

17/49 (G). Reprinted in *B.H.S.* 1955, p. 187.

18/164. LATER EDITION:

(2a) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: R/Caja 104 (8): Viuda de Bernardo Calderón, Mexico. (A.P.G.) || (2b) E.M.W.: Manuel Román, Saragossa, n.d.

20/161. Note (D). Erratum: for Valladolid read Valladolid.

22/55. EARLIER EDITION:

[Ornament] | Confideraciones para la con- | uerfion de vn pecador, en tres Romances, donde se aduertē las peli- | grofas tormentas q̄ se paſſan en el viage, y nauegacion deſta vida | haſta llegar al puerto de la muerte. Compueſto por Andres de | Elpinofa, vezino del Puerto de Santa Maria. Impreſſo con licen- | cia en Seuilla, Por Pedro Gomez de Paſtrana, a la Eſquina | de la Carcel Real. Año de 1628.

[Block of a saint preaching. Lateral ornaments. 4 leaves. Contents as in the Pepys chap-book.]

COLOPHON: LAVS DEO. | Impreſſo en Seuilla, Por Pedro | Gomez de Paſtrana. A la Eſquina de la Carcel Real. | En eſte año de mil ſeyſcientos y | veynte y ocho. | (Collection of A.P.G.)

24/8 (A). This poem appeared in the *Segunda parte de la Primavera y Flor...*, Saragossa, 1629. (J.F.M.)

30/69 (A). This poem appeared in the *Jardín de amadores*, Barcelona, 1611. (J.F.M.)

30/69 (C). This poem also appeared in the *Jardín de amadores*. (J.F.M.)

31A/36. EARLIER EDITIONS:

A.P.G.: Sebastián Mathevad, Barcelona, n.d. Text in three columns. Attributed to Pedro de Medina.

A.P.G.: No imprint, no date. Attributed to Gregorio Carrascosa.

47/140 (B). This poem was first printed in the *Primera parte del Romancero...* of 1587. (J.F.M.)

47/140 (C). This poem was also first printed in the work mentioned in the last note. (J.F.M.)

50/19. EARLIER EDITION:

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: R 31364-20. [Ornament.] OBRA NVEVA LLA- | mada las Anguſtias de la bolſa. | Agora nueuamente compueſta, para | reyr, y paſſar tiempo. Con vn Vi- | llancico al cabo. |

[Block of a man and a woman.]

Comiença el Galan, y dize

The text follows in double columns and in black letter. 4 leaves, no colophon. Instead of the 'Romance de las quejas de la muger de don Alvaro' there is a 'Villancico al tono, de Por mas que me digays mi marido es el paſtor' found in other sixteenth-century chap-books. The 'Romance de las quejas...' was reprinted by A.P.G. in a two-leaf *Suplemento al 'Romancero de Don Alvaro de Luna'*, printed in 1954.

50/19 (B). Reprinted in *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, xxxii, 1955, p. 192.

52/71. Line 3 of title. Erratum. Read Por- | tuges [sic], vn....

52/71 (E). Reprinted in *B.H.S.* xxxii, 1955, p. 189.

53/90 (C). Printed in the *Segunda parte de la Primavera y flor...*, Saragossa, 1629, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>. (J.F.M.)

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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

### NOTES ON CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPTS

#### PART IV: MSS. CONNECTED WITH ST AUGUSTINE'S CANTERBURY

THE revival of learning and monastic life in tenth-century England appears in the three series of interconnected MSS. which are here dated and placed. The approximate limits of date are set by their script. Some of the Insular minuscule might be contemporary with that of certain mid-tenth-century diplomata, and some displays the last perfection attained by the native script before the decline and loss of proportion that seem to have set in at the end of the tenth century. The Caroline minuscule is unlike that of any dated documents. It seems to belong to an early reception of the continental script, itself the visible sign of the continental influence in the English revival; a few of the hands are incompetent, many are expert, nearly all have an Insular aspect and specific Insular practices. The Caroline minuscule and ornaments of these MSS. are stylistically distinct from the deliberate and rounded script and the massive illumination that appear in some better-known products of the tenth-century revival. Nothing in their history tends to associate them with Ramsey or Worcester, the foundations of St Oswald, or with that closely connected group of monasteries which included Abingdon, the Old and the New Minster at Winchester, Thorney and Ely; the mainly liturgical interests of St Aethelwold are not prominent in their subject-matter. The interests which they represent are, indeed, various—literature, philology, science, music, the conduct and organization of the religious life—but might yet have taken their first impulse from another, perhaps more humane and certainly more comprehensive mind. Like most Latin MSS. written in the tenth century, they were probably written by Benedictine monks; the probability is confirmed by the subject-matter of some of them, and by the large numbers of co-operative scribes (members, it may be supposed, of a well-manned monastic scriptorium) who appear in the second and third series. These together display the hands of about forty scribes, besides the hands of glosses and later additions. Although the second and third series seem not far apart in date, they are not certainly interconnected by the hands of any identified scribes; it remains probable, though not quite so probable, that all the MSS. were produced in a single scriptorium. In trying to locate their origin I have used D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, especially pp. 34 *et seq.*, 551 *et seq.*, 721. The evidence indicates Glastonbury (or monks trained at Glastonbury) or St Augustine's.

