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MORE LOST LITERATURE. II.

An annotated corpus of the extant medieval catalogues of monastic libraries would be at once interesting and valuable. It would probably throw considerable light on the extent and formation of these libraries, and might also give some indication of the relative popularity and use of some of the different books. Many such catalogues have, of course, already been published, notably by the late Dr. M. R. James, but there are others equally valuable which are still generally inaccessible. The lists drawn up by John Boston of Bury are still unpublished, though they would probably throw considerable light on the comparative frequency of various books in monastic libraries. Another interesting catalogue is that of the library of the Premonstratensian abbey at Titchfield in Hampshire. The abbey itself, and some at any rate of the books from the monastic library, passed eventually into the possession of the Dukes of Portland. Amongst the manuscripts still preserved at Welbeck is one which contains a catalogue, drawn up in 1400 during the abbacy of John of Romesey, of the monastic library at Titchfield. The kindness and courtesy of the Duke of Portland and of the librarian at Welbeck, Mr. F. Needham, have made it possible for me to examine this manuscript and to transcribe the catalogue contained in it. It is hoped to publish it in full at some future date; here we must be content to indicate the various English books to be found in the library at the time when the catalogue was drawn up. For a comparatively small place Titchfield possessed a very useful library of over three hundred volumes, many of them containing a large number of different works. The library was especially rich in theological and medical works and the catalogue—a well-written and well preserved work—has been carefully drawn up. A transcription of the manuscript, made in 1739, is preserved in the British Museum as MS. Harley 6603. On the whole the

transcription seems to be fairly accurate, though the punctuation and capitalization of the original have been ignored. Some of the items which have been too much for the transcriber are represented by dashes or, occasionally, omitted altogether. The catalogue occupies the first thirty-two folios of the original manuscript and it is preceded by an interesting account of the form and arrangement of the library—quoted and translated by F. Madan.¹ The books were roughly classified according to subject, and to each was given a press-mark consisting of a letter of the alphabet and a roman numeral. All the different works to be found in a single manuscript are enumerated, but identification with extant manuscripts is rendered difficult by the fact that the usual incipits of the second folio are not given. Perhaps one of the most interesting manuscripts in the collection was one, under the heading of Theology, with the press-mark C. II. Its contents were as follows:

.C. II.

Hystoriale scolasticum.

Magacosmus Bernardi.

Sermones cuiusdam religiosi.

Septem sacramenta ecclesie.

Porrisius de libro *periermeniarum*.

Tabula *super* decretis imperfecta tamen.

Hystoria britonum.

De conflictu *inter* philomenam et bubonem in anglicis.

This must have been a copy, which has since been lost, of the Middle English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale" The other contents of the manuscript show that it cannot be identified with either of the two extant manuscripts in which the poem has been preserved. The entry is interesting as providing some further evidence for the popularity of the poem. A work on a similar subject, though in either French or Latin, seems to have been present in the monastic library. In the list of books "in gallico" we find the following:

¹ *Books in Manuscript*, p. 78.

.Q. XVI.

Gesta Beues de suthampton.

Altercaciones inter bubonem et philomenam.

Presumably this work, whatever it may have been, was written in French, though the statement that the manuscripts are "in gallico" merely seems to indicate that some of the works in them, not necessarily all, were in that language.

On the whole, considering the size of the library, it had comparatively few English works. Apart from the "Owl and the Nightingale" the only other works which are definitely stated to be in English were:

.E. VII.

Legenda sanctorum que dicitur aurea in anglicis.
and in .Q. XI.

De die iudicii in anglicis.

The first of these may have been a copy of the "Festial" of John Myrc, a collection of legends based mainly on the Legenda Aurea. If so it is an earlier copy than any of those still extant; in fact it is questionable if it is not too early to be the work of Myrc. The exact date of the "Festial" is uncertain. It is usually said to have been written c. 1400 but all we know for certain is that it was finished before 1415. If this was indeed a copy of Myrc's work then Titchfield must have obtained it very soon after its completion. It is possible, however, that the title refers simply to one of the many manuscripts, extant or lost, of the Southern Legendary. The "De die iudicii" was presumably a manuscript of one of the half-dozen Middle English poems which treat of "The Fifteen Signs before the Judgement," or at anyrate something pretty similar.

