

A CHECK-LIST OF THE MORE SUBSTANTIAL PAMPHLETS,
ETC., PRINTED AT THE WATER LANE PRESS

- (1) ROBERT WALKER. *Directions for Using the Stanhope Printing Press*. [September] 1953. Foolscap 8vo. 20 copies.
- (2) [PHILIP GASKELL]. *Water Lane Press*. October 1953. Writing Demy 8vo. 100 copies.
- (3) *A Specimen of Type at the Water Lane Press*. [October 1953.] Single leaf, 215 × 245 mm. 100 copies.
- (4) J.C.T.O[ates]. *To Mr P— G—*. [October] 1953. Foolscap 8vo. 14 copies.
- (5) *The Glasgow University Printing Office in MDCCCXXVI*. [December] 1953. Writing Medium 8vo. 36 copies.
- (6) *Water Lane Press Chapel Rules House Style*. [January] 1954. Single leaf, 318 × 254 mm. 40 copies.
- (7) GEORGE DAY. *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Oratoris Publici ad Cuthb. Tunstallum pro Codicum Græc. donatione Epistola*. [March] 1954. Foolscap 4to. 39 copies.
- (8) [Type specimen, 'Galley Specimen 1']. March 1954. Single leaf, 182 × 134 mm. 4 copies.
- (9) John Johnson, *Typography Page*. [March] 1954. Single leaf, 234 × 151 mm. 90 copies.
- (10) JAMES WOODFORDE. *Parson Woodforde at Table*. [April] 1954. Writing Demy 8vo. 20 copies.
- (11) OLIVER GOLDSMITH. *A Prospect of Society*. Ed. William B. Todd. [June] 1954. Writing Demy 8vo. 60 copies.
- (12) *A Specimen of Type*. [March] 1955. Single leaf, 270 × 287 mm. 30 copies.
- (13) L. ANNAEUS SENECA. [*Ad Lucilium Epistola Moralis LXXXIII*]. [May 1955.] Single leaf, 455 × 285 mm. 70 copies.

TCBS 27 (1955)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NOTES ON CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPTS

PART II

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY Add. MS. 4406 (1) (Cassiodorus in Psalmos) (Fragm.)

From the scriptorium and library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey.

It consists of two separate leaves, ruled in double columns of 40 lines. The written area is $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. The hand is that of the scribe who wrote PEMBROKE COLL. 18, and appears also in Bodleian Library MS. c Mus. 31. These are both from the Bury library and were doubtless written at Bury. The fragment is to be identified with '.xx. Cassiodorus super beatus uir' in a Bury catalogue, PEMBROKE COLL. 47, fos. 117 *et seq.* (The first portion of this catalogue, items ii–cxxxv, written with a few gaps by the same scribe as the gloss of PEMBROKE COLL. 52, fos. 4 *et seq.*, seems not much later than 1150.)

Another fragment of the Cassiodorus is in the collection of Sir Sydney Cockerell.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE 73 (Evangelia)

Written at Bury, probably in the last quarter of the eleventh century, possibly even later, and doubtless preserved there until the dissolution.¹

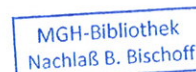
It is the work of two scribes. The first wrote fos. 1^v to 7^r, 10^v to 39^v, 61 to 63, 99^v, line 13 (*deficere...*), to 100^v, 101^v to 136^v. The second wrote fos. 42^v to 60^v, 66^v to 99^v, line 13 (*...inuitatus*).

The leading scribe wrote an upright or nearly upright round hand of exceptional quality (plate X (a)). He reappears in B.M. Harl. MS. 76, of Bury provenance, in additional matter filling a space on fo. 137^r (plate X (b)). This is a copy of a memorandum about local affairs composed between 1087 and 1100. The copy may have been written at some indefinitely later date; the hand, a little archaic in style for the time of Rufus, is not so anachronistic as certain Ramsey script of the early twelfth century (*ante* i, p. 434), in which many letter forms recall those of the late tenth.

This excellent scribe had not much Latin, to judge from his entry in Harl. MS. 76, where *comitatur* for *comitatus* in the last line shows that the exemplar was written, rather strangely for its date, in Anglo-Saxon minuscule. The mistake was not just a slip, caused by unfamiliarity with his native script; it is paralleled in the question mark which he inserted, or failed to omit, after *Quare* in line 5. In spite of these errors the text seems to be better and is probably earlier than that printed by Hearne, *Textus Roffensis*, p. 149.

¹ For permission to reproduce passages in this MS. I am grateful to the Master and Fellows of St John's College.

