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The Monastic Libraries of the Diocese of Winchester during the Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman Periods

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THE MONASTIC LIBRARIES
OF THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER
DURING THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON
AND NORMAN PERIODS

by

Steven F. Vincent

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Medieval Institute

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
December 1981
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Anyone who works on a project for several years necessarily finds himself indebted to a great number of people without whose patience and assistance the work would never have been completed. Although it is not possible to thank each individually, there are a few to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude. I am most grateful to Dr. George Beech for his guidance. A special note of thanks is also due to my co-workers of the Reference Department of Pullen Library, Georgia State University, for assuming added responsibilities while I completed this thesis, and to Dr. Ralph Russell, University Librarian, and Miss Carolyn Robison, Associate University Librarian, for their support. I thank Joseph Perun for excellent proof-reading. But above all, I thank my wife Linda, without whom this would not have been possible.

Steven F. Vincent
THE MONASTIC LIBRARIES OF THE DIOCESE OF WINCHESTER DURING THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN PERIODS

Steven F. Vincent, M. A.

Western Michigan University, 1981

The objective of this thesis was to describe the libraries of the monastic houses of the diocese of Winchester in the century following the Norman Conquest. An analysis was made of lists of surviving books and of books which could be identified through other primary and secondary sources. A study was also made of the careers of bishops, abbots, priors, and other scholars known to have worked at each of these establishments, in order to determine the nature of the intellectual activity at each monastery. Catalogs of other twelfth century monastic libraries were compared with the works identified in the study, in order to determine how Winchester libraries may have differed from others of the period. The study includes a list of works identified and summarizes the nature of the Norman influence on the houses in question.
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INTRODUCTION

Although Winchester was a key factor in the political life of England from the establishment of the Wessex kingdom until well after the Norman Conquest, and although its educational institutions are renowned even today, little is known regarding the development of its libraries. In its days as capital of Wessex, Winchester shaped and embodied the cultural and religious life of the rest of England. Under the later Saxon kings, Winchester lost some of its political significance to London but can truly be said to have remained the cultural capital of southern England. As a religious center under the Normans, Winchester was subordinate only to York and Canterbury—and at times eclipsed York and rivalled Canterbury.

Yet, aside from archaeological excavations on the cathedral site and studies of the Winchester Domesday, almost nothing has been done to attempt to reconstruct the intellectual and cultural life of Winchester. The Norman Conquest raises the question of how, if at all, did the invaders alter English civilization.

To know what knowledge medieval men preserved in their libraries is to understand somewhat their way of life and their intellectual pursuits. This is what I have set out to do, to reconstruct the libraries of the
Diocese of Winchester shortly before and after the Conquest.

In a study such as this, the attempt to define temporal limits is largely a matter of convenience and must be somewhat arbitrary. In defining the Norman period, I have selected 1171, the year of the death of Henry of Blois, as an approximate date ad quem. However, in certain instances, it has been necessary to go beyond this date in order to include information relevant to the study.

As James* states, the study of a library may be approached in three ways. Its buildings and furniture may be described and an account given of the twists of fate, the fires or pillages, to which it was subject. In this way, we shed some light on the nature of the preservation of literature in general. Or, second, a study may be made of the contents of a library by examining its catalogs. The third method is to identify the remains of a library by inspecting manuscripts and assigning provenances to them.

The second of these methods is actually the most appropriate for the purposes of my study. Unfortunately, however, the catalogs for the libraries in question do

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not exist. Instead, I have had to rely on tidbits of information gleaned from general histories or other documents, on lists of surviving manuscripts, and on comparisons drawn from similar accounts of other libraries.

The boundaries of the Diocese of Winchester have remained more or less unchanged until the present, and conform roughly to those of the counties of Hampshire and Surrey. Except for the royal records in Winchester Palace, there were probably no libraries in the diocese during the Middle Ages which were not connected with a religious establishment. The two largest libraries were those of St. Swithun's, the cathedral priory, and the New Minster, later known as Hyde Abbey. Most of the surviving books and other records come from these two houses. A third Benedictine abbey was located at Chertsey.

With the Normans, new religious orders reached England. A Cluniac priory was founded at Bermondsey and two Cistercian abbeys were established: Waverley Abbey was the first house of White Monks in England and was soon followed by Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight. The more famous Cistercian foundation at Beaulieu was not established until some time later. The Normans also introduced regular canons into England. Augustinian
priories were established at Merton, Southwark (now the cathedral), Southwick, St. Denys, Breamore, and Christchurch in Twyneham.
Sources on Medieval Libraries

There is no lack of original sources relating to the history of Winchester diocese. Most of the larger houses have left at least one chronicle or some charters. A few have left registers, compotus rolls, or other official records. However, the difficulty with these documents is that books, libraries and scriptoria are rarely referred to directly.

Two annals of St. Swithun's Priory survive: Thomas Rudborne's "Historia Major de Fundatione Ecclesiae Wintoniensis . . . ad annum 1138" and "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia" by an anonymous Winchester monk. Henry Wharton printed Rudborne's "Historia Major" in Anglia Sacra, London, 1691, along with another Winchester chronicle, "Monachi Wintoniensis Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis ab anno 633 ad annum 1277." However, Luard\(^2\) points out that this latter work consists of extracts, with editorial revisions, of "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia," which was published by Luard in Annales Monastici.

Neither of these annals contributes significantly to the history of Winchester libraries; however, Luard\(^3\) has made a study of the sources used in compiling the "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia." The entries to the year 1066 appear to be an exact copy of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 339, a chronicle of England attributed—perhaps erroneously\(^4\)—to Richard of Devizes. This work was compiled in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. After 1066, as Luard says, the annalist used William of Malmesbury as his principal source, with some material taken from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Matthew Paris. Rudborne's sources tell us less about the contents of the collection, since his work was written about 1460.

Luard has also published the annals of Waverley and Bermondsey. Again, neither contains any useful information on the libraries of the two institutions. In fact, until after the entry for 1157, the Waverley annals contain virtually no original material, much of them being an almost literal translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Luard cites evidence of borrowing from many other sources: Bede, Jerome, Eusebius, Martinus Polonus,

\(^3\) Luard, vol. II, p. xi.

Sigebert of Gembloux, Robert de Monte, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. After 1157, the main source seems to be Ralph of Diceto, although from this point on much of the work is original. To this point, the manuscript seems to be the work of two late twelfth or early thirteenth century hands. The entries from 1216 to 1266 appear to have been contemporaneously written, while the entries for 1267 through 1277 seem to have been borrowed from "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia."

The Bermondsey annals were composed much later. They are written in one fifteenth century hand. Since the date 1433 is written but no information recorded, it may be assumed that this is the approximate date of its writing.

Of great interest to the student of medieval monastic libraries is the Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, edited by Joseph Stevenson, London, 1858. Book II of the Chronicon contains a detailed account of the duties of each monastic officer. The portions recounting the functions of the precentor provide our most vivid description of a typical monastic library. This account will be discussed in some detail later in the study.

Several other documentary sources are of great interest. Three chartularies from St. Swithun's survive, although two have never been published. The third, compiled by A. W. Goodman, Winchester, 1927, contains a
number of documents relating to the scriptorium. Two original sources from New Minster provide interesting and unusual information on that house. *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, Winchester, edited by Walter de Gray Birch, London, 1892, is a history of the house from the early eleventh century to the sixteenth, including the names of all monks of the house of that period. Another register, *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, edited by Edward Edwards, London, 1866, has proven useful in the identification of several other books of the abbey.

Also useful were the Winchester Survey and the commentary on it in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, edited by Martin Biddle, Oxford, 1976.

A number of modern histories have also been consulted. The most comprehensive work on medieval libraries is James Westfall Thompson's *The Medieval Library*, Chicago, 1939. Ernest A. Savage's *Old English Libraries; the Making, Collection, and Use of Books During the Middle Ages*, London, 1912, also provided a great deal of valuable material. For the history of monasticism generally, David Knowles' *The Monastic Order in England; a History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, Cambridge, England, 1963, and *The Religious Orders in England*: vol.
II: The End of the Middle Ages, Cambridge, England, 1957, have been invaluable. No study of English regional history would be complete without the Victoria History of the Counties of England.

For a number of monastic libraries, information is more plentiful than for those of Winchester. Catalogs survive for quite a few English houses, and a few libraries, most notably that of Durham, survive largely intact. For a few others, such as both houses of Canterbury and that of St. Alban's, excellent studies have already been done. Several of these studies and catalogs have been consulted for comparison with Winchester libraries. Among the studies examined are: R. W. Hunt on St. Alban's and A. J. Piper on Durham, both published in a recent work, Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker, edited by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson, London, 1978; Audrey M. Erskine on Exeter, published in Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in 1072 A. D., Exeter, 1972; Genevieve Nortier's Les Bibliothèques medievales des Abbayes Benedictines de Normandie, Paris, 1971; and M. R. James' Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, Cambridge, England, 1903.
Medieval Catalogs

There are only a few surviving examples of medieval libraries; in England, the cathedral libraries at Durham and Exeter are among the finest anywhere. In their day, the libraries of Winchester must also have been excellent, but of them nothing remains except a handful of books. In reconstructing them, it is necessary to draw from a variety of sources, as well as to make assumptions based on those surviving collections.

For some medieval libraries, we are fortunate enough to possess a catalog, sometimes several catalogs, of the collection. Invaluable in indentifying medieval catalogs are Gustav Becker's Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui, Bonn, 1885, and Theodor Gottlieb's Uber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken, Graz, 1955. Item number 96 in Becker's work is a twelfth century catalog from a large house in the south of England; unfortunately, there is no evidence to connect this catalog with any Winchester monastery. No medieval catalog from any of the houses in this study can be identified.

There are a number of catalogs which are useful for comparison purposes, however. In addition to Becker's catalog number 96, "Bibliotheca monasterii cuiusdam Anglici," there is a catalog from St. Andrew's, Rochester, which appears in the Textus Roffensis, repro-
duced by R. P. Coates in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. VI (1863), 120-128. A twelfth century catalog from Lincoln Cathedral is found in the *Opera* of Giraldus Cambrensis, London, 1861-91.

There is some danger, however, in relying entirely upon catalogs for our knowledge of medieval collections. Many catalogs do not accurately reflect the contents of their libraries, since, as Thompson\(^5\) illustrates, the medieval catalog was not a true catalog in the modern sense. Rather than a complete list of works, many catalogs are simply lists of volumes, often on the fly-leaves of other volumes, giving only brief, indefinite titles, each of which may represent several works bound together. Lists were made to record the names of donors of books who were to be remembered in prayers, or to record the values of books, in order to determine a borrower's indemnity in case of loss. Often catalogs were merely inventories of volumes. In any case, it is possible that many books escaped notice for not being richly bound or decorated. Yet it is these "work-a-day" manuscripts which may hold the greatest interest for us in tracing the intellectual history of the Middle Ages.

Nor can extant manuscripts be used as an indication of the full extent of medieval collections, since those later collectors who preserved them were usually selective. Ker\(^6\) points out that historical, patristic, and biblical works had the greatest chance of surviving, while, due to the tastes of the sixteenth century collectors, twelfth century theology and law had the least chance. Manuscript copies of the classics also do not survive, since the classics were among the most numerous productions of the early printers. About seventy-five manuscripts of the twelfth century or earlier survive from St. Swithun's, Winchester, but only a handful are left from all of the other houses of the diocese. From all nunneries and Cluniac houses in England, Ker\(^7\) is able to identify fewer than ten surviving manuscripts.

Neil R. Ker has examined catalogs, studies of libraries, modern editions of texts, and manuscripts themselves to determine the date and place of origin of medieval books of England. His results, published as Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, have served as the

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medieval books of England. His results, published as *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, have served as the starting point for this reconstruction of the medieval libraries of Winchester diocese.

Earlier writers have also made reference to books seen on their travels. Shortly before the dissolution of the English monasteries, John Leland toured the realm in search of treasures for the Royal Library. His observations must be taken guardedly, however, since he himself was one of those sixteenth century collectors of very particular tastes. Nevertheless, his remarks on English libraries, published in *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, Oxford, 1709, and *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, London, 1770, provide our only source of information for some libraries. Christopher Eyres drew up a list of seventeen manuscripts in the cathedral library, Winchester, which was published by Edward Bernard in *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, Oxford, 1697. Noteworthy in this list is Dares Phrygius, the only non-religious literary work we have actual evidence of in this library. It must be added, however, that this book may not have been there in the Middle Ages. In 1985 or 1986, K. Hampe visited

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the cathedral library, noting a tenth century copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

Beriah Botfield's *Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England*, London, 1849, is also a very useful source, listing numerous manuscripts and incunabula in the Winchester Cathedral library during the first half of the nineteenth century, although many of these were not in the collection in the Middle Ages.

Botfield's account also describes the history of the present library and the manuscript catalogs of the collection. The library was given to the cathedral in 1682, by Bishop George Morley. Botfield\(^9\) mentions a printed catalog of this collection, dated 1738, and a manuscript catalog, written on vellum, classed by language, and presented to the Dean and Chapter by Bishop Morley. Another catalog, corresponding roughly to the printed one, was used to inventory the collection in 1793, and there is also a volume listing the borrowers from the collection from 1728 onward.

Medieval Collections

The typical medieval collection was primarily ecclesiastical. Beddie\(^1\) estimates that non-religious works probably accounted for less than one-third of a medieval library, but it is important to recognize that there were great differences between libraries. Johnson\(^2\) points out that cathedral libraries were often intended more for education than for devotion; therefore, they probably contained a higher proportion of secular books. And since cathedrals could often count on more consistent means of support, they tended to have more current writings by contemporary authors. Monastic libraries collected more theology and devotional literature, while the rising universities specialized more heavily in philosophy, law, and the Seven Liberal Arts.

Knowles\(^3\) divides the religious portion of the collection into three elements. Service books, often elaborately decorated, were regarded as the core of the library. They were considered an essential part of


\(^2\) Elmer D. Johnson, History of Libraries in the Western World (2nd ed.; Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1970), p. 120.

church furniture and, as Knowles states, were originally stored in or near the church. This fact accounts for the precentor usually serving as librarian, for as choir-master, he was intimately concerned with the care of the books.

The second element of the collection was the Bible. This may have accounted for a sizeable proportion of the collection, for not only does one expect to find several copies, but as Knowles\textsuperscript{13} points out, the Bible was originally divided into nine parts. Only after the twelfth century was it assembled into the single volume "great Bible." The most common version was that of Jerome, with gloss and commentary.

The third group of religious books was intended for the devotional reading of the monks. These consisted primarily of the Fathers—the Latin Fathers almost exclusively. Ker\textsuperscript{14} speaks of a "Patristic set," usually in ten or eleven volumes, which would have been a fixture in almost any monastic library. Although the contents of this set probably varied somewhat from house to house, it usually contained the major works of Augustine, Jerome's\textit{Letters}, the principal writings of

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

Ambrose, and Gregory's *Registrum* and *Moralia in Job*. So voluminous are the writings of Augustine, however, that probably no library owned every work. Bede and Isidore, although regarded as secondary to the "Four Doctors," were usually represented. In contrast, works of Cyprian, Leo the Great, and Tertullian were quite rare in medieval libraries.

The catalogs from Lincoln, Rochester, and Becker's unidentified monastery tend to bear out these assumptions. Becker's catalog lists some sixty-eight volumes; Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome figure in at least twenty-one of them. There is a small collection of saints' lives, including Ethelwold, Wilfrid, Felix, and Gregory. Amalarius' *De Divinis Officiis* is represented, as is Rabanus' *De Institutione Clericorum*. At least one volume contains writings of Origen, and there are some rarer works by Cyprian and Gregory of Nazianzus. The Lincoln catalog lists more than forty volumes, to which chancellor Haymo added eight in 1150. The original collection was primarily patristic, with a few volumes of hagiography; but one volume is identified as "Virgilium." A number of other donations are also listed, consisting primarily of Scriptures and Patristics, but Hugh, archdeacon of Leicester, has donated a Hegesippus and the *Decreta* of Gratian. The Rochester catalog contains more than ninety volumes, an extremely large collection, and
there is reason to believe that even this listing is incomplete. Four pages may have been cut out immediately preceding the catalog. Although it is often difficult to identify works from the notations in catalogs, the first nineteen volumes probably contain writings of Augustine, in at least two of the volumes bound with works by Ambrose. The next twenty-five volumes contain the bulk of Jerome's writings, occasionally bound together with other authors, while the next six are the works of Gregory. There are ecclesiastical histories by Hegesippus, Rufinus, Orosius, and Josephus, and one volume containing Dares Phrygius. A sizeable collection of the works of Bede is enumerated, along with a number of Lives, sermons, and homilies.

There was probably a fourth, non-religious element in most medieval libraries. Thompson suggests that most large cathedrals separated their collections into service books, a monks' library, and a school for the novices. The school collection contained most of the classics, and may often have been cataloged separately. Virtually every medieval library possessed copies of works of Ovid, Cicero, Seneca, and Vergil, while the works of Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Statius, Persius, Pliny the Elder, Sallust, and Terence were not uncommon. After

the Conquest, Durham accumulated a notable collection of classics.

Reading the classics was frequently disparaged in the Middle Ages. Jerome\(^6\) confessed that he enjoyed Plautus and Cicero, yet he felt them inappropriate for Christian scholars. In spite of that, he later instructed boys at Bethlehem, using Plautus, Terence, and Vergil. When Smaragdus, the Carolingian rhetorician, compiled his grammar, he used examples from the Vulgate Bible, rather than the classics. Lanfranc,\(^7\) writing to his friend Dumnoldus, urged him not to read the classics, even though he himself professed a liking for them. Savage\(^8\) points out that the orders of Isidore, St. Francis, and St. Dominic forbade reading the classics without permission. And Gratian,\(^9\) writing in about 1140, questioned whether it was proper for ecclesiastics to be acquainted with pagan literature. Nevertheless, the classics formed an integral part of a monastic educa-


\(^8\) Savage, *Old English Libraries*, p. 213.

tion. Knowles asserts that the interest in classical literature peaked between 1150 and 1200; after that time, children no longer received their education in monasteries.

Aristotle was not unknown in the twelfth century, although knowledge of Greek was wanting. The *Categories* was widely read in the Boethius translation, and at the beginning of the twelfth century, a few English monasteries possessed the entire *Organon* and the *Prior and Posterior Analytics*. This rekindling of interest in Aristotle reflects the intellectual renaissance of the twelfth century. Haskins, however, states that Aristotle killed the classical renaissance of the twelfth century, as dialectic became the dominant liberal art. The cathedral schools continued to teach classics, but more and more scholars turned to the universities, where logic was the leading discipline.

Together with logic, another discipline which received increased attention in the twelfth century was law, both canon and civil. Lanfranc brought with him to Canterbury a collection of Decretals, which he caused to be copied and circulated among the English cathedrals.

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20 Knowles, *End of the Middle Ages*, p. 338.