It is interesting to speculate concerning the number of English works which were destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries. Perhaps a goodly proportion of the Old and Early Middle English literature was lost at this time, but it is very possible that there was comparatively little remaining to be lost. It may be worth noting that fewer English works

appear in the later catalogues than in the earlier ones. In sixteenth-century catalogues vernacular writings begin to appear again, but such works are usually more or less contemporary. On the whole it seems very probable that much of the lost Old and Early Middle English literature had already disappeared long before the dissolution. There is, of course, far too little evidence for any certainty on this point to be possible. We have no means of knowing whether the comparatively few monastic catalogues which happen to have been preserved can be considered as at all representative. Nor can we be certain that, even in these catalogues, all the books in the possession of the library were duly entered up. As at Exeter the older books may still have been in the possession of the monastery but, having become almost unintelligible, were considered worthless and so not entered in the catalogue. Nevertheless, whatever the reason may be, a perusal of the extant catalogues does give the impression that the later the catalogue the fewer the English books which will be noted in it. In the sixteenth century works in the vernacular become more usual, but they are usually contemporary, as in the Syon catalogue, and not from the earlier periods. This is especially noticeable when we have catalogues of different dates for one and the same library. The early twelfth-century catalogue of Durham shows eight English books but the late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century ones show only a single book in the vernacular, and that can hardly be identified with any of the earlier ones. According to the twelfth-century catalogue of the monastic library at Peterborough it possessed at least two English volumes. When the library was again catalogued in the late fourteenth century both these have been lost and the only English works are a couple of tracts contained in the following volumes:

I. xiii.

Sermones diuersi. Excerpta de diuersis doctoribus et de decretis.

Versus sic inc^{tes}: *Fraus profert florem.*

- Tract. de peccato in Spiritum S.
 Versus de maliciis feminarum.
 Vita Simonis de Monteforti Rithmice.
 Vita S. Thome Martyris Anglice.
 Septem mortalia peccata gallice cum eorum speciebus.
 M. xv.
 Ysodorus de summo bono.
 Distinciones super 4^{thum} Sentenciarum versifice sec.
 Alphabetum.
 Versus prouerbiorum Gallice et Anglice.
 Tract. de Sacramentis.
 Tract. de ornamentis Misse pro diuersis Prelatis et Sacerdotibus et quid significant, et de spectantibus ad Missam.
 Versus qui sic inc.: *Scribo Sampsoni*.
 Tract. de diuersis languoribus curandis.²

It must be admitted, however, that the title of this catalogue is given as "Matricularium Librerie Monasterii Burgi S. Petri paucis libris non examinatis," so that the monastery may have possessed English books which have not been entered in this list. When it was catalogued late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century an important and old foundation such as Bury St. Edmund's was had apparently only two English books in the library:

- "169. Magnus liber sermonum in anglica lingua . . .
 258. Regula Beati Benedicti Latine et anglice."³

The latter of these has been identified by Dr. James with the extant MS. 197 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and he suggests, though rather doubtfully, that the former may be the extant Bodleian NEF. 4, 12. It is, perhaps, less surprising to find that in 1424 there were only two English

² M. R. James, "Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Soc. Supplement* 5, 1926).

³ M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, 1895, pp. 30, 32. Note, however, that the catalogue is only fragmentarily preserved. There is some evidence or the existence of at least one other English work at Bury; see C. Fox, *Archæology of Cambridge Region* (Cambridge 1923), p. 300. "A leaden tablet inscribed with a portion of one of Aelfric's homilies—probably the front cover of an MS. volume of the Homilies—was found on the site of Bury Abbey (R. A. Smith, *VCH. Suffolk* i, 353)."

books in the Cambridge University Library:

“Item Fassiculus morum
et incipit in 2^o fo. Lest ye ofte
et in penultimo tunc lapis
ex dono M’ Will^{mi} Holler’.”

and

“Item Boecius de consolacione phi^e in latino et Anglico cum
exposicione Will^{mi} medici et cum tabula
et incipit in 2^o. fo. querimoniam
et in penultimo mod’ omnibus
ex dono Magistri Joh^{is} Croucher.”⁴

The second of these is apparently still in the University Library, but the first appears to have since been lost. Out of almost a thousand books in the library of the great Abbey of St. Mary at Leicester when it was catalogued in about 1493 there seems to have been only a single tract in English:

“725. Liber de Phisica et Cirurgia fr. T. Bathe in ass.
Alphabetum herbarum. de urinis. Lanfrancisci 2^o fo.
cirurgia. Tract. in anglico. caute ligetur.”⁵

Similarly a catalogue of books belonging to the College of St. Mary, Winchester, drawn up in the reign of Henry VI, shows only a single English book, one which appears amongst the “Libri Grammaticales”:

“. . . Item, liber continens quamdam compilationem de
informatione puerorum, cum aliis parvis tractatibus,
2^o folio, *Ablatyf cas*, in Anglice, ex dono prædicti domini
Thomæ Paxton, et remanet in manibus magistri
scolarum, Pret’ xl. s”⁶

Unfortunately few inventories of the books in the libraries seem to have been taken at the time of the dissolution. Leland

⁴ H. Bradshaw, “Two Lists of Books in the University Library” (*Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications* ii, 239); reprinted in *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw* (Cambridge 1889), 16-54.

