THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

THE BOOK IN BRITAIN

VOLUME II

1100–1400

EDITED BY
NIGEL J. MORGAN
AND RODNEY M. THOMSON
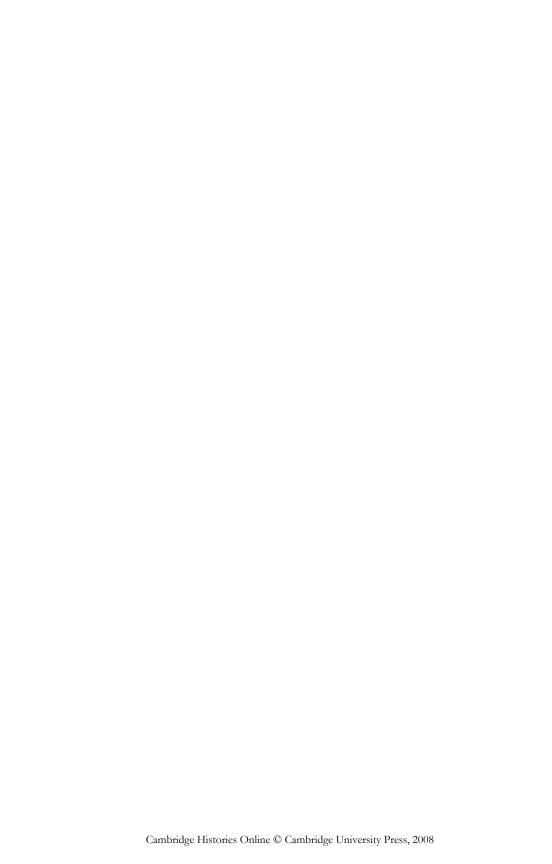
THE CAMBRIDGE
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This period of the history of the book begins at a time when, as patrons of manuscript production, the religious houses of the various monastic orders predominated over other groups of society. From the mid twelfth century there is a shift towards a wider patronage having a greater diversity of uses and requirements for books. The establishment of schools and universities, the appearance of the orders of the mendicants, the pastoral interests of the parish clergy and increasing literacy and reading habits among the laity, all lead to demands for particular forms of text contents and formats of presentation and communication. Texts in Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Welsh increase to allow for readership and education of a wider audience. Devotional, instructional and secular literary compilations for private reading and study, both in Latin and the vernacular, responding to a diversity of demands from individual patrons, become a significant part of book production. The making of such books becomes as important as the supplying of liturgical books, patristic commentaries, scholastic texts of biblical exegesis, theology and philosophy, and books of canon and civil law, required for the Church, the libraries of religious houses and for the scholars of the universities.

As these changes take place in the market for books, and largely as a result of them, production becomes in part a town-based trade operated by laymen with increasing specialization in the tasks involved. Centres such as Oxford and London have documentation on the parchmenters, scribes, decorators and binders involved, and by the end of the period evidence for the working processes of a professionally organized trade is beginning to emerge.

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THE CAMBRIDGE

History of the Book in Britain

The history of the book offers a distinctive form of access to the ways in which human beings have sought to give meaning to their own and others' lives. Our knowledge of the past derives mainly from texts. Landscape, architecture, sculpture, painting and the decorative arts have their stories to tell and may themselves be construed as texts; but oral traditions, manuscripts, printed books, and those other forms of inscription and incision such as maps, music and graphic images, have a power to report even more directly on human experience and the events and thoughts which shaped it.

In principle, any history of the book should help to explain how these particular texts were created, why they took the form they did, their relations with other media, especially in the twentieth century, and what influence they had on the minds and actions of those who heard, read or viewed them. Its range, too – in time, place and the great diversity of the conditions of texts production, including reception – challenges any attempt to define its limits and give an account adequate to its complexity. It addresses, whether by period, country, genre or technology, widely disparate fields of enquiry, each of which demands and attracts its own forms of scholarship.

The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, planned in seven volumes, seeks to represent much of that variety, and to encourage new work, based on knowledge of the creation, material production, dissemination and reception of texts. Inevitably its emphases will differ from volume to volume, partly because the definitions of Britain vary significantly over the centuries, partly because of the varieties of evidence extant for each period, and partly because of the present uneven state of knowledge. Tentative in so many ways as the project necessarily is, it offers the first comprehensive account of the book in Britain over one and a half millennia.

JOHN BARNARD · DAVID McKITTERICK · I. R. WILLISON
General Editors

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and
RODNEY M. THOMSON

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Preface

RODNEY M. THOMSON AND NIGEL MORGAN

The outer limits of the period covered by this book, notionally defined as c. 1100–1400, might be better expressed as c.1066–c.1425. It has a clearly demarcated beginning that can be ascribed to the Norman Conquest of England and its aftermath. On the one hand, the Conquest was an agent of dramatic change in the area of the manufacture and use of books, as in so many other areas; on the other hand, its full impact was only felt after c. 1100. The decades in between experienced a degree of destruction, dislocation and bewilderment before the cessation of hostilities and reorganization of religious life made positive advances possible. By the middle of the twelfth century the number of libraries, and the aggregate number of books in the country had increased dramatically.

The other end of the period is not so easy to justify: the date 1400 has no particular significance, save for the subsequent increase of manuscripts of vernacular texts, and it is only the introduction of printing, a half-century later, that distinguishes in a major way the world of books in the fifteenth century from what it had been in the fourteenth. And, as with the Conquest, the full impact of printing took several decades to manifest itself. A major shift *within* the period occurred over the quarter-century either side of c.1200, during which the dominance of the monastic book gradually, and almost completely, gave way to town-based commercial production for a variety of markets including the monasteries themselves, but also focussing on the universities, the mendicant orders and the secular church. Not only were books now produced in a different way and in different localities, but they differed, both physically, and in their content, from their twelfth-century predecessors.

In terms of geographical parameters, the volume covers England and Wales, but not Ireland or Scotland, the history of whose books are the subject of other publications[1]. Inevitably, the limited survival of books from Wales, and

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1 For Scotland see Mann and Mapstone forthcoming; *A History of the Irish Book* is in preparation.

its relatively small medieval population, means that our book is mostly about England, though for most of the period an England closely linked with France. One of the effects of the Conquest was to bring England into closer touch with the Continent than had been the case for a long time. The king of England was also duke of Normandy; his barons had lands on both sides of the Channel; they and the new ecclesiastical hierarchy spoke French, which on the one hand alienated them from the native population and on the other put them in direct touch with a substantial portion of western Europe, at least as far south as the River Loire. In the second half of the twelfth century this process of internationalism received a substantial fillip, with the incorporation of England into an 'Angevin Empire', such that the king had more lands under his authority on the Continent than in the British Isles, and spent much time in them. Some of this newly acquired land was well south of the Loire, and a courtly culture developed that was deeply influenced by the vernacular literature and song of central and southern France. By this time, to be 'civilized' (or 'courtious') meant 'to be like the French', and to be educated meant having spent time in the schools of Paris.

At the same time the papacy was endeavouring to establish itself as a pan-European power, with the goal of welding the Western Church into a cohesive organization under its control, united (and therefore uniform) in doctrine, liturgy and law. This uniformity, achieved to an impressive degree though not completely, both required and produced uniformity of texts and reading. It is no surprise, then, to find that the relative uniformity of books in English monastic and cathedral libraries – the only libraries at the time – merely reflects a pan-European homogeneity. The same core texts, always in Latin, could be found in the libraries of religious communities, whether secular or monastic, of whatever order, in Italy or Germany, France or Scotland. Via the network of the Church as a whole, or via constituent networks such as the powerful one operated by the Cistercian Order, the writings of contemporary authors such as St Bernard of Clairvaux or Aelred of Rievaulx, Peter Lombard or Gratian, were put into circulation rapidly, and that circulation was in most cases all but universal. And as in the Carolingian renaissance, so it was seen as vital that sacred and authoritative texts, from the Bible down, should be as correct as possible, that is, at least grammatically. This correctness was necessary to underpin not just basic comprehension, but doctrinally correct and uniform understanding. Scribes may not often have recorded their names or had them recorded, but the fundamental importance of the enterprise on which they were engaged was lauded in liturgical codices illustrated with great symbolic images of the apostles and evangelists shown in the act of writing.

Geographically, Britain was at one margin of these developments, and it is tempting to see its geographic marginality as both the cause and reflection of cultural provinciality. In modern times both British and continental scholars have seen it that way, but it was not necessarily so, and certainly not in all fields. England's extraordinary precocity in the composition, reading and preservation of so much literature in Anglo-Norman French has been remarked on, and explained in terms of the tensions and interplay which operated within the unusual trilingual oral and written culture that developed there from the early twelfth century, and which would continue for almost the whole period covered by this volume.[2] The growth of local schools during the twelfth century may have lagged behind the growth, in student numbers and international prestige, of Paris and Bologna, but by the early thirteenth century England boasted two of the four *studia generalia* of Western Europe (Oxford and Cambridge), Oxford, at least, attracting students from overseas. From the 1140s on, England became an increasingly enthusiastic receptacle of one of the most ubiquitous products of a burgeoning Parisian academic booktrade: the glossed biblical book.[3] These books were either imports written and decorated in Paris, or made in England in an imitative style. In this respect, England can appear to have been part of an intellectual and cultural milieu of which the epicentre was the Ile de France. On the other hand, the decoration of English books during the twelfth century, especially of great Bibles, is both distinctive and second to nowhere else in Western Europe, either in quality or in the expense lavished upon it. This is harder to explain. And yet, it is also true that at least some of the artists responsible for this achievement worked on both sides of the Channel, and were part of an even larger world, encompassing the remote lands traversed by pilgrims and crusaders, at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

During the thirteenth century this internationalism continued, enhanced by the increasing role of universities as the 'cutting edge' of European intellectual life, and by the rise and coming to England of the Franciscan and Dominican friars, themselves increasingly connected to the life and programme of the universities. This internationalism was, though, countered more and more by feelings of a prototype 'nationalism', directed especially against Henry III and his 'foreign' (that is Poitevin and Savoyard) councillors, which were expressed in the notion of the 'community of the realm'.[4] The production of books,

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2 See ch. 2 below, and Trotter 2000, particularly the essays by Brand, Kristol and Jefferson, on 'multilingualism' in England and Wales.

3 De Hamel 1984.

4 For the concept of the 'community of the realm' see Morris 1943, pp. 59–73 and Powicke 1962, pp. 67, 131–7, 141–2.

then, increases quantitatively, as does the range of their contents, reflective of the translation, begun during the twelfth century, of scientific and logical texts from Greek and Arabic, and of a welter of comment on them. The script and (in the more expensive products) decoration of these books is recognizably English, even recognizably regional (for instance Oxford), but once again the intellectual endeavour involved is European. Even in the twelfth century, monasteries had sometimes employed paid 'professional' scribes and artists to make their books, and increasingly had recourse to town-based commercial products. By the next century, particularly in university towns, commercial, professional production was the norm. Books could be commissioned and made on the spot, or imported from such places as Paris, Toulouse and Bologna, either ready made, or with the decoration yet to be carried out according to the wealth and taste of the commissioner. Speed and cheapness were now important factors, given a student clientele. Slightly to one side of this commercial milieu are the generally (though not always) humble books of the friars, distinctive, the cheapest of the cheap, in small format for portability, often personally made and owned, and bearing the evidence of extensive travels between convents; sometimes with text characteristic of university collections, sometimes stuffed with sermons and helps to pastoral care.

By the time the friars came to England in the 1220s the numbers of books being made for the monasteries and the houses of the regular canons were declining. In the 150 years since the Conquest the vast majority of books that have survived were made in or for these institutions, out of all proportion to the small numbers of their membership in contrast to the other 'literate' members of society, the priests of the secular church, the clerks who staffed the government bureaucracy, university men, and the gradually increasing numbers of the laity who needed books. Of the twelfth-century institutional patrons, the libraries of the secular cathedrals continued to acquire some books, and also some of the larger Benedictine monasteries, such as Durham. Although a small quantity of books were still made 'in house', monks, regular canons and the friars (and their patrons) commissioned most of their books from secular scribes and artists. By the second quarter of the thirteenth century the number of books made for the religious orders constituted only a small portion of the total produced. Book production was no longer primarily for abbey, priory and convent libraries, as had been the case in the twelfth century.

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 called for improved instruction of the laity, and this led to an increase in books of a catechetical, devotional and pastoral nature. Many were in Latin for the use of the instructors, but some were written for lay people in the vernaculars of Anglo-Norman and Middle English,

or translated into those languages from the Latin. This pastoral reform was directed towards ensuring proper standards of worship in the parish churches and instruction of the parishioners in the essentials of the faith. Bishops issued statutes prescribing the books necessary for these churches, archdeacons on visitations checked the appropriateness of their texts, and the production of such service books became a dominant aspect of the activities of scribes and illuminators.

During the reign of Louis IX (St Louis), who was king from 1226 to 1270, the literary, artistic and intellectual culture of France, centred on Paris, achieved a prestige recognized throughout Europe. Certain books, such as Bibles and the texts required for the university curriculum in the arts, theology and law faculties, were imported in large numbers from France or Italy, and relatively few books of this sort were made in England. Books of canon and civil law came from Toulouse and Bologna, whereas those for the arts and theology faculties came mainly from Paris. In contrast, devotional books such as Psalters and Books of Hours were almost exclusively made at English centres for the 'home market' during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and very few were commissioned or purchased from France and Flanders. This situation is in marked contrast to the fifteenth century; by c.1425, large numbers of such books were being made for the English market, above all in Flanders, and to a lesser extent in Paris and Rouen.

French influence on English art and literary taste is most evident in the patronage of the higher ranks of the nobility and is at its strongest in the period from the accession of Henry III in 1215 until the early part of the reign of Edward III who became king in 1327. The move away from this taste for things French may in part be a result of the Hundred Years War, the almost continuous conflict between England and France which commenced in 1337. In that year Philip VI of France declared that Gascony was forfeit to France 'on account of the many excesses, rebellions and acts of disobedience committed against us and our royal majesty by the king of England, duke of Aquitaine'. For the subsequent hundred years and more the English struggled to maintain their presence in France, a presence which had begun with the acquisition of French domains by the king of England, as duke of Normandy at the Conquest, and as duke of Aquitaine from the time of Henry II. The royal family had remained almost exclusively French speaking until Edward III's time, and another effect of the long period of hostilities beginning in 1337 was an increasing shift away from the use of the French language towards that of the *lingua materna*. This was accompanied by a recognition of the characteristics of the English nation, different and independent from France. As an indicator of the rejection

of things French it is significant that in the visual arts from c.1340 the main external influences came from Flanders, Germany, Bohemia and Italy rather than from France. Romance literature, however, remained popular throughout the fourteenth century – private libraries contained many more imported French romances than the English versions of such literature. In this area, due to engrained reading habits, the texts read and books imported continued to come from France. This is particularly so in Richard II's reign when the political situation with France temporarily improved.

The texts of the books produced at home and acquired from Europe in fourteenth-century England differ from those of the thirteenth century. Although relatively few Bibles had been made in England in the thirteenth century compared with those imported from France, their production and import almost completely ceases in the fourteenth. The main use of Bibles was for scholars involved in theological study both in the religious houses and the universities – doubtless by 1300 the libraries of these places were well stocked with them. Only in the closing years of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries does the production of large luxury versions of the English Wycliffite Bible revive the demand for such books – in this case not primarily intended for scholars but for literate members of the laity. The importing of books of canon and civil law from Toulouse and Bologna, which had begun in the first half of the thirteenth century with the rise of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, continues through the first third of the fourteenth century but then ceases almost immediately. As with Bibles, presumably enough copies were available – also the essential new commentaries on the law texts were less frequent in the second half of the fourteenth century than in the 150 years from the late twelfth century until c. 1350, and consequently the demand for up-to-date texts declined. Devotional books, primarily for the laity (that is Psalters and Books of Hours), had been produced in increasing numbers since the early thirteenth century, and this situation continues until the end of the fourteenth century. By c.1400 Flemish illuminators were coming to work in London, and Books of Hours with texts of Sarum liturgical use began to be imported from Bruges.[5]

Although in the fourteenth century books in Middle English increase in numbers in comparison with those in Anglo-Norman, they are still a tiny minority compared with those in Latin. The number of extant manuscripts of the great poets of the last quarter of the fourteenth century, Chaucer and Gower, is negligible before 1400, and there is no reason to believe that there were ever

5 Admirably documented by Rogers 1982, 2002.

many of them until the early fifteenth century.[6] The history of their production regrettably lies outside the scope of this volume.[7]

Another important aspect of the history of the book in Britain begins as the period covered by this book closes: the rise of an organized 'book trade' in London, which can only be properly documented from the 1390s, and is discussed in the next volume of this series.[8] Certainly London, as well as Oxford, and to a much smaller extent, Cambridge, Norwich and York, are documented in chapter 8 as centres of book production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but by 1400 London came to predominate overwhelmingly.

Although no comprehensive history of the book in Britain from the twelfth to the fourteenth century has been published before this volume, there has been fundamental groundwork in the past hundred years on the cataloguing and discussion of the palaeography, codicology and contents of the manuscript books of this period. Without the work of scholars such as M. R. James, R. A. B. Mynors, R. W. Hunt, N. R. Ker, A. G. Watson, A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes, not many of the chapters of this book could have been written. We are much indebted to multi-volume publications such as the *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, and for the illuminated books the *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*. Similarly, of lasting value are the recent indexes of texts and manuscripts of the vernacular literatures, R. J. Dean and M. B. M. Boulton's *Anglo-Norman Literature*, J. Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards' *New Index of Middle English Verse*, and the ongoing series of volumes of the *Index of Middle English Prose*. Since the nineteenth century the *Early English Text Society* has been publishing the English texts from manuscripts of the period of this book, and for the past sixty years the *Anglo-Norman Text Society* has made considerable progress in producing editions of the French texts, more numerous than those in English until the fourteenth century. In the past century a fairly high proportion of medieval Welsh texts have also been published. Systematic publication of the Latin texts began with the *Rolls Series* in the nineteenth century, and other series in the twentieth century have continued this tradition. For the liturgical texts in Latin the *Henry Bradshaw Society* has produced over a hundred volumes since it was founded in 1890. There is still a great deal to do in the publication

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6 Even as this book goes to press, the debate over identification of pre-1400 texts has been informed by the identification of 'Chaucer's scribe' in Mooney 2006. A 1393 example of Chaucer's *Equatorie of the Planetis* has been identified, and also from the late fourteenth century the earliest manuscript of Gower's *Confessio amantis*: Roberts 2005, pp. 162–3, 174–5, pl. 38. Edwards and Pearsall 1989, pp. 258–9 comment 'Although we lack fourteenth-century copies of any of Chaucer's works, it seems that some must have circulated.'