Later, Theobald built a legal collection at Christ Church, Canterbury, and accepted many pupils from outside the monastery for the study of law. There was a growing demand for legal instruction: by 1149, one Vacarius was lecturing on Justinian at Oxford, for which he had produced abridgments of the Code and Digest. King Stephen forbade his lectures and destroyed many of the manuscripts. Willson\textsuperscript{22} leads us to an interesting speculation: the fifteenth century catalog of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, makes no mention of civil law books, although several from that house at that time are extant. Possibly the law books were kept separately, in the chanceller or spendimentum perhaps, and thus were not entered in the catalog. Another kind of literature may also have often gone unnoted in catalogs: Beddie\textsuperscript{23} says that controversial authors, such as Pelagius, were not listed in the twelfth century catalogs of St. Gall, Lorsch, and St.-Riquier, although they were available at those houses.


The twelfth century also saw the increasing spread of another kind of secular literature, romances. Incongruous though it may seem, Savage\textsuperscript{24} suggests that monasteries were the original disseminators of this literature; copies of popular romances were produced for sale to augment the income of the house. By the middle of the thirteenth century, romances were registered in medieval catalogs, although not an excessive number of them.

Before the Conquest, the English developed a tradition of vernacular literature. King Alfred's translations, the writings of Aelfric the Grammarian, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle attest to the vigor of the Anglo-Saxon language. The Normans, however, believed vernacular books unworthy of preservation, and many valuable sources must have perished. According to its catalog of 1248, Glastonbury possessed four English books, but they were described as old and unreadable.\textsuperscript{25} Nevertheless, there are survivals, such as the Exeter book, the Vercelli manuscript, and a number of Latin-English service books from Alfred's time.

In Benedictine monasteries, the officer entrusted with the care of books was the precentor. The Abingdon

\textsuperscript{24} Savage, \textit{Old English Libraries}, p. 228.

\textsuperscript{25} Savage, \textit{Old English Libraries}, p. 45n.
Chronicon details his responsibilities: he is in charge not only of the library, but the charters as well; he must keep the armaries and other storage places in good repair, and mend and bind books; and out of revenues assigned to him, he is to provide ink and other materials for the manufacture of books.

Beginning during the Carolingian Renaissance, the office of "armarius," the keeper of the armory, began to appear as a separate function in some orders. The customs of Cluni assigned the library duties either to the precentor or to an armarius, while St. Victor of Paris and St. Evaritius both treated the armarius as a separate officer. Cistercian houses also appointed a separate armarius.

In medieval libraries, books were stored in a variety of ways. A small collection, or part of a larger one, might be kept in a chest. Thompson mentions a note in the 1202 catalog of Rochester which reads "aliud librorum in archa cantoris." Two chests, which Thompson calls "too insubstantial" for treasure, sur-

26 Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, ed. by J. Stevenson (Rolls Series; London: Longman, Brown, Green, etc., 1858), ii, 373.
28 Ibid.
29 Thompson, Medieval Library, p. 280.
vive from Hereford Cathedral and date to the fourteenth century; these may have been book-chests.

The armary, however, was the most common type of medieval library furniture. A twelfth century pun states that a monastery without an armary is like an army without an armory. The armary was usually a large cupboard fitted with shelves on which books were stored flat. No example of an English armary is known. Clark, however, describes two large cabinets found in France, which, although perhaps not intended for books, probably resemble library furniture of the Middle Ages. The first is in Bayeux Cathedral and may have been used to store documents or religious objects. It stands nine feet three inches high, seventeen feet two inches long, and three feet deep; originally, Clark says, it may have been three feet longer. It may once have been painted with scenes depicting a translation of relics, and it probably dates to the early thirteenth century. A smaller armary is in the Church of Obazine, Department de la Correze, standing six feet seven inches high, seven feet one inch long, and two feet seven inches deep. It, too, is probably of the early thirteenth century.

30 Thompson, Medieval Library, p. 288.

Not every library used armaries to store books, however. At Worcester in the twelfth century, there were recesses built into the east wall of the cloister. These recesses would have been lined with wood to protect the books from moisture, and were used in place of armaries. The Cistercians also used wall recesses instead of armaries to store books. They may also have been the first to build separate book-rooms on a regular basis. Savage\textsuperscript{32} describes arched recesses in the outside of the south wall of the church at Beaulieu; there is also a small book cupboard built into the wall of the south transept in the northeast corner of the cloister. Also, the west end of the vestry at Beaulieu is blocked off for a book-room. Generally, however, medieval libraries were so small that separate book-rooms were unnecessary, and book-rooms were not common in England until the fourteenth century.

Although the medieval library is often called the "chained library," Thompson\textsuperscript{33} indicates that the practice of chaining books was probably never very common. Before the thirteenth century, only service books kept in the church for public use were chained. The "locked library" might, however, be a more appropriate

\textsuperscript{32} Savage, \textit{Old English Libraries}, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{33} Thompson, \textit{Medieval Library}, p. 625.
term. The Chronicon of Abingdon\textsuperscript{34} indicates that when the precentor was away, the keys to the armary were entrusted to the succentor.

\textsuperscript{34} Chron. Abingdon, ii, 374.
THE LIBRARY OF ST. SWITHUN'S, WINCHESTER

The Old Minster in Winchester was founded in honor of Sts. Peter and Paul, by Cenwalh, King of Wessex, in either 639 or 643. In 676, Bishop Haedde transferred the Wessex See from Dorchester-on-Thames, where it had been established by St. Birinus and King Cynegils, to the Winchester abbey.

Much of the early history of the church and monastery is obscure, but it may be expected that there were considerable Continental influences; Cox\textsuperscript{35} sees in Birinus' baptism of the Saxons a blending of Italian influences with the vestigial Celtic church. Many of the English of this period acquired their education abroad, and others, such as Benedict Biscop, imported numbers of manuscripts. Winchester probably received strong foreign influences along with the rest of England.

By the time of Boniface, however, the trend seems to have reversed itself, and England began to exert an influence on the Continent. An Englishman educated at Exeter and Nursling near Winchester, Boniface carried English learning to the rest of Europe. He left us a

\begin{footnotes}
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glimpse of the Winchester library at this time, when he wrote to his friend, Bishop Daniel, asking for a manuscript of the major prophets made by Winibert, his abbot at Nursling, "in clear and finished letters."36 His failing eyes could no longer read the cramped script of the Continental manuscripts.

Another glimpse of the library at Winchester in the eighth century is given us by a letter from Bishop Cyneheard to Lull,37 Boniface's successor in Germany, asking for books on secular learning and ecclesiastical administration. Such books were in demand but unavailable. He also noted that he did have books on medicine, but had no medicines. The only extant manuscript traceable to the cathedral library of this period consists of twenty-seven leaves of MS 173 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, comprising *Hymni de Christo cum vaticinis eiusdem* by Sedulius.

After 828, with the unification of the English monarchy under King Egbert, Wessex, with Winchester as its capital, became the dominant political and cultural center of England. At this time, Winchester emerged as an educational center. Ethelwulf, Egbert's younger son,


was entrusted to the cathedral monastery to be educated by Swithun, a Winchester monk renowned as a scholar. In 839, Ethelwulf ascended to the throne following the deaths of his father and older brother. Swithun was appointed Ethelwulf's chancellor and became a close personal advisor to the king. In 852, Swithun succeeded Helmstan as Bishop of Winchester and took charge of educating Alfred, Ethelwulf's fourth son. It is to these early years spent under Swithun's care that Cox attributes much of Alfred's eventual greatness.

The ninth century marked the low point in English learning. The Danish invasions destroyed almost all the monasteries and libraries. Books were destroyed; a few, adorned with precious metals and jewels, may have been carried off, but have since been lost. Few books from this and earlier periods survive. Of the major libraries, only those at Winchester, Worcester, and Canterbury survived the invasions. The difficulties of this time came not only from without, for there was already considerable decay from within the English monastic system. By the eighth century, Bede had already advised his pupil, Egert, to educate clerics in English, since they knew no Latin. Monasticism, lacking the machinery to educate

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38 Cox, *VCH Hants.*, II, p. 4.

novices and the land to support communities, virtually disappeared. Most of the cathedrals, including Winchester, fell into the hands of secular canons.

Into this darkness, Alfred sought to bring some light. He attempted to reform and re-educate the clergy in Latin, while on the other hand, he translated into English the "books most needful for men to know: 40 Gregory's Pastoral Care and Dialogues, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, Orosius' Histories Against the Pagans, and the Soliloquies of Augustine.

Alfred intended to equip every bishopric with a set of his translations, in order to assure that in every cathedral, the services would be properly observed and the churches effectively administered. 41 He hoped to be able to replace books lost during the invasions, to increase the number of texts in circulation, and to augment them with new works brought from the Continent. Unfortunately, his attempt to disseminate learning was only partially successful, since as Savage 42 states, he failed to develop the machinery necessary for the production of texts and the spread of learning, the monastic

40 Thompson, Medieval Library, p. 119.
41 Thompson, Medieval Library, p. 120.
42 Savage, Old English Libraries, p. 39.
schools. English monasticism remained in decline. That in Alfred's time books remained scarce, and therefore very expensive, is indicated in an incident reported by Bell. Abbot Coelfrid of Jarrow sent a work on cosmography in exchange for enough land to support eight families. By 950, only Abingdon and Glastonbury observed the Benedictine Rule, and in those houses, the Rule had only recently been re-introduced by Dunstan and Ethelwold.

Alfred continued one of the practices of his father and grandfather by committing the youngest of his sons, Aethelward, to the monastery for education. According to Asser, Aethelward's fellow students included many sons of the nobility, as well as many who were not noble, and the course of study included literature in both Latin and English. Further, Alfred's older sons, Edward and Aelfhryth, were taught the Psalms and Saxon poetry, and cultivated a love of books. Alfred also saw to the learning of the sons of his nobles, often instructing them himself in literature.


45 Asser, 75. 29-31.
Extant manuscripts which may date to Alfred's reign include MS Digby 63 in the Bodleian Library, consisting of various calendars, computistical treatises, and episcopal letters. An end-leaf bears the name of Raegenboldus "Sacerdos de Wintonia," most likely the scribe; and over an erasure, a note dates the book to "c. 1000." According to Pacht, evidence contained in tables on folios 8v and 20v suggests a more likely date of 867 to 892. Some of the calendars appear to have been added to in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Two other surviving books illustrate Alfred's publishing machinery in action. MS Cotton Tiberius B.xi from the British Museum and Bodleian MS Hatton 20, both English versions of Gregory's Pastoral Care, were produced in the same scriptorium, possibly at Winchester. At Alfred's direction, the Hatton manuscript was sent to Worcester Cathedral. A note on folio 3 of the British Museum copy indicates that Alfred donated it to Archbishop Plegmund; however, Ker rejects the

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ascription of this work to Canterbury and assigns it to Winchester. Anhang 19 of the Landesbibliothek of Kassel is a single leaf from the British Museum copy. The Hatton manuscript, on folio 98v, gives us what may have been the name of the scribe: "Aelfric clericus hoc composuit."

Thompson suggests that the works translated by Alfred were selected for him by Grimbald and Asser. Most of the texts must have come from the Winchester library, although Grimbald may have brought some with him from St. Bertin. These latter may have been moved to the New Minister upon its founding following Alfred's death.

Although there was little or no improvement in English libraries between the death of Alfred and the time of Dunstan, a few incidents and a small number of extant books indicate that the love of learning had not altogether vanished. King Athelstan, Alfred's grandson, gave nine books to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, which may have been representative of the collection at Winchester: Isidore's De Natura Rerum and works by Persius, Donatus, Alcuin, Sedulius, and possibly Bede. British Museum MS Cotton Galba A.xxvi, of which Bodleian MS Rawlinson B. 484, folio 85, is a detached leaf, is a Psalter, the "Athelstan Psalter," traditionally regarded

49 Thompson, *Medieval Library*, p. 120.
as that king's gift to the Old Minster. The production of this work may date to Alfred's reign; and according to Ogilvy,\(^5\) it contains prayers which date to the eighth century. However, there seems little doubt that it was in the Winchester library during the first half of the tenth century. Other interesting features of this manuscript are the computistica, discussed by Ogilvy,\(^5\) and the Greek litany appearing on folio 200, described by Bishop.\(^5\)

There is a work of Bede appearing in the British Museum catalogs as MS Cotton Otho B.xi, which has since been lost. Leaves from this book, bound as folios 55, 58, and 62 in MS Cotton Otho B.x, suggest that it may date to this period. A group of four other manuscripts, British Museum MSS Additional 47,967 and Royal 12 D.xvii, Bodleian MS Junius 27, and folios 1 through 56 of MS 173 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, can be dated to the end of the ninth or early tenth centuries, and all four appear to have come from the same scriptorium. MS Additional 47,967 is an English version of Orosius' Histo-


\(^{51}\) Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, p. 188.

\(^{52}\) Edmund Bishop, Liturgica Historica; Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church (Oxford: Clarendon, 1918), p. 141.
ries, and the Royal MS, also in English, is a collection of medical recipes. The Bodleian manuscript, known as "Codex Vossianus," consists of a Psalter in Latin with English gloss, and includes a metrical calendar.

Bishop\(^{53}\) has examined this calendar and determined that it is not a full calendar, although it does contain lines for every day of the year. It represents extracts based on an old "practical" calendar. Further, he states that some of the lines have been taken from a similar calendar contained in the "Athelstan Psalter." The first 56 leaves of the Cambridge manuscript, the fourth of this group, represent a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a work believed\(^{54}\) to have been at least in part composed by Winchester monks.

Three other extant books attributable to the Winchester library or scriptorium cannot be dated too closely, but appear to have been produced some time in the tenth century. Bodleian MS Bodley 49 is Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* and *De Octo Principalibus*, glossed in English and bearing an ex libris of the cathedral library. London Society of Antiquaries MS 154 represents 26 leaves of a missal which had been pasted together and used as the


boards in the twelfth century binding of the Winton Domesday. British Museum MS Harley 213, containing a Winchester ex libris, includes Alcuin's Homilies and Commentaries on Ecclesiastes and the Cantica Canticorum. According to a note in the entry in the British Museum catalog, this book was not a product of the Winchester scriptorium, but "in Gallia videtur scriptus."

By the time King Edmund came to the throne in 939, monasticism had ceased to exist in England. Glastonbury, although possessing a fine library, was inhabited by secular clerics; Abingdon was in ruins and in the hands of the king. The New and Old Minsters in Winchester were possessed by seculars, as were Worcester and Christ Church, Canterbury. Concerning St. Augustine's, we have no information at all, and the name of no monk from that house in this period is known. A few bishops, notably Alfheah of Winchester and Oda of Canterbury, were known as monks; but as Knowles*^ points out, the term probably refers to a form of private devotion, rather than to membership in a community in compliance with the Benedictine Rule. Once again, as in earlier times, it was foreign influences which aided in reviving the English monastic system; but unlike that earlier period, the leaders of the revival of the tenth century were English.

55 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 36.
Winchester played a major role in the revival of the tenth century. Two leaders, Dunstan and Ethelwold, were disciples of Winchester's monastic (or monkish) bishop Alfheah, who ordained the pair on the same day. The third of the revival's leaders, Oswald, served as a priest in one of the Winchester houses as a young man.

Twice exiled to the Continent, first for a short time in 939, and the second time for three years beginning in 954, Dunstan became a student of Continental monasticism at Flanders and at Blandinium in Ghent. Oswald was sent to Fleury in 950, and upon his return in 958, was appointed Bishop of Worcester.

Ethelwold was probably born in the first decade of the tenth century, and when young, served in the court of King Athelstan. He was ordained and admitted to priest's orders by Alfheah, and later became Dean of Glastonbury under Dunstan. Dissatisfied with the life at Glastonbury and recognizing that English monasticism lagged far behind that of the Continent, he desired to go abroad to France and Flanders, possibly to Fleury, to study. Unwilling to part with such a gifted subject, however, King Edred denied him permission to go and instead assigned him the task of reforming the house at Abingdon. Seeded with clerics from Glastonbury, the community at Abingdon was soon a thriving one. During Dunstan's second exile, the house was probably deprived of most of its posses-
sions by King Edwig, but prosperity was restored upon Dunstan's return. In addition to establishing the house financially, Ethelwold sent one of his disciples to study at Fleury and invited monks from Corbie to perfect the practice of the chant at Abingdon.

Ethelwold became Bishop of Winchester in November, 963, and soon thereafter he re-established the Benedictine Rule in the cathedral chapter. In Lent, 964, Ethelwold entered the church bearing a number of Benedictine cowls. He urged the canons to accept them as pledges of obedience to the monastic rule. Only three accepted; the rest were deprived of their benefices and replaced by monks from Abingdon.

In or about the year 972, the leaders of the English church met in Winchester to draft a document outlining in detail the observances for each day of the year, the duties of monastic officers, and the services connected with the death of a monk. The intent of this document, entitled Regularis Concordia Angliae nationis monachorum sanctimoniumque, was to regularize practices within English monasteries and to bring those practices more in line with those on the Continent. It is significant that Winchester was chosen as the site for this gathering, not only due to its position as the imperial capital, but
because, according to Aelfric Grammaticus, Ethelwold was the author of the document and the driving force behind the meeting. It is tempting to add that it may have been due, in some part, to the presence of the finest library in Wessex.

Like most medieval documents, the Regularis Concordia is not an original work, but a borrowing from other sources, among them the Usages of Fleury and Ghent, which have since disappeared. Also evident are traces of customaries from Cluniac and Lotharingian houses. The Ordo Qualiter was extensively drawn upon, as well as the Rule for Canons and the Capitula of Aachen, the Regula Monachorum of Isidore of Seville, and the letters of Gregory the Great to Augustine, as preserved by Bede. Some of these works were brought by advisors invited from the Continent, but it is likely that, once at Winchester, copies of all of them found their way into the cathedral library.

Although it made no specific mention of books, libraries, or learning, the Regularis Concordia is significant not only because of the sources it drew upon. Concerned as it was with the performance of the liturgy and the chant, it required that the monks be better educated

56 Aelfric Grammaticus, Letter to the Monks of Eynsham, quoted in Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 43.
in Latin, thus implying that more attention be given to the monks' schooling. And, as Knowles[^57] points out, the **Regularis Concordia** made no clear distinction between the royal, monastic, and episcopal interests, thus accounting for an increased monastic influence in the national life of England until the time of the Conquest. Most of the bishops were to be monastic, and along with abbots, became members of the Witan.

Ethelwold ordered the rebuilding of the Old Minster, and when completed, transferred the relics of St. Swithun from the yard of the old church to a shrine in the new and rededicated monastery, adding Swithun's name to the dedication. According to Biddle[^58], this building was designed to accommodate the monarch at official functions; the monumental west front, patterned after the one at Corvey-on-the-Weser, had space for a throne on the second floor, from which the king could command a view of the whole church.

