The Impact of the Norman Conquest on Christ Church Cathedral Priory and Worcester Cathedral Priory: A Survey Based on Library Holdings

Toruko Ishihara

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THE IMPACT OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST ON CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL PRIORY AND WORCESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY: A SURVEY BASED ON LIBRARY HOLDINGS

by

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Toruko Ishihara
Book collections reflect the intellectual climate of the period. This study examines the important area of intellectual life in the English church between 700 and 1130. It will show how the Norman Conquest affected the intellectual life of the Anglo-Saxons. I chose the libraries of Christ Church, Canterbury and Worcester Cathedral Priory for their large collections of surviving manuscripts.

The thesis first analyzes and compares the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest collections as a whole. This comparison shows slight, but important differences in the tastes of collecting between the two libraries. It also demonstrates the changes in the library holdings caused by the Norman Conquest.

In examining, the collections for individual materials, this thesis made further comparisons with the library contents of the monastery of Bec in order to show how the post-Conquest collections reflected the impact of the Normans in cultural life. It demonstrated how these library materials were used by looking at homiletic collections and their sources.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historiography

Contemporary scholars have made much progress in various fields in relation to the libraries of Anglo-Saxon England. For the general history of medieval libraries, James Westfall Thompson has written a book on libraries from early times to the late Middle Ages. This work has chapters not only for the Christian libraries, but also, as a comparison, for Jewish and Islamic libraries. He mentions that "any adequate history of the library during the Middle Ages must begin with a survey of the earlier Graeco-Latin institution." The reason for this is because the beginning of any medieval library came from possessing Greek and Latin texts which survived from the decline of Roman civilization.\(^1\) Thompson argues that Ireland and England contributed to the preservation of those texts.\(^2\) He also states that the intention of a monastic library was to help its monks stay away from idleness. Books were read and

\(^2\) Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 102.
manuscripts were produced so that monks were occupied. It seems that the beginning was somewhat passive in purpose, however, as one will see, the library became the source for ardent intellectual activity and for the salvation of monks and clergy or the learned. Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright have edited a book, exclusively on English libraries. Their eleven chapters consider various aspects of libraries and collections in England. They start from early monastic libraries and continue to the seventeenth century. They also examine the preservation and contents of a library. Helmut Gneuss, in his article “Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform,” put together previous researches on the English libraries and manuscripts. The author examines collections in some of the outstanding libraries in early England by utilizing primary sources, such as Bede and Aldhelm. Gneuss makes some remarks on each of the categories in typical medieval library catalogues; Bibles, liturgical manuscripts, patristic and other theological books, and Latin grammar and meter books. He also gives a brief summary of how books were obtained during the ninth and tenth centuries.

In terms of the identification of manuscripts in English libraries, Neil Ker took the initiative and has done the major researches. In this book, Ker organizes every kind of medieval library in alphabetical order, in which he divides by current location where each manuscript is preserved. With this as a basis, Helmut Gneuss published a list with more detailed titles for each manuscript produced or owned in Anglo-Saxon England. Richard Gameson published manuscript lists of the post-Conquest period up to 1130 in which he examines more than 900 surviving manuscripts. In his introduction, Gameson gives statistical information on the nature of book collecting in the eleventh century. He states that by the end of the eleventh century, there were less liturgical manuscripts copied than in the previous century, and instead, there were a growing number of theological manuscripts produced.

On the history of Christ Church, Canterbury, Nicholas Brooks establishes the groundwork for the study of the ecclesiastical history in the ninth and early tenth centuries since researches of this period had been scarce. This work deals with the Canterbury region as a whole, thus, it considers not only the church community, but

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also politics affecting the community. In this work, Brooks writes on the school, library and scriptorium at Christ Church, and lists the surviving manuscripts which were written there. Other work on the history of Christ Church has been done by Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks.

Whereas Brooks deals with the church only during the earlier period, these scholars examine the period down to post-Reformation England.

On the Worcester community, there is a series titled *The Victoria history of the counties of England.* For Worcestershire, there are four volumes of detailed surveys of various fields including its geography, economy and history. Also, Steven Bassett writes an article on Anglo-Saxon churches around the time of the conversion. In this article, the author starts from the very beginning to see the reason why Worcester became the seat of a bishop within the tribal kingdom of the Hwicce. Bassett argues that “there are grounds for thinking that the west Midlands was an area in which the Anglo-Saxons found Christianity already well established, with an organized church

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owing much to that of late Roman Britain."\textsuperscript{12} Then, for the later period in this thesis, Emma Mason has published \textit{St. Wulfstan of Worcester}.\textsuperscript{13} She examines the political and ecclesiastical situations during the lifetime of Wulfstan. This work is valuable especially to understand the Old English or Anglo-Saxon traditions since Wulfstan held the bishopric long after the Norman Conquest and tried hard to maintain those traditions.

\textbf{Purpose}

This thesis, "The Impact of the Norman Conquest on Christ Church Cathedral Priory and Worcester Cathedral Priory: A Survey Based on Library Holdings" will examine an important area of intellectual life in the English church between 700 and 1100. It will compare the contents of the libraries of Christ Church Canterbury and the Cathedral Priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Worcester. The comparison will be on multiple levels. Obviously, we will compare the content of one against the other, however, we can also observe changing tastes and intellectual climate by comparing each library during the Anglo-Saxon period and shortly after the Norman Conquest.

\textsuperscript{12} Bassett, "Churches in Worcester," p. 231.
These comparisons shall demonstrate what is typical about the collections and the differences of these two libraries' tastes in collecting. It will also show how the purpose of owning books changes as time goes on.

In order to illustrate the tastes of these libraries, I will, first, examine the history of Christ Church, Canterbury and of Worcester Cathedral Priory, as well as the general history of libraries in Britain. Then, I will list and analyze the titles of books in each of the libraries before and after the Conquest. The analysis of the collection of Christ Church Cathedral as a whole will show that Canterbury was a center for culture and education in England. It is possible to assume that Christ Church owned more texts that were very rare at that period than the library of Worcester Cathedral Priory owned since Canterbury is the primacy diocese. As we see in the pontifical which survived from Worcester Cathedral Priory in the early eleventh century, there is a phrase which shows the primacy of Canterbury. It goes, “Ego N. Wigornensis aecclesiae electus et a te venerande pater N sanctae cantuariensis archiepiscope et totius britanniae primas antistes consecrandus tibi et omnibus successoribus tuis canonice succedentibus canonicam obedientiam me seruaturum promitto.”

Therefore, it is possible to think that the collection of the library of Christ Church

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14 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146, f. 1r.
would have been somewhat different from the one in the Worcester Cathedral Priory. In the libraries of both Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory, there could have been more than a few vernacular texts, as England was well known for the Old English poems and sermons. After the Norman Conquest, the Christ Church library might have become more modernized, or more closely similar to those of the Continent than other Cathedral or monastic libraries in England since Lanfranc became the Archbishop of Canterbury. This would mean that it owned more texts for theology and education, for Lanfranc was a theologian and was the schoolmaster in the prestigious monastic school of Bec.

On the other hand, the examination of the post-Conquest collection of Worcester Cathedral Priory may illustrate slightly different taste than that of Christ Church in the same period because Wulfstan was the longest surviving Anglo-Saxon bishop in England after the Conquest. This fact may suggest that Worcester Cathedral Priory might have retained some of the old customs and traditions of the Anglo-Saxons, which may indicate cultural conservatism. I include manuscripts from the eighth century up to the twelfth century.
CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

General History of Libraries in the British Isles

It is natural to assume that Augustine brought necessary tools when Pope Gregory I sent him as the missionary to England in 597. Among those tools, Augustine would have brought some liturgical books with him in order to perform rituals. There might have been some theological books. St. Augustine would also have needed homiliaries and books to teach from for the purpose of education of priests. It is also said that the Pope sent some books, too.\(^\text{15}\) Thus, it can be said that these books from the Continent were the components of the earliest libraries in England. However, there might have been another factor for this “making of libraries.”

Ireland received missionaries earlier than England did. By the time of the Augustinian mission to England, Ireland could offer great education, enough to produce Sts. Columba and Columbanus, both of whom had excellent Latin and a deep knowledge of the Bible, which indicates Ireland already had a thorough system of education at this time. In the early 600’s, the Irish played a significant role in

\(^\text{15}\) Bede, *Ecclesiastical history*, p. 105.
converting Anglo-Saxons in northern England. These Irish missions would have transmitted some necessary texts to northern England, especially into Northumbria. The center for this mission was the monastery of Lindisfarne. After the Irish received missionaries from the Continent, they learned the new Christian or Latin culture. Therefore, when they helped Northumbria to be converted, there might have been some Irish elements, or Latin, but peculiar elements for Ireland. Helmut Gneuss mentions that some Irish elements can be traced in the Gospel Books produced in Northumbria. ¹⁶ Hence, we might be able to say that at the beginning of the English libraries, there were two factors among them: Continental and Irish.

One of the greatest contributors to the British libraries was Benedict Biscop in the seventh century.¹⁷ He was the founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. He traveled to Rome several times and brought back some books from there in order to establish a library. That the library of Wearmouth was one of the greatest ones in England would be proven when we consider many writings by Bede. If Benedict Biscop had not obtained this much success for his library, Bede would not have been as successful as he was since his writings are mainly based on the texts

which his library owned. Some of his writings are school texts, such as Latin grammars, and some others are commentaries on the Bible. For these commentaries, he would have referred to authentic texts such as patristic writings. This astonishing library instigated the establishment of smaller libraries in the region.

