

## Identifiable books from the pre-Conquest library of Malmesbury Abbey

RODNEY THOMSON

*In memory of Richard Hunt*

The Benedictine abbey at Malmesbury in Wiltshire was one of that select group of English houses which could trace its history back to the golden age epitomized and chronicled by Bede.<sup>1</sup> To Bede's older contemporary Aldhelm (*ob. c.* 709) belongs most of the credit for setting the recently founded community on its feet and for making it a by-word throughout the British Isles for the pursuit of divine and secular learning.<sup>2</sup> During his abbacy Malmesbury eclipsed the reputations of the Irish schools and of Hadrian's Canterbury. At only one other point in its long history did the abbey attain a comparable reputation for learning, when it housed the monk William (*c.* 1095–1143), whose career, intellectual interests and writings were consciously modelled upon the examples of Bede and Aldhelm.<sup>3</sup>

To judge from the quotations in his own works, Aldhelm's library – in secular literature at least – was more extensive than Bede's.<sup>4</sup> One assumes that

<sup>1</sup> On the early history of Malmesbury, see A. Watkin, *Victoria County History of Wiltshire* III, 230; D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 54–5; and William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Ser. (London, 1870), pp. 345–57 and 361–443 (henceforth cited as *GP*).

<sup>2</sup> M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe*, 2nd ed. (London, 1957), pp. 151–6; M. R. James, *Two Ancient English Scholars* (Glasgow, 1931), pp. 9–15; C. J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 201–6; P. Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'occident barbare*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1961), pp. 421–6; and M. Winterbottom, 'Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins', *ASE* 6 (1977), 39–76. On the dating of Aldhelm's career, see now M. Lapidge and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 1–10.

<sup>3</sup> On William, see William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS (London, 1887–9) I, ix–lxv and cxv–cxlvii, and II, xv–cxlii, and my 'William of Malmesbury as Historian and Man of Letters', *JEH* 29 (1978), 387–413. For a bibliography, see my 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', *RB* 85 (1975), 362–94 (henceforth 'Reading'), at 394–6, and for supplement, see my 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury; Addenda et Corrīgenda', *RB* 86 (1976), 327–35, at 334–5. My study of William's books is completed in 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury; Further Additions and Reflections', *RB* 89 (1979), 313–24.

<sup>4</sup> On Bede's library, see M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede', *Bede: his Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. H. Thompson (Oxford, 1935), pp. 237–66, repr. *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. C. G. Starr (Cornell, 1957), pp. 117–49, and now P. Hunter Blair, 'From Bede to Alcuin', *Famulus Christi*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 239–60. On Aldhelm's reading, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auct. Antiq.* 15 (Berlin, 1919),

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Aldhelm brought books to Malmesbury for his teaching and that some of them remained at the abbey after his death. In 1931 M. R. James tried to show that one or two of Aldhelm's books were still available to William of Malmesbury.<sup>5</sup> Some of the books, too, which John Leland found at Malmesbury in the first half of the sixteenth century, must have been ancient, to judge from their titles.<sup>6</sup> There can in fact be little doubt that, from the twelfth century on, Malmesbury's was one of the great monastic libraries of England. Can we learn anything of its prehistory? In other words, is there any possibility of reconstructing the abbey's pre-Conquest collection, or at least of compiling a list of early manuscripts which could at one time or another have been found at the house? This is a hazardous undertaking and at first sight the prospects of success look bleak: only five Malmesbury manuscripts earlier than the twelfth century find a place in Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*;<sup>7</sup> works quoted by Aldhelm need not have been known to him from books at Malmesbury; demonstrably ancient manuscripts used by William could have come, and often did come, from elsewhere, sometimes to be returned after copying;<sup>8</sup> and Malmesbury books listed by Leland, however early they might be, could have entered the library there at any time before the sixteenth century. More fundamentally, there is little evidence that institutional libraries involving corporate ownership of books and standardized procedures for their housing, borrowing and maintenance existed in England prior to the late eleventh century. Before that time books seemed to have been more readily attached to persons and to have changed hands and places much more freely than was the case from c. 1100 until the Reformation.<sup>9</sup> Malmesbury itself had a chequered history between the times of Aldhelm and William, even becoming a college of secular clerks between c. 950 and c. 965.<sup>10</sup> Thus the chances of a book used by Aldhelm still being