From the days of St. Swithun, Winchester had been recognized as an educational center. Mention has already been made of some of its notable scholars: Boniface, Swithun, Alfred, Dunstan, and Ethelwold; but in the last


half of the century, Winchester schools became preeminent in England. Ethelwold himself was widely known as a teacher of grammar, and Aelfric Grammaticus was his pupil and biographer. Aelfric\(^5^9\) tells us that, even as bishop, Ethelwold often instructed youths. The leaders of the revival sought to spread learning outside the walls of the cloister; in addition to the schools for novices in the two Winchester monasteries, there were at least two non-monastic schools in the city: St. Swithun's, located just outside the gates of the cathedral close, and King Alfred's Palace School. Since earlier days, it had also been the custom for monks to accept sons of royalty and nobility into the cloister for education. Knowles\(^6^0\) states that Dunstan probably received non-cloistered students at Glastonbury, and it is difficult to conceive that Ethelwold would not do likewise at Abingdon and Winchester. The Grammar of Aelfric Grammaticus as well as his Colloquy may have been intended for use outside the cloister.\(^6^1\) Women also were included in the educational reform: Ethelwold pro-


\(^{60}\) Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 487.

\(^{61}\) Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 488.
duced an English translation of the Benedictine Rule for nuns.

Due in part to the close association with Fleury, and in part to endemic skill, Anglo-Saxon monasteries became centers of literary activity and illumination in the latter half of the tenth century. The Winchester scriptorium flourished; within a few years of the return of monks to the Old Minster, copies of the Vulgate Bible, which Knowles\textsuperscript{62} believes were based on Winchester models, were to be found in many English monasteries. Bishop Ethelwold gave a number of books to Peterborough Abbey which may have been copied from works in the Winchester library. These included Bede's commentary on Mark; a "liber miraculorum," which Ogilvy\textsuperscript{63} thinks may have been Gregory's Dialogues; Jerome's Expositio Hebrorum Nominum, Provisio Futurarum Rerum (the Prognosticon Futuri Saeculi by Julianus of Toledo); Augustine's De Academicis, the metrical life of Felix by Paulinus of Nola; Isidore's Synonyma; a life of Eustace; "Descidia Parisiace Polis" (probably a part of the Bella Parisaica of Abbo of St. Germain); a medical text; and De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi, a work spuriously attributed to both Augustine and Cyprian. Also included were a

\textsuperscript{62} Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 519.

\textsuperscript{63} Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, p. 206.
"Sermo Super Quosdam Psalmos" (possibly Augustine's *Enarrationes* or Jerome's *Commentarioli*), a "commentum Cantica Canticorum," which may have been Bede's, an unidentified work called "De Eucharistia," and another work which may have been a commentary on Martianus Cappella. Alcimus Avitus and Isidore's *Differentiae* were also represented, as were a bestiary, a work of Cyprian, and a work described as "de litteris grecorum." Ogilvy suggests that this last work and the work by Cyprian may be one and the same. As to whether it refers to a book written in Greek or to a Greek grammar is unclear.

Winchester's illumination of the latter part of the tenth century is regarded as particularly fine. The earliest English illumination had been strongly influenced by Celtic schools, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* being the foremost example of this period. After the north of England had fallen to the Danes about the year 800, the southern monasteries became the centers of illumination. Canterbury initially took the lead, and there the Irish motifs were blended with Continental themes.

With Ethelwold's arrival, Winchester became preeminent in the field of illumination, although whether this activity was centered in the New Minster or the Old is unclear. The name of one of the Winchester artists,

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64 Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English*, p. 194.
Godeman, later abbot of Thorney, has come down to us as the artist of the *Benedictional of St. Ethelwold*, British Museum MS Additional 49,598, but it is uncertain at which house he worked; Knowles\(^6^5\) believes it to have been the New Minster, while White\(^6^6\) prefers St. Swithun's, the Old Minster. At this time, however, the distinction probably is not too significant. The two Winchester monasteries were situated quite close to one another, so close, in fact, that the ringing of the bells in one church disrupted the services in the other. Consequently there must have been a great deal of contact between the two. Possibly some activities, such as manufacturing books, were carried on jointly, rather than duplicating the necessary resources at both houses.

Surviving books from this period include Ethelwold's *Benedictional*, mentioned above, and a *Geometria* by Boethius, MS Douce 125 of the Bodleian Library. The Boethius is illuminated with finely colored geometrical figures and initials, and an erased ex libris of St. Swithun's appears on folio 1. A miscellany consisting of folios 2 through 73 and 77 through 88 of British Museum MS Cotton Tiberius B.v, part i may also have come from St. Swithun's. This contains, along with fragments of

\(^{65}\) Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 530.

chronicles, episcopal letters, and lists of cardinals, a
metrical calendar, said by Bishop67 to be identical to
the one in the Athelstan Psalter.

The disciples of Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald pro-
duced a high literary culture in England, and the fore-
most literary figure was Aelfric Grammaticus. Born
around 955, Aelfric was probably from a well-to-do com-
moner family. Hurt68 points out that if he had come from
the nobility, his advancement through the ecclesiastical
establishment would have been more rapid—he did not
become abbot until age 50—while, if he had come from
humble origins, he probably never would have attained
that office. White69 points to his easy familiarity and
lack of servility in his dealings with those of high
family as evidence that his origins were not of the
lowest rank of society. He probably came to Winchester
sometime in the 970's, for as he wrote to the monks of
Eynsham,70 he studied in Ethelwold's school for many
years. He may also have previously studied under Ethel-
wold at Abingdon.

67 Bishop, Liturgica Historica, p. 255, n. 1.


69 White, Aelfric, p. 36.

70 Aelfric Grammaticus, Letter to the Monks of
Eynsham, cited in Hurt, Aelfric, p. 29.
In about 987, Aelfric was brought to the newly founded house at Cernel by Aethelmaer, son of the ealdorman Aethelweard. Aethelweard himself was known as a patron of learning and the monastic movement, having composed a chronicle in Latin and been a contributor to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. At Cernel, Aelfric was charged with instructing the new monks in the Benedictine Rule and with establishing an educational program. In 1005, Aethelmaer named Aelfric abbot of his new foundation at Eynsham.

Most of Aelfric's writing was done at Cernel, and as Hurt\textsuperscript{71} suggests, may have grown out of his teaching activities. His prime concern in writing was expressed in the Latin preface to the first volume of his Catholic Homilies: "transstulimus hunc codicem ex libris Latinorum...ob aedificationem simplicium, qui hanc norunt tantummodo locutionem, sive legendo sive audiendo...";\textsuperscript{72} that is, he wrote for the simple folk who knew no Latin.

Initially, most of his sources must have come from Winchester, since the library at Cernel could not have yet been well enough established to have supported much study. Therefore, an examination of Aelfric's sources

\textsuperscript{71} Hurt, \textit{Aelfric}, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{72} Aelfric Grammaticus, "Latin Preface to Catholic Homilies," printed in White, \textit{Aelfric}, p. 165.
should give us a fairly good idea of the nature of the Winchester library at this time.

Forster\(^7\) suggests that the Catholic Homilies may have been based on one of many similar collections then in use. It does not appear, however, that he translated directly from any of them, but rather that he used one as a guide in selecting and organizing his material. In the Latin preface to the first volume, he names six authors as sources: "Hos namque auctores in hac explanatione sumus sequuti, videlicet Augustinum Hipponensem, Hieronimum, Bedam, Gregorium, Smaragdum, et aliquando Haymonem."\(^7\) Forster,\(^7\) however, indicates that these six were not Aelfric's only sources and he divides the authors used into three classes. The first class, the most heavily used, includes Gregory, Bede, and Augustine. Gregory is the principal source: fifteen or sixteen homilies in volume one and twelve or thirteen in volume two are based on twenty-seven of Gregory's Homilies. Bede is more often cited, but there appear to be fewer actual translations from Bede. There

\(^7\) Max Forster, Uber die Quellen von Aelfrics Homiliae Catholicae (Berlin, 1894), cited in White, Aelfric, p. 188.

\(^7\) Aelfric Grammaticus, "Latin Preface to Catholic Homilies," printed in White, Aelfric, p. 165.

\(^7\) Forster, cited in White, Aelfric, pp. 185-188.
are many single sentences which seem to correspond to Bede's work, but it is uncertain whether Aelfric had the works before him while he was writing or whether he was reconstructing passages from memory. The most prevalent of Bede's works appears to be his Scriptural commentaries, while there are a few citations from the mathematical and scientific treatises, as well as a few from the historical works.

Augustine ranks third after Bede and Gregory, and only the Sermons, the Commentary on John, On the Sermon on the Mount, De Civitate Dei, and De Trinitate appear to have been used.

In the second class, Forster groups writers Aelfric used less often. After Augustine, Smaragdus' Commentarius in Evangelia et Epistolas appears to have been most often used. However, since Smaragdus made use of Gregory, Bede, Jerome, and Augustine, in some cases it is unclear whether Aelfric was quoting Smaragdus or his sources. Although Aelfric cited Jerome second among his sources, Jerome's contribution was actually quite small; only the Commentary on Matthew was used. The Homiliae de Tempore of Haymo of Halberstadt completes the second class.

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76 Forster, cited in White, Aelfric, p. 186.
Sources providing material for only one or two of Aelfric's homilies were included in the third class. An anonymous *Vitae Patrum* was used twice and Alcuin was used once in volume two. A Hilarius was mentioned once; but it is not known whether it was the Bishop of Arles or the Bishop of Poitiers who was referred to. Cassian contributed to one homily, and either Cassian or Alcuin to one other. Amalarius' *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, Ratramnus of Corbie, and Rufinus' translation of Eusebius complete the authors in the third class.

Aelfric's *De Temporibus* was based largely on Bede's work of the same title, but he also made use of the anonymous *De Ratione Temporum*, which is often spuriously attributed to Bede, and of Isidore's *De Natura Rerum*. His intent seems to have been to select only those parts of each most useful for laymen to know. In the Grammar, as in so many of his other works, he includes two prefaces, one in English and one in Latin. The Latin preface indicates that he has translated excerpts from the *Ars Maior* and *Ars Minor* of Priscian, and that the youths for whom he is writing should already be familiar with Donatus' *De Octo Partibus*. In the English preface, he linked the Grammar with his other writings, saying that grammar is the key to understanding their meaning. He intended that the Grammar would be the framework of a systematic plan of education in Latin, so that future
generations would be better equipped to derive benefit from books.\textsuperscript{77}

The \textit{Saints' Lives}, intended as a complement to his two volumes of \textit{Homilies}, was meant for use by the laity, rather than in the cloister. The Latin Preface\textsuperscript{78} mentions a \textit{Vitae Patrum}, which he says is meant for monks and contains things not fitting to be revealed to laymen. Ott\textsuperscript{79} does not believe that he was working with a single collection before him, but drew from many sources which are specified in the individual lives: Bede, Alcuin, Ambrose, Terence, Jerome, and Landferth's \textit{Life of Swithun}. Also intended for lay readers were the \textit{Heptateuch}, a translation of Jerome's Vulgate version omitting material unsuitable for laymen, and the \textit{Introduction to the Old and New Testaments}. For the latter, he drew upon Augustine's \textit{De Doctina Christiana} and Isidore's \textit{Proemia on the Old and New Testaments} and \textit{Questions on the Old Testament}.

The preface to \textit{Excerpts from Ethelwold's De Consuetudine} indicates that he also made use of Amalarius' \textit{De Ecclesiasticis Officiis}. For his transla-

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\textsuperscript{77} Hurt, \textit{Aelfric}, p. 105.


\textsuperscript{79} J. H. Ott, \textit{Uber die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Aelfric's Lives of Saints} (Halle, 1892), cited in White, \textit{Aelfric}, p. 196.
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tion of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, he used not only Alcuin, but Bede, Gregory, and Isidore as well.

Two other men bearing the name of Aelfric are of interest in connection with medieval books. The first Aelfric, the Archbishop of Canterbury from 990 to 1005, who is often confused with Grammaticus, introduced a canon requiring every priest to possess a copy of the *Psalter*, the *Epistles*, the *Gospels*, a *Missal*, a *Hymnal*, the *Manual*, an appropriate *Calendar*, a *Passionary*, a *Penitential*, and a *Lectionary* before ordination. If strictly observed, this regulation would have strained the monastic scriptoria, and would have encouraged secular bookmakers. The other Aelfric, a Winchester monk who was distinguished by the cognomen Bata, was a pupil of Aelfric Grammaticus and republished his mentor's *Colloquy*. Another significant Winchester scholar of the period was Wulfstan, the precentor of St. Swithun's and a pupil of Ethelwold. His works included a life of Ethelwold patterned after Aelfric's, which William of Malmesbury80 described as written in a "fair style." He also wrote *De Tonorum Harmonia*, a work on music which Malmesbury felt was quite useful.

It is possible that at this time, there was still some scant knowledge of Greek at Winchester. The "de litteris grecis" in Ethelwold's donation to Peterborough is indicative of this, as are certain calendars contained in Winchester manuscripts. The calendars contained in British Museum MS Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, a Psalter from St. Swithin's, and MS Cotton Titus D.xviii, from the New Minster, both bear a strong resemblance to the old "practical" calendar on which the ones in the Athelstan Psalter and in Bodleian MS Junius 27 were based. Bishop\textsuperscript{81} points out that all contain references to local saints of the Pas-de-Calais region, indicating a likely origin for the calendar; however, the Vitellius and Titus manuscripts contain a May 3 date for the Feast of the Conception. This feast was not generally recognized by the Western Church for another 350 years. Bishop\textsuperscript{82} cites no evidence that this feast was actually observed at Winchester, but it may represent literary ornaments copied from another calendar. The Winchester calendars also contain two other Marian feasts otherwise unknown in the West at this time. The Feast of the Presentation, November 21, must actually have been commemorated, for it also appears in a Benedictional from

\textsuperscript{81} Bishop, \textit{Liturgica Historica}, p. 255.  
\textsuperscript{82} Bishop, \textit{Liturgica Historica}, p. 256.
Canterbury, British Museum MS Harley 2892. The Feast of the Conception reappears at December 8 in the Winchester calendars and, as Bishop\(^{83}\) states, this feast and that of the Presentation were observed at Greek monasteries in southern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Both Knowles\(^{84}\) and Bishop\(^{85}\) agree that Winchester was the origin of these feasts in the Western Church. Thus it is highly probable that Winchester had some contact with Byzantine monasticism in the late tenth or early eleventh century.

Among surviving manuscripts which may date back to the latter portion of the tenth or early eleventh century is a Pontificale preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as folios 63 through 318 of MS 146. These pages contain directions for the preservation of sacred vestments and utensils, the consecration of bishops and abbots, exorcisms, and monastic and episcopal benedic­tions. British Museum MS Royal 15 C.vii contains Landferth's *Life of Swithun*, hymns in Swithun's honor, and a metrical life of the saint attributed to Wulfstan. Also contained in the volume are two poems on Swithun and legenda for his translation, written in twelfth century

\(^{83}\) Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 257-258.  
\(^{84}\) Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 510-511.  
hands. Another Life of Swithun appears on folios 28 through 80 of MS 1385 of the Bibliotheque Municipale of Rouen, which, according to Nortier, came to Jumieges from Winchester. In the twelfth century, a copy was made of it for the library at St. Evroul; this copy appears as MS 14 of the Bibliotheque Municipale of Alencon. Other contents of the Rouen manuscript include hymns praising Birinus, Swithun, and Ethelwold, on folios 81, 82, and 84, respectively, which also suggest a Winchester provenance for the book.

A copy of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is still in the Winchester Cathedral library as MS 1. This may be the work referred to by Botfield as "Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica." It was formerly bound with British Museum MS Cotton Tiberius D.iv, part ii, folios 158 through 166. These leaves, containing the Carmen Aethelwulfi, have been damaged by fire and may once have included lives and miracles of saints. A Sacramentary, which may have come from St. Swithun's, can now be found in Worcester Cathedral, cataloged as MS F.173. Folio 2 of British Museum MS Additional 34,652 may have been either

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at St. Swithun's or at Southwick. This leaf consists of a fragment of a royal genealogy from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and appears to have been bound originally with MS Cotton Otho B.xi. Nortier records that some Homilies on the Epistles of Paul, MS 29 of the Bibliotheque Municipale of Avranches, found at Mont St. Michel, were undoubtedly written in England and brought to the Norman monastery during the abbacy of Maynard, 966 to 991. Whether or not this book came from Winchester, however, is uncertain.

Between the ninth and twelfth centuries, there was a development in liturgical music which, although it did not gain acceptance into the service books, became extremely popular. Elaborate modifications of the Gregorian Antiphonary, known as tropes, first appeared in northern France before the end of the ninth century. St. Gall soon became famous for its tropes, but, according to Frere, did not originate the movement. After reaching a peak sometime in the tenth or eleventh century, tropes began to degenerate toward the end of the eleventh century, as episcopal authority turned against

88 Nortier, Bibliothèques medievales, pp. 63-64.

them. By the early twelfth century, the movement was virtually extinct. Tropes were originally contained in separate books, called Troparia or Tropers, which augmented the Gradual. After the demise of the Troper, however, a few tropes made their way into the Ordinary.

Two Winchester Tropers dateable to the early eleventh century or before survive, Bodleian MS Bodley 775 and MS 473 from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Frere90 asserts that both are unquestionably from St. Swithun's and that the Bodleian manuscript, which he designates "E", must have been written in Ethelwold's time. It is his opinion that in this Troper, the tropes, which exhibit strong similarities to northern French models, must be new to Winchester, having just arrived with the Benedictine monks implanted by Ethelwold in the cathedral chapter. The later Troper, referred to as "CC", shows a distinctive notation, using polyphony, and is pitched about one third lower than elsewhere. Perhaps this development reveals the musical talents of precentor Wulfstan, Malmesbury's91 "homo vitae bonae et eloquentiae."

The reign of Edward the Confessor saw the introduction of many Norman influences and many Normans into the

90 Frere, Winchester Troper, p. xxviii.
91 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, II.149.
English ecclesiastical establishment. Although there seems to have been some decline in the observances of the Holy Offices, particularly in the cathedrals of Canterbury and Winchester, the monastic movement remained generally strong. St. Swithun's seemed to favor the Normans. In 1044, Robert Champart, abbot of Jumieges was named Bishop of London and he made a gift of a Sacramentary to his former house. This book, now residing in the Bibliotheque Municipale of Rouen, MS 274, was produced by the Winchester scriptorium and is illuminated with numerous finely colored initials and thirteen fully illuminated pages. Rouen MS 231, an English Psalter, may also have been his gift, but the evidence linking it with Winchester is not as strong.

Three other surviving books may have been in the Winchester Library shortly before the Conquest. Nortier believes that a manuscript of Ambrose's Exposition on Luke, now cataloged as MS 59 in the Bibliotheque Municipale in Avranches, may have been brought to Mont St. Michel along with Avranches MS 163, Heraclitus' Lives of the Fathers. Both works are decorated with initials with interlacing foliage patterns, a

92 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 73.