For the Glastonbury provenance and origin of TRINITY COLL. 1042



M. R. James found evidence, not enough to justify a certain or probable attribution, but not negligible. TRINITY COLL. 241 and the two volumes contained in Bodleian Library MS. Auct. F. I. 15 belonged in the eleventh century to Bishop Leofric, who gave them to Exeter Cathedral. Apart from a few MSS. written by his own scribes, the origins of his collection are uncertain, but a bishop of Crediton and Exeter may probably have acquired MSS. from some south-western source; he may, indeed, have appropriated a few survivors from the library of a short-lived Benedictine house which subsisted at Exeter at the end of the tenth century, and which had been founded by monks from Glastonbury. From the same source may have come MS. Auct. D. Inf. 2. 9 i, which also was later owned by Exeter Cathedral. Lambeth Palace MS. 200 ii belonged to Waltham Abbey in the later Middle Ages, and TRINITY COLL. 1134 ii is between the same covers as a MS. from Southwark; their early history is not known; but some slight but independent evidence suggests a south-western origin for St JOHN'S COLL. 101 i. Even the St Augustine's provenance of no fewer than six of these MSS. (to neglect the major inference from it) might be thought to point in the same direction. In one of the chains of revivals and new foundations, promoted by the post-Cluniac movement in tenth-century England, St Augustine's was closely linked to Glastonbury, to which it may have owed part of its library. But it may be that these MSS. were all written after the supposed revival of monastic life at St Augustine's; it is not certain, besides, that monastic life at St Augustine's was interrupted at any time in the tenth century. And there is a presumption, qualified no doubt by many exceptions, that the library of a Benedictine monastery was mainly drawn from its scriptorium (which is not to say that the products of its scriptorium were mainly destined to its library, though this too seems to some degree probable). These MSS. have been attributed to a number of medieval houses; of only one are the simultaneous propositions true: that it certainly owned some of the MSS., and that it conceivably produced all of them. Their probable origin is St Augustine's.

TRINITY COLLEGE 241 (Amalarius) and 1134 (Regula S. Benedicti)

These were written by a scribe who reappears in two MSS. from the library of St Augustine's.

The first of the series to be undertaken, though possibly not the first to be completed, may have been TRINITY COLL. 1241 (Juvenalis and Persius). This seems to have been a desultory performance. The parchment of the first five quires is arranged in the Insular manner, with each bifolium the same way up before folding. In this arrangement, known as HFFH, there is a matching opening (hair sides of the parchment) where the end of a quire is opposed to the beginning of another, and a matching opening (flesh sides of the parchment) in the centre of each quire; elsewhere flesh sides face hair sides. This is normal in English MSS. both from before the ninth century and for some

considerable time after Alfred's revival of learning. By c. 1000, if not earlier, every good scriptorium seems to have gone over to the continental arrangement, which may thus be supposed to have been first brought in at the same time as the continental script and, being evidently superior, to have been gradually adopted for all MSS., whether written in the Insular or the Caroline minuscule. In the continental arrangement every opening shows a match of hair sides or flesh sides (HFFH). This is the arrangement, in 1241, of most of the later quires. The text of the Juvenal, as the original scribe wrote it, called for extensive correction; many misspellings and omissions and such oddities as *producata uos* and *aciu recitari* suggest that he had before him an exemplar, written without separation of words, which he could neither scan nor construe. The corrections include suprascript half-H as a rough breathing in (*h*)*istoria*, fo. 35<sup>r</sup>; this occurs also on fo. 5<sup>r</sup> of Cott. MS. Dom. I, from St Augustine's, and on fo. 96<sup>v</sup> of TRINITY COLL. 1042 in the next series. The script is Insular minuscule, comparable with that of some diplomata of c. 940-c. 970; it tends to prolong *i* in closely conjoined *ti* and uses a small undotted *y*. It is more unstable than might appear from the favourable specimen reproduced in *Catalogue of the Western MSS.* iv, plate VII. In quires VII-IX, fos. 48-71, it exaggerates the triangular thickening of ascenders, especially in half-uncial *d*; in quires X-XII, fos. 72-92, completing the Juvenal, it is slovenly, tending to a forward slope, and introduces an alternative form of *f*. The archaic Insular abbreviation *p* for *post* occurs on fos. 66<sup>v</sup>, 71<sup>v</sup>. The first nine quires of the Juvenal have the archaic form of the special sign in (*t*)*ur*, a suprascript hook at the right-hand end of the horizontal stroke (instances of the later form were added by another hand to correct misspellings). In continental MSS. the archaic form is an important aid to dating: it is thought to have become obsolete by the middle of the ninth century. In English MSS., whether written in Insular or Caroline minuscule, its value is still uncertain, but it seems to have been one of the Insular and quasi-Insular forms that began to give way to the infiltration of continental forms, such as Caroline *s*, at the beginning of the tenth century and before the full reception of the continental script. As the later and eventually universal 2-form of the special sign for *ur* came into vogue, the archaic form became available as the special sign, eventually universal, for *us*; even then many English scribes were slow to give up the postscript suspension mark for *-us*. This appears in 1241 on fo. 7<sup>v</sup>, *temp3*; but it is an idiosyncrasy in the scribe's earlier work that he commonly used the suprascript hook both for *ur* and for *us*, distinguishing the latter by placing the sign centrally. The last three quires of the Juvenal use the 2-form, the later form, of the special sign for *ur*. The Persius with the Annotatio Cornuti, fos. 94-110, may have been completed before the Juvenal, but is evidently part of the same volume. The script, which is better than the script of the latter part of the Juvenal, uses the archaic form of the *ur* sign. The text is bad, and has a derelict

appearance, having been abandoned by the marginal and interlinear glossators after the first few pages; according to G. R. Scott, *Classical Review*, IV, p. 241, it was the exemplar of the O of Persius, MS. Auct. F. I. 15 ii in the next series. 1241 belonged in the later Middle Ages to St Augustine's.

The parchment of 241, the Amalarius, is arranged in the continental manner. The script, reproduced in *Catalogue of the W. MSS.*, IV, plate III, resembles that of the better parts of 1241; it uses an undotted and notably small  $\gamma$ , something approaching a *ti* ligature and the archaic form of the special sign for *ur*. The inserted f. 112 is a 'supply' written, perhaps after a long interval, by the original scribe; the script is inferior; it has both the archaic form and, in one instance, the 2-form of the special sign for *ur* (the latter may be an alteration by the original scribe to correct a misspelling). 241 belonged in the eleventh century to Leofric, bishop of Exeter.

