

John Capgrave, O. E. S. A. (1393-1464)

Bibliography

In our survey of Capgrave's life we promised to publish a second article containing a list of his biographers and a critical enumeration of his works ¹⁾.

Some preliminary observations may be made before we proceed to fulfill the first part of this promise. It was our intention to give a list which would try to be as extensive as possible, showing not only the importance of John Capgrave, but also acting as a guide to research-material for students of Augustinian history.

We have arranged our list in chronological order, incidentally pointing out the dependence of one author on another. With the exception of two MSS, all published sources are given. The items from the General Archives O. E. S. A., published in our biography, have not been inserted. In many cases the biographers are rather bibliographers, but we make no distinction.

After the biographers comes a list of items dealing with Capgrave in a special manner; these form a separate class.

I CAPGRAVE'S BIOGRAPHERS

John Capgrave died in the year 1464. The earliest account, however, of his life and works does not appear before the middle of the following century. Neither Ambrogio da Cori, O. E. S. A. († 1485) ²⁾ nor his confrere Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo († 1518) ³⁾ include Capgrave among the famous men of the August-

¹⁾ *Augustiniana*, v (1955). 400.

²⁾ Ambrosii Choriolani Gen. Augustinianorum. *In defensorium ordinis eiusdem scilicet ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini responsivum ad maledicta canonicorum regularium congregationis Frisonarie*. Rome, 1481 (= Hain 5684).

³⁾ Iacobus Philippus BERGOMENSIS, *Supplementum chronicarum*, Venice, 1483 (= Hain 2805).

inian Order. Nothing is also to be found in Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) ⁴⁾ and Abbot Johann Trithem (1462-1516) ⁵⁾.

The first biographer of John Capgrave is —

- I JOHN LELAND (1506?-1552), *Commentarii de scriptoribus britannicis*, ed. A. Hall, ii (Oxford, 1709). 453-54 —

Ioannes Capogrevus, inter Augustinianos πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων a me doctorum auribus commendabitur. Is vero vel ab ipsa pueritia libris, perinde ac concha suis scopulis, adhaesit. Granta, foecunda eruditorum parens, quae illum, ut ego conjectura colligo juvenem docuit, idem testabitur, nec deerit Hunfridus Claudianus, vir regii generis, cujus in hac parte clarum mehercule testimonium habebitur. Nam bonus princeps, quoties de animae cura cogitabat, frequentissime autem cogitabat, toties literatissimi Capogrevi prudentissimo consilio utebatur. Porro adest universus Augustinianorum chorus, testis multo locupletissimus qui illum, excellenti eruditionis nomine, gubernatorem provincialem constituerunt. Sunt haec plane illustria ejus doctrinae testimonia, obscura tamen, si cum pulcherrimis monumentis, quae ille orbi scripta reliquit, conferantur. Quare inscriptiones ejus operum mox subjiciam :

Commentarii

In Pentateuchon, Hunfrido, duci Claudiano dedicati.

In libros Regum, ad Joannem Lovum, Asaphensem episcopum.

In Acta Apostolorum, ad Gulielmum, episcopum Eliensem. Symbolum Fidei, ad eundem.

In Psalterium.

In Sententias Petri Lombardi.

Vita Divi Augustini, ad Joannem Gauterofordum, abbatem fani Joannis, quod Avonae mediterraneae celebre est.

Vitae Sanctorum Anglorum.

De Illustribus Henricis, ad Henricum sextum, Angliae regem.

Sis ipse lector, si quando haec opera ad tuas manus pervenerint, Capogrevicae censor eruditionis. Ego interea loci, quod sentio, libere dicam ; hoc est, me nullum ex Augustinianis scriptoribus, quos nostra produxit Britannia, hactenus legisse, quem merito per omnia cum illo conferam. Obiit Lini, populosa Nordovolgiae civitate, duodecimo die augusti, anno D. 1464 et ibidem inter Augustinianos sepultus fuit.

⁴⁾ Hartmannus SCHEDEL, *Liber chronicarum*. Nuremberg, 1493 (= Hain 14508).

⁵⁾ Ioannes TRITHEMIUS, *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (Cologne, 1531).

Leland's eulogium formed the basis on which John Bale, ex-Carmelite and protestant bishop of Ossory, compiled his notes concerning Capgrave's life and works⁶). He consulted moreover an *Augustinianorum Registrum* which is mentioned among his sources⁷). Apart from some mistakes, as for example Capgrave's birthplace, Bale is the principal source for John Capgrave. It may be mentioned that in his library he had three Capgrave-manuscripts which were lost in his flight from Ireland in September 1553⁸).

⁶) In the preface to the edition of John Leland's *Commentarii* one reads that the author died unexpectedly before he could see his work through the press. The manuscripts fell in the hands of John Bale who used Leland's notes for his *Scriptores*.

⁷) *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae... catalogus, pars posterior* (Basle, 1559) [p. xv].

⁸) Cf. H. McCusker, 'Books and manuscripts formerly in possession of John Bale', in *The library*, series 4, xvi (1935-36). 144-65. On pp. 149-62 the author gives the list of Bale's MSS, there are 381 items, which is also published in the *Scriptorum... catalogus, pars posterior*, pp. 159-67 (= Centuria xiii, dedicated to Conrad Gesner and Iosiah Simler). The beginning reads as follows —

Veterum ac Recentiorum Quorundam Librorum Catalogum, in tuam ac Sociorum gratiam, Gesnere vir optime, his addidi, quos pulcherrime scriptos, at non typis excusos, quos sciam, Papistarum violentiis coactus, in hoc altero meo exilio, in Hybernia reliqui: ut ex eorum titulis scires, qui et quales sint: ac mihi condoleres eorum iacturam et interitum, nisi Deus illos servaverit.

The following Augustinian MSS are mentioned —

- 41 Ioannes Capgravius, de nobilibus Henricis.
- 42 Idem de sequacibus divi Augustini.
- 43 Catalogus sanctorum Angliae, eodem authore.
- 50 Petrus Pateshull, de vitis fratrum Mendicantium: vel eius commentarius in prophetiam Hyldegardis cum rhythmis facetissimis.
- 69 Rodulphi Marhami manipulus chronicarum, opus magnum.
- 128 Calendaria Minorum, Carmelitarum et Augustinensium.
- 195c [Baptistae Mantuani epistola] ad Ambrosianum Coriolanum, cum responso.
- 250 Ioannes Bury contra Reginaldum Pecockum.
- 299 Thomas Vuinterton, contra confessionem Vuicleui.
- 326 Hugolinus de urbe ueteri, super sententias.
- 329 Rogeri Tvuifordi, Itinerarium mentis in Deum.
- 330 Richardi Cheferij, Augustiniani, sermones.
- 354 Guilhelmi Flete, Augustiniani, tres epistolae ex Italia.

In his systematic study of English monastic literature, which began in the year 1533, Bale was assisted by Carmelite and Augustinian librarians, but was hindered, as he himself tells us, by the Dominicans and Franciscans (cf. W. T. Davies, 'A bibliography of John Bale', in *Oxford Bibliographical Society, proceedings and papers*, v (1936-39). 208.

The events of Capgrave's life and lists of his works occur in three of Bale's writings —

- 2 JOHN BALE (1495-1563), *Illustrium maioris Britanniae scriptorum, hoc est, Angliae, Cambriae ac Scotiae summarium, in quasdam centurias divisum, cum diversitate doctrinarum atque annorum recta supputatione per omnes aetates a Iapheto sanctissimi Noah filio, ad annum domini M. D. XLVIII* (Ipswich, 1548), ff. 201v-202⁹).
- 3 JOHN BALE (1495-1563), *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam ac Scotiam vocant catalogus*, i (Basle, 1557). 582-83¹⁰).
- 4 JOHN BALE (1495-1563), *Index Britanniae scriptorum quos e variis bibliothecis non parvo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (Oxford, 1902), pp. 188-89¹¹).

Here we print together the items of the *Summarium* and the *Catalogus*.