93 Nortier, Bibliotheques Medievales, p. 66.
characteristic of Winchester illumination. Nortier reports that these books may have come with Osbern, a Mont St. Michel scribe who may have come from Winchester. Both works may actually date to after the Conquest, and the Heraclitus may be slightly later than the Ambrose.

Oxford Trinity College MS 28 is a miscellaneous work copied at Winchester, containing excerpts from Bede, anonymous homilies on the Ten Commandments and the Holy Trinity, and a treatise on weights and measures. MS 163 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a Pontificale of the eleventh century, traceable to Winchester through liturgical evidence in the manuscript.

For slightly more than sixty years following the Norman Conquest, we possess no hard evidence concerning the Winchester Cathedral library, school, or scriptorium. Surviving books are not dated precisely, leaving us in doubt as to which ones existed before 1130. Therefore, the question arises whether the Conquest seriously disrupted the intellectual life at St. Swithun's. For an answer, we must rely on indirect evidence.

The first of the Norman bishops of Winchester was Walkelin, a nebulous figure who may have been related to

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94 Ibid.
The facts surrounding him provide conflicting testimony concerning his interest in the library. Rudborne says he was a "vir magnae literaturae, doctor in theologia egregius," and that he received a Master's certificate at Paris. Although this may amount to nothing more than a descriptive formula, there remains the possibility that Rudborne had records no longer available; Milner believes that, for the most part, Rudborne quoted from other sources. William of Malmesbury and the Winchester annalist attest to Walkelin's great piety, but not to his learning. He was recommended to William the Conqueror, whom he first served as chaplain, by Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen.

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96 Ibid.


100 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, II.77.
in whose cathedral he may have served as precentor. If so, this would have placed him not only at the site of one of the finest cathedral schools in northern France, but in charge of the service books for the cathedral.

One of Walkelin's first actions as bishop was to attempt to replace the cathedral monks with canons, not only at Winchester, but in all the English monastic cathedrals. According to William of Malmesbury,¹⁰¹ Walkelin had obtained the consent of the king and had forty canons in caps and robes ready to take over the services, but Lanfranc and the Winchester monks obtained the support of Pope Alexander II, who prohibited the change. It is possible that Walkelin meant to install canons of the Order of St. Chrodegang, as Leofric had done at Exeter in 1050. According to Barlow,¹⁰² Chrodegang's Rule was quite popular with the eleventh century reformers, and was followed by most cathedral churches in northern Germany and Lotharingia. Among English cathedrals, York, Wells, Hereford, and St. Paul's in London, as well as Exeter, eventually adopted it. Except that it did not require that the canons be cloister-

¹⁰¹ William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum, I.7.

Chrotegang's Rule was quite similar to Benedict's, and placed a similar emphasis on reading and study.

Like many Norman bishops and abbots, Walkelin was a builder, and his posterity rests on the cathedral which he began to construct. Conceived on a mammoth scale, Winchester Cathedral is the longest Norman edifice in Europe, and reflects the importance of Winchester in the royal and ecclesiastical affairs of the day. Among churches of its time, Winchester was exceeded in size only by St. Hugh's third church at Cluni and was nearly fifty metres longer than its nearest English competitor. The expense of this undertaking necessitated depriving the monks of much of their land; according to the Winchester annalist, Walkelin appropriated 300 librates of land from the community. The Domesday Survey indicates that in Hampshire alone, the bishop held lands originally belonging to the monastery assessed at approximately 205 hides, while the monks retained possession of about thirty-five and one half hides. One of Walkelin's appropriations in particular cut into the library's revenues: by a charter of

103 Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis, in Wharton Angliä Sacra, p. 296.

104 VCH Hants, I, pp. 463-468.

Walkelin's successor, the church of Elendon (near what is now Wroughton, Wiltshire) was restored to the precentor for the making of books.

A curious note regarding books at Winchester comes to us in a memorandum in the *Winchester Chartulary*. An evil spirit has wrung the neck of Blacheman Aurifaber, a monk in Walkelin's service; numbered among his crimes were destroying and tampering with charters and stealing a book from Glastonbury written by Ethelwold.

Biddle does not feel that the construction of a new cathedral in any way represents an attempt to break with the past and to suppress Anglo-Saxon cultural elements. The bodies of English kings and ecclesiastics interred in the old cathedral were translated to the new, and after Swithun's remains were buried with high honors in the new church, a monument was erected over the old burial site. Consequently, we do not expect to find wholesale weeding of the Anglo-Saxon elements of the library's collection. The number of books in English which survive suggests that the greater part of the community probably remained English, although the new prior,

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107 Biddle, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 311-312.
Simeon, was a Norman. As Knowles\textsuperscript{108} shows, there was no general house-cleaning of Anglo-Saxon clerics, even at the episcopal level, much less entire monastic communities, although there were occasional disciplinary actions against rebellious houses. Rather, Normans were appointed to vacancies as they occurred naturally.

The location of the library in this period is open to question. Clark\textsuperscript{109} states that it was between the chapter house and the south transept, but I believe that this refers to the modern book-room constructed in the fifteenth century over a passage leading from the cloister garth to the ground. Walkelin and St. Swithun's monks dedicated the new cathedral in 1093, with most of the bishops and abbots of England in attendance, but as Biddle\textsuperscript{110} points out, the new church could not have been completed at this time: part of the foundation of the old church lies under the west end of the nave of the new. Since, according to the annals,\textsuperscript{111} demolition the old church was begun the day after the dedication, this dedication must have been only for the east end, the

\textsuperscript{108} Knowles, \textit{Monastic Order}, pp. 111-112.


\textsuperscript{110} Biddle, \textit{Winchester in the Early Middle Ages}, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis}, p. 295.
transepts and crossing, and perhaps for the first three or four bays of the nave.

Since the old monastic buildings were located some distance to the south of the old church, leaving room for the new cathedral to pass between them and the old church, Biddle\textsuperscript{112} suggests that they may have remained in use for some time as the new cloister was built around them. Although the library may have been transferred inside the church during the construction, possibly to the south transept, Norman monks generally preferred to place their books at the east end of the north walk of the cloister.

The first fifty years after the Conquest were distinguished by the excellence of appointments to the heads of English houses. Paul at St. Alban's, Scotland at St. Augustine's, Walter at Evesham, and at the turn of the century, Faricius at Abingdon, each brought a depth of learning previously lacking at the English houses, and most were known as library builders. The priors of St. Swithun's were men of no less distinction. After his failure to oust the monks from the cathedral, Walkelin placed Simeon, his brother and a monk from St. Ouen, over

\textsuperscript{112} Biddle, \textit{Winchester in the Early Middle Ages}, p. 310.
them in order to reform them. In 1082, Simeon became abbot of Ely and was replaced at Winchester by Godfrey of Cambrai.

According to William of Malmesbury, Godfrey was a distinguished literary figure, with several books and numerous letters to his credit, but above all, Malmesbury was impressed by the satirical epigrams, imitative of Martial's, composed in praise of the great men of England. Some of these verses survive in four manuscripts: British Museum MS Cotton Vitellius A.xii, folios 111 through 114; MS 8068 of the Bibliothèque Imperiale in Paris; Bodleian MS Digby 65; and folio 120b of MS Digby 112. Of the provenance of these manuscripts, Ker lists only Digby 112, saying only that it could not have come from Bury St. Edmund's. Only one is dated: Hardy assigns Cotton Vitellius A.xii to the twelfth century. Portions of both Bodleian books were probably composed by Serlo of Bayeux, and not

113 Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis, p. 294.

114 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, V.444.


116 Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, p. 22.

117 Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue, v. II, p. 100.
Godfrey. For none is the provenance known for certain. The letters have not survived.

Of the scriptorium in this period, we know nothing. The annalists and historians are silent, and Kitchin\textsuperscript{118} finds no record of it in the rolls of the Obedientiaries. Although it must have suffered under the deprivations of Walkelin, the only lost revenues that can be accounted for are those of Elendon Church. Liveing\textsuperscript{119} says that Elendon was a prebend of Romsey Abbey, and that the incumbent paid 100 shillings to the precentor of St. Swithun's. It is difficult to assess the impact that the loss of this revenue must have had on the scriptorium due to the inconsistency of the means of pricing materials and labor. Savage\textsuperscript{120} lists a few prices typically charged for materials: in the early fourteenth century, between one and three shillings per dozen skins of parchment was common; leather for binding sold for three to five pence per skin.


\textsuperscript{120} Savage, \textit{Old English Libraries}, p. 257.
Relations between Winchester and monasteries in Normandy strengthened during Walkelin's episcopacy. Although not greatly influenced by the growing interest in law and theology at Bec, Winchester had many contacts with the family of houses growing out of the foundations of William of Dijon: Fecamp, Jumièges, St. Ouen, Mont St. Michel, and St. Evroul. Nortier believes that Winchester and Canterbury were the chief suppliers of foreign manuscripts to Norman monasteries. Normans who arrived as bishops and abbots of English houses, men such as Simeon and Godfrey, probably brought books with them. There was also an exchange of religious below the level of abbot: Osbern, a scribe at Mont St. Michel, may have come from Winchester. A work bearing his signature, Avranches MS 163, has been mentioned above, and may date to before the Conquest. This manuscript, containing fragments of Augustine, letters and part of a bestiary, in addition to Heraclitus' Lives of the Fathers, is believed to have deeply influenced subsequent productions of the Mont St. Michel

122 Nortier, *Bibliotheques Medievales*, p. 3.
scriptorium. Nortier\textsuperscript{124} states that Gerard of Avranches, a monk of St. Evroul, entered St. Swithun's and that St. Evroul and St. Swithun's were united in association of prayers in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. She states further that several of St. Evroul's manuscripts have leaves apparently copied at Winchester, including MS Latin 10,062 of the Bibliotheque Nationale, a martyrology and chronicle from St. Evroul. Ogilvy\textsuperscript{125} and Ker,\textsuperscript{126} however, date this book a century earlier, and assign certain leaves to the Canterbury scriptorium. Alencon MS 14, a Benedictional from St. Evroul, is also traced by Nortier\textsuperscript{127} to Winchester, since it contains feast days for St. Swithun. A Missal from St. Wandrille, MS 330 of the Bibliotheque Municipale of Le Havre, may also be a Winchester product.

Following the Conquest, two distinct book-hands appeared in England. The older English script survived for thirty years or more at Bury, Durham, Worcester, and St. Augustine's, while St. Swithun's quite rapidly adopt-

\textsuperscript{124} Nortier, \textit{Bibliotheques Medievales}, pp. 102-103.
\textsuperscript{125} Ogilvy, \textit{Books Known to the English}, p. 292.
\textsuperscript{126} Ker, \textit{Medieval Libraries of Great Britain}, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{127} Nortier, \textit{Bibliotheques Medievales}, p. 103.
ed the newer Norman hand.\textsuperscript{128} The Mortuary Roll for Vitalis, circulated in the early twelfth century to solicit prayers and commemorative verse for the founder of the house of Savigny, shows that while most of the English entries, including that of the New Minster, are in the English hand, that for the Old Minster follows the Norman model. By the middle of the twelfth century, however, Ker\textsuperscript{129} indicates that the French hand had completely taken over in the English houses.

After Walkelin's death in January 1098, the see lay vacant for more than two years. Even before his coronation, Henry I named William Giffard to fill the seat and bestowed on him the temporalities. Giffard had previously been chancellor to William Rufus, and before that, Dean of Rouen Cathedral. He was probably related to Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham. As with Walkelin, we know little of the library during his episcopacy.

Having been elected by St. Swithun's monks, Malmesbury\textsuperscript{130} states that William was reluctant to assume the post at first, and assailed his electors with harsh words and threats. Owing to a dispute between King Henry and


\textsuperscript{129} Ker, \textit{English Manuscripts}, pp. 34-35.

\textsuperscript{130} William of Malmesbury, \textit{Gesta Pontificum}, I.57.
Anselm, Gerard, the newly appointed Archbishop of York was ordered to perform the consecration. At the ceremony, however, Giffard aroused the king's ire by refusing to accept the ring and crozier except from Anselm's hand. Exiled, Giffard spent part of the next four years in Rome, not returning until 1107, when he was finally consecrated by Anselm.

Left in the care of Prior Godfrey during Giffard's absence, the library must have continued much as before. However, Godfrey died in the year of Bishop William's return, and his successor, Geoffrey, was removed in 1111, for reasons not specified in the annals. These events may suggest that all was not well in the community, and when Giffard gave 800 marks to the king in 1111, the monastery's treasury may have suffered.

In 1112, according to the annals, a fierce dispute broke out between Giffard and the monks over the bishop's alienation of their lands. Two years later, after the intercession of King Henry, Giffard appeared in chapter, prostrated himself, and promised to make restitution. As Knowles points out, this may have been

131 Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis, p. 297.
132 Ibid.
133 Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis, p. 298.
134 Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 411-415.
a part of a growing trend toward litigation between bishops, abbots, and chapters, with the chapter coming to be recognized as a legal entity. This development suggests that interest in civil and canon law began to increase at monasteries. Lanfranc, of course, was a noted canonist, and Knowles indicates that Theobald, Archbishop from 1138 to 1161, collected an impressive library at Canterbury. Although monasteries more closely allied to Bec might be expected to have compiled more extensive legal collections, the legal dispute with Bishop William may have kindled a similar interest at Winchester.

Biddle, citing data from Goodman's Chartulary, calculates that the total value of lands restored to the monastery amounted to more than 330 pounds. Most of the charters are dated 1127; however, a separate charter, dated 1107 and witnessed by prior Godfrey, restores Elendon church to Wlnoth the precentor "for making books." Already early in his episcopacy, Giffard must have been concerned about the condition of the library.

In addition to law, another discipline revived in England by the Normans was the study of medicine.

135 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 576.
136 Biddle, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages, p. 309.
137 Goodman, Winchester Chartulary, p. 5.
Knowles\textsuperscript{138} indicates that this differed from the Anglo-Saxon practice of herbal remedies, and followed instead the south Italian tradition of physical medicine which had been introduced by William of Dijon into his Norman monasteries. Consequently, there was a succession of "monk-physicians" at English houses after the Conquest. One of these was Hugh, a monk of St. Swithun's who became abbot of Chertsey in 1107. Therefore, medical books of a different nature from the herbal recipes found there in Anglo-Saxon times must have been in the collection at St. Swithun's early in the twelfth century.

Among the surviving books of this period is a collection of saints' lives, Bodleian MS Bodley 535. Notes on folio 37 refer to prior Godfrey and Hardingus, the precentor. A collection of Augustine's Sermons, still in the cathedral library, MS 2, was described by Botfield.\textsuperscript{139} Two service books also survive, a Passionary, Lincoln Cathedral MS 7, folios 44 through 83, and a Pontifical, MS Ee 2.3 in the University Library, Cambridge. MS 5 of Winchester Cathedral was described by Botfield\textsuperscript{140} as Jerome's Exposition on Isaiah, and British Museum MS Royal 5 E.viii consists of a selection

\textsuperscript{138} Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 516-517.

\textsuperscript{139} Botfield, Notes on the Cathedral Libraries, p. 468.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
of short passages from Jerome, Augustine, and other Fathers, and an anonymous treatise, "Principium et causa omnium Deus." Another collection of saints' lives, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 328, includes lives of Dunstan and Odo, Majolus, and Odilo, all abbots of Cluni, and bears St. Swithun's ex libris. Historical writing is represented by the Gesta Francorum by Haymo of Fleury, Bodleian MS Bodley 755.

The last of the bishops of Winchester in the Norman period was Henry of Blois, the fourth son of Count Stephen of Blois and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. King Stephen of England was his brother. Orderic Vitalis states that he was an infant oblate at Cluni, where he was steeped in the monastic rule and studied sacred literature. In 1126, he was summoned to England by his uncle, King Henry I, to assume the duties of abbot of Glastonbury. In 1129, when he was about 28, he was elected Bishop of Winchester, although he never relinquished the post of abbot of Glastonbury.

Not a typical monk, Henry was, in Knowles words an "ecclesiastical statesman," who played an active role in national politics. A man of great administrative

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142 Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 286-287.
ability, he re-established Glastonbury financially, recovering a number of estates which had fallen into other hands. He rebuilt many of the conventual structures, including the cloister and refectory. Displaying similar talents as bishop, he built Wolvesey Castle in Winchester and several other episcopal residences throughout the diocese.

In character, he is described as even-tempered, courageous, eloquent, and learned. He was fond of zoology and assembled a small menagerie to further his studies. He was also ambitious: in 1136, according to Orderic, he obtained the election to the See of Canterbury, but could not get papal sanction for his translation from Winchester. In 1142, he conceived a plan to create a new archbishopric for himself. The sees of Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, Chichester, Hereford, and Worcester were to be removed from the province of Canterbury and, together with a new bishopric at Hyde Abbey, were to form a new jurisdiction with Winchester as Metropolitan See. The plan failed to materialize, however.

Highly regarded by Pope Innocent II, Henry served as the papal legate from 1139 until Innocent's death in 1143, using the post to increase his power. He sought

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144 Orderic Vitalis, XIII.28.
renewals of his legateship under Innocent's successors, Celestine II and Lucius II, but without success. When Eugenius III became Pope in 1145, Henry was engaged in a dispute over the appointment of his nephew as Archbishop of York, an appointment that the Cistercian houses of northern England opposed. Henry had little success dealing with the Cistercian pope and his advisor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and his influence at Rome came to an end.

In spite of his involvement in worldly affairs, Henry remained an active supporter of the interests of the Church. By opposing the imprisonment of the bishops of Salisbury and Ely, he brought on a break with his brother, the king. When the Empress Maud offered to submit her claim to the throne to the judgement of the Church, while Stephen refused, Henry gave his support to her cause. However, the empress soon offended him by refusing to allow his nephew Eustace to seize the Continental possessions of Stephen, and he deserted her to return to the king's side. Beseiged by the Empress in Wolvesey Castle in 1141, Henry is believed to have fired the city of Winchester with flaming bolts. Nunnaminster and Hyde Abbey burned to the ground; St. Swithun's survived in spite of its proximity to Nunnaminster.

In 1148, Henry was summoned to a council in Rheims, but failed to appear. Suspended by the Pope, Henry went to Rome in 1151 to seek absolution. (The date is uncer-
tain: John of Salisbury\textsuperscript{145} speaks of just one journey, late in 1149 and early 1150; Chibnall\textsuperscript{146} cites evidence that there may actually have been two trips to Rome.) While there, Henry purchased ancient statuary to take to Winchester.\textsuperscript{147} Many of the objects must have been given to the church, for the list of his donations, printed by Bishop,\textsuperscript{148} includes many items which must have come from the Continent. The list, however, makes no specific mention of books, being comprised mostly of religious instruments and vestments.

In 1155, fearing that his possessions were to be seized by Henry II, Bishop Henry slipped out of England and went to Cluni, where he was warmly received. Finding the convent in financial distress, he soon paid off all the debts and supported the entire community for a year out of his own pocket. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, urged Henry to return to England, and he was back in his diocese by 1159.


