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The History Of English Poetry

From The Close of the Eleventh To The Commencement of the Eighteenth
Century

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On The Introduction Of Learning into England. Dissertation II.

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ON THE
 INTRODUCTION
 OF
 LEARNING into ENGLAND.

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THE irruption of the northern nations into the western empire, about the beginning of the fourth century, forms one of the most interesting and important periods of modern history. Europe, on this great event, suffered the most memorable revolutions in its government and manners; and from the most flourishing state of peace and civility, became on a sudden, and for the space of two centuries, the theatre of the most deplorable devastation and disorder. But among the disasters introduced by these irresistible barbarians, the most calamitous seems to have been the destruction of those arts which the Romans still continued so successfully to cultivate in their capital, and which they had universally communicated to their conquered provinces. Towards the close of the fifth century, very few traces of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, sciences, and literature

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terature, remained. Some faint sparks of knowledge were kept alive in the monasteries; and letters and the liberal arts were happily preserved from a total extinction during the confusions of the Gothic invaders, by that slender degree of culture and protection which they received from the prelates of the church, and the religious communities.

But notwithstanding the famous academy of Rome^a with other literary seminaries had been destroyed by Alaric in the fourth century; yet Theodoric the second, king of the Ostrogoths, a pious and humane prince, restored in some degree the study of letters in that city, and encouraged the pursuits of those scholars who survived this great and general desolation of learning^b. He adopted into his service Boethius, the most learned and almost only Latin philosopher of that period. Cassiodorus, another eminent Roman scholar, was Theodoric's grand secretary: who retiring into a monastery in Calabria, passed his old age in collecting books, and practising mechanical experiments^c. He was the author of many valuable pieces which still remain^d. He wrote with little elegance, but he was the first that ever digested a series of royal charts or instruments; a monument of singular utility to the historian, and which has served to throw the

^a Theodosius the younger, in the year 425, founded an academy at Constantinople, which he furnished with able professors of every science, intending it as a rival institution to that at Rome. Gianon. Hist. Napl. li. ch. vi. sect. 1. A noble library had been established at Constantinople by Constantius and Valens before the year 380, the custody of which was committed to four Greek and three Latin antiquaries or curators. It contained sixty thousand volumes. Zonaras relates, that among other treasures in this library, there was a roll one hundred feet long, made of a dragon's gutt or intestine, on which Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were written in golden letters. See Bibl. Hist.

Literar. Select. Soc. Iena, 1754. p. 164. seq. Literature flourished in the eastern empire, while the western was depopulated by the Goths; and for many centuries afterwards. The Turks destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand volumes, I suppose in the imperial library, when they sacked Constantinople in the year 1454. HOP. DE GRÆC. ILLUSTR. ii. 1. p. 192.

^b He died A. D. 526. See Cassiodor. Epist. lib. i. 39. See also Func. de inert. et decrep. Latin. Lingua Senectut. cap. ii. p. 81.

^c Func. ut supr. xiii. p. 471. xi. p. 595.

^d Cave. Sacul. Eutyck. Hist. Lit. p. 391.

most

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most authentic illustration on the public transactions and legal constitutions of those times. Theodoric's patronage of learning is applauded by Claudian, and Sidonius Apollinaris. Many other Gothic kings were equally attached to the works of peace; and are not less conspicuous for their justice, prudence, and temperance, than for their fortitude and magnanimity. Some of them were diligent in collecting the scattered remains of the Roman institutes, and constructing a regular code of jurisprudence*. It is highly probable, that those Goths who became masters of Rome, sooner acquired ideas of civility, from the opportunity which that city above all others afforded them of seeing the felicities of polished life, of observing the conveniencies arising from political economy, of mixing with characters respectable for prudence and learning, and of employing in their counsels men of superior wisdom, whose instruction and advice they found it their interest to follow. But perhaps these northern adventurers, at least their princes and leaders, were not even at their first migrations into the south, so totally savage and uncivilized as we are commonly apt to suppose. Their enemies have been their historians, who naturally painted these violent disturbers of the general repose in the warmest colours. It is not easy to conceive, that the success of their amazing enterprises was merely the effect of numbers and tumultuary depredation: nor can I be persuaded, that the lasting and flourishing governments which they established in various parts of Europe, could have been framed by brutal force alone, and the blind efforts of unreflecting savages. Superior strength and courage must have contributed in a considerable degree to their rapid and extensive conquests; but at the same time, such mighty achievements could not have been planned and executed without some extraordinary vigour of mind, uniform principles of conduct, and no common talents of political sagacity.

* Gianon. Hist. Nap. iii. c. 1.

Although

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Although these commotions must have been particularly unfavourable to the more elegant literature, yet Latin poetry, from a concurrence of causes, had for some time begun to relapse into barbarism. From the growing increase of christianity, it was deprived of its old fabulous embellishments, and chiefly employed in composing ecclesiastical hymns. Amid these impediments however, and the necessary degeneration of taste and style, a few poets supported the character of the Roman muse with tolerable dignity, during the decline of the Roman empire. These were Ausonius, Paulinus, Sidonius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvenius, Prosper, and Fortunatus. With the last, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century, and was bishop of Poitiers, the Roman poetry is supposed to have expired.

In the sixth century Europe began to recover some degree of tranquillity. Many barbarous countries during this period, particularly the inhabitants of Germany, of Friesland, and other northern nations, were converted to the christian faith*. The religious controversies which at this time divided the Greek and Latin churches, roused the minds of men to literary enquiries. These disputes in some measure called forth abilities which otherwise would have been unknown and unemployed; and, together with the subtleties of argumentation, insensibly taught the graces of style, and the habits of composition. Many of the popes were persons of distinguished talents, and promoted useful knowledge no less by example than authority. Political union was by degrees established; and regular systems of government, which alone can ensure personal security, arose in the various provinces of Europe occupied by the Gothic tribes. The Saxons had taken possession of Britain, the Franks became masters of Gaul, the Huns of Pannonia, the Goths of

* Cave. Sacul. Monoth. p. 440.

Spain,

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Spain, and the Lombards of Italy. Hence leisure and repose diffused a mildness of manners, and introduced the arts of peace; and, awakening the human mind to a consciousness of its powers, directed its faculties to their proper objects.

In the mean time, no small obstruction to the propagation or rather revival of letters, was the paucity of valuable books. The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany^f. In the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres in France, sent two of his monks to pope Benedict the third, to beg a copy of CICERO DE ORATORE, and QUINTILIAN'S INSTITUTES^g, and some other books: "for, says the abbot,

^f Concil. Tom. xv. pag. 285. edit. Paris, 1641.

^g There are very early manuscripts of Quintilian's Institutes, as we shall see below; and he appears to have been a favorite author with some writers of the middle ages. He is quoted by John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century. Polycrat. vii. 14. iii. 7. x. 1. &c. And by Vincent of Beauvais, a writer of the thirteenth. Specul. Hist. x. 11. ix. 125. His declamations are said to have been abridged by our countryman Adelardus Bathoniensis, and dedicated to the bishop of Bayeux, about the year 1130. See Catal. Bibl. Leidens. p. 381. A. D. 1716. Poggius Florentinus, an eminent restorer of classical literature, says, that in the year 1446, he found a much more correct copy of Quintilian's Institutes than had been yet seen in Italy, almost perishing, at the bottom of a dark neglected tower of the monastery of saint

Gall, in France, together with the three first books, and half the fourth of Valerius Flaccus's Argonautics, and Afconius Pedianus's comment on eight orations of Tully. See Poggii Op. p. 309. Amst. 1720. 8vo. The very copy of Quintilian, found by Poggius, is said to have been in lord Sunderland's noble library now at Blenheim. Poggius, in his Dialogue De Infelicitate Principum, says of himself, that he travelled all over Germany in search of books. It is certain that by his means Quintilian, Tertullian, Afconius Pedianus, Lucretius, Sallust, Silius Italicus, Columella, Manilius, Tully's Orations, Ammianus Marcellinus, Valerius Flaccus, and some of the Latin grammarians, and other antient authors, were recovered from oblivion, and brought into general notice by being printed in the fifteenth century. Ft. Babarus Venetus, Collaudat. ad Pogg. dat. Venet. 1417. 7 Jul. See also *Giornale* at

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“ although we have part of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France ”. Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expence had collected an hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library *. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books †. We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the bible, Saint Jerom's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries ‡. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book: and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the

de Letterati d' Italia, tom. ix. p. 178. x. p. 417. And Leonard. Aretin. *Epist. lib. iv. p. 160.* Chaucer mentions the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, as I have observed, *SECT. iii. p. 126. infr.* Colomesius affirms, that Silius Italicus, is one of the classics discovered by Poggius in the tower of the monastery of Saint Gaul. Ad Gyrard. de Poet. Dial. iv. p. 240. But Philippo Rosso, in his *Ritratto di Roma antica*, mentions a very antient manuscript

of this poet brought from Spain into the Vatican, having a picture of Hannibal, *il quale hoggi si ritrova nella preditta libreria*, p. 83.

† Murator. *Antiq. Ital. iii. p. 835.* And Lup. *Ep. ad Baron. ad an. 856. n. 8, 9, 10.*

* Fleury. *Hist. Eccl. l. lviii. c. 52.*

† Mabillon. *De Re Dipl. p. 611.*

‡ Fleury, *ubi supr. l. liv. c. 54.* See other instances in *Hist. Lit. Fr. par Rel. Benedict. vii. 3.*

abbot,

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abbot, and to supplicate his indulgence". This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English monasteries. But at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontiffara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than "*Septendecem pecie librorum de diversis Scienciis*". This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, the Bible, with marginal Annotations, in two large folio volumes: but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity". This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontiffara's predecessor, bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, "*pro bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene glosata*," and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass for the soul of the donor". When a single book was be-

" "Unusquisque reddat librum qui ad legendum sibi alio anno fuerat commensus: et qui cognoverat se non legisse librum, quem recepit, prostratus culpam dicat, et indulgentiam petat. Iterum librorum custos unicuique fratrum alium librum tribuat ad legendum." Wilkins. Concil. i. 332. See also the order of the Provincial chapter, *De occupatione monachorum*. Reyner, Append. p. 129.

^o Registr. Pontiffar. f. 126. MS.

^p "Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris vel inspecturis, Johannes dei gracia Wynton episcopus, salutem in domino. Noveritis nos ex commodato recepisse a dilectis filiis nostris Priore et conventu ecclesie nostre Wynton, unam Bibliam in duobus voluminibus bene glosatam, que aliquando fuit bone memorie domini Nicolai Wynton episcopi

predecessoris nostri, termino perpetuo, seu quamdiu nobis placuerit, inspiciendam, tenendam, et habendam. Ad cujus Restitutionem eidem fideliter et sine dolo faciendam, obligamus nos per presentes: quam si in vita nostra non restituerimus eidem, obligamus executores nostros, et omnia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia, ecclesiastica et mundana, coercionem et districtioni cujuscunque judicis ecclesiastici et secularis quem predictus Prior et conventus duxerit eligendum, quod possint eosdem executores per omnimodam districtionem compellere, quousque dicta Biblia dictis filiis et fratribus sit restituta. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum, &c. Dat. apud Wulvesey, vi. Kal. Maii, anno 1299." Registr. Pontiffar. ut supr. f. 193.

^q Ibid. f. 19.

queathed

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queathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations'. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's *PHYSICS*, or even obliterate the title'. Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life: and sometimes to a private person, with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by bishop Repyndon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's *BREVIARY OF THE BIBLE*. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this " book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be " built within the church of Lincoln: reserving the use and " possession of it to Richard Tryfely, clerk, canon and pre- " bendary of Miltoun, in fee, and to the term of his life: " and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said " library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being, " faithfully and without delay. Written with my own " hand, A. D. 1422 '."

* As thus: "Do Henrico Morie scolari
" meo, si contingat eum presbyterari:
" aliter erit liber domini Johannis Sory,
" sic quod non vendatur, sed transeat inter
" cognatos meos, si fuerint aliqui inventi:
" sin autem, ab uno presbytero ad aliam."

Written at the end of Latin *Homelies on the Canticles*, MSS. Reg. 5. C. iii. 24. Brit. Mus.

* MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii.

† MSS. Reg. 8 G. fol. iii. Brit. Mus.

affair

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affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry ". " This book of the SENTENCES belongs to master " Robert, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of Geofrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelkington, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master John of Lirling, Richard of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others : " and the said archdeacon gave the said book to God and " saint Oswald, and to Peter abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden ". The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris, belonging to the last-mentioned library: in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. " If this book can be proved " to be or to have been the property of the exempt monastery " of saint Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, I declare this to " be my mind, that, in that case, I use it at present as a " loan under favour of those monks who belong to the " said monastery. Otherwise, according to the condition " under which this book came into my possession, I will " that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdane, " 1 Jan. A. D. 1488. Jo. LINCOLN. Whoever shall obliterate " or destroy this writing, let him be anathema ". About

^o It is in Latin.

^w 9 B. ix. 1.

^x Written in Latin. Cod. MSS. Reg.

¹⁴ C. viii. 2. fol. In this manuscript is

written by Matthew Paris in his own hand,
Hunc Librum dedit frater Matthæus Parisiensis—Perhaps, *deo et ecclesie S. Albani*, since erased.

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the year 1225, Roger de Infula, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge⁷. The library of that university, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church⁸. In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forty missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but besides these, there were only twenty-two CODICES, which I interpret books on common subjects⁹.

⁷ Wood, *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* iii. 48. col. 1. It was common to lend money on the deposit of a book. There were public chests in the universities, and perhaps some other places, for receiving the books so deposited; many of which still remain, with an insertion in the blank pages, containing the conditions of the pledge. I will throw together a few instances in this note. In Peter Comestor's *SCHOLASTICAL HISTORY*, "Cautio Thomæ Wybaurn excepta in Cista de Chichele, A. D. 1468, 20 die mens. Augusti. Et est liber M. Petri, &c." "Et jacet pro xxvi. viii d." *Mus. Brit. MSS. Reg. 2 C. fol. i.* In a *PSALTER cum glossa*, "A. D. 1326, Iste Liber impignoratur Mag. Jacobo de Hispania canonico S. Pauli London, per fratrem Willielmum de Rokesse de ordine et conventu Prædicatorum Londonie, pro xx s. quem idem frater Willielmus recepit mutuo de predicto Jacobo ad opus predicti conventus, solvendos in quindena S. Michaelis proxime ventura. *Condonatur quia pauper.*" *Ibid.* 3 E. vii. fol. In Bernard's *HOMELIES ON THE CANTICLES*, "Cautio Thome Myllyng imposta ciste de Rodbury, 10 die Decemb. A. D. 1491. "Et jacet pro xx s." *Ibid.* 6 C. ix. These pledges, among other particulars, shew the

prices of books in the middle ages, a topic which I shall touch upon below.

⁸ *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* C. 64. a.
⁹ Wood, *Hist. ut sup.* i. 163. col. 1. Leland mentions this library, but it is just before the dissolution of the monastery. "Cum excuterem pulverem et blattas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ." *Script. Brit.* p. 238. See also J. Twyne, *Comm. de Reb. Albion.* lib. ii. p. 130. edit. Lond. 1590. I have mentioned the libraries of many monasteries below. See also what is said of the libraries of the Mendicant Friars, *SECT. ix.* p. 292. *infra.* That of Grey Friars in London was filled with books at the cost of five hundred and fifty-six pounds in the year 1432. Leland, *Coll.* i. 109. In the year 1482, the library of the abbey of Leicester contained eight large stalls which were filled with books. *Gul. Charyte, Registr. Libr. et Jocal. omnium in monast. S. Mar. de pratis prope Lecestriam.* *MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud.* l. 75. fol. membr. See f. 139. There is an account of the library of Dover priory, *MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. B.* 24. Leland says, that the library of Norwich priory was "bonis refertissima libris." *Script. Brit.* p. 247. See also Leland's account of St. Austin's library at Canterbury, *ibid.* p. 299. Concerning which, compare *Liber Thomæ Spreti de libris*

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And although the invention of paper, at the close of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniencies and impediments to study, which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the statutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Osney abbey in the year 1446. "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most; so that others shall be hindered from the use of the same". The famous library established in the university of Oxford, by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duke of Gloucester, contained only six hundred volumes^c. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers: many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French: pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the fifth, who began his reign

libraria S. Augustini Cantuarie, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 125. And *Bibl. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Jul. C. vi. 4.* And Leland, *Coll. iii. 10. 120.* Leland who was librarian to Henry the eighth, removed a large quantity of valuable manuscripts from St. Austin's Canterbury and from other monasteries at the dissolution, to that king's library at Westminster. See *Script. Brit. Ethelstani. And MSS. Reg. 1 A. xviii.* For the sake of connection I will observe, that among our cathedral libraries of secular canons, that of the church of Wells was most magnificent: it was built about the year 1420, and contained twenty-five windows on either side. Leland, *Coll. i. p. 109.* In which state, I believe, it continues at present. Nor is it quite fo-

reign to the subject of this note to add, that king Henry the sixth intended a library at Eton college, fifty-two feet long, and twenty-four broad: and another at King's college in Cambridge of the same breadth, but one hundred and two feet in length. *Ex Testam. dat. xii. Mar. 1447.*

^b "Nullus occupet unum librum, vel occupari faciat, ultra unam horam et duas ad majus: sic quod ceteri retrahantur a visu et studio ejusdem." *Statut. Coll. S. Mariæ pro Osney. De LIBRARIA. f. 21. MSS. Rawlinf. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.*

^c Wood, *ubi supr. ii. 49. col. ii.* It was not opened till the year 1480. *Ibid. p. 50. col. 1.*

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in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called, *la tour de la libraire*. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers; which, on this occasion, were wainscotted with Irish oak, and cieled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425. On which event the duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent this whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of duke Humphrey's library just mentioned*. Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis the eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhasis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed^f, by which he bound himself to return it under a considerable forfeiture^g. The excessive prices of books in the middle ages, afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, a writer in Latin of the lives of the bishops who were his patrons^h, purchased of the monks of

* See M. Boivin, Mem. Lit. ii. p. 747. 4to. Who says, that the regent presented to his brother in law Humphrey duke of Gloucester a rich copy of a translation of Livy into French, which had been presented to the king of France.

^f See Bury's PHILOBIBLON, mentioned at large below, *De modo communicandi studentibus libros nostros.* cap. xix.

^g Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 281. edit. 8vo.

^h William Giffard and Henry de Blois, bishops of Winchester.

Dorchester

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Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Bede's Homilies, and saint Austin's Pfalter, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the history of saint Birinus converting a Saxon king³. Among the royal manuscripts in the British museum there is COMESTOR'S SCHOLASTIC HISTORY in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the king of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchased by William Montague earl of Salisbury for one hundred mars, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for forty livres⁴. About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's ROMAN DE LA ROSE, was sold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three pounds six and six-pence⁵. But in pursuit of these anecdotes, I am

³ Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. ut supr. MS. quatern. . . . Pro duodecim "mens. (or mod.) ordci, et una palla "brufdata in argento cum historia sancti "Birini convertentis ad fidem Kynegylsum "regem Gewyfeorum: necnon Oswaldi "regis Northambranonum suscipientis de "fonte Kynegylsum." Gewyfeorum is the West Saxons. This history, with others of saint Birinus, is represented on the ancient font of Norman workmanship in Winchester cathedral: on the windows of the abbey-church of Dorchester near Oxford: and in the western front and windows of Lincoln cathedral. With all which churches Birinus was connected. He was buried in that of Dorchester, Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 190. And in Bever's manuscript Chronicle, or his Continuator, cited below, it is said, that a marble cenotaph of marvellous sculpture was constructed over his grave in Dorchester church about the year 1320. I find no mention of this monument in any other writer. Bever. Chron. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. x. f. 66.

⁴ MSS. 19 D ii. LA BIBLE Hystoriaus, ou LES HISTORIES ESCOLASTRES. The transcript is of the fourteenth century. This is the entry, "Cest livre

"fait pris oue le roy de France a la bataille de Peyters: et le bon counte de Sarresbirs William Montagu la achata pur cent mars, et le dona a la compaigne Elizabeth la bone countesse, que dieux assoile.—Le quele livre le dito countesse assigna a ses executours de le rendre par xl. livres."

⁵ It belonged to the late Mr. Ames, author of the TYPOGRAPHICAL ANTIQUITIES. In a blank leaf was written, "Cest lyvir cost a palas du Parys quarante coronas d' or sans mentyr." I have observed in another place, that in the year 1430, Nicholas de Lyra was transcribed at the expence of one hundred mars. SECT. ix. p. 292. infr. I add here the valuation of books bequeathed to Merton college at Oxford, before the year 1300. A Scholastical History, 20 s. A Concordantia, 10 s. The four greater Prophets, with glosses, 5 s. Liber Anselmi cum questionibus Thomæ de Malo, 12 s. Quodlibeta H. Gandavensis et S. Thomæ Aquinatis, 10 s. A Pfalter with glosses, 10 s. Saint Aulin on Genesis, 10 s. MS. HIST. OF MERTON COLLEGE, by A. Wood. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Rawlins. I could add a variety of other instances. The curious reader who seeks

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imperceptibly seduced into later periods, or rather an deviating from my subject.

