

giving way before the citizen prince who now surveyed them; the Palazzo Vecchio, in which the signiory of Florence held their councils, raised by the Guelf aristocracy, the exclusive but not tyrannous faction that long swayed the city; or the new and unfinished palace, which Brunelleschi had designed for one of the Pitti family, before they fell, as others had already done, in the fruitless struggle against the house of Medici; itself destined to become the abode of the victorious race, and to perpetuate, by retaining its name, the revolutions that had raised them to power.

60. The prospect, from an elevation, of a great city in its silence, is one of the most impressive, as well as beautiful, we ever behold. But far more must it have brought home thoughts of seriousness to the mind of one who, by the force of events, and the generous ambition of his family and his own, was involved in the dangerous necessity of governing without the right, and, as far as might be, without the semblance of power; one who knew the vindictive and unscrupulous hostility which, at home and abroad, he had to encounter. If thoughts like these could bring a cloud over the brow of Lorenzo, unfit for the object he sought in that retreat, he might restore its serenity by other scenes which his garden commanded. Mountains bright with various hues, and clothed with wood, bounded the horizon, and, on most sides, at no great distance; but embosomed in these were other villas and domains of his own; while the level country bore witness to his agricultural improvements, the classic diversion of a statesman's cares. The same curious spirit which led him to fill his garden at Careggi with exotic flowers of the East, the first instance of a botanical collection in Europe, had introduced a new animal from the same regions. Herds of buffaloes, since naturalised in Italy, whose dingy hide, bent neck, curved horns, and lowering aspect, contrasted with the greyish hue and full mild eye of the Tuscan oxen, pastured in the valley, down which the yellow Arno steals silently through its long reaches to the sea.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Talia Fasulco lentus meditabar in  
antro,  
Iure subarbano Medicum, qua mons  
sacer urbem

Mæoniam, longique volumina des-  
picit Aræi:  
Qua bonus hospitium felix placid-  
amque quietem

61. The Platonic academy, which Cosmo had planned, came to maturity under Lorenzo. The academicians were divided into three classes:—the patrons (mecenati), including the Medici; the hearers (ascoltatori, probably from the Greek word ἀκρόβηται); and the novices, or disciples, formed of young aspirants to philosophy. Ficino presided over the whole. Their great festival was the 13th of November, being the anniversary of the birth and death of Plato. Much of absurd mysticism, much of frivolous and mischievous superstition, was mingled with their speculations.<sup>f</sup>

62. The Disputationes Camaldulenses of Landino were published during this period, though, perhaps, written a little sooner. They belong to a class prominent in the literature of Italy in this and the succeeding century; disquisitions on philosophy in the form of dialogue, with more solicitude to present a graceful delineation of virtue, and to kindle a generous sympathy for moral beauty, than to explore the labyrinths of theory, or even to lay down clear and distinct principles of ethics. The writings of Plato and Cicero in this manner had shown a track in which their idolaters, with distant and hesitating steps, and more of reverence than emulation, delighted to tread. These Disputations of Landino, in which, according to the beautiful patterns of ancient dialogue, the most honoured names of the age appear—Lorenzo and his

Disputa-  
tiones Ca-  
maldulenses  
of Landino.

Indulget Laurens.

*Politiani Rusticus.*

And let us from the top of Fiesole,  
Whence Galileo's glass by night  
observed

The phases of the moon, look round  
below

On Arno's vale, where the dove-  
coloured steer—

Is ploughing up and down among  
the vines,

While many a careless note is sung  
aloud,

Filling the air with sweetness—and  
on thee,

Beautiful Florence, all within thy  
walls,

Thy groves and gardens, pinnacles  
and towers,

Drawn to our feet.

It is hardly necessary to say that  
these lines are taken from my friend  
Mr. Rogers's Italy, a poem full of moral

and descriptive sweetness, and written  
in the chastened tone of fine taste. With  
respect to the buffaloes, I have no other  
authority than these lines of Politian, in  
his poem of Ambra on the farm of  
Lorenzo at Poggio Cajano:

Atque aliud nigris missum, quis  
credat? ab India,  
Ruminat insuetas armentum discolor  
herbas.

But I must own that Buffon tells us,  
though without quoting any authority,  
that the buffalo was introduced into Italy  
as early as the seventh century. I did  
not take the trouble of consulting Aldro-  
vandus, who would perhaps have con-  
firmed him—especially as I have a better  
opinion of my readers than to suppose  
they would care about the matter.

<sup>f</sup> Roscoe, Corniani.

brother Julian; Alberti, whose almost universal genius is now best known by his architecture; Ficino, and Landino himself—turn upon a comparison between the active and contemplative life of man, to the latter of which it seems designed to give the advantage, and are saturated with the thoughtful spirit of Platonism.\*

63. Landino was not, by any means, the first who had tried the theories of ancient philosophy through the feigned warfare of dialogue. Valla, intrepid and fond of paradox, had vindicated the Epicurean ethics from the calumnious or exaggerated censure frequently thrown upon them, contrasting the true methods by which pleasure should be sought with the gross notions of the vulgar. Several other writings of the same description, either in dialogue or regular dissertation, belong to the fifteenth century, though not always published so early, such as Franciscus Barbarus de re uxoria, Platina de falso et vero bono, the Vita Civile of Palmieri, the moral treatises of Poggio, Alberti, Pontano, and Matteo Bosso, concerning some of which little more than the names are to be learned from literary history, and which it would not, perhaps, be worth while to mention, except as collectively indicating a predilection for this style which the Italians long continued to display.<sup>h</sup>

64. Some of these related to general criticism or to that of single authors. My knowledge of them is chiefly limited to the dialogue of Paulus Cortesius de hominibus doctis, written, I conceive, about 1490; no unsuccessful imitation of Cicero de claris oratoribus, from which indeed modern Latin writers have always been accustomed to collect the discriminating phrases of criticism. Cortesius, who was young at the time of writing this dialogue, uses an elegant if not always a correct Latinity; characterising agreeably, and with apparent taste, the authors of the fifteenth century. It may be read in conjunction with the Ciceronianus of Erasmus, who, with no knowledge, per-

\* Corniani and Roscoe have given this account of the Disputationes Camaldulenses. I have no direct acquaintance with the book.

<sup>h</sup> Corniani is much fuller than Tira-

boschi on these treatises. Roscoe seems to have read the ethical writings of Matteo Bosso (Life of Leo X., c. xx.), but hardly adverts to any of the rest I have named. Some of them are very scarce.

haps, of Cortesius, has gone over the same ground in rather inferior language.

65. It was about the beginning of this decad that a few Germans and Netherlanders, trained in the college of Deventer, or that of Zwoll, or of St. Edward's near Groningen, were roused to acquire that extensive knowledge of the ancient languages which Italy as yet exclusively possessed. Their names should never be omitted in any remembrance of the revival of letters; for great was their influence upon the subsequent times. Wessel of Groningen, one of those who contributed most steadily towards the purification of religion, and to whom the Greek and Hebrew languages are said, but probably on no solid grounds, to have been known, may be reckoned in this class. But others were more directly engaged in the advancement of literature. Three schools, from which issued the most conspicuous ornaments of the next generation, rose under masters learned for that time, and zealous in the good cause of instruction. Alexander Hegius became, about 1475, rector of that at Deventer, where Erasmus received his early education.<sup>l</sup> Hegius was not wholly ignorant of Greek, and imparted the rudiments of it to his illustrious pupil. I am inclined to ascribe the publication of a very rare and curious book, the first endeavour to print Greek on this side of the Alps, to no other person than Hegius.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>l</sup> Heeren, p. 149, says that Hegius began to preside over the school of Deventer in 1480; but I think the date in the text is more probable, as Erasmus left it at the age of fourteen, and was certainly born in 1465. Though Hegius is said to have known but little Greek, I find in Panzer the title of a book by him, printed at Deventer in 1501, de Utilitate Linguae Graecae.

The life of Hegius in Melchior Adam is interesting. Primus hic in Belgio literas excitavit, says Reuvius, in Daventria Illustrata, p. 130. Mihi, says Erasmus, admodum adhuc puero contigit uti praecceptore hujus discipulo Alexandro Hegio Westphalo, qui ludum aliquando celebrem oppidi Daventriensis moderabatur, in quo nos olim admodum pueri utriusque linguae prima didicimus elementa. Adag. Chil. i. cent. iv. 33. In

another place he says of Hegius: Ne hic quidem Graecarum literarum omnino ignarus est. Epist. 411, in Appendice. Erasmus left Deventer at the age of fourteen; consequently in 1479 or 1480, as he tells us in an epistle, dated 17th Apr. 1519.

<sup>k</sup> This very rare book, unnoticed by most bibliographers, is of some importance in the history of literature. It is a small quarto tract, entitled Conjugationes verborum Graeca Daventriae noviter extremo labore collectae et impressae. No date or printer's name appears. A copy is in the British Museum, and another in Lord Spencer's library. It contains nothing but the word  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega$  in all its voices and tenses, with Latin explanations in Gothic letters. The Greek types are very rude, and the characters sometimes misplaced. It must, I

Louis Dringeborg founded, not perhaps before 1480, a still more distinguished seminary at Schelstadt in Alsace.

should presume, seem probable to every one who considers this book, that it is of the fifteenth century, and consequently older than any known Greek on this side of the Alps, which of itself should render it interesting in the eyes of bibliographers and of every one else. But, fully disclaiming all such acquaintance with the technical science of typographical antiquity as to venture any judgment founded on the appearance of a particular book, or on a comparison of it with others, I would, on other grounds, suggest the probability that this little attempt at Greek grammar issued from the Deventer press about 1480. It appears clear that whoever "collected with extreme labour" these forms of the verb *τίθημι*, had never been possessed of a Greek and Latin grammar. For would it not be absurd to use such expressions about a simple transcription? Besides which, the word is not only given in an arrangement different from any I have ever seen, but with a non-existent form of participle, *τιθησάμενος* for *τιθήμενος*, which could not surely have been found in any prior grammar. Now the grammar of Lascaris was published with a Latin translation by Craston in 1480. It is indeed highly probable that this book would not reach Deventer immediately after its impression; but it does seem as if there could not long have been any extreme difficulty in obtaining a correct synopsis of the verb *τίθημι*.

We have seen that Erasmus, about 1477, acquired a very slight tincture of Greek under Alexander Hegius at Deventer. And here, as he tells us, he saw Agricola, returning probably from Italy to Groningen. *Quem mihi puero, ferme duodecim annos nato, Daventriae videre contigit, nec aliud contigit.* (Jortin, ii. 416.) No one could be so likely as Hegius to attempt a Greek grammar; nor do we find that his successors in that college were men as distinguished for learning as himself. But in fact at a later time it could not have been so incorrect. We might perhaps conjecture that he took down these Greek tenses from the mouth of Agricola, since we must presume oral communication rather

than the use of books. Agricola, repeating from memory, and not thoroughly conversant with the language, might have given the false participle *τιθησάμενος*. The tract was probably printed by Pafroet, some of whose editions bear as early a date as 1477. It has long been extremely scarce; for Revius does not include it in the list of Pafroet's publications which he has given in *Daventria Illustrata*, nor will it be found in Panzer. Beloe was the first to mention it in his *Anecdotes of Scarce Books*, and it is referred by him to the fifteenth century, but apparently without his being aware that there was anything remarkable in that antiquity. Dr. Dibdin, in *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, has given a fuller account, and from him Brunet has inserted it in the *Manuel du Libraire*. Neither Beloe nor Dibdin seems to have known that there is a copy in the Museum; they speak only of that belonging to Lord Spencer.

If it were true that Reuchlin, during his residence at Orleans, had published, as well as compiled, a Greek grammar, we should not need to have recourse to the hypothesis of this note in order to give the antiquity of the present decad to Greek typography. Such a grammar is asserted by Meiners, in his *Life of Reuchlin*, to have been printed at Poitiers; and Eichhorn positively says, without reference to the place of publication, that Reuchlin was the first German who published a Greek grammar. (*Gesch. der Litt.*, iii. 275.) Meiners, however, in a subsequent volume (iii. 10), retracts this assertion, and says it has been proved that the Greek grammar of Reuchlin was never printed. Yet I find in the *Bibliotheca Universalis of Gesner*: *Job. Capnio [Reuchlin] scripsit de diversitate quatuor idiomatum Græcæ linguæ lib. 1.* No such book appears in the list of Reuchlin's works in Nicéron, vol. xxv., nor in any of the bibliographies. If it ever existed, we may place it with more probability at the very close of this century, or at the beginning of the next.

[The learned Dr. West of Dublin informed me that Reuchlin, in a dedication

Here the luminaries of Germany in a more advanced stage of learning, Conrad Celtes, Bebel, Rhenanus, Wimpheling, Pirckheimer, Simler, are said to have imbibed their knowledge.<sup>m</sup> The third school was at Munster; and over this Rodolph Langius presided, a man not any way inferior to the other two, and of more reputation as a Latin writer, especially as a poet. The school of Munster did not come under the care of Langius till 1483, or perhaps rather later; and his strenuous exertions in the cause of useful and polite literature against monkish barbarians extended into the next century. But his life was long: the first, or nearly such, to awaken his countrymen, he was permitted to behold the full establishment of learning and to exult in the dawn of the Reformation. In company with a young man of rank and equal zeal, Maurice Count of Spiegelberg, who himself became the provost of a school at Emmerich, Langius visited Italy, and as Meiners supposes, though, I think, upon uncertain grounds, before 1460. But not long afterwards a more distinguished person than any we have mentioned, Rodolph Agricola of Groningen, sought in that more genial land the taste and correctness which no Cisalpine nation could supply. Agricola passed several years of this decad in Italy. We shall find the effects of his example in the next.<sup>n</sup>

66. Meantime a slight impulse seems to have been given to the university of Paris by the lessons of George Tifernas; for from some disciples of his, Reuchlin, a young German of great talents and celebrity, acquired, probably about the year 1470, the first elements of the Greek language. This knowledge he improved by the lessons of a native Greek, Andronicus Cartoblacas, at Basle. In that city he had the good fortune, rare on this side of the Alps, to find a collection of Greek manuscripts, left there at the time of the council by a cardinal Nicolas of Ragusa. By the

of a Commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms in 1512, mentions a work that he had published on the Greek grammar, entitled *Micropædia*. There seems no reason to suppose that it was earlier than the time at which I have inclined to place it.—1842.]

<sup>m</sup> Eichhorn, iii. 231; Meiners, ii. 369.

Eichhorn carelessly follows a bad authority in counting Reuchlin among these pupils of the Schelstadt school.

<sup>n</sup> See Meiners, vol. ii., Eichhorn, and Hegren, for the revival of learning in Germany; or something may be found in Brucker.

advice of Cartoblacas, he taught Greek himself at Basle. After the lapse of some years, Reuchlin went again to Paris, and found a new teacher, George Hermonymus of Sparta, who had settled there about 1472. From Paris he removed to Orleans and Poitiers.<sup>o</sup>

67. The classical literature which delighted Reuchlin and Agricola was disregarded as frivolous by the wise of that day in the university of Paris; but they were much more keenly opposed to innovation and heterodoxy in their own peculiar line, the scholastic metaphysics. Most have heard of the long controversies between the Realists and Nominalists concerning the nature of universals, or the genera and species of things. The first, with Plato, and, at least as has been generally held, Aristotle, maintained their objective or external reality; either, as it was called, *ante rem*, as eternal archetypes in the Divine Intelligence, or *in re*, as forms inherent in matter; the second, with Zeno, gave them only a subjective existence as ideas conceived by the mind, and have hence in later times acquired the name of Conceptualists.<sup>p</sup> Roscelin, the first of the modern Nominalists, went farther than this, and denied, as Hobbes and Berkeley, with many others, have since done, all universality except to words and propositions. Abelard, who inveighs against the doctrine of Roscelin as false logic and false theology, and endeavours to confound it with the denial of any objective reality even in singular things,<sup>q</sup> may be esteemed the restorer of the Conceptualist school. We do not know his doctrines, however, by his own writings,

<sup>o</sup> Meiners, l. 46. Besides Meiners, Brucker, iv. 358, as well as Heeren, have given pretty full accounts of Reuchlin, and a good life of him will be found in the 25th volume of Nicéron; but the Epistole ad Reuchlinum throw still more light on the man and his contemporaries.

<sup>p</sup> I am chiefly indebted for the facts in the following paragraphs to a dissertation by Meiners, in the Transactions of the Göttingen Academy, vol. xii.

<sup>q</sup> Sic sicut pseudo-dialecticus, ita pseudo-christianus—ut eo loco quo dicitur Dominus partem piscis assi cogatur, partem hujus vocis, que est piscis

assi, non partem rei intelligere cogatur. Meiners, p. 27. This may serve to show the cavilling tone of scholastic disputes; and Meiners may well say, Quicquid Roscelinus peccavit, non adeo tamen insanisse pronuntiandum est, ut Abelardus illum fecisse invidiose fingere sustinuit. [M. Cousin has nevertheless proved, from a passage in some lately discovered manuscripts of Abelard, that he had really learned under Roscelin. This had been asserted by Otho of Frisingen, but doubted on account of a supposed incompatibility of dates. Fragmens Philosophiques, vol. iv. p. 57.—1853.]

but by the testimony of John of Salisbury, who seems not well to have understood the subject. The words Realist and Nominalist came into use about the end of the twelfth century. But in the next the latter party by degrees disappeared; and the great schoolmen, Aquinas and Scotus, in whatever else they might disagree, were united on the Realist side. In the fourteenth century William Ockham revived the opposite hypothesis with considerable success. Scotus and his disciples were the great maintainers of Realism. If Scotus there were no substantial forms, he argued, that is, nothing real, which determines the mode of being in each individual, men and brutes would be of the same substance; for they do not differ as to matter, nor can extrinsic accidents make a substantive difference. There must be a substantial form of a horse, another of a lion, another of a man. He seems to have held the immateriality of the soul, that is, the substantial form of man. But no other form, he maintained, can exist without matter naturally, though it may supernaturally by the power of God. Socrates and Plato agree more than Socrates and an ass. They have, therefore, something in common, which an ass has not. But this is not numerically the same; it must, therefore, be something universal, namely, human nature.<sup>7</sup>

68. These reasonings, which are surely no unfavourable specimen of the subtle philosopher (as Scotus was called) were met by Ockham with others which sometimes appear more refined and obscure. He confined reality to objective things, denying it to the host of abstract entities brought forward by Scotus. He defines a universal to be "a particular intention (meaning probably idea or conception) of the mind itself, capable of being predicated of many things, not for what it properly is itself, but for what those things are; so that, in so far as it has this capacity, it is called universal, but inasmuch as it is one form really existing in the mind, it is called singular."<sup>8</sup> I have not ex-

<sup>7</sup> Meiners, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Unam intentionem singularem ipsius anime, natam predicari de pluribus, non pro se, sed pro ipsis rebus; ita quod per hoc quod ipsa nata est predicari de plu-

ribus, non pro se sed pro illis pluribus, illa dicitur universalis; propter hoc autem, quod est una forma existens realiter in intellectu, dicitur singularis. p. 42.



amined the writings of Ockham, and am unable to determine whether his Nominalism extends beyond that of Berkeley or Stewart, which is generally asserted by the modern inquirers into scholastic philosophy; that is, whether it amounts to Conceptualism; the foregoing definition, as far as I can judge, might have been given by them.<sup>†</sup>

69. The later Nominalists of the scholastic period, Buridan, Biel, and several others mentioned by the historians of philosophy, took all their reasonings from the storehouse of Ockham. His doctrine was prohibited at Paris by pope John XXII., whose theological opinions, as well as secular encroachments, he had opposed. All masters of arts were bound by oath never to teach Ockhamism. But after the pope's death the university condemned a tenet of the Realists, that many truths are eternal, which are not God; and went so far towards the Nominalist theory as to determine that our knowledge of things is through the medium of words.<sup>‡</sup> Peter d'Ailly, Gerson, and other principal men of their age were Nominalists; the sect was very powerful in Germany, and may be considered, on the whole, as prevalent in this century. The Realists, however, by some management gained the ear of Louis XI., who, by an ordinance in 1473, explicitly approves the doctrines of the great Realist philosophers, condemns that of Ockham and his disciples, and forbids it to be taught, enjoining the books of the Nominalists to be locked up from public perusal, and all present as well as future graduates in the university to swear to the observation of this ordinance. The prohibition, nevertheless, was repealed in 1481; the guilty books set free from their chains, and the hypothesis of the Nominalists virtually permitted to be held, amidst the acclamations of the university, and especially one of its four nations, that of Germany. Some of their party had, during this persecution, taken refuge in that empire and in England, both friendly to their cause; and this metaphysical contention of the fifteenth century suggests and typifies the great religious convulsion of the next.

<sup>†</sup> [The definition seems hardly such as Berkeley would have given; it plainly recognises a general conception existing in the mind.—1847.]  
<sup>‡</sup> Meiners, p. 45: *Scientiam habemus de rebus, sed mediantibus terminis.*

The weight of ability during this later and less flourishing period of scholastic philosophy was on the Nominalist side; and though nothing in the Reformation was immediately connected with their principle, this metaphysical sect facilitated in some measure its success.

70. We should still look in vain to England for either learning or native genius. The reign of Edward IV. may be reckoned one of the lowest Low state of learning in England. points in our literary annals. The universities had fallen in reputation and in frequency of students; where there had been thousands, according to Wood, there was not now one; which must be understood as an hyperbolic way of speaking. But the decline of the universities, frequented as they had been by indigent vagabonds withdrawn from useful labour, and wretched as their pretended instruction had been, was so far from an evil in itself that it left clear the path for the approaching introduction of real learning. Several colleges were about this time founded at Oxford and Cambridge, which, in the design of their munificent founders, were to become, as they have done, the instruments of a better discipline than the barbarous schoolmen afforded. We have already observed that learning in England was like seed fermenting in the ground through the fifteenth century. The language was becoming more vigorous, and more capable of giving utterance to good thoughts, as some translations from Caxton's press show, such as the *Diets of Philosophers* by Lord Rivers. And perhaps the best exercise for a schoolboy people is that of schoolboys. The poetry of two Scotsmen, Henryson and Mercer, which is not without merit, may be nearly referred to the present decad.\*

71. The progress of mathematical science was regular, though not rapid. We might have mentioned Mathematics. before the gnomon erected by Toscanelli in the cathedral at Florence, which is referred to 1468; a work, it has been said, which, considering the times, has done as much honour to his genius as that so much renowned at Bologna to Cassini.† The greatest mathematician of the

\* Campbell's *Specimens of British Poets*, vol. I.

† This gnomon of Florence is by much the loftiest in Europe. It would be no

slight addition to the glory of Toscanelli if we should suppose him to have suggested the discovery of a passage westward to the Indies in a letter to Colum-

fifteenth century, Muller, or Regiomontanus, a native of Königsberg, or Königshoven, a small town in Franconia, whence he derived his latinised appellation, died prematurely, like his master Purbach, in 1476. He had begun at the age of fifteen to assist the latter in astronomical observations; and having, after Purbach's death, acquired a knowledge of Greek in Italy, and devoted himself to the ancient geometers, after some years spent with distinction in that country and at the court of Mathias Corvinus, he settled finally at Nuremberg, where a rich citizen, Bernard Walther, both supplied the means of accurate observations and became the associate of his labours.\* Regiomontanus died at Rome, whither he had been called to assist in rectifying the calendar. Several of his works were printed in this decad, and among others his ephemerides, or calculations of the places of the sun and moon, for the ensuing thirty years; the best, though not strictly the first, that had been made in Europe.<sup>a</sup> His more extensive productions did not appear till afterwards; and the treatise on triangles, the most celebrated of them, not till 1533. The solution of the more difficult cases both in plane and spherical trigonometry is found in this work; and, with the exception of what the science owes to Napier, it may be said that it advanced little for more than two centuries after the age of Regiomontanus.<sup>b</sup> Purbach had computed a table of sines to a radius of

bus, as his article in the *Biographie Universelle* seems to imply. But the more accurate expressions of Tiraboschi, referring to the correspondence between these great men, leave Columbus in possession of the original idea, at least concurrently with the Florentine astronomer, though the latter gave him strong encouragement to persevere in his undertaking. Toscanelli, however, had, on the authority of Marco Polo, imbibed an exaggerated notion of the distance eastward to China; and consequently believed, as Columbus himself did, that the voyage by the west to that country would be far shorter than, if the continent of America did not intervene, it could have been. Tiraboschi, vi. 189, 207; Roscoe's *Leo X.*, ch. 26.

\* Walther was more than a patron of

science, honourable as that name was. He made astronomical observations worthy of esteem relatively to the age. Montucla, l. 545. It is to be regretted that Walther should have diminished the credit due to his name by withholding from the public the manuscripts of Regiomontanus, which he purchased after the latter's death; so that some were lost by the negligence of his own heirs, and the rest remained unpublished till 1533.

<sup>a</sup> Gassendi, *Vita Regiomontani*. He speaks of them himself, as *quas vulgo vocant almanach*; and Gassendi says, that some were extant in manuscript at Paris, from 1442 to 1472. Those of Regiomontanus contained eclipses, and other matters not in former almanacs.

<sup>b</sup> Hutton's *Logarithms*, Introduction, p. 3.

600,000 parts. Regiomontanus, ignorant, as has been thought, which appears very strange, of his master's labours, calculated them to 6,000,000 parts. But perceiving the advantages of a decimal scale, he has given a second table, wherein the ratio of the sines is computed to a radius of 10,000,000 parts, or, as we should say, taking the radius as unity, to seven places of decimals. He subjoined what he calls Canon Fæcundus, or a table of tangents, calculating them, however, only for entire degrees to a radius of 100,000 parts.<sup>c</sup> It has been said that Regiomontanus was inclined to the theory of the earth's motion, which indeed Nicolas Cusanus had already espoused.

72. Though the arts of delineation do not properly come within the scope of this volume, yet so far as they are directly instrumental to science Arts of delineation. they ought not to pass unregarded. Without the tool that presents figures to the eye, not the press itself could have diffused an adequate knowledge either of anatomy or of natural history. As figures cut in wooden blocks gave the first idea of letter-printing, and were for some time associated with it, an obvious invention, when the latter art became improved, was to arrange such blocks together with types in the same page. We find accordingly, about this time, many books adorned or illustrated in this manner; generally with representations of saints, or other ornamental delineations not of much importance; but in a few instances with figures of plants and animals, or of human anatomy. The *Dyalogus creaturarum moralizatus*, of which the first edition was published at Gouda, 1480, seems to be nearly, if not altogether, the earliest of these. It contains a series of fables with rude woodcuts in little more than outline. A second edition, printed at Antwerp in 1486, repeats the same cuts, with the addition of one representing a church, which is really elaborate.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Kistner, l. 557.

<sup>d</sup> Both these editions are in the British Museum. In the same library is a copy of the exceedingly scarce work, *Ortus Sanitatis*. Mogunt. 1491. The colophon, which may be read in De Bure (*Sciences*, No. 1354), takes much credit for the carefulness of the delineations. The wooden cuts of the plants, especially,

are as good as we usually find in the sixteenth century; the form of the leaves and character of the plant are generally well preserved. The animals are also tolerably figured, though with many exceptions, and, on the whole, fall short of the plants. The work itself is a compilation from the old naturalists, arranged alphabetically

73. The art of engraving figures on plates of copper was nearly coeval with that of printing, and is due either to Thomas Finiguerra about 1460, or to some German about the same time. It was not a difficult step to apply this invention to the representation of geographical maps; and this we owe to Arnold Buckinck, an associate of the printer Sweynheim. His edition of Ptolemy's geography appeared at Rome in 1478. These maps are traced from those of Agathodæmon in the fifth century; and it has been thought that Buckinck profited by the hints of Donis, a German monk, who himself gave two editions of Ptolemy not long afterwards at Ulm.\* The fifteenth century had already witnessed an increasing attention to geographical delineations. The libraries of Italy contain several unpublished maps, of which that by Fra Mauro, a monk of the order of Camaldoli, now in the convent of Murano, near Venice, is the most celebrated.† Two causes, besides the increase of commerce

\* Biogr. Univ.: Buckinck, Donis.

† Andrès, ix. 88; Corniani, iii. 162.

[A better account of this celebrated map was given in the seventh volume of the *Annales Camaldulenses*, p. 252 (1762); and Cardinal Zurlo published in 1806 *Il Mappamondo di Fra Mauro Camaldolense illustrato*. A fine copy of this map, taken from the original at Murano, about forty years since, is in the British Museum; there is also one in a Portuguese convent, supposed to have been made by Fra Mauro himself in 1459, for the use of Alfonso V., king of Portugal. Fra Mauro professes not to have followed Ptolemy in all things, but to have collected information from travellers; *investigando per molti anni, e practicando cum persone degne di fede, le quali hanno veduto ad occhio quello, che quì suso fedelmente demostro*. It appears, however, to me, that he has been chiefly indebted to Marco Polo, who had contributed a vast stock of names to which the geographer was to annex locality in the best manner he could. Very little relating to Asia or Africa will be found in the Murano map which may not be traced to this source. It does not indeed appear manifest that Polo was acquainted with the termination of the African coast; but that had

been so often asserted, that we cannot feel surprised when we find, in Fra Mauro's map, the sea rolling round the Cape of Good Hope, though the form of that part of the continent is ill delineated.

The marginal entries of this map are not unworthy of attention. One of them attributes the tides to the attraction of the moon, but not on any philosophical principle. He speaks of spring and neap tides as already known, which indeed must have been the case, after the experience of navigators reached beyond the Mediterranean, but says that no one had explained their cause. Zurlo, or some one whom he quotes, exaggerates a little the importance of what Fra Mauro has said about the tides, which is mixed up with great error; and loosely talks about an anticipation of Newton. Upon the whole, although this map is curious and interesting, something more has been said of it than it deserves by the author of *Annales Camaldulenses*: Mauro itaque Camaldulensi monacho ea gloria jure merito tribueuda erat, ut non parum tabulis suis geographicis juverit ad tentandas expeditiones in terras incognitas, quod postea prestitum erat ab Lusitanis.

—1842.]

and the gradual accumulation of knowledge, had principally turned the thoughts of many towards the figure of the earth on which they trod. Two translations, one of them by Emanuel Chrysoloras, had been made early in the century from the cosmography of Ptolemy; and from his maps the geographers of Italy had learned the use of parallels and meridians, which might a little, though inadequately, restrain their arbitrary admeasurements of different countries.<sup>a</sup> But the real discoveries of the Portuguese on the coast of Africa, under the patronage of Don Henry, were of far greater importance in stimulating and directing enterprise. In the academy founded by that illustrious prince nautical charts were first delineated in a method more useful to the pilot, by projecting the meridians in parallel right lines,<sup>b</sup> instead of curves on the surface of the sphere. This first step in hydrographical science entitles Don Henry to the name of its founder. And though these early maps and charts of the fifteenth century are to us but a chaos of error and confusion, it was on them that the patient eye of Columbus had rested through long hours of meditation, while strenuous hope and unsubdued doubt were struggling in his soul.

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 SECT. V. 1480-1490.

Great Progress of Learning in Italy — Italian Poetry — Pulci — Metaphysical Theology — Ficinus — Picus of Mirandola — Learning in Germany — Early European Drama — Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci.

74. THE press of Italy was less occupied with Greek for several years than might have been expected. But the number of scholars was still not sufficient to repay the expenses of impression. The Psalter was published in Greek twice at Milan in 1481, once at Venice in 1486. Craston's Lexicon was also once printed, and the grammar of Lascaris several times. The first classical work the printers ventured upon was Homer's *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, published at Venice

Greek  
printed in  
Italy.

<sup>a</sup> André, 86.

<sup>b</sup> Id. 83.

in 1486, or, according to some, at Milan in 1485; the priority of the two editions being disputed. But, in 1488, under the munificent patronage of Lorenzo, and by the care of Demetrius of Crete, a complete edition of Homer issued from the press of Florence. This splendid work closes our catalogue for the present.<sup>1</sup>

75. The first Hebrew book, Jarchi's Commentary on the Pentateuch, had been printed by some Jews at Reggio in Calabria, as early as 1475. In this period a press was established at Soncino, where the Pentateuch was published in 1482, the greater prophets in 1486, and the whole Bible in 1488. But this was intended for themselves alone. What little instruction in Hebrew had anywhere hitherto been imparted to Christian scholars was only oral. The commencement of Hebrew learning, properly so called, was not till about the end of the century, in the Franciscan monasteries of Tübingen and Basle. Their first teacher, however, was an Italian, by name Raimondi.\*

76. To enumerate every publication that might scatter a gleam of light on the progress of letters in Italy, or to mention every scholar who deserves a place in biographical collections, or in an extended history of literature, would crowd these pages with too many names. We must limit ourselves to those best deserving to be had in remembrance. In 1480, according to Meiners, or, as Heeren says, in 1483, Politian was placed in the chair of Greek and Latin eloquence at Florence, a station perhaps the most conspicuous and the most honourable which any scholar could occupy. It is beyond controversy that he stands at the head of that class in the fifteenth century. The envy of some of his contemporaries attested his superiority. In 1489 he published his once celebrated *Miscellanea*, consisting of one hundred observations illustrating passages of Latin authors, in the desultory manner of Aulus Gellius, which is certainly the easiest, and perhaps the most agreeable method of conveying information. They are sometimes grammatical; but more frequently relate to obscure (at that time) customs

<sup>1</sup> See Maittaire's character of this edition quoted in Roscoe's *Leo X.*, ch. 21.

\* Eichhorn, II. 562.

or mythological allusions. Greek quotations occur not seldom, and the author's command of classical literature seems considerable. Thus he explains, for instance, the *crambe repetita* of Juvenal by a proverb mentioned in Suidas, *ἐπὶ κράμβῃ θάνατος*: *κράμβῃ* being a kind of cabbage, which when boiled a second time was of course not very palatable. This may serve to show the extent of learning which some Italian scholars had reached through the assistance of the manuscripts collected by Lorenzo. It is not improbable that no one in England at that time had heard the name of Suidas. Yet the imperfect knowledge of Greek which these early writers possessed is shown when they attempt to write it. Politian has some verses in his *Miscellanea*, but very bald and full of false quantities. This remark we may have occasion to repeat; for it is applicable to much greater names in philology than his.<sup>m</sup>

77. The *Miscellanies*, Heeren says, were then considered an immortal work; it was deemed an honour to be mentioned in them, and those who missed this made it a matter of complaint. If we look at them now, we are astonished at the different measure of glory in the present age. This book probably sprang out of Politian's lectures. He had cleared up in these some difficult passages, which had led him on to further inquiries. Some of his explanations might probably have arisen out of the walks and rides that he was accustomed to take with Lorenzo, who had advised the publication of the *Miscellanies*. The manner in which these explanations are given, the light, yet solid mode of handling the subjects, and their great variety, give in fact a charm to the *Miscellanies* of Politian which few antiquarian works possess. Their success is not wonderful. They were fragments, and chosen fragments, from the lectures of the most celebrated teacher of that age, whom many had heard, but still more had wished to hear. Scarcely had a work appeared in the whole fifteenth century, of which so vast expectations

Their character by Heeren.

<sup>m</sup> Meiners has praised Politian's Greek verses, but with very little skill in such matters, p. 214. The compliments he quotes from contemporary Greeks, non esse tam Atticas Athenas ipsas, may not

have been very sincere, unless they meant *esse* to be taken in the present tense. These Greeks, besides, knew but little of their metrical language.



had been entertained, and which was received with such curiosity.<sup>a</sup> The very fault of Politian's style, as it was that of Hermolaus Barbarus, his affected intermixture of obsolete words, for which it is necessary in almost every page of his *Miscellanies* to consult the dictionary, would, in an age of pedantry, increase the admiration of his readers.<sup>b</sup>

78. Politian was the first that wrote the Latin language with much elegance; and while every other early translator from the Greek has incurred more or less of censure at the hands of judges whom better learning had made fastidious, it is agreed by them that his *Herodian* has all the spirit of his original, and frequently excels it.<sup>c</sup> Thus we perceive that the age of Poggio, Filelfo, and Valla was already left far behind by a new generation; these had been well employed as the pioneers of ancient literature, but for real erudition and taste we must descend to Politian, Christopher Landino, and Hermolaus Barbarus.<sup>d</sup>

79. The *Cornucopia sive linguæ Latinæ Commentarii*, by Nicolas Perotti, bishop of Siponto, suggests rather more by its title than the work itself seems to warrant. It is a copious commentary upon part of Martial; in which he takes occasion to explain a vast many Latin words, and has been highly extolled by Morhof, and by writers quoted in Baillet and Blount. To this commentary is appended an alphabetical index of words, which rendered it a sort of dictionary for the learned reader. Perotti lived a little before this time; but the first edition seems to have been in 1489. He also wrote a small Latin grammar, frequently reprinted in the fifteenth century, and was an indifferent translator of Polybius.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Heeren, p. 263. Meiners, *Lebensbeschreibungen*, &c., has written the life of Politian, ii. 111—220, more copiously than any one that I have read. His character of the *Miscellanies* is in p. 136.

<sup>b</sup> Meiners, pp. 155, 209. In the latter passage Meiners censures, with apparent justice, the affected words of Politian, some of which he did not scruple to take from such writers as Apuleius and Tertullian, with an inexcusable display of erudition at the expense of good taste.

<sup>c</sup> Huet, apud Blount in Politiano.

<sup>d</sup> Meiners, Roscoe, Corniani, Heeren, and Gresswell's *Memoirs* of early Italian Scholars are the best authorities to whom the reader can have recourse for the character of Politian, besides his own works. I think, however, that Heeren has hardly done justice to Politian's poetry. Tiraboschi is unsatisfactory. Blount, as usual, collects the suffrages of the sixteenth century.

<sup>e</sup> Heeren, 272; Morhof, i. 821, who

80. We have not thought it worth while to mention the Latin poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are numerous, and somewhat rude, from Petrarch and Boccace to Maphæus Vegius, the continuator of the *Æneid* in a thirteenth book, first printed in 1471, and very frequently afterwards. This is, probably, the best versification before Politian. But his Latin poems display considerable powers of description, and a strong feeling of the beauties of Roman poetry. The style is imbued with these, not too ambitiously chosen, nor in the manner called centonism, but so as to give a general elegance to the composition, and to call up pleasing associations in the reader of taste. This, indeed, is the common praise of good versifiers in modern Latin, and not peculiarly appropriate to Politian, who is inferior to some who followed, though to none, as I apprehend, that preceded in that numerous fraternity. His ear is good, and his rhythm, with a few exceptions, musical and Virgilian. Some defects are nevertheless worthy of notice. He is often too exuberant, and apt to accumulate details of description. His words, unauthorised by any legitimate example, are very numerous; a fault in some measure excusable by the want of tolerable dictionaries; so that the memory was the only test of classical precedent. Nor can we deny that Politian's Latin poetry is sometimes blemished by affected and effeminate expressions, by a too studious use of repetitions, and by a love of diminutives, according to the fashion of his native language, carried beyond all bounds that correct Augustan Latinity could possibly have endured. This last fault, and to a man of good taste it is an displeasing one, belongs to a great part of the lyrical and even elegiac writers in modern Latin. The example of Catullus would probably have been urged in excuse; but perhaps Catullus went farther than the best judges approved; and nothing in his poems can justify the excessive abuse of that effeminate grace, what the stern Persius would have called "*summa delumbe saliva*," which pervades the poetry both of Italian and Cisalpine Latinists for a long

Latin  
poetry of  
Politian.

calls Perotti the first compiler of good Ballet and Bionnt for testimonies to Latin, from whom these who followed Perotti, have principally borrowed. See also

period. On the whole, Politian, like many of his followers, is calculated to delight and mislead a schoolboy, but may be read with pleasure by a man.\*

81. Amidst all the ardour for the restoration of classical literature in Italy, there might seem to be reason to apprehend that native originality would not meet its due reward, and even that the discouraging notion of a degeneracy in the powers of the human mind might come to prevail. Those who annex an exaggerated value to correcting an unimportant passage in an ancient author, or, which is much the same, interpreting some worthless inscription, can hardly escape the imputation of pedantry; and doubtless this reproach might justly fall on many of the learned in that age, as, with less excuse, it has often done upon their successors. We have already seen that, for a hundred years, it was thought unworthy a man of letters, even though a poet, to write in Italian; and Politian, with his great patron Lorenzo, deserves no small honour for having disdained the false vanity of the philologists. Lorenzo stands at the head of the Italian poets of the fifteenth century in the sonnet as well as in the light lyrical composition. His predecessors, indeed, were not likely to remove the prejudice against vernacular poetry. Several of his sonnets appear, both for elevation and elegance of style, worthy of comparison with those of the next age. But perhaps his most original claim to the title of a poet is founded upon the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, or carnival songs, composed for the popular shows on festivals. Some of these, which are collected in a volume printed in 1558, are by Lorenzo, and display a union of classical grace and imitation with the native raciness of Florentine gaiety.<sup>1</sup>

82. But at this time appeared a poet of a truly modern school, in one of Lorenzo's intimate society, Pulci. Luigi Pulci. The first edition of his *Morgante Maggiore*, containing twenty-three cantos, to which five

\* The extracts from Politian, and other Latin poets of Italy, by Pope, in the two little volumes entitled *Poemata Hætorum*, are extremely well chosen, and give a just measure of most of them.

<sup>1</sup> Corradini; Roscoe. Crescimbeni

(della volgar Poesia, il. 324) strongly asserts Lorenzo to be the restorer of poetry, which had never been more barbarous than in his youth. But certainly the *Giostra* of Politian was written while Lorenzo was young.

were subsequently added, was published at Venice in 1481. The taste of the Italians has always been strongly inclined to extravagant combinations of fancy, caprices rapid and sportive as the animal from which they take their name. The susceptible and versatile imaginations of that people, and their habitual cheerfulness, enable them to render the serious and terrible instrumental to the ridiculous, without becoming, like some modern fictions, merely hideous and absurd.

83. The *Morgante Maggiore* was evidently suggested by some long romances written within the preceding century in the octave stanza, for which the fabulous chronicle of Turpin, and other fictions wherein the same real and imaginary personages had been introduced, furnished the materials. Under pretence of ridiculing the intermixture of sacred allusions with the romantic legends, Pulci carried it to an excess which, combined with some sceptical insinuations of his own, seems clearly to display an intention of exposing religion to contempt.\* As to the heroes of his romance, there can be, as it seems, no sort of doubt, that he designed them for nothing else than the butts of his fancy; that the reader might scoff at those whom duller poets had held up to admiration. It has been a question among Italian critics, whether the poem of Pulci is to be reckoned burlesque.† This may seem to

Character of  
*Morgante  
Maggiore.*

\* The story of *Meridiana*, in the eighth canto, is sufficient to prove Pulci's irony to have been exercised on religion. It is well known to the readers of the *Morgante*. It has been alleged in the *Biographie Universelle*, that he meant only to turn into ridicule "ces muses mendiantes du 14me siècle," the authors of *La Spagna* or *Buovo d'Antona*, who were in the habit of beginning their songs with scraps of the liturgy, and even of introducing theological doctrines in the most absurd and misplaced style. Pulci has given us much of the latter, wherein some have imagined that he had the assistance of Ficinus.

† This seems to have been an old problem in Italy (Corniani, li. 302); and the gravity of Pulci has been maintained of late by such respectable authorities as Foscolo and Panizzi. Ginguéné, who

does not go this length, thinks the death of Orlando, and his last prayer, both pathetic and sublime. I can see nothing in it but the systematic spirit of parody which we find in Pulci. But the lines on the death of *Forisena*, in the fourth canto, are really graceful and serious. The following remarks on Pulci's style come from a more competent judge than myself:—

"There is something harsh in Pulci's manner, owing to his abrupt transition from one idea to another, and to his carelessness of grammatical rules. He was a poet by nature, and wrote with ease, but he never cared for sacrificing syntax to meaning; he did not mind saying anything incorrectly, if he were but sure that his meaning would be guessed. The rhyme very often compels him to employ expressions, words, and

turn on the definition, though I do not see what definition could be given, consistently with the use of language, that would exclude it; it is intended as a caricature of the poetical romances, and might even seem by anticipation a satirical, though not ill-natured, parody on the Orlando Furioso. That he meant to excite any other emotion than laughter, cannot, as it seems, be maintained; and a very few stanzas of a more serious character, which may rarely be found, are not enough to make an exception to his general design. The Morgante was to the poetical romances of chivalry what Don Quixote was to their brethren in prose.

84. A foreigner must admire the vivacity of the narrative, the humorous gaiety of the characters, the adroitness of the satire. But the Italians, and especially the Tuscans, delight in the raciness of Pulci's Florentine idiom, which we cannot equally relish. He has not been without influence on men of more celebrity than himself. In several passages of Ariosto, especially the visit of Astolfo to the moon, we trace a resemblance not wholly fortuitous. Voltaire, in one of his most popular poems, took the dry archness of Pulci, and exaggerated the profaneness, superadding the obscenity from his own stores. But Mr. Frere, with none of these two ingredients in his admirable vein of humour, has come, in the War of the Giants, much closer to the Morgante Maggiore than any one else.

85. The Platonic academy, in which the chief of the Medici took so much delight, did not fail to reward his care. Marsilius Ficinus, in his *Theologica Platonica* (1482), developed a system chiefly borrowed from the later Platonists of the Alexandrian school, full of delight to the credulous imagination, though little appealing to the reason, which, as it seemed remarkably to coincide in some respects

even lines, which frequently render the sense obscure and the passage crooked, without producing any other effect than that of destroying a fine stanza. He has no similes of any particular merit, nor does he stand eminent in description. His verses almost invariably make sense taken singly, and convey distinct and separate ideas. Hence he wants that richness, fulness, and smooth flow of

diction, which is indispensable to an epic poet, and to a noble description or comparison. Occasionally, when the subject admits of a powerful sketch which may be presented with vigour and spirit by a few strokes boldly drawn, Pulci appears to a great advantage."—Panizzi on romantic poetry of Italians, in the first volume of his *Orlando Innamorate*, p. 293.

with the received tenets of the church, was connived at in a few reveries, which could not so well bear the test of an orthodox standard. He supported his philosophy by a translation of Plato into Latin, executed by the direction of Lorenzo, and printed before 1490. Of this translation Buhle has said, that it has been very unjustly reproached with want of correctness; it is, on the contrary, perfectly conformable to the original, and has even, in some passages, enabled us to restore the text; the manuscripts used by Ficinus, I presume, not being in our hands. It has also the rare merit of being at once literal, perspicuous, and in good Latin.\*

86. But the Platonism of Ficinus was not wholly that of the master. It was based on the emanation of the human soul from God, and its capacity of reunion by an ascetic and contemplative life; a theory perpetually reproduced in various modifications of meaning, and far more of words. The nature and immortality of the soul, the functions and distinguishing characters of angels, the being and attributes of God, engaged the thoughtful mind of Ficinus. In the course of his high speculations he assailed a doctrine, which, though rejected by Scotus and most of the schoolmen, had gained much ground among the Aristotelians, as they deemed themselves, of Italy; a doctrine first held by Averroes—that there is one common intelligence, active, immortal, indivisible, unconnected with matter, the soul of human kind; which is not in any one man, because it has no material form, but which yet assists in the rational operations of each man's personal soul, and from those operations, which are all conversant with particulars, derives its own knowledge of universals. Thus, if I understand what is meant, which is rather subtle, it might be said, that as in the common theory particular sensations furnish means to the soul of forming general ideas, so, in that of Averroes, the ideas and judgments of separate human souls furnish collectively the means of that knowledge of universals, which the one great soul of mankind alone can embrace. This was

Doctrine of  
Averroes on  
the soul.

\* Hist. de la Philosophie, vol. ii. The fullest account of the philosophy of Ficinus has been given by Buhle. Those who seek less minute information may have recourse to Brucker or Corniani; or if they are content with still less, to Tiraboschi, Roscoe, Heeren, or the Biographie Universelle.

a theory built, as some have said, on the bad Arabic version of Aristotle which Averroes used. But whatever might have first suggested it to the philosopher of Cordova, it seems little else than an expansion of the Realist hypothesis, urged to a degree of apparent paradox. For if the human soul, as an universal, possess an objective reality, it must surely be intelligent; and, being such, it may seem no extravagant hypothesis, though one incapable of that demonstration we now require in philosophy, to suppose that it acts upon the subordinate intelligences of the same species, and receives impressions from them. By this also they would reconcile the knowledge we were supposed to possess of the reality of universals, with the acknowledged impossibility, at least in many cases, of representing them to the mind.

87. Ficinus is the more prompt to refute the Averroists, that they all maintained the mortality of the particular soul, while it was his endeavour, by every argument that erudition and ingenuity could supply, to prove the contrary. The whole of his Platonic Theology appears a beautiful, but too visionary and hypothetical, system of theism, the ground-works of which lay deep in the meditations of ancient oriental sages. His own treatise, of which a very copious account will be found in Buhle, soon fell into oblivion; but it belongs to a class of literature, which, in all its extension, has, full as much as any other, engaged the human mind.

88. The thirst for hidden knowledge, by which man is distinguished from brutes, and the superior races of men from savage tribes, burns generally with more intenseness in proportion as the subject is less definitely comprehensible, and the means of certainty less attainable. Even our own interest in things beyond the sensible world does not appear to be the primary or chief source of the desire we feel to be acquainted with them; it is the pleasure of belief itself, of associating the conviction of reality with ideas not presented by sense; it is sometimes the necessity of satisfying a restless spirit, that first excites our endeavour to withdraw the veil that conceals the mystery of our being. The few great truths in religion

Opposed by  
Ficinus.

Desire of  
man to  
explore  
mysteries.

that reason discovers, or that an explicit revelation deigns to communicate, sufficient as they may be for our practical good, have proved to fall very short of the ambitious curiosity of man. They leave so much imperfectly known, so much wholly unexplored, that in all ages he has never been content without trying some method of filling up the void. These methods have often led him to folly, and weakness, and crime. Yet as those who want the human passions, in their excess the great fountains of evil, seem to us maimed in their nature, so an indifference to this knowledge of invisible things, or a premature despair of attaining it, may be accounted an indication of some moral or intellectual deficiency, some scantness of due proportion in the mind.

89. The means to which recourse has been had to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge in matters relating to the Deity, or to such of his intelligent creatures as do not present themselves in ordinary objectiveness to our senses, have been various, and may be distributed into several classes. Reason itself, as the most valuable, though not the most frequent in use, may be reckoned the first. Whatever deductions have suggested themselves to the acute, or analogies to the observant, mind, whatever has seemed the probable interpretation of revealed testimony, is the legitimate province of a sound and rational theology. But so fallible appears the reason of each man to others, and often so dubious are its inferences to himself, so limited is the span of our faculties, so incapable are they of giving more than a vague and conjectural probability, where we demand most of definiteness and certainty, that few, comparatively speaking, have been content to acquiesce even in their own hypotheses upon no other grounds than argument has supplied. The uneasiness that is apt to attend suspense of belief has required, in general, a more powerful remedy. Next to those who have solely employed their rational faculties in theology, we may place those who have relied on a supernatural illumination. These have nominally been many; but the imagination, like the reason, bends under the incomprehensibility of spiritual things—a few excepted, who have become founders of sects and lawgivers to the rest, the mystics fell into a

Various  
methods  
employed.

Reason and  
inspiration.



beaten track, and grew mechanical even in their enthusiasm.

90. No solitary and unconnected meditations, however, either of the philosopher or the mystic, could furnish a sufficiently extensive stock of theological faith for the multitude, who by their temper and capacities were more prone to take it at the hands of others than choose any tenets for themselves. They looked, therefore, for some authority upon which to repose; and instead of builders, became as it were occupants of mansions prepared for them by more active minds. Among those who acknowledge a code of revealed truths, the Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, this authority has been sought in largely expansive interpretations of their sacred books—either of positive obligation, as the decisions of general councils were held to be, or at least of such weight as a private man's reason, unless he were of great name himself, was not permitted to contravene. These expositions, in the Christian church as well as among the Jews, were frequently allegorical; a hidden stream of esoteric truth was supposed to flow beneath all the surface of Scripture; and every text germinated, in the hands of the preacher, into meanings far from obvious, but which were presumed to be not undesigned. This scheme of allegorical interpretation began among the earliest fathers, and spread with perpetual expansion through the middle ages.<sup>7</sup> The Reformation swept most of it away; but it has frequently revived in a more partial manner. We mention it here only as one great means of enabling men to believe more than they had done, of communicating to them what was to be received as divine truths, not additional to Scripture, because they were concealed in it, but such as the church could only have learned through her teachers.

91. Another large class of religious opinions stood on a somewhat different footing. They were, in a proper sense, according to the notions of those times, revealed from God, though not in the sacred writings which were the chief depositories of his word. Such were the received traditions in each of the

Extended  
inferences  
from sacred  
books.

Confidence  
in tradi-  
tions.

<sup>7</sup> Fleury (*5me discours*), xvii. 37; Mosheim, *passim*.

three great religions, sometimes absolutely infallible, sometimes, as in the former case, of interpretations, resting upon such a basis of authority that no one was held at liberty to withhold his assent. The Jewish traditions were of this kind, and the Mahometans have trod in the same path. We may add to these the legends of saints: none perhaps were positively enforced as of faith; but a Franciscan was not to doubt the inspiration and miraculous gifts of his founder. Nor was there any disposition in the people to doubt of them; they filled up with abundant measure the cravings of the heart and fancy, till, having absolutely palled both by excess, they brought about a kind of reaction, which has taken off much of their efficacy.

92. Francis of Assisi may naturally lead us to the last mode in which the spirit of theological belief manifested itself—the confidence in a particular man, as the organ of a special divine illumination. But though this was fully as-  
Confidence in individuals as inspired.  
 sented to by the order he instituted, and probably by most others, it cannot be said that Francis pretended to set up any new tenets, or enlarge, except by his visions and miracles, the limits of spiritual knowledge. Nor would this, in general, have been a safe proceeding in the middle ages. Those who made a claim to such light from heaven as could irradiate what the church had left dark seldom failed to provoke her jealousy. It is, therefore, in later times, and under more tolerant governments, that we shall find the fanatics, or impostors, whom the multitude has taken for witnesses of divine truth, or at least for interpreters of the mysteries of the invisible world.

93. In the class of traditional theology, or what might be called complementary revelation, we must  
Jewish Cabbala.  
 place the Jewish Cabbala. This consisted in a very specific and complex system concerning the nature of the Supreme Being, the emanation of various orders of spirits in successive links from his essence, their properties and characters. It is evidently one modification of the oriental philosophy, borrowing little from the Scriptures, at least through any natural interpretation of them, and the offspring of the Alexandrian Jews, not far from the beginning of the Christian era.

They referred it to a tradition from Esdras, or some other eminent person, on whom they fixed as the depositary of an esoteric theology communicated by divine authority. The Cabbala was received by the Jewish doctors in the first centuries after the fall of their state; and after a period of long duration, as remarkable for the neglect of learning in that people as in the Christian world, it revived again in that more genial season, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the brilliancy of many kinds of literature among the Saracens of Spain excited their Jewish subjects to emulation. Many conspicuous men illustrate the Hebrew learning of those and the succeeding ages. It was not till now, about the middle of the fifteenth century, that they came into contact with the Christians in theological philosophy. The Platonism of Ficinus, derived in great measure from that of Plotinus and the Alexandrian school, was easily connected, by means especially of the writings of Philo, with the Jewish orientalisms, sisters as they were of the same family. Several forgeries in celebrated names, easy to effect and sure to deceive, had been committed in the first ages of Christianity by the active propagators of this philosophy. Hermes Trismegistus and Zoroaster were counterfeited in books which most were prone to take for genuine, and which it was not then easy to refute on critical grounds. These altogether formed a huge mass of imposture, or at best of arbitrary hypothesis, which, for more than a hundred years after this time, obtained an undue credence, and consequently retarded the course of real philosophy in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

94. They never gained over a more distinguished proselyte, or one whose credulity was more to be regretted, than a young man who appeared at Florence in 1485, John Picus of Mirandola. He was then twenty-two years old, the younger son of an illustrious family, which held that little principality as an imperial fief. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Bologna, that he might study the canon law, with a view to the ecclesiastical profession; but after two years he felt an inexhaustible desire for more elevated, though less profitable, sciences. He devoted the next six years

<sup>2</sup> Brucker, vol. II.; Buhle II. 316; Meiners, Vergl. der Sitten, III. 277.

to the philosophy of the schools in the chief universities of Italy and France: whatever disputable subtleties the metaphysics and theology of that age could supply became familiar to his mind; but to these he added a knowledge of the Hebrew and other eastern languages, a power of writing Latin with grace, and of amusing his leisure with the composition of Italian poetry. The natural genius of Picus is well shown, though in a partial manner, by a letter which will be found among those of Politian, in answer to Hermolaus Barbarus. His correspondent had spoken with the scorn, and almost bitterness, usual with philologers of the Transalpine writers, meaning chiefly the schoolmen, for the badness of their Latin. The young scholastic answered, that he had been at first disheartened by the reflection that he had lost six years' labour; but considered afterwards that the barbarians might say something for themselves, and puts a very good defence in their mouths—a defence which wants nothing but the truth of what he is forced to assume, that they had been employing their intellects upon things instead of words. Hermolaus found, however, nothing better to reply than the compliment that Picus would be disavowed by the schoolmen for defending them in so eloquent a style.\*

95. He learned Greek very rapidly, probably after his coming to Florence. And having been led, through Ficinus, to the study of Plato, he seems to have given up his Aristotelian phi-

His credulity in the Cabbala.