7 On the early fifteenth-century manuscripts, see Doyle and Parkes 1978, Blake 1997, Emmerson 1999 and Pearsall 2004.

8 Christianson in *CHBB* III, pp. 128–47.

of carefully edited texts, for much in all these languages remains unpublished, and it is hoped that younger scholars will devote themselves to this essential but onerous task which perhaps receives less generous acknowledgment and gratitude than is its due. Detailed descriptions of the manuscripts of the period and editions of their texts are the basis of all that is said in this volume.

As we acknowledge those scholars who have preceded us in this enterprise, so we wish to express our gratitude to those who have assisted directly in the production of this book. Above all, we wish to thank all of the contributors for their efforts, and for the patience with which they have borne the long gestation of a large and complex volume. We would wish to add our own thanks to those expressed by the contributors to those scholars who assisted their labours and ours by furnishing information or criticism, and to the many libraries and institutions which permitted and facilitated the examination and reproduction of the precious manuscripts in their care. Finally, we acknowledge the support and scholarly acumen of the General Editors of the series, and the cheerful optimism and dedicated professionalism of the staff of Cambridge University Press. Unusually in our age, we find ourselves unable to thank any person or organization for special financial aid, for we required, sought, and thus consequently and deservedly, received none.

THE ROLES OF BOOKS

1

Books and society

CHRISTOPHER DE HAMEL

There is a late Stone Age civilization known to modern archaeologists as the 'Beaker People' from the survival of large numbers of its distinctive clay pots. If a Beaker Person were to meet a modern prehistorian, he would probably be astonished and distressed to learn of his people's sobriquet and he would draw attention to their fine textiles, woodwork, painting, music, religion, language and poetry. Beakers, he would say, were only a small and not even central part of their culture. However, the name is applied simply because fragments of the indestructible pottery have survived and all the rest has vanished.

The question, then, is whether we are in danger of over-estimating the place of books in medieval society, simply because the books survive when so much else from England of c.1100–c.1400 has disappeared. Illuminated manuscripts are among the most famous and enduring relics of the Middle Ages. Thousands of English books from the period under discussion still exist, far more than any other moveable artefacts, easily and widely accessible now, and it is appealing to think of feudal England as a time when beautiful manuscripts must have been a visible and familiar part of daily life. Victorian Gothic and Arthurian paintings show illuminated books in profusion. In practice, very few medieval people ever came face to face with the pages of manuscripts. Their ownership was restricted to a very small fraction of the population, disproportionately well-documented, and most men and women of medieval England probably passed their lives without ever reading or even touching a book. The period is not static, of course. A great deal evolved during the three centuries from about 1100, when Viking raids were still a living memory, to 1400, approximately the birth date of Gutenberg, and we can watch aspects of the slowly unfolding growth of literacy levels and book ownership in England.

Until the twelfth century books must have been very rarely seen. No books are shown in the Bayeux Tapestry. It has scenes of church services and state ceremonies; it illustrates boats, altars, gilded metalwork, painted shields, tiles,

decorated textiles, carved furniture, drinking horns, beakers even, but not a single book. The noble families must have had some books in private – two Gospel books survive, for example, from a gift made by Judith of Flanders (d. 1094), wife of the earl of Northumbria[1] – and of course monasteries had libraries, as we will see in a moment. There is a rare reference to a craftsman owning a book in the twelfth century. A builder or perhaps architect, Richard *ingeniator*, who was employed to work on Durham Castle by Hugh du Puiset, bishop 1153–95, had an illuminated manuscript comprising Gospel extracts and a Life of Saint Cuthbert, made even more precious by the enclosure of an actual fragment of the burial wrappings of Cuthbert himself, given to him by a monk of Durham. Richard used to wear the book around his neck. It is described as having pictures and historiated initials. Richard lost it while working in Berwick but, according to Reginald of Durham, it was miraculously restored to him through the help of Saint Cuthbert.[2] The book was evidently a talismanic charm to protect the wearer from danger, perhaps while up scaffolding. It is not necessary to assume that Richard could read it. Books were holy objects. Even to those unable to read, medieval Christianity was unambiguously a religion of the book. In a largely pre-literate society, before charters and documents became generally usable, Gospel books and sacramentaries were customarily employed for swearing public oaths to validate legal transactions, as effective as placing one's hands on the holy relics of a saint.[3] Records of manumissions of slaves, for example, were added on the flyleaf of an Old English Gospel book from Bath Abbey in the time of Abbot Aelfsige (d. 1087), presumably because they had been sworn on the book itself,[4] and the eleventh-century sacramentary once known as the 'Red Book of Darley' has a late medieval note, 'This booke was sumtime had in such reverence in darbie shire that it was comonlie beleved that whosoeuer should sweare untruelie upon this booke should run madd.'[5] The earliest inventory of an English parish church, that of Mere in Wiltshire in 1220, describes a 'very old' book ('vetustissimus' – even if it was then only a hundred years old this would take us back to the beginning of the twelfth century), with a cross on its cover, on which, it notes, oaths were sworn.[6] Such books would not actually need to be opened at all to fulfil their public purpose. The text inside the volume at Mere is not even specified in the inventory. The two late eleventh-century Gospel books of Judith of Flanders, cited above, are

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1 PML, mss. m. 708–9, given by Judith to Weingarten Abbey, Bavaria.
2 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus Cuthberti*, caps. xlvi and liv, pp. 94–7 and 111–12.
3 Wormald 1957, pp. 106–9; Brown 1969, pp. 29–43.
4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 140: Ker 1990, p. 48.
5 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 422: James 1912a, p. 315; Budny 1997, p. 646.
6 *Vetus registrum Sarisberiense*, p. 291; de Mély and Bishop 1892, no.1342.

in spectacular contemporary jewelled treasure bindings. This must suggest that at least part of their visible function was conducted with the volumes closed. Books around 1100 were precious, sacred, remote and almost magic, and to much of English society their transcendental value was more important than their text.

For this reason, books were regarded as essential components of monasteries. Religious houses needed the possession of books in order to provide a solid and tangible link with truth, and not necessarily for any reason beyond that. Compare the presence of relics in a medieval church: collections of sacred snippets and bones were enclosed and invisible to the congregation, but sanctity and validation of the church were provided by the knowledge that the relics were there. No one except the sacristan would actually ever need to see or handle the originals. For many monasteries, the books too were probably no less useful by being out of sight. Most people in England in the twenty-first century are able to know far more about internal arrangements of medieval monasteries than their ancestors ever did in the twelfth century, for we can all wander through the ruined buildings and we can read the very many published monastic chronicles and inventories which have survived from the period. We can document precisely, in a way that no medieval writer ever could, the rapid expansion of libraries in early Norman England,[7] and we can follow graphically the orchestrated campaigns of many Benedictine and new Cistercian and Augustinian houses in particular to build up great repositories of patristic and Christian learning. To us, in our highly book-centred culture, these records are utterly fascinating and agreeable. However, our view is very different from that of most people in the twelfth century. The important point about a monastery in the Middle Ages is that it was consciously cut off from the outside world. Its collections of books, if it had any, were invisible to the population at large and the detailed conventual library catalogues, accessible and familiar to us, would have been unknown to anyone but the compilers and a very few of their colleagues. Early library inventories were usually entered on endleaves of manuscripts themselves, kept with the rest of the monastery's book collections in lockable chests or cupboards in the monks' cloister. Secular builders or lay-brothers working in monasteries must sometimes have reported home with news of the monks' creation of library cupboards or other facilities for their books, and this information was doubtless received gladly by the public as reassuring evidence of neighbourhood sanctity in a physical format. The public would not see the books. A writer as late as Nicholas Trevet (d. c.1334)

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7 Ker 1960a, esp. pp. 2–9; Thomson 1986, pp. 27–40; and ch. 7 below.

remarked how difficult it was to gain access to English monastic libraries.[8] *Piers Plowman*, c.1377, imagines that the life of a monk must be like living in heaven: '. . . all is buxumnesse there and bokes to rede'.[9] The laity would expect a monastery to have books – that is important – but what volumes were there and how they were used was almost certainly entirely unknown to anyone outside the monastic enclosure itself.

Even if we know about the books, however, we too are largely ignorant of when and how often the monks actually consulted the volumes which they preserved. We know of various major monastic scholars in England, who clearly had access to considerable numbers of different texts in their own abbeys and perhaps elsewhere. These include the Benedictines, Eadmer of Canterbury (d. after 1124), William of Malmesbury (d. 1143) and Laurence of Durham (d. 1154), the Cistercians, Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167) and Odo of Cheriton (d. 1247), and the Augustinians, Robert of Bridlington (d. after 1154), Clement of Lanthony (d. after 1169) and Alexander Nequam (d. 1217). Such exceptional men certainly used, read, comprehended and quarried information from many different books. Modern scholarship on monastic culture, quite naturally, tends to focus on such individuals. The presence and participation of scholarly monks in any abbey would doubtless have helped strengthen the collections and to fill gaps in the sets of books. Not all monks, however, were intellectuals. This is important too. Many English monasteries with reasonable libraries produced no known scholarship, and they were no less valid as religious communities in fulfilling the purpose for which they were founded. There are tales (usually sympathetic) of monks who were unable to learn to read at all, which was perhaps not unusual, especially since many novices must have been recruited from backgrounds where they had little or no working knowledge of Latin. For example, a twelfth-century monk of Durham, Robert of St Martin, despaired of ever learning to read and threw away the book the other monks had brought him and kicked it with his feet.[10] The Rule of Saint Benedict permits monks to read in the afternoons, not so much for the benefit of book learning but as a means of avoiding the sin of idleness, which is the enemy of the soul.[11] Monastic reading was a very leisurely and ruminative process, in which one would slowly mutter aloud a single sentence at a time, and then one would think about the sentence, contemplating its words and possible layers of

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8 *CBMLC*, ii, p. cxlv.   9 William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, p. 158 (x. 302).
10 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus Cuthberti*, cap. LXXVI, pp. 158–60. A widely circulated story told of a Cistercian novice who was unable to learn any Latin at all except the two words 'Ave Maria' (Ward and Herbert 1883–1910, ii, p. 634; the tale is illustrated in the Queen Mary Psalter, fol. 220v).
11 Rule of Saint Benedict, cap. 48 (*PL* 66. 703).

meaning from many directions. This was itself a devotional exercise. It was not a technique of using books which was conducive to quick reading or rapid consultation of multiple texts. The Constitutions of Lanfranc, c.1070, laid down rules for the use of books in an English monastery. Annually, on the first Monday in Lent, the books of the abbey would be laid out in the chapter house and each monk would be required to return the one book he had borrowed for the previous year and could then choose a new one for the coming year. If he had not had the opportunity to read the book he had been assigned – evidently a real possibility, since it is legislated on – he should ask for forgiveness.[12] The implication is that most monks actually saw and handled very few books. The scholar monk, surrounded by piles of manuscripts like a renaissance image of Saint Jerome, was probably a considerable rarity in the 1100s. Extant English monastic manuscripts are often still in remarkably good condition. One might be forgiven for supposing that such books were not handled a great deal. Compared with (for example) fifteenth-century Middle English manuscripts, which are commonly extensively thumbed and crammed with jottings and scribbles from many generations of private owners and frenetic readers, former English monastic books are frequently in almost pristine condition with clean margins and they are surprisingly often still in their original undamaged bindings. There may be other explanations. The unused books may simply be those that survive. A monk reading slowly perhaps did not work with a pen in his hand. A book belonging to a community may have been treated more reverently than one privately owned by its user (though, in fact, as most of us know, the opposite is more likely to be the case). However, on balance, it is fair to suppose that many of the volumes in twelfth- or thirteenth-century monastic libraries did not form a significant part of the daily life of the monks; and that the intellectual impact of these books on people beyond the monasteries was absolutely nil.

Too little is still known about how many English monasteries had in-house facilities for making their own books. In 1100 some kind of scribal participation may have been an expected activity of many well-equipped religious houses. By the mid-thirteenth century it was almost certainly becoming unusual. Probably the single greatest shift in medieval intellectual history was the period in the middle third of the twelfth century when the old monastic monopoly of learning began to disintegrate and scholarship moved out into what eventually and slowly evolved into the medieval universities. The number of texts in circulation became so great that many monasteries seem to have abandoned

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12 Lanfranc, *Monastic constitutions*, p. 31.

any attempt to maintain comprehensiveness. The ease and rapidity with which the traditions of monastic scriptoria were abandoned between about 1150 and 1200 confirms the impression that they were never very central to the monks' way of life in the first place. Certainly by the thirteenth century any English cleric or monk of academic inclination would not expect to fulfil his studies entirely from the boxes in the cloister but would be sent instead to the schools of Paris, Oxford, Cambridge or Bologna, for example, and might afterwards return home with books he had acquired while there. These volumes would then, or on the monk's death, join the accumulated resources of his monastery. Entries in monastic inventories from about 1200 onwards show clearly how the libraries there were constantly stocked or topped up by donations from named members of the house, often with multiple (and not even necessarily welcome) copies of old school texts such as glossed books of the Bible in profusion, the *Historia scolastica* of Peter Comestor, or the *Decretum* of Gratian. The early fourteenth-century catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury, for example, included among bequests of named donors no fewer than thirty-one single-volume Bibles, twenty-four copies of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, and sixteen copies of the *Summa de casibus* of Raymond of Peñafort.[13] Librarians of monasteries must often have despaired when a deceased monk's cell was emptied and yet another almost identical collection of former university textbooks was sent round for accession. Names of those who gave books to monastic libraries were commonly entered on the flyleaves or first pages of the volumes themselves. They were generally members of the community. The names sometimes include the title 'magister', usually denoting a priest with a strong suggestion of qualification in an academic setting.[14] We see this trend at the upper end of ecclesiastical patronage too. Bishops and archbishops commonly endowed monasteries or cathedrals with great sets of manuscripts, either specially commissioned with presentation in mind or as the remains of a lifetime of private study.[15]

What is very striking about the donors of books to monasteries in the period 1100–1400 is that they were almost all clerics or monks. At Saint Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, for instance, we know the names of 240 people who presented a total of 1,287 volumes to the monastery in the later Middle Ages: only one of these donors was a member of the laity, Juliana, countess of Huntingdon

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13 James, *AL*, pp. 13–145.   14 And see below, ch. 7, pp.157–8.

15 They include bequests of very substantial private collections to Canterbury from Thomas Becket (archbishop 1162–70) and Robert Winchelsey (archbishop 1293–1313); to Durham from Hugh du Puiset (bishop 1153–95) and Richard of Bury (bishop 1333–45); and to London from Ralph Baldock (bishop 1304–13).

(d. 1367), who, as it happened, presented only a single book.[16] All the other 1,286 volumes were given to the abbey by men in holy orders, mostly monks of the house. The records of monastic collections, at least, give little evidence of book ownership by English society at large. The great medieval battlecry for book collecting, the *Philobiblon* written in 1344 by Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, is not so much a celebration of a common practice but a lament that monks, friars and priests of his time did not collect and use books as much as they should. There is no mention of laity at all in the *Philobiblon* or any assumption of a book culture outside the Church.[17]

The two English medieval universities, Oxford and Cambridge, came into prominence as major repositories of books only towards the end of the period covered by the present volume. Their members were often in holy orders and all enjoyed many of the legal privileges and conditions of religious life. Patterns of book acquisition and disposal were therefore very similar to those in monasteries. Fellows of colleges were unmarried and had no descendants. Those who died in residence would frequently bequeath their personal book collections to their colleges, either by custom (or requirement) or simply in default of other practical options. The books in turn would become part of a common pool from which other fellows could borrow volumes on an annual basis, much as in monasteries, or would be chained for consultation on the desks. Quite often the volumes owned personally by individual fellows were almost pathetically few in number. There is no shame in owning ugly books but the general roughness of the majority of early English academic manuscripts is quite striking in comparison with the often lavishly illuminated textbooks from Paris or Bologna. They give the impression of poverty. Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford, who famously would have liked twenty books at his bed's head 'clad in blak or reed, of Aristotle and his philosophie', was dreaming of almost unimaginable richness. In reality, only graduates who had made successful careers in the outside world would have had sufficient resources to acquire manuscripts in any quantity. They would sometimes give or bequeath their books back to their old universities or to monasteries. Brice de Sharsted (d. 1327), former fellow and bursar of Merton College in Oxford, became a priest in Kent and a canon lawyer in Rome and elsewhere. He left at least eight books to Merton, principally his textbooks on the arts, and two volumes

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16 Emden 1968, p. 20. The manuscript, an illuminated Apocalypse, is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 20. Another aristocratic donation to a monastery was that of Guy de Beauchamp (d. 1315) who in 1305 gave forty volumes to Bordesley Abbey, mostly French literature and including also another Apocalypse (*CBMLC*, III, pp. 4–10).
17 Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon*.

of canon law to Christ Church, Canterbury. He bequeathed his silver, how-
ever, to the bishop of Rochester.[18] It sounds as though he was dividing his
wealth where it would be most appreciated. Thomas Farnelow (d. 1379) had
been a member of Balliol and afterwards bursar of Merton, and he went on to
become chancellor of York from 1369. He bequeathed a Bible bound in red to
Balliol, four volumes to Merton, including one he had made himself, and he
asked his executors to sort out the books apparently left to Oriel College by
his fellow northerner, Walter de Wandesford.[19] Stephen de Kettelberghe (d.
c.1358), canon of various cathedrals of England and Wales, left a small group of
law books to Oriel on condition that his obit was observed there, together with
that of his friend John Dynyton.[20] Simon Holbeche (d. 1335) was a medical
doctor who had been a member of both Oxford and Cambridge universities.
He bequeathed one of his books to Balliol (a volume which he had received
from Master Stephen of Cornwall, also of Balliol), another to Peterhouse in
Cambridge, and he gave a third to his friend Walter de Barton (d. c.1340),
rector of Dry Drayton, who, in turn, passed it too to Peterhouse.[21] There are
many examples like this: scholars with small groups of books husbanding them
carefully and shepherding them eventually back into collegiate use.

