

II.—EARLY NORTHUMBRIAN LIBRARIES.

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The proud position in the history of European education to which the combined Irish and Italian currents of learning had been able to raise our Anglian forefathers in the days of the Heptarchy was due mainly to the magnificent libraries with which their great monasteries and schools were equipped. Lindisfarne, Hexham, Wearmouth, Jarrow and York were famous in their best days for their collections of books and manuscripts. The greatness of their teachers and scholars reflects the adequacy and the extent of their libraries, and the efficiency of their scriptoria.¹

An interesting question presents itself at the outset. Did the Romans leave behind them any copies of their recognized classics? It has been sufficiently well established that wherever the legions made a conquest, schools immediately followed,² and this being so, there would necessarily be at least some books in each centre of Roman or Romanized population. The *litteratores*, *grammatici*, *rhetores*, and *philosophi* to whom the care of Roman youth was committed would possess, or have access to, such books

¹ In connexion with the scriptoria it is interesting to note that our north country abbeys of Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Wearmouth and York ranked, especially in the eighth century, among the most active and artistically important in the world. Their script work and illumination was the outcome of the blending together of the Italian and the Celtic styles. There was scarcely a district of western Europe where Northumbrian script work did not make its influence felt. See Middleton, *Illuminated MSS. in Classical and Mediaeval Times*, cap. iv-viii.

² Tacitus, *Agricola*, XXI; see Geraldine Hodgson, *Primitive Christian Education*, cap. iii; Dr. Bigg, *The Church's Task under the Empire*, p. 7, and De Boissier, *Fin du Paganisme*, vol. i, p. 195.

as were in popular use in Rome and throughout the empire.³ The Romano-Britons themselves were not an uncultured race. They had imbibed enough of the spirit of Roman civilization to appreciate the beauties of Latin literature and Roman law.⁴ Gildas (sixth century) says that not Britannia but Romania should the island be called, owing to the extent to which Roman institutions had permeated its inhabitants.⁵

There is good reason to believe that law texts, case digests, and rescripts were to be found in great numbers in this country during the years of administration by Roman officials.⁶ Indeed the names of some of the greatest of the imperial jurists and text-writers were closely connected with the legal practice of this province. Papinian was a praetorian prefect at York in the time of Severus, and it is said that Ulpian and Paulus were associated with him as assessors. The former of these states that a law regulating the nomination of heirs under certain conditions was due to a rescript addressed from the emperor to Virius Lupus then praeses of Britain.⁷

The works quoted by Gildas, the native British historian, are almost exclusively scriptural and theological. He exhibits a very wide knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and ecclesiastical history. He quotes Philo and Porphyry, and makes references showing intimate acquaintance with the teaching of Arius, and the works of Irenaeus, Polycarp and Basil. The writings quoted by Gildas were those most likely to be the standards of the

³ Grammarians were settled in Britain before 80 A.D., e.g. Demetrius of Tarsus. Martial boasts that he is read in Britain (96 A.D.). Virgil is commonly known—so familiar that his lines are found scribbled on stones, as at Silchester. See prof. Haverfield's *Romanization of Roman Britain*, ch. III. Stillingfleet is instructive on this subject. See *Origines*, p. 71. (For Roman education in general, see Bury's *Student's Roman Empire*, 598 and 599).

⁴ British lawyers (*causidicos*) taught by Gauls before 120 A.D. (*Juvenal*, xv, 111).

⁵ Gildas says 'ita ut non Brittania sed Romania insula censeretur,' *De Excidio*, 5.

⁶ Cf. Stillingfleet's *Origines*, p. 220, and *Codex Theodosianus*, 13, title 3, book XI.