Summarium

Ioannes Capgrave, Anglus, in Cantiae comitatu oriundus, Cantuariæ pro vitæ suæ methodo, Eremitarum divi Augustini institutum elegit. Apud hos succedentibus annis ita literis profecit, ut post adeptum Oxonii doctoratum, provincialis suæ familiae rector efficeretur. Philosophus ac theologus aetate sua precipuus erat, ingenio atque eloquio clarus. Scripturas divinas unice amabat, sophistarum somniis parum aut nihil tribuens, quum sciret ex illis non alia generari, quam ra-

Catalogus

Ioannes Capgrave, in Cantiorum comitatu natus, et Augustinianorum omnium doctissimus, quamprimum esset indagatricis rationis capax, pro vitæ suæ methodo, eorum fratrum institutum assumpsit. Is vero vel ab ipsa pueritia libris perinde ac concha suis scopulis adhaerens, ita sensim literis profecit, ut post adeptum Oxonii doctoratum provincialis suæ familiae gubernator efficeretur. Philosophus enim ac theologus illa aetate præcipuus erat, ingenio etiam atque eloquio

⁹) 'The imprint « Ipswich, 1548 » [in the colophon] is fictitious: the book was actually printed at Wesel in Germany', as Mr. C. B. Oldman, principal Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum kindly informed us, for which we owe him our best thanks.

¹⁰) This is the second edition of the previous *Summarium* but there are many variations as we will see below.

¹¹) 'John Bale's autograph notebook, preserved in the Bodleian Library ... differing from Bale's published catalogue [1548] and *Scriptorum maioris Britanniae catalogus* [1557-59]', *ibidem*, p. vii.

biosas lites et inutilium rerum quaestiones. In praelatorum superbiam ac tyrannidem pluries declamare solebat. Ut quod nimium dilatarint fimbrias, laudem affectantes apud imperitam multitudinem. Et quod non pastores sed mercenarii, lupis exposuerint oves, lac et lanam quaerentes, non animas. Hos patriae praedones appellavit, ut quibus veritas fuerit oneri, ius contemptui, crudelitas delectationi. Illum igitur prae aliis elegit piissimus sui temporis princeps Umfridus Glocestriae dux praedictus, Henrici regis quinti frater, ut ei adesset a conscientiae secretis. In cuius favorem quammulta reliquit, et eadem magna suae doctrinae volumina.

Et imprimis,

Commentarios in Genesim, li. 1
 Super Exodum, li. 1
 Super Leviticum, li. 1
 Super Numeros, li. 1
 Super Deuteronomion, li. 1
 In historiam Iosue, li. 1
 In volumina Regum, li. 4

summo clarus. Scripturas divinas unice amabat, sophistarum somniis parum aut nihil tribuens, quum sciret ex illis non alia generari, quam rabiosas lites, et inutilium rerum quaestiones. Adversus praelatorum petulantias atque impias tyrannides detonare solitus fuit, dicens : Quod immodice suas dilataverint fimbrias laudem aucupantes apud imperitam multitudinem. Item quod non pastores, sed mercenarii, lupis exposuerunt oves, lac et lanam quaerentes non animas. Hos patriae praedones appellavit, ac malos operarios : ut quibus veritas fuerit oneri, ius contemptui, crudelitas delectationi. Illum ergo prae aliis multis elegit piissimus eius temporis princeps, Hunfridus Glocestriae dux, illustrissimi Henrici quinti Anglorum regis frater, ut sibi interdum esset a conscientiae colloquio. Ita, ut quoties de animae cura sapientissimus Dynastes cogitaret (frequentissime autem cogitabat) toties literatissimi Capgravi prudentissimo consilio uteretur. Porro nullus fuit ex Augustinianis scriptoribus, quos nostra produxit Britannia, cum illo unquam per omnia conferendus. Sunt haec plane illustria eius doctrinae testimonia, inter alia multa quae in pulcherrimis voluminibus ipse orbi scripta reliquit. Primitus in gratiam sui maecenatis Hunfridi edidit —

Commentarios in Genesim, li. 1
 Super Exodum, li. 1
 Super Leviticum, li. 1
 Super Numeros, li. 1
 Super Deuteronomium, li. 1
 In historiam Iosuae, li. 1
 In Iudices et Ruth, li. 2
 In volumina Regum, li. 4

In psalterium, li. 1	In Psalterium, li. 1
In Esaïam prophetam, li. 1	In Ecclesiasten, li. 1
In Danielelem, li. 1	In Esaïam prophetam, li. 1
	In Danielelem quoque, li. 1
	In 12 Prophetas, li. 12
Super Evangelia, li. 4	Super quatuor Evangelia, li. 4
Super Epistolas Pauli, li. 14	Super Epistolas Pauli, li. 14
In acta Apostolorum, li. 1	In acta Apostolorum, li. 1
In Apocalypsim Ioannis, li. 1	In Apocalypsim Ioannis, li. 1
	Manipulum doctrinae christianae, li. 1
	In Epistolas canonicas, li. 7
	De fidei symbolis, li. 3
	De nobilibus Henricis, li. 3
	De sequacibus Augustini, li. 1
Catalogum sanctorum Angliae, li. 1	Catalogum sanctorum Angliae, li. 1
Super Sententias, li. 4	Super Sententias, li. 4
Determinationes theologiae, li. 1	Determinationes theologiae, li. 1
	Ordinarias disputationes, li. 1
Ad positiones erroneas, li. 1	Ad positiones erroneas, li. 1
Orationes ad clerum, li. 1	Orationes ad clerum, li. 1
Sermones per annum, li. 1	Sermones per annum, li. 1
	De illustribus viris August., li. 1
	Vitam Hunfridi ducis, li. 1
Lecturas scholasticas, li. 1	Lecturas scholasticas, li. 1
Epistolas ad diversos, li. 1	Epistolas ad diversos, li. 1
Atque alia plura ¹²⁾ .	Atque alia plura scripsit.
Nam maiorem Bibliorum partem commentasse perhibetur. Quod superstitiones interdum foverit, temporis infoelicitati tribuendum esse censeo. Lynnae tandem vita decessit xii die Augusti, sub anno Christi domini nostri 1464 in choro sui coenobii sepultus, Edwardo quarto super Anglos regnante.	Maiorem Bibliorum partem commentariis magnis illustrasse a suis dicitur. Quod vero superstitiones interdum foverit, sui temporis infoelicitati tribuendum est. Lynnae tandem Nordovolgiae oppido vita decessit, die 12 Augusti anno salutis humanae 1464 et ibidem inter Augustinianos sepultus fuit, sub Eduardo quarto.

The items in the *Index* are as follows —

Ioannes Capgrave, Augustinianorum provincialis, scripsit ad Henricum sextum Anglorum regem,

De nobilibus Henricis, imperatoribus.

¹²⁾ The series of the works has been changed a little according to that of the *Catalogus*. In both series we omitted the *incipit* when given.

- regibus, ac scriptoribus, li. iij. 'Henrico dei gratia regi Angliae et Francie, dominoque Hiberniae', etc.
- Ex collegio Magdalene, Oxon. Idem scripsit *in Apostolorum acta* ad Guilhelum episcopum Eliensem, li. i 'Domino suo venerabili et in Christi visceribus summe dilecto domino, Guilhelmo Eliensi episcopo', etc. 'Reminiscor sancte Antistes quanta pia', etc.
- Ex collegio Ballioli, Oxon. Idem scripsit ad Ioannem Watforde, abbatem canonicorum regularium prope Northampton, *De Augustino et suis sequacibus*, li. i 'Domino vere dilecto patrique suo charissimo. Testatur Graecorum ille eloquentissimus Ioannes et propter hoc oris', etc. 'Alexander episcopus, Lanfranco generali', etc.
- Ex domo magistri Thomae Caii Idem scripsit *de symbolis*, li. iij 'Domino suo singulari, et super caeteros, etc. Guilhelmo Eliensi episcopo', etc. 'Quoniam psalmographus ait, secundum nomen tuum, ita et laus', etc.
- Ex collegio Ballioli, Oxon. Idem scripsisse fertur ad Ioannem Kempe Cardinalem divae Balbinae ac archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, *Manipulum vitae* [written above — doctrinae] *christianae*, li. i 'Devotissimo in Christo patri ac venerabiliter', etc. 'Inter caetera oculi mei secreta persaepe', etc.
- Pogium allegat ¹³⁾ Ex domo magistri Thomae Caii *Vita Humfridi ducis*, li. i Ex opere eiusdem de nobilibus Henricis.

The first foreign biographer to mention Capgrave is the well-known Swiss, Conrad Gesner, 'the father of bibliography' ¹⁴⁾. Though Capgrave does not figure in the *Bibliotheca universalis* itself, he is to be found in the *Appendix* made by Josiah Simler in the year 1555.