After the calamities which the state of literature sustained in consequence of the incursions of the northern nations, the first restorers of the ancient philosophical sciences in Europe, the study of which, by opening the faculties and extending the views of mankind, gradually led the way to other parts of learning, were the Arabians. In the beginning of the eighth century, this wonderful people, equally famous for their conquests and their love of letters, in ravaging the Asiatic provinces, found many Greek books, which they read with infinite avidity: and such was the gratification they received from this fortunate acquisition, and so powerfully their curiosity was excited to make further discoveries in this new field of knowledge, that they requested their caliphs to procure from the emperor at Constantinople the best Greek writers. These they carefully translated into Arabic*. But every part of the Grecian literature did not equally gratify their taste. The Greek poetry they rejected, because it inculcated polytheism and idolatry, which were inconsistent with their religion. Or perhaps it was too cold and too correct for their extravagant and romantic conceptions'.

seeks further information on this small yet not unentertaining branch of literary history, is referred to *Gabr. Naud. Addit. à l'Hist. de Louys xi. par Comines. edit. Frefn. tom. iv. 281, &c.*

* See *Abulfarag. per Pocock, Dynast. p. 160.* Greek was a familiar language to the Arabians. The accounts of the caliph's treasury were always written in Greek till the year of Christ 715. They were then ordered to be drawn in Arabic. Many proofs of this might be mentioned. Greek was a familiar language in Mahomet's household. Zaid, one of Mahomet's secretaries, to whom he dictated the Koran, was a perfect master of Greek. *Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 144, 145.* The Arabic gold coins

were always inscribed with Greek legends till about the year 700.

Yet it appears from many of their fictions, that some of the Greek poets were not unfamiliar among them, perhaps long before the period assigned in the text. *Theophilus Edessenus, a Maronite, by profession an astronomer, translated Homer into Syriac about the year 770. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 376. Abulfarag. ut supr. p. 217. Reinseus, in his very curious account of the manuscript collection of Greek christians in the library of Saxe-Gotha, relates, that soon after the year 750, the Arabians translated Homer and Pindar, amongst other Greek books. Ernest. Salom. Cyprian. Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Gothan. p. 71. 87.*
Apud

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Of the Greek history they made no use, because it recorded events which preceded their prophet Mahomet. Accustomed to a despotic empire, they neglected the political systems of the Greeks, which taught republican freedom. For the same reasons they despised the eloquence of the Athenian orators. The Greek ethics were superseded by their Alcoran, and on this account they did not study the works of Plato^m. Therefore no other Greek books engaged their attention but those which treated of mathematical, metaphysical, and physical knowledge. Mathematics coincided with their natural turn to astronomy and arithmetic. Metaphysics, or logic, suited their speculative genius, their love of tracing intricate and abstracted truths, and their ambition of being admired for difficult and remote researches. Physics, in which I include medicine, assisted the chemical experiments to which they were so much addictedⁿ: and medicine, while it was connected with chemistry and botany, was a practical art of immediate utility^o. Hence they studied Aristotle, Galen,

Apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 753. It is however certain, that the Greek philosophers were their objects. Compare Euseb. Renaudot. de Barb. Aristotel. Versionib. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 252. 258.

^m Yet Reinesius says, that about the year 750, they translated Plato into Arabic: together with the works of S. Austin, Ambrose, Jerom, Leo, and Gregory the Great. Ubi supr. p. 260. Leo Africanus mentions, among the works of Averroes, *EXPOSITIONES REIPUBLICÆ PLATONIS*. But he died so late as the year 1206. De Med. et Philosoph. Arab. cap. xx.

ⁿ The earliest Arab chemist, whose writings are now extant, was Jeber. He is about the seventh century. His book, called by Golius his Latin translator, *Lapis Philosophorum*, was written first in Greek, and afterwards translated by its author into Arabic. For Jeber was originally a Greek and a christian, and afterwards went into Asia, and embraced Mohammedism. See Leo African. lib. iii. c. 106. The learned Boerhaave asserts, that many of Jeber's

experiments are verified by present practice, and that several of them have been revived as modern discoveries. Boerhaave adds, that, except the fancies about the philosopher's stone, the exactness of Jeber's operations is surprizing. Hist. Chemistr. p. 14. 15. Lond. 1727.

^o Their learning, but especially their medical knowledge, flourished most in Salerno, a city of Italy, where it formed the famous *Schola Salernitana*. The little book of medical precepts in leonine heroics, which bears the name of that school, is well known. This system was composed at the desire of Robert duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror's brother: who returning from Jerusalem in one of the crusades, and having heard of the fame of those Salernitan physicians, applied to them for the cure of a wound made by a poisoned arrow. It was written not only in verse, but in rhyming verse, that the prince might more easily retain the rules in his memory. It was published 1100. The author's name is Giovanni di Milano, a celebrated Salernitan.

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and Hippocrates, with unremitting ardour and assiduity: they translated their writings into the Arabic tongue⁸, and by degrees illustrated them with voluminous commentaries⁹. These Arabic translations of the Greek philosophers produced new treatises of their own, particularly in medicine and metaphysics. They continued to extend their conquests, and their frequent incursions into Europe before and after the ninth century, and their absolute establishment in Spain, imported the rudiments of useful knowledge into nations involved in the grossest ignorance, and unpossessed of the

lernitan physician. The monks of Cassino, hereafter mentioned, much improved this study. See Chron. Cassin. l. iii. c. 35. Medicine was at first practised by the monks or the clergy, who adopted it with the rest of the Arabian learning. See P. Diae. De Vir. illustr. cap. xiii. et ibid. Not. Mar. See also Ab. De Nuce ad Chron. Cassin. l. i. c. 9. And Leon. Osiens. Chron. l. iii. c. 7. See *Secr.* xvii. p. 442. *infr.*

⁸ Compare Renaudot, *ubi sup.* p. 258.

⁹ Their caliph Al-manun, was a singular encourager of these translations. He was a great master of the speculative sciences; and for his better information in them, invited learned men from all parts of the world to Bagdat. He favoured the learned of every religion: and in return they made him presents of their works, collected from the choicest pieces of eastern literature, whether of Indians, Jews, Magians, or oriental christians. He expended immense sums in purchasing valuable books written in Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, that they might be translated into Arabic. Many Greek treatises of medicine were translated into that language by his orders. He hired the most learned persons from all quarters of his vast dominions to make these translations. Many celebrated astronomers flourished in his reign: and he was himself famed for his skill in astronomy. This was about the year of Christ 820. See *Leo African. de Med. et Phil. Arab.* cap. i. *Al-Makin*, p. 139, 140. *Eutych.* p. 434, 435.

A curious circumstance of the envy with which the Greeks at Constantinople treated this growing philosophy of the Arabians, is mentioned by Cedrenus. Al-Manun hearing of one Leo, an excellent mathematician at Constantinople, wrote to the emperor, requesting that Leo might be permitted to settle in his dominions, with a most ample salary, as a teacher in that science. The emperor by this means being made acquainted with Leo's merit, established a school, in which he appointed Leo a professor, for the sake of a specious excuse. The caliph sent a second time to the emperor, entreating that Leo might reside with him for a short time only; offering likewise a large sum of money, and terms of lasting peace and alliance. On which the emperor immediately created Leo bishop of Thessalonica. Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* 548. seq. Herbelot also relates, that the same caliph, so universal was his search after Greek books, procured a copy of Apollonius Pergaus, the mathematician. But this copy contained only seven books. In the mean time, finding by the Introduction that the whole consisted of eight books, and that the eighth book was the foundation of the rest, and being informed that there was a complete copy in the emperor's library at Constantinople, he applied to him for a transcript. But the Greeks, merely from a principle of jealousy, would not suffer the application to reach the emperor, and it did not take effect. *Biblioth. Oriental.* p. 978. col. a.

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means of instruction. They founded universities in many cities of Spain and Africa'. They brought with them their books, which Charlemagne, emperor of France and Germany, commanded to be translated from Arabic into Latin'; and which, by the care and encouragement of that liberal prince, being quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, soon became familiar to the western world. Hence it is, that we find our early Latin authors of the dark ages chiefly employed in writing systems of the most abstruse sciences: and from these beginnings the Aristotelic philosophy acquired such establishment and authority, that from long prescription it remains to this day the sacred and uncontroverted doctrine of our schools'. From this fountain the infatuations of astrology took possession of the middle ages, and were continued even to modern times. To the peculiar genius of this people it is owing, that chemistry became blended with so many extravagancies, obscured with unintelligible jargon, and filled with fantastic notions, myste-

* See Hotting. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. ix. sect. ii. lit. G g. According to the best writers of oriental history, the Arabians had made great advances on the coasts communicating with Spain, I mean in Africa, about the year of Christ 692. And they became actually masters of Spain itself in the year 712. See Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 168. 179. edit. 1759. It may be observed, that Sicily became part of the dominion of the Saracens, within sixty years after Mahomet's death, and in the seventh century, together with almost all Asia and Africa. Only part of Greece and the lesser Asia then remained to the Grecian empire at Constantinople. Conring. De Script. &c. Comment. p. 101. edit. Wratisl. 1727. See also, Univ. Hist. ut supr.

† Cuspinian. de Casarib. p. 419.
 ‡ Yet it must not be forgot, that S. Austin had translated part of Aristotle's logic from the original Greek into Latin before the fifth century; and that the peripatetic phi-

losophy must have been partly known to the western scholars from the writings and translations of Boethius, who flourished about the year 520. Alcuine, Charlemagne's master, commends S. Austin's book De Prædicamentis, which he calls, DECEM NATURÆ VERBA. Rog. Bacon, de Util. Scient. cap. xiv. See also Op. Maj. An ingenious and learned writer, already quoted, affirms, that in the age of Charlemagne there were many Greek scholars who made translations of Aristotle, which were in use below the year 1100. I will not believe that any Europeans, properly so called, were competently skilled in Greek for this purpose in the time of Charlemagne; nor, if they were, is it likely that of themselves they should have turned their thoughts to Aristotle's philosophy. Unless, by *viri Græcæ docti*, this writer means the learned Arabs of Spain, which does not appear from his context. See Euseb. Renaudot. ut supr. p. 247.

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rious pretensions, and superstitious operations. And it is easy to conceive, that among these visionary philosophers, so fertile in speculation, logic, and metaphysics, contracted much of that refinement and perplexity, which for so many centuries exercised the genius of profound reasoners and captious disputants, and so long obstructed the progress of true knowledge. It may perhaps be regretted, in the mean time, that this predilection of the Arabian scholars for philosophic enquiries, prevented them from importing into Europe a literature of another kind. But rude and barbarous nations would not have been polished by the history, poetry, and oratory of the Greeks. Although capable of comprehending the solid truths of many parts of science, they are unprepared to be impressed with ideas of elegance, and to relish works of taste. Men must be instructed before they can be refined; and, in the gradations of knowledge, polite literature does not take place till some progress has first been made in philosophy. Yet it is at the same time probable, that the Arabians, among their literary stores, brought into Spain and Italy many Greek authors not of the scientific species*:

* It must not be forgot, that they translated Aristotle's *POETICS*. There is extant "Averrois Summa in Aristotelis poetriam ex Arabico sermone in Latinum traducta ab Hermanno Alemanno; Præmittitur determinatio Ibinrosdin in poetria Aristotelis. Venet. 1515." There is a translation of the *POETICS* into Arabic by Abou Muschar Metta, entitled, *ABO-TIKA*. See Herbel. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 18. col. a. p. 971. b. p. 40. col. 2. p. 337. col. 2. Farabi, who studied at Bagdad about the year 930, one of the translators of Aristotle's *ANALYTICS*, wrote sixty books on that philosopher's *Rhetoric*; declaring that he had read it over two hundred times, and yet was equally desirous of reading it again. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* xiii. 265. Herbelot mentions Aristotle's *MORALS*, translated by Honain. *Bibl. Oriental.* p. 963. a. See also p. 971. a. 973. p. 974. b. Compare

Mosheim. *Hist.* ch. i. p. 217. 288. Note C. p. 2. ch. 1. Averrois also paraphrased Aristotle's *RHETORIC*. There are also translations into Arabic of Aristotle's *ANALYTICS*, and his treatise of *INTERPRETATION*. The first they called *ANALUTHICA*, and the second, *BARE ARMENIAS*. But Aristotle's logic, metaphysics, and physics pleased them most; particularly the eight books of his physics, which exhibit a general view of that science. Some of our countrymen were translators of these Arabic books into Latin. Athelard, a monk of Bath, translated the Arabic *Euclid* into Latin, about 1000. Leland. *Script.* Brit. p. 200. There are some manuscripts of it in the Bodleian library, and elsewhere. But the most beautiful and elegant copy I have seen is on vellum, in Trinity college library at Oxford. Cod. MSS. Num. 10.

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and that the migration of this people into the western world, while it proved the fortunate instrument of introducing into Europe some of the Greek classics at a very early period, was moreover a means of preserving those genuine models of composition, and of transmitting them to the present generation*. It is certain, that about the close of the ninth century, polite letters, together with the sciences, began in some degree to be studied in Italy, France, and Germany. Charlemagne, whose munificence and activity in propagating the Arabian literature has already been mentioned, founded the universities of Bononia, Pavia, Paris, and Osnaburgh. Charles the Bald seconded the salutary endeavours of Charlemagne. Lothaire, the brother of the latter, erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy*. The number of monasteries and collegiate churches in those countries was daily encreasing*: in which the youth, as a preparation to the

* See what I have said concerning the destruction of many Greek classics at Constantinople, in the Preface to Theocritus, Oxon. 1776. tom. i. Prefat. p. xiv. xv. To which I will add, that so early as the fourth century, the christian priests did no small injury to ancient literature, by prohibiting and discouraging the study of the old pagan philosophers. Hence the story, that Jerom dreamed he was whipped by the devil for reading Cicero. Compare what is said of Livy below.

* A. D. 823. See Murator. Scriptor. Rer. Italicar. i. p. 151.

* Cave mentions, "Canobia Italica, Cassinense, Ferrariense: Germanica, Fuldense, Sangellense, Augiense, Lobienne: Gallia, Corbienne, Rhemense, Orbacense, Floriacense," &c. Hist. Lit. Sac. Photian. p. 503. edit. 1688. Charlemagne also founded two archbishopricks and nine bishopricks in the most considerable towns of Germany. Aub. Miraci Op. Diplom. i. p. 16. Charlemagne seems to have founded libraries. See J. David. Koeler, Diss. De Bibliotheca Caroli Mag. Altorg. 1727. And Aët. Erudit. et cu-

riof. Francon. P. x. p. 716. seq. 60. And Hist. Lit. Franc. tom. iv. 4to. p. 223. Compare Laun. c. iv. p. 30. Eginhart mentions his private library. Vit. Car. Mag. p. 41. a. edit. 1565. He even founded a library at Jerusalem, for the use of those western pilgrims who visited the holy sepulchre. Hist. Lit. ut supr. p. 373. His successor also, Charles the Bald, erected many libraries. Two of his librarians, Holduin and Ebbo, occur under that title in subscriptions. Bibl. Hist. Liter. Struvii et Jugl. cap. ii. sect. xvii. p. 172. This monarch, before his last expedition into Italy about the year 870, in case of his decease, orders his large library to be divided into three parts, and disposed of accordingly. Hist. Lit. ut supr. tom. v. p. 514. Launoy justly remarks, that many noble public institutions of Charles the Bald, were referred, by succeeding historians, to their more favorite hero Charlemagne. Ubi supr. p. 53. edit. Fabric. Their immediate successors, at least of the German race, were not such conspicuous patrons of literature.

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study of the sacred scriptures, were exercised in reading profane authors, together with the ancient doctors of the church, and habituated to a Latin style. The monks of Cassino in Italy were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics. Their learned abbot Desiderius collected the best of the Greek and Roman writers. This fraternity not only composed learned treatises in music, logic, astronomy, and the Vitruvian architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus¹, Jornandes, Josephus, Ovid's *Fasti*, Cicero, Seneca, Donatus the grammarian, Virgil, Theocritus, and Homer².

¹ Lipsius says, that Leo the tenth gave five hundred pieces of gold for the five first books of Tacitus's *Annals*, to the monks of a convent in Saxony. This Lipsius calls the resurrection of Tacitus to life. *Ad Annal. Tacit. lib. ii. c. 9.* At the end of the edition of Tacitus, published under Leo's patronage by Beroaldus in 1515, this edict is printed, "Nomine Leonis X. propofita sunt præmia non mediocria his qui ad eum libros veteres neque hætenus editos adtulerint."

² Chron. Cassin. Monast. lib. iii. c. 35. Poggius Florentinus found a *STRATAGEMATA* of Frontinus, about the year 1420, in this monastery. Mabillon. *Mus. Ital.* tom. i. p. 133. Manuscripts of the following classics now in the Harleian collection, appear to have been written between the eighth and tenth centuries inclusively. Two copies of Terence, *Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl.* 2670. 2750. Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, the first book *De Natura Deorum*, *Orations against Cataline*, *De Oratore*, *De Inventione Rhetorica*, *Ad Herennium*, n. 2622. 2716. 2623. And the *Epistles*, with others of his works, n. 2682. A fragment of the *Æneid*, n. 2772. Livy, n. 2672. Lucius Florus, n. 2620. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, n. 2737.

Quintilian, n. 2664. Horace, the *Odes* excepted, n. 2725. Many of the same and other classic authors occur in the British Museum, written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See n. 5443. 2656. 2475. 2624. 2591. 2668. 2533. 2770. 2492. 2709. 2655. 2654. 2664. 2728. 5534. 2609. 2724. 5412. 2643. 5304. 2633. There are four copies of Statius, one of the twelfth century, n. 2720. And three others of the thirteenth, n. 2608. 2636. 2665. Plautus's *Comedies* are among the royal manuscripts, written in the tenth, 15 C. xi. 4. And some parts of Tully in the same, *ibid.* 1. Suetonius, 15 C. iv. 1. Horace's *Art of Poetry*, *Epistles*, and *Satires*, with Eutropius, in the same, 15 B. vii. 1. 2. 3. xvi. 1. &c. Willibold, one of the learned Saxons whose literature will be mentioned in its proper place, having visited Rome and Jerusalem, retired for some time to this monastery, about the year 730. Vit. Williboldi, *Cantab. Antiq. Lect.* xv. 695. And *Pantal. de Vir. Illustr.* par. ii. p. 263. And Birinus, who came into England from Rome about the year 630, with a design of converting the Saxons, brought with him one Benedict, a monk of Cassino, whom he placed over the monks or church of Winchester. Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* i. 190.

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In the mean time England shared these improvements in knowledge: and literature, chiefly derived from the same sources, was communicated to our Saxon ancestors about the beginning of the eighth century^c. The Anglo-Saxons were converted to christianity about the year 570. In consequence of this event, they soon acquired civility and learning. Hence they necessarily established a communication with Rome, and acquired a familiarity with the Latin language. During this period, it was the prevailing practice among the Saxons, not only of the clergy but of the better sort of laity, to make a voyage to Rome^d. It is natural to imagine with what ardour the new converts visited the holy see, which at the same time was fortunately the capital of literature. While they gratified their devotion, undefignedly and imperceptibly they became acquainted with useful science.

In return, Rome sent her emissaries into Britain. Theodore, a monk of Rome, originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by pope Vitellian, in the year 688^e. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church-music, and the Greek and Latin languages^f. The new prelate brought with him a large library, as it was called and esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors; among which were Homer in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of saint Chrysostom on parchment, the psalter, and Josephus's Hypomnesticon, all in Greek^g. Theodore was ac-

^c Cave, Sæcul. Eutyck. p. 382.

^d "His temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles viri et feminae, duces et privati, divini numinis instincto, Romam venire consueverant." See Bede, De TEMP. Apud Leland, Script. Brit. CEOLFRIDUS.

^e Birchington, apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 2. Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 464. Parker, Antiquitat. Brit. p. 53.

^f Bed. Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Angl. iv.

^g Bede says of Theodore and of Adrian mentioned below, "Usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam, neque ut propriam in qua nati sunt, norunt." See also ibid. c. 1.

^h Parker, ut supr. p. 80. See also Lambard's Peramb. Kent, p. 233. A transcript of the Josephus 500 years old was given to the public library at Cambridge, by the archbishop. See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 109.