⁷ See Sheldon Amos, *Roman Civil Law*, p. 443, and *Digest*, 28, b. 2, 4.

church in Britain at and previous to his own time. He boldly expresses his predilection for foreign rather than native writers. Apparently then he had access to foreign writers.⁸

From these it is safe to conclude that before the advent of either Teutonic invaders or Italian and Celtic missionaries, there was in Britain a fairly large supply of books—classical, legal, and theological (including patristic). To these we may add the records to which Gildas makes reference and of which Nennius says ‘an ample crop has been snatched away by the hostile reapers of foreign nations.’⁹ But there does not seem to be the slightest evidence to support an assumption that anything of this literature remained over and found its way direct into the libraries of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. Whatever literary treasures the Britons may have possessed after the departure of the Romans must have fallen, for the most part, a prey to the barbarian fury of the Saxons and their kindred, or have disappeared with the Britons themselves over the seas, or to the hills and fastnesses to which so many of them betook themselves. But yet it is well within the bounds of probability that some of these books, or copies of them, may have fallen into the hands of Irish teachers who flocked to Wales and the west of England during the sixth and seventh centuries, many of whom, such as St. Abban and St. Finian¹⁰ afterwards returned to Ireland, doubtless carrying with them a few parchment-scripts which they had acquired as personal property. The wandering British disciples too, of the Irish schools, may have taken over with them some of their native books; but the further probability of such books finding their way from Ireland to Northumbria must be considered decidedly remote.¹¹

⁸ Gildas, *History*, sec. 7.

⁹ Nennius, *History of the Britons*, Prologue i.

¹⁰ For St. Abban, v. *Early and Mediaeval Abingdon*, by Rev. J. P. Conway, O.P. (Mawson, Swan & Morgan, 1885), and *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xii, October, p. 276, etc.

¹¹ v. Dr. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 591 *et seq.*

The earliest Northumbrian library was that of Lindisfarne, founded by St. Aidan and his companions in 635 A.D. The nucleus of this library naturally came from Iona—the island monastery and school established by St. Columba in 563, which rapidly became one of the greatest centres of learning in western Europe. The inhabitants of Lindisfarne, untouched in the early days of their work by direct continental influence, would arrange the contents of their book-collections after the manner to which they were accustomed in their former home at Iona. The general character of their books too would follow the Irish models.¹² Their script work was purely Celtic and is among the most beautiful of its kind in the world.

The books of these Irish monks, at Iona and elsewhere, included works on astronomy, chronology, classics—Greek as well as Latin,—mathematics, theology, philosophy, natural science, history and hagiology, and even Hebrew writings.¹³ Their mathematical and astronomical proficiency was evidenced by their treatment of the paschal controversy which raged during the seventh century. There can be no doubt but that their new establishment at Lindisfarne was fully and comprehensively equipped for the literary and religious work in which it played so prominent a part.

It was, however, only a brief period of isolation which was allowed to the Celtic foundations. The Italian influence, emanating from Canterbury chiefly, soon impressed itself on the

¹² See Savage, *Mediaeval Libraries*, in the 'Antiquaries Books' series. The books of the Celtic monks were kept in satchels suspended from pegs driven into the walls of the book-room or chapter-house. In the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, series 6, vol. v, 1915, there is an instructive and well-illustrated article by J. J. Buckley entitled 'Some Early Ornamented Leatherwork,' which gives a good account of these book-satchels or 'cumdachs,' as they were called, and of leather bindings. This method of arranging and preserving their books is still followed by the Abyssinian monks (see illustrated account in Curzon's *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, Milford, 1916).

¹³ Cf. Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, cap. i.

north. Canterbury, Peterborough, Abingdon, Lichfield and a few other great southern establishments, already possessed large libraries. From these, and especially from Canterbury, we may reasonably assume that there was a considerable acquisition of religious and classical books of a much more comprehensive range than those derived from Celtic sources. The growth of Roman influence in the latter part of the seventh century, and the very numerous pilgrimages made to Rome by distinguished and influential Englishmen,¹⁴ together with the erection in Northumbria itself of Biscop's two purely Italian houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow accelerated the adoption of continental text-books and foreign works of a religious nature. These, with the philosophers and fathers, supplied scope for the talents of the Northumbrian scholars in forming paraphrases and glosses, as well as multiplying copies and making translations.¹⁵

Drawing then in the fullest degree from both Irish and Italian sources, we cannot wonder at the pride with which the great Alcuin¹⁶ sounds the praises of the libraries and schools of his native Northumbria at a time when literature as a national

¹⁴ Dr. H. K. Mann, *History of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages*, vol. I, part II, pp. 340, 1.