5 KONRAD GESNER (1516-1565), *Bibliotheca universalis... Appendix* (Zurich, 1555), f. 60v —

Ioannes Capgrave, Anglus, B. Augustini ordinis monachus, scripsit commentarios in Genesim, Exodum, Leviticum, Numeros, Deuteronomium, in historiam Iosuae, in libros Regum,

¹³⁾ Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), the famous Florentine humanist.

¹⁴⁾ G. SCHNEIDER, *Handbuch der Bibliographie* (Leipsic⁴, 1930), p. 3.

in Psalterium, in Daniele, super 4 Evangelia, in epistolas Pauli et Acta Apostolorum, in Apocalypsim Ioannis, super Sententias lib. 4, Determinationes theologiae, Catalogum sanctorum Angliae, Orationes ad clerum, Sermones per annum, atque alia. Claruit anno 1464¹⁵).

Nicholas Harpsfield highly praises John Capgrave, whose works he used for his English ecclesiastical history, when dealing with the monasteries and archdeacons of Canterbury in the fifteenth century.

6 NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD (1519-1575), *Historia anglicana ecclesiastica*, ed. R. Gibbons (Douai, 1622), p. 634 —

... Sed prae aliis sui, aut alterius ordinis, quos nobis hoc saeculo *Cantia*, aut reliqua fere Anglia, ante politiores literas renatas dedit : Ioannes Capgravus Augustinianus pietatis et doctrinae palmam tulisse videtur. Qui non modo in omnem fere sacram scripturam commentatus est, sed et multa praeclare, quae ad historiam sui temporis, et omnium eorum Divorum, qui in Anglia celebriores sunt, pertinent, conscripsit. Fuit a sacra exomologesi Humfrido duci Glocestriae, Henrici Regis quinti fratri.

Like Harpsfield, William Eysengrein depends on Bale —

7 WILHELM EYSENGREIN (circa 1565), *Catalogus testium veritatis* (Dillingen, 1565), f. 171v (= an. 1464).

Among the authors used by the 'chronicler'

8 RAPHAEL HOLINSHED († 1580), *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* (London, 1577),

Capgrave is to be found together with Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis. On p. 662 there is the following entry on Capgrave —

John Capgrave, borne in Kent, an Augustine Frier, proceeded Doctor of Divinitie in Oxenford, was admitted Provinciall of his Order, and prooved, without controversie, the best learned of anie of that order of Friars here in England, as John Bale affirmeth. He wrote manie notable volumes, and finallie departed this life at Lin in Norffolke, the twelfth of August, in the yere 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Giuseppe Panfilo (Pamphilus) is the first Augustinian biographer

¹⁵ In the later edition — *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero deinde... locupletata... per Iosiam Simlerum* (Zurich, 1574), p. 352.

of John Capgrave. He copies the whole passus given by Bale, except the part dealing with the criticism against the prelates which Bale certainly exaggerated. Panfili also omits the wrong statement regarding Capgrave's birthplace.

- 9 GIUSEPPE PANFILI, O. E. S. A. († 1581), *Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Rome, 1581), ff. 82v-83.

There is a MS in the Chigi fonds in the Vatican Library containing different catalogues and bibliographies; it dates from the end of the sixteenth century. The anonymous author of the *Auctores sive scriptores ex sacro ordine Eremitarum s. Augustini*, which runs from f. 125 - f. 144v, probably copied from Panfili who figures among the last authors with his *Chronica*. In the enumeration of Capgrave's works, however, he omits two items given by Panfili, namely 'Super 4 Evangelia' and 'Super Epistolas Pauli'. He mentions Capgrave for the year 1425.

- 10 *Auctores sive scriptores ex sacro ordine Eremitarum s. Augustini*, VATICAN LIBRARY, MS Chigi R. II. 62, f. 135v.

Nothing new is to be found in —

- 11 ANGELO ROCCA, O. E. S. A. (1545-1620), *Bibliothecae theologiae et scripturalis epitome sive index* (Rome, 1594), pp. 253, 254. Of Capgrave's works he mentions only 'In Daniele', and he lists him among those authors who commented 'in totum Novum Testamentum'.

Much more interesting is the eulogium on Capgrave by —

- 12 JOHN PITS (1560-1616), *Relationum historicarum de rebus anglicis tomus primus*, ed. W. Bishop (Paris, 1619), pp. 671-72 —

Ioannes Capgravius, natione Anglus, patria Cantianus, ordinis eremitarum s. Augustini in monasterio Cantuariensi, S. Th. D. Oxon. et tandem in Anglia totius Augustinianae familiae Provincialis. Vir pietatis et eruditionis laudibus insignis, et teste Ios. Pamphilo, cui et multi alii astipulantur, omnium, qui unquam illius ordinis in Anglia fuerunt, doctissimus. Erat tum in sacris, tum in profanis litteris foelicissime versatus, accessitque ad praeclaras naturae dotes, tam diligens ingenii cultura, ut ei pares illa aetate perpaucos, superiorem vix omnino quemquam Anglia protulerit. Acer ingenio, solidus iudicio, clarus eloquio, subtilis disputator, elegans concionator, Philosophus acutus, Theologus profundus, in explicandis sacram scripturam clarus, perspicuus, dilucidus. His accessit

morum candor singularis, mansuetudo, benignitas, affabilitas, animi moderatio, sedatae passiones, prudentia, dexteritas, mira per omnia vitae integritas. Quarum virtutum titulis Deo et hominibus amabilis extitit. Singularem habuit patronum Humfredum Glocestriae Ducem, principem optimum, apud quem multum valuit gratia nec minus auctoritate. Erat enim illi a confessionum secretis, multa ad eum scripsit, et sub eius tutela patrociniisque sua pleraque in lucem emisit. Sed ex operibus ipsis videamus, quantum huic eximio Doctori debeat respublica litteraria. Non desunt qui affirmant eum in omnes et singulos libros sacrorum Bibliorum scripsisse commentarios omni eruditione refertos eosdemque fusissimos. Quicquid autem de eo sit, illud certe constat, eum maiorem utriusque instrumenti partem doctissimis explicationibus illustrasse, et pleraque sua praefato Duci suo optimo Mecaenati nuncupasse. Teste Pamphilo ¹⁶⁾, Linnae mortuus et sepultus est die duodecimo Augusti anno salutis reparatae 1484, Richardo tertio usurpatore per summum scelus Angliae regnum invadente.

In his enumeration of Capgrave's works Pits added several MSS existing in different libraries. He is also the first to mention *The chronicle of England*.

On Panfli equally depends ¹⁷⁾ —

- 13 ANTONIO POSSEVINO, S. I. (1533-1611), *Apparatus sacer*, ii (Venice, 1606). 128-29.

In the same way Thomas Gratien (Gratianus) follows Panfli, but he adds a distichon at the end of his item ¹⁸⁾ —

- 14 THOMAS GRATIEN, O. E. S. A. († 1627), *Anastasis Augustiniana* (Antwerp, 1613), pp. 108-09.

The well-known Nicholas Cruesen (Crusenius) has only a few lines —

- 15 NICOLAUS CRUESEN († 1629), *Monasticon Augustinianum* (Munich, 1623), p. 174 (= an. 1460) —

Angliam [ornavit] Ioannes Capgrave, alter Lyra nuncupatus, omnium quos produxit Anglia theologorum nobilissimus, Hen-

¹⁶⁾ Cf. *Augustiniana*, v (1955). 438.

¹⁷⁾ He has the same error concerning the commentary on *Ecclesiasten*. Panfli wrongly gives in *Ecclesiasticum*.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. p. 440 of our biography.

rico Regi eiusque Fratri Humfrido clarissimus consiliarius, qui in studiis assiduus, plurima ac doctissima edidit volumina ¹⁹⁾.

16 AUBERT LE MIRE (Miraeus), 1573-1640, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Antwerp, 1639), p. 279,

mentions the folio edition of the *Nova Legenda Angliae* anno 1516.

In his list of Latin historians Gerard Vos (Vossius), who depends on John Pits, includes Capgrave. We have already dealt in our biography with his statement concerning Capgrave's death ²⁰⁾.

17 GERARDUS VOS (1557-1649), *De historicis latinis libri iii* (Leyde², 1651), p. 633.

The first Augustinian biographer who consulted the Prior General's Registers and whose authority is still highly appreciated has to be considered —

18 TOMAS DE HERRERA, O. E. S. A. († 1656), *Alphabetum Augustinianum*, i (Madrid, 1644), 451.

He depends on Panfili and Pits, but corrects the latter's statement concerning the death of Capgrave. He also mentions Capgrave's studies at Cambridge.