⁵ I have to thank Professor Hamilton Thompson for the loan of the transcript of this catalogue made by the late Dr. M. R. James. It is now being printed in the *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, xix, pt. 1, 1935-6 ff.

⁶ W. H. Gunner, “Catalogue of Books belonging to the College of St. Mary, Winchester, in the reign of Henry VI” (*Archaeological Journal*, xv, 59-74).

usually noted down some of the more remarkable of the books which he came across but never made any exhaustive catalogues. Bretton Priory seems to have possessed four English books, none of them of any age:

“ Legenda Aurea, in Englysche.
 Flowr of Comaundments.
 The Pylgramage of Perfeccyon
 Schepard Kalendare”⁷

Similarly Kilburn Priory possessed “ two bookes of Legenda Aurea, the one in prynt, and the other wryten, both Englysche, iiijd.”⁸ These however can hardly be considered as representative.

It is not until the fourteenth century that we find English books beginning to appear in private libraries. Even then the books of the aristocracy are more likely to be entirely French. The only vernacular book possessed by Edward I was in French.⁹ The magnificent library bequeathed by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to Bordesley Abbey in 1315 was entirely in French,¹⁰ and the lists of books belonging to Queen Isabella and to Richard II show only French works.¹¹ It is interesting to note that amongst the “ Libri diversarum Scientiarum cathenati in Ecclesia ” in the chapel of St. George at Windsor in the reign of Richard II were “ Duo libri Gallici de Romances; de quibus unus liber de Rose; et alius difficilis materiæ”¹²

It is possible that the Exchequer accounts may give some clue to the subjects treated of in the second of these volumes. We read that on the 12th September, 1380, a payment of £28 pounds was made, on behalf of Richard II, as part of “ the price of a Bible written in the French language, and for two volumes contained in two leather cases, one book containing the *Romance of the Rose*, the other book containing *The Romances*

⁷ J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii, 274. ⁸ Dugdale, iii, 424.

⁹ E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, i, 391.

¹⁰ E. Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, i, 375.

¹¹ E. Rickert, “ King Richard II's Books ” (*Trans. Bib. Soc.*, xiii, 144).

¹² Dugdale, vi, pt. 3, p. 1362; see also M. R. James, “ The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor ” (*Trans. Bib. Soc.*, xiii, 55).

of *Percevall and Gawayn*.”¹³ It seems probable enough that the two French books preserved in the chapel of St. George were identical with these. An inventory of the ornaments and scholastic books of Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, which were bequeathed to St. Paul’s on his death in 1313 is extant and, amongst the otherwise invariable Latin, we find a single English book:

- “ Rowelle super Summas,
 Tercia pars Alexandri super Summas . . .
 Epistole Petri Blesensis,
 Questiones Bonaventure . . .
 Questiones magistrales super Summas cum tabula Kylewardby . . .
 Sermones super Decretalium cum apparatu et cum statutis et consuetudinibus de Arcubus et formulis literarum . . .
 Collationes Kylewarby . . .
 Vita Sancti Anselmi cum meditationibus de gaudiis beate Marie et aliis tractatibus . . .
 Tractatus de lingua.
 Tractatus de oculo.
 Expositio Anglice infortiati.
 Statuta Otonis et Octoboni et aliorum.
 Liber Naturalium.
 Summe Thome de Aquino circa metaphisicam et alia . . .
 Cronica plenaria ab origine mundi.
 Cronica Henrici Archidiaconi Huntynghdonensis, ab anno Domini MCXLV usque ad tempus Henrici primi.”¹⁴

Other English books may have been possessed by Bishop Ralph since the complete list is not given and it has not been possible to examine the manuscript. Much more interesting is a list of the books which belonged to Sir Simon Burley, a famous soldier in the French wars and one of the guardians

¹³ H. B. Workman, *John Wiclif* (Oxford, 1926), ii, 193, quoting from F. Devon, *The Issues of the Exchequer*, 1837, p. 213.