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accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same time appointed by the pope to the abbacy of saint Austin's at Canterbury. Bede informs us, that Adrian requested pope Vitellian to confer the archbishoprick on Theodore, and that the pope consented on condition that Adrian, "who had been *twice in France*, and "on that account was *better acquainted* with the nature and "difficulties of so long a journey," would conduct Theodore into Britain^b. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland, and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Rome^c. Benedict seems at this time to have been one of the most distinguished of the Saxon ecclesiastics: availing himself of the arrival of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance, he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone, after the manner of the Roman architecture; and adorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing among other sacred subjects the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse^d. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France. But I mention this foundation to introduce an anecdote much to our pur-

^b Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 1. "Et ob id majorem notitiam hujus itineris, &c."

^c See Math. Westmon. sub. an. 703. Lel. Script. Brit. p. 109.

^d See Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 295. 297. edit. Cantab. In one of his expeditions to Rome, he brought over John, arch-chantor of St. Peter's at Rome, who introduced the Roman method of singing mass. Bed. *ibid.* p. 295. He taught the monks of Benedict's abbey; and all the singers of the monasteries of that province came from various parts to hear him

sing. Bed. Hist. Eccl. iv. 18. He likewise brought over from Rome two silken palls of exquisite workmanship, with which he afterwards purchased of king Aldfrid, successor of Elfrid, two pieces of land for his monastery. Bed. Vit. Abb. ut *supr.* p. 297. Bale censures Benedict for being the first who introduced into England painters, glaziers, *et id genus alios ad voluptatem artifices.* Cent. i. 82. This is the language of a PURITAN in LIFE, as well as in Religion.

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pose. Benedict added to his monastery an ample library, which he stored with Greek and Latin volumes, imported by himself from Italy¹. Bede has thought it a matter worthy to be recorded, that Ceolfrid, his successor in the government of Weremouth-abbey, augmented this collection with three volumes of pandects, and a book of cosmography wonderfully enriched with curious workmanship, and bought at Rome². The example of the pious Benedict was immediately followed by Acca bishop of Hexham in the same province: who having finished his cathedral church by the help of architects, masons, and glaziers hired in Italy, adorned it, according to Leland, with a valuable library of Greek and Latin authors³. But Bede, Acca's cotemporary, relates, that this library was entirely composed of the histories of those apostles and martyrs to whose relics he had dedicated several altars in his church, and other ecclesiastical treatises, which he had collected with infinite labour⁴. Bede however calls it a most copious and noble library⁵. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to add, that Acca invited from Kent into Northumberland, and retained in his service during the space of twelve years, a celebrated chantor named Maban: by the assistance of whose instructions and superintendance he not only regulated the church music of his diocese, but introduced the use of many Latin hymns hitherto unknown in the northern churches of England⁶. It appears that be-

¹ Lel. ubi supr. 110.

² Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 299. Op. Bed. edit. Cantab.

³ Lel. ibid. p. 105.

⁴ Bed. Hist. v. 21.

⁵ Hist. v. c. 20.

⁶ Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. c. 21. Maban had been taught to sing in Kent by the successors of the disciples of saint Gregory. Compare Bed. iv. 2. If we may believe William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, they had organs in the Saxon churches before the conquest. He says that archbishop Dunstan, in king Ed-

gar's reign, gave an organ to the abbey-church of Malmesbury; which he describes to have been like those in use at present.

“Organa, ubi per aereas fistulas musicis
“mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas
“follis vomit anxius auras.” William, who was a monk of this abbey, adds, that this benefaction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes. Vit. Aldhelmi. Whart. Ang. Sac. ii. p. 33. See what is said of Dunstan below. And Oib. Vit. S. Dunst. Wharton, Angl. Sac. ii. 93.

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fore the arrival of Theodore and Adrian, celebrated schools for educating youth in the sciences had been long established in Kent^r. Literature, however, seems at this period to have flourished with equal reputation at the other extremity of the island, and even in our most northern provinces. Ecbert bishop of York, founded a library in his cathedral, which, like some of those already mentioned, is said to have been replenished with a variety of Latin and Greek books^s. Alcuine, whom Ecbert appointed his first librarian, hints at this library in a Latin epistle to Charlemagne. "Send me
 " from France some learned treatises, of equal excellence
 " with those which I preserve here in England under my
 " custody, collected by the industry of my master Ecbert:
 " and I will send to you some of my youths, who shall carry
 " with them the flowers of Britain into France. So that
 " there shall not only be an *enclosed garden* at York, but
 " also at Tours some sprouts of Paradise^t;" &c. William of Malmesbury judged this library to be of sufficient importance not only to be mentioned in his history, but to be styled, "Omnium liberalium artium armarium, nobilissimam
 " bibliothecam^u." This repository remained till the reign of king Stephen, when it was destroyed by fire, with great part of the city of York^v. Its founder Ecbert died in the year 767^x. Before the end of the eighth century, the monasteries of Westminster, Saint Alban's, Worcester, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, with some others, were founded, and opulently endowed. That of Saint Alban's was filled with one hundred monks by king Offa^y. Many new bishopricks were also established in England: all which institutions, by multiplying

^r See Bed. Op. per Smith, p. 724.
 seq. Append.

^s Lel. p. 114.

^t Bale, ii. 15.

^u De Reg. i. 1.

^w Pitts, p. 154.

^x Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 486.

^y A. D. 793. See Dudg. Mon. i. p. 177.

the

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the number of ecclesiastics, turned the attention of many persons to letters.

The best writers among the Saxons flourished about the eighth century. These were Aldhelm, bishop of Shirburn, Ceolfrid, Alcuine, and Bede; with whom I must also join king Alfred. But in an enquiry of this nature, Alfred deserves particular notice, not only as a writer, but as the illustrious rival of Charlemagne, in protecting and assisting the restoration of literature. He is said to have founded the university of Oxford; and it is highly probable, that in imitation of Charlemagne's similar institutions, he appointed learned persons to give public and gratuitous instructions in theology, but principally in the fashionable sciences of logic, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry, at that place, which was then a considerable town, and conveniently situated in the neighbourhood of those royal seats at which Alfred chiefly resided. He suffered no priest that was illiterate to be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity ¹. He invited his nobility to educate their sons in learning, and requested those lords of his court who had no children, to send to school such of their younger servants as discovered a promising capacity, and to breed them to the clerical profession ². Alfred, while a boy, had himself experienced the inconveniencies arising from a want of scholars, and even of common instructors, in his dominions: for he was twelve years of age, before he could procure in the western kingdom a master properly qualified to teach him the alphabet. But, while yet unable to read, he could repeat from memory a great variety of Saxon songs ³. He was fond of cultivating

¹ MS. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Codd. xlvii. f. 82.

² Bever, *ibid.*

³ Flor. Vigorn. sub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in ALFR. p. 814. And MS. Bever, *ut supr.* It is curious to observe the simplicity of this age, in the

method by which Alfred computed time. He caused six wax tapers to be made, each twelve inches long, and of as many ounces in weight: on these tapers he ordered the inches to be regularly marked; and having found that one of them burned just four hours, he committed the care of them

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his native tongue: and with a view of inviting the people in general to a love of reading, and to a knowledge of books which they could not otherwise have understood, he translated many Latin authors into Saxon. These, among others, were Boethius OF THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a manuscript of which of Alfred's age still remains ^a, Orofius's HISTORY OF THE PAGANS, saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, the venerable Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, and the SOLILOQUIES of saint Austin. Probably saint Austin was selected by Alfred, because he was the favorite author of Charlemagne ^b. Alfred died in the year 900, and was buried at Hyde abbey, in the suburbs of Winchester, under a sumptuous monument of porphyry ^c.

Aldhelm, nephew of Ina king of the West Saxons, frequently visited France and Italy. While a monk of Malmesbury in Wiltshire, he went from his monastery to Canterbury, in order to learn logic, rhetoric, and the Greek language, of archbishop Theodore, and of Albin abbot of saint Austin's ^d, the pupil of Adrian ^e. But he had before acquired

them to the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave due notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were more wasted; to remedy this inconvenience he invented lanthorns, there being then no glafs to be met with in his dominions. *Afler. Menev. Vit. Alfr. p. 68. edit. Wife.* In the mean time, and during this very period, the Persians imported into Europe a machine, which presented the first rudiments of a striking clock. It was brought as a present to Charlemagne, from Abdella king of Persia, by two monks of Jerusalem, in the year 800. Among other presents, says Eginhart, was an horologe of brass, wonderfully constructed by some mechanical artifice, in which the course of the twelve hours *ad ephedram vertebatur*, with as many little brass balls, which at the close of each hour dropped down on a sort of bells underneath, and sounded the end of the hour. There were also twelve figures of horsemen, who, when the twelve hours were

completed, issued out at twelve windows, which till then stood open, and returning again, shut the windows after them. He adds, that there were many other curiosities in this instrument, which it would be tedious to recount. *Eginhart, Kar. Magn. p. 108.* It is to be remembered, that Eginhart was an eye-witness of what is here described; and that he was an abbot, a skilful architect, and very learned in the sciences.

^a MSS. Cott. OTH. A. 6. 8vo. membr.

^b He was particularly fond of Austin's book *DE CIVITATE DEI*. *Eginhart. Vit. Car. Magn. p. 29.*

^c *Afler. Menev. p. 72. ed. Wife.*

^d Bede says, that Theodore and Adrian taught Tobias bishop of Rochester the Greek and Latin tongues so perfectly, that he could speak them as fluently as his native Saxon. *Hist. Eccl. v. 23.*

^e *Lel. p. 97.* Thorn says, that Albin learned Greek of Adrian. *Chron. Dec. Script. p. 1771.*

some

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some knowledge of Greek and Latin under Maudulf, an Hibernian or Scot, who had erected a small monastery or school at Malmesbury¹. Camden affirms, that Aldhelm was the first of the Saxons who wrote in Latin, and that he taught his countrymen the art of Latin versification². But a very intelligent antiquarian in this sort of literature, mentions an anonymous Latin poet, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in verse; and adds, that he was the first of the Saxons that attempted to write Latin verse³. It is however certain, that Aldhelm's Latin compositions, whether in verse or prose, as novelties were deemed extraordinary performances, and excited the attention and admiration of scholars in other countries. A learned cotemporary, who lived in a remote province of a Frankish territory, in an epistle to Aldhelm has this remarkable expression, "VESTRÆ LATINITATIS PANEGYRICUS RUMOR has reached us even at this distance", &c." In reward of these uncommon merits he was made bishop of Shirburn in Dorsetshire in the year 705⁴. His writings are chiefly theological: but he has likewise left in Latin verse a book of ÆNIGMATA, copied from a work of the same title under the name of Symposius⁵, a poem de VIRGINITATE hereafter cited, and treatises on arithmetic, astrology, rhetoric, and metre. The last treatise is a proof that the ornaments of composition now began to be studied. Leland mentions his CANTIONES SAXONICÆ, one of which continued to be commonly sung in William of Malmesbury's time: and, as it was artfully interspersed with many allusions

¹ W. Malm. ubi infr. p. 3.

² Wiltsh. p. 116. But this Aldhelm affirms of himself in his treatise on Metre. See W. Malm. apud. Wharton, Angl. Sac. ii. 4. seq.

³ Conringius, Script. Comment. p. 108. This poem was printed by Reineccius at Helmitadt many years ago, with a large commentary. Compare Vois. Hist. Lat. iii. 4.

⁴ W. Malm. ut. supr. p. 4.

⁵ Cave, p. 466.

⁶ See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. iv. p. 693. And Bibl. Lat. i. p. 681. And W. Malm. ubi supr. p. 7. Among the manuscripts of Exeter cathedral is a book of ÆNIGMATA in Saxon, some of which are written in Runic characters, 11. fol. 98.

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to passages of Scripture, was often sung by Aldhelm himself to the populace in the streets, with a design of alluring the ignorant and idle, by so specious a mode of instruction, to a sense of duty, and a knowledge of religious subjects *. Malmesbury observes, that Aldhelm might be justly deemed “ ex acumine Græcum, ex nitore Romanum, et ex pompa Anglum †.” It is evident, that Malmesbury, while he here characterises the Greeks by their acuteness, took his idea of them from their scientific literature, which was then only known. After the revival of the Greek philosophy by the Saracens, Aristotle and Euclid were familiar in Europe long before Homer and Pindar. The character of Aldhelm is thus drawn by an ancient chronicler, “ He was “ an excellent harper, a most eloquent Saxon and Latin “ poet, a most expert chantor or singer, a DOCTOR EGREGIUS, “ and admirably versed in the scriptures and the liberal “ sciences ‡.”

* Malmsh. ubi supr. p. 4.

† Ubi supr. p. 4.

‡ Chron. Anon. Leland. Collectan. ii. 278. To be skilled in singing is often mentioned as an accomplishment of the ancient Saxon ecclesiastics. Bede says, that Edda a monk of Canterbury, and a learned writer, was “ primus cantandi magister.” Hist. lib. iv. cap. 2. Wolstan, a learned monk of Winchester, of the same age, was a celebrated singer, and even wrote a treatise de TONORUM HARMONIA, cited by William of Malmesbury, De Reg. lib. ii. c. 39. Lel. Script. Brit. p. 165. Their skill in playing on the harp is also frequently mentioned. Of saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 988, it is said, that among his sacred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, harping, and painting. Vit. S. Dunstan. MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. FAUSTIN. B. 13. Hickes has engraved a figure of our Saviour drawn by saint Dunstan, with a specimen of his writing, both remaining in the Bodleian library. Gram. Saxon. p. 104. cap. xxii.

The writing and many of the pictures and illuminations in our Saxon manuscripts were executed by the priests. A book of the gospel, preserved in the Cotton library, is a fine specimen of the Saxon calligraphy and decorations. It is written by Eadfrid bishop of Durham, in the most exquisite manner. Ethelwold his successor did the illuminations, the capital letters, the picture of the cross, and the evangelists, with infinite labour and elegance: and Bilfrid, the anachorete covered the book, thus written and adorned, with gold and silver plates and precious stones. All this is related by Aldred, the Saxon glossator, at the end of St. John's gospel. The work was finished about the year 720. MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. NERO. D. 4. Cod. membr. fol. quadrat. Ælfsin, a monk, is the elegant scribe of many Saxon pieces chiefly historical and scriptural in the same library, and perhaps the painter of the figures, probably soon after the year 978. Ibid. TITUS. D. 26. Cod. membr. 8vo. The Saxon copy of the four evangelists, which king Athelstan gave

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Alcuine, bishop Ecbert's librarian at York, was a cotemporary pupil with Aldhelm under Theodore and Adrian at Canterbury¹. During the present period, there seems to have been a close correspondence and intercourse between the French and Anglo-Saxons in matters of literature. Alcuine was invited from England into France, to superintend the studies of Charlemagne, whom he instructed in logic, rhetoric, and astronomy². He was also the master of Rabanus Maurus, who became afterwards the governor and preceptor of the great abbey of Fulda in Germany, one of

gave to Durham church, remains in the same library. It has the painted images of S. Cuthbert, radiated and crowned, blessing king Athelstan, and of the four evangelists. This is undoubtedly the work of the monks; but Wanley believed it to have been done in France. *Ortho. B. 9. Cod. membran. fol.* At Trinity college in Cambridge is a Psalter in Latin and Saxon, admirably written, and illuminated with letters in gold, silver, miniated, &c. It is full of a variety of historical pictures. At the end is the figure of the writer Eadwin, supposed to be a monk of Canterbury, holding a pen of metal, undoubtedly used in such sort of writing; with an inscription importing his name, and excellence in the calligraphic art. It appears to be performed about the reign of king Stephen. *Cod. membr. fol. post Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5.* [among the *Single Codices*.] Eadwin was a famous and frequent writer of books for the library of Christ-church at Canterbury, as appears by a catalogue of their books taken A. D. 1315. In *Bibl. Cott. Galb. E. 4.* The eight historical pictures richly illuminated with gold of the *Annunciation*, the *Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth*, &c. in a manuscript of the gospel, are also thought to be of the reign of king Stephen, yet perhaps from the same kind of artists. The Saxon clergy were ingenious artificers in many other respects. S. Dunstan above-mentioned, made two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands. *Monast. Anglic. tom. i. p. 104.*

John of Glastonbury, who wrote about the year 1400, relates, that there remained in the abbey at Glastonbury, in his time, crosses, incense-vessels, and vestments, made by Dunstan while a monk there. *cap. 161.* He adds, that Dunstan also handled, "*scilicet pellum ut sculperet.*" It is said, that he could model any image in brass, iron, gold, or silver. *Osborn. Vit. S. Dunstan. apud Whart. ii. 94.* Ervenc, one of the teachers of Wulstan bishop of Worcester, perhaps a monk of Bury, was famous for calligraphy, and skill in colours. To invite his pupils to read, he made use of a Psalter and Sacramentary, whose capital letters he had richly illuminated with gold. This was about the year 980. *Will. Malmesb. Vit. Wulst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. p. 244.* William of Malmesbury says, that Elfric, a Saxon abbot of Malmesbury, was a skilful architect, *edificandi gnarus.* *Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. p. 33.* Herman, one of the Norman bishops of Salisbury, about 1080, condescended to write, bind, and illuminate books, *Monast. Angl. tom. iii. p. 375.*

In some of these instances I have wandered below the Saxon times. It is indeed evident from various proofs which I could give, that the religious practised these arts long afterwards. But the object of this note was the existence of them among the Saxon clergy.

¹ *Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed.*

² *Eginhart. Vit. Kar. Magn. p. 30. ed. 1565. 4to.*

the

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the most flourishing seminaries in Europe, founded by Charlemagne, and inhabited by two hundred and seventy monks'. Alcuine was likewise employed by Charlemagne to regulate the lectures and discipline of the universities', which that prudent and magnificent potentate had newly constituted'. He is said to have joined to the Greek and Latin, an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, which perhaps in some degree was known sooner than we may suspect; for at Trinity college in Cambridge there is an Hebrew Psalter, with a Normanno-Gallic interlinear version of great antiquity". Homilies, lives of saints, commentaries on the bible, with the usual systems of logic, astronomy, rhetoric, and grammar, compose the formidable catalogue of Alcuine's numerous writings. Yet in his books of the sciences, he sometimes ventured to break through the pedantic formalities of a systematical teacher: he has thrown one of

' Rabanus instructed them not only in the scriptures, but in profane literature. A great number of other scholars frequented these lectures. He was the first founder of a library in this monastery. Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 540. Sæc. Phot. His leisure hours being entirely taken up in reading or transcribing; he was accused by some of the idle monks of attending so much to his studies, that he neglected the public duties of his station, and the care of the revenues of the abbey. They therefore removed him, yet afterwards in vain attempted to recall him. Serrar. Rer. Mogunt. lib. iv. p. 625.

' John Mailros, a Scot, one of Bede's scholars, is said to have been employed by Charlemagne in founding the university of Pavia. Dempst. xii. 904.

' See Op. Alcuin. Paris. 1617. fol. Præfat. Andr. Quercetan. Mabillon says, that Alcuine pointed the homilies, and St. Austin's epistles, at the instance of Charlemagne. CARL. MAGN. R. Diplom. p. 52. a. Charlemagne was most fond of astronomy. He learned also arithmetic.

In his treasury he had three tables of silver, and a fourth of gold, of great weight and size. One of these, which was square, had a picture or representation of Constantinople: another, a round one, a map of Rome: a third, which was of the most exquisite workmanship, and greatest weight, consisting of three orbs, contained a map of the world. Eginhart, ubi supr. p. 29. 31. 41.

' MSS. Cod. Coll. S. S. Trin. Cant. Claff. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5. membran. 4to. Bede says, that he compiled part of his CHRONICON, EX HEBRAICA VERITATE, that is from S. Jerom's Latin translation of the bible; for he adds, "nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi industria purò HEBRAICÆ VERITATIS fonte potamur," &c. And again, "Ex Hebraica veritate, quæ ad nos per memoratum interpretem pure pervenisse," &c. He mentions on this occasion the Greek Septuagint translation of the bible, but not as if he had ever seen or consulted it. Bed. CHRON. p. 34. edit. Cant. Op. Bed.

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his treatises in logic, and I think, another in grammar, into a dialogue between the author and Charlemagne. He first advised Bede to write his ecclesiastical history of England; and was greatly instrumental in furnishing materials for that early and authentic record of our antiquities¹.

In the mean time we must not form too magnificent ideas of these celebrated masters of science, who were thus invited into foreign countries to conduct the education of mighty monarchs, and to plan the rudiments of the most illustrious academies. Their merits are in great measure relative. Their circle of reading was contracted, their systems of philosophy jejune; and their lectures rather served to stop the growth of ignorance, than to produce any positive or important improvements in knowledge. They were unable to make excursions from their circumscribed paths of scientific instruction, into the spacious and fruitful regions of liberal and manly study. Those of their hearers, who had passed through the course of the sciences with applause, and aspired to higher acquisitions, were exhorted to read Cassiodorus and Boethius; whose writings they placed at the summit of profane literature, and which they believed to be the great boundaries of human erudition.