¹⁵ The *Journal of Theological Studies*, p. 530, for the year 1909: 'The books—the old exemplars brought from Italy and the new and magnificent copies made from them—were the most priceless possession of the great Northumbrian religious houses: and it was with gifts of their best that they endowed their Mother Church of Rome and their daughter missions to Germany, what they had with infinite pains collected or reproduced that with superb prodigality they distributed. The most splendid Bible that Northumbria could produce was sent as a tribute of devotion to the Pope: ancient and modern treasures alike were lavished upon the English missionaries, Willibrord, Boniface, and Burchard and formed the glory of the mediaeval libraries of Wurtzburg, and Fulda and Echternach.'—C. H. Turner.

¹⁶ It was this Alcuin 'who created the Anglo-Carolingian school of illumination by introducing in the eighth century into the kingdom of the Franks manuscripts and manuscript illuminators from the monasteries of Northumbria.' See Middleton, *Illuminated MSS.*, etc. V. also Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. VIII, book IX, pp. 143-150.

growth was almost non-existent in France. To Northumbria, indeed, to an extent only equalled by Ireland, France owed the revival of learning and the beginnings of that educational system which gave birth to the university of Paris and developed into the great synthesis of thought known as scholastic philosophy.

The earliest books which found a place in the monastic and cathedral libraries were special portions of the Holy Scriptures, the psalter, the Gospels, service books, and passionaries of the saints. No others would at the first be necessary, but as the political and ecclesiastical relations of the nation developed and widened, almost the whole Greek and Latin classical authors became known and were incorporated.

No catalogue as such, of the books in our first Northumbrian library is known to have been preserved, but from our knowledge of the character, the learning, and the work of its first founders, we must conclude that it was well worthy of the term applied to that of Peterborough, by Ingulph, at the same date—'ingens bibliotheca.'

For Hexham bishop Acca¹⁷ gathered together with the greatest pains, and placed within the walls of the monastery what Bede calls a large and noble library. Annals, hagiographies, local records, together with the theological, philosophical and general literature usually studied, would constitute its contents. It is safe to assume also that Bede's works would be found there as soon as they were issued by their author. Moreover the close connexion between Bede and the bishops of Hexham makes it highly probable that he made use of the collection there established. This library was totally destroyed when the monastery was burned by the Danes in 875. Aelred says 'Bibliotheca illa nobilissima quam praesul sanctus condiderat, tota deperit.'¹⁸

¹⁷ Acca, fifth bishop of Hexham, 709-740. See Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, I (44 Surtees Society publ.).

¹⁸ Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, was born at Hexham in 1109. After having resided

An approximate idea of the books contained in the Jarrow and Wearmouth library¹⁹ may be obtained by a consideration of the authors or works cited by name or quoted without special reference, by the great teacher whose whole period of literary activity was spent in the Jarrow monastery. Of course it is not suggested that every work quoted or cited by Bede, or by any other author, was actually present in the library which he used.²⁰ Many of the quotations would be at second hand, but the evidence obtainable is sufficient to warrant the belief that in the case of Bede the great majority were contained in the local book-collections.

It is to York, however, that we look as being the best known type and representative of the early Northumbrian library, for of it our direct knowledge is fullest, and no less a person than Alcuin—once its librarian—has given us an insight into the treasures which it contained. There, he tells us, you will find the ancient fathers and the products of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew learning.²¹


‘ Quod pater Hieronymus, quod sensit Hilarius atque
Ambrosius praesul, simul Augustinus, et ipse
Sanctus Athanasius, quod Orosius edit avitus
Quidquid Gregorius summus docet et Leo papa;
Basilius quidquid, Fulgentius atque coruscant.
Cassiodorus item, Chrysostomus atque Johannes,
Quidquid et Athelmus docuit, quid Beda magister,
Quae Victorinus scripsere Boetius atque,
Historici veteres, Pompeius, Plinius, ipse
Acer Aristoteles, rhetor quoque Tullius ingens.

in Scotland for some years he became a Cistercian monk at Rievaulx in Yorkshire, of which abbey he was afterwards elected abbot (1146). Among his various historical and religious writings are a life of S. Ninian, and a work on the miracles of the church of Hexham. See Raine's *Priory of Hexham* (44 and 46 Surtees Society publ.).