History of Canterbury

In the Roman period, Canterbury was called *Durovernum Cantiacorum*. As is well known, the mission of Augustine was supported by the Kentish king, Aethelberht, and therefore, was successful. Augustine established Christ Church around 602-3 by repairing a Roman church. The collection of books the church owned would have been a modest one at first, but it was gradually developed, and the period of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury in the late seventh century saw further growth. He was considered to be a great schoolmaster at the time, not only for theological learning, but also for secular learning such as medicine. There are famous *alumni* from his school, such as Tobias who became the bishop of Rochester, and Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne. Considering the political instability of Kent and the surrounding kingdoms, English people needed strong leadership to strengthen the educational institutions. Theodore ardently instructed the youth to give sufficient knowledge to be
clergy. Although no materials from the time of Theodore have survived, he must have brought some texts with him when he came from Rome as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Michael Lapidge investigates the possible textbooks of Theodore by examining glossaries.18 Lapidge claims that a text called the "Leiden Glossary" was copied at St. Gallen from an exemplar that originated in England around the time of Theodore and Hadrian in the late seventh century. In this glossary, the compiler draws upon Rufinus's translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius, Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae*, Isidore's *De rerum natura*, and other materials.19 This may suggest that these texts existed and were used at a library in England where this Glossary was compiled.

Then, a question should be addressed on where this Glossary could have originated. There are good reasons that Lapidge relates this Glossary to the hand at Canterbury around the time of Theodore and Hadrian. Several of the Glossary entries have the explanation, "Theodore said so" or "Hadrian says..."20 Also, the texts traced in this Glossary were well studied by Aldhelm. This suggests that the exemplar was

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written either by Theodore and Hadrian, or by one of the students at the school.

Another study on the possible texts in this school was done by Nicholas Brooks. He uses Aldhelm's extensive letters on the school curriculum while he was studying at Canterbury. Brooks mentions many subjects such as grammar, poetry, laws and astrology.21 This would lead one to assume that there were texts available at Christ Church when Aldhelm studied these subjects under Theodore. With this evidence, one can safely presume certain books, which Theodore might have brought along with him. For the excellent knowledge of composing poetry, there must have been plenty of texts of classical authors to learn the proper usage of words along with rhythm and meters. In terms of the study of law, Lapidge indicates the works by Theodore, iudicia, or canones Theodori, contain some excerpts from Justinian's Corpus iuris civilis.22 This would have served as the textbook for the learning of law. Also, Theodore taught Greek as Bede testifies that Theodore's students were as fluent in Greek as if they were native speakers.23 Then, he would have brought some writings by the Greek Church Fathers, too. Another attractive point of his education is his excellent teaching

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on the Bible. This would naturally have drawn attention and respect from students since learning various subjects was originally undertaken to understand the Bible better. According to Brooks, there are some texts, which represent Theodore’s commentary on the Bible.\textsuperscript{24} Also, from the article by Lapidge where he examines glossaries, one can find many glosses on Scripture in the \textit{Leiden Glossary}.\textsuperscript{25} These would be among the evidence that Theodore was a great schoolmaster, thus would prove that Canterbury had a great library.

Furthermore, since the see of Canterbury had a strong connection with or support from the Pope, it had powerful status within England. This could have made the library of Canterbury special, and thus it would have had more opportunities to obtain rare texts.

When the Vikings pillaged England, many books were destroyed, and therefore it is not an easy task to identify what kind of books each library owned. Furthermore no medieval catalogues are available from the Anglo-Saxon period. They exist or were preserved only after the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{26} However, there are some Anglo-Saxon booklists that survive. Michael Lapidge collects and comments on these booklists.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[25] Lapidge, “The School,” p. 54.
\item[27] Michael Lapidge, “Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,” in \textit{Anglo-Saxon}
\end{footnotes}
There is one booklist from mid-eleventh-century Worcester.\textsuperscript{28} Lapidge identifies the books listed in this list with surviving manuscripts.

Alcuin’s poem on the school of York is another type of these booklists.\textsuperscript{29} It is a sort of a book list which looks similar to the ones on the Continent. It is argued that there is a possibility that later cataloguers on the Continent followed the example of Alcuin.\textsuperscript{30} This poem can be interpreted as an ideal catalogue of books that only a few libraries could obtain, therefore, this might be just a model of an idealized library. Or, it can also be seen that it gives some general idea of the standard books or necessary books which most libraries owned. We can separate types of book in libraries into five major categories, which are Bibles, liturgical texts, theological texts, school texts or Latin grammar texts, and historical texts. However, in some catalogues, Bibles and liturgical books are not listed. This is partly because clerks and monks used these texts in the Cathedrals or in the chapels, therefore, they stored them within these buildings, not in the libraries. Also, it was partly because clergy regarded these texts as part of the sacred “mysteries,” thus, they were listed with other sacred relics and so

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\textsuperscript{28} Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367.
\textsuperscript{29} Lapidge, “Surviving Booklists,” pp. 105-112.
\end{flushright}
on. The list in this chapter follows this categorization.

Availability of education at Canterbury Cathedral was high, and by the early seventh century, the Cathedral dispatched teachers to other places for the establishment of new schools. It is said that the educational level of the clergy dropped before the Viking raids in the ninth century. It was already in decline when Alfred became the King of Wessex as he grieves in his preface to his translation of the Pastoral Care.

Since the monasteries and churches were wealthy from the endowments by local nobility, they were the best targets for pillage by the Vikings. Devastation after devastation led clerics and monks away from the institutions, after which they began to ignore the custom of celibacy. The morals of churchmen declined. Moreover, schools, which were attached to monasteries or churches, were also devastated. Books were either taken away as booty or destroyed, and thus there were not enough materials for education. Therefore, reform was necessary to put everything back into its original state of ecclesiastical institutions. Many books had to be brought from

overseas because of the destruction. At this point, some new books were introduced into England for the first time from the Continent, such as Hrabanus Maurus, Remigius of Auxerre and Smaragdus.\textsuperscript{33} With much effort of the leading figures in the tenth century, Dunstan, Aethelwold and Oswald, learning was gradually enhanced by the translation of Latin texts into Old English.

Another result of the monastic reform in the tenth century is that the \textit{Regularis Concordia} was composed. This was a regulation for monks in England and was based on the \textit{Rule} of St. Benedict. However, there are some characteristics in this \textit{Regularis Concordia}, which are not to be observed in the previous \textit{Rule}. The \textit{Rule} was modified in the way that suited the monastic life in England. One of the differences is that the \textit{Regularis Concordia} especially stresses the importance of the royal family. Because of the reform, ecclesiastical institutions were in better morale and ensured the old customs, such as devotional readings. In this circumstance, one can assume that more books were needed for this reading purpose.

When Lanfranc was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury after the Norman Conquest, he drew up the \textit{Monastic Constitutions} to introduce Continental practice of monastic life. This \textit{Constitutions} is said to be based on customs of Bec, where

Lanfranc was the prior, and of Cluny; David Knowles mentions that there is no reflection of the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon document, the *Regularis Concordia*.\(^{34}\) In the *Monastic Constitutions*, Lanfranc regulates that monks should dedicate more times for readings than St. Benedict directed in his *Rule*.\(^ {35}\) Even so, however, Lanfranc directs his monks that they should read the book, which was given to them at the beginning of Lent, then should return it next year. If a monk could not finish the assigned book in time, he should confess his laziness. Lanfranc does not force his monk to read more than a single book in a year, and even if they can not finish, he does not punish them.\(^ {36}\) His *Constitutions* were accepted by several monasteries in England.

### History of Worcester

Worcester was one of the Roman *civitates*, but the history of the see of Worcester does not begin until 691. It was only a small diocese until it was described as "the metropolis or capital of the Hwicce" in the middle of the eighth century.\(^ {37}\) It is

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possible that, when Gregory sent the missionaries, he intended to reestablish the
Roman ecclesiastical layout, planning that two archbishops would consecrate and
preside over twelve bishops each, which would make twenty-six bishops in total.\textsuperscript{38}

When Theodore of Tarsus became archbishop in 668, the goal of Gregory had not yet
been realized. During his archiepiscopate, he worked on creating other sees in the
middle Saxon regions by dividing the diocese of Lichfield.\textsuperscript{39} The Cathedral Priory of
the Blessed Virgin Mary at Worcester was completed in 983 since the previous church
of St. Peter was not big enough for the community at the time of Oswald from 961 to
992. During the reform in the tenth century, all secular clergy at the cathedral were
replaced by Benedictine monks because they did not fulfill the standard of monastic
rules.

Oswald, Ealdwulf (992-1002) and Wulfstan, bishop of London (1002-23) held
the see of Worcester and the archbishopric of York jointly. The justification for this
double occupancy was that, by holding the rich diocese of Worcester, the poor diocese
of York could be supported, or these bishops would remain loyal to the English Kings,
and not submit themselves to the Danish kings.\textsuperscript{40} This would suggest that Worcester

\textsuperscript{40} Mason, \textit{St. Wulfstan of Worcester}, p. 22.
was very rich to support both of the dioceses.

Wulfstan II in his youth was trained in Peterborough from about 1017, which was still one of a few reformed Benedictine monasteries. He became so disciplined that he led an austere life for the rest of his life. When he was second in seniority within the Worcester community, he required from the members of the community the strict observance of the Benedictine rule.\footnote{Mason, \textit{St. Wulfstan of Worcester}, p. 62.} Since the devotional reading was one of the important elements in the monastic rules, enforcing of the rules by Wulfstan would suggest that the monks would spend more time in reading, which resulted in the necessity of more books in their library.

As we have seen, Lanfranc brought the idea of Continental monastic rules into English monasteries. Wulfstan II cooperated with this reform by the Norman monk although he tried to preserve old traditions of England in other matters.\footnote{Mason, \textit{St. Wulfstan of Worcester}, p. 116.}

Wulfstan II sent one of the young Worcester monks to Christ Church in order to let him learn the Continental monastic style and have him teach those newly imported customs at Worcester.\footnote{Ann Williams, \textit{The English and the Norman Conquest} (New York: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 149.} By sending a monk to Canterbury, Wulfstan showed willingness to adapt to the new situation in England. The monk learned strict
observance of monastic rules and higher education. In order to carry out the new system of education which the monk learned at Christ Church, he must have brought some texts which were either lacking in the library, or becoming old and worn out.

