinal as well as Ritual, decided in favour of those who object to the tribunal; and (3) that there are certainly several questions upon which it can hardly be considered that the Privy Council has as yet said the last word.

The Public Worship Regulation Act is the one thing which, more than any other, has given rise to complaint on the part of a large section of the clergy. For the formal part of that statute I have not a word to say. It sins against the rules which all jurists and writers on the science of legislature agree in laying down for penal statutes, things dealing with and prohibiting acts in themselves neither lawful nor unlawful, but which, for reasons of public policy, it is desired to prevent. In these cases the rule is that the penal legislation should be expressed and enforced in the manner least likely to prove reasonably offensive to those against

whom it is aimed ; that the statute should be so framed as to give least occasion for disobedience or hostility. But the Public Worship Regulation Act, by its persistent and ostentatious disregard of the principles of the Canon Law, and of all rules of ecclesiastical procedure, could not fail to give rise to the bitterest feelings of hostility among those against whom (it is useless to deny the fact) it was directed. It was an Act for stamping out Ritualism, and the form of this Act would lead to the conclusion that the framers and some of the promoters of the Act desired also to stamp upon Ritualists. It would have been perfectly easy to provide as efficiently and as stringently for all that is done by the Act, without trenching in any way upon the spiritual functions of the Archbishops, and without giving occasion for the formal objections justly urged against the Act. But after admitting all that in fairness can be said against the Act these facts remain ; the Public Worship Regulation Act had the support of the great majority of the laity, of the Bishops, and of a very large section of the clergy. It does not in the slightest degree alter the existing law as to ritual, it does no more than was done by the Church Discipline Act—namely, create a new tribunal, which, whatever it may be in form and in theory, is now *in fact* the provincial court of the two Archbishops. Surely there is no magic in the form of the patent heretofore used to appoint the Dean of Arches. Any nomination of Lord Penzance on the part of the Archbishops, duly evidenced, constitutes him as truly, for all spiritual purposes, the judge of their provincial courts, as if the Public Worship Regulation Act had never passed. Whether he is a good or bad appointment, a competent or an incompetent judge, is beside the question, he is the person who has been selected by the two Archbishops to exercise all the judicial functions and powers which can be exercised in the courts Christian of England.

The alterations made in procedure are of a most trifling character. The three aggrieved parishioners are only permitted to prosecute with the consent of the Bishop of the diocese or, in certain cases, the Archbishop of the province. Is there, then, any substantial ground of complaint as to the present tribunals, or as to the relations of Church and State as regards ritual? When the Church is itself agreed as to any alterations it desires, then it will hardly be doubted that Parliament will be willing to sanction them ; till then it seems to me impossible that it should be asked to do so ; and, till then, I venture to think it is the duty of every loyal member of the Church of England to obey the law as it is

laid down by the tribunal, which is substantially the same as that which has existed as the highest Court of Appeal for three centuries, a committee of learned persons appointed by the Crown.

The ministers of the Church of England have voluntarily submitted themselves to her laws. It is to a tribunal of laymen appointed by the Crown that the Church has for three centuries committed the authorised and ultimate exposition of her laws. No changes have been made or attempted in those laws, whether as regards doctrine or as regards ritual, and I am unable to understand how sincere and excellent men can at the same time profess to be her ministers and refuse to obey the only tribunals which can state with authority what those laws are. It is not as if there was a conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. Many of the practices complained of have been as emphatically condemned by Sir R. Phillimore, and his predecessor Deans of Arches, as by Lord Penzance. The Privy Council, and the Bishops, the spiritual fathers of the Church, are as one in desiring and recommending obedience, even on points on which they would prefer a different view to be taken.

I cannot think that there are any reforms or alterations of any importance which would satisfy the members of the Church generally, and yet approve themselves to those who feel aggrieved by the present state of things. If, however, I am to suggest any alteration or reform in the law on this head, I may say that I should rejoice to see the Public Worship Regulation Act repealed and a procedure established more in accordance with the principles and rules of the Canon Laws, but still leaving to the Bishop a discretion in all cases whether to allow or disallow any proceedings for violating the law. A further discretion should be given to the Bishop, in certain cases, where the parishioners or the congregation desire it, and where there is an abundance of churches in the immediate neighbourhood, to allow a somewhat more ornate ritual than that which is ordinarily permitted. At present we see the Bishops' authority set at nought by those who are in theory the supporters of the highest views of episcopal and spiritual authority. Yet I doubt whether there is a single Bishop upon the bench who would use an extension of power, if it were given them, with any other desire than that of promoting the interests and efficiency of the Church; but, so long as the law remains as it is, I am obliged to come to the conclusion that it ought to be obeyed, and that in those cases in which a persistent and deliberate violation of

the law, in matters of ritual, is complained of, then, if the person accused refuses to be guided, even in the most trivial matters, either by the Bishop's 'godly monitions' or fatherly counsels, and refuses to abandon practices which have been declared to be illegal, not by the Privy Council only but by successive Deans of Arches, then I cannot see how a Bishop can properly refuse to allow parishioners, who allege that they are aggrieved, to take such steps as the law sanctions for putting an end to their grievance, and for restoring a more simple and more usual ritual. It seems to me that so to refuse would be a denial of justice and a grievous wrong.