As with monasteries, academic libraries occasionally benefited immensely
from the generosity and wealth of bishops. William Bateman, bishop of
Norwich 1344–55, was recorded as having given ninety volumes to his own
foundation of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.[22] Even this was far eclipsed by William
Reed, bishop of Chichester 1368–85, who gave over a hundred volumes to
Merton, a hundred to New College, twenty-five to Exeter College, and ten
each to Queen's College and to Balliol, together with considerable sums of
money and precious plate.[23] The cost must have been enormous. Bishop Reed
was helped in acquiring books by the generosity of his like-minded friend,
Nicholas de Sandwich, a priest and the son of a wealthy Kentish land-owner.[24]

It is easy to look at the extensive records of early libraries of the universities
and to imagine books in abundance. There certainly were, and are, consider-
able medieval collections in Oxford and Cambridge, but most of the famous
comprehensive bequests – from Richard Flemyng (d. 1431), Duke Humfrey
(d. 1447), John Tiptoft (d. 1470), William Gray (d. 1478), and many others

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18 *BRUO*, p. 1681; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 782–3.
19 *BRUO*, p. 668 (describing Wandesford's books as left 'with Queen's College') and p. 1978 (describing
   them as left 'to Oriel College').
20 *BRUO*, p. 1043; Cavanaugh 1980, p. 482.
21 *BRUO*, p. 945; *BRUC*, p. 309; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 432–3; *CBMLC*, x, pp. 700 and 661.
22 *CBMLC*, x, pp. 661–2.   23 *BRUO*, pp. 1556–60; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 689–714.
24 *BRUO*, pp. 1639–40; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 759–62.

– belong to the fifteenth century, beyond the period of this volume. Before 1400 both universities were still quite small and most of the great colleges had not yet been founded. The early donations of books give the impression of being haphazard and inward looking, with relatively small groups of academic friends and colleagues sharing each other's manuscripts and bequeathing them eventually to the colleges. As with monastic libraries, the general public would never have had or expected access. That is regrettably often the case, even now.

Friars might have let the public see books. The itinerant Dominican and Franciscan preachers owned manuscripts of a recognisable type, small, stout, utilitarian and suitable for a large pocket or travelling bags of mendicants.[25] The friars were established in England from the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans especially became influential in the universities of Paris and Oxford, where their members seem to have been involved in various ways with the production and promotion of books. Surviving friars' books often show graphic evidence of constant use and sustained marginal annotation. The late thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea*, a Dominican text, tells of a priest who contemplated joining the Dominican Order but felt unable to do so since he did not own a New Testament; a young man miraculously appeared and sold him one, which the postulant then opened at random at Acts 10 and read of Christ's command to become a preacher, which he then did.[26] Thirteenth-century friars' Bibles often contain notes about sermons. It would be interesting to know whether a medieval friar actually carried a Bible while preaching in public places, as a modern door-to-door evangelist does. The picture of a characteristic Franciscan in the *Chronica maiora* of Matthew Paris, c.1240, shows a standing friar cradling a book which is held closed with a clasp.[27] The standard thirteenth- or fourteenth-century English iconography of Christ or Saint Paul preaching almost always depicts the speaker holding a closed book.[28] It seems likely that a travelling friar, preaching outside a church or at a market cross in rural England, would have held his Bible or other book as a symbol of authority and spiritual credibility. If so, that is significant in the present chapter, since for most of his medieval audience it would be an extremely rare glimpse of a real book, even if only the binding was visible.

One can assume that the congregation in a parish church in the Middle Ages would have had a distant view of books in use by the clergy. A Missal is physically

25 D'Avray 1980; and ch. 13 (1) below.   26 Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, II, p. 49.
27 Lewis 1987, p. 63, fig. 28.
28 Saint Paul preaching is a standard subject for the Epistles in thirteenth-century Bibles as in *Survey*, IV, nos. 62, 65, 66, 70, 75, 135, 139, 142, 143, 164, 168, 180; an image of Christ holding a book to preach occurs, for example, on fol. 214r of the Queen Mary Psalter (Warner 1912, pl. 228).

required for celebrating Mass, and Graduals and Antiphoners for the choir were stipulated as requirements for all churches.[29] Book illumination, sparkling as the pages were turned in a candle-lit church, must have contributed to the atmosphere of religious awe, as coloured light from a stained-glass window was undoubtedly mysterious and otherworldly to those who did not see it regularly. We know a huge amount about the great variety and complexity of liturgical texts needed in every church of medieval England, and yet we know almost nothing about how far these books were seen close-up or handled by more than a very few people. Anyone entering a church today sees many books, such as lectern Bibles and public hymnbooks, none of which would have been there before the Reformation. Liturgical manuscripts in the Middle Ages were probably kept in cupboards beside the altar or in great iron-bound chests.[30] They would only be brought out for services. It might be that large choir Psalters or Antiphoners were permanently on view in the choir, if only because they were heavy to move. Many thirteenth- or fourteenth-century illustrations of clerics chanting occur in the customary initials for Psalm 97 in a Latin psalter, *Cantate Domino canticum novum*, 'Sing a new song unto the Lord'. The singers are shown gathered together around an open volume. They are indeed using a book, rather than chanting the words by heart (unless, to be pedantically literal, an old song might be sung from memory but a 'new song' requires a text). Diocesan visitation records, with a predisposition to criticism, often remark on the poor condition of books in churches, describing volumes as worn out, unbound or in need of binding.[31] A person looking around a church in the later Middle Ages might have sometimes seen expensive presentation books on the altars of chantry chapels, walled off from curious fingers by grilles or screens. He might conceivably have seen a stout reading book such as the *Legenda aurea* chained to a shelf for the use of the public, although seldom in the period before 1400. He might sometimes, at least during Mass, have been fortunate enough to witness the local nobleman's wife or daughter seated with her own illuminated Psalter or Book of Hours, not following the liturgy as such, but turning the pages of her manuscript to induce in herself a suitably religious frame of mind for penance and pious contemplation.

This finally brings us to the lay ownership of books. This is intimately tied up with the evolving history of literacy, a vast and complicated subject, for there are very many levels of reading skills and it is not easy to know who could

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29 See below, ch. 12, pp. 291–5.
30 See below, ch. 12, pp. 291–3. Descriptions of thirteenth-century church book-chests occur in the *Register of S. Osmund*, pp. 292 and 312.
31 *Register of S. Osmund*, pp. 276–314.

or could not make some use of written words.[32] As an extremely broad generalization, we can assume that relatively few of the laity could read with any fluency in the early twelfth century and that a very large proportion of the mercantile population and above were at least partially or even completely literate by the end of our period around 1400. This development was complicated by the fact that there were throughout this time three simultaneous languages in England, not separated by geography, as in most linguistic divisions of Europe, but by levels of society. They were Latin (spoken and written by the church and by scholars throughout the period), French or Anglo-Norman (spoken and eventually read by the nobility and upper social classes), and English (spoken by the lower social classes and eventually read by everyone, including us). Chapters below address the beginnings of Anglo-Norman and Middle English manuscripts.[33] The earliest literary books in England, until about 1250, were undoubtedly expensive and always exceedingly rare indeed. This does not necessarily mean that they had no influence on society, for some volumes may have been read aloud to their owners and it might be that an after-dinner recitation in a Norman great hall of the *Chanson de Roland* or the *Voyage de Saint Brendan*, for example, could have come to the ears of an audience over an unexpectedly wide range of social backgrounds. However, this is unknown and unknowable. Generally it is true that fashions filter down the social scale. In Anglo-Norman texts this is exemplified by volumes of saints' lives in verse, illustrated with tinted drawings, and especially by vast and luxuriously illuminated Apocalypses which were popular in the mid-thirteenth century among the women of the royal court in Westminster, and which sparked a fashion for similar volumes which by 1300 had transmogrified into books of relatively modest format, perhaps owned by noble families of moderate status.[34] If we seek a tiny instance of books in upper-class England influencing the taste of the society around them, then the best (although short-lived) example is probably Apocalypses.

The books most commonly privately owned in England from about 1250 to the end of the Middle Ages were Psalters and, from the late thirteenth century, Books of Hours. Surviving manuscripts are often festooned with coats of arms, indicating family dynasties and allegiances, some real and some (one suspects) wishful thinking. The Calendars sometimes included carefully inserted obits and anniversaries of the owner's parents or distinguished kinsmen. The books

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32 Parkes 1973, pp. 555–76; and many further references in Morgan 2005, p. 318 n. 54.
33 Below, ch. 15 (1) and (2).
34 On readership and ownership of these, see Morgan and Brown 1990, pp. 91–7; McKitterick, Morgan, Short and Webber 2005, pp. 15–17, 134–6.

are usually spectacularly illuminated. They were manuscripts for an upmarket clientèle. Psalters and, later, Books of Hours are assumed to have been the texts from which aristocratic children would learn to read[35] and, for that reason alone they must have had an influence on one small section of society, for no one ever really forgets the first books of their childhood. They were also symbols of piety. They could serve this purpose without being read. If one took a Psalter or Book of Hours to church, as people evidently did, it could be a catalyst for focussing the mind on matters of religion. Probably most people wealthy enough to own such manuscripts before 1400 would also have a private chapel at home, and perhaps the general public did not in fact very often see the gentry using their books of devotion in the parish church.

Intriguing evidence of the place of Psalters and Books of Hours in social circles of their owners can be found in family inventories and wills of those who owned them. A few examples will have to suffice. Joan Mortimer, Countess of March (d. 1356), had a Psalter and four volumes of secular romances in Wigmore Castle, Herefordshire, in 1322, apparently the only books in a substantial household.[36] Elizabeth, Lady Bacon (d. 1323), bequeathed to her brother, Sir John de la Ware, a Book of Hours which had belonged to their sister Margaret.[37] Later Roger (d. 1370), Lord de la Ware, Sir John's son and heir, bequeathed to his third wife Eleanor all the books in his chapel and the romances in French in his private apartment, for her use during her lifetime but to revert on her death to his eldest son, and then to remain in the family forever.[38] Henry, Lord Percy (d. 1352), owned a Psalter, bound with an eagle on the cover (probably in textile), which he left to his wife Imania, and a Bestiary in French, which he bequeathed to his daughter Isabella.[39] Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d. 1377), left twenty pounds and a single book to each of his three daughters: to Margaret, a large Book of Hours; to Elizabeth, an unspecified book in French (Hugh had probably never looked at it closely enough to know what it was), which he had acquired from Katherine de Buckland; and to Katherine, a Psalter which had previously belonged to his aunt.[40] Marie de Seint Pol, long-widowed Countess of Pembroke (d. 1377), was foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge. She had four devotional books, all of which she bequeathed outside the family. There were a Breviary which had come from the Franciscan nunnery of Saint-Marcel, Paris, and a Diurnal from which she herself used to recite the hours. These she left to the Franciscan nunneries of Bruisyard and Denny.[41]

35 See below, ch. 12, pp.307–8.   36 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 595–6.
37 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 61–2.   38 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 237–8.
39 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 647.   40 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 212–13.
41 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 778–9; on the breviary from Saint-Marcel see Rouse 2007.

She had a smaller Breviary which the queen had given her. This she bequeathed to her confessor. Finally she had a Book of Hours, 'ou je dit mes choses', 'from which she said her things', which had been owned by the queen of Scotland and which she now bequeathed to the queen of France.[42] We are in a rarified world.

Several observations can be made about the evidence of fourteenth-century wills. Firstly – the previous examples notwithstanding – Psalters and other books of apparently private devotion were very often, perhaps even usually, bequeathed to churches and chantry chapels and to family priests and confessors, frequently with injunctions to pray for the souls of the testator and his family. It was actually quite rare for devotional manuscripts to remain within families for generations. This is in sharp contrast to the sixteenth-century custom in France and the Low Countries where modest Books of Hours were used for recording domestic dates and events, rather like Victorian family Bibles, and were often kept up by direct descendants for many centuries. In England, before 1400, the obits and abundant armorial symbols were not so much a genealogical record for the information of families themselves as a reminder to the religious legatees to pray for the souls of the donors and their ancestors. Many of the celebrated early English secular Psalters and Books of Hours, made for wealthy private use, have survived not by descent but by having been afterwards given to religious houses. Extant examples, among many, include the Rutland Psalter (Reading), the Garrett Psalter at Princeton (Tewkesbury), the Psalter of Hugh de Stukeley (Peterborough), the Gorleston Psalter (Norwich Cathedral Priory), the Vernon Psalter (Hampole), the Psalter and Hours of Elizabeth de Bohun (Norwich Dominicans), and the Zouche Hours (Chertsey).[43] Many others were evidently bequeathed to priests, who were doubtless also expected to remember the souls of the previous owners.

Secondly, wills record the bequests of a very remarkable number of mainstream liturgical books – Missals, Breviaries, choirbooks, and so on – which one might not initially have expected in the private possession of the laity. Often they were simply the furnishings of private chapels or family chantries. Sometimes they were evidently already on long-term deposit in churches. In 1319 the inventory of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex (d. 1322), listed sixteen liturgical books, including two Missals, two Antiphoners, three Graduals and a Psalter, which were all kept in a chest in Deneye chapel at Walden Abbey, Essex.[44] The earl perhaps never actually saw

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42 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 778–9.
43 *Survey*, IV, nos. 112 and 138; *Survey*, V, nos. 23, 50, 53, 111 and 119.   44 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 106.

them. Of the eight Missals in St George's Chapel in Windsor in 1384, three had been given by noblemen.[45] By the end of our period, the donors were not necessarily aristocratic. In his will of 1361, John de Boyndon, an apothecary of London, left the modest sum of one mark (13s. 4d) together with a Missal and a noted Breviary of the Use of Sarum to the church of St Giles at South Mimms, Middlesex.[46] Another London tradesman, a painter, left a Missal in 1395 to the church of St Giles without Cripplegate.[47] Some bequests of service books may not be as straightforward as they sound, for there was clearly also a practice of leaving money for service books to be made after one's death for the use of the church where the testator asked to be buried. In his will of 1384, for example, Richard Glemesford, fellmonger (leather worker) of London, left various tenements to be sold after his wife's death to pay for a Legendary for the church of St Stephen Colman Street and for a Missal for Glemsford church in Suffolk, where his father was buried.[48] A manuscript might have had the name or arms of a layman without ever having actually belonged to that person in his or her lifetime.

Thirdly, references to any books at all in wills are, in general, very scarce.[49] Some have pleaded that perhaps books may not have been specified in wills or that a single volume might have concealed multiple texts.[50] Nonetheless, the overwhelming impression is one of relative booklessness in the records of private people's most precious possessions. If a testator did own books but forgot to mention them, it may be a fair guess that they were not especially important in that person's life. Surviving manuscripts do not contradict this impression. There are reasonable numbers of extant English medieval manuscripts which must have belonged to the laity before 1400, but, in European terms, they are infinitely rarer than similar books surviving from France and probably also from Italy. It is traditional to blame this comparative dearth on the ferocity of the Reformation in Britain. That may be true, but it may also be the case that books did not actually figure as prominently in English medieval life as they did in some parts of Europe.

The lethargic development of the book trade in England is noticeable too, compared with France and Italy. There is good evidence of a secular market for books in Paris from well within the twelfth century. English visitors sometimes bought books abroad, as Peter of Blois tried to do in Paris, when there on

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45 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 601.   46 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 116.
47 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 670.   48 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 364.
49 Deansley 1920 found references to books in only 338 of 7,500 fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English wills, but subsequent work by Cavanaugh 1980 has revealed rather more.
50 Parkes 1973, pp. 568–9; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 9 and 13–17.

business for Henry II, probably in the 1180s.[51] At about the same period the lay founder of a hospital in England, however, needed a book for its chapel and was directed eventually to a certain Jocius of London, who had received a suitable volume as a pledge of no redeemable value and who gladly gave the unsaleable book to him as a gift.[52] We have the names and other details of no fewer than 58 booksellers in thirteenth-century Paris and 68 parchmenters;[53] not a single bookseller is known in London before 1312.[54] Compared with Paris or Bologna, the evidence of a professional book trade in Oxford is patchy, to say the least, even in the thirteenth century, and in towns as presumably cultural as Cambridge and London it is insignificant before 1300 and hardly visible in the fourteenth century.[55] It is commonly asserted that Oxford stationers operated a *pecia* business, as in Paris and Bologna, which allows large-scale simultaneous production of standard books, regulated by the university; there is no evidence for this whatsoever.[56] The mistery, or guild, of illuminators was not established in London until 1393 and that of book scribes there not until 1403, outside the period covered by the present volume.[57] Modern English surnames are an interesting reflection of the principal medieval trades – Smith, Tanner, Taylor, Carpenter, and so on – but we look in vain for English families called Parchmenter, Scribe (except for Scrivener and perhaps Clark), Limner or Bookbinder. The commercial market for individual patrons was simply not there.[58] Many of those who wanted books in England were either obliged to employ their own scribes and illuminators, often clerics or friars in a noble household,[59] or to buy their manuscripts abroad. Conversely, names among the personnel of the early Paris book trade sometimes include '*anglicus*' or '*l'anglois*', presumably Englishmen without the opportunity to practise their trade at home. We have seen how many English monks and clerics brought books back from the European university towns. The trade in psalters and later books of hours from the southern Netherlands, increased during the second half of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, especially from Bruges (where even Caxton eventually set up shop, to cater to the English market).[60] From about 1200 until well into the sixteenth century, a substantial proportion

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51 *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, I, pp. 33–4, no. 28.
52 *Materials Thomas Becket*, I, p. 530.   53 Rouse and Rouse 2000, II, pp. 11–142.
54 William Southfleet 'stacionarius': Michael 1993, p. 87.
55 The evidence painstakingly gathered below in ch. 8, although infinitely precious, is negligible in comparison with the vast documentation in the Rouses' book, just cited.
56 For references to this debate see Steveler and Tachau 1995, p. 34, n. 87.
57 Christianson 1990, p. 23.
58 Such production as there was must have been predominantly for the service books required by the churches. See below, ch. 12, pp. 304–6, 316.
59 See ch. 8, pp. 172–3.   60 Rogers 1982 documents this market.

of all commercially made books in circulation in England had been imported from abroad.