\* The letter of Hermolaus is dated Apr. 1485. He there says, after many compliments to Picus himself: *Nec enim inter autores Latine lingue numero Germanos istos et Teutonas qui ne viventes quidem vivebant, nedom ut extincti vivant, aut si vivunt, vivunt in poenam et contumeliam.* The answer of Picus is dated in June. A few lines from his pleading for the schoolmen will exhibit his ingenuity and elegance. *Admirentur nos sagaces in inquirendo, circumspectos in explorando, subiles in contemplando, in judicando graves, implicitos in vinciendo, faciles in enodando. Admirentur in nobis brevitatem styli, factam rerum multarum atque magnarum, sub expositis verbis remotissimas sententias, plenas questionum, plenas solutionum, quam*

*apti sumus, quam bene instructi ambiguitates tollere, scrupulos diluere, involuta evolvere, flexanimis syllogismis et infirmare falsa et vera confirmare. Viximus celebres, o Hermolae, et posthac vivemus, non in scholis grammaticorum et padagogis, sed in philosophorum coronis, in conventibus sapientum, ubi non de matre Andromaches, non de Niobes fillis, atque id genus levibus nugis, sed de humanarum divinarumque rerum rationibus agitur et disputatur. In quibus meditando, inquirendo, et enodando, ita subiles acuti acresque fuimus, ut anxii quandoque nimium et morosi fuisse forte videamur, si modo esse morosus quispiam aut curiosus nimio plus in indagando veritate potest. Polit. Epist., lib. 9.*

losophy for theories more congenial to his susceptible and credulous temper. These led him onwards to wilder faucies. Ardent in the desire of knowledge, incapable, in the infancy of criticism, to discern authentic from spurious writings, and perhaps disqualified, by his inconceivable rapidity in apprehending the opinions of others, from judging acutely of their reasonableness, Picus of Mirandola fell an easy victim to his own enthusiasm and the snares of fraud. An impostor persuaded him to purchase fifty Hebrew manuscripts, as having been composed by Esdras, and containing the most secret mysteries of the Cabbala. "From this time," says Corniani, "he imbibed more and more such idle fables, and wasted in dreams a genius formed to reach the most elevated and remote truths." In these spurious books of Esdras, he was astonished to find, as he says, more of Christianity than Judaism, and trusted them the more confidently for the very reason that demonstrates their falsity.<sup>b</sup>

96. Picus, about the end of 1486, repaired to Rome, and with permission of Innocent VIII. pronounced his famous nine hundred theses, or questions, logical, ethical, mathematical, physical, metaphysical, theological, magical, and cabbalistical, upon every one of which he offered to dispute with any opponent. Four hundred of these propositions were from philosophers of Greece or Arabia, from the schoolmen, or from the Jewish doctors; the rest were announced as his own opinions, which, saving the authority of the church, he was willing to defend.<sup>c</sup> There was some need of this reservation; for several of his theses were ill-sounding, as it was called, in the ears of the orthodox. They raised a good deal of clamour against him; and the high rank, brilliant reputation, and obedient demeanour of Picus were all required to save him from public censure or more serious animadversions. He was compelled, however, to swear that he would adopt such an exposition of his theses as the pope should set forth. But as this was not done, he published an apology, especially vindicating his employment of cabbalistical and magical learning. This

His literary  
perform-  
ances.

<sup>b</sup> Corniani, III. 63; Meiners, Lebens- 21; Tiraboschi, vii. 325.  
Beschreibungen berühmter Männer, II. <sup>c</sup> Meiners, p. 14.

excited fresh attacks, which in some measure continued to harass him, till, on the accession of Alexander VI. to the papal chair, he was finally pronounced free from blameable intention. He had meantime, as we may infer from his later writings, receded from some of the bolder opinions of his youth. His mind became more devout, and more fearful of deviating from the church. On his first appearance at Florence, uniting rare beauty with high birth and unequalled renown, he had been much sought by women, and returned their love. But at the age of twenty-five he withdrew himself from all worldly distraction, destroying, as it is said, his own amatory poems, to the regret of his friends.<sup>d</sup> He now published several works, of which the *Heptaplus* is a cabbalistic exposition of the first chapter of Genesis. It is remarkable that, with his excessive tendency to belief, he rejected altogether, and confuted in a distinct treatise, the popular science of astrology, in which men so much more conspicuous in philosophy have trusted. But he had projected many other undertakings of vast extent—an allegorical exposition of the New Testament, a defence of the Vulgate and Septuagint against the Jews, a vindication of Christianity against every species of infidelity and heresy; and finally, a harmony of philosophy, reconciling the apparent inconsistencies of all writers, ancient and modern, who deserved the name of wise, as he had already attempted by Plato and Aristotle. In these arduous labours he was cut off by a fever at the age of thirty-one, in 1494, on the very day that Charles VIII. made his entry into Florence. A man, so justly called the phoenix of his age, and so extraordinarily gifted by nature, ought not to be slightly passed over, though he may have left nothing which we could read with advantage. If we talk of the admirable Crichton, who is little better than a shadow, and lives but in panegyric, so much superior and more wonderful a person as John Picus of Mirandola should not be forgotten.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Meiners, p. 10.

<sup>e</sup> The long biography of Picus in Meiners is in great measure taken from a life written by his nephew, John Francis Picus, count of Mirandola, himself a man of great literary and philosophical

reputation in the next century. Meiners has made more use of this than any one else; but much will be found concerning Picus from this source, and from his own works, in Brucker, Bahle, Corniani, and Tiraboschi. The epitaph on Picus

97. If, leaving the genial city of Florence, we are to judge of the state of knowledge in our Cisalpine regions, and look at the books it was thought worth while to publish, which seems no bad criterion, we shall rate but lowly their proficiency in the classical literature so much valued in Italy. Four editions, and those chiefly of short works, were printed at Deventer, one at Cologne, one at Louvain, five perhaps at Paris, two at Lyons.<sup>1</sup> But a few undated books might, probably, be added. Either, therefore, the love of ancient learning had grown colder, which was certainly not the case, or it had never been strong enough to reward the labour of the too sanguine printers. Yet it was now striking root in Germany. The excellent schools of Munster and Schelstadt were established in some part of this decad; they trained those who were themselves to become instructors; and the liberal zeal of Langius extending beyond his immediate disciples, scarce any Latin author was published in Germany of which he did not correct the text.<sup>2</sup> The opportunities he had of doing so were not, as has been just seen, so numerous in this period as they became in the next. He had to withstand a potent and obstinate faction. The mendicant friars of Cologne, the head-quarters of barbarous superstition, clamoured against his rejection of the old school-books and the entire reform of education. But Agricola addresses his friend in sanguine language:

“ I entertain the greatest hope from your exertions, that we shall one day wrest from this insolent Italy her vaunted glory of pre-eminent eloquence; and redeeming ourselves from the opprobrium of ignorance, barbarism, and incapacity of expression which she is ever casting upon us, may show our Germany so deeply learned, that Latium itself shall not be more Latin than she will appear.”<sup>3</sup> About 1482 Agricola was invited to the court

by Hercules Strozza is, I believe, in the church of St. Mark:—

Joannes jacet hic Mirandola; cætera nō-runt

Et Tagus et Ganges; forsan et Antipodes.

<sup>1</sup> Panzer.

<sup>2</sup> Meiners, Lebensbesch., II. 323. Eich-wern, II. 231-239.

<sup>3</sup> Quis hoc tibi affirmo, ingentem de

te concipio fiduciam, summamque in spem adducor, fore aliquando, ut priscam insolenti Italia, et propemodum occupatam bene dicendi gloriam extorqueamus; vindicemusque nos, et ab ignavia, qua nos barbaros, indoctosque et elingues, et ai quid est his incultus, esse nos jactitamus, exsolvamus, futuramque tam doctam et literatam Germaniam nostram, ut non Latinius vel ipsum sit

of the elector palatine at Heidelberg. He seems not to have been engaged in public instruction, but passed the remainder of his life, unfortunately too short, for he died in 1485, in diffusing and promoting a taste for literature among his contemporaries. No German wrote in so pure a style or possessed so large a portion of classical learning. Vives places him in dignity and grace of language even above Politian and Hermolaus.<sup>1</sup> The praises of Erasmus, as well as of the later critics, if not so marked, are very freely bestowed. His letters are frequently written in Greek—a fashion of those who could follow it; and as far as I have attended to them, seem equal in correctness to some from men of higher name in the next age.

98. The immediate patron of Agricola, through whom he was invited to Heidelberg, was John Came-<sup>Rhenish</sup> rarius, of the house of Dalberg, bishop of Worms <sup>academy.</sup> and chancellor of the Palatinate. He contributed much himself to the cause of letters in Germany, especially if he is to be deemed the founder, as probably he should be, of an early academy, the Rhenish Society, which, we are told, devoted its time to Latin, Greek, and Hebrew criticism, astronomy, music, and poetry—not scorning to relax their minds with dances and feasts, nor forgetting the ancient German attachment to the flowing cup.<sup>k</sup> The chief seat of the Rhenish Society was at Heidelberg; but

Latium. This is quoted by Heeren, p. 154, and Meiners, ii. 329.

<sup>1</sup> Vix et hac nostra et patrum memoria fuit unus atque alter dignior, qui multum legeretur, multumque in manibus haberetur, quam Radulphus Agricola Frisius; tantum est in ejus operibus ingenii, artis, gravitatis, dulcedinis, eloquentiæ, eruditionis; at is paucissimis noscitur, vir non minus, qui ab hominibus cognosceretur, dignus quam Politianus, vel Hermolaus Barbarus, quos mea quidem sententia, et majestate et suavitate dictionis non æquat modo, sed etiam vincit. Vives, Comment. in Augustin. (apud Blount, Censura Auctorum, sub nomine Agricola).

Agnosco virum divini pectoris, eruditionis reconditæ, stylo minime vulgari, solidum, nervosum, elaboratum, compositum. In Italia summus esse poterat, nisi Germaniam prætulisset, Erasmus in Ciceroniano. He speaks as strongly in many other places. Testimonies to the

merits of Agricola from Huet, Vossius, and others, are collected by Bayle, Blount, Baillet, and Nicéron. Meiners has written his life, ii. p. 332-363; and several of his letters will be found among those addressed to Reuchlin, Epistole ad Reuchlinum; a collection of great importance for this portion of literary history.

<sup>k</sup> Studebant extimia hæc ingenia Latinarum, Græcorum, Ebraeorumque scriptorum lectioni, cum primis criticæ; astronomiam et artem musicam excolebant. Poesin atque Jurisprudentialiam sibi habebant commendatam; imo et interdum gaudia curis interponebant. Nocturno nimirum tempore, defessis laboribus, ludere solebant, saltare, joculari cum mulierculis, epulari, ac more Germanorum inveterato strenue potare. (Jugler, Hist. Litteraria, p. 1993, vol. iii.) The passage seems to be taken from Ruprecht, Oratio de Societate Litteraria Rhenana Jenæ, 1752, which I have not seen.



it had associate branches in other parts of Germany, and obtained imperial privileges. No member of this academy was more conspicuous than Conrad Celtes, who has sometimes been reckoned its founder, which, from his youth, is hardly probable, and was, at least, the chief instrument of its subsequent extension. He was indefatigable in the vineyard of literature, and, travelling to different parts of Germany, exerted a more general influence than Agricola himself. Celtes was the first from whom Saxony derived some taste for learning. His Latin poetry was far superior to any that had been produced in the empire; and for this, in 1487, he received the laurel crown from Frederick III.<sup>m</sup>

99. Reuchlin, in 1482, accompanied the duke of Wirtemberg on a visit to Rome. He thus became acquainted with the illustrious men of Italy, and convinced them of

his own pretensions to the name of a scholar. *Reuchlin.* The old Constantinopolitan Argyropulus, on hearing him translate a passage of Thucydides, exclaimed, "Our banished Greece has now flown beyond the Alps." Yet Reuchlin, though from some other circumstances of his life a more celebrated, was not probably so learned or so accomplished a man as Agricola. He was withdrawn from public tuition by the favour of several princes, in whose courts he filled honourable offices; and, after some years more, he fell unfortunately into the same seducing error as Picus of Mirandola, and sacrificed his classical pursuits for the Cabbalistic philosophy.

100. Though France contributed little to the philologist, several books were now published in French. In the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, 1486, a slight improvement in polish of language is said to be discernible.<sup>n</sup> The poems of Villon are rather of more importance. They were first published in 1489; but many of them had been written thirty years before. Boileau has given Villon credit for being the first who cleared his style from the rudeness and redundancy of the old romancers.<sup>o</sup> But this praise, as some have ob-

<sup>m</sup> Jugler, ubi supra. Eichhorn, II. 557. Heeren, p. 160. Biogr. Universelle, arts. Celtes, Dalberg, Trithemius.

<sup>n</sup> Essai du C. François de Neufchâteau sur les meilleurs ouvrages en prose; préface to (*Œuvres de Pascal* (1819), I.

p. cxx.

<sup>o</sup> Villon fut le premier dans des siècles grossiers D'écrouiller l'art confus de nos vieux romanciers.

Art Poétique, I. i. v. 117.

served, is more justly due to the duke of Orleans, a man of full as much talent as Villon, with a finer taste. The poetry of the latter, as might be expected from a life of dissoluteness and roguery, is often low and coarse; but he seems by no means incapable of a moral strain, not destitute of terseness and spirit. Martial d'Auvergne, in his *Vigiles de la Mort de Charles VII.*, which, from its subject, must have been written soon after 1460, though not printed till 1490, displays, to judge from the extracts in Goujet, some compass of imagination.<sup>p</sup> The French poetry of this age was still full of allegorical morality, and had lost a part of its original raciness. Those who desire an acquaintance with it may have recourse to the author just mentioned, or to Bouterwek; and extracts, though not so copious as the title promises, will be found in the *Recueil des anciens Poètes Français*.

101. The modern drama of Europe is derived, like its poetry, from two sources—the one ancient or European classical, the other mediæval; the one an imi- drama. tation of Plautus and Seneca, the other a gradual refinement of the rude scenic performances, denominated miracles, mysteries, or moralities. Latin plays upon the former model, a few of which are Latin. extant, were written in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and sometimes represented, either in the universities or before an audience of ecclesiastics and others who could understand them.<sup>q</sup> One of these, the *Catinia* of Secco Polentone, written about the middle of the fifteenth century, and translated by a son of the author into the Venetian dialect, was printed in 1482. This piece, however, was confined to the press.<sup>r</sup> Sabellicus, as quoted by Tiraboschi, has given to Pomponius Lætus the credit of having re-established the theatre at Rome, and caused the plays of Plautus and Terence, as well as some more modern, which we may presume to have been in Latin, to be performed before the pope, probably Sixtus IV. And James of Volterra, in a diary published by Muratori, expressly mentions a History of Constantine represented in the papal palace during the carnival of 1484.<sup>s</sup> In imitation of Italy, but perhaps a little after the present decennial period, Reuchlin brought Latin

<sup>p</sup> Goujet, *Bibliothèque Française*, vol. x.

<sup>r</sup> *Id.*, p. 201

<sup>q</sup> Tiraboschi, vii. 200.

<sup>s</sup> *Id.*, p. 204.

plays of his own composition before a German audience. They were represented by students of Heidelberg. An edition of his *Progymnasmata Scenica*, containing some of these comedies, was printed in 1498. It has been said that one of them is taken from the French farce *Maître Patelin*; while another, entitled *Sergius*, according to Warton, flies a much higher pitch, and is a satire on bad kings and bad ministers; though, from the account of Meiners, it seems rather to fall on the fraudulent arts of the monks.<sup>u</sup> The book is very scarce, and I have never seen it. Conrad Celtis, not long after Reuchlin, produced his own tragedies and comedies in the public halls of German cities. It is to be remembered that the oral Latin language might at that time be tolerably familiar to a considerable audience in Germany.

102. The *Orfeo* of Politian has claimed precedence as the earliest represented drama, not of a religious nature, in a modern language. This was written by him in two days, and acted before the court of Mantua in 1483. Roscoe has called it the first example of the musical drama, or Italian opera; but though he speaks of this as agreed by general consent, it is certain that the *Orfeo* was not designed for musical accompaniment, except probably in the songs and choruses.<sup>v</sup> According to the analysis of the fable in *Ginguéné*, the *Orfeo* differs only from a legendary mystery by substituting one set of characters for another; and it is surely by an arbitrary definition that we pay it the compliment upon which the modern historians of literature seem to have agreed. Several absurdities which appear in the first edition are said not to exist in the original manuscripts from which

<sup>u</sup> Gresswell's *Early Parisian Press*, p. 124; quoting *La Monnoye*. This seems to be confirmed by Meiners, i. 63. [It has been suggested to me by Dr. West that the *Progymnasmata Scenica* is the title of a single comedy, namely, that which is taken from *Maître Patelin*. Meiners, vol. i. p. 63, seems to confirm this.

Some extracts from the *Sergius*, for which I am indebted to the same obliging correspondent, lead me to conclude that the satire is more general than the account of that play by Meiners had implied; and that priests or monks come in only for a share in it.—1842.]

<sup>v</sup> Warton, iii. 203. Meiners, i. 62. The *Sergius* was represented at Heidelberg about 1497.

<sup>v</sup> Burney (*Hist. of Music*, iv. 17) seems to countenance this; but Tiraboschi does not speak of musical accompaniment to the *Orfeo*; and Corniani only says,—*Alcuni di essi sembrano dall' autor destinati ad accoppiarsi colla musica. Tali sono i canzoni e i cori alla greca.* Probably Roscoe did not mean all that his words imply; for the origin of recitative, in which the essence of the Italian opera consists, more than a century afterwards, is matter of notoriety.

the Orfeo has been reprinted.\* We must give the next place to a translation of the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, acted at Ferrara in 1486, by order of Ercole I., and, as some have thought, his own production, or to some original plays said to have been performed at the same brilliant court in the following years.†

103. The less regular, though in their day not less interesting, class of scenical stories, commonly called mysteries, all of which related to religious subjects, were never in more reputation Origin of dramatic mysteries. than at this time. It is impossible to fix their first appearance at any single era, and the inquiry into the origin of dramatic representation must be very limited in its subject, or perfectly futile in its scope. All nations probably have at all times, to a certain extent, amused themselves both with pantomimic and oral representation of a feigned story; the sports of children are seldom without both; and the exclusive employment of the former, instead of being a first stage of the drama, as has sometimes been assumed, is rather a variety in the course of its progress.

104. The Christian drama arose on the ruins of the heathen theatre: it was a natural substitute of real sympathies for those which were effaced Their early stage. and condemned. Hence we find Greek tragedies on sacred subjects almost as early as the establishment of the church, and we have testimonies to their representation at Constantinople. Nothing of this kind being proved with respect to the west of Europe in the dark ages, it has been conjectured, not improbably, though without necessity, that the pilgrims, of whom great numbers repaired to the East in the eleventh century, might have obtained notions of scenical dialogue, with a succession of characters, and with an ornamental apparatus, in which theatrical representation properly consists. The earliest mention of them, it has been said, is in England. Geoffrey, afterwards abbot of St. Alban's, while teaching a school at Dunstable, caused one of the shows vulgarly called miracles, on the story of St. Catherine, to be re-

\* Tiraboschi, vii. 216. Ginguéné, III. 514. André, v. 125, discussing the history of the Italian and Spanish theatres, gives the precedence to the Orfeo, as a represented play, though he conceives the

first act of the *Celestina* to have been written and well known not later than the middle of the fifteenth century.

† Tiraboschi, vii. 203, et post. Rogge, Leo X., ch. ii. Ginguéné, vi. 18.

presented in that town. Such is the account of Matthew Paris, who mentions the circumstance incidentally, in consequence of a fire that ensued. This must have been within the first twenty years of the twelfth century.<sup>a</sup> It is not to be questioned that Geoffrey, a native of France, had some earlier models in his own country. Le Bœuf gives an account of a mystery written in the middle of the preceding century, wherein Virgil is introduced among the prophets that come to adore the Saviour; doubtless in allusion to the fourth eclogue.

105. Fitz-Stephen, in the reign of Henry II., dwells on the sacred plays acted in London, representing the miracles or passions of martyrs. They became very common by the names of mysteries or miracles, both in England and on the Continent, and were not only exhibited within the walls of convents, but upon public occasions and festivals for the amusement of the people. It is probable, however, that the performers for a long time were always ecclesiastics. The earlier of these religious dramas were in Latin. A Latin farce on St. Nicolas exists, older than the thirteenth century.<sup>a</sup> It was slowly that the modern languages were employed; and perhaps it might hence be presumed that the greater part of the story was told through pantomime. But as this was unsatisfactory, and the spectators could not always follow the fable, there was

<sup>a</sup> Matt. Paris, p. 1067 (edit. 1684). See Warton's 34th section (iii. 193-233) for the early drama, and Beauchamps, *Hist. du Théâtre Français*, vol. i., or Bouterwek, v. 95-117, for the French in particular; Tiraboschi, *ubi supra*, or Riccoboni, *Hist. du Théâtre Italien*, for that of Italy.

[It is not sufficient, in order to prove the continuity of dramatic representation through the dark ages, that we should possess a few poetical dialogues in Latin, or even entire plays, like those of Hroswitha, abbess of Gandersaen, in the 10th century. A modern French writer calls one of her sacred comedies "Un des chefs-d'œuvre, le plus brillant, peut-être, et le plus pur de cette série non interrompue d'œuvres dramatiques, jusqu'ici trop peu étudiées, qui lient le théâtre païen, expirant vers le cinquième siècle, au théâtre moderne, renaissant dans presque toutes les contrées de l'Europe vers la

fin du treizième siècle."—Quotation in Jubinal, *Mystères Inédits du Quinzième Siècle*, Paris, 1837, p. 9. But we have no sort of evidence that the dramas of Hroswitha were represented, nor is it by any means probable that they were. Until the new languages, which alone the people understood, were employed in popular writings, the stage must have been silent. In the mystery of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, we find both Latin and Provençal. This, therefore, is an evidence of transition; and whether as old as the 11th century, or a little later, may stand at the head of European dramatic literature. Several others, however, are referred by late French antiquaries to the same age, and have been published by M. Monmerqué.—1847.]

<sup>a</sup> *Journal des Savans*, 1828, p. 297. These farces, according to M. Raynouard, were the earliest dramatic representations, and gave rise to the mysteries.

an obvious inducement to make use of the vernacular language. The most ancient specimens appear to be those which Le Grand d'Aussy found among the compositions of the *Trouveurs*. He has published extracts from three; two of which are in the nature of legendary mysteries; while the third, which is far more remarkable, and may possibly be of the following century, is a pleasing pastoral drama, of which there seem to be no other instances in the mediæval period.<sup>b</sup> Bouterwek mentions a fragment of a German mystery, near the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>c</sup> Next to this it seems that we should place an English mystery called 'The Harrowing of Hell.' "This," its editor observes, "is believed to be the most ancient production in a dramatic form in our language. The manuscript from which it is now printed is on vellum, and is certainly as old as the reign of Edward III., if not older. It probably formed one of a series of performances of the same kind, founded upon Scripture history." It consists of a prologue, epilogue, and intermediate dialogue of nine persons, Dominus, Sathan, Adam, Eve, &c. Independently of the alleged age of the manuscript itself, the language will hardly be thought later than 1350.<sup>d</sup> This, however, seems to stand at no small distance from any extant work of the kind. Warton having referred the Chester mysteries to 1327, when he supposes them to have been written by Ranulph Higden, a learned monk of that city, best known as the author of the *Polychronicon*, Roscoe positively contradicts him, and denies that any dramatic composition can be found in England anterior to the year 1500.<sup>e</sup> Two of these Chester mysteries have been since

<sup>b</sup> Fabliaux, il. 119.

<sup>c</sup> ix. 265. The 'Tragedy of the Ten Virgins' was acted at Eisenach in 1322. This is evidently nothing but a mystery. Weber's *Illustrations of Northern Poetry*, p. 19.—[A drama of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, written in a mixture of Latin and Romance, and ascribed by Le Boeuf to the eleventh century, has been published by Raynouard. See *Journal des Savans*, June 1836, p. 366, for this early mystery.—1842.]

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Collier has printed twenty-five copies (why veteris tam parvus acet?) of this very curious record of the ancient

drama. I do not know that any other in Europe of that early age has yet been given to the press.

[The Harrowing of Hell has since been published by Mr. Halliwell. In the *Théâtre Français du Moyen Âge*, 1839, M. Michel has published several French mysteries or miracle plays of the 14th century, or perhaps earlier.—1847.]

<sup>e</sup> Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 299. Roscoe thinks there is reason to conjecture that the Miracle-play acted at Dunstable was in dumb show; and assumes the same of the "grotesque exhibitions" known by the name of the Harrowing of Hell. In

printed; but notwithstanding the very respectable authorities which assign them to the fourteenth century, I cannot but consider the language in which we now read them not earlier, to say the least, than the middle of the next. It is possible that they have in some degree been modernised. Mr. Collier has given an analysis of our own extant mysteries, or, as he prefers to call them, Miracle-plays.<sup>f</sup> There does not seem to be much dramatic merit, even with copious indulgence, in any of them; and some, such as the two Chester mysteries, are in the lowest style of buffoonery; yet they are not without importance in the absolute sterility of English literature during the age in which we presume them to have been written, the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.

106. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were fertile of these religious dramas in many parts of Europe. They were frequently represented in Germany, but more in Latin than the mother-tongue. The French Scriptural theatre, whatever may have been previously exhibited, seems not to be traced in permanent existence beyond the last years of the fourteenth century.<sup>g</sup> It was about 1400, according to Beauchamps, or some years before, as the authorities quoted by Bouterwek imply, that the Confrairie de la Passion de N. S. was established as a regular body of actors at Paris.<sup>h</sup> They are said to have taken their name from the mystery of the passion, which in fact represented the whole life of our Lord from his baptism, and was divided into several days. In pomp of show they far excelled our English mysteries, in which few persons appeared, and the scenery was simple. But in the mystery of the passion, eighty-seven characters were introduced in the first day; heaven, earth, and hell combined to people the stage; several scenes were written for singing, and some for choruses. The dialogue, of which I have only

<sup>f</sup> We have just seen that he was mistaken, and probably in the former.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. of English Dramatic Poetry, vol. ii. The Chester mysteries were printed for the Roxburgh Club by my friend Mr. Mackland; and what are called the Townley mysteries are announced for publication. (1838.)—[They have since appeared.—1842.]

<sup>h</sup> [The mystery of St. Cripin and

St. Cripinien, published about 1836, is reviewed by Raynould in the Journal des Savans for that year. He seems to assign no date to this mystery; but it is clear that similar dramas were represented long before the end of the fourteenth century. But not perhaps on a permanent theatre.—1842.]

<sup>i</sup> Beauchamps, Recherches sur le Théâtre Français, Bouterwek, v. 86.

seen the few extracts in Bouterwek, is rather similar to that of our own mysteries, though less rude, and with more efforts at a tragic tone.<sup>l</sup>

107. The mysteries, not confined to Scriptural themes, embraced those which were hardly less sacred and trustworthy in the eyes of the people, the legends of saints. These afforded ample scope for the gratification which great part of mankind seem to take in witnessing the endurance of pain. Thus, in one of these Parisian mysteries, St. Barbara is hung up by the heels on the stage; and after uttering her remonstrances in that unpleasant situation, is torn with pincers and scorched with lamps before the audience. The decorations of this theatre must have appeared splendid. A large scaffolding at the back of the stage displayed heaven above and hell below, between which extended the world, with representations of the spot where the scene lay. Nor was the machinist's art unknown. An immense dragon, with eyes of polished steel, sprang out from hell, in a mystery exhibited at Metz in the year 1437, and spread his wings so near to the spectators that they were all in consternation.<sup>k</sup> Many French mysteries, chiefly without date of the year, are in print, and probably belong, typographically speaking, to the present century. One bears, according to Brunet, the date of 1484.<sup>m</sup> These may, however, have been written long before their publication. Beauchamps has given a list of early mysteries and moralities in the French language, beginning near the end of the fourteenth century.

108. The religious drama was doubtless full as ancient in Italy as in any other country; it was very congenial to a people whose delight in sensible objects is so intense. It did not supersede the extemporaneous performances, the *mimi* and *histriones*, who had probably never intermitted their sportive licence since the days of their *Oscan* fathers, and of whom we find mention, sometimes with severity, sometimes with toleration, in ecclesiastical writers,<sup>n</sup> but it came into competition with them; and thus may be

<sup>l</sup> Bouterwek, p. 100.

<sup>k</sup> *Id.*, p. 105-106.

<sup>m</sup> Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*.

<sup>n</sup> Thomas Aquinas mentions the his-

trionaths *ars* as lawful if not abused.

Antonin of Florence does the same.

Riccoloni, l. 23.



said to have commenced in the thirteenth century a war of regular comedy against the lawless savages of the stage, which has only been terminated in Italy within very recent recollection. We find a society del Gonfalone established at Rome in 1264, the statutes of which declare that it is designed to represent the passion of Jesus Christ.<sup>o</sup> Lorenzo de' Medici condescended to publish a drama of this kind on the martyrdom of two saints; and a considerable collection of similar productions during the fifteenth century was in the possession of Mr. Roscoe.<sup>p</sup>

109. Next to the mysteries came the kindred class, styled moralities. But as these belong more peculiarly to the next century, both in England and France, though they began about the present time, we may better reserve them for that period. There is still another species of dramatic composition, what may be called the farce, not always very distinguishable from comedy, but much shorter, admitting more buffoonery without reproach, and more destitute of any serious or practical end. It may be reckoned a middle link between the extemporaneous effusions of the mimes and the legitimate drama. The French have a diverting piece of this kind, *Maitre Patelin*, ascribed to Pierre Blanchet, and first printed in 1490. It was restored to the stage, with much alteration, under the name of *L'Avocat Patelin*, about the beginning of the last century; and contains strokes of humour which Molière would not have disdained.<sup>q</sup> Of these productions there were not a few in Germany, called *Fastnachts-spiele*, or Carnival plays, written in the licence which that season has generally permitted. They are scarce, and of little value. The most remarkable is the *Apotheosis of Pope Joan*, a tragi-comic legend, written about 1480.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Riccoboni. Tiraboschi, however, v. 376, disputes the antiquity of any scenical representations truly dramatic in Italy; in which he seems to be mistaken.

<sup>p</sup> Life of Lorenzo, l. 402.

<sup>q</sup> The proverbial expression for quitting a digression, *Revenons à nos moutons*, is taken from this farce; which is at least short, and as laughable as most

farces are. It seems to have been written not long before its publication. See Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, l. viii. c. 59; *Biogr. Univ.*, Blanchet; and *Bouterwek*, v. 118.

<sup>r</sup> *Bouterwek*, *Gesch. der Deutschen Poesie*, ix. 357-367. Heinsius, *Lehrbuch der Sprachwissenschaft*, iv. 125.

110. Euclid was printed for the first time at Venice in 1482; the diagrams in this edition are engraved on copper, and remarkably clear and neat.\* The translation is that of Campanus from the Arabic. The *Cosmography* of Ptolemy, which had been already twice published in Italy, appeared the same year at Ulm, with maps by Donis, some of them traced after the plans drawn by Agathodæmon, some modern; and it was reprinted, as well as Euclid, at the same place in 1486. The tables of Regiomontanus were printed both at Augsburg and Venice in 1490. We may take this occasion of introducing two names which do not exclusively belong to the exact sciences, nor to the present period.

111. Leo Baptista Alberti was a man, who, if measured by the universality of his genius, may claim a place in the temple of glory he has not filled; the author of a Latin comedy, entitled *Philodoxios*, which the younger Aldus Manutius afterwards published as the genuine work of a supposed ancient Lepidus; a moral writer in the various forms of dialogue, dissertation, fable, and light humour; a poet, extolled by some, though not free from the rudeness of his age; a philosopher of the Platonic school of Lorenzo; a mathematician and inventor of optical instruments; a painter, and the author of the earliest modern treatise on painting; a sculptor, and the first who wrote about sculpture; a musician, whose compositions excited the applause of his contemporaries; an architect of profound skill, not only displayed in many works, of which the church of St. Francis at Rimini is the most admired,† but in a theoretical treatise, *De re ædificatoriâ*, published posthumously in 1485. It has been called the only work on architecture which we can place on a level with that of Vitruvius, and by some has been preferred to it. Alberti

\* A beautiful copy of this edition, presented to Mocenigo, doge of Venice, is in the British Museum. The diagrams, especially those which represent solids, are better than in most of our modern editions of Euclid. I will take this opportunity of mentioning that the earliest book in which engravings are found is the edition of Dante by Landino, pub-

lished at Florence in 1481. See Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Dibdin's *Bibl. Spencer*, &c.

† [Let me add that of St. Andrew at Mantua, worthy of comparison with the best of the sixteenth century, and free from the excessive decoration by which they often lose sight both of pure taste and religious effect.—1847.]

had deeply meditated the remains of Roman antiquity, and endeavoured to derive from them general theorems of beauty, variously applicable to each description of buildings."

112. This great man seems to have had two impediments to his permanent glory: one, that he came a few years too soon into the world, before his own language was become polished, and before the principles of taste in art had been wholly developed; the other, that, splendid as was his own genius, there were yet two men a little behind, in the presence of whom his star has paled; men not superior to Alberti in universality of mental powers, but in their transcendency and command over immortal fame. Many readers will have perceived to whom I allude—Leonardo da Vinci, and Michael Angelo.

113. None of the writings of Leonardo were published till more than a century after his death; and, indeed, the most remarkable of them are still in manuscript. We cannot, therefore, give him a determinate place under this rather than any other decennium; but as he was born in 1452, we may presume his mind to have been in full expansion before 1490. His Treatise on Painting is known as a very early disquisition on the rules of the art. But his greatest literary distinction is derived from those short fragments of his unpublished writings that appeared not many years since; and which, according at least to our common estimate of the age in which he lived, are more like revelations of physical truths vouchsafed to a single mind, than the superstructure of its reasoning upon any established basis. The discoveries which made Galileo, and Kepler, and Mæstlin, and Maurolycus, and Castelli, and other names illustrious, the system of Copernicus, the very theories of recent geologists, are anticipated by Da Vinci, within the compass of a few pages, not perhaps in the most precise language, or on the most conclusive reasoning, but so as to strike us with something like the awe of præternatural knowledge. In an age of so much dogmatism, he first laid down the grand principle of Bacon, that experiment and observation must be the

guides to just theory in the investigation of nature. If any doubt could be harboured, not as to the right of Leonardo da Vinci to stand as the first name of the fifteenth century, which is beyond all doubt, but as to his originality in so many discoveries, which probably no one man, especially in such circumstances, has ever made, it must be on an hypothesis, not very untenable, that some parts of physical science had already attained a height which mere books do not record. The extraordinary works of ecclesiastical architecture in the middle ages, especially in the fifteenth century, as well as those of Toscanelli and Fioravanti, which we have mentioned, lend some countenance to this opinion. Leonardo himself speaks of the earth's annual motion, in a treatise that appears to have been written about 1510, as the opinion of many philosophers in his age.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>v</sup> The manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci, now at Paris, are the justification of what has been said in the text. A short account of them was given by Venturi, who designed to have published a part; but, having relinquished that intention, the fragments he has made known are the more important. As they are very remarkable, and not, I believe, very generally known, I shall extract a few passages from his *Essai sur les Ouvrages physico-mathématiques de Léonard de Vinci*. Paris, 1797.

En mécanique, Vinci connaissait, entre autres choses : 1. La théorie des forces appliquées obliquement au bras du levier ; 2. La résistance respective des poutres ; 3. Les loix du frottement données ensuite par Amontons ; 4. L'influence du centre de gravité sur les corps en repos ou en mouvement ; 5. L'application du principe des vitesses virtuelles à plusieurs cas que la sublime analyse a porté de nos jours à sa plus grande généralité. Dans l'optique il décrit la chambre obscure avant Porta, il explique avant Maurolycus la figure de l'image du soleil dans un trou de forme anguleuse ; il nous apprend la perspective aérienne, la nature des ombres colorées, les mouvemens de l'iris, les effets de la durée de l'impression visible, et plusieurs autres phénomènes de l'œil qu'on ne rencontre point dans Vitellion. Enfin non seulement Vinci avait remarqué tout

ce que Castelll a dit un siècle après lui sur le mouvement des eaux ; le premier me paraît même dans cette partie supérieur de beaucoup à l'autre, que l'Italie cependant a regardé comme le fondateur de l'hydraulique.

Il faut donc placer Léonard à la tête de ceux qui se sont occupés des sciences physico-mathématiques, et de la vraie méthode d'étudier parmi les modernes. P. 5.

The first extract Venturi gives is entitled, On the descent of heavy bodies combined with the rotation of the earth. He here assumes the latter, and conceives that a body falling to the earth from the top of a tower would have a compound motion, in consequence of the terrestrial rotation. Venturi thinks that the writings of Nicolas de Cusa had set men on speculating concerning this before the time of Copernicus.

Vinci had very extraordinary lights as to mechanical motions. He says plainly that the time of descent on inclined planes of equal height is as their length : that a body descends along the arc of a circle sooner than down the chord, and that a body descending an inclined plane will re-ascend with the same velocity as if it had fallen down the height. He frequently repeats that every body weighs in the direction of its movement, and weighs the more in the ratio of its velocity ; by weight evidently meaning what

## SECT. VI. 1491-1500.

State of Learning in Italy — Latin and Italian Poets — Learning in France and England — Erasmus — Popular Literature and Poetry — Other Kinds of Literature — General Literary Character of Fifteenth Century — Book-trade, its Privileges and Restraints.

114. THE year 1494 is distinguished by an edition of *Museus*, generally thought the first work from the press

we call force. He applies this to the centrifugal force of bodies in rotation: Pendant tout ce temps elle pèse sur la direction de son mouvement.

Lorsqu'on employe une machine quelconque pour mouvoir un corps grave, toutes les parties de la machine qui ont un mouvement égal à celui du corps grave ont une charge égale au poids entier du même corps. Si la partie qui est le moteur a, dans le même temps, plus de mouvement que le corps mobile, elle aura plus de puissance que le mobile; et cela d'autant plus qu'elle se mouvra plus vite que les corps même. Si la partie qui est le moteur a moins de vitesse que le mobile, elle aura d'autant moins de puissance que ce mobile. If in this passage there is not the perfect luminousness of expression we should find in the best modern books, it seems to contain the philosophical theory of motion as unequivocally as any of them.

Vinci had a better notion of geology than most of his contemporaries, and saw that the sea had covered the mountains which contained shells: Ces coquillages ont vécu dans le même endroit lorsque l'eau de la mer le recouvrait. Les bancs, par la suite des temps, ont été recouverts par d'autres couches de limon de différentes hauteurs; ainsi, les coquilles ont été enclavées sous le bourbier amoncelé au dessus, jusqu'à sortir de l'eau. He seems to have had an idea of the elevation of the continents, though he gives an unintelligible reason for it.

He explained the obscure light of the unilluminated part of the moon by the reflection of the earth, as Mæstlin did long after. He understood the camera obscura, and describes its effect. He perceived that respirable air must support flame: Lorsque l'air n'est pas dans un état propre à recevoir la flamme, il

n'y peut vivre ni flamme ni aucun animal terrestre ou aérien. Aucun animal ne peut vivre dans un endroit où la flamme ne vit pas.

Vinci's observations on the conduct of the understanding are also very much beyond his time. I extract a few of them.

Il est toujours bon pour l'entendement d'acquérir des connaissances quelles qu'elles soient; on pourra ensuite choisir les bonnes et écarter les inutiles.

L'interprète des artifices de la nature, c'est l'expérience. Elle ne se trompe jamais; c'est notre jugement qui quelquefois se trompe lui-même, parcequ'il s'attend à des effets auxquels l'expérience se refuse. Il faut consulter l'expérience, en varier les circonstances jusqu'à ce que nous en ayons tiré des règles générales; car c'est elle qui fournit les vraies règles. Mais à quoi bon ces règles, me direz-vous? Je réponds qu'elles nous dirigent dans les recherches de la nature et les opérations de l'art. Elles empêchent que nous ne nous abusions nous-mêmes ou les autres, en nous promettant des résultats que nous ne saurions obtenir.

Il n'y a point de certitude dans les sciences où on ne peut pas appliquer quelque partie des mathématiques, ou qui n'en dépendent pas de quelque manière.

Dans l'étude des sciences qui tiennent aux mathématiques, ceux qui ne consultent pas la nature, mais les auteurs, ne sont pas les enfans de la nature; je dirais qu'ils n'en sont que les petits fils: elle seule, en effet, est le maître des vrais génies. Mais voyez la sottise! on se moque d'un homme qui aimera mieux apprendre de la nature elle-même, que des auteurs, qui n'en sont que les clercs. Is not this the precise tone of Lord Bacon?

Vinci

established at Venice by Aldus Manutius, who had settled there in 1489.<sup>3</sup> In the course of about twenty years, with some interruption, he gave to the world several of the principal Greek authors; and though, as we have seen, not absolutely the earliest printer in that language, he so far excelled all others in the number of his editions, that he may be justly said to stand at the head of the list. It is right, however, to mention that Zarot had printed Hesiod and Theocritus in one volume, and also Isocrates, at Milan, in 1493; that the *Anthologia* appeared at Florence in 1494; Lucian and Apollonius Rhodius in 1496; the *Lexicon* of Suidas at Milan in 1499. About fifteen editions of Greek works, without reckoning Craston's *Lexicon* and several grammars, had been published before the close of the century.<sup>7</sup> The most remarkable of the Aldine editions are the Aristotle, in five volumes, the first bearing the date of 1495, the last of 1498, and nine plays of Aristophanes in the latter year. In this Aristophanes,

Aldine  
Greek  
editions.

Vinci says in another place: Mon dessein est de citer d'abord l'expérience, et de démontrer ensuite pourquoi les corps sont contraints d'agir de telle manière. C'est la méthode qu'on doit observer dans les recherches des phénomènes de la nature. Il est bien vrai que la nature commence par le raisonnement, et finit par l'expérience; mais n'importe, il nous faut prendre la route opposée: comme j'ai dit, nous devons commencer par l'expérience, et tâcher par son moyen d'en découvrir la raison.

He ascribes the elevation of the equatorial waters above the polar to the heat of the sun: Elles entrent en mouvement de tous les côtés de cette éminence aqueuse pour rétablir leur sphéricité parfaite. This is not the true cause of the elevation, but by what means could he know the fact?

Vinci understood fortification well, and wrote upon it. Since in our time, he says, artillery has four times the power it used to have, it is necessary that the fortification of towns should be strengthened in the same proportion. He was employed on several great works of engineering. So wonderful was the variety of power in this miracle of nature. For we have not mentioned that his Last

Supper, at Milan, is the earliest of the great pictures in Italy, and that some productions of his easel vie with those of Raphael. His only published work, the *Treatise on Painting*, does him injustice; it is an ill-arranged compilation from several of his manuscripts. That the extraordinary works, of which this note contains an account, have not been published entire and in their original language, is much to be regretted by all who know how to venerate so great a genius as Leonardo da Vinci.

<sup>3</sup> The *Erotemata* of Constantine Lascaris, printed by Aldus, bears date Feb. 1494, which seems to mean 1495. But the *Museus* has no date, nor the *Galeomyomachia*, a Greek poem by one Theoderus Prodromus. Renouard, *Hist. de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Grammar* of Urbano Valeriano was first printed in 1497. It is in Greek and Latin, and of extreme rarity. Roscoe (Leo X., ch. xl.) says, "it was received with such avidity, that Erasmus, on inquiring for it in the year 1499, found that not a copy of this impression remained unsold." I have given, a little below, a different construction to these words of Erasmus.

and perhaps in other editions of this time, Aldus had fortunately the assistance of Marcus Musurus, one of the last, but by no means the least eminent, of the Greeks who transported their language to Italy. Musurus was now a public teacher at Padua. John Lascaris, son, perhaps, of Constantine, edited the *Anthologia* at Florence. It may be doubted whether Italy had as yet produced any scholar, unless it were Varino, more often called Phavorinus, singly equal to the task of superintending a Greek edition. His *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*, a collection of thirty-four grammatical tracts in Greek, printed 1496, may be an exception. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, Venice, 1499, being a lexicon with only Greek explanations, is supposed to be chiefly due to Musurus. Aldus had printed Craston's *Lexicon* in 1497, with the addition of an index; this has often been mistaken for an original work.\*

115. The state of Italy was not so favourable as it had been to the advancement of philosophy. After the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, in 1494, the Platonic academy was broken up; and that philosophy never found again a friendly soil in Italy, though Ficinus had endeavoured to keep it up by a Latin translation of Plotinus. Aristotle and his followers began now to regain the ascendant. Perhaps it may be thought that even polite letters were not so flourishing as they had been; no one at least yet appeared to fill the place of Hermolaus Barbarus, who died in 1493, or Politian, who followed him the next year.

116. Hermolaus Barbarus was a noble Venetian, whom Europe agreed to place next to Politian in critical learning, and to draw a line between them and any third name. "No time, no accident, no destiny," says an enthusiastic scholar of the next age, "will ever efface their remembrance from the hearts of the learned."† Erasmus calls him a truly great and

\* Renouard; Roscoe's *Leo X.*, ch. xi.

† Habuit nostra hæc ætas bonarum literarum proceres duos, Hermolaum Barbarum atque Angelum Politianum: Deum immortalem! quam acri iudicio, quanta facundia, quanta linguarum quanta disciplinarum omnium scientia

præditos! Hi Latinam linguam jampridem squalentem et multa barbariæ rubiginis exesam, ad pristinum revocare nitentem conati sunt, atque illis suis profecto conatus non infeliciter cessit, suntque illi de Latina lingua tam bene meriti, quam qui ante eos optimi meriti fuerunt. Itaque

divine man. He filled many honourable offices for the republic; but lamented that they drew him away from that learning for which he says he was born, and to which alone he was devoted.<sup>b</sup> Yet Hermolaus is but faintly kept in mind at the present day. In his Latin style, with the same fault as Politian, an affectation of obsolete words, he is less flexible and elegant. But his chief merit was in the restoration of the text of ancient writers. He boasts that he had corrected above five thousand passages in Pliny's natural history, and more than three hundred in the very brief geography of Pomponius Mela. Hardouin, however, charges him with extreme rashness in altering passages he did not understand. The pope had nominated Hermolaus to the greatest post in the Venetian church, the patriarchate of Aquileia; but his mortification at finding that the senate refused to concur in the appointment is said to have hastened his death.<sup>c</sup>

117. A Latin poet once of great celebrity, Baptista Mantuan, seems to fall within this period as fitly as any other, though several of his poems Mantuan. had been separately printed before, and their collective publication was not till 1513. Editions recur very frequently in the bibliography of Italy and Germany. He was, and long continued to be, the poet of school-rooms. Erasmus says that he would be placed by posterity not much below Virgil;<sup>d</sup> and the marquis of Mantua, anticipating this suffrage, erected their statues side by side. Such is the security of contemporary compliments! Mantuan has long been utterly neglected, and does not find a place in most selections of Latin poetry. His Eclogues and Silvæ are said to be the least bad of his numerous works. He was among the many assailants of the church, or at least the court of Rome; and this animosity inspired him with some bitter, or

immortalem sibi gloriam, immortale decus paraverunt, manebitque semper in omnium eruditorum pectoribus consecrata Hermolai et Politiani memoria, nullo meo, nullo caso, nullo fato abolenda. Brixius Erasmo in Erasmo, Epist. ccxii.

<sup>b</sup> Meiners, li. 200.

<sup>c</sup> Bayle; Nicéron, vol. xiv.; Tiraboschi, \*il. 152; Corniani, III. 197;

Heeren, p. 274.

<sup>d</sup> Et nisi me fallit augurium, erit aliquando Baptista suo concive gloria celebritateque non ita multo inferior, simul invidiam anni detraxerint. Append. ad Erasmo, Epist. ccxcv. (edit. Lugd.) It is not conceivable that Erasmus meant this literally; but the drift of the letter is to encourage the reading of Christian poets.



rather vigorous, invectives. But he became afterwards a Carmelite friar.\* Marullus, a Greek by birth, has obtained a certain reputation for his Latin poems, which are of no great value.

118. A far superior name is that of Pontanus, to whom, if we attend to some critics, we must award the palm above all Latin poets of the fifteenth century. If I might venture to set my own taste against theirs, I should not agree to his superiority over Politian. His hexameters are by no means deficient in harmony, and may perhaps be more correct than those of his rival, but appear to me less pleasing and poetical. His lyric poems are like too much modern Latin, in a tone of languid voluptuousness, and ring changes on the various beauties of his mistress, and the sweetness of her kisses. The few elegies of Pontanus, among which that addressed to his wife, on the prospect of peace, is the best known, fall very short of the admirable lines of Politian on the death of Ovid. Pontanus wrote some moral and political essays in prose, which are said to be full of just observations and sharp satire on the court of Rome, and written in a style which his contemporaries regarded with admiration. They were published in 1490. Erasmus, though a parsimonious distributor of praise to the Italians, has acknowledged their merit in the Ciceronianus.<sup>f</sup>

119. Pontanus presided at this time over the Neapolitan academy, a dignity which he had attained upon the death of Beccatelli, in 1471. This was, after the decline of the Roman and the Florentine academies, by far the most eminent re-union of literary

\* Corniani, lib. 148; Nicéron, vol. xxvii. Such of Mantuan's eclogues as are printed in *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, Florent. 1719, are but indifferent. I doubt, however, whether that voluminous collection has been made with much taste; and his satire on the see of Rome would certainly be excluded, whatever might be its merit. Corniani has given an extract, better than what I have seen of Mantuan.

<sup>f</sup> Roscoe, Leo X., ch. ii. and xx.; Nicéron, vol. viii.; Corniani; Tiraboschi. Pontanus cum illa quatuor complexi summa cura conatus sit, nervum dico,

numeros, candorem, venustatem, profecto est omnia consecutus. Quintum autem illud quod est horum omnium veluti vita quædam, modum intelligo, penitus ignoravit. Atunt Virgilium cum multos versus matutino calore effudisset, pomeridianis horis novo judicio solitum ad paucorum numerum revocare. Contra quidem Pontano evenisse arbitror. Quæ prima quaque inventionè arrisissent, his plura postea, dum recognosceret, addita, atque ipsis potius carminibus, quam sibi pepercisse. Scaliger de re poetica (apud Blount).

men in Italy; and, though it was long conspicuous, seems to have reached its highest point in the last years of this century, under the patronage of the mild Frederic of Aragon, and during that transient calm which Naples was permitted to enjoy between the invasions of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. That city and kingdom afforded many lovers of learning and poetry, some of them in the class of its nobles; each district being, as it were, represented in this academy by one or more of its distinguished residents. But other members were associated from different parts of Italy; and the whole constellation of names is still brilliant, though some have grown dim by time. The house of Este, at Ferrara, were still the liberal patrons of genius; none more eminently than their reigning marquis, Hercules I. And not less praise is due to the families who held the principalities of Urbino and Mantua.\*

120. A poem now appeared in Italy, well deserving of attention for its own sake, but still more so on account of the excitement and direction it <sup>Boiardo.</sup> gave to one of the most famous poets that ever lived. Matteo Maria Boiardo, count of Scandiano, a man esteemed and trusted at the court of Ferrara, amused his leisure in the publication of a romantic poem, for which the stories of Charlemagne and his paladins, related by one who assumed the name of Turpin, and already woven into long metrical narrations, current at the end of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth century in Italy, supplied materials, which are almost lost in the original inventions of the author. The first edition of this poem is without date, but probably in 1495. The author, who died the year before, left it unfinished at the ninth canto of the third book. Agostini, in 1516, published a continuation, indifferently executed, in three more books; but the real complement of the *Innamorato* is the *Furioso*.<sup>b</sup> The *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo has hitherto not received that share of renown which seems to be its due: overpowered by the splendour of Ariosto's poem, and almost set aside in its original form by the improved edition or remaking (*rifacimento*),

\* Roscoe's *Leo X.*, ch. ii. This contains an excellent account of the state of literature in Italy about the close of the century.  
<sup>b</sup> Fontanul, dell' *eloquenza Italiana*, edit. di Zeno, p. 270.

which Berni afterwards gave, it has rarely been sought or quoted, even in Italy.<sup>c</sup>

121. The style is uncouth and hard; but with great defects of style, which should be the source of perpetual delight, no long poem will be read; and it has been observed by Ginguéné with some justice, that Boiardo's name is better remembered, though his original poem may have been more completely neglected, through the process to which Berni has subjected it. In point of novel invention and just keeping of character, especially the latter, he has not been surpassed by his illustrious follower Ariosto; and whatever of this we find in the Orlando Innamorato is due to Boiardo alone; for Berni has preserved the sense of almost every stanza. The imposing appearance of Angelica at the court of Charlemagne, in the first canto, opens the poem with a splendour rarely equalled, with a luxuriant fertility of invention, and with admirable art; judiciously presenting the subject in so much singleness, that amidst all the intricacies and episodes of the story, the reader never forgets the incomparable princess of Albracca. The latter city, placed in that remote Cathay which Marco Polo had laid open to the range of fancy, and its siege by Agrican's innumerable cavalry, are creations of Boiardo's most inventive mind. Nothing in Ariosto is conceived so nobly, or so much in the true genius of romance. Castelvetro asserts that the names Gradasso, Mandricardo, Sobrino, and others which Boiardo has given to his imaginary characters, belonged to his own peasants of Scandiano; and some have improved upon this by assuring us, that those who take the pains to ascertain the fact, may still find the representatives of these sonorous heroes at the plough, which, if the story were true, ought to be the case.<sup>d</sup> But we

<sup>c</sup> See my friend Mr. Panizal's excellent introduction to his edition of the Orlando Innamorato. This poem had never been reprinted since 1544; so much was Roscoe deceived in fancying that "the simplicity of the original has caused it to be preferred to the same work, as altered or reformed by Francesco Berni." *Life of Leo X.*, ch. II.

<sup>d</sup> Casilio Pellegrino, in his famous controversy with the Academy of Flo-

rence on the respective merits of Ariosto and Tasso, having asserted this, they do not deny the fact, but say it stands on the authority of Castelvetro. *Opere di Tasso*, 4to., il. 94. The critics held rather a pedantic doctrine, that, though the names of private men may be feigned, the poet has no right to introduce kings unknown to history, as this destroys the probability required for his fiction.

may give him credit for talent enough to invent those appellations; he hardly found an Albracca on his domains; and those who grudge him the rest, acknowledge that, in a moment of inspiration, while hunting, the name of Rodomont occurred to his mind. We know how finely Milton, whose ear pursued, almost to excess, the pleasure of harmonious names, and who loved to expatiate in these imaginary regions, has alluded to Boiardo's poem in the *Paradise Regained*. The lines are perhaps the most musical he has ever produced:—

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,  
When Agrican with all his northern powers  
Besieged Albracca, as romances tell,  
The city of Gallaphron, from thence to win  
The fairest of her sex Angelica,  
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,  
Both paynim and the peers of Charlemagne.\*

122. The *Mambriano* of Francesco Bello, surnamed Il Cieco, another poem of the same romantic class, was published posthumously in 1497. Francesco Bello.

Apostolo Zeno, as quoted by Roscoe, attributes the neglect of the *Mambriano* to its wanting an Ariosto to continue its subject, or a Berni to reform its style.<sup>f</sup> But this seems a capricious opinion. Bello composed it at intervals to amuse the courtiers of the marquis of Mantua. The poem, therefore, wants unity. "It is a re-union," says Mr. Panizzi, "of detached tales, without any relation to each other, except in so far as most of the same actors are before us."<sup>g</sup> We may perceive by this, how little a series of rhapsodies, not directed by a controlling unity of purpose, even though the work of a single man, are likely to fall into a connected poem. But that a long poem, such as the greatest and most ancient of all, of singular coherence and subordination of parts to an end, should be framed from the random and insulated songs of a great number of persons, is almost as incredible as that the annals of Ennius, to use Cicero's argument against the fortuitous origin of the world, should be formed by shaking together the letters of the alphabet.

\* Book iii.

† Leo X., ch. ii.

‡ Panizzi's Introduction to Boiardo,

p. 368. He does not highly praise the poem, of which he gives an analysis with extracts. See too Ginguéné, vol. iv.

123. Near the close of the fifteenth century we find a great increase of Italian poetry, to which the patronage and example of Lorenzo had given encouragement. It is not easy to place within such narrow limits as a decennial period the names of writers whose productions were frequently not published, at least collectively, during their lives. Serafino d'Aquila, born in 1466, seems to fall, as a poet, within this decad; and the same may be said of Tibaldeo and Benivieni. Of these the first is perhaps the best known; his verses are not destitute of spirit, but extravagance and bad taste deform the greater part.<sup>b</sup> Tibaldeo unites false thoughts with rudeness and poverty of diction. Benivieni, superior to either of these, is reckoned by Corniani a link between the harshness of the fifteenth and the polish of the ensuing century. The style of this age was far from the grace and sweetness of Petrarch; forced in sentiment, low in choice of words, deficient in harmony, it has been condemned by the voice of all Italian critics.<sup>i</sup>

124. A greater activity than before was now perceptible in the literary spirit of France and Germany. It was also regularly progressive. The press of Paris gave twenty-six editions of ancient Latin authors, nine of which were in the year 1500. Twelve were published at Lyons. Deventer and Leipsic, especially the latter, which now took a lead in the German press, bore a part in this honourable labour; a proof of the rapid and extensive influence of Conrad Celtes on that part of Germany. It is to be understood that a very large proportion, or nearly the whole, of the Latin editions printed in Germany were for the use of schools.<sup>k</sup> We should be warranted in drawing an inference as to the progress in literary instruction in these countries from the increase in the

<sup>b</sup> Bouterwek, *Gesch. der Ital. Poesie*, l. 321; Corniani.

<sup>i</sup> Corniani; Muratori, *della perfetta Poesia*; Crescimbeni, *Storia della volgar Poesia*.

<sup>k</sup> A proof of this may be found in the books printed at Deventer from 1491 to 1500. They consisted of Virgil's *Bucolics* three times, Virgil's *Georgics* twice, and

the eclogues of Calpurnius once, or perhaps twice. At Leipsic the list is much longer, but in great measure of the same kind; single treatises of Seneca or Cicero, or detached parts of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, sometimes very short, as the *Culex* or the *Ibis*, form, with not many exceptions, the Cisalpine classical bibliography of the fifteenth century.

number of publications, small as that number still is, and trifling as some of them may appear. It may be accounted for by the gradual working of the schools at Munster and other places, which had now sent out a race of pupils well fitted to impart knowledge in their turn to others; and by the patronage of some powerful men, among whom the first place, on all accounts, is due to the emperor Maximilian. Nothing was so likely to contribute to the intellectual improvement of Germany as the public peace of 1495, which put an end to the barbarous customs of the middle ages, not unaccompanied by generous virtues, but certainly as incompatible with the steady cultivation of literature as with riches and repose. Yet there seems to be no proof that the Greek language had obtained much more attention; no book connected with it is recorded to have been printed; and I do not find mention that it was taught, even superficially, in any university or school, at this time, though it might be conjectured without improbability. Reuchlin had now devoted his whole thoughts to cabalistic philosophy and the study of Hebrew; and Eichhorn, though not unwilling to make the most of early German learning, owns that, at the end of the century, no other person had become remarkable for a skill in Greek.<sup>m</sup>

125. Two men, however, were devoting incessant labour to the acquisition of that language at Paris, for whom was reserved the glory of <sup>Erasmus;</sup> raising the knowledge of it in Cisalpine Europe to a height which Italy could not attain. These were

<sup>m</sup> Eichhorn, iii. 236. This section in Eichhorn is valuable, but exhibits some want of precision.

