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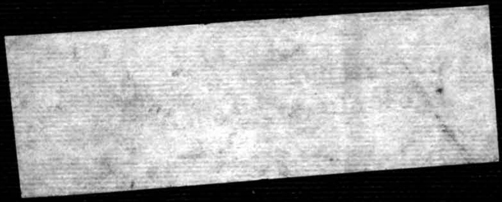

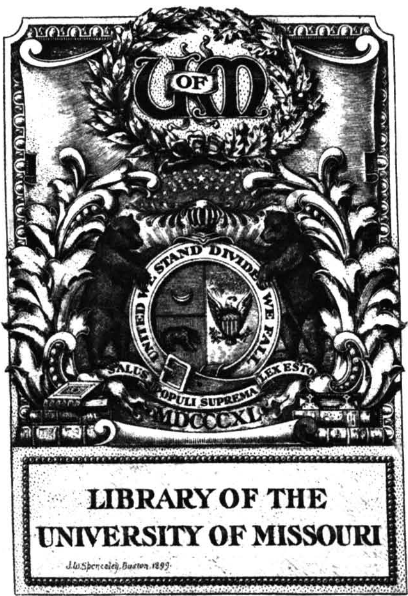

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THE ORIGIN, GROWTH, and CHARACTERISTICS of ENGLISH MEDIEVAL LIBRARIES

by

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

in the

GRADUATE SCHOOL

of the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1915

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XW652

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THE ORIGIN, GROWTH, and CHARACTERISTICS of ENGLISH MEDIEVAL LIBRARIES

Introduction: Background and Continental Origins.

The origin and use of libraries must necessarily be sought for in the history of the most ancient civilizations. In a study of antique cultures, one meets with a universal desire on the part of individuals to register memorials of interesting events and achievements. In every nation where there has developed any considerable culture, it has been found practical to devise schemes whereby such records, public and private, might be deposited and preserved. The collection and preservation of documents marks the beginning of libraries. Yet even to the earlier peoples, we find that the meaning of libraries was more comprehensive than this. As civilization progressed along more cosmopolitan lines, there was an ever increasing tendency to put the repositories of information to effective use. Thus we cannot attribute the conception of the library as a workshop and a museum to the inventive genius of the modern age. The germs of its present characteristics belong to antiquity, and are to be found alike among the Turanian, Semitic, and Indo-European races.

It is obvious that the purpose of libraries in all ages has been two-fold, ie., preservation of collected documentary

information, on the one hand, and dissemination of this accumulated material, on the other. The variation in the history of libraries in the different ages has been due to the varying application and interpretation of these two objects. Whether a specific library is of historical, business, or sacred character depends to a large degree upon whether its collector chanced to be statesman or conqueror, priest or scholar. The one perhaps desired to preserve to posterity records of political or martial achievements, the other to preserve scientific or theological observations. Again, the collectors may have differed as to the use to which this literature should be put, and, as a result, contributed to the edification of a special class, or of all classes, as the case might be. However, the fundamental purpose of all libraries has always remained the same.

Omitting from consideration mere collections of public records, we may classify libraries as follows: Small collections for private use; collections for the purpose of special instruction, religious or secular; public collections under the supervision of the state. The private collections are greatly limited in extent and scope of usefulness. The criterion of their selections, being often the accumulation of literature upon specific subjects, results in limiting their usefulness only to scholars of that particular subject. The second class of libraries may be open only to students, or, on the other hand, to the general public. Public libraries of a nation are in a sense the barameters of its civilization.

They indicate whether the culture has become generally disseminated or not, and whether this culture is of a circumscribed, or comprehensive character. The library which is founded or maintained under the supervision of the state is the most efficient of all public libraries. There are many advantages which it holds over other classes of libraries. The state may claim and secure a monopoly upon the output of existing literature. It is ordinarily best qualified financially to amass an exhaustive collection of all forms of literary expression. The mention of several state libraries may serve to illustrate the scope of their character and usefulness. The libraries of Assur-bani-pal, at Nineveh, of Alexandria, in Egypt, and the modern Bibliotheque National, in France, represent, in their respective ages, the effectiveness of libraries controlled and conducted by the agency of the state. In the earlier ages, many of these splendidly organized repositories of learning were destroyed by the same forces which terminated the existence of the states themselves. Still, during all ages, state libraries have remained the ideal abodes for all literary productions.

A narrative of libraries falls, as normally, into the four periods usually known as Oriental, Classical, Medieval, and Modern, as does a narrative of political events. There are certain distinguishing characteristics belonging to each of these periods which tend to separate them, though there are general characteristics which make them closely akin. It is my intention to briefly charactarize the libraries of these separate ages, for purpose of more accurately placing

libraries of the English Medieval period in their proper perspective.

Our knowledge of the earliest libraries comes from Babylonia, the birthplace of western Oriental civilization. The Babylonian libraries were sacred in character, being built in connection with the temples, and containing, for the most part, collections of business documents.(1) The library located at Nippur,(2) less than one hundred miles from the city of Babylon, is a splendid example of a library of this class. The Mardukearchives, however, located at the city of Babylon, is an exception to the generalization that the Babylonian libraries were not "extensive literary archives". Perhaps this exception is explained by the fact that its location at the capitol city placed it under the direct supervision of the state. Here we find the Oriental library in its largest development, the true "literary archive". The libraries of Assyria, in contradistinction to those of Babylonia, are found to be of secular character. Though the great representative of Assyrian libraries, that of Assur-bani-pal,(3) at Nineveh, was modeled upon the library at Babylon, it did not retain the secular character of the parent library. Unlike its neighbor, it was a royal library, being located in the palace

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1. N. Y. Independent, 60.1519-21, Je. 28, '06.
2. This library was excavated by Professor Hilprecht, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania.
3. The record-rooms in the palace of Assur-bani-pal were discovered by Mr. Layard, 1850, at Kouyunjik, on the Tigris, opposite Mosul.

of the illustrious Assyrian sovereign. It was intended for public utility, and especially for purposes of scholarly activities.[1] Had it not been that this library was destroyed within fifty years after the time of Assur-bani-pal, it might have entered upon a larger era of development.

The classical age of libraries may be conveniently separated into three periods, according to the different stages of their development. The first is the early Greek period; the second is the Hellenistic period; the third, the Roman period. For the Greek period, there are no accounts extant which make it possible to obtain an accurate conception of the character and organization of the libraries. Our knowledge of them is largely of the nature of deductions drawn from scattered statements which are found in works of late geographers and encyclopaedists. Even for the golden age of Hellenism, we know little more than that libraries existed, yet indirect evidence makes it seem probable that there were extensive accumulations of books, which were accessible to the public. For the Hellenistic libraries, however, we have enough information to be able to determine an estimate of their character and size. The best representative of this period, the Alexandrian library, contained many specimens of Oriental, Greek, and Latin literature, and employed the most approved methods for preserving and disseminating all forms of learning. The

1. Clark, Care of Books, 1901, 4

number of volumes deposited here has been variously estimated at from 100,000 to 700,000. Of the Roman libraries, those which flourished during the period of the early Roman Emperors were purely secular and practical in character. The largest of them were royal libraries, and contained many compositions of the Greek writers which served as models for the development of Roman literature. With the removal of the imperial capitol to Constantinople, the Roman libraries entered upon a new phase of development. It was then that the Christian element, which was destined to exert such a lasting influence upon the succeeding centuries, first made its way into the royal libraries, and thence spread throughout the empire, and into all parts of Europe.

Without attempting to assign a definite date for the beginning of the medieval library, it suffices to say that the new period began when the emphasis was shifted from the Roman type of library to the Monastic type. Though the two types existed side by side for several centuries, yet the Monastic library became the typical library of the Middle Ages. The change was brought about by the religious domination of the Christian, and the political domination of the German, over the Roman civilization. These fellow-intruders met upon Roman soil, and the one accepted the religious guidance of the other. Because his barbarian mind was more suited to the learning of the church than to the learning of the Romans, the German temporarily pushed

the latter aside for the former. Along with the Roman culture, also disappeared the Roman type of library.

The libraries of Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville are excellent representatives of a combination of the pagan and christian conceptions of a library. In form and arrangement, they were pagan; but at the same time, in object and content, Medieval, since they were intended for the edification of the monks within the monastery. Cassiodorus founded his monastery at Vivarium, in connection with a brotherhood which he established there. His library, in the sixth century, was in a flourishing condition, and maintained a staff of book binders, and a busy scriptorium.(1) This library was so important that it became a lively competitor to the library of Benedict at Monte Cassino in Italy. The latter, superior in discipline and organization, became in the end the model for practically all medieval libraries. For the library of Isidore of Seville, we have fuller information, which gives us a more definite conception of the medieval library. His collection was so numerous that he had separate presses for depositing certain classes of books. Above each press was inscribed a verse which may have been merely commemorative, or may have indicated the class of literature which was to be contained within the press. The names of the writers under whose portraits these were inscribed are the following: Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Prudentius, Avitus,

1. Clark 45[1] "Cassiodorus, De Inst. Div. Litt. XXX. 1145-6 Ed. Migne. De Rossi."

Juvencus, Sedulius, Eusebius, Orosius, Gregory, Leander, Theodosius, Paulus, Gaius, Cosmas, Damian, Hippocrates, Galen.(1) Thus we see that their libraries were truly medieval, as being instruments controlled by the Ecclesiastics of the Roman Church.

After the days of Cassiodorus, Isidore, and Benedict, throughout Europe libraries of this type were founded in connection with all the churches and monasteries. The purpose of their foundation was to promote the teachings of the Roman medieval church through the agency of the missionary monk. The books used for this instruction were at first chiefly service books but, as the Christian libraries increased in size, the variety of books became greater. It is no wonder that, almost without exception, we find that among the books which were bought, borrowed, or copied from outside sources, there was a predominance of the early church fathers. However, with the distribution of the books of the Roman libraries, each monastery received its share of the Roman classics, which were often unwelcome and unappreciated. The reproduction of books within the scriptorium of the monastery became the chief occupation of at least the most learned of the monks. Many were trained for the express purpose; others wrote for the mere pleasure of writing. To those who had little literary taste, the copying of manuscripts was no welcome task. In the medieval period, we find a

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1. Ibid. N.2

decided scarcity of original texts. The most important of these are the mediaval chronicles, and the lives of the saints. The chronicles were historical narratives of a particular locality or of the nation. In the latter part of the Middle Ages, these attained more and more the character of extensive histories, combining the ecclesiastical with the secular. The lives of the saints were supernatural in character, containing for the most part records of the miracles of the saints.

Until the latter part of the Medieval period, the history of the foundation of libraries is intimately related to the history of the monastic orders. The Benedictine order, which was established at Monte Cassino at the beginning of the sixth century, had for one of its provisions certain hours of the day set aside for the purpose of reading and study. Some kind of a collection of books was a prerequisite to the fulfillment of this proviso. The precepts of the Benedictine house no less stimulated the longing on the part of the more ambitious members of the order to amplify the accumulations of books, and likewise to expand their field of usefulness. As a result, each Benedictine house, soon after its foundation, established also a more or less copious collection of useful manuscripts. When the decline of the Benedictine influence began in the tenth century, it was revived again by the reformed order of Cluny, about 912. By this time, the regulation of libraries had become such a large part of monastic life that it was found necessary to provide for them a special keeper of books. Thus,

in the Customs of the Cluniacs, there is mentioned the title of the librarian, which is given as Armarius, or Precentor.[1] Later in the eleventh century, the Benedictines of England still further amplified the regulations concerning the books of the library. It is evident that the library had come to be much more extensively used, since a pledge was required of the borrower of a book.[2] It also devolved upon the Precentor to give personal attention to the repairing and the preservation of the books. These same precepts were maintained in the Customs of the Carthusian order, which was established in the latter part of the eleventh century. In these Customs, provision was made also for the writing and reproduction of manuscripts. In the early twelfth century, the Cistercians found it necessary to add an assistant to share the duties of the Precentor.[3] The Augustinians and the Premonstratensians also adopted similar rules for the regulation of their libraries.[4] Thus it is evident that each order considered that the library was a very essential and vital part of monastic life, and consequently each foundation bent its efforts toward collecting a workable assemblage of books. It must be remembered, however, that these libraries which were founded in connection with the church were

1. Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii. I.52, in Clark, Care of Books, 67.
2. Clark, 73.
3. Guidnard, Les Monuments primitifs de la Regle Cistercienne, in Clark, Care of Books, 70.
4. Clark, 73.

intended primarily for ecclesiastical purposes. While their use was not strictly confined to the monks alone, yet they lacked much of the public character which had been a feature of the classical libraries. It was not until the development of the academic libraries in the latter part of the Medieval period, that the conception of the library as a public institution came again into its own. Though the reforms of the different orders were not always immediately introduced from the continent, yet, at certain periods of the Middle Ages, England's libraries became the models for those of neighboring countries. Even in the period of decline which occured immediately before the Danes conquered England, Alcuin wrote from Tours to York for books and scholars with which to carry on his literary labors in the service of Charles the Great.(1) Through Alcuin, too, the system of writing which was employed in the English scriptoria was transported to France, and there imitated in the succeeding century. Again, the fame of learning in England became so great in the days of Aldhelm that scholars were attracted thither even from the distant climes of Greece and Spain.(2) Thus we see English libraries were never far behind those on the continent, and indeed, at certain times, they were at the forefront of library development. Had English libraries not been so many times destroyed by hordes of foreign invaders, there is no doubt but that their history would have been infinitely more illustrious.

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1. Post.
2. Montalembert, <u>Monks of the West</u>, IV.217 ff.

In order to facilitate organization of the facts pertaining to Medieval English libraries, it will be convenient to group them under certain definite divisions. The first significant point of division comes naturally at the commencement of the Norman occupation of England. The period dating from the Roman to the Norman invasion may be termed one of English individualism in the history of books and libraries. Though the Irish, Danish, and Roman elements became component parts of the whole history, still the Anglian element, in the main, prevailed over them all. During the succeeding period, however, a new element, that of the Norman-French, penetrated the whole English social and intellectual existence in such a manner as to alter many of its individualistic aspects. The introduction of the several elements into library history of the first eleven centuries was marked by the hostile invasions of fierce and warlike neighboring tribes. In each instance, the political domination of the rude and merciless barbarians was accompanied by a decline in the development of libraries. At the same time, the ultimate result of each invasion was a revival, growing out of a new impetus brought by the conquering nation.

During the first period, England was reconquered and repopulated by four different peoples. Soon after the Roman legions entered the island, the Christian religion began its subsidiary conquest. During the first six centuries, the Celtic Church fashioned itself into an effective organization

with its accompanying culture. No sooner had the apex of its development been attained than the Anglo-Saxons began to make their protracted inroads of havoc and ruin. The history of these newcomers was, however, to be molded by the forces with which they came in contact in their new home. They were, therefore, hardly settled before they began to avail themselves of the instruction proffered them by Celtic missionaries from the north. Within a century, also, ecclesiastics from the south brought to them the Roman form of the Christian Church. The acceptance and adoption of the latter meant for England a new period of development when the superiority of the Roman church began to shape for England all cultural activity for several centuries to come. This development was not destined to be left unmolested, however, for the ninth century was disturbed by fresh incursions under the Danes. These invasions meant for the libraries a check, amounting well-nigh to ruin. But the resolute labors of the Benedictine monks occasioned a vigorous revival, which endured until the latter part of the eleventh century.

With the advent of William the Conqueror and his followers, the second period in the development of libraries began. At that time, English individualism began to give way before Norman-French institutions which were brought with the Conqueror's superior civilization. The organization of the libraries from then fell into the control of various reformed monastic orders which had flourished upon the continent.

English abbots were replaced by Norman abbots, who brought with them a more extensive use of the Greek and Roman classics, and many specimens of French and Italian literature. The result of the change of the content of the English libraries was the gradual altering of the conception of their object. Scholars became discontent with the old idea of using the library merely as a means of maintaining monastic discipline, and desired to use it as a convenient storehouse where scholarly research could be carried on. Consequently, during the later Middle Ages, the old English monastic library gave place to one of more public, and comprehensive, and workable character.

Our knowledge of early Celtic methods of book accumulation and production is, unhappily, confined to vague and indefinite allusions found in the literature[1] of the early centuries. For the first five hundred years, there is no extended contemporaneous account of the libraries. A history for the Celtic period is, therefore, impossible, but an imperfect knowledge of them may

1. Bede, Ecclesiastical History, Ed. by Miller, Thomas. 1890, I.4. The other important sources for this period are Gildas; the records of early church councils (for references, see Lingard, Hist. of Anglo-Saxon Church, I.6, n. 2&3); and various continental writers. The extent of Roman influence, indicated by very early trade relations and the activity of the Roman legions, and by the numerous Roman coins found here, strengthens the opinion that by the end of the third century there must have developed well organized Christian communities in Britain. Tac. Agricola, 24; Leland's Itinerary, I.28, 31, 80, 121; V.60, 62, 66 ff.

be gathered from the story of the flourishing church life then established in the British Isles.