Although 1134 is probably the latest of the series, the parchment of the first two quires is arranged in the Insular manner, HFHF; the arrangement of the other quires is continental. The script is the scribe's later and mature work: it is smaller, better packed, rather more decisive, and adroitly laid out on the page. The later and simpler form of the *et* ligature is more frequent than the older form (for both, see the facsimile in *Catalogue of the W. MSS.*, IV, plate I);  $\gamma$  has two forms, both of normal size and consistently dotted; the 2-form of the special sign for *ur* is consistently used. 1134, of unknown provenance, is bound with a MS. from the Augustinian priory of St Mary Overey, Southwark.

The small unpretentious script on fo. 1 of Harl. MS. 647 (Ciceronis Aratea) is the work of the same scribe, probably rather earlier than MS. 1134. It prefers the older form of the *et* ligature but rarely uses Insular *s*;  $\gamma$  has the alternative form developed in MS. 1134 and is of normal size but undotted; the later form of the *ur* sign is consistently used. The main hand of Harl. is continental, and is understood to be that of a St Omer scribe of the tenth century. Like the rest of the MS. the first leaf is ruled for thirty-three lines, and may have been originally ruled but left blank; the binding is too tight to show whether it is conjoint with a leaf written by the main hand. It contains a short account of the Signs of the Zodiac. At least one preceding leaf must be lost, since fo. 1 begins with the eighth Sign, the Scorpion; the recto side has also the old foliation 162 in a hand possibly of the late seventeenth century. Harl. comes from the library of St Augustine's.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 320 ii (Theodori Penitientiale) and 430 (Martinus Dumensis, etc.)

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE 101 i (Cassianus)

TRINITY COLLEGE 1042 (Augustini Enchiridion)

In proposing that these were written or supplemented in the scriptorium of St Augustine's, before the end of the tenth century, I intend to establish

the original interconnexions of the series of MSS. to which they belong, a series which seems to illustrate the early history of the Caroline minuscule in England.

The series, of which the nucleus is identified in *Classical Review*, LXIX, p. 145, contains eleven MSS. In the following list letters designate the six scribes who appear each in more than one MS.

(1) Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. Inf. 2. 9 i (Cassianus), reveals an active and undisciplined scriptorium. Repairs have left the original quiring not perfectly clear, some single leaves as well as bifolia having been guarded and separately sewn. In the lower margins of fos. 71<sup>v</sup>, 79<sup>v</sup>, 87<sup>v</sup>, 96<sup>v</sup> and 104<sup>v</sup> appear the signatures of quires IX-XIII; similar figures in the lower margins of fo. 8<sup>v</sup> and of fos. 9<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup> and 24<sup>r</sup> denote the end of Book I and the beginnings of Books II-IV. The parchment is a varying quality, fos. 97-110 in particular having the typically 'fried' appearance of greasy parchment which has been subjected to changes of temperature and aridity. It is arranged partly in the continental and partly in the Insular manner. Ruling and the dimensions of the written area are uniform, but the script varies in size. Considered as a text and as a physical object the volume is not a favourable specimen of a series which includes some finely written and ornamented MSS., and which displays more than one side of the tenth-century renaissance in England. But it is the key to them, since it includes all the hands by which the series is interconnected. Apart from passages of two or three lines each, the MS. is the work of ten scribes.

The first, scribe A, appears in (2) and (3), below; he wrote fos. 1-8 and 88-96 in a fairly large, bold, decisive script, resembling his work in (2), below, which is illustrated in F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English MSS.', *Archaeologia*, xci, plate VIb, and somewhat contrasting with his work in (3), below, which is illustrated in *New Pal. Soc.* II, plate 63. Towards the end of his first portion the script is spread out to fill up the parchment. Closely resembling the hands of some other scribes in this series and the next, it is a representative example of a particular type of English Caroline, and is the work of a scribe who had mastered the continental script, choosing to retain a few Insular practices such as an occasional ligature of *m* with subscript *a*, and displaying the assurance and sense of form and proportion common in the handwriting as in some of the major arts of tenth-century England. It has a tendency to write blind *e*, and this is corrected by a stroke giving the effect of the 'antenna'd' *e* found in some types of continental minuscule, and possibly a feature of the particular type of continental minuscule which may have been the model for this type of English Caroline.

The second, scribe B, appears in (4), below; he wrote fos. 9 to 12<sup>r</sup> line 13, 14<sup>r</sup> line 19 to 14<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup> line 20 to 16<sup>v</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup> line 10 to 60<sup>v</sup>, 96<sup>v</sup> lines 22-5. The script is regular, rather tall and compressed, an expert Caroline minuscule with some Insular features.

The third, scribe *C*, appears in (5), below; for an uncharacteristically small and regular example of his work cf. Wormald, *op. cit.* plate VIc. He collaborated with scribe *B*, writing fos. 12<sup>r</sup> line 15 to 14<sup>r</sup> line 19 and fo. 15<sup>r</sup> lines 1-19. He assisted an incompetent scribe with the tenth quire (of which the parchment is arranged in the continental manner), writing fos. 74<sup>r</sup> lines 1-25, 75<sup>v</sup> lines 1-8, 77<sup>r</sup> lines 18-26, 79<sup>r</sup> lines 10-26. He wrote the thirteenth and fourteenth quires, fos. 97-110, of which the bad parchment is arranged in the continental manner. The script seems free from Insular features, apart from such abbreviations of Insular tradition as had long been naturalized on the continent. It displays the complete range of certain forms and mannerisms of which some or others are present in most of the hands of this series. And apart from a few relatively neatly executed pages, fos. 13, 14, 97, it contrasts with most of the hands of this in being remarkably informal; it seems to show the insouciance of the expert among novices. I suggest that scribe *C* was foreign, and reproduce a specimen of his work, plate I (a), in the hope that other palaeographers may date and place the type.

The fourth, scribe *D*, appears in (6) and (7), below; he wrote Book III on fos. 17-23, apparently a single quire. The hand is an expert non-calligraphic Caroline minuscule, retaining a few Insular practices.

The fifth, unidentified, wrote fos. 24-31, apparently a single quire, ending in the middle of Book IV. This hand also is rather informal and, without resembling that of scribe *C*, has something of a continental aspect.

