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to a place which has such varied attractions. It is commonly said that those who come to Pau once always come again, and each year they get more fond of it; at any rate, the best advice that can be given to those whose health compels them to seek southern skies, and who have not yet tried this neighbourhood, is "Come and see."

JOHN H. ROGERS.

ART. III.—THE FIRST POLYGLOT BIBLE.

"This Cardinal,
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashioned to much honour from his cradle.
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair-spoken and persuading:
Lofty and sour to them that loved him not;
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer."
King Henry VIII.

SPAIN is not a country to which we have usually been accustomed to look for any great advance in matters belonging to the regions of scientific or critical research. That country has produced great writers, such as Cervantes, the immortal author of "Don Quixote;" great dramatists, such as Calderon and Lope de Vega; and great painters, such as Velasquez, Murillo, Zurbaran, and Ribera. It also made itself conspicuous, in times gone by, by its great activity in the department of maritime discovery, and in the colonization of the continent of America. But, as above intimated, we have not been accustomed to expect from it much progress in matters calling for the exercise of scientific or critical knowledge.

The reasons for this backwardness are not far to seek, and are easily discernible even by superficial students of its romantic history. The long-enduring conflicts with the former masters of the peninsula, the Moors, in which religious motives played so predominant a part, served to impress upon the character of the Christian conquerors permanent feelings of a fervidly enthusiastic nature, which were easily fanned into fanaticism by a crafty priesthood. Added to this, the Inquisition with its awful terrors weighed like a nightmare upon the minds of the people, checking all tendency to improvement, and spreading the silence and inactivity of the grave throughout the length and breadth of the land. If we duly consider these circumstances in the history of the country we shall not be astonished that a spirit of inquiry

could find no outlet, and that all independent research after *truth* should be rendered well-nigh impossible.

Nevertheless, it is to Spain that we owe a work of high interest, if judged only from a literary and historical point of view, and even of no small critical importance, especially when we consider the age and country in which it was produced. This was the great Polyglot Bible[1] of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, as to which we propose to offer a few cursory observations in this paper.

But before proceeding to our immediate purpose it will be well, perhaps, to take a brief survey of the life of the distinguished man to whose zeal, learning, and munificence we are indebted for the execution of this great work.

Ximenes was born in the year 1436 in the small town of Tordelaguna in the kingdom of Castile. He came of an ancient but decayed family, and his father held the office of collector of the papal revenue in his native town. From his earliest youth he was destined by his parents for the Church. At the age of fourteen we find him at the University of Salamanca—then, and for a long time afterwards, the most famous seat of learning in Spain—where, after six years' residence, he received a degree both in Civil and Canon Law, an honour of rare occurrence at that time.

At the age of twenty-three he undertook a journey to Rome, which he did not reach without some adventures common enough in those days. He was twice robbed on the road; and, but for the timely assistance afforded him by an old fellow-student, he would in all probability never have arrived at his destination. In Rome, Ximenes seems to have fared sufficiently well, and he succeeded before his recall, at the age of twenty-nine, in consequence of the death of his father and various family embarrassments, in obtaining from the Pope a brief, or diploma, entitling him to the first ecclesiastical benefice under a certain value which would become vacant in his native province.

In due time a benefice corresponding to the definitions of his brief fell vacant by the death of the arch-priest of Uzeda (1473), and Ximenes forthwith proceeded to take possession of it by virtue of the Apostolic grant. This action on his part brought him into collision with Carillo, the then Archbishop of Tolodo, who thought to compel Ximenes to surrender his pre-

[1] Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Vetus Testamentum, Hebraico, Græco et Latino Idiomate; Novum Testamentum Græcum et Latinum, et Vocabularium Heb. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti, cum Grammaticâ Hebraicâ, necnon Dictionario Græco. Studio, operâ et impensis Cardinalis Ximenes de Cisneros. 6 vols. folio, Industria Arnaldi Guilelmo de Brocario, artis impressoriæ magistri, Compluti, 1514, 1515, 1517.

tensions by imprisoning him in the strong tower of Santorcaz. In this, however, the Archbishop was mistaken, and he was at last persuaded to release his unyielding prisoner, but not until after he had undergone a confinement of more than six years. Ximenes was thus placed in full possession of his benefice. Soon afterwards he exchanged it for the chaplaincy of Siguenza, whereby he was brought under the immediate notice of the great Cardinal Mendoza, at that time Bishop of Siguenza, who made him the Grand Vicar of his diocese.

But the world and its concerns were becoming more and more distasteful to the austere character of Ximenes. He determined, therefore, to become a monk, and selecting for this purpose the Observantines of the Franciscan Order, the most rigid of the monastic societies, he resigned his employments and benefices, and entered on his noviciate in the convent of San Juan de los Reyes, at Toledo, the superb remains of which are well known to every traveller who has had the good fortune to visit that remarkable city.