Christianity in the British Isles dated, in all probability, from early Roman occupation.(1) The British converts shared the vicissitudes(2) of their continental brethern in the reign of "the tyrant(3) Diocletian". Among the martyrs of these days of persecution were Julius, Aaron, and St. Alban. The latter was afterward honored by having the famous monastery of that name founded in his memory.(2) Nor was England free from heretics.(4) So dangerous, indeed, had the Pelagian heresy become that the missionaries Germanus and Lupus were sent to annul its evil influence. Ireland, less than twenty leagues across the sea, was not untouched by Christianity.(5) Palladius, from Gaul, preached around the neighborhood of Wicklow, but, being unsuccessful, retired to Britain where he soon died. Soon after Palladius, the Celts became enlightened by the missionary exertions of the illustrious saints, Patrick in Ireland, and Columba at Iona.

What we know of the Celts' knowledge and use of books before St. Patrick's time, rests largely upon deductions drawn from these facts in church history. Surely, where there was commercial, military, and religious intercourse between the

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1. Ante, 14.
2. Bede I.6,7; Gildas, 9-18.
3. Gildas, 9.
4. "The British church of this period, indeed proved its interest in theological questions by the most vigorous and satisfactory proofs. It produced a heretic." Stokes, G. T., Ireland and the Celtic Church, 12.
5. Bede, I.10; St. Patrick's Confessions, in Stokes, 13-14.

Romans and the Celtic Tribes, there was also an intellectual intercourse.[1] Leland seems to have found "writings corruptid", along with Roman coins, in Lincolnshire.[2] Palladius is said to have left books in Ireland.[3] But with the coming of St. Patrick into Ireland, there is more definite information concerning the story of books among the British Celts. Ireland became filled with bustling churches and monasteries.[4] In the words of Ireland's patron saint, "The sons of the Scots became monks, and their Princes' daughters virgins of Christ, in numbers more than I can count". These monasteries presented the appearance of small villages, with a single hut for each monk, and churches where, in all probability, their books were kept.[5] Around these buildings was a prohibitory wall within which the monks occupied themselves with study and writing prayers and psalms. The diligence of the monks opened the path for a new learning among the Celts. St. Patrick adopted the use of the Latin alphabet for ecclesiastical writings, with the result that Latin and, later, Greek learning was introdúced into the Island.[6] He is said to have made copies of the

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1. Leland's Itinerary, I.28.
2. Ante, 5.
3. Savage, Old English Libraries, 3.
4. Letter to Coroticus, in Trenholme, The Story of Iona. St. Patrick brought monasticism from Gaul, where he was educated. It was probably, therefore, an adaptation of the Eastern type.
5. Trenholme, 18. See Bury, Life of St. Patrick, 174, 184-6.
6. "The knowledge of Greek which had almost vanished in the west became so widely diffused in the schools of Ireland, that if any one knew Greek, it was assumed that he must have come from Ireland." Sandys, I.438-9. This applies to the later fifth century.

alphabet with his own hand and to have distributed them among his converts. The sources from which he drew the learning which he thus disseminated were probably Gaul and Rome. Many books of religious instruction and guidance were furnished to him by the Pope and the prelates of the church. Some of these, the wary missionaries deposited at the royal town of Tara.(1) St. Patrick converted the king to the new religion after he had demonstrated the superiority of his miracles over those of the druid chiefs.(2) His books were put to the test of fire and water, and the good spirits preserved them from injury.

St. Patrick and his followers were not remiss in augmenting the collection of books by means of literary contributions of their own. Two works deserve special mention as being undoubtedly productions of St. Patrick's own hand.(3) These are his Confessions, and his Letter Against Coroticus. Other documents of more or less value, which may have been composed by his followers, are Dicta Patricii, Ecclesiastical Canons of St. Patrick, Irish Hymns ascribed to St. Patrick, and Hymn of St. Sechmall. These writings reveal a gross illiterary, yet they were the impetus which awakened Ireland's brilliant literary career of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries.

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1. "The Saint proceeds to Tara with eight men and a little page carrying the book-wallet." In Elton, 14.
2. Elton, 15.
3. The authenticity of these is discussed in the excellent appendix of Bury's _Life of St. Patrick_, 226-46.

In the latter part of the sixth century (563), St. Columba and his twelve followers came to Iona.[1] The new monastery which they founded here was modeled upon monasteries of Ireland.[2] The huts were small and made of rude pieces of wood. The library, which was a part of each monastery, was also housed in one of these rude huts. The monks were busily engaged in all forms of work, from farming to writing and studying the Scriptures. Beautiful manuscripts were produced, and Columba became one of the most ardent scribes in his monastery. The famous Book of Kells is an example of the beautiful work which was produced two centuries later.[3] The texts of several manuscripts have been preserved, and, although they have been ascribed to the hand of Columba, it is probable that they were written at a much later date.[4] Columba was a collector as well as a producer of books, and, according to one tradition, he transcribed three hundred copies of a Psalter. Many of these pieces of literature were distributed among the disciples of Christianity. The Saint, though passionately devoted to his books, gave his gospels to enrich the collection of books at the church at Swords, and a precious manuscript which he had obtained at Tours, to the church at Derry. The monks not only wrote new books, but made abundant use of their general collection

1. Bede, V.9. Trenholme, 25. Neander, General History of Christian Religion and Church, III.10.
2. Wishart, 169.
3. Putnam, Books and their Makers, I.46.
4. Neander, II.125.

as an instrument of learning and instruction. Among the important monasteries founded by Columba and his associates were those of Derry, Bangor, Aghabo, Artchain, and Hinba Island.(1) His influence was further established at Kells, in Meath, (from which the famous Book of Kells has wrongly derived its name); at Durrow in the south; and at Swords in Dublin. Among all these, Iona became most famous as the cultural center of the Celtic church.(2)

From the beginning of the preeminence of the Roman church in the British Isles, Irish libraries began sooner or later to be modeled on the Benedictine plan. Their history is one of equal splendor with that of English libraries during nearly the whole period until the Norman conquest. Indeed, much of the glory of English learning during this period is drawn from Irish scholarship. The libraries attracted throngs of English students, who eagerly sought education in the Irish schools.(3) Gildas, the first native English historian, Ethelwin, bishop of Lindsay, Oswald and Aelfrith, kings of Northumbria, and Alcuin, all at one time or another came to Ireland for the same purpose. Irish monks exhibited a considerable knowledge of classical and theological literature. Augustine, a monk of the seventh century, quoted Eusebius,

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1. Trenholme, 35-41. Columbanus founded Luxeuil and Bobbio; and St. Gall, the monastery of Gall, in Switzerland. Thus Iona's influence was felt on the continent.
2. Bede, III.15.
3. Savage, 8, 9.

Jerome, Philo, Cassius, Origen, and Augustine. Dungal, Donatus, and Clement were renowned scholars who transported the fame of Ireland to the continent.[1] In the ninth century, John Scotus was pressed into the service of Charles the Bald, and introduced into his court the study of Greek. Erigena possessed a thorough knowledge of Martianus Capella, and the Greek fathers, Basil, Chyrsostom, and Gregory Nazianzen. He was familiar with the works of Plato, and became famous for his translation of"Dionysius the Areopagite". The books of this early Irish period were housed in the monasteries of the land.[2] In the ninth and tenth centuries, there were special rooms provided for the books, and special librarians were employed. The Irish developed a peculiar method of storing their books, which was not prevalent elsewhere. They often kept them in rectangular boxes, or cumdoch. As the monks went from place to place, they carried them in satchels which were hung on the monastery wall and served as shelves when not traveling.[3] In the seventh and eighth centuries, writing became the fashion in the Irish cloister. No higher honor could be given to a monk than to say that he was a scribe. St. Patrick and Columba were famous for the manuscripts which they produced. From Iona, the Irish style of writing spread to Northumbria and

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1. Sandys, I.463. Clement was located in the palace school of Charles; Donatus, an Irish grammarian, became bishop of Fiesoli; Dungal was in Italy.
2. Savage, 12.
3. Savage, 17-22.

there was slavishly imitated. The Lindisfarne gospel is a good example of the Northumbrian imitation of Irish models.

At the same time that Iona was becoming the northern cultural center of the Celtic church, the Saxon hordes began to push the old Roman-Celtic learning of England farther and farther toward the west. In the latter part of the sixth century, in the same year as the death of Columba, St. Augustine with his company of monks arrived at Canterbury, where he founded, first, Christ Church, and afterward, the Cathedral and Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul. With the coming of the Benedictines into England, the Celtic[1] monasteries began to give place to those of the recently founded Roman order. By this time, the Anglo-Saxons had become the political masters of the island and were prepared to eagerly avail themselves of the instruction and guidance of these Roman monks, whose efficiency appealed strongly to their fierce natures. Consequently, after almost a century of conflict, the prestige of Rome became firmly established at the Council of Whitby, 664. The significance of this event in the history of libraries lies in the fact that from then on the Benedictines had a clear field in which to multiply and strengthen the foundations

1. Bede, III.19.

of their order. With their strong organizations, always came a recognition of the worth of libraries, and special provisions were made for book collecting and book producing.

CHAPTER I

EARLY MEDIEVAL LIBRARIES

The first Anglo-Saxon library was founded in 597 in the town of Canterbury, by the Benedictine churchman, St. Augustine.[1] It was Gregory the Great who provided the nucleus of this library which was to become so famous through the coming centuries. The early equipment which Gregory sent upon its mission to the "Angles" was a gift of nine beautiful volumes, the names of which are still extant. These books were The Holy Bible, in two volumes; the Psalter; the Gospels; another Psalter; another copy of the Gospels; the (Apocryphal) Lives of the Martyrs; an exposition of the Gospels and Epistles.[2] Because of their ecclesiastical character, these books were at first kept within the church, and appear to have been placed above the altar. For a century the story of this first library in Britain is almost entirely blank. However, May 27, 669 Pope Vitalius,[3] upon the solicitation of Oswia, King of Northumbria,[4] dispatched Theodore of Tarsus, a very learned man,

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1. Bede, I.17; Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 1830, I.8[a]: "According to Somner, the foundation of Christ Church in Canterbury was laid by Lucius, the first Christian King of Britain, and St. Augustine, when he had converted King Ethelbert, repaired the same, said to be then standing."
2. Dugdale, I.81; See also, Elton, 19
3. Bede, I.16. Bede's authority was Albinus, the first English abbot of Augustine's house.
4. Bede, IV.1

to Britain, along with abbot Adrian.[1] The katter was also a man of great learning, and was sent with Theodore because he had twice been to France, and was therefore well acquainted with the journey. Benedict Biscop, who founded Wearmouth and Yarrow, in Northumbria, in the early part of the century, received them, and conducted them to Canterbury.[2] These two scholars from the South brought with them a large quantity of books.[2] Among a gift of books which was leter, by will, left to this library were "the Psalter of David and sundry homilies in Greek and Latin, Hebrew also, and some other Greek authors, beautifully written on thick paper with the name of this Theodore prefixed."[3] Canterbury became even more famous under Theodore than it had been under Augustine. On his arrival, he travelled through the whole island "wherever the English lived and men settled. ... and the abbot Adrian travelled with him. ... As they were well trained in knowledge, both sacred and profane, they assembled a large following of pupils. Along with the holy books and ecclesiastical discipline, they taught and instructed them in metre and astronomy and grammar. The clear proof was that their pupils were well trained in both Greek and Latin, and these languages were as familiar to them as their own."[4] The pupils of these men were drawn from

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1. Post.
2. Bede, IV.2; Warton, History of English Poetry, 1871, I.195.
3. Elton, 18; Savage, 26.
4. Bede, IV.2.

the higher class. Among their famous disciples were Tobias, bishop of Rochester, who also became versed in the Greek and Latin tongues. The enterprising missionaries took with them psalters and canons, the Gospels, and other books of instruction for the use of their new converts.[1] Chanting was introduced from Kent into the North and West, where it had not been in use hitherto. It is evident that the library must have greatly augmented its stock of books in order to be able to provide an additional supply to these wandering instructors. Nor were the monks at Canterbury idle in reproducing copies of the books needed, for even Theodore speaks of having made a copy of the canon with his own hand.[1]

Through the indefatigable efforts of Theodore and his helpers, Kent had now become the center of learning in the South of England. To the North West at the monastery of Malmesbury,[2] one of Canterbury's most notable pupils, Aldhelm, laid the foundation for a new literary center which was to exist throughout the middle ages. This monastery, which had been founded by Mardulf, an Irish scholar and teacher of Aldhelm,[3] soon developed one of the most important libraries in England. The Celtic influence had therefore not disappeared from the center of England, and was combined with the new learning which was developed here. During the period that Aldhelm was abbot, Malmesbury attracted scholars from all parts of England and even Greece and Spain.[4] This famous

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1. Bede, IV.5
2. Bede, V.16
3. Sandys, I.450-451
4. Montalembert, Monks of the West, IV.217-285

school was equipped with books of varied learning which amounted to a considerable library. Aldhelm is said to have been able to read the Bible in Hebrew, which is a proof that even at this date there must have been Hebrew manuscripts in the Malmesbury library. Interesting in the same connection is the frequent use he made of the lives of the saints, and his quotations from Isidore, the Recognitions of Clement, Acts of Sylvester, writings of Sulpicius, Severus, Athenasius, Gregory, Eusebius, Jerome. In his Latin verse he alludes to Aristotle, Terence, Vergil, Horace Juvenal, Persius, and Lucan.(1) Among the works which his own genius had added to the library were--"an excellent book against the error of the Britain"; De Virginitate,(2) in metre and prose; also dissertations upon the details of grammar, prosody, metrical rules and Latin versification. These noble works receive high praise from the Venerable Bede(2) and from William of Malmesbury, a chronicler of the twelfth century.

In connection with Aldhelm's activities as a book collector, there is an interesting incident which occurred while he was still seeking his education at the Canterbury school. "Aldhelm learned that ships from France had touched at Dover. On receiving this news he went to Dover, hoping to find among their cargoes books or other articles of use to the church. He did discover many books, and one in particular of which, after carefully examining he asked the price. The sailors, seeing him so poorly clad, pushed him away."(3) The story continues

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1. Savage, 29; Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, 1903, I.450-51
2. Bede, V.18-19; William of Malmesbury, I.2
3. Montalembert, IV.217-225

to relate how a storm began to rage, and it was only through the prayers of Aldhelm that the danger was averted. The gratitude of the sailors was so great that they willingly presented him with the book of his desire. It was a complete Bible, Old and New Testament, which he later carried to Malmesbury to grace the library of that monastery. This story is an evidence of at least a limited book trade between England and the continent. English libraries were already seeking additions of literature in the foreign countries.

During the period of activity of the great literary centers of Canterbury and Malmesbury, there was similar activity in the North. In Northumbria Lindisfarne became one of the greatest monastic centers of the island.[1] Its foundation is ascribed to the influence of Iona, through the agency of St. Aidan. The fame of his monastery spread throughout the island, and his associates aided materially in disseminating knowledge even across the seas. Lindisfarne developed great skill in the production of manuscripts, of which the best example is the Lindisfarne Gospels. This famous manuscript is supposed to have been written by Eadfrith (d. 521). It is wonderfully wrought[1], and bears traces of Neapolitan influence, which may

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1. Bede IV.1,2
"A point of great interest quite recently discovered is that each gospel is preceded by a list, in the order of the gospel itself, of Saints' days, beasts, vigils, etc., on which passages from that gospel were read; that is to say, the first days recorded are those on which passages from the first chapter were read, and so on. In 1891 a Benedictine monk observed that the lists clearly proved that the liturgy thus summarized was that of Naples, and was of extreme interest, being more than two centuries older than the oldest known Neapolitan calendar. But how was it possible for an early calendar of Naples to appear in a Gospel book written at Lindisfarne, in the seventh century? The answer is supplied by Bede, who, in describing

have been transported to England with the same Adrian (formerly abbot of a monastery near Naples) who was a fellow missionary of Theodore of Tarsus. Aidan's secular and ecclesiastical pupils alike were compelled to occupy themselves diligently studying scriptures and other holy writings in order to imbibe "the milk of gentle doctrine". The rays of light from Lindisfarne penetrated into many districts of England. Lastingham was founded soon afterward, and here one scholar whose name was Owini repaired,[1] "not to live idle, but to labor, and as he was less capable of studying he applied himself earnestly to manual work, the while better instructed monks were indoors reading."[2] Whitby abbey, one of Northumbria's most famous abbeys, was founded by Hild, who was a pupil of Aidan's. In 657 she founded this monastery in fulfillment of a vow.