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Responsible for the opening pages, the scribe seems to have set the key for the entire MS. Such a part for an opening scribe is referred to by the editors of *New Pal. Soc.*, 2nd ser., in their account of the York Gospels; but in the York Gospels the excellent scribe who wrote the opening minuscule verses of St Matthew's Gospel (*ibid.* no. 164 (c)) established the mise-en-page merely, the rest of the Gospels being written by another scribe in a clear but non-calligraphic hand. In a calligraphic form the Caroline minuscule, which of its nature taxes to their limit the scribe's resources and compels him to find his own personal solution to its problems, offers special difficulties to the production of a MS. de luxe by closely collaborating scribes. The St John's College Gospels may be compared and contrasted with a MS. of greater importance in the history of art, but in point of calligraphy inferior. In B.M. Royal MS. 1 D IX (Evangelia) fo. 1^r and the first twelve lines of fo. 1^v (... *tramites ducit*) were written by an accomplished scribe; fo. 1^v, line 12 (*uno de fonte...*), to fo. 5^r by a second and equally good scribe—but in a style so different that the juxtaposition of the two hands on fos. 1^v, 2^r, amounts to a disfigurement; and the greater part of the MS. to the top of fo. 114^r, with a few interruptions, by a third scribe whose awkward hand shows that he was trying to imitate the style of the first. In the St John's College Gospels the second scribe (plate XI (a)) imitated the first, with what success may be seen on fos. 99^v, 100^r, where the change of hand does not spoil the appearance of the opening; slightly unnerved, however, by trying to conform to the delicate, upright and round script of the leading scribe, he failed to overcome the main difficulty of the pure Caroline minuscule, that of spacing; in much of his portion the script has a slightly 'dispersed' look. On fos. 44, 45 and 48 the attempt to conform is abandoned, and his handwriting is revealed as not much inferior to that of the first scribe, in a less archaic style: firmer, slightly compressed, slightly smaller, with a perceptible forward slope (plate XI (b)). He was the scribe of B.M. Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 25 (plate XI (c)), a bilingual charter of William I for Bury, notable for the excellence of its Anglo-Saxon script; the apparent date, 1081, is again no better than an earlier limit, since the charter is not authentic.

The MS. was doubtless preserved where it had been written. Having been used liturgically, it has no library press mark and is not to be identified in any of the library catalogues; the unremarkable coincidence of Bury MSS. given to the College by different benefactors is paralleled in the library of Gonville and Caius College; the previous owner, Sir Thomas Bendish, was of an East Anglian family. That the MS. was not written for presentation or at least not presented to another house is probable from the fact that it was never completed. The beginning of each Gospel coincides with the beginning of a fresh gathering, of which the outer bifolium is of stouter than average parchment, the first leaf (but not its conjoint leaf) remaining unruled, evidently to receive a portrait of the Evangelist. If the decoration had been

completed and had come up to the quality of the script the MS. would have been an outstanding late example of the English school; in fact the decoration is represented only by the lavish use of gold for headings and small initials; but even in its incomplete form the MS. has some importance as the earliest major artistic project that can be certainly attributed to Bury.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 214 (Boethius), & 411 (Psalterium)

The texts were written by the same scribe.

PEMBROKE COLLEGE 41 (Augustinus)

Written perhaps at Christ Church Canterbury.

This comes from the library and might be presumed to have been written in the scriptorium of Bury St Edmunds. But the script seems earlier than the beginnings of Bury as a going concern, c. 1032. The script of fos. 33 *et seq.* closely resembles that of B.M. Cott. MS. Jul. A. VI, fos. 1–17, provenance Durham, origin understood to be Christ Church Canterbury. Fos. 1–32 were written by the same scribe as CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 326 (Aldhelmus), fos. 1–64, from the library of Christ Church Canterbury.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 221 i (Alcuinus, etc.)

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE 144 i (Glose super Sedulium, etc.)

Some features common to both MSS., including the hand of a common scribe, show that they were written in the same continental scriptorium.

The Corpus MS. contains writings of Alcuin (under his continental style of Albinus) and Bede on orthography. The Caius MS. is likewise concerned with philology: it includes a bad text of the explanatory notes on Sedulius and on the Dicta Catonis which are attributed by Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, pp. xliiii, xlv, to Rémy of Auxerre (c. 841–c. 908).

The Corpus MS. is written on inferior parchment, fairly well prepared. There are prickings, done with a *circulus* (a wheel with the spokes projecting beyond the rim as evenly spaced pin points), on the outer margins; these in fact guided the ruling and there are no prickings on the inner margins; nevertheless I can find only one bifolium, fos. 16, 21, certainly ruled before folding; the leaves were mostly ruled after folding, on the recto sides, three at a time. Ruling after folding was a peculiarly 'insular' practice, found in the British Isles and in continental centres known to have been under English or Irish influence. The leaves are ruled in double columns, 29 lines to a page (but only 28 on fo. 24). They are mostly arranged so that hair side faces flesh side (HFHF). This too is an insular feature; the normal arrangement in continental MSS., unless produced in centres under insular influence, is HFFH. The volume consists of two regular quires each of twelve leaves.

The Caius MS. is written on inferior parchment not well prepared. No prickings are visible. The leaves were ruled after folding, mostly on the recto

sides, at irregular intervals. They are ruled in double columns; the number of lines to a page varies from 21 to 36; page 5 has 21 lines, page 6 (i.e. the verso side of the leaf) has 28; only the third quire, pages 23–46, is uniformly ruled, 25 lines to a page. The leaves are mostly arranged HFHF, but the third quire, regular also in other respects, is arranged HFFH. The collation is: 1¹⁰ 2² (1 canc.) 3¹² 4¹⁴ (5 and 9 canc.) 5⁴; there are signs that the fourth quire also was originally of twelve leaves, the original ninth leaf, pages 61, 62, having been cancelled and rewritten, with the effect of two apparent cancels in the quire.