This monk was Nicholas and was one of the close disciples of Wulfstan. He became the prior of Worcester Cathedral Priory during the period 1116 to 1124. Since Nicholas spent some time at Christ Church, he came to know Eadmer, who was a monk there and a famous historian at that time. Nicholas is said to be the one who requested Eadmer to write the *Vita Oswaldi*.

On the other hand, Wulfstan was eager to preserve traditional English customs in the monastic community. Emma Mason talks about an episode of Wulfstan that he tried to spend more time to help people and put this as his priority rather than committing himself as a bishop. She remarks that this episode might suggest the contrast between “slick practices of the secular clerks after the Norman Conquest,” and showing Old English values.

Wulfstan called for nearby houses to establish an Anglo-Saxon confederation so that it would be stronger as a group for the preservation of Anglo-Saxon virtues.

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44 Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester*, p. 117.
against the new arriving forces. They especially worshipped the Virgin Mary and St. Benedict as they were Benedictine monks. Their worship was also directed toward the king and queen just like the Regularis Concordia indicated in the tenth century.\textsuperscript{48} Not only did they revere saints and the royal family, but also they respected their companions, English monks, within their communities. Whenever one of the monks in the confederation died, the rest of the monks would pray for his soul.

From these points, we might be able to say that Worcester was at the forefront of the preservation of Anglo-Saxon traditions, whereas Canterbury was in the vanguard of adopting Continental practices. Thus, it is likely that there would have been some regional differences between Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory in the taste of collecting books.

Another possible reason to see some regional differences between Canterbury and Worcester is that, at the time of conversion, the former was the center for the Roman style, whereas at Worcester, there was strong influence by the Northumbrians, which means that one can observe Irish style.\textsuperscript{49} After the monastic reform in the tenth century, Canterbury still observed Roman style for its liturgy although other

\textsuperscript{48} Mason, \textit{St. Wulfstan of Worcester}, pp. 197-200.
\textsuperscript{49} Mason, \textit{St. Wulfstan of Worcester}, p. 9.
reformed houses in England followed Gallican style. This would mean that Canterbury and Worcester contained different liturgical texts.

When William, the Duke of Normandy came to England as the Conqueror, he brought several Continental elements. With him, Lanfranc, the advisor of the Conqueror arrived. He brought many secular clerks to England as bishops. One of such bishops was Robert of Lotharingia. He was bishop of Hereford from 1079 to 1095 and a superior scholar of the Continent. He introduced Continental scientific learning into England. Wulfstan obtained one of the Worcester copies of Marianus Scotus from him. Thereafter, Wulfstan found the importance of recording local history; thus Worcester became a major site for this historical writing. The catalogue that I shall attach at the end of this chapter lists this text for post-Conquest Worcester, but it is not listed in the Canterbury library during the same period.

We have seen that the two libraries developed along different lines; as an archiepiscopal see, Canterbury was obviously older and rich, and had more access to books. Yet, both Cathedral Priories developed strong libraries as we shall see in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER III

COMPARISON OF THE LIBRARY HOLDINGS

The Libraries of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Worcester Cathedral Priory Before the Norman Conquest

On the basis of works in these two libraries, I should like to examine regional differences and changing tastes in collecting texts. I would first like to study the collection as a whole in these libraries.

At first, we shall begin from the earlier collections in both of the libraries. When one looks at the list from Christ Church (see below), one will notice that there are several copies of Gospel books. At an office, a part from the Gospel was read, therefore, in order for the monks to read there were several copies. Also, Bibles and Gospels are the important texts for monks and clergy, therefore, they would have felt the necessity of having the up-dated copies of these texts, in terms of script and decoration. However, when we look at the list from Worcester Cathedral Priory, we do not find as many copies of the Gospels as Christ Church owned. Another significant point is that there was a complete Bible in Christ Church, which is now

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preserved in the British Library.\textsuperscript{52} This Bible has two volumes and was written in the late tenth century. Gneuss writes that "complete bibles are rare and remain so throughout the Anglo-Saxon period."\textsuperscript{53} It was not necessary to own the complete Bible in any churches or monasteries as long as they owned copies of each section. The fact that Christ Church owned the complete Bible will also prove that Christ Church was in a special position as the seat of the Archbishop and was a wealthy diocese.

The Worcester library may have acquired one of the three "Ceolfrith Bibles" that had been made at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the early eighth century. Several leaves of such a Bible have survived; they include the "Middleton Leaves" and two other leaves.\textsuperscript{54} The script and layout of these leaves match those of the Codex Amiatinus, the one complete surviving pandect of the three that Ceolfrith commissioned. It is therefore very likely that the fragmentary leaves come from one of Ceolfrith's Bibles. As fragments of a Worcester cartulary were discovered with the Middleton Leaves, scholars believe that this Ceolfrith Bible must have migrated to Worcester; it may have been presented to Worcester Cathedral by King Offa of Mercia. The fact that the

\textsuperscript{52} London, BL Royal. I.E.vii and I.E.viii
library of Worcester Cathedral Priory owned this manuscript would signify the wealth and importance of this see in England.

Another interesting item from the collection of Worcester is that it owned a few apocryphal writings, such as the *Book of Enoch* and *Gospel of Nicodemus*. According to Gneuss, this manuscript was written on the Continent, but by the middle of the tenth century, it was imported to Worcester.\footnote{Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of manuscripts and Manuscript Fragment Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), pp. 80-81.} Although it might be mere luck, we do not find any apocryphal texts in Christ Church.

When we look at the list from Worcester Cathedral Priory, there survives only a single copy of a commentary on Psalms from the tenth century. The Priory must have owned at least a few copies of Psalters and Gospel books. They might have been worn out through extensive use by this time since Psalters were chanted during the everyday Office, and were also used to learn Latin. As we shall see later, one will find more copies of Psalters in the later collection. This may also suggest that earlier copies of Psalters were worn out and therefore, more copies needed to be supplied to the library.

Cassiodorus claims in his *Introduction to divine and human readings*, that one
needs to read and study certain books in order to understand the Divine Scripture. He therefore introduces writings of Christian fathers and authors of ecclesiastical history. He writes “introductory books... are extremely useful, since through them one learns the indicated origin of both the salvation of the soul and secular knowledge.”56 Also, he says “may your library possess a copy of this work, ...may the parts of the work be distributed so that the curiosity of the brothers may be satisfied.”57 Therefore, this book became the guideline and it was influential on the Continental libraries.58 It was brought to England sometime later and by the twelfth century, the monastic orders established libraries according to the guidelines by him.59 When we look at the list of books, we find Cassiodorus’s book in Christ Church, Canterbury after the Conquest. However, we do not find one at the Worcester library.

However, there are some similarities, too. In both of the libraries, there are not many theological texts, especially those of Latin Doctors before the Norman Conquest. Only after the Conquest, more than a few copies of Latin Doctors were

57 Cassiodorus, An Introduction, p. 84.
obtained. For instance, before the Conquest in Canterbury, there are some texts by St. Augustine or by Gregory the Great, but not by Jerome or Ambrose, whereas there are books by Jerome and Ambrose in the post-Conquest library. In Worcester, the case is similar. There are a few copies of Gregory the Great, of St. Augustine and of Isidore of Seville before the Conquest. On the other hand, one can see that, after the Conquest, there are more of those authors as well as others, namely Jerome and Ambrose. According to Nicholas Brooks, the library of Canterbury Cathedral intended to educate its monks in liturgy so that it could raise humble Benedictine monks, and was not intended to serve for their intellectual desire.\textsuperscript{60}

In Worcester, there are more law books in its collections. We see canonical texts and charters. This might be the reflection of Wulfstan II's influence. He knew the importance of recording the rights of the Worcester diocese. On the other hand, in Christ Church, there were only the basic church laws, such as the \textit{Rule of Benedict}, or \textit{Regularis Concordia}. In Christ Church, there are the law codes of Ine and Alfred. This is interesting since it can be said that the clergy there was interested in secular laws. This may reflect the importance of the Archbishop, who often served as a royal counselor.

\textsuperscript{60} Brooks, “The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Community,” p. 28.
The list below has been made based on N. R. Ker’s *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, and Helmut Gneuss’s *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*. Ker’s catalogue is organized by libraries in the Middle Ages, with the entries for individual libraries subdivided into the places where the manuscripts are currently preserved. Gneuss’s *Handlist* contains manuscripts up to 1100 as the title shows. Therefore, my list for the pre-Conquest libraries is mainly based on his *Handlist*. Since these dates are tentative and it is difficult to date the exact year, there are some question marks at the end of provenance. As for the dating system, I followed the general rules which are used in three of the catalogues. For example, ‘xi\(^2\)’ and ‘xi ex.’ are slightly different. Whereas the former signifies the last half of the eleventh century, the latter signifies the end of the eleventh century. For the texts written in Old English, I put ‘*’ at the beginning of the title, and ‘+’ means that the text has Old English gloss.