The testimony of one who fell directly under Hild's influence is that she countenanced in her monastery no languidness or inactivity, in connection with studying and writing.[3] As proof of this there are cited the names Bose, Etla, Oftfor, John, and Wilfrid, who were without exception "men of great

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the early work of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, after his arrival in England in 668, says that in his peregrination of England he was accompanied by one Adrian, formerly abbot of a monastery near Naples. (See Bede) At Lindisfarne the archbishop was to consecrate St. Aidan's new cathedral, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the abbot brought with him some volumes from his own abbey, and that the monks of Holy Island took the opportunity of transcribing for their own use, this volume." Madan, 92 ff., anti,

1. Bede, III.3
2. Savage, 30
3. Bede, IV.24; Dugdale, I.405. Before this she had founded a small monastery near by, called Hartlepool.

learning and holiness." Thus, Bose later became bishop of York; Etla became bishop of Dorchester, in Thames; John became bishop of Hexham; and Wilfrid became bishop of York.[1] The names of all of these men are famous in library history, either for enlarging their own libraries by compositions of their own or by giving their learned support to struggling libraries in other localities.[2] It was Wilfrid, a novice of Lindisfarne, who extended, through his travels abroad, the influence of the Roman church and the Benedictine order in Northumbria. Before his time, Northumbria had depended largely upon the Celtic guidance of Iona, which had, however, served to save that country from intellectual ruin. Wilfrid was also famous as a book collector, and we have an account of a gift of a book of gospels on purple vellum which he presented to the library of his church at Ripon. This book was beautifully wrought, and its covers were set with precious stones.[3] At Lindisfarne, in 688,[4] was produced the[5] famed Gospels of St. Cuthbert, which has had such a varied history in other libraries of England.

Benedict Biscop, who had escorted Theodore of Tarsus to his new episcopate, formed the most famous libraries of Northumbria--those of Wearmouth and Yarrow.[6] Like many other monasteries, these were built as a result of the patronage of the

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1. Bede, IV.24
2. Bede, III.20; Savage, 31.
3. Elton, 19, 20
4. Bede, III.20; Elton, 12
5. Elton, 18. "Later this manuscript was carried to Ireland by wandering monks. In 995 it was taken to Durham, and in the twelfth century returned to Lindisfarne, where it remained until the dissolution of the monasteries, when its golden covers were torn off. Through the Cottonian Library it was finally deposited in the British Museum."
6. Dugdale, I.501

Northumbrian King.[1] Having royal guardianship, the libraries of these monasteries flourished for centuries and are referred to in contrast to many another of the time, as "Great libraries." Benedict has been celebrated throughout the centuries for his travels[2] in search of books, and indeed he is the Richard de Bury of the seventh century. Biscop undertook five long and tedious journies to Rome, each time returning with a great store of books to enrich his library. These books consisted of examples of all branches of sacred literature. On his fourth journey he obtained books at Vienna, and on his last journey, in 685, he greatly increased his store of classics.[3] He was not content to bring back with him his books alone, but brought also paintings of sacred subjects, whereby he was able to impart to his monks some knowledge of the arts of Rome. The abbot John he brought with him "to teach for twelve months in his monastery the music he had learned at St. Peter's." Then "John taught *viva voce* the singers in the monastery the order and practice of song. He also committed to writing all that was necessary for the course of the year in the celebration of feast days, and set it down in a book, which is still kept in the same monastery, and since then has often been copied by many everywhere around."[4] Benedict, by his purchases of books abroad, and his encouragement of literary production at home must have created very estimable libraries at Wearmouth and Yarrow.

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1. At this date, Egfrid.
2. Dugdale, I.501. The dates of these journies as given by Dugdale are 653, 665, 667, 671, 685. Se also Montalmbert, V.139
3. Sandys, I.452
4. Bede, IV.21

This sam. John also presented Wearmouth with a number of valuable books.(1) Hiw own writings indicate his profound knowledge of the Greek and Roman languages, and literature. From his treatise on metre and his "Liber Retractionum", the extent of his knowledge of Greek is ascertained. Latin authors which are often quoted by him are Cicero, Vergil, and Horace, as well as Varro. He was well versed in history, being acquainted with Jerome's edition of Eusebius, and Augustine and Isidore.(2) His zeal did not fail him even upon his death bed, for it was his last wish to have the library which he had transported from Rome carefully preserved and cared for.(3)

Ceolfrid took as great pains to augment Biscop's collections of books as Benedict did himself. Among other books which he obtained were a curious system of cosmography, which in later years Alfred was so eager to obtain that he exchanged a large piece of land for it.(4) He had also two complete copies of the Bible, made from the version of Jerome which he had brought from Rome.(5) A letter of Ceolfrid's which Bede has preserved to us records his intimate knowledge of Plato.(6) The libraries under the control of Ceolfrid doubled in size during his lifetime.

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1. Elton 19, 20
2. Sandys I.452
3. See Edwards, I.107
4. King Alfred of Northumbria granted eight hides (800 acres) for this much-coveted book. See Edwards, I.107
5. Putnam, I.96
6. See further Montalembert, IV.200

By his collections of books he made possible the education and training of Bede, the father of English histor , who himself contributed to the library of Wearmouth. From that author's own description of his labors in this library it is evident that there was no small collection of books to be found here.[1] He tells us that from childhood he loved learning, and that he became a priest in the monasteries of St. Peter and Paul at Wearmouth and Yarrow.[2] Here he composed the books which have won for him the distinction of being the greatest historian since the days of Tacitus.[3] He did, in the words of a later chronicler, "dazzle the whole earth with the brilliancy of his learning."

Among other famous Benedictine libraries of this period is the monastic library of Glastonbury. This library was richly stored with books, and the monks were constantly employed in transcribing new volumes to add to those already contained within it.[5] The libraries of Gloucester Abbey and Barrow in Mercia; Croyland and Ely on Thames, Lichfield, Peterborough, Hexham, where Acca collected histories and sacred writings, Exeter, where Boniface taught, all contributed their share in making the British Isles, during this period, far famed in letters.

But the glory of Northumbria was the library situated at York. The period of its ascendancy was in the eighth century, at the time of Alcuin.[6] The founder of this library was Ecbert, bishop of York. The library was situated in his cathedral, and contained

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1. Bede, V.22
2. Appendix A
3. William of Malmesbury, Chronicle of the Kings of England, Ed. Giles, 1889, I.3 Malmesbury's source is Alcuin
4. Dugdale I.9
5. Dugdale I.9; I.540; Bede IV, 3; Savege,32.
6. William of Malmesbury I.iii.62

both Greek and Latin manuscripts. Alcuin came to York as a student and later was made deacon and librarian of the cathedral library. He probably had Greek books in his library, because Greek learning formerly brought in by Theodore of Tarsus, had extended its influence through the country. However, the Greek classics which are mentioned may have been in the form of Latin translations. The books which were used in his school consisted of all the old Medieval authorities, as Boethius, Cassiodorus, Isidore, and Bede. So famous did his library become that many scholars from afar were attracted by it, and he himself was called to the continent to conduct the Palace school of Charlemagne. From letters which he wrote back to Charles Augustus, a conception may be gained of the esteem in which the York library was held. "Give me more polished volumes of scholastic learning, such as I used to have in my own country, through the industry of Archbishop Egbert, and if it please your wisdom, I will send some of our youths who may obtain there whatever is necessary, and bring back to France the flowers of Britain; that the garden of Paradise may not be York, but that some of its science may be transferred to Tours."(1)
In his letters to Aethelhard of Canterbury, Eanbold of York, and Athelbert of Hexham, he continually urges the continued study of the Scriptures. In the school of York, the students made use of many of the great classics which contributed largely to its fame. So interesting are the verses in which Alcuin recorded the names(2) of at least the most important authors contained in his library,

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1. Ibid
2. Translation of West, Alcuin and the Rise of Christian Schools, 35-36, from Versus de Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae, ll.,1535-61

that it will not be amiss to quote his rythmical catalog.

"There shalt thou find the volumes that contain
All the ancient fathers who remain.
There all the Latin writers make their home,
With those that glorious Greece transferred to Rome,--
The Hebrews draw from their celestian stream
But Africa is bright with learning's beam.

Here shines what Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary thought,
Or Athanasius and Augustine wrought,
Crosius, Leo, Gregory the Great
Near Basil and Fulgentius corfuscate
Grave Cassiodorus and John Chrysostom
Next Master Bede and learned Aldhelm come,
While Victorinus and Boethius stand
With Pliny and Pompeius close at hand.

Wise Aristotle looks on Tully near.
Sedulius and Juvencus, Clement, Prosper, too..
Paulinus and Arator. Next we view
Lactantius, Fortunatus, ranged in line
Virgilius Maro, Statius, Lucan shine,
Donatus, Priscian, Prolius, Phocas, start
The roll of masters in grammatic art.
Eutychius, Servius, Pompey, each extend
The list--Comminian brings an end.

There shalt thou find, O reader, many more
Famed for their style, the masters of old lore,
Whose many volumes singly to rehearse
Were far too tedious for our present verse."

However fervent might be the prayers of Alcuin, who had judiciously betaken himself to the safe haven of Charles' court, they were not able to avert the danger which was threatened by the presence of the Danes in his mother country. Though Europe's learning had for centuries been attracted to the British Isles, the day had arrived when her monasteries and libraries were to perish before the advance of the marauding Vikings. The first victims were the libraries of the monasteries of Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, and Yarrow.[1] Within a few years Melrose, Tynemouth, and Peterborough underwent a similar fate. The fame of York was destined to be stifled and extinguished, and thus the most splendid of all Northumbrian libraries perished without hope of resuscitation. England fought desperately for her very life, but she was forced to forfeit her civilization at the hand of these resolute warriors. Then Alfred of Wessex, animated by a desire to revive his nation and its learning, became the personification of the most assiduous opposition. His weapon was not his sword, alone, but also his untiring literary labors, in behalf of his people. His greatest desire was to elevate learning to its former prestige, and his efforts were not without results. Alfred lamented that the churches which had formerly contained numerous libraries were burned, together with the books which were contained in them; and that

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1. Wearmouth was destroyed 867, Yarrow 973. Both later became cells to the monastery of Durham. Dugdale I.502-506. Medeshamstede, afterward called Peterborough, and Croyland, were destroyed in 870. Dugdale, I.344-346.

all people were so occupied in the preservation of their own lives that they had no time for the perusal of books.

Co-laborers with Alfred in his momentous task were scholars whom he sought out in the furtherest parts of Britain as well as on the continent. Werefrith bishop of the church of Worcester, aided him in translations of Latin works into English.[1] Among his assistants were Plegmund, Ethelstan, and Werewulf, all of them Mercians by birth.[1] "But the king's commendable avarice could not be gratified even in this; wherefore he sent beyond the seas to Gaul and invited thence Grimbald, priest and monk, a venerable man and a good singer....and most learned in the holy scripture. He obtained from thence John, a priest and monk....learned in all kinds of literary science."[2] In the next paragraph the biographer of Alfred states that "In these times, I, also came into Saxony....," and recounts at length his journey thither, and his labors for his beloved sovereign. These men assisted materially in making possible Alfred's literary reforms, for he had them always at hand to read to him, or[2] to transcribe those of his favorite authors whom he saw fit to bestow upon his people. Through the services of these men Alfred must have accumulated a number of books, for he himself devoted a third of his[2] time to reading and studying. Alfred attempted to replace the monasteries which had fallen into decay for it was by means of them that he could best preserve his precious books, and enlarge his libraries.[3] He established one for monks at Athelney

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1. Asser, <u>Life of Alfred</u>, in Giles, <u>Six Old English Chronicles</u>, 1866.70
2. Asser, Life of Alfred, 76, 84, 85.
3. Asser, 79-82

a place well suited for protection against marauders, being surrounded by impassable marshes. He found difficulty in procuring learned monks to fill this monastery, and had to gather all kinds of priests from every quarter into his service. For nuns he erected a monastery at Shaftesbury, and placed his own daughter, Ethelgiva, as its abbess. He urged upon the inmates of monasteries diligence in studying and reading. To educate his subjects he established and encouraged schools. In the royal school in which his children were educated, both Latin and Saxon books were collected and studied.(1) The students learned psalms and Saxon poems. Alfred's historian mentions with pride that writing was taught here. The books which were selected for translation were The Universal History of Orosius, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England, Gregory's Curia Pastoralis Gregory's Dialogues, and St. Augustine's Soliloquies. He prepared a Handbook, containing psalms, prayers, and texts of Scripture.(2) Thus the first step of Alfred in the restoration of libraries, was the restoration of the monasteries. The second step was the encouragement of study and writing of literature, which he promoted by means of the Anglo-Saxon translations of Medieval Fathers.

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1. Asser, 68
2. William of Malmesbury, II.4; Asser, 63-79; Sandys, 482.
3. Savage, 39

After the death of Alfred England entered upon the darkest period of her literary history, the early part of the tenth century. Owing to the decline of the Benedictine rule in England, and for that matter, in the rest of Europe, the interest in libraries also declined. Few references are to be found concerning their existence, or to the use of books. There were latent forces, however, which improved the possibilities for a later revival. There is a story of a gift of nine volumes being presented by King Athelstan to St. Augustine's Abbey. This collection included Isidor, De Natura Rerum, Persius Donatus, Alcuin, Sedulius, and possibly a work of Bede.(1) There is also an account of a donation written in letters of gold in the book of the gospels, given to the church at Glastonbury.(2)

When Dunstan (924-988) became Abbot of Glastonbury and afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, the re-introduction of the Benedictine rule began.(3) From childhood Dunstan had "loved the vain songs of ancient heathendom, the trifling legends and the funeral chants.(4) And it was indeed a fortunate circumstance for the history of libraries that his talented services were employed at Glastonbury. His interest in sacred writings was a vital one, and as a result we find him busily engaging his monks in the transcription of many manuscripts. He, himself, became proficient in the art of manuscript writing, and his monastery became far-famed for the beautiful work which he produced. His services along the line of multiplication of libraries were inestimable, for it was through his influence that many monasteries were founded,(4) each with its collection of books and its busy scriptorium

1. Savage, 40
2. Sandys, 483
3. Wm. of Malmesbury, II.7
4. Elton, 25

Dunstan and his associates in reform found an enthusiastic patron in the invalid king, Edred,(1) who sent English scholars to the continent in order to receive instruction at the hands of the monastic reformers at Fleury.(1) Aethelwold, abbot of Abingdon (954) became an able auxiliary in introducing these reforms into England. The old monastery of Medeshamstede, which had been destroyed 870, by the Danes, he restored to a new era of influence in the year of 970.(2) The monasteries of Glastonbury, Abingdon Winchester, and Canterbury became the centers from which many Benedictine monasteries were, in the next five decades, established.(3) These monasteries became famous during this period for their collections of books, and the wonderful manuscripts which were produced in their scriptoriums.

Dunstan became an example to his followers in the art of illumination. He is said to have transcribed many books, among them Anglo-Saxon charters, and to have decorated them exquisitely with remarkable paintings.(4) An old English chronicle written in the latter part of the ninth century, was first found at Winchester and transferred, before it was finished, to Christ Church, Canterbury. Another Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ending in 977, is also an example of the art of Canterbury writing. The Abingdon Chronicle, continued to 1066,(5) is another beautiful example of an Anglo-Saxon chronicle. These are truly

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1. Dugdale, I.506. According to Ingulphus, he was abbot in 948
2. Dugdale, I.344
3. Savage 41,42; Dugdale, I.190; 344
4. Hardy, Descriptive Catalog of Materials Relating to British History, XXVI, in xl, xll, n.
5. Madan, 92 ff. Dugdale I.505

excellent examples of chronicles which are to be found in, at least, most of the larger monasteries.[1]

Winchester, which was so renowned in the history of writing and illumination, became still more famous for having trained Archbishop Aelfric.[1] The canon which he enacted requiring every priest to possess, before ordination, a Psalter, a hymn-book, the Epistles, the Gospels, a missal, a manual, the Calendar, the Passional, the Penitential, and the Lectionary,[2] reveals to us the high regard he possessed for a thorough knowledge of the service books. Aelfric, abbot of Eynsham (995-1030), contributed abundantly to the fame of Winchester, by preparing Latin texts which became the school-books for ages. The most celebrated of these are his Latin grammar, containing extracts from Priscian, as well as a Glossary of over three thousand words; Homilies, partly translated; Augustine; Jerome; Gregory; and Bede; the Colloquiun, the purpose of which was to teach Latin as a living language.[3] Aelfric also encouraged the library in the transcription of books, by the donation of a large sum for that purpose; but in the early eleventh century that library was destroyed in the sack of Canterbury, by the Danes. At his death, his own library was bestowed upon the Abbey of St. Albans. The monastery of Croyland, which had been founded two centuries before by Kenulph, and later destroyed by the Danes, was revived. There is a story of a large collection of books being presented to the common library of the monks. This collection, which was presented by

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1. Elton, 25; Dugdale, I.193
2. Savage, 44
3. Sandys, I.493. The Glossary is the oldest Latin-English dictionary.