The sixth, unidentified, wrote fos. 32-8, apparently a single quire, without completing Book IV. The hand is a fairly expert Caroline minuscule of Insular aspect.

The seventh, scribe *E*, appears in (7)-(10), below; he wrote fos. 39-52, two quires. The parchment of the first is arranged in the continental manner and of the second irregularly; to this inconsistency and the use of an Insular style of *ti* ligature and several bizarre forms of the ampersand there are parallels in some of his other work. Here as in other specimens of his work scribe *E* was pursued by a corrector who altered *e* to *i* in misspellings and assimilated the consonants in such compounds as *adfligo*, etc. Plate XIII (b) illustrates the hand, an expert and idiosyncratic Caroline minuscule of Insular aspect; references to other facsimiles are given under (10), below.

The eighth, scribe *F*, appears in (5) and (11), below; he wrote fos. 53 to 59<sup>v</sup> line 9, the quire being completed by scribe *D*. It is arranged in the Insular manner, and the script, not his best work (for this cf. *Pal. Soc.* II, plate 191), has a strongly Insular aspect.

The ninth, unidentified, wrote the ninth quire, fos. 61-71, in an expert Caroline minuscule with some Insular features.

The tenth, unidentified, wrote fos. 72, 73, 74<sup>r</sup> line 26 to 75<sup>r</sup> line 9 and lines 17-26, 75<sup>v</sup> line 9 to 77<sup>r</sup> line 17, 77<sup>r</sup> to 79<sup>r</sup> lines 1-9 and 23-5, being assisted in this the tenth quire by the possibly foreign scribe *C*; it is arranged in the

continental manner, as is the next quire, fos. 80-7, which he wrote by himself. The hand, apparently English, is remarkably inept, and seems to have been modelled on that of scribe *C*.

Other scribes wrote short passages on fo. 12<sup>r</sup> lines 13 and 14, fo. 20 lines 25 and 26, fos. 74<sup>r</sup> line 26 and fo. 75<sup>r</sup> lines 10-16.

The MS. comes from the library of Exeter Cathedral.

(2) MS. Auct. F. I. 15 i (Boethius) is a companion volume to (10), below. The parchment is arranged in the Insular manner. It was written by scribe *A*, who appears in (1), above, and (3), below. On fo. 13<sup>r</sup> begins a marginal gloss in a round hand of perhaps the third quarter of the eleventh century; another gloss, beginning on fo. 66<sup>r</sup>, is in an earlier hand apparently identical with the second main hand of Roy. MS. 6. A. VI (Aldhelmus). The Boethius belonged in the eleventh century to Bishop Leofric, who left it to the Episcopal Library at Exeter.

(3) British Museum, Harl. MS. 5431 (Regula S. Benedicti). The parchment is arranged in the Insular manner, and the hand almost throughout is that of scribe *A*, who appears in (1) and (2), above. The MS. belonged in the later Middle Ages to St Augustine's.

(4) CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 430 was written on the continent early in the tenth century; it has a 'supplied' leaf, the last, written by scribe *B*, who appears in (1), above. The provenance is unknown.

(5) Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. C. 570 (Arator). The parchment is arranged in the Insular manner, the arrangement being probably due to scribe *F*, who wrote the greater part, fo. 1<sup>r</sup> and fos. 6<sup>v</sup> to 44<sup>v</sup> line 22. The script resembles his work in (1), above, and is not so good as that in (11), below. Scribe *C*, who appears in (1), above, wrote fos. 2 to 6<sup>r</sup>. Decorated MSS., such as this, were commonly written by the best available scribes, and an inferior scribe may often be observed to exercise care and restraint in script juxtaposed to a major ornament. On fo. 2<sup>r</sup>, which has a fine initial, the hand of scribe *C* is small and neat (cf. Wormald, *op. cit.* plate VIc); on some subsequent pages it reverts to the informality of most of his work in (1), above. Fos. 44<sup>v</sup> line 23 to 45<sup>r</sup>, written in nearly black ink by a third hand, show a good Caroline minuscule with a hybrid sort of ampersand such as occurs in some tenth-century Insular script. The Arator belonged in the later Middle Ages to St Augustine's.

(6) B.M. Roy. MS. 15. A. XVI (Juvenius, etc.) was written on the continent, perhaps in the latter half of the ninth century. It has two 'supplied' leaves, fos. 7 and 67, written by English scribes; a third English scribe filled up blank parchment from fo. 82<sup>r</sup> line 19 to the end of fo. 83<sup>v</sup>. Fo. 7 was written by scribe *D*, who appears in (1), above, and (7), below. The MS. belonged in the later Middle Ages to St Augustine's.

(7) TRINITY COLLEGE 1042. Fos. 2-10, containing the capitula, are arranged HFHF in the Insular manner; these, with some corrections in the margins and over erasures in the text (e.g. fos. 20<sup>r</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>), were written by

scribe *D*, who appears in (1) and (6), above. The remaining quires are mostly arranged in the continental manner, but the fourth is arranged HFHF and the sixth is irregular. The text, fos. 12–109, was written by scribe *E*, who appears in (1), above, and (8)–(10), below. The initial on fo. 12<sup>r</sup> closely resembles some of the initials in (3), above. The interlinear and marginal Latin glosses are in hands closely resembling the hands of some of the many glossators in CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 352 (Boethius), from St Augustine's. There are twenty-five interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses on fos. 13–17 and a few on later folios, by a hand perhaps of the early eleventh century; it resembles that of some interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses in Salisbury Cathedral MS. 38 (Aldhelmus). The interlinear glosses, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, give synonyms and translations of words in the text, with occasional notes on parsing; on fo. 58<sup>r</sup> suprascript letters indicate the order in which words should be translated; and besides these notes—and to be distinguished from punctuation marks, accents, marks of deletion and *signes de renvoi* for use with the marginalia—the text is closely attended on many pages by a system of marks, neatly executed with a sharp pen immediately above or, sometimes, below certain words. These include pairs of dots, arranged horizontally or vertically, sets of three dots, arranged horizontally or in triangles or inverted triangles, and sets of one or of two dots with ticks or commas in various patterns. Similar notations as aids to construing are (I learn from Dr R. W. Hunt) common enough, and perhaps it would be fanciful to identify this particular system with marks found in other MSS. of the group and in Salisbury Cathedral MS. 38. The acrostic poem on fos. 112<sup>v</sup>, 113 is in a contemporary or slightly later hand, like that of fo. 2<sup>r</sup> in Cott. MS. Dom. I, from St Augustine's; the poem, associating the MS. with St Dunstan, is one of the indications which led M. R. James, *Cat. of the W. MSS.*, to suggest that the MS. belonged to Glastonbury.