**Surviving Manuscripts from the Pre-Conquest Library of Christ Church, Canterbury**

**Bibles**

Bible (s. x ex.): London, BL Royal 1.E. vii, 1. E. viii

Gospels (s. viii): Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 570

Gospels (s. viii med.): Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A.135
Gospels (s. viii ex.): Paris, BNF, lat. 281 and 298?
Gospels (s. ix): London, Lambeth Palace Library 1370
Gospels (s. ix/x or x in.): London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.ii
Gospels (s. x): New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M869
Gospels (s. xi): London, BL Royal 1.D.ix

Liturgical texts
Antiphoner (s. xi in. or xi\textsuperscript{1}): London, BL Burney 277
Benedictional (s. xi\textsuperscript{2/4}): London, BL Harley 2892
Calendar (f) (s. xi): Paris, BNF lat. 10062
Hymnal (s. xi\textsuperscript{2/4}): Durham Cathedral Library, B.III.32
Offices of Sts. Benedict, Cuthbert and Guthlac (s. x/xi): London, BL Harley 1117
Pontifical (s. xi\textsuperscript{2/4} or xi med.): London, BL Cotton Claudius A.iii
Psalter (Utrecht Psalter) (s. xi): Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 32
Psalter (Bosworth Psalter) (s. x): London, BL Additional 37517
Psalter (1012-1023): London, BL Arundel 155
Psalter (Bury Psalter) (s. xi in.): Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.12
Psalter (s. xi in.): London, BL Harley 603
Psalter (s. x/xi or xi in.): Cambridge, University Library, Ff.1.23?
+Psalter (s. xi): London, BL Royal 2.B.v
Troper (s. xi in.): London, BL Harley 3020

Theological texts
Church Fathers
St. Augustine

\textit{Enchiridion} (s. xi in.): Cambridge, Pembroke College, 41

Gregory the Great

\textit{Dialogi} (parts) (s. x ex.): Rouen, Bibliothèques Municipale 506 (A.337)?
\textit{Dialogi} (s. xi\textsuperscript{1}): London, Lambeth Palace Library, 204?
\textit{Cura pastoralis} (s. x ex.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 708 (2609)

Isidore of Seville

\textit{Questiones in Vetus Testamentum} (s. x ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.4.27 (141)

\textit{Synonyma} (s. x ex.): London, BL Harley 110

Others

Adalbert of Metz
Speculum Gregorii (s. x ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.4.27

Julian of Toledo

Prognosticon futuri saeculi (s. x/xi): London, BL Royal 12.C.xxiii

Prosper

Epigrammata (s. x ex.): London, BL Harley 110
(s. x/xi): Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.31 (1135)

School texts

Ælfric

Grammar (s. xi¹ or xi med.): Durham Cathedral Library, B.III.32

Aldhelm

De laude virginitatis (prose) (s. x): London, BL Royal 6.A.vi
(s. x/xi): London, BL Royal 5.E.xi
(s. x/xi): Cambridge, CCC 326

De laude virginitatis (verse) (s. x/xi): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 577 (27645)

Epistola ad Heahfridum (s. x in. or x¹): London, BL Cotton Domitian ix

Arator

Historia apostolica (s. x/xi): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.14.3 (289)

Bede

De die iudicii (s. x/xi): Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.31 (1135)

De arte metrica (s. x ex.): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.5

De schematibus et tropis (s. x ex.): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.5

Boethius

De consolatione philosophiae (s. x/xi): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F.1.15 (2455)
(s. x ex.): Paris, BNF, lat.6401 A

Eusebius and Tatwine

Aenigmata (s. x/xi): London, BL Royal 12.C.xxiii

Juvenecus

Libri Evangeliorum (s. x ex.-xi in.): Paris, Bibliothèques Sainte-Geneviève 2410

Prudentius

Dittochaeon (s. x/xi): Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.31 (1135)
(s. x ex.): Oxford, Oriel College 3

Psychomachia (s. x/xi): London, BL Cotton Cleopatra C.viii
+Peristephanon, etc (s. x ex.): Oxford, Oriel College 3
Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèques Municipale 189

*Cathekrinon* (s. x ex.): Oxford, Oriel College 3

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèques Municipale 189

*Contra Symmachum* (s. x ex.): Oxford, Oriel College 3

Sedulius

*Carmen Paschale* (s. viii): Cambridge, CCC 173

(s. x): London, BL Royal 15.B.xxix

Symphosius (s. x/xi): London, BL Royal 12.C.xxiii

**Historical Texts**

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

A-S-C (A) (s. ix ex.): Cambridge, CCC 173

A-S-C (B) (s. x): London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.vi

**Hagiographical Texts**

Bede

*Vitae S. Cuthberti* (s. xi): London, BL Harley 1117

Eight lives of Saints (s. x/xi): London, BL Harley 3020

Frithegod

*Breviloquium vitae Wilfredi* (s.x/xi): Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèques Municipale 189

Sulpicius Severus

*Vita S. Martini* (s. x/xi): London, BL Additional 40074 ?

**Law**

*Collectio canonum hibernensis* (s. x/xi): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42 (4117)

*Laws of Alfred and Ine*, etc. (s. ix ex.): Cambridge, CCC 173

**Rules and customaries**

+*Regula S. Benedicti* (s. x/xi): Cambridge, CCC 57 ?

+*Regularis concordia* (s. xi med.): London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii

+Rule of St. Benedict (s. xi med.): London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii

*Regularis concordia* (s. xi med.): London, BL Cotton Faustina B.iii

**Others**

Homilies (most by Ælfric) (s. xi med.): Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.34
Musica Enchiriadis (s. x ex.): Cambridge, CCC 260
Old English poetry

Genesis A and B, Exodus, Daniel (s. x/xi): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11 (?)

Records and writs (by 924-939): London, BL Cotton Tiberius B.iv
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370

Smaragdus

Diadema monachorum (s. x ex.): Cambridge, University Library Ff.4.43
Collection of letters to archbishops (s. xi in.): London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.xv

Surviving manuscripts from the Pre-Conquest Library of Worcester Cathedral Priory

Bible

Ceolfrith pandect (s. viii): London, BL Additional 37777
Gospels (s. viii ex. or ix in.): Worcester Cathedral Library, Add.l

Liturgical Texts

Amalarius

Liber Officialis (s. x/xi): London, BL Cotton Vespasian D.xv
Benefictional (s. x/xi): London, BL Cotton Claudius A.iii ?
Liturgical texts (s. x med.): London, BL Royal 2.A.xx
Office legendary (s. xi3/4): Cambridge, CCC 9 + London, BL Cotton Nero E.i
Pontifical (s. x/xi): London, BL Cotton Claudius A.iii ?
   (s. xi in.): Cambridge, CCC 146
+Prayerbook (s. viii2 or ix1/4): London, BL Royal 2.A.xx ?
Sacramentary (s. xi med.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 93 (4081)

Ecclesiastical Handbooks

A version of Wulfstan’s ‘Handbook’

*Institutes of Polity, Laws; Aethelstan I, Eadmund I, Eadgar III, etc.
canon collection, etc. (1003-1023): London, BL Cotton Nero A.i

A version of Wulfstan’s ‘Handbook’

Poenitentiale Egberti, Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection, other penitentials, capitularies, Handbook for confessors, etc. (s. xi med.-xi3/4): Cambridge,
CCC 265
Penitential texts (s. xi med.): Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc.482

Theological Texts

Church Fathers

Gregory the Great

*Pastoral care (s. x): Cambridge, CCC 12

*Pastoral care (s. ix ex.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20

*Dialogi (s. xi): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76

Homiliae in Evangelia (s. xi): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.21

Isidore of Seville

Sententiae (s. viii): Worcester Cathedral Library, Add.5

Jerome

In Evangelium Matthaei (f) (s. viii): Worcester Cathedral, Add.2

Others

Alcuin

Epistolae (s. xi in.): London, BL Cotton Vespasian A.xiv

Caesarius of Arles

In Apocalypsin (s. x): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 30

Commentary in Psalms 109-149 (s. x): London, BL Royal 4.A.xiv

Paschasius Radbertus

De corpore et sanguine domini (s. x ex.): London, BL Royal 8.B.xi

Paterius

De expositione Veteris et Novi Testamenti (s. viii): Worcester Cathedral Library, Add.4

Prosper

Versus ad coniugem (s. x): Cambridge, CCC 448

Smaragdus

Expositio libri comitis (s. x 3/4): Worcester Cathedral Library, F.91

Theodulf of Orleans (part of Wulfstan’s ‘Handbook’)

Capitula (s. xi med.-xi 3/4): Cambridge, CCC 265

School Texts

Aldhelm

De virginitate (prose) (s. ix ex.): London, BL, Royal 5.F.iii

Boethius

De consolatione Philosophiae (s. x): El Escorial, Real Biblioteca E.II.1
Ovid
Metamorphoses (s. x/ix): Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.1671

Prudentius
Dittochaeon (s. xii): Cambridge, CCC 448 (?)

Virgil
Aeneid (s. x/ix): Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.lat.1671

Historical Texts
* Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s. x in med.): London, BL Cotton Tiberius B.iv ?
Bede
Historia ecclesiastica (s. x/ix or xi 1): London, BL Royal 13.C.v ?
Eusebius (Rufinus)
Historia ecclesiastica (s. xi): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.28

Hagiographical Texts
Three lives from Vitas patrum (s. xi med.): London, BL Cotton Otho C.i, vol.ii
Collection of texts from Vitas patrum (s. xi med.): Worcester Cathedral Library, F.48
Felix
Vita S. Guthlaci (s. x in.): Cambridge, CCC 307 ?
(s. x med.): London, BL Royal 13.A.xi
John the Deacon
Vita S. Gregorii (s. x in.): London, BL Royal 6.A.vii

Law
Canonical texts (s. x in.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42
Collectio canonum hibernensis (s. x in.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42

Rules and customaries
Regula S. Benedicti (s. viii): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48
*Regula S. Benedicti (with Latin) (s. xi 1): Cambridge, CCC 178

Medical texts
Pseudo-Dioscorides
Liber medicinae (s. xi med.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76
Pseudo-Apuleius  
*Herbarium (s. xi med.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76*  

Sextus Placitus  
*Medicina de quadrupedibus (s. xi med.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76*  

**Others**  
Ælfric  
*Three homilies (s. xi): London, BL Cotton Otho C.i, vol.ii*  
*Admonitio (s. xi): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76*  
*Homilies (s. xi in.): Cambridge, CCC 178*  

Aethicus  
*Cosmographia (s. x/xi): London, BL Cotton Vespasian B.x*  
*Letters of Bonifatius to Eadburg (s. xi in.): London, BL Cotton Otho C.i, vol. ii*  
*Recipes (s. xi in.): London, BL Harley 55*  