11–537, *passim*; J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books known to the English, 597–1066*, Med. Acad. of America Publ. 76 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), *passim*, but esp. under Cicero (*Cat.* and *Verr.*), Claudian, Donatus, Gellius, Juvenal, Lucan, Orosius, Ovid, Persius, Phocas, Pliny, Pompeius, Priscian (*Inst. de Nom.* only), Seneca(?), Servius, Solinus, Suetonius and Terence. But both Ehwald's and Ogilvy's information is to be regarded critically. On both Bede and Aldhelm, see M. Manitius, 'Zu Aldhelm und Beda', *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien* 112 (1886), 535–634, also separately ptd (Vienna, 1886), and M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), pp. 290–301.

<sup>5</sup> James, *Two Ancient English Scholars*, pp. 12–14.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 3–14.

<sup>7</sup> N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p. 128. But two, perhaps three, additions can now be made to this; see below, pp. 6–10 and 14.

<sup>8</sup> This is true, for instance, of his use of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xv, a Canterbury book dated c. 1000, of the version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* from Canterbury and of a lost exemplar for the second part of his manuscript of John Scotus Eriugena's *Periphyseon*; see Thomson, 'Reading', pp. 367 and 389–90; and R. M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury and the Letters of Alcuin', *Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 8 (1977), 147–61.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the remarks by M. B. Parkes, *ASE* 5 (1976), 170–1.

<sup>10</sup> GP, p. 403.

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available to William need to be carefully considered. And *e converso*: King Athelstan (924–39) was a generous donor to the abbey and, although William does not mention books among his gifts, the king certainly gave them to other houses and one would expect him to have given them to Malmesbury as well.<sup>11</sup>

Such a formidable array of pitfalls enforces caution; and yet, when we examine Leland's lists, the manuscripts known to William and internal evidence in a few extant manuscripts, and when we consider these sources of information in conjunction with Aldhelm's quotations and other background material, the connections that can be made enable us to draw up an unexpectedly long and interesting list of ancient, rare and important books which were, or may have been, at the abbey in pre-Conquest days. The list will, of course, constitute no more than an unrepresentative fragment of the total collection as it was at any particular time, but it seems worth offering as a basis on which more may yet be built.

SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

*Malmesbury books known to Leland*

In his *Collectanea* John Leland listed twenty-four books which he found at Malmesbury, giving the author and usually the title of the first or main item of contents. Five of these books are mentioned again in his *De Scriptoribus*, evidently for their exceptional rarity and possibly for their age, for Leland describes them as 'multo praestantiora' than Aldhelm's relics and refers to a psalter 'litteris Saxonice longiusculis scriptum', which he was shown during his visit.<sup>12</sup> The latest dateable items of the twenty-four contained works by twelfth-century authors: Faricius of Abingdon, William of Malmesbury, Robert of Cricklade and Grossolanus of Milan. There are six of these, including one mentioned in the *De Scriptoribus*, and we may exclude them from our enquiry. The other eighteen are all worthy of consideration and I proceed roughly in the order of Leland's list.

He begins with Juvenius, an author certainly more popular before the Conquest than later and much used by Aldhelm.<sup>13</sup> Of eight surviving Insular manuscripts there is one each from the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries,

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 396–403. Cf. J. J. G. Alexander, 'The Benedictional of St Æthelwold and Anglo-Saxon Illumination of the Reform Period', *Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'*, ed. D. Parsons (London and Chichester, 1975), pp. 169–73.