Reuchlin had been very diligent in purchasing Greek manuscripts. But these were very scarce, even in Italy. A correspondent of his, Strelor by name, one of the young men who went from Germany to Florence for education, tells him, in 1491: *Nullos libros Græcos hic venales reperio; and again, de Græcis libris coemendia hoc scias; fui penes omnes hic librariorum, nihil horum prorsus reperio.* *Epist. ad Reuchl.* (1562), fol. 7. In fact, Reuchlin's own library was so large, as to astonish the Italian scholars when they saw the catalogue, who plainly owned they could not procure

such books themselves. They had, of course, been originally purchased in Italy, unless we suppose some to have been brought by way of Hungary.

It is not to be imagined that the libraries of ordinary scholars were to be compared with that of Reuchlin, probably more opulent than most of them. The early printed books of Italy, even the most indispensable, were very scarce, at least in France. A Greek grammar was a rarity at Paris in 1499. *Grammaticen Græcam*, says Erasmus to a correspondent, *summo studio vestigavi, ut emptam tibi mitterem, sed jam utraque dividita fuerat, et Constantini quæ dicitur, quæque Urbani.* *Epist. lix.*; see too *Epist. lxxiii.*

Erasmus and Budeus. The former, who had acquired as a boy the mere rudiments of Greek under Hegius at Deventer, set himself in good earnest to that study about 1499, hiring a teacher at Paris, old Hermonymus of Sparta, of whose extortion he complains; but he was little able to pay anything; and his noble endurance of privations for the sake of knowledge deserved the high reward of glory that it received. "I have given my whole soul," he says, "to Greek learning, and as soon as I get any money I shall first buy Greek books and then clothes."<sup>a</sup> "If any new Greek book comes to hand, I would rather pledge my cloak than not obtain it; especially if it be religious, such as a psalter or a gospel."<sup>o</sup> It will be remembered, that the books of which he speaks must have been frequently manuscripts.

126. Budeus, in his proper name Budé, nearly of the same age as Erasmus, had relinquished every occupation for intense labour in literature. In an interesting letter, addressed to Cuthbert Tunstall in 1517, giving an account of his own early studies, he says that he learned Greek very ill from a bad master at Paris, in 1491. This was certainly Hermonymus, of whom Reuchlin speaks more favourably; but he was not quite so competent a judge.<sup>p</sup> Some years afterwards Budeus got much better instruction; "ancient literature having derived within a few years great improvement in France by our intercourse with Italy, and by the importation of books in both the learned languages." Lascaris, who now lived at the court of Charles VIII., having returned with him from the Neapolitan expedition, gave Budeus some assist-

Budeus;  
his early  
studies.

<sup>a</sup> Epist. xxix.

<sup>o</sup> Epist. lviii.

<sup>p</sup> Hody (de Græcis illustribus, p. 238) thinks that the master of Budeus could not have been Hermonymus; probably because the praise of Reuchlin seemed to him incompatible with the contemptuous language of Budeus. But Erasmus is very explicit on this subject. Ad Græcos literas utcumque puero degustatas jam grandior redi; hoc est, annos natus plus minus triginta, sed tum cum apud nos nulla Græcorum codicum esset copia, neque minor penuria doctorum. Lutetia

tantum unus Georgius Hermonymus Græcè balbutiebat; sed talis, ut neque potuisset docere si voluisset, neque voluisset si potuisset. Itaque coactus ipse mihi præceptor esse, &c. (A.D. 1524), I transcribe from Jortin, ii. 419. Of Hermonymus, it is said by Beatus Rhenanus, in a letter to Reuchlin, that he was non tam doctrina quam patria clarus. (Epist. ad Reuchl., fol. 52.) Roy, in his Life of Budeus, says, that the latter, having paid Hermonymus 500 gold pieces, and read Homer and other books with him, nihilo doctior est factus.

ance, though not, according to the latter's biographer, to any great extent.

127. France had as yet no writer of Latin who could be endured in comparison with those of Italy. Robert Gaguin praises Fichet, rector of the Sorbonne, as learned and eloquent, and the first who had taught many to employ good language in Latin. The more certain glory of Fichet is to have introduced the art of printing into France. Gaguin himself enjoyed a certain reputation for his style, and his epistles have been printed. He possessed, at least, what is more important, a love of knowledge, and an elevated way of thinking. But Erasmus says of him, that "whatever he might have been in his own age, he would now scarcely be reckoned to write Latin at all." If we could rely on a panegyrist of Faustus Andrelinus, an Italian who came about 1489 to Paris, and was authorised, in conjunction with one Balbi, and with Cornelio Vitelli, to teach in the university,<sup>9</sup> he was the man who brought polite literature into France, and changed its barbarism for classical purity. But Andrelinus, who is best known as a Latin poet of by no means a high rank, seems not to merit this commendation. Whatever his capacities of teaching may have been, we have little evidence of his success. Yet the number of editions of Latin authors published in France during this decad proves some diffusion of classical learning; and we must admit the circumstance to be quite decisive of the inferiority of England.

128. A gleam of light, however, now broke out there. We have seen already that a few, even in the last years of Henry VI., had overcome all obstacles in order to drink at the fountain-head of pure learning in Italy. One or two more names might be added for the intervening period; Milling, abbot of Westminster, and Selling, prior of a convent at Canterbury.<sup>r</sup> It is reported by Polydore

Latin  
not well  
written in  
France.

Dawn of  
Greek  
learning in  
England.

<sup>9</sup> This I find quoted in Bettinelli, *Risorgimento d' Italia*, i. 250; see also Bayle, and *Biogr. Univ.*, art. Andrelini. They were only allowed to teach for one hour in the evening, the jealousy of the logicians not having subsided. Crevier, iv. 439.

<sup>r</sup> Warton, iii. 247; Johnson's *Life of Linacre*, p. 5. This is mentioned on Selling's monument now remaining in Canterbury Cathedral:—

Doctor theologus Selling Græca atque  
Latina  
Lingua perdoctus. Selling



Virgil, and is proved by Wood, that Cornelio Vitelli, an Italian, came to Oxford, about 1488, in order to give that most barbarous university some notion of what was going forward on the other side of the Alps; and it has been probably conjectured, or rather may be assumed, that he there imparted the rudiments of Greek to William Grocyn.\* It is certain, at least, that Grocyn had acquired some insight into that language before he took a better course, and, travelling into Italy, became the disciple of Chalcondyles and Politian. He returned home in 1491, and began to communicate his acquisitions, though chiefly to deaf ears, teaching in Exeter College at Oxford. A diligent emulator of Grocyn, but some years younger, and like him, a pupil of Politian and Hermolaus, was Thomas Linacre, a physician; but though a first edition of his translation of Galen has been supposed to have been printed at Venice in 1498, it seems to be ascertained that none preceded that of Cambridge in 1521. His only contribution to literature in the fifteenth century was a translation of the very short mathematical treatise of Proclus on the Sphere, published in a volume of ancient writers on astronomy, by Aldus Manutius, in 1499.†

129. Erasmus paid his first visit to England in 1497, and was delighted with every thing that he found, especially at Oxford. In an epistle dated Dec. 5th, after praising Grocyn, Colet, and Linacre to the skies, he says of Thomas More, who

Erasmus  
comes to  
England.

Selling, however, did not go to Italy till after 1480, far from returning in 1460, as Warton has said, with his usual indifference to anachronisms.

\* Polydore says nothing about Vitelli's teaching Greek, though Knight, in his Life of Colet, translates *bonæ literæ, "Greek and Latin."* But the following passages seem decisive as to Grocyn's early studies in the Greek language. Grocynus, qui prima Græcæ et Latinae linguae rudimenta in Britannia hausit, mox solidiorem hisdem operam sub Demetrio Chalcondyle et Politiano præceptoribus in Italia hausit. Lilly, *Elogia virorum doctorum*, in Knight's Life of Colet, p. 24. And Erasmus as positively: Ipse Grocynus, cujus exemplum affert, nonne primum in Anglia Græcæ linguae

rudimenta didicit? Post in Italian profectus audivit summos viros, sed interim lucro fuit illa prius a qualibuscunque didicisse. Epist. cccclxiii. Whether the *qualescunque* were Vitelli or any one else, this can leave no doubt as to the existence of some Greek instruction in England before Grocyn; and as no one can be suggested, so far as appears, except Vitelli, it seems reasonable to fix upon him as the first preceptor of Grocyn. Vitelli had returned to Paris in 1489, and taught in the university, as has just been mentioned; so that he could have little time, if Polydore's date of 1488 be right, for giving much instruction at Oxford.

† Johnson's Life of Linacre, p. 152.

could not then have been eighteen years old, "What mind was ever framed by nature more gentle, more pleasing, more gifted?—It is incredible what a treasure of old books is found here far and wide.—There is so much erudition, not of a vulgar and ordinary kind, but recondite, accurate, ancient, both Latin and Greek, that you would not seek anything in Italy but the pleasure of travelling."<sup>u</sup> But this letter is addressed to an Englishman, and the praise is evidently much exaggerated; the scholars were few, and not more than three or four could be found, or at least could now be mentioned, who had any tincture of Greek,—Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, who, though an excellent scholar, never published anything, and More, who had learned at Oxford under Grocyn.<sup>x</sup> It should here be added, that in 1497, Terence was printed by Pynson, being the first edition of a strictly classical author in England; though Boethius had already appeared with Latin and English on opposite pages.

130. In 1500 was printed at Paris the first edition of Erasmus's Adages, doubtless the chief prose work of this century beyond the limits of Italy; but this edition should if possible be procured, in order to judge with chronological exactness of the state of literature; for as his general knowledge of antiquity, and particularly of Greek, which was now very slender, increased, he made vast additions. The Adages, which were now about eight hundred, amounted in his last edition to 4151; not that he could find so many which properly deserve that name, but the number is made up by explanations of Latin and Greek idioms, or even of single words. He declares himself, as early as

He publishes his Adages.

<sup>u</sup> Thomæ Mori ingenio quid unquam fluxit natura vel mollius, vel dulcius, vel felicius? . . . Mirum est dictu, quam hic passim, quam dense veterum librorum seges efflorescat . . . tantum eruditionis non illius protritæ ac trivialis, sed reconditæ, exactæ, antiqûæ, Latine Græcæque, et jam Italiam nisi visendi gratia non multum desideres. Epist. xiv.

<sup>x</sup> A letter of Colet to Erasmus from Oxford, in 1497, is written in the style of a man who was conversant with the best Latin authors. Sir Thomas More's

birth has not been placed by any biographer earlier than 1480.

It has been sometimes asserted, on the authority of Antony Wood, that Erasmus taught Greek at Oxford; but there is no foundation for this, and in fact he did not know enough of the language. Knight, on the other hand, maintains that he learned it there under Grocyn and Linacre; but this rests on no evidence; and we have seen that he gives a different account of his studies in Greek. Life of Erasmus, p. 22.

1504, ashamed of the first edition of his *Adages*, which already seemed meagre and imperfect.<sup>7</sup> Erasmus had been preceded in some measure by Polydore Virgil, best known as the historian of this country, where he resided many years as collector of papal dues. He published a book of *Adages*, which must have been rather a juvenile, and is a superficial production, at Venice in 1498.

131. The Castilian poets of the fifteenth century have been collectively mentioned on a former occasion. Bouterwek refers to the latter part of this age most of the romances which turn upon Saracen story, and the adventures of "knights of Granada, gentlemen, though Moors." Sismondi follows him without perhaps much reflection, and endeavours to explain what he might have doubted. Fear, he thinks, having long ceased in the bosoms of the Castilian Christians, even before conquest had set its seal to their security, hate, the child of fear, had grown feebler; and the romancers felt themselves at liberty to expatiate in the rich field of Mohammedan customs and manners. These had already exercised a considerable influence over Spain. But this opinion seems hard to be supported; nor do I find that the Spanish critics claim so much antiquity for the Moorish class of romantic ballads. Most of them, it is acknowledged, belong to the sixteenth, and some to the seventeenth century; and the internal evidence is against their having been written before the Moorish wars had become matter of distant tradition. We shall therefore take no notice of the Spanish romance-ballads till we come to the age of Philip II., to which they principally belong.<sup>8</sup>

132. Bouterwek places in this deced the first specimens of the pastoral romance which the Castilian language affords.<sup>9</sup> But the style is borrowed from a neighbouring part of the peninsula, where this species of fiction seems to have been indigenous. The Portuguese nation cultivated poetry as early as the Castilian; and we have seen that some is extant of a date anterior to the fourteenth century. But to the

<sup>7</sup> *Epiat. cit.*: *Jejunum atque inops visceri cepit, posteaquam Græcos colui auctores.*

<sup>8</sup> Bouterwek, p. 121; Sismondi, *iii.* 222; *Romances Moriscos*, Madr. 1826.

<sup>9</sup> P. 123.

heroic romance they seem to have paid no regard; we do not find that it ever existed among them. Love chiefly occupied the Lusitanian muse; and to trace that passion through all its labyrinths, to display its troubles in a strain of languid melancholy, was the great aim of every poet. This led to the invention of pastoral romances, founded on the ancient traditions as to the felicity of shepherds and their proneness to love, and rendered sometimes more interesting for the time by the introduction of real characters and events under a slight disguise.<sup>b</sup> This artificial and effeminate sort of composition, which, if it may now and then be not displeasing, cannot fail to weary the modern reader by its monotony, is due to Portugal, and having been adopted in languages better known, became for a long time highly popular in Europe.

133. The lyrical poems of Portugal were collected by Garcia de Resende, in the *Cancioneiro Geral*, published in 1516. Some few of these are of <sup>Portuguese</sup> lyric the fourteenth century, for we find the name of <sup>poetry.</sup> king Pedro, who died in 1369. Others are by the Infant Don Pedro, son of John I., in the earlier part of the fifteenth. But a greater number belong nearly to the present or preceding decad, or even to the ensuing age, commemorating the victories of the Portuguese in Asia. This collection is of extreme scarcity; none of the historians of Portuguese literature have seen it. Bouterwek and Sismondi declare that they have caused search to be made in various libraries of Europe without success. There is, however, a copy in the British Museum; and M. Raynouard has given a short account of one that he had seen in the *Journal des Savans* for 1826. In this article he observes, that the *Cancioneiro* is a mixture of Portuguese and Spanish pieces. I believe, however, that very little Spanish will be found, with the exception of the poems of the Infante Pedro, which occupy some leaves. The whole number of poets is but one hundred and thirty-two, even if some names do not occur twice; which I mention, because it has been erroneously said to exceed considerably that of the Spanish *Cancioneiro*. The volume is in folio, and contains two hundred and

<sup>b</sup> Bouterwek's *Hist. of Portuguese Literature*, p. 43.

twenty-seven leaves. The metres are those usual in Spanish; some *versos de arte mayor*; but the greater part in trochaic redondillas. I observed no instance of the assonant rhyme; but there are several glosses, or, in the Portuguese word, *grosas*.<sup>c</sup> The chief part is amatory; but there are lines on the death of kings, and other political events.<sup>d</sup>

134. The Germans, if they did not as yet excel in the higher department of typography, were by no means negligent of their own great invention. The books, if we include the smallest, printed in the empire between 1470 and the close of the century, amount to several thousand editions. A large proportion of these were in their own language. They had a literary public, as we may call it, not merely in their courts and universities, but in their respectable middle class, the burghers of the free cities, and perhaps in the artisans whom they employed. Their reading was almost always with a serious end; but no people so successfully cultivated the art of moral and satirical fable. These in many instances spread with great favour through Cisalpine Europe. Among the works of this kind, in the fifteenth century, two deserve mention; the *Eulenspiegel*, popular afterwards in England by the name of *Howleglass*, and a superior and better known production, the *Narrenschiff*, or *Ship of Fools*, by Sebastian Brandt of Strasburg, the first edition of which is referred by Brunet to the year 1494. The Latin translation, which bears the title of 1488 in an edition printed at Lyons, ought to be placed, according to the same bibliographer, ten years later, a numeral letter having probably been omitted. It was translated into English by Barclay, and published early in 1509. It is a metrical satire on the follies of every class, and may possibly have suggested to Erasmus his *Encomium Moriae*. But the idea was not absolutely new; the theatrical company established at Paris, under the name of *Enfans de Sans Souci*, as well as the ancient office of jester or fool in our courts and castles, implied

<sup>c</sup> Bouterwek, p. 36, has observed that the Portuguese employ the *glosa*, calling it *volta*. The word in the *Cançoneiro* is *grosa*.

<sup>d</sup> A manuscript collection of Portuguese lyric poetry of the fifteenth century be-

longed to Mr. Heber, and was sold to Messrs. Payne and Foss. It would probably be found on comparison to contain many of the pieces in the *Cançoneiro Geral*, but it is not a copy of it.

the same principle of satirising mankind with ridicule so general, that every man should feel more pleasure from the humiliation of his neighbours than pain from his own. Brandt does not show much poetical talent; but his morality is clear and sound; he keeps the pure and right-minded reader on his side; and in an age when little better came into competition, his characters of men, though more didactic than descriptive, did not fail to please. The influence such books of simple fiction and plain moral would possess over a people, may be judged by the delight they once gave to children, before we had learned to vitiate the healthy appetite of ignorance by premature refinements and stimulating variety.\*

135. The historical literature of this century presents very little deserving of notice. The English Historical works. writers of this class are absolutely contemptible; and if some annalists of good sense and tolerable skill in narration may be found on the continent, they are not conspicuous enough to arrest our regard in a work which designedly passes over that department of literature, so far as it is merely conversant with particular events. But the memoirs of Philip de Comines, which, Philip de Comines. though not published till 1529, must have been written before the close of the fifteenth century, are not only of a higher value, but almost make an epoch in historical literature. If Froissart, by his picturesque descriptions and fertility of historical *invention*, may be reckoned the Livy of France, she had her Tacitus in Philip de Comines. The intermediate writers, Monstrelet and his continuators, have the merits of neither, certainly not of Comines. He is the first modern writer (or, if there had been any approach to an exception among the Italians, it has escaped my recollection) who in any degree has displayed sagacity in reasoning on the characters of men, and the consequences of their actions, or who has been able to generalise his observation by comparison and reflection. Nothing of this could have been found in the cloister; nor were the philologers of Italy equal to a task which required capacities and pursuits very different from their own. An acute understanding and much experience of mankind gave Comines

\* Bouterwek ix. 332-354, v. 113; Heinsius, iv. 113; Warton, III. 74.

this superiority; his life had not been spent over books; and he is consequently free from that pedantic application of history which became common with those who passed for political reasoners in the next two centuries. Yet he was not ignorant of former times; and we see the advantage of those translations from antiquity, made during the last hundred years in France, by the use to which he turned them.

136. The earliest printed treatise of algebra, till that of Lionardo Fibonacci was lately given to the press, was published in 1494, by Luca Pacioli di Borgo, a Franciscan, who taught mathematics in the university of Milan. This book is written in Italian, with a mixture of the Venetian dialect, and with many Latin words. In the first part he explains the rules of commercial arithmetic in detail, and is the earliest Italian writer who shows the principles of Italian book-keeping by double entry. Algebra he calls *l' arte maggiore, detta dal volgo la regola de la cosa*, over *alghebra e almocabala*, which last he explains by *restauratio et oppositio*. The known number is called *n°* or *numero*; *co.* or *cosa* stands for the unknown quantity; whence algebra was sometimes called the *coassic art*. In the early Latin treatises *Res* is used, or *R.*, which is an approach to literal expression. The square is called *censo* or *ce.*; the cube, *cubo* or *cu.*; *p.* and *m.* stand for *plus* and *minus*. Thus *3co. p. 4ce. m. 5cu. p. 2ce.ce. m. 6n°* would have been written for what would now be expressed  $3x + 4x^2 - 5x^3 + 2x^4 - 6$ . Luca di Borgo's algebra goes as far as quadratic equations; but though he had very good notions on the subject, it does not appear that he carried the science much beyond the point where Leonard Fibonacci had left it three centuries before. And its principles were already familiar to mathematicians; for Regiomontanus, having stated a trigonometrical solution in the form of a quadratic equation, adds, *quod restat, præcepta artis edocebunt*. Luca di Borgo perceived, in a certain sense, the applicability of algebra to geometry, observing, that the rules as to surd roots are referable to incommensurable magnitudes.†

† Montucla; Kistner; Cossali; Hut- never seen the book of Luca Pacioli.  
 ton's Mathem. Dict., art. Algebra. The Mr. Colebrooke, in his Indian Algebra,  
 last writer, and perhaps the first, had has shown that the Hindoos carried that

137. This period of ten years, from 1490 to 1500, will ever be memorable in the history of mankind. It is here that we usually close the long interval between the Roman world and this our modern Europe, denominated the Middle Ages. The conquest of Granada, which rendered Spain a Christian kingdom; the annexation of the last great fief of the French crown, Britany, which made France an entire and absolute monarchy; the public peace of Germany; the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII., which revealed the weakness of Italy, while it communicated her arts and manners to the Cisalpine nations, and opened the scene of warfare and alliances which may be deduced to the present day; the discovery of two worlds by Columbus and Vasco de Gama, all belong to this decad. But it is not, as we have seen, so marked an era in the progression of literature.

Events  
from 1490  
to 1500.

138. In taking leave of the fifteenth century, to which we have been used to attach many associations of reverence, and during which the desire of knowledge was, in one part of Europe, more enthusiastic and universal than perhaps it has since ever been, it is natural to ask ourselves, what harvest had already rewarded their zeal and labour, what monuments of genius and erudition still receive the homage of mankind?

Close of  
fifteenth  
century.

139. No very triumphant answer can be given to this interrogation. Of the books then written, how few are read! Of the men then famous, how few are familiar in our recollection! Let us consider what Italy itself produced of any effective tendency to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, or to delight the taste and fancy. The treatise of Valla on Latin grammar, the miscellaneous observations of Politian on ancient authors, the commentaries of Landino and some other editors, the Platonic theology of Ficinus, the Latin poetry of Politian and Pontanus, the light Italian poetry of the same Politian and Lorenzo de' Medici, the epic romances of Pulci and Boiardo. Of these, Pulci alone, in an original shape, is still read in Italy, and by some

Its literature  
nearly  
neglected.

science considerably farther than either the Greeks or the Arabians (though he thinks they may probably have derived their notions of the science from the former), anticipating some of the discoveries of the sixteenth century.



lovers of that literature in other countries, and the Latin poets by a smaller number. If we look on the other side of the Alps, the catalogue is much shorter, or rather does not contain a single book, except Philip de Comines, that enters into the usual studies of a literary man. Froissart hardly belongs to the fifteenth century, his history terminating about 1400. The first undated edition, with a continuation by some one to 1498, was printed between that time and 1509, when the second appeared.

140. If we come to inquire what acquisitions had been made between the years 1400 and 1500, we shall find that, in Italy, the Latin language was now written by some with elegance, and by most with tolerable exactness and fluency; while, out of Italy, there had been perhaps a corresponding improvement, relatively to the point from which they started; the flagrant barbarisms of the fourteenth century having yielded before the close of the next to a more respectable, though not an elegant or exact kind of style. Many Italians had now some acquaintance with Greek, which in 1400 had been hardly the case with any one; and the knowledge of it was of late beginning to make a little progress in Cisalpine Europe. The French and English languages were become what we call more polished, though the difference in the former seems not to be very considerable. In mathematical science, and in natural history, the ancient writers had been more brought to light, and a certain progress had been made by diligent, if not very inventive, philosophers. We cannot say that metaphysical or moral philosophy stood higher than it had done in the time of the schoolmen. The history of Greece and Rome, and the antiquities of the latter, were of course more distinctly known after so many years of attentive study bestowed on their principal authors; yet the acquaintance of the learned with those subjects was by no means exact or critical enough to save them from gross errors, or from becoming the dupes of any forgery. A proof of this was furnished by the impostures of Annius of Viterbo, who, having published large fragments of Megasthenes, Berosus, Manetho, and a great many more lost historians, as having been discovered by himself, obtained full credence at the time, which was not gene-

Summary  
of its acqui-  
sitions.

rally withheld for too long a period afterwards, though the forgeries were palpable to those who had made themselves masters of genuine history.\*

141. We should therefore, if we mean to judge accurately, not over-value the fifteenth century, as Their imperfection. one in which the human mind advanced with giant strides in the kingdom of knowledge. General historians of literature are apt to speak rather hyperbolically in respect of men who rose above their contemporaries; language frequently just, in relation to the vigorous intellects and ardent industry of such men, but tending to produce an exaggerated estimate of their absolute qualities. But the question is at present not so much of men, as of the average or general proficiency of nations. The catalogues of printed books in the common bibliographical collections afford, not quite a gage of the learning of any particular period, but a reasonable presumption, which it requires a contrary evidence to rebut. If these present us very few and imperfect editions of books necessary to the progress of knowledge, if the works most in request appear to have been trifling and ignorant productions, it seems as reasonable to draw an inference one way from these scanty and discreditable lists, as on the other hand we hail the progressive state of any branch of knowledge from the redoubled labours of the press, and the multiplication of useful editions. It is true that the deficiency of one country might be supplied by importation from another; and some cities, especially Paris, had acquired a typographical reputation somewhat disproportioned to the local demand for books; but a considerable increase of readers would naturally have created a press, or multiplied its operations, in any country of Europe.

142. The bibliographies indeed, even the best and latest, are always imperfect; but the omissions, Number of books printed. after the immense pains bestowed on the subject, can hardly be such as to affect our general conclusions. We will therefore illustrate the literary

\* Annus of Viterbo did not cease to have believers after this time. See Blount, *Niceron*, vol. II., Corniani, III. 131, and his article in *Biographie Universelle*. Apostolo Zeno and Tiraboschi have

imputed less fraud than credulity to Annus, but most have been of another opinion; and it is unimportant for the purpose of the text.

history of the fifteenth century by a few numbers taken from the typographical annals of Panzer, which might be corrected in two ways; first, by adding editions since brought to light, or, secondly, by striking out some inserted on defective authority; a kind of mistake which tends to compensate the former. The books printed at Florence down to 1500 are 300; at Milan, 629; at Bologna, 298; at Rome, 925; at Venice, 2835; fifty other Italian cities had printing presses in the fifteenth century.<sup>b</sup> At Paris, the number of books is 751; at Cologne, 530; at Nuremberg, 382; at Leipsic, 351; at Basle, 320; at Strasburg, 526; at Augsburg, 256; at Louvain, 116; at Mentz, 134; at Deventer, 169. The whole number printed in England appears to be 141; whereof 130 at London and Westminster; seven at Oxford; four at St. Alban's. Cicero's works were first printed entire by Minutianus, at Milan, in 1498; but no less than 291 editions of different portions appeared in the century. Thirty-seven of these bear date on this side of the Alps; and forty-five have no place named. Of ninety-five editions of Virgil, seventy are complete; twenty-seven are Cisalpine, and four bear no date. On the other hand, only eleven out of fifty-seven editions of Horace contain all his works. It has been already shown that most editions of classics printed in France and Germany are in the last decennium of the century.

143. The editions of the Vulgate registered in Panzer are ninety-one, exclusive of some spurious or suspected. Next to theology, no science furnished so much occupation to the press as the civil and canon laws. The editions of the Digest and Decretals, or other parts of those systems of jurisprudence, must amount to some hundreds.

144. But while we avoid, for the sake of truth, any undue exaggeration of the literary state of Europe at the close of the fifteenth century, we must even more earnestly deprecate the hasty prejudice that no good had been already done by the culture of classical learning, and by the invention of printing. Both were of inestimable value, even where their immediate fruits were not clustering in ripe

Advantages  
already  
reaped  
from print-  
ing.

<sup>b</sup> I find this in Heeren, p. 127, for I have not counted the number of cities in Panzer.

abundance. It is certain that much more than ten thousand editions of books or pamphlets (a late writer says fifteen thousand<sup>1</sup>) were printed from 1470 to 1500. More than half the number appeared in Italy. All the Latin authors, hitherto painfully copied by the scholar, or purchased by him at inconvenient cost, or borrowed for a time from friends, became readily accessible, and were printed, for the most part, if not correctly, according to our improved criticism, yet without the gross blunders of the ordinary manuscripts. The saving of time which the art of printing has occasioned can hardly be too highly appreciated. Nor was the Cisalpine press un-serviceable in this century, though it did not pour forth so much from the stores of ancient learning. It gave useful food, and such as the reader could better relish and digest. The historical records of his own nation, the precepts of moral wisdom, the regular metre that pleased the ear and supplied the memory, the fictions that warmed the imagination, and sometimes ennobled or purified the heart, the repertoires of natural phenomena, mingled as truth was on these subjects, and on all the rest, with error, the rules of civil and canon law that guided the determinations of private right, the subtle philosophy of the scholastics, were laid open to his choice, while his religious feelings might find their gratification in many a treatise of learned doctrine, according to the received creed of the church, in many a legend on which a pious credulity delighted to rely, in the devout aspirations of holy ascetic men; but, above all, in the Scriptures themselves, either in the Vulgate Latin, which had by use acquired the authority of an original text, or in most of the living languages of Europe.

145. We shall conclude this portion of literary history with a few illustrations of what a German <sup>Trade of</sup> writer calls "the exterior being of books,"<sup>k</sup> for bookselling, which I do not find an equivalent in English idiom.

<sup>1</sup> Santander, Dict. Bibliogr. du 15me Siecle. I do not think so many would be found in Panzer. I have read somewhere that the library of Munich claims to possess 20,000 Incunabula, or books of the fifteenth century; a word lately so applied in Germany. But unless this

comprehends many duplicates, it seems a little questionable, even understanding it of volumes. Books were not in general so voluminous in that age as at present.

<sup>k</sup> *Atisseres Brecher-wesen*; Savigny, iii. 532.

The trade of bookselling seems to have been established at Paris and at Bologna in the twelfth century; the lawyers and universities called it into life.<sup>1</sup> It is very improbable that it existed in what we properly call the dark ages. Peter of Blois mentions a book which he had bought of a public dealer (a quodam publico manegone librorum). But we do not find, I believe, many distinct accounts of them till the next age. These dealers were denominated Stationarii, perhaps from the open stalls at which they carried on their business, though statio is a general word for a shop in low Latin.<sup>m</sup> They appear, by the old statutes of the university of Paris, and by those of Bologna, to have sold books upon commission; and are sometimes, though not uniformly, distinguished from the Librarii; a word which, having originally been confined to the copyists of books, was afterwards applied to those who traded in them.<sup>n</sup> They sold parchment and other materials of writing, which with us, though, as far as I know, nowhere else, have retained the name of stationery, and naturally exercised the kindred occupations of binding and decorating. They probably employed transcribers: we find at least that there was a profession of copyists in the universities and in large cities; and by means of these, before the invention of printing, the necessary books of grammar, law, and theology were multiplied to a great extent for the use of students; but with much incorrectness, and far more expense than afterwards. That invention put a sudden stop to their honest occupation. But whatever hatred they might feel towards the new art, it was in vain to oppose its reception: no party could be raised in the public against so manifest and unalloyed a benefit; and the copyists, grown by habit fond of books, frequently employed themselves in the somewhat kindred labour of pressmen.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Litt. de la France, ix. 142.

<sup>m</sup> Du Cange, in voc.

<sup>n</sup> The Librarii were properly those who transcribed new books; the Antiquarii, old ones. This distinction is as old as Cassiodorus; but doubtless it was not strictly observed in later times. Muratori, Dissert. 43; Du Cange.

<sup>o</sup> Crevier, il. 66, 130, et alibi; Du Cange, in voc. Stationarii, Librarii;

Savigny, iii. 532-548; Chevallier, 302; Eichhorn, ii. 531; Meiners, Vergleich. der Sitten, ii. 539; Gresswell's Parisian Press, p. 8.

The Parliament of Paris, on the petition of the copyists, ordered some of the first printed books to be seized. Lambert calls this superstition; it was more probably false compassion, and regard for existing interests, combined with dislike

146. The first printers were always booksellers, and sold their own impressions. These occupations were not divided till the early part of the sixteenth century.<sup>p</sup> But the risks of sale, at a time when learning was by no means general, combined with the great cost of production, paper and other materials being very dear, rendered this a hazardous trade. We have a curious petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz to Sixtus IV. in 1472, wherein they complain of their poverty, brought on by printing so many works which they had not been able to sell. They state the number of impressions of each edition. Of the classical authors they had generally printed 275; of Virgil and the philosophical works of Cicero, twice that number. In theological publications the usual number of copies had also been 550. The whole number of copies printed was 12,475.<sup>q</sup> It is possible that experience made other printers more discreet in their estimation of the public demand. Notwithstanding the casualties of three centuries, it seems, from the great scarcity of these early editions which has long existed, that the original circulation must have been much below the number of copies printed, as indeed the complaint of Sweynheim and Pannartz shows.<sup>r</sup>

147. The price of books was diminished by four-fifths after the invention of printing. Chevillier gives some instances of a fall in this proportion. But not content with such a reduction, the university of Paris proceeded to establish a tariff, according to which every edition was to be sold, and seems to have set the prices very low. This was by virtue of the prerogatives they exerted, as we shall soon find, over the book-trade of the capital. The priced catalogues of Colinaeus and Robert Stephens are extant, relating, of course, to a later period than the present; but we shall not return to the subject.

of all innovation. Louis XI., however, who had the merit of esteeming literature, evoked the process to the council of state, who restored the books. Lambinet, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*, p. 172.

<sup>p</sup> Conversations-Lexicon, art. Buchhandlung.

<sup>q</sup> Maittaire; Lambinet, p. 166. Beckmann, *iii.* 119, erroneously says that this

was the number of volumes remaining in their warehouses.

<sup>r</sup> Lambinet says that the number of impressions did not generally exceed three hundred (p. 197). Even this seems large, compared with the present scarcity of books unlikely to have been destroyed by careless use.

The Greek Testament of Colinaeus was sold for twelve sous, the Latin for six. The folio Latin Bible, printed by Stephens in 1532, might be had for one hundred sous, a copy of the Pandects for forty sous, a Virgil for two sous and six deniers; a Greek grammar of Clenardus for two sous; Demosthenes and Æschines, I know not what edition, for five sous. It would of course be necessary, before we could make any use of these prices, to compare them with that of corn.\*

148. The more usual form of books printed in the fifteenth century is in folio. But the Psalter of 1457, and the Donatus of the same year, are in quarto; and this size is not uncommon in the early Italian editions of classics. The disputed Oxford book of 1468, Sancti Jeronymi Expositio, is in octavo, and would, if genuine, be the earliest specimen of that size; which may perhaps furnish an additional presumption against the date. It is at least, however, of 1478, when the octavo form, as we shall immediately see, was of the rarest occurrence. Maittaire, in whom alone I have had the curiosity to make this search, which would be more troublesome in Panzer's arrangement, mentions a book printed in octavo at Milan in 1470; but the existence of this and of one or two more that follow seems equivocal;

\* Chevallier, *Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, p. 379 et seqq. In the preceding pages he mentions what I should perhaps have introduced before, that a catalogue of the books in the Sorbonne, in 1292, contains above 1000 volumes, which were collectively valued at 3812 livres, 10 sous, 8 deniers. In a modern English book on literary antiquities this is set down 3812*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*; which is a happy way of helping the reader.

Lambinet mentions a few prices of early books which are not trifling. The Mentz Bible, of 1462, was purchased in 1479 by a bishop of Angers for forty gold crowns. An English gentleman paid eighteen gold florins in 1481 for a missal; upon which Lambinet makes a remark:—*Mais on a toujours fait payer plus cher aux Anglais qu'aux autres nations* (p. 198). The florin was worth about four francs of present money, equivalent at least to twenty-four in command of commodities. The crown was worth rather

more.

Instances of an almost incredible price of manuscripts are to be met with in Robertson and other common authors. It is to be remembered that a particular book might easily bear a monopoly price; and that this is no test of the cost of those which might be multiplied by copying. [*En général nous pourrions dire que le prix moyen d'un volume in folio d'alors [au 14<sup>me</sup> siècle] équivalait à celui des choses qui coûtaient aujourd'hui quatre à cinq cent francs.*] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xvi. 39. But this supposes illuminations or other costly ornaments. The price of law-books, such as Savigny has collected, was very much lower; and we may conclude the same of all ordinary manuscripts. Mr. Maitland, in his *Letters on the Dark Ages*, p. 61, has animadverted with his usual sharpness on Robertson for too hasty a generalization.—1847.]

and the first on which we can rely is the Sallust, printed at Valencia in 1475. Another book of that form, at Treviso, occurs in the same year, and an edition of Pliny's epistles at Florence in 1478. They become from this time gradually more common; but even at the end of the century form rather a small proportion of editions. I have not observed that the duodecimo division of the sheet was adopted in any instance. But it is highly probable that the volumes of Panzer furnish means of correcting these little notices, which I offer as suggestions to persons more erudite in such matters. The price and convenience of books are evidently not unconnected with their size.

149. Nothing could be less unreasonable than that the printer should have a better chance of indemnifying himself and the author, if in those days Exclusive privileges. the author, as probably he did, hoped for some lucrative return after his exhausting drudgery, by means of an exclusive privilege. The senate of Venice granted an exclusive privilege for five years to John of Spire in 1469, for the first book printed in the city, his edition of Cicero's epistles.<sup>†</sup> But I am not aware that this extended to any other work. And this seems to have escaped the learned Beckmann, who says, that the earliest instance of protected copyright on record appears to be in favour of a book insignificant enough, a missal for the church of Bamberg, printed in 1490. It is probable that other privileges of an older date have not been found. In 1491 one occurs at the end of a book printed at Venice, and five more at the same place within the century—the Aristotle of Aldus being one of the books; one also is found at Milan. These privileges are always recited at the end of the volume. They are, however, very rare in comparison with the number of books published, and seem not accorded by preference to the most important editions.<sup>‡</sup>

150. In these exclusive privileges the printer was forced to call in the magistrate for his own benefit. But there was often a different sort of Power of universities over book-selling. interference by the civil power with the press. The destruction of books and the prohibition of

<sup>†</sup> Tiraboschi, vi. 139.

<sup>‡</sup> Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, iii. 109.



their sale had not been unknown to antiquity ; instances of it occur in the free republics of Athens and Rome ; but it was naturally more frequent under suspicious despotisms, especially when to the jealousy of the state was superadded that of the church, and novelty, even in speculation, became a crime.\* Ignorance came on with the fall of the empire, and it was unnecessary to guard against the abuse of an art which very few possessed at all. With the first revival of letters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries sprang up the reviving shoots of heretical freedom ; but with Berenger and Abelard came also the jealousy of the church, and the usual exertion of the right of the strongest. Abelard was censured by the council of Soissons, in 1121, for suffering copies of his book to be taken without the approbation of his superiors, and the delinquent volumes were given to the flames. It does not appear, however, that any regulation on this subject had been made.† But when the sale of books became the occupation of a class of traders, it was deemed necessary to place them under restraint. Those of Paris and Bologna, the cities doubtless where the greatest business of this kind was carried on, came altogether into the power of the universities. It is proved by various statutes of the university of Paris, originating, no doubt, in some authority conferred by the crown, and bearing date from the year 1275 to 1403, that booksellers were appointed by the university, and considered as its officers, probably matriculated by entry on her roll ; that they took an oath, renewable at her pleasure, to observe her statutes and regulations ; that they were admitted upon security, and with testimonials to their moral conduct ; that no one could sell books in Paris without this permission ; that they could expose no book to sale without communication with the university, and without its approbation ; that the university fixed the prices, according to the tariff of four sworn booksellers, at which books should be sold or lent to the scholars ; that a fine might be imposed for incorrect copies ; that the sellers were bound to fix up in their shops a priced catalogue of their books, besides other regulations of less importance. Books deemed by the university unfit for perusal

Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, iii. 93.

† Hist. Litt. de la France, ix. 28.

were sometimes burned by its order.\* Chevillier gives several prices for lending books (*pro exemplari concesso scholaribus*) fixed about 1303. The books mentioned are all of divinity, philosophy, or canon law; on an average, the charge for about twenty pages was a sol. The university of Toulouse exercised the same authority; and Albert III., archduke of Austria, founding the university of Vienna about 1384, copied the statutes of Paris in this control over bookselling as well as in other respects.<sup>a</sup> The stationarii of Bologna were also bound by oath, and gave sureties to fulfil their duties towards the university; one of these was, to keep by them copies of books to the number of one hundred and seventeen, for the hire of which a price was fixed.<sup>b</sup> By degrees, however, a class of booksellers grew up at Paris, who took no oath to the university, and were consequently not admitted to its privileges, being usually poor scholars, who were tolerated in selling books of low price. These were of no importance till the privileged or sworn traders, having been reduced by a royal ordinance of 1488 to twenty-four, this lower class silently increased, and at length the practice of taking an oath to the university fell into disuse.<sup>c</sup>

151. The vast and sudden extension of the means of communicating and influencing opinion which the discovery of printing afforded did not long remain unnoticed. Few have temper and comprehensive views enough not to desire the prevention by force of that which they reckon detrimental to truth and right. Hermolaus Barbarus, in a letter to Merula, recommends that, on account of the many trifling publications which took men off from reading the best authors, nothing should be printed without the approbation of competent judges.<sup>d</sup> The governments of Europe cared little for what seemed an evil to Hermolaus. But they perceived that, especially in Germany, a country where the principles that were to burst out in the Reformation were evidently germinating in this century, where a deep sense of the corruptions of the Church pervaded every class, that incredible host of popular religious

Restraints  
on sale of  
printed  
books.

\* Chevillier, *Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, p. 302 et seqq. Crevier, li. 66.

<sup>a</sup> Chevillier, p. 302 et seqq.

<sup>b</sup> Savigny, li. 540.

<sup>c</sup> Chevillier, 334-351.

<sup>d</sup> Beckmann, li. 98.

tracts, which the Rhine and Neckar poured forth like their waters, were of no slight danger to the two powers, or at least the union of the two, whom the people had so long obeyed. We find, therefore, an instance in 1480 of a book called *Nosce teipsum*, printed at Heidelberg with the approving testimonies of four persons, who may be presumed, though it is not stated, to have been appointed censors on that occasion.\* Two others, one of which is a Bible, have been found, printed at Cologne in 1479—in the subscription to which the language of public approbation by the university is more express. The first known instance, however, of the regular appointment of a censor on books is in the mandate of Berthold, archbishop of Mentz in 1486. “Notwithstanding,” he begins, “the facility given to the acquisition of science by the divine art of printing, it has been found that some abuse this invention, and convert that which was designed for the instruction of mankind to their injury. For books on the duties and doctrines of religion are translated from Latin into German, and circulated among the people, to the disgrace of religion itself; and some have even had the rashness to make faulty versions of the canons of the Church into the vulgar tongue, which belong to a science so difficult, that it is enough to occupy the life of the wisest man. Can such men assert that our German language is capable of expressing what great authors have written in Greek and Latin on the high mysteries of the Christian faith, and on general science? Certainly it is not; and hence they either invent new words, or use old ones in erroneous senses—a thing especially dangerous in sacred Scripture. For who will admit that men without learning, or women, into whose hands these translations may fall, can find the true sense of the gospels, or of the epistles of St. Paul? much less can they enter on questions which, even among catholic writers, are open to subtle discussion. But since this art was first discovered in this city of Mentz, and we may truly say by divine aid, and is to be maintained by us in all its honour, we strictly forbid all persons to translate, or circulate when translated, any books upon any subject whatever from the Greek, Latin, or any other

\* Beckmann, iii. 99.

tongue into German, until before printing, and again before their sale, such translations shall be approved by four doctors herein named, under penalty of excommunication and of forfeiture of the books, and of one hundred golden florins to the use of our exchequer." <sup>f</sup>

152. I have given the substance of this mandate rather at length, because it has a considerable bearing on the preliminary history of the Reformation, and yet has never, to my knowledge, been produced with that view. For it is obvious that it was on account of religious translations, and especially those of the Scripture, which had been very early printed in Germany, that this alarm was taken by the worthy archbishop. A bull of Alexander VI., in 1501, reciting that many pernicious books had been printed in various parts of the world, and especially in the provinces of Cologne, Mentz, Treves, and Magdeburg, forbids all printers in these provinces to publish any books without the licence of the archbishops or their officials. <sup>g</sup> We here perceive the distinction made between these parts of Germany and the rest of Europe, and can understand their ripeness for the ensuing revolution. We perceive also the vast influence of the art of printing upon the Reformation. Among those who have been sometimes enumerated as its precursors, a place should be left for Schæffer and Gutenberg; nor has this always been forgotten. <sup>h</sup>

Effect of  
printing on  
the Reform-  
ation.

<sup>f</sup> Beckmann, iii. 101, from the fourth volume of Guden's Codex diplomaticus. The Latin will be found in Beckmann.

<sup>g</sup> Id. 106.

<sup>h</sup> Gerdes, in his Hist. Evangel. Reformati, who has gone very laboriously into this subject, justly dwells on the influence of the art of printing.

## CHAPTER IV.

ON THE LITERATURE OF EUROPE FROM 1500 TO 1520.

## SECT. I. 1501-1510.

Classical Learning of Italy in this period — Of France, Germany, and England --  
Works of Polite Literature in Languages of Italy, Spain, and England.

1. THE new century did not begin very auspiciously for the literary credit of Italy. We may, indeed, consider the whole period between the death of Lorenzo in 1492, and the pontificate of his son in 1513, as less brilliant than the two ages which we connect with their names. But when measured by the labours of the press, the last ten years of the fifteenth century were considerably more productive than any which had gone before. In the present decad a striking decline was perceptible. Thus, in comparing the numbers of books printed in the chief towns of Italy, we find—

	1491—1500	1501—1510
Florence	179	47
Rome	460	41
Milan	228	99
Venice	1491	536 <sup>a</sup>

Such were the fruits of the ambition of Ferdinand and of Louis XII., and the first interference of strangers with the liberties of Italy. Wars so protracted within the bosom of a country, if they do not prevent the growth of original genius, must yet be unfavourable to that secondary but more diffused excellence, which is nourished by the wealth of patrons and the tranquillity of universities. Thus the gymnasium of Rome, founded by

<sup>a</sup> Panzer.

Eugenius IV., but lately endowed and regulated by Alexander VI., who had established it in a handsome edifice on the Quirinal hill, was despoiled of its revenues by Julius II., who, with some liberality towards painters, had no regard for learning; and this will greatly account for the remarkable decline in the typography of Rome. Thus, too, the Platonic school at Florence soon went to decay after the fall of the Medici, who had fostered it; and even the rival philosophy which rose upon its ruins, and was taught at the beginning of this century with much success at Padua by Pomponatius, according to the original principles of Aristotle, and by two other professors of great eminence in their time, Nifo and Achilini, according to the system of Averroes, could not resist the calamities of war: the students of that university were dispersed in 1509, after the unfortunate defeat of Ghiaradadda.

2. Aldus himself left Venice in 1506, his effects in the territory having been plundered, and did not open his press again till 1512, when he entered Press of Aldus. into partnership with his father-in-law, Andrew Asola. He had been actively employed during the first years of the century. He published Sophocles, Herodotus, and Thucydides in 1502, Euripides and Herodian in 1503, Demosthenes in 1504. These were important accessions to Greek learning, though so much remained behind. A circumstance may be here mentioned, which had so much influence in facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, that it renders the year 1501 a sort of epoch in literary history. He that year not only introduced a new Italian character, called Aldine, more easily read perhaps than his Roman letters, which are somewhat rude; but, what was of more importance, began to print in a small octavo or duodecimo form, instead of the cumbrous and expensive folios that had been principally in use. Whatever the great of ages past might seem to lose by this indignity, was more than compensated in the diffused love and admiration of their writings. "With what pleasure," says M. Renouard, "must the studious man, the lover of letters, have beheld these benevolent octavos, these Virgils and Horaces contained in one little volume, which he might carry in his pocket while travelling or in a walk; which besides cost him hardly more than two

of our francs, so that he could get a dozen of them for the price of one of those folios, that had hitherto been the sole furniture of his library! The appearance of these correct and well printed octavos ought to be as much remarked as the substitution of printed books for manuscripts itself." <sup>b</sup> We have seen above that not only small quartos, nearly as portable perhaps as octavos, but the latter form also, had been coming into use towards the close of the fifteenth century, though, I believe, it was sparingly employed for classical authors.

3. It was about 1500 that Aldus drew together a few His academy. scholars into a literary association, called Aldi Neacademia. Not only amicable discussions, but the choice of books to be printed, of manuscripts and various readings, occupied their time, so that they may be considered as literary partners of the noble-minded printer. This academy was dispersed by the retirement of Aldus from Venice, and never met again. <sup>c</sup>

4. The first edition of Calepio's Latin Dictionary, Dictionary of Calepio. which, though far better than one or two obscure books that preceded it, and enriched by plundering the stores of Valla and Perotti, was very defective, appeared at Reggio in 1502. <sup>d</sup> It was so greatly augmented by subsequent improvers that *calepin* has become a name in French for any voluminous compilation. This dictionary was not only of Latin and Italian, but several other languages; and these were extended in the Basle edition of 1581 to eleven. It is still, if not the best, the most complete polyglott lexicon for the European languages. Calepio, however moderate might be his erudition, has just claim to be esteemed one of the most effective instruments in the restoration of the Latin language in its purity to general use; for though some had by great acuteness and diligence attained a good style in the fifteenth century, that age was looked upon in Italy itself as far below the subsequent period. <sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Renouard, Hist. de l'Imprimerie des Aldes. Roscoe's Leo X., ch. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Tiraboschi; Roscoe; Renouard. Scipio Forteguerra, who latinized his name into Carteromachus, was secretary to this society, and among its most distinguished members. He was celebrated in his time for a discourse, De Laudibus

Literarum Græcarum, reprinted by Henry Stephens in his Thesaurus. Biogr. Univ., Forteguerra;

<sup>d</sup> Brunet. Tiraboschi (x. 383) gives some reason to suspect that there may have been an earlier edition.

<sup>e</sup> Calepio is said by Morhof and Baillet to have copied Perotti's Cornucopia

5. We may read in Panzer the titles of 325 books printed during these ten years at Leipsic, 60 of which are classical, but chiefly as before, Books printed in Germany. small school-books; 14 out of 214 at Cologne, 10 out of 208 at Strasburg, 1 out of 84 at Basle, are also classical; but scarcely any books whatever appear at Louvain. One printed at Erfurt in 1501 deserves some attention. The title runs, "Εισαγωγή προς των γραμματων Ἑλλήνων, Elementale Introductorium in idioma Græcanicum," with some more words. Panzer observes: "This Greek grammar, published by some unknown person, is undoubtedly the first which was published in Germany since the invention of printing." In this, however, as has already been shown, he is mistaken; unless we deny to the book printed at Deventer the name of a grammar. But Panzer was not acquainted with it. This seems to be the only attempt at Greek that occurs in Germany during this decad; and it is unnecessary to comment on the ignorance which the gross solecism in the title displays.<sup>1</sup>

6. Paris contributed in ten years 430 editions, thirty-two being of Latin classics. And in 1507 Giles Gourmont, a printer of that city, assisted First Greek press at Paris. by the purse of Francis Tissard, had the honour of introducing the Greek language on this side, as we may say, of the Alps; for the trifling exceptions we have mentioned scarcely affect his priority. Greek types had been used in a few words by Badius Ascensius, a learned and meritorious Parisian printer, whose publications began about 1498. They occur in his edition (1505) of Valla's Annotations on the Greek Testament.<sup>2</sup>

almost entire. Sir John Elyot long before had remarked:—"Calepin nothing amended, but rather appaired that which Perottus had studiously gathered." But the Cornucopia was not a complete dictionary. It is generally agreed that Calepio was an indifferent scholar, and that the first editions of his dictionary are of no great value. Nor have those who have enlarged it done so with exactness, or with selection of good Latinity. Even Passerat, the most learned of them, has not extirpated the unauthorised words of Calepio. Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, li. 44.

Several bad dictionaries, abridged from the Catholicon, appeared near the end of the fifteenth century, and at the beginning of the next. Du Cange, præfat. in Glossar., p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Panzer, vi. 494. We find, however, a tract by Hegius, De Utilitate Linguae Græcæ, printed at Deventer in 1501; but whether it contains Greek characters or not must be left to conjecture. Lambinet says that Martens, a Flemish printer, employed Greek types in quotations as early as 1501 or 1502.

<sup>2</sup> Chevillier, Origines de l'Imprimerie de Paris, p. 246. Gresswell's View of



Four little books, namely, a small miscellaneous volume, preceded by an alphabet, the Works and Days of Hesiod, the Frogs and Mice of Homer, and the Erotemata or Greek grammar of Chrysoloras, to which four a late writer has added an edition of Musæus, were the first fruits of Gourmont's press. Aleander, a learned Italian, who played afterwards no inconsiderable part in the earlier period of the Reformation, came to Paris in 1508, and received a pension from Louis XII.<sup>b</sup> He taught Greek there, and perhaps Hebrew. Through his care, besides a Hebrew and Greek alphabet in 1508, Gourmont printed some of the moral works of Plutarch in 1509.

7. We learn from a writer of the most respectable authority, Camerarius, that the elements of Greek were already taught to boys in some parts of Germany.<sup>1</sup> About 1508, Reuchlin, on a visit to George Simler, a schoolmaster in Hesse, found a

Early studies of Melanchthon.

early Parisian Greek Press, i. 15. Panzer, according to Mr. Gresswell, has recorded nearly 400 editions from the press of Badius. They include almost every Latin classic, usually with notes. He also printed a few Greek authors. See also Bayle and Biogr. Univ. The latter refers the first works from the Parisian press of Badius to 1511, but probably by misprint. Badius had learned Greek at Ferrara. If Bayle is correct, he taught it at Lyons before he set up his press at Paris, which is worthy of notice; but he gives no authority, except for the fact of his teaching in the former city, which might not be the Greek language. It is said, however, that he came to Paris in order to give instruction in Greek about 1499. Bayle, art. Badius, note H. It is said in the Biographie Universelle that Denys le Fevre taught Greek at Paris in 1564, when only sixteen years old; but the story seems apocryphal.

<sup>b</sup> Aleander was no favourite with Erasmus; and Luther utters many invectives against him. He was a strenuous supporter of all things as they were in the church, and would have presided in the Council of Trent as legate of Paul III., who had given him a cardinal's hat, if he had not been prevented by death.

It is fair to say of Aleander that he was the friend of Sadolet. In a letter of that excellent person to Paul III., he praises Aleander very highly, and requests for him the hat, which the pope in consequence bestowed. Sadolet, Epist. l. xii. See, for Aleander, Bayle; Sleidan, Hist. de la Réformation, l. ii. and iii.; Roscoe's Leo X., ch. xxi.; Jortin's Erasmus, passim.

<sup>1</sup> Jam enim pluribus in locis melius quam dudum pueritia institui et doctrina in scholis usurpari polittior, quod et bonorum autorum scripta in manus tenerentur, et elementa quoque linguæ Græcæ alicubi proponerentur ad discendum, cum seniorum admiratione maxima, et ardentissima cupiditate juniorum, cujus utriusque tum non tam judicium quam novitas causa fuit. Simlerus, qui postea ex primario grammatico eximius jurisconsultus factus est, initio hanc doctrinam non vulgandam aliquantisper arbitrabatur. Itaque Græcarum literarum scholam explicabat aliquot discipulis suis privatim, quibus dabat hanc operam peculiarem, ut quos summo pero diligeret. Camerarius, Vita Melanchthonis. I find also in one of Melanchthon's own epistles that he learned the Greek grammar from George Simler. Epist. Melanchth., p. 351 (edit. 1647).

relation of his own, little more than ten years old, who, uniting extraordinary quickness with thirst for learning, had already acquired the rudiments of that language; and presenting him with a lexicon and grammar, precious gifts in those times, changed his German name, Schwartzerd, to one of equivalent meaning and more classical sound, Melanchthon. He had himself set the example of assuming a name of Greek derivation, being almost as much known by the name of Capnio as by his own. And this pedantry, which continued to prevail for a century and a half afterwards, might be excused by the great uncouthness of many German, not to say French and English, surnames in their Latinised forms. Melanchthon, the precocity of his youth being followed by a splendid maturity, became not only one of the greatest lights of the Reformation, but, far above all others, the founder of general learning in Germany.<sup>k</sup>

8. England seems to have been nearly stationary in academical learning during the unpropitious reign of Henry VII.<sup>l</sup> But just hopes were entertained from the accession of his son in 1509, who had received in some degree a learned education. And the small knot of excellent men, united by zeal for improvement, Grocyn, Linacre, Latimer, Fisher, Colet, More, succeeded in bringing over their friend Erasmus to teach Greek at Cambridge, in 1510. The students, he says, were too poor to pay him anything, nor had he many scholars.<sup>m</sup> His instruction was confined to the grammar. In the same year Colet, dean of St. Paul's, founded there a school, and published a Latin grammar. Five or six little works of the kind had already ap-

<sup>k</sup> Camerarius. Meiners, i. 73. The Biographie Universelle, art. Melanchthon, calls him nephew of Reuchlin; but this seems not to be the case; Camerarius only says that their families were connected quodam cognationis necessitudine.

<sup>l</sup> "The schools were much frequented with quirks and sophistry. All things, whether taught or written, seemed to be trite and inane. No pleasant streams of humanity or mythology were gliding among us; and the Greek language, from whence the greater part of knowledge is derived, was at a very low ebb or in a

manner forgotten." Wood's Annals of Oxford, A.D. 1508. The word "forgotten" is improperly applied to Greek, which had never been known. In this reign, but in what part of it does not appear, the university of Oxford hired an Italian, one Calus Anberinus, to compose the public orations and epistles, and to explain Terence in the schools. Warton, II. 420, from MS. authority.

<sup>m</sup> Hactenus prælegimus Chrysoloræ grammaticam, sed paucis; fortassis frequentiori auditorio Theodori grammaticam auspicabimur. Ep. cxxviii. (16th Oct. 1511.)

peared in England.<sup>o</sup> These trifling things are mentioned to let the reader take notice that there is nothing more worthy to be named. Twenty-six books were printed at London during this decad. Among these Terence in 1504, but no other Latin author of classical name. The difference in point of learning between Italy and England was at least that of a century, that is, the former was as much advanced in knowledge of ancient literature in 1400 as the latter was in 1500.