I now turn, in the few minutes which are left to me, to what I think a more practically important, though, at this moment, a less interesting question—the discipline of the clergy in matters of life and morals.

The Church Discipline Act, passed in 1840, was intended to provide a more efficient mode of procedure in regard to criminous clerks. Its main provisions were these:—That upon any charge against any clergyman being made to the Bishop, or upon his own motion if any report should come to his ears which he thinks worthy of attention, he may adopt one of two courses: he may at once send the case to the Court of Appeal of the province, by letters of request to the judge of such court, or he may appoint a committee of five persons to inquire whether or not there be sufficient *prima facie* grounds for instituting proceedings against the person accused. If the commissioners report that there are no such grounds the proceedings come to an end; if they shall find that there are such *prima facie* grounds, then again the Bishop may either send the case, by letters of request, to the Court of Appeal of the province, or may himself, with the assistance of three assessors, proceed to hear the cause, and may then pronounce sentence according to law. An appeal is allowed, in all cases where the Bishop has himself heard the case, to the Court of Appeal of the province, and a further appeal to the Privy Council; and power is given to the Bishop at any time, with the consent of the accused clerk, to pronounce sentence and, at any time after *prima facie* grounds of proceeding shall have been found by the commission, to suspend the clerk until the final hearing of the case. These are the principal provisions of the Act, which, however, goes into a great number of details, introducing, as it does, an entirely new procedure.

Now, it has been frequently stated that this Act, so far as the

jurisdiction is given to the Bishop to sit in person, has proved a complete failure. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in his place in the House of Lords, stated that only three cases had occurred in which the Bishop had so sat. The same statement was made by Mr. Monk (Chancellor of Gloucester) in the House of Commons, and was given in evidence, by persons who professed to have made themselves acquainted with the facts, before a committee of the House of Commons, but the statement is altogether erroneous.

The Act has been in no respect a dead letter in the dioceses of Manchester and Chester. The late Bishop of Manchester considered that the *domesticum forum* of the Bishop was the proper court in which to try clerical offenders, and I, myself, had the honour of sitting with him as one of his three assessors on no less than three occasions, after a commission had found *prima facie* grounds for further inquiry. At least two similar cases have occurred in the diocese of Chester. What were two of the three cases referred to by the Archbishop and Mr. Monk I do not know; one of them, however, was the case of *Ditcher v. Denison*, in which, the patron of the Archdeacon's living being his diocesan, the Archbishop of Canterbury sat to hear the case in person. It is certainly to be regretted that, in discussing the operation of this statute in Parliament, the Archbishop and the other members of the legislature did not take the trouble of inquiring and ascertaining what were the facts of the case. In no one of the three cases in which I was, was there an appeal; but in the first case, *Higginbottom* against *Morris*, an attempt was made many years after in the Common Pleas to upset our decision, and to treat it as null and void. (The whole proceedings in that case will be found set out at length in the report of *Morris v. Ogden*, L.R., 4 Common Pleas, p. 687, which contains the only report of a trial before a Bishop and his assessors under the Church Discipline Act, and which sets forth *in extenso* the whole of the proceedings, all of which were declared by the Court of Common Pleas to be good and valid.) Except for the unnecessarily cumbrous nature of the commission and a certain number of matters of detail, the mode of trial appeared to me, and I believe to Bishop Lee and my co-assessors, to be well adapted for the requirements of justice. In each case our decision was unanimous.

The majority of the Bishops, have, however, in the exercise of their discretion, sent every case of an offending clerk to be tried in the Court of Appeal of the Province; and when a case is once

brought there the expense becomes enormous. It is, perhaps, this question of expense which has been the principal cause of the difficulty which has existed in the way of prosecuting criminous clerks. In two cases in which I sat as assessor the clerk was ordered to pay the costs of the promoters, which, however, were nothing like so heavy as the costs were in a simple case in the Court of Arches.

Now this Act, partly by reason of its cumbrousness, partly by reason that it really has in a great majority of cases ousted the jurisdiction of the Bishop, and thrown it into the hands of the Court of Arches, and thereby caused enormous expense, is undoubtedly very much in disfavour; and in the Convocations of the two provinces for some years past, and in several Diocesan Conferences, at the request of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury, bills, or heads of bills, or resolutions, on this subject have been repeatedly under discussion.