Statius  
*Thebais (f.) (s. x/xi): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.8*  

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The Libraries of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Worcester Cathedral Priory After the Norman Conquest  

When Lanfranc became the archbishop of Canterbury, the library there was not as up-to-date as those of the Continent. Lanfranc’s school at the monastery of Bec was so famous and prestigious that he must have felt the urgent necessity of supplying books for the education of the Canterbury monks. Therefore, he imported some texts from the monastery of Bec. To begin with, he asked for Gregory the
Great's *Moralia in Job*, and some works by Ambrose and Jerome. Furthermore, we find more collections of theological texts than there used to be in the earlier collection. As I have mentioned in the second chapter, there were only a few works by Augustine. Cambridge, University Library MS Kk. 1.23 is very important manuscript in this sense. This manuscript was produced in the late eleventh century and belonged to the library of Christ Church, Canterbury. It contains seven of Augustine's works such as *De excidio urbis Romae*, *De fide ac symbolo*, and *De utilitate credendi*. This manuscript is the only English surviving manuscript which contains the former two texts. The third work, *De utilitate credendi*, is contained in two surviving manuscripts, including this collection. This would suggest how few the patristic texts were in the pre-Conquest libraries, thus implies more copies were needed. The fact that this collection is the only English surviving manuscript would obviously suggest that Lanfranc took the lead of this activity and strengthened the field of theology at Christ Church. Furthermore, the theological collection was expanded not simply with more patristic authors, but also with other medieval scholars, such as Defensor, Caesarius of Arles, and so on.

Now when we take a look at the category of rules and customaries, there is the

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Rule of St. Chrodegang in the library of Christ Church. Chrodegang was one of the Carolingian bishops, who wrote the first rule for canons. It directs clergy to teach more Catholic doctrines for the people. This rule is a reflection of the Carolingian reforms, which flourished under Charlemagne in order to enhance the intellectual level of people, since Frankish libraries undertook to store more royal and ecclesiastical books, which were intended to provide the instruction for administration and moral guidance. The Regula Canonicorum that Christ Church owned was written both in Latin and in Old English. This text probably was introduced to promote more intensive preaching by its clergy, however, it was written in Old English so that clergy might feel more familiarity with the rule.

In Worcester library, there were copies of Penitentials. Penitentials were used within the scope of services by bishops and priests to help in the sacrament of Confession. Possessing more than a few copies of these texts might signify that there was some emphasis on pastoral care. Then, one may be able to say that preaching was more intensively spread in Worcester since preaching is part of pastoral care.

From the collection of historical texts, we see Eusebius’s Historia Ecclesiastica,

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Flavius Josephus and Paulus Orosius’s *Historiae adversus paganos*. These three works were recommended in the writing of Cassiodorus.\(^6^4\) He stresses the importance of reading these historical works since they describe not only political history, but also the events related to Christianity. As we turn to the list, to be sure, we find these books in the post-Conquest collection at Christ Church whereas there was not listed any of these above works earlier. It is possible to say that the influence of Cassiodorus reached England through the Conquest. However, the list from the post-Conquest Worcester library does not mention any of the three works, although there was Eusebius in the earlier collection. We cannot be sure about why Worcester Cathedral Priory owned Eusebius, but yet, we may be able to say that they knew this text through other commentaries which were imported during the tenth century monastic reform.

The following list is based mainly on Richard Gameson’s *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*. Gameson’s catalogue ranges from 1066 to 1130. Thus, I referred to his lists for the titles after the Conquest.

Surviving Post-Conquest Additions to the Christ Church Library, to ca. 1130

Bibles
Gospel of St. John (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College B.4.2

Liturgical texts
Benedictional (s. xi ex.): Dublin, Trinity College 98 (B.3.6)
Gradual (s. xi ex.): Durham, University Library, Cosin V.v.6
Calendar (s. xi/xii): London, BL Royal 12.D.iv
Necrology (s. xi/xii): London, BL Cotton Nero C.ix
Passional (s. xii in.-xii1): Canterbury Cathedral, Lit.E.42
London, BL Cotton Nero C.vii
London, BL Harley 624
(s. xii1-2/4): London, BL Cotton Othon D.viii
Pontifical (s. xi ex.): Dublin, Trinity College 98 (B.3.6)
Psalter
(with commentary by Cassiodorus) (s. xi med. or xi2): Cambridge, CCC 272?

Ecclesiastical Handbooks
*Computistica (s. xi2): London, BL Cotton Caligula A.xv
Helperic of Auxerre
De computo (s. xi/xii): London, BL Royal 12.D.iv

Theological texts
Church Fathers
St. Ambrose
In Evangelium Lucae (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College B.3.9 (88)
Hexameron, etc. (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, University Library Kk. 1. 23, fols. 1-66
De fide (s. xi ex.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 827 (2718)
St. Augustine
In Evangelium Johannis (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.4.2 (116)
In Psalmos I-L, CI-CL (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.5.28 (174)
Fragment, (s. xi/xii): Tokyo, Collection of Professor Toshiyuki Takamiya
Confessiones (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College B.3.25 (104)
Contra mendacium (s. xi ex.): London, BL Harley 5915
De adulterinis coniugiis, etc (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College B.3.33 (112)
De excidio urbis Romae, etc. (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, University Library Kk. 1. 23

Gregory the Great
Homiliae in Ezechielem (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, University Library Ff. 3.9
(s. xii in.) Windsor, St. George’s Chapel, 5
Moralia bks. 17-35 (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College B.4.9 (123)
Registrum epistolarum (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, University Library Li. 3. 33, fols. 1-194

Isidore of Seville
Etymologiae (s. xii¹): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.misc.b.17
Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum (s. xii in.): Cambridge, University Library, Ff.3.39

St. Jerome
In Danielem (s. xi/xii): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 385
In Isaiam, bks.11-18 (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College B.5.24 (170)
In Prophetas (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College B.3.5 (84)

Others
Anselm
Monologion, etc.(s. xii¹): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 271

Bede
In Actus Apostolorum (s. xii¹): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 160
In Evangelium Lucae expositio (s. xii¹-²⁴): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.2.3
In Apocalypsin (s. xi/xii): Oxford, St. John’s College 89

Berengaudus
In Apocalypsin (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College B.1.16 (15)

Caesarius of Arles
Expositio in Apocalypsin (s. xi/xii): Oxford, St. John’s College, 128

Defensor
+Liber scintillarum (s. xi/xii): London, BL Royal 7.C.iv ?

Florus Lugdunensis
Expositio in epistolas beati Pauli ex operibus S. Augustini collecta (s. xi/xii):
Cambridge, Trinity College, B.4.9 with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 317

Haymo of Auxerre
In canticum canticorum (incomplete) (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College B.1.16 (15)

Ivo of Chartres
Decretum (s. xii\(^1\)): Cambridge, CCC 19

John Chrysostom
De cruce, etc. (s. xii\(^1\)): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.2.36

Pseudo-Jerome
De tribus virtutibus (s. xii in.): Cambridge, University Library, Dd.2.7
Interpretatio alphabeti Hebraeorum, etc. (s. xii\(^1\)): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.2.34

Richard of Préaux
In Genesim (s. xii in.): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.3.14
London, Lambeth Palace, 62

School texts
Boethius
De musica (s. xii\(^1\)): Cambridge, University Library, Ii.3.12

Macrobius
In somnium Scipionis (s. xii in.): London, Inner Temple, 511.10

Priscianus
Institutiones grammaticae (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2.1
De accentibus (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2.1

Solinus
Collectanea rerum memorabilium (s. xii\(^1\)): London, BL Cotton Vespasian B.xxv

Historical texts
*Annals (with Latin) (s. xii\(^2\)): London, BL Cotton Caligula A.xv
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle F (with Latin) (s. xi/xii): London, BL Cotton Domitian viii
Bede
Historia ecclesiastica (s. xii in.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 43
Chronicles (s. xii\(^1\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.misc.d.13
Eadmer
Historia novrorum in Anglia (s. xii in.): Cambridge, CCC 341
Historia novrorum in Anglia (s. xii in.): Cambridge, CCC 452
Eusebius (Rufinus)
Historia ecclesiastica (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, CCC 187
Eutropius
Breviarium historiae romanae ab urbe condita (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College, O.10.28
Flavius Josephus
De antiquitate iudaica (s. xii1): Cambridge, University Library, Dd.1.4
(s. xii in.): Cambridge, St. John’s College, A.8
‘Nennius’ (attrib.)
Historia Brittonum (s. xii1): London, BL Cotton Vespasian B.xxv
Paulus Orosius
Historiae adversus paganos (s. xii in.): Cambridge, Trinity College, O.4.34 (1264)
Victor of Vita
Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College, O.10.31

Hagiographical Texts
Eadmer (his personal manuscript)
Vita S. Dunstani, Vita Oswaldi, etc. (s. xii in.): Cambridge, CCC 371
Eadmer
Vita Anselmi (s. xii in.): Cambridge, CCC 341
Osborn
Vita S. Dunstani (s. xi/xii): London, BL Arundel 16

Law
Pseudo-Isidorus
Decreta pontificum (s. xii1): London, BL Cotton Claudius E.v.