Let us now take stock of where we stand. Between about 1200 and the mid-thirteenth century there were excellent monastic libraries in England, but these were seen by almost no one. By the fourteenth century these collections were beginning to disintegrate. Some, like Malmesbury and Oseney Abbeys, were clearly disposing of books in the fourteenth century;[61] others, like Christ Church, Canterbury, were sending books to the priory's Canterbury College in Oxford, in no expectation of their return.[62] St Albans sold books to Richard of Bury and then regretted it, and bought some back.[63] In the visitation of 1363–6, the abbot of Eynsham was accused of lending the monastery's books to outsiders.[64] Monks and clerics owned scholastic books, sometimes brought back from studies abroad. Their little libraries, 'at beddes head', cannot have been known to anyone but their owners. At their deaths their books often slipped, invisibly to most people, into collegiate libraries. They were not usually publicly sold or thrown into commerce. Churches and chapels had many liturgical books, probably not commonly visible. Friars travelled with books and perhaps sometimes exhibited them, probably closed. In the latter half of our period, the upper levels of the laity had a very few and very splendid books, such as French romances and expensive volumes of devotion, which were often intended for or bequeathed to churches rather than being kept within the family. Apart from these, then, it would seem that books were not especially prominent or noticeable in medieval society.

Books in twelfth- to fourteenth-century England were not the indicators of status that they have become since the late sixteenth century. At least before the time of Chaucer (d. 1400) and Froissart (d. c.1410), who both fall at the extreme end of our period, there was no particular personal advantage or social cachet in having written a book. That came much later. Many medieval authors, including Chaucer, will seldom state their own names and will often pretend to be merely recasting an earlier text. The possession of many books may sometimes

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61 Oxford, Merton College, ms. 181 (s. xii) was still at the abbey in the fourteenth century, later at Oxford and owned by John Gygur, fellow, who gave it to the College in 1482; Oxford, Oriel College, ms. 42 (s. xii), was given to the College by Andrew Mankswell, fellow, in 1459. Two more Malmesbury books of s. xii, Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O. 5. 20, and Bodleian, Auct. ms. F. 3. 14, were lent to Roger Swineshead, monk of Glastonbury (possibly while he was at Oxford), and returned to the abbey after his death in 1365. The information on Oseney was supplied by the late Richard Hunt.

62 James, *AL*, pp. xlvii-xlviii; Pantin 1947–85, IV, pp. 156–61.   63 *CBMLC*, II, pp. 541–2.

64 *CBMLC*, II, pp. 153–4; a fault also committed by Ely, 1329, Westminster, 1369, Rochester, 1390 (*CBMLC*, II, pp. 129–30, 611–3, and 534–7) and by Christ Church, Canterbury (James, *AL*, p. 109, nos. 1246–9).

have been an indication of piety but it was not regarded as a symbol of sophistication or wealth. Medieval tomb effigies and monumental brasses do not show books, as they might for a man of culture after the Renaissance. Needless book collecting was regarded as faintly absurd, as satirized in Alexander Barclay's 1508 version of the *Ship of Fools*: 'this one pleasure have I of bokes to have grete plenty and aparayle: I take no wysdome by them, nor yet avayle'.[65] One English compendium of *exempla*, or tales for preachers, tells of a hermit who declares that the keeping of the Commandments is better than the collecting of books; another says that devout ignorance is better than overloaded scholarship.[66] A modern collector or institutional library will often bind little books separately to increase the number and visibility of the different components on the shelves. English libraries and owners before 1400 would very often assemble vast and miscellaneous *Sammelbände* of little texts, concealing a varied collection in one binding rather than displaying it in many. Such multiple volumes were also common in medieval Germany but unusual in France or Italy, where the possession and ostentatious display of many books was already beginning to have a social benefit. Fourteenth-century legal manuscripts in England – little utilitarian reference books of statutes and legal precedent – were usually humbly decorated, certainly in comparison with the very large showy volumes of law illuminated at that time in Bologna, intended to demonstrate the prestige and might of their subjects and of their owners.[67] English manuscripts of Anglo-Norman romances were also often quite plain. There were no fourteenth-century English equivalents of those extravagantly illustrated vernacular texts fashionable in France, such as the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Histoire ancienne*, the *Bible historiale* and in the early years of the fifteenth century the translations of Boccaccio's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, which were commissioned in such quantities by the upwardly mobile French merchants and aspiring courtiers in imitation of the great private libraries of the royal family.[68] Nothing comparable happened in England. Richard II had a small library of French literary texts[69] but there is no evidence that they were admired or replicated by members of his court. This may simply be an effect of language. The emerging middle classes in England did not mimic the vernacular book tastes of the old nobility because they spoke English, not French, and

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65 Sebastian Brant: *Shyp of Folys*, fol. XIII verso.
66 Ward and Herbert 1883–1910, III, p. 496, no. 223, and p. 519, no. 12.
67 L'Engle and Gibbs 2001 and below, ch. 11, pp. 265–6. English manuscripts of the *Vetera statuta* (fourteenth century) are usually small stout volumes, like friars' books, perhaps often for ready reference by judges or sheriffs on circuit. By contrast, manuscripts of the *Nova statuta* (fifteenth century) were often large and opulent.
68 Taburet-Delahaye and Avril 2004, pp. 29–44.   69 Green 1976.

the aristocracy did not attempt to outdo their inferiors in displays of luxury, as in France, because they were not using the same books. All that changed around 1400. Quite rapidly, the English language moved up the social scale, and it transformed the market and the fashion for private book ownership. If the present chapter were set in the fifteenth century, it would tell a different story.

Books as physical objects do not figure prominently in the wider culture in England between 1100 and 1400. They are mentioned hardly at all in medieval English literature and satire, or in sermons or miracle stories, all of which often give revealing insights into the familiar paraphernalia of everyday life. They are sometimes found in art. Saints are shown holding books, even if the saint was not an author. Saint John almost always holds a closed book as he stands beside the Cross in images of the Crucifixion, even though his Gospel cannot have been written at the time of that particular event, later described by him. Saint John holds a book too as he stands watching his divine vision in illustrated Apocalypse manuscripts, and books appear prominently in the narrative of Revelation as the sacred object which no one but the Lamb is worthy to open. In later medieval iconography, Christ himself sometimes carries a closed book, historically quite inappropriately, during his entry into Jerusalem, the arrest in Gethsemane, and even while being led before Pilate.[70] Saint Anne holding a book to teach the child Virgin to read, her initiation into sanctity, is especially prominent in English art.[71] A rare miracle story which mentions a book does so as a visual symbol. When Saint Æthelthryth (Etheldreda) appeared in a vision to the governess of the children of Sir Herbert de Fourches, her saintliness was recognized because she was reaching out a Psalter in one hand and a lighted candle in the other.[72] If one had to say in one word what books represented in the popular culture of medieval England, the answer would be sanctity, and this they could convey without being opened.

To return to the proposition at the beginning: have we perhaps over-estimated the place of books in English medieval society? If asked, those who owned them and used manuscripts in England in the Middle Ages would doubtless defend the value of their books as fiercely as the prehistoric cooking staff among the Beaker People would doubtless praise their pots. To the tiny percentage of the medieval population who ever held a book in their hands between

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70 For example, Sandler 1974, fig. 35 (Peterborough Psalter, c.1300–18), fig. 97 (Gough Psalter, c.1300–10) and fig. 302 (Ramsey Psalter, c.1303–10); *Survey*, v/1, fig. 33 (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O. 4.16 Psalter additions, c.1290) and fig. 308 (Dublin Hours, c.1340–50); Smith 2003, pl. 1 (De Bois Hours, c.1325–30) and pl. 4 (De Lisle Hours, c.1320–5).
71 Scase 1993; Smith 2003, pp. 260–4.   72 *Liber Eliensis* 2005, pp. 343–4.

c.1100 and c.1400, these were the possessions which most obviously defined their personalities, fed their minds, delighted their eyes, and ensured their participation in eternal life. That is surely enough. For those reasons alone, books are probably the most significant and worthwhile artefacts ever made in medieval England and we are hugely fortunate that so many still exist. As for the other nine-tenths of the population, they very probably never confronted a book at all.

2
Language and literacy

RODNEY M. THOMSON AND NIGEL MORGAN

From the Conquest to c.1200

The availability, ownership and use of books in medieval England was always conditioned by the circumstances of language, literacy and education.[1] At the beginning of the period three languages were spoken in the country: two, Old English and Latin, had been in use for a long time, while the third, Anglo-Norman French, was a recent arrival. At the time of the Conquest the native language was Old English, represented by an impressive number of written texts which continued to be copied, along with new compositions, well into the twelfth century. The ecclesiastical culture, although Latin-based as elsewhere in Europe, had been heavily vernacularized for centuries, and was probably no less so in 1066 than it had been in the age of Bede. Old English would not be displaced as the native language, but by the second half of the twelfth century it was mutating, rapidly and violently, into what is now called Middle English. For us today, Old English is in effect another language, but speakers of Middle English, from the early thirteenth century on, seem to have been able to still read Old English, if with difficulty.[2] Quite soon after the Conquest Latin established itself, more firmly than before, as the written language of highest status, in both books and documents. For the next two centuries most books that survive do so because they were kept in the comparative security of monastic libraries. They create an impression of a written culture almost completely dominated by Latin, and for the monasteries themselves, and for the Church as a whole, this is probably correct. As a written language, English went into a retreat from which it took a long time to recover. It continued to be the spoken language of the vast majority of people, at the lower end of the social scale, and it was also

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1 In general Clanchy 1993, though focussing on documents rather than books; ch. 7 below for the early period.
2 Evidence for this is the accurate copying of Old English charter texts into cartularies as late as the fifteenth century.

spoken at the higher levels, even by foreigners. When Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester roundly cursed Urse d'Abitot in Old English, one presumes that the Norman understood what was being said.[3] French, the spoken language of the conquerors and their aristocratic descendants, was important for certain kinds of text, notably the romances favoured by a courtly audience. The language of upper-class entertainment, it probably differed from the other languages in being written to be read out loud to an important personage or group. Nonetheless, it was also used in other contexts, for instance as a 'crib' to Latin texts.[4]

Although English lost both popularity and status as a written language after the Conquest, it was still used for another century and a half.[5] Of the 421 surviving manuscripts in Old English catalogued by Neil Ker, about a third contain text copied or composed between the Conquest and the early thirteenth century.[6] New literary texts continued to be written in it. Coleman, monk of Worcester, wrote his now-lost Life of St Wulfstan not long before 1113.[7] A translation of the Homily on the Virgin by Archbishop Ralph d'Escures, written before he became bishop of Rochester in 1108, survives in a copy made c.1150, perhaps at Canterbury or Rochester.[8] The last entry in the Peterborough Chronicle (Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 636), was written in 1155 (the entry itself is for 1154). William of Malmesbury, still alive late in 1142, had a good command of Old English: he translated Coleman's Life of Wulfstan, and made substantial use in his historical works of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and other documents in the vernacular.[9] His attitude to it was complex and contradictory: personal names in Old English were 'barbarous', but in translating important texts into it from Latin, Bede and Alfred were to be admired.[10] Other chroniclers who demonstrably knew Old English were his contemporaries John of Worcester and Symeon of Durham, as well as the somewhat younger Henry of Huntingdon.[11] Even as late as the early thirteenth century, the St Albans chronicler Roger of Wendover made use of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[12] From about the same time, and in a class of his own, is the anonymous monk of Worcester known, from his pathologically induced handwriting, as the 'Tremulous Hand'. He glossed most of the surviving local

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3 William of Malmesbury: *Gesta pontificum*, p. 253: 'Hattest Þu Urs, haue Þu Godes kurs.'
4 On Anglo-Norman French, see Short 1992; Legge 1949, 1950, 1980; Dean and Boulton 1999.
5 The point was already made by Chambers 1932, pp. lxxxi–c.
6 Ker 1990, Blockley 1994. See also the brief but useful remarks in Gameson 1999a, p. 25.
7 William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, pp. xv–xvii.
8 BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian D. XIV: Ker 1990, no. 209, p. 275.
9 Thomson 2003, p. 45.   10 Thomson 2006a, p. 12.   11 See below, ch. 16, p. 399 n. 9.
12 Roger of Wendover: *Flores historiarum*, ed. Coxe, or in the slightly revised version by Matthew Paris: *Chronica maiora*, vols. i–ii; the latest entry is for 1135.

books in Old English and wrote out the whole of Ælfric's Grammar. About fifty thousand of his glosses survive, and he seems to have been working towards the compilation of an English–Latin dictionary.[13] There is evidence that Worcester manuscripts with texts in the vernacular were still being read with ease throughout the twelfth century,[14] and this in turn suggests that the 'Tremulous Hand' was working at the far end of a still-living tradition rather than attempting to resuscitate artificially a language wholly dead to him and his community.[15]

The work of the 'Tremulous Hand' illustrates two more important points: firstly, in writing in both identifiable Old English and distinguishable Middle English, he registers the tension between a desire to preserve a venerable language on the one hand, and to make it comprehensible on the other. Secondly, his hand is not very calligraphic, and this is true of the earliest books from the second half of the twelfth century containing texts in Middle English such as Bodleian, Junius ms. 1 (*Ormulum*), a verse 'translation' of the Latin Gospel readings of the Missal with accompanying sermons (fig. 2.1), and BL, Stowe ms. 34 (*Vices and Virtues*).[16] It would be a long time before books in Middle English were made with the same attention to calligraphy, format and illumination that had been once accorded to those in Old English even as late as the twelfth century, and that was always accorded the best books in Latin or French.

Anglo-Norman French, the vernacular of the governing class through the twelfth century and beyond, competed with English during the twelfth century, and from a position of strength. It was the language used in the secular courts, and was at least one of the languages of the cloister.[17] It was above all a language in which was composed a remarkable amount of creative literature, often of high quality. For it has been claimed:

> The first adventure narrative . . . in French literature; the earliest example of historiographic writing in French; the first eye-witness history of contemporary events in French; the earliest scientific texts in French; the earliest French vernacular versions of monastic Rules; the first scholastic text to be translated into French; the earliest significant examples of French prose; the first occurrence of the French octosyllabic rhyming couplet . . . ; the first explicit mention of secular *courtoisie* . . . in vernacular French; the first named women writers in French; the earliest named and identifiable patrons of literature in French.[18]

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13 Franzen 1991, pp. 119–31; Collier 1997 and 2000.
14 Collier 2000, pp. 200–1; Thomson 2006b, pp. 114–15, 118.
15 This is substantially the opinion of Collier 2000, pp. 206–8.
16 Wright 1960, plates 2 and 3; Parkes 1983 on the script of the *Ormulum*.
17 Legge 1950.　　18 Short 1992, p. 229.

One of the reasons for this fecundity, it has been argued, was precisely the multi-culturalism and multi-lingualism that characterized twelfth-century England. Authoritative lists of surviving manuscripts show that about sixty manuscripts containing Old French in the Anglo-Norman dialect survive from the twelfth century, as compared with about ninety containing Old English.[19] But they also show a strong increase in copies of texts in French late in the century, compared with a dropping off of those in English. And, of course, French texts composed in the twelfth century continued to be copied in later times.

However, the proportion of books surviving in Latin as against the vernaculars over the first two centuries after the Conquest is almost certainly greater than at any other period of English history before c.1500. This is partly due to the sort of core texts that were typically to be found in the libraries of religious foundations.[20] It is also due to the standard, basic education in Latin which most monks and all the higher secular clergy underwent. Increasingly, the commonly used terms 'literatus' and 'illiteratus' meant, not to have or lack the ability to read, but to have a good or inferior command of Latin. By the second half of the century, it was further specialized to distinguish between those who had or had not had more than the basic grammar school education, namely those who had or had not been through the higher Schools and gained the coveted title of 'magister'.[21] This training meant that Latin was not only the dominant and highest-status written language, but it was a Latin very different from that which had been written in England before 1066 and particularly since the tenth century.[22] It was marked by a conscious return to classical norms, or what were taken as such, in vocabulary and syntax.

Inevitably, however, even the members of those communities in which Latin had most currency varied as to their competence in it. We get occasional glimpses of attempts to come to terms with a trilingualism that for most people was probably only partial. Abbot Samson of Bury said that in many monasteries sermons were preached to the monks 'in French or better still in English, for the edification of morals and not for the display of *literatura*'.[23] Perhaps the most notable example in written form is the Canterbury or Eadwine Psalter of

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19 Sixty-six items are dated s. xii or s. xii/xiii in Dean and Boulton 1999. See also for overviews Wilson 1943; Clanchy 1993, ch. 6, esp. pp. 215–20; Gregory, Rothwell and Trotter 2005, pp. v–xx.
20 See further below, ch. 7, pp. 136–7.
21 See the famous debate about this among the monks of Bury c.1200: Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle*, pp. 125–30.
22 Lapidge 1975; Winterbottom 2003.   23 Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle*, p. 128.

c.1155–60, in which the Latin text is glossed in both Old English and French.[24] A slightly different case is BL, Cotton ms. Faustina A. X, part I, the main text of which is a copy of Ælfric's Grammar, written in the second half of the eleventh century. Obviously made and kept in a community with a strong vernacular tradition, it was corrected c.1100, and copiously glossed c.1200 in English, Latin and French.[25]

Language and society c.1200–c.1400

By the beginning of the thirteenth century the language which we call Middle English was firmly established, having developed out of Old English with some influence of words from the vernacular spoken and read by the higher levels of the upper classes, Anglo-Norman French. Up to the mid fourteenth century texts in these two vernaculars survive in almost equal numbers, and are often contiguous in the same book, suggesting that readers of such compilations were bi-lingual.[26] Also, particularly in the thirteenth century, in some books the vernaculars are set beside a substantial number of Latin texts. Only in the 'age of Chaucer' (c.1350–1400) does English come to dominate over the number of texts in French.[27] During the second half of the fourteenth century the use of French, both spoken and written, begins to decline, books containing texts in both languages become rare, and by 1400 very few newly composed texts were written in Anglo-Norman. Some books, particularly romances, were still entirely in French, but most of them were imported books in Continental French rather than indigenous productions in Anglo-Norman. The lists of books from 1379 and 1384–5 belonging to Richard II contain many such items, including a *Roman de la Rose* and a Bible in French, probably Guiart des Moulins' *Bible historiale*.[28] At the same time the library of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, inventoried after his death in 1397, contained primarily French books and little in English.[29] In certain contexts, such as the ordinances of the English army, French continues to be used into the late fourteenth century changing to English in Henry V's reign, and in the common law courts continues

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24 P. P. O'Neill, 'The English version', in Gibson, Heslop and Pfaff 1992, pp. 123–38; Pulsiano 2000, esp. pp. 190–4.
25 Ker 1990, no. 154; Swan 2000, pp. 76–8.
26 E.g. the compilations of religious and didactic texts, Bodleian, Digby ms. 86 and BL, Harley ms. 2253.
27 Berndt 1972, pp. 351–6, Watson 1999, pp. 331–9 give an overview of the rise of texts and use of English in that period, and Rothwell 1994 assesses the continued use of French.
28 Green 1976; Scattergood 1983, pp. 32–3; Cavanaugh 1988, pp. 725–6.
29 Cavanaugh 1988, pp. 844–9 and Salter 1983, pp. 34–5 for the predominance of French books in the collections of the higher aristocracy.

to be used in the fifteenth century.[30] As to literary works: as late as 1354 Henry, Duke of Lancaster, writes his *Livre des seyntz medicines* in Anglo-Norman,[31] and almost all of the text in the Holkham Bible Picture Book of c.1340 is in French, except some scrolls inscribed in English in the pictures.[32] It should be emphasized that such books in the vernacular were a small minority of the total produced – the overwhelming majority was in Latin, and included the service books for the Church, the largest single category of book production.