¹⁹ See Bede's *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. Wilcox and Boutflower.

²⁰ A list of the authors quoted by Bede is given by Dr. Plummer in the introduction to his edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, p. 50 *et seq.*

²¹ *Monumenta Alcuiniana* (Jaffé), p. 128, lines 1535-1560.



Quid quoque Sedulius, vel quid canit ipse Juvenus,
 Alcimius et Clemens, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator,
 Quid Fortunatus, vel quid Lactantius edunt.
 Quae Maro Virgilius, Statius, Lucanus et auctor
 Artis grammaticae vel quid scripsere magistri,
 Quid Probus atque Focas, Donatus, Priscianusve,
 Servius, Enticius, Pompeius, Comminianus,
 Invenies alios perplures lector, ibidem
 Egregrios studiis arte et sermone magistros
 Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu; etc.'

This great library was founded by archbishop Egbert early in the eighth century, apparently on the model of Jarrow, where he himself had been a disciple of Bede.²² It is referred to with intense pride by Alcuin, who enumerates, as may be seen from the foregoing list, a fairly large proportion of the writers of the ancient world. The ecclesiastical tendency of the enumerator's mind led him to mention such authors as would be most familiar to him through constant use, while those whose works were of a lighter nature, or of less value theologically or morally—such as Ovid, Horace, Livy, Persius, Juvenal, Caesar, Homer, etc., were left to be included under the 'alios perplures' of line

²² In favour of the statement that archbishop Egbert was a disciple of Bede at Jarrow we have: (1) the positive statement of Alcuin that he was placed for the purpose of education, when still very young, in a monastery. (2) The definite statement of the anonymous author of the ninth century *Vita Alcuini* (v. Jaffé, *Monumenta*, vol. vi) that Egbert, the master of Alcuin, was a pupil of Bede, and as Bede taught nowhere but at Jarrow, therefore the place of Egbert's education must have been that monastic house. This testimony is accepted by Henschenius, Mabillon, and Dr. Plummer, and the weight of these authorities is decidedly important. (3) A careful consideration of the political and family relationships of the period within which Egbert's age would permit him to be entrusted to the care of a monastery (between 705 and 712 probably) makes it highly improbable that any other houses than Hexham or Jarrow would be safe and suitable places, and the likelihood is in favour of Jarrow. It is, however, true that Alcuin himself does not state the place of his master's education, and this is remarkable, for he must have known it. We must remember that it was York alone that he was eulogizing, not Jarrow.

1557. We can scarcely suppose that the enthusiastic book-collectors Albert and Alcuin whose travels so greatly enriched the collection, would allow such flowers of genius to escape their efforts to glorify their beloved cathedral library.²³

There is every reason to believe that the York library remained practically intact until the time of king Alfred, and possibly for some time later. Archbishop Boniface of Mainz,²⁴ Lullus his successor,²⁵ Alcuin when resident in France, and others, frequently asked for books from York, sometimes sending others in exchange, and in 849 (only twenty-two years from the accession of Alfred) Servatus Lupus,²⁶ abbot of Ferrières,

²³ Alcuin was born in Northumbria in the year 735. At a very early age he entered the cathedral school of York where he had for his instructors Albert and Egbert. On the appointment of Albert to the archbishopric on the death of Egbert in 767 the mastership of the school fell to Alcuin. He devoted his energies for many years in perfecting the school, into which he introduced the system in use at the present day of dividing the pupils into classes with special teachers for each subject. He still further enriched the already famous library with additional literary treasures. In 781 he accepted the invitation of Charlemagne to undertake the important work of organizing the 'palace school.' As an educator he was eminently successful. He possessed to a great degree the natural characteristics of the true teacher—a love of the young and an enthusiasm for his vocation. Many of the most famous men of the time received their education in his school of Tours, and among those who owned Alcuin as their teacher we find Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, and later, archbishop of Mainz, the most learned man of the ninth century, who raised the monastic school and library at Fulda to a position which rivalled those of York and Tours. Alcuin died at Tours in 804. See Gaskoin's *Alcuin, Life and Works*, 1904; or *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, p. 276-279.