Rules and customaries
*Rule of St. Chrodegang (with Latin)
Regula canoniconum (s. xi ex.): Canterbury, Cathedral Library and Archives, Add.20

Letters
St. Augustine
Epistolae (s. xi/xii): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.4.26 (140)
Anselm
Epistolae (s. xii 1-24): London, Lambeth Palace, 59
Collection of Lanfranc (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.16.44 (405)
Collection of letters (s. xii 1): London, BL Cotton Cleopatra E.i
Ivo of Chartres
Epistolae (s. xii 1): Canterbury Cathedral, Add. 127/15
St. Jerome
Epistolae (s. xi ex.): Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 2.7
Papal letters (s. xii): Cambridge, Trinity College, B.16.44 (405)

Others
Acts of the Council of London 1075. Cambridge, St. John’s College, 236 (L.9)
*Charters (with Lat.) (s. xi-xii in.): London, BL Cotton Tiberius A.ii
Domesday monachorum (s. xi/xii): Canterbury, Cathedral Library and Archives, Lit.E.28
Episcopal professions (s. xii 1): London, BL Cotton Cleopatra E.i
*Herbal (s. xi med.): London, BL Cotton Vitellius C.iii
Survey of lands in Kent (1072 × 1086): London, BL Cotton Augustus II.36

Surviving Post-Conquest Additions to the Worcester Cathedral Library, to ca. 1130

Liturgical texts
Amalarius
Liber Officialis (s. xi 2): Cambridge, CCC 265
Pontifical (s. xi 4/4): Cambridge, CCC 163

Ecclesiastical Handbooks
A version of Wulfstan’s ‘Handbook’
*Penitentials, *Handbook for a confessor, etc. (s. xi 2): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121
A version of Wulfstan’s ‘Handbook’
Calendar, Hymnal, Offices (s. xii 3/4): Cambridge, CCC 391

Theological texts
Church Fathers
St. Ambrose
Epistolae, De obitu Theodosii imperatoris (s. xii1): London, BL Royal 6.A.xvi

St. Augustine

Enchiridion (f.) (s. xi ex.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.th.d.33
De doctrina christiana (f) (s. xii1): London, BL Cotton Appendix 56
De natura et origine animae (s. xii1): London, BL Royal 5.A.xiii
In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus (s. xii2/4): London, BL Harley 3066

Gregory the Great

*Dialogi (s. xi2): Cambridge, CCC 322 (?)
(s. xi2): Cambridge, Clare College 30

In Ezechielem (s. xi/xii): London, BL Royal 6.A.vii
(s. xi2): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 223

Homiliae in Evangelia (s. xi/xii): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.21

Symbolum fidei (s. xii in.): London, BL Royal 6.C.vii

St. Jerome

In Prophetas minores (s. xii1): London, BL Royal 4.C.ii
Contra Vigiliantium (s. xii1-xii2/4): London, BL Royal 6.D.iii
Vita S. Pauli, etc. (s. xi ex.): Worcester Cathedral, F.48
In Psalms (s. xii1): Worcester Cathedral, F. 81

Others

Alcuin

De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis (f) (s. xi2): Cambridge, Clare College 30, part II

Anselm

De processione Spiritus Sancti (s. xii1): London, BL Royal 5.E.v

Defensor

Liber scintillarum, etc. (s. xi3/4): Cambridge, Clare College 30 part II

Fulgentius (Pseudo-Augustine)

De fide Trinitatis (s. xii in.): London, BL Royal 5.B.iii

John Cassianus

Collationes (s. xi2): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 23

Epistolae Pauli (Lanfranc’s gloss) (s. xii1): London, BL Royal 4.B.iii

Richard of Préaux

Expositio in Cantica Canticorum (s. xii in.): Worcester Cathedral, Q.16
School texts
Ælfric

*Grammar, Glossary (s. x\(^{3/4}\)): London, BL Cotton Faustina A.x
Bede

De arte metrica (s. xii in.) Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.5
Priscian

De declinationibus (s. xii in.): Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.5

Historical texts
Bede

*Historia ecclesiastica (s. x\(^i\)): Cambridge, University Library, Kk.3.18
In Tobiam (s. x\(^i\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 23

Hagiographical texts
Vitae S. Oswaldi, S. Ecgwini (s. x\(^{3/4}\)): London, BL Cotton Nero E.i, vol.i and ii

Law
Excerpts from canons (s. x\(^{3/4}\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121
Decretum extract on ordination of monks (s. xii in.): London, BL Royal 6.C.vii
Decreta pontificum et concilia
(Lanfranc’s collection) (s. xii in.): London, BL Royal 9.B.xii

Letters
Epistolae episcoporum (Lanfranc, Thomas of York, Anselm) (s. x\(^i\))): London, BL Cotton Appendix 56
Ivo of Chartres

Epistolae (s. x\(^i\)): Worcester Cathedral, Q.1
Sidonius

Epistolae (s. x\(^i\)): London, BL Royal 4.B.iv

Others
Basilius (Ælfric)

Hexameron (s. xi ex.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115
Cartulary (s. xi ex.): London, BL Cotton Nero E.i, vol.ii
London, BL Add. 46204
London, BL Tiberius A.xiii

*Homilies (s. x\(^{3/4}\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 4
Homilies
most by Wulfstan or attrib., 5 by Ælfric (s. xi\(^2\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113
Homilies (most by Ælfric) (s. xi\(^2\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114
*Homilies (many by Ælfric) (s. xi\(^{3/4}\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115
*Saints’ lives and homilies (s. xii in.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116
*Homilies (mainly by Ælfric) (s. xi\(^2\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121
Lapidary (s. xii in.): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76
Paulus Diaconus, *Homiliarium*
Advent to Easter (s. xii in.): Worcester Cathedral Library, F.92
Easter to Advent (s. xii in.): Worcester Cathedral Library, F.93
Sanctorale, 3 May-30 Nov. and Commune SS. (s. xii in.): Worcester Cathedral Library, F.94
Smaragdus
*Diadema monachorum* (s. xii in.): London, BL Royal 8.D.xii
Wulfstan
*Institutes of Polity* (s. xi\(^2\)): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121

We have seen the development of two cathedral libraries in this chapter. We saw that there were more liturgical texts than theological or historical texts in the pre-Conquest library materials. Then, the contents of both of the libraries changed in their taste of collecting in the later period. We saw that their interest shifted to acquiring more theological, namely more patristic texts.

Mary Richards has made a complete study of the Rochester library.\(^{65}\) The Rochester library was not the major site for producing texts. However, we see the

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same result. Like Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory, the Rochester library's book collection was expanded with patristic texts after the Norman Conquest. The acquisition included works by Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory.66 These are the familiar author names that we saw in our list above. This fact that Rochester library had the same phenomenon in its collecting patristic texts as Christ Church, Canterbury and Worcester Cathedral Priory would imply that those texts were the popular materials and reflected the need in England at that time.

In the next chapter, we will look more closely at specific components and contrast the two cathedral libraries with the Continental monastic library of Bec.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON OF INDIVIDUAL BOOKS AND THE CONTINENTAL LIBRARY HOLDINGS

The Library of the Monastery of Bec

In the previous chapter, we have considered the collection as a whole in both of the libraries. In this chapter, I would like to provide more detailed focus on individual books.

As I have mentioned earlier, when Lanfranc drew up the *Monastic Constitutions*, he based it on the monastic customs from Bec in Normandy and Cluny. Thus, it would be reasonable to compare the collection of Christ Church, Canterbury and of Worcester Cathedral Priory to that of the monastery of Bec.

The monastery of Bec was founded in 1035 and its school was established in 1045 by the prestigious monk, Lanfranc. In the collection of Bec as a whole, we can see more theological texts. Especially, we find many titles from Greek theologians, such as St. Basil, St. Athanasius, Origen, and so on. Moreover, there are more classical texts by Cicero and Seneca. These classics must have been used for Latin grammars in order to train monks in mastery of the ecclesiastical language. These collections would suggest that the monastery of Bec had a very different taste for
collecting books from Christ Church and from the Worcester Priory. It seems that the purpose of the school of the monastery of Bec was to train monks with broad and deep knowledge in the Catholic doctrines as well as to produce highly educated scholars. Considering that Lanfranc was a master of theology, it seems reasonable that Bec would have a bigger collection of theological books than the libraries of Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory. The latter two libraries did not contain as many theological or classical texts as Bec did. They were to produce strict Benedictine monks; therefore, they did not need to fulfill other interests.

Margaret Gibson investigates the education by Lanfranc given at the school in the monastery of Bec by examining the writing of Ivo of Chartres. From there, one can assume what kind of teaching method was used by Lanfranc. Although neither of them wrote texts on the same topic, it is possible to glean the influence of the education Ivo had from Lanfranc. Besides the strong knowledge of theology, Lanfranc also had the mastery of the liberal arts and therefore it would suggest that his teaching was based on those subjects. Then, Ivo would have been able to apply the methodology taught by Lanfranc. In the library list, there are many texts for the trivium. For example, as I have mentioned earlier, one will find many texts of

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classical authors. Cicero’s works might have been used to teach more advanced and stylistic Latin. Other works would be the materials for teaching logic and rhetoric. This methodology of the liberal arts, especially the three subjects, grammar, rhetoric and logic, started to be applied to theological texts and other works, too. In other words, works would be more logical, and highly structured.

Another significant element from Lanfranc’s education is that, although he follows the tradition of study of the Bible as the core in his school, he started to use new materials, such as the Epistles of Paul. To be sure, there is a text of the commentary on the Epistles of Paul.

Following is a list of manuscripts from the monastery of Bec up to the twelfth century. The list is based on Geneviève Nortier’s Les Bibliothèques Médiévales des Abbayes Bénédictines de Normandie and Gustavus Becker’s Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui. These are the medieval catalogues; therefore, my list will contain some manuscripts which do not survive. Whereas the list for Anglo-Saxon libraries is based on the surviving manuscripts, the list of the library content in the monastery of Bec is based on the medieval catalogues.

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68 Gibson, Lanfranc of Bec, p. 39.
The Contents of the Library of Bec up to the Twelfth Century.