9. It is plain, however, that on the continent of Europe, though no very remarkable advances were made in these ten years, learning was slowly progressive, and the men were living who were to bear fruit in due season. Erasmus published his *Adages* with such great additions as rendered them almost a new work; while Budæus, in his *Observations upon the Pandects*, gave the first example of applying philological and historical literature to the illustration of Roman law, by which others, with more knowledge of jurisprudence than he possessed, were in the next generation signally to change the face of that science.

10. The eastern languages began now to be studied, though with very imperfect means. Hebrew had been cultivated in the Franciscan monasteries of Tubingen and Basle before the end of the last century. The first grammar was published by Conrad Pellican in 1503. Eichhorn calls it an evidence of the deficiencies of his knowledge, though it cost him incredible pains. Reuchlin gave a better, with a dictionary, in 1506, which, enlarged by Munster, long continued to be a standard book. A Hebrew psalter, with three Latin translations, and one in French, was published in 1509 by Henry Stephens, the progenitor of a race illustrious in typographical and literary history. Petrus de Alcalá, in 1506, attempted an Arabic vocabulary, printing the words in Roman letter.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Wood talks of Holt's *Læc Puerorum*, published in 1497, as if it had made an epoch in literature. It might be superior to any grammar we already possessed. [The syntax in Lilly's grammar, which has been chiefly in use with us (under that or other names), was much altered

by Erasmus, at Colet's desire: sic emendaram, ut pleraque mutarem. It was published anonymously. This syntax is admired for conciseness and perspicuity.—1842.]

<sup>o</sup> Eichhorn, ii. 562, 563, v. 609; Meiners's *Life of Reuchlin*, in *Lebensbe-*

11. If we could trust an article in the *Biographie Universelle*, a Portuguese, Gil Vicente, deserves the high praise of having introduced the regular drama into Europe, the first of his pieces having been represented at Lisbon in 1504.<sup>p</sup> But, according to the much superior authority of Bouterwek, Gil Vicente was a writer in the old national style of Spain and Portugal; and his early compositions are Autos, or spiritual dramas, totally unlike any regular plays, and rude both in design and execution. He became, however, a comic writer of great reputation among his countrymen at a later period, but in the same vein of uncultivated genius, and not before Machiavel and Ariosto had established their dramatic renown. The Calandra of Bibbiena, afterwards a cardinal, was represented at Venice in 1508, though not published till 1524. An analysis of this play will be found in Ginguéné; it bears only a general resemblance to the *Mænæchi* of Plautus. Perhaps the Calandra may be considered as the earliest modern comedy, or at least the earliest that is known to be extant, for its five acts and intricate plot exclude the competition of Maître Patelin.<sup>q</sup> But there is a more celebrated piece in the Spanish language, of which it is probably impossible to determine the date, the tragi-comedy, as it has been called, of Calisto and Melibœa. This is the work of two authors, one generally supposed to be Rodrigo Cota, who planned the story and wrote the first act; the other, Fernando de Rojas, who added twenty more acts to complete the drama. This alarming number does not render the play altogether so prolix as might be supposed, the acts being only what with us are

Dramatic  
works.

Calisto and  
Melibœa.

schreibungen berühmter Männer, l. 68. A very few instances of Hebrew scholars in the fifteenth century might be found, besides Reuchlin and Picus of Mirandola. Tiraboschi gives the chief place among these to Giannozzo Manetti, vii. 123.

<sup>p</sup> Biogr. Univ., art. Gil Vicente. Another Life of the same dramatist in a later volume, under the title Vicente, seems designed to retract this claim. Bouterwek adverts to this supposed drama of 1504, which is an Auto on the

festival of Corpus Christi, and of the simplest kind.

<sup>q</sup> Ginguéné, vi. 171. An earlier writer on the Italian theatre is in raptures with this play. "The Greeks, Latins, and moderns have never made, and, perhaps never will make, so perfect a comedy as the Calandra. It is, in my opinion, the model of good comedy." Riccoboni, *Hist. du Théâtre Italien*, i. 148. This is much to say, and shows an odd taste, for the Calandra neither displays character nor excites interest.

commonly denominated scenes. It is, however, much beyond the limits of representation. Some have supposed Calisto and Melibœa to have been commenced by Juan de la Mena before the middle of the fifteenth century. But this, Antonio tells us, shows ignorance of the style belonging to that author and to his age. It is far more probably of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella; and as an Italian translation appears to have been published in 1514, we may presume that it was finished and printed in Spain about the present decad.<sup>†</sup>

12. Bouterwek and Sismondi have given some account of this rather remarkable dramatic work. <sup>Its character.</sup> But they hardly do it justice, especially the former, who would lead the reader to expect something very anomalous and extravagant. It appears to me that it is as regular and well contrived as the old comedies generally were: the action is simple and uninterrupted; nor can it be reckoned very extraordinary that what Bouterwek calls the unities of time and place should be transgressed, when for the next two centuries they were never observed. Calisto and Melibœa was at least deemed so original and important an accession to literature that it was naturalised in several languages. A very early imitation, rather than version, in English, appears to have been printed in 1530.<sup>‡</sup> A real translation, with the title *Celestina* (the name of a procuress who plays the chief part in the drama, and by which it has been frequently known), is mentioned by Herbert under the year 1598. And there is another translation, or second edition, in 1631, with the same title, from which all my acquaintance with this play is derived. Gaspar Barthius gave it in Latin, 1624, with the title *Pornobosco-didascalus*.<sup>§</sup> It was extolled by some as a salutary exposition of the effects of vice—

<sup>†</sup> Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nova*. Andrè, v. 125. *La Celestina*, says the latter, certo contiene un fatto bene svolto, e spiegato con episodj verisimili e naturali, dipinge con verità i caratteri, ed esprime talora con calore gli affetti; e tutto questo à mio giudizio potrà bastare per darli il vanto d'essere stata la prima composizione teatrale scritta con eleganza e regolarità.

<sup>‡</sup> Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*.

Mr. Collier (*Hist. of Dramatic Poetry*, ii. 408) has given a short account of this production, which he says "is not long enough for a play, and could only have been acted as an interlude." It must, therefore, be very different from the original.

<sup>§</sup> Clement, *Bibliothèque Curieuse*. This translation is sometimes erroneously named *Porno-didascalus*; the title of a very different book.

Quo modo adolescentula  
Lenarum ingenia et mores possent noscere,—

and condemned by others as too open a display of it. Bouterwek has rather exaggerated the indecency of this drama, which is much less offensive, unless softened in the translation, than in most of our old comedies. The style of the first author is said to be more elegant than that of his continuator, but this is not very apparent in the English version. The chief characters throughout are pretty well drawn, and there is a vein of humour in some of the comic parts.

13. The first edition of the works of a Spanish poet, Juan de la Enzina, appeared in 1501, though Juan de la Enzina. they were probably written in the preceding century. Some of these are comedies, as one biographer calls them, or rather, perhaps, as Bouterwek expresses it, "sacred and profane eclogues, in the form of dialogues, represented before distinguished persons on festivals." Enzina wrote also a treatise on Castilian poetry, which, according to Bouterwek, is but a short essay on the rules of metre.<sup>a</sup>

14. The pastoral romance, as was before mentioned, began a little before this time in Portugal. Arcadia of Sannazzaro. An Italian writer of fine genius, Sannazzaro, adopted it in his *Arcadia*, of which the first edition was in 1502. Harmonious prose intermingled with graceful poetry, and with a fable just capable of keeping awake the attention, though it could never excite emotion, communicate a tone of pleasing sweetness to this volume. But we have been so much used to fictions of more passionate interest, that we hardly know how to accommodate ourselves to the mild languor of these early romances. A recent writer places the *Arcadia* at the head of Italian prose in that age. "With a less embarrassed construction," he says, "than Boccaccio, and less of a servile mannerism than Bembo, the style of Sannazzaro is simple, flowing, rapid, harmonious. If it should seem now and then too florid and diffuse, this may be pardoned in a romance. It is to him, in short, rather than to Bembo, that we owe the revival of correctness and ele-

<sup>a</sup> Bouterwek; *Biogr. Univ.*, art. Enzina. The latter praises this work of Enzina more highly, but whether from equal knowledge I cannot say. The dramatic compositions above mentioned are most scarce.

gance in the Italian prose of the sixteenth century; and his style in the *Arcadia* would have been far more relished than that of the *Asolani*, if the originality of his poetry had not engrossed our attention." He was the first who employed in any considerable degree the *sdrucchiolo* verse, though it occurs before; but the difficulty of finding rhymes for it drives him frequently upon unauthorised phrases. He may also be reckoned the first who restored the polished style of Petrarch, which no writer of the fifteenth century had successfully emulated.\*

15. The *Asolani* of Peter Bembo, a dialogue, the scene of which is laid at Asola, in the Venetian territory, were published in 1505. They are disquisitions on love, tedious enough to our present apprehension, but in a style so pure and polite, that they became the favourite reading among the superior ranks in Italy, where the coldness and pedantry of such dissertations were forgiven for their classical dignity and moral truth. The *Asolani* has been thought to make an epoch in Italian literature, though the *Arcadia* is certainly a more original and striking work of genius.

16. I do not find at what time the poems in the Scottish dialect by William Dunbar were published; but Dunbar. "The Thistle and the Rose," on the marriage of James IV. with Margaret of England in 1503, must be presumed to have been written very little after that time. Dunbar, therefore, has the honour of leading the vanguard of British poetry in the sixteenth century. His allegorical poem, *The Golden Targe*, is of a more extended range, and displays more creative power. The versification of Dunbar is remarkably harmonious and exact for his age; and his descriptions are often very lively and picturesque. But it must be confessed that there is too much of sunrise and singing-birds in all our

\* Saif, *Continuation de Ginguéné*, x. 92; Corniani, iv. 12. Roscoe speaks of the *Arcadia* with less admiration, but perhaps more according to the feelings of the general reader. But I cannot altogether concur in his sweeping denunciation of poetical prose, "that hermaphrodite of literature." In many styles of composition, and none more than such as the *Arcadia*, it may be read with delight, and without wounding a rational taste.

The French language, which is not well adapted to poetry, would have lost some of its most imaginative passages, with which Buffon, St. Pierre, and others have enriched it, if a highly ornamented prose had been wholly proscribed; and we may say the same with equal truth of our own. It is another thing to condemn the peculiar style of poetry in writings that from their subject demand a very different tone.

medæval poetry; a note caught from the French and Provençal writers, and repeated to satiety by our own. The allegorical characters of Dunbar are derived from the same source. He belongs, as a poet, to the school of Chaucer and Lydgate.<sup>7</sup>

17. The first book upon anatomy, since that of Mundinus, was by Zerbi of Verona, who taught in the University of Padua in 1495. The title is *Anatomy of Zerbi. Liber anatomie corporis humani et singulorum membrorum illius*, 1503. He follows in general the plan of Mundinus, and his language is obscure as well as full of inconvenient abbreviations; yet the germ of discoveries that have crowned later anatomists with glory is sometimes perceptible in Zerbi: among others, that of the Fallopian tubes.<sup>8</sup>

18. We now, for the first time, take relations of voyages into our literary catalogue. During the fifteenth century, though the old travels of Marco Polo had been printed several times, and in different languages, and even those of Sir John Mandeville once; though the *Cosmography of Ptolemy* had appeared in not less than seven editions, and generally with maps, few, if any, original descriptions of the kingdoms of the world had gratified the curiosity of modern Europe. But the stupendous discoveries that signalised the last years of that age could not long remain untold. We may, however, give perhaps the first place to the voyages of Cadamosto, a Venetian, who, in 1455, under the protection of Prince Henry of Portugal, explored the western coast of Africa, and bore a part in discovering its two great rivers as well as the Cape de Verde islands. "The relation of his voyages," says a late writer, "the earliest of modern travels, is truly a model, and would lose nothing by comparison with those of our best navigators. Its arrangement is admirable, its details are interesting, its descriptions clear and precise."<sup>9</sup> These voyages of Cadamosto do not occupy more than thirty pages in the collection of Ramusio, where they are reprinted. They are said to have first appeared at Vicenza

<sup>7</sup> Warton, iii. 90. Ellis (Specimens, i. 371) strangely calls Dunbar "the greatest poet that Scotland has produced." Pinkerton places him above Chaucer and

Lydgate. Chalmers's Biogr. Dict.

<sup>8</sup> Portal, Hist. de l'Anatomie; Biogr. Univ., art. Zerbi.

<sup>9</sup> Biogr. Univ., art. Cadamosto.



in 1507, with the title *Prima navigazione per l' oceano alle terre de' negri della bassa Ethiopia di Luigi Cadamosto*. It is supposed, however, by Brunet, that no separate account of Cadamosto's voyage exists earlier than 1519, and that this of 1507 is a confusion with the next book. This was a still more important production, announcing the great discoveries that Americo Vespucci was suffered to wrest, at least in name, from a more illustrious though ill-requited Italian: *Mondo nuovo, e pessi nuovamente ritrovati da Alberico Vesputio Fiorentino intitolati*. Vicenza, 1507. But this includes the voyage of Cadamosto. It does not appear that any earlier work on America had been published; but an epistle of Columbus himself, *de insulis Indiae nuper inventis*, was twice printed about 1493 in Germany, and probably in other countries; and a few other brief notices of the recent discovery are to be traced. We find also in 1508 an account of the Portuguese in the East, which, being announced as a translation from the native language into Latin, may be presumed to have appeared before.<sup>b</sup>

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## SECT. II. 1511-1520.

Age of Leo X. — Italian Dramatic Poetry — Classical Learning, especially Greek, in France, Germany, and England — Utopia of More — Erasmus — His Adages — Political Satire contained in them — Opposition of the Monks to Learning — Antipathy of Erasmus to them — Their Attack on Reuchlin — Origin of Reformation — Luther — Ariosto — Character of the Orlando Furioso — Various Works of Amusement in modern Languages — English Poetry — Pomponatius — Raymond Lully.

19. LEO X. became pope in 1513. His chief distinction, no doubt, is owing to his encouragement of the arts, or, more strictly, to the completion of those splendid labours of Raffaele under his pontificate, which had been commenced by his predecessor. We have here only to do with literature; and in the promotion of this he certainly deserves a much

<sup>b</sup> See Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, art. *liberarium*, *Primo*, Vespucci. (Also his *Supplément au Manuel du Libraire*, art. *Vespucci*. This last article

corrects the former, and has enabled me to state M. Brunet's opinion more clearly than in my first edition.—1842.]

higher name than any former pope, except Nicolas V., who, considering the difference of the times, and the greater solidity of his own character, as certainly stands far above him. Leo began by placing men of letters in the most honourable stations of his court. There were two, Bembo and Sadolet, who had by common confession reached a consummate elegance of style, in comparison of which the best productions of the last age seemed very imperfect. They were made apostolical secretaries. Beroaldo, second of the name, whose father, though a more fertile author, was inferior to him in taste, was intrusted with the Vatican library. John Lascaris and Marcus Musurus were invited to reside at Rome;<sup>c</sup> and the pope, considering it, he says, no small part of his pontifical duty to promote the Latin literature, caused search to be made everywhere for manuscripts. This expression sounds rather oddly in his mouth; and the less religious character of Transalpine literature is visible in this as in everything else.

20. The personal taste of Leo was almost entirely directed towards poetry and the beauties of style. Roman gymnasium. This, Tiraboschi seems to hint, might cause the more serious learning of antiquity to be rather neglected. But there does not seem to be much ground for this charge. We owe to Leo the publication, by Beroaldo, of the first five books of the Annals of Tacitus, which had lately been found in a German monastery. It appears that in 1514 above one hundred professors received salaries in the Roman University or gymnasium, restored by the pope to its alienated revenues.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> John Lascaris, who is not to be confounded with Constantine Lascaris, by some thought to be his father, and to whom we owe a Greek grammar, after continuing for several years under the patronage of Lorenzo at Florence, where he was editor of the *Anthologia*, or collection of epigrams, printed in 1494, on the fall of the Medici family entered the service of Charles VIII., and lived many years at Paris. He was afterwards employed by Louis XII. as minister at Venice. After a residence of some duration at Rome, he was induced by Francis I. in 1518 to organize the literary institutions designed by the king to be estab-

lished at Paris. But these being postponed, Lascaris spent the remainder of his life partly in Paris, partly in Rome, and died in the latter city in 1535. *Hody de Græcis illustribus.*

<sup>d</sup> We are indebted to Roscoe for publishing this list. But as the number of one hundred professors might lead us to expect a most comprehensive scheme, it may be mentioned that they consisted of four for theology, eleven for canon law, twenty for civil law, sixteen for medicine, two for metaphysics, five for philosophy (probably physics), two for ethics, four for logic, one for astrology (probably astronomy), two for mathematics, eighteen

Leo seems to have founded a seminary distinct from the former, under the superintendence of Lascaris, for the sole study of Greek, and to have brought over young men as teachers from Greece. In this academy a Greek press was established, where the scholiasts on Homer were printed in 1517.\*

21. Leo was a great admirer of Latin poetry; and in his time the chief poets of Italy seem to have written several of their works, though not published till afterwards. The poems of Pontanus, which naturally belong to the fifteenth century, were first printed in 1513 and 1518; and those of Mantuan, in a collective form, about the same time.

22. The *Rosmunda* of Rucellai, a tragedy in the Italian language, on the ancient regular model, was presented before Leo at Florence in 1515. It was the earliest known trial of blank verse; but it is acknowledged by Rucellai himself that the *Sophonisba* of his friend Trissino, which is dedicated to Leo in the same year, though not published till 1524, preceded and suggested his own tragedy.<sup>f</sup> The *Sophonisba* is strictly

for rhetoric, three for Greek, and thirteen for grammar, in all a hundred and one. The salaries are subjoined in every instance; the highest are among the medical professors; the Greek are also high. Roscoe, ii. 333, and *Append. No. 89.*

Roscoe remarks that medical botany was one of the sciences taught, and that it was the earliest instance. If this be right, Bonafede of Padua cannot have been the first who taught botany in Europe, as we read that he did in 1533. But in the roll of these Roman professors we only find that one was appointed *ad declarationem simplicium medicinarum*. I do not think this means more than the *materia medica*; we cannot infer that he lectured upon the plants themselves.

\* Tiraboschi; Hody, p. 247; Roscoe, ch. 11. Leo was anticipated in his Greek editions by Chigi, a private Roman, who, with the assistance of Cornelio Benigno, and with Calliergus, a Cretan, for his printer, gave to the world two good editions of Pindar and Theocritus in 1515 and 1516.

<sup>f</sup> This dedication, with a sort of apo-

logy for writing tragedies in Italian, will be found in Roscoe's *Appendix*, vol. vi. Roscoe quotes a few words from Rucellai's dedication of his poem, *L'Api*, to Trissino, acknowledging the latter as the inventor of blank verse. *Voi foste il primo, che questo modo di scrivere, in versi materni, liberi delle rime, poneste in luce.* *Life of Leo X.*, ch. 16. See also Ginguéné, vol. vi., and Walker's *Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, as well as Tiraboschi. The earliest Italian tragedy, which is also on the subject of *Sophonisba*, by Galeotto del Carretto, was presented to the Marchioness of Mantua in 1502. But we do not find that it was brought on the stage; nor is it clear that it was printed so early as the present decad. But an edition of the *Pamphila*, a tragedy on the story of *Sigismunda*, by Antonio da Pistoja, was printed at Venice in 1508. Walker, p. 11. Ginguéné has been ignorant of this very curious piece, from which Walker had given a few extracts, in rhymed measures of different kinds. Ginguéné indeed had never seen Walker's book, and his own is the worse for it. Walker was not a man of much vigour of mind, but

on the Greek model, divided only by the odes of the chorus, but not into five portions or acts. The <sup>Sophonisba of Trissino.</sup> speeches in this tragedy are sometimes too long, the style unadorned, the descriptions now and then trivial. But in general there is a classical dignity about the sentiments, which are natural, though not novel; and the latter part, which we should call the fifth act, is truly noble, simple, and pathetic. Trissino was thoroughly conversant with the Greek drama, and had imbibed its spirit; seldom has Euripides written with more tenderness, or chosen a subject more fitted to his genius; for that of Sophonisba, in which many have followed Trissino with inferior success, is wholly for the Greek school; it admits, with no great difficulty, of the chorus, and consequently of the unities of time and place. It must, however, always chiefly depend on Sophonisba herself; for it is not easy to make Masinissa respectable, nor has Trissino succeeded in attempting it. The long continuance of alternate speeches in single lines, frequent in this tragedy, will not displease those to whom old associations are recalled by it.

23. The Rosmunda falls, in my opinion, below the Sophonisba, though it is the work of a better <sup>Rosmunda of Rucellai.</sup> poet; and perhaps in language and description it is superior. What is told in narration, according to the ancient inartificial form of tragedy, is finely told; but the emotions are less represented than in the Sophonisba; the principal character is less interesting, and the story is unpleasing. Rucellai led the way to those accumulations of horrible and disgusting circumstances which deformed the European stage for a century afterwards. The Rosmunda is divided into five acts, but preserves the chorus. It contains imitations of the Greek tragedies, especially the Antigone, as the Sophonisba does of the Ajax and the Medea. Some lines in the latter, extolled by modern critics, are simply translated from the ancient tragedians.

24. Two comedies by Ariosto seem to have been acted

had some taste, and great knowledge of his subject. This tragedy is mentioned by Quadrio, iv. 58, with the title *Il Filostrato e Panfila, dei amanti*.

It may be observed that, notwith-

standing the testimony of Rucellai himself above quoted, it is shown by Walker (Appendix, No. 3) that blank verse had been occasionally employed before Trissino.

about 1512, and were written as early as 1495, when he was but twenty-one years old, which entitles Comedies of Ariosto. him to the praise of having first conceived and carried into effect the idea of regular comedies, in imitation of the ancient, though Bibbiena had the advantage of first occupying the stage with his Calandra. The Cassaria and Suppositi of Ariosto are, like the Calandra, free imitations of the manner of Plautus, in a spirited and natural dialogue, and with that graceful flow of language which appears spontaneous in all his writings.<sup>5</sup>

25. The north of Italy still endured the warfare of stranger armies; Ravenna, Novara, Marignan, Books printed in Italy. attest the well-fought contention. Aldus, however, returning to Venice in 1512, published many editions before his death in 1516. Pindar, Plato, and Lysias first appeared in 1513; Athenæus in 1514; Xenophon, Strabo, and Pausanias in 1516; Plutarch's Lives in 1517. The Aldine press then continued under his father-in-law, Andrew Asola, but with rather diminished credit. It appears that the works printed during this period, from 1511 to 1520, were, at Rome 116, at Milan 91, at Florence 133, and at Venice 511. This is, perhaps, less than from the general renown of Leo's age we should have expected. We may select, among the original publications, the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Cælius Rhodiginus. Cælius Rhodiginus (1516), and a little treatise on Italian grammar by Fortunio, which has no claim to notice but as the earliest book on the subject.<sup>b</sup> The former, though not the first, appears to have been by far the best and most extensive collection hitherto made from the stores of antiquity. It is now hardly remembered; but obtained almost universal praise, even from severe critics, for the deep erudition of its author, who, in a somewhat rude style, pours forth explanations of obscure and emendations of corrupted passages, with profuse display of knowledge in the customs and even philosophy of the ancients, but more especially in medicine and

<sup>a</sup> Ginguéné, vi. 183, 218, has given a full analysis of these celebrated comedies. They are placed next to those of Machiavel by most Italian critics.

<sup>b</sup> *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua.* (Ancona, 1516.) Questo libro fuor di dubbio è stato il primo che si vi-

desse stampato, a darne insegnamenti d' Italiana, non già eloquenza, ma lingua. Fontanini dell' eloquenza Italiana, p. 5. Fifteen editions were printed within six years; a decisive proof of the importance attached to the subject.

botany. Yet he seems to have inserted much without discrimination of its value, and often without authority. A more perfect edition was published in 1550, extending to thirty books instead of sixteen.<sup>1</sup>

26. It may be seen that Italy, with all the lustre of Leo's reputation, was not distinguished by any very remarkable advance in learning during his pontificate; and I believe it is generally admitted that the elegant biography of Roscoe, in making the public more familiar with the subject, did not raise the previous estimation of its hero and of his times. Meanwhile the Cisalpine regions were gaining ground upon their brilliant neighbour. From the Parisian press issued in these ten years eight hundred books; among which were a Greek Lexicon by Aleander, in 1512, and four more little grammatical works, with a short romance in Greek.<sup>k</sup> This is trifling indeed; but in the cities on the Rhine something more was done in that language. A Greek grammar, probably quite elementary, was published at Wittenberg in 1511; one at Strasburg in 1512,—thrice reprinted in the next three years. These were succeeded by a translation of Theodore Gaza's grammar by Erasmus, in 1516, by the *Progymnasmata Græcæ Literaturæ* of Luscinius, in 1517, and by the *Introductiones in Linguam Græcam* of Croke, in 1520. Isocrates and Lucian appeared at Strasburg in 1515; the first book of the *Iliad* next year, besides four smaller tracts; <sup>n</sup> several more followed before the end of the decad. At Basle the excellent printer Frobenius, an intimate friend of Erasmus, had established himself as early as 1491.<sup>o</sup> Besides the great edition of the New Testament by Erasmus, which issued from his press, we find, before the close of 1520, the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, the Greek Lexicon of Aldus, the *Rhetoric and Poetics* of Aristotle, the first two books of the *Odyssey*,

Greek  
printed in  
France and  
Germany.

<sup>1</sup> Blount. *Biogr. Univ.*, art. Rhodiginus.

<sup>k</sup> [It is said in Liron, *Singularités Historiques*, l. 490, that one Cheradamus taught Greek at Paris about 1517, and published a Greek lexicon there in 1523: *Lexicon Græcum, cæteris omnibus aut in Italia aut Gallia Germanave, antebac excusis multo locupletius, utpote supra ter mille additiones Basiliensi Lexico,*

A. D. 1522 apud Carionem impresso, adjectas. I do not find this Lexicon mentioned by Brunet or Watts.—1842.]

<sup>n</sup> These were published by Luscinius (Nachtigall), a native of Strasburg, and one of the chief members of the literary academy established by Wimpfeling in that city. *Biogr. Univ.*

<sup>o</sup> *Biogr. Univ.*

and several grammatical treatises. At Cologne two or three small Greek pieces were printed in 1517. And Louvain, besides the *Plutus* of Aristophanes in 1518, and three or four others about the same time, sent forth in the year 1520 six Greek editions, among which were Lucian, Theocritus, and two tragedies of Euripides.<sup>p</sup> We may hence perceive that the Greek language now first became known and taught in Germany and in the Low Countries.

27. It is evident that these works were chiefly designed for students in the universities. But it is to be observed, that Greek literature was now much more cultivated than before. In France there were, indeed, not many names that could be brought forward; but Lefevre of Etaples, commonly called Faber Stapulensis, was equal to writing criticisms on the Greek Testament of Erasmus. He bears a high character among contemporary critics for his other writings, which are chiefly on theological and philosophical subjects; but it appears by his age that he must have come late to the study of Greek.<sup>q</sup> That difficult language was more easily mastered by younger men. Germany had already produced some deserving of remembrance. A correspondent of Erasmus, in 1515, writes to recommend *Œcolampadius* as "not unlearned in Greek literature."<sup>r</sup> Melanchthon was, even in his early youth, deemed competent to criticise Erasmus himself. At the age of sixteen he lectured on the Greek and Latin authors of antiquity. He was the first who printed Terence as verse.<sup>s</sup> The library of this great scholar was in 1835 sold in London, and was proved to be his own by innumerable marginal notes of illustration and correction.

<sup>p</sup> The whole number of books, according to Panzer, printed from 1511 to 1520 at Strasburg, was 373; at Basle, 289; at Cologne, 120; at Leipsic, 462; at Louvain, 57. It may be worth while to remind the reader once more that these lists must be very defective as to the slighter class of publications, which have often perished to every copy. Panzer is reckoned more imperfect after 1500 than before. *Biogr. Universelle*. In England, we find thirty-six by Pynson, and sixty-six by Wynkyn de Worde, within these ten years.

<sup>q</sup> Jortin's Erasmus, l. 92; Bayle, *Fevre d'Etaples*; Blount; *Biogr. Univ.*: *Febvre d'Etaples*.

<sup>r</sup> Erasmus himself says afterwards, *Œcolampadius satis novit Græcè, Latini sermonis rudior; quanquam ille magis peccat indiligentia quam imperitia*.

<sup>s</sup> Cox's *Life of Melanchthon*, p. 19. Melanchthon wrote Greek verse indifferently and incorrectly, but Latin with spirit and elegance: specimens of both are given in Dr. Cox's valuable biography.

Greek scholars in these countries.

Beatus Rhenanus stands perhaps next to him as a scholar; and we may add the names of Luscinius, of Bilibald Pircheimer, a learned senator of Nuremberg, who made several translations, and of Petrus Mosellanus, who became about 1518 lecturer in Greek at Leipsic.<sup>†</sup> He succeeded our distinguished countryman Richard Croke, a pupil of Grocyn, who had been invited to Leipsic in 1514, with the petty salary of fifteen guilders, but with the privilege of receiving other remuneration from his scholars, and had the signal honour of first imbuing the students of Northern Germany with a knowledge of that language." One or two trifling works on Greek grammar were published by Croke during this decennium. Ceratinus, who took his name, in the fanciful style of the times, from his birthplace, Horn in Holland, was now professor of Greek at Louvain; and in 1525, on the recommendation of Erasmus, became the successor of Mosellanus at Leipsic.\* William Cop, a native of Basle, and physician to Francis I., published in this period some translations from Hippocrates and Galen.

28. Cardinal Ximenez about the beginning of the century founded a college at Alcalá, his favourite university, for the three learned languages. This example was followed by Jerome Busleiden, who by his last testament, in 1516 or 1517, esta-

Colleges at  
Alcalá and  
Louvain.

<sup>†</sup> The lives and characters of Rhenanus, Pircheimer, and Mosellanus will be found in Blount, Nicéron, and the *Biographie Universelle*; also in Gerdes's *Historia Evangel.* Renov., Melchior Adam, and other less common books.

<sup>u</sup> *Crocus regnat in Academia Lipsiensis, publicitus Græcæ docens litteras.* Erasm. *Epist. civl.* 5th June, 1514. Eichhorn says, that Conrad Celtes and others had taught Latin only, *lib.* 272. Camerarius, who studied for three years under Croke, gives him a very high character; qui primus putabatur ita docuisse Græcæ linguam in Germania, ut plane perdisci illam posse, et quid momenti ad omnem doctrinæ eruditionem atque cultum hujus cognitio allatura esse videretur, nostri homines sese intelligere arbitrarentur. *Vita Melanchthonis*, p. 27; and *Vita Eobani Hessi*, p. 4. He was received at Leipsic "like a heavenly messenger:" every one was proud of knowing him, of

paying whatever he demanded, of attending him at any hour of the day or night. *Melanchthon apud Meiners*, i. 163. A pretty good life of Croke is in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*. Bayle does not mention him. Croke was educated at King's College, Cambridge, to which he went from Eton in 1506, and is said to have learned Greek at Oxford from Grocyn, while still a scholar of King's.

\* Erasmus gives a very high character of Ceratinus. *Græcæ linguæ peritiam superat vel tres Mosellanos, nec inferior, ut arbitror, Romanæ linguæ facundia.* *Epist. dccxxxvii.* Ceratinus Græcicæ literaturæ tam exacte callens, ut vix unum aut alterum habeat Italia quicum dubitem hunc committere. Magnæ doctrinæ erat Mosellanus, spei majoris, et amabam unicè hominis ingenium, nec falso dicunt odiosas esse comparationes; sed hoc ipsa causa me compellit dicere longe alia res est. *Epist. dccxxxviii.*



lished a similar foundation at Louvain.<sup>7</sup> From this source proceeded many men of conspicuous erudition and ability; and Louvain, through its Collegium trilingue, became in a still higher degree than Deventer had been in the fifteenth century, not only the chief seat of Belgian learning, but the means of diffusing it over parts of Germany. Its institution was resisted by the monks and theologians, unyielding though beaten adversaries of literature.<sup>8</sup>

29. It cannot be said that many yet on this side of the Alps wrote Latin well. Budæus is harsh and unpolished; Erasmus fluent, spirited, and never at a loss to express his meaning; nor is his style much defaced by barbarous words, though by no means exempt from them; yet it seldom reaches a point of classical elegance. Francis Sylvius (probably Dubois), brother of a celebrated physician, endeavoured to inspire a taste for purity of style in the university of Paris. He had, however, acquired it himself late, for some of his writings are barbarous. The favourable influence of Sylvius was hardly earlier than 1520.<sup>9</sup> The writer most solicitous about his diction was Longolius (Christopher de Longueil, a native of Malines), the only true Ciceronian out of Italy; in which country, however, he passed so much time, that he is hardly to be accounted a mere Cisalpine. Like others of the Ciceronian denomination, he was more ambitious of saying common things well, than of producing what was intrinsically worthy of being remembered.

30. We have the imposing testimony of Erasmus himself, that neither France nor Germany stood so high about this period as England. That country, he says, so distant from Italy, stands next to it in the esteem of the learned. This, however, is written in 1524. About the end of the present decennial period we can produce a not very small number of persons possessing a competent acquaintance with the Greek tongue, more, perhaps, than could be traced in France, though all together might not weigh as heavy as Budæus alone. Such were Grocyn, the patriarch of English learning, who died in 1519; Linacre, whose translation

Latin style  
in France.

Greek  
scholars in  
England.

<sup>7</sup> Bayle art. Busleiden.

<sup>8</sup> Von der Hardt, Hist. Litt. Reformat.

<sup>9</sup> Bayle, art. Sylvius.

of Galen, first printed in 1521, is one of the few in that age that escape censure for inelegance or incorrectness; Latimer, beloved and admired by his friends, but of whom we have no memorial in any writings of his own; More, known as a Greek scholar by epigrams of some merit;<sup>b</sup> Lilly, master of St. Paul's school, who had acquired Greek at Rhodes, but whose reputation is better preserved by the grammars that bear his name; Lupsett, who is said to have learned from Lilly, and who taught some time at Oxford; Richard Croke, already named; Gerard Lister, a physician, to whom Erasmus gives credit for skill in the three languages; Pace and Tunstall, both men well known in the history of those times; Lee and Stokesley, afterwards bishops, the former of whom published Annotations on the Greek Testament of Erasmus at Basle in 1520,<sup>c</sup> and probably Gardiner; Clement, one of Wolsey's first lecturers at Oxford;<sup>d</sup> Brian, Wakefield, Bullock, Tyndale, and a few more whose names appear in Pits and Wood. We could not of

<sup>b</sup> The Greek verses of More and Lilly, *Progymnasmata Mori et Lillii*, were published at Basle, 1518. It is in this volume that the distich, about which some curiosity has been shown, is found; *Inveni portum, spes et fortuna valet, &c.* But it is a translation from an old Greek epigram.

*Quid tandem non præstitisset admirabilis ista naturæ felicitas, si hoc ingenium instituisset Italia? si totum Musarum sacris vacasset? si ad justam frugem ac velut autumnum suum maturisset?* Epigrammata lusit adolescens admodum, ac pleraque puer; Britanniam suam nunquam egressus est, nisi semel atque iterum principis sui nomine legatione functus apud Flandros. Præter rem uxoriam, præter curas domesticas, præter publici muneris functionem et causarum undas, tot tantisque regni negotiis distrahitur, ut mireris esse otium vel cogitandi de libris. *Epist. clix.* Aug. 1517. In the Ciceronianus he speaks of More with more discriminating praise, and the passage is illustrative of that just quoted.

<sup>c</sup> Erasmus does not spare Lee. *Epist. cxxlviii.* Quo uno nihil unquam adhuc terra produxit, nec arrogantius, nec virulentius, nec stultius. This was the tone

of the age towards any adversary who was not absolutely out of reach of such epithets. In another place he speaks of Lee as nuper Græcæ linguæ rudimentis initiatus. *Ep. cccclxxxvi.*

<sup>d</sup> Knight says (apud Jortin, i. 45) that Clement was the first lecturer at Oxford in Greek after Linacre, and that he was succeeded by Lupsett. And this seems, as to the fact that they did successively teach, to be confirmed by More. *Jortin, ii. 396.* But the *Biographia Britannica*, art. Wolsey, asserts that they were appointed to the chair of rhetoric or humanity; and that Calpurnius, a native of Greece, was the first professor of the language. No authority is quoted by the editors; but I have found it confirmed by Caius in a little treatise *De Pronuntiatione Græcæ et Latine Linguae*. Novit, he says, *Oxonienis schola quemadmodum ipsa Græcia pronuntiavit, ex Mathæo Calpurnio Græco, quem ex Græciâ Oxoniæ Græcarum literarum gratia perduxerat Thomas Wolseus, de bonis literis optime meritis cardinalis, cum non alla ratione pronuntiant illi, quam quæ, nos jam profitemur. Caius de pronunt. Græc. et Lat. Linguae, edit. Jebb, p. 228.*

course, without presumption, attempt to enumerate every person who at this time was not wholly unacquainted with the Greek language. Yet it would be an error, on the other hand, to make a large allowance for omissions; much less to conclude that every man who might enjoy some reputation in a learned profession could in a later generation have passed for a scholar. Colet, for example, and Fisher, men as distinguished as almost any of that age, were unacquainted with the Greek tongue, and both made some efforts to attain it at an advanced age.\* It was not till the year 1517 that the first Greek lecture was established at Oxford by Fox, bishop of Hereford, in his new foundation of Corpus Christi College. Wolsey, in 1519, endowed a regular professorship in the university. It was about the same year that Fisher, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, sent down Richard Croke, lately returned from Leipsic, to tread in the footsteps of Erasmus as teacher of Greek.† But this was in advance of our neighbours, for no public instruction in that language was yet given in France.

31. By the statutes of St. Paul's school, dated in 1518, the master is to be "lerner in good and clene Latin literature, and also in Greke, iff such may be gotten." Of the boys he says, "I wolde they were taught always in good literature both Latin and Greke." But it does not follow from hence that Greek was actually taught; and considering the want of lexicons and grammars, none of which, as we shall see, were published in England for many years afterwards, we

\* Nunc dolor me tenet, says Colet in 1516, quod non didicerim Græcum sermonem, sine cujus peritia nihil sumus. From a later epistle of Erasmus, where he says, Coletus strenue Græcatur, it seems likely that he actually made some progress; but at his age it would not be very considerable. Latimer dissuaded Fisher from the attempt, unless he could procure a master from Italy, which Erasmus thought needless. Epist. cccxlii. In an edition of his Adages, he says, Joannes Fischerus tres linguas ætate jam vergente non vulgari studio amplectitur, *Chil. iv. cent. v. l.*

† Greek had not been neglected at Cambridge during the interval, accord-

ing to a letter of Bullock (in Latin Bevillassus) to Erasmus in 1516 from thence. Hic acriter incumbant literis Græcis, optantque non mediocriter tuum adventum, et hi magnopere favent tuæ huic in Novum Testamentum editioni. It is probable that Cranmer was a pupil of Croke; for in the deposition of the latter before Mary's commissioners in 1555, he says that he had known the archbishop thirty-six years, which brings us to his own first lectures at Cambridge. Todd's Life of Cranmer, ii. 449. But Cranmer may have known something of the language before, and is, not improbably, one of those to whom Bullock alludes.

shall be apt to think that little instruction could have been given.<sup>6</sup> This, however, is not conclusive, and would lead us to bring down the date of philological learning in our public seminaries much too low. The process of learning without books was tedious and difficult, but not impracticable for the diligent. The teacher provided himself with a lexicon which was in common use among his pupils, and with one of the grammars published on the Continent, from which he gave oral lectures, and portions of which were transcribed by each student. The books read in the lecture-room were probably copied out in the same manner, the abbreviations giving some facility to a cursive hand; and thus the deficiency of impressions was in some degree supplied, just as before the invention of printing. The labour of acquiring knowledge strengthened, as it always does, the memory; it excited an industry which surmounted every obstacle, and yielded to no fatigue; and we may thus account for that copiousness of verbal learning which sometimes astonishes us in the scholars of the sixteenth century, and in which they seem to surpass the more exact philologers of later ages.

32. It is to be observed, that we rather extol a small number of men who have struggled against difficulties, than put in a claim for any diffusion of literature in England, which would be very far from the truth. No classical works were yet printed, except four editions of Virgil's *Bucolics*, a small treatise of Seneca, the first book of Cicero's *Epistles*

Few classical works printed here.

<sup>6</sup> In a letter of Erasmus on the death of Colet in 1522, *Epist. ccccxxxv* (and in Jortin's *App.*, ii. 315), though he describes the course of education at St. Paul's school rather diffusely, and in a strain of high panegyric, there is not a syllable of allusion to the study of Greek. Pits, however, in an account of one William Horman, tells us that he was ad collegium Etonense studiorum causa missus, ubi avidè haustis litteris humanioribus, *perceptisque Græcæ linguae rudimentis*, dignus habitus est qui Cantabrigiam ad altiores disciplinas destinaretur. Horman became Græcæ linguae peritissimus, and returned, as head master, to Eton; quo tempore in litteris

humanioribus scholares illic insigniter erudit. He wrote several works, partly grammatical, of which Pits gives the titles, and died, *plenus dierum*, in 1535.

If we could depend on the accuracy of all this, we must suppose that Greek was taught at Eton so early, that one who acquired the rudiments of it in that school might die at an advanced age in 1535. But this is not to be received on Pits's authority. And I find, in Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses*, that Horman became head master as early as 1485: no one will readily believe that he could have learned Greek while at school; and the fact is that he was not educated at Eton, but at Winchester.

(the latter at Oxford in 1519), all merely of course for learners. We do not reckon Latin grammars. And as yet no Greek types had been employed. In the spirit of truth, we cannot quite take to ourselves the compliment of Erasmus; there must evidently have been a far greater diffusion of sound learning in Germany, where professors of Greek had for some time been established in all the universities, and where a long list of men ardent in the cultivation of letters could be adduced.<sup>b</sup> Erasmus had a panegyric humour towards his friends, of whom there were many in England.

33. Scotland had, as might naturally be expected, partaken still less of Italian light than the south of Britain. But the reigning king, contemporary with Henry VII., gave proofs of greater goodwill towards letters. A statute of James IV., in 1496, enacts that gentlemen's sons should be sent to school in order to learn Latin. Such provisions were too indefinite for execution, even if the royal authority had been greater than it was; but they serve to display the temper of the sovereign. His natural son, Alexander, on whom, at a very early age, he conferred the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, was the pupil of Erasmus in the Greek language. The latter speaks very highly of this promising scion of the house of Stuart in one of his adages.<sup>1</sup> But, at the age of twenty, he perished with his royal father on the disastrous day of Flodden Field. Learning had made no sensible progress in Scotland; and the untoward circumstances of the next twenty years were far from giving it encouragement. The translation of the *Æneid* by Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, though we are not at present on the subject of poetry, may be here mentioned in connexion with Scottish literature. It was completed about 1513, though the earliest edition is not till 1553. "This translation," says Warton, "is executed with equal spirit and fidelity; and is a proof that the Lowland Scotch and English languages were now nearly the same. I mean the style of composition, more especially in the glaring affectation of anglicising Latin words.

<sup>b</sup> Such a list is given by Meiners, l. 154, of the supporters of Reuchlin, who comprised all the real scholars of Ger-

many: he enumerates sixty-seven, which might doubtless be enlarged.

<sup>1</sup> *Chil. ii. cent. v. l.*

The several books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often highly poetical, and show that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry." Warton did well to explain his rather startling expression, that the Lowland Scotch and English languages were then nearly the same; for I will venture to say, that no Englishman, without guessing at every other word, could understand the long passage which he proceeds to quote from Gawin Douglas. It is true that the differences consisted mainly in pronunciation, and consequently in orthography; but this is the great cause of diversity in dialect. The character of Douglas's original poetry seems to be that of the middle ages in general,—prolix, though sometimes animated, description of sensible objects.<sup>k</sup>

34. We must not leave England without mention of the only work of genius that she can boast in this age, the Utopia<sup>m</sup> of Sir Thomas More. <sup>Utopia of More.</sup> Perhaps we scarcely appreciate highly enough the spirit and originality of this fiction, which ought to be considered with regard to the barbarism of the times, and the meagreness of preceding inventions. The Republic of Plato no doubt furnished More with the germ of his perfect society;<sup>n</sup> but it would be unreasonable to deny him the merit of having struck out the fiction of its real existence from his own fertile imagination; and it is manifest, that some of his most distinguished successors in the same walk of romance, especially Swift, were largely indebted to his reasoning as well as inventive talents. Those who read the Utopia in Burnet's translation may believe that they are in Brobdignag; so similar is the vein of satirical humour and easy language. If false and impracticable theories are found in the Utopia (and perhaps he knew them to be such), this is in a much greater degree true of the Platonic Republic; and they are more than compensated by the sense of justice and humanity that pervades it, and his bold censures on the vices of power. These are remarkable in a courtier

<sup>k</sup> Warton, iii. 111.

<sup>n</sup> [Perhaps this is at least doubtful;

<sup>m</sup> Utopia is named from a king Utopus. I mention this because some have shown their learning by changing the word to Eutonia.

neither the Republic nor the Laws of Plato bear any resemblance to the Utopia.—1847.]

of Henry VIII.; but, in the first years of Nero, the voice of Seneca was heard without resentment. Nor had Henry much to take to himself in the reprehension of parsimonious accumulation of wealth, which was meant for his father's course of government.

35. It is possible that some passages in the Utopia, which are neither philosophical nor compatible with just principles of morals, were thrown out as mere paradoxes of a playful mind; nor is it easy to reconcile his language as to the free toleration of religious worship with those acts of persecution which have raised the only dark cloud on the memory of this great man. He positively indeed declares for punishing those who insult the religion of others, which might be an excuse for his severity towards the early reformers. But his latitude as to the acceptability of all religions with God, as to their identity in essential principles, and as to the union of all sects in a common worship, could no more be made compatible with his later writings or conduct, than his sharp satire against the court of Rome for breach of faith, or against the monks and friars for laziness and beggary. Such changes, however, are very common, as we may have abundantly observed, in all seasons of revolutionary commotions. Men provoke these, sometimes in the gaiety of their hearts with little design, sometimes with more deliberate intention, but without calculation of the entire consequences, or of their own courage to encounter them. And when such men, like More, are of very quick parts, they are often found to be not over retentive of their opinions, and have little difficulty in abandoning any speculative notion, especially when, like those in the Utopia, it can never have had the least influence upon their behaviour. We may acknowledge, after all, that the Utopia gives us the impression of its having proceeded rather from a very ingenious than a profound mind; and this, apparently, is what we ought to think of Sir Thomas More. The Utopia is said to have been first printed at Louvain in 1516; \* it certainly appeared

\* Of an undated edition, to which Dibdin's Utopia, 1808, preface, xli. It appears from a letter of Montjoy to Erasmus, dated 4th Jan. 1516, that he had received the Utopia, which must

Its inconsistency with his opinions.

at the close of the preceding year; but the edition of Basle in 1518, under the care of Erasmus, is the earliest that bears a date. It was greatly admired on the Continent; indeed there had been little or nothing of equal spirit and originality in Latin since the revival of letters.

36. The French themselves give Francis I. the credit of having been the father of learning in that country. Galland, in a funeral panegyric on that prince, asks if at his accession (in 1513) any one man in France could read Greek or write Latin. Now this is an absurd question, when we recollect the names of Budæus, Longolius, and Faber Stapulensis; yet it shows that there could have been very slender pretensions to classical learning in the kingdom. Erasmus, in his Ciceronianus, enumerates among French scholars, not only Budæus, Faber, and the eminent printer Jodocus Badius (a Fleming by birth), whom, in point of style, he seems to put above Budæus, but John Pin, Nicolas Berald, Francis Deloin, Lazarus Baif, and Ruel. This was however in 1529, and the list assuredly is not long. But as his object was to show that few men of letters were worthy of being reckoned fine writers, he does not mention Longueil, who was one; or whom, perhaps, he might omit, as being then dead.

37. Budæus and Erasmus were now at the head of the literary world; and as the friends of each behaved rather too much like partisans, a kind of rivalry in public reputation began, which soon extended to themselves, and lessened their friendship. Erasmus seems to have been, in a certain degree, the aggressor; at least some of his letters to Budæus indicate an irritability which the other, as far as appears, had not provoked. Budæus had published in 1514 an excellent treatise *De Asse*, the first which explained the denominations and values of Roman money

Learning restored in France.

Jealousy of Erasmus and Budæus.

therefore have been printed in 1515; and it was reprinted once at least in 1516 or 1517. *Erasm. Epist. ccviii. ccv. Append. Ep. xlii. lxxix. ccli. et alibi.* Panzer mentions one at Louvain in December, 1516. This volume by Dr. Dibdin is a reprint of Robinson's early and almost

contemporary translation. That by Burnet, 1685, is more known, and I think it good. Burnet, and I believe some of the Latin editions, omit a specimen of the Utopian language, and some Utopian poetry; which probably was thought too puerile.



in all periods of history.<sup>p</sup> Erasmus sometimes alludes to this with covert jealousy. It was set up by a party against his Adages, which he justly considered more full of original thoughts and extensive learning. But Budæus understood Greek better; he had learned it with prodigious labour, and probably about the same time with Erasmus, so that the comparison between them was not unnatural. The name of one is at present only retained by scholars, and that of the other by all mankind; so different is contemporary and posthumous reputation. It is just to add that, although Erasmus had written to Budæus in far too sarcastic a tone,<sup>q</sup> under the smart of that literary sensitiveness which was very strong in his temper, yet when the other began to take serious offence, and to threaten a discontinuance of their correspondence, he made amends by an affectionate letter, which ought to have restored their good understanding. Budæus, however, who seems to have kept his resentments longer than his quick-minded rival, continued to write peevish letters; and fresh circumstances arose afterwards to keep up his jealousy.<sup>r</sup>

38. Erasmus diffuses a lustre over his age, which no other name among the learned supplies. The qualities which gave him this superiority were

<sup>p</sup> Quod opus ejus, says Vives, in a letter to Erasmus (Ep. dxx.), Hermolaos omnes, Picos, Politianos, Gazas, Vallas, cunctam Italiam pufefecit.

<sup>q</sup> Epist. cc. I quote the numeration of the Leyden edition.

<sup>r</sup> Erasmi Epistolæ, passim. The publication of his Ciceronianus, in 1523, renewed the irritation; in this he gave a sort of preference to Badius over Budæus, in respect to style alone; observing that the latter had great excellences of another kind. The French scholars made this a national quarrel, pretending that Erasmus was prejudiced against their country. He defends himself in his epistles so prolixly and elaborately, as to confirm the suspicion, not of this absurdly imputed dislike to the French, but of some little desire to pique Budæus. Epigrams in Greek were written at Paris against him by Lascaris and Toussein; and thus Erasmus, by an unlucky inability to restrain his pen from sly sarcasm, multiplied the enemies whom an opposite part of his character—its spirit of temporising and

timidity—was always raising up. *Erasm. Epist. mxxi. et alibi.*

This rather unpleasing correspondence between two great men, professing friendship, yet covertly jealous of each other, is not ill described by Von der Hardt, in the *Historia Litteraria Reformationis*. *Mirum dictu, qui undique aculei, sub mellitissima oratione, inter blandimenta continua. Genus utriusque argutissimus, qui vellendo et acerbè pungendo nullibi videretur referre sanguinem aut vulnus inferre. Possint profecto hæc literæ Budæum inter et Erasmus illustre esse et incomparabile exemplar delicatissime sed et perquam aculeatæ concertationis, quæ videretur suavissimo absolvi risu et velut familiarissimo palpo. De alterutrius integritate neuter visus dubitare; uterque tamen semper aiceps, tot annis commercio frequentissimo. Dissimulandi artificium inexplicabile, quod attentis lectoris admirationem vehat, eumque prædissertationum dulcedine subamara in stuporem vertat. P. 46.*

his quickness of apprehension, united with much industry, his liveliness of fancy, his wit and good sense. He is not a very profound thinker, but an acute observer; and the age for original thinking was hardly come. What there was of it in More produced little fruit. In extent of learning, no one perhaps was altogether his equal. Budæus, with more accurate scholarship, knew little of theology, and might be less ready perhaps in general literature than Erasmus. Longolius, Sadolet, and several others, wrote Latin far more elegantly; but they were of comparatively superficial erudition, and had neither his keen wit nor his vigour of intellect. As to theological learning, the great Lutheran divines must have been at least his equals in respect of Scriptural knowledge, and some of them possessed an acquaintance with Hebrew, of which Erasmus knew nothing; but he had probably the advantage in the study of the fathers. It is to be observed, that by far the greater part of his writings are theological. The rest either belong to philology and ancient learning, as the Adages, the Ciceronianus, and the various grammatical treatises, or may be reckoned effusions of his wit, as the Colloquies and the Encomium Moriae.

39. Erasmus, about 1517, published a very enlarged edition of his Adages, which had already grown with the growth of his own erudition. It is impossible to distinguish the progressive accessions they received without a comparison of editions; and some probably belong to a later period than the present. The Adages, as we read them, display a surprising extent of intimacy with Greek and Roman literature.\* Far the greater portion is illustrative; but Erasmus not unfrequently sprinkles his explanations of ancient phrase with moral or literary remarks of some poignancy. The most remarkable, in every sense, are those which reflect with excessive bitterness and freedom on kings and priests. Jortin has slightly alluded to some of these; but they may deserve more particular

*His Adages  
severe on  
kings.*

\* In one passage, under the proverb *Herculei labores*, he expatiates on the immense labour with which this work, his Adages, had been compiled; mentioning, among other difficulties, the pro-

digious corruption of the text in all Latin and Greek manuscripts, so that it scarce ever happened that a passage could be quoted from them without a certainty or suspicion of some erroneous reading.

notice, as displaying the character of the man, and perhaps the secret opinions of his age.

40. Upon the adage, *Frons occipitio prior*, meaning, that every one should do his own business, Erasmus takes the opportunity to observe, that no one requires more attention to this than a prince, if he will act as a real prince, and not as a robber. But at present our kings and bishops are only the hands, eyes, and ears of others, careless of the state, and of every thing but their own pleasure.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is a trifle. In another proverb he bursts out: "Let any one turn over the pages of ancient or modern history, scarcely in several generations will you find one or two princes whose folly has not inflicted the greatest misery on mankind." And after much more of the same kind: "I know not whether much of this is not to be imputed to ourselves. We trust the rudder of a vessel, where a few sailors and some goods alone are in jeopardy, to none but skilful pilots; but the state, wherein the safety of so many thousands is concerned, we put into any hands. A charioteer must learn, reflect upon, and practise his art; a prince need only be born. Yet government, as it is the most honourable, so is it the most difficult of all sciences. And shall we choose the master of a ship, and not choose him who is to have the care of many cities, and so many souls? But the usage is too long established for us to subvert. Do we not see that noble cities are erected by the people; that they are destroyed by princes? that the community grows rich by the industry of its citizens, is plundered by the rapacity of its princes? that good laws are enacted by popular magistrates, are violated by these princes? that the people love peace; that princes excite war?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chil. l. cent. li. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Quia omnes et veterum et neotericorum annales evolve, nimirum ita comperies, vix assculis aliquot unum aut alterum extulisse principem, qui non insigni stultitiâ maximam perniciem invexerit rebus humanis. . . . Et haud scio, an nonnulla hujus mali pars nobis ipsis sit imputanda. Clavum navis non committimus nisi ejus rei perito, quod quatuor vectorum aut pascarum mercium sit periculum; et rempublicam, in qua

tot hominum millia periclitantur, cuius committimus. Ut auriga fiat aliquis discit artem, exercet, meditatur; at ut princeps sit aliquis, satis esse putamus natum esse. Atqui rectè gerere principatum, ut est munus omnium longe pulcherrimum, ita est omnium etiam multo difficillimum. Deligis, cui navem committas, non deligis cui tot urbes, tot hominum capita credas? Sed istud receptius est, quam ut convelli possit.

An non videmus egregia oppida a

41. "It is the aim of the guardians of a prince," he exclaims in another passage, "that he may never become a man. The nobility, who fatten on public calamity, endeavour to plunge him into pleasures, that he may never learn what is his duty. Towns are burned, lands are wasted, temples are plundered, innocent citizens are slaughtered, while the prince is playing at dice, or dancing, or amusing himself with puppets, or hunting, or drinking. O race of the Bruti, long since extinct! O blind and blunted thunderbolts of Jupiter! We know indeed that those corrupters of princes will render account to Heaven, but not easily to us." He passes soon afterwards to bitter invective against the clergy, especially the regular orders.\*

42. In explaining the adage, Sileni Alcibiadis, referring to things which, appearing mean and trifling, are really precious, he has many good remarks on persons and things, of which the secret worth is not understood at first sight. But thence passing over to what he calls *inversi Sileni*, those who seem great to the vulgar, and are really despicable, he expatiates on kings and priests, whom he seems to hate with the fury of a philosopher of the last century. It must be owned he is very prolix and declamatory. He here attacks the temporal power of the church with much plainness; we cannot wonder that his Adages required mutilation at Rome.

43. But by much the most amusing and singular of the Adages is *Scarabæus aquilam quærit*; the meaning of which, in allusion to a fable that the beetle, in revenge for an injury, destroyed the eggs of the eagle, is explained to be, that the most powerful may be liable to the resentment of the weakest. Erasmus here returns to the attack upon kings still more bitterly and pointed than before. There is nothing in the *Contre un* of La Boetie, nothing,

populo condi, a principibus subverti? rempublicam civium industria ditescere, principum rapacitate spoliari? bonas leges ferri a plebeis magistratibus, a principibus violari? populum studere paci, principes excitare bellum?