Now, the points which ought to be kept in view in the procedure for enforcing discipline in criminous matters should be these: First, that the procedure should be in harmony with the principles of ecclesiastical and canon law; but, Secondly, that it should be as simple and as nearly in accordance with the ordinary rules of criminal procedure as the circumstances will admit. Thirdly, that frivolous or malicious suits should, as far as possible, be prevented. Fourthly, that the costs should be minimised as far as possible. The aim should be that justice should be done, and that the sentences should be adequate. I think that in any discussion upon this subject these are the points which are to be kept in view.

I now proceed briefly to advert to the proposals of the Convocation of Canterbury. In the Upper House the heads of a bill were agreed to embodying these provisions—(1) That any male person of full age should be allowed to promote a suit upon giving security for costs. That the proceedings should commence by the promoter filing a statement of the accusation, to which the accused may file an answer. That the promoter is then to file statutory declarations of the witnesses as to matters of fact in the subject of the charge, and the proceedings are then to be submitted to the Chancellor of the diocese, who is to decide (giving his reasons) whether there are *prima facie* grounds for further proceedings. If he decides in the negative, the suit abates; if in the affirmative, then the clerk may submit to the Bishop, who may pass sentence. (2) The Bishop shall, if both parties consent, hear the cause,

referring any questions of law to the provincial judge. If they do not consent the cause is to be heard in the provincial court, with an appeal to the Privy Council. A sentence of deprivation may be pronounced in many cases when suspension *ab officio et beneficio* only can at present be decreed. The House further considered that not immorality only, but cases of gross neglect of duty, and other cases causing scandal should be also dealt with. On this bill being sent down to the Lower House, that body treated it with scant courtesy, and instead of considering the clauses of the bill *seriatim*, passed a series of independent resolutions on the subject.

The main point upon which these resolutions differed from the bill of the Upper House was in proposing that the actual trial should be before the Bishop in his consistory court, with his Chancellor as his legal assessor, and that all questions of fact should be tried by a jury of six—three lay magistrates and three clergymen—a majority of two-thirds being sufficient for a verdict, and that on questions of fact no appeal should be permitted except with the permission of the judge in certain very special cases. Several proposals were made as to how the costs should be borne, the two principal ones being (1) that they should be borne by the Bishop in each case; (2) that a fund should be raised for the purpose by a rateable tax on the clergy. Ultimately the following resolution was passed, which I commend to your consideration to-day:—

‘The committee are of opinion that no effectual discipline can be exercised in the Church unless due provision be made for the costs of the necessary legal proceedings, and that the Bishops of the province be requested to submit the question of the mode of making such provision for consideration in their respective dioceses.’

Now, the suggestions I have to make on these questions are these—

First, I quite approve the preliminary proceedings recommended by both Houses—that a statement of accusations and answers and the statutory declarations of the witnesses should be filed. But I would then leave it to the Bishops *personally* to decide whether further proceedings should be taken.

As to the actual trial, I cannot approve the recommendation of either House. I should deeply regret if, as proposed by the Upper House, the cases (except by consent of both parties, which in practice would never be given) should be sent up to the provincial court. If that is to be done, the present frightful expense would be continued, and the Church Discipline Act had better be left as



it is. I think the *forum domesticum* of the Bishop is the proper place for the trial. But I should almost equally regret to see the proposal of the Lower House adopted—that is, that questions of fact should be tried before a jury, whether of six or any other number. In cases where the Chancellor is, or has been, a barrister in actual practice for ten years I would give the Bishop the option of one of three courses: (1) To send the case to be heard by the Chancellor alone; (2) to cause the case to be heard before himself, with the Chancellor as his assessor; (3) to hear the case himself, with some other person who is or has been a barrister in actual practice for ten years as his assessor. (I can conceive of cases in which it might be improper or inexpedient for the Chancellor to hear the case.)

If the Chancellor is not so qualified, then I would require the Bishop to hear the case with the assistance of one who is qualified, as last mentioned.

I would allow a single appeal to the Provincial court, either as to the questions of law or fact, but, except when the Bishop, or the Chancellor, or assessor, has expressly reserved questions of law, I should only give such appeal with the permission of the provincial court, and upon due cause for it being shown.

I cannot think that there is any need for a jury, or any ground for fear that a court so constituted as I have suggested would be likely to press too heavily against an accused person. So far as my experience goes, I have never found a desire either on the part of Bishop or parishioners to be too hard upon an offender. I think the real danger is the other way. Parishioners (however easily aggrieved as to trifling questions of ritual), and Bishops, are very long suffering as regards offences against morals, and are seldom willing to take steps to prosecute or even to bear witness until serious scandal has arisen. And in the rare case of a malicious prosecution, if by any chance it was not seen through by the court of first instance, it could hardly fail to be so when the case was sifted on appeal.