Egebric, consisted of forty original works by different authors, as well as over one hundred lesser volumes of different treatises and histories.(1)

"With Leofric, bishop of Exeter, ends the story of Anglo-Saxon books." A short time before the Norman conquest, he made a large donation of sixty volumes to the library at the cathedral of Exeter. This collection contained classical and ecclesiastical works, devotional works, songs, "especially night songs". Perhaps the most famous of these volumes was the Exeter Book, which contained some of the poems ascribed to Cynewulf.(2) The remainder of the story of the Exeter library belongs, however, to the period after the norman conquest. This library, with the rest of those of England, was subject to the same influences and changes which were imposed upon them by the coming of the new continental forces. These forces marked the beginning of a more brilliant era in which English libraries were to widen their scope in every phase of development.

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1. Dugdale, II.90, 91, 95.
2. Savage, 110-111.

CHAPTER II.

Later Medieval, Monastic, and Cathedral Libraries.

English libraries after the Norman conquest enter upon a period of Norman-French influence. Their form and content began to be materially altered, until gradually the old monastic library of the preceding ages was replaced by one which more nearly approached the modern conception. The change was not an immediate one for, before it was accomplished, many attempts to reform the old type were made. One notable instance of this had already occurred, toward the latter part of the tenth century. In the eleventh century, the reformed Benedictines made a noble attempt to revive the vigor of the monasteries and the libraries of the former days. In the eleventh century, the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, and the Carthusians began their reforms. During the next few centuries, therefore, the organization and development of libraries in England was largely controlled by the various orders. But even before the thirteenth century, the universities began to organize the academic libraries, which from then on began to increase in importance and influence.

The Norman churchmen who began to replace the old Anglo-Saxon churchmen were the agents who carried out these reforms. Their work was made possible and greatly assisted by the bishop of Rome and the new King. Both were averse to the lax condition of Ecclesiastical affairs throughout England. The reform of the church and the monasteries meant, inevitably, a reform in English libraries. Under the new conditions, they soon began to thrive and to convert the new forces into elements of future strength.

Just as the English libraries of the early Benedictines began at Canterbury, so also the libraries of the Reformed Benedictines began at the same place. King William, perceiving the disordered relation of the preceding Anglo-Saxon church and state, set about without delay to bring order out of chaos. He speedily established his ascendancy over the secular clergy, and then turned his attention to the monasteries. Lanfranc, his Norman friend and councilor, became the exponent of the new policy in regard to the church immediately upon his appointment to the See of Canterbury.[1] In 1067 the library and its books perished, along with the other vestiges of the monastic order. Lanfranc began the reconstruction of the library with the gift of a number of books which were brought from Bec.[2] Soon an attempt was made to re-establish the practice of the attentive perusal of the books which were to be found in this library, and the orderly distribution of them among the monks. To accomplish this task, Lanfranc found it necessary to revive and amplify the old library regulations which had been drawn up by the Benedictines of the sixth century.

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1. Dugdale, I.84, 121
2. "In an eleventh century manuscript in Trinity College library, Cambridge, (MS. B. 16, 44), is an inscription, perhaps by Lanfranc himself, recording that he brought it from Bec, and gave it to Christ Church." Savage, 46; Elton, 27

The section which concerns the use of books runs as follows:[1]
"On the first Monday after the first Sunday in Lent...before the brethren go into Chapter, the librarian (custos librorum) ought to have all the books brought together into the Chapter-House and laid out on a carpet, except those which had been given out for reading during the past year: these the brethren ought to bring with them as they come to Chapter, each carrying his book in his hand. Of this they ought to have notice given them by the aforesaid librarian on the preceding day in Chapter. Then let the passage in the Rule of St. Benedict about the observance of lent be read, and a discourse be preached upon it. Next let the librarian read a document (breve) setting forth the names of the brethren who have had books during the past year; and let each brother, when he hears his own name pronounced, return the book which had been entrusted to him for reading; and let him who is conscious of not having read the book through which he had received, fall down on his face, confess his fault, and pray for forgiveness.

"Then let the aforesaid librarian hand to each brother another book for reading; and when the books have been distributed in order, let the aforesaid librarian in the same Chapter put on record the names of the books, and of those who receive them."

There are several interesting inferences which may be drawn from the regulations found in the above passages. In the first place, it is a witness to the fact that the number of

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1. Clark, J. W., Care of Books, 1901, 67-68. "It is, I think, certain that when Lanfranc was writing this passage, the Cluniac customs must have been before him." See further discussion, 68

books scarcely exceeds the number of monks in the monastery.[1] This was not a strang condition of affairs immediately after the ill effects of the periods of Danish and Norman conquests. Again, one cannot have a high estimate of scholarly research which was carried on by the monks, when they required such an extended period for the mastering of the contents of one volume. The high veneration in which Lanfranc held each single book is evident from the careful record which was kept of its use during the year. The precious manuscripts began to have at this time a special functionary whose duty it was to care for the safe keeping and distribution of these books.[2] One cannot help but feel that there was indeed a need for reform in the libraries of England, if such authoritative measures had to be taken at the renowned Canterbury library.

Lanfranc was not content that his monks should read, but he desired that they should likewise contribute a share in amplifying the collection of books in the library. Consequently, to simplify the task of transcription, he replaced the old Saxon style of handwriting with the less complex style used upon the continent.[3] With this accomplished, the monks were set to work multiplying manuscripts of the Patristic books. These he corrected[4] and generously lent to neighboring libraries for further transcription.[3] To St. Albans he lent twenty-eight

1. Warton, I.182
2. Clark, _Medieval and Renaissance Libraries_, 35-36
3. Savage, 46; Elton, 27
4. Elton, 27

famous treatises, many missals, and other service books, two books of gospels, bound in silver and gold and jewels. He is said, also, to have brought with him, when he came to Canterbury, books of a more practical nature, as books on science, theology, and jurisprudence, with which he had become acquainted, from Salerno.

Lanfranc's reproduction of books was not limited to mere multiplication of existing manuscripts, for he also greatly stimulated the creation of original compositions. It was under his direction and encouragement that Osbern of Canterbury (1) wrote the lives of St. Dunstan, St. Alphege, and St. Odo. (2) Abbot Walter of Evysham and Ernulf of Rochester greatly aided in this important literary undertaking. So completely was the task accomplished, that there came about a reversal of the fortunes of the libraries of the two countries of Normandy and England. The former soon became a remunerative market for the sale of English manuscripts, instead of being the source from which England drew her books. (3) A later chronicler speaks of Lanfranc in the following words: "Lanfranc...a man worthy to be compared to the ancients in knowledge and religion; of whom it may be truly said, 'Cato the third is descended from heaven;'...so much was the western world excited to the knowledge of the liberal arts by his learning..." (4)

The good fortunes of the Canterbury library increased with

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1. Savage, 46; Elton, 27
2. Savage, 47[2] "Chron. Abb. de Evesham, 97."
3. See further, Savage, 47
4. William of Malmesbury, III.300

the growing power of the Normans. Anselm was the successor of Lanfranc at Canterbury, and the progress of the library as a consequence fell into his hands.(1) With him came an increased interest in Realism, which had a marked effect upon the books produced at the time. His principal works, the "Proslogium", and "Cur Deus Homo", are characteristic of the new literature which gave such an enduring momentum to book production in the twelfth century. He greatly encouraged the use of classics, and doubtless many of the classics found in this library in the thirteenth century found their way thither through the zeal of Lanfranc and Anselm.(2) Anselm followed the example of his predecessor in promoting the industry of the monks in the reproduction and the writing of books, and the distribution of the manuscripts in other monasteries.(3) Eadmer, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, was a worthy assistant of the famous Anselm in the improvement of the library. Among the original compositions which he wrote here was his "Historia Novorum", or "Modern History", which extended to the year A. D. 1122.(4) Stephen Langton, who was Archbishop of Canterbury in the early thirteenth century, greatly improved the state of the library at Christ Church. The art of calligraphy became, in the early twelfth century, superior in quality to what it had been at any time here-to-fore, and for that reason the libraries of England were rapidly multiplied and enlarged during the whole of that century. An innumerable number of books was transcribed in each library and passed to neighboring, or even distant, scribes to enlarge other libraries.

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1. Dugdale, II.84
2. Post, 48.
3. Merryweather, 53
4. Giles, William of Malmesbury, preface 2[3]

There are many instances of individual monks who contributed their toil to the slow and tedious method of accumulating manuscripts for this library. In a Psalter, now in Trinity College, Cambridge, is an interesting account of one Edwine, a monk of Canterbury, who became proficient in transcribing books.(1) Hubert, also, in the latter part of the twelfth century, similarly assisted in this commendable occupation.(2) In 1272, Robert of Kildwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, besides a collection which he made from outside sources, added his own works upon oratory and grammar.

A thirteenth century catalogue has come down to us which may be taken as a type of the class of books which were found in the libraries of many of the monastic orders of this date. It was probably compiled, in part, at least, by Henry de Istria, and contains titles of over three thousand volumes. It contained, for example, many works of the church fathers and early Christian authors, as: Augustine, Anselm, Aldhelm, Benedict, Bede, Chrysostom, Gregory, Jerome, Origen, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, Athelard, John of Salisbury. There, also, was the usual collection of Bibles, commentaries, glossaries, concordances, and the like. The number of works of the classic age is perhaps somewhat surprising, when we consider that those who had the most frequent access to the library were the monks, priests, and church officials. Among these classics were: Aristotle, Boethius, Cicero, Donatus, Euclid, Galen, Justin, Josephus, Lucan, Martial, Marcianus. Macrobius, Crosius, Plato, Priscian, Prosper, Prudentius, Suetonius, Sedulus, Seneca, Terence, Ovid, and Vergil. The books of this library were

1. Merryweather, 53
2. Dugdale, I.85

clearly intended for constant reference by all monks alike.[1] This is not surprising, however, since the writings of the studious inmates of the monasteries often reveal an intimate knowledge of literature which could hardly have been gained without an unrestricted use of an abundantly supplied library. The books appear to have been deposited in different places in order to make their use most convenient, and many times the monks were allowed to take them to their cells for more attentive perusal. In the fifteenth century, there is a marked increase of French influence noticeable in the content of this same library, for there are many Latin and French works from the continent to be found in another catalog which is preserved.[2] [3]

During the latter part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries the age of the glory of Canterbury, the number of monastic libraries was rapidly multiplying, so that in less than two hundred years it had almost quadrupled itself. The monasteries of the Benedictine and Augustine orders were not content with merely founding libraries within their walls, but also kept

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1. This catalog, which lists some three thousand volumes, is one of the most interesting of the Middle Ages. It is published in Edwards, _Memoirs of Libraries_, 1859, I.128
2. Edwards. 103-4
3. Two other scholars belong to the history of the Canterbury libraries. The first is Henry Chicleley, Archbishop (1413), who rebuilt the church library and furnished it with a large quantity of books; the second, William Sellinge, prior (1472), who brought many rare volumes to the library from among the store of Greek and Latin authors.

scribes busily occupied in multiplying manuscripts to fill them, and developed a large book traffic by means of which their libraries were enlarged. The libraries which were destroyed before the conquest were for the most part restored, and large additions made to them. Thus, England began, through the zealous toil of the various Benedictine orders, to develop and fill her libraries, and indeed became the "paradise of scholars." Among the old monastic libraries which began to resume their former splendor was that at Gloucester. It was rebuilt after the conquest, in the Norman-French style.(1) Many interesting and valuable donations of books, from time to time, were made to replace those which had been lost. In 1104, Peter, the prior, added a generous collection.(2) Only nine years later the monastery was burned and, in the general conflagration, everything was lost but "a few books and three priest's mass-hackles".(3) This library seems to have been gradually enriched at different times during the following century.(4) At the beginning of the fourteenth century a certain Gamage, who had resided in the monastery for sixty-two years, left by will a collection of twenty books for the use of the library. Later another gift of ten volumes was obtained from Richard de Stowe, among which were probably Caedmon's Paraphrase and Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy.

1. Dugdale I. 540. "That which was the abbey library, on the foundation of the chapter, was converted into the college school." This must have dated to the Norman conquest, for from further description of the buildings, they were built on Norman-French plan.
2. Merryweather, 148, "MS. Cottonian Domit. A. viii. fol. 128b."
3. Merryweather, 148, "Saxon Chron., Ingram."
4. Dugdale. I. 534. "Leland gives a list of the books he found there, but they only number about twenty volumes."

The library of the monastery of Whitby, where, in the seventh century Caedmon,[1] the father of English poetry, had received his inspiration, now again began to take on some of its former splendor. This library was restored by the generous grants of the King,[2] Henry I, and of William de Percy. Later, the prior Richard (1148-1175)[3] became an important benefactor of the library, and there is a catalogue dating from his time.[4] Among the books found there were Gildas, Bede, Plato, Juvenal, Donatus, Isidore, Origen, and many others, indicating a striking variety of literary production, including classics, early Christian writers, and early English historians.[5] It is an illustration of the comprehensive scope of the study and research carried on within these monastic libraries.

The great library at Peterborough is another monument of the zealous work of the monastic orders after the Conquest. Numerous references are made of donations to this library at various times, all of which had their part in increasing the glory of the library. Thus, for example, the Archbishop of York, immediately before the Conquest, had presented the library with one of those much-coveted copies of the gospel which was adorned with precious metals. Leofricus, abbot of Peterborough

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1. Bede, IV. 25; Lelandi, Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis, 1715, IV. 159
2. Dugdale, I. 406. Henry even gave a seaport to Whitby, which no doubt had much to do with its rapid progress, and consequently with the progress of the library.
3. Dugdale, I. 407
4. Merryweather, 127 "Catalogue of Whitby in Charlton's History of Whitby, 1779."
5. Appendix, B

1057, later made a similar gift.[1] There is an excellent catalogue of the library at Peterborough, which dates from the eleventh century and which is one of the best that has been preserved from this period.[2] The compilation of it is ascribed to a certain Benedict who was an intimate friend of Thomas à Becket.[3] He has recorded names of books which represent the scholarship of not only this library but of others which existed contemporaneously. Besides the library which he collected, he is responsible for having had transcribed under his direction the following books:[4] Justinian's Institutes, detached portions of Scriptures and Decretals, works of Seneca, Martial, Terence, and Meditations of St. Anselm; with Almazor, and Dioscorides on the Virtues of Plants. He is supposed also to have written a history of Henry II., Richard I., and a life of Thomas à Becket[5] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this library catalogue assumed large proportions, containing ecclesiastical lists, many French works, and classics, as Vergil, Seneca, Ovid, Sallust, Phrygius, Cicero, Aristotle, Persius.[6]

In the twelfth century, the Glastonbury library, which had been so celebrated during the Northumbrian period, was destroyed by fire, but by the middle of the thirteenth century it had also revived and become enlarged, under Michael of Ambresbury.[7]

1. Merryweather, 95
2. Appendix, C
3. Dugdale, I. 352-3
4. Dugdale, I. 353
5. Dugdale, I. 353n From a manuscript in Harleian Library, Oxford, 1735, note n: "Dr. Cave says that the author of 'Quadrilogus' transcribed a great part of Benedict's Life of Becket into the third and fourth books of his work. Compare also Tanner, 60."
6. Edwards, I. 118
7. Dugdale, I. 6

"There was little worth reading in the literature of the day that was no copied by those industrious scribes."[1] The library was so enlarged as to contain four hundred volumes.[1] There was a fine collection of Bibles, the fathers and writing of the Middle Ages, as well as numerous Gospels.[2] John de Taunton, abbot of Glastonbury (1274-1290), added a large list of books to this extensive catalogue.[3] This library was famous also for its great number of scribes, who reproduced large numbers of books of every conceivable character.[4] In the latter part of the thirteenth century, the Benedictine monks received the order from general chapter that they were "according to their capabilities, to study, write, correct, illuminate, and bind, books, rather than to labour in the fields."[5]

The brilliant period of the library at St. Albans began with the foundation of the Scriptorium[6] by Paul, who was the first Norman abbot. He placed in the library twenty-eight psalters, a book of Collects, a book of Epistles, gospels, two gospels bound in gold and silver and gems, collectaries, and probably a Vulgate Bible.[7] These church books of the Scriptorium formed a nucleus from which developed a greater library. In 1119,

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1. Dugdale, I. 6
2. Appendix, D
3. Dugdale, I. 6
4. Merryweather, 141^{n}--"John of Glastonbury, edited Hearne, Oxon. 1726, 451. Stevens' Additions to Dugdale, I. 447
5. Savage, 49^{n}--"MS. Twyne Bodl. L. 8. 272."
6. Hardy, xxxii ff.--His information drawn from Gestu Abbatum.
7. Newcome, <u>History of Abbey St. Albans</u>, 48