Which vernacular language was spoken, and in the case of the literate minority also read, varied according to social level.[33] The witnesses to the attested miracles drawn up in 1307 for the canonization of Thomas of Hereford were drawn from a wide social range. Priests and those of the religious orders almost exclusively gave their testimony in Latin, and among the laity about 70 per cent witnessed in English and 30 per cent in French.[34] At the highest level of society were the royal family and the great nobles, the heirs of the Norman conquerors; both their spoken language and the vernacular written texts in their books were predominantly French in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, less exclusively so by the fourteenth. The spoken and written language of the knightly class was either French or English, but more than for the high nobility, the use of English alone increasingly took the place of bilingual ability.[35] The author of the Middle English romance, *Arthour and Merlin*, c.1300, writes: 'Many noble ich have useiye that no Freynsche cou the seye'.[36] By the mid-fourteenth century an attitude had arisen, expressed in the writings of Higden, Holcot and Wyclif, that the situation of discourse in two vernacular languages was unnatural, that French had been imposed upon the English people and was not the mother tongue of the nation. In his translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, John of Trevisa states that the use of two vernacular languages is 'against the usage and manere of alle othere natiouns'.[37] The mercantile and professional urban classes could also have used either language according to the requirements of

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30 *Black Book of the Admiralty*, I, pp. 282–95, 300–28, 453–8. For the use of French by lawyers and in law texts, see Kibbee 1991, pp. 28–33 and Brand 2000. Suggett 1946 documents continued use of French in the first half of the fifteenth century.

31 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 696.

32 *Anglo-Norman Holkham Bible*; Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 472.

33 Berndt 1969, 1972, 1976 discusses the linguistic situation from the Conquest to the fifteenth century from the sociological viewpoint of class usage. Short 1979, Legge 1980 and Kibbee 1991 exclusively discuss the use of Anglo-Norman.

34 Richter 1979, pp. 206–17, gives a list of the witnesses and the languages used, and as a summary in Richter 2000.

35 Lodge 1992 for the use of the two vernaculars in the thirteenth century.

36 Berndt 1976, p. 138.

37 Kibbee 1991, p. 60, and Berndt 1972, pp. 346–9, on growing 'nationalism' in the use of the English language.

their profession or trade – the increase in international trade in the fourteenth century meant a continued demand for knowledge of French which seems to have been the language for business with Flanders and Italy, as well as with France itself.[38] Even in the thirteenth century the merchant in the romance *Floris and Blauncheflur* of c.1250 is characterized by the 'mony langages had in his mouth'.[39] Evidence for this are the late fourteenth-century model business letters in French contained in BL, Harley ms. 3988.[40] Some of these professional men seem to have been fluent in both English and French, and also to have owned books in Latin. A good example would be the London fishmonger, Andrew Horn, chamberlain of the city.[41]

The degree to which the various social classes of the laity understood Latin is more difficult to assess, although in order to be able to read certain administrative documents this language was essential, and a certain number of people, from the nobility down to the merchant class, had to have a basic understanding of it.[42] It can be concluded that the spoken and written language(s) used by these various classes changed considerably over the period from the early twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century, and these changes are reflected in the content of books owned by those of them who were literate. For certain types of text one of the two vernaculars or Latin were exclusively used, and continued to be even when French began to decline and Middle English increase.

An example of text traditions in particular languages is that of the prayers in Books of Hours. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries most of the text in these books, including the prayers added to the standard text, are in Latin. However, increasingly some prayers and rubrics are in the vernacular, almost always in Anglo-Norman.[43] The number of prayers and devotional lyrics in Middle English had been steadily rising from the early years of the thirteenth century, but in the prayer books themselves they are vastly outnumbered by texts in French. The translation of the Psalter into Anglo-Norman begins in the mid-twelfth century, antedating by over a hundred years its first translation into English.[44] Few of these Psalters in French survive, outnumbered a hundred fold by the texts in Latin. The Book of Hours was also translated into

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38 Kibbee 1991, pp. 60–1, Parkes 1973, pp. 558–9, and Jefferson 2000 for the business accounts of the Goldsmiths' Company.
39 Berndt 1976, p. 144.   40 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 321.
41 Salter 1983, pp. 35–6, 37; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 440–2.
42 Turner 1978 discusses the relative latinity of the knightly class in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Baswell 1999, pp. 142–51, on latinity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Voigts 1996 on the relative use of Latin, English and French in medical and scientific writings.
43 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 720–827, 840–909, 920–51, giving reference to the standard catalogues of these prayers by Sonet and Sinclair.
44 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 445–9.

Anglo-Norman c.1300 and into Middle English c.1350. Only three pre-1400 manuscripts survive of the former and fewer than ten of the latter.[45] Probably the rise of Lollardy, and the consequent policy of disapproval of religious texts in the vernacular pursued by the church authorities, is the reason why these translations were not popular. The linguistic situation for these devotional texts may result either from a conservatism considered appropriate for the language of prayer, or from the fact that the owners of these books, the higher nobility, constituted the last bastion of a predominantly French-speaking class.

Change in the trilingual literate culture over the century and a half from about 1250 to 1400 can be gauged by looking at the linguistic content of a particular type of book – the miscellanies of mainly religious, didactic and moral texts compiled for literate lay readership and instruction. The character of these compilations, the texts contained within them, and the readership for which they were written, have been discussed in some detail in the chapters by Alexandra Barratt and Tony Hunt.[46] These authors, however, are naturally concerned primarily with the Middle English and Anglo-Norman text contents and had no brief to compare the varying proportion of Latin, French and English texts in these compilations. Four well-known examples of such books span the period from 1250 to 1350 and two are from the late fourteenth century. Although the compilers and patrons might have had particular reasons for including different numbers of texts in the three languages in these books, they do give some general indication of changes in the linguistic map of England in that period of a hundred and fifty years. In two compilations that survive from the thirteenth century the texts in Latin are substantial, with the vernaculars of French and English in varying proportions, probably resulting from differing interests of the compiler and patron for the two books. Half of the texts in Bodleian, Digby ms. 86, are in French, suggesting that it was destined for a patron for whom that was the usual spoken language. The items of text of the four manuscripts of c.1250–1350 are in the following proportions according to language: Cambridge, Trinity College ms. B.14. 39 (c.1260) – 60 per cent Latin, 29 per cent English, 11 per cent French;[47] Bodleian, Digby ms. 86 (c.1275–90) – 30 per cent Latin, 20 per cent English, 50 per cent French;[48] BL, Harley ms. 2253 (c.1310–30) – 11 per cent Latin, 48 per cent English, 41 per cent

45 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 828; *Prymer* 1891–2; *Prymer* 1895–7.
46 Below, chs. 14, pp. 340–66 and 15 (1), pp. 367–80.
47 Reichl 1973, pp. 143–498, for listing and editions of the contents.
48 *Facsimile Digby 86*, pp. xi–xxxvi, and Hunt and Watson 1999, cols. 91–7, pp. 45–9, for a list of the contents.

French;[49] CUL, ms. Gg.1.1 – 35 per cent Latin, 10 per cent English, 55 per cent French (c.1330–40).[50] It is significant that in the two examples from the first half of the fourteenth century the texts in French still form a large component. Indeed, CUL Gg.1.1, like Digby 86, was probably destined for a patron whose household mainly spoke and read French. The Vernon Manuscript, Bodleian, ms. Eng. poet. a. 1 (c.1380–90), and Simeon Manuscript, BL, Add. ms. 22283 (c.1400) produced in the late fourteenth century, are similar in text content to the four compilations of the c.1250–1350 period already discussed, but are almost exclusively in English, save for a very few parallel texts of English with Latin or French.[51] The predominant use of English texts indicates that by the end of the period covered by this volume this type of religious/didactic miscellany had become almost completely monolingual, as was doubtless the case for the spoken and written English of the majority of literate lay society. The persistance of an extensive use of French in these compilations of the first half of the fourteenth century is in marked contrast to this sudden predominance of English. It is clear that the French language went into a steep decline in England over the next fifty years.

Education and language c.1200–c.1400

Irrespective of which vernacular was spoken, by whom and in what contexts, at the most elementary level of education learning to read was always linked to the learning of Latin. The vernacular used for teaching Latin was predominantly French up to c.1350, but from that date on was English, and from about that time manuals for the learning of French increase in number. In his translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, made c.1385, John of Trevisa identifies this change of the language of instruction in his own time: '. . . in al the gramer-scoles of Engelond children leveth Frensch and construeth and lurneth on Englysch'.[52] Already, in the second half of the thirteenth century, Walter of Bibbesworth's manual for teaching husbandry and estate management written for Dyonise de Mountechensi, to educate her children, was evidently written for a family whose children had been brought up to speak

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49 *Facsimile Harley 2253*, pp. ix–xvi, for a list of the contents. Corrie 2000 compares the texts with those of Bodleian ms. Digby 86.
50 Meyer 1886, pp. 281–340, catalogues the French text content in detail, but there is only brief reference to those in other languages in *Catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* 1856–67, III, pp. 1–8.
51 Serjeantson 1937; Guddat-Figge 1976, pp. 145–51, 269–79, and *Vernon Manuscript*, unpaginated section following the facsimile for lists of the text contents.
52 Stevenson 1901 on the rise of English for school instruction.

English as their mother tongue.[53] Even so, its text of instruction is almost exclusively in French.

It is assumed that only a small proportion of the populace received some form of schooling, but how small is impossible to say. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many grammar schools were established in the towns, and schools were also attached to cathedrals, collegiate churches and some university colleges.[54] The rise of institutional schools can be documented, but the extent of less formal education by, for example, the parish clerk, parish priest, or family chaplain in the case of the nobility, is very difficult to assess.[55] The 1262–5 statutes of Bishop John Gervais of Winchester order the parish priest to teach boys the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the *Ave Maria*, and 'after they know how to read the Psalter, to learn singing'.[56] Some boys of humble origin, who might not otherwise have received formal education, thus had to be educated for tasks like singing in a church choir, as was famously the case with Chaucer's 'little clergeon' of the Prioress's tale who heard sung the Marian antiphon, *Alma redemptoris mater* 'as children lerned hir antiphoner'. The musical service books, the Gradual and Antiphoner, were stipulated in diocesan statutes as essential for all parish churches, and these liturgical texts provided further instruction in reading after the elementary stage of the alphabet, followed by the Psalter and Primer (the Book of Hours).[57] Choir boys at York Cathedral in 1375–1400 were learning from the choir Psalters when they were rebuked for dirtying them in the process.[58] Social status and chosen trade for a career demanded a degree of literacy to carry out essential tasks such as account keeping – Walter of Bibbesworth's thirteenth-century treatise was primarily concerned with husbandry and estate management. Some of the manuals for learning French produced in the second half of the fourteenth century are directed towards the needs of business.[59] The proliferation of administrative bureaucracy and the processes of the law in the thirteenth and fourteenth century required large numbers of clerks and scribes fluent in Latin for the reading and writing of documents in that language, as well as in French.[60] All those entering

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53 Walter of Bibbesworth: *Le Traité* and *Le Tretiz* for editions of the text; Baugh 1956 on the controversy over its dating; Kibbee 1991, pp. 41–5 for the purpose of the text. See also Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 285.
54 Miner 1990, pp. 22–4, 202–24 and Orme 2006, pp. 189–229.
55 Orme 1994 discusses elementary education of boys in such contexts.
56 Brown 1905–6, p. 8, but *Councils and Synods ii*, p. 713, art. 59, with the correction that John Gervais was the first bishop who promulgated the statute. Brown's article discusses the probable education of Chaucer's 'little clergeon'.
57 Brown 1905–6, pp. 9–21, discusses the learning of prayers and antiphons in primary education.
58 *Fabric rolls York*, p. 243.   59 These are the *Orthographia gallica* and *Manières de langage*.
60 Clanchy 1979, pp. 186–91, 197–201.

the Church, even if only in minor orders, of course had to have some degree of literacy in Latin and this was emphasised by Pope Boniface VIII's 1298 Constitution, *Cum ex eo*, which was concerned to improve the education of the clergy.[61] There is some evidence that the novices of religious orders received their earliest instruction in the vernacular.[62] In 1395 one of the books in the cupboard for the novices at Durham was a Gospel Book, which also contained homilies in French (*in gallico*).[63] Copies of the rule of certain orders, such as the Benedictines and Augustinian canons, exist in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English.[64] These could have been used for teaching the novices and particularly by nuns, since women, save those of the high nobility, were much less literate in Latin than men – the grammar schools, cathedral and collegiate church schools only educated boys. Many Anglo-Norman texts were written by members of the religious orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and this probably implies that that language was spoken within the cloister.[65] As early as the late twelfth century, Abbot Samson of Bury expresses a preference for sermons in French or English over elaborate rhetorical Latin: 'colores rhetoricos et phaleras verborum et exquisitas sentencias in sermone dampnabat'.[66] Indeed, in 1343, the provincial synod of the English Benedictines, while acknowledging that the monks spoke to each other in English, ordered them to speak in Latin or French.[67] In estimating the proportion of the population literate in Latin it should be remembered that priests and those in minor orders and religious orders never exceeded 2 per cent of the total population.[68]

The elementary stages of learning the alphabet and reading in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were taught in French, but in the fourteenth century mainly in English. The language used for instruction was determined largely by the social status of the child, although the texts they used to learn to read were in Latin which presumably at the first stage of education could be read out but not understood. Thus, the pronunciation of Latin was learned before the language itself. The next stage was the proper learning of that language and its grammar. This learning of Latin is discussed in the chapter by Jan Ziolkowski on Latin Literature; here we comment on the language used to teach it.[69] As English rises in linguistic status in the fourteenth century it becomes the language of instruction in schools.[70] This change accompanies the rise of English, discussed

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61 Haines 1969 for its effects on England.
62 Orme 2006, pp. 266–7, on the education of novices.
63 *Catalogi Dunelm*, p. 81.
64 Hunt 1995b, Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 710–14, for Anglo-Norman, and *Winteney-Version* and *Three Middle English Rules* for Middle English.
65 Legge 1950.   66 Kibbee 1991, p. 19.   67 Berndt 1972, p. 357.   68 Berndt 1969, p. 373.
69 See below, ch. 10, pp. 230–41.   70 Stevenson 1901.

in the chapter by Boffey and Edwards, and the eventual demise of French as a spoken and written language which occurs in the early fifteenth century.[71] By that time the view of English as the 'natural' language of the nation puts an end to three centuries in which the *lingua materna* of almost all the population had had to take second place to the French language introduced after the Norman Conquest. Coincidentally, the establishment of English as the language used by the ruling family happens at exactly the period following the death of the last of the French Plantagenet dynasty, Richard II. Although not exclusively, the view of French as a literary language, and even to some degree a spoken one, superior to English, was still current at that high social level in Richard's reign. It should be remembered that John Gower wrote one of his early works, *Le Mirour de l'omme* (1376) (fig. 6.11), in French, and that the inventories of the king's books and those of Thomas of Woodstock list many romances in that language.[72]

After learning to read and pronounce Latin the understanding of the language was taught using books of grammar and vocabularies. These vocabularies have both French or English interlinear glosses to the Latin words, but before 1300 French predominates.[73] The main ones are Alexander Nequam's *De nominibus utensilium*, John of Garland's *Dictionarius* and Hugutio of Pisa's *Derivationes*. A commentator in the early thirteenth century writes: 'after (he) has learned the alphabet and has been imbued with childish rudiments, he learns Donatus'.[74] Grammar was taught from an elementary grammar, the *Ars minor* of Donatus, and literature from the *Distichs* of Cato and other short texts such as Theodulus' Eclogues. The explanatory texts for these works in extant manuscripts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries are in French or English or both (fig. 15.1).[75] An example of a school book of the second half of the thirteenth century is Lincoln, Cathedral Library ms. 132 (fig. 10.3), in which several Latin reading texts such as Theodulus' *Eclogue*, Cato's *Distichs* and Avianus' fables, are glossed in French.[76] The Middle English adaptation of Donatus is the *Accedence*, written probably in its original form in the mid-fourteenth century, but of which the earliest surviving manuscript is c.1400.[77] It is significant that one of the few French texts in that late fourteenth-century

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71 See below, ch. 15, pp. 381–9.   72 See n. 28 for references.

73 These are studied in detail with transcriptions of texts (vol. II) and indices (vol. III) in Hunt 1991.

74 Orme 2006, p. 88.

75 Merrilees 1987, 1993, *Liber Donati* and *Livre de Catun* for both the Anglo-Norman texts, and Lusignan 1986, pp. 111–15 for Donatus.

76 Thomson 1989, pp. 100–2.

77 Thomson 1979, pp. 1, 11, 49–51, 55–65 on the text and extant manuscripts of it. Thomson 1984, pp. 1–64.

compilation of Middle English texts, the Vernon manuscript, is the *Distichs* of Cato (*Le Livre de Catun*).[78] The more advanced texts of grammar, Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale* and Evrard of Béthune's *Grecismus*, do not always have these French or English glosses, suggesting that their users were able to read Latin quite fluently.[79] A good example of a schoolbook containing many of these texts (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O.5.4) was written by a single scribe for the college of Battlefield (Salop.) shortly after its foundation by Henry IV in 1409/10.[80] This includes a Middle English version of the *Accedence*, other grammar and orthographic texts, a short tract on table manners (*Stans puer ad mensam*), a Latin dictionary, texts on arithmetic and geometry, the *Distichs* of Cato, Theodulus' Eclogue and various works of Alexander of Villedieu and John of Garland. The version of *Accedence* is written for instruction in Latin grammar, but as the examples of the figures of speech are first given in English, it also serves for instruction in English grammar. Such schoolbooks contain texts for practice in reading Latin and lists of Latin verbs according to their conjugations.[81]

Another, slightly earlier, example of the types of texts used in schools is in the list of the 1358 bequest of books of William Ravenstone, almoner and schoolmaster, to St Paul's almonry school, London.[82] Some of the books of philosophy and texts of the authors of antiquity must have been for advanced education of the older boys, but the list includes basic texts such as the vocabularies of Alexander Nequam, John of Garland and Hugutio of Pisa, Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale*, Donatus' grammar, Evrard's *Grecismus*, Cato's *Distichs*, Theodulus' Eclogues, Avianus' fables, a Gradual, Hymnal and two Psalters.