\textsuperscript{146} Marjorie Chibnall, "Appendix I," in John of Salisbury, Memoirs of the Papal Court, pp. 91-94.

\textsuperscript{147} John of Salisbury, Memoirs of the Papal Court p. 79.

\textsuperscript{148} Bishop, \textit{Liturgica Historica}, pp. 392-401.
Henry of Blois was held in high esteem by many of his ecclesiastical contemporaries, including Peter the Venerable and Giraldus Cambrensis. An extensive correspondence passed between Henry and the former, and at one time, Peter wished to see Henry buried at Cluni. Tales told of Henry's episcopy depict him as generous and forgiving; one example relates that, at a time when other English bishops were taxing clergy, Henry asked only for prayers. He was admired by Thomas Becket, whose appointment as chancellor he urged. Upon Thomas' death, Henry took the king to task, although gravely ill and only eight days from his own death.

Many churches, in addition to St. Swithun's and Cluni, benefitted greatly from the generosity of Henry of Blois. Of particular interest are the books he had transcribed for Glastonbury, as listed by Adam of Domerham. None of the manuscripts of Henry's donation can be positively identified today. It must also be borne in mind that Adam compiled his list a cen-

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tury later, so it may be less than wholly reliable. It is not clear where the originals from which the copies were made came from, but it is likely to assume that the list is fairly representative of the Winchester library at this time. In addition to service books and the major Fathers, the collection also included Quintillian, something of a rarity in English libraries, and several works of Origen. Histories included Lives of the Caesars, in addition to Gesta Britonum, Gesta Anglorum, and Gesta Francorum. Contemporary authors were represented by Bernard's On Loving God, a volume which also included Hugh of St. Victor's Twelve Levels of Humility and On Prayer, and by Anselm's Cur Deus Homo and the Decreta of Ivo of Chartres.

For about forty years following the Conquest, English illumination had declined both in quality and in quantity, until it was nearly extinct. When it reappeared, it was in a new style, harsher, with heavy outlines and ugly figures. This style was gradually refined, until by about 1150, it rivalled the old Anglo-Saxon style in beauty. Boase\(^ {152} \) states that until Henry of Blois arrived, Winchester had taken little part in the

early stage of Anglo-Norman illustration. Knowles believes that the New Minster played no significant part in the new illumination, but that St. Swithun's became once again a center of artistic and literary culture.

Typical of the productions of Henry of Blois' scriptorium at Winchester are the fabulous Winchester Bible and the Henry of Blois Psalter. Boase calls the Bible a "compendium of the development of English painting in the second half of the twelfth century," and suggests that it was the work of a team of artists brought together by Henry of Blois. Compiled over a long period of time, Boase further states that the completion date can be set at about 1186, by a reference to it in the Magna Vita of Hugh of Avalon. The Bible was in the Winchester library in the middle of the seventeenth century, when Cromwell transferred it to Winchester College. It has since returned and is MS 17 of the cathedral library.

Boase feels that the Bible has certain stylistic similarities to the Psalter, British Museum MS Cotton Nero C. iv, and to portions of the Winchester

153 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 533.
154 Boase, English Art 1100-1216, p. 175.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
Chartulary, British Museum Additional MS 15,350.

Boase\textsuperscript{157} believes that, although works of such quality as the Bible and the Psalter are quite rare, nonetheless there is little doubt that the manuscripts can be regarded as the summation of a style generally accepted and frequently echoed in lesser works.

The Psalter, as Biddle\textsuperscript{158} states, was probably commissioned by Bishop Henry for his personal use. Boase\textsuperscript{159} terms it the most characteristic work of the High Romanesque style of illumination. It contains a St. Swithun's calendar, but later belonged to the nuns of Shaftesbury, whose abbess, Mary, was the king's half-sister. Since the calendar lacks a feast-day for Edward the Confessor, it probably dates to before 1161, the date of his canonization.

Among the striking features of the Psalter are two leaves depicting the death and glorification of the Virgin. The figures in these paintings bear a striking resemblance to Greek icons, although the coloring and drapery appear to be in the characteristic English style.


\textsuperscript{158} Biddle, \textit{Winchester in the Early Middle Ages}, p. 491.

\textsuperscript{159} Boase, \textit{English Art 1100-1216}, p. 172.
Boase\textsuperscript{160} asserts that these probably represent direct copies from Byzantine models, possibly icons or leaves from manuscripts brought to England by Henry of Blois.

Two other Psalters produced in the Winchester scriptorium also command great interest, although of lesser value than the Henry of Blois Psalter. Bodleian MS Auctores D 2.4 contains a calendar which unmistakably comes from Winchester, and Bodleian MS Auctores D 2.6, although containing no calendar, includes Winchester offices. Boase\textsuperscript{161} points out that both are decorated in the same High Romanesque style, but in a different style than the Bible and Henry of Blois Psalter. The illuminations in these two Psalters are probably the work of the same artists as a Cassiodorus, currently in the cathedral library, MS 4, which bears an anathema from St. Swithun's. The Cassiodorus is probably the one described by Botfield\textsuperscript{162} as "Cassiodorus in Psalmos." Therefore, it seems apparent that Henry of Blois maintained not one, but two distinct groups of artists to work in the Winchester scriptorium.

\textsuperscript{160} Boase, \textit{English Art 1100-1216}, p. 173.  
\textsuperscript{161} Boase, \textit{English Art 1100-1216}, p. 179.  
Whether or not both sets of artists were housed in the cathedral monastery is open to question. It is possible that one or the other was in the New Minster; however, that house had been moved in 1110 to Hyde Meadow outside the city walls, so the two monasteries were no longer in close proximity. In addition, the monks of Hyde Abbey were at odds with the bishop over his deprivations of their property and damages arising out of the burning of the abbey in 1141. Knowles\textsuperscript{163} believes, as stated above, that Hyde Abbey was no longer a center of artistic activity.

Knowles\textsuperscript{164} also raises the question of the status of the artists in the Anglo-Norman scriptorium. For the Anglo-Saxon Revival of the tenth century, we know names of men like Godeman and the works they produced; while in the Norman period, the scribes and illuminators tended to be anonymous specialists. Possibly they were not always monks: in the Winchester Survey, four men are identified with the occupational by-name of "pictor" and one with

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\textsuperscript{163} Knowles, \textit{Monastic Order}, p. 533. \\
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
"scriba." Henricus, Ricardus, Rogerus, and Willelmus are all "pictores" who hold lands from the bishop. Gisulfus the scribe holds lands from the king.

Among monastic officials, the only one who was an important landholder in Winchester was the sacrist. Other officers mentioned were the infirmarer, cellarian, and possibly the hordarian. There was no assignment of revenues to the precentor, nor to the library. There was also no binder mentioned among the occupational by-names in the Survey. However, Winchester bindings were as fine as the illumination, and may be evidence of an artistic and intellectual connection with France and other English houses.

Although the manuscript of the Winchester Survey, MS 154 of the Society of Antiquaries, London, was rebound in the nineteenth century, the original covers have been preserved. The original binding was executed at St.


166 Ibid., p. 97.

167 Ibid., p. 72.

168 Ibid., p. 80.

169 Ibid., p. 117.

170 Biddle, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages, p. 313.
Swithun's, and the manuscript reposed there throughout the Middle Ages. The original boards consisted of 26 leaves from a tenth century Sacramentary, now preserved separately. H. M. Nixon suggests that this use of older leaves as boards represents a borrowing from the East, where this was common. In England, wood was usually used, and sometimes leather.

The leather covers of the manuscript were stamped with ten tools, similar to the type used by book-binders today. Nixon shows that three of these tools, a circular dragon, a segment of a circle with an acanthus scroll, and a goat with foliage, were peculiar to Winchester binding. Two other bindings were decorated with some of the same tools. A copy of Hegesippus' De Excidio Judeorum, now in Winchester Cathedral, MS 20, used seven of the ten, including the dragon and the acanthus scroll, and the chartulary, British Museum MS Additional 15,350, known as Codex Wintoniensis, used four, including also the dragon and acanthus scroll. On this evidence, Nixon asserts that all three were bound at St. Swithun's, probably around 1150.

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172 Ibid., pp. 535-536.
This style of binding, termed "Romanesque" by G. D. Hobson,\textsuperscript{173} probably originated near Paris in about 1137. Nixon\textsuperscript{174} sees the Winchester tooling as similar to that done on books for Prince Henry, son of Louis VI. Ten other English bindings appear to be similar to the Winchester books, but Nixon\textsuperscript{175} believes that none of these could have been produced before 1185.

Henry of Blois may have become acquainted with Paris binding on one of his trips to the Continent and so recruited a Frenchman to work in his scriptorium. Hobson\textsuperscript{176} goes so far as to suggest that the binder may have been a Jew, since none of the tools depicts a Christian theme. However, as Nixon\textsuperscript{177} points out, the Paris binders usually attempted to match their tools to the content of the book. Since none of the three books are specifically Christian in nature, no Christian motif should be looked for in the binding. Further, since no binder is mentioned in the Survey as a land-holder, it seems more likely that he was a member of the monastic community.

\textsuperscript{173} Cited by Nixon, p. 536.
\textsuperscript{174} Nixon, p. 536.
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid., p. 540.
\textsuperscript{176} Cited by Nixon, pp. 539-540.
\textsuperscript{177} Nixon, p. 540.
The Winchester copy of Hegesippus still retains hemispherical tabs, projecting from the head and tail of the spine, and Nixon\textsuperscript{178} is certain that the Winchester Survey originally had similar tabs. Pollard\textsuperscript{179} says that these spine tabs were common in English bindings of the twelfth century, and that they were used to pull out volumes packed fore-edge downwards in a chest. If this is so, it suggests that the Survey was not stored in an armary, in which books lay flat. Although it is possible that St. Swithun's did not store their books in an armary, the most common type of library furniture, it seems to me a much more likely explanation that the Survey was stored apart from the library collection, in a chest perhaps in the treasury. An example of such a divided collection is provided at Durham, where, as Savage\textsuperscript{180} describes it, some books, probably official registers and records of lands, were kept in the spendimentum; some, for the use of the reader at meals, near the door to the refectory; with the bulk of the collection in the cloister.

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., p. 531.


\textsuperscript{180} Savage, \textit{Old English Libraries}, pp. 91-92.
The Hegesippus is interesting for another reason. As Nixon\textsuperscript{181} shows, although it was clearly bound at St. Swithun's, it just as clearly never belonged to the monastery in the Middle Ages. It was given to the cathedral in 1947. Possibly this represents a custom binding ordered for a patron or friend of Bishop Henry.

The Survey itself dates to some time after the compilation of the Domesday Book, and is composed of two surveys, the first taken around 1110,\textsuperscript{182} and the second about 1148. According to Brown,\textsuperscript{183} the manuscript is all in one hand, probably compiled soon after the second survey was completed. Brown\textsuperscript{184} identifies the scribe as one who normally wrote charters for Henry of Blois, and indicated that the script, although essentially a book-hand, contains modifications not normally found in literary manuscripts.

Another extant fragment of a fine manuscript can probably be credited to Henry of Blois' scriptorium. MS 619 of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York is a

\textsuperscript{181} Nixon in Biddle, \textit{Winchester in the Early Middle Ages}, p. 540.

\textsuperscript{182} Barlow in Biddle, p. 9.


\textsuperscript{184} Ibid.
single leaf from a Bible, painted on both sides with scenes from the life of David. In addition, the Winchester library at this time may have possessed a copy of the *Life of St. William of Gellone*; Orderic Vitalis reports that Anthony, a monk from Winchester, was visiting at St. Evroul and had with him a copy of the work. John Leland found a marginal note in a manuscript of the *History* of Roger de Hovedon which suggested to him that the Winchester monks may have once owned an unknown or unidentified work of Gildas.

Two chartularies of St. Swithun's are preserved among the Additional manuscripts of the British Museum, MSS 15,350 and 29,436, neither of which was known to the compilers of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Neither has been published, consequently. MS 15,350 was compiled between the years 1130 and 1150, and contains charters dating from 688 until Edward the Confessor, with a few Norman charters. The second contains charters covering the period from William the Conqueror until the year 1242. Largely compiled in the thirteenth century, the second also contains a few entries from the fifteenth century. Folios

185 Orderic Vitalis, VI.2.

44 through 48 contain the record of the donations of Henry of Blois to the cathedral.

A few incidents of the latter part of the twelfth century show us something about the condition of St. Swithun's library in the last few years of Bishop Henry's life. In 1174, Prior Walter, who wrote lives of William Giffard and Henry of Blois, purchased copies of Bede's *Homilies* and St. Austin's *Psalter* from the Dorchester canons for twelve measures of barley and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the story of St. Birinus converting the Saxons. Richard of Devizes was probably an infant when Henry of Blois died, but an examination of his writings may prove revealing of the direction of the development of the Winchester library at the time of Henry's death. Richard was a monk of St. Swithun's in the time of Prior Robert, 1187 to 1191. Gransden points out that Richard was quite eloquent about Winchester, his favorite place in England, and that he probably took an interest in the large Jewish community there. Knowles suggests that he may have been the Winches-


ter annalist; however, Gransden190 disputes this, saying that while the portrait of William Longchamps in the *Annals* is quite favorable, in his other writings, Richard had not a good word to say of him. His style is amusing, sarcastic, and reminiscent of classical rhetoricians; allusions to Horace, Vergil, Juvenal, Lucan, and Ovid abound. Richard's writings show us that, although our surviving manuscripts are nearly all religious, with a few examples of ecclesiastical histories, Winchester monks must also have read a great deal of secular literature in the latter part of the twelfth century.

The library of St. Swithun's has suffered much in the centuries since the Norman Conquest. Although the new statutes for the cathedral following the dissolution of the monastery required that the church remain an educational center, and in spite of Cranmer's personal wish that a theological college be established in the conventual buildings, by 1544, these projects had dwindled to the order that twelve scholars from Winchester be maintained at the two universities. Sir Thomas Wriothesley, one of Cromwell's henchmen, procured or plundered many of the monasteries of southern England. In 1538, he and his cronies violated the tomb of St. Swithun, scattering the bones and pilfering 2000 marks worth of silver. In 1551,

190 Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 252.
the privy council ordered the plundering of all churches of their plate and other valuables; no mention was made of books, however. In 1561, Robert Horne, a former Dean of Durham, became Bishop of Winchester. While at Durham, Horne had shown himself an enemy of culture in general, personally destroying not only "superstitious monuments," but also many works of purely artistic value; at Winchester, he continued these practices. Although, again, books are not specifically mentioned, it is not unlikely that many were committed to flames as relics of the old religion. In the Civil War, the cathedral library was twice sacked, once in December of 1642 and again in 1646. Many manuscripts were lost at this time, although the chapter clerk, one John Chase, was able to recover some.
According to popular belief, King Alfred, out of concern for the education of the children of his nobles, sent for St. Grimbald, the great educator of St. Omer in Flanders, to establish a new house of monks in Winchester. The New Minster was founded in 901, and dedicated to the Trinity, Mary, and Peter, by King Edward the Elder. In 903, the church was formally consecrated and the monastery endowed with considerable lands by King Edward. Shortly after the dedication, King Alfred's remains were interred in the New Minster.

Although Grimbald is often remembered as the first abbot, his death in 901 preceded the establishment of the house. There are also difficulties in accepting that it was Alfred's design to create an educational institution at the New Minster. Not one of its monks or abbots is remembered as an educator or scholar, although a few achieved reknown as jurists or canonists. Grimbald arrived in Winchester in 893, and assumed duties as advisor to the king and tutor to the royal family. Yet, Alfred does not seem to have confided his plans for the new monastery until the last year of his reign; and it was only shortly before his death that the king pur-
chased the land for the new foundation from the canons of St. Swithun's.

Biddle¹⁹² points out the difficulties involved in the establishment of the New Minster: the steps in acquiring the site in the yard of the Old Minster were complex and a high price was paid. A school could have been founded much more easily and cheaply in the palace or in the Old Minster. Moreover, the location was inconvenient for a new monastery, due to its proximity to the Old Minster. However, another urgent need for a new church can be identified by examining the dimensions of St. Swithun's church. As Biddle¹⁹³ points out, the cathedral at that time was quite small, barely 350 square metres, while the church of the New Minster was more than twice that size. Therefore, it seems likely that the New Minster was meant to serve as the parish church of the borough, while the Old Minster would remain the bishop's see and the site of royal functions.

The New Minster was first peopled by canons, whom monastic chroniclers accuse of laxity. In 963, Ethelwold imposed the Benedictine Rule on the establishment, re-

¹⁹² Biddle, Winchester in the Early Middle Ages, p. 316.
¹⁹³ Ibid.
placing those canons unwilling to accept the cowl with monks from Abingdon.

Among the extant pre-Conquest books from the New Minster is a Psalter, British Museum MS Royal 2 B.v, which includes a collection of proverbs with English renderings, a prayer to the Virgin, and twelve cantica glossed in English. Royal 4 A.xiv is a companion volume containing an Expositio on the Psalter attributed to Jerome. British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A.viii is the Privelegia a Rege Eadgaro Novo Monasterio Ecclesiae Wintoniensis, which Savage dates to about 966. It is written in gold letters on velum, and contains an illustration of King Edgar in gold and colors on a purple background. Ethelwold's Benedictional, British Museum Additional MS 49,598, is also sometimes attributed to the New Minster, as is Rouen Bibliotheque Municipale MS 369, a Benedictional belonging to Archbishop Robert of Rouen.

Dating to the early eleventh century are five books. A collection of miscellaneous prayers and instructions for the faithful, British Museum MSS Cotton Titus D.xxvi and D.xxvii, was given to the abbey in about 1050, by Abbot Aelfwine. British Museum Additional MS 34,890, an Evangelia, contains four Vulgate Gospels and an assortment of episcopal letters, including one from Fuld,

194 Savage, Old English Libraries, p. 44.
Archbishop of Rheims, to Alfred, recommending Grimbold. The initia of this book are in gold and the titles are in gold, red, and blue, and there are fine miniatures of each evangelist which were probably done at the New Minster. Folios 13 through 36 of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 945 consist of a calendar attributed to the New Minster, and MS 215 of the same library is another Evangelia. British Museum MS Cotton Vitellius E.xviii, a Psalter glossed in English, may also have been a New Minster book.

The New Minster's most famous book is the Liber Vitae, begun sometime around 1020. This work contains a history of the abbey and a list of monks' names from the foundation until the reign of Henry VIII. During the abbacy of Bryhtmaer, the fourth abbot of the house, serving sometime in the second decade of the eleventh century, there appears the name of "Aelfnoth pictor et sacerdos," possibly a reference to a professional illuminator. This may also have been the Aelfnoth who became abbot in 1021. Liber Vitae also includes lists of West Saxon kings and princes, archbishops and bishops, and a miscellany of documents pertaining to the house, including King Alfred's will. This book is now in the British
Museum, MS Stowe 944, and an edition of it has appeared in print, edited by Walter de Gray Birch.\textsuperscript{195}

\textit{Liber Vitae} gives evidence of a flourishing school of illumination at the New Minster at the time of Cnut's reign. Line drawings depicting the foundation by Edward are among the finest of this genre in England. After the Conquest, however, the New Minster ceased to produce art.