<sup>12</sup> J. Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (London, 1770–4) IV, 157, and *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hall (Oxford, 1709), I, 100–1.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. J. Huemer, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 24 (Berlin, 1891); see also E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 2nd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1961), no. 1385. On knowledge of Juvenius in Anglo-Saxon England, see Ogilvy, *Books known to the English*, p. 190.

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two are from the tenth century, one is from *c.* 1000 and there is one each from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.<sup>14</sup> Three, including the single post-Conquest example, have known provenances. The earliest, Cues, Hospitalbibliothek, 171, a mere fragment, may have been written in Northumbria, but, if so, it doubtless passed early to the continent. It was certainly there well before Leland's time.<sup>15</sup> Of the two remaining possibilities, one is the most important of all Juvenius manuscripts, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 304. This copy, assigned to the early eighth century, was written in uncials, probably in Italy.<sup>16</sup> M. R. James tentatively identified it with the 'Juvenius in Romana scriptura' which figures in the twelfth-century library catalogue from Christ Church, Canterbury.<sup>17</sup> This, however, bore a distinguishing mark resembling HL, probably on its opening leaf, and, as James noted, there is no trace of such a mark in the Corpus Juvenius.<sup>18</sup> At the head of its 11 is an erased early inscription consisting of a single word of about eight to ten capitals. James distinguished *S* at the end and *A* at the beginning. Were he right, ALDHELMVS would be an attractive conjecture which would fit the space well enough. The *S* at the end seems fairly clear, but my own examination left me unconvinced about the *A* at the beginning, and, since then, Drs R. I. Page and M. Lapidge have studied the inscription under ultra-violet light and reported that James's initial letter is more likely to be a *V* and is in any case the *second* letter, not the first.<sup>19</sup> Thus the inscription is more likely to have read IVVENCVS. The book was certainly in England *c.* 1000, when annotations were made both in Anglo-Caroline and in Anglo-Saxon minuscule, but its exact provenance is still a mystery. The other possible candidate for identification with Leland's Malmesbury book is Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 4. 42.<sup>20</sup> It was made in the ninth century

<sup>14</sup> Cues, Hospitalbibliothek, 171 (?Insular, s. vii); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 304 (?Italy, s. viii); Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 4. 42 (Wales, s. ix); London, British Library, Royal 15 A. xvi (continental, s. ix; in England by s. x<sup>2</sup>); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 25 (?English, s. x); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 2410 (English, s. x/xi); ULC Gg. 5. 35 (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi med.); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 527 (Waverley, s. xiii).

<sup>15</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934–71) VIII, no. 1172; left to the Cues Library by Nicholas of Cues (*ob.* 1464).

<sup>16</sup> *CL.A* II, no. 127; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1909–12) II, 101; and F. A. Rella, 'Continental Manuscripts acquired for English Centres in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 107–16, at 110. To Rella's list should be added Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall 19 (see below, p. 16).

<sup>17</sup> M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 11, no. 152, and cf. pp. xxxii–iii; see also H. Thoma, 'The Oldest Manuscript of Juvenius', *Classical Rev.* 64 (1950), 95–6.

<sup>18</sup> Marks survive in this position in CCC 260, Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 3 and R. 15. 22, and New Zealand, Wellington, Turnbull Library 16; and in many other manuscripts not included in the surviving fragment of the twelfth-century catalogue.

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to these two scholars for undertaking this examination on my behalf, when I was in Australia, and to Dr Lapidge for reporting their findings.

<sup>20</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, 'The Corpus Martianus Capella', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* IV.4 (1967), 258.

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at an unidentified centre in Wales but may later have come into the possession of an English centre, for it has Latin glosses in Anglo-Caroline script of c. 1000 by a scribe whose writing is found in other English manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> At present a Malmesbury provenance cannot be demonstrated for either of these manuscripts; it seems inherently less likely for the Welsh book, for there is no evidence of any significant cultural links between Wales and Malmesbury.