I have already mentioned Ceolfrid's presents of books to Benedict's library at Weremouth abbey. He wrote an account of his travels into France and Italy. But his principal work, and I believe the only one preserved, is his dissertation concerning the clerical tonsure, and the rites of celebrating Easter². This was written at the desire of Naiton, a Pictish king, who dispatched ambassadors to Ceolfrid for information concerning these important articles; requesting Ceolfrid at the same time to send him some skilful architects, who could build in his country a church of stone, after the

¹ Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed. To king Ceolwulphus, p. 37, 38. edit. Op. Cant.

² Bed, Hist. Eccl. v. 22. And Concil. Gen. vi. p. 1423.

fashion

fashion of the Romans^a. Ceolfrid died on a journey to Rome, and was buried in a monastery of Navarre, in the year 706^b.

But Bede, whose name is so nearly and necessarily connected with every part of the literature of this period, and which has therefore been often already mentioned, emphatically styled the Venerable by his cotemporaries, was by far the most learned of the Saxon writers. He was of the northern school, if it may be so called; and was educated in the monastery of saint Peter at Weremouth, under the care of the abbots Ceolfrid and Biscop^c. Bale affirms, that Bede learned physics and mathematics from the purest sources, the original Greek and Roman writers on these subjects^d. But this hasty assertion, in part at least, may justly be doubted. His knowledge, if we consider his age, was extensive and profound: and it is amazing, in so rude a period, and during a life of no considerable length, he should have made so successful a progress, and such rapid improvements, in scientific and philological studies, and have composed so many elaborate treatises on different subjects^e. It is diverting to see the French critics censuring Bede for credulity: they might as well have accused him of superstition^f. There is much

^a Bed. Hist. Eccl. ib. c. 21. iv. 18.

^b Bed. Hist. Abb. p. 300.

^c Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 24.

^d ii. 94.

^e "Libros septuaginta octo edidit, quos ad finem HISTORIÆ suæ ANGLICANÆ edidit. [See Op. edit. Cant. p. 222. 223. lib. v. c. 24.] Hic succumbit ingenium, deficit eloquium, sufficienter admirari hominem a scholastico exercitio tam procul amotum, tam sobrio sermone tanta elaborasse volumina," &c. Chron. Præf. Bever. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. ut supri. f. 65. [Bever was a monk of Westminster circ. A. D. 1400.] For a full and exact list of Bede's works, the curious reader is referred to Mabillon, Sæc. iii. p. i. p. 539. Or Cave, Hist. Lit. ii. p. 242.

^f It is true, that Bede has introduced many miracles and visions into his history. Yet some of these are pleasing to the imagination: they are tinged with the gloom of the cloister, operating on the extravagancies of oriental invention. I will give an instance or two. A monk of Northumberland died, and was brought again to life. In this interval of death, a young man in shining apparel came and led him, without speaking, to a valley of infinite depth, length, and breadth: one side was formed by a prodigious sheet of fire, and the opposite side filled with hail and ice. Both sides were swarming with souls of departed men; who were for ever in search of rest, alternately shifting their situation to these extremes of heat and cold. The monk supposing this place to be hell, was told by his

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perspicuity and facility in his Latin style. But it is void of elegance, and often of purity; it shews with what grace and propriety he would have written, had his mind been formed on better models. Whoever looks for digestion of materials, disposition of parts, and accuracy of narration, in this writer's historical works, expects what could not exist at that time. He has recorded but few civil transactions: but besides that his history professedly considers ecclesiastical affairs, we should remember, that the building of a church, the preferment of an abbot, the canonisation of a martyr, and the importation into England of the shin-bone of an apostle, were necessarily matters of much more importance in Bede's conceptions than victories or revolutions. He is fond of minute description; but particularities are the fault and often the merit of early historians'. Bede wrote many

his guide that he was mistaken. The guide then led him, greatly terrified with this spectacle, to a more distant place, where he says, "I saw on a sudden a darkness come on, and every thing was obscured. When I entered this place I could discern no object, on account of the increasing darkness, except the countenance and glittering garments of my conductor. As we went forward I beheld vast torrents of flame spouting upwards from the ground, as from a large well, and falling down into it again. As we came near it my guide suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrible vision. Deformed and uncouth spirits arose from this blazing chasm, and attempted to draw me in with fiery forks." But his guide here returned, and they all retired at his appearance. Heaven is then described with great strength of fancy. I have seen an old ballad, called the *Dead Man's Song*, on this story. And Milton's hell may perhaps be taken from this idea. Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. 13. Our historian in the next chapter relates, that two most beautiful youths came to a person lying sick on his death-bed, and offered him a book to read, richly or-

namented, in which his good actions were recorded. Immediately after this, the house was surrounded and filled with an army of spirits of most horrible aspect. One of them, who by the gloom of his darksome countenance appeared to be their leader, produced a book, *codicem horrendæ visionis, et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis hæc importabilis*, and ordered some of his attendant demons to bring it to the sick man. In this were contained all his sins, &c. ib. cap. 14.

An ingenious author, who writes under the name of M. de Vigneul Marville, observes, that Bede, "when he speaks of the Magi who went to worship our Saviour, is very particular in the account of their names, age, and respective offerings. He says, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard; and that it was he who offered gold to Christ, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty. That Gaspar, the second of the magi, was young, and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincense, in recognition of our Lord's divinity: and that Balthasar the third, was of a dark complexion, had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Sa-

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pieces of Latin poetry. The following verses from his *MEDITATIO DE DIE JUDICII*, a translation of which into Saxon verse is now preserved in the library of Bennet college at Cambridge, are at least well turned and harmonious.

Inter florigeras fœcundi cespitis herbas,
Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis †.

Some of Aldhelm's verses are exactly in this cast, written on the Dedication of the abbey-church at Malmesbury to saint Peter and saint Paul.

Hic celebranda rudis † florescit gloria templi,
Limpida quæ sacri celebrat vexilla triumphii.
Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebrofi lumina mundi,
Præcipui patres populi qui frena gubernant,
Carminibus crebris alma celebrantur in aula.
Claviger o cæli, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida qui meritis recludis limina cæli,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota tuorum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant fletibus ora †.

The strict and superabundant attention of these Latin poets to prosodic rules, on which it was become fashionable to write didactic systems, made them accurate to excess in the metrical conformation of their hexameters, and produced a faultless and flowing monotony. Bede died in the monastery of Weremouth, which he never had once quitted, in the year 735 †.

“viour's humanity.” He is likewise very circumstantial in the description of their dresses. *Melanges d'Hist. et de Lit.* Paris, 1725. 12mo. tom. iii. p. 283, &c. What was more natural than this in such a writer and on such a subject? In the mean time it may be remarked, that this description of Bede, taken perhaps from constant tradition, is now to be seen in the

old pictures and popular representations of the *Wise Men's Offering*.

† Cod. MSS. lxxix. P. 161.

‡ Malmsh. apud Whart. ut sup. p. 8.

§ Recent. Newly built.

¶ W. Malmsh. ut sup. Apud Whart. p. 8.

* Cave, ubi sup. p. 473. Sac. Eiconocl.

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I have already observed, and from good authorities, that many of these Saxon scholars were skilled in Greek. Yet scarce any considerable monuments have descended to modern times, to prove their familiarity with that language. I will, however, mention such as have occurred to me. Archbishop Parker, or rather his learned scribe Jocelin, affirms, that the copy of Homer, and of some of the other books imported into England by archbishop Theodore, as I have above related, remained in his time ⁷. There is however no allusion to Homer, nor any mention made of his name, in the writings of the Saxons now existing ⁸. In the Bodleian library are some extracts from the books of the Prophets in Greek and Latin: the Latin is in Saxon, and the Greek in Latino-greek capital characters. A Latino-greek alphabet is prefixed. In the same manuscript is a chapter of Deuteronomy, Greek and Latin, but both are in Saxon characters ⁹. In the curious and very valuable library of Bennet college in Cambridge, is a very antient copy of Aldhelm DE LAUDE VIRGINITATIS. In it is inserted a specimen of Saxon poetry full of Latin and Greek words, and at the end of the manuscript some Runic letters occur ¹⁰. I suspect that their Grecian literature was a matter of ostentation rather than use. William of Malmesbury, in his life of Aldhelm, censures an affectation in the writers of this age; that they were fond of introducing in their Latin compositions a difficult and abstruse word latinised from the Greek^c. There are many instances of this pedantry in the early charters of Dugdale's Monasticon. But it is no where more visible than in the LIFE of Saint WILFRID, archbishop of Canterbury, written by Fridegode a monk of Canterbury, in Latin

⁷ Antiquitat. Brit. p. 80.
⁸ See SECT. iii. p. 124. infr. Where it is observed, that Homer is cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But he is not mentioned in Geoffrey's Armoric original.

^a NE. D. 19. MSS. membr. 8vo. fol. 24. 19.
^b Cod. MSS. K 12.
^c Ubi supr. p. 7-

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heroics, about the year 960^d. Malmesbury observes of this author's style, "Latinitatem perosus, Græcitatē amat, Græcū cula verba frequentat." Probably to be able to read Greek at this time was esteemed a knowledge of that language. Eginhart relates, that Charlemagne could speak Latin as fluently as his native Frankish: but slightly passes over his accomplishment in Greek, by artfully saying, that he understood it better than he could pronounce it^e. Nor, by the way, was Charlemagne's boasted facility in the Latin so remarkable a prodigy. The Latin language was familiar to the Gauls when they were conquered by the Franks; for they were a province of the Roman empire till the year 485. It was the language of their religious offices, their laws, and public transactions. The Franks who conquered the Gauls at the period just mentioned, still continued this usage, imagining there was a superior dignity in the language of imperial Rome: although this incorporation of the Franks with the Gauls greatly corrupted the latinity of the latter, and had given it a strong tincture of barbarity before the reign of Charlemagne. But while we are bringing proofs which tend to extenuate the notion that Greek was now much known or cultivated, it must not be dissembled, that John Erigena, a native of Aire in Scotland, and one of king Alfred's first lecturers at Oxford^f, translated into Latin from the Greek original four large treatises of Dionysius the Areopagite, about the year 860^h. This translation, which

^d Printed by Mabillon, Sac. Benedictin. iii. p. 1. P. 169.

^e Gest. Pontific. i. f. 114.

^f Vit. Kar. Magn. p. 30.

^g Wood Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. i.

15.

^h This translation, with dedications in verse and prose to Charles the Bald, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. Muf. 148. And Hyper. Bodl. 148. p. 4. seq. See also Laud. I. 59. And in Saint

John's college Oxford, A. xi. 2. 3. William of Malmesbury says, that he wrote a book entitled, PERIPHISMERISMUS, (that is, Περὶ φούσεως μερομυθῶν) and adds, that in this piece "a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit." Vit. Aldhelm. p. 28. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. ii. It was printed at Oxford by Gale. Erigena, in one of the dedications above-mentioned, says, that he had translated into Latin ten of Dionysius's Epistles. Hoveden

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is dedicated to Charles the Bald, abounds with Greek phraseology and is hardly intelligible to a mere Latin reader. He also translated into Latin the Scholia of saint Maximus on the difficult passages of Gregory Nazianzen^l. He frequently visited his munificent patron Charles the Bald, and is said to have taken a long journey to Athens, and to have spent many years in studying not only the Greek but the Arabic and Chaldee languages^k.

As to classic authors, it appears that not many of them were known or studied by our Saxon ancestors. Those with which they were most acquainted, either in prose or verse, seem to have been of the lower empire; writers who, in the declension of taste, had superseded the purer and more ancient Roman models, and had been therefore more recently and frequently transcribed. I have mentioned Alfred's translations of Boethius and Orosius. Prudentius was also perhaps one of their favorites. In the British Museum there is a manuscript copy of that poet's *PSYCOMACHIA*. It is illustrated with drawings of historical figures, each of which have an explanatory legend in Latin and Saxon letters; the Latin in large red characters, and the Saxon in black, of great antiquity^l. Prudentius is likewise in Bennet college library at Cambridge, transcribed in the time of Charles the Bald, with several Saxon words written into the text^m. Sedulius's hymns are in the same repository in Saxon characters, in a volume containing other Saxon manuscriptsⁿ. Bede says,

Hoveden and Matthew Paris have literally transcribed the words of Malmesbury just cited, and much more, *Hov. fol. 234.* And *M. Paris, p. 253.* It is doubtful whether the *VERSIO MORALIUM ARISTOTELIS* is from the Greek: it might be from the Arabic. Or whether our author's. See *Præfat. Op. nonnull. Oxon. edit. per Gale, cum Not. 1681. fol.*

^l Printed at Oxford as above. Erigena died at Malmesbury, where he had opened

a school in the year 883. *Cave, Hist. Lit. Sæc. Phot. p. 548. 549.* William of Malmesbury says, that Erigena was one of the wits of Charles the Bald's table, and his constant companion. *Ubi supr. p. 27.*

^k *Spelm. Vit. Ælfred. Bale xiv. 32. Pitf. p. 168.*

^l *MSS. Cott. CLEOPATR. C. 8. membr. 8vo.*

^m *Miscellan. MSS. M. membran.*

ⁿ *MSS. S. 11. Cod. membran.*

that

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that Aldhelm wrote his book *DE VIRGINITATE*, which is both prose and verse, in imitation of the manner of Sedulius^o. We learn from Gregory of Tours, what is not foreign to our purpose to remark, that king Chilperic, who began to reign in 562, wrote two books of Latin verses in imitation of Sedulius. But it was without any idea of the common quantities^p. A manuscript of this poet in the British Museum is bound up with Nennius and Felix's *MIRACLES OF SAINT GUTHLAC*, dedicated to Alfwold king of the East Angles, and written both in Latin and Saxon^q. But these classics were most of them read as books of religion and morality. Yet Aldhelm, in his tract *de METRORUM GENERIBUS*, quotes two verses from the third book of Virgil's *Georgics*^r: and in the Bodleian library we find a manuscript of the first book of Ovid's *Art of Love*, in very antient Saxon characters, accompanied with a British gloss^s. And the venerable Bede, having first invoked the Trinity, thus begins a Latin panegyric hymn on the miraculous virginity of Ethildryde. "Let Virgil sing of wars, I celebrate the gifts of peace. My verses are of chastity, not of the rape of the adulteress Helen. I will chant heavenly blessings, not the battles of miserable Troy^t." These however are rare instances. It was the most abominable heresy to have any concern with the pagan fictions. The graces of composition were not their objects, and elegance found no place amidst their severer pursuits in philosophy and theology.

^o Eccl. Hist. 19.

^p Gregor. Turonens. l. vi. c. 46.

^q MSS. Cotton. Vesp. D. xxi. 8vo.

^r W. Malmesb. Vit. Aldhelm. Wharton. Angl. Sac. ii. 4.

^s NE D. 19. membr. 8vo. fol. 37.

^t Bed. Eccl. Hist. iv. 20.

^u Medicine was one of their favorite sciences, being a part of the Arabian learn-

ing. We have now remaining Saxon manuscript translations of Apuleius *de VIRIBUS HERBARUM*. They have also left a large system of medicine in Saxon, often cited by Somner in his *Lexicon*, under the title of *LIBER MEDICINALIS*. It appears by this tract, that they were well acquainted with the Latin physicians and naturalists, Marcellus, Scribonius Largus, Pliny,

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It is certain that literature was at its height among our Saxon ancestors about the eighth century. These happy beginnings were almost entirely owing to the attention of king Alfred, who encouraged learning by his own example, by founding seminaries of instruction, and by rewarding the labours of scholars. But the efforts of this pious monarch were soon blasted by the supineness of his successors, the incursions of the Danes, and the distraction of national affairs. Bede, from the establishment of learned bishops in every diocese, and the universal tranquillity which reigned over all the provinces of England, when he finished his ecclesiastical history, flatters his imagination in anticipating

Pliny, Cælius Aurelianus, Theodore, Priscus, &c. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. Cod. membr. . . . It is probable that this manuscript is of the age of king Alfred. Among Hatton's books in the Bodleian library, is a Saxon manuscript which has been entitled by Junius *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS*. It is pretended to be taken from Idpart, a fabulous king of Egypt. It is followed by two epistles in Latin of Evax king of the Arabians to Tiberius Cæsar, concerning the names and virtues of oriental precious stones used in medicine. Cod. Hatton. 100. membr. fol. It is believed to be a manuscript before the conquest. These ideas of a king of Egypt, and another of Arabia, and of the use of oriental precious stones in the medical art, evidently betray their origin. Apuleius's *HERBARIUM* occurs in the British Museum in Latin and Saxon, "quod accepit ab ESCULAPIO et a CHIRONE CENTAURO MAGISTRO ACHILLIS." Together with the *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS* abovementioned. MSS. Cot. VITEL. C. iii. Cod. membr. fol. iii. p. 19. iv. p. 75. It is remarkable that the Arabians attribute the invention of *SIMIA*, one of their magical sciences, to *KIRUN* or *CARUN*, that is Chiron the centaur, the master of Achilles. See Herbelot. *Dict. Orient. Artic. SIMIA*. p. 1005.

The Greeks reputed Chiron the inventor of medicine. His medical books are mentioned by many antient writers, particularly by Apuleius Celsus, *De Herbis*: and Kircher observes, that Chiron's treatise of *MULOMEDICINA* was familiar to the Arabians. Oedip. Egypt. tom. iii. p. 68. Lambecius describes a very curious and antient manuscript of Dioscorides: among the beautiful illuminations with which it was enriched, was a square picture with a gold ground, on which were represented the seven antient physicians, Machaon, CHIRON, Niger, Hercules, Mantias, Xenocrates, and Pamphilus. P. Lambec. de Bibl. Vindob. lib. ii. p. 525. seq. I have mentioned above, *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS*. A Greek poem or fragment called *MEDICINA EX PISCIBUS* has been attributed to Chiron. It was written by Marcellus Sidetas of Pamphylia, a physician under Marcus Antoninus, and is printed by Fabricius. *Bibl. Gr.* i. p. 16. seq. And see xiii. p. 317. The *MEDICINA EX QUADRUPEDIBUS* seems to be the treatise entitled, *MEDICINA EX ANIMALIBUS*, under the name of Sextus Platonius, and printed in Stephens's *MEDICÆ ARTIS PRINCIPES*, p. 684. This was a favorite medical system of the dark ages. See Fabric. *ibid.* xiii. 395. xii. 613.

the

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the most advantageous consequences, and triumphantly closes his narrative with this pleasing presentiment. The Picts, at this period, were at peace with the Saxons or English, and converted to christianity. The Scots lived contented within their own boundary. The Britons or Welsh, from a natural enmity, and a dislike to the catholic institution of keeping Easter, sometimes attempted to disturb the national repose; but they were in some measure subservient to the Saxons. Among the Northumbrians, both the nobility and private persons rather chose their children should receive the monastic tonsure, than be trained to arms *.

But a long night of confusion and gross ignorance succeeded. The principal productions of the most eminent monasteries for three centuries, were incredible legends which discovered no marks of invention, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of the scriptures. Many bishops and abbots began to consider learning as pernicious to true piety, and confounded illiberal ignorance with christian simplicity. Leland frequently laments the loss of libraries destroyed in the Danish invasions †. Some slight attempts were made for restoring literary pursuits, but with little success. In the tenth century, Oswald archbishop of Canterbury, finding the monasteries of his province extremely ignorant not only in the common elements of grammar, but even in the canonical rules of their respective orders, was obliged to send into France for competent masters, who might remedy these evils ‡. In the mean time, from perpetual commotions, the manners of the people had degenerated from that mildness which a short interval of peace and letters had introduced,

* Bede, *Ecl. Hist.* v. 23.

† See *Malmesb. apud Lel. Coll.* 1. p. 140. edit. nap.

‡ Wharton. *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 201. Many evidences of the ignorance which prevailed

in other countries during the tenth century have been collected by Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. Med. æv.* iii. 331. ii. 141. And Boulay, *Hiſt. Acad. Paris.* i. 288.

and

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and the national character had contracted an air of rudeness and ferocity.

England at length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, received from the Normans the rudiments of that cultivation which it has preserved to the present times. The Normans were a people who had acquired ideas of splendor and refinement from their residence in France; and the gallantries of their feudal system introduced new magnificence and elegance among our rough unpolished ancestors. The conqueror's army was composed of the flower of the Norman nobility; who sharing allotments of land in different parts of the new territory, diffused a general knowledge of various improvements entirely unknown in the most flourishing eras of the Saxon government, and gave a more liberal turn to the manners even of the provincial inhabitants. That they brought with them the arts, may yet be seen by the castles and churches which they built on a more extensive and stately plan*. Literature, in particular, the chief object of our present research, which had long been reduced to the most abject condition, appeared with new lustre in consequence of this important revolution.