With regard to costs, I should suggest (1) the Bishop should be freed from his present liability; (2) in the event of a conviction the criminous clerk should pay the costs; (3) in the event of an acquittal, promoters should bear their own costs, and the costs of the accused should be in the discretion of the court; and, lastly, a scale of costs should be fixed at such rates as would confine the amount payable by each party, not indeed to that fixed by the Treasury for ordinary criminal prosecutions, but to a moderate

and reasonable sum, infinitely less than the least expensive trial in the Court of Arches at present.

The time allowed to this paper does not admit of my going more at length into the details of this scheme, nor of meeting possible objections to it. I can only say that I believe a bill might be prepared on these lines which would be open to much less objection than the present system, which would be easily worked and generally acceptable. In any case I have, I hope, indicated to you the points which in any amendment of the law on this question ought to be provided for, and have thus prepared the way for your discussion of it.

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A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE CHURCHWARDENS  
OF THE DIOCESE OF MANCHESTER AT THE  
CHANCELLOR'S VISITATION OF 1889

It is now five years since the duty devolved upon me of admitting and addressing the churchwardens of the Diocese of Manchester. This year the Bishop is intending to hold his first visitation of the clergy, and in accordance with custom he then inhibits the archdeacons; and the Chancellor, as his representative, holds the visitation of the churchwardens, which in ordinary course is held by the archdeacons.

There have been many attempts of late years to abolish both the visitations of and the admission of churchwardens by the archdeacons and Chancellor, and for some years a Bill was regularly introduced into Parliament every session for that purpose. These attempts, however, have been unsuccessful, and I believe and hope that you will agree with me that while the attendance once a year at the visitation is undoubtedly a burden upon the churchwardens, yet that the advantages of it outweigh its inconveniences. It is the single occasion on which churchwardens meet together and feel that they have not a merely isolated existence and isolated duties to perform in relation to their own parishes, but that they form an important body of influence and weight in the diocese at large. Moreover the opportunity is then afforded to the churchwardens of bringing any matters of difficulty before one who is supposed to be capable, and

who is certainly willing, to give them advice and assistance, while it must, I think, be admitted that in those cases (happily rare in this diocese) where disputes have arisen as to the appointment, and consequently as to the admission, of churchwardens, it is desirable that they should be dealt with in the first instance, though ministerially only, and not judicially, by an independent officer of the diocese wholly unconnected with these disputes.

The office of churchwarden is of great antiquity and of great importance, an importance which, with the increased life and vigour in the Church and among Churchmen which the last half-century has witnessed, is much greater than was supposed to be the case during the last and the early part of this century. The churchwardens are the chief lay officers of the parish, having to deal not only with many ecclesiastical but, in old parishes, with many civil matters, and though unquestionably the satisfactory or unsatisfactory condition of the parish depends primarily upon the incumbent, yet this condition is always most seriously affected by the churchwardens, and the state of any parish cannot be entirely satisfactory unless the incumbent and churchwardens work together with zeal and cordial co-operation for the purpose of promoting its highest interests. A distinction has of late years grown up between what is called the minister's warden, and the people's warden. No such distinction is known to the law; both churchwardens, however chosen, are equally the churchwardens of the parish, of the minister, and of the people, and though in the majority of old parishes the custom has grown up, and though in most of the new parishes created by the ecclesiastical legislation of this century it is expressly enacted that one churchwarden shall be chosen by the minister and the other by the parishioners, yet this custom, which is only comparatively modern, does not make the churchwarden nominated by the incumbent any less the churchwarden of the parishioners, or the churchwarden elected by the parishioners any less the churchwarden of the incumbent.

I made some remarks upon this subject in the Charge which I delivered five years since, but as those remarks were to a certain extent misunderstood I venture again to repeat them in somewhat different words, and with perhaps more clearness and plainness of language.

No proposition is clearer both as a matter of law and fact, though it has been very rarely recognised in modern books, that by the old common law both the churchwardens are to be chosen by the parishioners and the parishioners alone.

‘By the common law,’ says ‘Bacon’s Abridgement,’ ‘the right of choosing the churchwardens belongs to the parishioners, who are to be at the charge of repairing the church, and therefore it is but fit that they should have it in their power to determine what persons are proper to be entrusted in their concerns.’ ‘Parishes were instituted,’ said Lord Chief Justice Holt, ‘for the use and benefit of the people and not of the parson.’ ‘The churchwardens,’ says Lambarde, ‘be officers put in trust for the behalf of the parish.’ But in 1603 the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury for the first time attempted to give to the minister an equal right in the appointment of churchwardens with the parishioners, and enacted the following, the 89th Canon :—‘All churchwardens or questmen in every parish shall be chosen by the joint consent of the minister and parishioners if it may be ; but if they cannot agree upon such a choice then the minister shall choose one, and the parishioners another ; and without such a joint or several choice none shall take upon them to be churchwardens.’