Next on Leland's list is 'Opera Fortunati carmine scripta', an entry which he repeated in the *De Scriptoribus*. This copy was probably early, since most of those extant were written between the ninth and eleventh centuries,<sup>22</sup> and since in England Fortunatus was well known – and probably best known – for at least a century and a half before the Conquest.<sup>23</sup> There is some positive evidence that William of Malmesbury did not know his verse.<sup>24</sup> This seems odd, for William was an omnivorous reader with pronounced antiquarian interests, and the Fortunatus may therefore have been a late-comer to the abbey. On the other hand, Fortunatus's *Vita S. Paterni*, a work noted by Leland, was known to William,<sup>25</sup> and Leland's reference is probably to the copy once in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, burnt in the fire of 1731. This manuscript was originally bound up with Oxford, Bodley 852, written at Jumièges in the mid-eleventh century but at Malmesbury after 1106, probably acquired by William.<sup>26</sup> The relics of St Paternus had been given to Malmesbury by Athelstan.<sup>27</sup>

Of the next item, 'Beda super Canticum Abacuc', Laistner and King comment that 'MSS of it are few and it rarely appears in medieval catalogues'.<sup>28</sup> They list twelve manuscripts, of which six are English. All of these except one have known provenances, and all are of the twelfth century except for Cambridge, Pembroke College 81, a ninth-century book with Corbie connections, at Bury abbey by the mid-twelfth century.<sup>29</sup> The one English manuscript of uncertain origin is London, Lambeth Palace Library, 237, a post-medieval make-up of three volumes. Bede, *Super Habacuc*, is in the first volume, from the twelfth century. There is no positive evidence to

<sup>21</sup> BL Cotton Vespasian D. xv, fols. 102–21, and BL Harley 3376; see Bishop, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Fortunati Opera*, ed. F. Leo, MGH, Auct. Antiq. 4.1 (Berlin, 1881), v–xiv.

<sup>23</sup> Ogilvy, *Books known to the English*, p. 140, is now thoroughly superseded by R. W. Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 8 (1979), 279–95.

<sup>24</sup> Thomson, 'Reading, Additions and Reflections', p. 317.

<sup>25</sup> *GP*, p. 399.

<sup>26</sup> R. M. Thomson, 'The "Scriptorium" of William of Malmesbury', *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 121–3.

<sup>27</sup> *GP*, pp. 398–9.

<sup>28</sup> M. L. W. Laistner and H. H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1943), pp. 43–4.

<sup>29</sup> The suggestion that the manuscript was copied from a Corbie exemplar was made to me by Dr D. Ganz. The manuscript bears the Bury *ex-libris* of c. 1200 and figures in the earliest part of its composite library catalogue from the second half of the twelfth century.

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connect this volume with Malmesbury. Even less can be said of the next entry in Leland's list, 'Bedaе allegorica expositio super Leviticum et Tobiam'. Laistner and King comment that the popularity of *De Tobia*, 'especially in the twelfth century, is astonishing' and they list seventy-four manuscripts of it.<sup>30</sup> None of the surviving English ones includes (pseudo-)Bede on Leviticus.<sup>31</sup>

I deal next with a group of items, 'Claudii tres libri super Mattheum', 'Cassiodorus de Anima', 'Exameron Basilii' and 'Gregorius Nicenus de conditione hominis', which can be connected with Malmesbury only on Leland's testimony. To judge from other library catalogues and surviving copies all of these were especially popular in the twelfth century, and probably the Malmesbury examples were typical stately folios of that date. Aldhelm quotes Basil's work,<sup>32</sup> but the *Hexameron* was too common for that to be significant. Gregory of Nyssa is included in the twelfth-century section of Lambeth 237.