²⁴ Boniface, originally named Winfrid, was born in or near Crediton about the year 680, became bishop of Cologne in 744, and archbishop of Mainz in 745. He was chiefly instrumental in founding the famous abbey of Fulda. He suffered martyrdom at Dorkhum in 755. See *Life and Times of S. Boniface*, by J. M. Williamson, M.D., 1904.

²⁵ Lullus, who succeeded Boniface in the see of Mainz, was a Northumbrian. Much of his correspondence, as well as that of St. Boniface, has been published by Jaffé in the *Monumenta Rerum Germanicarum*, vol. III (Moguntina). He died in 786.

²⁶ Servatus Lupus (805-862) was educated first in the abbey of Ferrières under Aldric (died 836) and afterwards at Fulda under Rabanus Maurus, who had himself been for six years a pupil of Alcuin at Tours. Under his rule Ferrières became a

wrote to Altsig, prior of York, requesting the loan of certain manuscripts of Quintilian, Jerome, and Bede, in order that he might have copies of them made, promising at the same time to faithfully return them. From this letter and from another written about the same time by Lupus to archbishop Vigmund we are enabled to see that the influence and literary reputation of Northumbria were not yet extinct in the middle of the ninth century.²⁷ —

The ultimate fate of the books of Lindisfarne and Jarrow and York is to some extent a matter of conjecture. Danish raids would account for the loss of the majority in each case, but Durham was the lineal descendant of Lindisfarne and its continuator, and many of the precious books of their former home were carried away with them by the monks of Lindisfarne when they fled in 875 to return no more. These were finally housed in the cathedral library at Durham where some of them, deprived of their magnificent bindings, still are preserved in the custody of the dean and chapter.²⁸

noted literary centre. Of its monastic library only a few fragments remain, one of which is now in the Vatican library (reg. 1,573). Lupus wrote biographies of St. Maximin of Trier, and St. Wigbert of Fritzlar—an Englishman; and a few theological works. There are extant 132 of his letters which are valuable evidences of a high literary standard of purity, and contain much information of historical interest. See Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* II, p. 684. Vigmund was archbishop of York 837-854. See Dixon, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*.

²⁷ Otfried of Weissenburg, a schoolmaster and notary, the first poet of the German nation known to us by name, in his rhyming version of the Gospels makes use of the works of only three writers besides the Bible and a few of the fathers, and those three writers are Bede of Jarrow, Alcuin of York, and Rabanus Maurus, the pupil of Alcuin. Otfried is interesting as being also an early example of an author applying for the sanction of his ecclesiastical superior for the publication of his work. See *Epistle* 10 (Jaffé), *Monumenta Moguntina*, p. 328. His work was written between the years 863 and 871. See *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. XI, p. 350.

²⁸ There is in the Royal Library at Stockholm an interesting relic of the Norse raiders. The *Codex Aureus*—a Northumbrian Bible MS.—has by some special good fortune escaped the flames to adorn a modern library. It is thought to have

Jarrow became a cell to Durham in 1093, and then probably whatever of its ancient books remained (except service-books) would be transferred also to Durham. There is in existence a most valuable twelfth-century catalogue of books formerly in the Durham monastic library. This list contains the names of ever three hundred and fifty volumes. Bishop Carileph (died 1095) gave to the same library about fifty books, all of them of a religious or historical nature. It is not known from what source he obtained them.²⁹

By far the greater portion of the early books were in Latin, a few seem to have been known and used in the Greek versions. Among the Durham books before the middle of the twelfth century there were several volumes in English. Although the Celtic teachers in the Northumbrian schools were acquainted with Greek as well as with Latin, yet the study of classical Greek literature throughout the whole of England as part of the regular education of the more advanced scholars is due to the influence of archbishop Theodore, abbot Hadrian, and their Roman followers (668-700). The institutions founded in Northumbria under the influence of Canterbury would certainly promote the knowledge of Greek, and therefore the demand for Greek books in that kingdom. It is very easy however to overestimate both the extent and the duration of this Greek learning.

The philosophical writings of the Greeks were present at first in our northern collections generally in Latin translations. Before the ninth century, of Aristotle only the logical treatise *De Interpretatione* was known in the Latin versions of Boethius and Victorinus. The Aristotelian commentaries on the 'Categories' and the 'Predicables' in Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Plato's

been written in Lindisfarne during the seventh or the eighth century. See Middleton, *Illuminated MSS.*, etc., p. 94. Also *Journal of Theological Studies*, no. x (1909), p. 529 *et seq.* for Durham books.

