

John Leland and the contents of English pre-Dissolution libraries: Glastonbury abbey.

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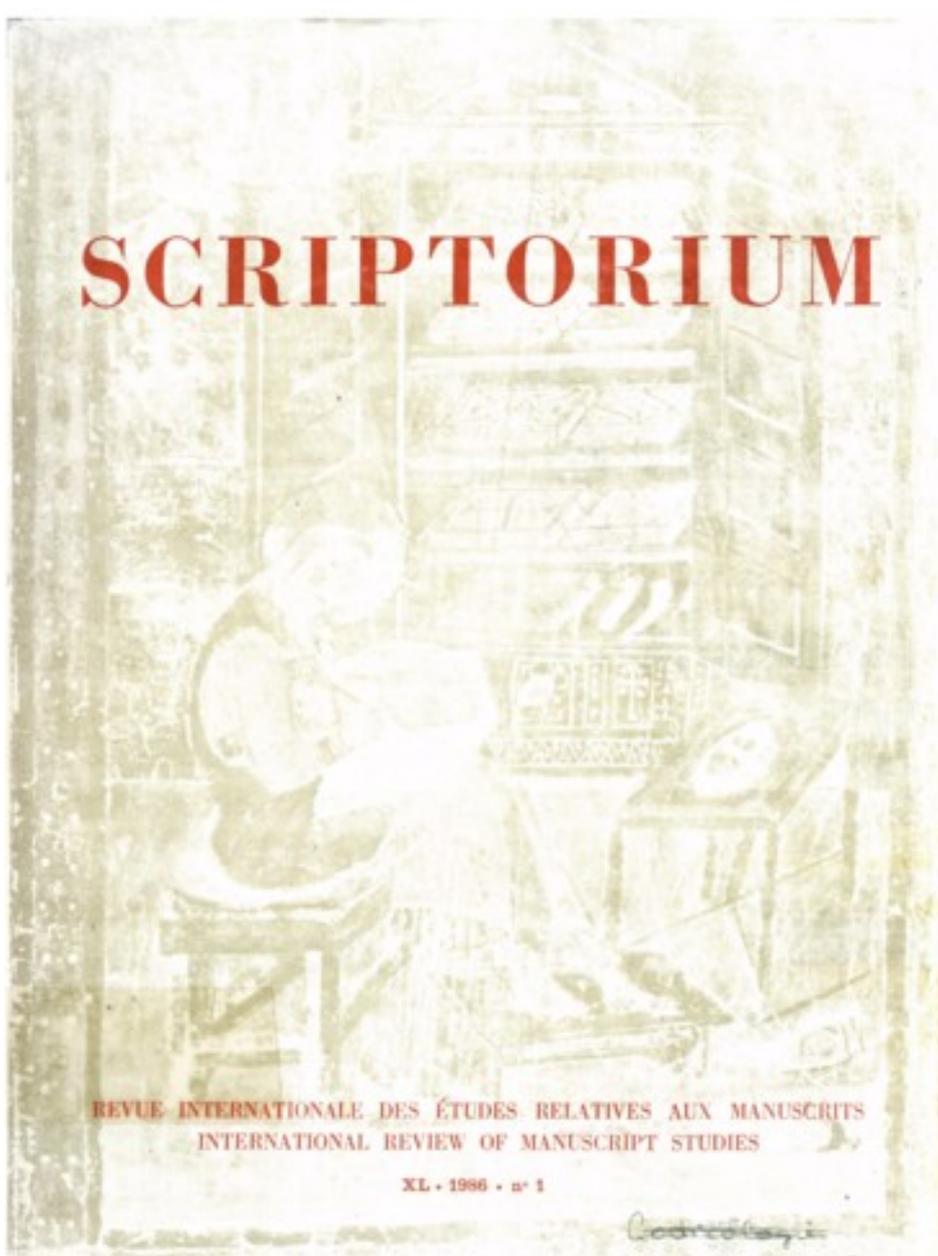
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John Leland and the Contents of English pre-Dissolution Libraries : Glastonbury Abbey

[article]

  James P. Carley

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Texte intégral

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John Leland (1503 ?-1552) was one of the first generation of scholars trained under the English humanist regime established by John Colet at St. Paul's School in London. From St Paul's he went to Cambridge where he received a B.A. in 1521-22. Then, after a short stint at Oxford, he spent several years in Paris, during which time he came to know some of the most important humanist scholars of the generation, many of whom were actively involved in classical and problems of textual tradition. During his university period Leland developed a marked interest both in manuscript studies and the history of English letters (*). Soon after his return to England from France in 1529 he began a programme of systematic travel in Britain and much of his time was devoted to an examination of library collections, both collégial and monastic. As early as 1533 Leland received some sort of commission from King Henry VIII (to which he refers as a diploma in various places) : « to make a search after England's antiquities, and peruse the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories, colleges &c. as also all places wherein records, writings, and secrets of antiquity were reposed » (2). In 1536, moreover, Leland wrote to Thomas Cromwell asking that his commission be extended (3). On occasion, too, he carried personal letters of recommendation :

And where as Master Leylande at this praesente tyme cummith to Byri to see what bookes be lefte yn the library there, or translatid thens ynto any other corner of the late monastery, I shaul desier yow upon just consideration right redily to f order his cause, and to permitte hym to have the use of such as may f order hym yn setting forth such matiers as he writith for the King's Majesté ... (4).

According to the evidence of his « New Year's Gift » of 1546/47 to Henry VIII (5), his period of travels extended to slightly over a decade and the journeys can, in fact, be divided into two distinct phases : during the first, which concerns me in this paper, he spent his time primarily gathering bibliographical material ; later (when he made what have come to be

known as his itineraries) his interests would become more wide ranging and general.

[Note:

(*) This paper was given in abbreviated form at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association in December, 1983. I should like to thank the American Philosophical Association and the National Endowment for the Humanities, both of which agencies provided funds enabling me to do the research for this paper.

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The main period of Leland's tours of libraries took place in the mid- to late-1530's, that is, during the time of the Dissolution. Leland arrived at some libraries, such as Glastonbury, while the collections were still intact ; at others, such as Bury St Edmunds, he saw only the few survivors of the monastic commissioners' carnage. In a number of cases, his comments provide the only hint about the late-medieval contents of small monastic collections, and he is certainly the last recorded individual to describe many larger libraries. From the beginning Leland's chief interests were historical and his motives patriotic. During the 1530's Leland became more and more protestant in his sympathies and anticipated Matthew Parker in his study of Anglo-Saxon texts as a means for arguing historical precedents for the validity of an English church independent of Rome. In fact, Leland himself composed a polemical text on this subject — the *Antiphilarchia* — which, however, has never been published (6). On a grander scale, Leland planned ultimately to compose a complete dictionary of British writers — *De viris illustribus* — modelled on, and standing in competition to, Johann Trithem's *De viris illustribus Germaniae* (1495). Of the many intended projects he described in his « New Year's Gift » this is the one which came nearest to completion and *De viris illustribus* can be identified as the *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* (7). Not surprisingly, the individual entries vary in quality (in the early sections and in anything to do with the Arthurian legend he shows himself somewhat gullible), but very often Leland describes specific manuscripts of a given writer's works and discusses where he saw them and how reliable a textual tradition can be established.