The abbreviations of the Caius MS., numerous, inconsistent and often capricious—it abounds in random abbreviations of recurrent technical terms—include many insular forms. These could be misleading evidence; they are to be assessed only with other evidence for placing and dating. Many 'insular' abbreviations had their origin in the abbreviation system of antiquity; many of them pursued a continuous and independent course in Italy; many found their way back to the main current of European handwriting in the tenth century, and in that context are not to be considered as specially 'insular'. In the Caius MS., however, they are to be taken together with the method of preparing and arranging the parchment (which did not long survive direct English influence on the Continent, and which eventually died out in England itself), and with what can be made of the script. Insular forms of abbreviation, in the Caius MS., include those of *bene*, *dicit*, *dicitur*, *enim*, *ergo*, *est*, *et*, *hoc*, *homo*, *id est*, *modo*, *post* (two insular forms), *pra*, *pri*, *qua*, *quam* (often so carelessly written as to be indistinguishable from *quia*), *qui*, *quia* (the continental form of this as of some of the others is often used), *quo*, *quod* (the continental form is often used) and *tibi*. Insular abbreviations are present, though not so frequent, in the Corpus MS., and they include the characteristic insular abbreviation of *autem* which I have not noticed in the Caius MS. (except in a slightly later gloss in the lower margin of p. 11). Neither the differences nor the correspondences in their abbreviation systems are critically important. The Caius MS. is in all respects a slovenly performance; the Corpus MS. is the work of scribes whose excesses, in the field of abbreviation, were subdued by its subject-matter—orthography; many variant forms may be due to the exemplars. [In CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 356 iii (Glossarium) written in insular script in a first-rate English scriptorium towards the end of the tenth century, there occur—doubtless picked up from the exemplar—not only the strictly continental suspension forms of *mus* and *mus* (fos. 26^v. 28^v, 40^v, 41^v) but also a form of *nt* ligature (fo. 28^r) which must be termed pre-Caroline, though it survived into the ninth and early tenth centuries in the minuscule of some continental centres].

The three scribes of the Corpus MS. wrote: (1) fo. 1 to fo. 6^r, column i; (2) fo. 6^r, column ii, to fo. 19^v, column i; (3) fo. 19^v, column ii, to fo. 24^v. The two scribes of the Caius MS. wrote: (1) page 1 to page 63, column i,

line 12, and page 71, column ii, to page 77; (2) page 63, column ii, line 13, to page 71, column i. Much the same range of common and technical abbreviation appears in the work of each scribe in the Caius MS. (*dicit* is abbreviated *dī* on page 65), and the same, more restricted range throughout the Corpus MS. Although the hands are sharply distinct, much of the script belongs to a type of rapid, sloping, informal minuscule which is not easily dated or placed. But indications of strong insular influence in a not remote past are confirmed by the remarkable hand of the third scribe in the Corpus MS., who is the second scribe in the Caius MS. It is unprofitable to analyse this without facsimiles; it must be enough to say that the scribe had imperfectly mastered the Caroline minuscule, that he had evidently been more familiar with some continental variety of the insular script, and that the differences between the two specimens of his work, which leave the identification unaffected, might suggest that the Corpus MS. is the earlier.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLL. 144 comes from the library of St Augustine's Canterbury. CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 221, of which the medieval provenance is unknown, is one of the group of MSS. (214, noticed above, is another) probably or certainly given to the College by Daniel Rogers in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

PETERHOUSE 251 vi (Medica)

Written probably at the abbey of St Augustine Canterbury.

It is the unpretentious work of the scribe who wrote Canterbury Cathedral Library 68 (Augustinus) in a more calligraphic style. This belonged to the library of St Augustine's Canterbury, and was probably written there, to judge from the generic likeness of the script to that of other late eleventh-century MSS. from St Augustine's.

TRINITY COLLEGE 945 i (Astrologica, etc.) & ii (Kalendarium)

The contents of the MS. were probably transferred from Hyde Abbey to St Augustine's Canterbury at the end of the eleventh century.

The Calendar has been shown to have been written in the eleventh century at Hyde and, at least for a time, preserved there. It occupies pages 13–36. The Astrologica (as I shall call the astrological and astronomical tracts that occupy most of the MS.), written in the eleventh century, have been identified in the late medieval library catalogue of St Augustine's. They occupy pages 38–216 and also some pages at the beginning of the MS. Without being an elaborate piece of book production the volume of Astrologica is fairly regular in make-up. It is almost all gathered in quires of eight, the outer bifolium of each with the hair side outside, the leaves normally arranged; it is ruled almost uniformly 25 lines to a page, and written almost throughout by the same scribe. Some obvious signs of crowding in the last

forty pages are less interesting than the separation of the opening pages from the rest and their slightly irregular arrangement. Here the *Catalogue of the Western MSS.* establishes a false correspondence between collation, pagination and subject-matter. The first parchment leaf, not foliated or paginated (I refer to it as pages i, ii), is part of the first quire, which is of six leaves, the outer bifolium having the flesh side outside. The astrological tract that occupies most of the first quire, pages 1–10, continues on the first leaf of the second quire, pages 11, 12. The Calendar, occupying the remaining leaves of the second quire (which is of ten leaves, the tenth cancelled) and the whole of the third (which is of four leaves), is thus not fully distinct from the *Astrologica*. How this may have come about is best shown by a diagram (Fig. 1). The first quire was, I suggest, originally of eight leaves, the usual

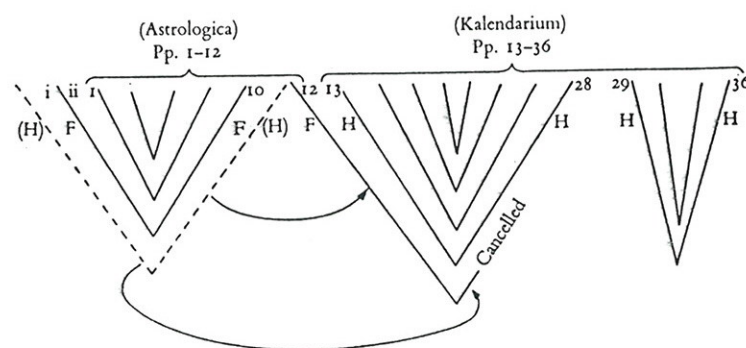


Fig. 1.