²⁹ *Catalogi veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm.* (7 Surt. Soc. publ.).

Timaeus was used in the translation of Chalcidius (fifth century), as well as in the original. Platonism was known to our Northumbrian scholars in common with the rest of western Christendom at that time only through the writings of Augustine and the Neo-platonists. Translations and compilations of Latin authors of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries were very numerous, and the standard Roman grammarians were in regular use. Cicero's *De Officiis* and the *Topica* were known and studied. Seneca and Lucretius were also read.

Copies of the works possessed (or borrowed for the purpose) were assiduously multiplied for the purposes of reference and teaching, and apparently also as articles of exchange and gift. The scriptorium was an essential adjunct to the library.

From our Northumbrian book-stores numerous products of the untiring energy of the monkish and professional scribes were sent out to the Low Countries, Germany, France, and even to Italy. They were greatly sought after, and prized for their accuracy and beauty of execution. Many examples of them are to be seen in continental collections. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that out of the libraries and scriptoria of Northumbria came the beginnings of the literature of Germany and France. Nor were Lindisfarne, Hexham, Wearmouth, Jarrow and York libraries isolated examples of great book-collections. Melrose, Tynemouth, Coldingham, Whitby, Ripon, and the smaller conventual houses, possessed libraries adequate to their needs. These monasteries and nunneries produced learned theologians, poets, and annalists, and this could only be achieved by the aid of a very considerable collection of books to which they could have ready access. The works of Caedmon, Cynewulf, and the authors of the war poetry and the paraphrases bear testimony to the fact.

Concerning the books possessed by the great abbey of Whitby, unfortunately little is known, yet Whitby produced many

learned and illustrious men such as Wilfrid, John of Beverley, Bosa, Oftfor, Ætla, and Tatfrid, and it undoubtedly played a very important part in settling the form of Christianity which was to prevail in this nation as a whole. It was also the home of our first national poet, and we are bound to believe that its library and scriptorium were large and important.

The only certain direct product of the Whitby scriptorium is a Latin life of St. Gregory the Great by an anonymous monk of that house. This book was written there about the year 713, and in it the author laments the fewness of the materials which he can find for his work. It is now, where it has been since the ninth century, in the monastery library of St. Gall in Switzerland, where also repose several other products of our Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian scriptoria.³⁰

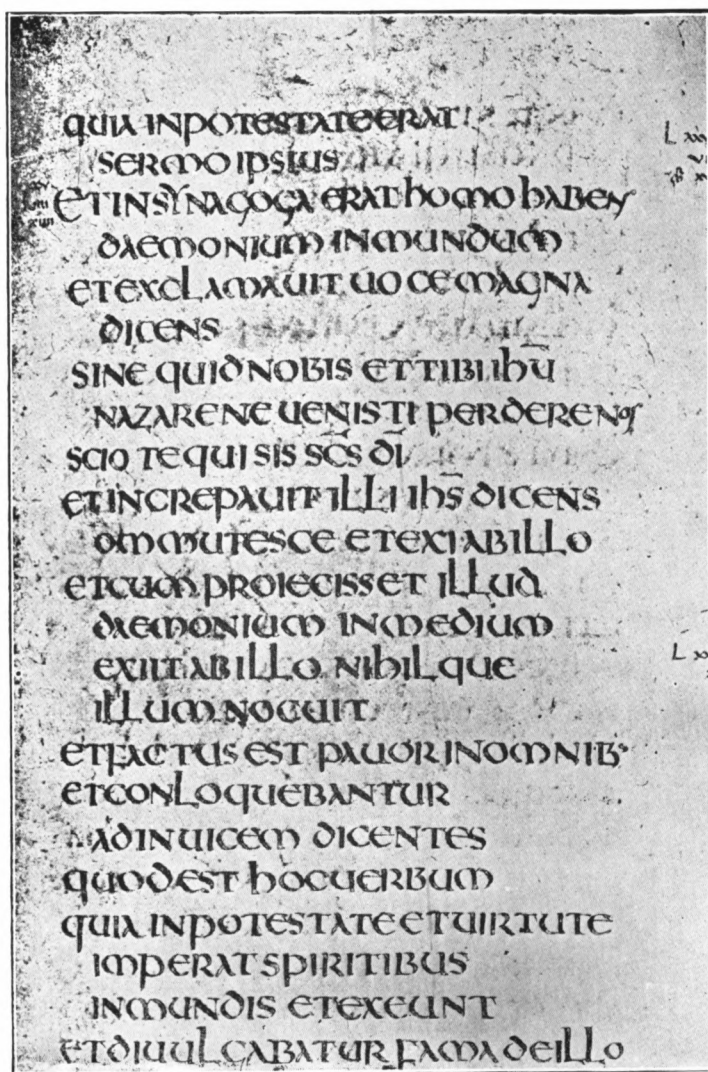
Ripon possessed a professor of theology before the year 705, and we may therefore safely infer the existence of at least a theological and philosophical library.