Leland collected books as well as listing them and in his catalogue of British writers John Bale notes at least 176 items which he himself saw in Leland's library (8). Bale's list, moreover, includes only British authors and the evidence of John Dee's purchase of several items of a scientific nature from Leland's library in 1556 suggests that his total collection was more varied than the Bale references alone would indicate (9). Leland collected for Henry VIII as well as for himself and he planned to establish a centralized royal collection, to which he refers on various occasions. Like so many of his projects, however, this scheme did not become fully realized in his lifetime (10).

As it happens, Leland became insane in 1547 and did not live to produce the books he thought his notes would generate. In a sense, however, this has been an advantage from the point of view of modern scholarship. If Leland had completed his books he might well have destroyed the working notes which comprise his surviving collections. Palaeographers and textual are more interested in manuscripts Leland saw and where he saw them than in his of the data contained in them. The disparately arranged extracts and library found in his notebooks are, therefore, considerably more useful to scholars than the material contained in a « finished » work such as the polemical *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britan-*

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niae (for which no early draft survives). Twentieth-century scholars have turned more and more to Leland's notes as a source for the identification of lost or garbled texts and Anglo-Saxonists, in particular, have made great use of his remains. D. J. Sheerin, for example, has identified Leland's hand in marginal annotations in Oxford, MS. Bodl. Auct. F. 2. 14, f. 1-50 (Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica S. Swithuni*) and B.L., MS. Cotton Vitell. A. 19 (Bede's *Lives of St Cuthbert*) as well as in a single bifolium from a lost tenth-century manuscript containing epigrams associated with Milred, bp. of Worcester, now owned by the University Library at Urbana, Illinois (u). Ronald E. Buckalew has examined Leland's transcript of Aelfric's Glossary which is taken from a now lost manuscript (12) and Rodney Thomson has used Leland's list as the basis for his analysis of the pre-Conquest library at Malmesbury (13). Michael Lapidge, then, reflects a recent academic trend when he observes that Leland's remains « are richly deserving of study and frequently yield Anglo-Latin texts which have previously been unknown. I never quite despair of one day finding, during a chance consultation of a manuscript, the lost works of Oswald the Younger of Ramsey, Byrhtferth's contemporary, whose writings Leland described so fully and praised so fulsomely » (14).

In *Humanism and the rise of science in Tudor England* Antonia McLean states that :

... Leland's lists must be used with caution. Dr. Wright has shown that manuscripts were undoubtedly hidden by their owners in the 1530s ; Leland records only 6 Anglo-Saxon books, a small proportion of those now known to have existed in the monastic libraries of the time. He missed, for example, the Exeter Book, several manuscripts of the Anglo-

Saxon Chronicle, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of Bede at Worcester, Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, the Abingdon Chronicle and some early books of Homilies and a Prayer Book (15).

This quotation, which represents a fairly common approach to Leland's lists (although it is usually not fully articulated) and which is wrongheaded as well as inaccurate, does nevertheless suggest some fundamental questions, ones which have not yet to my knowledge been seriously considered. When Leland went to a library, for example, how thoroughly did he examine the collections? Were valuable items hidden from possible seizure by his rapacious hands? What manuscripts would he have chosen to list? What were his plans for these booklists? What kinds of items would he send to the king or keep for himself? How accurate a witness was he? Can he be trusted from a palaeographical point of view?

The following edition represents the first in a series of articles dealing with Leland's and their importance to modern scholarship. My choice of Glastonbury Abbey is a natural one, since Leland himself felt that this monastery had one of the most impressive libraries in Britain :

I was a few years ago at Glastonbury in Somerset, where the most ancient and at the same time most famous monastery in our whole island is located. I had intended, by the favour of Richard Whyting, abbot of that place, to refresh my mind, wearied with a long course of study, when a burning desire to read and to learn inflamed me afresh. This desire, too, came upon me more quickly than I thought it would. So I straightway

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went to the library, which is not open to all, in order to examine most diligently all the relics of most sacred antiquity, of which there is so great a number that it is not easily paralleled anywhere else in Britain. had I crossed the threshold when the mere sight of the most ancient books took my mind with an awe or stupor of some kind, and for that reason I stopped in my tracks a little while. The having paid my respects to the deity of the place, I examined all the bookcases for some days with the greatest interest (16).

Leland seems to have come to Somerset at least three times ; his last visit was in approximately 1542 (17). It is clear that his first trip to Glastonbury Abbey when he listed the books — the trip to which he refers in the above passage — must have occurred

before the monastery was suppressed in 1539, since Whyting was still abbot. As he states, he spent several days working in the library and the resulting list is relatively long, consisting of 44 separate items (18) ; it also tells much about Leland's interests. Since there is a fairly complete catalogue of Glastonbury books for a somewhat earlier period, moreover, it is possible to compare the material Leland chose to list with what he might have been expected to have seen (19). In this context, however, it is necessary to emphasize that Leland was not a cataloguer per se : he was interested primarily, but not exclusively, in British writers and examined the contents of monastic libraries as a means of discovering the range of various writers' works. If he had already seen a text he therefore often did not note it again — although he was not consistent in this and might well decide to list an older copy of a previously noted text or one with unusual variants. Although he was a Protestant Leland discovered, and mentioned, a wide range of medieval theological texts — English and continental — and John Bale, in fact, reproached his of taste in this regard (20). He had an eye for rare items, too, and on occasion noted books simply because he had not seen them elsewhere, such a as copy of Dante in Latin verse at Wells. The age of the manuscript was by no means the chief criterion for its inclusion in Leland's lists, but Leland was, of course, a connoisseur of old books and in the Glastonbury list at least 30 of the 44 items could easily date from before 1100. Of these 30 titles all but 4 can be found in the 1247/48 catalogue of the library, which increases the possibility that they were, indeed, pre-1100 manuscripts rather than late copies. Only one text (no. 26) is in English, but then only 6 books in English are known to have been in the library. Nevertheless, the *Dictionarium Latinosaxonicum* (no. 29) also witnesses to Leland's interest in Old English as a subject. Most of the remaining pre-1100 items in Leland's list were written by British writers. Leland does

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not mention ail Glastonbury holdings of works by Bede, but this is almost certainly not because he did not see them but because he already knew most of the texts ; the two works he lists are not, in fact, widely distributed. At this relatively early point in his travels Leland guessed that Felix's *Life of Guthlac* was written by Bede (a logical guess in many ways), but he later a manuscript at Crowland with the correct attribution. Glastonbury Abbey had a rich collection of Alcuin materials, of which Leland mentioned 5 titles, all of which appear as well in the 1247/48 catalogue. Leland realized that one of these — the now lost *De sacrario Dei* — was falsely ascribed to Alcuin. Two texts by Aldhelm appear,

as well as several other Anglo-Saxon riddle collections. Grammatical texts interested Leland and at Glastonbury he noted the grammars of Eutyches, Smaragdus and the more rare volume by Erchanbert of Freising.