(8) CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 320 ii. The parchment is arranged mainly, but not consistently, in the Insular manner. Scribe *E*, who appears in (1) and (7), above, and (9) and (10), below, wrote pp. 1–74, 77–101. Pp. 75, 76 (an opening, not a leaf) were written by an unidentified scribe whose excellent hand somewhat resembles that of scribe *A* and other hands of the series. The provenance is unknown.

(9) ST JOHN'S COLLEGE 101 i contains fourteen leaves. The collation is A<sup>8</sup>, fos. 1–8; B<sup>10</sup> (4, 8, 9, 10 canc.), fos. 9–14. The first quire is regularly arranged in the continental manner; the second has the flesh side outside and a random arrangement of the leaves, and its irregularity must be put down to scribe *E*, who appears in (1), (7) and (8), above, and (10), below. He wrote fos. 1 to 10<sup>v</sup> line 13; the rest was written by an unidentified scribe in an expert Caroline minuscule of Insular aspect. The volume contains the twelfth book *De Coenobiorum Institutis*, of which (1), above, has the complete text; the spelling *anthleta* in Book XII is common to both MSS.

## PLATES XIII AND XIV

et a querentibus inueniri. sed per actionem & inquisitionem  
& pulsationem nostram non est. condignam nisi misericordia  
dei id quod peccatum dederit tunc quod pulsam tunc illud quod  
querimus fecerit inueniri. Praesto est. namque occasione sibi  
tantummodo a nobis bonae voluntatis oblata ad huius omnia con  
ferenda. Amplius enim ille quam omnis perfectionem salutem  
nostram desiderat & expectat. Et tantum beatus deus puerum  
sui operis ac laboris propria tantum industria non posse se nouerit  
obtinere ut ad nos promeretur directionem suorum operum ita  
prece deposcere dicens. Opa manuum nostrarum dirige super nos.

(a) Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. Inf. 2. 9, fo. 102r.

pendit arbitrio. Et haec omnia que latiore  
sermone digesta sunt cordi tuo facilius incul  
centur. ac tenacissime ualeant tuis sensibus inhe  
rere. quoddam ex his breuiarium colligam. per  
quod possis breuitate & compendio mandatorum  
memoriter uniuersa complecti. Audi ergo pacis  
ordinem. per quem scandere ad perfectionem sum  
mam sine ullo labore ac difficultate preualeas  
custodiri. Principium nostrae salutis ac sapientiae  
secundum scripturas amor domini est. de amore domini.

(b) Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. Inf. 2. 9, fo. 41r.

tuba cum una fistula in capite angusto  
per quod inspirat & est minima sapien  
tia legisuri in manu iudeorum sinagoge.  
Antea quis temporibus fuit. Chorusque  
simplex pelleret. cum duabus cecutis aëreis  
& per primum inspirant per secundam uocem.

(a) British Museum, Roy. MS. 8. C. III, fo. 6r.

Hic que ymnos christi tabulis defigere statuit  
Peit. a quiesce. modo iam manibus trade quiesce  
Terualis christi meritis in calce coronae.  
ne quo ym  
par pypia sceolon topen pulte. elene. sapileac. cepulle  
pae die. nep. hpiemner pot. huius pypup. enucige ealle  
dapynca. pypunge pypilclad. ppylle ponne onf amhung.

his syndon da bec pe apestaner ppanan. denatuna pperum.  
pplius. de apite metpica. donatum. Exceptiones demetpica  
apite. apocalipsin. donatum maiorem. alchunum. glossa  
sup eationem. libellu de pamaica apite. etia que ppari.  
Sedulium. J. i. se jum. pps al polder ppreosces.  
Glossa sup donatu. Dialogum.

(b) British Museum, Cott. MS. Dom. I, fo. 55r.

repapac Inspecis nomini bus; ut et deus tyder. O.  
peliquit. eo quod nullum nomen latinum. Ino. pac gen  
tium. sed apud grecos. sepe euenit. puma isray.  
modo exponit qd supias pdy. dy duo. ptozus

(c) British Museum, Cott. MS. Dom. I, fo. 41r.

Bound up with the Cassian are lives of saints, in hands of the twelfth century, which the *Catalogue* reckons as parts ii and iii (but they are one volume); and on fo. ii recto the present contents of 101 are listed in a hand which shows that they have been associated since at least as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. The provenance of parts ii and iii may therefore give a clue to the provenance and, inferentially, the origin of the Cassian; and M. R. James found evidence in them to support the suggestion that they belonged to one of the English dependencies of the abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus Angers. It seems that there were four, all founded in 1086 or 1088: the small priory of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, the small priory of Tywardreath in Cornwall, the very obscure priory or cell of Minster in Cornwall, and the fairly important priory of Totnes in south Devon. The Cassian may have belonged at some time to one of these houses, or to the parent house at Angers.

(10) MS. Auct. F. I. 15 ii (Persius) is a companion volume to (2), above, now bound with it. The collation is 18, fos. 78-85; 11<sup>10</sup> (1 and 9 canc.), fos. 86-93. The parchment is arranged in the Insular manner. Scribe E, who appears in (1) and (7)-(9), above, wrote the text; there are facsimiles in Chatelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, plate CXXVI, and R. Ellis, *Twenty Facsimiles from Latin MSS.*, no. 6. It is said to have been copied from the Persius in TRINITY COLLEGE 1241, another and better MS. being used by the corrector. It belonged in the eleventh century to Bishop Leofric, who left it to the Episcopal Library at Exeter.