Ioannes Capgrave, Anglus, scriptor celeberrimus, Conventus Cantuariensis filius, in Registris Ordinis ann. 1422 et 1423 ad magisterium Cantabrigiae suscipiendum licentiatur. Erat Angliae Provincialis ann. 1453 et 1455. Fuit a sacris confessionibus Hunfrido Duci Glocestriae, Henrici V Anglorum Regis fratri. Linnae tandem Nordvolgiae oppidum die 12 Aug. an. 1484 ut Pitsaeum voluit; vel potius an. 1464 ut Pamphilus ad annum 1458 affirmat, e vita decessit, et inter suos Augustinianos sepultus fuit. Vir sane immortalis memoria dignus; quem authores sic laudibus efferunt ut nullum fuisse ex Augustinianis scriptoribus, quos produxit Britannia, cum illo unquam per omnia conferendum dissertis verbis contendant.

19 JOHN COLGAN, O. F. M. († 1657?), *Triadis thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae trium veteris et maioris Scotiae seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae communium patronum acta*, ii (Louvain, 1647), 320 (= preface to the life of St Columba).

¹⁹⁾ See also n. 45.

²⁰⁾ p. 438.

Auctor tertiae vitae [i. e. s. Columbae] est Ioannes Capgravius in legenda Sanctorum Britanniae, qui floruit anno 1480, vel verius Ioannes Tinmuthensis monachus Benedictinus Anglus, qui floruit anno 1366 ex cuius Sanctilogio Capgravius omnia desumpsit, quae in illa legenda Londini anno 1516 impressa producit.

The next author to be mentioned also depends on Pits —

- 20 PHILIPPUS ELSSEN (Elssius), O. E. S. A. († 1654), *Encomiasticon Augustinianum* (Brussels, 1654), p. 336.

He gives Capgrave the title of 'Beatus'.

Philippe Labbe (Labbeus) only lists the 'De illustribus viris O. E. S. A.' —

- 21 PHILIPPE LABBE, S. I. (1607-1667), *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum* (Paris, 1664), p. 85.

In his description of the Austin Friars at Oxford

- 22 ANTHONY à WOOD (1632-1695), « *Survey of the antiquities of the City of Oxford* » composed in 1661-6, ed. A. Clark, ii (Oxford, 1890). 453,

has the following entry —

John Capgrave, the most learned scholar of all Augustinians, as Leland attests. The titles of the books he wrote you may see in Balaeus, who with Pitsaeus speaks honorably of him.

- 23 LOUIS MORERI (1643-1680), *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, i (Lyons², 1681). 797

has a small item on Capgrave which he borrowed from Pits.

An important contribution to Capgrave's biography, though misleading, namely the distinction between Capgrave Sr and Jr ²¹), was made by

- 24 LUIGI TORELLI, O. E. S. A. (1609-1683), *Secoli Agostiniani*, vii (Bologna, 1682). 314 (= an. 1485, n. 15).

He depends on Panfili, Pits, whose opinion on Capgrave's death he considers of more authority than that of Panfili, and Herrera.

- 25 MARTIN LIPEN (Lipenius), 1630-1692, *Bibliotheca realis theologica* (Frankfort, 1685), 2 vols.

²¹) Cf. p. 406 of our biography.

This work, not free from errors, is arranged according to subject-matter, so that the authors occur in different places. In the first volume Capgrave is mentioned on —

p. 119 (= Augustinus), Ioh. Capgravius, Angl., *De illustribus Augustinianis*. Extat in *Legendis Sanctorum Angliae*. Lond. 1516. [This last in incorrect].

p. 486 (= Daniel), Ioh. Capgrave, Ord. August. Venet. 1463 ²²).

In the second volume Capgrave appears on —

p. 465 (= Pentateuch), Ioh. Capgrave, Anglus, Ord. August. in V Libr. Mosis, teste Gesnero.

p. 715 (= Sanctus), Ioh. Capgravii, *Legenda sanctorum Angliae*. Lond. 1516.

Wharton has a double reference to John Capgrave —

26 HENRY WHARTON (1664-1695), *Appendix ad Historiam litterariam clarissimi viri Gulielmi Cave* (Basle, 1720), p. 164.

After having reported the common notes of Capgrave's life, he adds several MSS of the works, as did Pits before him, but he also gives the numbers of the codices —

Scriptis Catalogum sive Legendam sanctorum Angliae quae typis excussa prodiit Londini 1516, f. Historiam istam expilasse dicitur Capgravius ex ingenti ac pulchro admodum volumine eiusdem argumenti, quod in Bibl. Cottoniana [in the margin — sub Effig. Tiberii E. 1] MS asservatur. Alia etiam quam plurima partim historica, partim theologica, ingenii sui monumenta plane non contemnenda, post se reliquit. Imprimis vero in totam S. Scripturam commentatus esse dicitur... Ex his extant MSS Commentarii in Genesim, in Bibl. Orientali cod. 20; in Acta Apostolorum, in Bibl. Baliolensi Ox., cod. 171; De symbolo, ibid. cod. 172; Historiam de inclytis Henricis omnibus, Regibus, Imperatoribus, Scriptoribus, aliisque ad Henricum VI Angliae Regem, MS in Bibl. Coll. S. Benedicti seu Corporis Christi Cantabrig. n. 296 vidi. Habetur eadem tacito tamen Capgravii nomine, in Bibl. Cottoniana sub eff. Tib. A. vol. 8. Extat ibidem MS sub eff. Vitelli D. 15, n. 4, Vita S. Gilberti auctoris ordinis Sempringhamensis Anglice a Capgravio scripta.

The second reference is in —

27 HENRY WHARTON (1664-1695), *Anglia sacra*, ii (London, 1691). xix.

²²) See also n. 37.

The section dealing with the life of Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, is taken from Capgrave's *De illustribus Henricis*. Wharton gives the list of the Henries and adds after the last one, Henry of Friemar —

Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini cuius Ordinis ipse Capgravius in Anglia Provincialis fuit. Opus integrum epistola praemissa admodum proluxa Henrico VI Angliae Regi dicatur. In eiusdem vita Iohannes dicit se illo anno quo natus est iste (viz. 1422) quartum vel quintum sacerdotii sui annum egisse, et apud Londinum studiis tunc inbuisse. Obiit apud Lynnam in Norfolcia 1464, 12 Aug. authore Baleo, anno 1484 iuxta Pitium. Mihi potior est Balei autoritas. Multa alia Capgravius scripsit a Baleo recensita. Ex his opus praecipuum de vitis Sanctorum Angliae, titulo Legendae Novae Sanctorum Angliae, tacito Authoris nomine prodiit Londini 1516.

28 LOUIS ELLIES DUPIN (1657-1719), *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, xii (Paris, 1702). 96

has only a few lines on Capgrave.

Gandolfo is the first biographer to style Capgrave a doctor of Cambridge; he follows the statements of Herrera taken from the Registers of the Priors General. He depends mainly on Panfilii, Wharton and Pits, but does not mention the *Chronicle* —

29 DOMENICO GANDOLFO, O. E. S. A. (1653-1707), *Dissertatio historica de ducentis celeberrimis Augustinianis scriptoribus... post Magnam Unionem ordinis eremitici usque ad finem Tridentini Concilii* (Rome, 1704). pp. 208-10.

An interesting contribution to Capgrave-bibliography, although nothing new is added, is that of —

30 AGOSTINO ARPE, O. E. S. A. (c. 1660-1729), *Pantheon Augustinianum* (Genoa, 1709), pp. 233-37.

The item is composed of two parts, a metrical 'eulogium' and a prosaic 'chronologia'. Though not pointing out the different errors, we give here the 'eulogium', because this book is very rare.

Beati Ioannis Capgavij professoris Oxoniensis.

Lemma

Ioannis Anglorum eruditissimus Theologiam Oxonii docet, pietate unice excellit, Sophistarum nugas irridet, Angliae praefectura renunciatur. Ex Pamphilo, Pitseo, Gratiano, Herrera, Elssio ad annum 1484.