Interspersed with this group are some items which look more promising. 'Sententiae Xysti, interprete Rufino, qui contendit hunc fuisse Xystum pontificem Romanum' denotes Rufinus's translation of the *Sentences of Sextus*, a rare work surviving in twelve manuscripts of which no fewer than six, interestingly enough, are from England.<sup>33</sup> Glastonbury had a copy in 1247 and Leland records two others, at Faversham and the London Carmelite priory.<sup>34</sup> No less than five of the extant manuscripts from England are later than the twelfth century (two being of known provenance), so that we might well think that not much can be made of this item of Leland's. The remaining English manuscript is the third part of Lambeth 237, dating from the early tenth century. It was written on the continent but was in west or south-west England by the middle of the same century.<sup>35</sup> It may therefore be the copy recorded in the thirteenth-century Glastonbury catalogue. Leland's rendering of the alleged pope's name as 'Xystus', rather than 'Sixtus' or 'Sextus', seems at first sight against the connection; since this form occurs in only two of the extant manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2676 and 113, both continental and of the ninth and eleventh centuries respectively, it might indicate that Leland saw an early continental manuscript at Malmesbury. But

<sup>30</sup> Laistner and King, *Hand-List*, pp. 78–82.

<sup>31</sup> Pseudo-Bede, *Super Leviticum* (F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1940–61), no. 1649).

<sup>32</sup> Ed. Ehwald, p. 263 (*De Virg. Prosa*), in the version of Rufinus.

<sup>33</sup> Rufinus, *The Sentences of Sextus*, ed. H. Chadwick, *Texts and Stud.* n.s. 5 (Cambridge, 1959); repr. *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 20 (Turnhout, 1961), 257–9; see also *Clavis*, no. 198h. Cambridge, St John's College 168 is from Witham; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 94, from York Franciscans. Unassigned are Cambridge, University Library, Add. 584, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 351, BL Royal 2 F. ii and London, Lambeth Palace Library, 237.

<sup>34</sup> For the Glastonbury catalogue, see T. W. Williams, *Somerset Medieval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), p. 63, and, for the manuscripts seen by Leland, see *Collectanea* iv, 6 and 53.

<sup>35</sup> Rella, 'Continental Manuscripts', p. 113, no. 22, and T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), no. 3.



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Lambeth 237 remains a possibility for he renders the name thus for the Faversham and London copies also. Leland follows this entry with ‘Questiones Albini super Genesim. parvus libellus’, meaning Alcuin’s *Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim*. Thirteen manuscripts of this work are known, five each from the ninth and tenth centuries, two from the twelfth century and one from the thirteenth.<sup>36</sup> The two English examples are late: Lambeth 148, twelfth-century from Lanthony, and BL, Royal 8 E. xvi of the early thirteenth century. But it is the description of the book rather than its contents that arouses our interest, for Leland’s words suggest that it contained *only* the item he mentions. Such a book would resemble Malmesbury’s extant ninth-century copy of Jerome, *De Nominibus Hebraicis*, of which more later. It might not have been as early as that, but early it would almost certainly have been. By the twelfth century a single volume would scarcely have been wasted on this work alone. It is followed in Leland’s list by another ninth-century author, ‘Dionysius, interprete Ioanne Scoto’, referring to the standard collection of pseudo-Dionysius’s works in John Scotus Eriugena’s translation, accompanied by the glosses and preface of Anastasius the Librarian and other matter.<sup>37</sup> This collection does not seem to have reached England before c. 1100, after which it became very popular.<sup>38</sup> William of Malmesbury had it<sup>39</sup> and one imagines that Leland’s volume must have had some connection with William. Two other books containing works of Alcuin appear in the *Collectanea* list and we may mention them to dismiss them. One, ‘Albinus super Ecclesiasten’, is probably Oxford, Merton College 181, containing this work and others, made for William of Malmesbury in the 1120s or 1130s.<sup>40</sup> The other, ‘Epistolae Albini’, from which Leland quotes elsewhere in the *Collectanea*, refers to the apograph of BL Cotton Tiberius A. xv, made by William of Malmesbury, now lost.<sup>41</sup> In other words, the

<sup>36</sup> Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, no. 1085; Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 100, cols. 515–66; prologue MGH, *Epist.* 4 (Berlin, 1895), 122 ff. (Ep. 80).