¹⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9th Report, Appendix, p. 46. As Mr. R. W. Hunt points out to me the abbreviations extended above as *Summas*, *Summe*, stand for *Sentencias*, *Sentencie*.

of the young Richard II. He was executed in 1388 and the list, preserved in the BM. Additional MS. 25459, p. 206, is extracted from an inventory of his goods "at the Mews and at Baynards Castle, 8 Nov. II Ric. II":

"Les Livres.

Primerement j livre de Romans et de ymagery de Buys et de Aigrement.

It. j. graunt livre de la bible oue les historiz escolastre.

It. j. autre livre de Romans en prose covere de blanc cuer.

It. j. livre de Sidrak.

It. j. livre de Romans oue ymagery covere au peel de veel.

It. j. livre nouvelle de X. comandementz covere de cuer rouge.

It. j. livre de gouvernement de Roys et du Prynces.

It. j. livre de Romans de William Bastard covere de blanc.

It. j. livre de philosophie rumpue covere de cuer rouge.

It. j. livre de vies de seintz covere de cuer rouge.

It. j. livre du Romans du Roy Arthur covere de blanc.

It. j. livret *qui* comence miserere mei deus.

It. j. autre livre de X. comandementz covere de Rouge.

It. j. livre de papier oue diverses paroles de diverse langages.

It. j. livre de les propheties de Merlyn.

It. j. livret de Romans oue un ymage al commencement.

It. j. livre de Romans de Meis' covere de blanc.

It. j. livre de Englys del Forster et del Sengler.

It. j. livre de Latyn covere de noir.

It. j. livret de bruyt.

It. j. livre de Romans de Maugis covere de rouge cure."

The solitary English romance which is mentioned here is interesting. No romance of "The Forester and the Wild Boar" is known and it is difficult to identify the title with any of the subjects of the known romances. It may perhaps have been a book on venery and not a romance at all, though this is rather unlikely. It is worth noting that, with the exception of this one English book and one in Latin, Sir Simon Burley's

reading seems to have been in French. No doubt French books continued to be read almost exclusively by the higher classes for some time after this. Amongst the manuscripts preserved at Magdalen College, Oxford, there is preserved a list of books said to date from c. 1450:

“Inventory of Household goods and Furniture in various rooms at Castre. . . . In the stewe hous; of Frenche books, the Bible, the Cronycles of France, the Cronicles of Titus Leuius, a booke of Jullius Cesar, lez Propretez dez Choses, Petrus de Crescentiis, Liber Almagesti, Liber Geomancie cum iiij aliis Astronomie, liber de Roy Artour, Romaunce la Rose, Cronicles d’Angletere, Veges de larte Chevalerie, Instituts of Justien Emperer, Brute in ryme, Liber Etiques, liber de Sentence Joseph, Problemate Aristotilis, Vice & Vertues, liber de Cronykes de Grant Bretagne in ryme, Meditacions Saynt Bernard.”¹⁵

Despite the title some of these may have been in English since some were almost certainly in Latin. Nothing seems to be known of the owner of these books, but it may be worth noting that Sir John Fastolf died in 1459. Inventories of his other goods, amongst them those at Caister, have been preserved but no books are noted to have been amongst them.¹⁶ It may be that this list originally formed a part of that inventory and that the books in it were part of his library.

Some indication of the books possessed by the ordinary educated layman, or by the lower clergy, during the Middle English period can be gathered from a perusal of the extant wills. Occasionally all the books possessed by the legator are lumped together, as for example by Sir Brian Roucliffe who, in 1494, left “omnes libros meos, tam Anglicos quam Latinos et Gallicos,”¹⁷ or by Johanna de Walkyngham (1346) who left to “domino Waltero de Creton psalterium meum cum littera grossa et quemdam librum scriptum littera anglicana.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, 8th Report, Appendix, p. 268.

¹⁶ Printed in J. Gairdner, *The Paston Letters*, iii, 166-74 (London, 1904).

¹⁷ Surtees Society, liii, 102.

¹⁸ Surtees Society, iv, 16.

As a rule, however, the books are carefully described and bequeathed separately. The subject has been treated exhaustively by Miss M. Deanesly in her interesting article on "Vernacular Books in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries."¹⁹ Most of the vernacular books mentioned are of comparatively little interest. The English ones are usually religious and, if the manuscripts themselves have been lost, others of the same text are fairly numerous. Some of the more interesting or typical of the bequests may be noted. Thomas Cheworth (1458) leaves "to my cosyn Robert Clifton squyer a newe boke of Inglisse, ye which begynnyth with ye lyffe of Seynt Albon and Amphiabell and other mony dyvers lyfez and thynges in ye same boke, and unto my cosyn Richard Willughby squyer an Englisse boke called Grace de Dieu . . . and Richard Byngham an Englissh booke called Orilogium Sapienciæ" ²⁰