The learning of French in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must have been necessary for some people brought up in exclusively English-speaking families, but who needed the second language for their education and for their professional careers. From the early fourteenth century onwards a number of books were written to assist in the learning of this language by certain sectors of society for whom it certainly was not their *lingua materna* but necessary for a variety of social uses.[83] Throughout the period covered by this

78 Serjeantson 1937, p. 258, item no. 350.
79 Hunt 1991, ii, pp. 15–34, gives examples of French and English glosses to these texts.
80 Thomson 1979, pp. 57–8, 158–68, for a description of the contents and history of the manuscript. See also Br Bonaventure 1961, pp. 5, 7–14, 16, for some of its texts, Meech 1935 (an edition of its *Accedence* text) and Bursill-Hall 1976 for its John of Garland grammar texts.
81 Br Bonaventure 1961 and Miner 1990, pp. 136–50, discuss the text contents of many examples of such schoolbooks.
82 Rickert 1932, Russell 1998 and Orme 2006, p. 154.
83 Kristol 1990, pp. 305–26, gives a comprehensive list of manuscripts with texts for learning French, and Lusignan 1986, pp. 97–127 on the use and learning of French in fourteenth-century England.

volume the higher ranks of the aristocracy, and a reasonable proportion of its lower levels, must have often spoken French within the family. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century a new genre of books of instruction in the French language was necessary, presumably because an increasing number of English men and women, although literate, were not fluent in Anglo-Norman. These books raise the question of why an understanding of French was still thought necessary. Some of them are clearly for business men or those involved in estate management. Walter of Bibbesworth's treatise of the third quarter of the thirteenth century was even intended to teach husbandry and management to children.[84] This treatise also teaches a lot of French vocabulary about country life not specifically concerned with these professional activities. Although their mother, Dyonise de Mountechensi, could evidently read French fluently, her mother tongue was English. So, for her children, Bibbesworth's treatise provides education in that language as much as in the practical managerial skills with which its text is primarily concerned.[85] The vocabularies of Alexander Nequam and John of Garland contained in schoolbooks were in Latin with French and English glosses, but some others are just in French and English. Such a text is the fourteenth-century *Nominale sive verbale in gallicis cum expositione eiusdem in anglicis*.[86]

A second case is about a century later than Bibbesworth's treatise, involving what has been called 'Business training in medieval Oxford', that is instruction in letter writing, conveyancing and accounting.[87] This involves Thomas Sampson, a teacher of grammar to pre-university students and those needing training in estate management in Oxford in the second half of the fourteenth century, considered by some as the writer of a treatise on French vocabulary and word usage, the *Orthographia gallica*.[88] Sampson may not be the original writer of the text, but may have edited and expanded it for his teaching in Oxford. Although he seems to have studied at the university he apparently never proceeded to the degree of bachelor of arts. The texts written by him make it clear that he taught in French and Latin. The *Orthographia gallica*, written in those languages, is for pupils who already had

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84 The arguments by Baugh 1956 for this early dating are not accepted by all: e.g. Kibbee 1991, pp. 26, 41–6.
85 Rothwell 1968, pp. 37–9.
86 Skeat 1903–6 for an edition of the text; Rothwell 1968, pp. 39–41 and Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 308.
87 Richardson 1941 with pp. 276–9 listing the manuscripts of all the texts written by or associated with Thomas Sampson.
88 Arnold 1937, Kibbee 1991, pp. 47–8, and Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 287, and *Orthographia gallica* for an edition of the text.

basic knowledge of Anglo-Norman French and Latin grammar.[89] It teaches the spelling, pronunciation, syntax and grammar of Continental French as a corrective to those of Anglo-Norman. In the 1350s Thomas Sampson wrote a treatise on letter writing in French, apparently a very necessary skill to be acquired by his pupils.

Finally, there are a number of treatises on French vocabulary, phrases and grammar, written in 1396, 1398 and 1415, the *Manières de langage*.[90] These are primarily directed toward the acquisition of colloquial French in the manner of a modern travel phrase book, characterized by Rothwell as 'for the tourist and the business man'.[91]

Language and literacy c.1200–c.1400

The proportion of the population who were literate, and who consequently were owners and readers of books, has been estimated to be very small in the previous chapter. This is surely correct, although almost impossible to assess numerically even in the most general way.[92] As Michael Clanchy has shown, literacy had to be acquired for certain professional activities, particularly in regard to the languages used for administrative documents.[93] The term 'literatus' in the Middle Ages implied good knowledge of Latin, and would not be used for a person who only had reading knowledge of the vernacular languages. It is likely that most of the patrons of authors and readers of early vernacular romances in Anglo-Norman and Middle English would not be considered 'literatus'.[94] Ownership of books in Latin, particularly prayer books such as Psalters and Books of Hours, certainly does not imply anything but superficial understanding of that language. In the case of many owners of these books who memorized and recited the Latin prayers and the psalms, an ability to understand every word was neither necessary nor expected, as indeed has been the case for centuries, including our own time.[95] Reading aloud, as opposed to silent reading, was more usual, and could be with a group rather than alone.[96] The Lollards, established by the 1380s, stressed the importance of reading the Bible text in English, and encouraged literacy among their adherents.[97] Henry

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89 Rothwell 1968, pp. 42–4.
90 *Manières de langage* provides editions of all three texts. See further for discussions of the text Lusignan 1986, pp. 97–111 and Kristol 2000.
91 Rothwell 1968, p. 45.
92 Parkes 1973 and Turner 1978, giving comprehensive overviews of the literacy of the laity in the 1100–1400 period.
93 Clanchy 1979, pp. 150–64, Parkes 1973, pp. 559–62.   94 Parkes 1973, pp. 555–8.
95 Saenger 1985.   96 Aston 1977, pp. 348–9.   97 Aston 1977, pp. 351–3.

Knighton, in his chronicle, states that Wyclif's translation of the Gospels into English made it available to men and 'women who know how to read', whereas previously the Bible could only be read by educated clerks.[98]

Of the book collections of the period from 1300–1450 catalogued by Cavanaugh, 95 per cent belonged to members of the religious orders, priests, university men, lawyers and adminstrative clerks on the one hand, and the high aristocracy and knightly classes on the other. The remaining 5 per cent represents the book ownership of merchants and tradesmen and their wives. Books of clerics, university men, lawyers, administrators and the aristocracy have been discussed in many sections of this volume, but little said about those of the burgher class. Examples of the latter are, in the case of women, Nichola Mocking, wife of a London fishmonger, who in 1348 owned a Missal and a Breviary, and Beatrix Barton, wife of a London vintner, who owned a Breviary in 1379.[99] If we limit the selection to the period up to 1375, several London tradesmen owned books which are listed in their wills: Andrew Horn, fishmonger and lawyer (1328), Robert Felstede, vintner (1349), Roger Madour, draper (1349), William Thorney, pepperer (1349), John de Bonyngdon, apothecary (1361), William Holbech, alderman and draper (1365), William de Burton, goldsmith (1368), John Worstede, mercer (1368) and Roger Longe, vintner (1375), to cite just a few.[100] After that date numbers of book owners of this social group greatly increase. That is almost certainly not because people of this class became significantly more literate in the late fourteenth century, but because of the enormous increase in the number of surviving wills. Although this source has been the main evidence for judgments on book ownership, it does not tell the whole story – Petrarch's will mentions only one book, although he is known to have had a library of at least 300![101] The idea that literacy, and consequently book ownership, markedly increases in England in the fifteenth century, is open to disputation – the numerical increase which is clearly evident is likely to have been the direct result of the much better survival of documentation from that period. Possession of books cannot determine the exact degree of literacy of their owners. Particularly since the majority of the books individual lay people owned were Psalters and Books of Hours, naturally in Latin, the ability to read that language certainly did not imply the full understanding of all that was

98 Aston 1977, p. 360. Aston 1984 discusses 'devotional literacy' in regard to other Middle English religious texts, not only those of the Lollards.
99 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 73, 558.
100 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 114, 157, 336, 431, 440–2, 541, 550, 857, 948. It should be noted that after 1375 there is an exponential increase in evidence of book ownership, above all from wills. What is known about the earlier is inevitably conditioned by lack of surviving documentation.
101 Parkes 1973, pp. 568–9, for cautionary words on relying on evidence from wills.

read.[102] In the previous chapter Christopher de Hamel asserts that the increase in the numbers of books containing vernacular English literature leads to an increase in lay book ownership. However, service books and texts for devotion and religious instruction were by far the largest category of books owned by the laity, and their ownership of vernacular books is in most cases on a much smaller scale. That hardly changes in the fifteenth century. Psalters and Books of Hours were the priority books for the literate and for the semi-literate, and the demand for these continues to dominate.[103] We are not as sceptical as the author of the previous chapter in regard to the degree of booklessness and illiteracy of the British population at large, in contrast with the supposed superior literacy and bibliophilia of the French. The social classes of book owners listed by Cavanaugh certainly represented a small proportion of the total number of the inhabitants of the nation.[104] We have no idea of the degree of literacy of the majority, whose ownership of books was assuredly negligible, and doubtless very few could read anything more than the names of the religious figures inscribed on some of the images in their parish church. This illiteracy would remain so until the establishment of extensive public education, many centuries after the end of the Middle Ages.

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102 Saenger 1982, 1985, discusses literacy and reading in relation to Books of Hours.
103 For fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readership of Books of Hours, see Duffy 2006.
104 There is no equivalent publication for France to the wide-ranging listing of book ownership provided by Cavanaugh, so no direct statistical comparison can be made.

BOOK PRODUCTION

3

The format of books: books, booklets and rolls*

PAMELA ROBINSON

Two manuscripts at Westminster Abbey exemplify the extremes of format possible for books at the end of the fourteenth century. The first is the famous Missal, commissioned by Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton (1362–86), and for which payments are recorded on his Treasurer's rolls for the years 1382–4.[1] This large and imposing volume, lavishly illuminated (fig. 3.1), can only have been intended for display on the altar on feast days. At other times it was kept in the vestry.[2] The second is a small pamphlet in which the writer addresses point by point an unknown theologian's comments on 'Quoniam fideles', an encyclical letter from the University of Paris, 1395, on the papal schism.[3] This untidily written paper pamphlet consists of three conjoint leaves or bifolia. Instead of being sewn one inside the other to form a gathering, the writer has first folded one sheet into two (fols. 1–2), written it, folded another and written it (fols. 3–4), then the third (fols. 5–6), ending on fol. 6r. He then sewed the bifolia one after the other on two parchment strips cut from a discarded inventory of relics belonging to the abbey. Finally, he folded the leaves down the middle to form a narrow booklet that might easily be slipped into his habit or hung from his girdle. As the text ended on the recto of the last leaf of the third bifolium, the blank fol. 6v thus became the pamphlet's cover on which the title 'De scismate' was written.

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* Throughout the following I use 'format' in the general sense of the size and shape of a manuscript. Gumbert 1993 argues that we should use 'format' strictly in the bibliographical sense, i.e. to refer to the folding of a sheet. Thus a 'quarto' would be a skin with two folds at right angles, giving leaves one quarter the size of a skin rather than just a medium-sized manuscript. However, it is not as easy to tell the method of folding with parchment as with paper, where the position of the watermark is determined by the number of times a sheet has been folded.

1 Westminster Abbey, ms. 37, measuring 525 mm × 360 mm. The main payment, made in 1383–4, is printed from Westminster Abbey Muniments 24265* in Robinson and James 1909, pp. 7–8. For the ms., see *DMLL*, no. 281 and pl. 64; *Survey*, v, no. 150.

2 Cf. the inventory of service books printed from Canterbury Cathedral, ms. Lit. A. 10, fol. 33v, by Wickham Legg 1890, p. 233.

3 Westminster Abbey, ms. 34/2; see *DMLL*, no. 280 and pl. 72. On the writer's response to 'Quoniam fideles', see Harvey 1983, pp. 55–68, 70–3.

This unusual format suggests that the pamphlet was the author's own copy. Since the abbey sent its monks to study at Oxford, it is tempting to speculate that the text represents the *determinatio* of a Westminster monk. However, Westminster's monks are not known for their scholarship; most went to the University solely to learn how to preach and came down without a degree.[4] The handwriting is not that of either of the two most likely candidates, Thomas Merks, B. Th., D. Th. or William Sudbury, B. Th.[5] Nevertheless, the monks were clearly interested in this topical issue since John Leland (d. 1552) reported no fewer than five *determinationes* on the schism in the library.[6]

The basic structure of the manuscript book was the same in whichever country it was written. Since this history deals with the book in Britain, I have endeavoured to cite examples of manuscripts produced in Scotland and Wales as well as in England. This has proved more difficult than I anticipated. The Scots, like the Welsh, undoubtedly owned books, but whereas the use of the vernacular helps us to identify 160 of the 200 to 250 manuscripts thought to have been written in Wales,[7] books in Scots do not appear before the fifteenth century. (Gaelic barely survives in written form before the sixteenth century.) Some surviving manuscripts with Scottish or Welsh provenance were imported from England or elsewhere. The twelfth-century 'Glasgow Pontifical', for instance, was manifestly written for a bishop in the province of Canterbury, but later belonged to the cathedral church of St Mungo.[8] Scottish and Welsh monastic libraries have suffered heavier losses than English ones. With no university of their own, Welshmen mainly went up to Oxford, and until the fifteenth century Scotsmen also travelled abroad to study (St Andrews, the first Scottish university, was not founded until 1413, Glasgow 1450–1, and Aberdeen 1494). As the scripts employed were international ('Anglicana' was used in all three countries), handwriting does not help.[9] The origin of a twelfth-century Augustine owned in the fourteenth century by the cathedral priory of St Andrews, Fife, is

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4 Harvey 1971; Campbell 1977.

5 For Merks see *BRUO*, 1263, for Sudbury *BRUO*, 1813. The handwriting is not that of Merks' letter to Abbot Colchester, datable 1397 or 1398 (Westminster Abbey Muniments 9240∗), or of Sudbury's copy of his *Tabula* on Aquinas (BL, Royal ms. 9 F. IV).

6 *CBMLC*, IV, p. 632, where it is suggested that the five *determinationes* Leland saw were bound into a single volume.

7 Huws 2000.

8 BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius B. VIII, fols. 1–34, 81–197. Most references to the metropolitan see of Canterbury are unchanged, but in the section on the ordination of an abbot (fols. 106v-7) Canterbury is altered to Glasgow. Cf. Higgitt 1998. For the cathedral's books see Dillon 1831, pp. 5, 8–17.

9 Cf. Huws 2000, passim, and Simpson 1973.

uncertain, as is that of an early fourteenth-century Pontifical written for Bishop Anianus II of Bangor.[10]

In the Ancient world the roll was the principal format for a literary text. Made up of papyrus sheets pasted together, a roll was usually no more than 30 feet long with the text written in about 100 narrow columns arranged to be read horizontally.[11] Long works were subdivided by their authors into books, each book to be copied into a single roll or *volumen*. Thus Ovid (*Tristia* 3. 14. 19) refers to his *Metamorphoses* as a work in fifteen *volumina*. In this way, the roll functioned both as a physical and a literary unit. The roll format may also have encouraged the creation of poems to be read as a connected sequence rather than as autonomous verses that could be read in any order.[12] If the constraints of format conditioned literary structure, the character of a roll's contents was likewise affected by the restrictions imposed by its optimum size. Only with the adoption of the codex did it become possible to produce a 'collected edition' of an author's work or a miscellany of texts.[13] Unlike the roll, codices can be made in different shapes and sizes and, over time, the function of a text, fashion and convenience came to dictate the format of books. The transmission of a particular type of text in a particular format helped to shape the response of the reader.

Although gradually superseded by the codex, the roll was never abandoned. The direction of the writing on medieval rolls, however, was different from that on ancient ones. Rather than the scribe having to write in the direction of the fibres of the papyrus, so that the reader had to read the roll horizontally, the medieval copyist could write on parchment so that the text was read vertically from top to bottom of the roll. This layout became particularly associated with works where it appropriately conveyed to the reader a sense of historical succession. Thus Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, although probably first copied in codices, was widely transmitted in England in roll format with circle-and-line schemata displaying Christ's ancestry.[14] Similarly, Anglo-Norman genealogical roll chronicles of the kings of England became popular from the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), their illustrated pedigrees conferring dynastic continuity on England's rulers by tracing the monarch's

10 St Andrews UL, ms. br. 65. A9, *MMBL*, iv, pp. 241–2; Bangor Cathedral, ms. 'Liber pontificalis Aniani episcopi', *MMBL*, iii, pp. 48–53; *Survey*, v, no. 69.
11 Roberts 1972–6; Skeat 1982; Blanck 1992, pp. 75–86.   12 Van Sickle 1980.   13 Petrucci 1995.
14 Monroe 1990. Examples include Cleveland, Museum of Art, ms. 73. 5 (for which see Monroe 1987); Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries of Merseyside, ms. Mayer 12017 (illustrated on the cover of *Medieval manuscripts on Merseyside*); and BL, Royal ms. 14 B. IX (*Survey*, iv, no. 177 and illustrations 377–80).

lineage back to Anglo-Saxon times.[15] Two such examples seem to have been specifically produced to substantiate Edward's claims to overlordship of Scotland. Their text traces his ancestry from Brutus, legendary founder of Britain, and the eldest of the three sons among whom Brutus is said to have divided the island (fig. 3.2).[16] Unusually, a pedigree showing the descent of both Henry IV of England (1399–1413) and Charles VI of France (1380–1422) reads from bottom to top like a Jesse Tree, the short Latin introduction at the roll's foot referring to an 'arbor'.[17] Such rolls are supposed to have been hung up for display, but their length would make it impossible for a reader to see the topmost membranes.[18] Moreover, text was often added on a roll's dorse.[19] More probably, they were unrolled in sections to be studied privately or used as a teaching aid (the *Compendium* in the schools, royal genealogies in the castles of the nobility), a teacher explicating Christ's or the king's family tree while his students followed the pictures.