Geoffrey,[1] the sixteenth abbot, added to it a precious missal bound in gold, and Abbot Robert[1] added to this four precious psalters, an illuminated book of Benediction, and Sacraments, a book of Exorcisms, and a Collectary. According to one account, Robert de Gorham caused many books to be written:[2] "more than the authors of the Gesta could mention".[3] Under Simon, provision was made for the maintenance of a permanent scribe within the Scriptorium,[4] and thus the office of historiographer was established within the Monastery of St. Albans. From that time on, it was the regulation that each abbot should support two scribes, and thereby the future production of books for this library was provided for. Under Abbot Simon, there was also contributed to this library a beautiful copy of the New and Old Testaments. With him, also began a long line of historical chroniclers, or historiographers, among whom were Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, William Rishanger, and John of Trokelowe.[5] At the end of the twelfth century, Walter,[6] a monk of St. Albans, wrote a chronicle of English affairs, "Anglicarum Rerum Chronica". St. Albans made a great reputation in the art of caligraphy during the abbacy of Whitshamstede.[7] Under his guidance, there are said to have been eighty-seven

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1. Newcome, 54; Hardy, xxxii.
2. Dugdale, II. 187
3. Newcome, 73
4. Hardy, xxxii ff.
5. Savage, 50; Newcome, 75-121 ff., 172
6. Hardy, xxxii ff.
7. Dugdale, I. 200

volumes transcribed. Walter was also a voluminous author, having written 'Granarium', in five volumes; Propinarium, in two volumes; Pabularium; Palearium Poctarium; Proverbiarium, or book of proverbs; besides books relating to the monastery and a chronicle extending over a period of twenty years, and a book of poetic narrative.(1)

During the first century after the coming of the reformed Benedictines, in the latter part of the eleventh century, English libraries fared well. After that, however, there were indications of decline. Fortunately, there were new orders which began to make their way into England, which added new life to the development of libraries. These were the orders of the Mendicant Friars, which were founded by St. Francis and St. Dominic. Both orders were introduced into England in the early part of the thirteenth century. Though there are few testimonials to the size and importance of the libraries of the Friars, yet the evidence which is extant concerning them is convincing enough to demonstrate that they played no small part in library development in England. Oxford became, in the thirteenth century, one of the important centers for the order of the Grey Friars, where by the end of the fifteenth century they had formed a large library. In 1230, Michael Scot introduced into Oxford some of the works of Aristotle. Other additions were made by Adam de Marisco and Robert Grosseteste. In the latter part of the century, the library received an interesting addition of Hebrew manuscripts.

These same friars left throughout England accumulations of books which were evidences of their missionary efforts at

spreading knowledge and literature. From place to place they went, carrying with them service books, gospels, and glossaries, which often became the beginning of the foundation of new libraries. Friends of the order gave large collections of books to the libraries which had already been founded. For example, the White Friars in London were the recipients of a large collection presented to them by Thomas Walden, which consisted largely of very valuable foreign manuscripts.(1) The Grey Friars of London had a library in the early fifteenth century which "was furnished with Bookes, to the charges of 556 pounds".(2) There are instances of their book trade; of their dishonest methods which were often used in the acquisition of books; complaints of monopolies which they seem often to have had on the purchase of books; all of which throw side-lights upon the activities of these Mendicant Friars.(3) Richard de Bury recognized the competence of these begging agents and turned their literary avarice to his own advantage.

There is a considerable amount of human interest to the vacillating tribute which is paid to the "preachers" of the mendicant orders by the renowned book collector,

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1. Camb. Mod. Hist. I.597.
2. Savage , 55.57.
3. Ibid. "A striking testimony to the book collecting habits of the Friars, is the complaint to the Pope of their buying so many books that the monks and clergy had difficulty in obtaining them."

Richard de Bury. His own words, given the following passage, convey his personal point of view better than any attempt at summary could possibly do:[1] "But whenever it happened that we turned aside to the cities and places where the mendicants we have mentioned has their convents, we did not disdain to visit their libraries and any other repositories of books; nay, there we found heaped up amidst the utmost poverty the utmost riches of wisdom." ... "These men were as ants ever preparing their meat in the summer, and ingenious bees continually fabricating cells of honey. They are successors of Bezaleel in devising all manner of workmanship in silver and gold and precious stones for decorating the temple of the Church ... and to pay due regard to truth, without prejudice to the judgment of any, although they lately at the eleventh hour have entered the lord's vineyard, as the books that are so fond of us declared in our sixth chapter, they have added more in this brief hour to the stock of the sacred books than all the other vine-dressers ... men distinguished no less in letters than in morals, who devoted themselves with unwearied zeal to the correction, exposition, tabulation and compilation of various volumes. But although we have acquired a very numerous store of ancient as well as modern works by the

1. Richard de Bury, The Love of Books, The Philobiblon, Ed. by E. C. Thomas, 1907, 60-62.

manifold intermediation of the religious, yet we must laud the Preachers with special praise, in that we have found them above all the religious most freely communicative of their stores without jealousy, and proved them to be imbued with an almost Divine liberality, not greedy but fitting possessors of luminous wisdom." Richard de Bury is somewhat prejudiced against these begging friars, and yet he is forced to recognize their success at the same occupation in which he himself is engaged. One cannot help but realize that their libraries were of great importance even at the time when he lived. The scornful tone in which he refers to the eleventh hour of their industry indicates the feeling of many men at the time for the Friars. It would lead, also, to the conclusion, which is borne out by fact, that their libraries were not as numerous or as important as those monastic libraries of longer duration. At the same time, they were no less industrious than the Benedictine monks of the cloister in multiplication of books, and were certainly more generous in the sharing of them. Another passage from the Philobiblon will serve to complete the picture of the work of these "ingenious bees": "Wherefore, that the order of Preachers was principally instituted for the study of the Holy Scriptures and the salvation of their neighbours, is declared by their constitutions, so that not only from the rule of Bishop Augustine, which directs books to be asked for every

day, but as soon as they have read the prologue of the said constitutions they may know that from the very title of the same they are pledged to the love of books. But alas! a threefold care of superfluities, viz., of the stomach, of dress, and of houses, has seduced these men and others following their example from the paternal care of books, and from their study."

Thus, even the Mendicant orders, the last orders of the church, experienced a decline in their zealous and effective work. This decline, however, was not altogether due to a lack of energy, but partly to the fact that a new agency was to replace them in the control and development of libraries. The increasing number of classics and the growing influence of the continent were instrumental in bringing about the change. The literary thought of the time became more and more secular in character, and consequently secular books began to fill the presses of the library. The old theological authors of the church were no longer preferred, and the new literature gained an increasing prestige in library centers. As a result, the usefulness of the old monastic libraries was no longer so paramount, and the efforts at collecting books soon became centered around the academic libraries.

There are two causes for the decline of the monastic libraries of Medieval England, first, the ever increasing wealth of the church, which caused the monks to lose sight of their former scholarly ambitions; second, the "invasion" of the antagonistic Protestants into the very sanctuaries of the learned monks. The energy which here-to-fore had been employed in the collecting and production of books for the libraries, came, in time, to be employed in acquiring riches for the monastery. As the Church grew in temporal power, it bent its energy towards increasing its wealth by the acquisition of lands. So powerful did monasteries become, that idle and insincere monks, from all classes of society, were attracted to these monasteries in great numbers. The consequence was that the libraries suffered greatly from a lack of genuine interest which had formerly been manifest in them. The resulting decline of study and scholarship, in many of the smaller houses at least, was accompanied by a decline in the creation of new literature, as well as in the reproduction of existing manuscripts. "A visitation of Wigmore showed that books were not studied in the cloister, because the seats were uncomfortable."(1) Books were sold, sometimes, to inappreciative purchasers, for a nominal sum. Even before the dissolution, books were scattered far and wide over the kingdom. Many of the friars

1. Savage, 62n (Bateson's Med. Eng. 339)

took advantage of the decay of monastic libraries, and from them acquired many manuscripts for their own use. Richard de Bury has his "complaints against these mendicants," at the s same time takes advantage of their own short-comings to supply his own store.

Yet, this decline of the libraries is only a natural one. The very books which were contained in them, were awakening an interest in a kind of learning which could not be tolerated by orthodox church. and were begetting heretics. Scholasticism and romanticism, thanks to the presence of Aristotle and Plato, had flourished within the very walls of the libraries. They had had their day, and humanism was making its innovations into England's libraries. Neither the Danes nor William the Conqueror had made so complete a conquest of England as did the secular books which from time to time came into the possession of her scholars. Under those conditions, it was but natural that books should begin to desert the monasteries, and fall, first into private hands, and thence into the academic, and public libraries. The decline of the church libraries is due, then, not so much to degeneration, as to the changing character of society, and changes in political control.

The latter brought about the final official dissolution of the monasteries and the accompanying distribution of the collections of the books within them. Pressure of a political nature was brought to bear upon King Henry VIII, by the avaricious "reformers" which made confiscations of the riches of the monasteries more complete.(1) His emmissaries employed every

1. The dissolution first began with the smaller houses, which had indeed become corrupt and well deserved their fate. But perhaps the larger monasteries were the victims of political intrigue. See Edwards, I. 349-50

artful method to enrich their own pocket-books;[1] and in the process, libraries vanished, books were dispersed, scriptoria became deserted. The story of this reckless devastation is pictured in a protest which was made to King Edward VI, in 1549,[2] in order to stop the pillage and plunder. "But this is highly to be lamented of all them that hath a natural love to their country, either yet to learned antiquity, which is a most singular beauty to the same, that in turning over of the superstitious monasteries so little respect was had to their libraries, for the safeguard of those noble and precious monuments...Avarice was the other dispatcher which hath made an end both of our libraries and books...to the no small decay of the commonwealth. A great number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions reserved, of those library books, some...to scour their candlessticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soap sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations...I know a merchantman which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price.....I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness,--that neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments as we have seen in our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities.

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1. Edwards, I. 355. The men who played the chief part were Cromwell and Doctor London. See discussion of their personal character--Edwards.
2. Edwards, I. 359-61

This testimony pictures both the depredation perpetrated by the King's self-interested commissioners, and the wanton destruction with which neighboring inhabitants followed up the work of havoc and ruin. The book lovers of that period protested without avail against such wholesale elimination of England's libraries. It is at least a consolation that many of the precious volumes passed into the possession of apprecia-tive men, and were thereby preserved to future generations. Feeble, indeed, were the efforts which the King made to retrieve these losses to England, and they were certainly not actuated by any genuine love of learning.(1) Though Leland was sent upon his mission ostensibly for the purpose of preserving the remnants of the old days, yet his efforts could in no wise repair the mischief already accomplished. No better portrayal of the complete dispersions of the famous libraries is to be found than the unsatisfactory account which Leland gives of the libraries which he met with on his journies through England.

The fate of the library of Malmesbury abbey is typical of the destruction which was carried on. Many of its precious manuscripts are said to have been burned, many of them to have been torn into pieces for the purpose of patching shattered windows. A most unprejudiced writer of the period was in-clined to excuse the destruction of the libraries, "yf the chiefe monuments and most notable workes of our excellent wryters had been reserved."(2) Of over six hundred volumes at one time contained in the library of the Austin Friars of York, only five remain.(3) There are many other similar examples to

1. Edwards, I. 362
2. Savage, 66. "Laboryouse Journey and Serche of Johann Leylande for Englandes Antiquities, by Bah, 1549 Parker, 1711
3. Savage, 67

be found in the story of these declining days. There are some scattered instances where often large portions of these libraries were preserved. At Gloucester, the Prior of Lanthony saved many books from the general ruin and decay. The history of many individual manuscripts is often traced back to the days of dissolution.

Thus came to an end the story of the ecclesiastical control of England's libraries. Many of the books which survived the general destruction fell into the hands of private book lovers and from these later passed into larger collections whose fortunes were to eventually be linked with the libraries of secular schools. The monastic age of library development was fast passing away, and the academic age had already begun to take its place. Just or unjust, inevitable or needless, as was the decay and final dissolution of England's old libraries, it certainly is true that their splendor was subsequently surpassed by the secular libraries controlled by the universities, and finally by the state. The evil was not unmixed with good, and perhaps one result of the dissolution may be the evolution of England's greatest modern library, the British Museum.

Although the libraries which were in the monasteries were the typical English libraries of the Middle Ages, yet there were, as has been noticed before, certain other libraries founded in connection with the cathedrals which deserve mention. In form and character, they were not sharply differentiated from the monastic libraries, and, indeed, the practices in both types of libraries were in most cases practically the same. From their earliest foundation, the cathedral libraries were scholastic in aim, for their origin was usually in connection with the cathedral schools. Toward the latter part of the monastic period, the scope of their usefulness gradually widened, because of the development along practical of the character of their books, and the type of their library economy. The role of the cathedral libraries is indeed a brilliant one, though it perhaps lacks many of the interesting human touches which belong to the drama of the monastic life.

The period of greatest development of the cathedral libraries was from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries; the period when England had begun to recover from and profit by the invasion of the Normans. A splendid example of the cathedral libraries of this period is the library of the Church at Exeter.(1) This library entered upon a brilliant

1. Ante. 41.

era of development in 1050, when it was endowed with a gift of sixty-five volumes from the private library of bishop Leofric.[1] This collection contained the usual service books, a number of works of the church fathers, and many Anglo-Saxon translations. The latter group of manuscript indicates the increasing prestige which Anglo-Saxon books were gaining; a fact of no little significance for the subsequent evolution of the English libraries. Some of the Saxon manuscripts of Exeter are still extant, and many are at present located at that Cathedral. One of the books which bishop Leofric presented to the library is a volume of Saxon poetry.[2] In addition to this manuscript, there is extant a portion of a transcript of Domesday book, which must have been in this library from a very early period.[3] Perhaps most famous of all the books of this library is the famous Exeter Book, a manuscript which has few rivals.[4] in antique interest.

Another famous cathedral library which flourished in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries was the Worcester library. There is no catalogue extant from the period of its early history upon which to form an estimate of the true character of its contents. There are scattered notices of small gifts which from time to time increased the

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1. Dugdale, I. 514
2. Edwards, I. 704 "No other Cathedral in England can produce to the visitor a book given to it by the first Bishop. The volume of Saxon poetry, presented by Leofric, is an excellent preservation."
3. Dugdale, I. 514
4. Appendix E

library. No doubt Thomas Cobham, who is referred to in connection with the public library at Oxford,(1) donated valuable additions in his day, for he spent much time and money in collecting books.(2)

There are a few scattered notices concerning other cathedral libraries, which are indicative of the general state of church libraries during the later centuries. For example, the library of Lichfield is known to have been in possession of the famous manuscripts of de Gesta Anglorum, and St. Chad's Gospels, supposed to have been written in the eighth century.(3) This library was also famous for a manuscript of Chaucer, which was found at a later date, at St. Paul's Cathedral (1245). In 1245 an inventory which was made of the library showed a collection of thirty-five volumes, which was enlarged later by a collection of thirteen gospels and a commentary of Thomas Acquinas, and still later by fifteen theological volumes. In the seventeenth century a mention is made of a manuscript of Tyndale's New Testament, of 1526, and a series of English Bibles beginning with 1537.(4) Again, the libraries of Hereford and Lincoln Cathedral had become so important by the fifteenth century that it became necessary to build separate rooms for them. The library at Durham Cathedral seems to have made a

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1. Post, 71.
2. There is an interesting list of books, belonging to a later date, given in Leland's Itinerary, I. 230-1
3. This manuscript has often been ascribed to the hand of Gildas, but it is highly improbable that he wrote it. For an interesting discussion of the matter, see Edwards, I. 706
4. Edwards, I. 689

specialty of fine manuscripts. There is a series of exceptionally valuable manuscripts here which date all the way from the eighth century to the twelfth. The following is a list enumerating the most important manuscripts of the collection: Gospels of St. John, St. Luke, and St. Mark, probably written in the eighth century; The Commentary of Cassiodorus on the Psalms, which may have been written by Bede; a Psalter with the commentary of St. Augustine, written toward the close of the eleventh century; an Anglo-Saxon Hymnarium of the eleventh century; Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, of the middle of the twelfth century; folio manuscript of the Vulgate, in four volumes, written in the twelfth century; and the Epistles of St. Paul with a gloss, of similar style and date.(1) Thus, we see that England had many flourishing libraries which were located in the cathedral churches. They were in a flourishing condition for several centuries, and as a result, we find in them many remnants of older English libraries, that are not to be found in the monastic libraries. However, the Cathedral libraries were not to be exempt from the trials and vicissitudes of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and many of them were destroyed and their books scattered far and near. Had it not been that in the more settled centuries which followed many of them were refounded, our knowledge of the manuscript period would be even more limited than it is.