Leland did look at some post-Conquest material and here his orientation was very strongly historical. For him, as for modern scholars, William of Malmesbury was a major figure and he saw at Glastonbury William's *Historia novella*, the *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, and *Lives of St Dunstan, St Patrick, St Benignus and St Indract*. The latter three works are all lost and Leland's transcriptions of these manuscripts provide much of the surviving evidence about the texts. Interestingly, too, even in Leland's time only 2 of the 3 books of William's *Life of St Patrick* seem to have survived. Leland noted a number of works by other important English historians : the popular *Topographia hiberniae* as well as the relatively rare *Speculum ecclesiae* by Giraldus Cambrensis ; Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* and Nicholas Trevet's *Annales sex regum Angliae*. In only one case does Leland show himself at all gullible in his discussion of manuscripts at Glastonbury and this concerns, not unexpectedly, the Arthurian legend. His uncritical acceptance of Melkin as a pre-Saxon sage and his description of the ancient text in which he saw fragments of Melkin's prophecy would be queried by almost all modern scholars.

In sum, if one compares Leland's list with the earlier catalogue of the Glastonbury library, one discovers him to have been a remarkably thorough and discerning scholar : a sound but not infallible palaeographer, a man of wide areas of knowledge but with a strong urge to uphold the vision of British history put forward by Geoffrey of Monmouth (21).

Leland does not seem to have made marginal annotations in Glastonbury manuscripts, as he did at various other libraries : during this early trip when he was on good terms with the abbot he probably did not envisage the impending tide of wholesale destruction and did not, therefore, have any plans for wholesale removal of manuscripts. From the point of view of twentieth-century scholarship this does, however, make it more difficult to link him (and by extension Glastonbury Abbey) with surviving texts. Several references, however, can be identified on other grounds : no. 9 = Oxford, MS. Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32 ; no. 21 = Oxford, MS. Queen's College 304 or Paris, MS. BN lat. 4167A ; no. 37 = Trinity College Cambridge, MS. R. 5. 33 (724) or BL, MS. Addit. 22934. Trinity College Cambridge, MS. R. 7. 1 (739) has no ownership mark but if M. R. James' claim of a resemblance with a known Glastonbury is accepted, then it seems that this too is a Glastonbury text. Circumstantial evidence suggests that no. 24 can be identified as BL, MS. Royal 12. C. 23. If this is the case, it will

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lead to important consequences since Dr. M. C. Bodden of Marquette University has discovered the same hand in a number of pre-Conquest manuscripts (22). No evidence, internal or external, proves that no. 12 = BL, MS. Royal 13. A. 15, but it can be shown to be the only surviving manuscript of Felix's Life of Guthlac which could be the Glastonbury copy. A resemblance between no. 18 and Oxford, MS. Jesus College 3 suggests that the two manuscripts might well be related. Finally, BL, MS. Cotton Vitell. A. 12 seems, by the same criterion, to be related to the manuscript in the Glastonbury library (no. 28) (23).

The text which follows is transcribed from Leland's autograph notebook. I have numbered items for convenience of reference. Pointed brackets show editorial insertions. The orthography of the manuscript has been retained but capitalization and punctuation are editorial.

Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Top. gen. G. 3, p. 260-262

p. 260 Glastenbyri

1. Citatur in ueteri quodam codice liber Melchini qui fuit ante Merlinum, ubi récitât eiusdem Melchini uerba de cemiterio sancto ueteris ecclesiae Glasconiensis.

For Leland's complete biographical account of Melkin see *De Scriptoribus*, 1. 41-42. The book of Melkin and the verses concerning the Glastonbury cemetery are cited in John of Glastonbury's mid-fourteenth century chronicle (James P. Carley, éd., *John of Glastonbury: « Cronica sioe Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie »*, 2 vols. [British Archaeological Reports 47; Oxford, 1978], 1. 34-35, 66-67). John, however, does not seem to be the ultimate source for the verses, and reference is not necessarily to one of the copies of John's *Cronica* — on which see James P. Carley, « Melkin the Bard and Esoteric Tradition at Glastonbury Abbey », *The Downside Review* 99 (1981), 1-17.

2. *Speculum Giraldi Cambrensis*.

Giraldus Cambrensis (1146-1223). *Speculum ecclesiae* (c. 1220). Ed. J. S. Brewer in J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, & G. F. Warner, eds., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols. (RS 21 ; London, 1861-91), 4. 1-354. See also Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), esp. p. 150-52, 220. There was a particular interest at Glastonbury Abbey in the *Speculum ecclesiae* because this text deals with the excavation of King Arthur's tomb and gives a slightly differing account of the event from the earlier one contained in Giraldus' *De principis instructione*. Leland does not mention the *Speculum ecclesiae* in his chapter on Giraldus in *De Scriptoribus* but he does refer to it in his entry « De Simone Fraxinio » (*De Scriptoribus*, p. 235). He also quotes from it in his notebook collections (*Joannis lelandi Antiquarii De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 3rd edn., 6 vols. [London, 1774], 3. 106), and in his *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae Joanne Lelando Antiquario autore* (London, 1544 ; reprinted by W. E. Mead, éd., *The famous historié of*

Chinon of England by Christopher Middleton [EETS, OS 165 ; London, 1925]. Subsequent references will be to Mead's text). It survives only in BL, MS. Cotton Tib. B. 13, which — to Brian Twyne's evidence — comes from Lanthony Priory and which, interestingly, was later bound up with another *Speculum ecclesiae* by Roger abbot of Glastonbury (1256-1261). On this manuscript see R. W. Hunt, « The Preface to the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Giraldus », *Viator* 8 (1977), 189-93. As Hunt points out, John Bale saw a copy of the text at and owned one, perhaps the same, himself. Sir John Prise (d.1573?), with whom Leland seems to have exchanged manuscripts, quotes from a different, now lost, manuscript in his *Historiae britannicae defensio* (London, 1573). Like Prise Leland gives a correct reading (*in clytus*) for the leaden cross in Arthur's tomb, whereas the Cotton manuscript has *indutus*. See also the of Glastonbury books (henceforth cited as Register) found in Appendix V of Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, p. 513 : « Geraldus de Cambra et speculum ecclesie. 'Arturus lxxx. mo- nachos posuit in insula Aualonis ' ». I can find no reference to this point in the surviving on Arthur in Cotton Tib. B. 13.

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3. Praeter historiam quam de regibus scripsit Gulielmus Malmesbiriensis uidi adjectos in fine ueteris (a) codicis très libellos titulo nouellae historiae, id est temporum Matildis imperatricis, ab ipso Malmesbiriensis scriptos.

William of Malmesbury (d.1143?). *Novellae historiae* (1140-42). See K. R. Potter, ed. & trans., *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Historia Novella*. The *Historia Novella* by William of Malmesbury (London & New York, 1955). Leland lists this work in his chapter on William in *De Scriptoribus*, p. 196, and he also takes excerpts in *Collectanea* 1. 150-51. The *Historia Novella* survives in 10 manuscripts, all of which — as in this case — are found together with William's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. In *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900-04), 2. 215, M. R. James states that one of these manuscripts — Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R. 7. 1 (739) — resembles a known Glastonbury manuscript, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R. 5. 16 (711). I am not sure of his grounds for comparison since these manuscripts were not written at the same time, but if he is correct then this would be the seen by Leland.