arrangement in the *Astrologica*, and the outer bifolium as usual had the hair side outside. The first and second leaves were probably blank. When the contents of the MS. were united in their present form the outer bifolium of the first quire was detached, turned inside out and folded round the second quire. The last leaf of the first quire thus became the first leaf of the second quire and was not out of place; its conjoint leaf was cancelled, since it would have been out of place in the middle of the Calendar, and is represented by the stub at the end of the second quire, between pages 28 and 29. The Calendar may thus be viewed as an entirely distinct physical object, made up—quite normally for a calendar—of a quire of eight and a quire of four leaves, perhaps detached from a missal or psalter, having a history apart from that of the *Astrologica*, and perhaps not joined with them until a comparatively recent date.

But this view requires a coincidence: it brings together between the same covers, after an indefinitely long period of separate ownership, two works that had previously been in the same hands. The *Astrologica* as well as the Calendar were at one time owned by Hyde Abbey. They include a book of Martianus Capella which ends half-way down page 165 (the rest of the page

is blank); the last half-page was erased and rewritten (in the twelfth century, according to the *Catalogue*) in a calligraphic and distinctive hand; and the hand may be located by the contexts in which it reappears. (1) It reappears in B.M. Add. MS. 34890 (*Evangelia*), fos. 158–60. This is matter additional to the eleventh-century Gospels; it is a copy of a letter from Fulk, archbishop of Rouen, to King Alfred concerning St Grimbald; the first abbot of Hyde Abbey. On the strength of this letter Add. 34890 has been rather unhappily named the 'Grimbald Gospels' and has been attributed to Hyde—correctly, so far as ownership is concerned, since the same hand recurs in (2) B.M. Stowe MS. 944, fo. 41^r, a copy of a charter of William I in favour of Riwallon abbot of Hyde, and fo. 59^r, a copy of a charter of Riwallon, issued after the death of William I (facsimiles in Birch, *Liber Vitae*, Hampshire Record Soc. 1892). Stowe 944, the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey, contains miscellanea of various dates and of mainly domestic interest, and was certainly written at Hyde.

If the St Augustine's *Astrologica* were previously owned by Hyde, is there any evidence that the Hyde Calendar was subsequently owned by St Augustine's? It contains a number of additions, all distinctly later than the main hand, though still mostly of the eleventh century. In an upright and rather naïve eleventh-century hand are noted *Dies Malae*, two in each month. (These correspond almost precisely with certain cryptic entries for the first eleven months of the Calendar in St JOHN'S COLL. 262; they appear, for that matter, in many calendars of various provenance.) Other hands have inserted a few calendrical technica. The additions to be looked for, when a medieval calendar has been transferred to new owners, are the names of numerous saints locally venerated in its new home. But this Calendar changed owners, I believe, at a moment when the alien rulers of several English abbeys were unfavourable to the cult of local and English saints. It is in this (admittedly hypothetical) context that the few and almost furtive additions of saints' days are significant. The addition of St Margaret (20 July) has, indeed, no apparent significance. But the addition of St Mildred (13 July) points to Canterbury, and especially to St Augustine's (see F. Wormald, *English Calendars after 1100*, i, Henry Bradshaw Soc. (1938), 48, 49). And the addition of St Eanswitha (31 August) confirms that the Calendar passed into the ownership of St Augustine's Canterbury.

The two parts of the MS. seem to have been united in their present form in the eleventh century. This appears from the contents of at least one and possibly of both of two pages so far left unnoticed. Page 37, the first page of the fourth quire, was originally blank; it contains additional matter in another eleventh-century hand; whether this is more relevant to the Calendar or to the *Astrologica* I shall not venture to say. But page i, the first surviving page of the first quire and thus, considered as a physical object, an integral part of the *Astrologica*, has an inchoate table (not noticed in the *Catalogue*) for

finding the Golden Number. This has nothing to do with the accompanying tract on astrology; it was evidently begun on a conveniently blank page for use with the Calendar; and the hand is of the eleventh century. These appearances would be nullified if it were simultaneously true that the Calendar was already in the possession of St Augustine's in the eleventh century and that the Astrologica were still in the possession of Hyde in the twelfth century. As it happens, the Hyde script on page 165 of the Astrologica and the St Augustine's additions in the Calendar may be narrowly approximated in date. The St Augustine's additions, indeed, would have seemed hardly later than the mid-eleventh century, if they had not been done in a house where an archaic and distinctively English hand persisted for a generation after the Conquest. And the Hyde script on page 165 would be attributable to the twelfth century, if it were not evidently the hand of one of those Norman scribes who, at Hyde as in certain other houses, were beginning to introduce a distinctively alien element into English handwriting. If the MS. was in fact transferred as a whole from Hyde to St Augustine's, as may be reasonably supposed, the occasion may be assigned to the closing years of the eleventh century.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY Min. 4. 25 (Psalterium glo.)

Data kindly furnished by Mr B. S. Cron confirm that a fragment of the psalter (cf. *ante* i, p. 433) is no. 46 in an album of palaeographical specimens, formerly in the Phillipps library, and now in the collection of Sir Sydney Cockerell.

Other leaves of this much damaged MS. may have been abstracted and may still be preserved for the sake of polychrome initials of no great merit. The written area is $5 \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ in. and there are 22 lines to a page.