Towards the close of the tenth century, an event took place, which gave a new and very fortunate turn to the state of letters in France and Italy. A little before that time, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to the monasteries or episcopal churches; and the monks were almost the only masters employed to educate the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But at the commencement of the eleventh century, many learned persons of the laity, as well as of the clergy, undertook in the

* This point will be further illustrated in a work now preparing for the press, entitled, OBSERVATIONS CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, ON CASTLES, CHURCHES, MONASTERIES, and other MONUMENTS

OF ANTIQUITY IN VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND. To which will be prefixed, THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

f most

historical

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most capital cities of France and Italy this important charge. The Latin versions of the Greek philosophers from the Arabic, had now become so frequent and common, as to fall into the hands of the people; and many of these new preceptors having travelled into Spain with a design of studying in the Arabic schools^b, and comprehending in their course of institution, more numerous and useful branches of science than the monastic teachers were acquainted with, communicated their knowledge in a better method, and taught in a much more full, perspicuous, solid, and rational manner. These and other beneficial effects, arising from this practice of admitting others besides ecclesiastics to the profession of letters, and the education of youth, were imported into England by means of the Norman conquest.

The conqueror himself patronised and loved letters. He filled the bishopricks and abbacies of England with the most learned of his countrymen, who had been educated at the university of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury; an eminent master of logic, the subtleties of which he employed with great dexterity in a famous controversy concerning the real presence. Anselm, an acute metaphysician and theologian, his immediate successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec in Normandy. Herman, a Norman bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the ancient cathedral of that see^c. Many of the Norman prelates

^b This fashion continued for a long time. Among many who might here be mentioned was Daniel Merlac, an Englishman, who, in the year 1185, went to Toledo to learn mathematics, and brought back with him into England several books of the Arabian philosophy. Wood Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 56. col. i.

^c "Nobilem bibliothecam, comparatis in hoc optimis juxta ac antiquissimis illustrum auctorum monumentis, Severine po-

“ fuit.” Leland. Script. Brit. p. 174. He died 1099. He was so fond of letters, that he did not disdain to bind and illuminate books. Mon. Angl. iii. p. 375. Vid. supr. The old church of Salisbury stood within the area of that noble ancient military work, called *Old-castle*. Leland says, that he finished the church which his predecessor Herman had begun, and filled its chapter with eminent scholars.

preferred

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preferred in England by the conqueror, were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the smartness and ease of Martial^d. A circumstance, which by the way shews that the literature of the monks at this period was of a more liberal cast than that which we commonly annex to their character and profession. Geoffrey, a learned Norman, was invited from the university of Paris to superintend the direction of the school of the abbey of Dunstable; where he composed a play called the Play of SAINT CATHARINE^e, which was acted by his scholars. This was perhaps the first spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted, and the first trace of theatrical representation which appeared, in England. Mathew Paris, who first records this anecdote, says, that Geoffrey borrowed copes from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of saint Alban's to dress his characters. He was afterwards elected abbot of that opulent monastery^f.

^d Camden has cited several of his epigrams. Remains, p. 421. edit. 1674. I have read all his pieces now remaining. The chief of them are, "PROVERBIA," "ET EPIGRAMMATA SATYRICA."-- "CARMINA HISTORICA, DE REGE CANUTO, REGINA EMMA," &c. Among these last, none of which were ever printed, is an eulogy on Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and a Norman, who built great part of his stately cathedral, as it now stands, and was bishop there during Godfrey's priorate, viz.

Consilium, virtutis amor, fœcundia comis,
WALCHELYNE pater, fixa fuerit tibi.
Corrector juvenum, senibus documenta ministrans,
Exemplo vitæ pastor utrosque regis.
Pes fueras claudis, cæcis imitabile lumen,
Portans invalidos, qui cecidere levans.
Divitiis dominus, facilis largitor earum,
Dum reficis multos, deficiis ipse tibi, &c.

Among the Epigrams, the following is not cited by Camden.

Pauca Titus pretiosa dabat, sed vilia plura:
Ut meliora habeam, pauca det, oro,
Titus.

These pieces are in the Bodleian library, MSS. Digb. 65. ut. 112. The whole collection is certainly worthy of publication. I do not mean merely as a curiosity. Leland mentions his epistles "familiari illo" "et dulci stylo edita." Script. Brit. p. 159. Godfrey died 1107. He was made prior of Winchester A. D. 1082. Wharton. Angl. Sacr. i. 324. He was interred in the old chapter-house, whose area now makes part of the dean's garden.

^e See *infra*. Sect. vi. p. 276.
^f Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639. See also. Bul. Hist. Acad. Paris. ii. 225.

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The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclerc to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was initiated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grymbald, and Faice a physician of Oxford. Robert d'Oilly, constable of Oxford castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited*. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revenues to learning: he founded the magnificent abbies of Battel and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and their successors cooperated with this liberal spirit in erecting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benedictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary leisure, while they diffused an air of civility, and softened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful invitations to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning.

By these observations, and others which have occurred in the course of our enquiries, concerning the utility of monasteries, I certainly do not mean to defend the monastic system. We are apt to pass a general and undistinguishing censure on the monks, and to suppose their foundations to have been the retreats of illiterate indolence at every period of time. But it should be remembered, that our universities about the time of the Norman conquest, were in a low condition: while the monasteries contained ample endowments and accommodations, and were the only respectable seminaries of literature. A few centuries afterwards, as our universities began to flourish, in consequence of the distinctions and

* Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 46.

honours

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honours which they conferred on scholars, the establishment of colleges, the introduction of new systems of science, the universal ardour which prevailed of breeding almost all persons to letters, and the abolition of that exclusive right of teaching which the ecclesiastics had so long claimed; the monasteries of course grew inattentive to studies, which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated, in other places: they gradually became contemptible and unfashionable as nurseries of learning, and their fraternities degenerated into sloth and ignorance. The most eminent scholars which England produced, both in philosophy and humanity, before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houses. The encouragement given in the English monasteries for transcribing books, the scarcity of which in the middle ages we have before remarked, was very considerable. In every great abbey there was an apartment called the *SCRIPTORIUM*: where many writers were constantly busied in transcribing not only the service-books for the choir, but books for the library ^a. The Scriptorium of Saint Alban's abbey was built by abbot Paulin, a Norman, who ordered many volumes to be written there, about the year 1080. Archbishop Lanfranc furnished the copies ¹. Estates were often granted for the support of the Scriptorium. That at Saintedmonsbury was endowed with two mills ^b. The tythes of a rectory were appropriated to the cathedral convent of saint Swithin at

^a This was also a practice in the monasteries abroad; in which the boys and novices were chiefly employed. But the missals and bibles were ordered to be written by monks of mature age and discretion. Du Fresne, Gloss. Lat. Med. V. *SCRIPTORIUM*. And Præfat. f. vi. edit. prim. See also Monast. Anglic. ii. 726. And references in the windows of the library of saint Alban's abbey. Ibid. 183. At the foundation of Winchester college,

one or more transcribers were hired and employed by the founder to *make books* for the library. They transcribed and took their commons within the college, as appears by computations of expences on their account now remaining.

¹ Mat. Paris, p. 1003. See Leland. Script. Brit. p. 166.

^b Registr. Nigr. S. Edmund. Abbat. fol. 228.

Winchester,

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Winchester, *ad libros transcribendos*, in the year 1171^k. Many instances of this species of benefaction occur from the tenth century. Nigel, in the year 1160, gave the monks of Ely two churches, *ad libros faciendos*^l. This employment appears to have been diligently practised at Croyland; for Ingulphus relates, that when the library of that convent was burnt in the year 1091, seven hundred volumes were consumedⁿ. Fifty-eight volumes were transcribed at Glastonbury, during the government of one abbot, about the year 1300^o. And in the library of this monastery, the richest in England, there were upwards of four hundred volumes in the year 1248^p. More than eighty books were thus transcribed for saint Alban's abbey, by abbot Wethamstede, who died about 1440^q. Some of these instances are rather below our period; but they illustrate the subject, and are properly connected with those of more antient date. I find some of the classics written in the English monasteries very early. Henry, a Benedictine monk of Hyde-abbey near Winchester, transcribed in the year 1178, Terence, Boethius^r, Suetonius^s, and Claudian. Of these he formed one book, illuminating the initials, and

^k Registr. Joh. Pontiffar. episcop. Wint. f. 164. MS.

See Mon. Angl. i. 131. Heming. Chartul. per Hearne, p. 265. Compare also Godwin. de Preful. p. 121. edit. 1616.

^l Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 619. See also, p. 634, and 278. Hearne has published a grant from R. De Paston to Bromholm abbey in Norfolk, of 12*l.* per annum, a rent-charge on his lands, to keep their books in repair, *ad emendacionem librarium*. Ad. Domesham, Num. iii.

^o Hist. Croyland. Dec. Script. p. 98.

^p Tanner, Not. Mon. edit. 8vo. Pref.

^q See Joann. Glaston. ut infr. And Leand. Script. Brit. p. 131.

^r Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 566.

^s It is observable, that Boethius in his metres constantly follows Seneca's tragedies. I believe there is not one form of

verse in Boethius but what is taken from Seneca.

^t Suetonius is frequently cited by the writers of the middle ages, particularly by Vincentius Bellovacensis. Specul. Hist. lib. x. c. 67. And Rabanus Maurus, Art. Gram. Op. tom. i. p. 46. Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, about the year 838, a learned philosophical writer, educated under Rabanus Maurus, desires abbot Marquard to send him Suetonius, *On the Cæsars*, "in duos nec magnos codices divisum." Epistol. Lup. Ferrariens. xcix. Apud Andr. Du Chesne, Script. Rer. Franc. tom. ii. p. 726. Isidorus Hispalensis, a bishop of the seventh century, gives the origin of Poetry from Suetonius, Origin. viii. 7. Chaucer's tale of Nero in the *MONK'S TALE*, is taken from Suetonius, "as tellith us Suetonius." v. 491. p. 164. edit. Urr.

forming

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forming the brazen bosses of the covers with his own hands". But this abbot had more devotion than taste: for he exchanged this manuscript a few years afterwards for four missals, the Legend of saint Christopher, and saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, with the prior of the neighbouring cathedral convent". Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, author of the Latin chronicle of king Henry the second, amongst a great variety of scholastic and theological treatises, transcribed Seneca's epistles and tragedies^x, Terence, Martial^y, and Claudian, to which I will add GESTA ALEXANDRI^z, about the year 1180". In a catalogue of the books of the

^u "Suis manibus apices literarum artificiosè pinxit et illuminavit, necnon areos umbones in tegminibus appinxit." MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin, Winton. Quatern. . . In archiv. Wulves. Many of the monks were skilful illuminators. They were also taught to bind books. In the year 1277, these constitutions were given to the Benedictine monasteries of the province of Canterbury, "Abbatès monachos suos claustrales, loco operis manualis, secundum suam habilitatem ceteris occupationibus deputant: in studendo, libros scribendo, corrigendo, illuminando, ligando." Capit. Gen. Ord. Benedictin. Provinc. Cant. 1277. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8 p. 272. archiv. Oxon.

^v Ibid.
^x Nicholas Antonius says, that Nicholas Franeth, a Dominican, illustrated Seneca's tragedies with a gloss, soon after the year 1300. Bibl. Vet. Hispan. apud Fabric. Bibl. Lat. Hb. ii. c. 9. He means Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican, author of the ANNALS published by Hearne.

^y John of Salisbury calls Martial Cocus, Policrat. vi. 3. As do several writers of the middle ages. Martial is cited by Jerom of Padua, a Latin poet and physician, who flourished about the year 1300. See Christian. Daumii Not. ad Catonis Distich. p. 140. One of the two famous manuscripts of Terence in the Vatican, is said to have been written in the time, perhaps under the

encouragement, of Charlemagne; and to have been compared with the more ancient copies by Calliopius Scholasticus. Fontanin. Vindic. Antiquit. Diplom. p. 37. *Scholasticus* means a master in the ecclesiastical schools. Engelbert, abbot of Tre-voux, a writer of the tenth century, mentions *Terentius Poeta*, but in such a manner as shews he had but little or no knowledge of him. He confounds this poet with Terentius the Roman senator, whom Scipio delivered from prison at Carthage, and brought to Rome. Bibl. Patr. tom. xxv. edit. Lugd. p. 370.

^z See SECT. iii. infr. p. 128.

^a Swaffham, Hist. Cænob. Burg. ii. p. 97. per Jos. Sparke. "Epistolæ Senecæ cum aliis Senecis in uno volumine, Martialis totus et Terentius in uno volumine," &c. Sub. Tit. *De Libris ejus*. He died in 1193. In the library of Peterborough abbey, at the dissolution, there were one thousand and seven hundred books in manuscript. Gunton's Peterb. p. 173.

^b See Chron. Joh. Glaston. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726. viz. *Numerus Librorum Glastoniensis ecclesiæ qui fuerunt de LIBRARIÀ anno graciæ, M.CC.XL.VIII, p. 423*. Leland, who visited all the monasteries just before their dissolution, seems to have been struck with the venerable air and amplitude of this room. Script. Brit. p. 196. See what is said of the monastery libraries above.

library

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library of Glastonbury we find Livy^b, Sallust^c, Seneca, Tully DE SENECTUTE and AMICITIA^d, Virgil, Persius, and Claudian, in the year 1248. Among the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, is one of the twelve books of Statius's Thebaid, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, which once belonged to the cathedral convent of Rochester^e. And another of Virgil's Eneid, written in the thirteenth, which came from the library of saint Austin's at Canterbury^f. Wallingford, abbot of saint Alban's, gave or sold from the library of that monastery to Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, author of the PHILOBIBLON, and a great collector of books, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Jerom against Rufinus, together with thirty-two other volumes valued at fifty pounds of silver^g. The scarcity of

^b It is pretended, that Gregory the Great, in the year 580, ordered all the manuscripts of Livy to be burnt which could be found, as a writer who enforced the doctrine of prodigies. By the way, Livy himself often insinuates his disbelief of those superstitions. He studies to relate the most ridiculous portents; and he only meant, when it came in his way, to record the credulity of the people, not to propagate a belief of such absurdities. It was the superstition of the people, not of the historian. Antonio Beccatelli is said to have purchased of Poggius a beautiful manuscript of Livy, for which he gave the latter a large field, in the year 1455. Gallæf. De Bibliothecis, p. 186. See Liron, Singularites Hist. et Litt. tom. i. p. 166.

^c Fabricius mentions two manuscripts of Sallust, one written in the year 1178, and the other in the year 900. Bibl. Lat. L. i. c. 9. Sallust is cited by a Byzantine writer, Joannes Antiochenus, of an early century. Excerpt. Peirefc. p. 393. Mr. Hume says, that Sallust's larger history is cited by Fitz Stephens, in his description of London. Hist. Engl. ii. 440. 4to. edit.

^d Paulus Jovius says, that Poggius, about the year 1420, first brought Tully's books *De Finibus* and *De Legibus* into Italy, transcribed by himself from other manuscripts.

Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 550. About the same time BRUTUS *de Claris Oratoribus*, and some of the Rhetorical pieces, with a complete copy of *De Oratore*, were discovered and circulated by Flavius Blondus, and his friends. Flav. Blond. Ital. Illustrat. p. 346. Leland says, that William Selling, a monk of Canterbury, about 1480, brought with him from Italy Cicero's book *De Republica*, but that it was burnt with other manuscripts. Script. Brit. CELLINGUS.

^e 15 C. X. 1.

^f 15 B vi.

^g Vit. Abbat. S. Albani. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Claud. E. iv. In the royal manuscripts in John of Salisbury's *ENTERTICUS*, there is written, "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas S. Albani: quem postea venditum domino RICARDO DE BURY, episcopo Dunelmensi emit Michael abbas S. Albani ab executoribus predicti episcopi, A. D. 1345." MSS. 13 D. iv. 3. Richard de Bury, otherwise called Richard Aungerville, is said to have alone possessed more books than all the bishops of England together. Besides the fixed libraries which he had formed in his several palaces, the floor of his common apartment was so covered with books, that those who entered could not with due reverence approach his presence. Gul. Chambré

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parchment undoubtedly prevented the transcription of many other books in these societies. About the year 1120, one master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of Saint-edmundsbury in Suffolk to write and illuminate a grand copy of the bible for their library, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England^b.

In consequence of the taste for letters and liberal studies introduced by the Normans, many of the monks became almost as good critics as catholics; and not only in France but in England, a great variety of Latin writers, who studied the elegancies of style, and the arts of classical composition, appeared soon after the Norman conquest. A view of the writers of this class who flourished in England for the two

bre, Contin. Hist. Dunelm. apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 765. He kept binders, illuminators, and writers in his palaces. "Antiquariorum, scriptorum, correctorum, colligatorum, illuminatorum, &c." Philobibl. cap. viii. p. 34. edit. 1599. Petrarch says, that he had once a conversation with Aungervyle, concerning the island called by the antients Thule, whom he calls *Viram ardentis ingenii*. Petrarch, Epist. i. 3. His book entitled *PHILOBIBLON*, or *De Amore librorum et institutione Bibliothecæ*, supposed to be really written by Robert Holcott a Dominican friar, was finished in his manor of Aulkland, A. D. 1343. He founded a library at Oxford: and it is remarkable, that in the book abovementioned, he apologises for admitting the poets into his collection. "*Quare non negleximus FABULAS POETARUM*." Cap. xiii. p. 43. xviii. p. 57. xix. 58. But he is more complainant to the prejudices of his age, where he says, that the laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. "*Laici omnium librorum communiõne sunt indigni*." Cap. xvii. p. 55. He prefers books of the liberal arts to treatises in law. Cap. xi. p. 41. He laments that good literature had entirely ceased in the university of Paris. Cap. ix. p. 38. He admits *Panfietos exiguos* into his library. Cap. viii. 30. He employed *Stationarios*

and *Librarios*, not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. Cap. x. p. 34. He regrets the total ignorance of the Greek language; but adds, that he has provided for the students of his library both Greek and Hebrew grammars. Ibid. p. 40. He calls Paris the *paradise of the world*, and says, that he purchased there a variety of invaluable volumes in all sciences, which yet were neglected and perishing. Cap. viii. p. 31. While chancellor and treasurer of England, instead of the usual presents and new-year's gifts appendant to his office, he chose to receive those perquisites in books. By the favour of Edward the third he gained access to the libraries of the most capital monasteries; where he shook off the dust from volumes preserved in chests and presses which had not been opened for many ages. Ibid. 29, 30.

^b Monast. Angl. i. p. 200. In the great revenue-roll of one year of John Gerveys, bishop of Winchester, I find expended "in *parcheamento empto ad rotulos, vi*." This was a considerable sum for such a commodity in the year 1266. But as the quantity or number of the rolls is not specified, no precise conclusion can be drawn. Comp. MS. membran. in archiv. Wulves. Winton. Compare Anderson, Comm. i. 153. sub ann. 1315.

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subsequent

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subsequent centuries, till the restless spirit of novelty brought on an attention to other studies, necessarily follows from what has been advanced, and naturally forms the conclusion of our present investigation.

Soon after the accession of the conqueror, John commonly called Joannes Grammaticus, having studied polite literature at Paris, which not only from the Norman connection, but from the credit of its professors, became the fashionable university of our countrymen, was employed in educating the sons of the Norman and English nobility¹. He wrote an explanation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*², and a treatise on the art of metre or versification³. Among the manuscripts of the library of New College in Oxford, I have seen a book of Latin poetry, and many pieces in Greek, attributed to this writer⁴. He flourished about the year 1070. In the reign of Henry the first, Laurence, prior of the church of Durham, wrote nine books of Latin elegies. But Leland, who had read all his works, prefers his compositions in oratory; and adds, that for an improvement in rhetoric and eloquence, he frequently exercised his talents in framing Latin defences on dubious cases which occurred among his friends. He likewise, amongst a variety of other elaborate pieces on saints, confessors, and holy virgins, in which he humoured the times and his profession, composed a critical treatise on the method of writing Epistles, which appears to have been a favourite

¹ See Bale, iv. 40.

² *Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphoses*. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. sup. A 1. Art. 86. Where it is given to Johannes Guallensis, a Franciscan friar of Oxford, and afterwards a student at Paris. It is also MSS. Digb. 104. fol. 323. The same piece is extant under the name of this latter John, entitled, *Expositiones sive moralitates in Lib. 1. Metamorphoses sive Fabularum, &c.* Printed at Paris 1599. But this Johannes Guallensis seems to have been chiefly a philosopher and theologian. He flourished about A. D.

1250. Alexander Necham wrote in *Metamorphosin Ovidii*. Tann. Bibl. p. 540.

³ Another title of this piece is, *Poetria magna Johannis Anglici, &c.* Cantabr. MSS. More, 121. It is both in prose and verse. He begins with this panegyric on the university of Paris. "Parisiانا jubar diffundit gloria clerus." He likewise wrote *Compendium Grammatices*.

⁴ MSS. Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 236. 237. But these are said to belong to Joannes Philoponus. See Phot. Bibl. Cod. lxxv. Cave, p. 441. edit. 1.

subject.