4. Expositiones super euangelia autore Clémente Lantonense excerptae ex patribus doctoribusque.

Clement of Lanthony, OSA Can. (d.c. 1190). On his concordance see *De Scriptoribus*, p. 226 ; also F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 11 vols (Madrid, 1950-80), nos. 1981-82. At least 15 manuscripts of this highly popular work survive and none of them can be clearly linked with Glastonbury Abbey. It was used, moreover, by William of Nottingham, with whose commentary it was sometimes copied ; on which see Beryl Smalley, « Which William of », *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954), 200-238. See also Michael Lapidge & R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200* (Dublin, 1985), n° 45.

5. Cassianus contra Nestorium.

Joannes Cassianus (c. 370-c. 435). *De incarnatione Christi contra Nestorium*. See CPL, no. 514. This text is preserved in at least one tenth-century English manuscript — Oxford, MS. Bodl. Auct. D. infra 2. 9 (2638) — from Exeter Cathedral. A copy was given to the Glastonbury library during the abbacy of Henry of Blois (1126-1171), on which see Williams, p. 49 ; it also occurs in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 65).

6. Apologeticus Gregorii Nasanzeni interprète Rufino. De unitate monachorum. Altercatio inter ecclesiam et synagogam.

Rufinus Tyrannus Aquileiensis (c. 345-410). His translation of a group of Gregory of Nazian- zus' orations. See CPG, no. 3010. The text appears in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 60) : « Altercacio Gregorii inter ecclesiam & sinagogam, et de unitate monachorum, & Apologeticus Gregorii Nazanzeni. bon. » At least two manuscripts containing these sermons — Salisbury Cath. Libr., MS. 89 and Oxford, Trinity Coll. MS. 4 (from St Augustine's, Canterbury) survive from before 1100. One manuscript — Oxford, Jesus Coll. MS. 3 (?Cirencester, s.xii) — belonged to Sir John Prise. On the « Altercatio Ecclesiae et synagogam » see B. Blumenkranz, « Altercatio Aecclesiae contra synagogam, texte inédit du xe s. », *Revue du Moyen âge latin* 10 (1954), 5-159.

7. Liber epistolarum Fulberti.

Fulbert of Chartres (c. 970-c. 1030). See F. Behrends, ed. & trans., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford, 1976). On manuscripts and earlier editions see p. xlii-lxv. Behrends, p. lxiii-lxiv, points out that the Glastonbury volume cannot be identified with any surviving manuscript. The 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 67) lists « Epistolae Fulberti episcopi, & quo- rundam aliorum. bon. »

8. Epistolae Lanfranci (b).

Lanfranc, abp. of Canterbury (c. 1010-1089). See Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979). For the « lost » version see p. 22. Behrends, op. cit., p. xl, points out that Fulbert's letters are sometimes found collected with those of Lanfranc and Ivo. It is possible that Lanfranc is referred to in the Fulbert reference of the 1247/48 catalogue, especially since Leland brackets the two works Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, p. 279, says that he saw Lanfranc's letters in Leland's library.

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9. Grammatica Euticis, liber olim S. Dunstani. /

Eutyches (first half of 6th cent.). *Ars de uerbo*. Ed. Heinrich Keil, in *Grammatici Mini*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1857-80), 5. 447-89. On Eutyches see Vivien Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1982), p. 21-22. The *Ars de uerbo* survives in 2 eighth-century insular manuscripts. It gained popularity in the ninth century and retained it into the twelfth century. Leland's reference is almost certainly to the first booklet of Oxford, MS. Bodl. Auct. F. 4. 32 ; on which see Mary Catherine Bodden, *Detailed description of Oxford Bodleian Manuscript Auctariwn F. 4. 32*, along with a close study of its second gathering, an 11th century Old English homily on the finding of the True Cross (Diss. Univ. of Toronto, 1979), esp. p. 16-17, 24. See also the reference in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 75) : « Duo libri Euticis de uerbo uetustiss ».

p. 261 10. Ex charta quadam rotunda de laudibus Artur

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Meldunensis facit mentionem Arturi. Scriptor uitae Gildaicae facit mentionem Arturi. Vita Paterni facit mentionem Arturi.

Ossa (c) Arturi levata erant ex sacro cimiterio anno domini millesimo centesimo octuagesimo nono per Henricum Sully Glasconiae abbatem, et sepulta ante aram Sancti Stephani (d). Postea anno domini millesimo duocentesimo septuagesimo octauo Edwardo rege curante et admonente translata fuere et sepulta ante summam aram (e). Epitaphium Arcturi.

Hie jacet Arturus flos regum gloria regni

Quern morum probitas commendat laude perenni.

The material in these extracts matches up accurately with Arthurian texts known at Glaston-bury Abbey.

11. Ferrandus diaconus Carthaginensis ad Reginum comitem, qualis esse debeat dux religiosus in actibus militaribus.

Ferrandus Fulgentius of Carthage (d.c. 546/47). Leland's reference is to *Epistola VII*,

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in PL 67. 928-50. See CPL, n° 848. It survives in at least one English manuscript written before 1100 : Cambridge, MS. Corpus Christi Coll. 430, associated with St Augustine's, Canterbury.

12. Vita S. Guthlaci Beda, ut opinor, autore.

Leland's reference is almost certainly to the Life by Felix of Crowland, of which there may have been as many as 3 copies in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 70). See Bertram Colgrave, ed. & trans., *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956) ; also Jane Roberts, « An Inventory of Early Guthlac Materials », *Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1970), 193-233, esp. 194-200. Leland made a transcript of Douai, B.m. 852, c. 1540, when it was at Crowland (see Toulmin Smith, 2. 123-25) and attributed the Life to Felix. He must, therefore, have seen the Glastonbury text at an earlier date. The Glastonbury manuscript, moreover, must have lacked the prologue which identifies Felix as author. Of the manuscripts which have survived only BL, MS. Royal 13. A. 15 and Gotha, Herz. Bibl. MS. 1. 81, lack the prologue and have no established late-medieval provenance. The Gotha manuscript, however, is fourteenth century and cannot, therefore, correspond with the 1247/48 entries at least. The Royal manuscript may be no. 1507 in the Lumley catalogue ; it has been identified as Felix's Life in a note added in a xvth cent. hand.

13. Carmina Hubaldi de calvitiae.

Hucbald of Saint-Amand (c. 840-930). *Ecloga de calvis*. Ed. Paulus de Winterfeld, MGH : *Poetae Latinae Aevi Carolina IV. 1* (Berlin, 1899), p. 265-71 ; for manuscripts and early printed !

editions see p. 261-65. In the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 70) the following entry probably contains a reference to this work : « Vita Pauli & liber de laude calvorum ».

