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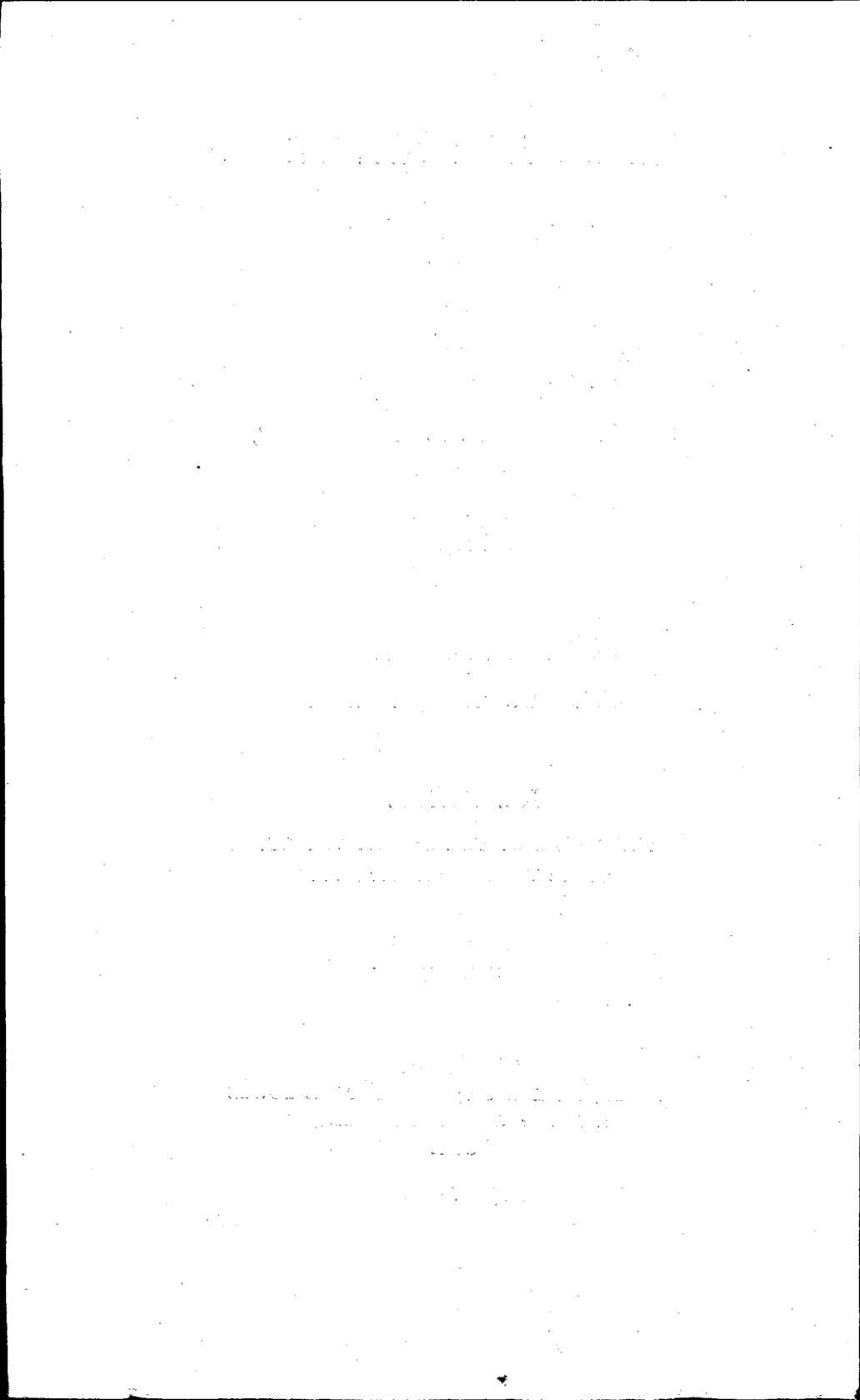
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Mr M. R. JAMES made the following communications :

I. ON THE GLASS IN THE WINDOWS OF THE LIBRARY
AT ST ALBANS ABBEY.

On a former occasion, when treating of Biblical illustration in mediæval times, I referred to the verses inscribed in the cloister-windows at St Albans Abbey as affording an interesting sample of the typology of the fifteenth century, and, in an appendix to the paper I was then reading, I printed a revised text of those verses¹. In the same MS. which has preserved them for us there is a copy of the verses which were to be found in the windows of the Library at the same great monastery; and, at the suggestion of Mr J. W. Clark, I have done what I could towards elucidating these also, by way of supplementing my former attempt. Now the subject of Mediæval Libraries is one which, as we know, Mr Clark has made peculiarly his own, and I should hesitate, consequently, to bring forward any conclusions of my own on the architectural side of the question. But the document before me has to do not so much with the architecture or arrangement of the St Albans Library—though here too it helps us a little—as with its contents; and moreover illustrates especially what I suppose one ought to call secular iconography.