Alianora Roos (1438) of York leaves 'uxori predicti Roberti Roos, unum librum Anglicum vocatum librum primum Magistri Walteri.'²¹ Too little information is given and there are too many possible Master Walters for any conjecture as to the nature of this book to have much value. Perhaps it was a copy of the English translation, attributed to Grosse-teste, of Walter of Henley's treatise on husbandry. Occasionally no title is given, as in the case of one of the books left to the nuns of Campsea by John Baret of Bury (1463): "Item to the nunnys of Campesey, eche nunne vjd., the priouresse xijd. and Dame Jone Stoonys iijs. iiijd. and myn book of ynglych and latyn with diuerse maters of good exortacions, wretyn in papir and closed with parchemyn . . . Item to sere John Cleye my cosyn, and preest with my maister Prisote, my boke with the Sege of Thebes in englysh."²² The "Sege of Thebes" is presumably a reference to Lydgate's book and the other seems to have been some kind of commonplace book.

¹⁹ *Modern Language Review*, xv, 349.

²⁰ Surtees Society, xxx, 220.

²¹ Surtees Society, xxx, 65.

²² *Bury Wills*, Camden Society (xlix), 35.

John Lese of Pontefract (1486) bequeathes "Domino Edmundo Bank j parvum librum quem habui de domino Johanne Stutfold, et j quaternum incipientem *for as much*,"²³ and Thomas Symson of York (1491) "Domino Willelmo Symson, fratri suo, j librum, secundo folio *karecteres*"²⁴..A more interesting collection of books were those possessed by Matilda, the wife of William del Bowes (1420): "Item lego Matildi filiæ Baronis de Hilton filiolæ meæ j romance boke is called ye gospels. Item lego Matildi filiæ Roberti de Hilton ch'lr filiolæ meæ unum romance boke. Item lego Dame Elinoræ de Wessyngton ye boke with ye knotts. Item lego Elizabethæ filiæ Whitchestre unum librum yat is called Trystram. Item do et lego Elizabethæ filiæ meæ j blak primer."²⁵ Nothing is said as to the language in which these books were written, but it is at any rate possible that some of them may have been English. Presumably the description, "the book with the knots" refers to the binding. Perhaps the most interesting of all the vernacular books mentioned in wills is that which was left by John Raventhorp of York (1432) to "Agneti de Celayne, servienti michi per multos annos, librum Angliæ de Fabulis et Narracionibus" ²⁶ The form "Angliæ" is strange here and it looks as if it may be a mistake for "Anglice." Was it perhaps a copy of Mandeville? Equally intriguing is a book mentioned by James Bagule (1438): "Willelmo Hanke unum librum de Canticis cum glaspys argenti et unum librum rubium de Balads" ²⁷

It is not until the fifteenth century that vernacular books become at all frequent in wills, and only rarely are they of much interest. The English books are usually religious and the French books are either romances or devotional. Some of these French books may, perhaps, be noted. Master T. Hebbeden (1435) bequeathes to Isabella Eure "unum librum gallicum vocatum Launcelot" ²⁸; John Lescrop (1405) leaves to "Domino Henrico le Scrop Bibliam meam. Item

²³ Surtees Society, xlv, 220n.

²⁴ Surtees Society, xlv, 160n.

²⁵ Surtees Society, ii, 63.

²⁶ Surtees Society, xxx, 28.

²⁷ Surtees Society, xxx, 79.

²⁸ Surtees Society, ii, 82.

Johannæ filiæ meæ unum librum de gallico vocatum Tristrem. Item Elizabethæ filiæ meæ unum librum de gallico vocatum Grace Dieu."²⁹ In the will of Gilemota Carreeke of York (1408) we have mention of "unum librum Anglicanum de Spiritu Guidon', et unum librum Gallicanum de Barlaham et Josephath";³⁰ Mathilda, Countess of Cambridge (1446) bequeaths "duos libros Gallicos vocatos Gyron le Curtasse";³¹ and Anne, Lady Scrope (1498), leaves "To my lord of Surrey a Frenche booke called the Pistill of Othia."³² These, of course, are only a few of the more interesting mentions of vernacular books in wills. As a rule the items enumerated are of little interest and, though providing valuable evidence for the comparative popularity of different books, do not bring to light much literature which has since disappeared. The number of women's names in the examples given above is noteworthy; naturally the extant wills are far more frequently those of men than of women. Professor Chambers has noted the fact that, during the Middle English period, devotional books for monks would be written in Latin but for women in one of the vernaculars, and he has indicated the importance of this in the development of English prose. Certainly a glance through the extant wills suggests that vernacular books were more usually possessed by women than by men. Mention may here be made of a devotional book, possession of which brought trouble to its owner. During the examination of John Claydon for heresy in 1415 we read that "divers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and especially out of the book aforesaid, which book the said John Claydon confessed by his own costs to be written and bound, which book was intituled, "The Lanthorn of Light."³³