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14. Vita Wilfridi episcopi autore Stephano presbytero, motore ad tarn sanctum opus Acca episcopo et Tathberto abbate.

Stephen. Life of Wilfrid (written soon after 710 ; revised 731-34). See Bertram Colgrave, ed. & trans., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927). For reasons why Stephen should not be identified with Eddius Stephanus see D. P. Kirby, « Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the 'Life of Wilfrid' », *EHR* 98 (1983), 101-114. This Life survives in 2 : Oxford, Bodleian MS Fell 3 (s. xii) from Salisbury and BL, MS. Cotton Vesp. D. 6 (s. xi), which has no clear indication of provenance and which could, therefore, possibly be the manuscript. There are two copies of a « Vita S. Wilfridi » in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 70-71). Leland made extracts from the Life (*Collectanea* 4. 109-110) ; orthographic variants seem to indicate that this was not one of the surviving manuscripts. In his chapter on Eddius Stephanus (*De Scriptoribus*, p. 106) Leland refers to the Life « *cujus nuper copiam mihi fecit Robertus Witingus abba Glessoburgensis* ».

15. Omelia Bedae in

<Natale>

(f) Benedicti abbatis.

Bede (672/3-735). This is the last of Bede's 50 sermons on the Gospels in two books. Printed as *Homelia* 1, 13 in Hurst's edition. See CPL, n° 1367. Early on, Paul the Deacon substituted for this sermon another in the collection, which is probably the reason Leland notes it especially at Glastonbury. On the rearrangement of the sermons and the original order see Dom Germain Morin, « *Le recueil primitif des homélies de Bède sur l'évangile* », *RB* 9 (1892), 316-26.

16. *Historia Girwicensis coenobii cum uita Benedicti et Ceolfridi abbatum.*

Bede. This work was written between 725-731. See CPL, no. 1378. BL, MS. Harley 3020 (s. xi) contains the preceding sermon (no. 15) followed by this item ; the word 'natale' is, however, very clearly written in this manuscript. For Leland's short extracts from the text see *Collectanea* 3. 160.

17. *Vita Wilfridi carmine heroico autore Odone archiepiscopo Dorubernensi.*

Actually, Odo seems only to have written the preface to the Life of Wilfred by Fridegodus (fl. 950-960). The Life survives in BL, MS. Cotton Claud. A. 1 (s. x) ; Paris, BN, MS. lat. 8431 (s. xi) ; Petropolitanus MS. O. V. XIV. I (s. x). Ed. Alistair Campbell, *Frithegodi monachi Bre- viloquium vitae beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani cantoris Narratio metrica de sancto Swithuni* (Zurich, 1950). In *De Scriptoribus*, p. 170, 213, Leland seems to suggest that Odo also wrote a separate Life. It is possible that one or other of the two references to Lives of Wilfred in the 1247/48 (Williams, p. 70-71) are to Fridegodus' Life.

18. *Didymus de spiritu sancto.*

Didymus of Alexandria (c. 313-c. 398). *De Spiritu Sancto*, which survives in the translation of St Jerome. See CPL, no. 2544. A copy of this work, preceded by « Augustinus contra .V. haereses. Septem gradus confessionis. Expositio baptisterii » and followed by « Ciprianus de .XII. abusivis. bonus. » is found in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 72). Oxford, MS. Jesus Coll. 3 (on which see no. 6 above) has on f. 2, in the original hand, the following rubric : « hec sunt que continentur in hoc libro. Apologeticus Gregorii Nazanzeni & vii sermones eiusdem. Expositio baptisterii. Ambrosius de obseruantia episcoporum. Augustinus contra v hereses. Didimus de spiritu sancto. Duodecim abusiua ». The Ambrosius text, in fact, comes last in the manuscript sequence. It seems likely, then, that the Glastonbury manuscript was closely related to the surviving Jesus College manuscript. On manuscripts see also L. Doutreleau, « Étude d'une tradition manuscrite : le *De Spiritu Sancto* de Didyme », *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten I* (Munster, 1970), p. 352-89.

19. *Topographia Hiberniae* autore Giraldo Cambrensis.

Giraldus Cambrensis. *Topographia hibernica*. Ed. J. F. Dimock, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 5. 1-204 ; see also J. J. O'Meara, éd., « Giraldus Cambrensis in *topographia Hibernie*. Text of the first recension », *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 52, sectt. C (1948-50), 113-178. This is Giraldus' most popular work and survives in four recensions. On manuscripts, of which there are a large number for each recension, see Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 213-214. It is listed in the Glastonbury Register, p. 513, but does not appear in the 1247/48 catalogue.

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20. *Vita Merlini Syluestris carmine* scriptore Galfredo Monemutensi (g).

Geoffrey of Monmouth (1100?-1155). *Vita Merlini*. See Basil Clabke, ed. and trans., *Life of Merlin. Geoffrey of Monmouth. «Vita Merlini»* (Cardiff, 1973); for manuscripts and earlier editions see p. 43-47. The only complete surviving manuscript is BL, MS. Cotton Vesp. E. 4, f. 112V-138V (s. xiii), which is from Reading Abbey ; the others are incomplete and inserted in manuscripts of Higden's *Polychronicon*. In *De Scriptoribus*, p. 191. Leland refers to this work « quod nuper auide legebam, cum essem Glessoburgi Somurotrigum » ; he makes extracts (11. 1-5, 908-913, 1525-1529) in *Collectanea* 3. 116-117 ; he also quotes 11. 908-13, 929-40 in his *Issertio inclytissimi Arturii*, p. 123, 125. At line 935 Leland's

transcription differs significantly from the Cotton manuscript, which confirms that Leland saw a different (and probably earlier and more reliable) manuscript at Glastonbury. Clarke, p. 36, discusses the importance of the attributive coda in Cotton Vesp. E. 4, but fails to notice that Leland copied it too, which provides a witness for its existence in at least one other manuscript. Interestingly, John of Glastonbury also quotes 11. 908-915 (Carley, p. 13) and adds 3 lines, not found elsewhere, which make a link between Glastonbury and Avalon :

Hec nova Ierusalem fuit, hec fidei quoque lima, Hec tumulus sanctus, hec scala poli celebratur Vix luit inferni penas hic qui tumulatur. Presumably these lines were contained in the Glastonbury copy of the text.

21. Historia Triueti de regibus.

Nicholas Trevet (1258/68 -post 1334). *Annales sex regum Angiiae* (1320-23). See Ruth J. Dean, « Nicholas Trevet, Historian », in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature : Essays presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford, 1976), p. 328-52 ; on this work and its early editions see esp. p. 331-35 ; on manuscripts see p. 349-50. It survives in two Glastonbury manuscripts : Oxford, Queens Coll. 304, f. 67ra-143vb (s. xv) and Paris, BN lat. 4167A, f. 72-192 (s. xiv). The first belonged to John Merelynch, the second to the prior John Crosse — on which see James P. Carley and John F. R. Coughlan, « An Edition of the List of Ninety-nine Books Acquired at Glastonbury Abbey during the Abbacy of Walter de Monington », *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981), 514. Leland made extracts in *Collectanea* 3. 326-28. See also *De Scriptoribus*, p. 327.