\* Miro studio curant tutores, ne unquam vir sit princeps. Adnituntur optimates, si qui publicis malis saginantur, ut voluptatibus sit quam effoeminatissimus, ne qui eorum sciat, que maxime

debet scire principem. Exuruntur vici, vastantur agri, diripiuntur templa, trucidantur immeriti cives, sacra profanaque miscentur, dum princeps interim otiosus ludit aleam, dum saltitat, dum oblectat se morionibus, dum venatur, dum amat, dum potat. O Brutorum genus jam olim extinctum! o fulmen Jovis aut cæcum aut obtusum! Neque dubium est, quin isti principum corruptores penas Deo daturi sint, sed sero nobis.

we may say, in the most seditious libel of our own time, more indignant and cutting against regal government than this long declamation: "Let any physiognomist, not a blunderer in his trade, consider the look and features of an eagle, those rapacious and wicked eyes, that threatening curve of the beak, those cruel cheeks, that stern front, will he not at once recognise the image of a king, a magnificent and majestic king? Add to these a dark, ill-omened colour, an unpleasing, dreadful, appalling voice, and that threatening scream, at which every kind of animal trembles. Every one will acknowledge this type, who has learned how terrible are the threats of princes, even uttered in jest. At this scream of the eagle the people tremble, the senate shrinks, the nobility cringes, the judges concur, the divines are dumb, the lawyers assent, the laws and constitutions give way; neither right nor religion, neither justice nor humanity avail. And thus while there are so many birds of sweet and melodious song, the unpleasant and unmusical scream of the eagle alone has more power than all the rest."<sup>y</sup>

44. Erasmus now gives the rein still more to his fancy. He imagines different animals, emblematic no doubt of mankind, in relation to his eagle. "There is no agreement between the eagle and the fox, not without great disadvantage to the vulpine race; in which, however, they are perhaps worthy of their fate for having refused aid to the hares when they sought an alliance against the eagle, as is related in the Annals of Quadrupeds, from which Homer borrowed his Battle of

<sup>y</sup> Age si quis mihi physiognomon non omnino malus vultum ipsum et os aquilæ diligentius contempletur, oculos avidos atque improbos, rictum minacem, genas truculentas, frontem torvam, denique illud quod Cyrum Persarum regem tantopere delectavit in principe γυρνὸν, tione plane regium quoddam simulacrum agnosceret, magnificentum et majestatis plenum. Accedit huc et color ipse funestus, teter et inauspicatus, fusco æqualore nigricans. Unde etiam quod fuscum est et subnigrum, aquilum vocamus. Tum vox inamœna, terribilis, exasimatrix, ac minax ille querulusque clangor, quem nullum animantium genus non expavescit. Jam hoc symbolum

protinus agnoscit, qui modo periculum fecerit, aut viderit certè, quam sint formidandæ principum minæ, vel joco prolate. . . . Ad hanc, inquam, aquilæ stridorem illico pavitat omne vulgus, contrahit sese senatus, observit nobilitas, obsecundant Judices, silent theologî, assentantur jurisconsulti, cedunt leges, cedunt instituta; nihil valet fas nec pietas, nec æquitas nec humanitas. Cumque tam multæ sint aves non ineloquentes, tam multæ canoræ, tamque variæ sint voces ac modulatus qui vel saxa possint flectere, plus tamen omnibus valet insuavis ille et minime muscus unius aquilæ stridor.

the Frogs and Mice."\* I suppose that the foxes mean the nobility, and the hares the people. Some allusions to animals that follow I do not well understand. Another is more pleasing: "It is not surprising," he says, "that the eagle agrees ill with the swans, those poetic birds; we may wonder more that so warlike an animal is often overcome by them." He sums up all thus: "Of all birds the eagle alone has seemed to wise men the apt type of royalty—not beautiful, not musical, not fit for food, but carnivorous, greedy, plundering, destroying, combating, solitary, hateful to all, the curse of all, and, with its great powers of doing harm, surpassing them in its desire of doing it."<sup>a</sup>

45. But the eagle is only one of the animals in the proverb. After all this bile against those whom the royal bird represents, he does not forget the beetles. These of course are the monks, whose picture he draws with equal bitterness and more contempt. Here, however, it becomes difficult to follow the analogy, as he runs a little wildly into mythological tales of the scarabæus, not easily reduced to his purpose. This he discloses at length: "There is a wretched class of men of low degree, yet full of malice—not less dingy, nor less filthy, nor less vile than beetles, who nevertheless by a certain obstinate malignity of disposition, though they can never do good to any mortal, become frequently troublesome to the great. They frighten by their ugliness, they molest by their noise, they offend by their stench; they buzz round us, they cling to us, they lie in ambush for us, so that it is often better to be at enmity with powerful men than to attack these beetles, whom it is a disgrace even to overcome, and whom no one can either shake off or encounter without some pollution."<sup>b</sup>

\* Nihil omnino convenit inter aquilam et vulpem, quanquam id sane non medici vulpine gentis malo; quo tamen haud scio an digne videri debeant, quæ quondam leporibus *συμμαχίαν* adversus aquilam petentibus auxillium negarint, ut refertur in Annalibus Quadrupeduni, a quibus Homerus *Βατραχομνομαχίαν* mutuatus est. . . . Nequo vero mirum quod illi parum convenit cum oloribus, ave nimirum poetica; illud mirum, ab his sæpenumero vinci tam pugnacem belluam.

<sup>a</sup> Ex universis avibus una aquila viris tam sapientibus idonea visa est, quæ regis imaginem representet, nec formosa, nec canora, nec esculenta, sed carnivora, rapax, prædatrix, populatrix, bellatrix, solitaria, invisâ omnibus, pestis omnium; quæ cum plurimum nocere possit, plus tamen velit quam possit.

<sup>b</sup> Sunt homunculi quidam, infimæ quidem sortis, sed tamen malitiosi, non minus atri quam scarabæi, neque minus putidi, neque minus abjecti; qui tamen pertinaci quadam ingenii malitia, cum

46. It must be admitted that this was not the language to conciliate; and we might almost commiserate the sufferance of the poor beetles thus trod upon; but Erasmus knew that the regular clergy were not to be conciliated, and resolved to throw away the scabbard. With respect to his invectives against kings, they proceeded undoubtedly, like those, less intemperately expressed, of his friend More in the *Utopia*, from a just sense of the oppression of Europe in that age by ambitious and selfish rulers. Yet the very freedom of his animadversions seems to plead a little in favour of these tyrants, who, if they had been as thorough birds of prey as he represents them, might easily have torn to pieces the author of this somewhat outrageous declamation, whom on the contrary they honoured and maintained. In one of the passages above quoted he has introduced, certainly in a later edition, a limitation of his tyrannicidal doctrine, if not a palinodia, in an altered key. "Princes," he says, "must be endured, lest tyranny should give way to anarchy, a still greater evil. This has been demonstrated by the experience of many states; and lately the insurrection of the German boors has taught us that the cruelty of princes is better to be borne than the universal confusion of anarchy." I have quoted these political ebullitions rather diffusely, as they are, I believe, very little known, and have given the original in my notes, that I may be proved to have no way over-coloured the translation, and also that a fair specimen may be

nulli omnino mortalium prodesse possint, magnis etiam saepenumero viris faessunt negotium. Territant nigrore, obstreperunt stridore, obturbant fastore; circumvolitant, hærent, insidiantur, ut non paulo satius sit cum magnis aliquando viris similitatem suscipere, quam hos lacessere scarabæos, quos pudeat etiam vicisse, quosque nec excutere possis, neque conflictari cum illis queas, nisi discedas contaminator. *Chil. iii. cent. vii. 1.*

In a letter to Bodeus, Ep. ccli., Erasmus boasts of his *παρηγορία* in the Adages, naming the most poignant of them; but says, in proverbio *ἀερὸν κάρφαρος πασεύρα*, plane lusinus ingenio. This proverb, and that entitled *Sileni Alcibiadis*, had appeared before 1515, for

they were reprinted in that year by Frobenius, separately from the other Adages, as appears by a letter of Beatus Rhenanus in *Appendice ad Erasm. Epist. Ep. xxviii.* Zazius, a famous Jurist, alludes to them in another letter, Ep. xxvii., praising "fluminosas disserendi undas, amplificationis, immensam ubertatem." And this in truth is the character of Erasmus's style. The *Sileni Alcibiadis* were also translated into English, and published by John Gough; see Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, article 1433.

There is not a little severity in the remarks which Erasmus makes on princes and nobles in the *Moria Encomium*. But with them he seems through life to have been a privileged person.

presented of the eloquence of Erasmus, who has seldom an opportunity of expressing himself with so much elevation, but whose rapid, fertile, and lively, though not very polished style, is hardly more exhibited in these paragraphs than in the general character of his writings.

47. The whole thoughts of Erasmus began now to be occupied with his great undertaking, an edition of the Greek Testament with explanatory annotations and a continued paraphrase. His Greek Testament. Valla, indeed, had led the inquiry as a commentator; and the Greek text without notes was already printed at Alcalá by direction of Cardinal Ximenes, though this edition, commonly styled the Complutensian, did not appear till 1522. That of Erasmus was published at Basle in 1516. It is strictly therefore the princeps editio. He employed the press of Frobenius, with whom he lived in friendship. Many years of his life were spent at Basle.

48. The public, in a general sense of the word, was hardly yet recovered enough from its prejudices to give encouragement to letters. Patrons of letters in Germany. But there were not wanting noble patrons, who, besides the immediate advantages of their favour, bestowed a much greater indirect benefit on literature, by making it honourable in the eyes of mankind. Learning, which is held pusillanimous by the soldier, unprofitable by the merchant, and pedantic by the courtier, stands in need of some countenance from those before whom all three bow down—wherever at least, which is too commonly the case, a conscious self-respect does not sustain the scholar against the indifference or scorn of the prosperous vulgar. Italy was then, and perhaps has been ever since, the soil where literature, if it has not always most flourished, has stood highest in general estimation. But in Germany also, at this time, the emperor Maximilian, whose character is neither to be estimated by the sarcastic humour of the Italians, nor by the fond partiality of his countrymen, and especially his own, in his self-delineation of *Der Weiss Kunig*, the White King, but really a brave and generous man of lively talents; Frederic, justly denominated the Wise, elector of Saxony; Joachim elector of Brandenburg; Albert archbishop of Mentz, were prominent among the friends of genuine learning. The university of Witten-



berg, founded by the second of these princes in 1502, rose in this decad to great eminence, not only as the birthplace of the Reformation, but as the chief school of philological and philosophical literature. That of Frankfurt on the Oder was established by the elector of Brandenburg in 1506.

49. The progress of learning, however, was not to be a march through a submissive country. Ignorance, which had much to lose, and was proud as well as rich, ignorance in high places, which is always incurable, because it never seeks for a cure, set itself sullenly and stubbornly against the new teachers. The Latin language, taught most barbarously through books whose very titles, *Floresta*, *Mammotrectus*, *Doctrinale puerorum*, *Gemma gemmarum*, bespeak their style,<sup>c</sup> with the scholastic logic and divinity in wretched compends, had been held sufficient for all education. Those who had learned nothing else could of course teach nothing else, and saw their reputation and emoluments gone all at once by the introduction of philological literature and real science. Through all the palaces of Ignorance went forth a cry of terror at the coming light—"A voice of weeping heard and loud lament." The aged giant was roused from sleep, and sent his dark hosts of owls and bats to the war. One man above all the rest, Erasmus, cut them to pieces with irony or invective. They stood

<sup>c</sup> Elchhorn, iii. 273, gives a curious list of names of these early grammars; they were driven out of the schools about this time. *Mammotrectus*, after all, is a learned word: it means *μᾶμμοβρεπτός*, that is, a boy taught by his grandmother, and a boy taught by his grandmother means one taught gently.

Erasmus gives a lamentable account of the state of education when he was a boy, and probably later: *Deum immortalem! quale sæculum erat hoc, cum magno apparatu disticha Joannis Garlandini adolescentibus operosis et prolixis commentariis enarrabantur! cum ineptis versiculis dictandis, repetendis et exigendis magna pars temporis absumeretur; cum disceretur Floresta et Floretus; nam Alexandrum inter tolerabiles numerandum arbitror.*

I will take this opportunity of mentioning that Erasmus was certainly born

in 1465, not in 1467, as Bayle asserts, whom Le Clerc and Jortin have followed, Burigni perceived this, and it may be proved by many passages in the Epistles of Erasmus. Bayle quotes a letter of Feb. 1516, wherein Erasmus says, as he transcribes it, *Ago annum undequingagesimum*. But in the Leyden edition, which is the best, I find, *Ego jam annum ago primum et quinquagesimum*. Epist. cc. Thus he says also, 15th March, 1522, *Arbitror me nunc statem agere, in quo M. Tullius decessit*. Some other places I have not taken down. His epitaph at Basle calls him *jam septuagenarius*, and he died in 1536. Bayle's proofs of the birth of Erasmus in 1467 are so unsatisfactory that I wonder how Le Clerc should have so easily acquiesced in them. The Biographie Universelle sets down 1467 without remark.

in the way of his noble zeal for the restoration of letters.<sup>4</sup> He began his attack in his *Encomium Moriae*, the Praise

<sup>4</sup> When the first lectures in Greek were given at Oxford about 1519, a party of students arrayed themselves, by the name of Trojans, to withstand the innovators by dint of clamour and violence, till the king interfered to support the learned side. See a letter of More, giving an account of this, in Jortin's Appendix, p. 662. Cambridge, it is to be observed, was very peaceable at this time, and suffered those who liked it to learn something worth knowing. The whole is so shortly expressed by Erasmus, that his words may be quoted. *Anglia duas habet Academias. . . . In utraque traduntur Græcæ literæ, sed Cantabrigiæ tranquillè, quod ejus scholæ princeps sit Joannes Fischerus, episcopus Roffensis, non eruditione tantum sed et vitâ theologicâ. Verum Oxoniæ cum juvenis quidam non vulgariter doctus satis feliciter Græcè profiteretur, barbarus quispiam in populari concione magnis et atrocibus convitiis debacchari cœpit in Græcæ literas. At Rex, ut non indoctus ipse, ita bonis literis favens, qui tum forte in propinquo erat, re per Morum et Pacorum cognitâ, denunciavit ut volentes ac lubentes Græcicam literaturam amplecterentur. Ita rabulis impositum est silentium. Appendix, p. 667. See also *Erasm. Epist. cccxxx.**

Antony Wood, with rather an excess of academical prejudice, insinuates that the Trojans, who waged war against Oxonian Greek, were "Cambridge men, as it is reported." He endeavours to exaggerate the deficiencies of Cambridge in literature at this time, as if "all things were full of rudeness and barbarousness," which the above letters of More and Erasmus show not to have been altogether the case. On the contrary, More says that even those who did not learn Greek contributed to pay the lecturer.

It may be worth while to lay before the reader part of two orations by Richard Croke, who had been sent down to Cambridge by bishop Fisher, chancellor of the university. As Croke seems to have left Leipsic in 1518, they may be referred to that, or perhaps more probably the following year. It is evident that

Greek was now just incipient at Cambridge.

Maittaire says of these two orations of Richard Croke, *Editio rarissima, cujusque unum duntaxat exemplar inspexisse mihi contigit.* The British Museum has a copy, which belonged to Dr. Farmer; but he must have seen another copy, for, the last page of this being imperfect, he has filled it up with his own hand. The book is printed at Paris by Colinaeus in 1520.

The subject of Croke's orations, which seem not very correctly printed, is the praise of Greece and of Greek literature, addressed to those who already knew and valued that of Rome, which he shows to be derived from the other. *Quin ipsæ quoque voculationes Romanæ Græcis longe insuaviores, minusque concitatae sunt, cum ultima semper syllaba rigeat in gravem, contraque apud Græcos et inflectatur nonnunquam et acutatur.* Croke of course spoke Greek accentually. Greek words, in bad types, frequently occur through this oration.

Croke dwells on the barbarous state of the sciences, in consequence of the ignorance of Greek. Euclid's definition of a line was so ill translated that it puzzled all the geometers till the Greek was consulted. Medicine was in an equally bad condition; had it not been for the labours of learned men, *Linacre, Cop, Ruel, quorum opera felicissime loquuntur Latinè Hippocrates, Galenus et Dioscorides, cum summa ipsorum invidia, qui, quod canis in præsepî, nec Græcam linguam discere ipsi voluerunt, nec aliis ut discerent permisissent.* He then urges the necessity of Greek studies for the theologian, and seems to have no respect for the Vulgate above the original.

*Turpe sanè erit, cum mercator sermonem Gallicum, Illyricum, Hispanicum, Germanicum, vel solius lucri causa avidè ediscat, vos studiosos Græcum in manus vobis traditum rejicere, quo et divitiæ et eloquentia et sapientia comparari possunt. Imo perpendite rogo viri Cantabrigienses, quo nunc in loco vestræ res sitæ sunt. Oxonienses quos autè hæc in omni scientiarum genere vicistis, ad li-*

of Folly. This was addressed to sir Thomas More, and published in 1511. Eighteen hundred copies were printed, and speedily sold, though the book wanted the attraction that some later editions possess, the curious and amusing engravings from designs of Holbein. It is a poignant satire against all professions of men, and even against princes and peers; but the chief objects are the mendicant orders of monks. "Though this sort of men," he says, "are so detested by every one, that it is reckoned unlucky so much as to meet them by accident,

teras Græcos perfergere, vigilant, jejulant, sudant et aligent; nihil non faciunt, ut eas occupent. Quod si contingat, actum est de fama vestra. Erigent enim de vobis tropæum nunquam succumbenturi. Habent duces præter cardinalem Cantuariensem, Wintoniensem, cæteros omnes Angliæ episcopos, excepto uno Rossensi, summo semper fautore vestro, et Eliensi, &c.

Favet præterea ipsis sancta Grocini et theologo digna severitas, Linacri *πολυμήθεια* et ære judicium, Tunstali non legibus magis quam utriusque lingue familiaris facundia, Stoplei triplex lingua, Mori candida et eloquentissima urbanitas, Pacei mores doctrina et ingenium, ab ipso Erasmo, optimo eruditionis censore, commendati; quem vos olim habuistis Græcorum literarum professorem, utinamque potuissetis retinere. Succedo in Erasmi locum ego, bone Deus, quam infra illum, et doctrinâ et famâ, quamquam me, ne omnino nihil fiam principis viri, theologici doctores, jurium etiam et medicine, artium præterea professores innumeri, et præceptorem agnovere, et quod plus est, a scholis ad aedes, ab ædibus ad scholas honorificentissimè comitati perduxere. Dii me perdant, viri Cantabrigienses, si ipsi Oxonienses stipendio multorum nobilitum præter victum me non invitaverent. Sed ego pro mea in hanc academiam et fide et observantia, &c.

In his second oration Croke exhorts the Cantabrigians not to give up the study of Greek. Si quisquam omnium sit qui vestra reipublica bene consulere debeat, is ego sum, viri Cantabrigienses. Optime enim vobis esse cupio, et id nisi facerem, essem profecto longe ingratisissimus. Ubi enim facta literarum mearum

fundamenta, quibus tantum tum apud nostrates, tum vero apud exteros quoque principes, favoris mihi comparatum est; quibus ea fortuna, ut licet jam olim consanguineorum iniquitate paterna hæreditate sim spoliatus, ita tamen adhuc vivam, ut quibusvis meorum majorum imaginibus videar non indignus. He was probably of the ancient family of Croke. Peter Mosellanus calls him, in a letter among those of Erasmus, juvenis cum imaginibus.

Audite ego plerosque vos a litteris Græcis dehortatos esse. Sed vos diligenter expendite, qui sint, et plane non alios fore comperitis, quam qui igitur linguam oderunt Græcam, quia Romanam non norunt. Cæterum jam deprehendite quid facturi sint, qui nostras literas odio prosequantur, confugiant videlicet ad religionem, cui uni dicent omnia postponenda. Sentio ego cum illis, sed unde queso orta religio, nisi è Græciâ? quid enim novum testamentum, excepto Matthæo? quid enim vetus? nunquid Deo auspice a septuaginta Græcè redditum? Oxonia est colonia vestra; uti olim non sine summa laude a Cantabrigia deducta, ita non sine summo vestro nunc dedecore, si doctrina ab ipsis vos vinci patiamini. Fuerunt olim illi discipuli vestri, nunc erunt præceptores? Utinam quo animo hæc a me dicta sunt, eo vos dicta interpretemini; crederetisque, quod est verissimum, si quoslibet alios, certe Cantabrigienses minime decere literarum Græcarum esse desertores.

The great scarcity of this tract will serve as an apology for the length of these extracts, illustrating, as they do, the commencement of classical literature in England.

they think nothing equal to themselves, and hold it a proof of their consummate piety if they are so illiterate as not to be able to read. And when their asinine voices bray out in the churches their psalms, of which they understand the notes but not the words,<sup>e</sup> then it is their fancy that the ears of the saints above are enraptured with the harmony ;” and so forth.

50. In this sentence Erasmus intimates, what is abundantly confirmed by other testimony, that the mendicant orders had lost their ancient hold upon the people. There was a growing sense of the abuses prevailing in the church, and a desire for a more scriptural and spiritual religion. We have seen already that this was the case seventy years before. And in the intermediate period the exertions of a few eminent men, especially Wessel of Groningen, had not been wanting to purify the doctrines and discipline of the clergy. More popular writers assailed them with satire. Thus everything was prepared for the blow to be struck by Luther—better indeed than he was himself ; for it is well known that he began his attack on indulgences with no expectation or desire of the total breach with the see of Rome which ensued.<sup>f</sup>

Unpopularity of the monks.

51. The *Encomium Morie* was received with applause by all who loved merriment, and all who hated the monks ; but grave men, as usual, could not bear to see ridicule employed against grave folly and hypocrisy. A letter of one Dorpius, a man, it is said, of some merit, which may be read in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*,<sup>g</sup> amusingly complains, that, while the most eminent divines and lawyers were admiring Erasmus, his unlucky *Moria* had spoiled all, by letting them see that he was mischievously fitting asses' ears to their heads. The same Dorpius, who seems, though not an old man, to have been a sworn vassal of the giant Ignorance, objects to anything in Erasmus's intended edition of the Greek Testament which might throw a slur on the accuracy of the Vulgate.

The book excites odium.

<sup>e</sup> Numeratos illos quidem, sed non intellectos.—[I conceive that I have given the meaning rightly.—1842.]

<sup>f</sup> Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutheranismi*, p. 226. Gerdes, *Hist. Evang.* sæc. xvi. renovat. vols. i. and iii. Milner's Church

History, vol. iv. Mosheim, sæc. xv. et xvi. Bayle, art. Wessel. For Wessel's character, as a philosopher who boldly opposed the scholastics of his age, see Brucker, *lib.* 259.

<sup>g</sup> *il.* 336.

52. Erasmus was soon in a state of war with the monks; and in his second edition of the New Testament, printed in 1518, the notes, it is said, are full of invectives against them. It must be confessed that he had begun the attack without any motive of provocation, unless zeal for learning and religion is to count for such, which the parties assailed could not be expected to admit, and they could hardly thank him for "spitting on their gaberdine." No one, however, knew better how to pay his court; and he wrote to Leo X. in a style rather too adulatory, which in truth was his custom in addressing the great, and contrasts with his free language in writing about them. The custom of the time affords some excuse for this panegyric tone of correspondence, as well as for the opposite extreme of severity.

53. The famous contention between Reuchlin and the German monks, though it began in the preceding decennial period, belongs chiefly to the present. In the year 1509, one Pfeffercorn, a converted Jew, induced the inquisition at Cologne to obtain an order from the emperor for burning all Hebrew books except the Bible, upon the pretext of their being full of blasphemies against the Christian religion. The Jews made complaints of this injury; but before it could take place, Reuchlin, who had been consulted by the emperor, remonstrated against the destruction of works so curious and important, which, from his partiality to Cabbalistic theories, he rated above their real value. The order was accordingly superseded, to the great indignation of the Cologne inquisitors, and of all that party throughout Germany which resisted the intellectual and religious progress of mankind. Reuchlin had offended the monks by satirising them in a comedy, perhaps the *Sergius*, which he permitted to be printed in 1506. But the struggle was soon perceived to be a general one; a struggle between what had been and what was to be. Meiners has gone so far as to suppose a real confederacy to have been formed by the friends of truth and learning through Germany and France, to support Reuchlin against the mendicant orders, and to overthrow, by means of this controversy, the embattled

Erasmus  
attacks the  
monks.

Their con-  
tention  
with  
Reuchlin.

legions of ignorance.<sup>b</sup> But perhaps the passages he adduces do not prove more than their unanimity and zeal in the cause. The attention of the world was first called to it about 1513; that is, it assumed about that time the character of a war of opinions, extending, in its principle and consequences, beyond the immediate dispute.<sup>c</sup> Several books were published on both sides; and the party in power employed its usual argument of burning what was written by its adversaries. One of these writings is still known, the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*; the production, it is said, of three authors, the principal of whom was Ulric von Hutten, a turbulent, hotheaded man, of noble birth and quick parts, and a certain degree of learning, whose early death seems more likely to have spared the reformers some degree of shame, than to have deprived them of a useful supporter.<sup>d</sup> Few books have been more eagerly received than these Epistles at their first appearance in 1516,<sup>m</sup> which surely proceeded rather from their suitability to the time than from much intrinsic merit; though it must be presumed that the spirit of many temporary allusions, which delighted or offended that age, is now lost in a mass of vapid nonsense and bad grammar, which the imaginary writers pour out. Erasmus, though not

<sup>b</sup> *Lebensbeschreib.*, i. 144 et seqq.

<sup>c</sup> Meiners brings many proofs of the interest taken in Reuchlin, as the champion, if not the martyr, of the good cause.

<sup>d</sup> Herder, in his *Zerstreute Blätter*, v. 329, speaks with unreasonable partiality of Ulric von Hutten; and Meiners has written his *Life* with an enthusiasm which seems to me quite extravagant. Seckendorf, p. 130, more judiciously observes that he was of little use to the Reformation. And Luther wrote about him in June, 1521, *Quid Huttenus petat vides. Nolle vi et cæde pro evangelio certari, ita scripsi ad hominem.* Melancthon of course disliked such friends. *Epist. Melancth.*, p. 45 (1647), and Camerarius, *Vita Melancth.* Erasmus could not endure Hutten; and Hutten, when he found this out, wrote virulently against Erasmus. Jortin, as biographer of Erasmus, treats Hutten perhaps with

too much contempt; but this is nearer justice than the veneration of the modern Germans. Hutten wrote Latin pretty well, and had a good deal of wit; his satirical libels, consequently, had great circulation and popularity, which, in respect of such writings, is apt, in all ages, to produce an exaggeration of their real influence. In the mighty movement of the Reformation, the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* had about as much effect as the *Mariage de Figaro* in the French Revolution. A dialogue severely reflecting on Pope Julius II., called *Julius exclusus*, of which Jortin suspects Erasmus, in spite of his denial, ii. 595, is given by Meiners to Hutten.

<sup>m</sup> Meiners, in his *Life of Hutten*, *Lebensbesch.* iii. 73, inclines to fix the publication of the first part of the Epistles in the beginning of 1517; though he admits an earlier date to be not impossible.

intimately acquainted with Reuchlin, could not but sympathise in a quarrel with their common enemies in a common cause. In the end the controversy was referred to the pope; but the pope was Leo; and it was hoped that a proposal to burn books, or to disgrace an illustrious scholar, would not sound well in his ears. But Reuchlin was disappointed, when he expected acquittal, by a mandate to supersede, or suspend, the process commenced against him by the inquisition of Cologne, which might be taken up at a more favourable time.<sup>a</sup> This dispute has always been reckoned of high importance; the victory in public opinion, though not in judicature, over the adherents to the old system, prostrated them so utterly, that from this time the study of Greek and Hebrew became general among the German youth; and the cause of the Reformation was identified in their minds with that of classical literature.<sup>o</sup>

54. We are now brought, insensibly perhaps, but by necessary steps, to the great religious revolution which has just been named. I approach this subject with some hesitation, well aware that impartiality is no protection against unreasonable cavilling; but neither the history of literature, nor of human opinion upon the most important subjects, can dispense altogether with so extensive a portion of its materials. It is not required, however, in a work of this nature, to do much more than state shortly the grounds of dispute, and the changes wrought in the public mind.

55. The proximate cause of the Reformation is well known. Indulgences, or dispensations granted by the pope from the heavy penances imposed on penitents after absolution by the old canons, and also, at least in later ages, from the pains of purgatory, were sold by the papal retailers with the most indecent extortion, and eagerly purchased by the superstitious multitude, for their own sake, or that of their deceased friends. Luther, in his celebrated theses, propounded at Wit-

<sup>a</sup> Meiners, l. 197.

<sup>o</sup> Steidan, *Hist. de la Réformat.*, l. ii.; Trucker, iv. 366; Mosheim; Eichhorn, *Bl.* 238, vi. 16; Bayle, art. Hochstrat. None of these authorities are equal in fulness to Meiners, *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer*, t. 98 212; which I

did not consult so early as the rest. But there is also a very copious account of the Reuchlinian controversy, including many original documents, in the second part of Von der Hardt's *Historia Litteraria Reformationis*.

tenberg, in November, 1517, inveighed against the erroneous views inculcated as to the efficacy of indulgences, and especially against the notion of the pope's power over souls in purgatory. He seems to have believed that the dealers had exceeded their commission, and would be disavowed by the pope. This, however, was very far from being the case; and the determination of Leo to persevere in defending all the abusive prerogatives of his see drew Luther on to levy war against many other prevailing usages of the church, against several tenets maintained by the most celebrated doctors, against the divine right of the papal supremacy, and finally to renounce all communion with a power which he now deemed an antichristian tyranny. This absolute separation did not take place till he publicly burned the pope's bull against him, and the volumes of the canon law, at Wittenberg, in November, 1520.

56. In all this dispute Luther was sustained by a prodigious force of popular opinion. It was perhaps in the power of his sovereign, Frederic Popularity of Luther. elector of Saxony, to have sent him to Rome, in the summer of 1518, according to the pope's direction. But it would have been an odious step in the people's eyes, and a little later would have been impossible. Miltitz, an envoy despatched by Leo in 1519, upon a conciliatory errand, told Luther that 25,000 armed men would not suffice to make him a prisoner, so favourable was the impression of his doctrine upon Germany. And Frederic himself, not long afterwards, wrote plainly to Rome, that a change had taken place in his country; the German people were not what they had been; there were many men of great talents and considerable learning among them, and the laity were beginning to be anxious about a knowledge of Scripture; so that, unless Luther's doctrine, which had already taken root in the minds of a great many both in Germany and other countries, could be refuted by better arguments than mere ecclesiastical fulminations, the consequence must be so much disturbance in the empire as would by no means redound to the benefit of the Holy See.<sup>p</sup> In fact,

<sup>p</sup> Seckendorf. This remarkable letter 1520. See also a letter of Petrus Mosellanus, in Jortin's Erasmus, li. 353; and Luther's own letter to Leo, of March, 1519. will be found also in Roscoe's Leo. X., Appendix, No. 185. It bears date April,



the university of Wittenberg was crowded with students and others who came to hear Luther and Melanchthon. The latter had at the very beginning embraced his new master's opinions with a conviction which he did not in all respects afterwards preserve. And though no overt attempts to innovate on the established ceremonies had begun in this period, before the end of 1520 several preached against them, and the whole north of Germany was full of expectation.

57. A counterpart to the reformation that Luther was thus effecting in Saxony might be found at the same instant in Switzerland, under the guidance of Zwingle. It has been disputed between the advocates of these leaders, to which the priority in the race of reform belongs. Zwingle himself declares that in 1516, before he had heard of Luther, he began to preach the Gospel at Zurich, and to warn the people against relying upon human authority.<sup>4</sup> But that is rather ambiguous, and hardly enough to substantiate his claim. In 1518, which of course is after Luther's appearance on the scene, the Swiss reformer was engaged in combating the venders of indulgences, though with less attention from the court of Rome. Like Luther, he had the support of the temporal magistrate, the council of Zurich. Upon the whole, they proceeded so nearly with equal steps, and were so little connected with each other, that it seems difficult to award either any honour of precedence.<sup>5</sup>

Simultaneous reformation by Zwingle.

<sup>4</sup> Zwingle apud Gerdes, i. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Milner, who is extremely partial in the whole of this history, labours to extenuate the claims of Zwingle to independence in the preaching of reformation; and even pretends that he had not separated from the church of Rome in 1523, when Adrian VI. sent him a civil letter. But Gerdes shows at length that the rupture was complete in 1520. See also the article Zwingle, in Biogr. Univer-selle.

The prejudice of Milner against Zwingle throughout is striking, and leads him into much unfairness. Thus he asserts him, v. 510, to have been consenting to the capital punishment of some Anabaptists at Zurich. But, not to mention that their case was not one of mere religious

dissonance, it does not by any means appear that he approved their punishment, which he merely relates as a fact. A still more gross misrepresentation occurs in p. 526.—[Capito says, in a letter to Bullinger (1536), Antequam Lutherus in lucem emerserit, Zwinglius et ego inter nos communicavimus de pontifice deficiendo, etiam cum ille vitam degeret in eremitorio. Nam utrique ex Erasmi consuetudine, et lectione honorum auctorum, quaecumque judicium tum sobolescebat. Gerdes, p. 117.—1842.]

[A late writer, as impartial as he is learned and penetrating, thus contrasts the two founders of the Reformation. "If we compare him [Zwingle] with Luther, we find that he had no such tremendous tempests to withstand as

58. The German nation was, in fact, so fully awakened to the abuses of the church, the denial of papal sovereignty in the councils of Constance and Basle had been so effectual in its influence on the public mind, though not on the external policy of church and state, that, if neither Luther nor Zwingle had ever been born, there can be little question that a great religious schism was near at hand. These councils were to the Reformation what the parliament of Paris was to the French Revolution. Their leaders never meant to sacrifice one article of received faith; but the little success they had in redressing what they denounced as abuses convinced the laity that they must go much farther for themselves. What effect the invention of printing, which in Italy was not much felt in this direction, exerted upon the serious minds of the Teutonic nations, has been already intimated, and must appear to every reflecting person. And when this was followed by a more extensive acquaintance with the New Testament in the Greek language, nothing could be more natural than that inquisitive men should throw away much of what seemed the novel superstructure of religion, and, what in other times such men had rarely ventured, should be encouraged by the obvious change in the temper of the multitude to declare themselves. We find that Pellican and Capito, two of the most learned scholars in western Germany, had come, as early as 1512, to reject altogether the doctrine of the

Reformation prepared beforehand.

those which shock the most secret depths of Luther's soul. As he had never devoted himself with equal ardour to the established church, he had not now to break loose from it with such violent and painful struggles. It was not the profound love of the faith, and of its connexion with redemption, in which Luther's efforts originated, that made Zwingle a reformer; he became so chiefly because, in the course of his study of Scripture in search of truth, he found the church and the received morality at variance with its spirit. Nor was Zwingle trained at an university, or deeply imbued with the prevalent doctrinal opinions. To found a high school, firmly attached to all that was worthy of attachment, and dissenting only on certain

most important points, was not his vocation. He regarded it much more as the business and duty of his life to bring about the religious and moral reformation of the republic that had adopted him, and to recall the Swiss Confederation to the principles upon which it was originally founded. While Luther's main object was a reform of doctrine, which, he thought, would be necessarily followed by that of life and morals, Zwingle aimed directly at the improvement of life; he kept mainly in view the practical significancy of Scripture as a whole; his original views were of a moral and political nature; hence his labours were tinged with a wholly peculiar colour.' Ranke's Hist. of Reformation, vol. iii. p. 7.—1847.'

real presence. We find also that Ecolampadius had begun to preach some of the Protestant doctrines in 1514.\* And Erasmus, who had so manifestly prepared the way for the new reformers, continued, as it is easy to show from the uniform current of his letters, beyond the year 1520, favourable to their cause. His enemies were theirs, and he concurred in much that they preached, especially as to the exterior practices of religion. Some, however, of Luther's tenets he did not and could not approve; and he was already disgusted by that intemperance of language and conduct which, not long afterwards, led him to recede entirely from the protestant side.†

59. It would not be just, probably, to give Bossuet credit in every part of that powerful delineation of Luther's theological tenets with which he begins the History of the Variations of Protestant Churches. Nothing, perhaps, in polemical eloquence is so splendid as this chapter. The eagle of Meaux is there truly seen, lordly of form, fierce of eye, terrible in his beak and claws. But he is too determined a partisan to be trusted by those who seek the truth without regard to persons and denominations. His quotations from Luther are short, and in French; I have failed in several attempts to verify the references. Yet we are not to follow the reformer's indiscriminate admirers in dissembling altogether, like Isaac Milner, or in slightly censuring, as others have done, the enormous paradoxes which deform his writings, especially such as fall within the present period. In maintaining salvation to depend on faith as a single condition, he not only denied the

Dangerous  
tenets of  
Luther.

\* Gerdes, l. 117, 124, et post. In fact, the precursors of the Reformation were very numerous, and are collected by Gerdes in his first and third volumes, though he has greatly exaggerated the truth by reckoning as such Dante and Petrarch and all opponents of the temporal power of the papacy. Wessel may, upon the whole, be fairly reckoned among the Reformers.

† In 1519 and 1520, even in his letters to Albert archbishop of Mentz, and others by no means partial to Luther, he speaks of him very handsomely, and with

little or no disapprobation, except on account of his intemperance, though professing only a slight acquaintance with his writings. The proofs are too numerous to be cited. He says, in a letter to Zwingle, as late as 1521, *Videor mihi fere omnia docuisse, quae docet Lutherus, nisi quod non tam atrociter, quodque abstini a quibusdam signis et paradoxis.* This is quoted by Gerdes, l. 153 from a collection of letters of Erasmus, published by Hottinger, but not contained in the Leyden edition. Jortin seems not to have seen them.

importance, in a religious sense, of a virtuous life, but asserted that every one who felt within himself a full assurance that his sins were remitted (which, according to Luther, is the proper meaning of Christian faith) became incapable of sinning at all, or at least of forfeiting the favour of God, so long, but so long only, as that assurance should continue. Such expressions are sometimes said by Seckendorf and Mosheim to have been thrown out hastily, and without precision; but I fear it will be found on examination that they are very definite and clear, the want of precision and perspicuity being rather in those which are alleged as inconsistent with them, and as more consonant to the general doctrine of the Christian church." It must not be supposed for a moment that Luther, whose soul was penetrated with a fervent piety, and whose integrity as well as purity of life are unquestioned, could mean to give any encouragement to a licentious disregard of moral virtue; which he valued, as in itself lovely before God as well as man, though, in the technical style of his theology, he might deny its proper obligation. But his temper led him to follow up any proposition of Scripture to every consequence that might seem to result from its literal meaning; and he fancied that to represent a future state as the motive of virtuous action, or as any way connected with human conduct, for better or worse, was derogatory to the free grace of God, and the omnipotent agency of the Spirit in converting the soul.\*

\* See in proof of this Luther's works, vol. I. passim (edit. 1554). The first work of Melancthon, his *Loci Communes*, published in 1521, when he followed Luther more obsequiously in his opinions than he did in after-life, is equally replete with the strongest Calvinism. This word is a little awkward in this place; but I am compelled to use it, as most intelligible to the reader; and I conceive that these two reformers went much beyond the language of Augustin, which the schoolmen thought themselves bound to recognise as authority, though they might elude its spirit. I find the first edition of Melancthon's *Loci Communes* in Von der Hardt, *Historia Litteraria Reformationis*, a work which contains a great deal of curious matter. It is called

by him *opus rarissimum*, not being in the edition of Melancthon's theological works, which some have ascribed to the art of Peucer, whose tenets were widely different.

\* I am unwilling to give these pages too theological a cast by proving this statement, as I have the means of doing, by extracts from Luther's own early writings. Milner's very prolix history of this period is rendered less valuable by his disingenuous trick of suppressing all passages in these treatises of Luther which display his Antinomian paradoxes in a strong light. Whoever has read the writings of Luther up to the year 1529 inclusive must find it impossible to contradict my assertion. In treating of an author so full of unlimited proposi-

60. Whatever may be the bias of our minds as to the truth of Luther's doctrines, we should be careful, in

tions as Luther, no positive proof as to his tenets can be refuted by the production of inconsistent passages.

[It was to be expected that what I have here said, and afterwards, in Ch. VI., concerning Luther, would grate on the ears of many very respectable persons, whose attachment to the Reformation, and admiration of his eminent character, could not without much reluctance admit that degree of censure which I have felt myself compelled to pass upon him. Two Edinburgh reviewers, for both of whom I feel great respect, have at different times remarked what seemed to them an undue severity; and a late writer, Archdeacon Hare, in his notes to a series of Sermons on the Mission of the Comforter, 1846, has animadverted on it at great length, and with a sufficiently uncompromising spirit. I am unwilling to be drawn on this occasion into controversy, or to follow my prolix antagonist through all his observations upon my short paragraphs; both because I have in my disposition a good deal of a *stulta clementia*, which leads me to take pity on paper, or rather on myself; and for a better reason, namely, that, notwithstanding what the archdeacon calls my "aversion to Luther," I really look upon him as a great man, endowed with many virtues, and an instrument of Providence for a signal good. I am also particularly reluctant, at the present time, to do in any manner the drudgery of the Philistines, and, while those who are not more in my good graces than the archdeacon's, and who had hardly sprouted up when my remarks on Luther were first written, are depreciating the protestant cause with the utmost animosity to strengthen any prejudice against it. But I must, as shortly as possible, and perhaps more shortly than an adequate exposition of my defence would require, produce the passages in Luther's own writings which have compelled me to speak out as strongly as I have done.

I may begin by observing that, in charging Luther, especially in his early writings, with what goes generally by the name of Antinomianism (that is,

with representing faith alone as the condition of acceptance with God, not merely for those who for the first time embrace the Gospel, but for all who have been baptized and brought up in its profession, and in so great a degree that no sins whatever can exclude a faithful man from salvation), I have maintained no paradox, but what has been repeatedly alleged, not only by Romanist, but protestant theologians. This, however, is not sufficient to prove its truth; and I am therefore under the necessity of quoting a few out of many passages. But I repeat that I have not the remotest intention of charging Luther with wilful encouragement to an immoral life. The Antinomian scheme of religion, which indeed was not called by that name in Luther's age (the word, as applied to the followers of Agricola, involving only a denial of the obligation of the Mosaic law *as such*, moral as well as ceremonial), is only one mode in which the disinterestedness of virtuous actions has been asserted, and may be held by men of the utmost sanctity, though it must be exceedingly dangerous in its general promulgation. Thus we find it substantially, though without intemperance, in some Essays by a highly respected writer, Mr. Thomas Erskine, on the Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel. Nothing is more repugnant to my principles than to pass moral reprobation on persons because I differ, however essentially, from their tenets. Let us leave that to Rome and Oxford; though Luther unfortunately was the last man who could claim this liberty of prophesying for himself on the score of his charity and tolerance for others.

Archdeacon Hare is a man of so much fairness, and so intensely persuaded of being in the right, that he produces himself the leading propositions of Luther, from which others, like myself, have deduced our own very different inferences as to his doctrine.

In the treatise de Captivitate Babylonica, 1520, we find these celebrated words: *Ita vides quam dives sit homo Christianus et baptisatus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere salutem suam*

considering the Reformation as a part of the history of mankind, not to be misled by the superficial and un-

quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere. Nulla enim peccata eum possunt damnare nisi sola incredulitas. Cætera omnia, si redeat vel stet fides in promissionem divinam baptisato factam, in momento absorbentur per eandem fidem, imo veritatem Dei, quia seipsum negare non potest, si tu eum confessus fueris, et promittenti fideliter adhaereris. It may be pretended that, however paradoxically Luther has expressed himself, he meant to assert the absolute incompatibility of *habitual* sins with a justifying faith. But even if his language would always bear this meaning, it is to be kept in mind, that faith (*πίστις*) can never be more than inward persuasion or assurance, whereof, *subjectively*, each man must judge for himself; and, though to the eyes of others a true faith may be wanting, it is not evident that men of enthusiastic minds may not be fully satisfied that they possess it.

Luther indeed has, in another position, often quoted, taken away from himself this line of defence:—*Si in fide posset fieri adulterium, peccatum non esset. Disputat. 1520.* Archdeacon Hare observes on this that "it is logically true." P. 794. This appears to me a singular assertion. The hypothesis of Luther is, that a sinful action might be committed in a state of faith; and the consequent of the proposition is, that in such case it would not be a sin at all. Grant that he held the supposition to be impossible, which no doubt he sometimes does, though we should hardly draw that inference from the passage last cited, or from some others, still, in reasoning *ex absurdo*, we are bound to argue rightly upon the assumed hypothesis. But all his notions about sin and merit were so preposterously contradictory to natural morality and religion, that they could not have been permanently received without violating the moral constitution of the human mind. Thus, in the Heidelberg Propositions, 1518, we read, *Opera hominum ut semper speciosa sint, bonaque videantur, probabile tamen est ea esse peccata mortalia. . . . Opera Dei ut semper sint deformia malaque videantur, verè tamen sunt merita immor-*

*talia. . . . Non sic sunt opera hominum mortalia (de bonis, ut apparent, loquimur), ut eadem sint crimina. . . . Non sic sunt opera Dei merita (de his quas per hominem fiunt, loquimur), ut eadem non sint peccata. . . . Justorum opera essent mortalia, nisi pio Dei timore ab ipsismet justis ut mortalia timerentur.* Such a series of propositions occasions a sort of bewilderment in the understanding, so unlike are they to the usual tone of moral precept and sentiment.

I am indebted to archdeacon Hare for another, not at all less singular, passage, in a letter of Luther to Melancthon in 1521, which I have also found in the very able, though very bitter, *Vie de Luther*, by M. Audin, Paris, 1839. I do not see the necessity of giving the context, or of explaining on what occasion the letter was written, on the ground that, where a sentence is complete in itself, and contains a general assertion of an author's own opinion, it is not to be limited by reference to anything else. Sufficit, Luther says, quod agnovimus per divitias gloriæ Dei Agnum, qui tollit peccata mundi; ab hoc non avellet nos peccatum, etiamsi milies milies uno die fornicamur aut occidamus. Putas tam parvum esse pretium et redemptionem pro peccatis nostris factam in tanto et tali agno? Ora fortiter; es enim fortissimus peccator.

It appears that Mr. Ward has translated "uno die" by "every day;" for which the archdeacon animadverts on him: "This mistranslation serves his purpose of blasting Luther's fame, inasmuch as it substitutes a hellish horror—the thought that a continuous life of the most atrocious sin can co-exist with faith and prayer, and Christ and righteousness—for that which, justly offensive as it may be, is so mainly from its peculiar Lutheran extravagance of expression." P. 794. No one will pretend that Mr. Ward ought not to have been more accurate. But I confess that the difference does not strike me as immensely great. Luther, I cannot help thinking would have written "unoquoque die" as readily as "uno," if the word had suggested itself. He wanted to assert

grounded representations which we sometimes find in modern writers. Such is this, that Luther, struck by

the efficacy of Christ's imputed righteousness in the most forcible terms, by weighing it against an impossible accumulation of offences. It is no more than he had said in the passage quoted above from the treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica*; non potest perdere salutem suam quantiscunq; peccatis; expressed still more offensively.

The real question is, not what interpretation an astute advocate, by making large allowance for warmth of temper, peculiarities of expression, and the necessity of inculcating some truths more forcibly by being silent on others, may put on the writings of Luther (for very few will impute to him either a defective sense of moral duties in himself, or a disposition to set his disciples at liberty from them), but what was the evident tendency of his language. And this, it should be remembered, need not be judged solely by the plain sense of words, though that is surely sufficient. The danger of these exaggerations—the mildest word that I can use, and one not adequate to what I feel—was soon shown in the practical effect of Lutheran preaching. Munzer and Knipperdolling, with the whole rabble of anabaptist fanatics, were the legitimate brood of Luther's early doctrine. And, even if we set these aside, it is certain that we find no testimonies to any reform of manners in the countries that embraced it. The Swiss Reformation, the English, and the Calvinistic churches generally, make a far better show in this respect.

This great practical deficiency in the Lutheran reformation is confessed by their own writers. And it is attested by a remarkable letter of Wilibald Pirckheimer, announcing the death of Albert Durer to a correspondent at Vienna in 1528, which may be found in *Reliquien von Albrecht Durer*, Nuremberg, 1823, p. 168. In this he takes occasion to inveigh against the bad conduct of the reformed party at Nuremberg, and seems as indignant at the Lutherans as he had ever been against popery, though without losing his hatred for the latter. I do not quote the letter, which is long, and in obsolete German; and perhaps it

may display too much irritation, natural to an honest man who has been disappointed in his hopes from a revolution; but the witness he bears to the dishonest and dissolute manners which had accompanied the introduction of Lutheranism is not to be slightly regarded, considering the respectability of Pirckheimer, and his known co-operation with the first reform.

I have been thought to speak too disparagingly of Luther's polemical writings, especially that against the bishops, by the expression "bellowing in bad Latin." Perhaps it might be too contemptuous towards a great man; but I had been disgusted by the perusal of them. Those who have taken exception (in the *Edinburgh Review*) are probably little conversant with Luther's writings. But, independently of the moral censure which his virulence demands, we are surely at liberty to say that it is in the worst taste, and very unlikely to convince or conciliate any man of good sense. One other grave objection to the writings of Luther I have not hitherto been called upon to mention; but I will not wholly omit his scandalous grossness, especially as archdeacon Hare has entered upon an elaborate apology for it. We all know quite as well as he does that the manners of different ages, different countries, and different conditions of life, are not alike; and that what is universally condemned in some periods has been tolerated in others. Such an excuse may often be made with great fairness; but it cannot be made for Luther. We have writings of his contemporaries, we have writings of grave men in ages less polished than his own. No serious author of the least reputation will be found who defiles his pages, I do not say with such indelicacy, but with such disgusting filthiness, as Luther. He resembles Rabelais alone in this respect, and absolutely goes beyond him. Audin, whose aim is to destroy as far as possible the moral reputation of Luther, has collected a great deal more than Bossuet would have deigned to touch; and, considering this object, in the interests of his own religion, I do not know how he

the absurdity of the prevailing superstitions, was desirous of introducing a more rational system of religion; or, that he contended for freedom of inquiry, and the boundless privileges of individual judgment; or, what others have been pleased to suggest, that his zeal for learning and ancient philosophy led him to attack the ignorance of the monks, and the crafty policy of the church, which withstood all liberal studies.

61. These notions are merely fallacious refinements, as every man of plain understanding, who is acquainted with the writings of the early reformers, or has considered their history, must acknowledge. The doctrines of Luther, taken altogether, are not more rational, that is, more conformable to what men, *à priori*, would expect to find in religion, than those of the church of Rome; nor did he ever pretend that they were so. As to the privilege of free inquiry, it was of course exercised by those who deserted their ancient altars, but certainly not upon any theory of a right in others to judge amiss, that is, differently from themselves. Nor, again, is there any foundation for imagining that Luther was concerned for the interests of literature. None had he himself, save theological;

Real explanation of them.

can be blamed; though I think that he should have left more passages untranslated. Those taken from the *Colloquia Mensalia* might perhaps be forgiven, and the blame thrown on the gossiping retailer of his table-talk; but, in all his attacks on popes and cardinals Luther disgraces himself by a nasty and stupid brutality. The great cause, also, of the marriage of priests ceases to be holy and honourable in his advocacy.

And I must express my surprise that archdeacon Hare should vindicate, against Mr. Ward, the *Sermo de Matrimonio*, preached at Wittenberg, 1522; for, though he says there are four sermons with this title in Luther's works, I have little doubt that Mr. Ward was led to this by Audin, who makes many quotations from it. "The date of this sermon, 1522, when many of the inmates of the convents were quitting them, and when the errors of the anabaptists were beginning to spread, shows that there was urgent need for the voice of wisdom to

set forth the true idea, relations, and obligations of marriage; nor could this be done without an exposition and refutation of the manifold scandalous errors and abuses concerning it, bred and propagated by the papacy." P. 771. A very rational sentence! but utterly unlike Luther's sermon, which is far more in the tone of the anabaptists than against them. But, without dwelling on this, and referring to Audin, vol. ii. p. 34, whose quotations cannot be forgeries, or to the shorter extracts in Bossuet, *Hist. des Variations*, c. 6, § 11, I shall only observe that, if the voice was that of wisdom, it was not that of Christianity. But here I conclude a note far longer than I wished to make it, the discussion being akin to the general subject of these volumes, and forced upon me by a direct attack of many pages. For archdeacon Hare himself I have all the respect which his high character, and an acquaintance of long duration, must naturally have created.—1847.]



nor are there, as I apprehend, many allusions to profane studies, or any proof of his regard to them, in all his works. On the contrary, it is probable that both the principles of this great founder of the Reformation, and the natural tendency of so intense an application to theological controversy, checked for a time the progress of philological and philosophical literature on this side of the Alps.<sup>y</sup> Every solution of the conduct of the reformers must be nugatory, except one, that they were men absorbed by the conviction that they were fighting the battle of God. But among the population of Germany or Switzerland, there was undoubtedly another predominant feeling; the sense of ecclesiastical oppression, and scorn for the worthless swarm of monks and friars. This may be said to have divided the propagators of the Reformation into such as merely pulled down, and such as built upon the ruins. Ulric von Hutten may pass for the type of the one, and Luther himself of the other. And yet it is hardly correct to say of Luther that he erected his system on the ruins of popery. For it was rather the growth and expansion in his mind of one positive dogma, justification by faith, in the sense he took it (which can be easily shown to have preceded the dispute about indulgences<sup>z</sup>), that broke down and crushed successively the various doctrines of the Romish church; not because he had originally much objection to them, but because there was no longer room for them in a consistent system of theology.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>y</sup> Erasmus, after he had become exasperated with the reformers, repeatedly charges them with ruining literature. *Ubiunque regnat Lutheranismus, ibi literarum est interitus. Epist. xvi. (1528).* *Evangelicos istos, cum multis aliis, tum hoc nomine præcipue odi, quod per eos ubique languent, frigent, jacent, intereunt bonæ literæ, sine quibus quid est hominum vita? Amant viaticum et uxorem, cætera pilli non faciunt. Hos fucos longissime arcendos censeo a vestro contubernio. Ep. beccoxlvi. (eod. ann.)* There were, however, at this time, as well as afterwards, more learned men on the side of the Reformation than on that of the church.

<sup>z</sup> See his disputations at Wittenberg, 1516; and the sermons preached in the same and the subsequent year.

<sup>a</sup> The best authorities for the early history of the Reformation are Seckendorf, *Hist. Lutheranismi*, and Sleidan, *Hist. de la Réformation*, in Courayer's French translation; the former being chiefly useful for the ecclesiastical, the latter for political history. But as these confine themselves to Germany, Gerdes (*Hist. Evangel. Reformat.*) is necessary for the Zwinglian history, as well as for that of the northern kingdoms. The first sections of Father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent* are also valuable. Schmidt, *Histoire des Allemands*, vols.

62. The laws of synchronism, which we have hitherto obeyed, bring strange partners together, and we may pass at once from Luther to Ariosto. Orlando Furioso. The Orlando Furioso was first printed at Ferrara in 1516. This edition contained forty cantos, to which the last six were added in 1532. Many stanzas, chiefly of circumstance, were interpolated by the author from time to time.

63. Ariosto has been, after Homer, the favourite poet of Europe. His grace and facility, his clear and rapid stream of language, his variety and Its popularity. beauty of invention, his very transitions of subject, so frequently censured by critics, but artfully devised to spare the tediousness that hangs on a protracted story, left him no rival in general popularity. Above sixty editions of the Orlando Furioso were published in the sixteenth century. "There was not one," says Bernardo Tasso, "of any age, or sex, or rank, who was satisfied after more than a single perusal." If the change of manners and sentiments have already in some degree impaired this attraction, if we cease to take interest in the prowess of Paladins, and find their combats a little monotonous, this is perhaps the necessary lot of all poetry, which, as it can only reach posterity through the medium of contemporary reputation, must accommodate itself to the fleeting character of its own time. This character is strongly impressed on the Orlando Furioso; it well suited an age of war, and pomp, and

vi. and vii., has told the story on the side of Rome speciously and with some fairness; and Roscoe has vindicated Leo X. from the imputation of unnecessary violence in his proceeding against Luther. Mosheim is always good, but concise; Milner, far from concise, but highly prejudiced, and in the habit of giving his quotations in English, which is not quite satisfactory to a lover of truth.

The essay on the influence of the Reformation by Villers, which obtained a prize from the French Institute, and has been extolled by a very friendly but better-informed writer in the *Biographie Universelle*, appears to me the production of a man who had not taken the pains to read any one work contempo-

aneous with the Reformation, or even any compilation which contains many extracts. No wonder that it does not represent, in the slightest degree, the real spirit of the times, or the tenets of the reformers. Thus, e. gr., "Luther," he says, "exposed the abuse of the traffic of indulgences, and the danger of believing that heaven and the remission of all crimes could be bought with money; while a sincere repentance and an amended life were the only means of appeasing the divine justice." (P. 65, Engl. transl.) This at least is not very like Luther's Antinomian contempt for repentance and amendment of life; it might come near to the notions of Erasmus.

gallantry; an age when chivalry was still recent in actual life, and was reflected in concentrated brightness from the mirror of romance.

64. It has been sometimes hinted as an objection to Ariosto, that he is not sufficiently in earnest, and leaves a little suspicion of laughing at his subject. I do not perceive that he does this in a greater degree than good sense and taste permit. The poets of knight errantry might in this respect be arranged in a scale of which Pulci and Spenser would stand at the extreme points; the one mocking the absurdities he coolly invents—the other, by intense strength of conception, full of love and faith in his own creations. Between these Berni, Ariosto, and Boiardo take successively their places; none so deeply serious as Spenser, none so ironical as Pulci. It was not easy in Italy, especially after the Morgante Maggiore had roused the sense of ridicule, to keep up at every moment the solemn tone which Spain endured in the romances of the sixteenth century; nor was this consonant to the gaiety of Ariosto. It is the light carelessness of his manner which constitutes a great part of its charm.

65. Castelvetro has blamed Ariosto for building on the foundations of Boiardo.<sup>b</sup> He seems to have had originally no other design than to carry onward, a little better than Agostini, that very attractive story; having written, it is said, at first only a few cantos to please his friends.<sup>c</sup> Certainly it is rather singular that so great and renowned a poet should have been little more than the continuator of one who had so lately preceded him; though Salviati defends him by the example of Homer; and other critics, with whom we shall perhaps not agree, have thought this the best apology for writing a romantic instead of an heroic poem. The story of the Orlando Innamorato must be known before we can well understand that of the Furioso. But this is nearly what we find in Homer; for who can reckon the Iliad anything but a fragment of the tale of Troy? It was indeed less felt by the compatriots of

<sup>b</sup> Poetica d'Aristotele (1570). It violates, he says, the rule of Aristotle, ἀρχὴ ἔστιν ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὴ μετ' ἀλλὰ ἔστι. Camillo Pellegrini, in his famous contro-

versy with the Academicians of Florence, repeats the same censure.

<sup>c</sup> Quadrio, Storia d' ogni Poesia, vi. 606.