En vno tota in capite Anglorum facundia,
 En tota in vno faecunditas Insulae.
 Scientiarum Mare Ioannes,
 Nescias an à Terrà flumina ad Insulas,
 An à Caelo deduxerit lumina.
 Sensu supra senes intelligens,
 Malitià paruulus.
 Ingenij messem, quam postremis in annis
 Reddidit, in primis dedit.
 Humana Oxonij discens,
 Diuina docens ;
 Claustro qualis esse deberet,
 Scholas illuxit, antequam esset.
 Discipulos magis probitate, quam litteris imbuens,
 Artes reddidit liberales, dum pias fecit,
 Pias fecit, dum reddidit liberas.
 Aequè Arcana scripturarum describens, ac faciens
 Nomen scriptis illustrauit, nomina scripta.
 Nusquam humilior Sapientia,
 Nusquam humilitas Sapientior visa est.
 Emeritus in Caluariae schola discipulus
 Totibus Auribus fuit, ac oculis ;
 Et licet Auribus primo displicèret,
 Placèret oculis,
 Vtrisque complacuit ;
 Cum nec pupilla, in eo intuendo, taceret oculi,
 Nec timitus audiendo quiesceret aurium.
 Saepe alta montium Venti concutant,
 Olympus hic, quò, Caelo propinquior,
 Eò ab auris remotior fuit.
 Sensuum motus omnino rationis Imperio continens,
 Nullius motum effraenam,
 Nullius contumax sensit obsequium.
 Ardentissime quemque diligere,
 Diligi ardentius ;
 Haec illi imperandi peritia fuit.
 Dilectus Domini timori non subditus,
 Eidem omnes Amori
 Militare crediderat Filios.
 Obsequio singulos, lenitate, prudentià corrigens,
 Se omnium seruum,
 Omnes sui Domesticos fecerat.
 Ita non habes, quàm melius scriberet, vel doceret,
 Doctrinà aequè grauis, ac scriptis occubuit
 1484.
 Pauper argentum si spectes ;
 Imò Diues si Sapientiam.

After the list of some of Capgrave's works he adds —

Anglia me Veterum gazas congegit in vnum
Ergo meo GRAVIVS non habet illa CAPVT.

- 31 CASIMIR OUDIN (1638-1717), *Commentarius de scriptoribus Ecclesiae antiquis*, ii (Leipsic, 1722), cols. 2595-96.

His account is almost the same as Wharton's.

- 32 JACQUES LE LONG (1665-1721), *Bibliotheca sacra*, ii (Paris, 1723). 666 gives nothing new. He enumerates a few works.

By far the most important biographer of the 18th century, not only for Capgrave, but for every early English writer, is the protestant successor of John Lowe, O. E. S. A. to the see of St Asaph —

- 33 THOMAS TANNER (1674-1735), *Bibliotheca britannico-hibernica : sive De scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt* (London, 1748), pp. 152-53.

In the long title of this work Tanner declares that he 'non tantum scriptores quam plurimos, a Lelando, Baleo, Pitseo, et aliis praetermissis, e codicibus MSS nunc primum in lucem protulit; sed notis etiam uberioribus, tum omissa supplevit, tum parum fideliter tradita correxit et illustravit'. And he adds — 'opus utilissimum et XL annorum studio ac industria elaboratum'.

It is the merit of Thomas Tanner that he did not slavishly copy earlier biographers of Capgrave. He himself examined the manuscripts preserved in different libraries. For Capgrave he gives Leland's eulogium and adds fresh material. Moreover he discovered a MS which he calls MS Gresham 168²³), without mentioning its author or its title, which 'eum [i. e. Capgrave] apud Linum in Norfolcia natum fuisse asserit', though he styles him 'Cantianus', as did Bale and others. He also records that Capgrave in the dedicatory epistle of the *Chronicle* styles himself 'a pore frere of the Heremites of St Austin in the convent of Lenn'.

Tanner says that, according to Bale, Pits and Wharton, Capgrave took his degree in divinity at Oxford, but at the same time he tells us that Capgrave in the beginning of the *Life of St Gilbert* refers

²³) This is supposed to be *The life of St Katharine*, now B. M., MS Arundel 168.

to his opponency at Cambridge. For Capgrave's career as Provincial Tanner refers to Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities* ²⁴).

From Tanner's list of Capgrave's works we single out those to which he added details.

Commentarius in Pentateuchum lib. v, 'Arduum namque et supra vires est' ²⁵). Comment. in Genesim extat MS in Coll. Oriel Ox. num. 32. Codex autograph. [1437-1438]. Pr. ep. ded. 'Gloriosissimo christianae fidei defensori', etc... Hunc librum, uti etiam Comm. Capgravii super Exodum et Regum libros academiae dedit dux Humfridus A. 1443, Reg. Ff 67b. In libros Regum lib. iv, 'Quod in Regnorum libris'. Fuit olim in duobus voluminibus in bibl. Augustinensium Cantabr. Leland, Collect., iii, 12.

In acta Apostolorum, lib. i. Pr. prol. 'Reminiscor, sancte antistes, quanto'. Pr. lib. 'Primum quidem sermonem'. MS Langb. in bibl. Baliol. Oxon. 171. Hunc cod. dedit coll. Bal. Gulielmus Graius, ep. Elien., is nimirum, cui auctor haec opera sua inscripsit et videri potest hoc exemplum fuisse auctoris autographum.

Symbolum fidei [Tanner adds — Symbola, non Symbolum, quia expositio est super xix symbola], lib. iii, 'Quoniam psalmographus ait'. MS in Baliol. 172 ex dono Gulielmi Graii Eliens. episcopi ²⁶).

Vita divi Augustini — De sequacibus eiusdem. MS Lel. Trin. Meminit auctor noster Vitae s. Augustini a se conscriptae in vernaculo in principio ante tract. Vitae s. Gilberti. MS Cotton. Vitell. D. xv. 4. Nullum sub hoc titulo librum habent Bal. et Pits. sed cognati argumenti, viz. De sequacibus D. Augustini, lib. i, 'Testatur Graecorum ille eloquentissimus'. De ill. viris ordinis s. Augustini, lib. i.

De nobilibus Henricis, lib. iii, 'Henrico Dei gratia regi Angliae, etc. Omnipotens'. MS in bibl. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cantabr. v, 1; Cotton. Tib. A. 8 ²⁷).

Chronicorum lib. i iuxta Pits. in bibl. C. C. Chr. Cantabr. In MS Norwic. More xl, ita — Abbreviationes Chronicorum ab orbe condito ad A. D. 1417 (Anglice), lib. i. Pr. ded. regi Edw. iv — 'It is sumwhat divulgid in this lond, that'. Videtur esse autogr. et continet p. 204, fol.

Transtulit in sermonem Anglicum Vitam s. Gilberti auctoris ordinis Sempringham. Pr. ded. domino Nic. Resby ord.

²⁴) Cf. our biography, p. 428.

²⁵) Tanner assembles the five books, as Leland did before him, and gives the *incipit* of the commentary on Genesis.

²⁶) Tanner enumerates here the 19 symbols. Cf. our biography, p. 433.

²⁷) The list of the Henries is appended. Cf. *ibidem*, p. 417, note 72.

Sempr. mag. — 'Now withinns few dayes was notified'. MS Norwic. More xl; Cotton. Vitell. D. xv. 4.
 Vitam s. Catharinae, lib. v (Carm. Angl.). Pr. Prol. — 'A Jhu Criste crown of maydens alle'. MS Gresham 396. Citatur haec Vita a scriptore coaevo Osb. Bokenam in Vita huius sanctae ²⁸⁾.

34 JOHANN ALBERT FABRICIUS (1668-1736), *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, i (Hamburg, 1734). 912-13, adds nothing new ²⁹⁾.

Likewise depending on former biographers is —

35 CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB JÖCHER (1694-1758), *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, i (Leipsic, 1750), col. 1614.

In what was the century of great bibliographies — the eighteenth century — the best bibliography of Augustinian writers also appeared —

36 JOHANN FELIX OSSINGER, O. E. S. A. († 1767), *Bibliotheca Augustiniana historica* (Ingolstadt, 1768), pp. 200-02.

Though he mentions Tanner and Wharton among his sixteen sources, he copies the list of Capgrave's works chiefly from Panfili — hence he omits the English works.

The Augustinian historian Xystus Schier, Austrian by birth, made annotations on Gandolfo ³⁰⁾. These are preserved in an autograph MS in the National Library in Vienna and in a copy in the Bibliotheca Angelica, Rome ³¹⁾. By courtesy of Father Benignus van Luijk, O. E. S. A. we were allowed to use the photostats he made from the original, which we have collated with the Angelica MS.