During the two centuries which followed the enactment of this canon, the custom gradually grew up in a very large number of parishes for the minister to choose one churchwarden and the parishioners the other, in accordance with the provisions of this canon, though during the last century there were several decisions, particularly one of Lord Chief Justice Holt, in the case of the churchwardens of Northampton (Carthew, 118) and one of Lord Hardwicke, in *Dawson v. Fowler* (cases temp. Hardwicke, 378), which decided that the canon had no operation except in the case of those parishes where there was a custom for the ministers to choose one and the parishioners the other churchwarden. The result of this was that during the last century and the early part of the present it was a matter of doubt to what extent the canon was to be followed, or the old practice of the parishioners electing both. During the century which followed Lord Hardwicke’s decision the inclination of the judges was generally to support the canon, and the matter was finally decided by Mr. Justice James Allan Parke in the case of *Slocombe v. St. John* (tried at the Croydon Summer Assizes in 1829), that in general the minister and the parishioners are to choose two churchwardens, and if they do not concur, the minister is to choose one and the parishioners the other. This decision has been since frequently followed, and must now be taken to be the settled law, unless a custom to the contrary can be distinctly shown. Such custom does, however, exist in a considerable number of old and important parishes in this diocese,

*e.g.* in the parishes of Manchester, Prestwich, Bury, Middleton, Blackburn, and many others, each of which has its special custom for the election of wardens. Further, by several special Acts of Parliament, and by the Church Building Acts in the case of parishes constituted thereunder, it is expressly enacted that the incumbent shall choose one, and the inhabitants, or in some cases the seatholders, shall choose the other warden, and in the vast majority of parishes or ecclesiastical districts it must now be taken to be the settled law that the minister chooses one and the inhabitants the other, though in all cases in which the 89th Canon applies, which are certainly not many in this diocese, there should always be an attempt made to carry it out fully, and only in a few unfortunate cases where there are differences between the parishioners and the incumbent should the plan be adopted of each separately choosing a churchwarden. I trust that I have made this matter now perfectly clear, both as to the present law and as to the alterations which have grown up during the last three centuries, but which, however arising, must now be taken to be the settled law. But I beg you to bear in mind that, however chosen, both, or, where there are more than two, all the churchwardens are in every respect equal in authority, and have exactly the same duties. They are the officers and representatives of the parish for temporal purposes as the minister is for ecclesiastical purposes, and that nothing can be more objectionable either in theory or in practice than to attempt to distinguish between or assign different duties to the minister's churchwarden and the parishioners' churchwarden. Each is bound to care primarily for the interests and welfare of the parish, but each is equally bound to support the incumbent in all proper matters, and especially in the enforcement and exercise of his rights, and should be careful not to encroach upon these rights. And here let me remind you that while in a well-regulated parish, where the incumbent is a man of sense and tact, the parishioners will as a rule only elect as churchwardens those who will work harmoniously with him, and no question will ever arise in such cases as to the respective rights of the churchwardens and the incumbent, yet the incumbent and the churchwarden has each his own sphere of duty; and while the churchwardens are bound to maintain their rights and those of their successors, and those of the parishioners—if unhappily any disputes arise—still they must remember that they have no right to interfere with the incumbent's action where that action is in accordance with law, even though such course of

action may be personally distasteful to them and to the parishioners. It is the incumbent who is responsible for the way in which the services are performed, it is he who has to decide the times and frequency of the services, of the celebration of Holy Communion, what parts of the services shall be sung and what read—in short, the entire regulation of the services within the limits that the law allows is left exclusively to the incumbent, and he is in none of these points bound to consult the churchwardens or in any way subject to their control, though no doubt where he is a man of sense he will not make any changes without consulting them and without being satisfied that such changes are in accordance with the wishes of the parishioners. The duties of the churchwardens, provided the law is not actually violated, are confined to offering advice to the incumbent, and even if the law is violated the wardens can do no more than advise and remonstrate, and, if this is insufficient, complain to the bishop, and, should he sanction such a course, appeal to the law. In no case has the churchwarden any right personally to interfere with the performance of Divine service.