**Bible**

*Vetus Testamentum*

*Epistolas Pauli, Ezechielum, Mattheum, etc.*

**Liturgical texts**

Amalarius of Metz

*De Officiis ecclesiasticis*

Benedictional

Martyrology

Musica

Obituary

Passional

Psalter

**Theological texts**

**Church Fathers**

St. Ambrose

*De virginitate*

*Hexameron, etc.*

St. Athanasius

*De trinitate*

St. Augustine

*Confessions*

*De civitate Dei*

*De doctrina christiana*

*De predestinatione Sanctorum*

*De Trinitate*

*De unico baptismo*

*Enchiridion ad Laurentium, etc.*

St. Basil

*Admonitio ad monachum, etc.*

Gregory the Great

*Moralia in Job*

*Dialogues*

*Pastoral Care*
Isidore of Seville
   *De fide catholica*
   *Contra Judeos, etc.*

St. Jerome
   *Contra Luciferianos dialogus*
   *Contra Pelagianos dialogus*

**Others**

Alcuin
   *De vitiis et virtutibus, etc.*

Angelomus
   *Enarrationes super Reges*

St. Anselm
   *Cur Deus homo*
   *Monologion*
   *Proslogion, etc.*

Bede
   *De naturis rerum*
   *De temporibus, etc.*

Berengaud de Ferrières
   *Expositio beati Ambrosii super visiones Apocalypsis*

Boethius
   *De Trinitate*

Cassiodorus
   *De anima*
   *Expositio in psalmos*

St. Cyprian
   *Ad Demetrianum*
   *De lapsis*
   *De symbolo fidei*
   *De unitate ecclesiae catholicae, etc.*

Pseuso-Dionysius the Areopagite
   *De celesti hierarchia*

Fulgentius
   *De aetatibus mundi et hominis*

Gregory of Nyssa
   *De hominis opificio*

Guimond d’Aversa
De corpore et sanguine Domini
Haimo of Halberstadt
Super Isaiah
Hermas
Pastor
St. Hilary of Poitiers
De Trinitate
Honorius Augustodunensis
Elucidarium
Hugh of St. Victor
De archa
Julian of Toledo
Prognosticon futuri saeculi
Lanfranc
De corpore et sanguine Domini
Macrobius
De saturnalibus
Paterius
Ex dictis b. Gregorii super Vetus Testamentum
Hrabanus Maurus
Super Genesim et Exodum
Super Jeremiam, etc.
Remigius of Auxerre
Commentary on Martianus Capella
Texts and commentaries on different books of the Bible
Genesis, Psalms, Song of Solomon, Gospels
Epistles of St. Paul, Apocalypse, etc.
Tertullian
Apologeticus

School texts
Cicero
De officiis
Ernulf of Peterborough
De incestis conjugiis
Isidore of Seville
Etymologiae or Origines
Martianus Capella
   De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae
Ovid
   Metamorphoses
Plato
   Dialogues
Porphyry
   Commentum super Categorias
Priscian
   De VIII partibus et de constructione
Rhetorica
Seneca
   De causis
   De clementia, etc.
Sidonius Apollinaris
   Epistolae

**Historical texts**
Baudry de Bourgueil
   Quomodo Jerusalem capta sit a Christianis
Bede
   Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum
Cassiodorus
   Historia tripartita
Chronica
St. Clement
   Historia
Einhard
   Vita Caroli Magni
Eusebius of Caesaria
   Historia ecclesiastica
Eutropius
   Breviarium
Fulcher of Chartres
   Itinerarium Jerusalem
Gesta regum Franciae
Gildas
De excidio Britanniae
Geoffrey of Monmouth

Gesta regum Majoris Britanniae
Gregory of Tours

Gesta Francorum
Henry of Huntingdon

Historia Anglorum
Josephus

Antiquitates judaicae
De bello judaico

Orderic Vitalis

Historia Normannorum
Paulus Orosius

Historia
Paul the Deacon

Historia gentis langobardorum
Suetonius

De vita Caesarum

Hagiographical Texts

Various Vitae

Law

Canons

Decreta (Gregory IX, Innocent IV, Boniface VIII, Jean XXII, Clement V)

Burckard of Worms

Collectio canonum

Rules and customaries

Concordia Regularum patrum sancti Benedicti, etc.

Others

St. Ambrose

De sacramentis sermones

St. Augustine

De decem chordis (sermon)

De pastoribus (sermon)
We have seen many theological texts in the library of Bec. The prior, Lanfranc was a theologian, thus he filled his library with these texts to educate his monks with complicated Christian doctrines. He also collected classical texts to provide proper and thorough education in Latin. Then, as with most libraries, we find
a number of sermons. This list above would be the reflection of what was taught in his school since he was a well-known schoolmaster.

Miriam Chrisman mentions about the dynamic of the intellectual energy in the late Middle Ages. This would also be true in the early Middle Ages. Clergy collected books. The contents of a library reflect needs and collecting patterns. Those collections were to be read at first, however, later on, it became more than just an individual book. It created the new intellectual climate. These collected books were used in order to create new texts. This can be seen most evidently in the sermons and homiliaries.

On Homilies

Among all three collections of Christ Church, Worcester Cathedral Priory and Bec, sermons are a major factor. Sermons or homilies are texts that explicate certain portions from the Bible, or teach how to lead a good Christian life. One of the reasons to choose sermons to examine is that they were used to preach and instruct lay people or uneducated people. Therefore, these homiletic texts might reflect Anglo-Saxon

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customs or culture.

There has been some prominent research on sermons and preaching by contemporary scholars. Milton Gatch examines the Carolingian homiliary and how preaching was done in order to understand the homilies of Anglo-Saxon England, for homilies in early England were written on the basis of Carolingian homilies, such as the works by Paul the Deacon. During the Carolingian reform under Charlemagne, preaching to the lay people was encouraged. Gatch mentions the works by Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, and the rule by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz. In both of the works, preaching in public is mentioned as one of the important obligations of bishops.\textsuperscript{70} Then, he points out the canons compiled at the council of Clovesho in 747. These canons direct bishops not to remain in their cathedral cities all the time, but to circulate within their dioceses to speak in public in the vernacular language.\textsuperscript{71} This is the period when the Anglo-Saxon mission was active on the Continent; thus this can be seen as important evidence. From these points, the contents of homilies can not be difficult theological matters, but would have consisted of fundamental doctrine.

Thomas Amos, in his article, examines the usage of sermons in the Carolingian


\textsuperscript{71} Gatch, \textit{Preaching and Theology}, pp. 32-33.
Empire. As is well known, Carolingian reforms were created partly because the kings intended to enhance the educational level of their people. He mentions some evidence from various capitularies and canons to show how much preaching or teaching the lay people was encouraged. One of the first and most important is called *Admonitio generalis*, in which bishops or priests are directed to hold preaching regularly.\(^{72}\)

Furthermore to ensure this order, Charlemagne issues another series of capitularies for his administrators, *missi dominici*, having them examine whether bishops and priests have been following the order.\(^{73}\) In canons drawn after ecclesiastical councils, it is mentioned that teachings should be given in the language which people would understand.\(^{74}\)

Mary Clayton investigates the use of sermons in Anglo-Saxon England. She examines Carolingian homiliaries in order to understand how homiliaries were compiled and used in Anglo-Saxon England. Clayton emphasizes that one should not neglect the aspect of preaching to the lay people and that it may be possible to acknowledge three different types of homilies although the border is not so clear.

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\(^{73}\) Amos, "Preaching and the Sermon," p. 44.

\(^{74}\) Amos, "Preaching and the Sermon," pp. 45-46.
Those types are homilies for monastic use, especially at the Night Office which I will mention later in this paper; ones for private reading; and last but not least, homilies for preaching. She mentions some of the famous collections of homilies in the Carolingian Empire and concludes that they included a lot of teachings from bishops, which were not too difficult even for the general people. Then, Clayton points out the similarity of this educational element from three English homiletic collections, Vercelli, Blickling and Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. According to her, the compiler of the Blickling homilies writes that ordinary people should visit the church to be instructed.

Cyril Smetana investigated the sources used by Paul the Deacon and how he selected and utilized those writings, which would lead us to understand Charlemagne’s intent in commissioning, and also to illustrate the influence of patristic theology on Anglo-Saxon preachers. In this article, Smetana examines in detail the sources by Bede, Augustine, Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, John Chrysostom, Jerome, Origen, and Ambrose, and briefly by Fulgentius and Isidore of Seville. The

78 Cyril Smetana, “Paul the Deacon’s Patristic Anthology,” in The Old English Homily and Its Backgrounds, ed. Paul Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppe (Albany: State University of New
author argues that almost one-quarter of the total collection by Paul is drawn from Venerable Bede. Although Bede himself is not a Father of the Church, his writings are certainly ranked as authoritative. In some part, Paul prefers works by Bede rather than Augustine of Hippo, for Bede’s were seemingly more compact and simple. From some instances, it can be said that Paul was an excellent editor of homiliaries since he carefully chose writings from one another, and modified when necessary. Later in this article, Smetana mentions some surviving manuscripts in the libraries of England around the tenth and eleventh century. This is significant because, from this, one is able to grasp which recension of Paul’s edition was available at the time of the great homilists in early England. It will be significant to understand how Ælfric and Wulfstan, or other anonymous homilists selected from Paul’s homiliaries.

From these studies, it can be said that the sermons, indeed, were used for popular teaching by bishops or priests. Thus, it will be sufficient to use this type of text to understand the Anglo-Saxon customs and culture.

P. A. Stafford writes about the relationship between kings and churches, which influenced one another, and how sermons were used within this relationship.\textsuperscript{79} In her

article, Stafford states that king's orders and laws were incorporated into some homiletic texts. The example she mentions is Wulfstan of York, who wrote *Sermo Lupi* in which the idea of serving the king was stressed. From this study, one can assume that homilies were indeed used to transmit certain ideas and concepts to the audience. Thus, again, these texts would reflect the ideology and reality of the time when they were compiled.