<sup>37</sup> MGH, *Epist.* 7 (Berlin, 1928), 430–4; see J. Cappeluyens, *Jean Scot Erigène* (Brussels, 1933), pp. 150–61 and H. F. Dondaine, ‘Le Corpus dionysien de l’université de Paris au XIIIe siècle’, *Storia e Letteratura* 44 (1953), esp. 35–66.

<sup>38</sup> The earliest known English manuscript, from which all others seem to derive, is Oxford, St John’s College 128, from the first quarter of the twelfth century, provenance unknown. Collation with William’s quotation suggests that his manuscript too derived from this one. I have examined the St John’s College manuscript for a possible Malmesbury connection, but could find no positive evidence. The historiated initial on 9v might assist in localizing the manuscript. It is an *O* enclosing *Christus super aspides*, in tinted outline style, the drapery showing ‘nested V-folds’. Later English manuscripts are Cambridge, Trinity College B. 2. 31; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 639, Ashmole 1526 and e Mus. 134.

<sup>39</sup> The evidence is set out Thomson, ‘Reading, Additions and Reflections’, pp. 318–19; cf. E. Jeaneau, ‘Guillaume de Malmesbury, premier éditeur anglais du “Periphyseon”’, *Sapientiae Doctrina, Mélanges de théologie et de littérature médiévaux offerts à Dom Hildebrand Bascour* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 148–79.

<sup>40</sup> Thomson, ‘The “Scriptorium”’, pp. 139–41.

<sup>41</sup> Thomson, ‘William of Malmesbury and the Letters of Alcuin’, pp. 147–50. Cf. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 128, identifying Leland’s manuscript with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood Empt. 5, of the early thirteenth century.

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manuscript seen by Leland almost certainly dated from the early twelfth century.

There remain four works in Leland's list and they are the most interesting of all. I begin with one already studied by James, 'Junilius ad Primasium papam', noted again by Leland in *De Scriptoribus* as 'fragmenta Junilii et Primasii'. The work meant is Junilius's *Institutes* or *De Partibus Divinae Legis*, dedicated to Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum.<sup>42</sup> James noted that this work was quoted by Aldhelm,<sup>43</sup> who also made Leland's mistake as to the office held by Primasius: 'Junillius, instituta regularia . . . Primasio, sedis apostolicae pontifici scribens'.<sup>44</sup> James thought that this error must stem from Aldhelm's manuscript of Junilius, and that this manuscript was the one seen by Leland. This suggestion, in itself plausible, can be supported with additional evidence. Twenty-one of the twenty-three known manuscripts of Junilius are early, dating from the seventh to the eleventh century. But we may even have the remains of the Malmesbury copy.

BL Cotton Tiberius A. xv, fols. 175–80, is a fragment of Junilius in early-eighth-century Anglo-Saxon minuscule, written, according to Lowe, 'probably in a southern centre'.<sup>45</sup> The six leaves, containing *Inst.* 1.9–11.17 and 22–4, were much damaged in the fire of 1731 and are now mounted separately. Their correct order is fols. 177, 179, 180, 176, 175 and 178 and they now measure c. 230 × 160 mm. There are two obstacles to be tackled before considering some positive arguments for identifying these leaves as the remains of the Malmesbury book. First of all, Lowe compared the script of the present manuscript with that of BL Cotton Charter Augustus ii. 18, dated 704–5 and now proved to have been written in London.<sup>46</sup> The resemblance is not however close and we can with greater justice assign the script of Cotton Tiberius A. xv to south-west England. In a recent article Malcolm Parkes has studied the handwriting of St Boniface and of an associate whom Parkes calls 'Glossator B', describing him as 'a kind of