PART III: MSS. CONNECTED WITH EXETER

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY Hh. 1. 10 (Aelfrici Grammatica)

Written in a scriptorium under the patronage of Leofric bishop of Crediton and Exeter (1046-72).

Some MSS. of the eleventh century, formerly in the library of Exeter Cathedral, have in common a well characterized style of handwriting, found also in unattributed MSS., but not found in MSS. attributed to other medieval libraries. The probable inference about their origin may be extended to Hh 1. 10, since this is connected with the Exeter group not only by the same kind of script (which might be a regional one) but also by personally identifiable hands. The same kind of script and other personally identifiable hands connect these MSS. with twelve documents which were probably written at Exeter, most of them in the Exeter Cathedral Archives and all of the nature

of Exeter Cathedral title deeds. They may be probably assigned to the third quarter of the eleventh century; and as products of a secular cathedral the documents (which seem to illustrate Leofric's effort to recover the rights of the see) and the MSS. (most of them probably given by Leofric to the Cathedral) are to be attributed to a group of scribes working under the patronage of bishop Leofric.

N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. xx, notices a characteristic script in some eleventh-century English MSS., all of which are either possibly or certainly from the medieval library of Exeter Cathedral. The following list is of MSS. certainly from Exeter and containing script which seems to me fairly close to the 'Exeter' norm; it is not exhaustive, and some casual identifications should not be taken to imply any serious attempt to distinguish the scribes.

(1) UNIVERSITY LIBRARY li. 2. 11 (Gospels, etc., in Anglo-Saxon). (Detached leaves of this are in Exeter Cathedral MS. 3501, of which there is a complete facsimile in R. W. Chambers, M. Foerster and R. Flower, *The Exeter Book*; and of these fos. 1 and 2^r are in the 'Exeter' script, though not very close to the norm.¹)

(2) CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 190, pp. 295-319, 365 (Aelfrici Canones, etc.), in Latin and Anglo-Saxon.

(3) CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 191 (Regula Chrodegangi), in Latin and Anglo-Saxon.

(4) CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 196 (Martyrology), in Anglo-Saxon.

(5) CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 201, pp. 179-222 (Theodulfi Canones) and pp. 222-69, an Anglo-Saxon version written by the scribe of p. 365 in (2) CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 190.

(6) TRINITY COLL. 241, later additional matter on fos. 113-21.

(7) B.M. Add. MS. 28188 (Benedictionale, etc.), especially the first hand; the second hand, less characteristic, is that of the scribe who wrote the greater part of

(8) B.M. Harl. MS. 863 (Psalterium, etc.), in a larger script more appropriate to liturgical work.

(9) Harl. MS. 2961 (Collectarium), fos. 234 to the end. (The greater part of the Collectar, fos. 1-184, 186-93, 198-233, is the uneven work of a scribe whose hand could be classified with the 'Exeter' style only by so diluting the criteria as to make the term unmeaning. The MS. suggests that the standards of the scriptorium were not exacting; although a liturgical work, and not without some wretched attempts at decoration, it is badly written on very badly prepared parchment.)

(10) Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 579 (Missale, etc.), later additional

¹ On the leaves detached from this MS. before it was sent to Archbishop Parker see also *The Early Culture of North-West Europe*, ed. Sir Cyril Fox and B. Dickins, pp. 361-7 (Cambridge, 1950).

matter on fo. 30^r, line 12, to fo. 37^v, fos. 337-73^r, and entries on fos. 40^v and 59^v—fos. 34^v to 36^r being the work of a scribe who appears on pp. 179-222 of (5) CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 201.

That these come from the Exeter Cathedral Library is not proof that they were written at Exeter; the library contained MSS. of widely various origins. That they have a generic script in common is not proof that they were all written at a common centre; a merely generic script might be a merely regional one. But the coincidence of a common provenance and a common script suggests a common origin, and that in an Exeter scriptorium.

To these may be added, so far as its origin is concerned,

(11) UNIVERSITY LIBRARY Hh. 1. 10. This is a small volume written on parchment varying in quality and irregularly ruled (especially fos. 40-48) in varieties of rather informal and at times slovenly script, at first sight rather unlike the generally more calligraphic work with which it will be compared. The text is in Latin and Anglo-Saxon. Apart from the normal differences in their alphabets the forms of some letters common to both alphabets are fairly consistently differentiated, as in other MSS. of the 'Exeter' group; and Latin and Anglo-Saxon are here so closely intermixed that for those who assess handwriting on the *coup d'œil* system the general aspect is, I suppose, only comparable with that of another copy of Aelfric's Grammar. The facsimiles in *New Pal. Soc.*, 1st series, plate 137, and E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, facs. no. 150, illustrate the work of the first scribe, who wrote fos. 1-10, 13-17, 19, 20, 22-64; and some analysis of his work brings out its identity with the norm of the 'Exeter' script. Now Hh. 1. 10 has not been and is not here attributed to any medieval library, and might be regarded as merely an addition to the group of un-attributed MSS. in which Mr Ker has signalled the 'Exeter' script. But the hand of the first scribe is interrupted by another on fos. 11, 12; the central bifolium of a gathering, these might be supposed to have been written by a collaborator, but more probably they are a 'supply', inserted to replace physically or textually defective work, and probably inserted when the MS. was corrected. The hand is contemporary with the first hand; its well-marked 'Exeter' characteristics fail to obscure a strong idiosyncrasy; it is the hand of the scribe who wrote (7) Add. MS. 28188, fos. 1-99^v, line 10, and fos. 127-54, and who may be presumed, therefore, to have worked at Exeter.