In regard to royal or private libraries in Northumbria we have no particulars, but there is evidence that some at least of the Northumbrian kings were not insensible to the pleasures and advantages of book-lore, and that something in the nature of book-collections did exist. Aldfrid (686-705) bought from Benedict Biscop a treatise on cosmography. Somewhat later this same Aldfrid received from St. Adamnan of Iona a book on the Holy Places³¹—an extremely fine work, of which Bede himself made use. We see from these definite instances an interest which was likely to have been pursued to as great an extent as opportunity afforded.³²

³⁰ MS. Gallen, 567. Edited by cardinal Gasquet, with an historical introduction. The author quotes copiously from the sacred Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments, and also from Jerome, Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, and from St. Gregory himself (Epistles and Homily xxvii).

³¹ Copies of this book were made at the expense of Aldfrid for the benefit of lesser persons. See Bede, *H. E.*, bk. v, ch. xv. (Bohn's edition, p. 337).

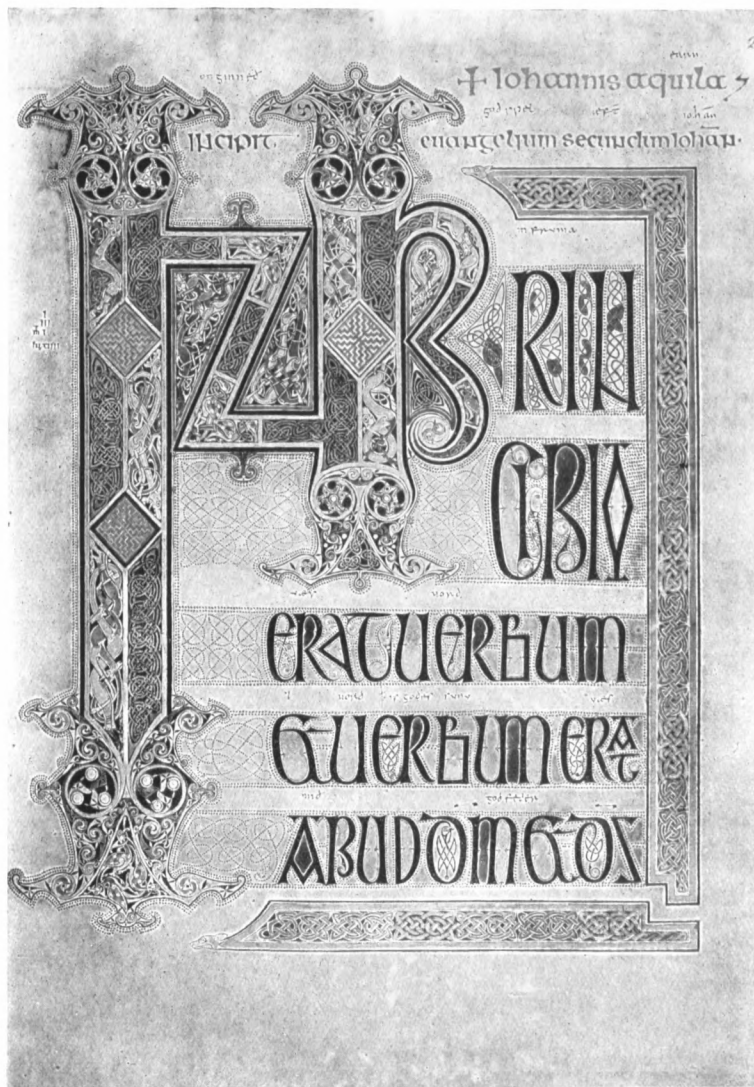
³² In 757 pope Paul I sent to Pepin, king of the Franks, a present of many books,



CODEx AMIATINUS (see page 105).