Another work that is supposed to have been copied in roll format so that it could be suspended before the viewer is the Middle English 'Arma Christi' poem.[20] The drawings of the instruments of Christ's Passion which accompanied this work were (it is suggested) intended to be seen by the congregation while a preacher read the text aloud. For the pictures to be seen they would have to have been drawn upside down so that they would be visible to the people the right way up as the reader unfurled his roll over a pulpit or lectern.[21] In any case, the extant rolls are not nearly large enough for their pictures to be seen at a distance.

Other instances of the use of rolls include a thirteenth-century example, easily held in the palm of one's hand and containing the Anglo-Norman 'Song

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15 For copies, see Dean and Boulton 1999, pp. 7–10. Clanchy 1993, pl. XIII, illustrates Harvard University, Houghton Library, ms. Typ 11. Unlike the group of roll-chronicles produced in the later fifteenth century by the specialist 'Considerans' scribe (for whom see *Survey*, VI, no. 116), the earlier rolls were not produced in a single workshop. For roll-chronicles designed to be closed up concertina fashion into a 'book', see De la Mare 1971, p. 82.

16 Bodleian, Ashmole Rolls 38 and Bodley Rolls 3; see Monroe 1981. Also *Survey*, V, no.16 and ills. 35–36, and *DMOL*, nos. 38, 127 and pl. 139.

17 London, Society of Antiquaries, ms. 503; see *DMLL*, no. 155 and pl. 73.

18 For example, BL, Cotton Roll XIV. 12, a thirteenth-century copy of Peter of Poitiers, is more than 52 feet long. It was possibly produced at Battle Abbey for its dependent house of St John at Brecon, Powys; see Monroe 1987, pp. 229–32.

19 For example BL, Add. ms. 47170 (datable between 1307 and 1326), purportedly written and illustrated by Walter of Whittlesey, monk of Peterborough, with later continuations extending onto the dorse; see [Anon.] 1904.

20 Robbins 1939c. Only one of his seven examples apparently dates from the fourteenth century: Esopus NY, Mount St Alphonsus Theological Seminary, s. n.; see De Ricci and Wilson 1935–40, III, p. 1222.

21 As was the case with the much earlier South Italian Exultet rolls: see Cavallo, Orofino and Pecere 1994.

of the Barons', with a Middle English dialogue added on the dorse. If we accept the hypothesis that the roll format was once in widespread use among minstrels, this may be a unique English example of such usage, but many scholars remain to be convinced.[22] The unique Life of St Melor survives in another tiny roll, perhaps from Amesbury which claimed to house the saint's body.[23] A number of prayer rolls are known, mostly dating from the later fifteenth century.[24] Some of them seem to have been worn around the abdomen as birth girdles.[25] One little roll, dating from c.1400, contains Middle English medical charms to heal wounds; it has four holes at its head as if to thread thongs through by which to attach it to a leech's girdle.[26] A further small roll contains pontifical services and benedictions.[27] A number of copies of the *Statuta Angliae* also exist in roll format.[28] Most are written on continuous rolls but three are constructed 'Exchequer style', that is their constituent membranes were piled one on top of the other and sewn together at the head.[29] The text was written on both sides of a membrane; when the reader had read the face, he turned the membrane up and over to read its dorse where the text was written from the bottom back to the top.

What such examples have in common is not that the texts copied lent themselves to the roll format, as genealogical chronicles did, but that the function of a specific copy of a text seems to have dictated the choice of format. Songs, saints' lives, prayers, and statutes were equally copied into codices, but when copied into small rolls they were easy to carry. Portability seems to have been the chief consideration, as with the bishop's roll. It may be that the roll imbued copies of the statutes with a 'quasi-public authority',[30] since the roll was associated in England with royal record keeping, but that can only have been incidental. One can readily imagine a medieval lawyer referring to one of these rolls in court, particularly those constructed Exchequer style, as a modern barrister

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22 BL, Add. ms. 23986, a roll only 24 inches long, now missing; the Middle English 'Interludium de clerico et puella' is illustrated in *Non-cycle plays*, no. 2. For the case for minstrel usage of the roll format, see Rouse 1982. But see Paden 1995. Taylor 1991 debunks many supposed examples of minstrels' manuscripts.

23 NLW, ms. Bettisfield 19; see Diverres 1967.

24 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 7–1953, with prayers in Latin and Anglo-Norman, is datable to the second quarter of the fourteenth century: Wormald and Giles 1982, II, pp. 470–5. For fifteenth-century examples, see Bühler 1937; Krochalis 1983.

25 For example London, Wellcome Libr., ms. 632. Further examples are cited by Bühler 1964. For the universal use of such obstetric girdles, see Dilling 1913–14. On books in general as amulets, Skemer 1999.

26 London, Wellcome Libr., ms. 410.   27 Oxford, Keble Coll., roll 1, cf. Parkes 1979, p. 332.

28 Skemer 1995.

29 BL, Add. ms. 29500 and BL, Lansdowne Roll 11; Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 757. Lansdowne and Laud. are written by the same scribe.

30 Skemer 1995, p. 198.

might refer to his notes in a shorthand notepad. Plain and unadorned, they are in striking contrast to the handsomely illuminated codices of the *Nova Statuta* produced as 'status symbols' in the later fifteenth century.[31]

The ease with which rolls could be carried helps to account for the monastic custom of using them as the standard format for notifying other religious houses of the death of one's own head of house. Begun in-house with the announcement of the death, the roll was then borne around the country, and in each place visited a scribe would enter a *titulus* praying for the repose both of the soul of the departed and those of the dead of their own house. As the roll bearer's journey grew longer and more and more *tituli* were added, the mortuary roll could simply be extended by stitching on further membranes. That of Amphelisa, prioress of Higham, Kent, with the *tituli* of 378 religious houses in England and Scotland, grew to over 37 feet, while that of Lucy, foundress and first prioress of Castle Hedingham, Essex, with the *tituli* of 122 houses, is more than 19 feet long.[32] Some examples, like that of Thomas Piggot, abbot of St Mary's York (d. 1405), were seemingly recycled within a comparatively short space of time and survive only as binding fragments.[33]

If their portability accounted for the continued use of rolls, they did not offer the permutations of shape and size that the codex did. The potentialities of the latter format, however, were only gradually realized. The codex's early career is difficult to establish but the book we know today, made up of multiple regular gatherings of conjoint leaves of parchment (later paper) secured one within the other, did not become common before the fourth century.[34] It is believed to have been a Roman innovation, modelled on the sets of wooden writing tablets (with or without wax on the writing surface) used by them for note taking, with papyrus or parchment leaves substituted for wood. Tablets themselves remained in use throughout the Middle Ages, as witnessed by a tiny late fourteenth-century set from York, containing accounts and (seemingly) a Middle English love poem.[35] However, their survival is rare. Most examples come from the continent, although medieval tablets are known from Battle

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31 Baker 1999, p. 422.

32 Amphelisa's mortuary roll is Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. 271, for which see Sayle 1903; *DMCL*, no. 316 and pls 103, 104. For Lucy's (BL, Egerton ms. 2489), see *NPS*, 1st series, pl. 26; *DMBL*, no. 613 and pl. 134; *Survey*, IV, no. 56 and ill. 202. Both are also illustrated in Hope 1906, part 4, pls. XV, XVI.

33 PML, E. 12. A, used as the flyleaves, c.1490, of a volume of printed tracts; see Goldschmidt 1954. See also BL, Royal ms. 15 A. X*, mortuary roll of Ralph, abbot of Thorney, Cambridgeshire, d. c.1216, formerly the wrappers of a thirteenth-century compilation belonging to the precentor of Thorney; and Bodleian, Tanner ms. 10*, roll of William Yaxley, abbot of Thorney, d. 1293, possibly used in a mid-fourteenth-century rebinding of the Old English Bede (Bateley in Bede: *Tanner Bede*, pp. 15–17).

34 See Turner 1977; Roberts and Skeat 1983; Van Haelst 1989.   35 Brown 1994b.

Abbey, Cambridge, London, Rievaulx and Southampton; none survive from Scotland or Wales.[36] They were used for ephemeral purposes, for example rough drafts or school exercises.[37] As in the sixth century the *Regula magistri* prescribed their use for novices learning to write, so in the fourteenth century novices at St Augustine's Canterbury were required to have tablets and stylus.[38] A fifteenth-century *Nominale* includes them among the accoutrements of a cleric, 'Hec diptica, a smale tabyle'.[39]

An unusual parchment manuscript, written in the first half of the twelfth century, is shaped like a diptych, with its leaves curved at the top; from crown to foot it is 320 mm tall and only 168 mm wide.[40] The single gathering of fourteen leaves is held together by three parchment strips. The text (part of the Alchandrean corpus on astronomy), written in an academic hand and heavily abbreviated, suggests that this 'diptych' was written and owned by someone who had attended the schools. As a scholar, he would have been accustomed to the use of writing tablets.

In contrast to tablets intended for personal use, large tablets with parchment sheets pasted over wooden leaves were displayed in public places as information boards or in churches as guides to visitors to the history and antiquities of a place.[41] Most tablets, like those recorded from St Paul's Cathedral, London, or the Lady Chapel, York Minster, have now disappeared.[42] Only late fourteenth-century tablets from Glastonbury and York Minster survive.[43] As the text was in Latin, it may be doubted how much the casual visitor understood of the history recorded. Exceptionally, a triptych formerly in the church of Bawburgh, Norfolk, contained a Middle English Life of St Walstan, patron saint of agricultural labourers.[44]

Despite examples of the continued use of rolls and tablets, the codex was the usual form of book throughout the Middle Ages. For most of our period its gatherings were formed of parchment leaves. The price of parchment is rarely given but its cost seems to have increased during the fourteenth century. Merton College Oxford bought some at $1\frac{1}{2}$d the skin in 1319, at 1d each in

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36 Cf. Lalou 1992. For the Cambridge tablets (now lost), see Hughes 1887.

37 Rouse and Rouse 1989 and 1990.

38 *Règle du maître*, ii, p. 224 (cap. 50, 12–13); Thompson 1912, p. 401.

39 Wright 1857 (rpt 1882), p. 210. Other references to tablets are cited in Kurath, Kuhn and Lewis, 1956–99, s.n. 'table 1 (a)'.

40 London, Wellcome Libr., ms. 21; see Burnett 1997, fig. 3.   41 Richmond 1988.

42 For the St Paul's tablets, see Ussher 1687, pp. 32, 36. A marginal note added to London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale ms. 88, fol. 156v, records notes, made 1346, 'secundam tabulam in ecclesia Sancti Pauli London'. A description of the York Lady Chapel's tablets is found in Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 132: see Gillespie 1997.

43 Krochalis 1997, pp. 95–102, for records of tablets elsewhere; Purvis 1966.   44 James 1917.

1324, but for 3s the dozen in 1399.[45] Vellum was more expensive. In 1383–4 156 prepared skins ('xiij duodenis percamenti vitulini') for Abbot Litlyngton's Missal, where each bifolium was a single calf skin, cost £4 6s 8d, more than the £4 cost of two years' board and lodging for the scribe, Thomas Preston. Another codex where vellum must have been a considerable expenditure is the famous Vernon manuscript, which required more than 200 skins.[46] However, these manuscripts are exceptionally large. Usually only one or two skins, folded twice or thrice, would have been enough to form a quire; thus to produce an average-sized book would have required twenty to forty skins. In the early fifteenth century William Dyngley, bursar of Peterhouse Cambridge, paid 3d a quire or 6s 9d for a book of twenty-seven quires.[47]

Although paper was cheaper than parchment (Merton bought two quires of paper in London for 5d in 1355), by the end of the fourteenth century it was occasionally used for non-archival works, an 'economic revolution' whose impact was increasingly felt in the fifteenth century.[48] Although first used in the West in late tenth- or eleventh-century Spain, the earliest known use of paper in England is in the register of the Hustings court of Bishop's (now King's) Lynn, Norfolk, beginning in 1307, and in a similar register from Lyme Regis, Dorset, beginning 1309.[49] The Westminster pamphlet (p. 41 above) is among the earliest datable 'literary' works written on paper. In view of its possible authorship by a student monk at Oxford, it is noteworthy that the other two earliest datable paper manuscripts come from there: excerpts from Augustine and others written at Brasenose College in 1390, and a copy of Thomas Hanney's *Memoriale iuniorum* which belonged to William Foster, master of grammar (d. 1401).[50] Paper appears much later in Scottish and Welsh books, possibly not until about 1445 in Wales.[51] Whereas paper was cheaper than parchment, enabling the production of cheaper books, parchment remained in wide use throughout the Middle Ages.

Whether for economy, or because they lacked an adequate supply of skins, or the original text was regarded as old and useless, scribes occasionally erased the leaves of an earlier manuscript and re-used them to produce a new one.[52] Two

45 Rogers 1866–1902, I, pp. 643–6; Bell 1936–7, esp. pp. 320–1.   46 Robinson 1990, p. 16.
47 Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms. 110; see James 1899; see also mss. 154, 193, 198.   48 Lyall 1989.
49 Vezin 1982–6, I, p. 26, for Spanish instances; Hunter 1857 for English ones. For use at King's Lynn, Borough Muniments, C/10/1, the 'Red Register' (see *NPS*, ser. 2, pl. 90), and at Lyme Regis, BL, Add. ms. 31223, see Clanchy 1993, p. 120. The earliest known surviving paper document in the National Archives (SC 1/4/98a) is a foreign letter, datable 1216–22, sent to Henry III by Raymond of Toulouse (I owe this reference to Angela Craft).
50 BL, Harl. ms. 3524: see *DMBL*, no. 762 and pl. 284; CUL, ms. Hh. 1. 5: see *DMCL*, no. 46 and pl. 171. Cf. Kwakkel 2003.
51 Huws 2000, p. 17.   52 Lowe 1964.

such palimpsests survive from Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, the one with primary text so thoroughly erased it is impossible to read it, the other with secondary text written on leaves from at least five different English manuscripts dating from the eighth to eleventh centuries.[53] The present codices were produced in the late eleventh century and contain Persius' *Satires* and other Latin verse, and speeches of Cicero respectively. In the late thirteenth century a tenth-century copy of Virgil's *Aeneid*, written in Anglo-Saxon square minuscule, was discarded at Bury St Edmunds; six leaves, erased and turned on their side, were re-used for contemporary jottings and bound in with the manuscript of the Bury Chronicle.[54] Part of two volumes written by the well-known scribe Stephen Dodesham (d. 1482) are palimpsests of two earlier volumes written by him.[55]

Once the sheets had been acquired, prepared, folded and trimmed to produce bifolia (the standard quire was of eight folios, but quires of twelve became popular in academic works in the fourteenth century), the scribe could begin writing. From the thirteenth century books tended to become smaller than in the preceding centuries.[56] This is most dramatically exemplified by the contrast between the 'Paris Bible' and the monumental multi-volume Bibles of the twelfth century and earlier. Romanesque Bibles such as those of Bury, Lambeth and Winchester are all over 500 mm tall and 350 mm wide.[57] Written in a correspondingly monumental-sized script and lavishly decorated, these were Bibles intended for the altar. Later the rise of the universities, with an increased emphasis on biblical studies and the emergence of the new orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars, brought about the need for a handy one-volume Bible (containing both Old and New Testaments) for the student or preacher. This need was met by the production of the typical 'Paris Bible' consisting of between 400 and 600 folios of tissue-thin parchment. The text was written in a tiny compressed bookhand, in double columns of 38–50 lines per column. Appearing simultaneously in France and England, Bibles in such format were produced in their hundreds. Although most frequently of French origin, it can sometimes be difficult to determine where one was made, as with the Tintern Abbey Bible, the only known Bible of Welsh monastic provenance.[58]

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53 NLS, Advocates ms. 18. 6. 2 and 18. 7. 8, for which see Cunningham 1973. For the latter see also *CLA*, *Supplement*, nos. 1689–91.
54 London, College of Arms, Arundel ms. 30, fols. 5–10.
55 Doyle 1997, pp. 104–6 and pl. 9.   56 Gumbert 1980.
57 The Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 2) is 520 mm × 350 mm, Lambeth, ms. 3 + Maidstone, All Saints Church, P. 5, is 500 mm × 357 mm, while Winchester Cath., ms. 17 (originally 2 vols, now 4) is c.582 mm × 400 mm. Large Bibles continued to be produced after the twelfth century. On manuscript Bibles, see Gibson 1993.
58 NLW, ms. 22631c, see Huws 2000, pp. 158–68; Alexander 1982; Light 1987.

Two typical examples, one painted by the Oxford illuminator William de Brailes (fl. 1230–60), were produced for English Dominicans.[59] The radical change in format is evidence that the Bible was now in individual as well as communal use.

The works of the Fathers, which earlier had been copied in sets of large library volumes, also exist from 1200 onwards in single volume copies of reduced size.[60] For example, the only survivor of an original set of six volumes of Gregory's *Moralia*, made at Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire, in the twelfth century, is 330×220 mm; but in the thirteenth century it was possible to copy the complete work in a single volume of only 215×155 mm.[61] A fifteenth-century copy of St Augustine's *De quaestionibus veteris et novi testamenti* is 191×145 mm.[62] These are exceptional instances. Most patristic manuscripts remained large, yet with the development of small bookhands and the greatly increased use of abbreviations, it had become possible to copy into a single volume a work that had previously occupied two or more.

From about 1100 onwards there was a dramatic increase in the number of books produced. As more and more people desired books for study or as reference tools or for reading at leisure, the advantages of the codex format were increasingly realized. Thus it became possible to have a collection of an author's works in one volume. A table of contents headed 'In hoc volumine continentur subscripti libri Augustini' prefaces a manuscript that contains his *De trinitate* and *De civitate Dei* with other of his works.[63] The simplest way to build up such a collection was to acquire individual texts in booklet format and subsequently bind them all together.

The booklet originated as a small but structurally independent production consisting of one quire or several quires containing a single text or a number of short ones.[64] Few booklets, however, unlike the Westminster one on the schism, survive on their own. More commonly, as with two such examples, both written c.1100 and containing the short version of the *De miraculis sancti Eadmundi*, they are found bound with other gatherings in a composite manuscript.[65] Booklets like these were frequently put together with others, either to form a collection of related texts or a volume with miscellaneous contents. Two Oxford men, William Reed, bishop of Chichester (d. 1385), and

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59 BL, Arundel ms. 303: see *DMBL*, no. 462 and pl. 131; Bodleian, ms. Lat. Bibl. e. 7, painted by William de Brailes: see *Survey*, IV, no. 69; Donovan 1991, fig. 4.