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subject^a. He died in 1154^o. About the same time Robert Dunstable, a monk of Saint Alban's, wrote an elegant Latin poem in elegiac verse, containing two books^b, on the life of saint Alban^c. The first book is opened thus:

Albani celebrem cælo terrisque triumphum
Ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.

We are not to expect Leonine rhymes in these writers, which became fashionable some years afterwards^d. Their

^a See what is said of John Hanvill below.

^b *Lel. Script. Brit.* p. 204, 205.

^c It is a long poem, containing thirteen hundred and sixty lines.

^d In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Jul. D. iii. 2. CLAUD. E. 4. There are more of his Latin poems on sacred subjects in the British Museum. But most of them are of an inferior composition, and, as I suppose, of another hand.

Leonine verses are said to have been invented and first used by a French monk of Saint Victor at Marfeilles, named Leoninus, or Leonine, about the year 1135. Pasquier, *Recherch. de la France*, vii. 2. p. 596. 3. p. 600. It is however certain, that rhymed Latin verses were in use much earlier. I have before observed, that the *Schola Salernitana* was published 1100. See Massieu, *Hist. Fr. Poet.* p. 77. Fauchett, *Rec.* p. 52. 76. seq. And I have seen a Latin poem of four hundred lines, "Moyſis Mutii Bergomatis de rebus Bergomenſibus, Justiniani hujus nominis ſecundi Byzantii Imperatoris juſſu conſcriptam, anno a ſalute noſtra 707." The author was the emperor's ſcribe or ſecretary. It begins thus:

Alme Deus, rector qui mundi regna gubernas,
Nec ſinis abſque modo ſedes ſuutare ſuperbas.

It is at the end of "Achillis Mutii theatrum. Bergomi, typis Comini Venturac, 1596." Pelloutier has given a very early ſpecimen of Latin Rhymes. *Mem. ſur la Lang. Celt.*

part i. vol. i. ch. xli. p. 20. He quotes the writer of the life of S. Faron, who relates, that Clotarius the ſecond, having conquered the Saxons in the beginning of the ſeventh century, commanded a Latin panegyric ſong to be compoſed on that occaſion, which was ſung all over France. It is ſomewhat in the meaſure of their vernacular poetry, at that time made to be ſung to the harp, and begins with this ſtanza.

De Clotario eſt canere rege Francorum
Qui ivit pugnare cum gente Saxonum
Quam graviter proveniſſet miſſis Saxo num
Si non fuiſſet inclitus Faro de gente Burgundionum.

Latin rhymes ſeem to have been firſt uſed in the church-hymns. But Leonine verſes are properly the Roman hexameters or pentameters rhymed. And it is not improbable that they took their name from the monk abovementioned, who was the moſt popular and almoſt only Latin poet of his time in France. He wrote many Latin pieces not in rhyme, and in a good ſtyle of Latin verſification. Particularly a Latin heroic poem in twelve books, containing the hiſtory of the bible from the creation of the world to the ſtory of Ruth. Alſo ſome elegies, which have a tolerable degree of claſſic purity. Some ſuppoſe, that pope Leo the ſecond, about the year 680, a great reformer of the chants and hymns of the church, invented this ſort of verſe.

It is remarkable, that Bede who lived in the eighth century, in his book *DE ARTE METRICA*, does not ſeem to have known

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verses are of a higher cast, and have a classical turn. The following line, which begins the second book, is remarkably flowing and harmonious, and much in the manner of Claudian.

Pieridum studiis claustris laxare rigorem.

Smoothness of versification was an excellence which, like their Saxon predecessors, they studied to a fault. Henry of Huntingdon, commonly known and celebrated as an historian, was likewise a terse and polite Latin poet of this period. He was educated under Alcuine of Anjou, a canon of Lincoln cathedral. His principal patrons were Aldwin and Reginald, both Normans, and abbots of Ramsey. His turn for poetry did not hinder his arriving to the dignity of an archdeacon. Leland mentions eight books of his epigrams, amatorial verses¹, and poems on philosophical subjects². The proem to his book *DE HERBIS*, has this elegant invocation.

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,
Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe jocosa, deæ!
Si mihi ferta prius hedera florente parastis,
Ecce meos flores, ferta parate, fero.

that rhyme was a common ornament of the church hymns of his time, many of which he quotes. See *Opp. tom. i. 34. cap. penult.* But this chapter, I think, is all taken from Marius Victorinus, a much older writer. The hymns which Bede quotes are extremely barbarous, consisting of a modulated structure, or a certain number of feet without quantity; like the odes of the minstrels or scalds of that age. "Ut sunt," he says, *carmina VULGARIIUM POETARUM.* In the mean time we must not forget, that the early French troubadours mention a sort of rhyme in their vernacular

poetry partly distinguished from the common species, which they call Leonine or Leonime. Thus Gualtier Arbalestrier de Belle-perche, in the beginning of his romance of Judas Maccabeus, written before the year 1280.

Je ne di pas k' aucun biau dit
Ni mette par faire la ryme
Ou consonante ou leonime.

But enough has been said on a subject of so little importance.

¹ See Wharton, *Angl. Sacr. ii. 29.*

² *Lel. Script. Brit. p. 197.*

But .

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But Leland appears to have been most pleased with Henry's poetical epistle to Elfreda, the daughter of Alfred^a. In the Bodleian library, is a manuscript Latin poem of this writer, on the death of king Stephen, and the arrival of Henry the second in England, which is by no means contemptible^b. He occurs as a witness to the charter of the monastery of Sautree in the year 1147^c. Geoffrey of Monmouth was bishop of Saint Asaph in the year 1152^d. He was indefatigable in his enquiries after British antiquity; and was patronised and assisted in this pursuit by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a diligent antiquarian, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln^e. His credulity as an historian has been deservedly censured: but fabulous histories were then the fashion, and he well knew the recommendation his work would receive from comprehending all the popular traditions^f. His latinity rises far above mediocrity, and his Latin poem on Merlin is much applauded by Leland^g.

We must not judge of the general state of society by the more ingenious and dignified churchmen of this period; who seem to have surpassed by the most disproportionate degrees in point of knowledge, all other members of the community. Thomas of Becket, who belongs to the twelfth century, and his friends, in their epistles, distinguish each other by the appellation of philosophers, in the course of their correspondence^h. By the present diffusion of literature, even those who are illiterate are yet so intelligent as to stand more on a level with men of professed science and knowledge; but the learned ecclesiastics of those times, as is evident

^a Ut supr.

^b MSS. Digb. 65. fol. 27. His writings are numerous, and of various kinds. In Trinity college library at Oxford there is a fine copy of his book *De imagine Mundi*. MSS. Cod. 64. pergam. This is a very common manuscript.

^c Wharton, Ang. Sacr. ii. 872.

^d Wharton, Eccles. Assay. p. 306.

^e Leland, Script. Brit. p. 190.

^f See SECT. iii. infr. p. 124.

^g In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Tit. A. xix. VESPAS. E. iv.

^h See *Quadriolog. Vit. T. Becket, Bruxell.* 1682. 4to. And *Concil. Mag. Brit. et Hib.* tom. i. p. 441. Many of these epistles are still in manuscript.

from

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from many passages in their writings, appear, and not without reason, to have considered the rest of the world as totally immersed in ignorance and barbarity. A most distinguished ornament of this age was John of Salisbury^b. His style has a remarkable elegance and energy. His *POLICRATICON* is an extremely pleasant miscellany; replete with erudition, and a judgment of men and things, which properly belongs to a more sensible and reflecting period. His familiar acquaintance with the classics, appears not only from the happy facility of his language, but from the many citations of the purest Roman authors, with which his works are perpetually interspersed. Montfaucon asserts, that some parts of the supplement to Petronius, published as a genuine and valuable discovery a few years ago, but since supposed to be spurious, are quoted in the *POLICRATICON*^c. He was an illustrious rival of Peter of Blois, and the friend of many learned foreigners^d. I have not seen any specimens of his Latin poetry^e; but an able judge has pronounced, that nothing can be more easy, finished, and flowing than his verses^f. He was promoted to high stations in the church by Henry the second, whose court was crowded with scholars, and almost equalled that of his cotemporary William king of Sicily, in the splendor which it derived from encouraging erudition, and assembling the learned of various countries^g. Eadmer was a monk of Canterbury, and endeared

^b " Studuit in Italia omnium bonarum
" artium facile post Graciam parente."
Leland. Script. Brit. p. 207. But he like-
wise spent some time at Oxford. Policrat.
viii. 22.

^c Bibl. MSS. There is an allusion to
the *Policraticon* in the *RÔMAN DE LA ROSE*.
Et verras en *POLICRATIQUE*.
v. 7056.

^d Lel. *ibid.*

^e Except the fable of the belly and
members in long and short. Fabric. *Med.*
Æv. iv. p. 877.

^f Lel. *ut supr.* p. 207.

^g See Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 210. Henry
the second sent Gualterus, styled *ANGLI-
CUS*, his chaplain, into Sicily, to instruct
William king of Sicily in literature. Wil-
liam was so pleased with his master, that
he made him archbishop of Palermo. Bale,
xiii. 73. He died in 1177. Peter of Blois
was Gualter's coadjutor; and he tells us,
that he taught William the rudiments "*ver-
ificatorie artis et literaturæ*." Epist.
Petr. Blesens. ad Gualt. Pitts mentions a
piece of Gualterus *De linguæ Latine rudi-
mentis*, p. 141. There is a William of
Blois, cotemporary with Peter and his brother,

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by the brilliancy of his genius, and the variety of his literature, to Anselm, archbishop of that see^b. He was an elegant writer of history, but exceeded in the artifices of composition, and the choice of matter, by his cotemporary William of Malmesbury. The latter was a monk of Malmesbury, and it reflects no small honour on his fraternity that they elected him their librarian^c. His merits as an historian have been justly displayed and recommended by lord Lyttelton^d. But his abilities were not confined to prose. He wrote many pieces of Latin poetry; and it is remarkable, that almost all the professed writers in prose of this age made experiments in verse. His patron was Robert earl of Gloucester; who, amidst the violent civil commotions which disquieted the reign of king Stephen, found leisure and opportunity to protect and promote literary merit^e. Till Malmesbury's works appeared, Bede had been the chief and principal writer of English history. But a general spirit of writing history, owing to that curiosity which more polished manners introduce, to an acquaintance with the antient historians, and to the improved knowledge of a language in which facts could be recorded with grace and dignity, was now prevailing. Besides those I have mentioned, Simeon of Durham, Roger Hoveden, and Benedict abbot of Peterborough, are historians whose narratives have a liberal cast, and whose

ther, whom I mention here, as he appears to have written what were called *Comœdiae et Tragediæ*, and to have been preferred to an abbacy in Sicily. [See SACR. vi. inf. p. 224.] Peter mentions this William in his epistles, "Illud nobile ingenium fratris mei magistri Gulielmi, quandoque in scribendis Comœdiis et Tragediis quadam occupatione fervili degenerans, &c." Epist. lxxvi. And again to the said William, "Nomen vestrum diuturniore memoria quam quatuor abbatie commendabile reddent Tragedia vestra de FLAURA et MARCO, versus de PULICE ET

"MUSCA, Comœdia vestra DE ALDA, &c." Epist. xciii.

^b Leland, Script. Brit. p. 178. There is a poem DE LAUDIBUS ANSELMI, and an epicedion on that prelate, commonly ascribed to Eadmer. See Fabric. Bibl. Med. Lat. ii. p. 210. seq. Leland doubts whether these pieces belong to him or to William of Chester, a learned monk, patronised by Anselm. Script. Brit. p. 185.

^c Lel. p. 195. But see Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. Præf. p. xii.

^d In his History of Henry the second.

^e See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 661.

details

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details rise far above the dull uninteresting precision of patient annalists and regular chronologers. John Hanvill, a monk of Saint Alban's, about the year 1190, studied rhetoric at Paris, and was distinguished for his taste even among the numerous and polite scholars of that flourishing seminary^m. His ARCHITRENIUS is a learned, ingenious, and very entertaining performance. It is a long Latin poem in nine books, dedicated to Walter bishop of Rouen. The design of the work may be partly conjectured from its affected Greek title: but it is, on the whole, a mixture of satire and panegyric on public vice and virtue, with some historical digressions. In the exordium is the following nervous and spirited address.

Tu Cyrrhæ latices nostræ, deus, implue menti;
Eloquii rorem ficcis infunde labellis:
Distillaque favos, quos nondum pallidus auro
Scit Tagus, aut fitiens admotis Tantalus undis:
Dirige quæ timide suscepit dextera, dextram
Audacem pavidamque juva: Tu mentis habenas
Fervoremque rege, &c.

In the fifth book the poet has the following allusions to the fables of Corineus, Brutus, king Arthur, and the population of Britain from Troy. He seems to have copied these traditions from Geoffrey of Monmouthⁿ.

----- Tamen Architrenius instat,
Et genus et gentem quærit studiosius: illi
Tros genus, et gentem tribuit Lodonesia, nutrix
Præbuit irriguam morum Cornubia mammam,
Post odium fati, Phrygiis inventa: Smaraudus
Hanc domitor mundi Tyrinthus, alter Achilles,

^m Lel. p. 259.

ⁿ See Hist. Galfrij. Mon. i. xi. xvi. xvii. &c.

Atridæque

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Atridæque timor Corinæus, ferra gygantum,
 Clavaque monstifera, sociæ delegit alumnam
 Omnigenam Trojæ, pluvioque fluviflua lacte
 Filius exilio fessæ dedit ubera matri.
 A quo dicta prius Corineia, dicitur aucto
 Tempore corrupte Cornubia nominis hæres.
 Ille gygantæos attritis ossibus artus
 Implicuit letho, Tyrrheni littoris hospes,
 Indomita virtute gygas; non corpore mole
 Ad medium pressa, nec membris densior æquo,
 Sarcina terrifica tumuit Titania mente.
 Ad Ligeris ripas Aquitanos fudit, et amnes
 Francorum potuit lacrymis, et cæde vadoque
 Sanguinis ense ruens, fatiavit rura, togaque
 Punicea vestivit agros, populique verendi
 Grandiloquos fregit animosa cuspide fastus.
 Integra, nec dubio bellorum naufraga fluctu,
 Nec vice suspecta titubanti faucia fato,
 Indilata dedit subitam victoria laurum.
 Inde dato cursu, Bruto comitatus Achate,
 Gallorum spolio cumulatus, navibus æquor
 Exarat, et superis auraque faventibus utens,
 Litora felices intrat Tolonesia portus:
 Promissumque soli gremium monstrante Diana,
 Incolumi census loculum ferit Albion alno.
 Hæc eadem Bruto regnante Britannia nomen
 Traxit in hoc tempus: solis Titanibus illa,
 Sed paucis, habitata domus; quibus uda ferarum
 Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus pocula, trunci
 Antra lares, dumeta toros, cænacula rupes,
 Præda cibos, raptus venerem, spectacula cædes,
 Imperium vires, animum furor, impetus arma,
 Mortem pugna, sepulchra rubus: monstifisque gemebat
 Monticolis tellus: sed eorum plurima tractus

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Pars erat occidui terror ; majorque premebat
 Te furor extremum zephyri, Cornubia, limen.
 Hos avidum belli Corinæi robur Averno
 Præcipites misit ; cubitis ter quatuor altum
 Gogmagog Herculeæ suspendit in aere lucta,
 Anthæumque suum scopulo demisit in æquor ;
 Potavitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus,
 Divisumque tulit mare corpus, Cerberus umbram.
 Nobilis a Phrygiæ tanto Cornubia gentem
 Sanguine derivat, successio cuius Iulus
 In generis partem recipit complexa Pelasgam
 Anchisæque domum : ramos hinc Pandrafus, inde
 Sylvius extendit, socioque a fidere fidus
 Plenius effundit triplicatæ lampadis ignes.
 Hoc trifido sola Corinæi postera mundum
 Præradiat pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi
 Pullulat Arthurum, facie dum falsus adulter
 Tintagel irrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstu
 Vincit, et omnificas Merlini consulit artes,
 Mentiturque ducis habitus, et rege latente
 Induit absentis præsentia Gorlois ora °.

There is a false glare of expression, and no great justness of sentiment, in these verses ; but they are animated, and flow in a strain of poetry. They are pompous and sonorous ; but these faults have been reckoned beauties even in polished ages. In the same book our author thus characterises the different merits of the satires of Horace and Perseus.

° Milton appears to have been much struck with this part of the ancient British History, and to have designed it for the subject of an epic poem. EPITAPH. DAMONIS, v. 162.
 Ipse ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
 Dicam, et Pandrafidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,

Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos :
 Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iogernem,
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus. —
 See also Milton's MANSUS, v. 80.

Perseus

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Perfius in Flacci pelago decurrit, et audet
Mendicasse stylum satyræ, ferraque cruentus
Rodit, et ignorat polientem pectora limam?

In the third book he describes the happy parsimony of the Cistercian monks.

O sancta, o felix, albis galeata cucullis,
Libera paupertas! Nudo jejunia passu
Tracta diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum
Mollitie mensæ. Bacchus convivia nullo
Murmure conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis
Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat
Solennes epulas ventris gravis hospita Thetis,
Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ
Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum
Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur,
Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu?

Among Digby's manuscripts in the Bodleian library, are Hanvill's Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, many of which have considerable merit. They are followed by a metrical tract, entitled DE EPISTOLARUM COMPOSITIONE. But this piece is written in rhyme, and seems to be posterior to the age, at least inferior to the genius, of Hanvill. He

* Juvenal is also cited by John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Vincentius Bellouacensis, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the middle ages. They often call him *ERNICUS*. See particularly Petr. Bles. Epist. lxxvii. Some lines from Juvenal are cited by Honorius Augustodunus, a priest of Burgundy, who wrote about 1300, in his *De Philosophia Mundi*, Præfat. ad lib. iv. The tenth satire of Juvenal is quoted by Chaucer in *TROILLUS* and *CRESSEIDE*, b. iv. v. 197. pag. 307. edit. Urr. There is an old Italian metaphrase of Juvenal done in 1475, and published soon afterwards, by Georgio Summaripa, of Verona. *Giornale*

de Letterati d'Italia, tom. viii. p. 41. Juvenal was printed at Rome as early as 1474.

There are two manuscripts of this poem, from which I transcribe, in the Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 64. and 157. One of these has a gloss, but not that of Hugo Legatus, mentioned by Bailler. *Jugem. Sav. iv. p. 257. edit. 4to.* This poem is said to have been printed at Paris 1517. 4to. *Bibl. Thuan. tom. ii. p. 286.* This edition I have never seen, and believe it to be an extremely scarce book.

* Cod. Digb. 64. ut supr.

DISSERTATION H.

Pars erat occidui terror ; majorque premebat
 Te furor extremum zephyri, Cornubia, limen,
 Hos avidum belli Corinæi robur Averno
 Præcipites misit ; cubitis ter quatuor altum
 Gogmagog Herculeæ suspendit in acre lucta,
 Anthæumque suum scopulo demisit in æquor ;
 Potavitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus,
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 Plenius effundit triplicatæ lampadis ignes.
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 Pullulat Arthurum, facie dum falsus adulter
 Tintagel irrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstu
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 Mentiturque ducis habitus, et rege latente
 Induit absentis præsentia Gorlois ora °.

There is a false glare of expression, and no great justness of sentiment, in these verses ; but they are animated, and flow in a strain of poetry. They are pompous and sonorous ; but these faults have been reckoned beauties even in polished ages. In the same book our author thus characterises the different merits of the satires of Horace and Persius.

° Milton appears to have been much struck with this part of the ancient British History, and to have designed it for the subject of an epic poem. *BRITANN. DAMONIS*, v. 162.
 Ipse ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,

Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos :
 Tam gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iogernem,
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus. —
 See also Milton's *MANSUS*, v. 80.

Persius

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Perfius in Flacci pelago decurrit, et audet
Mendicasse stylum satyræ, ferraque cruentus
Rodit, et ignorat polientem pectora limam?

In the third book he describes the happy parsimony of the Cistercian monks.

O sancta, o felix, albis galeata cucullis,
Liberâ paupertas! Nudo jejunia pastu
Tracta diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum
Mollitiæ mensæ. Bacchus convivâ nullo
Murmure conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis
Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat
Solennes epulas ventris gravis hospita Thetis,
Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ
Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum
Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur,
Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu.

Among Digby's manuscripts in the Bodleian library, are Hanvill's Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, many of which have considerable merit. They are followed by a metrical tract, entitled DE EPISTOLARUM COMPOSITIONE. But this piece is written in rhyme, and seems to be posterior to the age, at least inferior to the genius, of Hanvill. He

* Juvenal is also cited by John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Vincentius Bellouacensis, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the middle ages. They often call him *ERICUS*. See particularly Petr. Blef. Epist. lxxvii. Some lines from Juvenal are cited by Honorius Augustodunus, a priest of Burgundy, who wrote about 1300, in his *De Philosophia Mundi*, Præfat. ad lib. iv. The tenth satire of Juvenal is quoted by Chaucer in *TROLLUS* and *CRESEIDE*, b. iv. v. 197. pag. 307. edit. Urr. There is an old Italian metaphrase of Juvenal done in 1475, and published soon afterwards, by Georgio Summaripa, of Verona. *Giornale*

de Letterati d'Italia, tom. viii. p. 411. Juvenal was printed at Rome as early as 1474.