22. Maurus de laude crucis, cum commendatione Albini carmine scripta.

Hrabanus Maurus (784?-856). *De laudibus sanctae crucis*. Printed PL 107. 133-294; the « *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro* » is printed on 137-138. On manuscripts see Hans-Georg Müller, *Hrabanus Maurus — De laudibus sanctae crucis — Studien zur Vberlieferung und Geistesgeschichte mit dem Faksimile — Textabdruck aus Codex Reg. lat. 124 der vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Ratingen, 1973), p. 36-39. Aelfnoth gave a copy of this work to the library (Williams, p. 49) and it appears in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 66) : « Rabanus de laude crucis, libri très, in quorum uno sunt eciam alia, s. de ortu beatae Mariae & Nativitate Christi Salvatoris ».

23. Albinus de sacrario dei, quod est uirgo Maria, quanquam carmina rithmica in fine libri arguunt alterius esse quam Albini (h).

Alcuin (735-804). In his chapter on Alcuin (*De Scriptoribus*, p. 123) Leland notes « *De Sacrario Dei — qui liber tamen falso adscribitur Albino* ». No such work appears to have survived. The 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 69) gives an entry : « *Sanctuarium divinum. Miracula de Sancta Maria. Vita Sancti Indracti. bon* ». The Glastonbury Register (p. 514) also lists « *Vita Indracti* » followed by « *Alcuinus de sanctuario diuino* ». It seems possible, then, that this work was bound with the now lost *Life of Indract* by William of Malmesbury or with the *Life* which was William's source.

24. *Aenigmata Simposii, Aldhelmi, Eusebii, Tautuni* (*).

These collections of riddles have all been printed by Fr. Glorie, *Collectiones aenigmatum Merovingicae aetatis* in Maria de Marco, Fr. Glorie, eds., *Tatvini Opera omnia. Varias aenigmatum Merovingicae aetatis. Anonymus de dubiis nominibus*, 2 vols. (CCSL 133-133A ; Turnhout, 1968) ; on manuscripts see p. 152-162. For Symphosius see also R. T. Ohl,

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éd. & trans., *The enigmas of Symphosius* (Philadelphia, 1928). For St Aldhelm (6407-709) see also J. H. Pitman, trans., *The Riddles of Aldhelm* (New Haven, 1925 ; rpt. Hamden, Conn., 1970). On the probable identity of Eusebius as the Hwaetberht who succeeded Ceolfrid as abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 716, see Mary Jane McDonald Williams, ed. & trans., *The Riddles of Tatwine and Eusebius* (Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1974). Williams also suggests that Tatwine was possibly the Tatwine who was archbishop of Canterbury, 731-734. In *De Scriptoribus*, p. 131, Leland refers to this manuscript : « Ego tamen, cum duobus abhinc annis essem Glesso- buriae Somurotrigum, ubi coenobium est, non modo pulcherrimum, verum etiam totius insulae nostrae antiquissimum, & inter ingenteis librorum thesauros veneranda plane antiquitatis monimenta versarer, inveni librum Aenigmaton, quem Tatvinus hexametris versibus scripserat. Neque hie lectorem celabo, quod ibidem repererim libellos Symposii, Aldhelmi & Eusebii, qui de eadem materia scripserunt carmina non omnino improbando ». The collections of Tatwine and Eusebius survive in two manuscripts only : Cambridge, U.L., MS. Gg. 5. 35 (s. xi), which Leland saw at St Augustine's, Canterbury, and BL, MS. Royal 12. C. 23 (s. x/xi). In the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 72) there is the following entry : « Liber pronosticorum. 11.º in altero sunt aenigmata S. Aldelm. vetust ». There is a similar entry, moreover, earlier in the catalogue (Williams, p. 70). Interestingly, the first item in Royal 12. C. 23 is Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon*, which is followed by the *Aenigmata* of Aldhelm, then Symphosius, Eusebius, and Tatwine. Independently, both Mary Williams and I have concluded that this suggests a fairly strong circumstantial case for identifying Royal 12. C. 23 as the missing Glastonbury manuscript, even though there is no sign of Glastonbury ownership or of Leland's hand in the manuscript. Certainly there is no other known case of this particular linking. According to notes by Patrick Young this manuscript belonged to Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel (1586-1646) — on which see N. R. Ker,

25. Aldhelmus de uirginitate, prosa et carmine.

St Aldhelm, bp. of Sherborne (640 ?-c. 709). *De uirginitate*. On this work see Michael Lapidge and Michael Herren, trans., *Aldhelm, the prose works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 13-15. The *De uirginitate* consists of two parts — one in prose (some 60 chapters) and the other in verse (about 3,000 hexameters). Ed. R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera Omnia* (MGH : *Auctorum antiquissimorum* 15 ; Berlin, 1919), p. 226-471. On manuscripts and early editions see Ehwald, p. 211-225, 327- 349. For the prose section Ehwald collates 21 manuscripts ; for the verse section he collates 20 manuscripts. The 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 71) gives 2 copies of *De uirginitate*.

26. Orosius Saxonice.

See Janet Bately, éd., *The Old English Orosius* (EETS, SS. 6 ; Oxford, 1980). Four manuscripts are known to survive. Leland took extracts from BL, MS. Cotton Tib. B. 1 (Abingdon), which he had borrowed from Robert Talbot. The Glastonbury manuscript is probably now lost, but as Bately points out (p. xxvi, n. 1) it could possibly be identified with Oxford, MS. Bodleian Eng. Hist. e. 49 (30481) or BL, MS. Addit. 47967. The 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 68) gives « *Libri Orosii 11°. Latina lingua, tercius in Anglica. vetusti set leg* ».

27. Robertus abbas in librum de benedictionibus Jacob et Mosis ad Gutlandum monachum. /

This same title appears in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 67). In his chapter on Robert de Crichlade in *De Scriptoribus*, p. 235, Leland notes « *Vidi etiam librum Roberti abbatis de Jacob & Mosis, ad Gutlandum monachum ; qui an idem sit cum Canuto nondum percognitum habeo* ». Actually it was written by Paschasius Radbertus (c. 790-c. 865), on which see Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum*, no. 6260. It survives in a manuscript in Portsmouth, *Libr. of the Roman Catholic Bishopric* (s. xii) from Reading Abbey. The prologue and the of Book I have been edited by D. P. Blanchard, « *Un Traité De benedictionibus patriarcharum de Paschase Radbert?* », *RB* 28 (1911), 425-432.

p. 262 28. Rabanus de computo (J).

Hrabanus Maurus of Fulda (776-856). *De computo* (820). See Wesley M. Stevens, éd., *Rabani Mogontiacensis episcopi de computo* (CC Cont. Med. 44 ; Turnhout, 1979), p. 199-321 ; for the 16 extant manuscripts see p. 190-194. The 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 67) lists the following item : « *Rabanus de compoto, & Ysidorus de natura rerum* ». Two surviving English manuscripts copied from a (lost) common exemplar- BL, MS. Cotton Vitel. A. 12 (s. xi) and Exeter, Cath. Chapter Libr. MS. 3507 (s. x) — contain these two items, separated only by short computistical

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texts. The latter manuscript was at Exeter during Leland's lifetime ; and Cotton Vitell. A. 12 is a Salisbury manuscript. Another section of the Cotton manuscript shows similarities with the calendar in the Leofric missal, which raises the possibility that the exemplar(s) for various parts of the manuscript came from Glastonbury.