There are at least two series of stained glass windows in existence which belonged to mediæval libraries: one at Jesus College,—for an account of which we know where to turn²; and the other at Eton College, on which I hope Mr Clark will at some near date enlighten us. Both of these are constructed on the same principle. At Jesus College we have a number of inscribed scrolls whose legends have reference to the subject of the books contained in that division of the Library in which they were placed. Thus, in the windows which once lighted the Class of Theology, we have (or had) pictures of the four

¹ *Camb. Ant. Soc. Proc. and Comm.* vii. 64—69.

² *Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, iii. 460.

Evangelists with appropriate texts; in that which lighted the Class of Canon Law are the texts: *Legem statuit ei in via quam elegit: Legem pone mihi domine viam iustificacionum tuarum.* At Eton College the series—sadly fragmentary as it is—shows the same leading idea. Here we find the Classes of Civil Law, Criminal and Canon Law, Medicine, etc., illustrated by medallions showing a church council, an execution, a physician and his patient, and the like.

At St Albans the plan was different only in detail from this last. In each window, save one, of the twelve which lighted the Library, were four figures of the men who in the estimation of fifteenth century scholars stood at the head of the various branches of science and literature. And no doubt the position which each figure occupied was influenced by the arrangement of the several classes of books. The designer of this scheme was, it seems probable, working upon very ancient lines; and, through the kindness of Mr J. W. Clark, I have recently—since this paper was originally written—come across the particular document which most likely determined the fashion in which the St Albans Library was dedicated. Mr Clark has pointed out to me in the works of S. Isidore of Seville¹ a set of verses (most likely printed from the Vatican MS. 1877) which decorated S. Isidore's Library. In all probability they were inscribed round medallion portraits of the men to whom they refer, which portraits would be painted on the doors or pediments of the *armaria*, or presses, in which the books were kept. The verses (they are elegiacs) consist of the following sections:

	1. Introductory.		10. Prudentius.
	2. Old and New Testaments.	POETS	11. Avitus.
	3. Origen.		12. Juvencus.
	4. Hilary.		13. Sedulius.
	5. Ambrose.	HISTORIANS	14. Eusebius.
FATHERS	6. Augustine.		15. Orosius.
	7. Jerome.		16. Gregory the Great.
	8. John Chrysostom.		17. Leander (of Seville).
	9. Cyprian.		

¹ *Works*, ed. Arevalus, 4to., Rome, 1703, vii. 179.

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|-----------------|---|--|
| JURISTS | { | 18. Theodosius. |
| | | 19. Paulus. |
| | | 20. Gaius. |
| MEDICAL WRITERS | { | 21. SS. Cósmas and Damianus (patrons of medicine). |
| | | 22. Hippocrates. |
| | | 23. Galen. |
| | | 24. On the place where the scribe's colours were kept. |
| | | 25. On the Scriptorium. |
| | | 26. To the talkative intruder. |

It will be seen at once that this idea of decorating a Library (which Isidore himself borrowed from classical sources) is only slightly modified at St Albans, where the portraits painted upon panel have been exchanged for effigies drawn upon glass.

The main value and interest of the verses as preserved to us lies assuredly not in their literary merit, but in the general idea which they enable us to form of the range of literature most esteemed by, and most accessible to, writers of the Middle Ages. We have in the series of names which we are to consider a sort of list of the Best Hundred Books, as they were conceived of in the year 1450. Before we set forth upon the consideration of them, I will just say in the fewest words possible what I have been able to ascertain as to the date and history of the Library from whose windows our verses were taken. We have, fortunately, fairly complete information on this head. In the sixth window of the Library was the founder's portrait; and the quatrain inscribed underneath it tells us certain particulars about him. He was, it seems, "a small teacher who taught, but himself needed teaching more, a shepherd of small account who ruled, but himself stood in need of ruling. He laid aside the mitre and devoted himself to his books and to study, and then resumed the mitre and prepared this place for books." Here we have, doubtless sketched by himself, a short biography of Abbot John Whethamstede or Johannes de loco Frumenti as he calls himself. He was twice Abbot of St Albans; once from 1420 to 1441, and then, on the death of John Stoke, from 1451 to 1465, when he died. Now we possess, in a MS. belonging to the College of Arms, and edited for the Master of the Rolls, a

Register of Whethamstede's second abbacy, compiled in great part by himself, and at the end of this is an account by a later contemporary of the benefactions conferred on the Abbey by Whethamstede. First among these stands the building of the Library¹, which, we are told, Whethamstede had long contemplated, and now brought to pass in the second year of his second abbacy (1452—3). The work of building, excluding the glazing, cresting, and fitting up with desks, cost him more than £150. A little later on we find that he provided new glass for the cloisters, illustrative of the Old and New Testament, and that he 'elucidavit eam metricè,' i.e. added explanations in metre. These explanations are the verses which I have already laid before this Society; and these and the Library verses we may safely attribute to the pen of John Whethamstede. Where the Library was, I cannot so far ascertain; but that a large portion of its contents exists everyone knows who possesses much acquaintance with our national collections of MSS.