Homer, already familiar with that legendary cyclus of heroic song, than it is by the readers of Ariosto, who are not in general very well acquainted with the poem of his precursor. Yet experience has even here shown that the popular voice does not echo the complaint of the critic. This is chiefly owing to the want of a predominant unity in the Orlando Furioso, which we commonly read in detached parcels. The principal unity that it does possess, distinct from the story of Boiardo, consists in the loves and announced nuptials of Rogero and Bradamante, the imaginary progenitors of the house of Este; but Ariosto does not gain by this condescension to the vanity of a petty sovereign.

66. The inventions of Ariosto are less original than those of Boiardo, but they are more pleasing and various. The tales of old mythology and of modern romance furnished him with those delightful episodes we all admire, with his Olimpia and Bireno, his Ariodante and Geneura, his Cloridan and Medoro, his Zerbino and Isabella. He is more conversant with the Latin poets, or has turned them to better account, than his predecessor. For the sudden transitions in the middle of a canto, or even a stanza, with which every reader of Ariosto is familiar, he is indebted to Boiardo, who had himself imitated in them the metrical romancers of the preceding age. From them also, that justice may be rendered to those nameless rhymers, Boiardo drew the individuality of character by which their heroes were distinguished, and which Ariosto has not been so careful to preserve. His Orlando has less of the honest simplicity, and his Astolfo less of the gay boastfulness, that had been assigned to them in the cyclus.

67. Corniani observes of the style of Ariosto, what we may all perceive on attending to it to be true, that he is sparing in the use of metaphors, contenting himself generally with the plainest expression; by which, if he loses something in dignity, he gains in perspicuity. It may be added, that he is not very successful in figurative language, which is sometimes forced and exaggerated. Doubtless this transparency of phrase, so eminent in Ariosto, is the cause that he is read and delighted in by the multitude, as well as by the few;

In some  
points in-  
ferior.

Beauties of  
its style.

and it seems also to be the cause that he can never be satisfactorily rendered into any language less musical, and consequently less independent upon an ornamental dress in poetry, than his own, or one which wants the peculiar advantages by which conventional variations in the form of words, and the liberty of inversion, as well as the frequent recurrence of the richest and most euphonious rhymes, elevate the simplest expression in Italian verse above the level of discourse. Galileo, being asked by what means he had acquired the remarkable talent of giving perspicuity and grace to his philosophical writings, referred it to the continual study of Ariosto. His similes are conspicuous for their elaborate beauty; they are familiar to every reader of this great poet; imitated, as they usually are, from the ancients, they maintain an equal strife with their models, and occasionally surpass them. But even the general strain of Ariosto, natural as it seems, was not unpremeditated, or left to its own felicity; his manuscript at Ferrara, part of which is shown to strangers, bears numerous alterations, the *pentimenti*, if I may borrow a word from a kindred art, of creative genius.

68. The Italian critics love to expatiate in his praise, though they are often keenly sensible to his defects. The variety of style and of rhythm in Ariosto, it is remarked by Gravina, is suitable to that of his subject. His rhymes, the same author observes, seem to spring from the thoughts, and not from the necessities, of metre. He describes minutely, but with much felicity, and gives a clear idea of every part; like the Farnesian Hercules, which seems greater by the distinctness of every vein and muscle.<sup>d</sup> Quadrio praises the correspondence of the sound to the sense. Yet neither of these critics is blindly partial. It is acknowledged, indeed, by his warmest advocates, that he falls sometimes below his subject, and that trifling and feeble lines intrude too frequently in the Orlando Furioso. I can hardly regret, however, that in the passages of flattery towards the house of Este, such as that long genealogy which he deduces in the third canto, his genius has deserted him, and he degenerates, as it were

Accompanied with faults.

<sup>d</sup> Ragion Poetica, p. 104.

wilfully, into prosaic tediousness. In other allusions to contemporary history he is little better. I am hazard- ing a deviation from the judgment of good critics when I add that in the opening stanza of each canto, where the poet appears in his own person, I find generally a defi- ciency of vigour and originality, a poverty of thought and of emotion, which is also very far from unusual in the speeches of his characters. But these introductions have been greatly admired.

69. Many faults of language in Ariosto are observed by his countrymen. They justly blame also Its place as his inobservance of propriety, his hyperbolical a poem. extravagance, his harsh metaphors, his affected thoughts. These are sufficiently obvious to a reader of reflecting taste; but the enchantment of his pencil redeems every failing, and his rapidity, like that of Homer, leaves us little time to censure before we are hurried forward to admire. The Orlando Furioso, as a great single poem, has been very rarely surpassed in the living records of poetry. He must yield to three, and only three, of his predecessors. He has not the force, simplicity, and truth to nature of Homer, the exquisite style and sus- tained majesty of Virgil, nor the originality and bold- ness of Dante. The most obvious parallel is Ovid, whose Metamorphoses, however, are far excelled by the Orlando Furioso, not in fertility of invention, or variety of images and sentiments, but in purity of taste, in grace of language, and harmony of versification.

70. No edition of Amadis de Gaul has been proved to exist before that printed at Seville in 1519, Amadis de Gaul. which yet is suspected of not being the first.\* This famous romance, which in its day was almost as popular as the Orlando Furioso itself, was translated into French by Herberay between 1540 and 1557, and into English by Munday in 1619. The four books by Vasco de Lobeyra grew to twenty by successive addi- tions, which have been held by lovers of romance far inferior to the original. They deserve at least the blame, or praise, of making the entire work unreadable by the most patient or the most idle of mankind. Amadis de Gaul can still perhaps impart pleasure to the

\* Brunet, Man. du Libraire.

susceptible imagination of youth; but the want of deep or permanent sympathy leaves a naked sense of unprofitableness in the perusal, which must, it should seem, alienate a reader of mature years. Amadis at least obtained the laurel at the hands of Cervantes, speaking through the barber and curate, while so many of Lobeysra's unworthy imitators were condemned to the flames.

71. A curious dramatic performance, if it may deserve such an appellation, was represented at Paris in 1511, and published in 1516. It is entitled *Le Prince des Sots et la Mère sottte*, by one Peter Gringore, who had before produced some other pieces of less note, and bordering more closely on the moralities. In the general idea there was nothing original. A prince of fools had long ruled his many-coloured subjects on the theatre of a joyous company, *les Enfans sans Souci*, who had diverted the citizens of Paris with their buffoonery, under the name, perhaps, of moralities, while their graver brethren represented the mysteries of Scripture and legend. But the chief aim of *La Mère sottte* was to turn the pope and court of Rome into ridicule during the sharp contest of Louis XII. with Julius II. It consists of four parts, all in verse. The first of these is called *The Cry*, and serves as a sort of prologue, summoning all fools of both sexes to see the prince of fools play on Shrove Tuesday. The second is *The Folly*. This is an irregular dramatic piece, full of poignant satire on the clergy, but especially on the pope. A third part is entitled *The Morality of the Obstinate Man*; a dialogue in allusion to the same dispute. Finally comes an indecent farce, unconnected with the preceding subject. Gringore, who represented the character of *La Mère sottte*, was generally known by that name, and assumed it in his subsequent publications.<sup>f</sup>

72. Gringore was certainly at a great distance from the Italian stage, which had successfully adapted the plots of Latin comedies to modern stories.

<sup>f</sup> Beauchamps, *Recherches sur le Théâtre Français*; Goujet, *Bibl. Française*, xl. 212; Nicéron, vol. xxxiv.; Bouterwek, *Gesch. der Französischen Poesie*, v. 113; Biogr. Univers. The works of Gringore

says the last authority, are rare, and sought by the lovers of our old poetry because they display the state of manners at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

But, among the *barbarians*, a dramatic writer, somewhat younger than he, was now beginning to earn a respectable celebrity, though limited to a yet uncultivated language, and to the inferior class of society. Hans Sachs, a shoemaker of Nuremberg, born in 1494, is said to have produced his first carnival play (*Fast-nacht spiel*) in 1517. He belonged to the fraternity of poetical artisans, the *meister-singers* of Germany, who, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, had a succession of mechanical (in every sense of the word) rhymers to boast, for whom their countrymen felt as much reverence as might have sufficed for more genuine bards. In a spirit which might naturally be expected from artisans, they required a punctual observance of certain arbitrary canons, the by-laws of the corporation Muses, to which the poet must conform. These, however, did not diminish the fecundity, if they repressed the excursive-ness of our *meister-singers*, and least of all that of Hans Sachs himself, who poured forth, in about forty years, fifty-three sacred and seventy-eight profane plays, sixty-four farces, fifty-nine fables, and a large assortment of other poetry. These dramatic works are now scarce, even in Germany; they appear to be ranked in the same class as the early fruits of the French and English theatres. We shall mention Hans Sachs again in another chapter.<sup>a</sup>

73. No English poet, since the death of Lydgate, had arisen whom it could be thought worth while to mention.<sup>b</sup> Many, perhaps, will not admit that Stephen Hawes, who now meets us, should be reckoned in that honourable list. His '*Pastime of Pleasure, or the Historie of Graunde Amour and La bel Pucel,*' finished in 1506, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517. From this title we might hardly expect a moral and learned allegory, in which the seven sciences of the trivium and quadrivium, besides a host of abstract virtues and qualities, play their parts, in living personality, through a poem of about six thou-

<sup>a</sup> *Biogr. Univ.*; *Elchhorn*, III. 648; *Ship of Fools* from Sebastian Brandt; and *Bouterwek*, IX. 391; *Helmshus*, IV. 160; *Retrospective Review*, vol. X. I may here observe that he has added many original strokes on his own countrymen, especially on the clergy.

<sup>b</sup> I have adverted in another place to Alexander Barclay's translation of the



sand lines. Those who require the ardent words or the harmonious grace of poetical diction will not frequently be content with Hawes. Unlike many of our older versifiers, he would be judged more unfavourably by extracts than by a general view of his long work. He is rude, obscure, full of pedantic Latinisms, and probably has been disfigured in the press; but learned and philosophical, reminding us frequently of the school of James I. The best, though probably an unexpected parallel for Hawes is John Bunyan: their inventions are of the same class, various and novel, though with no remarkable pertinence to the leading subject, or naturally consecutive order; their characters, though abstract in name, have a personal truth about them, in which Phineas Fletcher, a century after Hawes, fell much below him; they render the general allegory subservient to inculcating a system, the one of philosophy, the other of religion. I do not mean that the *Pastime of Pleasure* is equal in merit, as it certainly has not been in success, to the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan is powerful and picturesque from his concise simplicity; Hawes has the common failings of our old writers, a tedious and languid diffuseness, an expatiating on themes of pedantry in which the reader takes no interest, a weakening of every picture and every reflection by ignorance of the touches that give effect. But if we consider the '*Historie of Graunde Amour*' less as a poem to be read than as a measure of the author's mental power, we shall not look down upon so long and well-sustained an allegory. In this style of poetry much was required that no mind ill-stored with reflection, or incapable of novel combination, could supply; a clear conception of abstract modes, a familiarity with the human mind, and with the effects of its qualities on human life, a power of justly perceiving and vividly representing the analogies of sensible and rational objects. Few that preceded Hawes have possessed more of these gifts than himself.

74. This poem was little known till Mr. Southey reprinted it in 1831; the original edition is very rare. Warton had given several extracts, which, as I have observed, are disadvantageous to Hawes, and an analysis of the whole;<sup>1</sup> but though he praises the author for

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Engl. Poetry, lii. 54.

imagination, and admits that the poem has been unjustly neglected, he has not dwelt enough on the erudition and reflection it displays. Hawes appears to have been educated at Oxford, and to have travelled much on the continent. He held also an office in the court of Henry VII. We may reckon him therefore among the earliest of our learned and accomplished gentlemen; and his poem is the first fruits of that gradual ripening of the English mind, which must have been the process of the laboratory of time, in the silence and darkness of the fifteenth century. It augured a generation of grave and stern thinkers, and the omen was not vain.

75. Another poem, the Temple of Glass, which Warton had given to Hawes, is now by general consent restored to Lydgate. Independently of external proof, which is decisive,<sup>k</sup> it will appear that the Temple of Glass is not written in the English of Henry VII.'s reign. I mention this only for the sake of observing that, in following the line of our writers in verse and prose, we find the old obsolete English to have gone out of use about the accession of Edward IV. Lydgate and bishop Pecock, especially the latter, are not easily understood by a reader not habituated to their language: he requires a glossary, or must help himself out by conjecture.<sup>m</sup> In the Paston

Change in  
English  
language.

<sup>k</sup> See note in Price's edition of Warton, ubi supra: to which I add, that the Temple of Glass is mentioned in the Paston Letters, ii. 90, long before the time of Hawes.

<sup>m</sup> [The language of bishop Pecock is more obsolete than that of Lydgate, or any other of his contemporaries; and this may also be observed with respect to Wicliffe's translation of the Bible. Yet even he has many French and Latin words, though in a smaller proportion than Chaucer and Gower, or even Mandeville and Trevisa. In a passage of Mandeville, quoted by Burnet (Specimens of Early English Writers, vol. i. p. 16), I counted 41 French and 53 Saxon words, omitting particles and a few common pronouns, which of course belong to the latter. But this is not in the usual ratio; and in Trevisa I found the Saxon to be as two to one. The form *ban* for *be* occurs

more often in Trevisa than in Mandeville, which may probably be owing to ancient or modern transcribers. Both these writers seem to have undergone some repairs as to orthography and antique terminations. In Wicliffe's translation, made about 1380, the preponderance of Saxon, counting only nouns, verbs, and adverbs, is considerably greater, probably nearly three to one; those who have included pronouns and particles (all which are notoriously Teutonic) have brought forward a much higher ratio of Saxon even in modern books; especially if, like Mr. Sharon Turner and sir James Mackintosh, they reckon each word as often as it occurs. I have never counted a single word, in any of these experiments, more than once; and my results have certainly given a much greater proportion of French and Latin than these writers

Letters, on the contrary, in Harding the metrical chronicler, or in sir John Fortescue's Discourse on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, he finds scarce any difficulty; antiquated words and forms of termination frequently occur; but he is hardly sensible that he reads these books much less fluently than those of modern times. These were written about

have admitted. But this is in reference to later periods of the language than that with which we have to do.

Peacock, and probably Wicliffe before him, was apparently studious of a sort of archaism. He preserves the old terminations which were going into disuse, perhaps from a tenaciousness of purity in language, which we often find in literary men. Hence we have in him, as in Wicliffe, *schulen* for *shall*, *wolden* for *would*, *tho* for *them*, and *her* for *their*; and this almost invariably. Now we possess hardly any prose exactly of Peacock's age, about 1440, with the exception of the Rolls of Parliament. These would be of material authority for the progress of our language, if we could be sure that they have been faithfully transcribed; but I have been informed that this is not altogether the case. It is possible, therefore, that modern forms of language have been occasionally substituted for the more ancient. I should not conceive that this has very frequently occurred, as there has evidently been a general intention to preserve the original with accuracy: there is no designed modernisation, even of orthography. But in the Rolls of Parliament, during the reign of Henry VI., we rarely find the termination *en* to the infinitive mood; though I have observed it twice about 1459, and probably it occurs oftener. In the participle it continued longer, even to the 16th century; as in Fabian, who never employs this termination in the infinitive. And in the present tense, we find *usen* in Fortescue; *ben* for *be*, and a few more plurals, in Caxton. Some inferior writers adopt this plural down to the reign of Henry VIII.

Caxton republished the translation of Higden's Polychronicon by Trevisa, made about a hundred years before, in the new English of his own age. "Certainly," he says, "our language now used varyeth

far from that which was spoken *when I was born*; for we English men *ben born* under the domination of the moon, which is never stedfast, but ever wavering; waxing one season, and waneth and decreaseth another season. And common English that is spoken in one shire varyeth from another." He then tells a story of one *axing* for eggs in Kent, when the good wife replied she could speak no French; at last the word *eyren* being used, she understood it. Caxton resolved to employ a mean between the common and the ancient English, "not over rude ne curious, but in such terms as should be understood." The difference between the old copy of Trevisa and Caxton's modernisation is perhaps less than from the above passage we might expect; but possibly we have not the former in its perfect purity of text. Trevisa was a parson in Cornwall, and Caxton tells us that he himself learned his English in the Weald of Kent, "where I doubt not is spoken as brode and rude English as is in any place in England."

Caxton has a fluent and really good style: he is even less obsolete than Fortescue, an older man and a lawyer, who for both reasons might adhere to antiquity. Yet in him we have *eyen* for *eyes*, *syn* for *afterwards*, and a few more marks of antiquity. In lord Rivers's preface to his 'Dictionary of Philosophers,' 1477, as quoted in the Introduction to Todd's edition of Johnson's Dictionary, there is no archaism at all. But the first book that I have read through without detecting any remnant of obsolete forms (excepting of course the termination of the third person singular in *eth*, which has not been wholly disused for a hundred years, and may indeed be found in Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind, published in 1764, and later) is sir Thomas More's History of Edward V. —1847.]

1470. But in sir Thomas More's History of Edward V., written about 1509, or in the beautiful ballad of the Nut-brown Maid, which we cannot place very far from the year 1500, but which, if nothing can be brought to contradict the internal evidence, I should incline to refer to this decennium, there is not only a diminution of obsolete phraseology, but a certain modern turn and structure, both in the verse and prose, which denotes the commencement of a new era, and the establishment of new rules of taste in polite literature. Every one will understand that a broad line cannot be traced for the beginning of this change; Hawes, though his English is very different from that of Lydgate, seems to have had a great veneration for him, and has imitated the manner of that school, to which, in a marshalling of our poets, he unquestionably belongs. Skelton, on the contrary, though ready enough to coin words, has comparatively few that are obsolete.

76. The strange writer, whom we have just mentioned, seems to fall well enough within this Skelton. decad; though his poetical life was long, if it be true that he received the laureate crown at Oxford in 1483, and was also the author of a libel on sir Thomas More, ascribed to him by Ellis, which, alluding to the Nun of Kent, could hardly be written before 1533.<sup>a</sup> But though this piece is somewhat in Skelton's manner, we find it said that he died in 1529, and it is probably the work of an imitator. Skelton is certainly not a poet, unless some degree of comic humour, and a torrent-like volubility of words in doggerel rhyme, can make one; but this uncommon fertility, in a language so little copious as ours was at that time, bespeaks a mind of some original vigour. Few English writers come nearer in this respect to Rabelais, whom Skelton preceded. His attempts in serious poetry are utterly contemptible; but the satirical lines on cardinal Wolsey were probably not ineffective. It is impossible to determine whether they were written before 1520. Though these are better known than any poem of Skelton's, his dirge on Philip Sparrow is the most comic and imaginative.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ellis's Specimens, vol. ii. [Skelton had written an Elegy on Edward IV. in 1483.—1853.]  
 was laureate at Oxford in 1490: it does not appear how long before. But he

<sup>b</sup> This last poem is reprinted in Sou-

77. We must now take a short survey of some other departments of literature during this second decad of the sixteenth century. The Oriental languages become a little more visible in bibliography than before. An Æthiopic, that is, Abyssinian grammar, with the Psalms in the same language, was published at Rome by Potken in 1513; a short treatise in Arabic at Fano in 1514, being the first time those characters had been used in type; a Psalter in 1516, by Giustiniani at Genoa, in Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek;<sup>p</sup> and a Hebrew Bible, with the Chaldee paraphrase and other aids, by Felice di Prato, at Venice in 1519. The Book of Job in Hebrew appeared at Paris in 1516. Meantime the magnificent polyglott Bible of Alcalá proceeded under the patronage of cardinal Ximenez, and was published in five volumes folio, between the years 1514 and 1517. It contains in triple columns the Hebrew, the Septuagint Greek, and Latin Vulgate; the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch by Onkelos being also printed at the foot of the page.<sup>q</sup> Spain, therefore, had found men equal to superintend this arduous labour. Lebrixa was still living, though much advanced in years; Stunica and a few other now obscure names were his coadjutors. But that of Demetrius Cretensis appears among these in the title-page, to whom the principal care of the Greek was doubtless intrusted; and it is highly probable that all the early Hebrew and Chaldee publications demanded the assistance of Jewish rabbis.

78. The school of Padua, renowned already for its medical science as well as for the cultivation of the Aristotelian philosophy, laboured under a suspicion of infidelity, which was considerably heightened

they's Selections from the older Poets. Extracts from Skelton occur also in Warton, and one in the first volume of the Somers Tracts. Mr. Dyce has published a collective edition of Skelton's works.

<sup>p</sup> It is printed in eight columns, which Gesner, apud Bayle, Justiniani, Note D, thus describes: Quarum prima habet Hebraeam editionem, secunda Latinam interpretationem respondentem Hebraeae de verbo in verbum, tertia Latinam communem, quarta Graecam, quinta Arabicam, sexta paraphrasim, sermone quidem Chaldeo, sed literis Hebraicis conscrip-

tam; septima Latinam respondentem Chaldae, ultima vero, id est octava, continet scholia, hoc est, annotationes sparsas et intercisas.

<sup>q</sup> Andréz, xix. 35. An observation in the preface to the Complutensian edition has been often animadverted upon, that they print the Vulgate between the Hebrew and the Greek, like Christ between two thieves. The expression, however it may have been introduced, is not to be wholly defended; but at that time it was generally believed that the Hebrew text had been corrupted by the Jews.

by the work of Pomponatius, its most renowned professor, on the immortality of the soul, published in 1516. This book met with several answerers, and was publicly burned at Venice; but the patronage of Bembo sustained Pomponatius at the court of Leo, and he was permitted by the Inquisition to reprint his treatise with some corrections. He defended himself by declaring that he merely denied the validity of philosophical arguments for the soul's immortality, without doubting in the least the authority of revelation, to which and to that of the church he had expressly submitted. This, however, is the current language of philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which must be judged by other presumptions. Brucker and Ginguéné are clear as to the real disbelief of Pomponatius in the doctrine, and bring some proofs from his other writings, which seem more unequivocal than any that the treatise *De Immortalitate* affords. It is certainly possible and not uncommon for men to deem the arguments on that subject inconclusive, so far as derived from reason, while they assent to those that rest on revelation. It is, on the other hand, impossible for a man to believe inconsistent propositions, when he perceives them to be so. The question, therefore, can only be, as Buhle seems to have seen, whether Pomponatius maintained the rational arguments for a future state to be repugnant to known truths, or merely insufficient for conviction; and this a superficial perusal of his treatise hardly enables me to determine, though there is a presumption on the whole that he had no more religion than the philosophers of Padua generally kept for a cloak. That university was for more than a century the focus of atheism in Italy.<sup>r</sup>

79. We may enumerate among the philosophical writings of this period, as being first published in 1516, a treatise full two hundred years older, by Raymond Lully, a native of Majorca—one of those

<sup>r</sup> Tiraboschi, vol. viii. Corniani. Ginguéné. Brucker. Buhle. Nicéron. Biogr. Universelle. The two last of these are more favourable than the rest to the intentions of the Paduan philosopher.

Pomponatius, or Peretto, as he was sometimes called, on account of his diminutive stature, which he had in common

with his predecessor in philosophy, Marsilius Ficinus, was ignorant of Greek, though he read lectures on Aristotle. In one of Sperone's dialogues (p. 120, edit. 1596) he is made to argue, that, if all books were read in translations, the time now consumed in learning languages might be better employed.

innovators in philosophy, who, by much boasting of their original discoveries in the secrets of truth, are taken by many at their word, and gain credit for systems of science which those who believe in them seldom trouble themselves to examine, or even understand. Lully's principal treatise is his *Ars Magna*, being, as it professes, a new method of reasoning on all subjects. His method. But this method appears to be only an artificial disposition, readily obvious to the eye, of subjects and predicables, according to certain distinctions, which, if it were meant for anything more than a topical arrangement, such as the ancient orators employed to aid their invention, could only be compared to the similar scheme of using machinery instead of mental labour, devised by the philosophers of *Laputa*. Leibnitz is of opinion that the method might be convenient in extemporary speaking, which is the utmost limit that can be assigned to its usefulness. Lord Bacon has truly said of this, and of such idle or fraudulent attempts to substitute trick for science, that they are "not a lawful method, but a method of imposture, which is to deliver knowledges in such manner as men may speedily come to make a show of learning who have it not;" and that they are "nothing but a mass of words of all arts, to give men countenance, that those which use the terms might be thought to understand them."

80. The writings of Lully are admitted to be very obscure; and those of his commentators and admirers, among whom the meteors of philosophy, *Cornelius Agrippa* and *Jordano Bruno*, were enrolled, are hardly less so. But, as is usual with such empiric medicines, it obtained a great deal of celebrity and much ungrounded praise, not only for the two centuries which intervened between the author's age and that of its appearance from the press, but for a considerable time afterwards, till the Cartesian philosophy drove that to which the art of Lully was accommodated from the field; and even *Morhof*, near the end of the seventeenth century, avows that, though he had been led to reckon it a frivolous method, he had very much changed his opinion on fuller examination.\*

\* *Morhof*, *Polyhistor*, l. ii. c. 5. But Lully's art, it is merely for its usefulness if I understand the ground on which in suggesting middle terms to a syllogistic disputant. *Morhof* rests his favourable opinion of

The few pages which Brucker has given to Lully do not render his art very intelligible; but they seem sufficient to show its uselessness for the discovery of truth. It is utterly impossible, as I conceive, for those who have taken much pains to comprehend this method, which is not the case with me, to give a precise notion of it in a few words, even with the help of diagrams, which are indispensably required."

81. The only geographical publication which occurs in this period is an account of the recent discoveries in America by Peter Martyr, of Anghiera, a Milanese, who passed great part of his life in the court of Madrid. The title is, *De Rebus Oceanicis* decades tres; but it is, in fact, a series of epistles, thirty in number, written or feigned to be written at different times as fresh information was received—the first bearing date a few days only after the departure of Columbus in 1493, while the two last decades are addressed to Leo X. An edition is said to have appeared in 1516, which is certainly the date of the author's dedication to Charles V.; yet this edition seems not to have been seen by bibliographers. Though Peter Martyr's own account has been implicitly believed by Robertson and many others, there seems strong internal presumption against the authenticity of these epistles in the character they assume. It appears to me evident that he threw the intelligence he

Peter  
Martyr's  
epistles.

\* Brucker, iv. 9-21. Ginguéné, who observes that Brucker's analysis, à sa manière accoutumée, may be understood by those who have learned Lully's method, but must be very confused to others, has made the matter a great deal more unintelligible by his own attempt to explain it. *Hist. Litt. de l'Italie*, vii. 497. I have found a better development of the method in Alstedius, *Clavis Artis Lulliana* (Argentor. 1633), a staunch admirer of Lully. But his praise of the art, when examined, is merely as an aid to the memory and to disputation, de quavis questione utramque in partem disputandi. This is rather an evil than a good; and though mnemorial contrivances are not without utility, it is probable that much better could be found than that of Lully.

" Buhle has observed that the favourable reception of Lully's method is not

surprising, since it really is useful in the association of ideas, like all other topical contrivances, and may be applied to any subject, though often not very appropriately, suggesting materials in extempore speaking, and, notwithstanding its shortness, professing to be a complete system of topics; but whoever should try it must be convinced of its inefficacy in reasoning. Hence he thinks that such men as Agrippa and Bruno kept only the general principle of Lully's scheme, enlarging it by new contrivances of their own. *Hist. de Philos.* ii. 612. See also an article on Lully in the *Biographie Universelle*. Tennemann calls the *Ars Magna* a logical machine to let men reason about everything without study or reflection. *Manuel de la Philos.* i. 380. But this seems to have been much what Lully reckoned its merit.



had obtained into that form many years after the time. Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the two first letters in the decades of Peter Martyr with any authentic history, will, I should think, perceive that they are a negligent and palpable imposture, every date being falsified, even that of the year in which Columbus made his great discovery. It is a strange instance of oversight in Robertson that he has uniformly quoted them as written at the time, for the least attention must have shown him the contrary. And it may here be mentioned that a similar suspicion may be reasonably entertained with respect to another collection of epistles by the same author, rather better known than the present. There is a folio volume with which those who have much attended to the history of the sixteenth century are well acquainted, purporting to be a series of letters from Anghiera to various friends between the years 1488 and 1522. They are full of interesting facts, and would be still more valuable than they are could we put our trust in their genuineness as strictly contemporary documents. But though Robertson has almost wholly relied upon them in his account of the Castilian insurrection, and even in the *Biographie Universelle* no doubt is raised as to their being truly written at their several dates, yet La Monnoye (if I remember right, certainly some one) long since charged the author with imposture, on the ground that the letters, into which he wove the history of his times, are so full of anachronisms as to render it evident that they were fabricated afterwards. It is several years since I read these epistles; but I was certainly struck with some palpable errors in chronology, which led me to suspect that several of them were wrongly dated, the solution of their being feigned not occurring to my mind, as the book is of considerable reputation.\* A ground of

\* The following are specimens of anachronism, which seem fatal to the genuineness of these epistles, and are only selected from others. In the year 1489 he writes to a friend (Arias Barbosa): *In peculiarem te nostrae tempestatis morbum, qui appellatione Hispanâ Bubarum dicitur, ab Italia morbus Gallicus, medicorum Elephantiam alii, alii aliter appellant, incidisse præcipitem, libero ad me scribis pede.* Epist. 68 Now if we

should even believe that this disease was known some years before the discovery of America and the siege of Naples, is it probable that it could have obtained the name of morbus Gallicus before the latter era? In February, 1511, he communicates the absolution of the Venetians by Julius II., which took place in February, 1510. Epist. 451. In a letter dated at Brussels, Aug. 31, 1520 (Epist. 689), he mentions the burning of the

suspicion hardly less striking is, that the letters of Peter Martyr are too exact for verisimilitude; he announces events with just the importance they ought to have, predicts nothing but what comes to pass, and must in fact be either an impostor (in an innocent sense of the word), or one of the most sagacious men of his time. But, if not exactly what they profess to be, both these works of Anghiera are valuable as contemporary history; and the first mentioned in particular, *De Rebus Oceanicis*, is the earliest account we possess of the settlement of the Spaniards in Darien, and of the whole period between Columbus and Cortes.

82. It would be embarrassing to the reader were we to pursue any longer that rigidly chronological division by short decennial periods, which has hitherto served to display the regular progress of European literature, and especially of classical learning. Many other provinces were now cultivated, and the history of each is to be traced separately from the rest, though frequently with mutual reference, and with regard, as far as possible, to their common unity. In the period immediately before us that unity was chiefly preserved by the diligent study of the Latin and Greek languages; it was to the writers in those languages that the theologian, the civil lawyer, the physician, the geometer and philosopher, even the poet for the most part, and dramatist, repaired for the materials of their knowledge and the nourishment of their minds. We shall begin, therefore, by following the further advances of philological literature; and some readers must here, as in other places, pardon what they will think unnecessary minuteness in so general a work as the present, for the sake of others who set a value on precise information.

canon law at Wittenberg by Luther, which is well known to have happened in the ensuing November.—[Mr. Prescott, in his excellent *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. II. p. 78, has expressed his dissent from this suspicion

that P. Martyr's letters were written after the time, and ascribes the anachronisms to the misplacing of some letters by the original editor. This will probably account for some of them; but my suspicion is not wholly removed.—1842.]

## CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT LITERATURE IN EUROPE FROM 1520 TO 1550.

Classical Taste of the Italians—Ciceronians—Erasmus attacks them—Writings on Roman Antiquity—Learning in France—Commentaries of Budæus—Progress of Learning in Spain, Germany, England—State of Cambridge and Oxford—Advance of Learning still slow—Encyclopædic Works.

1. ITALY, the genial soil where the literature of antiquity had been first cultivated, still retained her superiority in the fine perception of its beauties and in the power of retracing them by spirited imitation. It was the land of taste and sensibility—never surely more so than in the age of Raffaele as well as Ariosto. Far from the clownish ignorance so long predominant in the Transalpine aristocracy, the nobles of Italy, accustomed to a city life and to social festivity, more than to war or the chace, were always conspicuous for their patronage, and, what is more important than mere patronage, their critical skill in matters of art and elegant learning. Among the ecclesiastical order this was naturally still more frequent. If the successors of Leo X. did not attain so splendid a name, they were perhaps, after the short reign of Adrian VI., which, if we may believe the Italian writers, seemed to threaten an absolute return of barbarism,<sup>7</sup> not less munificent or

<sup>7</sup> Valerianus, in his treatise De Infelicitate Litteratorum—a melancholy series of unfortunate authors, in the manner, though not quite with the spirit and interest, of Mr. D'Israeli—speaks of Adrian VI. as of another Paul II. in hatred of literature. Ecce adest musarum et eloquentiæ, totiusque nitoris hostis acerrimus, qui literatis omnibus inimicitias militatur, quoniam, ut ipse dicitabat, Terentiani essent, quos cum edissem atque etiam persequi cepisset,

voluntarium alii exilium, alias atque alias alii latebras quærentes, tandem latuere, quoad Dei beneficio, altero imperii anno decessit, qui si aliquanto diutius vixisset, Gotica illa tempora adversus bonas literas videbatur suscitaturus. Lib. ii. p. 34. It is but fair to add that Erasmus ascribes to Adrian the protection of letters in the Low Countries. Vix nostra phalanx sustinisset hostium conjurationem, ni Adrianus tum Cardinalis, postea Romanus pontifex, hoc edidisset oracu-

sedulous in encouraging polite and useful letters. The first part indeed of this period of thirty years was very adverse to the progress of learning, especially in that disastrous hour when the lawless mercenaries of Bourbon's army were led on to the sack of Rome. In this and in other calamities of the same kind it happened that universities and literary academies were broken up, that libraries were destroyed or dispersed. That of Sadolet, having been with difficulty saved in the pillage of Rome, was dispersed, in consequence of shipwreck during its transport to France.\* A better era commenced with the pacification of Italy in 1531. The subsequent wars were either transient or partial in their effects. The very extinction of all hope for civil freedom which characterised the new period, turned the intellectual energies of an acute and ardent people towards those tranquil pursuits which their rulers would both permit and encourage.

2. The real excellence of the ancients in literature as well as art gave rise to an enthusiastic and exclusive admiration of antiquity, not unusual indeed in other parts of Europe, but in Italy a sort of national pride which all partook. They went back to the memory of past ages for consolation in their declining fortunes, and conquered their barbarian masters of the north in imagination with Cæsar and Marius. Everything that reminded them of the slow decay of Rome, sometimes even their religion itself, sounded ill in their fastidious ears. Nothing was so much at heart with the Italian scholars as to write a Latin style, not only free from barbarism, but conformable to the standard of what

lum : Bonas literas non damno, hæreses et schismata damno. Epist. mclxxvi. There is not indeed much in this: but the Biographie Universelle (Suppl., art. Buseiden) informs us that this pope was compelled to interfere in order to remove the impediments to the foundation of Buseiden's Collegium Trilingue at Louvain. It is well known that Adrian VI. was inclined to reform some abuses in the church, enough to set the Italians against him. See his Life, in Bayle, Note D.

\* Cum enim direptis rebus cæteris, libri soli superstites ab hostium injuria intacti, in navim conjecti, ad Gallias lit-

tus jam pervecti essent, incidit in vectores, et in ipsos familiares meos pestilentia. Quo metu il permoti, quorum ad littora navis appulsa fuerat, onera in terram exponi non permisere. Ita asportati sunt in alienas et ignotas terras; exceptisque voluminibus paucis, que deportavi mecum huc proficiscens, mei reliqui illi tot labores quos impenderamus, Græcis præsertim codicibus conquirendis undique et colligendis, mei tanti sumptus, mea cura, omnes iterum jam ad nihilum reciderunt. Sadolet, Epist. lib. i. p. 23. (Colon. 1554.)

is sometimes called the Augustan age, that is, of the period from Cicero to Augustus. Several of them affected to be exclusively Ciceronian.

3. Sadolet, one of the apostolic secretaries under Leo X. and Clement VII., and raised afterwards to the purple by Paul III., stood in as high a rank as any for purity of language without affectation, though he seems to have been reckoned of the Ciceronian school. Except his Epistles, however, none of Sadolet's works are now read, or even appear to have been very conspicuous in his own age, though Corniani has given an analysis of a treatise on education.\* A greater name, in point of general literary reputation, was Peter Bembo, a noble Venetian, secretary with Sadolet to Leo, and raised, like him, to the dignity of a cardinal by Paul III. Bembo was known in Latin and in Italian literature; and in each language both as a prose writer and a poet. We shall thus have to regard four claims which he prefers to a niche in the temple of fame, and we shall find none of them ungrounded. In pure Latin style he was not perhaps superior to Sadolet, but would not have yielded to any competitor in Europe. It has been told, in proof of Bembo's scrupulous care to give his compositions the utmost finish, that he kept forty portfolios, into which every sheet entered successively, and was only taken out to undergo his corrections before it entered into the next limbo of this purgatory. Though this may not be quite true, it is but an exaggera-

\* Nicéron says of Sadolet's Epistles, which form a very thick volume, *Il y a plusieurs choses dignes d'être remarquées dans les lettres de Sadolet; mais elles sont quelquefois trop diffuses, et par conséquent ennuyeuses à lire. I concur in this: yet it may be added that the Epistles of Cicero would sometimes be tedious, if we took as little interest in their subjects as we commonly do in those of Sadolet. His style is uniformly pure and good; but he is less fastidious than Bembo, and does not use circuitry to avoid a theological expression. They are much more interesting, at least, than the ordinary Latin letters of his contemporaries, such as those of Paulus Manutius. An uniform goodness of heart and love of right prevail in the*

*epistles of Sadolet. His desire of ecclesiastical reformation in respect of morals has caused him to be suspected of a bias towards Protestantism; and a letter in the most flattering terms, which he wrote to Melancthon, but which that learned man did not answer, has been brought in corroboration of this; yet the general tenor of his letters refutes this surmise: his theology, which was wholly semi-Pelagian, must have led him to look with disgust on the early Lutheran school (Epist. l. iii. p. 121, and l. ix. p. 410); and after Paul III. bestowed on him the purple, he became a staunch friend of the court of Rome, though never losing his wish to see a reform of its abuses. This will be admitted by every one who takes the trouble to run over Sadolet's epistles.*

tion of the laborious diligence by which he must often have reduced his sense to feebleness and vacuity. He was one of those exclusive Ciceronians who, keenly feeling the beauties of their master's eloquence, and aware of the corruption which, after the age of Augustus, came rapidly over the purity of style, rejected with scrupulous care not only every word or phrase which could not be justified by the practice of what was called the golden age, but even insisted on that of Cicero himself, as the only model they thought absolutely perfect. Paulus Manutius, one of the most rigorous, though of the most eminent among these, would not employ the words of Cicero's correspondents, though as highly accomplished and polite as himself. This fastidiousness was of course highly inconvenient in a language constantly applicable to the daily occurrences of life in epistles or in narration, and it has driven Bembo, according to one of his severest critics, into strange affectation and circuitry in his Venetian history. It produced also, what was very offensive to the more serious reader, and is otherwise frigid and tasteless, an adaptation of heathen phrases to the usages and even the characters of Christianity.<sup>b</sup> It has been remarked also, that, in his great solicitude about the choice of words, he was indifferent enough to the value of his meaning—a very common failing of elegant scholars when they write in a foreign language. But if some praise is due, as surely it is, to the art of reviving that consummate grace and richness which enchants every successive generation in the periods of Cicero, we must place Bembo, had we nothing more than this to say of him, among the ornaments of literature in the sixteenth century.

4. The tone which Bembo and others of that school were studiously giving to ancient literature provoked one

<sup>b</sup> This affectation had begun in the preceding century, and was carried by Campano in his *Life of Braccio di Montone* to as great an extreme as by Bembo, or any Ciceronian of his age. Bayle (*Bembus*, Note B) gives some odd instances of it in the latter. Notwithstanding his laborious scrupulosity as to language, Bembo is reproached by Lipsius, and others of a more advanced stage of critical knowledge, with many faults

of Latin, especially in his letters. *Ibid.* Sturm says of the letters of Bembo, *Ejus epistolæ scriptæ mihi magis quam missæ esse videntur. Indicia sunt hominis otiosi et imitatoris speciem magis rerum quam res ipsas consecrantis.* Ascham, *Epist.* cccxci.

[The origin of the Ciceronian controversy will have some light thrown on it by the *Epistles of Politian*, lib. v. 1-4.—1842.]

of the most celebrated works of Erasmus, the dialogues entitled *Ciceronianus*. The primary aim of these was to ridicule the fastidious purity of that sort of writers who would not use a case or tense for which they could not find authority in the works of Cicero. A whole winter's night they thought was well spent in composing a single sentence; but even then it was to be revised over and over again. Hence they wrote little except elaborated epistles. One of their rules, he tells us, was never to speak Latin, if they could help it, which must have seemed extraordinary in an age when it was the common language of scholars from different countries. It is certain, indeed, that the practice cannot be favourable to very pure Latinity.

5. Few books of that age give us more insight into its literary history and the public taste than the *Ciceronianus*. In a short retrospect Erasmus characterises all the considerable writers in Latin since the revival of letters, and endeavours to show how far they wanted this Ciceronian elegance for which some were contending. He distinguishes in a spirit of sound taste between a just imitation which leaves free scope for genius, and a servile following of a single writer. "Let your first and chief care," he says, "be to understand thoroughly what you undertake to write about. That will give you copiousness of words, and supply you with true and natural sentiments. Then will it be found how your language lives and breathes, how it excites and hurries away the reader, and how it is a just image of your own mind. Nor will that be less genuine which you add to your own by imitation."

6. The *Ciceronianus*, however, goes in some passages beyond the limited subject of Latin style. The controversy had some reference to the division between the men of learning and the men of taste, between the lovers of the solid and of the brilliant, in some measure also to that between Christianity and Paganism, a garb which the incredulity of the Italians affected to put on. All the Ciceronian party, except Longolius, were on the other side of the Alps.<sup>c</sup> The object of the Italian scho-

<sup>c</sup> Though this is generally said, on the authority of Erasmus himself, Peter Henry Stephens, to have equalled in Ciceronian purity the best of the Italians Bunei is asserted by some French scho-

lars was to write pure Latin, to glean little morsels of Roman literature, to talk a heathenish philosophy in private, and leave the world to its own abuses. That of Erasmus was to make men wiser and better by wit, sense, and learning.

7. Julius Cæsar Scaliger wrote against the Ciceronianus with all that unmannerly invective which is the disgrace of many scholars, and very much his own. His vanity blinded him to what was then obvious to Europe, that, with considerable learning, and still better parts, he was totally unworthy of being named with the first man in the literary republic. Nor in fact had he much right to take up the cause of the Ciceronian purists, with whom he had no pretension to be reckoned, though his reply to Erasmus is not ill-written. It consists chiefly in a vindication of Cicero's life and writings against some passages in the Ciceronianus which seem to affect them, scarcely touching the question of Latin style. Erasmus made no answer, and thus escaped the danger of retaliating on Scaliger in his own phrases.

Scaliger's  
invective  
against it.

8. The devotedness of the Italians to Cicero was displayed in a more useful manner than by this close imitation. Pietro Vettori (better known as Victorius), professor of Greek and Roman literature at Florence, published an entire edition of the great orator's writings in 1534. But this was soon surpassed by a still more illustrious scholar, Paulus Manutius, son of Aldus, and his successor in the printing-house at Venice. His edition of Cicero appeared in 1540—the most important which had hitherto been published of any ancient author. In fact, the notes of Manutius, which were subsequently very much augmented,<sup>d</sup> form at this day in great measure the basis of interpretation and illustration of Cicero, as what are called the Variorum editions will show. A further accession to Cice-

Editions of  
Cicero.

and Paulus Manutius owns him as his master, in one of his epistles: Ego ab illo maximum habebam beneficium, quod me cum Politianis et Erasmo nescio quibus miserè errantem, in hanc rectè scribendi viam primus induxerat. In a later edition, for Politianis et Erasmo, it was thought more decent to introduce Phi-

liphis et Campanis. Bayle, art. Bune!, Note A. The letters of Bune!, written with great purity, were published in 1851. It is to be observed that he had lived much in Italy. Erasmus does not mention him in the Ciceronianus.

<sup>d</sup> Renouard, Imprimerie des Aides.



ronian literature was made by Nizolius in his *Observationes in M. Tullium Ciceronem*, 1535. This title hardly indicates that it is a dictionary of Ciceronian words, with examples of their proper senses. The later and improved editions bear the title of *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*. I find no critical work in this period of greater extent and labour than that of Scaliger *de Causis Latinæ Linguae*—by “causis” meaning its principles. It relates much to the foundations of the language, or the rules by which its various peculiarities have been formed. He corrects many alleged errors of earlier writers, and sometimes of Valla himself—enumerating, rather invidiously, 634 of such errors in an index. In this book he shows much acuteness and judgment.

9. The *Geniales Dies* of Alexander ab Alexandro, a Neapolitan lawyer, published in 1522, are on the model of Aulus Gellius, a repertory of miscellaneous learning, thrown together without arrangement, on every subject of Roman philology and antiquities. The author had lived with the scholars of the fifteenth century, and even remembered Philolphus; but his own reputation seems not to have been extensive, at least through Europe. “He has known every one,” says Erasmus, in a letter; “no one knows who he is.” The *Geniales Dies* has had better success in later ages than most early works of criticism, a good edition having appeared, with *Variorum* notes, in 1673. It gives, like the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Cælius Rhodiginus, an idea of the vast extent to which the investigation of Latin antiquity had been already carried.

10. A very few books of the same class belong to this period; and may deserve mention, although long since superseded by the works of those to whom we have just alluded, and who filled up and corrected their outline. Marlianus on the *Topography of Rome*, 1534, is admitted, though with some hesitation, by Grævius into his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum*

\* *Demiror quis sit ille Alexander ab Alexandro. Novit omnes celebres Italiæ viros, Philolphum, Pomponium Lætum, Hermolaum, et quos non? Omnibus usus est familiariter; tamen nemo novit illum. Appendix, ad Erasm. Epist. cccclxxiii. (1533.)* Bayle also remarks

that Alexander is hardly mentioned by his contemporaries. Tiraqueau, a French lawyer of considerable learning, undertook the task of writing critical notes on the *Geniales Dies* about the middle of the century, correcting many of the errors which they contained.

Romanarum, while he absolutely sets aside the preceding labours of Blondus Flavius and Pomponius Lætus. The *Fasti Consulares* were first published by Marlianus in 1549; and a work on the same subject in 1550 was the earliest production of the great Sigonius. Before these the memorable events of Roman history had not been critically reduced to a chronological series. A treatise by Raphael of Volterra, *de Magistratibus et Sacerdotibus Romanorum*, is very inaccurate and superficial.<sup>f</sup> Mazochius, a Roman bookseller, was the first who, in 1521, published a collection of inscriptions. This was very imperfect, and full of false monuments. A better appeared in Germany by the care of Apianus, professor of mathematics at Ingoldstadt, in 1534.<sup>g</sup>

11. It could not be expected that the elder and more copious fountain of ancient lore, the Greek language, would slake the thirst of Italian scholars as readily as the Latin. No local association, no patriotic sentiment, could attach them to that study. Greece itself no longer sent out a Lascaris or a Musurus; subdued, degraded, barbarous in language and learning, alien, above all, by insuperable enmity, from the church, she had ceased to be a living guide to her own treasures. Hence we may observe, even already, not a diminution, but a less accelerated increase, of Greek erudition in Italy. Two, however, among the most considerable editions of Greek authors, in point of labour, that the century produced, are the Galen by Andrew of Asola in 1525, and the Eustathius from the press of Bladus at Rome in 1542.<sup>h</sup> We may add, as first editions of Greek authors, Epictetus, at Venice, in 1528, and Arrian in 1535; Ælian, at Rome, in 1545. The *Etymologicum Magnum* of Phavorinus, whose real name was Guarino, published at Rome in 1523, was of some importance while no lexicon but the very defective one of Craston had been printed. The *Etymologicum* of Phavorinus, however, is merely "a compilation from Hesychius, Suidas, Phrynichus, Harpocration, Eustathius, the *Etymologica*, the lexicon of Philemon, some treatises of Trypho, Apollonius, and other grammarians and various

Greek less  
studied in  
Italy.

<sup>f</sup> It is published in Sallengre, *Novus Inscriptionum.*

*Thesaurus Antiquit.*, vol. iii.

<sup>h</sup> Gresswell's *Early Parisian Greek*

<sup>g</sup> Bormann, *præfat.* in Gruter, *Corpus* Press, p. 14

scholiasts. It is valuable as furnishing several important corrections of the authors from whom it was collected, and not a few extracts from unpublished grammarians.<sup>1</sup>

12. Of the Italian scholars, Vettori, already mentioned, seems to have earned the highest reputation for his skill in Greek. But there was no considerable town in Italy, besides the regular universities, where public instruction in the Greek as well as Latin tongue was not furnished, and in many cases by professors of fine taste and recondite learning, whose names were then eminent—such as Bonamico, Nizzoli, Parrhasio, Corrado, and Maffei, commonly called Raphael of Volterra. Yet, according to Tiraboschi, something was still wanting to secure these schools from the too frequent changes of teachers, which the hope of better salaries produced, and to give the students a more vigorous emulation and a more uniform scheme of discipline.<sup>k</sup> This was to be supplied by the followers of Ignatius Loyola. But their interference with education in Italy did not begin in quite so early a period as the present.

13. If we cross the Alps, and look at the condition of learning in countries which we left in 1520 rapidly advancing on the footsteps of Italy, we shall find that, except in purity of Latin style, both France and Germany were now capable of entering the lists of fair competition. France possessed, by general confession, the most profound Greek scholar in Europe, Budæus. If this could before have been in doubt, he raised himself to a pinnacle of philological glory by his *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ*, Paris, 1529. The publications of the chief Greek authors by Aldus, which we have already specified, had given a compass of reading to the scholars of this period which those of the fifteenth century could not have possessed. But, with the exception of the *Etymologicum* of Phavorinus, just mentioned, no attempt had been made by a native of western Europe to interpret the proper meaning of Greek words—even he had confined himself to compiling

<sup>1</sup> Quarterly Review, vol. xxii.; Roscoe's *Leo*, ch. xl. Stephens is said to have inserted many parts of this lexicon of Guarino in his *Thesaurus*. Nicéron, xxii. 141.

<sup>k</sup> Vol. viii. 114; x. 319. Ginguéne, vii. 232, has copied Tiraboschi's account of these accomplished teachers with little addition, and probably with no knowledge of the original sources of information.

from the grammarians. In this large and celebrated treatise Budæus has established the interpretation of a great part of the language. All later critics write in his praise. There will never be another Budæus in France, says Joseph Scaliger, the most envious and detracting, though the most learned, of the tribe.<sup>m</sup> But, referring to what Baillet and Blount have collected from older writers,<sup>n</sup> we will here insert the character of these commentaries which an eminent living scholar has given.

14. "This great work of Budæus has been the textbook and common storehouse of succeeding lexicographers. But a great objection to its general <sup>Its character.</sup> use was its want of arrangement. His observations on the Greek language are thrown together in the manner of a commonplace-book, an inconvenience which is imperfectly remedied by an alphabetical index at the end. His authorities and illustrations are chiefly drawn from the prose writers of Greece, the historians, orators, and fathers. With the poets he seems to have had a less intimate acquaintance. His interpretations are mostly correct, and always elegantly expressed; displaying an union of Greek and Latin literature which renders his Commentaries equally useful to the students of both languages. The peculiar value of this work consists in the full and exact account which it gives of the Greek legal and forensic terms, both by literal interpretation and by a comparison with the corresponding terms in Roman jurisprudence. So copious and exact in this department of the work, that no student can read the Greek orators to the best advantage unless he consults the Commentaries of Budæus. It appears from the Greek epistle subjoined to the work that the illustration of the forensic language of Athens and Rome was originally all that his plan embraced; and that, when circumstances tempted him to extend the limits of his work, this still continued to be his chief object."<sup>o</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Scaligerana, l. 33.

<sup>n</sup> Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, II. 328 (Amst. 1725); Blount, in Budæo.

<sup>o</sup> Quarterly Review, vol. xxii., an article ascribed to the bishop of London. The Commentaries of Budæus are written in a very rambling and desultory manner, passing from one subject to another

as a casual word may suggest the transition. Sic enim, he says, hos commentarios scribere institimus, ut quicquid in ordinem seriemque scribendi incurreret, vel ex diverticulo quasi obviam se offerret, ad id digredi. A large portion of what is valuable in this work has been transferred by Stephens to his Thesau-

15. These Commentaries of Budæus stand not only far above anything else in Greek literature before the middle of the sixteenth century, but are alone in their class. What comes next, but at a vast interval, is the Greek grammar of Clenardus, printed at Louvain in 1530. It was, however, much beyond Budæus in extent of circulation, and probably, for this reason, in general utility. This grammar was continually reprinted with successive improvements, and, defective as, especially in its original state, it must have been, was far more perspicuous than that of Gaza, though not, perhaps, more judicious in principle. It was for a long time commonly used in France, and is in fact the principal basis of those lately or still in use among us, such as the Eton Greek grammar. The proof of this is, that they follow Clenardus in most of his innovations, and too frequently for mere accident in the choice of instances.<sup>p</sup> The account of syntax in this grammar, as well as that of Gaza, is very defective. A

Greek  
grammars  
and lex-  
icons.

rus. The Latin criticisms of Budæus have also doubtless been borrowed.

Budæus and Erasmus are fond of writing Greek in their correspondence. Others had the same fancy; and it is curious that they ventured upon what has wholly gone out of use since the language has been so well understood. But probably this is the reason that later scholars have avoided it. Neither of these great men shines much in elegance or purity. One of Budæus, Aug. 15, 1519 (in Erasm. Epist. cccclv.), seems often incorrect, and in the mere style of a schoolboy.

<sup>p</sup> Clenardus seems first to have separated simple from contracted nouns, thus making ten declensions. Wherever he differs from Gaza, our popular grammars seem in general to have followed him. He tells us that he had drawn up his own for the use of his private pupils. Baillet observes that the grammar of Clenardus, notwithstanding the mediocrity of his learning, has had more success than any other; those who have followed having mostly confined themselves to correcting and enlarging it. *Jugemens des Savans*, il. 164. This is certainly true, as far as England is concerned, though the Eton grammar is in some degree an improvement on Clenardus.

[This was stated rather too strongly in my first edition. A learned person at the head of one of our public schools, in a communication with which he has favoured me, does not think, on a comparison of the two works, that the Eton Greek grammar owes very much to that of Clenardus, though there is no doubt much that may have been borrowed from him, and is inclined to believe that it was formed upon one published by the university of Padua, which contains the Eton grammar *totidem verbis*, and a great deal of other matter.

Of this Paduan grammar I am wholly ignorant: if published before that of Clenardus, it must be of some interest in literary history. But certainly the grammar of Clenardus differs considerably from that of Gaza, by distinguishing contracted from simple nouns, as separate declensions, surely a great error; and by dividing the conjugations of verbs into thirteen, which Gaza makes but four, ending in  $\omega$ , and one in  $\mu$ . The choice of words for examples with Clenardus is very often the same as in our modern grammars, though not so constantly as I had at first supposed. It would be easy to point out rules in that grammarian which have been copied verbatim by his successors — 1842.

better treatise, in this respect, is by Varenius of Malines, *Syntaxis Linguae Græcæ*, printed at Louvain about 1532. Another Greek grammar by Vergara, a native of Spain, has been extolled by some of the older critics, and depreciated by others.<sup>9</sup> A Greek lexicon, of which the first edition was printed at Basle in 1537, is said to abound in faults and inaccuracies of every description. The character given of it by Henry Stephens, even when it had been enlarged, if not improved, does not speak much for the means that the scholars of this age had possessed in labouring for the attainment of Greek learning.<sup>r</sup>

16. The most remarkable editions of Greek authors from the Parisian press were those of Aristophanes in 1528, and of Sophocles in 1529; the former printed by Gourmont, the latter by Colinaeus; the earliest edition of Dionysius Halicarnassensis in 1546, and of Dio Cassius in 1548; both by Robert Stephens. The first Greek edition of the Elements of Euclid appeared at Basle in 1533, of Diogenes Laertius the same year, of five books of Diodorus in 1539, of Josephus in 1544; the first of Polybius in 1530, at Haguenau. Besides these editions of classical authors, Basil, and other of the Greek fathers, occupied the press of Frobenius, under the superintendence of Erasmus. The publications of Latin authors by Badius Ascensius continued till his death in 1535. Colinaeus began to print his small editions of the same class at Paris about 1521. They are in that cursive character which Aldus had first employed.\* The number of such editions, both

Editions  
of Greek  
authors.

<sup>9</sup> Vergara de omnibus Græcæ lingue grammaticæ partibus, 1573; rather 1537, for "deinde Parisiis, 1550," follows in Antonio, *Bibl. Nova*.

<sup>r</sup> H. Stephanus de typographiæ suæ statu. Gesner himself says of this lexicon, which sometimes bore his name: Circa annum 1537, lexicon Græco-Latinum, quod jam ante a diversis et innotatis nescio quibus miserè satis consarcinatum erat, ex Phavorini Camertis Lexico Græco ita auxi, ut nihil in eo extaret, quod non ut singulari fide, ita labore maximo adjicerem; sed typographus me inscio, et præter omnem expectationem meam, exiguam duntaxat accessionis meæ partem adjecit, reser-

vans sibi forte auctarium ad sequentes etiam editiones. He proceeds to say that he enlarged several other editions down to 1556, when the last that had been enriched by his additions appeared at Basle. Ceterum hoc anno, quo hæc scribo, 1562, Geneva proditisse audio longe copiosissimum emendatissimumque Græcæ lingue thesaurum a Rob. Constantino incomparabilis doctrina viro, ex Joannis Crispini officinâ. Vide Gesneri *Biblioth. Universalis*, art. Conrad Gesner: this is part of a long account given here by Gesner of his own works.