37 XYSTUS SCHIER, O. E. S. A. (1727-1772), *Adnotationes in Domini Antonii Gandolfi dissertationem de ducentis Augustinianis scriptoribus*. VIENNA, Nazionale Bibliothek, MS Palat. 7238, fasc. 16, ff. 135v-136 —

Ioannes Capgravius. Rosweyodus apud Solerium in Martyro-

²⁸⁾ See our biography, p. 416, note 71.

²⁹⁾ The Italian edition by Giovanni Domenico Mansi, i (Padua, 1754). 331 does not differ from the original.

³⁰⁾ See n. 29.

³¹⁾ MS 353, n. 5, pp. 191-289. Capgrave occurs on pp. 250-51.

logio Usuardi ad 4 febr. erronee Carmelitam appellat ³²). Hieron. Pez Benedictinus Mellicensis in dissertatione secunda praevia ad acta S. Colomanni M. ³³) [eum] male [appellat] Ministrum Provinciale, cum hic nominandi mos solum fratribus ordinis Minorum proprius sit; deinde provocat in vita S. Fiacrii edita a Ioan. Capgravio anno Christi//1516. ubi videtur eum adhuc viventem sistere et praeterea hanc vitam separatim editam asserere, quae tamen solum in legenda cum aliis prodiit. Caeterum in hac collectione plurimas vitas inseruerunt actis suis Hagiographi Antverpienses, aut saltem ad eum appellarunt. Extant eae *Vitae Sanctorum Angliae collectore Ioanne Capgravio* MS in Bibl. Cottoniana in cuius catalogo pag. 76 vitae contentae ordine alphabetico recensentur.

Liber Fratris Ioannis Ordinis Fratrum Heremitarum S. Augustini ad R. Henricum Regem Angliae de laudibus eorum qui nomen Henrici sortiuntur, in tres partes divisus in quarum prima agitur de sex Henricis Imperatoribus; in secunda de sex Regibus Angliae Henricis, in tertia, de huius nominis duodecim illustribus viris tot orbe dispersis. Ultimus est Henricus de Vrimaria noster. Cum picturis eorundem. MS in Cottoniana.

The life of Gilbert, Founder of the order of Sempringham, translated by Frere John Capgrave, 1432 in old English. MS ibidem ³⁴).

f. 149v (MS Angelica, p. 275) *Addenda* —

Ioannis Capgrave ord. S. Augustini super Daniele lib. i. Venetiis 1463. Ita quidem Lippenius in Bibl. Theol., sed fides penes authorem ³⁵).

Depending on Panfili, Pits and Dupin is —

38 CHARLES RICHARD, O. P. (1711-1794) - JEAN GIRAUD, O. P. (circa 1770), *Bibliothèque sacrée*, vi (Paris, 1822). 44.

The next numbers similarly have nothing special and contain small items on Capgrave —

39 ROBERT WATT (1774-1819), *Bibliotheca britannica*, i (Edinburgh, 1824). 191-w.

³²) *Martyrologium Usuardi monachi*, ed. J. B. Du Sollier (Venice, 1745), p. 84 (= 4 Febr. ad vitam s. Gilberti Sempringhamensis).

³³) Printed at Krems, 1713. This book was not available to us for checking.

³⁴) Cf. *Augustiniana*, v (1955). 424, note 96.

³⁵) See n. 25.

- 40 *Biografia ecclesiastica*, iii (Madrid, 1850). 341-42.
 41 *Nouvelle biographie générale*, dir. Jean Chrétien Hoefer, viii (Paris, 1854). col. 575.
 42 ROBERT CHAMBERS (1802-1871), *Encyclopaedia of English literature*, ed. D. Patrick, rev. J. Liddell Geddie, i (London, 1927). 89-90.

The latter gives, after the life and works of Capgrave, three parts of the *Chronicle* dealing with Wyclif to prove that 'in the style the *Chronicle* is simple, but eminently lacking in rhythm, vigour, or variety'.

It is through the Rev. Francis Charles Hingeston that Capgrave has received his due place among mediaeval writers. Notwithstanding his uncritical editions of *The chronicle of England* and the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* ³⁶), both edited in the Rolls Series, Hingeston has the merit of having made Capgrave known to scholars of mediaeval history and literature.

Biographical notes on Capgrave, taken from his works ³⁷), and a list of the works themselves with many interesting additions are in —

- 43 FRANCIS CHARLES HINGESTON (1833-1910), 'Introduction' to *The chronicle of England by John Capgrave* (London, 1858), pp. ix-xxix.

Hingeston discovered autograph fragments of *Ye solace of pilgrimes*, called by him 'Guide to the antiquities of Rome', which had been bound up as fly-leaves with two MSS of Capgrave's *Commentary on the Creeds* ³⁸). He published these fragments, comprising four leaves, as Appendix iv to *The chronicle of England*, pp. 357-66. As a result of this discovery Hingeston was able to add a new

³⁶) Cf. A. POTTHAST, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, i (Graz², 1954). 185; Ch. GROSS, *The sources and literature of English history from the earliest times to about 1485* (London, 1900), p. 271 (= n. 1731).

³⁷) On p. xii of the Introduction to *The chronicle of England* Hingeston states concerning Capgrave's works —

... the writings of Capgrave are very numerous; and as in his own day they obtained for him the proud distinction of being esteemed one of the most learned men of the time, so now the few of them which remain to us are his greatest and most enduring monument, and will ever keep alive the memory of his fame, as they amply reflect his character, and almost render unnecessary the description of his life which we naturally desire to obtain, but search for in vain in the pages of his contemporaries.

³⁸) Oxford, Balliol College, MS 190, and All Souls College, MS 17.

item to the list of Capgrave's works — only the title had to be changed when half a century later the Oxford copy was discovered ³⁹).

44 GIUSEPPE LANTERI, O. E. S. A. (1820-1886), *Postrema saeculi sex religionis Augustiniana*, ii (Tolentine, 1859). 85-87, assembles what biographers before him reported; he was not aware of the publications of Hingeston and the corrections made by Tanner and others regarding Capgrave's birthplace and death.

In 1890 the *Monasticon* of Cruesen ⁴⁰) was published anew with additions by Lanteri, taken from Elssius and Ossinger. It also fails to take Hingeston's work into account.

45 *Nicolai Crusenii, O. E. S. A. pars tertia Monastici Augustiniani... cum additamentis P. Iosephi Lanteri*, i (Valladolid, 1890). 493.

A very good biographical sketch and an ample description of Capgrave's principal works is given by —

46 BERNHARD TEN BRINK (1841-1892), *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*, ed. A. Brandl, ii (Strasbourg², 1912). 368-72.

The following are some quotations concerning Capgrave's character —

Bruder Johannes, wie er sich selber gewöhnlich nennt, war Doktor der Theologie, ein gelehrter Herr, ein guter Mönch, ein guter Provinzial, ein sehr orthodoxer, eifriger Katholik, zugleich aber ein warmer Patriot und ein guter Mensch, der nur, wo die Rede auf Wyclif oder Sir John Oldcastle kam, recht bitter und ungerecht werden konnte. (p. 368)

Uebrigens war Capgrave in seiner Sphäre recht scharfsinnig, von gesunden Menschenverstand, ein geschickter Kompilator, der zwar in historischen Dingen, welche ihm ferner liegen, gelegentlich arge Konfusion anrichtet, sich auch bisweilen durch loyalen Eifer zu sehr hinreissen lässt, in ganzen aber den Eindruck eines klaren, massvollen Kopfes, eines ehrlichen Menschen, eines zuverlässigen und vielfach wohlunterrichteten Gewährsmannes macht. (p. 369)

Volle Anmerkung verdient anderseits Capgraves Wahrheitsliebe und seine objektive Betrachtungsweise, die ihn nur dort im Stich lässt, wo er von Ketzereien und ihren Verbreiter zu reden hat. (p. 372)

³⁹) Cf. our biography, pp. 420-23.

⁴⁰) See n. 15.

In the most important French encyclopaedia Capgrave is not omitted —

- 47 *La grande Encyclopédie. Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts*, ix (Paris, [c. 1890]). 172.

In our biography we have already given a critical note ⁴¹⁾ on —

- 48 FREDERIC JAMES FURNIVALL (1825-1910), 'Introduction' to *The life of St Katharine of Alexandria*, ed. C. Horstmann (London, 1893), pp. v-xlvi.