(11) London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 200 ii (Aldhelmus). The parchment is arranged in the Insular manner. The hand is that of scribe F, who appears in (1) and (5), above; there are facsimiles in *Pal. Soc.* II, plate 191, and E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek & Latin Palaeography*, no. 171. This gives a misleading account of the script, speaking of the 'uncertain formation' and 'the native scribe's difficulty in dealing with the new forms'. As students are apt to believe what they read rather than what they see, it should be mentioned that the scribe well understood what he was about, and achieved a calligraphic masterpiece in a deliberately eclectic script. The forms of g and r, indeed, which *Introduction* puts down to Insular influence, belong to the Caroline element in the script, and probably to the particular and localized continental style which may lie behind the Caroline minuscule of the whole series; but the forms of a, c, d, e, o, q, and t are those of the Insular minuscule, and the scribe consistently avoided the Caroline ampersand (which he occasionally used in (1), above) in favour of the Insular *et* ligature. The script is excellently laid out on the page and, like the script of most MSS. de luxe, has few abbreviations of any kind. The MS. belonged in the later Middle Ages to Waltham Abbey.

A relatively early date might be claimed for these MSS. Relatively, that is, to the introduction of the Caroline minuscule into England: an event which



is understood to have been an epiphenomenon of the tenth-century Clunian movement, but which even so may have come about in a number of independent receptions at different places, times and tempos. The date is inferred from the persisting Insular element in the MSS., the contrast between their script and another important and evidently primitive variety of English Caroline, and features of the Caroline element in their script which suggest an immediate dependence on some narrowly localized continental style.

The script is the continental minuscule with a strong Insular element in most of the hands. The arrangement of the parchment shows that the continental practice was known but not fully accepted. The abbreviations must be separately noticed; their evidence, perhaps of less value, is more difficult to assess. To the Insular tradition the Middle Ages seem to have owed both the practice of using abbreviations with some freedom in bookhand and the forms of many common abbreviations. Brought to the continent by Irish and English scribes in the seventh and eighth centuries, these began to flourish and spread when, in the ninth century, the old 'national' minuscules were giving way to the new, ligature-free Caroline, which like the Insular scripts could bear heavy abbreviation without becoming illegible. Besides these are to be reckoned some twelve or fifteen strictly Insular abbreviations which did not become permanently naturalized on the continent, together with one or two international abbreviations (such as the archaic form of the special sign for *ur*, and the rather uncommon syllabic suspension of *autem*), which survived in England after they had become obsolete on the continent, and which in a post-ninth-century context may count as Insular. But, although these eventually died out, some of them (for example, the well-known special sign for *autem*) continued to be used in England in the eleventh century, appearing both in Caroline and in Insular script, and these do not mark any specimen of English Caroline as necessarily primitive or imperfectly formed. Any scribe might from time to time pick up an abbreviation from the MS. that he was copying: this tendency may account for an ancient Insular abbreviation of *secundum* (Irish rather than English) and a few instances of tironian *et* (very uncommon for the Latin word in English book-hand, whether Insular or Caroline) in (9), above (fo. 1<sup>r</sup> has a form of *ti* ligature, resembling half-uncial *g*, which suggests that the exemplar was in some kind of Irish cursive). In (8) and (9), above, copied from different exemplars, a strictly Insular and early obsolete symbol of *per* was used by scribe E; perhaps it should be regarded rather as evidence of some indefinite antiquity than as showing Insular resistance to continental influence. Something of the elaborate punctuation found in early Insular MSS. survives in (11), above.

A distinct type of early English Caroline,<sup>1</sup> the minuscule of this series, may

<sup>1</sup> To Mr Neil Ker I owe the remark that there are at least two distinct types of early English Caroline. There are slight indications of a third, perhaps to be associated with Ramsey and Worcester.

represent one of several independent and not necessarily coeval receptions of the continental script. The first dated examples of English Caroline are charters from Abingdon; they follow closely on St Aethelwold's revival of monastic life there c. 954, after a long intermission. The earliest is Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 41, of 956, reproduced in *Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, III, no. 18; this has mostly Insular *g*, but the Caroline form appears in the second line and the forms of the other letters are clearly intended to be Caroline. The script is naïve and the possibly Breton type which it may represent came to nothing at Abingdon, unlike the type represented in Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 39, reproduced *ibid.* no. 23. The eschatocol of this charter, dated 961 and commonly reckoned the earliest dated specimen of English Caroline, is a favourite exhibit in palaeographical teaching: the script is clearly primitive (the scribe twice lapses into Insular forms), and clearly the predecessor of the script in a number of important English MSS. of the tenth century. Cott. MS. Vesp. A. VIII (Carta Regis Eadgari), recording the second foundation of the New Minster at Winchester and the rules to be observed there, affirms itself to have been written (*scripta*, not *acta*) in 966; doubtless written at the New Minster, it may be the work of one of the Abingdon monks planted there by St Aethelwold. It was written throughout in gold pigment, and the script (cf. *Pal. Soc.* I, pl. 46) was affected by the turgid medium. The Chatsworth Benedictional was probably written c. 980; it has been attributed to the Old Minster at Winchester and (on evidence independent of the script) to Thorney and to Ely, all three houses belonging to the Abingdon group. There is a complete reproduction by the Roxburghe Club, and the massive round hand is illustrated in *Pal. Soc.* I, pl. 142, and E. M. Thompson, *Introduction*, no. 172. In his studies in the expansion of the Caroline minuscule A. Hessel, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (1923), pp. 16 *et seq.*, indicates the broad, rounded, monumental order of script as typical of the English reception. The perfection of the type is realized in the original and main hand of the Copenhagen Gospel Book, Royal Library MS. 10, which, as I hope to show elsewhere, was done at the New Minster. The hand is not shown in Mackeprang, Madsen and Petersen, *Greek and Latin Illuminated MSS. in Danish Collections*; and since the work there represented is additional or substituted matter, nearly all on inserted parchment, and since it is by a scribe and artist who flourished at the beginning of the eleventh century, the original hand may be probably dated before 1000. No such range of MSS. and documents is available to date the script of this series. The type and derivatives from it appear in other MSS., including some in the next series, Salisbury Cathedral MS. 38, and the Arenberg Gospels now in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 869;<sup>1</sup> none is securely dated. But there is no historical reason why Abingdon should not have been anticipated, in the reception of the Caroline minuscule, by Glastonbury, where monastic life was restored c. 943, and St Augustine's,