<sup>42</sup> See James, *Two Ancient English Scholars*, p. 13. The work is ptd PL 68, cols. 15–42; for bibliography, see *Clavis*, no. 872, and Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, no. 5328. There is a critical edition by H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten* (Freiburg, 1880), 467–528, based on thirteen manuscripts. Another ten were added by M. L. W. Laistner, 'Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 40 (1947), 19–31. For the dates of the earliest manuscripts, see *CLA* II, no. 189 (addition), III, no. 348 (s. viii/ix), and VII, no. 965 (s. vii/viii). Cf. also Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 109 (s. xi), fols. 138–50, Laon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 273, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 159 (Lorsch), ninth-century manuscripts containing Wicbod, *Questiones in Octateuchum ex Dictis Sanctorum Patrum Augustini, Ambrosii, Hilarii, Eucherii et Junilii* (on which see J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930* (Munich, 1978), pp. 37–8 and 45).

<sup>43</sup> James, *Two Ancient English Scholars*, p. 13; Laistner, 'Antiochene Exegesis', pp. 26–7.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. Ehwald, pp. 81–2 and n. 1 (*De Metris*).

<sup>45</sup> *CLA* II, no. 189.

<sup>46</sup> Earlier transcriptions and discussions are now superseded by P. Chaplais, 'The Letter from Bishop Wealdhere of London to Archbishop Brihtwold of Canterbury', *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries*, ed. Parkes and Watson, pp. 3–23.



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amanuensis... working under supervision, amplifying the glosses of Glossator A' (whom Parkes identifies as Boniface).<sup>47</sup> This man and the scribe of the Spangenberg Servius<sup>48</sup> form a group which Parkes connects with south-west England. Dr Parkes himself suspects Malmesbury as a likely place of origin for the Servius;<sup>49</sup> it is a pity that Aldhelm's quotations from Servius are not extensive enough to permit a comparison. Characteristics of the handwriting of this group are: an upright **g** with a long, horizontal head-stroke, the tail occasionally brought back to form a loop; **tio** in a ligature; **fi** ligature with the **i** traced across the head-stroke of **f**; and **g** in ligature with a following letter at the beginning of a word. The Cotton Junilius fragment has Glossator B's form of **g** and his **g** and **tio** ligatures, but not the others. It has the form for **fi** used by Glossator A (**f** plus **i** subscript).

Another consideration is that a copy of Junilius, described as 'vetustus', appears in the Glastonbury library catalogue of 1247.<sup>50</sup> One has therefore to make a case for identifying the Cotton fragment with Leland's Malmesbury book rather than with the Glastonbury one. The compiler of the Glastonbury catalogue distinguished between books which were 'vetustus' and those which were 'vetustissimus', which suggests that the local Junilius was perhaps not as old as the eighth century. Nor is there any evidence that this book survived until the Dissolution, as was the case with the Malmesbury example. But what tips the scales decisively in favour of Malmesbury, I believe, is the fact that Leland called what he saw there 'fragmenta' and the Cotton leaves were in that state even before the fire of 1731. In his catalogue entry for Cotton Tiberius A. xv Thomas Smith described a 'Fragmentum theologicum, characteribus uetustis, et a festinante scriba exaratis'.<sup>51</sup> That this was the Junilius is proved by Wanley's annotation of 'Saxonicis cursoriis' after 'characteribus' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Lond. 54, his copy of Smith's *Catalogus*.

Aldhelm's quotation from Junilius does not tell us much. Collation with Kihn's edition shows that Aldhelm's exemplar was not related to A, D, E or L, but that leaves another nine possibilities. Kihn did not use the Cotton fragment, which does not overlap with Aldhelm's quotation. It is not related to A, D or L either (it does not overlap with the excerpts in E), nor to B, H, M, P or R. Thus all that can be said is that there are no insuperable textual obstacles to its identification with Aldhelm's manuscript and that there is a

<sup>47</sup> M. B. Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface; a Reassessment of the Problems', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98 (1976), 161–79, esp. 177.