Aelfwig became abbot in 1063. He is often identified as Earl Godwin's brother and therefore, King Harold's uncle. Knowles,\textsuperscript{196} however, questions this identification, saying that anyone so well connected would have been more than an abbot so late in life. Related or not, Aelfwig was a supporter of King Harold; he led a party of twelve monks and twenty knights to the battle of Hastings, where he perished. Popular tradition also has it that William the Conqueror, seeing the habit under the mail coat of the fallen abbot, severely punished the house by confiscating some of its lands. Cox,\textsuperscript{197}

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\textsuperscript{195} Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, ed. by Walter de G. Birch (London: Simpkin, 1892).


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however, points out that twenty knights was also the servitium due from the abbey in later days. William deprived every monastery in England of some lands, and the New Minster seems to have fared little, if any, worse than other houses.

The New Minster did see evil times after the Conquest. After William's death, King Rufus appointed his infamous chancellor, Ranulph Flambard, abbot of the house. In a bit of unconcealed simony, Ranulph sold the appointment to Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, who then presented it to his father, Robert. Abbot Robert governed the house largely for his own enrichment. Upon his death on 1098, control of the monastery reverted to Ranulph, who continued to plunder its treasury. Relief came only with the death of William Rufus, when Ranulph was driven out of England.

In 1110, the monks of the New Minster moved from their cramped location in the yard of St. Swithun's to a new site in Hyde Meadow, just outside the city gates. Enriched by several grants from King Henry, the monastery, renamed Hyde Abbey, flourished for a time. But in 1141, during the siege of the city, Hyde Abbey was destroyed by fire. In the fire, the abbey's most prized relic, a jewelled cross reputed to have been a gift from King Cnut, was burned. The Hyde annalists laid the blame for the fire on Bishop Henry of Blois, who they said
levelled portions of the city with flaming bolts. They further depict the bishop as stooping in the ashes of the ruined monastery to retrieve the jewels from Cnut's cross, with which to pay his men. No mention is made of the fate of the library of the house, but accounts of the fire suggest that little was left. If the library had been located in the usual place, in one walk of the cloister, against a wall of the church, it was probably lost as well.

The picture of Bishop Henry painted by the Hyde annalists is perhaps unduly harsh, for never was there love lost between the Hyde monks and their bishop. Shortly after the fire, the abbey filed a suit against the bishop, for the return of lands alienated by him and for the reparation of damages. After a vacancy of six years, Hugh de Lens became abbot in 1142. The appointment of Hugh was not a fortunate one, however, as he served amid much dissension, until 1149, when a deputation of monks to Rome succeeded in having him removed. In about 1168, the abbey's suits against the bishop were settled in the monks' favor, and along with other restitution, the bishop presented the abbey with a reproduction of Cnut's cross. Rebuilding, however, did not commence until 1182, and was not completed for nearly another one hundred years.
New Minster books of the Norman period include a Psalter, British Museum MS Arundel 60. This work seems to bear great affinity to pre-Conquest works, although Ker\textsuperscript{198} dates it to the latter part of the eleventh century and the British Museum catalog assigns it a date as late as 1099. It is glossed in English, a practice that Norman abbots were quick to do away with. In addition to the Psalter, the volume also contains a calendar, astronomical charts and tables, English hymns, and a list of West Saxon bishops. The New Minster seems to have remained more deeply rooted in the old English culture, while St. Swithun's seems to have more readily accepted the transplanted Norman culture. The entry for the New Minister in the Mortuary Roll of Abbot Vitalis indicated that in the early twelfth century, New Minster monks were still practicing the old English script.

Another work, Registrum Abbatiae de Hyda, Stowe Park "Ecclesiastica iii.32," is a collection of official records which probably dates, in part, to before the Conquest. The only charter included is one granted by William I.

Another Psalter dating to the twelfth century is in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, MS V.3.28. Folios 1

\textsuperscript{198} Ker, \textit{Medieval Libraries of Great Britain}, p. 103.
through 78 of MS Bodley 91 of the Bodleian Library were formerly bound with manuscripts from Hyde. These leaves consist of De Sacramentis by Hugh of St. Victor.

Registrum Cartarum Abbatiae de Hyda, British Museum MS Harley 1761, begins with the letters patent of Henry I, dated 1103. The charters included date from 940 until 1457. In addition to charters, the Registrum also contains the monks' complaint against Henry of Blois and the Annals of the abbey. On the last leaf is written "Iste liber pertinet ad me Joh. Fysschere." Fysschere held some of the abbey's lands between the dissolution of the house and the granting of its lands to Winchester College. The book itself dates to the fifteenth century, and most of the documents are later copies, rather than originals.

Thomas Warton relates an interesting incident regarding books at Hyde Abbey. In 1178, a Hyde monk named Henry copied Terence, Boethius, Suetonius, and Claudian, bound these works in one volume, illuminated the initials, and formed brazen bosses for the covers with his own hands. A few years later, he traded this book to the prior of St. Swithun's for four missals, the Legend of St. Christopher, and Gregory's Pastoral Care.

Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Cromwell's henchman, acquired the site after the surrender of the monastery in 1538. He pulled down the monastery and sold the materials so rapidly and so thoroughly that when Leland visited the next year, he found nothing except the spot on which the church had stood. Leland also noted several books which may have belonged to Hyde Abbey during the Norman period, the *Aenigmata* of both Aldhelm and Symphosius, and another which may have been Lucan's historical epic, *Bellum Civile*.

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201 Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, p. 131.

OTHER LIBRARIES OF WINCHESTER

Chertsey Abbey

There were never very many monasteries in Surrey, and in the tenth century, there was only one. Chertsey was established in 666, by Erkenwald, its first abbot and later Bishop of London, who dedicated the foundation to St. Peter. Owing to a number of royal benefactions, the abbey seems to have prospered during the eighth century. From about 850 onward, however, the house suffered heavily from the Danish raids. Toward the end of the ninth century, the Danes burned the house and slew Abbot Beocca and ninety monks.

After this destruction, Chertsey was not re-established until Ethelwold colonized the site with thirteen monks from Abingdon. In 964, King Edgar replaced these monks with another group from regular orders. The monastery flourished once again, receiving grants from Edgar and Edward the Confessor. William the Conqueror seems also to have favored the house, as he confirmed its possessions and added some privileges. Pope Alexander III also confirmed the tithes of various churches to Chertsey, and stipulated that the abbot should not hold these revenues, but that they should be
administered by two honest men for the repair and main-
tenance of the abbey.

After the death of the Conqueror, misfortune befell
Chertsey in the person of Ranulph Flambard. King William
Rufus dismissed Abbot Odo in 1092, and replaced him with
his infamous chancellor. Ranulph Flambard was removed
when Henry I seized the throne, and Odo was restored as
abbot. In 1110, the abbey was rebuilt by Abbot Hugh, to
whom King Stephen's charters refer as "nepos meus." It
is not certain that this may mean that Hugh was actually
Stephen's nephew, since at the time of the rebuilding of
the abbey, Stephen was about thirteen years old.

Between 1072 and 1077, Chertsey entered into an
agreement with Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, and the
monks of his cathedral chapter. They agreed to observe
the Benedictine Rule and act in unity, as though they
were one house.

In spite of the apparent affluence of the abbey in
the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, and despite
the fact that many of its abbots assumed influential po-
sitions in the county or kingdom, we have no knowledge at
all of the intellectual activity of the house in this
period. Only about six manuscripts belonging to the
abbey are known, and the earliest of these date to the
late twelfth century. The names of no scholars or educa-

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tors connected with the house are known, and we possess no information at all concerning library or scriptorium.

There is a collection of decorative tiles at present housed in the British Museum, which once may have graced the walls of a book-room at Chertsey. According to Lethaby, these tiles date to no later than 1250 and probably no earlier than the early thirteenth century. They depict scenes from the Tristan and Isolt romance, and may have been patterned after manuscript illuminations. The tiles seem to follow the text version of Thomas, an otherwise unknown Anglo-Norman who first transcribed the story in about 1170. Inscriptions on some of the tiles seem to relate to the text, but the inscriptions are in French, not the Anglo-Norman French of Thomas. Lethaby suggests that the tiles were probably produced at the abbey, possibly by the same artist who made similar decorations for the chapter house at Westminster. The tiles may originally have been made for the king, and may represent a royal gift to the abbey. Other tiles in this collection appear to depict Richard the Lion-hearted fighting Saladin, and perhaps scenes from the Gawain romance. Although these tiles are dated

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204 Lethaby, Romance Tiles, pp. 78-79.
too late to have any direct bearing on the present study, they may illustrate a gradual trend toward the collection and production of popular literature in monasteries in the latter portion of the eleventh century.
Bermondsey Priory

Another large monastery in Surrey was Bermondsey, the only Cluniac priory in the Diocese. Cluni had been exerting influences on English monasticism since the time of Dunstan, and many houses in Normandy were also patterned on the Cluniac model. The regimen in Cluniac priories placed less emphasis on intellectual creativity and stressed strict observance of ceremonial functions and increased attention to duties. Although the devotional practices of Cluniac houses were often copied by English houses, Cluniac houses were too much in the minority to have a lasting impact on the English system of ecclesiastical administration.

Abbots of Cluni drew daughter houses and dependencies very tightly within the Cluniac administrative structure. Although founders of English Cluniac houses insisted on greater autonomy for their establishments, Bermondsey suffered greatly because of its ties to the Cluniac system. Founded in 1082 by Alwin Child, an influential Londoner, and dedicated to St. Saviour, it was not until 1089 that the first four monks arrived from St. Mary's of La Charite-sur-Loir to inhabit the house. Priors of Bermondsey were to be regarded simply as nominees of the prior of La Charite, and were subject to recall at will. Between 1134 and 1184, Bermondsey had
eleven priors, only one of whom died in office. As a result, the financial administration of the house was extremely poor.

Compounding the problem was the fact that the site was not well chosen. Located on the banks of the Thames, the priory was vulnerable to periodic flooding. A system of dykes and ditches was built to hold back the river, but its maintenance was often lax. From time to time, the priory's lands, even the house itself, were inundated.

Relations between the monks and their tenants and neighboring townsmen were poor. Complaints were frequently lodged against monks of the house for assault, theft, and other crimes. In return, the priory was occasionally ransacked by the laity.

The Norman kings of England, however, held Cluniac houses in high regard. Henry I, in particular, was one of the most generous donors to the order. The size of the convent at Bermondsey, as well as its proximity to both London and Winchester, made it a desirable location for councils and assemblies of state. Much of the importance of the house is owing to the grant of a manor to it from the royal estate. In return for this grant, the priory was to maintain a royal residence within its buildings. To these quarters were often assigned queens
and other high nobles in need of supervision. In 1140, William, Earl of Mortain, retired to Bermondsey, where he took the cowl. The widows of Henry V and Edward IV both ended their lives in confinement at Bemondsey.

Only one book from Bermondsey dated before the thirteenth century can be identified. British Museum MS Royal 11 B.vii contains the Sentences of Isidore. Ker unhesitatingly assigns this volume to Bermondsey, but it bears a press-mark, "Grad. B," not unlike those used at St. Alban's. Bermondsey seems to have used a different system of cataloging.

Another Bermondsey book is Bodleian BS Bodley 751, a thirteenth century copy of the works of Ambrose. This volume is of interest, for in the fifteenth century it was rebound with a fourteenth century fragment of a library catalog. Denholm-Young has established quite reliably that the catalog is from Bermondsey, and that it was probably compiled between 1310 and 1328. The arrangement of the catalog suggests that, by the time of its compilation, a book-room had been built at Bermondsey. The books were arranged on numbered shelves, with the contents of each shelf, or gradu, listed in the catalog.

205 Ker, Medieval Libraries, p. 9.

The fragment included a portion of gradu xiv through gradu xxiv, and lists 130 volumes. Consequently, it can be said that the library of Bermondsey was one of significant proportions in the fourteenth century; by extrapolation, we can assume that there were more than 250 volumes. As Denholm-Young\textsuperscript{207} points out, there is a trace of subject arrangement in the catalog; legal and historical works are on gradu xvii, and gradus xix through xxi contain liturgical works.

\textsuperscript{207} Denholm-Young, p. 440.
Cistercian Libraries

In addition to the Cluniac, another order introduced to England in the Norman period was the Cistercian. The first Cistercian house in England was founded at Waverley in 1128, by Bishop William Giffard. The abbey was dedicated to the Virgin, and was first peopled by thirteen monks from Aumone. The abbey's numbers increased rapidly, until by 1133, the population was large enough to form a daughter house at Garendon. In 1187, Waverley had 70 monks and 120 conversi. Waverley was quite poorly endowed, however; its income at the time of the Suppression was just 174 pounds. Nevertheless, Waverley succeeded far better than Bermondsey because of excellent administration. Like Bermondsey, Waverley was troubled by periodic flooding, but seem to have been able to recover rapidly from each occurrence.

Stone buildings were begun at Waverley shortly after the founding, but on a rather limited scale, as though the founder were doubtful that the order would succeed in England. The abbey was subsequently enlarged around 1180, and again after 1230.
Brakspeare,\textsuperscript{208} examining the remains of the construction of 1231, notes a recess in the wall of the south transept of the church, in the east walk of the cloister. This niche would probably have been lined with wood and used to store books for use in the cloister.

Cheney\textsuperscript{209} has been able to identify 230 surviving manuscripts from English Cistercian houses dating to before 1230. About thirty-six of these can be traced to Buildwas, a greater number than from any other English Cistercian house. There are also only three or perhaps four catalogs of the thirteenth century from Cistercian libraries. None of these catalogs comes from Waverley, however.

Since the order did not accept oblates, but only adult converts, Cistercian abbeys made little provision for schooling. Many novices entering the order, having already received their education, brought books with them to enrich their abbey's collection. Fountains received a valuable collection when Hugh, dean of York, entered that


abbey in 1134. Cheney²¹⁰ says that abbots often purchased books, as another means of acquisition.

From Cheney's description of Cistercian libraries, one forms an impression of a practical working collection with few frills. The heart of the collection, as in all monastic libraries, was Biblical and patristic texts, with the major Fathers predominating. Cheney²¹¹ finds pagan authors rare in Cistercian libraries, with no surviving classical authors among the books from Buildwas. The grammatical works of Priscian and Donatus appear in the catalogs, but because Cistercian monasteries were not primarily concerned with providing education, there were probably fewer of these than in other libraries. In histories, Cheney²¹² believes that Cistercians preferred local histories to classical or medieval universal histories. Therefore, Gildas, Nennius, Bede, and Malmesbury were more common in Cistercian libraries than Suetonius or Hegesippus. The Cistercians also preferred lives of local saints.

Most religious orders regarded study both as a means of intellectual growth and as a devotional exercise. However, the Cistercians tended to view reading almost

²¹⁰ Ibid.
²¹¹ Cheney, p. 380.
²¹² Cheney, p. 381.
solely as a devotional exercise, and therefore, their libraries contained little on the new philosophical currents of the twelfth century. Similarly, there were few legal or medical works in Cistercian libraries.

The decoration of Cistercian books was also quite somber. Illumination was rare, and while initials were often colored in alternating red, blue, and green, they were seldom elaborately drawn.

Although there are no extant manuscripts from Waverley which date to before the late twelfth century, five works are mentioned by Leland, including Bede's treatise on the equinox and Heraclitus' Lives of the Fathers. The other three are somewhat obscure: a volume of Sermons by Odo, the ninth century abbot of Beauvais, described as missing; a book called "De connubio Jacobi," by Robert of Cricklade; and the Eulogy to Alexander III by John of Cornwall. Robert seems to have been the author of some minor historical treatises and a life of Thomas Becket, now lost, and the translator of Pliny's Natural History. He is believed to have flourished around 1170. John's Eulogy was probably composed around 1176.

A second Cistercian house in Winchester diocese was established on the Isle of Wight in 1131. Colonized by

213 Leland, Collectanea, iv, 148.
monks from Savigny, the new abbey was named Quarr, possibly because of its proximity to the quarry from which the stone for Winchester Cathedral was taken. The house seems to have prospered well enough to have been capable of founding a daughter house within twenty years of its establishment, but most of its history is obscure. Only four books survive, and all date to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.
Libraries of Dependent Houses

After the Conquest, another type of monastic establishment began to appear in England, the alien dependency. Knowles defines three classes of dependencies: houses formerly independent which were absorbed by others, miniature daughter houses of larger monasteries, and cells of larger houses. Of the first two types, there were few in England, and none at all in Winchester Diocese. Of the third kind, there were about two hundred in existence by 1200. These were often created when land was granted to a French monastery, sometimes in payment for loans to finance military ventures. Usually no more than a single cell, these colonies existed to collect rents and consume the produce of the estates. Little is known of the histories of these houses.

In Hampshire, there were perhaps eight of these dependencies, and Surrey had one. The largest of these was established during the reign of Henry I at Monk Sherborne, or West Sherborne, in Hampshire. Although subject to St. Vigor at Cerisy and probably required to send tribute to the mother house, Monk Sherborne appears to have enjoyed a measure of autonomy and a true conventual life. The Bishops of Winchester accepted the priors

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Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 134.

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and convent, and not St. Vigor; as the patrons of the manors assigned to the estate. A second alien house, Hayling, was the center of a mild controversy. According to the Winchester Annals, the island of Hayling was given to St. Swithun's by Queen Emma, the wife of Ethelred. William the Conqueror, however, gave it to the abbey of Jumieges, but the Winchester monks contested the grant. About 1140, Henry of Blois issued a charter confirming the grant to Jumieges, but in 1150, Archbishop Theobald had to remind Henry of the terms of the agreement.

Other alien cells were at Andover, where St. Florent, Saumur, placed a small colony, and at Appledurcombe, which was granted to St. Mary's, Montebourg. In 1339, Appledurcombe amounted to a prior and two monks. The great abbey of Tiron had three cells in Hampshire, at Andwell, at Hamble, and at St. Cross on the Isle of Wight. A small Cluniac house was founded at St. Helen's, Isle of Wight, consisting in 1295 of one monk and a prior. Bec had the only dependency in Surrey, at Tooting. Sometimes, however, the estates of Tooting were accounted as belonging to Okeburne, Wiltshire, Bec's principal English dependency.

No books remain from any of the dependencies. In all probability, there never were any except those required for the services of the monks.
Libraries of Regular Canons

According to Knowles,\textsuperscript{215} until shortly before the Conquest, there were no churches in England observing a regular canonical life. During the reign of Edward the Confessor, a few of the bishops began to enforce a discipline on the canons of the cathedrals and larger churches. Initially, the Conquest impeded, rather than hastened, the spread of the Augustinian Rule among English churches. Lanfranc preferred to initiate his reforms through Benedictine monks, rather than canons. Although there were a few Augustinian foundations before 1100, the greatest growth in the regular canonical movement occurred during the reign of Henry I.