There are two manuscripts of this poem, from which I transcribe, in the Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 64, and 157. One of these has a gloss, but not that of Hugo Legatus, mentioned by Baillet. Jugem. Sav. iv. p. 257, edit. 4to. This poem is said to have been printed at Paris 1517, 4to. Bibl. Thuan. tom. ii. p. 286. This edition I have never seen, and believe it to be an extremely scarce book.

[†] Cod. Digb. 64. ut supr.

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was buried in the abbey church of faint Alban's, soon after the year 1200'. Gyraldus Cambrensis deserves particular regard for the universality of his works, many of which are written with some degree of elegance. He abounds with quotations of the best Latin poets. He was an historian, an antiquary, a topographer, a divine, a philosopher, and a poet. His love of science was so great, that he refused two bishopricks; and from the midst of public business, with which his political talents gave him a considerable connection in the court of Richard the first, he retired to Lincoln for seven years, with a design of pursuing theological studies'. He recited his book on the topography of Ireland in public at Oxford, for three days successively. On the first day of this recital he entertained all the poor of the city; on the second, all the doctors in the several faculties, and scholars of better note; and on the third, the whole body of students, with the citizens and soldiers of the garrison. It is probable that this was a ceremony practised on the like occasion in the university of Paris; where Giral-

^a Bale. iii. 49.

^b Wharton, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 374.

^c Wood. *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* i. 56.

^d But Wood insinuates, that this sumptuous entertainment was partly given by Gyraldus, as an inceptor in the arts. *Ubi* *supr.* p. 25. col. 1. Which practice I have mentioned, *Sacr.* ix. p. 290. *infr.* And I will here add other instances, especially as they are proofs of the estimation in which letters, at least literary honours, were held. In the year 1268, the inceptors in civil law at Oxford were so numerous, and attended by such a number of guests, that the academical houses or hostels were not sufficient for their accommodation: and the company filled not only these, but even the refectory, cloisters, and many apartments of Osney abbey, near the suburbs of Oxford. At which time many Italians studying at Oxford were admitted in that faculty. Wood, *ubi* *supr.* p. 25.

col. 1. It appears that the mayor and citizens of Oxford were constantly invited to these solemnities. In the year 1400, two monks of the priory of Christ Church in Canterbury were severally admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity and civil law at Oxford. The expences were paid by their monastery, and amounted to 1187. 31. 8d. *Registr. Priorat. pergam.* MSS. Tanner, Oxon. Num. 165. fol. 212. a. Among other articles there is, "In solutione facta HISTORIONIBUS." fol. 213. 2. [See *Sacr.* ii. p. 91. *infr.*] At length these scholastic banquets grew to such excess, that it was ordered in the year 1431, that no inceptor in arts should expend more than "3000 grossos Turonenses." *Vet. Stat.* See Leland, *Coll. P.* ii. tom. i. p. 296, 297. edit. 1770. But the limitation was a considerable sum. Each is somewhat less than an English groat. Notwithstanding, Neville, afterwards archbishop of York, on his admission to the degree

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dus had studied for twenty years, and where he had been elected professor of canon law in the year 1189*. His account of Wales was written in consequence of the observations he made on that country, then almost unknown to the English, during his attendance on an archiepiscopal visitation. I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing from this book his picture of the romantic situation of the abbey of Lantony in Monmouthshire. I will give it in English, as my meaning is merely to shew how great a master the author was of that selection of circumstances which forms an agreeable description, and which could only flow from a cultivated mind.

“ In the deep vale of Ewias, which is about a bowshot over,
 “ and enclosed on all sides with high mountains, stands the
 “ abbey church of faint John, a structure covered with lead,
 “ and not unhandsomely built for so lonesome a situation:
 “ on the very spot, where formerly stood a small chapel
 “ dedicated to faint David, which had no other ornaments
 “ than green moss and ivy. It is a situation fit for the exer-
 “ cise of religion; and a religious edifice was first founded
 “ in this sequestered retreat to the honour of a solitary life,
 “ by two hermits, remote from the noise of the world, upon
 “ the banks of the river Hondy, which winds through the
 “ midst of the valley.----The rains which mountainous
 “ countries usually produce, are here very frequent, the
 “ winds exceedingly tempestuous, and the winters almost

degree of master of arts in 1452, feasted the academics and many strangers for two successive days, at two entertainments, consisting of nine hundred costly dishes. Wood. *ibid.* 219. col. 1. 2. Nor was this reverence to learning, and attention to its institutions, confined to the circle of our universities. Such was the pedantry of the times, that in the year 1503, archbishop Wareham, chancellor of Oxford, at his feast of inthronisation, ordered to be introduced in the first course a curious dish, in which were exhibited the eight towers of the university. In every tower stood a

bedell; and under the towers were figures of the king, to whom the chancellor Wareham, encircled with many doctors properly habited, presented four Latin verses, which were answered by his majesty. The eight towers were those of Merton, Magdalene, and New College, and of the monasteries of Osney, Rewley, the Dominican, Augustine, and Franciscan friars, which five last are now utterly destroyed. Wood, *ubi sup.* lib. i. p. 239. col. 1. Compare Robinson's Charles V. i. 323. seq.

* Wharton, *ibid.*

“ continually

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“ continually dark. Yet the air of the valley is so happily
 “ tempered, as scarcely to be the cause of any diseases. The
 “ monks sitting in the cloisters of the abbey, when they
 “ chuse for a momentary refreshment to cast their eyes
 “ abroad, have on every side a pleasing prospect of moun-
 “ tains ascending to an immense height, with numerous
 “ herds of wild deer feeding aloft on the highest extremity
 “ of this lofty horizon. The body of the sun is not visible
 “ above the hills till after the meridian hour, even when
 “ the air is most clear.” Giraldus adds, that Roger bishop
 of Salisbury, prime minister to Henry the first, having
 visited this place, on his return to court told the king, that
 all the treasure of his majesty’s kingdom would not suffice
 to build such another cloister. The bishop explained himself
 by saying, that he meant the circular ridge of mountains
 with which the vale of Ewias was enclosed¹. Alexander
 Neckham was the friend, the associate, and the correspondent
 of Peter of Blois already mentioned. He received the first
 part of his education in the abbey of saint Alban’s, which he
 afterwards completed at Paris². His compositions are va-
 rious, and croud the department of manuscripts in our
 public libraries. He has left numerous treatises of divinity,
 philosophy, and morality: but he was likewise a poet, a
 philologist, and a grammarian. He wrote a tract on the
 mythology of the antient poets, Esopian fables, and a system
 of grammar and rhetoric. I have seen his elegiac poem on
 the monastic life³, which contains some finished lines. But
 his capital piece of Latin poetry is On the Praise of DIVINE
 WISDOM, which consists of seven books. In the introduc-
 tion he commemorates the innocent and unreturning plea-
 sures of his early days, which he passed among the learned
 monks of saint Alban’s, in these perspicuous and unaffected
 elegiacs.

¹ Girald. Cambrenf. ITIN. CAMBR. Lib. i. c. 3. p. 89. seq. Lond. 1585. 12mo.
² Let. Script. Brit. p. 240. seq. ³ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 65. f. 18.

“*ylavuitnoo*”

----Clauftrum

DISSERTATION III.

Claustrum Martiris Albani fit tibi tuta quies.
 Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
 Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
 Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
 Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
 Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos,
 Felix eximio martyre, gente, fitu.
 Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
 Indulget sancto religiosa cohors^b.

Neckham died abbot of Cirencester in the year 1217^c. He was much attached to the studious repose of the monastic profession, yet he frequently travelled into Italy^d. Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, has been very happily styled the Anacreon of the eleventh century^e. He studied at Paris^f. His vein was chiefly festive and satirical^g: and as his wit was frequently levelled against the corruptions of the clergy, his poems often appeared under fictitious names, or have been ascribed to others^h. The celebrated drinking odeⁱ of this genial archdeacon has the regular returns of the monkish rhyme: but they are here applied with a characteristical propriety, are so happily invented, and so humourously introduced, that they not only suit the genius but heighten the spirit of the piece^k. He boasts that good wine inspires

^b Apud Lel. Script. Brit. p. 240.

^c Willis, Mit. Abb. i. 61, 62.

^d Lel. ibid.

^e Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. Not. B. ii. p. 433-440.

^f See infr. Sect. ii. p. 67.

^g Tanner, Bibl. p. 507.

^h Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 706. Compare Tanner, Bibl. 351. 507. In return, many pieces went under the name of our author. As, for instance, *De Thebide et de Lyce*, which is a ridiculous piece of scurrility. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 166. f. 104.

ⁱ See Camd. Rem. p. 436. РУТНМІ.

^k In Bibl. Bodl. a piece *De Nugis Curialium* is given to Mapes. MSS. Arch. B. 52. It was written A. D. 1182. As appears from *Disputat.* iv. cap. 1. It is in five books. Many Latin poems in this manuscript are given to Mapes. One in particular, written in a flowing style, in short lines, preserving no fixed metrical rule, which seems to have been intended for singing. In another manuscript I find various pieces of Latin poetry, by some attributed to Mapes, Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. iii. Some of these are in a good taste. Camden has printed his *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum*.

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him to sing verses equal to those of Ovid. In another Latin ode of the same kind, he attacks with great liveliness the new injunction of pope Innocent, concerning the celibacy of the clergy; and hopes that every married priest with his bride, will say a pater noster for the soul of one who had thus hazarded his salvation in their defence.

Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi,
Necnon pro presbyteris plura comprobavi:
PATER NOSTER nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi,
Dicat quisque Presbyter, cum sua Suavi¹.

But a miracle of this age in classical composition was Joseph of Exeter, commonly called Josephus Iscanus. He wrote two epic poems in Latin heroics. The first is on the Trojan War; it is in six books, and dedicated to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury^m. The second is entitled *ANTIOCHEIS*, the

Oculum. Rem. p. 439. It is written in a sort of Anacreontic verse, and has some humour. It is in MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. ut supr. 166. See also Camd. ibid. p. 437.

¹ Camd. Rem. ut supr.

^m See lib. i. 32. It was first printed at Basil, but very corruptly, in the year 1541. 8vo. Under the name of Cornelius Nepos. The existence and name of this poem seem to have been utterly unknown in England when Leland wrote. He first met with a manuscript copy of it by mere accident in Magdalene college library at Oxford. He never had even heard of it before. He afterwards found two more copies at Paris. But these were all imperfect, and without the name of the author, except a marginal hint. At length he discovered a complete copy of it in the library of Thorney abbey in Cambridgeshire, which seems to have ascertained the author's name, but not his country. Script. Brit. p. 238. The neglect of this poem among our ancestors, I mean in the ages which followed Iscanus, appears from the few manuscripts of it now remaining in England. Leland,

who searched all our libraries, could find only two. There is at present one in the church of Westminster. Another in Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 157. That in Magdalene college is MSS. Cod. 50. The best edition is at the end of "Distys Cre-tensis et Dares Phrygius, in us. Sereniff. Delph. cum Interpret. A. Dacerize, &c. Amstel. 1702." 4to. But all the printed copies have omitted passages which I find in the Digby manuscript. Particularly they omit, in the address to Baldwin, four lines after v. 32. lib. i. Thirteen lines, in which the poet alludes to his intended *ANTIOCHEIS*, are omitted before v. 962. lib. vi. Nor have they the verses in which he compliments Henry the second, said by Leland to be at the end of the fourth book, Script Brit. p. 238. The truth is, these passages would have betrayed their first editor's pretence of this poem being written by Cornelius Nepos. As it is, he was obliged in the address to Baldwin, to change *Cantia*, *KENT*, into *Tantia*; for which he substitutes *Pontia* in the margin, as an ingenious conjecture.

War

DISSERTATION II.

War of Antioch, or the Crusade; in which his patron the archbishop was an actorⁿ. The poem of the Trojan war is founded on Dares Phrygius; a favorite fabulous historian of that time^o. The diction of this poem is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious: and on the whole, the structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry. The writer appears to have possessed no common command of poetical phraseology, and wanted nothing but a knowledge of the Virgilian chastity. His style is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, who seem then to have been the popular patterns^p. But a few specimens will best illustrate this criticism. He thus, in a strain of much spirit and dignity, addresses king Henry the second, who was going to the holy war^q, the intended subject of his ANTIOCHEIS.

-----Tuque, oro, tuo da, maxime, vati
 [Ire iter inceptum, Trojamque aperire jacentem:
 Te sacræ affument acies, divinaque bella,
 Tunc dignum majore tuba; tunc pectore toto
 Nitari, et immensum mecum spargere per orbem^r,

The tomb or mausoleum of Teuthras is feigned with a brilliancy of imagination and expression; and our poet's

ⁿ Leland, p. 224, 225.

^o The manuscript at Magdalen college, mentioned by Leland, is entitled, *Dares Phrygius de bello Trojano*. Lel. p. 236. As also MSS. Digb. supr. citat. But see Sect. iii. p. 135. infr.

^p Statius is cited in the epistles of Stephen of Tournay, a writer of the twelfth century. "Divinam ejus responsonem, ut *Thebais* *Eneida*, longe sequor, et vestigia semper adoro." He died in 1200. *Epistolæ*, Paris. 1611. 4to. Epist. v. p. 535. On account of the variety of his matter, and the facility of his manner, none of the antient poets are more frequently cited in the writers of the dark ages than Ovid. His *Fastæ* seems to have been their favorite: a work thus admira-

bly characterized by an ingenious French writer. "Les Fautes d'Ovide renferment plus d'érudition qu'aucun autre ouvrage de l'antiquité. C'est le chef d'œuvre de ce poëte, et une espèce de dévotion païenne." Vigneul Marville, *Misc. Hist. et Lit.* tom. ii. p. 306. A writer of the thirteenth century, *DE MIRABILIBUS ROMÆ*, published by Montfaucon, calls this work *MARTILOGIUM Ovidii in Fastis*. Montf. *Diar. Italic.* c. xx. p. 293.

^q Voltaire has expressed his admiration of the happy choice of subject which Tasso made. We here see a poet of an age much earlier than Tasso celebrating the same sort of expedition.

^r Lib. i. 47.

DISSERTATION II.

classical ideas seem here to have been tinged with the description of some magnificent oriental palace, which he had seen in the romances of his age.

Regia conspicuis moles inscripta figuris
Exceptura ducem, senis affulta columnis,
Tollitur: electro vernat basis, arduus auro
Ardet apex, radioque stylus candescit eburno.

----Gemmæ quas littoris Indi

Dives arena tegit, aurum quod parturit Hermus,
In varias vivunt species, ditique decorum
Materie contendit opus: quod nobile ductor
Quod clarum gessit, ars explicat, ardua pandit
Moles, et totum referat sculptura tyrannum¹.

He thus describes Penthesilea and Pyrrhus.

Eminet, horrificas rapiens post terga fecures,
Virginei regina chori: non provida cultus
Cura trahit, non forma juvat, frons aspera, vestis
Discolor, infertumque armis irascitur aurum.
Si visum, si verba notes, si lumina pendas,
Nil leve, nil fractum: latet omni fœmina facta.
Obvius ultrices accendit in arma cohortes,
Myrmidonasque suos, curru prævectus anhelos,
Pyrrhus, &c.

-----Meritofque offensus in hostes

Arma patris, nunc ultor, habet: sed tanta recusant
Pondera crescentes humeri, majoraque cassis
Colla petit, breviorque manus vix colligit hastam².

Afterwards a Grecian leader, whose character is invective, insults Penthesilea, and her troop of heroines, with these reproaches.

¹ Lib. iv. 451.

² Lib. vi. p. 589.

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Tunc sic increpitans, Pudeat, Mars inclyte, dixit :
 En !, tua signa gerit, quin nostra effœminat arma
 Staminiſibus vix apta manus. Nunc ſtabitis hercle
 Perjuræ turres ; calathos et penſa puellæ
 Plena rotant, ſparguntque colos. Hoc milite Troja,
 His fidit telis. At non patiemur Achivi :
 Etſi turpe viris timidas calcare puellas,
 Ibo tamen contra. Sic ille : At virgo loquacem
 Tarda ſequi ſexum, velox ad prælia, ſolo
 Reſpondet jaculo', &c.-----

I will add one of his comparifons. The poet is ſpeaking of the reluctant advances of the Trojans under their new leader Memnon, after the fall of Heſtor.

Qualiter Hyblæi mellita pericula reges,
 Si ſignis iniere datis, labente tyranno
 Alterutro, viduos dant agmina ſtridula queſtus ;
 Et, ſubitum vix naſta ducem, metuentia vibrant
 Spicula, et imbelli remeant in prælia roſtro'.

His ANTIOCHEIS was written in ſame ſtrain, and had equal merit. All that remains of it is the following fragment', in which the poet celebrates the heroes of Britain, and particularly king Arthur.

----- Inclyta fulſit
 Poſteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumnis,
 Tot fœcunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem

* Lib. vi. 609. * Lib. vi. 19.
 † Camd. Rem. p. 410. POEMS. See
 alſo Camd. Brit. Leland having learned
 from the *Bellum Trojanum* that Joſephus
 had likewiſe written a poem on the cruſade,
 ſearched for it in many places, but without
 ſucceſs. At length he found a piece of it

in the library of Abingdon abbey in Berk-
 ſhire. "Cum excuterem pulverem et
 "tineas Abbandunenſis bibliothecæ." Ut
 ſupr. p. 238. Here he diſcovered that
 Joſephus was a native of Exeter, which
 city was highly celebrated in that frag-
 ment.

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Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc, Senonum ductor, captiva Brennius urbe
Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
Hinc et Scæva fatus, pars non obscura tumultus
Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc, celebri fato, felici floruit ortu,
Flos regum Arthurus^w, cujus tamen acta stupori
Non micuere minus: totus quod in aure voluptas,
Et populo plaudente favor^x. Quæcunque^y priorum
Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum,
Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos:
Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstros;
Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve,
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes:
Solutus præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

Camden asserts, that Joseph accompanied king Richard the first to the holy land^z, and was an eye-witness of that heroic monarch's exploits among the Saracens, which afterwards he celebrated in the *ANTIOCHEIS*. Leland mentions his love-verses and epigrams, which are long since perished^a. He^b flourished in the year 1210^c.

^u f. "Captiva Brennus in."

^w From this circumstance, Pits absurdly recites the title of this poem thus. *Antiocheis in Regem Arthurum*. Jos. Isc.

^x The text seems to be corrupt in this sentence. Or perhaps somewhat is wanting. I have changed *favus*, which is in Camden, into *favor*.

^y f. *Quæcunque*.

^z Rem. ut supr. p. 407.

^a Leland, ut supr. p. 239. Our biographers mention *Panegyricum in Henricum*. But the notion of this poem seems to have

taken rise from the verses on Henry the second, quoted by Leland from the *Bellum Trojanum*. He is likewise said to have written in Latin verse *De Institutione Cyri*.

^b Italy had at that time produced no writer comparable to Iscanus.

^c Bale, iii. 60. Compare *Dresentus ad Lellorem*. Prefixed to the *DE BELLO TROJANO*, Fancos. 1620. 4to. Mr. Wise the late Radcliffe librarian, told me, that a manuscript of the *ANTIOCHEIS* was in the library of the duke of Chandois at Canons.

There

DISSERTATION II.

There seems to have been a rival spirit of writing Latin heroic poems about this period. In France, Guillaume le Breton, or William of Bretagny, about the year 1230, wrote a Latin heroic poem on Philip Augustus king of France, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, in twelve books, entitled PHILIPPIS^d. Barthius gives a prodigious character of this poem: and affirms that the author, a few gallicisms excepted, has expressed the facility of Ovid with singular happiness^e. The versification much resembles that of Joseph Icanus. He appears to have drawn a great part of his materials from Roger Hoveden's annals. But I am of opinion, that the PHILIPPID is greatly exceeded by the ALEXANDREID of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, who flourished likewise in France, and was provost of the canons of Tournay, about the year 1200^f. This poem celebrates the actions of Alexander the Great, is founded on Quintus Curtius^g, consists of ten books, and is dedicated to Guillerm archbishop of Rheims. To give the reader an opportunity of comparing Gualtier's style and manner with those of our countryman Josephus, I will transcribe a few specimens from a beautiful and antient manuscript of the ALEXANDREID in the Bodleian library^h. This is the exordium.