But we must not dwell too long on this portion of the history of Ximenes. There is no need to recount the mortifications to which he subjected himself both here and in his seclusion at Castañar. It will suffice to say that, through the instrumentality of his former patron, Mendoza, who had since been promoted to the Archbishopric of Toledo, he was, though not without protestation on his part, appointed confessor to Queen Isabella, who, on the death of Mendoza in 1495, promoted Ximenes, now in the sixtieth year of his age, to the exalted post which had thus once more become vacant.

"And now let us look for a moment at what kind of figure that is which has stepped up upon this lofty pedestal, and stands thus observed henceforth of all observers of European history. A very tall and wholly erect figure, in a friar's frock and barefoot; stern and sombre, thoroughly monastic; his complexion sallow, his whole countenance thin and sharp; with a high and long head, shorn, all save a narrow circle of it; with small, black, vivid eyes, with overhanging brows, and a most ample and unwrinkled but retiring forehead; his nose prominent and very aquiline, and his upper lip projecting over his lower; with a voice harsh and grating, but of most effective speech, as of fire mingled with hail—not always blessing, but always leaving some traces of itself for long. Clearly a most penetrating, sagacious, determined man; rigidly calm, sternly disciplined; every way imposing, in no way attractive; a priest and not a prophet, and more an archbishop than an apostle."

I have borrowed the foregoing graphic description from Mr. Myers's lecture on Ximenes in his interesting "Lectures on

Great Men." "Such appears," adds that writer, "from the portraits we have of him, to be the kind of man who finds himself, without his seeking it, the Archbishop of Toledo in 1495."

No sooner was he installed in his new office than he proceeded, with the aid of his royal mistress, to carry out those schemes of reform among the clergy of his diocese upon which he had set his heart. His efforts in this direction were eventually crowned with success, in spite of the opposition which he encountered. But the stern spirit of Ximenes was not to be put down by opposition, however formidably it might display itself. He succeeded, in fact, in effecting in Spain so thorough a reformation of discipline that, as Mr. Myers aptly remarks, "had it been general throughout the Roman Church, it might have indefinitely postponed that reformation of doctrine which in the next century made half Europe Protestant."

But now, unhappily, the zeal of Ximenes was to manifest itself in another and less praiseworthy direction. In 1499 he attended Ferdinand and Isabella in their visit to their new conquest of Granada. Here he undertook the task of converting those Moors who still remained in the subjugated province. Persuasive methods were at first attempted; but, as these proved too slow in their operation, the zealous Archbishop proceeded to the adoption of more high-handed measures. All the Arabic books and manuscripts that he could seize upon, with the exception of medical works, which he kept for his library at Alcalá, were heaped together in a pile in one of the great squares of Granada, and were publicly burnt. Many of these volumes were valuable, not only for their contents, but also for their sumptuous bindings, illuminations, and costly ornamentations in gold and precious stones. But the taint of *heresy* clung to them, and that was, of course, a fatal defect in the eyes of Ximenes.

A riot which soon afterwards arose in consequence of the intolerant proceedings of the Archbishop, was with difficulty quelled. Nevertheless, the objects which he had never lost sight of were more or less imperfectly secured at last. Numbers of the Moors embraced Christianity, or pretended to do so. The more wealthy sold their estates, and migrated to Barbary. After this Mahometanism only lingered on in Spain among the inhabitants of the wild mountain region of the Alpujarras. The name of *Moors*, too, by which the Spanish Arabs had usually been designated, now gave way to the title of *Moriscos*, which was borne by this unhappy race until their final expulsion from the peninsula.

We willingly turn away from this portion of the life of

Ximenes. Acts dictated by bigotry and fanaticism are never pleasing subjects for contemplation, irrespective of the source from which they may happen to emanate. "It is a singular paradox," says Prescott,[1] "that Christianity, whose doctrines inculcate unbounded charity, should have been made so often an engine of persecution; while Mahometanism, whose principles are those of avowed intolerance, should have exhibited, at least till later times, a truly philosophical spirit of toleration."

After accomplishing the conquest of Oran—for the details of which I must refer to the brilliant pages of the author from whom I have just quoted—Ximenes retired to Alcalá de Henares, where he busily occupied himself with his new university, the idea of which he had conceived as far back as 1497, but which he was not enabled finally to complete until the year 1508. But this was not the only great work accomplished by Ximenes at Alcalá. Here it was also that he engaged in a task of equal magnitude and of greater difficulty, viz., the formation of his Polyglot Bible, usually called the Complutensian Polyglot, from *Complutum*, the old Roman name for Alcalá.

Ximenes lived to see the completion of this great work, as to which it is now our purpose to offer a few brief remarks. He died, however, soon afterwards at the ripe age of eighty-one, having attained to the high office of Civil Administrator of the kingdom, which office he united with that of Grand Inquisitor. Pope Julius II. had in 1507 conferred the dignity of a cardinal's hat upon the stern ecclesiastic.