A third contemporary hand in Hh. 1. 10 is one of several links that connect the group of Exeter MSS. with a group of Exeter documents. It appears on fos. 18, 21, another bifolium, and probably another 'supply' (if the hand of fo. 18 is simply that of a collaborator there seems to be no reason why it should reappear to complete the conjoint leaf). Closely resembling the 'Exeter' hand in (9) Harl. MS. 2961, it is the hand of the scribe who wrote

(12) a Latin and Anglo-Saxon document in the archives of Exeter Cathedral, reproduced in Ordnance Survey, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon MSS.*

ii, Exeter, no. x, with an endorsement by the same scribe. This is an apograph of a charter (1018) of Canute in favour of the church of St German, the see of Cornwall afterwards merged with that of Devon at Crediton and Exeter: a charter, that is to say, ultimately beneficial or potentially beneficial to Exeter Cathedral, and likely to have been copied or confected there.

Another hand—rather on the periphery of the 'Exeter' style—which appears in (7) Add. MS. 28188, fo. 99^v, line 12, to fo. 126, and fos. 155 *et seq.*, and (8) Harl. MS. 863, fos. 8-117^r, is that of the same scribe as the hand of

(13) *Facsimiles*, no. XIII and its endorsement, a document in the Exeter Cathedral Archives, which is or purports to be a charter (1050) of Edward the Confessor in favour of the bishop, on the removal of the see from Crediton to Exeter.

Nine more documents in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, all probably or certainly from Exeter Cathedral, display normal examples of the 'Exeter' script; it is, to be sure, rather more calligraphic in some of them than in some of the MSS., but this is nothing out of the way in a period when charters for ecclesiastical beneficiaries, 'authentic' as well as spurious, were commonly written in their best style by the beneficiaries' scribes.

(14, 15, 16) Three of the documents reproduced in *Facsimiles*, nos. vi, vii and xiv, the work of the same scribe, are apographs of tenth-century charters in favour of laymen; that they are now in the Cathedral archives creates a presumption that they purport to be title-deeds of Exeter Cathedral,

(17) Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. hist. a. 2, fo. 5^r, is an apograph of the foundation charter of Crediton, the church that afterwards became the see of Devon before this was moved to Exeter.

(18) Bodleian Library MS. Eng. hist. a. 2, fo. 14^v, written on the dorse of a probably 'authentic' charter of Athelstan for Crediton, is an apograph of a document issued (c. 1018) by Eadnoth bishop of Crediton; a thirteenth-century copy of the same document shows that it was in chirograph form and that one of the counterparts was intended to be preserved among the Crediton archives.

These Crediton documents, edited by A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *Crauford Charters*, pp. 1-3, 9, 37-46, 78-80, are equally to be reckoned as muniments of the see of Exeter.

(19) B.M. Stowe ch. 34, a possibly 'authentic' charter of Ethelred II (997) for Crediton and bishop Alfwold, has an endorsement of perhaps half a century later in the 'Exeter' script; it is reproduced in *Facsimiles* iii, no. xxxv.

(20) Public Record Office, P.R.O. 30 (Gifts and Deposits)/26/11, reproduced in *Facsimiles* ii, Public Record Office, is an apparently 'authentic' charter of Edgar in favour of a Devonthane. It has three endorsements. The first is in the hand of the charter; the second—'Copulastanes boc'—in the 'Exeter' script, might seem an inconsiderable addition to the list; the third, however, recording the transfer of the charter to St Mary Crediton, is in a

rough black minuscule in which the 'Exeter' style is not to be discerned, but which provides an adventitious tie between Crediton documents and Exeter MSS: closely resembling that of some passages in the highly unstable main hand of (9) Harl. MS. 2961, it reappears in CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 190, p. 5, CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 201, pp. 270, 271, and MS. Bodl. 579, fos. 4, 5 and 7^v—materials contained in or physically associated with (2), (5) and (10) above.

(21) A document in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives, E. 206 (I do not know how it got there), reproduced in *Facsimiles* i, no. xiv, is an apograph of a charter of Athelstan (937) for St Peter Exeter, which became the Cathedral Church in 1050. The script is influenced by that of the lost original to the extent of using Anglo-Saxon forms for the Latin text, but it is typical of the 'Exeter' style. The charter concerned property at Topsham in Devon. Under Edward the Confessor this was usurped by Earl Harold (M. Foerster, *The Exeter Book*, pp. 15, 19) and had not been recovered by the date of the Domesday Survey; but the apograph, though its mere aspect shows that it is hardly earlier than the mid-eleventh century, may have been written long before 1086.

(22) *Facsimiles* ii, Exeter, no. xii, in the Cathedral archives, is or purports to be a charter (1044) of Edward the Confessor for his chaplain Leofric, afterwards bishop of Crediton (1046–50) and Exeter (1050–72); the endorsement is in the same script, as are the text and endorsement of

(23) *Facsimiles* ii, Exeter, no. xiv, which is or purports to be a charter (1069) of William I for Bishop Leofric and Exeter Cathedral.