Nevertheless his contribution is important.

- 49 HUGO HURTER, S. I. (1832-1914), *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae*, ii (Innsbruck³, 1906). col. 948, mentions the editions of the *Chronicle* and the *Liber de illustribus Henricis*, but apparently did not see them, for in the small 'curriculum vitae' of John Capgrave he repeats the old mistakes.

- 50 CARL HORSTMANN (born 1851), 'Introduction' to the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, i (Oxford, 1901). lxvii-lxviii.

The author presents a short survey of Capgrave's life and works and discusses his authorship of the *Nova Legenda* ⁴²⁾.

- 51 ULYSSE CHEVALIER (1841-1923), *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age... Bio-bibliographie*, i (Paris², 1905). col. 774

has an ample bibliography.

The best biographical notes and most complete list of Capgrave's works has been published by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in —

- 52 *Dictionary of National Biography*, iii (London, 1908). 929-31.

In the century of encyclopaedias, as the twentieth seems to be, John Capgrave has been accorded a more or less important place according to the aim of the editors. So we found him in —

- 53 *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ii (New York, 1908). 308

by Edwin Burton.

- 54 *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada*, xi (Barcelona, [c. 1910]). 443.

⁴¹⁾ See our biography, pp. 439-40.

⁴²⁾ *Ibidem*, p. 436, note 142.

- 55 *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ii (Freiburg, 1931). col. 740
by Ferdinand Lang, O. E. S. A.
- 56 *The Encyclopaedia Americana*, v (New York, 1938). 553.
- 57 *Enciclopedia Ecclesiastica*, i (Milan, 1942). 593-94.
- 58 *Encyclopaedia Croatica*, iii (Zagreb, 1942). 602.
by Rudolf Filipović.
- 59 *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, xi
(Paris, 1949), cols 855-56 by E. van Cauwenbergh.
- 60 *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, iii (Vatican City, 1949). col. 662
by David Gutierrez, O. E. S. A.
- 61 *De Katholieke Encyclopedie*, vi (Amsterdam², 1950). col. 762
by Alypius van den Born, O. E. S. A.
- 62 *Encyclopaedia Britannica. A new survey of universal knowledge*, iv (London, 1955). 792.
- 63 *British Universities Encyclopaedia*, ed. D. Patrick and W. Geddie, ii (London, s. d.). 754.
In addition Capgrave is mentioned by —
- 64 Sir PAUL HARVEY (born 1869), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford², 1938), pp. 136-37, and
- 65 GEORGE SAMPSON (born 1873), *The concise Cambridge history of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 95.

In *Tagastan*, a publication of the students of Augustinian College, Washington, D. C., has been printed a biography of John Capgrave, which is the fruit of the Augustinian History Club at St Mary's Hall, Villanova. Though not perfect because of lack of information, it is heartening testimony to actual interest in the history of the Augustinian Order.

- 66 DAVID BRIMSON, O. E. S. A. (born 1916), 'John Capgrave, O. S. A.' in *Tagastan*, ix (1946). 106-113.

The second edition of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* mentions Capgrave in vol. ii, chapter xii — 'English prose in the fifteenth century', by Miss A. D. Greenwood. She records Capgrave's most famous writings and concludes —

... he was extremely orthodox, violently abusive of Wyclif and Oldcastle, an apologist of archbishops, yet, like other chroniclers restive under the extreme demands of the papacy.

- 67 *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ii (Cambridge², 1949). 287.

In vol. iii (Cambridge², 1949). 440, Capgrave is mentioned in chapter xx — 'The language from Chaucer to Shakespeare', by J. W. H. Atkins. The author speaks of the use of the vernacular in the fifteenth century. About Capgrave he says —

It [i. e. the English language] also came to be generally regarded as the language of literature, as is seen when Gower forsakes French and Latin to write in English, and when Capgrave (1462) compiles what was the first chronicle in English since the Conquest.

The bibliography has been omitted in the second edition and the editor refers to the original edition published in 1908. For Capgrave see — vol. ii (Cambridge, 1908). 479-80.

In his *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* Fr. Stegmüller enumerates Capgrave's commentaries on the books of the Bible. He gives the *incipit* and *explicit* only of the commentary on Genesis and the Acts of the Apostles. The latter he mentions twice which is apparently an error substituting the second citation for the commentary on the Apocalypse which is not enlisted.

68 FRIDERICUS STEGMÜLLER (born 1902), *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, iii (Madrid, 1951). 264-65 (= n. 4283-4304).

In his *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* (Würzburg, 1947) he does not report Capgrave's commentary, because only existing MSS are enlisted.

APPENDIX

1. Edited works

The following authors list Capgrave's edited works —

- 69 WILLIAM THOMAS LOWNDES (1798-1843), *The bibliographer's manual of English literature*, ed. enlarged by H. Bohn, i (London, 1858). 368, for *The chronicle of England*, and iii (London, 1860). 1333, for the *Nova Legenda Anglie*.
- 70 JACQUES CHARLES BRUNET (1780-1867), *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres*, i (Berlin⁵, 1922). cols. 1560-61.
- 71 THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY (1804-1878), *Descriptive catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the reign of Henry vii*, i (London, 1862). 736-38.

- 72 JOHANN GEORG GRAESSE (1814-1885), *Trésor des livres rares et précieux*, iii (Berlin³, 1922). 41-42.
- 73 SAMUEL AUSTIN ALLIBONE (1816-1889), *A critical dictionary of English literature and British and American authors*, i (Philadelphia, 1877). 336 — the *Nova Legenda* only.
- 74 AUGUST POTTHAST (1824-1890), *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, i (Graz², 1954). 185-86.
- 75 CHARLES GROSS (1857-1909), *The sources and literature of English history from the earliest times to about 1485* (London, 1900). 85 (= n. 604) — *Nova Legenda Anglie*, and pp. 271-72 (= n. 1731), for the *Chronicle* and the *Henries*.
- 76 ALFRED WILLIAM POLLARD (1859-1944) - GILBERT RICHARD REDGRAVE (born 1844), *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640* (London, 1926), p. 100 (= n. 41601-2) — *Nova Legenda Anglie*.
- 77 *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, ed. F. W. Bateson, i (Cambridge, 1940). 260,
- which also has — *The life of St Katharine* (1896), *The lives of St Augustine and St Gilbert of Sempringham and a Sermon* (1910), and *Ye solace of pilgrimes* (1911).

2. Reviews

Two excellent reviews of the unique edition of *Ye solace of pilgrimes* have appeared in —

- 78 *The English Historical Review*, xxvii (1912). 777-79
by G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

- 79 *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, xxxiv (1914). cols. 526-28
by CHRISTIAN HUELSEN.

The latter closes his criticism thus —

Die Publikation bereichert in erfreulicher Weise unser Quellenmaterial über das Rom des ausgehenden Mittelalters und der beginnenden Renaissance.

3. Studies

Hingeston's edition of *The chronicle of England* provoked the following comment —

- 80 'Gleanings from an old English chronicle', in *The new monthly*

magazine, ed. William Harrison Ainsworth, 116 (London, 1859). 344-47.

The anonymous contributor is no friend of Rome. He picks some passages out of the Chronicle where Capgrave scarifies the evils of his time especially regarding the interferences of the Popes with the internal affairs of England. He wishes to prove thereby that Capgrave, although living a century before the Reformation broke out, totally belonged to Protestantism. The next two quotations show the partiality of the author —

... he [i. e. Capgrave] had a great horror of heretics and of course, could not have written the history of his country without indulging himself in an occasional fling at them. But in this he appears only in his ecclesiastical character; as a man, he was a thorough Briton, and hated popes and cardinals, and all manner of foreign interferers whatsoever, with a bitter hatred. (p. 344)

These accounts of mediaeval popery cannot be set aside as Protestant exaggerations, seeing they are the work of 'a pore Frere of the Heremites of Seynt Austyn in the Convent of Lenne', who died nearly a century before the Reformation was accomplished... we have got rid of the Pope, and only allow him to play at bulls and censures now, but we have not got rid of our old brave spirit. (p. 346)⁴³

An important philological contribution to Capgrave-bibliography was made by —

81 WILHELM DIBELIUS (1876-1931), *John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache*. A dissertation presented to Friedrich Wilhelm Universität (Berlin, 1899).