The subjects upon which during the last few years the Registrar and myself have been more frequently consulted than upon any others, are as to the disposal of the offertories or collections made during or after Divine service, and as to the letting of pews, and the right to assign seats. On the first of these matters—the disposal of offertories and collections—many disputes have arisen in the course of the last few years, and though I have before very precisely explained the law on the subject it does not seem to be generally understood. Whenever that collection assumes the form of an offertory, and is made during the Communion Service after the sermon at the time when the offertory sentences are directed to be read, the churchwardens have the undoubted right to make or assist in making such collection, and their consent *must* be given as to the disposal of such offertory; and unless the minister and both the churchwardens can agree upon its disposal the bishop has to determine the matter. The law further contemplates the disposal of the offertory monies only for pious and charitable purposes connected with the parish. But with regard to collections other than during the Communion Service the churchwardens have no rights or powers whatever unless with the incumbent's sanction. The minister has the right to ask the contributions of the congregation for any lawful purpose, and to send round collectors whom he himself appoints, and to deal with the money so collected without

any interference on the part of the churchwardens. It is right that the wardens should clearly understand that this is the law, but I need hardly say that on this as well as on most other matters there ought to be a reasonable and friendly arrangement between the incumbent and wardens, and that if the incumbent insists upon his strict legal rights in most parishes great inconvenience will arise. Since the abolition of church rates it has become necessary in the great majority of parishes to provide for the necessary church expenses by means of collections, sometimes at the time of the offertory at morning service, sometimes in the afternoons and evenings. It is clear as a matter of common sense and convenience that all offertories or collections made for this purpose ought to be disposed of by the churchwardens, and as a matter of fact in the best administered parishes in this diocese this is so; the clergyman is thus relieved from much disagreeable duty, and the services and the payment of the expenses are generally more efficiently arranged for. But in any case there ought to be a perfectly harmonious arrangement between the incumbent and the churchwardens for this purpose, and in these cases it is perfectly idle to consult either the Chancellor or the Registrar as to the precise legal rights of either side. If either party is strict in enforcing his rights a deadlock is usually the result.

With regard to rights to seats and pews, and to the mode by which seats are to be assigned to the parishioners, the law is not on all points so clear. What is, however, clear and certain is that in old parish churches and chapels (of which there are only about seventy in this diocese), no person can have in his individual capacity any special rights in a pew or seat except under a faculty or by prescription, and even then it is only to an occupier of a house within the parish that such a right can attach. No man can have an individual property in a pew in an old parish church. Further, every payment of rent for a pew in an old parish church is absolutely illegal, and this applies equally to a pew in the chancel as in any other part of the church. In the chancel the rector or the lay impropriator has a right to a seat for himself, his family, and his servants, but beyond this, and beyond what may be required for the performance of Divine service, the parishioners have just the same rights in the chancel that they have in any other part of the church. On the other hand, by far the greater number of the churches in this diocese have been built, in some cases under special Acts of Parliament, but the vast majority by virtue of the provisions of certain Acts of Parliament which are generally known

as the Church Building Acts. To ascertain precisely the rights of persons under these Acts is a matter of great difficulty, not only with regard to seats and pews, but with regard to innumerable other matters. No Acts of Parliament have been so badly drawn or are so obscure; and that one which was intended in a measure to consolidate the Church Building Acts, and under the provisions of which come the great majority of the churches in this diocese, Lord Blandford's Act, 19 & 20 Vict. chap. 104, is, says Dr. Lushington, 'entitled to pre-eminence for obscurity and difficulty of construction'; and Vice-Chancellor Kindersley characterised these Acts as 'ill-drawn and obscure, and extremely difficult to give a meaning to, presenting a labyrinth of ambiguity, rendering it difficult in the last degree to discover the intention.' Vice-Chancellor Kindersley's remark was made more than twenty years since, but it cannot be said the subsequent Acts have rendered this obscurity less dense. Under the earlier of these Acts, and under the special Acts of Parliament under which a number of churches in this diocese have been erected, the Church was treated as an institution exclusively belonging to and for the benefit of the upper and middle classes, whose comfort and convenience seem alone to have been thought of by the Acts of Parliament and the consecration sentences of the bishop, and in these cases there is every variety of right conferred in reference to seats and pews, and no general rule can be laid down as absolutely certain. It may, however, be said first that in many of the sentences of consecration in the last century and the first half of the present century, granted in pursuance of Acts of Parliament, the Bishops of Chester have attempted to create and confer rights which it was beyond the power of the bishop to confer, and consequently that where the churches in which these special rights have been conferred have become, under the provisions of the Blandford Act, parish churches the better opinion is that all the rights purporting to be conferred by the sentence of consecration are absolutely and wholly gone except in rare and exceptional cases. But the majority of the churches in this diocese, as I have before stated, have been built under the Church Building Acts, under which a certain portion of the seats are authorised to be let and a certain portion to be free, and it is in such cases the clear duty of the churchwardens to see that all those which ought to be free are so in fact, and that only those are let which the Act of Parliament authorises to be, and at no higher sums than is fixed by the sentence of consecration.