SECTION OF A COLUMN, LUKE IV, 32-37.

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THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS (see opposite page).

ST. JOHN, chap. I, portion of verse 1.

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After the Norman Conquest the general development of Scholasticism greatly encouraged the formation of collegiate and conventual libraries, and the rise of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century gave a still greater impetus in the same direction. These later collections, however, do not fall within the range of this present paper.

APPENDIX.

There are many glorious relics of Northumbrian script work which deserve special notice. Of these reference can be made here only to a few.

(1) The *Codex Amiatinus*, written in Jarrow under the direction of abbot Ceolfrid before the year 715. It is the best extant manuscript of the Vulgate. This magnificent exemplar now reposes in the Laurentian library at Florence, and is being used as a primary authority in the revision of the Vulgate by the Commission sitting in Rome for that purpose under the presidency of cardinal Gasquet. For a full account of this codex and also a leaf from another copy made in Jarrow at the same time, see Mr. Boutflower's edition of *Lives of the Abbots*, etc.; Dr. C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x, 509-544; and the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. iv, p. 81-83, where there is also a beautiful facsimile page of St. Luke; iv, 32-37; also vol. xv, p. 518.

(2) The Lindisfarne Gospels (690-700), now in the British Museum. It appears to be a copy of a text originally written in Naples. For penmanship and decorative art this manuscript ranks only second to the Book of Kells (now in Trinity college library, Dublin). The chief glory of this 'Textus Sancti

including an antiphonary, Aristotle's *Dialectics*, the works of Dionysius, and other different Greek writers (Mann, *Hist. Early Med. Popes*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 344). In this we have an example of a half-civilized Frankish king receiving from Rome a present of books, which, had there not been an appropriateness in the gift, would hardly have been sent.

Cuthberti' as it is also called, is its fine picture at the head of each gospel, of its proper evangelist, clad in regal splendour. The late Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates thus described it. 'No Syrian tax-gatherer nor fisherman of Galilee, but an Egfrid or Keolwulf, only the crowns replaced by aureoles, the sceptres by pens; while the articles of furniture enable us to conjure up some picture of the interior of the great palace of Bamburgh. The Evangelists wear state dresses, the mantles always of royal purple, the tunics of blue or pink or green. Their thrones are severally: a plain red stool, with a pattern of circles and triangles incised round the edge, and cross-pieces to the legs, that are painted blue on the inner side: two simple chairs in green and yellow one with a plain blue cushion, the other with one embroidered with gold. . . . We are also shown a brilliant red curtain with six iron rings on a rod, a small round table and foot-stool inlaid with oblong designs. . . . All four Evangelists have bare feet: even this may be part of their regal state.'³³ The text has been reproduced, Latin and Saxon, by the Surtees Society in four volumes.³⁴

(3) The Stonyhurst Gospel—a copy of St. John's Gospel found in St. Cuthbert's coffin. It was probably written in Lindisfarne or Jarrow during the seventh century. It is now in Stonyhurst college.

(4) The Vulgate Gospels. Two seventh or eighth-century copies still preserved in the cathedral library at Durham.—See *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x, and the Durham Catalogue (7 Surtees Society publ.), page 197.

(5) Cassiodorus super Psalterium, also in Durham cathedral library, probably written in Jarrow monastery at or about the time of Bede. This is a beautifully written book. It has been traditionally ascribed in part at least to the Venerable Bede himself, but corroborative evidence is wanting. See Catalogue of Durham Books, page 212 (B. II, 30) (7 Surtees Society publ.).

³³ C. J. Bates, *Hist. of Northd.*, p. 70.

³⁴ 28, 39, 43 and 48 Surt. Soc. publ.