A writer, of whom little is known to-day beyond the name, is a certain Banastre whose Christian name may have been William. The last stanza of an Anglo-French poem, "La geste de Blanche flour e de Florence," tells us that it was

²⁹ Surtees Society, iv, 338.

³⁰ Surtees Society, iv, 352.

³¹ Surtees Society, xxx, 118.

³² Surtees Society, liii, 149.

³³ J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii, 532.

translated into French by one Brykhulle from the English of this Banastre:

“ Banastre en englois le fist,
 E Brykhulle cest escrit
 En francois translata.
 A verrois amaunz soit honour,
 Beautee, bountee e valour,
 E joye eit qe mieuz amera !”³⁴

Unfortunately J. C. Russell in his valuable “ Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England ” (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement No. 3, 1936) confused this work with the Middle English romance of “ Floris and Blancheflower ” and so concluded that the English original was probably written during the thirteenth century. There is however no connexion between the two. The Anglo-French work is a debate poem on the oft-debated question of whether a clerk or a knight is to be preferred as a lover. Since the manuscript in which it is preserved was written sometime during the middle of the fourteenth century all we can say definitely is that Banastre must have lived before then. He is noted as an English writer by Tanner, and in the “ Scalacronica,” as quoted in another connexion by Skeat, we have mention of a William Banastre along with Thomas of Erceldoun in words which suggest that Banastre, like Thomas, was a writer in English.³⁵ The two Banastres may be identical, though the name is not uncommon in the Middle English period. A number of the possessors of the name are noted by Russell, but there is hardly enough evidence to connect the writer of this poem with any one of them. In any case the lost English poem of Banastre’s is interesting. Before 1350 the debate form is represented in England only by the “ Owl and the Nightingale ” and “ The Thrush and the Nightingale,” the latter of which is said to have been influenced by the former. It is as well

³⁴ P. Meyer, “ Notice du MS. 25970 de la Bibliothèque Phillipps ” (*Romania*, xxxvii, 209).

³⁵ J. A. H. Murray, *Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune*, EETS., 1875, xviii, n1; see also Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

to know that the debate form was not so rare in the early period as the surviving examples would lead one to suppose.

A hint is provided of a lost beast tale in English by one of the fables of Odo of Cheriton. In "De Ysingryno" he tells of the wolf which wished to become a monk:

"Isingrynus, pœnitens et plangens peccata retroacta, voluit fieri monachus, et ita factum est; coronam et cucullam et cetera ad habitum necessaria suscepit. Tandem positus est ad scholas literasque discere debuit. Injunctum est ei primo ut diceret Pater noster. Qui respondit: Agnus vel Aries. Docuerunt eum monachi, ut respiceret ad crucem et ad sacrificium. At ille semper direxit oculos suos ad agnos ve arietes.

Mistice. Sic plerique sunt monachi. Semper tamen dicunt: Aries vel Agnus, id est, clamant bonum vinum et semper habent oculos suos ad pingue ferculum et ad scutellam cumulatam. Unde solet anglice dici: If al that the Wolf un to a preest worthe, and be set un to book psalmes to leere, yit his eye is evere to the wodeward."³⁶

Slightly different versions are found in other manuscripts of the fables.

For example C.C.C.C. MS. 441 has:

"Thai thu Wolf hore hodi te preste
tho thu hym sette Salmes to lere
evere beth his geres to the groue-ward,"

and in BM. MS. Addit. No. 11579 we find:

"They thou the vulf hore hod to preste,
They thou him to skole sette salmes to lerne,
Hevere bet hise geres to the grove grene."

Note how the lines fall into passable alliterative verse. There can be little doubt that Odo is quoting from some contemporary English poem, though the variation in the different manuscripts may indicate that it was extant only in an oral and not a written form.

³⁶ L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1884, ii, 610-1; for the variants see T. Wright, *Latin Stories* (Percy Society, vol. viii), 55, 229, and B. J. Whiting, *Speculum*, ix, 219 n2.