Then, the question arises who the audience was. As I have mentioned, a part of the audience was lay people. For instance, one of the famous Anglo-Saxon homilists, Ælfric writes in his preface to the first series of his *Catholic Homilies* that he wrote, "ob edificationem simplicium, qui hanc norunt tantummodo locutionem, sive legendo sive audiendo." In the first series, Ælfric states in his homily for the feast day of the Circumcision of our Lord that "foolish men practice manifold divination on this day, with great error, after heathen custom, against their Christianity, as if they could prolong their life or their health." In another part, he criticized people who still believed in destiny. Then, he teaches that all depends on how people behave toward

the Christian God, thus, the concept of destiny is wrong. These statements provide the evidence that there were still pagan beliefs or customs prevalent when he wrote his homilies in the late tenth century.

Besides the purpose of preaching, homilies were used for different intentions. Rather, as Gatch argues, homilies were originally meant to be used for the Offices. Mary Clayton argues from the point of historical tradition of the monastic Offices where readings of homilies were customary. Before the sixth century, homilies were used for preaching only by bishops. After that, they came to be read in the monastic Office and established as fixed custom to be read in part of the night Office. The reason why they were used in the night Office was that the Office consisted of three nocturns on Sundays and feast days, thus, the Office was long. Usually, the first nocturn was formed by the readings from the Old Testament, for the second nocturn, homilies were used, and the third was from the New Testament.

However, the New Testament is shorter than the Old Testament; thus it had to be repeated in the church year. Therefore, later, instead of reading from the New Testament, homilies occupied both the second and third nocturns, with exceptions during Easter, and saints' days. Then, in the Carolingian period, Charlemagne

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83 Thorpe, *Sermones Catholici*, p. 111.
commissioned Paul the Deacon to compose homilies for the night Office.\textsuperscript{85} The point was that a community, or cathedral chapter, of monks would need many homiliaries and sermon collections to use for the readings at the Office.

Later sermons often reflect the methodology I have mentioned, which is the application of \textit{trivium}. Sermons became more logical and structured, and also they used more advanced Latin which was elevated by the study of rhetoric and grammar.

As we have seen in Cyril Smetana's article, Paul the Deacon used various patristic sources as well as others.\textsuperscript{86} Other homiliaries compiled on the Continent most often referred to or drew upon the texts by Bede, Caesarius of Arles, not to mention the patristic texts. It is natural to assume that the Anglo-Saxon sermon compilers, also, would have referred to those texts as standard. As we saw in the list in the previous chapter, works by Gregory the Great and by Isidore of Seville have survived from both of the libraries in Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory, and other works by the church Fathers, such as Augustine or Jerome, have survived, too. The fact that the libraries of Christ Church Canterbury and Worcester Cathedral Priory owned these texts would suggest that the contents of these libraries were useful

\textsuperscript{84} Gatch, \textit{Preaching and Theology}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{86} About this article, see page 61.
for sermon compilers. Texts, or more specifically the commentaries, were used not only for the purpose of private readings and for the Offices, but also could be used for compiling homilies, thus creating materials for preaching.

The manuscript now preserved as Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 25 was written in England in the late eleventh century and contains a collection of homilies first compiled at St. Père de Chartres.\(^87\) This collection reflects insular influence when it was originally compiled.\(^88\) Then, the collection was brought to England and copied. For instance, in the homily for Quadragisma, the compiler quotes from Alcuin’s *De virtutibus et vitis liber ad Widonem comitem*. The wording of the quote is almost exactly the same as the original text, only occasionally the compiler puts in a different word order, or uses the alternative word, such as “dei” for “domini.”\(^89\)

James Cross lists the sources which were used to compile this collection. For theological commentaries, the following texts are mentioned: *In Evangelia* by Gregory the Great, *Synonima* and *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville, *In Evangelium Matthei* by Jerome, *In Actus Apostolorum* by Bede, and *Capitula* by Theodulf of


\(^{88}\) Cross, *Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 25*, p. 64.

\(^{89}\) Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 25, f. 47r; Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitis liber ad Widonem comitem*. Patrologia Latina, 101, caput xxi, 629.
Orleans. The compiler of this Pembroke 25 collection used Rufinus’s translation of *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Eusebius, and *Historiae adversus Paganos* by Paulus Orosius.\(^9^0\) For the instruction of preachers, Gregory’s *Regula pastoralis* and the Irish text, *Collectio canonum Hibemensis* are drawn upon.\(^9^1\) In our list, we see both texts, therefore, this is another example of how helpful for the compilers of sermons the libraries of Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory could have been. They were helpful for the purpose of compiling homilies, not only for providing books to serve for individual study or readings. It is possible that some of the homilies were intended to be addressed to the lay people at a Mass since Amalarius’s *Liber Offiicialis* is quoted in order to show the mysteries of Offices.\(^9^2\)

Isidore’s *Etymologiae* would have been a well-suited text since it is the encyclopedia of the Middle Ages and therefore it would have been a useful text for compilers to go to. Another beneficial point of holding this text is that it gives origins of certain names. Giving where a certain name derived from would provide a good introduction of a sermon in order to give better understanding of the words and ideas that the preachers imply. For example, the compiler of the above mentioned

\(^9^0\) Cross, *Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 25*, pp. 19-43.
\(^9^1\) Cross, *Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 25*, pp. 41 and 66.
manuscript in Pembroke College quotes long passages from *Etymologiae* almost word for word. In the homily for the feast of Archangel Michael, the compiler starts from explaining the word, “angel.” It goes “Angeli grece vocantur, aebraice malaoth, latine vero nuntii interpretantur.”

This method is used by Ælfric in his work, *Catholic Homilies*. For instance, the homily for Midlent Sunday has the etymological interpretation of the name, Jesus. In this homily, Ælfric tells the history which is written in the Old Testament. Here, he writes “Jesus is a Hebrew name, which is in Latin *Salvator*, and in England *Healing*, because he heals his people of their sins, and leads them to the eternal country of the kingdom of heaven.”

Etymologies would be a good technique for didactic purpose, thus, suitable for use in a sermon.

Cross names more texts, but most of the above mentioned texts have survived in both of the libraries of Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory. This is also further evidence that library holdings were used as sources for compiling homilies.

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93 Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 25, f. 125r. In Patrologia Latina, “melachim” is used, instead of “malaoth.”

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated the nature of libraries in England before and after the Norman Conquest. Chapter one started by showing the kinds of studies made previously in terms of Anglo-Saxon libraries. Then, I set out the purpose of this thesis as to examine the importance of intellectual life in the English church by looking at the library holdings. It was to demonstrate what was typical about the library collection, and to see the change of taste in collecting books over the period.

In my second chapter, we went through the history of English libraries in general, and then, the history of Christ Church, Canterbury and Worcester Cathedral Priory in order to show the possible reasons for the regional difference in the collection of books between both of the libraries. We saw that the two libraries developed differently according to their surroundings and the circumstances they faced. Then, we looked at how the prominent figures in both of the libraries, namely, Dunstan, Theodore, Wulfstan, and Lanfranc had important roles for the development of the libraries.

In chapter three, I have included lists of surviving pre- and post-Conquest
manuscripts from Canterbury and Worcester. Using this list as a base, we made a comparison of the two collections as a whole. One of the discoveries we made was that there was a change in the purpose of owning books. It was only a passive purpose to own books at the beginning because the intention of abbots and priors was to keep their monks occupied either by reading books or by copying manuscripts. Monks were to dedicate their time for prayer and meditation. Also, the two cathedrals performed multiple liturgical services. Therefore, both libraries of Christ Church and Worcester Cathedral Priory before the Norman Conquest owned more liturgical texts than theological texts or historical texts.

Another result of the comparison was that we saw the change of taste in collecting books. Their interest for acquisition of books after the Conquest, especially at Canterbury, shifted from liturgical books to theological texts. Lanfranc contributed to this activity in his archiepiscopate in Canterbury. Works by Church Fathers were extensively produced, or brought from the Continent. Not only were theological texts produced, but also historical texts and materials for school. In order for the monks to understand more complicated doctrines, they needed to have strong skills in Latin. Therefore, we begin to see more classical texts and grammatical texts in the post-Conquest list. These were the significant changes revealed through the
This result of more extensive production of patristic texts in the post-Conquest library was confirmed by Mary Richard's study of the Rochester library. This library also showed the same changes in collecting books caused by the Norman Conquest: its collection was expanded by patristic works. This same phenomenon among the three libraries is the reflection of the necessities and values in English libraries.

In my last chapter, I discussed about the education which Lanfranc offered at the monastery of Bec. The fame of his school was well established. I have listed the library content of the monastery of Bec in order to see how the library of Bec was different from the English libraries. The comparison we have made shows there were many commentaries at Bec. There were even works by Greek scholars, which were not abundant in Canterbury and Worcester. Their emphasis was on theology and school texts. Some of these materials in Bec were brought to Canterbury and they became the standard in English libraries.

The library holdings were, at first, to be read and to be copied as part of monks' dedication within the scope of the monastic life. The materials began to be regarded as more than just an individual book. They were the sources for producing another type of text, that is sermons or homiliaires. I mentioned how homilies were used as
the preaching materials and as the materials for monastic Night Offices.

I have examined how the library contents were helpful for compilers of sermons both before and after the Conquest. Some of the materials in the libraries were quoted, mostly word for word. I showed how it was done by looking at the Pembroke College MS 25, a sermon collection. The sources that the compiler of this manuscript used were theological commentaries, hagiographical texts and historical texts. The compiler could go to his library and use its materials as the sources for the sermons.

In sum, my chapters above have shown how the nature of a library can be determined by its statutes—cathedral library, monastic library, or cathedral library with monastic chapter. The library of Bec reveals the differences between a monastic library and a cathedral library with a monastic chapter. Cathedral Priories are an institution peculiar to England, which the Continental institutions did not have.

We discovered that the nature of collections changes with new and different circumstances. Some changes like those produced by Archbishop Theodore have to be inferred because so much of the evidence is lacking. Others, like those produced by Archbishop Lanfranc can be clearly seen in both the books and their contents.

It is possible to use the nature of these libraries and their contents to look at English culture over the two periods. In establishing a case study for Canterbury and
Worcester, I hope that future work will be possible to shed more light on larger cultural developments.
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