Gesta ducis Macedum totum vulgata per orbem,
 Quam late dispersit opes, quo milite Porum
 Vicerit et Darium; quo principe Græcia victrix

^d He wrote it at fifty-five years of age. PHILIPP. lib. iii. v. 381. It was first printed in Pithou's Eleven Historians of France, Francof. 1536. fol. Next in Du Chesne, SCRIPT. FRANC. tom. v. p. 93. Paris, 1694. fol. But the best edition is with Barthius's notes, Cygn. 1657. 4to. Brito says in the PHILIPPIS, that he wrote a poem called KARLOTTIS, in praise of Petri Carlotti sui, then not fifteen years old. PHILIPP. lib. i. v. 10.

This poem was never printed, and is hardly known.

^e In Not. p. 7. See also Adversar. xliiii. 7. He prefers it to the ALEXANDREIS mentioned below, in Not. p. 528. See Mem. Lit. viii. 336. edit. 4to.

^f It was first printed, Argent. 1513. 8vo. And two or three times since.

^g See infr. SECT. iii. p. 139. And Barth. Advers. lii. 16.

^h MSS. Digb. 52. 4to.

Risit,

DISSERTATION II.

Rifit, et a Persis rediere tributa Corinthum,
Musa, refer ^h.

A beautiful rural scene is thus described.

-----Patulis ubi frondea ramis
Laurus odoriferas celabat crinibus herbas :
Sæpe sub hac memorat carmen sylvestre canentes
Nympharum vidisse choros, Satyrosque procaces.
Fons cadit a læva, quem cespite gramen obumbrat
Purpureo, verisque latens sub veste locatur.
Rivulus at lento lavat inferiora meatu
Garrulus, et strepitu facit obsurdescere montes.
Hic mater Cybele Zephyrum tibi, Flora, maritans,
Pullulat, et vallem fœcundat gratia fontis.
Qualiter Alpinis spumoso vortice faxis
Descendit Rhodanus, ubi Maximianus Eeos
Extinxit cuneos, dum sanguinis unda meatum
Fluminis adjuvit. ⁱ.-----

He excells in families. Alexander, when a stripling, is thus compared to a young lion.

Qualiter Hyrcanis cum forte leunculis arvis
Cornibus elatos videt ire ad pabula cervos,
Cui nondum totos descendit robur in artus,
Nec bene firmus adhuc, nec dentibus asper aduncis,
Palpitat, et vacuum ferit improba lingua palatum ;
Effunditque prius animis quam dente cruorem ^k.

The ALEXANDREID soon became so popular, that Henry of Gaunt, archdeacon of Tournay, about the year 1330, complains that this poem was commonly taught in the

^h fol. 1. a.

ⁱ fol. xiii. a.

^k fol. xxi. a.

rhetorical

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rhetorical schools, instead of Lucan¹ and Virgil^m. The learned Charpentier cites a passage from the manuscript statutes of the university of Tholouse, dated 1328, in which the professors of grammar are directed to read to their pupils "De Historiis Alexandri". Among which I include Gualtier's poem^o. It is quoted as a familiar classic by Thomas Rodburn, a monkish chronicler, who wrote about the year 1420^p. An anonymous Latin poet, seemingly of the thirteenth century, who has left a poem on the life and miracles of saint Oswald, mentions Homer, Gualtier, and Lucan, as the three capital heroic poets. Homer, he says, has celebrated Hercules, Gualtier the son of Philip, and Lucan has sung the praises of Cesar. But, adds he, these heroes much less deserve to be immortalised in verse, than the deeds of the holy confessor Oswald.

In nova fert animus antiquas vertere profas
Carmina, &c.

¹ Here, among many other proofs which might be given, and which will occur hereafter, is a proof of the estimation in which Lucan was held during the middle ages. He is quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth and John of Salisbury, writers of the eleventh century. Hist. Brit. iv. 9. and Policrat. p. 215. edit. 1515, &c. &c. There is an anonymous Italian translation of Lucan, as early as the year 1310. The Italians have also *Lucano in volgare*, by cardinal Monticelli, at Milan 1492. It is in the octave rime, and in ten books. But the translator has so much departed from the original, as to form a sort of romance of his own. He was translated into Spanish prose, *Lucano poeta y historiador antiguo*, by Martin Lasse de Orespe, at Antwerp, 1585. Lucan was first printed in the year 1469. And before the year 1500, there were six other editions of this classic, whose declamatory manner rendered him very popular. He was published at Paris in French in 1500. Labb. Bibl. p. 339.

^m See Hen. Gandav. Monastichon. c. 20. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ii. 218. Alanus de Insulis, who died in 1202, in his poem called *ANTI-CLAUDIUS*, a Latin poem of nine books, much in the manner of Claudian, and written in defence of divine providence against a passage in that poet's *RUPINUS*, thus attacks the rising reputation of the *ALEXANDREID*.

Mævius in cœlis ardens os ponere mutum,
GESTA DUCIS MACEDUM, tenebrosi car-
minis umbra,
Dicere dum tentat. —

ⁿ Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss. tom. ii. p. 1255. V. *METRIFICATURA*. By which barbarous word they signified the Art of Poetry, or rather the Art of writing Latin verses.

^o See SECT. iii. p. 128. infr.
^p Hist. Maj. Winton. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 242.

Alciden

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Alciden hyperbolice commendat HOMERUS,
 GUALTERUS pingit torvo Philippida vultu,
 Cæfareas late laudes LUCANUS adauget:
 TRES illi famam meruerunt, tresque poetas
 Auctores habuere suos, multo magis autem
 Oswaldi regis debent infignia dici⁹.

I do not cite this writer as a proof of the elegant versification which had now become fashionable, but to shew the popularity of the ALEXANDREID, at least among scholars. About the year 1206, Gunther a German, and a Cistercian monk of the diocese of Basil, wrote an heroic poem in Latin verse entitled, *LIGURINUS*, which is scarce inferior to the *PHILIPPID* of Guillaum le Breton, or the *ALEXANDREID* of Gualtier: but not so polished and classical as the *TROJAN WAR* of our Josephus Iscanus. It is in ten books, and the subject is the war of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa against

⁹ I will add some of the exordia lines almost immediately following, as they contain names, and other circumstances, which perhaps may lead to point out the age if not the name of the author. They were never before printed.

Tu quoque digneris, precor, aspirare labori,
 Flos cleri, MARTINE, meo; qui talis es
 inter
 Abbates, qualis est patronus tuus inter
 Pontifices: hic est primas, tu primus eorum,
 &c.
 Hic per Aidanum sua munificentia munus
 Illi promeruit, &c.
 Tuque benigne Prior, primas, et prime
 Priorum,
 Qui cleri, ROGERE, rosam geris, annue
 vati, &c.
 Tuque Sacrista, sacris instans, qui jure vocaris
 SYMON, id est humilis, quo nemo benignior alter
 Abbatis præcepta sui velocior audit,
 Tardius obloquitur: qui tot mea carmina
 servas

Scripta voluminibus, nec plura requirere cessas.

Præteritos laudas, præsentis dilige vestus, &c.

The manuscript is Bibl. Bodl. A. 1. 2. B. (Langb. 5. p. 3.) This piece begins at f. 57. Other pieces precede, in Latin poetry. As *VITÆ SANCTORUM. F. Becket. f. 3.*

Qui moritur? Præsul. Cur? pro Grege, &c.

Prolog. pr. f. 23.

Detineant alios Parnassi culmina, Cyrrhæ
 Plausus, Pieridum vox, Heliconis opes.

De partu Virginis. f. 28. b.

Nectareum rorem terris, &c.

S. Birinus, f. 42.

Et pudet, et fateor, &c.

The author of the life of Birinus says, he was commanded to write by Peter, probably Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. Perhaps he is Michael Blaunpayne. Alexander Esleby wrote lives of saints in Latin verse. See MSS. Harl. 1819. 531.

the

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the Milanese in Liguria⁹. He had before written a Latin poem on the expedition of the emperor Conrade against the Saracens, and the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign, which he called *SOLYMARIVM*¹. The subject is much like that of the *ANTIOCHEIS*; but which of the two pieces was written first it is difficult to ascertain.

While this spirit of classical Latin poetry was universally prevailing, our countryman Geoffrey de Vinefauf, an accomplished scholar, and educated not only in the priory of saint Frideswide at Oxford, but in the universities of France and Italy, published while at Rome a critical didactic poem entitled, *DE NOVA POETRIA*². This book is dedicated to pope Innocent the third: and its intention was to recommend and illustrate the new and legitimate mode of versification which had lately begun to flourish in Europe, in opposition to the Leonine or barbarous species. This he compendiously styles, and by way of distinction, *The New Poetry*. We must not be surpris'd to find Horace's Art of Poetry entitled *HORATII NOVA POETRIA*, so late as the year 1389, in a catalogue of the library of a monastery at Dover³.

Even a knowledge of the Greek language imported from France, but chiefly from Italy, was now beginning to be diffused in England. I am inclined to think, that many

⁹ First printed August. Vindel. 1507. fol. And frequently since.

¹ He mentions it in his *LIGURIVM*, lib. i. v. 13. seq. v. 648. seq. See also Voss. Poet. Lat. c. vi. p. 73. It was never printed. Gunther wrote a prose history of the sack of Constantinople by Baldwin: The materials were taken from the mouth of abbot Martin, who was present at the siege, in 1204. It was printed by Canisius, Antiqu. Lect. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 358. Ingolstadt. 1604. 4to. Again, in a new edition of that compilation, Amst. 1725. fol. tom. iv. See also Pagi, ad A. D. 1519. n. xiv.

² It has been often printed. I think it is called in some manuscripts, *De Arte dic-*

tandi, versificandi, et transferendi. See Selden, Præfat. *DEC. SCRIPTOR.* p. xxxix. And Selden, Op. ii. 168. He is himself no contemptible Latin poet, and is celebrated by Chaucer. See Urry's edit. p. 468. 560. He seems to have lived about 1200.

³ Ex Matricula monach. Monast. Dover. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, notat. 8. p. 758. archiv. Oxon. Yet all Horace's writings were often transcribed, and not unfamiliar, in the dark ages. His odes are quoted by Fitz-Stephens in his *DESCRIPTION OF LONDON*. Rabanus Maurus above-mentioned quotes two verses from the *ART OF POETRY*. Op. tom. ii. p. 46. edit. Colon. 1627. fol.

k

Greek

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Greek manuscripts found their way into Europe from Constantinople in the time of the crusades: and we might observe that the Italians, who seem to have been the most polished and intelligent people of Europe during the barbarous ages, carried on communications with the Greek empire as early as the reign of Charlemagne. Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, an universal scholar, and no less conversant in polite letters than the most abstruse sciences, cultivated and patronised the study of the Greek language. This illustrious prelate, who is said to have composed almost two hundred books, read lectures in the school of the Franciscan friars at Oxford about the year 1230^w. He translated Dionysius the Areopagite and Damascenus into Latin^x. He greatly facilitated the knowledge of Greek by a translation of Suidas's Lexicon, a book in high repute among the lower Greeks, and at that time almost a recent compilation^y. He promoted John of Basingstoke to the archdeaconry of Leicester; chiefly because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed many Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens into England^z. He entertained, as a domestic

^w Kennet, Paroch. Antiq. p. 217.

^x Leland, Script. Brit. p. 283.

^y Boston of Bury says, that he translated the book called *SUDA*. Catal. Script. Ecclief. ROBERT LINCOLN. Boston lived in the year 1410. Such was their ignorance at this time even of the name of this lexicographer.

^z Lel. Script. Brit. p. 266. Matthew Paris asserts, that he introduced into England a knowledge of the Greek numeral letters. That historian adds, "De quibus figuris HOC MAXIME ADMIRANDUM, quod unica figura quilibet numerus representatur: quod non est in Latino vel in Algorismo." Hist. edit. Lond. 1684. p. 721. He translated from Greek into Latin a grammar which he called *DONATUS GRÆCORUM*. See Pegge's Life of Roger de Weseham, p. 46. 47. 51. And *infr.* p. 281. He seems to have flourished about the year 1230. Bacon also wrote a

Greek grammar, in which is the following curious passage. "Episcopus consecrans ecclesiam, scribat Alphabetum Græcum in pulvere cum cuspidi baculi pastoralis: sed omnes episcopi QUI GRÆCUM IGNORANT, scribant tres notas numerorum quæ non sunt literæ, &c." *GR. GRAM.* cap. ult. p. iii. MSS. Apud MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 649. archiv. Oxon. See what is said of the new translations of Aristotle, from the original Greek into Latin, about the twelfth century. *SECT. IX.* p. 292. *infr.* I believe the translators understood very little Greek. Our countryman Michael Scotus was one of the first of them; who was assisted by Andrew a Jew. Michael was astrologer to Frederick emperor of Germany, and appears to have executed his translations at Toledo in Spain, about the year 1220. These new versions were perhaps little more than corrections from those of the early Arabians, made under

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in his palace, Nicholas chaplain of the abbot of saint Alban's, furnamed GRÆCUS, from his uncommon proficiency in Greek; and by his assistance he translated from Greek into Latin the testaments of the twelve patriarchs^a. Grosthead had almost incurred the censure of excommunication for preferring a complaint to the pope, that most of the opulent benefices in England were occupied by Italians^b. But this practice, although notoriously founded on the monopolising and arbitrary spirit of papal imposition, and a manifest act of injustice to the English clergy, probably contributed to introduce many learned foreigners into England, and to propagate philological literature.

Bishop Grosthead is also said to have been profoundly skilled in the Hebrew language^c. William the conqueror permitted great numbers of Jews to come over from Rouen, and to settle in England about the year 1087^d. Their multitude soon encreased, and they spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in England, where they built synagogues. There were fifteen hundred at York about the year 1189^e. At Bury in Suffolk

under the inspection of the learned Spanish Saracens. To the want of a true knowledge of the original language of the ancient Greek philosophers, Roger Bacon attributes the slow and imperfect advances of real science at this period. On this account their improvements were very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the appearance of erudition, and the fervour with which almost every branch of philosophy had been now studied in various countries for near half a century. See Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 120. seq. Dempster, xii. 940. Baconi Op. Maj. per Jebb, i. 15. ii. 8. Tanner, Bibl. p. 526. And MSS. Cotton. C. 5. fol. 138. Brit. Mus.

A learned writer affirms, that Aristotle's books in the original Greek were brought out of the east into Europe about the year 1200. He is also of opinion, that during the crusades many Europeans, from their

commerce with the Syrian Palestines, got a knowledge of Arabic: and that importing into Europe Arabic versions of some parts of Aristotle's works, which they found in the east, they turned them into Latin. These were chiefly his Ethics and Politics. And these NEW TRANSLATORS he further supposes were employed at their return into Europe in revising the old translations of other parts of Aristotle, made from Arabic into Latin. Euseb. Renaudot. De Barbar. Aristot. Versionib. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii p. 248. See also Murator. Antiq. Ital. Med. Æv. iii. 936.

^a See MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 4D. vii. 4. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 82. And M. Paris, sub anno 1242.

^b Godwin, Episc. p. 348. edit. 1616.

^c He is mentioned again, Sect. ii. p. 61. 78. infr.

^d Hollingth. Chron. sub ann. p. 15. a.

^e Anderf. Comm. i. 93.

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is a very complete remain of a Jewish synagogue of stone in the Norman style, large and magnificent. Hence it was that many of the learned English ecclesiastics of these times became acquainted with their books and language. In the reign of William Rufus, at Oxford the Jews were remarkably numerous, and had acquired a considerable property; and some of their Rabbis were permitted to open a school in the university, where they instructed not only their own people, but many christian students, in the Hebrew literature, about the year 1054^f. Within two hundred years after their admission or establishment by the conqueror, they were banished the kingdom^g. This circumstance was highly favourable to the circulation of their learning in England. The suddenness of their dismissal obliged them for present subsistence, and other reasons, to sell their moveable goods of all kinds, among which were large quantities of Rabbinical books. The monks in various parts availed themselves of the distribution of these treasures. At Huntingdon and Stamford there was a prodigious sale of their effects, containing immense stores of Hebrew manuscripts, which were immediately purchased by Gregory of Huntingdon, prior of the abbey of Ramsey. Gregory speedily became an adept in the Hebrew, by means of these valuable acquisitions, which he bequeathed to his monastery about the year 1250^h. Other members of the same convent, in consequence of these advantages, are said to have been equal proficient in the same language, soon after the death of prior Gregory: among which were Robert Dodford, librarian of Ramsey, and Laurence Holbech, who compiled a Hebrew Lexiconⁱ.

^f Angl. Judaic. p. 8.

^g Hollingh. *ibid.* sub. ann. 1289. p. 285. a. Matthew of Westminster says, that 16511 were banished. Flor. Hist. ad an. 1290. Great numbers of Hebrew rolls and charts, relating to their estates in England, and escheated to the king, are now remaining in the Tower among the royal records.

^h Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 321. And MSS. *Bibl. Lambeth.* Wharton, L. p. 661. "Libri Prioris Gregorii de Ramesey." "*Prima pars Bibliothecæ Hebraicæ,*" &c.

ⁱ Bale, iv. 41. ix. 9. *Lel. ubi sup.* p. 452.

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At Oxford, great multitudes of their books fell into the hands of Roger Bacon, or were bought by his brethren the Franciscan friars of that university ^k.

But, to return to the leading point of our enquiry, this promising dawn of polite letters and rational knowledge was soon obscured. The temporary gleam of light did not arrive to perfect day. The minds of scholars were diverted from these liberal studies in the rapidity of their career; and the arts of composition, and the ornaments of language were neglected, to make way for the barbarous and barren subtleties of scholastic divinity. The first teachers of this art, originally founded on that spirit of intricate and metaphysical enquiry which the Arabians had communicated to philosophy, and which now became almost absolutely necessary for defending the doctrines of Rome, were Peter Lombard archbishop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard: men whose consummate abilities were rather qualified to reform the church, and to restore useful science, than to corrupt both, by confounding the common sense of mankind with frivolous speculation ^l. These visionary theologians never explained or illustrated any scriptural topic: on the contrary, they perverted the simplest expressions of the sacred text, and embarrassed the most evident truths of the gospel by laboured distinctions and unintelligible solutions. From the universities of France, which were then filled with multitudes of English students, this admired species of sophistry was adopted in England, and encouraged by Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury ^m. And so successful was its progress at Oxford, that before the reign of Edward the second, no foreign university could boast so conspicuous a catalogue of subtle and invincible doctors.

^k Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 77. 132. See also SECT. ix. p. 291. infr.

^l They both flourished about the year 1150.

^m "Baccalaureus qui legit textum (sc. S.

"Scripturæ) succumbit lectori SENTENTIA-
TIARUM Parisiis, &c." Rog. Bacon, apud A. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 53. Lombard was the author of the *Sentences*.

Nor

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Nor was the profession of the civil and canonical laws a small impediment to the propagation of those letters which humanise the mind, and cultivate the manners. I do not mean to deny, that the accidental discovery of the imperial code in the twelfth century, contributed in a considerable degree to civilise Europe, by introducing, among other beneficial consequences, more legitimate ideas concerning the nature of government and the administration of justice, by creating a necessity of transferring judicial decrees from an illiterate nobility to the cognisance of scholars, by lessening the attachment to the military profession, and by giving honour and importance to civil employments: but to suggest, that the mode in which this invaluable system of jurisprudence was studied, proved injurious to polite literature. It was no sooner revived, than it was received as a scholastic science, and taught by regular professors, in most of the universities of Europe. To be skilled in the theology of the schools was the chief and general ambition of scholars: but at the same time a knowledge of both the laws was become an indispensable requisite, at least an essential recommendation, for obtaining the most opulent ecclesiastical dignities. Hence it was cultivated with universal avidity. It became so considerable a branch of study in the plan of academical discipline, that twenty scholars out of seventy were destined to the study of the civil and canon laws, in one of the most ample colleges at Oxford, founded in the year 1385. And it is easy to conceive the pedantry with which it was pursued in these seminaries during the middle ages. It was treated with the same spirit of idle speculation which had been carried into philosophy and theology, it was overwhelmed with endless commentaries which disclaimed all elegance of language, and served only to exercise genius, as it afforded materials for framing the flimsy labyrinths of casuistry.

It

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It was not indeed probable, that these attempts in elegant literature which I have mentioned should have any permanent effects. The change, like a sudden revolution in government, was too rapid for duration. It was moreover premature, and on that account not likely to be lasting. The habits of superstition and ignorance were as yet too powerful for a reformation of this kind to be effected by a few polite scholars. It was necessary that many circumstances and events, yet in the womb of time, should take place, before the minds of men could be so far enlightened as to receive these improvements.

But perhaps inventive poetry lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgment been now established, imagination would have suffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reason would have chafed before their time those spectres of illusive fancy, so pleasing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of ignorance and superstition, and which form so considerable a part of the poetry of the succeeding centuries.

D I S S E R T A T I O N

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should perhaps receive power for nothing by the system.
The classical tale and judgment of men should be
question would rise general and necessary work would
have been given to the beautiful extraordinary and
publishing in a word truth and reason would have been
looked upon those points of literature to be
as the foundation which should be the basis of
grammar and literature and which would be
a part of the better of the following century.