Coming now to the question of how the parishioners are to be



seated, it has been frequently laid down on the authority of Sir John Nicholl, in *Fuller v. Lane* (2 Addams 419), that the distribution of seats rests with the churchwardens as the officers, and subject to the control of the Ordinary, and that the parishioners are to be seated according to their rank and station. But this proposition has lately been controverted, and after the judgment of Sir James Stephen in the Hampshire Reformatory case can only be taken to be, as that learned judge has described it, as 'rather a dictum of Sir John Nicholl than an absolute legal decision.'

During the past few years the rights of the churchwardens in reference to these questions have been much discussed, particularly in relation to a dispute which arose in 1886 between the Archbishop of York and the churchwardens of St. Mary's, Beverley, and although the question whether the churchwardens had the legal right, without the consent of the Archbishop, to declare their parish church free and unappropriated, and whether they were subject to any and what control on the part of the Ordinary never came into a court of law, yet the published correspondence, the legal opinions obtained and quoted on each side, and the articles in legal and ecclesiastical journals on the subject, have thrown very considerable light on the question, and have certainly shown that it is extremely doubtful whether the Ordinary has any control whatever in the matter, and whether the churchwardens are in any sense, as Sir John Nicholl stated it, 'officers of the Ordinary;' while the decision of Sir James Stephen in the Reformatory case has clearly decided that every inhabitant has a right to attend Divine service at his parish church, a right which almost appears to be extended by the judgment even to non-parishioners. But although it seems doubtful whether the Ordinary has any legal control in the matter of seats (and certainly when the incumbent, the wardens, and the parishioners are in harmony the Ordinary would not in general desire to exercise it), it seems very expedient that if any dispute does arise, either between the incumbent and the wardens, or between the wardens and the parishioners as to any particular seat, that it should be referred to the Bishop for his decision. But whether the churchwardens do this as the officers of the Ordinary, or the officers of the parish, it is clear that it is the duty of the churchwardens in some capacity or other to seat all the parishioners who present themselves at any service, as far, of course, as the seats will extend. But it must be borne in mind that the fact of a seat being assigned by

the churchwardens cannot *at the most* confer any rights extending beyond the year of the churchwardens' term of office. For, however long a period churchwardens may have sanctioned the occupation of a pew by a family, such sanction cannot give any exclusive right to such pew, though it may be highly expedient to allow the occupation to continue. The duty of the churchwardens is to see that every parishioner who comes to church has on every occasion a suitable seat. They may, in my opinion, assign to any family in the habit of regularly attending church a seat where they are to sit for the whole year; they may assign it for a less period, or for a single service. These are wholly matters of discretion, and I entirely agree with the proposition which is laid down by Messrs. Blunt and Phillimore, in their book of Church law, 'Whether such assignment of seats is made as a yearly arrangement, whether it is made at the time the service is about to be or is being celebrated, or whether the power to make it is only used in disputed cases—the seats being ordinarily considered free and open to the first comer—are matters entirely within the discretion of the churchwardens.' There can be no objection, if the parishioners and the incumbent think such a course desirable, that all the seats should be what are termed free and unappropriated, so that each parishioner should take any unoccupied seat. And I may further observe that any assignment made by the churchwardens to a family of a seat does not in any way preclude the right, if at the moment when Divine service commences the seat is not filled, to place therein any other parishioner.

Among the minor matters to which in my last two Charges I called the attention of the churchwardens, one was as to the importance of there being in every parish a Terrier or book containing a proper description of all the lands and real property of the church, an inventory of the chattels, and an accurate list of all the title deeds, documents, and other muniments belonging to the church, together with a list of all the parish charities, with such particulars as may be necessary or expedient as to their terms, their amounts, and the instruments under which they have been founded.

A Terrier is required by the 87th Canon, but at the time of my last visitation, five years since, in only seventy parishes of the diocese was this Terrier to be found, and owing to the want of this Terrier, accompanied by such lists and inventories as I have before referred to, the property of the parish has in several cases become absolutely lost, outlying lands and rents have never come to the knowledge of the incumbent, and in course of time it has become

impossible to identify or claim them. Upon the attention of the churchwardens being called to this matter, it was stated that the incumbents and churchwardens did not know how to prepare such Terrier or inventory, and at the request of a large number of the clergy, I prepared a form, which has since appeared in the Diocesan Directory, and I am now glad to find that in a large number of parishes a Terrier or inventory has been prepared.