The existence of similar tales in English is suggested by the Anglo-French "Contes Moralisés" of Nicole Bozon.³⁷ The author is a very vague figure but he seems to have lived somewhere about the beginning of the fourteenth century. There can be little doubt that many of the tales which he tells must be based on earlier English versions. This is indicated by the English names of some of his characters; e.g. Croket, Hoket and Loket (p. 137), William Werldeschame and Moalde Mikimisaunter (166), Sterlyn and Galopyn (180). Since Bozon is writing in French, the names would presumably have been in French had he invented them himself. They can only be explained by supposing them due to original versions in English, all other trace of which has been lost. Similarly we find English phrases in some of the tales as on p. 110 "Si come fist le vileyn qe sema fieves, qe jetta un poynes en la terre, e dist en son engleys: "On yis ne trist I me nout." E un autre poyne getta en sa bouche e dist: "Yis have I now y-bouth." Again speaking of thieves who dislike hearing themselves called by that name he tells of a spinner of wool called "Leve in yi rokke" and gives the following couplet:

"Leve in yi rokke ne is no thef,

Take oyer mannez wulle is hire to lef." (p. 117).

English proverbs are common in the tales, occasionally in prose as for example: Stroke oule and schrape oule and evere is oule oule" (p. 23), "Trendle the appel nevere so fer he conyes fro what tree he cam" (p. 23), "Pur ceo dit le berbitz al cornaille qe sist sur son dos e aracea sa leyne: "Over me you may." (p. 54), "schrewe on, schrewe oyer." (p. 78). Occasionally too we find them in verse as:

"For zif ye louerd bidd sle,

Ye stiward biddes fle." (p. 12).

"Wel wurth suffraunce yat abatez strif,

And wo wurth hastinece yat reves man his lif." (p. 20).

"He yat hadd inou to help him self wital,

Sithen he ne wold, I ne wile ne I ne schal." (p. 44).

³⁷ ed. L. Toulmin Smith, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1889.

"Clym! clam! cat lep over dam." (p. 145).

"Was it nevere my kynd

Chese in wellez grond to fynde."^{37a} (p. 151).

There can be little doubt that some at any rate of Bozon's tales are translations from English, a fact of some considerable significance. The comparative scarcity of beast tales and fabliaux in Middle English is in great contrast with the numerous French examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These indications help to show that the poverty of Middle English in this respect is more apparent than real. After all fabliaux and beast tales are an essentially popular type of literature and many of them were probably never written down but depended simply on oral transmission.

The existence, in the early Middle English period, of popular songs which have since been lost has been pointed out by Professor Max Förster.³⁸ In the Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B. 1. 45, f. 41b he has noted an Early Middle English sermon with the heading:

"Atte wrastlinge mi lemman i ches
and atte ston-kasting i him forles."

In the sermon itself the author tells us: "Mi leue frend, wilde wimmen & goliue i me contereie, wan he gon oþe ring, among manie oþere songis, þat litil ben wort þat tei singin, so sein þei þus: "Atte wrastli(n)ge mi lemman etc." In the same way we find two lines of a song preserved in a Latin story to be found in MS. Harley 2316: "Quidam fuit gulosus qui mane comedit quando alii perrexerunt ad ecclesiam, et hoc fecit de consuetudine. Quadam autem die sic comedit, et postea versus silvam ivit, incipiens istum cantum:

Jolyfte, jolyfte,
Maket me to the wode the.

Modicum processit, et supinus cecidit. Surrexit, et iterum hoc modo cecidit. Videns hoc quidam miles a longe, ad ipsum

^{37a} From a ME. version of the story which is represented in Henryson's *Fables* by "The Fox, the Wolf and the Husbandman" and in J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop* ii, 276-8 (The ix Fable of Alfonse).

³⁸ M. Förster, "Kleinere mittelenglische texte" (*Anglia*, xlii, 152), checked from rotographs of the MS.

accessit, et invenit eum mortuum habentem linguam suam pendentem extra os ad modum canis, et tota facies ejus erat quasi esset ignita, et oculos aperuit sicut homo insanus."³⁹

These two examples throw further light on a rich lyric literature much, of which has since been lost.

In the previous article on "More Lost Literature," published in *Leeds Studies in English*, No. v, mention was made of the English books listed in some of the medieval monastic library catalogues. Some of these books have since been identified with extant manuscripts and I have to thank Professor Max Förster and Mr. N. R. Ker for the following information.