\* Gresswell's *History of the Early Parisian Greek Press*.

in France and Germany, became far more considerable than in the preceding age. They are not, however, in general, much valued for correctness of text; nor had many considerable critics even in Latin philology yet appeared on this side of the Alps. Robert Stephens stands almost alone, who, by the publication of his Thesaurus in 1535, augmented in a subsequent edition of 1543, may be said to have made an epoch in this department of literature. The preceding dictionaries of Calepio and other compilers had been limited to an interpretation of single words, sometimes with reference to passages in the authors who had employed them. This produced, on the one hand, perpetual barbarisms and deviations from purity of idiom, while it gave rise in some to a fastidious hypercriticism, of which Valla had given an example.<sup>†</sup> Stephens first endeavoured to exhibit the proper use of words, not only in all the anomalies of idiom, but in every delicate variation of sense to which the pure taste and subtle discernment of the best writers had adapted them. Such an analysis is perhaps only possible with respect to a language wherein the extant writers, and especially those who have acquired authority, are very limited in number; and even in Latin, the most extensive dictionary, such as has grown up long since the days of Robert Stephens, under the hands of Gesner, Forcellini, and Facciolati, or such as might still improve upon their labour, could only approach an unattainable perfection. What Stephens himself achieved would now be deemed far too defective for general use; yet it afforded the means of more purity in style than any could in that age have reached without unwearied exertion. Accordingly it is to be understood, that while a very few scholars, chiefly in Italy, had acquired a facility and exactness of language which has seldom been surpassed, the general style retained a great deal of barbarism, and neither in single words, nor always in mere grammar, can bear a critical eye. Erasmus is often incorrect, especially in his epistles, and says modestly of himself in the Ciceronianus, that he is hardly to be named among

<sup>†</sup> Vives de causis corrupt. art. (Opera Lud. Vives, edit. Basle, 1555, l. 358.) He observes in another work that there was no full and complete dictionary of Latin. Id., p. 475.

writers at all, unless blotting a great deal of paper with ink is enough to make one. He is however among the best of his contemporaries, if a vast command of Latin phrase, and a spirited employment of it, may compensate for some want of accuracy. Budæus, as has been already said, is hard and unpolished. Vives assumes that he has written his famous and excellent work on the corruption of the sciences with some elegance; but this he says in language which hardly warrants the boast." In fact he is by no means a good writer. But Melanchthon excelled Erasmus by far in purity of diction and correctness of classical taste. With him we may place Calvin in his Institutes, and our countryman Sir John Cheke, as distinguished from most other Cisalpine writers by the merit of what is properly called style. The praise, however, of writing pure Latin, or the pleasure of reading it, is dearly bought when accompanied by such vacuity of sense as we experience in the elaborate epistles of Paulus Manutius, and the Ciceronian school in Italy.

17. Francis I. has obtained a glorious title, the Father of French literature. The national propensity (or what once was such) to extol kings may Progress of learning in France. have had something to do with this; for we never say the same of Henry VIII. In the early part of his reign he manifested a design to countenance ancient literature by public endowments. War, and unsuccessful war, sufficiently diverted his mind from this scheme. But in 1531, a season of peace, he established the royal college of three languages in the university of Paris, which did not quite deserve its name till the foundation of a Latin professorship in 1534. Vatable was the first professor of Hebrew, and Danes of Greek. In 1545 it appears that there were three professors of Hebrew in the royal college, three of Greek, one of Latin, two of mathematics, one of medicine, and one of philosophy. But this college had to encounter the jealousy of the university, tenacious of its ancient pri-

<sup>u</sup> Nitorem præterea sermonis addidi aliquem, et quod non expediret res pulcherrimas sordidè ac spurè vestiri, et ut studiosi elegantiarum [orum?] literarum non perpetuo in vocum et sermonis cognitione adhaerescerent; quod hæcenus fere accidit, tadio nimirum infrugifera ac horrida molestia, quæ in percipiendis artibus dulcissimè erat devorata, l. 324.



vileges, which it fancied to be trampled upon, and stimulated by the hatred of the pretended philosophers, the scholastic dialecticians, against philological literature. They tried to get the parliament on their side, but that body, however averse to innovation, of which it gave in this age, and long afterwards, many egregious proofs, was probably restrained by the king's known favour to learning from obstructing the new college as much as the university desired.\* Danes had a colleague and successor as Greek professor in a favourite pupil of Budæus, and a good scholar, Toussain, who handed down the lamp in 1547 to one far more eminent, Turnebus. Under such a succession of instructors it may be naturally presumed that the knowledge of Greek would make some progress in France. And no doubt the great scholars of the next generation were chiefly trained under these men. But the opposition of many, and the coldness almost of all, in the ecclesiastical order, among whom that study ought principally to have flourished, impeded in the sixteenth century, as it has perhaps ever since, the diffusion of Grecian literature in all countries of the Romish communion. We do not find much evidence of classical, at least of Greek, learning in any university of France, except that of Paris, to which students repaired from every quarter of the kingdom.† But a few once distinguished names of the age of Francis I. deserve to be mentioned. William Cop, physician to the king, and John Ruel, one of the earliest promoters of botanical science, the one translator of Galen, the other of Dioscorides; Lazarus Baif, a poet of some eminence in that age, who rendered two Greek tragedies into French verse, with a few rather more obscure, such as Petit,

\* The faculty of theology in 1530 condemned these propositions: 1. Scripture cannot be well understood without Greek and Hebrew; 2. A preacher cannot explain the epistle and gospel without these languages. In the same year they summoned Danes and Vatable with two more to appear in parliament, that they might be forbidden to explain Scripture by the Greek and Hebrew without permission of the university; or to say the Hebrew or the Greek is so and so, lest they should injure the credit of the Vulgate. They admitted, however, that the study of

Hebrew and Greek was praiseworthy in skilful and orthodox theologians, disposed to maintain the inviolable authority of the Vulgate. *Contin. de Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiast.*, xxvii. 233. See also Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.*, vi. 289.

† We find, however, that a Greek and Latin school was set up in the diocese of Sadolet (Carpentras), about 1533; he endeavoured to procure a master from Italy, and seems, by a letter of the year 1540, to have succeeded. *Sadol. Epist.*, lib. ix. and xvi.

Pin, Deloin, De Chatel, who are cursorily mentioned in literary history, or to whom Erasmus sometimes alludes. Let us not forget John Grollier, a gentleman who, having filled with honour some public employments, became the first perhaps on this side of the Alps who formed a very extensive library and collection of medals. He was the friend and patron of the learned during a long life; a character little affected in that age by private persons of wealth on the less sunny side of the Alps. Grollier's library was not wholly sold till the latter part of the seventeenth century.<sup>a</sup>

18. In Spain the same dislike of innovation stood in the way. Greek professorships existed, however, in the universities; and Nunnes, usually Learning in Spain. called Pincianus (from the Latin name for the city of Valladolid), a disciple of Lebrixa, whom he surpassed, taught the language at Alcalá, and afterwards at Salamanca. He was the most learned man whom Spain had possessed; and his edition of Seneca, in 1536, has obtained the praise of Lipsius.<sup>a</sup> Resende, the pupil of Arias Barbosa and Lebrixa in Greek, has been termed the restorer of letters in Portugal. None of the writings of Resende, except a Latin grammar, published in 1540, fall within the present period; but he established, about 1531, a school at Lisbon, and one afterwards at Evora, where Estação, a man rather better known, was educated.<sup>b</sup> School divinity and canon law over-rode all liberal studies throughout the Peninsula, of which the catalogue of books at the end of Antonio's Bibliotheca Nova is a sufficient witness.

19. The first effects of the great religious schism in Germany were not favourable to classical literature.<sup>c</sup> An all-absorbing subject left neither relish nor leisure for human studies. Those who had made the greatest advances in learning were themselves generally involved in theological controversy; and, in some countries, had to encounter either personal suffering on account of their opinions, or, at least, the jealousy of a church that hated the advance of knowledge. The knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was always liable to the suspicion of hetero-

Effects of  
Reformation on  
learning.

<sup>a</sup> Biogr. Univ., Grollier.

<sup>b</sup> Antonio, Bibl. Nova. Biogr. Univ.

<sup>c</sup> Biogr. Univ.

<sup>c</sup> Erasm. Epist. passim.

doxy. In Italy, where classical antiquity was the chief object, this dread of learning could not subsist. But few learned much of Greek in these parts of Europe without some reference to theology,<sup>d</sup> especially to the grammatical interpretation of the Scriptures. In those parts which embraced the Reformation a still more threatening danger arose from the distempered fanaticism of its adherents. Men who interpreted the Scripture by the Spirit could not think human learning of much value in religion; and they were as little likely to perceive any other advantage it could possess. There seemed, indeed, a considerable peril that through the authority of Carlostadt, or even of Luther, the lessons of Crocus and Mosellanus would be totally forgotten.<sup>e</sup> And this would very probably have been the case if one man, Melanchthon, had not perceived the necessity of preserving human learning as a bulwark to theology itself against the wild waves of enthusiasm. It was owing to him that both the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and that of the Aristotelian philosophy, were maintained in Germany.<sup>f</sup> Nor did his activity content itself with animating the universities. The schools of preparatory instruction, which had hitherto furnished merely the elements of grammar, throwing the whole burthen of philological learning on the universities, began before the middle of the century to be improved by Melanchthon, with the assistance of a friend, even superior to him, probably, in that walk of literature, Joachim Camerarius. "Both these great men," says Eichhorn, "laboured upon one plan, upon the same principle, and with equal zeal; they were, in the strictest sense, the fathers of that pure taste and solid learning by which the next generation was distinguished." Under the names of *Lycæum* or *Gymnasium*, these German schools gave a more complete knowledge of the two languages, and sometimes the elements of philosophy.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Erasm. Adag. chil. iv. c. v. § 1. Vives, apud Meiners, *Vergl. der Sitten*, ii. 737.

<sup>e</sup> Seckendorf, p. 198.

<sup>f</sup> [It is said by Melchior Adam, *Vite Philosophorum*, p. 87, that when Me-

lanchthon first lectured on the *Philippics* of Demosthenes, in 1524, he had but four hearers, and these were obliged to transcribe from their teacher's copy.—1842.]

<sup>g</sup> Eichhorn, iii. 254 et post.

20. We derive some acquaintance with the state of education in this age from the writings of John Sturm, than whom scarce any one more contributed to the cause of letters in Germany. He became in 1538, and continued for above forty years, rector of a celebrated school at Strasburg. Several treatises on education, especially one, *De Literarum Ludis rectè instituendis*, bear witness to his assiduity. If the scheme of classical instruction which he has here laid down may be considered as one actually in use, there was a solid structure of learning erected in the early years of life, which none of our modern academies would pretend to emulate. Those who feel any curiosity about the details of this course of education, which seems almost too rigorous for practice, will find the whole in Morhof's *Polyhistor*.<sup>b</sup> It is sufficient to say that it occupies the period of life between the ages of six and fifteen, when the pupil is presumed to have acquired a very extensive knowledge of the two languages. Trifling as it may appear to take notice of this subject, it serves at least as a test of the literary pre-eminence of Germany. For we could, as I conceive, trace no such education in France, and certainly not in England.

Sturm's  
account  
of German  
schools.

21. The years of the life of Camerarius correspond to those of the century. His most remarkable works fall partly into the succeeding period; but many of the editions and translations of Greek authors, which occupied his laborious hours, were published before 1550. He was one of the first who knew enough of both languages and of the subjects treated to escape the reproach which has fallen on the translators of the fifteenth century. His *Thucydides*, printed in 1540, was superior to any preceding edition. The universities of Tübingen and Leipsic owed much of their prosperity to his superintending care. Next to Camerarius among the German scholars, we may place Simon Gryneus, professor of Greek at Heidelberg in 1523, and translator of Plutarch's *Lives*. Micyllus, his successor in this office, and author of a treatise *De re metricâ*, of which Melanchthon speaks in high terms of praise, was more celebrated than most of his countrymen for Latin

Learning in  
Germany.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* B. c. 10.

poetry. Yet in this art he fell below Eobanus Hessus, whose merit is attested by the friendship of Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Camerarius, as well as by the best verses that Germany had to boast. It would be very easy to increase the list of scholars in that empire; but we should find it more difficult to exhaust the enumeration. Germany was not only far elevated in literary progress above France, but on a level, as we may fairly say, with Italy herself. The university of Marburg was founded in 1526, that of Copenhagen in 1539, of Konigsberg in 1544, of Jena in 1548.

22. We come now to investigate the gradual movement of learning in England, the state of which In England  
Linacre. about 1520 we have already seen. In 1521 the first Greek characters appear in a book printed at Cambridge, Linacre's Latin translation of Galen de Temperamentis, and in the title-page, but there only, of a treatise *περὶ Διαψάδων*, by Bullock. They are employed several times for quotations in Linacre de Emendata Structura Orationis, 1524.<sup>1</sup> This treatise is chiefly a series of grammatical remarks relating to distinctions in the Latin language now generally known. It must have been highly valuable, and produced a considerable effect in England, where nothing of that superior criticism had been attempted. In order to judge of its proper merit, it should be compared with the antecedent works of Valla and Perotti. Every rule is supported by authorities; and Linacre, I observe, is far more cautious than Valla in asserting what is not good Latin, contenting himself for the most part with showing what is. It has been remarked that, though Linacre formed his own style on the model of Quintilian, he took most of his authorities from Cicero. This treatise, the first-fruits of English erudition, was well received, and frequently printed on the Continent. Melanchthon recommended its use in the schools of Germany. Linacre's translation of Galen has been praised by Sir John Cheke, who

<sup>1</sup> The author begins by bespeaking the reader's indulgence for the Greek printing. Pro tuo candore, optime lector, æquo animo feras, si quæ literæ in exemplis Hellenismi vel tonis, vel spiritibus, vel affectionibus careant. His enim non satis erat instructus typographus, videlicet recens ab eo fuis characteribus Græcis, nec parata ea copia quæ ad hoc agendum opus est.

in some respects bears rather hardly on his learned precursor.<sup>k</sup>

23. Croke, who became tutor to the duke of Richmond, son of Henry VIII., did not remain at Cambridge long after the commencement of this period. But in 1524, Robert Wakefield, a scholar of some reputation, who had been professor in a German university, opened a public lecture there in Greek, Lectures in the universities. endowed with a salary by the king. We know little individually of his hearers, but, notwithstanding the confident assertions of Antony Wood, there can be no doubt that Cambridge was, during the whole of this reign, at least on a level with the sister university, and indeed, to speak plainly, above it. Wood enumerates several persons educated at Oxford about this time, sufficiently skilled in Greek to write in that language, or to translate from it, or to comment upon Greek authors. The list might be enlarged by the help of Pits; but he is less of a scholar than Wood. This much, after all, appears, that the only editions of classical authors published in England before 1540, except those already mentioned, are five of Virgil's *Bucolics*, two of a small treatise of Seneca, with one of Publius Syrus; all evidently for the mere use of school-boys. We may add one of Cicero's *Philippics*, printed for Pinson in 1521; and the first book of his *epistles* at Oxford in 1529. Lectures in Greek and Latin were, however, established in a few colleges at Oxford.

24. If Erasmus, writing in 1528, is to be believed, the English boys were wont to disport in Greek epigrams.<sup>m</sup> But this must be understood as Greek perhaps taught to boys. only applicable to a very few, upon whom some extraordinary pains had been bestowed. Thus Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Governor*, first published in 1531, points out a scheme of instruction which comprehends the elements of the Greek language. There is no improbability in the supposition, and some evidence to support it, that the masters of our great schools, a Lily, a Cox, an Udal, a Nowell, did not leave boys of quick

<sup>k</sup> Johnson's *Life of Linacre*.

<sup>m</sup> An tu credidisses unquam fore, ut apud Britannos aut Batavos pueri Græcè

garrirent, Græcis epigrammatibus non infeliciter luderent? *Dial. de Pronuntiatione*, p. 48, edit. 1528.

parts wholly unacquainted with the rudiments of a language they so much valued." It tends to confirm this supposition, that in the statutes of the new cathedrals established by Henry in 1541, it is provided that there shall be a grammar-school for each, with a head master "learned in Latin and Greek." Such statutes, however, are not conclusive evidences that they were put in force.<sup>o</sup> In the statutes of Wolsey's intended foundation at Ipswich, some years earlier, though the course of instruction is amply detailed, we do not find it extend to the merest elements of Greek.<sup>p</sup> It is curious to compare this with the course prescribed by Sturm for the German schools.

25. But English learning was chiefly indebted for its more rapid advance to two distinguished members of the university of Cambridge; Smith, afterwards secretary of state to Elizabeth, and Cheke. The former began to read the Greek lecture in 1533, and both of them soon afterwards combined to bring in the true pronunciation of Greek, upon which Erasmus had already written. The early students of that language, receiving their instructions from natives, had acquired the vicious uniformity of sounds belonging to the corrupted dialect. Reuchlin's school, of which Melancthon was one, adhered to this, and were called Itacists; from the continual recurrence of the sound of Iota in modern Greek, being thus distinguished from the Etists of Erasmus's party.<sup>q</sup> Smith and Cheke proved, by testimonies of antiquity, that the latter were right;

<sup>o</sup> Churton, in his *Life of Nowell*, says that the latter taught the Greek Testament to the boys at Westminster School, referring for authority to a passage in Strype, which I have not been able to find. There is nothing at all improbable in the fact. These inquiries will be deemed too minute by some in this age. But they are not unimportant in their bearing on the history of literature; and an exaggerated estimate of English learning in the age of the Reformation generally prevails. Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, observes, in a letter to Cardinal Pole in 1556, that when he was "a young scholar at Eton the Greek tongue was growing apace; the study of which is now alate much de-

cayed." Warton, iii. 279. I do not think this implies more than a reference to the time, which was about 1520: he means that Greek was beginning to be studied in England.

<sup>p</sup> Warton, iii. 265.

<sup>q</sup> Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, Appendix, No. 35.

<sup>r</sup> Elchhorn, iii. 217. Melancthon, in his Greek grammar, follows Reuchlin; Luscinus is on the side of Erasmus. Ibid. In very recent publications I observe that attempts have been made to set up again the "lugubres sonos, et illud flebile iota" of the modern Greeks. To adopt their pronunciation, even if right, would be buying truth very dear.

and "by this revived pronunciation," says Strype, "was displayed the flower and plentifulness of that language, the variety of vowels, the grandeur of diphthongs, the majesty of long letters, and the grace of distinct speech." Certain it is, that about this time some Englishmen began to affect a knowledge of Greek. Sir Ralph Sadler, in his embassy to the king of Scotland in 1540, had two or three Greek words embroidered on the sleeves of his followers, which led to a ludicrous mistake on the part of the Scotch bishops. Scotland, however, herself was now beginning to receive light; the Greek language was first taught in 1534 at Montrose, which continued for many years to be what some call a flourishing school.\* But the whole number of books printed in Scotland before the middle of the century has been asserted to be only seven. No classical author, or even a grammar, is among these.†

26. Cheke, successor of Smith as lecturer in Greek at Cambridge, was appointed the first royal professor of that language in 1540, with a respectable salary. He carried on Smith's scheme, if indeed it were not his own, for restoring the true pronunciation, in spite of the strenuous opposition of bishop Gardiner, chancellor of the university. This prelate, besides a literary controversy in letters between himself and Cheke, published at Basle in 1555, interfered, in a more orthodox way, by prohibiting the new style of speech in a decree which, for its solemnity, might relate to the

\* Strype's Life of Smith, p. 17. "The strain I heard was of a higher mood." I wonder what author honest John Strype has copied or translated in this sentence; for he never leaves the ground so far in his own style.

† M'Orrie's Life of Knox, i. 6, and Note C, p. 342.

‡ The list in Herbert's History of Printing, iii. 468, begins with the breviary of the church of Aberdeen; the first part printed at Edinburgh in 1509, the second in 1516. A poem without date, addressed to James V., *de suscepto regni regimine*, which seems to be in Latin, and must have been written about 1528, comes the nearest to a learned work. Two editions of Lindsay's poems, two of a translation of Hector Boece's chronicles, two of a

temporary pamphlet called Scotland's Complaint, with one of the statutes of the kingdom, printed in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in 1540, and a religious tract by one Balnave, compose the rest. [But this list appears to be not quite accurate. A collection of pamphlets in the Scottish dialect has been discovered, printed at Edinburgh in 1508, and therefore older than the breviary in the foregoing enumeration. Pinkerton's Scottish Poems, 1792, vol. i. p. 22. On the other hand, it is contended that no edition of Lindsay's poems, printed in Scotland, is older than 1568. Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems (a different publication from the former), 1786, vol. i. p. 104.—1842.]



highest articles of faith. Cheke however in this, as in greater matters, was on the winning side, and the corrupt pronunciation was soon wholly forgotten.

27. Among the learned men who surrounded Cheke at Cambridge, none was more deserving than Ascham ;

Ascham's  
character  
of Cam-  
bridge.

whose knowledge of ancient languages was not shown in profuse quotation, or enveloped in Latin phrase, but served to enrich his mind with valuable sense, and taught him to transfer the firmness and precision of ancient writers to our own English, in which he is nearly the first that deserves to be named, or that is now read. He speaks in strong terms of his university. "At Cambridge also, in St. John's College, in my time, I do know that not so much the good statutes as two gentlemen of worthy memory, Sir John Cheke and Dr. Redman, by their own example of excellency in learning, of godliness in living, of diligence in studying, of counsel in exhorting, by good order in all things, did breed up so many learned men in that one college of St. John's at one time as I believe the whole university of Louvain in many years was never able to afford."<sup>u</sup> Lectures in humanity, that is, in classical literature, were, in 1535, established by the king's authority in all colleges of the university of Oxford where they did not already exist; and in the royal injunctions at the same time for the reformation of academical studies a regard to philological learning is enforced.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Ascham's Schoolmaster. In the Life of Ascham by Grant, prefixed to the former's epistles, he enumerates the learned of Cambridge about 1530. Ascham was himself under Pember, homini Græca lingue admirabili facultate excultissimo. The others named are Day, Redman, Smith, Cheke, Ridley, Grindal (not the archbishop), Watson, Haddon, Pilkington, Horn, Christopherson, Wilson, Seton, et infiniti alii excellenti doctrinâ præditi. Most of these are men afterwards distinguished in the church on one side or the other. This is a sufficient refutation of Wood's idle assertion of the superiority of Oxford; the fact seems to have been wholly otherwise. Ascham himself, in a letter without date, but evidently written

about the time that the controversy of Cheke and Gardiner began, praises thus the learning of Cambridge:—Aristoteles nunc et Plato, quod factum est etiam apud nos hic quinquennium, in sua lingua a pueris leguntur Sophocles et Euripides sunt hic familiares, quam olim Plautus fuerat, cum tu hic eras. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, magis in ore et manibus omnium tenentur, quam tum Titus Livius, &c. Ibid., p. 74. What then can be thought of Antony Wood when he says, "Cambridge was in the said king's reign overspread with barbarism and ignorance, as 'tis often mentioned by several authors?" Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, A.D. 1545.

<sup>x</sup> Warton, iii. 272.

28. Antony Wood, though he is by no means always consistent, gives rather a favourable account of the state of philological learning at Oxford in the last years of Henry VIII. There can, indeed, be no doubt that it had been surprisingly increasing in all England through his reign. More grammar schools, it is said by Knight, were founded in thirty years before the Reformation, meaning, I presume, the age of Henry, than in three hundred years preceding. But the suddenness with which the religious establishment was changed on the accession of Edward, and still more the rapacity of the young king's council, who alienated or withheld the revenues designed for the support of learning, began to cloud the prospect before the year 1550.<sup>7</sup> Wood, in reading whom allowance is to be made for a strong, though not quite avowed bias towards the old system of ecclesiastical and academical government, inveighs against the visitors of the university appointed by the crown in 1548, for burning and destroying valuable books. And this seems to be confirmed by other evidence. It is true that these books, though it was a vile act to destroy them, would have been more useful to the English antiquary than to the classical student. Ascham, a contemporary Protestant, denies that the university of Cambridge declined at all before the accession of Mary in 1553.

29. Edward himself received a learned education, and, according to Ascham, read the Ethics of Aristotle in Greek. Of the princess Elizabeth, his favourite pupil, we have a similar testimony.<sup>8</sup> Mary was not by any means illiterate. It is

Wood's account of Oxford.

Education of Edward and his sisters.

<sup>7</sup> Strype, ii. 258; Todd's Cranmer, H. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Of the king he says: *Dialecticam didicit, et nunc Græcè discit Aristotelis Ethica. Eo progressus est in Græca lingua, ut in philosophiâ Ciceronis ex Latinis Græca facillime faciat. Dec. 1550. Ascham, Epist. iv. Elizabeth spoke French and Italian as well as English; Latin fluently and correctly; Greek tolerably. She began every day by reading the Greek Testament, and afterwards the orations of Isocrates and tragedies of Sophocles. Some years*

afterwards, in 1555, he writes of her to Sturm: *Domina Elizabeth et ego una legimus Græcè orationes Æschinis et Demosthenis regi oratōv. Illa prælegit mihi, et primo aspectu tam scienter intelligit non solum proprietatem linguæ et oratoris sensum, sed totam causæ contentionem, populî scita, consuetudinem et mores illius urbis, ut summopere admireris. P. 53. In 1560 he asserts that there are not four persons, in court or college (in aula, in academia), who know Greek better than the queen.*

*Habemus Angliæ reginam, says Eras-*

hardly necessary to mention Jane Grey and the wife of Cecil. Their proficiency was such as to excite the admiration of every one, and is no measure of the age in which they lived. And their names carry us on a little beyond 1550, though Ascham's visit to the former was in that year.

30. The reader must be surprised to find that, notwithstanding these high and just commendations of our scholars, no Greek grammars or lexicons were yet printed in England, and scarcely any works in that or the Latin language. In fact there was no regular press in either university at this time, though a very few books had been printed in each about 1520; nor had they one till near the end of Elizabeth's reign. Reginald Wolfe, a German printer, obtained a patent, dated April 19, 1541, giving him the exclusive right to print in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and also Greek and Latin grammars, though mixed with English, and charts and maps. But the only productions of his press before the middle of the century are two homilies of Chrysostom, edited by Cheke in 1543. Elyot's Latin and English Dictionary, 1538, was the first, I believe, beyond the mere vocabularies of school-boys; and it is itself but a meagre performance.<sup>a</sup> Latin grammars were of course so frequently published, that it has not been worth while to take notice of them. But the Greek and Latin lexicon of Hadrian Junius, though dedicated to Edward VI., and said to have been compiled in England (I know not how this could be the case), being the work of a foreigner, and printed at Basle in 1548, cannot be reckoned as part of our stock.<sup>b</sup>

The progress of learning is still slow.

mus long before of Catherine, feminam egregiè doctam, cujus filia Maria scribit bene Latinas epistolas. Thomæ Mori domus nihil aliud quam musarum est domicillum. Epist. mxxxiv.

<sup>a</sup> Elyot boasts that this "contains a thousand more Latin words than were together in any one dictionary published in this realm at the time when I first began to write this commentary." Though far from being a good, or even, according to modern notions, a tolerable dictionary, it must have been of some value at the time. It was afterwards much augmented by Cooper.

<sup>b</sup> Wood ascribes to one Tolley or Tolleus a sort of Greek grammar, *Progymnasmata Linguae Græcæ*, dedicated to Edward VI. And Pits, in noticing also other works of the same kind, says of this: *Habentur Monachii in Bavaria in bibliotheca ducali*. As no mention is made of such a work by Herbert or Dibdin, I had been inclined to think its existence apocryphal. It is certainly foreign.

[I have since my first edition seen this book in the British Museum. Its title is *Progymnasmata Græcæ grammaticæ auctore David Tavelego medico*. Antwerp,

31. It must appear, on the whole, that under Edward VI. there was as yet rather a commendable desire of learning, and a few vigorous minds at work for their own literary improvement, than any such diffusion of knowledge as can entitle us to claim for that age an equality with the chief continental nations. The means of acquiring true learning were not at hand. Few books, as we have seen, useful to the scholar, had been published in England; those imported were of course expensive. No public libraries of any magnitude had yet been formed in either of the universities; those of private men were exceedingly few. The king had a library, of which honourable mention is made; and Cranmer possessed a good collection of books at Lambeth, but I do not recollect any other person of whom this is recorded.

Want of  
books and  
public li-  
braries.

32. The progress of philological literature in England was connected with that of the Reformation. The learned of the earlier generation were not all Protestants, but their disciples were zealously such. They taunted the adherents of the old religion with ignorance, and though by that might be meant ignorance of the Scriptures, it was by their own acquaintance with languages that they obtained their superiority in this respect. And here I may take notice that we should be deceived by acquiescing in the strange position of Warton, that the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 and the next two years gave a great temporary check to the general state of letters in England.<sup>c</sup> This writer is inconsistent with himself, for no one had a greater contempt for the monastic studies, dialectics and theology. But, as a desire to aggravate, in every possible respect, the supposed mischiefs of the dis-

Destruction  
of monas-  
teries no  
injury to  
learning.

1547. It is dedicated to Edward VI.; and the dedication is dated at Oxford, Kal. Jul. 1546; but the privilege to print is at Bruxelles, Nov. 13, 1546. The author says it had been written eight years, as well as a Latin grammar already printed. *Græca vero rudimenta nondum prodire in publicum.* It does not appear that Tavelgus, called Tolley and Taulius by others, was preceptor to the young prince. The grammar is very short, and seems to be a compendium of Ctenardus. It is remarkable that in this

copy, which appears to have been presented to Edward, he is called VI while his father was still living. *Κύριε πάτερ τὸν Ἐδουάρδον ἕκτον πρωτόγονον τοῦ βασιλέως.* This is on an illuminated page adorned with the prince's feather, and the lines subscribed —

*Principis Edwardi sunt hæc insignia  
sexii,*

*Cujus bonos nomenque precor subsistat  
in ævum.*

—1842.]

<sup>c</sup> History of Engl. Poetry, iii. 268.

solution of monasteries is abundantly manifest in many writers later than Warton, I shall briefly observe, that men are deceived, or deceive others, by the equivocal use of the word learning. If good learning, *bonæ literæ*, which for our present purpose means a sound knowledge of Greek and Latin, was to be promoted, there was no more necessary step in doing so than to put down bad learning, which is worse than ignorance, and which was the learning of the monks, so far as they had any at all. What would Erasmus have thought of one who should in his days have gravely intimated, that the abolition of monastic foundations would retard the progress of literature? In what Protestant country was it accompanied with such a consequence, and from whom, among the complaints sometimes made, do we hear this cause assigned? I am ready to admit that in the violent courses pursued by Henry VIII. many schools attached to monasteries were broken up, and I do not think it impossible that the same occurred in other parts of Europe. It is also to be fully stated and kept in mind, that by the Reformation the number of ecclesiastics and consequently of those requiring what was deemed a literate education was greatly reduced. The English universities, as we are well aware, do not contain by any means the number of students that frequented them in the thirteenth century. But are we therefore a less learned nation than our fathers of the thirteenth century? Warton seems to lament, that "most of the youth of the kingdom betook themselves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profession of letters being now supposed to be without support or reward." Doubtless many who would have learned the Latin accidence, and repeated the breviary, became useful mechanics. But is this to be called, not rewarding the profession of letters? and are the deadliest foes of the Greek and Roman muses to be thus confounded with their worshippers? The loss of a few schools in the monasteries was well compensated by the foundation of others on a more enlightened plan and with much better instructors, and after the lapse of some years the communication of substantial learning came in the place of that tincture of Latin which the religious orders had supplied. Warton, it should be remarked, has been able to collect the names of not more

than four or five abbots and other regulars, in the time of Henry VIII., who either possessed some learning themselves, or encouraged it in others.

33. We may assist our conception of the general state of learning in Europe by looking at some of the books which were then deemed most usefully subsidiary to its acquisition. Besides the lexicons and grammatical treatises that have been mentioned, we have a work first published about 1522, but frequently reprinted, and in much esteem, the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor. Of this book Peter Danes, a man highly celebrated in his day for erudition, speaks as if it were an abundant storehouse of knowledge, admirable for the manner of its execution, and comparable to any work of antiquity. In spite of this praise, it is no more than a common-place book from Latin authors, and from translations of the Greek, and could deserve no regard except in a half-informed generation.

34. A far better evidence of learning was given by Conrad Gesner, a man of prodigious erudition, in a continuation of his *Bibliotheca Universalis* (the earliest general catalogue of books with an estimate of their merits), to which he gave the rather ambitious title of *Pandectæ Universales*, as if it were to hold the same place in general science that the *Digest* of Justinian does in civil law. It is a sort of index to all literature, containing references only, and therefore less generally useful, though far more learned and copious in instances, than the *Officina* of Ravisius. It comprehends, besides all ancient authors, the schoolmen and other writers of the middle ages. The references are sometimes very short, and more like hints to one possessed of a large library than guides to the general student. In connexion with the *Bibliotheca Universalis* it forms a literary history or encyclopædia, of some value to those who are curious to ascertain the limits of knowledge in the middle of the sixteenth century.

## CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE IN EUROPE FROM 1520  
TO 1550.

Advance of the Reformation — Differences of Opinion — Erasmus — The Protestant Opinions spread farther — Their Prevalence in Italy — Reaction of Church of Rome — Theological Writings — Luther — Spirit of the Reformation — Translations of Scripture.

1. THE separation of part of Europe from the church of Rome is the great event that distinguishes these thirty years. But as it is not our object to traverse the wide field of civil or ecclesiastical history, it will suffice to make a few observations rather in reference to the spirit of the times than to the public occurrences that sprung from it. The new doctrine began to be freely preached, and with immense applause of the people, from the commencement of this period, or more precisely, from the year 1522, in many parts of Germany and Switzerland—the Duke of Deuxponts in that year, or, according to some authorities, in 1523, having led the way in abolishing the ancient ceremonies; and his example having been successively followed in Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg, Brunswick, many imperial cities, and the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, by the disciples of Luther; while those who adhered to Zwingle made similar changes in Zurich and in several other cantons of Switzerland.<sup>a</sup>

2. The magistrates generally proceeded, especially at the outset, with as great caution and equity as were practicable in so momentous a revolution; though perhaps they did not always respect the laws of the empire. They commonly began by allowing freedom of preaching, and forbad that any one should be

Interference of civil power.

<sup>a</sup> Seckendorf, Gerdes.

troubled about his religion. This, if steadily acted upon, repressed the tumultuous populace, who were eager for demolishing images, the memorials of the old religion, as much as it did the episcopal courts, which, had they been strong enough, might have molested those who so plainly came within their jurisdiction. The Reformation depended chiefly on zealous and eloquent preachers—the more eminent secular clergy, as well as many regulars, having espoused its principles. They encountered no great difficulty in winning over the multitude; and when thus a decisive majority was obtained, commonly in three or four years from the first introduction of free preaching, the government found it time to establish, by a general edict, the abolition of the mass and of such ceremonies as they did not deem it expedient to retain. The conflict between the two parties in Germany seems to have been less arduous than we might expect. It was usually accompanied by an expulsion of the religious of both sexes from their convents—a measure, especially as to women, unjust and harsh; <sup>b</sup> and sometimes by an alienation of ecclesiastical revenues to the purposes of the state; but this was not universal in Germany, nor was it countenanced by Luther. I cannot see any just reason to charge the Protestant princes of the empire with having been influenced generally by such a motive. In Sweden, however, the proceedings of Gustavus Vasa,

<sup>b</sup> Willibald Pirckheimer wrote to Melancthon, complaining that a convent of nuns at Nuremberg, among whom were two of his sisters, had been molested and insulted because they would not accept confessors appointed by the senate. *Res eo deducta est ut quicumque miserandas illas offendere et incesere audeat, obsequium Deo se præstitisse arbitretur. Idque non solum a viris agitur, sed et a mulieribus; et illis mulieribus, quarum liberis omnem exhibere caritatem. Non solum enim viris, qui alios docere contendunt, se ipsos vero minime emendant, urbs nostra referta est, sed et mulieribus curiosis, garrulis et otiosis, que omnia potius quam domum propriam gubernare satagunt.* Pirckheimer Opera, Frankf. 1610, p. 375. He was a moderate man, concurring with the Lutherans in most of their doctrine, but against the violation of monastic vows. Several let-

ters passed between him and Erasmus. The latter, though he could not approve the hard usage of women, hated the monks so much, that he does not greatly disapprove what was done towards them. In Germaniâ multa virginum ac monachorum monasteria crudeliter direpta sunt. Quidam magistratus agunt moderatus. Ejecerunt eos duntaxat, qui illic non essent professi, et veterunt novitios recipi; ademerunt illis curam virginum, et jus alibi concionandi quam in suis monasteriis. Breviter, absque magistratus permisso nihil licet illis agere. Videntur huc spectare, ut ex monasteriis faciant parochias. Existimant enim hos conjuratos phalanges et tot privilegiis armatos diutius ferri non posse. (Basil. Aug. 1525.) Epist. pcccliv. Multis in locis durè tractati sunt monachi; verum plerique cum sint intolerabiles, alia tamen rationes corrigi non possunt. Epist. pccclvii.



who confiscated all ecclesiastical estates, subject only to what he might deem a sufficient maintenance for the possessors, have very much the appearance of arbitrary spoliation.<sup>c</sup>

3. But while these great innovations were brought in by the civil power, and sometimes with too despotic a contempt of legal rights, the mere breaking up of old settlements had so disturbed the minds of the people, that they became inclined to further acts of destruction and more sweeping theories of revolution. It is one of the fallacious views of the Reformation, to which we have adverted in a former page, to fancy that it sprang from any notions of political liberty, in such a sense as we attach to the word. But, inasmuch as it took away a great deal of coercive jurisdiction exercised by the bishops, without substituting much in its place, it did unquestionably relax the bonds of laws not always unnecessary; and inasmuch as the multitude were in many parts instrumental in destroying by force the exterior symbols of the Roman worship, it taught them a habit of knowing and trying the efficacy of that popular argument. Hence the insurrection of the German peasants in 1525 may, in a certain degree, be ascribed to the influence of the new doctrine; and, in fact, one of their demands was the establishment of the Gospel. But as the real cause of that rebellion was the oppressive yoke of their lords, which, in several instances before the Reformation was thought of, had led to similar efforts at relief, we should not lay too much stress on this additional incitement.<sup>d</sup>

4. A more immediate effect of overthrowing the ancient system was the growth of fanaticism, to which, in its worst shape, the Antinomian extravagances of Luther yielded too great encouragement. But he was the first to repress the pretences of the Anabaptists;<sup>e</sup> and when he saw the danger of general licen-

<sup>c</sup> Gerdes, *Hist. Evangel. Reform.*, Seckendorf, et alii supra nominati. The best account I have seen of the Reformation in Denmark and Sweden is in the third volume of Gerdes, p. 279, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Seckendorf.

<sup>e</sup> *Id.* Melancthon was a little staggered by the first Anabaptists, who ap-

peared during the concealment of Luther in the Castle of Wartburg. *Magnis rationibus*, he says, *adducor certè ut contemnere eos nolim, nam esse in his spiritus quosdam multis argumentis apparet, sed de quibus judicare præter Martinum nemo facile possit.* As to infant baptism, he seemed to think it a difficult question.

tiousness which he had unwarily promoted, he listened to the wiser counsels of Melancthon, and permitted his early doctrine upon justification to be so far modified or mitigated in expression, that it ceased to give apparent countenance to immorality; though his differences with the church of Rome, as to the very question from which he had started, thus became of less practical importance and less tangible to ordinary minds than before.<sup>f</sup> Yet in his own writings we may find to the last such language as to the impossibility of sin in the justified man, who was to judge solely by an internal assurance as to the continuance of his own justification, as would now be universally condemned in all our churches, and is hardly to be heard from the lips of the merest enthusiast.

5. It is well known that Zuinglius, unconnected with Luther in throwing off his allegiance to Rome, took in several respects rather different theological views, but especially in the article of the real presence, asserted by the Germans as vigorously as in the church of Rome, though with a modification sufficient, in the spirit of uncompromising orthodoxy, to separate them entirely from her communion, but altogether denied by the Swiss and Belgian reformers. The attempts made to disguise this division of opinion and to produce a nominal unanimity by ambiguous and incoherent jargon, belong to ecclesiastical history, of

Differences of Luther and Zwingle.

But the elector observed that they passed for heretics already, and it would be unwise to moot a new point. Luther, when he came back, rejected the pretences of the Anabaptists at once.

<sup>f</sup> See two remarkable passages in Seckendorf, part ii. p. 90 and p. 106. The era of what may be called the palmodia of early Lutheranism was in 1527, when Melancthon drew up instructions for the visitation of the Saxon churches. Luther came into this; but it produced that jealousy of Melancthon among the rigid disciples, such as Amsdorf and Justus Jonas, which led to the molestation of his latter years. In 1537 Melancthon writes to a correspondent: *Seis me quædam minus horridè dicere, de prædestinatione, de assensu voluntatis, de necessitate obedientiæ nostræ, de peccato mortali. De his omnibus scio re ipsa Lutherum*

*sentire eadem, sed ineruditè quædam ejus φορτικώτερα dicta, cum non videant quo pertineant, nimium amant.* *Epist.*, p. 445 (edit. 1647).

I am not convinced that this apology for Luther is sufficient. Words are, of course, to be explained, when ambiguous, by the context and scope of the argument. But when single detached aphorisms, or even complete sentences in a paragraph, bear one obvious sense, I do not see that we can hold the writer absolved from the imputation of that meaning because he may somewhere else have used a language inconsistent with it. If the *Colloquia Mensalia* are to be fully relied upon, Luther continued to talk in the same Antinomian strain as before, though he grew sometimes more cautious in writing. See chap. xii. of that work.

which they form a tedious and not very profitable portion.<sup>a</sup>

6. The Lutheran princes, who the year before had acquired the name of Protestants by their protest against the resolutions of the majority in the diet of Spire, presented in 1530 to that held at Augsburg the celebrated Confession, which embodies their religious creed. It has been said that there are material changes in subsequent editions; but this is denied by the Lutherans. Their denial can only be as to the materiality, for the fact is clear.<sup>b</sup>

7. Meantime it was not all the former opponents of abuses in the church who now served under the banner of either Luther or Zwingle. Some few, like Sir Thomas More, went violently back to the extreme of maintaining the whole fabric of superstition; a greater number, without abandoning their own private

<sup>a</sup> [The Zuinglian doctrine, which denies the real, in the sense of literal and substantial, presence of Christ's body and blood in the symbols of bread and wine, was apparently in opposition to the usual language of the church. It had been, however, remarkably supported in the ninth century by one Bertram, or Rattram, abbot of Corvey; and there is no reason to think that he was advancing a novel and heterodox opinion, though certainly it was not one to which all were ready to accede. The history of his book is well known; but it seems as if the book itself were not; when some, with Dr. Lingard, pretend that he believed in transubstantiation; and others, with Mr. Alexander Knox, suppose him to have held the unintelligible middle hypothesis which they prefer. Bertram writes with more candour and clearness than some Protestants of the school of Bucer and Calvin, and states the question tersely thus: *Utrum quod in cœna Domini fidelium ore sumitur, corpus et sanguis Christi in mysterio sive figura fiat, an in veritate; determinando pro former.*

Erasmus would, as he tells us, have assented to the Zuinglian tenets, if he could have believed the church to have remained so long in a portentous error. *Nisi me moveret tantus ecclesie consensus, possem in Ecolampadii sententiam pedibus discedere; nunc in eo persisto,*

*quod mihi tradit scripturarum interpres ecclesia. Ep. xliiii.* And some time before, in a letter to Pirckheimer, he intimates his preference of the doctrine of Ecolampadius above that of Luther, if both were private opinions, but prefers the authority of the church to either. *Mihi non displiceret Ecolampadii sententia, nisi obstaret consensus ecclesie. Nec enim video quid agat corpus insensibile nec utilitatem allaturum si sentiretur, modo adsit in symbolis gratia spiritualis. Et tamen ab ecclesie consensu non possum discedere, nec unquam discessi. Tu sic dissentis ab Ecolampadio, ut cum Luthero sentire malis, quam cum ecclesia. Ep. lxxxviii.* Sadolet thought, like Erasmus, that the whole church could not have been in so great an error as the corporal presence would be, if false, for so many ages. *Sadoleti Epistolæ, p. 161.—1842.]*

<sup>b</sup> Bossuet, *Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, vol. i.; Seckendorf, p. 170; Clement, *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, vol. ii. In the editions of 1531 we read: *De cœna Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint, et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes.* In those of 1540 it runs thus: *De cœna Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in cœna Domini.*

sentiments, shrunk, for various reasons, from an avowed separation from the church. Such we may reckon Faber Stapulensis, the most learned Frenchman of that age, after Budæus; such perhaps was Budæus himself;<sup>i</sup> and such were Bilibaldus Pirckheimer,<sup>m</sup> Petrus Mosellanus, Beatus Rhenanus, and Wimpfeling, all men of just renown in their time. Such above all, we may say, was Erasmus, the precursor of bolder prophets than himself, who, in all his latter years, stood in a very unenviable state, exposed to the shafts of two parties who forgave no man that moderation which was a reproach to themselves. At the beginning of this period he had certainly an esteem for Melancthon, Cœcolampadius, and other reformers; and though already shocked by the violence of Luther, which he expected to ruin the cause altogether, had not begun to speak of him with disapprobation.<sup>n</sup> In several points of opinion he professed to coincide with the German reformers; but his own temper was not decisive. He was capable of viewing a subject in various lights; his learning, as well as natural disposition, kept him irresolute; and it might not be easy to determine accurately the tenets of so voluminous a theologian. One thing was manifest, that he had greatly contributed to the success of the Reformation. It was said that Erasmus had laid the egg and Luther had hatched it. Erasmus afterwards, when more alienated from the new party, observed that he had laid a hen's egg, but Luther had hatched a crow's.<sup>o</sup> Whatever was the bird, it pecked still at the church. In 1522 came out the *Colloquies of Erasmus*, a book even

<sup>i</sup> Budæus was suspected of Protestantism, and disapproved many things in his own church; but the passages quoted from him by Gerdes, i. 186, prove that he did not mean to take the leap.

<sup>m</sup> Gerdes, vol. i. § 66-83. We have seen above the moderation of Pirckheimer in some respects. I am not sure, however, that he did not comply with the Reformation after it was established at Nuremberg.

<sup>n</sup> Male metuo misero Luthero; sic undique fervet conjuratio; sic undique irritantur in illum principes, ac præcipuè Leo pontifex. Utinam Lutherus meum secutus consilium, ab odiosis illis ac seditiosis abstinisset. Plus erat fractus et minus invidia. Parum esset unum ho-

minem perire; si res hæc illis succedit, nemo feret illorum insolentiam. Non conquiescent donec linguas ac bonas literas omnes subverterint. *Epist. lxxviii.*, Sept. 1520.

Lutherus, quod negari non potest, optimam fabulam suscepit, et Christi pene aboliti negotium summo cum oris applausu cooperat agere. Sed utinam rem tantam gravioribus ac sedatoribus egisset consiliis, majoreque cum animi calanisque moderatione; atque utinam in scriptis illius non essent tam multa bona, aut sua bona non vitiosset malis haud ferendis. *Epist. dcxxxv.*, 3rd Sept. 1521.

<sup>o</sup> *Epist. dccxix.*, Dec. 1524.

now much read, and deserving to be so. It was professedly designed for the instruction and amusement of youth; but both are conveyed at the expense of the prevalent usages in religion. The monkish party could not be blind to its effect. The faculty of theology at Paris, in 1526, led by one Beda, a most bigoted enemy of Erasmus, censured the Colloquies for slighting the fasts of the church, virginity, monkery, pilgrimages, and other established parts of the religious system. They incurred of course the displeasure of Rome, and have several times been forbidden to be read in schools. Erasmus pretended that in his *Ἰχθυοφαγία* he only turned into ridicule the abuse of fasting, and not the ordinances of the church. It would be difficult, however, to find out this distinction in the dialogue, or indeed anything favourable to the ecclesiastical cause in the whole book of Colloquies. The clergy are everywhere represented as idle and corrupt. No one who desired to render established institutions odious could set about it in a shorter or surer way; and it would be strange if Erasmus had not done the church more harm by such publications than he could compensate by a few sneers at the reformers in his private letters. In the single year 1527 Colinaeus printed 24,000 copies of the Colloquies, all of which were sold.

8. But about the time of this very publication we find Erasmus growing by degrees more averse to the radical innovations of Luther. He has been severely blamed for this by most Protestants; and doubtless, so far as an undue apprehension of giving offence to the powerful, or losing his pensions from the emperor and king of England might influence him, no one can undertake his defence. But it is to be remembered that he did not by any means espouse all the opinions either of Luther or Zwingli; that he was disgusted at the virulent language too common among the reformers, and at the outrages committed by the populace; that he anticipated great evils from the presumptuousness of ignorant men in judging for themselves in religion; that he probably was sincere in what he always maintained as to the necessity of preserving the communion of the catholic church, which he thought consistent with much latitude of private faith; and that, if he had gone among the reformers, he must either have concealed his real opinions

more than he had hitherto done, or lived, as Melancthon did afterwards, the victim of calumny and oppression. He had also to allege that the fruits of the Reformation had by no means shown themselves in a more virtuous conduct, and that many heated enthusiasts were depreciating both all profane studies and all assistance of learning in theology.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>p</sup> The letters of Erasmus, written under the spur of immediate feelings, are a perpetual commentary on the mischiefs with which the Reformation, in his opinion, was accompanied. *Civitates aliquot Germaniæ implentur erroribus, desertoribus monasteriorum, sacerdotibus conjugatis, plerisque famelicis ac nudis. Nec aliud quam saltatur, editur, bibitur ac subatur; nec docent nec discunt; nulla vitæ sobrietas, nulla sinceritas. Ubique sunt, ibi jacent omnes bonæ disciplinæ cum pietate.* (1527.) *Epist. pcccii. Satis jam diu audivimus, Evangelium, Evangelium, Evangelium; mores Evangelicos desideramus. Epist. pcccxvi. Duo tantum querunt, censum et uxorem. Cætera prestat illis Evangelium, hoc est, potestatem vivendi ut volunt. Epist. mvi. Tales vidi mores (Basileæ) ut etiamsi minus displicuissent dogmata, non placuisset tamen cum hujusmodi [sic] fœdus infre. Epist. mxxvi.* Both these last are addressed to Pirckheimer, who was rather more a Protestant than Erasmus; so that there is no fair suspicion of temporising. The reader may also look at the 788th and 793rd Epistles, on the wild doctrines of the Anabaptists and other reformers, and at the 731st, on the effects of Farel's first preaching at Basle in 1525. See also Bayle, Farel, note B.

It is become very much the practice with our English writers to censure Erasmus for his conduct at this time. Milner rarely does justice to any one who did not servilely follow Luther. And Dr. Cox, in his *Life of Melancthon*, p. 35, speaks of a third party, "at the head of which the learned, witty, vacillating, avaricious, and artful Erasmus is unquestionably to be placed." I do not deny his claim to this place, but why the last three epithets? Can Erasmus be shown to have vacillated in his tenets? If he had done so, it might be no great reproach; but his religious

creed was nearly that of the moderate members of the church of Rome, nor have I observed any proof of a change in it. But vacillation, some would reply, may be imputed to his conduct. I hardly think this word is applicable; though he acted from particular impulses, which might make him seem a little inconsistent in spirit, and certainly wrote letters not always in the same tone, according to his own temper at the moment, or that of his correspondent. Nor was he avaricious: at least I know no proof of it; and as to the epithet artful, it ill applies to a man who was perpetually involving himself by an unguarded and imprudent behaviour. Dr. Cox proceeds to charge Erasmus with seeking a cardinal's hat. But of this there is neither proof nor probability; he always declared his reluctance to accept that honour, and I cannot think that in any part of his life he went the right way to obtain it.

Those who arraign Erasmus so severely (and I am not undertaking the defence of every passage in his voluminous Epistles) must proceed either on the assumption that no man of his learning and ability could honestly remain in the communion of the church of Rome, which is the height of bigotry and ignorance; or that, according to his own religious opinions, it was impossible for him to do so. This is somewhat more tenable, inasmuch as it can only be answered by a good deal of attention to his writings. But from various passages in them, it may be inferred that, though his mind was not made up on several points, and perhaps for that reason, he thought it right to follow, in assent as well as conformity, the catholic tradition of the church, and, above all, not to separate from her communion. The reader may consult, for Erasmus's opinions on some chief points of controversy, his Epistles, pcccxxiii., pcccclxxvii.,

9. In 1524, Erasmus, at the instigation of those who were resolved to dislodge him from a neutral station his timidity rather affected, published his *Diatribes de libero arbitrio*, selecting a topic upon which Luther, in the opinion of most reasonable men, was very open to attack. Luther answered in a treatise, *De servo arbitrio*, flinching not, as suited his character, from any tenet because it seemed paradoxical, or revolting to general prejudice. The controversy ended with a reply of Erasmus, entitled *Hyperaspistes*.<sup>4</sup> It is not to be understood, from the titles of these tracts, that the question of free will was discussed between Luther and Erasmus in a philosophical sense; though Melancthon in his *Loci Communes*, like the modern Calvinists, had combined the theological position of the spiritual inability of man with the metaphysical tenet of

(which Jortin has a little misunderstood), MXXXV., Mliiii., Mxciiiii. And see Jortin's own fair statement of the case, i. 274.

Melancthon had doubtless a sweeter temper and a larger measure of human charities than Erasmus, nor would I wish to vindicate one great man at the expense of another. But I cannot refrain from saying that no passage in the letters of Erasmus is read with so much pain as that in which Melancthon, after Luther's death, and writing to one not very friendly, says of his connexion with the founder of the Reformation, *Tuli servitutem pæne deformem, &c.* *Epist. Melancthon*, p. 21 (edit. 1647). But the characters of literary men are cruelly tried by their correspondence, especially in an age when more conventional dissimulation was authorised by usage than at present.

<sup>4</sup> Seckendorf took hold of a few words in a letter of Erasmus, to insinuate that he had taken a side against his conscience in writing his treatise *De libero arbitrio*. Jortin, acute as he was, seems to have understood the passage the same way, and endeavours to explain away the sense, as if he meant only that he had undertaken the task unwillingly. Milner of course repeats the imputation; though it must be owned that, perceiving the absurdity of making Erasmus deny what in all his writings appears to have been his real opinion, he adopts

Jortin's solution. I am persuaded that they are all mistaken, and that Erasmus was no more referring to his treatise against Luther than to the Trojan war. The words occur in an answer to a letter of Vives, written from London, wherein he had blamed some passages in the *Colloquies* on the usual grounds of their freedom as to ecclesiastical practices. Erasmus, rather piqued at this, after replying to the observations, insinuates to Vives that the latter had not written of his own free will, but at the instigation of some superior. *Verum, ut ingenue dicam, perdidimus liberum arbitrium. Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud scribebat calamus.* By a figure of speech far from unusual, he delicately suggests his own suspicion as Vives's apology. And the next letter of Vives leaves no room for doubt: *Liberum arbitrium non perdidimus, quod tu asserueris*,—words that could have no possible meaning, upon the hypothesis of Seckendorf. There is nothing in the context that can justify it, and it is equally difficult to maintain the interpretation Jortin gives of the phrase, *aliud dictabat animus, aliud scribebat calamus*, which can mean nothing but that he wrote what he did not think. The letters are *ccccxxxix.* *ccccxxxi.* *ccccxxvi.* in Erasmus's *Epistles*; or the reader may turn to Jortin, i. 413.

general necessity. Luther on most occasions, though not uniformly, acknowledged the freedom of the will as to indifferent actions, and also as to what they called the works of the law. But he maintained that, even when regenerated and sanctified by faith and the Spirit, man had no spiritual free will; and as before that time he could do no good, so after it he had no power to do ill; nor indeed could he, in a strict sense, do either good or ill, God always working in him, so that all his acts were properly the acts of God, though man's will being of course the proximate cause, they might, in a secondary sense, be ascribed to him. It was this that Erasmus denied, in conformity with the doctrine afterwards held by the council of Trent, by the church of England, and, if we may depend on the statements of writers of authority, by Melancthon and most of the later Lutherans. From the time of this controversy Luther seems to have always spoken of Erasmus with extreme ill will; and if the other was a little more measured in his expressions, he fell not a jot behind in dislike.\*

10. The epistles of Erasmus, which occupy two folio volumes in the best edition of his works, are a vast treasure for the ecclesiastical and literary history of his times.\* Morhof advises the student to common-place them; a task which, even in his age, few would have spared leisure to perform, and which the good index of the Leyden edition renders less important. Few men carry on so long and extensive a correspondence without affording some vulnerable points to the criticism of posterity. The failings of Erasmus have been already adverted to; it is from his own

Character  
of his  
epistles.

\* Many of Luther's strokes at Erasmus occur in the *Colloquia Mensalia*, which I quote from the translation. "Erasmus can do nothing but cavil and flout; he cannot confute." "I charge you in my will and testament that you hate and loathe Erasmus, that viper." ch. xlv. "He called Erasmus an epicure and ungodly creature, for thinking that if God dealt with men here on earth as they deserved, it would not go so ill with the good, or so well with the wicked." ch. vii. Lutherus, says the other, sic respondit (diatribæ de libero arbitrio) ut antehac in neminem virulentius; et homo suavis post editum

librum per literas dejerat se in me esse animo candidissimo, ac propemodum postulabat, ut ipsi gratias agam, quod me tam civiliter tractavit, longe aliter scripturus si cum hoste fuisset res. Ep. ccccxxxvi.

\* [Many of the epistles of Erasmus were published by Rhenanus from the press of Frobenius about 1519. He pretended to be angry, and that Frobenius had done this against his will; which even Jortin perceives to be untrue. Epist. xvii. This was a little like Voltaire, to whose physiognomy that of Erasmus has often been observed to bear some resemblance; and he has been suspected of other similar tricks.—1842.]



letters that we derive our chief knowledge of them. An extreme sensibility to blame in his own person, with little regard to that of others; a genuine warmth of friendship towards some, but an artificial pretence of it too frequently assumed; an inconsistency of profession both as to persons and opinions, partly arising from the different character of his correspondents, but in a great degree from the varying impulses of his ardent mind, tend to abate that respect which the name of Erasmus at first excites, and which, on a candid estimate of his whole life, and the tenor even of this correspondence, it ought to retain. He was the first conspicuous enemy of ignorance and superstition, the first restorer of Christian morality on a Scriptural foundation, and, notwithstanding the ridiculous assertion of some moderns that he wanted theological learning, the first who possessed it in its proper sense, and applied it to its proper end.