These MSS. and documents probably belong mainly to the third quarter of the eleventh century; so much seems to be indicated by the general aspect of the 'Exeter' script. The charter of Edward the Confessor for Leofric, reproduced in *Facsimiles* ii, Exeter, no. xii, is possibly 'authentic' in the limited sense in which the term can be applied to an Old English charter: it was possibly written at its apparent date, 1044. On the other hand the apparent date of William I's charter, 1069, may be no better than an earlier limit to the true date of writing, and a passage in the 'Exeter' script in MS. Bodl. 579, fo. 59^v, is understood to be not earlier than 1102. The whole group of documents in the 'Exeter' script may be the result of a single drive to renovate the Cathedral evidences, and if so is perhaps post-Conquest. On the other hand some at least of the MSS. were written before 1072, since they belonged to the collection which Bishop Leofric gave to Exeter Cathedral to form a permanent episcopal library.

Leofric, for whose career cf. R. W. Chambers and M. Foerster, *The Exeter Book*, pp. 5–32, must have been a patron of scribes as well as a collector. li. 2. 11 comes from his collection; so do the main portions of TRINITY COLL. 241 (Amalarius) and MS. Bodl. 579, though in these, it might be objected, some of the passages in the 'Exeter' script may have been added after his death. Probably from Leofric's collection are CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 190

(part), 191 and 196, Add. MS. 28188 and Harl. MSS. 863 and 2961, and possibly CORPUS CHRISTI COLL. 201 (part). These comprise, so far as I know, all the MSS. in the 'Exeter' style which are known to have at any time belonged to the Cathedral library. And with Hh. 1. 10 most of these MSS., unlike many of the MSS. which Leofric gave or bequeathed *ad utilitatem successorum suorum*, were partly or wholly written to all appearances during his lifetime and episcopate, and show the hands of scribes who were employed also in the business concerns of the see. Now so late as the twelfth century, in a cathedral with a monastic establishment, the priory scriptorium might be occasionally employed in writing documents as well as MSS., and documents belonging to episcopal as well as priory business; this is true of Canterbury. But Exeter, although founded in a pre-existing monastic church, was from the first a secular cathedral. It may seem anachronistic as well as anomalous to attribute the MSS. to an episcopal chancery, but there is some evidence for an episcopal scriptorium with a strongly administrative complexion. Leofric is said to have been Edward the Confessor's Chancellor; whether the office existed *eo nomine*, before the Conquest, is not important; he seems to have been head of the royal secretariat in the early years of the reign. In an unpublished book on the twelfth-century royal chancery I have shown that the *scriptores* of royal charters were sometimes personally dependent on the Chancellor, and in particular that they sometimes continued in his service when, in the normal *cursus honorum*, he was preferred to a bishopric. If this tie existed in the eleventh century, Leofric, at the time of his appointment to the see of the south-west, would not have wanted for the cadre of a writing staff in carrying out his energetic administration of the Cathedral's affairs. Besides being a benefactor to the Cathedral, he is said to have exerted himself in recovering its lands and rights; the range of documents which I have reviewed, documents that mainly concern the lands and rights of predecessors in title, seems to have resulted from this activity. And the MSS., in an age when the Benedictine scriptorium was still pre-eminent in book production, were written by the same group of scribes—clerical, doubtless, but not religious—under the patronage and perhaps attached to the household of bishop Leofric.

CLARE COLLEGE 18 (Orosius, etc.)

Perhaps from Exeter Cathedral Library, this may be one of the MSS. that form a connexion between the Cathedral Libraries of Exeter and Durham.

In a note *ante* i, p. 439, the main scribe was identified with the scribe of two MSS. at Durham, and the contents were held to correspond to certain items in medieval catalogues of the Cathedral Library. The identification of the scribe is maintained and the suggestion about the provenance abandoned. The Orosius and the epitome of Pompeius Trogus are parts of a single volume. The same titles in the Durham catalogues apparently represented distinct

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volumes. The inference is that whatever the medieval ownership of the MS. it did not belong to Durham Cathedral Library.

Another English owner seems to be indicated in the discovery by O. Pächt, 'Hugo Pictor', *Bodleian Library Record*, III, pp. 96-103, of features which are common to MSS. of the late eleventh century from the libraries of both Durham and Exeter, and which seem to imply a common and external origin—Dr Pächt locates it in Normandy. MS. Bodl. 717 (Hieronymus), from Exeter, was illuminated in the same atelier as Durham Cathedral MS. B. II. 13 (Augustinus). MS. Bodl. 301 (Augustinus), from Exeter, was illuminated by the same artist as Durham Cathedral MS. A. II. 4 ('The Carilef Bible'); to this note by Mr J. R. Liddell it may be added that MS. Bodl. 301 was mainly written by the same scribe as Durham Cathedral MSS. B. III. 1 and B. III. 10. The ties between late eleventh-century MSS. of Durham and of Exeter are thus complex and strong. The Clare Orosius was mainly written by the scribe who appears in MS. Bodl. 301 and Durham MSS. B. III. 1 and B. III. 10. If a Durham provenance is untenable, the MS. may be attributed with some probability to the medieval library of Exeter.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 421 (Homilies in Anglo-Saxon)

Page 3 to the top of page 94, from a portion of the MS. ruled 19 lines to a page, and pages 209-24, ruled 25 lines to a page, were written by the same scribe as Lambeth Palace MS. 489 (Homilies in Anglo-Saxon), fos. 1-20^r, ruled 19 lines to a page, and fos. 25 to the end (interrupted for three lines on fo. 53^v), ruled 25 lines to a page. The dimensions of the written areas are the same in both MSS. Either they are companion volumes or each contains parts of two pre-existing volumes. The hand of the scribe in question closely resembles that of UNIVERSITY LIBRARY II. 2. 4 (Gregory's *Pastoral Care* in Anglo-Saxon), all three MSS. being noted by N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. xx, n. 1, as examples of the 'Exeter' script in MSS. of which the provenance is undetermined.