Although the Complutensian Polyglot was the first work of the kind that was brought to a successful completion, it was not the first that was *projected*. This honour is due to the illustrious printer, Aldus Manutius, the elder, of whose work, however, only one page appears to have been printed, containing the first fifteen verses of the first chapter of the book of Genesis, in collateral columns, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In 1516 a certain Peter Paul Porrus printed at Genoa the Pentaglot Psalter of Agostino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbio. This was in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, and Greek, with the Latin version, glosses, and scholia. Again, in 1518, John Potken published at Cologne the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic. But the production of a polyglot edition of the entire Bible was reserved for the zeal and munificence of the great Spanish Cardinal.

In those days subtle questions of theology and useless speculations were much in vogue among the clergy generally,

[1] "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella."

while the more profitable study of the text of the Bible was neglected. The Cardinal thought that this neglect arose from the slight acquaintance of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin at that time possessed by ecclesiastics of various grades. In order, therefore, to counteract the evil effects likely to be produced in consequence of such a state of affairs, and to direct attention to the study of the original texts, Ximenes decided to undertake a new edition of the Bible, which should comprise, so far as the Old Testament was concerned, the Hebrew text, the Latin version, or Vulgate, and the Septuagint, or Greek translation, with the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch at the bottom of the page, and a Latin interpretation. To this portion of the work four volumes were devoted. For the New Testament the Greek text was to be printed with the Vulgate Latin version in a parallel column, thus forming the greater part of the fifth volume. In the Old Testament portion the Latin Vulgate was to hold the middle place between the Hebrew and Greek texts. For this collocation the following fanciful reasons were adduced, viz., that as Christ was crucified between two thieves, so the Roman Church, represented by St. Jerome's version, is crucified between the Synagogue, represented by the Hebrew text, and the Eastern Church, denoted by the Greek version. The sixth and last volume was to be devoted to an explanation of Hebrew terms, and other elementary and explanatory treatises.

An enterprise of such exceeding difficulty demanded for its achievement a man of dauntless energy and determination. But difficulties, instead of overcoming, only served to increase the ardour and constancy of Ximenes. He collected the most learned men of the day for the prosecution of the undertaking.[1] Unfolding to them his design, he promised to furnish liberal allowances for all their expenses, in addition to ample remuneration for their labours. Above all, he urged diligence in the prosecution of the work. "Lose no time, my friends," he would say, "lest, in the casualties of life, you should lose

[1] Their names have come down to us. There were Antonio de Lebrija, Demetrius Ducas, of Crete, who had been invited by Ximenes to Alcalá to teach the Greek language; Lopez de Zuñiga (Stunica or Astuniga), the chief of the learned band, with whom, as will be remembered, the accomplished Erasmus involved himself in a literary contest on the subject of the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7; Nuñez de Guzman, or Pintianus, of noble extraction, professor at Alcalá, and author of several commentaries on the classics. With the foregoing were associated three learned Jews, converts to Christianity, viz., Alfonso, a physician; Paul Coronell of Segovia, a professor of theology at the University of Salamanca, who died in 1534; and Alfonso de Zamora, who was specially appointed to compose a grammar and Hebrew dictionary for the Polyglot.

your patron, or I have to lament the loss of those whose services are of more price in my eyes than wealth and worldly honours." Inspired by the Cardinal's zeal and enthusiasm, and aided in their deliberations by his learning and acuteness, his band of scholars worked unflaggingly at their task.

For the purpose of the undertaking the Cardinal caused the libraries of Europe to be ransacked for suitable manuscripts. The literary resources of Spain were of course at his command. Leo X. liberally placed the treasures of the Vatican at his disposal. Seven Hebrew manuscripts were collected from different countries, on the purchase of which the large sum of four thousand golden crowns was expended.

The difficulties of the work were enormously increased in consequence of the scarcity of the necessary types, especially for the Oriental languages. The art of printing was then, it will be remembered, in its infancy. To Ximenes, however, such obstacles were as nought. If ready-made types could not be procured in the printing establishments of Europe, they could be cast to order. He accordingly established foundries at Alcalá, and imported artists from Germany, who worked under his own immediate supervision.

The cost of such an enterprise was, as may readily be conceived, enormous. The purchase of manuscripts; the remuneration of those engaged in procuring them; the expense of their journeys; the emoluments of the learned editors, copyists, and assistants; the expense, moreover, of the new types, which were all, as we have seen, cast on the spot; the bringing of artists from Germany; the actual work of printing itself—all these caused a total expenditure of over 50,000 ducats, or about £25,000 in our money.