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1. Edwards, I. 711

The story of the academic libraries belongs properly to the modern period, although many of these libraries had their origin at an earlier date. No attempt will be made here to give an account of their early history except in so far as it illustrates the transition which took place from one age to the other at the time of their foundation. As the old monastic, cathedral, and mendicant libraries became dissolved from one cause and another, new places of refuge had to be sought in which to deposit the learning of the age. Many books began to fall into the hands of private collectors, and many into the hands of designing book merchants. Often a scholar acquired a collection of considerable size, which perhaps became the nucleus for the foundation of a school. Churchmen began to congregate in the localities where they could have the best access to the learning of the time, or where there was a flourishing book trade. The spirit of the new learning of the continent, as well as the disfavor with which the orthodox church was looked upon in England, caused many of these detached collections of books to become more and more secular in character.

New divinity schools sprang up here and there, which soon acquired ample and flourishing libraries. But these libraries grew at the expense of the older libraries of the

church. The monks, the friars, and the bishops were loath to surrender their old rules and customs to the new order of things, and as a consequence there were founded in connection with the larger schools, colleges representing the old religious houses of the past. Each of these colleges in turn possessed its own library, and there was often great rivalry between the different libraries of one locality. In these schools, the ecclesiastical became molded into the secular, the medieval into the modern. As a concrete illustration of this transition which was brought about, the origin of one English academic library, namely, the library at Oxford, will be discussed.

The Library of the University of Oxford was, in the earliest days of its history, merely a collection of a few tracts and Bibles, which were kept in the chest in the choir of St. Mary's church.(1) As early as 1225, Roger, dean of York, had presented several Latin Bibles and a Book of Exodus(2) to the library, with the precautionary provision that students who used these precious manuscripts should first deposit a pledge for their safe-keeping.(3) The students and citizens of the town, however, were not inclined to have

1. Warton, I.185, Registi Univ. Oxon. c.64a.
2. Warton, I.185; Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon., ii, 48 col.
3. Savage, 134. Note:- N. Bishop's Collectanea now at Cambridge.

their library thus limited in the number of books. Accordingly, in 1327, they joined in the pillage of the neighboring Benedictine abbey at Abingdon, and returned with one hundred psalters, one hundred grayles, forty missals, and twenty-two codices.(1) The first man who conceived the idea of a public library in Oxford was Thomas Cobliom, bishop of Worcester.(2) At his death, he made a gift to the University of his books and 350 marks besides.(3) But before his plan was completed, he died, and not until 1365 did the books really become a part of the University Library. During the interval, they had been kept at Oriel College, because of a dispute over the rightful owner.(4) In 1409, the room was fitted up with desks, windows, etc., by the benefactors of Henry IV., his four sons, Henry, Thomas, John, and Humphrey; Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury; Philip Repindon; Edmund, Earl of March; and Richard Courtney, Chancellor of the University, and was completed about 1411.(5) "This appears to have been the first public library", and it continued in use until 1480, when the books were added to Duke Humphrey's collection. Though this library was

1. Warton, I.185.
2. Dugdale, I.575.
3. Savage, 135.
4. Dugdale, I.575c -- "Compare also Wood, Hist. and Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii., 48."
5. Dugdale, I.575c.

public in character, yet there were certain strict regulations which students who used the books were obliged to follow. Only at certain times were the students to have access to the chamber over the congregation house, where the books were kept. The use of them had to be within this room, for the books were chained to the desks which held them.[1] In 1412, regulations were made which allowed only the most advanced students the use of the books, and these privileges were granted only under strict oath. The chaplain, who had charge of the books, was also selected with great care. Such strict regulations, so foreign to the modern library, were perhaps necessary in an age when the students did not scruple to take by force books from a neighboring library.

Besides the Public Library of the University, there grew up many libraries in the colleges of Oxford. The library of the College of Durham was founded in the early fourteenth century by Richard de Bury, who was perhaps one of the most learned men of his day. He brought into his library Italian influence, chiefly through his intimacy with Petrarch, who seems to have held him in high regard. His library is said to have had the best collection of books in England.[2] He prepared rules for the management and preservation of the books, which were contained in his

1. Savage, 136-7.
2. Dugdale, I.227; IV.678.

treatise Philobiblos. The library at the College of Gloucester became celebrated for the production of books in the succeeding centuries. A chronicler of the Gloucester College manifests,an unrestrained pride of the numerous illustrious authors which this house produced. Among the names which he selects as examples are:(1)

1. Hugo Legatus, Commentaries on Hantivil's Archithrenium; and on Boetius' de Consolatione.
2. John Langdenus (historian).
3. Thomas Walsingham "
4. Thomas Winchcombe " , wrote "Antiquities of Evesham Abbey".
5. John Wellis, monk of Ramsey, bitter against Wicklivists. Wrote on book of Sentences (Lombard).
6. John Wethamsted, John Amundsham, who wrote tracts.
7. Richard Ringsted, prior of Gloucester, who wrote "Parables of Solomon".

Other important colleges at Oxford which contained libraries were St. Marie's, containing two hundred and forty-three volumes of theology, philosophy, civil and canon law, and medicine; Lincoln, containing in the fifteenth century one hundred and thirty important manuscripts; Oriel, containing in the thirteenth century one hundred volumes; Balliol; All Soul's; and Queen's College.(2)

During Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester's, connection with Gloucester College at Oxford, he made many gifts to this

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1. Dugdale, IV.405.
2. Savage, 145-50.

public library of the university.[1] A gift which he made in 1439 is said to have included one hundred and twenty volumes.[2] His generosity did not end here, however, for he made many additions at later times to the library. It was his intention that his collection of Latin books should be inherited by the library at his death, but these books became scattered before they could be obtained by the proper authorities.[3] This library, which afterward was to receive the name of the famous founder, is said to have contained six hundred volumes in 1480.[4] It was, thus, the largest academic library in England. The nature of the books accumulated there is interesting as indicating the change which was to be effected in other English libraries during the succeeding centuries. Among them were Ptolemy, Rhezes, Serapion, Avicenna, Holy Abenragel, Zaael, Plato, Aristotle, Aeschines' Orations, Terence, Varro's De Originae linguae Latinae, Cicero's Letters, Verrine Tully, Livy, Ovid, Seneca's Tragedies, Quintilian, Aulies Gellius, Noctes Atticae, the Golden Ass of Apuleius and Suetonius; translations of Plato and Aristotle, the Greek and Latin dictionary; works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and

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1. Dugdale, IV.405.
2. Savage, 140 (Munimenta academica Ed. Austey 2 vol. 1858 Rolls Series.)
3. Savage, 144.
4. Warton, I.186.

Caluccio Salutate's letters.[1] The most significant feature connected with this list of books is the fact that they indicate that the patrons of this library were becoming acquainted with literature which introduced the modern scientific age. Thus, the library contained the works of the men of the early Renaissance of Italy, as well as scientific works upon astronomy, medicine, and the like.

After the death of the duke of Gloucester, the good fortunes of this library continued only a few years, for it was formed in the age of the dissolution of monasteries and dispersion of libraries. A disregard for the rights of property was the fashion among all men, from the poor begging student even to the sovereign of England. Monasteries, churches, schools, and libraries did not escape the practices of the age. Yet, at Oxford, a modern library which was to serve as a model for many another had been established from the remnants of the older libraries. From now on, the object of the library became less and less to make it a storehouse of information, and more and more to make it an effective tool for the scientific acquisition of knowledge. The classics were no longer frowned upon for the churchmen were no longer in control, and the Renaissance at last had an opening in which to begin its work of destruction and reconstruction.

1. See list of Gloucester's books in Mun. Acad. 758-65; Savage, 142-3.

CHAPTER III.

General Characteristics of English Medieval Libraries

The peculiar needs and aims of English libraries before the sixteenth century developed in them certain medieval characteristics of library economy, which varied slightly as the aims and needs of libraries became more comprehensive. For example, in the earliest centuries, the object of libraries was confined to the accumulation of those books which were best adapted to conducting of church offices. The regulations of the libraries were comparatively simple, and were a part of the established government of the monastic order by which the library had been founded. With the introduction of a study of Latin and Greek, and the accumulation of monastic records and chronicles, the size of the libraries was materially increased. As a result, more stringent and comprehensive rules became necessary for the proper preservation and use of books which were not in the least easy to obtain. It was found necessary to develop methods of cataloguing and classifying books, and larger rooms had to be provided for them. But not until toward the close of the manuscript period, when modern inventions were facilitating the accumulation of books, did English libraries throw off their medieval characteristics and enter upon the age of printed books.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the medieval library was the novel method which it employed of multiplying the number of its manuscripts. By far the greater part of

these were written within the monastery itself, in a special room supplied for that purpose, namely, the Scriptorium. The room which received the appellation of Scriptorium was a "cell" or compartment, often located over the chapter, which was large enough to contain a group of monks--sometimes even twelve to twenty--who were busily engaged in the transcription of manuscripts.(1) Where it was possible, the Scriptorium was placed near the calefactory, where the scribes often repaired in search of a more moderated temperature than that of their cheerless workroom.(2) During certain months of the year, the Scriptorium was uninhabitable as a workroom. Certain writers have left corroborations of this fact. The following couplet, which was on a fly-leaf of a manuscript found in Ramsey Abbey, is an interesting illustration of this fact:

"As we sit here in tempest, in rain, snow, and sun,
Nor writing nor reading in cloister is done." (3)

According to Odericus Vitalis' own words, he was forced to postpone his writing on account of the approach of winter.(4) "It is now winter, and I am suffering from the severity of the cold, and propose to allow myself some respite for other occupations, and fatigued with my work, shall here bring the present book to a close. When the returning spring brings with it sereener skies, I will resume in the sequel, my narrative

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1. Modan, 34; Hardy XX-XXI, "Martens de Antiq. Ecclesiae. Relibus, App. vol. iii, 534. Ed. 1737"; Maitland, Dark Ages, 404, 407.
2. Maitland, 406
3. Clark, 81
4. Odericus Vitalis, The Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy, Tr. by Thomas Forester, 1854, IV. 20.

of matters which I have hitherto treated cursorily, or which still remain to be told, and, by God's help, employ my faithful pen in elucidating the causes of peace and war among my countrymen."

All the occupants of the Scriptorium were subject to the most severe and stringent rules of discipline. Strict silence was enjoined upon the monks, and, in order to carry out this regulation, a language of signs was invented by which the scribe indicated the objects or books which he might wish to be given to him. In the ordinary Benedictine monastery, the general sign used by a monk to indicate that he wished a book was to extend the hands in a movement as if he were turning over the leaves of a book. If he desired a missal, he added to this the sign of a cross; if he desired a psalter, he placed his hands upon his head in the shape of a crown; and, most interesting of all, if he wished a pagan work, he scratched his ear in the manner of a dog.(1) Whether it was possible to make use of such signs on a large scale or not, is a debatable question, but they at least indicate that the variety of books which were used as copies was, at most, extremely limited. In order to constantly impress upon the mind of the scribe the necessity for silence, the rules were posted in various places upon the wall. When consultation was necessary it was carried on in an adjoining apartment.(2) Sometimes in the larger monasteries, where it was desirable to

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1. Madan, 36; Hardy, 26: xviii
2. Hardy, XXVI: xviii, xxii, xxii-xxiii.

make several copies of a manuscript at the same time, one of the monks was selected to read aloud, and the scribes wrote as he dictated.(1) This method of transcription of books doubtless accounts for variations in orthography and grammar which have been noticed in manuscripts of the same date, and coming from the same monastery.(2)

Some of the regulations current in the Scriptoriums remind one forcibly of rules which are ordinarily observed in the modern schoolroom for the adolescent. There were certain hours for opening and closing, which were fixed by the abbot, and which were longer in the summer than in the winter. Artificial light was strictly forbidden, in order to prevent injury to the manuscripts from any grease which might fall from the candle, and to prevent the occurrence of conflagrations. No scribe was allowed to leave the Scriptorium until he had obtained permission, be he merely a boy transcribing letters, or an elder monk employed in more serious duties. "To prevent idleness", no one was allowed to enter the Scriptorium except the prior, abbot, sub-prior, precentor, or cantor and armarius.(3) As the work of the Scriptorium increased in importance, the more learned scribes might be assigned to small individual Scriptoria. William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon, Matthew Paris, Aelfric of St. Albans, are supposed to have compiled their books within such exclusive apartments.(3)

1. Putnam, I. 66
2. See also Madan, 34
3. Hardy, XXVI: xi-xiii

In many of the less pretentious houses, where it was not profitable to maintain a separate scriptorium, the work of transcription was carried on within the cloister, which was the center of monastic life. Here only were the brethren allowed to congregate, except at meal-time, when they went to the dining-hall, and certain times of the year, when they were allowed to go into the calefactorium. According to the rites of Durham, in the cloister there were great almeries kept against the church wall opposite the carrells, wherein were stored "the Doctors of the Church as other prophane authors with dyverse other holy mens wourks".(1) These carrels which were recesses placed at each window, were not strictly private, since they opened upon the cloister walk, and the occupants of them were under the general supervision of the keeper of the books.(2) Within the cloister, many manuscripts were written, and much instruction given to the novices and choir-boys. One of the most famous examples of the cloister which contained these carrels is that at Durham, which is described in the rites of Durham.(3) There is, at Gloucester, a cloister which has a series of twenty-one stone carrels, which were built between 1370-1412, but all of these do not seem to have been used for storing books.(4) The following descriptive poem lends a considerable human interest to the scene within the cloister.(5)

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1. Rites of Durham,
2. The structure of these carrells is ably discussed by Clark, in his Care of Books, 90-98.
3. Rites of Durham,
4. Clark, 96-98
5. Taylor, 72

"Meanwhile, along the cloister's painted side,
The monks--each bending low upon his book
With head on hand reclined--their studies plied;
Forbid to parley, or in front to look,
Lengthways their regulated seats they took.
The strutting prior gazed with pompous mein
And wakeful tongue, prepared with prompt rebuke,
If monk asleep in sheltering hood was seen;
He wary often peeped beneath that russed screen.

"Hard by, against the window's adverse light,
Where desks were wont in length of row to stand
The gowned artificers inclined to write;
The pen of silver glistened in the hand:
Some on their fingers rhyming Latin scanned;
Some textile gold from balls unwinding drew
And on stained velvet, stately portraits planned,
Here arms, then faces shone in embryo view,
At last to glistening life the total figures grew."

The maintenance of the scriptoria and the cloisters necessitated some method of obtaining a fixed income. In many cases the general expenses of the house embrased the costs of the scriptorium, certain portions of the income being set aside for the necessary task of transcribing books. Often, special grants were made, or regular endowments were available for the purpose.(1) At St. Albans, when the scriptorium was first established under Abbot Paul, "one Robert, a Norman Knight, bestowed two parts of the tithe of his demeane at Halfield"(2) for the support of the scriptorium. Later, the tithes of Redburn were appropriated to the same use. Robert of Gorham greatly enriched the monastery by gifts, and he encouraged the transcription of books.(3) The Precentor of

1. Savage, 88n "Chron. Mon. de Abingdon, ii. 133, 328"
2. Dugdale, II. 183
3. Dugdale, II. 187

Abingdon obtained tithes worth thirty shillings for buying parchment.[1] The prior of Evesham received the tithes of Bengworth to maintain the scribes, and for the purchase of parchment; and five shillings annually from the Manor of Hampton to pay the precentor; ten shillings and eight pence f from tithes of Stope and Alcester, to buy ink, etc.[2] These brief notices are sufficient to convey some conception both of the costs and the sources of income of the medieval manufactory of books.

The officer who had charge of the work done in the scriptorium and the cloister was the Armarius, who also had charge of the books of the library. This officer supervised in the capacity of an assistant to the abbot of the house, for no work could be assigned by him without having first the approval of the abbot. Not the least of the precentor's tasks was that of preventing, as far as possible, any alterations being made in th manuscr pt which a given monk was transcribing. Considering the number of mistakes which were made in spite of this precaution, it is apparent that admonitions on this score must have seldom been superfluous ones. It was also the duty of the precentor to provide fot the brethren the books which were to be transcribed.[3] He was also enjoined to maintain the strict silence in the scriptorium which was necessary to carry on the work of the brethren. Thus, he had to provide the scriptorium with desks, frames to hold the books which were to be copied, rulers, weights to keep down the pages, parchment, ink, pens, pumice-stone for rubbing

1. Savage, 88 "Chron. Mon. de Abingdon. ii. 133, 328
2. Dugdale, II. 187
3. Madan, 34

parchment, awls to mark off the lines. He was under strict injunction not to distribute more parchment than was necessary for transcription of the copy in hand, a regulation which incidentally throws some light upon the costs attached to writing.