In conclusion I would remark on the great services which the churchwardens may render, and I believe in many cases do render, not only to their own parishes and to the diocese, but to the Church at large, by aiding to maintain those friendly relations between the incumbent and the parishioners without which the condition of a parish cannot but be unsatisfactory. I began my Charge by objecting to the distinction between the incumbent's warden and the people's warden. This distinction leads some times to one warden taking the part of the incumbent, the other that of the parishioners in the case of any dispute or difference. I would ask both wardens to do their utmost to smooth down these differences if and when they unhappily arise, to aid and assist the incumbent as far as they possibly can in his schemes for the welfare of the parish, to promote in every way the work of the Church in their several parishes—including therein not merely ecclesiastical work, but everything which can contribute to the moral, social, and material wellbeing of the people, so that the parish church and its officers, lay and clerical, may be looked on, as it once was generally, and, happily, as it still is in many parishes, as the principal centre of a higher life and a higher culture where everything that has a tendency to elevate the people finds its natural home. If and so far as this is the case, the friends of the Church of England can view without alarm the attacks of her enemies, and can feel, to use the words of Bishop Fraser, that they are helping 'to transmit an institution pregnant with capacities of usefulness, not only unimpaired but re-invigorated—strengthened, broadened, popularised—to generations yet unborn.'

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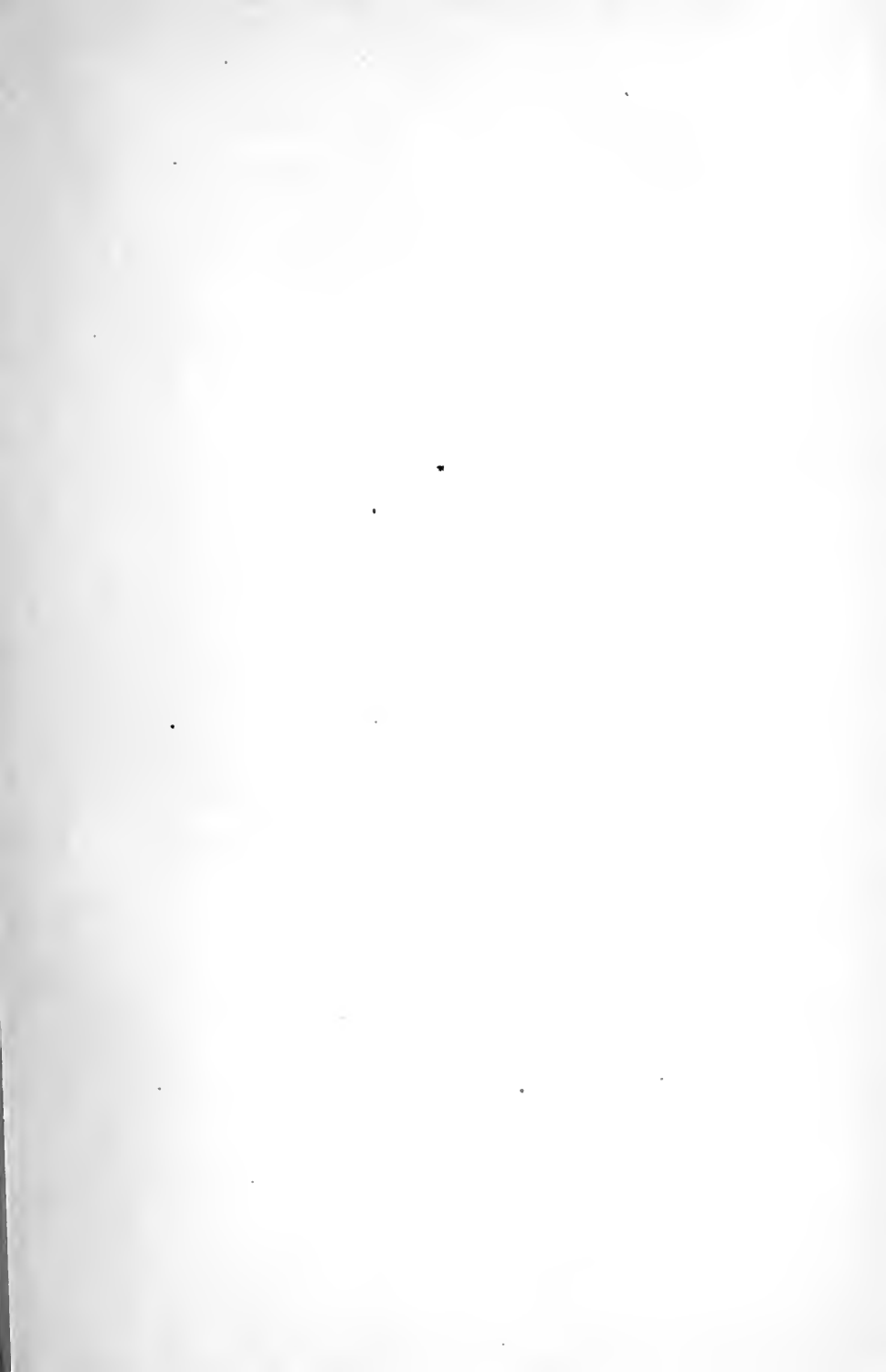












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