Mr. N. R. Ker informs me that the item given in the Durham catalogues of 1391 and 1416 as "Donatus Anglice," of which the incipit of the second folio is given as "i. d'eor hoc milite," is preserved as MS. 154 of St. John's College, Oxford. The second folio begins "ðeos boc mihte" and Mr. Ker, having examined the manuscripts of the Durham catalogues, informs me that the misreading is due to one of the fourteenth-century scribes. MS. Gg. 3 28 in the Cambridge University Library is also from Durham and is probably one of the Old English homiliaries mentioned as amongst the "Libri Anglici" in the twelfth-century catalogue. Item no. 112, "Omeliaria Anglica II," in the Rochester catalogue is the present Bodleian MSS. 340 and 342 (see K. Sisam, *Review of English Studies*, vii, 11). Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 190 has, on folio xiv, the title "Penitentiale et alia plura" in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century hand and is certainly identical with the "Penitentiale vetus et alia plura, cum Anglico in fine" given in the 1327 Exeter catalogue since the opening words "In principio" are the same in both cases.

Professor Max Förster has some interesting remarks to make on item 296 in Henry of Eastry's catalogue of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury:

"296. Batte super Regulam beati Benedicti.

In hoc. uol. cont.:

³⁹ T. Wright, *Latin Stories*, Percy Society, viii, 81.

Regula Aluricii glosata Anglice.

Liber sompniorum.

De obseruacione Lune in rebus agendis.

Oraciones Anglice."

He agrees with Dr. James that this volume is probably identical with the extant BM. Cotton Tiberius A iii. "There is a Latin-Old English dream book as no. 2, and some Latin-Old English matter about the observances of certain days (nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17), Old English prayers as no. 25, and the volume opens with Aethelwold's Latin-Old English "De consuetudine monachorum." But the authorship of Aluricii (Aelfric) is not mentioned in the manuscript and there is no *Batte super Regulam b. Benedicti* in it." The manuscript has been described by him in *Herrigs Archiv* cxxi, 30-45. In connexion with this description Professor Förster states that the contents list on f. 117 of the manuscript is almost illegible, but, as Mr. Ker points out, it can be deciphered if examined under a strong light. It runs as follows:

"Hec continentur in hoc uolumine

Regula sancti Benedicti glosata anglice.

Regula elurici bate glosata anglice.

De significationibus somniorum per ordinem alphabeti.

De obseruacione lune in rebus agendis et in natalibus
puerorum.

Item alia plura tam anglice quam latine."

This is written in an eleventh- or twelfth-century hand and above the contents list, separated from it by about an inch is "Æluricus bate" in a late eleventh century hand. This helps to explain the title, where "Bate" is presumably for Ælfric Bata.

Professor Förster suggests, too, that the "Consuetudines de faciendo seruicio diuino per annum glosate Anglice" which is found in item 297 in the same catalogue may have been an Old English version of Amalarius "De ecclesiasticis officiis." He points out that this was extremely popular in England and well-known to Aelfric who mentions the author (II, p. 84), and

three times translates passages from the book. Athelwold also mentions Amalarius. Professor Förster notes that the title "Liber Paulini Anglicus" to be found in the twelfth-century Durham catalogue may be due to the book having once belonged to a monk of that name and need have nothing to do with the Apostle of Northumbria. In connexion with "Elfledes boc" he notes that a lady Elfreda, the daughter of King Offa and wife of Æthelred of Northumbria, possibly the same as the Ælflæd mentioned in the Lindisfarne "Liber Vitae," is mentioned by Symeon of Durham s.a. 792. This may be the lady in question, though it is tempting to connect the title of the book with the inscription on the Frithestan stole.

In conclusion a list of books to be found on folio 55v of the BM. Cotton Domitian A i may be noted:

"pis syndon ða bec þe æpestanes wæran. de natura rerum. persius. de arte metrica. 'donatum'⁴⁰ minorem. excerptiones de metrica arte. Apocalipsin. donatum maiorem. Alchuinum. Glossam super catonem. libellum de grammatica arte 'que sic incipit.'⁴⁰ terra que pars; Sedulium . . .⁴¹ et .i. gerim. wæs alfwoldes preostes. Glossa super donatum. dialogorum."⁴²

There is little of interest in this list and the books seem to have been in Latin. They are, however, always quoted as "King Athelstan's Books" and it appears necessary to point out that there is not the slightest evidence that the Æpestan mentioned is to be identified with the king. On the contrary the mention, later in the list, of Alfwold the priest would seem to indicate that Æpestan too was a priest.

R. M. WILSON.

⁴⁰ Added above the line.

⁴¹ An erasure in the manuscript.

⁴² Quoted, with the wrong reference and one or two slight misreadings of little importance, by M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxix. He apparently took it from T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche bibliotheken*, p. 278, since the mistakes seem to be common to both.