It is evident that the material upon which the books were transcribed was, almost without exception, parchment or vellum. The term parchment, however, was used interchangeably to designate either one or the other. The invention of paper no doubt decreased the expenses of the scriptorium to a considerable degree,(2) though there are no paper manuscripts known to have been written in Western Europe before the fourteenth century.(3) The pens which were used in most of the scriptoria of England for many centuries were quills which had been taken from swans, geese, crows, etc.(4) The black ink used from the seventh to the twelfth centuries was of an exceedingly brilliant and durable quality. Other colors

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1. Hardy, XXVI.xv-xvii.
2. Warton makes the statement that the invention of printing did not seem to have immediately contributed to the multiplication of manuscripts, and facilitation of knowledge. "Even so late as the reign of our Henry VI., I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniences and impediments to study which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the statutes of St. Mary's College, Oxford, founded in the year 1446. 'Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above 1 hour, or 2 hours at most, so that the others shall be hindered from the use of the same'. Statut.. Coll. S. Mariae pro Oseney. De Libraria f. 21. Mss. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon."n Warton, I. 185
3. Warton, I. 185. The invention of paper was made at the close of the seventeenth century.
4. Hardy, XXVI..xvi. "Some of the instruments necessary for the occupation of a scribe are given in a Ms. Harl. 2820 written in Italy in the tenth century."

of ink were used for illuminating purposes, especially, red and purple, silver and gold, which were used for the headings of the chapters.[1] There were other materials which were necessary to the scribe as the boards, and leather, and ornaments which were used in binding of the manuscripts when they were completed Durham and Winchester, during the twelfth century, became celebrated for their proficiency in binding and ornamenting their books. In the tenth to eleventh centuries, many manuscripts were transcribed which were famous for the bindings in which they were contained. An excellent example of the art of binding for this period is the Latin Gospel of St. John, taken from the tomb of St. Cuthbert, a manuscript which was "bound in boards and covered with red leather".[2]

The story of the cloister life abounds with a diversity of human interests, for it is a story arising from the contacts of many types of human nature. Not every monk was a studious soul, given to the steadfast pursuit of learning and its recompenses. Many a monk was called away from his labors in the field in order that he might employ himself more profitably at study and writing. Alcuin considered the work of the scriptorium of far more fundamental value than manual labor, and provided that his monks should engage themselves in this praiseworthy occupation.[3] In many monasteries, only a limited

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1. Hardy, XXVI. xvi
2. Madan, 40-42. Madan gives here an exceedingly interesting description of the process which was used in the binding of books. According to him, the most famous bindings belong to the age of printing.
3. Savage, 78. "Citation from Const. of Carthusians."

number of the scribes were trained for the purpose of writing and transcribing books, and often the less learned were appointed to the manual tasks. In certain localities, writing was considered the "legitimate task for the weaker members only."[1] The Benedictine and the Cistercian houses provided that each of the brethren should have some part in study and promotion of literature. It is not unnatural that many monks went about their task begrudgingly and, finding their work so irksome, they produced second-rate manuscripts. The Colophon of a manuscript written by Raoul, of St. Aignan, is extremely interesting as a portrayal of the mind of one scribe on the subject. "Be careful with your fingers; don't put them on my writing. You do not know what it is to write. It is excessive drudgery: it crooks your back, dims your sight, twists your stomach and sides. Pray, then, my brother, you who read this book, pray for poor Raoul, God's servant, who has copied it entirely with his own hand in the cloister of St. Aignan."[2]

In the smaller ones, where the books and income available were more closely limited, probably only a small number of the inmates took up literary pursuits. As a result, the number of great literary centers was not synonymous with the number of established monastic orders. In England, it was limited

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1. Savage, 78
2. Savage, 81

to the larger houses, as St. Albans, Durham, and Glastonbury, York, and elsewhere. At St. Albans the official historiographer, or special scribe, was not provided until the days of Simon, who seems to have created that office.[1] Matthew Paris, 1236-1259, who was also at St. Albans, added luster to the fame of the house. Unlike many of the weaker members, he transcribed his books from the pleasure there was in it, and took the greatest pride in making his work of the highest possible type. There were many other scribes who were equally solicitous concerning the character of their work. In many monasteries, the abbots were themselves skilled scribes, and so great was the honor attached to the appellation that even the proudest desired to have it ascribed to themselves. In Ireland, in the seventh century, the penalty for killing a scribe was the same as the penalty for killing an abbot,[2] doubtless because most of the abbots were, or had been, skilled scribes themselves.

The monks who were residents of the monasteries, however, did not by any means have a monopoly upon the writing of manuscripts. Even outside the monasteries, there were professional scribes who became experts in the art of writing. The scriptorium of the monastery, if it were very prosperous and industrious in the multiplication of books, often employed, even within its sacred walls, these secular scribes. Especially needed were the services of the professional illuminators,

1. Hardy, xxxii, ff
2. Madon, 33

who were employed in finishing the book by rubrication and painting, when there were none of the brethren sufficiently dextrous in that art. In case wills or deeds, or legal documents, were drawn up, the notarii was pressed into service. Aside from these special scribes, the common scribe was often called in to assist the output of copies.[1] So relentlessly were the hired scribes held to their task that they were not allowed to go out to buy food, but were supplied in the common dining hall.[2] When Abbot Paul founded the scriptorium at St. Albans, he supplied it with secular scribes, in order to develop the art of writing in his monastery,[3] and no doubt a part of the tithes which were obtained from Robert, the Norman Knight,[4] were used for their maintenance. A Chronicle of the Monastery at Abingdon indicated that the practice of hiring scribes was prevalent at that house. No doubt these outsiders contributed in no small degree to the scriptorium of Abingdon. In the later Middle Ages, the piety of the monks failed to commend to them the labors of the scribe, and the work of transcription fell almost entirely into the hands of the professional scribes.

The labors of the scribe were of two kinds, namely, the production of original work, and the reproduction of existing manuscripts. By far, most of the writing done belonged to the latter class. The originals which were copied were often borrowed or bought from neighboring monasteries, or even from foreign countries, especially Rome. Thus the beginning of

1. Madan, 36
2. Hardy, xxii-iii
3. Savage, 78, "Gesta abb. M. S. Albani, i. 57-8."
4. Dugdale, II. 183

the collection of books accumulated at Canterbury came from Rome.[1] The Latin gospels which were transcribed by Eadfrid, bishop of Lindisfarne, no doubt originally came from the same source.[2] The class of books which were transcribed in the scriptorium varied with the purposes for which they were intended. In the smaller houses, probably only the missals and service books were transcribed until the size of the library increased. Numerous copies of the gospels and portions of Scripture were made. There are many celebrated examples of these sacred manuscripts, as the "Lindisfarne Gospels" of the seventh century, and Alcuin's Bible of the eighth century, both of which are now in the British Museum.[3] A visit of Ralph de Bandoke to the treasury of St. Paul found twelve gospels adorned with gold and jewels, and a commentary of Thomas Aquinas. The works of the Latin fathers were also favorites manuscripts of the scriptorium. For example, most of the copies of such writers as Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, which were found in all the libraries, must have been copied by English scribes. Nor did the scriptoriu neglect to transcribe such of the classics as were available. Such libraries as York, Canterbury, Gloucester, Oxford, were, at least after the Norman conquest, must have transcribed innumerable copies

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1. Ante, 23
2. Dugdale, I. 22
3. Madan, 92 ff; Ante, 27

of the classics.[1]

Little need be added to what has already been recounted in the foregoing chapters, concerning the production of original manuscripts. Suffice it to say, that, with the exception of certain notable figures such as the authors of the Saxon Chronicles,[2] histories, etc., there was, compared with the amount of transcribing, relatively little original work done in the scriptorium. At the same time, one can hardly over-estimate the value of the work of such men as Gildas, Bede, Roger of Hoveden, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and many others equally famous.

The manuscript which was produced in the scriptorium was extremely modern as to the form in which it was finished. In England at least the Roman roll does not seem to have been popular during the medieval period,[3] possibly because the bound volumes were more convenient for reading purposes. The formation of this style of book was also perhaps easy to execute, for the scribe wrote only a "quaterino"[4] at a time. After the monk had finished one section of parchment the

1. For example, the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, contained many copies of both Church Fathers and the Classics, which were no doubt English transcripts.
2. Ante, 39
3. Madan, 14
4. This term was used to mean four sheets of parchment usually about ten inches high, which were folded together so that they formed sixteen pages. The paper books of later date varied more in formation because they were on large sheets which could be folded more than once. Thus there developed the folio, quarto, octavo, which originally referred to the way in which the sheets were folded. See also Madan 14

procentor provided him with another, and then another, and so on until his book was gradually completed. As a rule, there was no title page, and the title of the book was placed at the end of the manuscript, sometimes with the name of the scribe and the date, but more often without. After the transcription and illumination (1) were completed, the manuscript was given into other hands to be bound. Though the appearance of the binding was similar to that used at the present time, it was infinitely more durable, and at the same time more elaborately adorned. There are extant many specimens of the workmanship of the medieval bookmaker. The covers were made of wood, and were bound with a heavy quality of leather. The leaves were enclosed between the covers by means of cords which were passed through holes which were made in the boards for the purpose. The exterior of the binding was ornamented by raised figures, or decorative lines. There were many instances where great sums were spent to embellish these bindings with elaborate designs wrought in ivory and precious metals, often studded with jewels. The period of greatest development in binding, however, belongs rather to the early days of printing, than to the earlier manuscript period.

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1. The age of illumination in the British Isles began in Ireland, in the seventh century. The Irish style was transferred to the continent in the ninth century, and combined with continental styles, and was afterward re-introduced into England. During the tenth century, England developed a national style of her own which was replaced by Norman and German influence after the conquest.
See further, Madan, 47-58

There is no development in English book production which is more medieval than the manner in which the scribe sought to protect his manuscript from any molesting hand. In the absence of effectual copyright laws, he put to literary use some form of a curse, which he appended to the book which he was writing. In many monastic houses hardly a manuscript was completed without having a more or less severe form of a curse attached to it. Sometimes there were definite forms that prevailed as models for certain houses--for example the following curse frequently occurred in the manuscripts of St. Albans:[1]

> "This book belongs to St. Alban. May whosoever steals it from him, or destroys its title, be anathema. Amen"

Another, of more severe character, was written in a manuscript of Christ Church, Canterbury:[2]

> "May whoever destroys this title, or by gift or sale or loan or exchange or theft or by any other device knowingly alienates this book from the aforesaid Christ Church, incur in this life the malediction of Jesus Christ and of the most glorious Virgin His Mother, and of Blessed Thomas, Martyr. Should however ir please Christ, who is patron of Christ Church, may his soul be saved in the Day of Judgment."

The frequent occurance of such curses leads to the supposition that they proved to be effective precautionary measures against the mutilation and careless borrowing of books. One wonders, however, what kind of penance would have been imposed upon the scribe so unfortunate as to damage his own manuscript with ink from the pen which had inscribed the curse.

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1. Clark, 78
2. This is part of a curse taken from a manuscript in the library at Trinity College, Cambridge, in Clark, 78.

There are instances in the history of almost every library which indicate that the purchase and importation of books was a method used extensively to enlarge the accumulation of books. Biscop, and Theodore of Tarsus, in the seventh century made numerous purchases in Rome to improve the library at Canterbury.[1] Bede relates that King Alfred of Northumbria exchanged eight hides of land for a cosmography which Benedict Biscop had brought from Rome. This was indeed an enormous price to pay for such a book, since this was enough land to support eight families. It is not fair to form an extimate of the price of books from a few exaggerated instances of the purchase of certain splendid volumes. It is certainly true, however, that the price of books was much greater in proportion to the price of other commodities than it is at the present time. This variation of prices of books is due to the difference of the cost of production. In spite of the enormous cost of manuscripts, the English book trade attained a much larger proportion than is usually thought. According to Venetian Archives, books were being imported to England by Galleys which brought produce of the East to merchants in London and Southampton.[2] There is extant a writ of King Henry IV sent to the collectors of the petty customs in London to "let go freely without custom six barrels of books sent to the prior and convent of Holy Trinity of Norwich, by Adam, late cardinal of the church of Rome, given them by will dated October in this year"[3] It is evident that these books were

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1. Ante, 23
2. Elton, Great Book Collectors, 1893, 15
3. Dugdale, IV. 2

allowed to pass free of duty because of the fact that they came into England as a gift[1] is also an excellent illustration of another important method of accumulation of books, namely obtaining large gifts from beneficent patrons

Although the libraries of Medieval England did play an important role in the life of the cathedral and the monasteries, yet the circumstances which attended the accumulation of books had the effect of greatly limiting the size of libraries. As a result, we find that in the early days the few books which were possessed were usually stored in the church.[2] The cloisters often contained the small collections in the book presses which were used as receptacles in which to place the books.[3] In the words of Geoffry of Sainte Barbe, who lived in the twelfth century, "A cloister without a book press, is a fortress without an armory."[4] These presses probably contained a Bible, service books, missals, lectionaries, liturgies, and hymn books used for worship. There is no better description of the medieval cloister than in the Rites of Durham:

> "In the north syde of the Cloister, from the corner over against the Church dour to the corner over againste the Dorter dour, was all fynely glased from the hight to the sole within a litle of the grownd into the Cloister garth. And in every wyndowe iij Pewes or Carrells, where every one of the old Monks had his carrell, severall by himselfe, that, when they had dyned, they dyd

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1. For prices of books, see Savage, Appendix A.
2. Rites of Durham, in Clark, 90, Post
3. The Armarium press does not appear to have been used before the eleventh century, though the fenestra, or cupboard, a recess in the wall, was used by St. Pachomius. See Clark, 64
4. Hartford Seminary Record, 22, 1912.

> resorte to that place of Cloister, and there studied upon there books, every one in his carrell, all the after nonne, unto evensong tyme. This was there exercise every daie.
>
> "In every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stande certaine great almeries (or cupboards) of waynscott all full of bookes, wherein did lye as well the old auncyent written Doctors of the Church as other prophane authors with dyverse other holie mens wourks, so that every one dyd studye what Doctor pleased them best, havinge the Librarie at all tymes to goe study in besydes there carrells." (1)

Separate library rooms were not built until the beginning of the fifteenth century. These were often erected over the cloister, or some other building. They were long and narrow, especially when built over the cloister. (2) When it was possible there were windows on two sides which were placed at regular intervals from eachother. The book presses, with the end to the wall, were placed between the windows. This arrangement must have been a very convenient one, where the number of books was no greater than it was in the medieval period. At the end of this period desks convenient for reading, having shelves for books above them, began to take the place of the old book presses. Often the books were fastened securely by means of chains. This was the common custom in the academic libraries. (3) Such an arrangement of the books indicates that

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1. Clark, 90
2. Ibid.
3. Clark, 135 ff. Clark gives some intensely interesting details on this subject.

they were intended for constant reference. At the same time, the manuscripts were still more or less looked upon as museum specimens, to be carefully guarded, and not to be taken from the library. In some cases the books were placed in book-cases containing several shelves (gradus). Good examples of such arrangement were to be found at the libraries of Litchfield Abbey,[1] and Dover Priory.[2]

Relative to the classification and arrangement of the books it will not be out of place to quote a passage from the preface of a register of Dover Priory library:[3]

> "The present Register...compiled in the year of the Lord's incarnation 1389, under the presidency of John Neunam, prior and monk of the said church, is separated into three main divisions. The object is, first, part may supply information to the precentor of the house concerning the number of the books and the complete knowledge of them; that the second part may stir up studious brethren to eager and frequent reading; and the third may point out the way to the speedy finding of individual treatises by the scholars."

It is evident from the above passage that the catalogue of this library was intended to be a convenient as possible. The precentor was obviously required to be a competent reference librarian, as well as a student, since he was to be thoroughly familiar with the books of the library, and with the easiest access to them. More interesting still is the

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1. Madan, 78 ff
2. Ante,
3. Hartford Seminary Record, 22, 1912

attempt to simplify the classification as much as possible in order to encourage studious habits on the part of the patrons of the library.

The books of the library at Dover Priory were separated into nine classes, which were marked according to the first nine letters of the alphabet. Each of these classes was subdivided again into seven shelves, which were numbered from the bottom with Roman numerals. Each book had a number showing its position upon the shelf, which was marked on the outside of the book and the table of contents. On the second, third, or fourth leaf was written the name of the book preceded by the class letter and shelf number, and followed by the first words on that page which are proof of identification. These are followed by the number of pages in the volume, and also the number of treatises." The first division is a shelf list using the entries made in the book. The second division gives, after the shelf and place numbers, the titles of all treatises in the volume, and pages on which the treatises are to be found. The third division gives an alphabetical index of the tracts contained in the different volumes, with the proper references to class, shelf, book, and leaf, so that any work could be readily found.[1] The care with which the details of this classification are worked out in order to make the books of the library of the most possible use, is perhaps somewhat surprising. For the medieval library it must have served its

1. This entire description is taken from Hartford Seminary Record.

purpose quite as satisfactorily as the classification of the larger modern library.