<sup>48</sup> *CLA* Suppl., no. 1806.

<sup>49</sup> So Dr Parkes informs me.

<sup>50</sup> Williams, *Somerset Libraries*, p. 75.

<sup>51</sup> T. Smith, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (London, 1696), p. 21.

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balance of probability in favour. It was apparently written early in the eighth century, by which time Aldhelm was an old man; unfortunately the *De Metris*, in which Aldhelm quotes Junilius, cannot be closely dated.<sup>52</sup> To sum up: there is good if not conclusive evidence that the Cotton Junilius is a fragment of the Malmesbury copy, and some reason to connect it with Aldhelm.

The next work, mentioned in both of Leland's books and therefore thought by him particularly noteworthy, is the *Peri Hermeneias* doubtfully ascribed to Apuleius. The two most recent editors of this work<sup>53</sup> together list ten manuscripts, all continental, four from the ninth century, two from the tenth, three from the eleventh and one from the twelfth. Again this gives us grounds for presuming that the book which Leland saw was an ancient one. Neither editor mentions CCC 206, a tenth-century copy written in a puzzling mixture of continental Caroline script with many Insular abbreviations. It contains (in addition to the *Peri Hermeneias*) the fourth book of Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis*, Boethius, *De Trinitate*, and Alcuin, *Dialectica*.<sup>54</sup> The opening leaf of this manuscript was rewritten in England c. 1100, in a fine hand uninfluenced by newly introduced continental fashions but accompanied by a striking 'Norman' initial outlined in red, tinted with violet, red and green and displaying a lion and dragon, foliage and interlace. This was obviously done in a well-established scriptorium and at this date one thinks of Canterbury. It is perhaps worth noting that William of Malmesbury certainly knew Boethius's Trinitarian works, although they were not uncommon at the time, and probably knew Alcuin's *Dialectica*, much rarer.<sup>55</sup> There is therefore a possibility that CCC 206 was the manuscript that Leland saw at Malmesbury, but it is a remote one.

The next item, 'Grammatica Euticis', survives in thirty manuscripts dating from the ninth century to the eleventh.<sup>56</sup> The only specimen of English provenance is one of the ninth-century sections of St Dunstan's 'Classbook' from Glastonbury,<sup>57</sup> and even that originated in Brittany. Leland records another copy at St Augustine's, Canterbury.<sup>58</sup> In 1247 Glastonbury had two copies of this work, both described as 'vetustissimi',<sup>59</sup> but it was evidently not well known in England, nor thought useful after the early eleventh

<sup>52</sup> Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm*, pp. 12–13.

<sup>53</sup> A. Goldbacher, 'Liber περὶ ἑρμηνείας qui Apuleii Madaurensis esse traditur', *Wiener Studien* 7 (1885), 253–77, and P. Thomas, *Apuleii Opera* III (Leipzig, 1908), 176–94.

<sup>54</sup> James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College* 1, 495–8, and C. Leonardi, 'I Codici di Marziano Capella', *Aevum* 34 (1960), 21–2, no. 29. Neither notices the rewritten first recto.

<sup>55</sup> Thomson, 'Reading, Addenda et Corrigenda', pp. 328–9.

<sup>56</sup> C. Jeudy, 'Les Manuscrits de l'*Ars de Verbo* d'Eurychès et le commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre', *Études de civilisation médiévale IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: mélanges offerts à E.-R. Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 421–36.

<sup>57</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32; ed. R. W. Hunt, *St Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*, *Umbrae Codicum Occidentaliū* 4 (Amsterdam, 1961).

<sup>58</sup> Leland, *Collectanea* IV, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Williams, *Somerset Libraries*, p. 75; also Leland, *Collectanea* IV, 154, though this is Dunstan's book yet again.