11. In every succeeding year the letters of Erasmus betray increasing animosity against the reformers. He had long been on good terms with Zwingle and *Æcolampadius*, but became so estranged by these party differences, that he speaks of their death with a sort of triumph.<sup>4</sup> He still, however, kept up some intercourse with Melancthon. The latter years of Erasmus could not have been happy; he lived in a perpetual irritation from the attacks of adversaries on every side; his avowed dislike of the reformers by no means assuaging the virulence of his original foes in the church, or removing the suspicion of

<sup>4</sup> Bene habet, quod duo Coryphæi perierint, Zuinglius in acie, *Æcolampadius* paulo post febri et apostemate. Quod si illis favisset *εὐαλιος*, actum fuisset de nobis. *Epist. mccc.* It is of course to be regretted that Erasmus allowed this passage to escape him, even in a letter. With *Æcolampadius* he had long carried on a correspondence. In some book the latter had said, *Magnus Erasmus noster*. This was at a time when much suspicion was entertained of Erasmus, who writes rather amusingly, in Feb. 1525, to complain; telling *Æcolampadius* that it was best neither to be praised nor blamed by his party, but, if they must speak of him, he would prefer their censure to being styled *noster*. *Epist. dccxxviii.*

Milner quotes this, leaving poor Erasmus to his reader's indignation for what he would insinuate to be a piece of the greatest baseness. But, in good truth, what right had *Æcolampadius* to use the word *noster*, if it could be interpreted as claiming Erasmus to his own side? He was not theirs, as *Æcolampadius* well knew, in exterior profession, nor theirs in the course they had seen fit to pursue.

It is just towards Erasmus to mention, that he never dissembled his affection for Lewis Berquin, the first martyr to Protestantism in France, who was burned in 1528, even in the time of his danger. *Epist. mcccclxxvi.* Erasmus had no more inveterate enemies than in the university of Paris.

lukewarmness in the orthodox cause. Part of this should fairly be ascribed to the real independence of his mind in the formation of his opinions, though not always in their expression, and to their incompatibility with the extreme doctrines of either side. But an habitual indiscretion, the besetting sin of literary men, who seldom restrain their wit, rendered this hostility far more general than it need have been, and, accompanied as it was with a real timidity of character, exposed him to the charge of insincerity, which he could better palliate by the example of others than deny to have some foundation. Erasmus died in 1536, having returned to Basle, which, on pretence of the alterations in religion, he had quitted for Friburg in Brisgau a few years before. No differences of opinion had abated the pride of the citizens of Basle in their illustrious visitor. Erasmus lies interred in their cathedral, the earliest, except *Cæcolampadius*, in the long list of the literary dead which have rendered that cemetery conspicuous in Europe.

12. The most striking effect of the first preaching of the Reformation was that it appealed to the ignorant; and though political liberty, in the sense we use the word, cannot be reckoned the aim of those who introduced it, yet there predominated that revolutionary spirit which loves to witness destruction for its own sake, and that intoxicated self-confidence which renders folly mischievous. Women took an active part in religious dispute; and though in some respects the Roman Catholic religion is very congenial to the female sex, we cannot be surprised that many ladies might be good protestants against the right of any to judge better than themselves. The translation of the New Testament by Luther in 1522, and of the Old a few years later, gave weapons to all disputants; it was common to hold conferences before the burgo-masters of German and Swiss towns, who settled the points in controversy, one way or other, perhaps as well as the learned would have done.

Appeal of  
the reform-  
ers to the  
ignorant.

13. We cannot give any attention to the story of the Reformation, without being struck by the extraordinary analogy it bears to that of the last fifty years. He who would study the spirit of this mighty age may see it reflected as in a mirror

Parallel of  
those times  
with the  
present.

from the days of Luther and Erasmus. Man, who, speaking of him collectively, has never reasoned for himself, is the puppet of impulses and prejudices, be they for good or for evil. These are, in the usual course of things, traditional notions and sentiments, strengthened by repetition, and running into habitual trains of thought. Nothing is more difficult, in general, than to make a nation perceive anything as true, or seek its own interest in any manner, but as its forefathers have opined or acted. Change in these respects has been, even in Europe, where there is most of flexibility, very gradual; the work, not of argument or instruction, but of exterior circumstances slowly operating through a long lapse of time. There have been, however, some remarkable exceptions to this law of uniformity, or, if I may use the term, of *secular variation*. The introduction of Christianity seems to have produced a very rapid subversion of ancient prejudices, a very conspicuous alteration of the whole channel through which moral sentiments flow, in nations that have at once received it. This has also not unfrequently happened through the influence of Mohammedism in the East. Next to these great revolutions in extent and degree, stand the two periods we have begun by comparing; that of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and that of political innovation wherein we have long lived. In each, the characteristic features are a contempt for antiquity, a shifting of prejudices, an inward sense of self-esteem leading to an assertion of private judgment in the most uninformed, a sanguine confidence in the amelioration of human affairs, a fixing of the heart on great ends, with a comparative disregard of all things intermediate. In each there has been so much of alloy in the motives, and, still more, so much of danger and suffering in the means, that the cautious and moderate have shrunk back, and sometimes retraced their own steps rather than encounter evils which at a distance they had not seen in their full magnitude. Hence we may pronounce with certainty what Luther, Hutten, Carlostadt, what again More, Erasmus, Melancthon, Cassander, would have been in the nineteenth century, and what our own contemporaries would have been in their times. But we are too apt to judge others, not as the individualities of personal character and the

varying aspects of circumstances rendered them, and would have rendered us, but according to our opinion of the consequences, which, even if estimated by us rightly, were such as they could not determinately have foreseen.

14. In 1531 Zwingli lost his life on the field of battle. It was the custom of the Swiss that their pas-  
 tors should attend the citizens in war to exhort Calvin.  
 the combatants and console the dying. But the reformers soon acquired a new chief in a young man superior in learning and probably in genius, John Calvin, His Insti-  
 tutes.  
 a native of Noyon in Picardy. His Institutions, published in 1536, became the text-book of a powerful body, who deviated in some few points from the Helvetic school of Zwingli. They are dedicated to Francis I., in language good, though not perhaps as choice as would have been written in Italy, temperate, judicious, and likely to prevail upon the general reader, if not upon the king. This treatise was the most systematic and extensive defence and exposition of the Protestant doctrine which had appeared. Without the overstrained phrases and wilful paradoxes of Luther's earlier writings, the Institutes of Calvin seem to contain most of his predecessor's theological doctrine, except as to the corporal presence. He adopted a middle course as to this, and endeavoured to distinguish himself from the Helvetic divines. It is well known that he brought forward the predestinarian tenets of Augustin more fully than Luther, who seems, however, to have maintained them with equal confidence. They appeared to Calvin, as doubtless they are, clearly deducible from their common doctrine as to the sinfulness of all natural actions, and the arbitrary irresistible conversion of the passive soul by the power of God. The city of Geneva, throwing off subjection to its bishop, and embracing the reformed religion in 1536, invited Calvin to an asylum, where he soon became the guide and legislator, though never the ostensible magistrate, of the new republic.

15. The Helvetic reformers at Zurich and Bern were now more and more separated from the Lutherans; and in spite of frequent endeavours to reconcile their differences, each party, but Increased  
 differences  
 among  
 reformers.  
 especially the latter, became as exclusive and

nearly as intolerant as the church which they had quitted. Among the Lutherans themselves, those who rigidly adhered to the spirit of their founder's doctrine grew estranged, not externally, but in language and affection, from the followers of Melanchthon." Luther himself, who never withdrew his friendship from the latter, seems to have been alternately under his influence and that of inferior men. The Anabaptists, in their well-known occupation of Munster, gave such proof of the tremendous consequences of fanaticism, generated in great measure by the Lutheran tenet of assurance, that the paramount necessity of maintaining human society tended more to silence these theological subtleties than any arguments of the same class. And from this time

" Amsdorfius Luthero scripsit, viperam cum in sinu alere, me significans, omitto alia multa. Epist. Melanchthon, p. 450 (edit. 1647). Luther's temper seems to have grown more impracticable as he advanced in life. Melanchthon threatened to leave him. Amsdorf and that class of men flattered his pride. See the following letters. In one, written about 1549, he says: Tuli etiam antea servitutum pene deformem cum saepe Lutherus magis suae naturæ, in qua φιλοφροσύνη erat haud exigua, quam vel personæ suæ, vel utilitati communi serviret. p. 21. This letter is too apologetical and temporising. Nec movi has controversias quæ distraxerunt rempublicam; sed incidi in motas, quæ cum et multæ essent et inexplicatæ, quodam simplici studio querendæ veritatis, præsertim cum multi docti et sapientes initio applaudent, considerare eas cœpi. Et quanquam materias quasdam horridiores autor initio miscuerat, tamen alia vera et necessaria non putavi rejicienda esse. Hac cum excerpta amplecterer, paulatim aliquas absurdas opiniones vel sustuli vel leni. Melanchthon should have remembered that no one had laid down these opinions with more unreserve, or in a more "horrid" way of disputation, than himself in the first edition of his *Loci Communes*. In these and other passages he endeavours to strike at Luther for faults which were equally his own, though doubtless not so long persisted in.

Melanchthon, in the first edition of the *Loci Communes*, which will scarcely be

found except in Von der Hardt, sums up the free-will question thus:

Si ad prædestinationem referas humanam voluntatem, nec in externis, nec in internis operibus ulla est libertas, sed eveniunt omnia juxta destinationem divinam.

Si ad opera externa referas voluntatem, quædam videtur esse, judicio naturæ, libertas.

Si ad affectus referas voluntatem, nulla plane libertas est, etiam naturæ judicio. This proves what I have said in another place, that Melanchthon held the doctrine of strict philosophical necessity. Luther does the same, in express words, once at least in the treatise *De servo arbitrio*, vol. ii. fol. 429 (edit. Wittenberg, 1554).

In an epistle often quoted by others, Melanchthon wrote: Nimis horridæ fuerunt apud nostros disputationes de fato, et disciplinæ nocuerunt. But a more thoroughly ingenuous man might have said *nostræ* for apud nostros. Certain it is, however, that he had changed his opinions considerably before 1540, when he published his *Moralis Philosophiæ Epitome*, which contains evidence of his holding the synergism, or activity, and co-operation with divine grace of the human will. See p. 39.

The animosity excited in the violent Lutherans by Melanchthon's moderation in drawing up the Confession of Augsburg is shown in Camerarius, *Vita Melanchthon*. p. 124 (edit. 1696). From this time it continued to harass him till his death.

that sect itself, if it did not lose all its enthusiasm, learned how to regulate it in subordination to legal and moral duties.

16. England, which had long contained the remnants of Wicliffe's followers, could not remain a stranger to this revolution. Tyndale's New Testament was printed at Antwerp in 1526; the first translation that had been made into English. The cause of this delay has been already explained, and great pains were taken to suppress the circulation of Tyndale's version. But England was then inclined to take its religion from the nod of a capricious tyrant. Persecution would have long repressed the spirit of free judgment, and the king, for Henry's life at least, have retained his claim to the papal honour conferred on him as defender of the faith, if "Gospel light," as Gray has rather affectedly expressed it, had not "flashed from Boleyn's eyes." But we shall not dwell on so trite a subject. It is less familiar to every one, that in Italy the seeds of the Reformation were early and widely sown. A translation of Me-  
Reformed tenets spread in England.  
In Italy.  
 lanchthon's *Loci Communes*, under the name of Ippofilo da Terra Nigra, was printed at Venice in 1521, the very year of its appearance at Wittenberg; the works of Luther, Zwingle, and Bucer were also circulated under false names.\* The Italian translations of Scripture made in the fifteenth century were continually reprinted; and in 1530 a new version was published at Venice by Brucioli, with a preface written in a Protestant tone.† The great intercourse of Italy with the Cisalpine nations through war and commerce, and the partiality of Renée of France, duchess of Ferrara, to the new doctrines, whose disciples she encouraged at her court, under the pretext of literature, contributed to spread an active spirit of inquiry. In almost every considerable city, between 1525 and 1540, we find proofs of a small band of protestants, not in general abandoning the outward profession of the church, but coinciding in most respects with Luther or Zwingle. It has lately been proved that a very early proselyte to the Reformation, and one whom we should least expect to find in that number, was Berni,

\* M'Crie's *Hist. of Reformation in Italy*. ther as early as 1521. P. 32  
 Epigrams were written in favour of Lu- † *Id.*, p. 53, 55.

before the completion, if not the commencement, of his labour on the *Orlando Innamorato*; which he attempted to render in some places the vehicle of his disapprobation of the church. This may account for the freedom from indecency which distinguishes that poem, and contrasts with the great licentiousness of Berni's lighter and earlier productions.\*

17. The Italians are an imaginative, but not essentially Italian — a superstitious people, or liable, nationally heterodoxy. speaking, to the gloomy prejudices that master the reason. Among the classes whose better education had strengthened and developed the acuteness and intelligence so general in Italy, a silent disbelief of the popular religion was far more usual than in any other country. In the majority this has always taken the turn of a complete rejection of all positive faith; but at the era of the Reformation especially, the substitution of protestant for Romish christianity was an alternative to be embraced by men of more serious temperaments.

\* This curious and unexpected fact was brought to light by Mr. Panizzi, who found a short pamphlet of extreme scarcity, and unnoticed, I believe, by Zeno or any other bibliographer (except Niceron, xxxviii. 76), in the library of Mr. Grenville. It is written by Peter Paul Vergerio, and printed at Basle in 1554. This contains eighteen stanzas, intended to have been prefixed by Berni to the twentieth canto of the *Orlando Innamorato*. They are of a decidedly Protestant character. For these stanzas others are substituted in the printed editions much inferior, and, what is remarkable, almost the only indecent passage in the whole poem. Mr. Panizzi is of opinion that great liberties have been taken with the *Orlando Innamorato*, which is a posthumous publication, the earliest edition being at Venice, 1541, five years after the author's death. Vergerio, in this tract, the whole of which has been reprinted by Mr. P. in iii. 361 of his *Bolardo*, says of Berni: *Costui quasi agli ultimi suoi anni non fu altro che carne e mondo; di che ci fanno ampia fede alcuni suoi capitoli e poesie, delle quali egli molti fogli imbrattò. Ma perchè il nome suo era scritto nel libro della vita, ne era possibile ch' egli potesse fuggire delle*

*mani del celeste padre, &c. Veggendo egli che questo gran tiranno non permettea onde alcuno potesse comporre all' aperta di quei libri, per li quali altri possa penetrare nella cognizione del vero, andando attorno per le man d' ognuno un certo libro profano chiamato innamoramento d' Orlando, che era inetto e mal composto, il Berna [sic] s' immaginò di fare un bel trattato; e ciò fu ch' egli si pose a racconciare le rime e le altre parti di quel libro, di che esso n' era ottimo artefice, e poi aggiungendovi di suo alcune stanze, pensò di entrare con questa occasione e con quel mezzo (insin che d' altro migliore ne avesse potuto avere) ad insegnare la verità dell' Evangelio, &c. Whether Vergerio is wholly to be trusted in all this account, more of which will be found on reference to Panizzi's edition of the *Orlando Innamorato*, I must leave to the competent reader. The following expressions of Mr. P., though, I think, rather strong, will show the opinion of one conversant with the literature and history of those times:—"The more we reflect on the state of Italy at that time the more have we reason to suspect that the reforming tenets were as popular among the higher classes in Italy in those days as liberal notions in ours." P. 361.*

Certain it is, that we find traces of this aberration from orthodoxy, in one or the other form, through much of the literature of Italy, sometimes displaying itself only in censures of the vices of the clergy; censures from which, though in other ages they had been almost universal, the rigidly catholic party began now to abstain. We have already mentioned Pontanus and Mantuan. Trissino, in his *Italia Liberata*, introduces a sharp invective against the church of Rome.<sup>a</sup> The *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Manzolli, whose assumed Latin name, by which he is better known, was Palingenius Stellatus, teems with invectives against the monks, and certainly springs from a protestant source.<sup>b</sup> The first edition is of 1537, at Basle. But no one writer is more indignantly severe than Alamanni.<sup>c</sup>

18. This rapid, though rather secret progress of heresy among the more educated Italians could not fail to alarm their jealous church. They had not won over the populace to their side; for, though censures on the superior clergy were listened to with approbation in every country, there was little probability that the Italians would generally abjure modes of worship so congenial to their national temper,

Its progress  
in the  
literary  
classes.

<sup>a</sup> This passage, which is in the sixteenth canto, will be found in Roscoe's *Leo X.*, Append. No. 164; but the reader would be mistaken in supposing, as Roscoe's language seems to imply, that it is only contained in the first edition of 1548. The fact is that Trissino cancelled these lines in the unsold copies of that edition, so that very few are found to contain them; but they are restored in the edition of the *Italia Liberata* printed at Verona in 1729.

<sup>b</sup> The *Zodiacus Vitæ* is a long moral poem, the books of which are named from the signs of the zodiac. It is not very poetical, but by no means without strong passages of sense and spirit in a lax Horatian metre. The author has said more than enough to incur the suspicion of Lutheranism.

I have observed several proofs of this; the following will suffice:—

Sed tua præsertim non intret limina  
quisquam  
Frater, nec monachus, vel quavis lego  
sacerdos.

Hos fuge; pestis enim nulla hac im-  
manior; hi sunt  
Fax hominum, fons stultitiæ, sentina  
malorum,  
Agnorum sub pelle lupi, mercede co-  
lentes,  
Non pietate, Deum; falsa sub imagine  
vecti  
Decipiunt stolidos, ac religionis in  
umbra  
Mille actus vetitos, et mille piaculo  
condunt, &c.  
Leo (lib. v.).

I could find, probably, more decisive Lutheranism in searching through the poem, but have omitted to make notes in reading it.

<sup>c</sup> Ah! cieca gente, che l' hal troppo 'n  
pregio;  
Tu credi ben, che questa rìa senza  
Habbian più d' altri gratia e privilegio;  
Ch' altra trovi hoggi in lei vera scienza,  
Che dissimulazion, menzogne e frodi.  
Beato 'l mondo, che sarà mal senza, &c.  
Satir. i.

The twelfth Satire concludes with a similar execration, in the name of Italy, against the church of Rome.



as to have been devised, or retained from heathen times, in compliance with it. Even of those who had associated with the reformers, and have been in consequence reckoned among them, some were far from intending to break off from a church which had been identified with all their prejudices and pursuits. Such was Flaminio, one of the most elegant of poets and best of men; and such was the accomplished and admirable Vittoria Colonna.<sup>d</sup> But those who had drunk deeper of the cup of free thought had no other resource, when their private assemblies had been detected, and their names proscribed, than to fly beyond the Alps. Bernard Ochino, a Capuchin preacher of great eminence, being summoned to Rome, and finding his death resolved upon, fled to Geneva. His apostasy struck his admirers with astonishment, and possibly put the Italians more on their guard against others. Peter Martyr, well known afterwards in England, soon followed him; the academy of Modena, a literary society highly distinguished, but long suspected of heresy, was compelled, in 1542, to subscribe a declaration of faith; and though Lombardy was still full of secret protestants, they lived in continual terror of persecution during the rest of this period. The small reformed church of Ferrara was broken up in 1550; many were imprisoned, and one put to death.<sup>e</sup>

19. Meantime the natural tendency of speculative minds to press forward, though checked at this time by the inflexible spirit of the leaders of the Reformation, gave rise to some theological novelties. A Spanish physician, Michael Reves, commonly called Servetus, was the first to open a new scene in religious innovation. The ancient controversies on the Trinity had long subsided; if any remained whose creed was not unlike that of the Arians, we must seek for them among the Waldenses, or other persecuted sects. But even this is obscure; and Erasmus, when accused of Arianism, might reply with apparent truth,

<sup>d</sup> M'Crie discusses at length the opinions of these two, p. 164-177, and seems to leave those of Flaminio in doubt; but his letters, published at Nuremberg in 1571, speak in favour of his orthodoxy.

<sup>e</sup> Besides Dr. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, which has thrown

a collected light upon a subject interesting and little familiar, I have made use of his predecessor Gerdes, *Specimen Italiæ reformatæ*; of Tiraboschi, viii. 150; of Giannone, iv. 168, et alibi; and of Galluzzi, *Istoria del Gran Ducato*, ii. 292, 369.

that no heresy was more extinct. Servetus, however, though not at all an Arian, framed a scheme, not probably quite novel, which is a difficult matter, but sounding very unlike what was deemed orthodoxy. Being an imprudent and impetuous man, he assailed the fundamental doctrines of reformers as much as of the Catholic church with none of the management necessary in such cases, as the title of his book, printed in 1531, *De Trinitatis erroribus*, is enough to show. He was so little satisfied with his own performance, that in a second treatise, called *Dialogues on the Trinity*, he retracts the former as ill-written, though without having changed any of his opinions. These works are very scarce and obscurely worded, but the tenets seem to be nearly what are called Sabellian.<sup>f</sup>

20. The Socinian writers derive their sect from a small knot of distinguished men, who met privately at Vicenza about 1540; including Lælius Socinus, Arianism in Italy. at that time too young to have had any influence, Ochino, Gentile, Alciati, and some others. This fact has been doubted by Mosheim and M'Crie, and does not rest on much evidence; while some of the above names are rather improbable.<sup>g</sup> It is certain, however, that many of the Italian reformers held anti-Trinitarian opinions, chiefly of the Arian form. M'Crie suggests that these had been derived from Servetus; but it does not appear that they had any acquaintance, or concurred, in general, with him, who was very far from Arianism; and it is much more probable that their tenets originated among themselves. If, indeed, it were necessary to look for an heresiarch, a Spanish gentleman, resident at Naples, by name Valdes, is far more likely than Servetus. It is agreed that Valdes was one of the chief teachers of the Reformation in Italy; and he has also been supposed to have inclined towards Arianism.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> The original editions of the works of Servetus very rarely occur; but there are reprints of the last century, which themselves are by no means common.

<sup>g</sup> Lubienecius, *Hist. Reformat. Poloniæ*; M'Crie's *Hist. of Reformation in Italy*, p. 154.

<sup>h</sup> Dr. M'Crie is inclined to deny the Arianism of Valdes, and says it cannot be found in his writings (p. 122); others

have been of a different opinion. See Chalmers's Dictionary, art. Valdesso, and Bayle. His *Considerations* were translated into English in 1638. I can find no evidence as to this point one way or the other in the book itself, which betrays a good deal of fanaticism, and confidence in the private teaching of the Spirit. The tenets are high Lutheranism as to human action, and derived perhaps from the

21. Even in Spain, the natural soil of tenacious superstition, and the birthplace of the Inquisition, a few seeds of Protestantism were early sown. The first writings of Luther were translated into Spanish soon after their appearance; the Holy Office began to take alarm about 1530. Several suspected followers of the new creed were confined in monasteries, and one was burnt at Valladolid in 1541.<sup>l</sup> But in no country where the Reformation was severely restrained by the magistrate did it spread so extensively as in the Netherlands. Two Augustine monks were burned at Brussels in 1523, and their death had the effect, as Erasmus tells us, of increasing prodigiously the number of heretics.<sup>k</sup> From that time a bitter persecution was carried on, both by destroying books, and punishing their readers; but most of the seventeen provinces were full of sectaries.

22. Deeply shaken by all this open schism and lurking disaffection, the church of Rome seemed to have little hope but in the superstition of the populace, the precarious support of the civil power, or the quarrels of her adversaries. But she found an unexpected source of strength in her own bosom; a green shoot from the yet living trunk of an aged tree. By a bull, dated the 27th of September, 1540, Paul III. established the order of Jesuits, planned a few years before by Ignatius Loyola. The leading rules of this order were, that a general should be chosen for life, whom every Jesuit was to obey as he did God; and that besides the three vows of the regulars, poverty, chastity, and obedience, he should promise to go wherever the pope should command. They were to wear no other dress than the clergy usually did; no regular hours of prayer were enjoined; but they were bound to pass their time usefully for their neighbours, in preaching, in the direction of consciences, and the education of youth.

*Loci Communes of Melancthon. Beza* condemned the book.

<sup>l</sup> M'Crie's Hist. of Reformation in Spain.

<sup>k</sup> *Cepta est carnificina. Tandem Bruxella tres Augustinenses [duo?] publicitus affecti sunt supplicio. Quæris exitum? Ea civitas antea purissima cepit habere Lutheri discipulos, et quidem*

*non paucos. Scævitur est et in Hollandiâ. Quid multis? Ubiçunque fumos excitavit nuncios, ubiçunque scævitiã exercuit Carmelita, ibi diceres fuisse factam hæresion sementem. Ep. mclxliii.* The history of the Reformation in the Low Countries has been copiously written by Gerard Brandt, to whose second and third books I refer the reader.

Such were the principles of an institution which has, more effectually than any other, exhibited the moral power of a united association in moving the great unorganised mass of mankind.

23. The Jesuits established their first school in 1546, at Gandia in the kingdom of Valencia, under the auspices of Francis Borgia, who derived the title of duke from that city. It was erected into a university by the pope and king of Spain.<sup>m</sup> This was the commencement of that vast influence they were speedily to acquire by the control of education. They began about the same time to scatter their missionaries over the East. This had been one of the great objects of their foundation. And when news was brought, that thousands of barbarians had flocked to the preaching of Francis Xavier, that he had poured the waters of baptism on their heads, and raised the cross over the prostrate idols of the East, they had enough, if not to silence the envy of competitors, at least to secure the admiration of the Catholic world. Men saw in the Jesuits courage and self-devotion, learning and politeness; qualities the want of which had been the disgrace of monastic fraternities. They were formidable to the enemies of the church; and those who were her friends cared little for the jealousy of the secular clergy, or for the technical opposition of lawyers. The mischiefs and dangers that might attend the institution were too remote for popular alarm.

24. In the external history of Protestant churches, two events, not long preceding the middle of the sixteenth century, served to compensate each other,—the unsuccessful league of the Lutheran princes of Germany, ending in their total defeat, and the establishment of the reformed religion in England by the council of Edward VI. It admits, however, of no doubt, that the principles of the Reformation were still progressive, not only in those countries where they were countenanced by the magistrate, but in others, like France and the Low Countries, where they incurred the risk of martyrdom. Meantime Paul III. had, with much reluctance, convoked a general council at Trent. This

<sup>m</sup> Fleury, Hist. Ecclés., xxix. 221.

met on the 13th of December, 1545; and after determining a large proportion of the disputed problems in theology, especially such as related to grace and original sin, was removed by the pope, in March, 1547, to his own city of Bologna, where they sat but a short time before events occurred which compelled them to suspend their sessions. They did not re-assemble till 1551.

25. The greatest difficulties which embarrassed the council of Trent appear to have arisen from the Its chief difficulties. clashing doctrines of scholastic divines, especially the respective followers of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, embattled as rival hosts of Dominicans and Franciscans.<sup>a</sup> The fathers endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid any decision which might give too unequivocal a victory to either; though it has generally been thought, that the former, having the authority of Augustin, as well as their own great champion, on their side, have come off, on the whole, superior in the decisions of the council.<sup>b</sup> But we must avoid these subtilties, into which it is difficult not to slide when we touch on such topics.

26. In the history of the Reformation, Luther is in-  
Character of Luther. comparably the greatest name. We see him, in the skilful composition of Robertson, the chief figure of a group of gownsmen, standing in contrast on the canvas with the crowned rivals of France and Austria, and their attendant warriors, but blended in the unity of that historic picture. This amazing influence on the revolutions of his own age, and on the opinions of mankind, seems to have produced, as is not unnatural, an exaggerated notion of his intellectual greatness. It is admitted on all sides, that he wrote his own language with force and purity; and he is reckoned

<sup>a</sup> Fleury, xxix. 154, et alibi; F. Paul, lib. ii. and iii. passim.

<sup>b</sup> It is usual for Protestant writers to inveigh against the Tridentine fathers. I do not assent to their decisions, which is not to the purpose, nor vindicate the intrigues of the papal party. But I must presume to say that, reading their proceedings in the pages of that very able and not very lenient historian to whom we have generally recourse, an adversary so decided as any that could have come from the reformed churches, I find proofs

of much ability, considering the embarrassments with which they had to struggle, and of an honest desire of reformation, among a large body, as to those matters which, in their judgment, ought to be reformed. The notes of Courayer on Sarpi's history, though he is not much less of a Protestant than his original, are more candid, and generally very judicious. Pallavicini I have not read; but what is valuable in him will doubtless be found in the continuation of Fleury, vol. xxix. et alibi.

one of its best models. The hymns in use with the Lutheran church, many of which are his own, possess a simple dignity and devoutness, never, probably, excelled in that class of poetry, and alike distinguished from the poverty of Sternhold or Brady, and from the meretricious ornament of later writers. But from the Latin works of Luther few readers, I believe, will rise without disappointment. Their intemperance, their coarseness, their inelegance, their scurrility, their wild paradoxes, that menace the foundations of religious morality, are not compensated, so far at least as my slight acquaintance with them extends, by much strength or acuteness, and still less by any impressive eloquence. Some of his treatises, and we may instance his reply to Henry VIII., or the book "against the falsely-named order of bishops," can be described as little else than bellowing in bad Latin. Neither of these books display, as far as I can judge, any striking ability. It is not to be imagined that a man of his vivid parts fails to perceive any advantage which may offer itself in that close grappling, sentence by sentence, with an adversary, which fills most of his controversial writings; and in scornful irony he had no superior. His epistle to Erasmus, prefixed to the treatise *De servo arbitrio*, is bitterly insolent in terms as civil as he could use. But the clear and comprehensive line of argument, which enlightens the reader's understanding, and resolves his difficulties, is always wanting. An unbounded dogmatism, resting on an absolute confidence in the infallibility, practically speaking, of his own judgment, pervades his writings; no indulgence is shown, no pause allowed, to the hesitating; whatever stands in the way of his decisions, the fathers of the church, the schoolmen and philosophers, the canons and councils, are swept away in a current of impetuous declamation; and as every thing contained in Scripture, according to Luther, is easy to be understood,<sup>p</sup> and can only be understood in his sense, every deviation from his doctrine incurs the anathema of perdition. Jerome, he says, far from being rightly canonised, must, but for some special grace, have been damned for his

<sup>p</sup> [This, however, is only for those who ad quamlibet ejus partem intelligendam. are illuminated by the Spirit. Spiritus Vol. II. fol. 428, edit. Wittenberg, 1554.— enim requiritur ad totam Scripturam, et 1842.]

interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.<sup>9</sup> That the Zuinglians, as well as the whole church of Rome, and the Anabaptists, were shut out by their tenets from salvation, is more than insinuated in numerous passages of Luther's writings. Yet he had passed himself through several changes of opinion. In 1518 he rejected auricular confession; in 1520 it was both useful and necessary; not long afterwards it was again laid aside. I have found it impossible to reconcile, or to understand, his tenets concerning faith and works; and can only perceive, that, if there be any reservation in favour of the latter, not merely sophistical, of which I am hardly well convinced, it consists in distinctions too subtle for the people to apprehend. These are not the oscillations of the balance in a calm understanding, conscious of the difficulty which so often attends the estimate of opposite presumptions, but alternate gusts of dogmatism, during which, for the time, he was as tenacious of his judgment as if it had been uniform.

27. It is not impossible that some offence will be taken at this character of his works by those who have thought only of the man; extraordinary as he doubtless was in himself, and far more so as the instrument of mighty changes on earth. Many of late years, especially in Germany, without holding a single one of Luther's more peculiar tenets, have thought it necessary to magnify his intellectual gifts. Frederic Schlegel is among these; but in his panegyric there seems a little wish to insinuate that the reformer's powerful understanding had a taint of insanity. This has not unnaturally occurred to others, from the strange tales of diabolical visions Luther very seriously recounts, and from the inconsistencies as well as the extravagance of some passages. But the total absence of self-restraint, with the intoxicating effects of presumptuousness, is sufficient to account for aberrations, which men of regular minds construe into actual madness. Whether Luther were perfectly in earnest as to his personal interviews with the devil, may be doubtful; one of them he seems to represent as internal.

28. Very little of theological literature, published between 1520 and 1550, except such as bore imme-

<sup>9</sup> Infernum potius quam coelum Hieronymus meruit; tantum abest ut ipsum canonizare aut sanctum esse audeam dicere. Id. fol. 478.

diately on the great controversies of the age, has obtained sufficient reputation to come within our researches, which, upon this most extensive portion of ancient libraries, do not extend to disturb the slumbers of forgotten folios. The Paraphrase of Erasmus was the most distinguished work in Scriptural interpretation. Though not satisfactory to the violent of either party, it obtained the remarkable honour of being adopted in the infancy of our own Protestantism. Every parish church in England, by an order of council in 1547, was obliged to have a copy of this paraphrase. It is probable, or rather obviously certain, that this order was not complied with.<sup>r</sup>

Theological  
writings.  
Erasmus.

29. The *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon have already been mentioned. The writings of Zwingle, collectively published in 1544, did not attain equal reputation: with more of natural ability than erudition, he was left behind in the general advance of learning. Calvin stands on higher ground. His *Institutes* are still in the hands of that numerous body who are usually denominated from him. The works of less conspicuous advocates of the Reformation which may fall within this earlier period of controversy will not detain us; nor is it worth while to do more on this occasion than mention the names of a few once celebrated men in the communion of Rome, Vives, Cajetan, Melchior, Cano, Soto, and Catharin.\* The two latter were prominent in the council of Trent, the first being of the Dominican party, or that of Thomas Aquinas, which was virtually that of Augustin; the second a Scotist, and in some points deviating a little from what passed for the more orthodox tenets either in the catholic or protestant churches.<sup>t</sup>

Melan-  
chthon.  
Romish  
writers.

30. These elder champions of a long war, especially the Romish, are, with a very few exceptions, known only by their names and lives. These are they, and many more there were down to the middle of the seventeenth century, at whom,

This literature  
nearly  
forgotten.

<sup>r</sup> Jortin says that, "taking the Annotations and the Paraphrase of Erasmus together, we have an interpretation of the New Testament as judicious and exact as could be made in his time, and to which very few deserve to be pre-

ferred of those which have since been published." li. 91.

\* Eichhorn, vi. 210-226; Andriès, xviii. 236.

<sup>t</sup> Sarpi and Fleury, *passim*.



along the shelves of an ancient library, we look and pass by. They belong no more to man, but to the worm, the moth, and the spider. Their dark and ribbed backs, their yellow leaves, their thousand folio pages, do not more repel us than the unprofitableness of their substance. Their prolixity, their barbarous style, the perpetual recurrence, in many, of syllogistic forms, the reliance, by way of proof, on authorities that have been abjured, the temporary and partial disputes, which can be neither interesting nor always intelligible at present, must soon put an end to the activity of the most industrious scholar." Even the coryphæi of the Reformation are probably more quoted than read, more praised than appreciated; their works, though not scarce, are voluminous and expensive; and it may not be invidious to surmise that Luther and Melancthon serve little other purpose, at least in England, than to give an occasional air of erudition to a theological paragraph, or to supply its margin with a reference that few readers will verify. It will be unnecessary to repeat this remark hereafter; but it must be understood as applicable, with such few exceptions as will from time to time appear, throughout at least the remainder of the sixteenth century.

31. No English treatise on a theological subject, published before the end of 1550, seems to deserve  
Sermons. notice in the general literature of Europe, though some may be reckoned interesting in the history of our Reformation. The sermons of Latimer, however, published in 1548, are read for their honest zeal and lively delineation of manners. They are probably the best specimens of a style then prevalent in the pulpit, and which is still not lost in Italy, nor among some of our own sectaries; a style that came at once home to the vulgar, animated and effective, picturesque and intelligible, but too unsparing both of ludicrous associations and commonplace invective. The French have some preachers, earlier than Latimer, whose great fame was obtained in this manner, Maillard and Menot. They belong to the reign of Louis XII. I am but slightly acquainted with the former, whose sermons, printed if not preached in Latin, with sometimes a sort

<sup>a</sup> Eichhorn.

of almost macaronic intermixture of French, appeared to me very much inferior to those of Latimer. Henry Stephens, in his *Apologie pour Herodote*, has culled many passages from these preachers, in proof of the depravity of morals in the age before the Reformation. In the little I have read of Maillard, I did not find many ridiculous, though some injudicious passages; but those who refer to the extracts of Niceron, both from him and Menot, will have as much gratification as consummate impropriety and bad taste can furnish.\*

32. The vital spirit of the Reformation, as a great working in the public mind, will be inadequately discerned in the theological writings of this age. Two controversies overspread their pages, and almost efface more important and more obvious differences between the old and the new religions. Among the Lutherans, the tenet of justification or salvation by faith alone, called, in the barbarous jargon of polemics, *solifidianism*, was always prominent: it was from that point their founder began; it was there that, long afterwards, and when its original crudeness had been mellowed, Melanchthon himself thought the whole principle of the contest was grounded.† In the disputes again of the Lutherans with the Helvetic reformers, as well as in those of the latter school, including the church of England, with that of Rome, the corporal or real presence (which are generally synonymous with the writers of that century) in the Lord's supper was the leading topic of debate. But in the former of these doctrines, after it had been purged from the Antinomian extravagances of Luther, there was found, if not absolutely a verbal, yet rather a subtle, and by no means practical, difference between themselves and the church of Rome;‡ while, in the Eucharistic controversy, many of the reformers bewildered themselves, and strove to perplex their antagonists, with incompatible

Spirit of  
the Reform-  
ation.

\* Niceron, vols. xxiii. and xxiv. If these are the original sermons, it must have been the practice in France, as it was in Italy, to preach in Latin; but Eichhorn tells us that the sermons of the fifteenth century, published in Germany, were chiefly translated from the mother-tongue. vi. 113. Tauler certainly

preached in German, yet Eichhorn, in another place, iii. 282, seems to represent Luther and his Protestant associates as the first who used that language in the pulpit.

† Melanchth., *Epist.*, p. 290, ed. Peucer 1570.

‡ Burnet on Eleventh Article.

and unintelligible propositions, to which the mass of the people paid as little regard as they deserved. It was not for these trials of metaphysical acuteness that the ancient cathedrals shook in their inmost shrines; and though it would be very erroneous to deny, that many not merely of the learned laity, but of the inferior ranks, were apt to tread in such thorny paths, we must look to what came closer to the apprehension of plain men for their zeal in the cause of reformed religion, and for the success of that zeal. The abolition of saint-worship, the destruction of images, the sweeping away of ceremonies, of absolutions, of fasts and penances, the free circulation of the Scriptures, the communion in prayer by the native tongue, the introduction, if not of a good, yet of a more energetic and attractive style of preaching than had existed before; and besides this, the eradication of monkery which they despised, the humiliation of ecclesiastical power which they hated, the immunity from exactions which they resented, these are what the north of Europe deemed its gain by the public establishment of the Reformation, and to which the common name of Protestantism was given. But it is rather in the history, than in the strictly theological literature of this period, that we are to seek for the character of that revolution in religious sentiment, which ought to interest us from its own importance, and from its analogy to other changes in human opinion.

33. It is often said, that the essential principle of Protestantism, and that for which the struggle was made, was something different from all we have mentioned, a perpetual freedom from all authority in religious belief, or what goes by the name of the right of private judgment. But, to look more nearly at what occurred, this permanent independence was not much asserted, and still less acted upon. The Reformation was a change of masters; a voluntary one, no doubt, in those who had any choice; and in this sense, an exercise, for the time, of their personal judgment. But no one having gone over to the Confession of Augsburg, or that of Zurich, was deemed at liberty to modify those creeds at his pleasure. He might of course become an Anabaptist or an Arian; but he was not the less a heretic in doing so, than if he had continued

Limits of  
private  
judgment.



and intelligible propositions, to which the people paid as little regard as they deserved. It was not for these trials of metaphysical acuteness that the ancient cathedrals shook in their inmost shrines; and though it would be very erroneous to deny, that many not merely of the learned laity, but of the inferior ranks, were apt to tread in such thorny paths, we must look to what came closer to the apprehension of plain men for their zeal in the cause of reformed religion, and for the success of that zeal. The abolition of saint-worship, the destruction of images, the sweeping away of sacraments, of absolutions, of fasts and penances, the free circulation of the Scriptures, the communion in prayer by the native tongue, the introduction of a good, yet of a more energetic and attractive style of preaching than had existed before; and besides this, the eradication of monkery which they despised, the humiliation of ecclesiastical power which they hated, the immunity from exactions which they resented, these are what the north of Europe deemed its gain by the public establishment of the Reformation, and to which the common name of Protestantism was given. But it is only in the history, than in the strictly theological literature of this period, that we are to seek for the characteristic of that revolution in religious sentiment, which ought to interest us from its own importance, and from its analogy to other changes in human nature.

35. It is often said, that the essential principle of Protestantism, and that for which the struggle was made, was something different from all we have mentioned, a perpetual freedom from all authority in religious belief, or what goes by the name of the right of private judgment. But, to look quite nearly at what occurred, this permanent independence was not much asserted, and still less acted upon. The Reformation was a change of masters, a voluntary one, we doubt, in those who had any choice; and in this sense, an exercise for the state of their personal judgment. The new law, having gone over to the Confession of Augsburg in that of Zurich, was deemed a liberty in which they would be glad to be pleased. His right of private judgment in truth, like that of Arrian; but he was

in the church of Rome. By what light a protestant was to steer, might be a problem which at that time, as ever since, it would perplex a theologian to decide; but in practice, the law of the land, which established one exclusive mode of faith, was the only safe, as, in ordinary circumstances, it was, upon the whole, the most eligible guide.

34. The adherents to the church of Rome have never failed to cast two reproaches on those who left them: one, that the reform was brought about by intemperate and calumnious abuse, by outrages of an excited populace, or by the tyranny of princes; the other, that after stimulating the most ignorant to reject the authority of their church, it instantly withdrew this liberty of judgment, and devoted all who presumed to swerve from the line drawn by law, to virulent obloquy, or sometimes to bonds and death. These reproaches, it may be a shame for us to own, "can be uttered, and cannot be refuted." But, without extenuating what is morally wrong, it is permitted to observe, that the Protestant religion could, in our human view of consequences, have been established by no other means. Those who act by calm reason are always so few in number, and often so undeterminate in purpose, that without the aid of passion and folly no great revolution can be brought about. A persuasion of some entire falsehood, in which every circumstance converges to the same effect on the mind; an exaggerated belief of good or evil disposition in others: a universal inference peremptorily derived from some particular case; these are what sway mankind, not the simple truth with all its limits and explanations, the fair partition of praise and blame, or the measured assent to probability that excludes not hesitation. That condition of the heart and understanding which renders men cautious in their judgment, and scrupulous in their dealings, unfits them for revolutionary seasons. But of this temper there is never much in the public. The people love to be told that they can judge; but they are conscious that they can act. Whether a saint in sculpture ought to stand in the niches of their cathedrals, it was equally tedious and difficult to inquire; that he could be defaced, was certain: and this was achieved.

Passions  
instru-  
mental in  
Reform-  
ation.

It is easy to censure this as precipitancy; but it was not a mere act of the moment; it was, and much more was of the same kind, the share that fell naturally to the multitude in a work which they were called to fulfil, and for which they sometimes encountered no slight danger.

35. But if it were necessary, in the outset of the Reformation, to make use of that democratic spirit of destruction, by which the populace answered to the bidding of Carlostadt or of Knox, if the artisans of Germany and Switzerland were to be made arbiters of controversy, it was not desirable that this reign of religious anarchy should be more than temporary. Protestantism, whatever, from the generality of the word, it may since be considered, was a positive creed; more distinctly so in the Lutheran than in the Helvetic churches, but in each, after no great length of time, assuming a determinate and dogmatic character. Luther himself, as has been already observed, built up before he pulled down; but the Confession of Augsburg was the first great step made in giving the discipline and subordination of regular government to the rebels against the ancient religion. In this, however, it was taken for granted, that their own differences of theological opinion were neither numerous nor inevitable: a common symbol of faith, from which no man could dissent without criminal neglect of the truth or blindness to it, seemed always possible, though never attained; the pretensions of catholic infallibility were replaced by a not less uncompromising and intolerant dogmatism, availing itself, like the other, of the secular power, and arrogating to itself, like the other, the assistance of the Spirit of God. The mischiefs that have flowed from this early abandonment of the right of free inquiry are as evident as its inconsistency with the principles upon which the reformers had acted for themselves: yet, without the Confession of Augsburg and similar creeds, it may be doubtful whether the Protestant churches would have possessed a sufficient unity to withstand their steady, veteran adversaries, either in the war of words, or in those more substantial conflicts to which they were exposed for the first century after the Reformation. The schism of the Lutheran and

Establishment of new dogmatism.

Helvetic Protestants did injury enough to their cause; a more multitudinous brood of sectaries would, in the temper of those times, have been such a disgrace as it could not have overcome. It is still very doubtful whether the close phalanx of Rome can be opposed, in ages of strong religious zeal, by anything except established or at least confederate churches.

36. We may conclude this section with mentioning the principal editions or translations of Scrip-<sup>Editions of</sup> ture published between 1520 and 1550. The <sup>Scripture.</sup> Complutensian edition of the New Testament, suspended since the year 1514, when the printing was finished, became public in 1522. The Polyglott of the Old Testament, as has been before mentioned, had appeared in 1517. An edition of the Greek Testament was published at Strasburg by Cephalæus in 1524, and of the Septuagint in 1526. The New Testament appeared at Hagenau in 1521, and from the press of Colinaeus at Paris in 1534; another at Venice in 1538. But these, which have become very scarce, were eclipsed in reputation by the labours of Robert Stephens, who printed three editions in 1546, 1549, and 1550; the two former of a small size, the last in folio. In this he consulted more manuscripts than any earlier editor had possessed; and his margin is a register of their various readings. It is therefore, though far from the most perfect, yet the first endeavour to establish the text on critical principles.

37. The translation of the Old and New Testament by Luther is more renowned for the purity of its German idiom than for its adherence to the <sup>Translations of</sup> original text. Simon has charged him with <sup>Scripture.</sup> ignorance of Hebrew; and when we consider how late he came to the study of either that or the Greek language, and the multiplicity of his employments, it may be believed that his knowledge of them was far from extensive.\* From this translation, however, and from

\* Simon, *Hist. Critique*, V. T. p. 432; André, xix. 169. Eichhorn, however, says that Luther's translation must astonish any impartial judge, who reflects on the lamentable deficiency of subsidiary means in that age. iii. 317. The Lutherans have always highly admired this work on account of its pure Germanism: It has been almost as ill spoken of among Calvinists as by the Catholics themselves. St. Aldegonde says it is farther from the Hebrew than any one he knows; ex qua manavit nostra, ex vitiosa Germanica facta vitiosior Belgico-Teutonica. Gerdes, iii. 60.



the Latin Vulgate, the English one of Tyndale and Coverdale, published in 1535 or 1536, is avowedly taken.<sup>b</sup> Tyndale had printed his version of the New Testament in 1526. That of 1537, commonly called Matthews's Bible, from the name of the printer, though in substance the same as Tyndale's, was superintended by Rogers, the first martyr in the persecution of Mary, who appears to have had some skill in the original languages. The Bible of 1539, more usually called Cranmer's Bible, was certainly revised by comparison with the original. It is, however, questionable whether there was either sufficient leisure, or adequate knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, in the reign of Henry VIII., to consummate so arduous a task as the thorough censure of the Vulgate text.

38. Brucioli of Venice published a translation of the Scriptures into Italian, which he professes to have formed upon the original text.<sup>c</sup> It was retouched by Marmocchini, and printed as his own in 1538. Zaccarias, a Florentine monk, gave another version in 1542, taken chiefly from his two predecessors. The earlier translation of Malerbi passed through twelve editions in this century.<sup>d</sup> The Spanish New Testament by Francis de Enzina was printed at Antwerp in 1543, as the Pentateuch in the same language was by some Jews at Constantinople in 1547.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch had been published in 1530. It has been much controverted of late years whether he were acquainted or not with Hebrew.

[Tyndale's translation of the Greek Testament, so far as it is made from the Latin at all, is from that of Erasmus, not from the Vulgate. But it is said that he frequently adheres to the original where Erasmus departs from it; so that he must be reckoned sufficiently acquainted with Greek. See Historical Accounts of English Versions of the Scriptures, prefixed to the English Hexapla, printed in 1841.

Coverdale had other versions to assist him besides that of Luther and the Vulgate. But his own was executed with a rapidity absolutely incompatible with deliberate consideration, even if his learning had been greater than it was.—

1847.]

<sup>c</sup> The truth of this assertion is denied by Andr s, xix. 188.

<sup>d</sup> M'Crie's Reformation in Italy, p. 43.

<sup>e</sup> This translation, which could have been of little use, was printed in Hebrew characters, with the original, and with a version in modern Greek, but in the same characters. It was reprinted in 1553 by some Italian Jews, in the ordinary letter. This Spanish translation is of considerable antiquity, appearing by the language to be of the twelfth century; it was made for the use of the Spanish Jews, and preserved privately in their synagogues and schools. This is one out of several translations of Scripture that were made in Spain during the middle ages; one of them, perhaps, by order of Alfonso X. Andr s, xix. 151. But in the sixteenth century, even before the alarm about the progress of heresy began

Olaus Petri, the chief ecclesiastical adviser of Gustavus Vasa, translated the Scriptures into Swedish, and Paladius into Danish, before the middle of the century. But in no language were so many editions of Scripture published as in that of Flanders or Holland; the dialects being still more slightly different, I believe, at that time than they are now. The old translation from the Vulgate, first printed at Delft in 1497, appeared several times before the Reformation from the presses of Antwerp and Amsterdam. A Flemish version of the New Testament from that of Luther came out at Antwerp in 1522, the very year of its publication at Wittenberg; and twelve times more in the next five years. It appears from the catalogue of Panzer that the entire Bible was printed in the Flemish or Dutch language, within the first thirty-six years of the sixteenth century, in fifteen editions, one of which was at Louvain, one at Amsterdam, and the rest at Antwerp. Thirty-four editions of the New Testament alone in that language appeared within the same period; twenty-four of them at Antwerp.<sup>f</sup> Most of these were taken from Luther, but some from the Vulgate. There can be no sort of comparison between the number of these editions, and consequently the eagerness of the people of the Low Countries for Biblical knowledge, considering the limited extent of their language, and anything that could be found in the Protestant states of the empire.

39. Notwithstanding the authority given to the Vulgate by the church of Rome, it has never been forbidden either to criticise the text of that version, or to publish a new one. Sanctes Pagninus, an oriental scholar of some reputation, published a translation of the Old and New Testament at Lyons in 1528. This has been reckoned too literal, and consequently obscure and full of solecisms. That of Sebastian Munster, a more eminent Hebraist, printed at Basle in 1534, though not free from oriental idioms, which indeed very few translations have been, or perhaps rightly can be,

in Spain, a stop was put to their promulgation, partly through the suspicions entertained of the half-converted Jews. *Id.*, 183. The translation of Einsina, a suspected Protestant, was, of course, not

well received, and was nearly suppressed. *Id.* *ibid.* M'Crie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Spain.*

<sup>f</sup> Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, Index.

and influenced, according to some, by the false interpretations of the rabbins, is more intelligible. Two of the most learned and candid Romanists, Huet and Simon, give it a decided preference over the version of Pagninus. Another translation by Leo Juda and Bibliander, at Zurich in 1543, though more elegant than that of Munster, deviates too much from the literal sense. This was reprinted at Paris in 1545 by Robert Stephens, with notes attributed to Vatable.<sup>a</sup>

40. The earliest Protestant translation in French is that by Olivetan at Neufchâtel in 1535. It has been said that Calvin had some share in this edition, which, however, is of little value, except from its scarcity, if it be true that the text of the version from the Vulgate by Faber Stapulensis has been merely retouched. Faber had printed this, in successive portions, some time before; at first in France; but the parliament of Paris, in 1525, having prohibited his translation, he was compelled to have recourse to the press of Antwerp. This edition of Faber appeared several times during the present period. The French Bible of Louvain, which is that of Faber, revised by the command of Charles V., appeared as a new translation in 1550.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Simon, Hist. Crit. du V. T.; Biogr. Univ.; Eichhorn, v. 565 et post; André, xix 165.

<sup>b</sup> Simon, Hist. Crit. du V. T.; Biogr. Univ.; Eichhorn, v. 565 et post; André, xix 165.

## CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF SPECULATIVE, MORAL, AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY,  
AND OF JURISPRUDENCE, IN EUROPE, FROM 1520 TO 1550.

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SECT. I. 1520-1550.

Speculative Philosophy.

1. UNDER this head we shall comprehend not only what passes by the loose, yet not unintelligible appellation, metaphysics, but those theories upon the nature of things, which, resting chiefly upon assumed dogmas, could not justly be reduced to the division of physical science. The distinction may sometimes be open to cavil, but every man of a reflecting mind will acknowledge the impossibility of a rigorous classification of books. The science of logic, not only for the sake of avoiding too many partitions, but on account of its peculiar connexion, in this period of literature, with speculative philosophy, will be comprised in the same department.

Logic  
included  
under  
this head.

2. It might be supposed that the old scholastic philosophy, the barbarous and unprofitable disputations which occupied the universities of Europe for some hundred years, would not have endured much longer against the contempt of a more enlightened generation. Wit and reason, learning and religion, combined their forces to overthrow the idols of the schools. They had no advocates able enough to say much in their favour; but established possession, and that inert force which ancient prejudices retain, even in a revolutionary age, especially when united with civil and ecclesiastical authority, rendered the victory of good sense and real philosophy very slow.

Slow de-  
feat of  
scholastic  
philosophy.

3. The defenders of scholastic disputation availed themselves of the commonplace plea, that its abuses furnished no conclusion against its use. The barbarousness of its terminology might be in some measure discarded; the questions which had excited ridicule might be abandoned to their fate; but it was still contended that too much of theology was involved in the schemes of school philosophy erected by the great doctors of the church to be sacrificed for heathen or heretical innovations. The universities adhered to their established exercises; and though these, except in Spain, grew less active, and provoked less emulation, they at least prevented the introduction of any more liberal course of study. But the chief supporters of scholastic philosophy, which became, in reality or in show, more nearly allied to the genuine authority of Aristotle, than it could have been, while his writings were unknown or ill-translated, were found, after the revival of letters, among the Dominican or Franciscan orders, to whom the Jesuits, inferior to none in acuteness, lent, in process of time, their own very powerful aid.<sup>a</sup> Spain was, above all countries, and that for a very long time, the asylum of the schoolmen; and this seems to have been one among many causes which have excluded, as we may say, the writers of that kingdom, with but few exceptions, from the catholic communion of European literature.

4. These men, or many of them, at least towards the middle of the century, were acquainted with the writings of Aristotle. But commenting upon the Greek text, they divided it into the smallest fragments, gave each a syllogistic form, and converted every proposition into a complex series of reasonings, till they ended, says Buhle, in an endless and insupportable verbosity. "In my own labours upon Aristotle," he proceeds, "I have sometimes had recourse, in a difficult passage, to these scholastic commentators, but never gained anything else by my trouble than an unpleasant confusion of ideas; the little there is of value being scattered and buried in a chaos of endless words."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Trucker, iv. 117 et post. Buhle has drawn copiously from his predecessor, *ib.* 448.

<sup>b</sup> *ib.* 417.

5. The scholastic method had the reformers both of religion and literature against it. One of the most strenuous of the latter was Ludovicus Vives, in his great work, *De corruptis artibus et tradendis disciplinis*. Though the main object of this is the restoration of what were called the studies of humanity (*humaniores literæ*), which were ever found incompatible with the old metaphysics, he does not fail to lash the schoolmen directly in parts of this long treatise, so that no one, according to Brucker, has seen better their weak points, or struck them with more effect. Vives was a native of Valencia, and at one time preceptor to the princess Mary in England.<sup>c</sup>

Attack of  
Vives on  
scholastics.

6. In the report of the visitation of Oxford, ordered by Henry VIII. in 1535, contempt for the scholastic philosophy is displayed in the triumphant tone of conquerors. Henry himself had been an admirer of Thomas Aquinas. But the recent breach with the see of Rome made it almost necessary to declare against the schoolmen, its steadiest adherents. And the lovers of ancient learning, as well as the favourers of the Reformation, were gaining ground in the English government.<sup>d</sup>

Contempt of  
them in  
England.

7. But while the subtle, though unprofitable, ingenuity of the Thomists and Scotists was giving way, the ancient philosophy, of which that of the scholastic doctors was a corruption, restored in its genuine lineaments, kept possession of the field with almost redoubled honour. What the doctors of the middle ages had been in theology, that was Aristotle in all physical and speculative science; and the church admitted him into an alliance of dependency for her own service. The Platonic philosophy, to which the patron-

Venera-  
tion for  
Aristotle.

<sup>c</sup> Brucker, iv. 87. Meiners (*Vergleich der Sitten*, ii. 739-755) has several extracts from Vives as to the scholasticism of the beginning of this century. He was placed by some of his contemporaries in a triumvirate with Erasmus and Budeus. [This treatise of Vives is in seven books. The first is general; the second treats of the corrupt teaching of grammar; the third of logic; the fourth of rhetoric; the fifth of medicine and mathematics; the sixth of ethics;

the last of the civil law. Thus, on every side except theology, which he certainly did not mean to represent as standing in no need of correction, he wages war against the universities and their system.—1842.]

<sup>d</sup> Wood's *Hist. of University of Oxford*. The passage wherein Antony Wood deploras the "setting Duns in Bocardo" has been often quoted by those who make merry with the lamentations of ignorance.

age of the Medici and the writings of Ficinus had given countenance in the last century, was much fallen, nor had, at this particular time, any known supporters in Europe. Those who turned their minds to physical knowledge, while they found little to their purpose in Plato, were furnished by the rival school with many confident theories and some useful truth. Nor was Aristotle without adherents among the conspicuous cultivators of polite literature, who willingly paid that deference to a sage of Greece, which they blushed to show for a barbarian dialectician of the thirteenth century. To them at least he was indebted for appearing in a purer text, and in more accurate versions; nor was the criticism of the sixteenth century more employed on any other writer. By the help of philology, as her bounden handmaid, philosophy trimmed afresh her lamp. The true peripatetic system, according to so competent a judge as Buhle, was first made known to the rest of Europe in the sixteenth century; and the new disciples of Aristotle, endeavouring to possess themselves of the spirit as well as literal sense of his positions, prepared the way for a more advanced generation to poise their weight in the scale of reason.\*

8. The name of Aristotle was sovereign in the continental universities; and the union between his philosophy, or what bore that title, and the church, appeared so long established, that they must stand or fall together. Luther accordingly, in the commencement of the Reformation, inveighed against the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics, or rather against those sciences themselves; nor was Melanchthon at that time much behind him. But time ripened in this, as it did in theology, the disciple's excellent understanding; and he even obtained influence enough over the master to make him retract some of that invective against philosophy, which at first threatened to bear down all human reason. Melanchthon became a strenuous advocate of Aristotle, in opposition to all other ancient philosophy. He introduced into the university of Wittenberg, to which all Protestant Germany looked up, a scheme of dialectics and physics, founded

Melanchthon countenances him.

\* Buhle, H. 462.