The majority of the books which made up the Medieval English libraries were, without question, writings pertaining to the church.(1) There was contained in them such literature as church histories, confessions of saints, lives of saints, letters, theological discussions, psalters, missals, lectionaries, gospels, commentaries, etc. This literature was represented by such authors as Ambrose, Jerome, Tertullian, Cassius, Cassiodorus, Gregory, Isidore, Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Bede, Rabanus, Maurus, Bernard of Clairvaux, Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas. Perhaps next in importance were the educational works, such as the works on the seven liberal arts, works on history and oratory and science, which were represented by the following men: Donatus, Prician, Cassiodorus, Rabanus Maurus, Cicero, Quintilian, Aristotle, Boethius, Seneca, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan, Pliny the Elder, Surtonius, Caesar, Lucretius, Tacitus, Varro, Plato, and others.(2) After the Norman Conquest there is a noticeable increase in the works of classics, especially science and translations made from the Greek and Latin as well as Italian and French authors.(3)

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1. The number of books which were mentioned by Leland in his Itinerary was one hundred twenty-four, sixty-two per cent of which were books relating to the Church. The number of books mentioned in the Monasticon Anglicanum is two hundred fifty-four, seventy-seven per cent of which were relating to the Church. Although these figures give no accurate conception of the number of books in England during the medieval period, yet they must proportionately represent the number of Church fathers found in the libraries.
2. Catalogue of Christ Church library, in Edwards, I. 122
3. For number of volumes contained in the medieval libraries, see Savage, Appendix C.

The methods of circulating the books are extremely interesting, and belong in large part to the history of the regulations which were made by the monastic orders concerning the use of the books. The first of these rules is that of the Benedictine order, drawn up in the sixth century:[1]

> "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; hence brethren ought, at certain seasons, to occupy themselves with manual labour, and again, at certain hours, with holy reading...
>
> "Between Easter and the calends of October let them apply themselves to reading from the fourth hour till near the sixth hour.
>
> "From the calends of October to the beginning of Lent let them apply themselves to reading until the second hour.... During Lent, let them apply themselves to reading from morning until the end of the third hour... and, in these days of Lent, let them receive a book apiece from the library, and read it straight through. These books are to be given out at the beginning of Lent."

We see that reading and study became an essential feature of the Benedictine life. In the rule of the Cluniac order, provision was made for the audit of books by the precentor[2] The decrees given by Archbishop Lanfranc to the English Benedictines are similar to the regulations of the Cluniacs.[3] In the customs of the Abbey of Evysham, in Worcestershire, no borrower could take a book out "unless it be entered upon his roll; nor is any book to be lent to any one without proper and sufficient voucher, and this, too, is to be set down in his roll."[4] The order of the Carthusians has similar

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1. Clark, 66
2. See Clark, 67
3. Ante, 9
4. Customs of Abbey of Evesham in Clark, 69

provisions for study and reading, and also for protection of the books "against smoke or dust or dirt of any kind."(1) Thus we see that each order had provisions concerning intensive study of manuscripts which were to be distributed to them by the librarian.

The circulation of books was not limited to the use of those given to the monks at the yearly audit. Provisions were also made for the frequent use of the common reference books, and these were stored in a place accessable to all, as the church, or cloister, or chapter house. Books were also transported from library to library either for reading or for copying. Many books were circulated also by the travelling monks.(2) Though the methods of the dissemination of knowledge used by these libraries seems meagre to the student accustomed to easy access to the modern public library, yet great credit must be given to the attempts which were made to make the use of books as practical as possible. The difficulty of the acquisition of books is alone sufficient explanation for the precautionary measures which limited the usefulness of the libraries. In fairness to the medieval librarian let us observe that, were it not for the rapid multiplication of books by means of the press, perhaps our own libraries might not be far in advance of those of "the dark ages".

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1. Clark, 69
2. Putnam, Books and their Makers, I. 59.

APPENDIX A.

Bede's account of his literary labours

(Bede, Ecclesiastical History, V. Conclusion)

From the time that I entered the priesthood till the fifty-ninth year of my life, for my own needs and those of my friends I have written and composed these books out of the works of the venerable fathers, and I have also added thereto, conformably to the sense and spiritual interpretation.

First on the beginning of Genesis up to the birth of Isaac and rejection of Ishmael I composed four books.

About the tabernacle and its vessels and priestly robes three books.

On the first part of Samuel, that is up to the death of King Saul, four books.

On the building of the temple and its figurative interpretation two books.

Again on the books of the Kings thirty questions.

On the proverbs of Solomon three books.

On the Song of Songs six books.

On Ezra and Nehemiah three books.

On the Song of Habakkuk one book.

On the book of the blessed father Tobias of figurative interpretation as to Christ and his church one book.

On the gospel of Mark four books.

On the gospel of Luke six books.

Of homilies on the gospel two books.

On the apostle, whatever I have found in the works of

St. Augustine, I have written all out in order.

On the Acts of the Apostles two books.

On the seven canonical Epistles sundry books.

On the Revelation of St. John three books.

On the six ages of the world one book.

On the 'mansiones' of the children of Israel one book.

About the words of Isaiah: 'et claudentur ibi in carcerm et post multos dies uisitabuntur.'

About the proper Leap-year one book.

About the Equinox, in accordance with the explanation of Anatolius one.

On the histories of Saints.

A book of the life and passion of the confessor St. Felix.

The book of Paulinus, I turned out of verse into prose.

The book of the life and passion of St. Anastatius martyr, which was ill translated out of Greek into Latin and still worse revised by some illiterate person, I corrected by the sense, as well as I could.

The life of the holy father St. Cuthbert, who was both monk and bishop, I first composed in heroic metre and after a time in prose.

The history and account of the abbots of this monastery, in which I rejoice to serve the divine goodness, that is Benedict, Ceolfrith and Hwaetberht, I composed in two books.

The ecclesiastical history of our island and people I composed in five books.

A Martyrology concerning the festivals of the holy martyrs,

in which all that I could find, not only on what day, but also in what form of strife and under what judge they prevailed over the world, I carefully wrote.

Books of hymns in varied metre.

A book of epigrams in heroic metre.

On the nature of things and on times sundre books.

Again on times one large book.

A book on orthography arranged in alphabetical order.

A book on metre, to which is appended another book on figures and tropes.

Upon the forms and modes of speech, in which the canon of holy scripture is composed.

APPENDIX B.

Books found in Whitby Catalog of 1148.

(Edwards, Memoirs of Books, vol. I., 109-11.)

I. THEOLOGY.

Ambrose (Bishop of Milan), On the six days' work of Creation.
    On his brother's death.

Basil (Bishop of Caesarea), Homilies.

Beda, On the Proverbs.
    On the Gospels of St. Mark and of St. Luke.
    On the Acts and Canonical Epistles.

Bernard (of Clairvaux), Sermons, etc.

Cassian, Rule.

Caesarius (Bishop of Arles), Homilies.

Ephraem (the Syrian), Discourses to Monks.

Eusebius (Bishop of Emesa), Homilies.

Gratian, On the Decretals.

Gregory 'the Great' (Pope), On the strife of vices and virtues.
    Sermons.

Hugh of St. Victor, Sacraments.

Ivo (Bishop of Chartres), Pannormia (a Collection of Canons).

Isidore, On the Old Testament.
    On the Supreme Good.

Julian (Pomerius ?), Prognosticon.

Julian, Book of Paradise.

Odo (Abbot of Clugni), The book of Odo ?

Origen, On the Old Testament.

Peter Lombard, on three of the Epistles of St. Paul.

Prosper (of Aquitaine), On active and contemplative life.

Raban Maurus (Archbishop of Mentz), On the Maccabees?
On the Gospel of St. Matthew.
On the Gospel of St. John.

Rufinus, Homilies?

Simon, The book of Simon? (Liber Simonis.)
Exodus Glosulatus.

Diadema Monachorum.

Glosae Psalteria in ii locis.

Glosae super Cantica Canticorum.

Glosae super Epistolas Pauli in ii locis.

Imago mundi.

Liber Annotationum.

Liber de Archa Noe.

Liber de ecclesiasticis institutis.

Liber consuetudinum.

Micrologus de Missarum officiis.

II. HISTORY, ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL.

Decreta Pontificum. (A forgery of the 9th century.)

De situ Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.

Gildas.

Josephus.

Liber Mamnonis?

Liber Theophili et aliorum Sanctorum.

Miracula Sanctae Mariae.

Miracula Sancti Andreae Apostoli.

Passio Sanctae Katarinae Virginis.

Passionale Mensis Novembris.

" " Januarii.

Vita Sancti Cuthberti.

Vita Sanctae Margaretae.

Vita Sancti Madonii.

Vita Sancti Brendani.

Vita Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae.

Vita Sancti Benigni.

Vita Sancti Firmini.

Vita Sanctae Fidis.

Vita Sanctae Mariae Egyptiacae, in versibus.

III. CLASSICAL LITERATURE, AND WORKS OF MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS, ANTERIOR TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Arator.

Avienus.

Boethius, De Consolatione.

Cicero, De Amicitia.

" De Senectute.

Donatus.

Homer.

Juvenal ('Liber Juvenalis')

Isidore, 'Etimologicon,' or Origines.'

Persius.

Plato ('Liber Platonis').

Persicanus.

Prudentius.

Sedulius.

Statius.

(Virgil?) Bucolica. [1]

1 Young, History of Whitby and Streoneshald Abbey (1817). pp. 918-920.

APPENDIX C.

Books transcribed in the twelfth century for the monastic library at Peterborough:(1)

Vetus et Novum Testamentum, in uno volumine.

" " " " in quatuor voluminibus.

Quinque libri Moysi glosati, in uno vol.

Sexdecim Prophetae glosati, in uno vol.

Duodecim minores glosati Prophetae in uno volumine.

Liber Regum glosatus.

Paralipomenon.glosatus.

Job, Parabolae Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum glosati.

Liber Ecclesiasticus et Liber Sapientiae glosati, in uno vol.

Tobyas, Judith, Ester et Estras glosati, in uno vol.

Liber Judicum glosatus.

Scholastica hystoria..

Psalterium glosatum.

Item non glosatum.

Item Psalterium.

Quatuor Evangelia glosata, in uno vol.

Item Mattheus et Marcus, in uno vol.

Johannes et Lucas, in uno vol.

Epistolae Pauli glosatae, Apocalypsis, et Epistolae Canonicae glosatae, in uno vol.

Sententiae Petri Lomdardi. (Two copies.)

Sermones Bernardi Abbatis Clarevallensis.

Decreta Gratiani. (Two copies.)

Summa Ruffini de Decretis.

Summa Johannis Fuguntini de Decretis.

Decretales Epitolae. (Two copies.)

Item Decretales Epistolae *cum summa*, *sic incipiente*: *Olim*.

Institutiones Justiniani, etc.

Summa Placentini.

Totum Corpus Juris, *in duobus voluminibus*.

Arismetica. (*Sic*.)

Epitolae Senecae *cum alii Senecis*, *in uno vol*.

Martialis totus et Terentius, *in uno vol*.

Morale dogma philosophorum.

Gesta Alexandri et Liber Claudii et Claudiani.

Summa Petri Heylae de Grammatica, *cum multis aliis rebus*, *in uno vol*.

Gesta Regis Henrici II et Genealogiae ejus.

Interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum.

Libellus de incarnatione verbi.

Liber Bernardi Abbatis ad Eugenium Papam.)

Missale.

Vitae Sancti Thomae Martyris.

Miracula ejusdem, *in quinque voluminibus*.

Liber Richardi Plutonis, *qui dicitur unde malum.*

Meditationes Anselmi.

Practica Bartholomaei *cum multis aliis rebus, in uno vol.*

Ars physicae Pantigni et practica ipsius, *in uno vol.*

Almazar et Dioscoridis de virtutibus herbarum.

Liber Dinamidiorum et aliorum multorum, *in uno vol.*

Libellus de Compoto.

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1. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, 116.

APPENDIX D.

The catalogue of Glastonbury library in 1248 consisted of four hundred volumes. Among these books were the following:[1]

Bibliotheca una in duobus voluminibus.

Alia Bibliotheca integra vetusta, set legibilis.

Bibliotheca integrae minoris litterae.

Dimidia pars Bibliotheca magna versificata.

Alia versificata in duobus voluminibus.

Bibliotheca tres versificata.

and

Aristotle.	Isagoge of Porphyry.
Livy.	Prudentius.
Orosius.	Fortunatus.
Sallust.	Persius.
Donatus.	Pompeius.
Sedulus.	Isidore.
Virgil, Aeneid.	Smaragdius.
Virgil, Bucolics.	Marcianus.
Aesop.	Horace.
Tully.	Priscian.
Boethius.	Prosper.
Plato.	Aratores.
Claudian.	Juvenal.
Cornutus.	

In 1271, John made a large gift to Glastonbury,

including:

Questions on the Old and New Law.

St. Augustine upon Genesis.

Ecclesiastical Dogmas.

St. Bernard's Enchiridion.

St. Bernard's Flowers.

Books of Wisdom, with a Gloss.

Postil's upon Jeremiah and the lesser Prophets.

Concordances to the Bible.

Postil's of Albertus upon Matthew, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah and others, in one volume.

Postil's upon Mark.

Postil's upon John, with a Discourse on the Epistles throughout the year.

Brother Thomas' Old and New Gloss.

Morabilius on the Gospels and Epistles.

St. Augustine on the Trinity.

Epistles of Paul glossed.

St. Augustine's City of God.

Kylwardesby upon the Letter of the Sentences.

Questions concerning Crimes.

Perfection of the Spiritual Life.

Brother Thomas' Sum of Divinity, in four volumes.

Decrees and Decretals.

A Book of Perspective.

Distinctions of Maurice.

Books of Natural History, in two volumes.

Book on the Properties of Things.

Another addition was made to this library by Lord Abbot and his scribes:

The Bible.

Pliny's Natural History.

Cassiodorus upon the Psalms.

Three great Missals.

Two Reading Books.

A Breviary for the Infirmary.

Jerome upon Jeremiah and Isaiah.

Origen upon the Old Testament.

Origen's Homilies.

Origen upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans.

Jerome upon the Epistles to the Galatians, to Titus, and to Philemon.

Lives of the Fathers.

Collations of the Fathers.

Breviary for the Hospital.

An Antiphon.

Pars una Moralium.

Cyprian's Works.

Register.

Liber dictus Paradisus.

Jerome against Jovinian.

Ambrose against Novatian.

Seven Volumes of the Passions of the Saints for the circle of the whole year.

Lives of the Caesars.

Acts of the Britons.

Acts of the English.

Acts of the Franks.

Pascasius.

Radbert on the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Book of the Abbot of Clarevalle _de Amando Deo_.

Hugo de S. Victore de duodecim gradibus Humilitatis et de Oratione.

Physiomania Lapedarum et Liber Petri Alsinii in uno volumine.

Rhetoric, two volumes.

Quintilian _de Causes_, in one volume.

Augustine upon the Lord's Prayer and upon the Psalm _Miserero mei Deus_.

A Benedictional.

Decreta Cainotensis Episcopi.

Jerome upon the Twelve Prophets, and upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

Augustine upon the Trinity.

Augustine upon Genesis.

Isidore's Etymology.

Paterius.

Augustine upon the Words of our Lord.

Hugo on the Sacraments.

Cassinus on the Incarnation of our Lord.

Anselm's _Cui Deus Homo_.

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1. Merryweather, _Bibliomania in the Middle Ages_, 1849, 140-143.

APPENDIX E.

Books presented by Bishop Leofric to the Exeter library in the latter part of the eleventh century (Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, 1819, II. 527):

Two missals; a collect; three books of epistles; three books of songs; a book of night songs; another book (character not indicated); a tropery; two ordinary psalters and a Roman psalter; two hymn books; four books of blessings, one of them a precious book; one English book of Christ; two books of summer readings and one of winter readings; a book of canonical rules; a confessional in English; a book of homilies and hymns for winter and summer; a capitulary; a book of very ancient nocturnal songs; three books of very old legends and readings.

There were also the following books in Latin: a Pastoral; a book of dialogues; a book containing four of the prophets; a book of Consolations, by Boethius; Isagoge of Porphyry; a passional; a book by Prosper; a book by Prudentius on the martyrs; the book of the Prophet Ezekiel; a copy of the book of Isaiah; a book of Etymology, by Isidore, as well as a book by him on the lives of the Apostles; by Bede, an Exposition of the Epistles and an Exposition of the Apocalypse; a book by Isidore on the miracles of Christ; a book by Orosius; the book of Maccabees; a copy of the Offices of Amalar; a book by Statius with a gloss.

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