One of the largest houses of canons in England was the priory of St. Mary Overie, which is now Southwark Cathedral. According to one legend, the house was originally established for women and supported by the revenues from a ferry service across the Thames. The name is believed to mean "St. Mary over the river." Canon Thompson\textsuperscript{216} relates that St. Swithun replaced the women

\textsuperscript{215} Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 141.

\textsuperscript{216} Canon William Thompson, Southwark Cathedral; the History and Antiquities of St. Saviour (St. Mary Overie) (3rd ed.; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1910), pp. 9-10.
with a college of priests. In 1106, Bishop William Giffard commenced rebuilding the church and installed canons of the Augustinian order.

There are a couple of volumes of Isidore which bear an ex libris from Southwark and date to the twelfth century. The first is MS 31 of Trinity College, Oxford, and the second is in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, folios 1 through 128 of MS 1134. This second volume includes a twelfth century life of Dunstan, in addition to Isidore's Differentiae and excerpts from the Etymology. A third volume may also have been in the Southwark library late in the twelfth century, although Ker assigns it to the thirteenth. R. M. Nixon discusses a volume of Peter Comestor which is bound in a Romanesque style somewhat different from the Winchester bindings of Henry of Blois' scriptorium. Nixon locates this second binder in London and says that he probably worked at least thirty years after his Winchester counterpart, so that this volume probably dates to no earlier than 1185.

A second college of Augustinian canons was established at Merton. In or about 1115, Henry I gave the manor of Merton to Gilbert, sheriff of Surrey. Gilbert

built a convent there and applied to the canons of St. Mary's, Huntingdon, for assistance. By about 1117, the priory seems to have been in operation.

Only one twelfth century book survives, a copy of Henry of Huntingdon's history now in the Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 118. The comments of M. R. James in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Lambeth Palace manuscripts indicates that this volume was probably the model for a number of others which used the same numberings for the chapters.

In 1133, Henry I founded the Church of St. Mary for Augustinian canons at Porchester. Sometime between 1145 and 1153, the establishment was moved to Southwick, about seven miles to the north. Four twelfth century books belonging to Southwick survive. MS 165 of University College, Oxford, contains Bede's Life of Cuthbert and a prayer to Cuthbert. MS 158 of St. John's College, Oxford, contains writings of Anselm and dates to the earlier part of the twelfth century. A collection of the Homilies of Gregory, Bodleian MS 719, includes an ex libris from Southwick. British Museum MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv, folios 4 through 93, contains an English

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translation of selections of Augustine's *Soliloquies*, an English rendering of the *Book of Nicodemus*, and some other fragments in English. Four books predating the founding of the priory appear to have belonged to Southwick at one time. MS 185 of St. John's College, Oxford, is identified as the *Sententiae* of Paterius, otherwise known as *Expositio Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*. It dates to the eleventh century. Bede wrote that he had heard of this work but had not seen it, so it may have reached England only later in the eighth century.

Folio 2 of British Museum Additional MS 34,652 may have belonged to either Southwick or St. Swithun's, and dates to the early eleventh century. The work from which this leaf may have come is now lost, but at one time was in the British Museum, as MS Cotton Otho B.xi. It contained various writings of Bede and may have been produced as early as the tenth century. Folios 55, 58, and 62 of MS Cotton Otho B.x may also have been a part of the same book; they contain some fragments of Bede. In addition, Leland219 mentions a couple of Southwick manuscripts, Henry of Huntingdon and an English version of Bede's *History*.

In the time of Edward the Confessor, there existed a loosely organized college of twenty-four priests with no

recognizable head in Twyneham. The origins of this community are lost in obscurity, but by the late eleventh century, the foundation was an extremely wealthy one. Ranulph Flambard is said to have coveted the church because miracles, and therefore treasure, abounded there. In about 1094, Ranulph somehow acquired the right to appoint prebends at Twyneham priory and, as each secular canon died, Ranulph suppressed the prebend and seized the income. After Ranulph's banishment at the ascension of Henry I, the house seems to have reverted to its original status, with Peter de Oglander as dean. In 1150, the Augustinian Rule was brought to the house, and the establishment was renamed Christchurch.

Only one book survives from Christchurch, Twyneham, a Eusebius dating to no earlier than the thirteenth century. Leland describes two Christchurch books, William of Malmesbury's Life of St. Patrick and a legal document, signed by King Stephen, permitting the regular canons to settle there.

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220 Leland, De Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 38.
221 Leland, Collectanea, iv, 149.
Libraries of Nunneries

Whatever may have been the role of women elsewhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, English nunneries were of little significance following the Conquest. Although a few noble women made contributions to the histories of a few houses, there was not one important female religious figure in England at this time. In 1066, there were nine houses for women, four of which were somewhat wealthy, and in early Norman times, they probably served as educational centers for daughters of Saxon nobility. Knowles indicates that nunneries tended to cling to the past, serving as refuges for noble women-folk of the Anglo-Saxon defenders.

Toward the end of the ninth century, King Alfred and his queen, Ealswith, founded the Nunnaminster in Winchester, dedicating it to St. Mary. Although Ealswith retired here after Alfred's death, Eadburga is known as its first abbess. By 963, the house was in extreme poverty, its revenues sadly depleted by the number of chaplains and canons it supported. Most of these prebends performed little or no service to the abbey. In that year, Ethelwold refounded the house, partly due to its financial distress, and partly in order to establish a

222 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 137.

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stricter regimen in accord with the Benedictine Rule. Nothing further is known of the Nunnaminster until it burned down during the siege of 1141.

There are four surviving works which may at one time have belonged to the Nunnaminster. British Museum MS Harley 2965 is an account of the Passion according to the Gospels, followed by some short prayers and a few metrical pieces. The book dates to the eighth century, and Birch\(^\text{223}\) says not only that it was intended for use by an abbess, but that it was the work of a woman.

MS Cotton Galba A.xiv, also of the British Museum, is another prayer book. Using a prayer to Ethelred as an indication, Bishop\(^\text{224}\) assigns it a date of about 1016. The volume is in several hands, at least one of which Bishop\(^\text{225}\) believes to be the trembling script of a very old person, possibly one of the Nunnaminster nuns. A calendar, also in several hands, which may have belonged in this volume, is now bound as folios 3 through 13 of MS Cotton Nero A.ii. The fourth work is a volume containing Smaragdus' *Diadema Monachorum* and some other

\(^{223}\) Walter de Gray Birch, An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century, Formerly Belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester (Winchester: Warren & Son, 1889), pp. 15-17.


\(^{225}\) Bishop, p. 390.
texts, dating to the early twelfth century. It is now MS Bodley 451 of the Bodleian Library.

In 907, King Edmund the Elder established a convent for women at Romsey, outside Southampton. His daughter Elfleda is believed to have been the first abbess. About 967, Ethelwold reformed the house, introducing the Benedictine Rule and adding Elfleda's name to Mary's in the dedication.

A list of Romsey abbesses and nuns is inserted into the Hyde Register for the years 1016 through 1025, indicating that there may have been a confraternal agreement with the monks of the New Minster. A similar arrangement with St. Swithun's, Wherwell, Abingdon, Chertsey, and other houses, is recorded in the Codex Wintoniensis, British Museum MS Additional 29,436. The Hyde Register entry indicates that there were fifty-four sisters in the early eleventh century.

Romsey Abbey achieved renown both as an educational center for women and for its occasional involvements in royal intrigues. In 1086, Christina, daughter of Edmund Ironside and sister to Edgar Aetheling, took the veil at Romsey. In 1093, her brother-in-law, King Malcolm III of Scotland, sent her his daughters, Mary and Edith (known as Matilda), to be educated. Christina forced her charges to wear veils, allegedly to discourage Norman suitors, one of whom may have been William Rufus. When

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Matilda was betrothed to Henry I, objections were raised against the marriage of one who had worn the nun's habit. Matilda appealed to Canterbury, and Anselm ruled that she was eligible to marry, since she had never actually spoken the vows.

Matilda may have surpassed her husband in learning. She corresponded with Anselm and was probably familiar with his writings. Six of her letters survive and illustrate that she possessed a good background in Scripture and classical literature.

Of surviving books, there is only one which may have belonged to the house before the thirteenth century. An eleventh century Pontifical and Benedictional, British Museum MS Additional 28,188, contains a calendar which may be attributed to Romsey. Both Ker and Bishop however, assign the book to St. Peter's, Exeter. The calendar includes a date for the Feast of the Conception, which at this time, was observed only at Winchester. Bishop points out that Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, borrowed and copied service books to furnish his church, adding Exeter rites to the calendars without expunging Winchester observances. This volume may be such a copy.

226 Ker, Medieval Libraries, p. 81.
227 Bishop, Liturgica Historica, p. 239.
228 Bishop, p. 240.
A work of art survives from Romsey Abbey. This is the "Saxon Rood," a sculpted cross dating to about 1030. Liveing\textsuperscript{229} describes it as being of Byzantine character, "having straight unbent limbs." The cross is, however, of Saxon workmanship, suggesting that the artist had a Greek model, either an icon or a manuscript illumination, to work from.

A small convent for women also existed at Wherwell. The popular account of its founding relates that it was established by Queen Elfrida in 986, in expiation for her part in the murder of Edward the Martyr. Little is known of the history of the house, however, and only five books survive, two of which date to the twelfth century. One of these is a Psalter, St. John's College, Cambridge, MS 68, and the other is a calendar in the Leningrad Public Library, MS Q.v.I.62. British Museum MS Egerton 2104 is a volume often overlooked by researchers; Ker makes no mention of it in Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. According to Cox,\textsuperscript{230} however, it is a fourteenth century Wherwell chartulary; the dates covered are from Henry III until 1364.


\textsuperscript{230} Cox in VCH Hants, vol. II, p. 132.
CONCLUSION

The foregoing has been an attempt to sketch the development of the libraries of the Diocese of Winchester from their origins until the end of the Norman period. If no very clear picture of their contents emerges, it is because so little remains of the libraries themselves or of records relating to them.

For a few other libraries, however, information is not so scarce; catalogs remain and excellent studies have been done on them. Two in particular are of interest to the study of St. Swithun's, Durham Cathedral priory and Christ Church, Canterbury. Whatever differences there may have been among the three houses, they had one essential similarity: all were Benedictine priories serving large cathedral churches. Consequently, we find many similarities in their collections.

A number of catalogs of Christ Church survive and were first published in M. R. James' Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, Cambridge, England, 1903. One of the catalogs dates to about 1170 and is included in a manuscript containing De Musica and Arithmetica of Boethius, MS Ii 3.12 of the University Library, Cambridge.

It is obvious that this catalog is actually only a fragment, since some of what we would expect to be the
most numerous classes of books are not mentioned in it. Most of the works listed are represented by multiple copies, indicating that the probable use of this collection was for teaching. This supposition is also supported by the nature of the works included. Priscian's complete Grammar is represented by five copies, and there are also five copies of the two books of his Constructions. There are nineteen other books on grammar, including one Donatus in Greek and another in English—possibly a translation by Aelfric Bata. Others include commentaries and glosses on Priscian and Donatus.

Of rhetoric, there are nine volumes, all copies of Cicero's Rhetorica, one with gloss and another described as "imperfecta." Seven volumes on music are by such masters as Boethius, Osbern, and Hugobald of St. Amand. Eight volumes on arithmetic follow, all unidentified, although one appears to be by Boethius.

Then come the classics, which James believes were classed either as poetry or grammar. The list of authors is a long one, and most are represented by multiple copies: eight each of Macrobius, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, and Boethius, to name just a few. Seven of the works by Boethius were probably the De Consolatione Philosophiae.

231 James, Ancient Libraries, p. xxxiii.
Astronomy follows the classics with nine volumes; then come twenty-one miscellaneous volumes, primarily theological. There follow twenty-two works on dialectics, including several by Aristotle, and another five miscellaneous books, including the *Entheticus* of John of Salisbury. This last is the most recent work, and dates the catalog to the archiepiscopacy of Becket. Since there are no books about Becket, we can be reasonably sure that the list pre-dates his death. Lacking in the catalog are law, medicine, and, except for a few miscellaneous volumes, theology.

All told, the catalog lists 223 volumes. James, accounting for the lack of law, medicine, chronicles, and English literature, and allowing that theological books probably outnumbered secular ones by two to one, estimates the total collection to have included between 600 and 700 volumes.

This would seem to be an adequate collection, in spite of the lacunae, for the study of Latin literature and the liberal arts and sciences of the twelfth century. This must have been a relatively new collection, since before the Conquest, Christ Church was a small college of secular canons and did not attract large donations. In 1030, there was a small fire in the priory, and a much

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greater one in 1067 destroyed nearly everything in the cathedral. Therefore, Lanfranc must have built the collection virtually from scratch.

From Durham, we have two twelfth-century inventories of books. The earlier of the two is a list which was intended to identify which works were available in the volumes of the collection. Only a single leaf survives, but, as Piper\textsuperscript{233} illustrates, it is divided into three distinct sections for Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, with the contents of each volume clearly enumerated. Piper\textsuperscript{234} does not feel that the physical arrangement of the collection is indicated by this list.

The later list includes many of the same volumes as the earlier, but only the principal work of each volume is mentioned. Piper\textsuperscript{235} suggests that there may be some clue to the arrangement of the collection in this catalog, or rather in its omissions: several known volumes are not included. It is likely, therefore, that this catalog lists only volumes kept in the monastic precincts, and not those kept in the church. Two Psalters on the list clearly state "in communi armar(io)" and "ad


\textsuperscript{234} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{235} Piper, pp. 214-216.
sepulchrum," and the list itself is entitled "Vetus Catalogus Librorum qui in Armariolo Ecclesiae Dunelm. olim habebuntur." The catalog appears in a volume still in Durham Cathedral library, MS B.iv.24, published by James Raine.236

It is this second list which is the most interesting for comparison with St. Swithun's. It shows no internal organization, but books of all types seem randomly scattered throughout. The first title is Josephus' Antiquitates Judaicae, and is followed by several Decretals and the letters of Ivo of Chartres. Classics, histories, theological works, grammars and Biblical works are all interspersed. Unlike Canterbury, titles are, for the most part, represented by single copies. Almost the only title duplicated is Priscian's Grammar, of which there are three copies described as "integri" and two as "imperfecti."

Among historians noted are Bede, Orosius, Eutropius, and William of Malmesbury. There are also copies of a Gesta Francorum and a Historia Anglorum. Classics are represented by works by Seneca, five copies of Boethius' Consolation, three works of Sallust, Plato's Timaeus, Aesop's Fables, and works by Terence and Macrobius.

There is also a portion of the catalog which includes a long list of Vergils, Ovids, Lucans, and Statius'. Separate sections listing books in English and medical texts appear as well. Among the "Libri Anglici" are homilies, an unidentified work of Paulinus of Nola, and two chronicles.

Most of the principal writings of Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, Ambrose, and Bede appear, as we would expect, but there are also some less common authors, such as Quintillian and Gregory of Nazianzus. Contemporary theology is represented by Anselm's Meditations and Cur Deus Homo and two works of Bernard of Clairvaux. Hagiological books include lives of Germain, Sylvester, Margaret, Anselm, Brendan, the abbots of Wearmouth, and two of Cuthbert. In addition to Priscian's Grammar, there are copies of his Constructions and Epithoma and works by Donatus, Remigius, and Pompeius Trogus.

There does not seem to be a single volume Great Bible included in the catalog, but various books of the Bible are listed separately. The four Evangelists are there, as are the Acts and the Epistles of Paul. A number of Old Testament books appear, Genesis, Isaiah, Kings, and Job, but far from a complete list. There are also several apocryphal works. However, there are almost no service books mentioned. This enforces the idea that this list represents only books owned by the monastery;
the service books would have been kept in the church, apart from the monks' collection.

As in the case of Canterbury, the Durham library represents a rather recent collection. Wearmouth and Jarrow had suffered much at the hands of the Danes and in 1070, Wearmouth was sacked by King Malcolm of Scotland. In 1069, William I burned Jarrow. Consequently, there may not have been more than a few old volumes for the monks to take with them to Durham when Bishop William of St. Carilef moved the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow to the cathedral priory in 1084, replacing the cathedral's secular canons. To these and the existing cathedral collection, the bishop added forty-six more volumes, most of which appear in the catalog.

Both of these catalogs add much to our understanding of medieval monastic libraries. Any similarities between the Winchester monasteries and those of Durham and Canterbury ought to have been reflected by a similarity in their libraries.

Its monastic school was a distinguishing feature of St. Swithun's, so we may expect there to have been a relatively strong secular component and multiple copies of basic texts in the collection. These works, however, do not survive. However, the sources used by Aelfric Grammaticus indicate that works by Priscian and Donatus were probably in the collection in the tenth century.
Since no monk from the New Minster or Hyde Abbey is remembered as a scholar--Grimbald having died before the founding of the house--it is fair to assume that there were probably fewer grammars and classical works in its collection. There were some volumes, of course, since there would have been a school for novices, but most likely a smaller number of them than at St. Swithun's, Durham, or Canterbury.

There are no surviving examples of classical literature from any of the Winchester libraries, although Leland may have seen a copy of Lucan which belonged to the New Minster. In 1178, one of the monks from Hyde Abbey made copies of Terence, Boethius, Swetonius, and Claudian, so that there were probably copies already in the library. Later he traded these works to St. Swithun's for some service books and hagiography. The only purely literary manuscripts which survive are fragments of poetry by St. Swithun's Prior Godfrey, scattered among four manuscripts.

Although the classics must have been well represented in Winchester libraries both before and after the Conquest, it is possible to distinguish differences in the way in which they were used. The limited evidence we have suggests that pre-Conquest English scholars made little use of secular Latin literature in their own writings. The works of Aelfric Grammaticus, for example,
show their author's familiarity with the Christian Fathers, but almost the only secular influences observable are the grammars of Priscian and Donatus.

Anglo-Norman scholars made much freer use of the classics. By the middle of the twelfth century, Durham had acquired an excellent collection of Latin literature, and the catalog of Christ Church indicates that that library had multiple copies of many secular works. The writings of such authors as Richard of Devizes and St. Swithun's Prior Godfrey of Cambrai reflect not only a familiarity with classical epigrammatists, satirists, and poets, but even imitation of them.

We don't know exactly which titles were read by Richard and Godfrey, but Godfrey's writings suggest that he was familiar with a few Latin poets and epigrammatists, including Martial. By the end of the twelfth century, the classics may have been better represented in St. Swithun's library, since Richard seems to have been acquainted with a wider range of Latin literature. It should be added, however, that the collection of classical literature at Durham was one of the finest of the twelfth century. St. Swithun's probably did not have as many authors as are listed in the Durham catalog.