<sup>1</sup> For photographs from these MSS. I am obliged to Dr Elsie Smith and Miss Meta Harrsen.



where it may have continued without interruption throughout the tenth century. And the mere aspect of much of the script in this series is archaic; that of scribe C (plate XIII (a)), side by side with the eschatocol of Cott. MS. Aug. ii. 39 (*Ancient Charters*, III, no. 23), seems older by half a century or more.

The archaic features of the script include frequent open *g* and occasional open *a*, and these have been held to characterize the minuscule of the ninth rather than the tenth century. But the immense field of ninth- and tenth-century continental script has been little explored, outside the products of a few great centres. Perhaps it would be safer to take open *g* and *a* with some other recurrent features of the Caroline in this series—forms of the ampersand and cedilla, an occasional suspension of *-rum* by a stroke through the shoulder of ordinary minuscule *r*, an occasional 'antenna'd' *e*, a frequent *us* ligature—as deriving from the style of a particular and perhaps rather backward continental scriptorium. Wherever this was (I don't think it was Fleury), the generally excellent script of this series need not be supposed to derive from any first-rate model. The drawings and ornaments of these and many other English MSS. can show, more strikingly if not more significantly, how continental models might be transformed out of recognition by the artistic momentum of tenth-century England.

#### CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 356 iii (Glossarium)

Probably written at St Augustine's, the series of MSS. to which this belongs is probably the latest of the group.

The script is small calligraphic Insular minuscule by three hands. On fos. 1–6 the first and main hand is constantly interrupted by a second hand, which recurs briefly on fo. 34<sup>r</sup>; the third hand, which appears in the second column of fo. 19<sup>r</sup>, is that of the scribe who wrote Cott. MS. Dom. I (Isidorus, Priscianus, etc.), fos. 40–54 (plate XIV (c)).

Dom. is complex in its physical make-up and contents. The collation is: one fly-leaf, fo. 1; I<sup>8</sup>, fos. 2–9; II<sup>12</sup> (2, 3, 8, 9 canc.), fos. 10–17; III<sup>8</sup>, fos. 18–25; IV<sup>8</sup>, fos. 26–33; V<sup>8</sup> (6 canc.), fos. 34–9 followed by a leaf not numbered; VI<sup>8</sup>, fos. 40–7; VII<sup>8</sup>, fos. 48–55. It is ruled 24 lines to the page; fos. 37<sup>v</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>, originally ruled but left blank, were re-ruled 30 lines to the page; fo. 55, though conjoint with f. 48, was left unruled. Fo. 2<sup>r</sup> has miscellaneous notes in contemporary hands, one of them resembling the hand of additional matter in TRINITY COLLEGE 1042. The Isidore occupies fos. 3–36, the remaining leaves of the fifth quire being used for additional later matter, and is in the Caroline minuscule of three English scribes. The first was interrupted for short passages, e.g. on fos. 6<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>, 28<sup>v</sup>, 33<sup>v</sup>, by the second; the third wrote fos. 34–6. Independent in quiring, subject-matter and script, the Priscian of fos. 40–54 might suggest that—like so many Cottonian MSS.—Dom. is composite; but the uniformity in ruling and in the dimensions of the written area, and the analogy with another MS. of the series, show that it is

all one volume. The Priscian is in the Insular minuscule of a fourth scribe, illustrated on plate XIV (c).

In the Middle Ages Dom. belonged to St Augustine's; for its early ownership there is evidence in a few interlinear glosses, of which the Anglo-Saxon ones look very like interlinear glosses in TRINITY COLLEGE 1042 and Salisbury Cathedral 38, and in the groups of dots, ticks and commas which aid in construing a few passages, e.g. on fos. 34<sup>r</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>. Fo. 55<sup>v</sup> has miscellaneous notes in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, apparently contemporary with the rest of the MS. These include a list of books which may have been possessed by St Augustine's at the time of writing. It has been printed by M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxix, and A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 250, 499, 500, and is reproduced on plate XIV (b). The 'Aethestan' named as a previous possessor can hardly have been the king, since he is not given the royal style; the phrase *pe Æpestanes waran*, as Miss Robertson points out, does not look like the record of a benefaction. The Persius is probably not the text subordinate to the Juvenal in TRINITY COLLEGE 1241; it may be Auct. F. I. 15 ii, or the lost MS. from which Auct. is supposed to have been corrected. The book *De Natura Rerum* M. R. James takes to be the Isidore which occupies fos. 3–36; Miss Robertson suggests that it is the work of the same name by Bede, and that *Glosse super Catonem* survives as GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE 144, from the library of St Augustine's. The original scribe of this list may not have been responsible for the diphthong in 'natura' or for the senseless question mark after *terra que pars*; but this phrase needs the *que sic incipit* inserted by another hand; the list is in other respects careless and elliptical, and (to crush it a little) some of the items may perhaps be identical with or copied from CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE 221 (cf. *ante*, II, p. 187). The couplet in Caroline minuscule, lines 2 and 3, is a characteristic scribal colophon and presumably contemporary, though the hand is not to be identified elsewhere in the MS.; it is that of the scribe who wrote Roy. MS. 8. C. III (Miscellanea), fos. 2–19<sup>r</sup> (plate XIV (a)).