29. *Dictionarium Latinosaxonicum.*

The reference is probably to a now lost manuscript of Aelfric's Glossary from which Leland took notes under the heading « Ex antiquiss. Dictionario Latino-Saxonico » (*Collectanea* 4. 134-136). See Ronald E. Buckalew, « Leland's transcript of Aelfric's Glossary », *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 149-164. Buckalew suggests that the same item appears in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 75) as « Glossaria de significacionibus verborum. viii^o. vetust ».

30. *Constantini Aphricani liber cui titulus Pantecni (k).*

Constantine the African (d.c. 1087). The *Pantechne* is Constantine's version of the *Kitâbalmâ-likl* of Haly Abbas (d.994). Printed in *Omnia opera Ysaac ...* (Lyons, 1515). See also Marro T. Malato & Umberto de Martini, ed. & trans., *Costantino L'Africano : L'Arte universale delta medicina {Pantegni} Parte I-Libro I* (Rome, 1961).

31. *Quinque libri Egesippi historici.*

Hegesippus (d.c. 180). See Vincentius Ussani, éd., *Hegesippi Qui Dicitur Historiae Libri V*, 2 vols. (CSEL 66, 75 ; Vienna, 1932-60) ; on manuscripts see 75. viii-xxiii. It appears in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 68), but none of the 3 surviving pre-1100 manuscripts can be associated with Glastonbury.

32. *Historia persecutionis Aphricanae autore S. Victore episcopo.*

St Victor, bp. of Vita (fl. 484). See Michael Petschenig, éd., *Victoris Episcopi Vitensis Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* (CSEL 7 ; Vienna, 1881) ; on manuscripts see p. i-xm. The only surviving English manuscript appears to be Holkham Hall, MS. 461 (s. xii-xiii), whose provenance is undetermined. See also CPL, nos. 798-799.

33. *Categoriae Aristotelis interprète Augustino.*

Pseudo-Augustine. *Categoriae Decem*. Ed. L. Minio-Paluello (*Aristoteles latinus* 1. 1-5 ; Bruges-Paris, 1961), p. 133-175. On manuscripts see p. lxxx-lxxxiii. Also See John

Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre : Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 16-17. Marenbon points out that 19 manuscripts survive from the ninth and tenth centuries, although this work became less popular in the eleventh. Two copies appear in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 73), one of which is preceded by Prophyry's Introduction (Isagoge), a linking which occurs in many manuscripts.

34. *Grammatica Smaragdi monachi.*

Smaragdus (d. post 825). *Grammatica major seu Commentarius in Donatum*. Portions are edited by Aldo Marsili, « De Smaragdi opere, quod 'Liber in partibus Donati' vulgo inscribitur », *Studi Mediolatini e volgari* 2 (1954), 71-96. See also J. Leclercq, « Smaragde et la chrétienne », *Revue du moyen âge latin* 4 (1948), 15-22. The poetic prefaces have been edited by E. Dommier (MGH : *Poet, lat.*, 1. 2 [Berlin, 1881], p. 607-15). Listed in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 74) : « Duo libri Smaragdi de Grammatica, unus bonus, alius inutilis ».

35. *Grammatica Erkenberti diaconi ad Theotmarum episcopum.*

Erchanbert of Freising (1st half of 9th cent.). See Wendell Vernon Clausen, éd., *Erchanberti Frisingensis Tractatus super Donatum* (Chicago, 1948). Listed in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 74) ; also Register, p. 514. All of the four known surviving manuscripts come from Continental sources.

36. *Timaeus Platonis interpres Calchidio cum commentariis Josio dedicatis.*

Calcidius (fl. 400). See J. H. Waszink and P. J. Jensen, eds., *Timaeus, a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus* (*Corpus platonicum medii aevi. Plato latinus* 4 ; 2nd edn., [London, 1975]). Listed in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 73). Many manuscripts survive.

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37. *Gulielmus Malmesbiriensis de antiquitate Glesconiensi.*

William of Malmesbury (c. 1090-1143). See John Scott, éd. & trans., *The Early History of Glastonbury : An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's « De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie »* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1981). This text survives in two

heavily interpolated versions, both from Glastonbury — Trinity Coll. Cambridge, MS. R. 5. 33 (724) (c. 1247) and Br. Libr., Addit. 22934 (c. 1313). It is probable that the former is one of the two copies of this work referred to in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 68) ; on which see Scott, p. 36.

38. Vita Patricii autore Gulielmo Malmesbiriensi.

Lost. Leland also found a copy of the first two books of this Life at the Augustinian priory of Christchurch (Twinham), Hampshire, from which he took notes (Collectanea 3. 273-75). He was unable to locate the missing third book either at Christchurch or Glastonbury (see De Scrip- toribus, p. 38). For a reconstruction of William's Life from Leland's summary and earlier sources see Clark H. Slover, « William of Malmesbury's Life of St. Patrick », MP 24 (1926-27), 5-20.

39. Vita Indracti

<autore Gulielmo Malmesbiriensi>

(!).

Lost. See Michael Lapidgb, « The cult of St Indract at Glastonbury », in Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, David Dumville, eds., Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge, 1982), p. 179-212 ; on p. 195-96, in particular, Lapidge examines the relationship between William's lost work and the Life of Indract which survives in Oxford, Bodl. Digby MS. 112, f. 99r-103r. Following no. 42 below Leland adds the following observation : « Tamerwrth portus Cornubiae in uita S. Indracti ». Although this detail does not appear in the Digby Life it does occur in John of Tynemouth's account of Indract in his Sanctilo- gium Angliae. This suggests that this material is not, as previous scholars have postulated, a fourteenth-century addition from a late Cornish source, but that it was in William's own account (or at least in marginal notes to the manuscript of William at Glastonbury). There is a reference to a Life of Indract in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 69), but it is not clear that William of Malmesbury's Life is meant.

40. Vita Benigni< autore Gulielmo Malmesbiriensi>.

Lost. Survives only in John of Tynemouth's abbreviated version and in a thirteenth-century fragment in Anglo Norman ; on which see Carley, John of Glastonbury, p. xxxi. The 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 70) mentions a « Passio Sanctorum Dionisii, Aelphegi, Clementis, Benigni, Neoti, Dunstani & Vincencii ».

41. Vita Dunstani duobus lib ellis < autore Gulielmo Malmesbiriensi> .

See William Stubbs, éd., Memorials of Saint Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury (RS 63 ; London, 1874), p. 250-324. Survives only in Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson Misc. 263 (s. xiv-xvi), on which see Stubbs, p. Lii-Liii. Apart from the reference cited in no. 40 above, the 1247/48 catalogue p. 70) also lists « Vita Sancti Dunstani & beati Nicholai ».