TRINITY COLLEGE 315 (Augustinus, etc.)

Contains the work of an Exeter scribe.

It comes from the library of St Mary Leicester, an Augustinian house founded in 1143 and absorbing a college of secular canons founded c. 1107. The main hand, though cramped and mean, seems to be English; one or two features suggest that it is post-Conquest; some English scribes were still writing a recognizably native variety of the minuscule in the early years of the twelfth century. Contemporary hands appear in the margins and interrupt the main hand in the text. Fos. 26, 27, conjoint with folios written by the principal scribe, and fo. 36^v, line 12, to fo. 39^v, line 1, were written by the scribe of the holograph TRINITY COLL. 1475 (Gregorius Turonensis), from the library of Exeter Cathedral.

PLATES X AND XI

I **VERVM** **ET** **EXEMPLVM**
 scripturam toto orbe dispersa. quasi quidam arbiter sedeam. et
 quia inter se uariant. que sint illa quecum greca consentiant uer-
 tate decernam. Pius labor. sed periculosa presumptio iudicare decer-
 nis ipsum ab omnibus iudicandum. senis mutare linguam. & canescentem
 iam mundum adimtia retrahere paruulorum. Quis enim doctus pariter
 uel indoctus cum immanus uolumen assumpsit & a silua quam
 semel imbibit uidere discrepare quod lectat non statim erumpat
 in uocem. in falsarium in edamans. & sacrilegum. qui audeam aliqd
 in uerbis libris addere. mutare. corrigere. **A**duersus quam mundiam
 duplex causa me consolatur. quod & tu qui summus sacerdos es fieri
 iubet. & uerum non. & quod uariat & iam maledicorum testimonium

(a) St John's College MS. 73, fo. 1^r (reduced).

Tempore Willelmi regis anglorum magni. patris Willelmi regis eadem gentis. fuit quedam
 contentio inter Gundulphum rothesensem episcopum. & puerum uice comitem de grandebruge. pro
 quadam terra que erat de fraccenham. & iacebat in giselham. quam quidam regis seruient
 ylkyltel nomine uice comite dante presumpserat occupare. hanc enim uice comes regis esse
 terra dicebat. sed episcopus eandem beatus andree potius esse affirmabat. Quare ante regem
 uenerunt. Rex uero precepit ut omnes illi comitatus homines egerent. & eorum iudicio cui terra
 deberet rectius esse probaretur. Illi autem egerant. terra illa regis esse potius quam beati andree.
 timore uice comitis affirmauerunt. Sed cum eis baiocensis episcopus qui placito illi preerat
 non bene crederet. precepit ut si uerum esse quod dicebant scirent. ex se ipsis. xii. digressi
 qui quod omnes dixerant iure iurando confirmarent. Illi autem cum ad consilium secessissent.
 & inibi ante comitem pincernam esse fuissent. reuertentes uerum esse quod dixerant
 iurauerunt. huius autem fuerunt. Raduuardus decipenham. herulf & leofuune saca
 de gexninge. Eadric de giselham. yulfuui de longuade. Ordmer de bedlungtham.
 & alii sex de melioribus comitatus.

(b) British Museum, Harl. MS. 76, fo. 137^r (slightly reduced).

magister. increpa discipulos tuos. quibus ipse ait. Dico uobis.
 quia si biterint. lapides clamabunt.
Et ut appropinquauit. uidens ciuitatem fleuit super illam
 dicens. Quia si cognouisses & tu. & quidem in hac die tua
 quae ad pacem tibi. Nunc autem abscondita sunt ab oculis
 tuis. Quia uenient dies in te. & circumdabunt te inimici
 tui uallo. Et circumdabunt te & coangustabunt te undique
 & ad terram prosterne te. & filios tuos qui in te sunt.
Et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem eo quod non
 cognoueris tempus uisitationis tue.
Et ingressus in templum. coepit exere uendentes in illo

(a) St John's College MS. 73, fo. 91^r (reduced).

mis & abidumea & transiordanen. & quicquid iherusalem & sydonen multi-
 tudo magna audientes quae faciebat. uenerunt ad eum. Et dixit
 discipulis suis. ut in nauicula sibi deseruirent propter turbam. ne
 conprimerent eum. Multos enim sanabat. Ita ut irruerent in eum
 ut illum tangere. Quot quot habebant plagas & spiritus in-
 mundi. cum illum uidebant. procidebant ei.
 & clamabant dicentes. Tu es filius dei. Et uehementer commina-
 batur eis ne manifestarent illum.

(b) St John's College MS. 73, fo. 44^r (reduced).

panomannensium. archiepiscopus. episcopus. abbatibus. comitibus. & ceteris suis fidelibus. Qui
 & plebis nobis subiectis. & maxime eorum qui in domini seruitio die ac nocte desudant.
 & beatum eadmundi in qua ipse uenerabilis rex & margit incorrupto corpore di-
 scerebat. Unde inter balduinum abbatem predictae ecclesiae & ipsum episcopum. per multum tempus
 & fidelium. ut utroqueque super his ratione in nostra discuteretur curia. dignum censum. Quod
 simonius omnimodo uacuum. Abbas uero contra. quomodo Canutus rex apud
 & in pace uiuebant eiecit. & monachos posuerit. quodque postmodum ipsam ecclesiam
 loci illius episcopus londoniensis. secundum episcopum suum nortoniensis. ipsum etiam balduinum. quod

(c) British Museum, Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 25 (reduced).