Roy., not itself previously attributed, illustrates the practices of the scriptorium. Like Dom., it is complex in physical make-up and contents. Each of the first ten quires is signed with a letter in the lower margin of the last page; the collation is given in *Catalogue of the Royal MSS.* Like Dom., it is written in Caroline and Insular minuscule, and the portion in Insular minuscule (fos. 61–81) is self-contained in subject-matter and quiring, but here the quire-signatures as well as other features show that, like Dom., the MS. is a single volume. It is the work of eight scribes; the hands of four are illustrated *ibid.*: *Plates*, no. 57. The first left off and the second took over on fo. 19, in the middle of quire C; the fourth, responsible for quires F and G, reappears for a few lines on fo. 113<sup>r</sup> in the middle of quire Q. Mostly the scribes were responsible for complete quires, one, two or three each; the third scribe, responsible for quire E, spaced out his writing on the last few pages to fill up his parchment; so also the fifth scribe, responsible for quires

H and I; the sixth scribe, responsible for quire K, needed an extra leaf, fo. 81. There are blank spaces for medium-sized initials.

A date even earlier than that of the previous series might be claimed for these MSS. None of the parchment is arranged in the continental manner, and in ruling the open bifolium the normal continental practice seems not to have been followed. The prickings are in the outer margins and the bifolia were ruled before folding, but each bifolium (or pile of bifolia, when several were ruled at a time) seems to have been turned over during the operation to ensure that the furrows, whether direct or indirect impressions, should be on recto sides after folding.<sup>1</sup> In assessing the abbreviations the possible influence of exemplars must be allowed for. It has been suggested (*ante*, II, p. 188) that C.C.C. was copied from a continental MS.; the same may be true of parts of the other two MSS. Roy., which has the spelling *Quir* on fo. 61<sup>v</sup>, has the strictly continental abbreviations of *-mus*, fo. 39<sup>r</sup>, and *qui*, fos. 20<sup>v</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup>. Dom. has the syllabic suspension of *autem* and the archaic form of the special sign in *(t)ur*, both occurring twice on fo. 7<sup>r</sup>; these abbreviations continued in use in the British Isles for some time after they had become obsolete on the continent, but may in this passage have been picked up from a continental exemplar of the early ninth century. In these contexts the survival of archaic Insular practice seems *a fortiori* emphasized by the postscript suspension sign to replace *-us* in both C.C.C. and Roy., and the ancient and strictly Insular æ-sign to symbolize *eius* in Dom., fo. 33<sup>v</sup>. Some of the Caroline minuscule in Roy. and Dom. looks still close to the hypothetical centre, on the continent, from which the Caroline of the whole group may be derived. And the three MSS. might seem earlier than the second series in that C.C.C. has no Caroline minuscule and in Roy. and Dom. the Caroline is rivalled by the Insular. But the prolonged rivalry of old and new scripts in a single scriptorium can be paralleled by MSS., perhaps two centuries earlier, from Corbie, where the Caroline minuscule seems to have been invented, under abbot Maurdrannus, in the eighth decade of the eighth century, and where the archaic Merovingian 'a-b' minuscule not only persisted but seems to have come into renewed favour in the early years of the ninth. In Roy. (which may be rather later than the other two MSS.) the Caroline of fos. 82-102 is perversely mannered, as if the scribe had already grown bored with the continental script. But the Insular minuscule of fos. 73-81 has likewise a strange aspect, and the excellent Insular minuscule of fos. 61-72 frequently uses a purely Caroline ampersand; the native script, in this series, seems to have reached the term of its prosperity, at least in the scriptorium of St Augustine's.

T. A. M. BISHOP

<sup>1</sup> So the prickings in the outer margin of the unruled fo. 55, plate II (b), guided the ruling of the conjoint fo. 48.

It seems in any case to have been normal practice to prick all the bifolia of a quire in a single operation, whether they were to be ruled singly or several at a time or left partly unruled.

## SUMMARY OF THE SOCIETY'S ACTIVITIES 1956-57

IT IS now nine years since the original manifesto formulating the Society's principles was published and, for the benefit of members who have joined since then, it has been decided to reprint it here.

(i) By the holding of meetings, to unite those interested in any aspect of the outward form of printed books and manuscripts, and to provide a forum for the interchange of bibliographical knowledge and opinion.

(ii) By the reading of papers and the holding of exhibitions, to encourage, among young and old, the collecting of books and the study of bibliography.

(iii) To make better known the treasures of the Cambridge University Library and those of the Colleges and University institutions.

(iv) To issue *Transactions*, and such other occasional publications as may be possible and desirable.

With great regret we have to record the resignation, for reasons of health, of Mr A. W. Shutter from the office of Hon. Secretary, a post which he has occupied with devoted efficiency and enthusiasm since the Society's foundation. He has been succeeded in the office by Miss S. A. Skilliter of the University Library, Cambridge.

We welcome twelve new members this year, bringing the total membership to 370, 264 in Great Britain, 86 in the United States of America, and 20 in other countries throughout the world. The Society has suffered the loss by death, during the past year, of the following five members: P. J. Dobell, Arundell Esdaile, Miss D. Jones, E. Maggs and R. C. Pearson.

On 18 October 1956 Mr H. M. Adams, the Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, welcomed members who had gathered in the library to examine the books of Sir Isaac Newton. This magnificent collection of 860 volumes, the more important part of Newton's library, had been purchased from Messrs Sotheran and Co. by the Pilgrim Trustees and was handed over to Trinity College on 30 October 1943. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Audit Room of King's College on 14 February 1957, with tea most kindly provided by the Provost and Fellows. After the meeting Mr Oates delivered the paper, printed in another part of this volume, on 'The Deposit of Books at Cambridge under the Licensing Acts'. In May the Society ventured further afield to visit the library of Peterborough Cathedral. The group of members were hospitably received by the librarian, Canon J. L. Cartwright, who gave an interesting account of the history of the collection and its many treasures, some of which he had displayed.