Histories in pre-Conquest Winchester libraries are represented by four works. Orosius' *Historiarum contra Paganos* is typical of general medieval histories, and
Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was among the most popular works of the Middle Ages. In addition to these there were two *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and a fragment of a Wessex royal genealogy.

Only four extant volumes date to after the Conquest, Henry of Huntingdon's *History*, two copies of Hegesippus' translation of Josephus, and Haymo of Fleury's *Gesta Francorum*. Leland noted that Southwark had histories by Bede and Henry of Huntingdon, and that St. Swithun's may have possessed an otherwise unidentifiable work of Gildas.

Prior to the Conquest, Winchester monks had assumed a substantial role in the composition of English histories; evidence suggests that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was at least partly composed at Winchester. After the Conquest, the works of Richard of Devizes and the Winchester annalist point to a continued interest in and collection of historical works. The sources used by the compilers of the annals for Winchester and Waverley indicate that works of such eleventh and twelfth century chroniclers as William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger de Hovedon, and Sigebert of Gembloux had been added to the likes of Eusebius, Orosius, and Bede. French histories, such as *Gesta Francorum* of Haymo of Fleury, also appeared. The Hegesippus translation of Josephus' *De Bello Judaico* may have actually been little
known in England before the Conquest. Although perhaps one sixth-century manuscript is traceable to English libraries, Ogilvy suggests that most of the references attributed to it were actually to the Rufinus translation of Eusebius. Both surviving Winchester manuscripts of Hegesippus, Winchester Cathedral MS 20 and Lambeth Palace MS 173, appear to date to after the Conquest.

Thus history may have been a particular strength of Winchester libraries. Although we cannot fully reconstruct the historical portions of the libraries of Waverley and St. Swithun's, there is at least one author used as a source who does not appear in the Durham catalog. Sigebert of Gembloux.

Music is a discipline which seems to have achieved a certain prominence at Winchester shortly before the Conquest. St. Swithun's monks adopted tropes based on French models and soon introduced their own harmonic variations on them. The two Tropers which survive date to the first half of the eleventh century. Aside from the extant Tropers and Wulfstan's De Tonorum Harmonia, the titles of no musical works can be definitely linked to St. Swithun's. However, the nature of these works

237 Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, p. 156 and p. 186.
suggests that St. Swithun's owned a substantial collection of musical books.

The preservation of the Winchester Tropers suggests that the Norman monks still valued them, even though Tropers soon went out of fashion. William of Malmesbury's comments about Wulfstan, the precentor of St. Swithun's reflect a continuing interest in Anglo-Saxon religious music. There are no surviving Anglo-Norman musical works and no evidence to suggest that the Normans created original religious music in England.

A large proportion of the books owned by the Winchester monasteries were probably service books, although most of these may have been kept in the church, rather than in the cloister armory. Thirteen survive from before the Conquest and nine from after.

The most commonly found service book appears to have been the Psalter. Four copies survive from Anglo-Saxon times and five are dateable to the Norman period. There are two pre-Conquest Evangelia, but most of the other types of service books are represented by no more than one copy from before the Conquest and one after. In the twelfth century, one would probably have found copies of Psalters and Evangelia in both the church and the cloister, thus accounting for the existence of more copies. Most of the other service books would have been for church use only.
The largest single class of works which survive or may be otherwise identified is theological and devotional books. Eight volumes survive from before the Conquest, three of which contain works of Bede. Other authors include Alcuin, Aldhelm, Ambrose, Jerome, and Paterius. There are also a collection of prayers from the New Minster, and a volume of religious verse and prayers by Sedulius. A number of these works are completely or partly in English.

There are twelve extant books which date to after the Conquest, to which we may add four of undetermined date mentioned by Leland. There are two collections of Augustine's writings, one of which comes from Southwark, dated to the twelfth century, but in English. Isidore is represented by two volumes from Southwark and one from Bermondsey. In addition to Cassiodorus, Gregory, and Jerome, there are some eleventh and twelfth century authors represented by books from Winchester libraries: Anselm, Hugh of St. Victor, and Peter Comestor.

Although it can't be shown positively that the works mentioned by Leland were in the libraries of Waverley and the New Minster during the Middle Ages, the titles are likely ones for a twelfth century library to own: the Sermons of Odo of Beauvais, Robert of Cricklade's De Connubio Jacobi, and the Aenigmata of Aldhelm and Symphosius.
Among the volumes extant or known to have been in a Winchester library, there are none by such controversial authors as Pelagius, or by authors less commonly found in medieval libraries, such as Gregory of Naziansus or Tertullian. Nor did Winchester authors cite the works of these writers. Possibly, then, these authors were not well represented in Winchester libraries.

All of the extant volumes of hagiography which date to before the Conquest commemorate local English saints. Two volumes contain lives of Swithun and the third is the *Carmen Aethelwulfi*, which recounts the lives and miracles of the abbots of Lindisfarne. Six post-Conquest volumes of saints' lives survive. To these Leland has added one and Orderic Vitalis another. These include Bede's life of Cuthbert, Malmesbury's life of Patrick, the *Vita Patrum* by Heraclitus, a life of William of Gellone, and two miscellaneous collections. It is not surprising to find that the Normans introduced more lives of French saints, but it is unwise to infer that Anglo-Saxon monks collected primarily local English hagiography, while the Normans were more eclectic and read more miscellaneous collections. In fact, Ogilvy indicates that many general collections were read in England before 1066.

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Three works which may be classed as scientific survive from before the Conquest, a collection of herbal medical recipes, a collection of computistical treatises, and a geometry, possibly attributable to Boethius. There are no such surviving works from the Norman period. However, there were probably some medical texts then in St. Swithun's library, since Hugh, a Winchester monk, was known as a "monk-physician." These may have been translations of Galen or Hippocrates, or works based on them. There may also have been some works on calendar theory. Among the sources used by Aelfric Grammaticus were Bede's De Temporibus and the anonymous De Ratione Temporum. Isidore's De Natura Rerum was another text Aelfric used as a source.

A particular strength of the library of St. Swithun's may have been a collection of works dealing with ecclesiastical and monastic administration. Among the sources gathered by the author of the Regularis Concordia were monastic usages and customaries no longer in existence.

Among the highest achievements of the Winchester monasteries, both before and after the Conquest, was the art of manuscript illumination. Ethelwold himself was known as an illuminator and attracted to the Winchester houses a few other artists, the names of two of whom, Godeman and Aelfnoth, we know. While St. Swithun's de-
veloped a distinctive style of painting during the tenth century, the artists of the New Minster created an independent and refined style of line-drawing. After a period of decline, St. Swithun's revived as an artistic center under the guidance of Bishop Henry of Blois. In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon artists, who are identified as individuals, Henry developed a school—probably two schools—of professional monk-illuminators, who may have worked in an "assembly-line" fashion. To cover the productions of his scriptorium, Henry also brought in a binder, probably from France, who produced a distinctive Romanesque style which was later emulated elsewhere in England.

Anglo-Saxon monks of Winchester may have had a knowledge of Greek which was lost following the Conquest. The books of Ethelwold's donation to Peterborough included a work in Greek or about the Greek language. Greek observances in Winchester calendars, whether actually performed or not, suggest that there was contact with Greek monasticism in the late tenth century. After the Conquest, the study of Greek seems to have been neglected. Although Greek influences appear in the productions of the scriptorium of Henry of Blois, these were probably inspired by Greek art works, purchased in Italy by Bishop Henry and brought to England to adorn Winchester Cathedral.
The hundred years of English history following the Norman Conquest may be thought of as a time of transition. Although the Conquest had an abrupt and immediate impact on English political, economic, and social life, the changes in the intellectual climate were much more gradual. Many of the more significant changes were due less to differences between the Normans and the English than to changes occurring in northern European society as a whole.

Already in the time of King Edward the Confessor, there were noticeable Norman influences in England. By 1050, a Norman had been named Bishop of London. St. Swithun's was already engaged in an exchange of clerics with the monasteries of Normandy and its scriptorium was producing books for export to the Continent. Tropes crossed the Channel to England and were established at St. Swithun's, and a number of St. Swithun's calendars of this period seem to have been based on French models. However, it is safe to say that the Conquest had little immediate impact on the religious life at the Winchester Cathedral monastery.

The story is quite different for the New Minster, however. There, Anglo-Saxon culture survived into the twelfth century. Although the tradition which identifies Aelfwig, abbot at the time of the Conquest, with Earl Godwin's brother is probably mistaken, he was certainly a
supporter of King Harold's cause. The sentiment seems to have persisted long after the Conquest; Norman kings and bishops are often the targets of criticism in the annals of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey.

The use of the English language also survived longer at the New Minster. A Psalter produced there in the late eleventh century was still glossed in English, and the English book-hand was still in use some years later when the monks contributed to the Mortuary Roll for Abbot Vitalis.

As these survivals at the New Minster suggest, the Normans made no wholesale effort to eradicate English culture. The Conquest would have had different impacts on different houses. The Conquest perhaps hastened the introduction of some newer orders into England, in as much as the first Cistercian house in England, Waverley, was founded after the Conquest and the Normans introduced regular canons into the diocese. Other establishments, such as the New Minster and the nunneries clung to the past, keeping alive the flicker of English life and customs.
MAP OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES
IN HAMPSHIRE

BENEDICTINE MONKS
St. Swithin's Priory
New Minster - Hyde Abbey

BENEDICTINE NUNS
Nunnaminster, Winchester
Romsey Abbey
Wherwell Abbey

CISTERCIAN MONKS
Quarr Abbey

AUGUSTINIAN CANONS
Christ Church,
Twyneham
Southwick Priory
Breamore Priory

ALIEN CELLS
St. Helen's Priory
Hayling Priory
Andover Priory
Hamble Priory
Andwell Priory
St. Cross Priory
Monk Sherborne Priory
Appuldurcombe Priory
MAP OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN SURREY

BENEDICTINE MONKS
Chertsey Abbey

CLUNIAC MONKS
Bermondsey Priory

CISTERCIAN MONKS
Waverley Abbey

AUGUSTINIAN CANONS
Merton Priory
Southwark Priory

ALIEN CELL
Tooting Bec

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APPENDIX: BOOKS OF WINCHESTER LIBRARIES

Here are listed the extant manuscripts known to have been in one of the libraries of Winchester in the Anglo-Saxon or Norman periods and those works which have been identified by other means.

For each title are given the presumed date of composition, the present location and catalog number, if extant, and the source for assigning the provenance to a Winchester library. Throughout the Appendix, Ker's Medieval Libraries of Great Britain has been abbreviated "Ker ML."

Manuscripts have been identified as fully as possible, using the sources available. Ker's Medieval Libraries of Great Britain provides only the briefest identification, usually only an author's name and a catalog number. Catalogs have been consulted to obtain a fuller description of the contents of each manuscript, but for many, the catalogs are either unclear or unavailable.
St. Swithun's, Winchester

Eighth Century


Ninth Century


Computistica, various calendars, etc. Bodleian, Digby 63. Ker ML.

Ninth or Tenth Century


Tenth Century


Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. British Museum, Additional 49,598. Ker ML. Possibly from New Minster.


Psalter (Latin and English). Bodleian, Junius 27. Ker ML. Bishop, p. 254: includes extracts from a metrical calendar, some of the lines of which appear to be taken from the Athelstan Psalter.

Orosius. Historiarum contra Paganos (English). British Museum, Additional 47,967. Ker ML.

Medical recipes (English). British Museum, Royal 12 D.xvii. Ker ML.

Augustine. Speculum and other works. Nortier, pp. 63-64. Produced at Winchester(?) and taken to Mont St. Michel.


Tenth or Eleventh Century

Bede, etc. (English). British Museum, Cotton Otho B.xi; and Cotton Otho B.x, fos. 55, 58, 62. Ker ML. Possibly from Southwick, rather than St. Swithun's.


Eleventh Century


Life of Swithun, etc. Bibliotheque Municipale, Rouen, 1385, fos. 28ff. Ker ML. Nortier, p. 106: passed from Winchester to Jumièges.

Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogy (English). British Museum, Additional 34,652, fol. 2. Ker ML. May have once been a part of Cotton Otho B.xi. Possibly from Southwick.

Wulfstan. Life of Swithun; Lantfred. Miracles of Swithun, etc. British Museum, Royal 15 C.vii. Ker ML.


Sacramentary. Worcester Cathedral F.173. Ker ML.


Ordinal, etc. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 163. Ker ML.


Troper. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 473. Ker ML. Designated "CC" by Frere, Winchester Troper.

Benedictional (for feasts of Aetheldrytha and Swithun). Bibliotheque Municipale, Alencon, 14, fos. 91-108. Nortier, p. 103. From St. Evroul, but probably copied at Winchester.


Eleventh or Twelfth Century

Heraclitus. Lives of Fathers. Bibliothèque Municipale, Avranches, 163. Nortier, p. 66. May have been brought from Winchester to Mont St. Michel by Osbern, a monk. Initials typical of Winchester illumination.

Troper. Bodleian, Bodley, 775. Ker ML. Called the Aethelred Troper, designated "E" by Frere. May have been written in Ethelwold's time.

Lives of Dunstan, Odo of Cluni, Odilo and other abbots of Cluni, etc. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 328. Ker ML. St. Swithun's ex libris.

Twelfth Century

Godfrey of Cambrai. Verses. British Museum, Cotton Vit. A.xii, fos. 11-14; Bibliothèque Imperiale, Paris, 8068; Bodleian, Digby 65; Bodleian, Digby 112, fol. 120b. Hardy, Descriptive Catalogue, 100.


Pontifical. University Library, Cambridge, Ee.2.3. Ker ML.

Passionary, etc. Lincoln Cathedral 7, fos. 44-83. Ker ML.


Miscellaneous theologica. British Museum, Royal 5 E.viii. Ker ML.

Hegesippus. De Excidio Judeorum (translation of Josephus' De Bello Judaico). Winchester Cathedral 20. Ker ML. However, Nixon says it was given to the cathedral in 1947 and was not there in the Middle Ages.


Bible (Vulgate). Winchester Cathedral 17. Ker ML.


Twelfth to Sixteenth Century

Chronicon, cartularium, etc. British Museum, Additional 29,436. Ker ML. Never published in full, but Bishop, pp. 397-401, prints a list of gifts of Henry of Blois to the cathedral.

Date Uncertain

New Minster or Hyde Abbey, Winchester

Tenth Century


Psalter, with prayers, proverbs, cantica, etc. (glossed in English). British Museum, Royal 2 B.v. Ker ML. Doubtful provenance.


Eleventh Century

Evangelia, Trinity College, Cambridge, 215, Ker ML.


Evangelia, with Letters of Jerome, Eusebius, Fulk, etc. British Museum, Additional 34,890. Ker ML.

Liber Precum, miscellaneous devotional writings (partly in English). British Museum, Cotton Titus D.xxvi; xxvii. Ker ML.

Registrum Abbatiae de Hydra. Stowe Park "Ecclesiastica iii.32." Liber Monasterii de Hydra, p. lxxxvii.


Psalter (glossed in English). British Museum, Arundel 60. Ker ML.
Liber Vitae. (partly in English) British Museum, Stowe 944. Ker ML.

Twelfth Century


Date Uncertain

Symphosius. Aenigmata. Leland, De Scriptoribus Britanicis, 131; Collectanea, iv, 148.

Thirteenth Century


Fifteenth Century


Bermondsey Priory

Twelfth Century

Isidore. Sentences. British Museum, Royal 11 B.vii. Ker ML. Bears a press-mark of St. Alban's; may at one time have belonged to St. Alban's or Merton.
Waverley Abbey

Date Uncertain


Bede. Ad Vecteum de Aequinoctio. Leland, Collectanea, iv, 148.

Southwark Priory

Twelfth Century

Peter Comestor. British Museum, Egerton 272. Ker ML.

Isidore. Differentiae, excerpts from Etymology, Vita Dunstani, etc. Trinity College, Cambridge, 1134, fos. 1-128. Ker ML.

Isidore. Trinity College, Oxford, 31. Ker ML.

Merton Priory

Twelfth Century

Henry of Huntingdon. Lambeth Palace, London, 118. Ker ML. Probably served as the model for a number of copies.
Southwick Priory

Tenth Century


Eleventh Century

Royal Genealogy (English). British Museum, Additional 34,652, fol. 2. Ker ML. Formerly a part of Cotton Otho B.xi; possibly from St. Swithun's.


Twelfth Century

Augustine. Soliloquies, Alfred's translation; Book of Nicodemus, etc. (English). British Museum, Cotton Vit. A.xv, fos. 4-93. Ker ML.

Anselm, etc. St. John's College, Oxford, 158. Ker ML.


Date Uncertain


Henry of Huntingdon. Leland, Collectanea, iv, 148.

Christchurch, Twyneham

Twelfth of Thirteenth Century

Date Uncertain

Legal document permitting regular canons to inhabit the priory. Leland, Collectanea, iv, 149. "Stephanus permisit canonicis regularibus, ut in locum rex irregularium succederent."

Nunnaminster

Eighth Century

Liber precum. British Museum, Harley 2965. Ker ML.

Eleventh Century

Liber precum. (partly in English) British Museum, Cotton Galba A.xiv. Ker ML. Of questionable provenance. Bishop, p. 390: at least one folio may have been written by a Nunnaminster nun.

Calendar. British Museum, Cotton Nero A.ii, fos. 3-13. Ker ML.

Twelfth Century

Smaragdus. Diadema Monachorum, etc. Bodleian, Bodley 451. Ker ML.

Wherwell Abbey

Twelfth Century


Psalter. St. John's College, Cambridge, 68. Ker ML.
Romsey Abbey

Eleventh Century

Pontifical and Benedictional. British Museum, Additional 28,188. Bishop, p. 239. Calendar connects it with Romsey, although it probably belonged to Exeter. May be a copy of a Romsey book.

Books by Winchester Authors

King Alfred (849-901)
Gregory. Pastoral Care (English translation).
Gregory. Dialogues (English translation).
Bede. Ecclesiastical History (English translation).
Boethius. Consolation of Philosophy (English translation).
Orosius. Histories Against the Pagans (English translation).
Augustine. Soliloquies (English translation).

Lautfred (fl. 980)
De Miraculis Swithuni.
Liber de Fundatione Ecclesiae Wentanae.

Ethelwold (907-984)
Regularis Concordia.

Wulfstan (fl. 1000)
Life of Ethelwold in verse.
De Tonorum Harmonia.

Aelfric Bata (fl. 1005)
reissued Colloquy and Grammar of Aelfric Grammaticus.

Aelfric Grammaticus (fl. 1006)
Catholic Homilies.
De Temporibus.
Grammar (and Glossary).
Colloquy.
Lives of the Saints.
On the Old and New Testaments.
Life of Ethelwold.
Translations of the Bible.

Godfrey of Cambrai (d. 1107)
De Primatum Angliae Laudibus (short verses).
Various epigrams, Letters and short verse.
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