Now to proceed with our document: the text is found in one MS., and I think only one, at Oxford². I have transcribed the verses from the MS., and compared them with the text given in the *Monasticon*³.

They are arranged in sets of four lines each in the windows; each line was most likely inscribed on a scroll held by or surrounding the figure of each worthy. In one case—that of Abbot Whethamstede, the founder of the Library—four lines are devoted to the description of one person: otherwise each is disposed of in a single line. The first window seems to have lighted the grammatical class of the Library. It contained figures of Donatus, Didymus, Priscian, and Hugutio. The first and third of these authors, Donatus and Priscian, furnished the commonest school-books of the Middle Ages; the second and fourth are less well-known. By Didymus is meant either the

¹ *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*. Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede; ed. Hen. Tho. Riley, Rolls Series i. 423.

² Bodl. MSS. Laud. 697, fol. 27, verso.

³ *Mon. Angl.* ii. 247.

Alexandrian contemporary of Cicero who was called χαλκέντερος, or a later grammarian of the same name known to us from Suidas. Hugutio was a Bishop of Ferrara, born at Pisa (d. 1212), who wrote a *Liber Derivationum*, an expansion of the *Elementarium* of Papias.

The second window represented Rhetoric and Poetry: Cicero, Sallust, Musaeus, Orpheus. Sallust figures here as the rival of Cicero. The *Declamatio in Ciceronem*—probably spurious—(as the corresponding *Declamatio in Sallustium*, attributed to Cicero, certainly is), was better known than anything that he really wrote. Musaeus is of course the mythical founder of poetry.

In the third window figured the representatives of Logic and Ethics: Aristotle and Porphyry, for the former; Plato and Pythagoras, for the latter.

The fourth window stood for Arithmetic and Music. Chrysippus and Nicomachus are the arithmeticians-chosen. The former is probably the great Stoic of the third cent. B.C. He is here said to have discovered the properties of cubic numbers; but Cicero says of him that the mathematics were among the few subjects which he did not touch. The latter is Nicomachus of Gerasa, a Pythagorean who lived not earlier than the second century A.D., and whose largest work on numbers was epitomised by Boethius. The musicians are: first, Guido of Arezzo (990—1050) who invented a musical stave with lines and spaces, and has left a good many musical writings, the best known of which is the *Micrologus*; and, secondly, a man whose name in the MS. reads *Vnchalus*. I have been fortunately able to emend it by the help of a passage in the *Anticlaudianus*, a long satirical poem written in the XIIIth century by Alanus de Insulis. Here, in Dist. iii. cap. v., we find the lines

Musica letatur Michalo doctore, suosque
Corrigit errores tali dictante magistro,

whence it is apparent that the musician represented in the St Albans window was Michalus. He seems to be a Greek writer, who is referred to by John Philoponus in his *Comm. in Analyt. Aristot.* LXXX.

The fifth window represented Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, and Albumasar, who evidently stand for Geometry, Astronomy, and Astrology. Ptolemy is of course Claudius Ptolemaeus, the cosmographer and astronomer. Albumasar was an Arabian astrologer whose date is given as 844 A.D.

The sixth window contained only the portrait of Abbot Whethamstede, the founder. The verses I have already translated. Most likely this was the last window on one side of the Library.

The seventh and eighth windows are devoted to theologians, Jewish and Christian. The theological books in the Library probably far outnumbered the rest. Jewish theology is represented by Moses, Aaron, Rabbi Moses, and Rabbi Solomon. I know of no instance save this where a medieval artist condescended to make portraits of late Jewish scholars, and the fact seems to me interesting; it points to a catholicity of sympathy among the St Albans scholars for which we should look vainly in most of their contemporaries. Of the men here named, Rabbi Moses—the Sun of the Law—is usually known as Maimonides. He lived in the xiith century, and was probably the friend of Rabbi Solomon; for by Rabbi Solomon, the *Salt of the Law*, Solomon Jarchi is most likely meant, a writer born at Troyes early in cent. xii. The champions of Christian theology in the next window bear familiar names: S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Athanasius, and S. John Chrysostom.

The ninth and tenth windows give us legal authorities of different kinds. In the former we have writers on Civil and Canon Law, and in the latter, writers on Monastic Rule. Window ix. represented Justinian, Gratianus, the author of the *Decretum*, Accursius, the Bolognese professor, who died 1229, and Hugusius. This last worthy may be either a cardinal who wrote glosses on the *Decretum* and died 1213, or Francis Aguzoni or Hugutio, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who wrote similar works and died 1412. In the tenth window were S. Benedict, S. Augustine, Bernard of Monte Cassino, and Nicolas Trivet. Of these Bernard (called Ayglenus) died in 1282: he wrote a *Speculum Monachorum*; while Nicolas Trivet, annalist and commentator, died about 1328.