On the same subject but more extended —

82 WILHELM DIBELIUS (1876-1931), 'John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache', in *Anglia*, xxiii (1900). 153-94; 323-75; 427-72, and xxiv (1901). 211-63; 269-308.

One may find some biographical notes in xxiii (1900). 154-56.

For Capgrave's *Life of St Augustine* (an adaptation of the *Vita s. Augustini* by Jordanus of Saxony, O. E. S. A.), see —

83 RUDOLPH ARBESMANN, O. E. S. A. (born 1895), 'Jordanus of Saxony's *Vita s. Augustini*, the source for John Capgrave's *Life of St Augustine*', in *Traditio*, i (1943). 341-53, and

⁴³ Cf. ten Brink's opinion in this question, n. 46. See also n. 67.

- 84 GEORGE SANDERLIN (born 1915), ' John Capgrave speaks up for the Hermits ', in *Speculum*, xviii (1943). 358-62.

The metaphor of St Augustine as a hammer against the heretics occurs twice in the writings of John Capgrave. Sanderlin believed Capgrave was the inventor of this expression. This opinion has been refuted by —

- 85 RUDOLPH ARBESMANN, O. E. S. A. (born 1895), ' The « Malleus » metaphor in medieval characterization ', in *Traditio*, iii (1945). 389-92.

4. Anthologies

Part of *The chronicle of England* has been printed in —

- 86 *The Oxford Book of English Prose*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (Oxford, 1940), pp. 17-18 (= n. 14).

Extracts from *Ye solace of pilgrimes* with reference to topographical aspects of Rome, together with an Italian translation, may be found in —

- 87 *Codice topografico della Città di Roma*, a cura di Roberto Valentini e Giuseppe Zucchetti, iv (Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 91, Rome, 1953). 325-49.

The introduction, which contains an analysis of the sources used by Capgrave in writing his book, occupies pp. 325-29.

5. Miscellaneous

a. Capgrave as a student at Cambridge

- 88 JOHN VENN (1834-1883) - JOHN ARCHIBALD VENN (born 1883), *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part I, vol. i (Cambridge, 1922). 290 —

Capgrave, John, Augustinian friar, said (Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*) to have studied at C. Born at Lynn, Norfolk, Apr. 21, 1393. Ord. priest, c. 1417. D. D. Provincial of his order in England. Author of numerous theological works. Died at Lynn, Aug. 12, 1464.

b. Capgrave as a man of letters

Some references are to be found in —

- 89 THOMAS WARTON (1728-1790), *History of English poetry from*

the twelfth to the close of the sixteenth century, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, iii (London, 1871). 48-49 —

mainly on the *Commentarius in Genesim*; a description of MS Oriel 32 is also given. In the notes Thomas Park has something on *The life of St Katharine* and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*.

90 RICHARD WÜLKER (1845-1910), *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipsic, 1896), pp. 175-76,

concerning the *Chronicle*.

91 GERTRUDE ROBINSON (born 1876), *In a mediaeval library. A study in pre-Reformation religious literature* (London, 1918), pp. 65-66.

92 HANS HECHT (born 1876) - LEVIN SCHÜCKING (born 1878), *Die Englische Literatur im Mittelalter* (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, 20, Wildpark-Potsdam, 1930), p. 180, regarding the Genesis-commentary.

A few notes on the *Chronicle* and the *Henries* may be found in —

93 CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD (1862-1926), *English historical literature in the fifteenth century* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 38, 39, 50, 149, 169.

and in —

94 GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP (1872-1934), *The rise of English literary prose* (New York, 1915), pp. 386-87.

Capgrave's sermon on the Orders living under the rule of St Augustine ⁴⁴) is mentioned in —

95 GERALD ROBERT OWST, *Preaching in medieval England, an introduction to sermon manuscripts of the period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 50.

Capgrave's English works, excluding *Ye solace of pilgrimes*, are mentioned in —

96 *The Oxford English Dictionary. Supplement* (Oxford, 1933), 'A list of books quoted in the Oxford English Dictionary', p. 13.

97 AUBREY GWYNN, S. I., *The English Austin Friars in the time of Wyclif* (London, 1940), p. 280 —

has a small but good note on Capgrave.

⁴⁴) See our biography, pp. 424-25.

- 98 HENRY STANLEY BENNETT (born 1889), *Chaucer and the fifteenth century* (Oxford, 1947),
 p. 152 — a few biographical notes and *The life of St Katharine*.
 p. 186 — *The life of St Gilbert* and the *Chronicle*.
 p. 200 — *Ye solace of pilgrimes*.
 p. 267 (= Bibliography) — Works and editions.
- 99 *A History of English Literature from Chaucer to the end of the nineteenth century*, ed. John Buchan (London¹⁰, 1948), p. 55 —
 Capgrave is bracketed with Pecock and Fortescue —

Capgrave, Pecock and Fortescue wrote chiefly in Latin. The few books they wrote in English had some particular objects, controversy or propaganda, but though they aimed at plainness, force, and breath of appeal, they did not wholly shake off the cumbrous habits of style ingrained in men accustomed to think and write in Latin.

- 100 DAVID KNOWLES, O. S. B. (born 1896), *The religious Orders in England*, ii (Cambridge, 1955). 276 —
 mentions Capgrave in his chapter 'Literary work at the end of the Middle Ages'.

c. Capgrave and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester

- 101 KENNETH HOTHAM VICKERS (born 1881), *Humphrey, duke of Gloucester* (London, 1907), pp. 385-87.
- 102 BERTHOLD ULLMAN (born 1882), 'Manuscripts of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', in *Studies in Italian Renaissance* (Storia e Letteratura, raccolta di Studi e Testi, 52, Rome, 1955), pp. 345-55 — originally published in *The English Historical Review*, lii (1937). 670-72.

d. Capgrave and King Henry VI

- 103 FRANCIS AIDAN Cardinal GASQUET (1846-1929), *The religious life of King Henry VI* (London, 1923), pp. 50-52 —
 quotes Capgrave in his chapter 'Testimony of contemporaries as to Henry's personality and character'⁴⁵).

⁴⁵) In the Italian translation *La vita religiosa di Re Enrico VI* (Florence, 1924), pp. 47-48.

e. Capgrave and Rome

- 104 GEORGE BRUNER PARKS (born 1890), *The English traveler to Italy, i, The Middle Ages to 1525* (Storia e Letteratura, raccolta di Studi e Testi, 46, Rome, 1954). 350, 588, 592, 596-99.

f. Capgrave's Life of St Norbert

- 105 CORNELIUS JAMES KIRKFLEET, O. Praem. (born 1881), *The White Canons of St Norbert. A history of the Premonstratensian Order in the British Isles and America* (West de Pere, Wisc., 1943), p. 121.
106 HOWARD MONTAGU COLVIN, *The White Canons in England* (London, 1951), pp. 322-23.

g. Capgrave as Provincial

Regarding the two charters which treat of the Austin friary at Oxford ⁴⁶⁾, see —

- 107 WHITE KENNETT (1660-1728), *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. B. Bandinel, ii (Oxford, 1818). 399-401.
108 ANTHONY à WOOD (1632-1695), « *Survey of the antiquities of the City of Oxford* » composed in 1661-6, ed. A. Clark, ii (Oxford, 1890). 454-55.
109 *The Boarstall cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford, 1930), pp. 223-24.

h. Capgrave as hagiographer

In an article in the *Civiltà Cattolica* on ancient and modern hagiography the anonymous contributor mentions four famous hagiographers of the fifteenth century, including John Capgrave —

- 110 'L'agiografia antica e moderna', in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, serie iii, vol. 7 (Rome, 1857). 163 —

Finalmente non sono da tacersi nel secolo xv i nomi del Camaldolese Ambrogio fiorentino ⁴⁷⁾, dell'Agostiniano Giovanni Capgrave inglese, del celebre Abate Benedettino Giovanni

⁴⁶⁾ Cf. our biography, pp. 428-30.

⁴⁷⁾ Died in 1439.

Tritemio alemanno e di Bartolomeo Sacchi italiano ⁴⁸⁾, più noto sotto il nome del Platina, i cui lavori biografici e storici appartengono in tutto o in gran parte all'agiografia.

With regard to the *Nova Legenda Anglie* see —

- 111 CHARLES PLUMMER (1851-1927), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i (Oxford, 1910). xvi, xxxix, lii-iii, lxxiv.

Alberic DE MEIJER, O. E. S. A.

(To be continued).

⁴⁸⁾ 1421-1481.