Great was the joy of the octogenarian Cardinal on the completion of the arduous undertaking. It was begun in 1502; but, although completed in 1517, it was not *published* until 1522—the publication having been delayed by Leo X., who felt some misgivings as to the danger which might possibly arise to the Papal Crown through the impetus the work would be likely to give to Biblical research. The impression, moreover, was limited to 600 copies, of which three were printed on vellum.

For one of these excessive rarities so large a sum as £522 has been paid. This copy was bought at that price by Mr. Standish, and was afterwards bequeathed to Louis Philippe. It is now in the fine library of the Duc d'Aumale. Of the other two, one is in the Vatican, and the other, originally intended for Alcalá, at Madrid.

Up till late years it was generally supposed that the manuscripts made use of by Ximenes and his editors were destroyed

in 1749, having been, as was alleged, disposed of as so much *waste paper* by the then librarian of Alcalá, to a rocket-maker of the town, who lost no time in working them up for the purposes of his business. More recent discoveries have, however, thrown a new light on this whimsical anecdote. A sale of parchments to a rocket-maker had indeed taken place at the time specified, not however of original manuscripts, but only of their outer coverings when they were rebound. The manuscripts of the Old Testament were deposited in the University of Alcalá, whence they were afterwards removed to Madrid. Those lent by Leo X. were duly restored to the Vatican. In fact, the whole story turns out to be only another instance of what Mr. Hayward would call a "mock pearl of history,"[1] the spuriousness of which subsequent researches have made apparent.

In estimating the merits of the Complutensian Polyglot we must be careful to bear in mind the character and circumstances of the age and country in which it was produced. The science of criticism, as now understood, was then in its infancy, if, indeed, it can be said to have existed at all. The Cardinal himself was well versed in the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, which he had diligently studied during his chaplainship at Siguenza. His editors, too, were possessed of no small amount of erudition and capacity. But they could hardly have had access to the vast stock of materials that have been made available for critics in this more favoured age. It would not appear, for instance, that the famous *Codex Vaticanus* was included among the treasures borrowed from Leo X.[2] Judged, then, by modern standards, the value of the work from a purely critical point of view must be admitted to be small. The manuscripts employed, especially those used for the New Testament portion, were comparatively modern, and not reliable as sources whereon to found a pure text. Moreover, the Latin version was at that time more highly esteemed than the Hebrew and Greek originals, and was looked upon as the authorized translation of the Church. "The editors," says Dr. Scrivener, "plainly meant no disparagement to the original Scriptures *as such;* but they had persuaded themselves that Hebrew codices had been corrupted by the Jew, the Septuagint

[1] See "Selected Essays," by A. Hayward, Q.C., in 2 vols. Longmans, 1878.

[2] "The writer of the Preface to the Roman edition (Vol. vi., Præf. p. 9, 1881) vainly struggles to maintain the opposite view, because the Cardinal, in his Preface to the Complutensian New Testament, speaks about 'adhibitis Vaticanis libris,' as if there were but one there." Scrivener, "Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament," note, p. 105. Third Edition.

by the schismatical Greek, and so clung to the Latin as the only form (even before the Council of Trent) in which the Bible was known or studied in Western Europe."

But when every admission of this kind has been fully made, the Complutensian Polyglot will still stand forth as a noble monument of zeal, piety, and munificence. The town of Alcalá, "*el famoso Compluto*," as Cervantes has called it, once a prosperous seat of learning, when its halls were thronged by eleven thousand students, has, since the removal of its University to Madrid in 1836, fallen away sadly from its former high estate. Its streets are now deserted, and its churches and public buildings forlorn and dilapidated. But it has, nevertheless, many claims to be held in remembrance. For here Cervantes was born; here Ximenes founded, and splendidly endowed, a famous seat of learning, filling its colleges with learned scholars; and here the first Polyglot Bible was given to the world.

F. R. McClintock.

Art. IV.—RAYMUND LULL.

RAYMUND LULL—Raymundus Lullus. "Who was he?" will very probably be asked by the majority of those whose eyes may catch the heading of this article. For the hand of time is struggling hard, according to custom, to extinguish what little spark of life this great and good man's name and history have within the memory of mankind. Our paper is a faint effort to fan the little spark into a little flame.

Don Ramon Lull, doctor illuminatus, was perhaps not only the most distinguished philosopher and scholar of the thirteenth century, but also one of the most enthusiastic and remarkable men of any age, and a very prince among missionaries, worthy to be ranked high in that noble army of martyrs who have laid down their lives for the Master's sake among a strange people and in a strange land. He was born of rich and noble Spanish parents at Palma, the capital of Majorca, about 1235. The island was then under the rule of King James of Arragon, in whose military service Lull's father held a post of great distinction. At an early age Raymund followed the paternal profession, and was quickly raised to the office of *gran senescal* in the royal court.

Until the age of thirty different traditions represent him as having lived a life of lawless pleasure and sensuality. He