In the eleventh window were doctors and surgeons: Hippocrates, Galen, a certain William who invented plasters, and 'Rymius' (we should read Brunus), who compounded a potion useful in curing broken bones. This last is Brunus Lasca of Florence (*cir.* 1290), a friend of Petrarch; or Brunus Longoburgensis, a surgeon of cent. xiii. William is William de Saliceto of Piacenza, who flourished about 1240.

The twelfth and last window gives us the names of four writers on farming and agriculture. Palladius, author of a treatise *de Re Rustica*, and probably a Frenchman of the fourth century: Virgil, as author of the *Georgics*: Peter is P. de Crescentiis, of Bologna, who wrote xii books *ruralium commodorum* about 1285: and, lastly, Bartholomew Glanville, author of a treatise *De proprietatibus rerum*. He lived c. 1360.

VERSES IN THE WINDOWS OF THE LIBRARY¹.

Bodl. Laud. Misc. 697, f. 27 b. (saec. xv, xvi.)

hic subsequuntur metra illa omnia quae ponuntur in fenestris in domo
librarie monasterij predicti.

- i dicor² donatus sum radix grammaticatus:
ortographusque vocor dindimus hicque locor:
sum quantus dat opus minus et maius pricianus:
deriuans quis? ego: fert stilus hugucio.
- ii rethor magnus eram marcus cithero vocitatus:
alter ego dictus salustius emulus eius:
museus ipse poeta fui primusque poetica scripsi:
orpheus ipse secundus ei manes modulamine flexi.
- iii dicor aristotiles direxi philosophantes:
at³ ego porphyrius doctor monui logicantes:
nuncupor ipse plato: moralia ciuibus apto:
ipseque pictagoras do normas moribus aptas.
- iv crisippus dixi quis cubicus numerus sit quisque quadratus:
nicomacrus at⁴ ego cur impar numerus mas, femina sit par:

¹ In some cases the names of the persons represented are given in the MS. They stand at the beginning or the end of a line, as I have printed them.

² decor *cod.*

³ ac *Mon.*

⁴ ac *Mon.*

- dixi quot guido moduli sunt in monacordo :
 quotque tenet cithara <docui> michalus¹ ve viella.
 (i.e. 'and I Michalus taught how many sounds the harp or viol has.')
- v euclides vocitor, magnus fueram geometer :
 circi quadrator archimenes ego dicor :
 maximus astronomus reputatus eram tholomeus :
 maguus et albumasar introductor uocitabar.
- vi doctor eram minimus, docui magis ipse docendus ;
 pastor et exiguus rexi, magis ymo regendus ;
 mitram deposui, libro studioque uacau ;
 rursus² eam sumpsi, loca libris hecque parau.
- vii moyses lator eram veteris prime <u>us scribaque legis :
 aaron frater eramque suus primus legisque sacerdos :
 sol legis fueram rabi moyses mihi nomen :
 ipseque sal legis rabi salomon uocitatus.
- viii petrus clauiger ecclesie sera legis eramque nouelle :
 paulus legifer in gentes legem docuique salutis :
 athanasius alexander dixi simbolice que debet credere quisque :
 johannes constantinopolitanus scripsi rethorice quis quomodo cre-
 deret atque.
- f. 28 a.
- ix duximus in quinos duo legum millia libros : justinianus imperator.
 iunximus et sparsas multas in canone causas : gratianus.
 legum doctor eram, dubias patulas faciebam : accurtius.
 alter ego juris bonus enucleator et eius. hugusius.
- x regula claustralis per me uiget et monachalis : Benedictus.
 per me lata prius stat norma canonicatus : Augustinus
 illius dubia declarau quasi cuncta : bernardus cassinensis.
 istius obscura manifestaui quoque plura. nicholaus treuit.
- xi magnus eram medicus, hypocras sum nomine dictus :
 alter et egregius uocitatus eram galienus :
 emplastri cura sanau vulnera plura : Guilelmus Chirurgicus.
 ossaque confracta mea fecit pocio recta. Rymius Chirurgicus³.
- xii de agricultura dederam noua dogmata plura : palladius.
 arteque de simili post pascua rura retexi : virgilius.
 quomodo plantabis uites docuique putabis : petrus de⁴ crescentiis.
 quando seresque metes scripsi quoque florida carpes. bartholomeus
 de rerum naturis.

¹ Vnchalus *cod.*² Ruffus *Mon.*³ Brunus Chirurgicus *Mon.*⁴ Unintelligible in *Mon.*