42. Epistolae Albini.

Ed. E. Dummler (MGH : Epist. 4 [Berlin, 1895], p. 18-481 ; see also MGH : Epist. 5 [Berlin, 1899], p. 643-45) ; on manuscripts see 4. 3-13. None of the surviving manuscripts resemble the entry in the 1247/48 catalogue (Williams, p. 71) : « Epistolae Alquini, Albini & Karoli, & bella E-thelstani regis, & exposiciones diversorum verborum grammat. Vita S. Wilfridi. leg ». On Leland's transcription of portions of the « epistolae Albini » at Malmesbury see Rodney M. Thomson, « of Malmesbury and the letters of Alcuin », *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 8 (1977), 147-161.

43. Ortographia Albi

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i (m).

De Orthographia. Ed. Aldo Marsili, *Alcuini Orthographia* (Pisa, 1952). See also the 1247/48 catalogue entry (Williams, p. 71) : « Duo libri Albini de ortographia, quorum unus continet orto-graphiam Bedae, alter lib. Caroli & Alquini de Dialectica. leg. » ; also Register (p. 514) ; « Bedas et Albinus de ortographia ». On manuscripts see also Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911-1931), 1. 282.

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44. Dialectica Albini (n).

De Dialectica. Printed PL 101. 951-976. On manuscripts see Manitius, 1. 284.

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Appendix : Other references in Leland's writings to works in the Glastonbury library

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1. Oswald the Younger of Ramsey. See *De Scriptoribus*, p. 172 : « Tantum memini reperisse me duos lucubrationum Oswoldi codices ; unum Glessoburgi Somurotrigum, alterum Ramesegae Fennicolarum ». See also Lapidge (n. 14).
 2. St Patrick's Epistle. For a summary of and quotation from this text see *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii*, p. 56. On the charter itself see Carley, *John of Glastonbury*, 2. 357-58.
 3. Anonymous monk of Glastonbury. A chronicle which contains an account of the excavation of King Arthur's tomb and of the removal of his body to a new location at the time of King Edward I — see *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii*, p. 132-134, 138-139. The descriptions are very similar to those contained in Adam of Domerham.
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Notes

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 - (1) For a discussion of Leland's education and his early fascination with manuscripts see James P. Carley, « John Leland in Paris : the evidence of his poetry », *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), 1-50.
 - (2) Quoted in Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1813-20), 1. 198. No official record of the commission survives.
 - (3) See Wood, 1. 198.
 - (4) Quoted in Lucy Toulmin Smith, éd., *The itinerary of John Leland*, 5 vols. (London, 1906-1910), 2.148.
 - (5) This was published with a commentary by John Bale as *The laboryouse Journey & serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees* (London, 1549 ; rpt. Amsterdam & Norwood, N.J., 1975).
2.
 - (6) This survives in Cambridge, MS. U.L. Ee. v. 14.
 - (7) Ed. A. Hall, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1709).
 - (8) See R. L. Poole & M. Bateson, eds., *Index Britanniae Scriptorum Quos ex variis bibliothecis non paroo labore collegit Ioannes Baleus cum aliis* (Oxford, 1902).
 - (9) On this topic see James P. Carley, « John Leland and his manuscript collections », forthcoming.
 - (10) See « John Leland and his manuscript collections ».
3.
 - (11) See Sheerin's extract of « John Leland at Work : Bodl. MS. Auct. F. 2. 14 and B.L. MS.

Cotton Vitellius A. xix », *Manuscripta* 19 (1975), 83 ; also « John Leland and Milred of Worcester », *Manuscripta* 21 (1977 ;, 172-180.

(12) « Leland's transcript of Aelfric's Glossary », *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 149-164.

(13) « Identifiable books from the pre-Conquest library of Malmesbury Abbey », *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982), 1-19.

(14) « The Present State of Anglo-Latin Studies », in Michael W. Herren, éd., *Insular Latin Studies. Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles : 550-1066* (Toronto, 1981), p. 64.

(15) Antonia McLean, *Humanism and the rise of science in Tudor England* (New York, 1972), p. 90-91.

4.

(16) *Eram aliquot abhinc annis Glessoburgi Somurotrigum, ubi antiquissimum simul & famosissimum est totius insulae nostrae coenobium, animumque longo studiorum labore fessum, favente Richardo Whitingo ejusdem loci abbate, recreabam ; donee novus quidam cum legendi turn discendi ardor me inflammaret. Supervenit autem ardo ille citius opinione. Itaque statim me contuli ad bibliothecam, non omnibus perviam, ut sacrosanc-
tae vetustatis reliquias, quarum tantus ibi numerus, quantus nullo alio facile Britanniae loco, diligentissime evolverem. Vix certe limen intraveram, cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo ; eaque de causa pedem paululum sistebam. Deinde, salutato loci numine, per dies aliquot omneis forulos curiosissime excussi. {De Scriptoribus, 1. 41).*

(17) On his two trips after the Dissolution see E. H. Bates, « Leland in Somersetshire, 1540-1542 », *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 33 (1887), 60-136.

(18) For example, at Malmesbury — which was in many ways a comparable monastery to Glastonbury — he noted only 24 manuscripts.

(19) The earlier catalogue, dating from 1247/48, includes the titles of nearly 500 manuscripts bound in about 340 volumes. It was first printed by Thomas Hearne in *Johannis . . . Glastoniensis, Chronica sive Historia de rebus Glastoniensibus*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1726), 2. 423-44 ; reprinted by T. W. Williams, *Somerset Mediaeval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), p. 55-78. Subsequent references will be to Williams' edition.

(20) For Bale's comments on this topic see Leslie P. Fairfield, *John Bale Mythmaker for the English* (West Lafayette, Indiana, 1976), p. 116-117.

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(21) On Leland as defender of Geoffrey of Monmouth see James P. Carley, « Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur : the battle of the books », *Interpretations*, 15

(1984), 86-100.

6.

(22) Personal communication.

(23) Wesley M. Stevens, who has spent much time working on the Cotton manuscript, also suggests this

7.

(a) libri eras, after ueteris.

(b) Leland has bracketed nos. 7-8 together.

8.

(bb) Arturi : Arthur ms.

(c) Leland has placed a pointing hand in marg. before Ossa.

(d) Stephani inserted later above line.

(e) et sepulta ... aram : crossed out in later hand.

9.

(f) blank space left in manuscript.

10.

(g) trefoil in left marg.

(h) no. 23 has # in marg.

(i) Leyland. Vidi num legi possit Tatwini added in later hand.

11.

(j) compoto corrected to computo in manuscript.

12.

(k) de corrected to cui in manuscript.

13.

(l) autore ... Malmesbiriensi : nos. 38-41 are bracketed together in the manuscript with the same author attribution. (m) Albimi ms.

14.

(n) Leland has bracketed nos. 43-44 together.

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John Leland and the contents of English pre-Dissolution libraries: Glastonbury

abbey, it is recommended to take a boat trip through the canals of the city and the lake of Love, but do not forget that the mathematical horizon is intuitive.

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