60 Ker 1960a, pp. 40–1.

61 Contrast Lambeth, ms. 109 (*DMLL*, no. 55 and pl. 14), with Bodleian, Fairfax ms. 19. See Ker 1972a.

62 CUL, ms. Ee. 1. 25, see *DMCL*, no. 22 and pl. 239.

63 Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 55. Powicke, *Merton*, pp. 123–4.   64 Robinson 1980; Hanna 1986.

65 Gransden 1995, esp. p. 6.

Richard Calne, an Augustinian canon from Lanthony Secunda at Gloucester, compiled manuscripts in this way, assembling together texts on the same subject. Reed's scribe and notary, Walter Robert, carefully recorded on the flyleaves of Reed's composite volumes the names of those from whom Reed had acquired each booklet (fig. 3.3, Bodleian, Digby ms. 176), while notes in such volumes acquired by Calne between 1412 and 1421 state that they were partly written by him and partly by commissioned scribes.[66] By contrast, in the 1260s a Berkshire lawyer assembled booklets containing an Anglo-Norman romance and a Bestiary along with a collection of legal works.[67] In this way the medieval reader could build up a library.

Such a 'library' could be put together not only from booklets written by a number of different scribes but by a single copyist. About the same time as our Berkshire lawyer, one living in the region of the Anglo-Scottish border may have assembled from booklets, written by himself or another, the 'Berne manuscript' of English and Scottish law. Although most leaves have been mounted separately in the course of repairs, its copy of *Glanvill* seems to have been copied in a booklet, the last of three quires being deliberately shorter than the others since fewer leaves were needed to complete the text.[68] The Anchorite of 'Llanddewibrefi' produced for a layman friend in 1346 a collection of religious prose in Welsh in four different booklets.[69] A scribe called Leo gradually put together a collected edition of Walter Burley's works from four different booklets; one was written in 1390, another in 1391, and the remaining two are undated.[70] The booklets can be identified as such, chiefly because they contain complete texts that could have circulated quite independently of the others with which they are found.

A booklet can be recognized within a composite manuscript by a number of other criteria: it may differ from the rest of a volume in the size of its leaves, in the quality of its parchment, or if on paper in its watermarks. A booklet may differ from others in the number of folia to its quires, in its style of decoration or illustration, and in the occurrence of a different scribe. It may have its own series of quire signatures and if there are catchwords they may run only within the booklet, there being no catchword at the end of its last gathering to link it with the following booklet. Its last leaf may have been left blank or contain

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66 For Reed, see Robinson 1980, p. 58; for Calne, Lambeth, mss. 393 and 396, *DMLL*, nos 76, 77 and pls. 84, 85, 86.
67 Robinson 1980, pp. 56–7.
68 SRO, ms. PA 5/1: see *MMBL*, II, pp. 583–5; James 1867–72, I, pl. LXVIII.
69 Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 119, fols. 5–77, 78–92, 93–110, 111–43; fols. 1–4, of coarser parchment, probably formed the wrapper. See Foster 1950; *DMOL*, no. 805, pl. 190; Huws 2000, pl. 5.
70 Lambeth, ms. 74, fols. 9–32, 33–151, 152–74 and 175–95: *DMLL*, no. 52 and pl. 68.

additions often unrelated to preceding text. Such criteria relate to the physical make-up of a manuscript and not to its content, so that even if they are all present, if text is not free-standing and capable of circulation on its own, one should not speak of a 'booklet'.

A number of manuscripts have clearly been produced in the medieval equivalent of publication by fascicles of an opus where all the fascicles are necessary to have the complete work. Thus, a number of separate groups of quires, distinguished by the same physical criteria as the booklet, may have been put together to form one item. Books of Hours were commonly produced in a number of separate groups of quires containing the Calendar and each of the different offices. Missals too were put together in this way, with sanctoral and temporal in different fascicles. Statutes of the Realm were likewise so produced, the statutes of each king's reign copied in a different set of gatherings. With a lengthy scholarly work divided into books, each book could be copied into its own set of quires, with index or *tabula* supplied either by the scribe or the reader in yet another fascicle. Sometimes an exemplar was distributed among a number of scribes to speed up the process of copying, each scribe's stint consisting of a different book occupying a different fascicle.

Whether it was a single codex or a composite volume, the final stage in a manuscript book's production was its binding. However, it is evident from descriptions in medieval library catalogues that manuscripts were often left unbound or kept loose in wrappers.[71] One advantage of leaving texts unbound was that it would facilitate their use as exemplars. Thus, when the prior of Drax, Yorkshire, borrowed a booklet containing *Glanville* laws from the Berkshire lawyer, and a thirteenth-century abbot of Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright, borrowed ('mutavit') Melrose's chronicle from Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire, they may have wished to have had copies made.[72] The Melrose Chronicle must have been kept in loose quires, since the manuscript was begun in the late twelfth century and continued until the 1270s in gatherings added at different times. The note of the loan records its state when borrowed: 'cronica de melros in quibus fuerunt xiiii quaterni. folia v^{xx} et xix'. It would be an advantage in keeping a medieval chronicle up-to-date that it was left unbound so that extra quires with extra material could easily be added as required.

Many a manuscript's shape and size were determined by its function. Certain texts were commonly copied in large sizes of books. If one sees a large folio manuscript in a modern library one can reasonably assume that it is an

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71 Vezin 1997, pp. 64–70; Gullick 1996b.
72 Robinson 1980, p. 57, for loan to the prior of Drax. On the Melrose chronicle, see *Chronicle of Melrose*.

Antiphoner. Such a service book needed to be large so that members of a choir, gathered round it, could read its text at a distance.[73] Canon law manuscripts were also produced in large volumes, since the page size needed to be big enough to accommodate the gloss that was provided (or later added) around the text.[74] Other texts were copied in large format in a particular copy to answer a specific requirement. A booklet containing Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence's *Vie de S. Thomas*, copied in the late thirteenth century, was large (360 × 260 mm) because the text was written deliberately large (26 long lines in a written space of 283 × 150–70 mm) so as to be clearly legible to whomsoever read the Life aloud to visitors at Thomas' shrine, as Guernes himself had once done. Two other booklets, containing another Life and an early fifteenth-century customary of the shrine, precede Guernes' text.[75] Other large books seem designed to impress. Large 'glossy' picture books containing copies of the Apocalypse became fashionable in the thirteenth century, especially among noble women. The largest copy of all, the Trinity Apocalypse, was perhaps made for Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III.[76]

Developments in the format of books reflect an increasingly literate society. Books of Hours were typically produced in small format. Several thirteenth-century examples, written in large clear script, were produced in Oxford for a female readership, the largest among them no more than 160 × 110 mm.[77] The Llanbeblig Hours, made in the late fourteenth century for Isabella Godynogh of Caernarvon, is 175 × 120 mm, while one in Welsh is only c.133 × 105 mm.[78] Many examples from the three countries were imported. The Murthly Hours owned by Isabel Stewart of Lorne, Argyll (d. 1413), had been produced in thirteenth-century Paris for an Englishwoman.[79] Although a little bigger than my other examples, at 192 × 125 mm it was small enough for Isabel to hold in her hands and take with her to church. The size of a book has to be such that it could be read comfortably.

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73 Robinson 1990, p. 20, for examples.
74 For example, BL, Royal ms. 9 C. III at 380 × 280 mm: *CRMSS*, I, pp. 291–2, and IV, pl. 64c; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 282/675 at 360 × 235 mm, and Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. 0. 4. 14 at 315 × 215 mm: *DMCL*, nos. 242, 377 and pls. 155, 219.
75 BL, Add. ms. 59616, fols. 27–141; fols. 1–11 contain the customary and fols. 12–26 Beneit's *Vie*. See Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 508–9, and *DMBL*, no. 429.
76 Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. R. 16. 2, is 430 mm x 304 mm; other copies are less massive, though still large books: see Michael 1999, nos. 10, 12, 15, 16.
77 Vienna, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Cod. Lat. XIV (55): Donovan 1991, pp. 184–5, fig. 96; other examples given by her include BL, Add. ms. 49999 (the de Brailes Hours itself) at 150 mm × 123 mm, Add. ms. 33385 at 158 × 98 mm, and Harl. ms. 928 at 112 × 77 mm: see pp. 190–3, figs. 94, 96.
78 For the Llanbeblig Hours, NLW, ms. 17520A (formerly Dyson Perrins 15), see Warner 1920, I, p. 59. For the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Welsh in Shrewsbury School, ms. 11, see *MMBL*, IV, pp. 300–1.
79 NLS, ms. 21000: Higgitt 2000.

Convenience also seems likely to account for the adoption of the long narrow format of the so-called 'holster book' (fig. 3.4). This unusual shape of manuscript resembles that of the 'agenda format' of account books, and has been considered primarily in connection with Middle English texts.[80] Perhaps the best-known example is the late fourteenth-century volume of metrical romances once thought to have belonged to the minstrels of Beverley.[81] This was on no better grounds than that the discarded document which formerly served as its wrapper confirmed papal indulgences to the master and brothers of the Hospital of St John there. As Beverley had a fraternity of minstrels, it was hence imagined that this book was made to be carried in a minstrel's saddlebag or holster. The format, however, was not confined either to vernacular works or to verse. Latin prose is also occasionally found in 'holster books', such as a collection of computistica belonging to Colchester Abbey or the earliest known English copy of the Apocalypse, complete with learned commentary.[82] Yet, perhaps because of the short line of Latin verse, verse anthologies or schoolbooks commonly appear in books of this shape.[83] Possibly it was deemed a particularly appropriate format because it enabled 'the eye of the reciter to travel quickly across the page and . . . avoid the need for turning over quickly'.[84] A consideration must have been that such books are easy to handle, as the reader can support the back of the book with one hand while turning over the page with the other. For this reason books of long narrow shape, known to musicologists as *cantatoria*, were produced containing the chant for a solo singer. A desire for 'heures longues' saw three Books of Hours imported from France by John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1453), and his wife Margaret.[85] When the anonymous writer of the Westminster pamphlet (p. 41 above) folded its leaves down the middle to carry it more easily, he created a kind of 'holster book' and demonstrated yet again how format was determined by the use to which a text was to be put. A book's physical appearance thus reveals much about its intended function.[86]

80 Foxon 1953; Guddat-Figge 1976, pp. 30–6.
81 London, Lincoln's Inn, ms. Hale 150, at 393 mm × 130 mm.
82 Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o. 7. 41: *DMCL*, no. 383 and pl. 38; Longleat, Wiltshire, Marquess of Bath, ms. Longleat 2: Michael 1984 and 1999, no. 2.
83 For example, Worcester Cath., ms. Q. 8 part ii, at 260 × 155 mm: *ECM*, pl. xviii; London, Royal Society, ms. 24 at 236 × 137 mm; BL, Egerton ms. 2951 at 175 × 118 mm: *DMBL*, no. 617 and pl. 107.
84 [Anon.] 1950–1.
85 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, mss. 40-1950 and 41-1950: Wormald and Giles 1982, ii, pls 48–51. Kincardineshire, Blairs College, ms. 1: *MMBL*, ii, pp. 113–18.
86 I am grateful to Professor M. B. Parkes for his comments and criticisms of this chapter. Any errors or omissions that remain are my responsibility.

4

Layout and presentation of the text

M. B. PARKES

Between 1100 and 1425 there were numerous changes in the ways in which texts were laid out and presented on the page. There were new kinds of texts – a more technical literature than in previous centuries – that were often used for reference purposes as well as for continuous reading. There were also more texts in the vernacular intended for recreation as well as edification. These new texts as well as copies of older ones were produced for new generations of readers: not only for monks but also secular clergy and laymen, who had acquired a more sophisticated level of literacy through higher education, or professional training and experience. Many of these readers required easier access to details of the information contained in a text, in order to apply them to immediate problems. The way in which a text was presented on the page had to be appropriate not only to the needs of these readers but also to the content of the text. Scribes introduced new layouts and new ways of presenting texts. Some of these features first appeared in copies produced for scholars or specialist readers, but subsequently in copies of other texts (including vernacular texts) intended for a wider spectrum of readers, both male and female, to enable them to read more quickly.

The basic layouts distinguished between prose and verse texts. Prose texts were copied either in single columns of long lines, or in two-column layouts. During the twelfth century scribes preferred two-column layouts for 'library' copies of texts, especially patristic works. A two-column layout with shorter lines containing fewer words was convenient for readers, but required scribes to anticipate the justification of the ends of lines of text, in order to reduce the intrusion of text into the narrow space between columns.[1] To avoid breaking the conventions of word-division at the ends of lines, scribes adopted simplified spellings indicated by abbreviation symbols, or, conversely, adapted forms of **R** and **S** in different ways to extend the final letter of a word.[2]

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1 Ker 1972a; Ker 1960a, pp. 44–6, 55–6, 58–9.   2 See below, ch. 6.

Thirteenth-century scribes adopted a much smaller module of handwriting, in order to extend the potential of both single-column and two-column layouts to accommodate longer texts. A manuscript produced in the second quarter of the century contains both Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* (in 22 books) and Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* (in 35 books) in 298 leaves.[3] A guide to the size of the handwriting is that the depth of the written space on the page is approximately 240 mm, which was ruled for 66 lines of text disposed in two columns, each 83 mm wide, accommodating 12 or more words in each line. (By contrast a scribe who copied Bede's commentary on Ezra in the third quarter of the twelfth century on pages where the depth of the written space was 250 mm deep, ruled for 30 lines, and disposed the text in two columns, each 61–65 mm wide, accommodating 5 to 6 words on each line.)[4] Bibles in single volumes produced in the mid-thirteenth century were copied in a two-column layout of 50 lines or more,[5] but Books of Hours were copied in a large script in single columns of long lines.[6] From the end of the thirteenth century scribes tended to adopt single-column layouts more frequently for well-written copies of other prose texts.[7]

For verse texts twelfth-century scribes had inherited single-column layouts which indicated the rhythmic structure of stichic verse.[8] Each verse was placed on a new line with the first letter written as a *littera notabilior* (a 'more noticeable letter') separated from the rest of the verse (fig. 4.1). Verse paragraphs, and stanzas in lyric poetry, were introduced by coloured initials.[9]

Rhyming verse was presented in a variety of different ways. The principle which underlies the different layouts found in twelfth-century and later

3 Parkes 1992a, pl. 67 (Bodleian, ms. Bodley 198).   4 *CRMSS*, pl. 28.

5 Ibid., pls. 8 (William of Hales) and 10 (William of Devon); but for a smaller copy in double columns of 53 lines, see Parkes 1979, pl. 172 (Oxford, Keble Coll., ms. 80).

6 Cf. Parkes 1979, pls. 12, 13; *Survey*, iv/2, no. 158, pl. 284; *Survey*, v, nos. 134–5, pls. 358–9; Parkes 1992a, pl. 24 (Oxford, Keble College, ms. 14). The layout also had to accommodate psalms as well as prayers. On the layout of the Psalter, see below, p. 58.

7 For example: *ECBH*, pl. 4 (i) (Bodleian, ms. Bodley 406; sermons, 1291); frontispiece to Bartholomaei de Cotton monaci Norwicensis, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. R. Luard 1859, RS (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C. V); Brown 1990, pl. 36 (BL, Royal ms. 14 C. I; Martinus Polonus, *Chronicon*, s. xiii/xiv); *DMCL*, pl. 142 (1331–52) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. ms. 407), and *ECBH*, pl. 4 (ii), both by the same scribe.

8 On the layout of verse, see Parkes 1992a, ch. 8, especially pp. 97–100 with examples, and pls. 2, 41–2, 44–6.

9 *Litterae notabiliores*: a medieval term is used here to avoid ambiguity, since the modern use of the term 'Capitals' is restricted to the forms of Square Capitals used to indicate the beginnings of paragraphs, sentences and verses. In the Middle Ages scribes used letters from different alphabets. For examples of the first letter separated from the rest of the verse: *DMOL*, pl. 43 (1124–33) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 561); *DMCL*, pl. 91 (after 1183) (Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. ms. 119); *DMOL*, pl. 99 (1225–6) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 270); *DMCL*, pl. 108 (1243–50) (CUL, ms. Dd. 11.78), all with coloured initials at major divisions of the text.

manuscripts was to emphasize the rhyming words. This enabled readers to identify the rhyme scheme, and provided them with a fundamental guide to the rhythmic organization of a text. This in turn enabled them to identify the form of the poem, and alerted them to the conventions of that form embodied in the text. For example, a scribe copying a regular sequence with the rhyme scheme *aabccb* could copy the first three verses on one line and the next three verses on the following line, thereby giving prominence to the *b* rhyme at the ends of the two lines. Other scribes modified the layout of a poem to allow rhymes to be linked by braces (fig. 6.12),[10] with a refrain, or tail rhyme, placed alongside the braces.[11] Such 'displayed' layouts could assist a reader to assess the contribution of a stanza form to the 'message' of the poem.[12]

A poem could be laid out in various ways in different copies. For example, at the end of the twelfth century the English poem known as the 'Poema morale' was copied in rhyming couplets of septenary verse with a diaeresis (indicated by punctuation) after the fourth stress.[13] But in a thirteenth-century copy the couplets were laid out in quatrains with the last three half-lines indented, perhaps influenced by the treatment of hexasyllabic and octosyllabic verse in Anglo-Norman texts.[14]

In some thirteenth-century copies of Anglo-Norman romances and saints' lives the text was disposed in three columns on a page of square format (fig. 4.2)[15] – a layout which was more common in copies of romances produced in France.[16] This layout is unusual in English manuscripts, but it appears occasionally in other manuscripts where the width of the page permitted. In the fourteenth-century Harley anthology of Anglo-Norman and English texts the compiler was able to copy poems in double columns, or in triple columns when the lines of verse were short.[17] Later in the fourteenth century the size of the page in the two huge 'cowcher books' (the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts) allowed the scribes to employ a triple-column layout

10 See braces in *Facsimile Harley 2253*, arts. 8, 23, 25, 48; braced couplets in *DMBL*, pl. 311 (1405) (BL. Add. ms. 32578).

11 For braces with a refrain: *Facsimile Harley 2253*, art. 24. For tail rhyme, see the complex braces in the copy of *Sir Thopas* in the Hengwrt manuscript: *Canterbury Tales*, fols. 213v-15v.

12 See the example in Parkes 1992a, p. 100, and further comments in Parkes 1998, esp. pp. 341–4 and 348–9.

13 Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 14. 15.   14 Bodleian, Digby ms. 4.

15 *CRMSS*, pl. 35 (BL, Royal ms. 4 C. XI, Wace, *Roman de Rou*; Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 2, 1); *DMCL*, pl. 107 (1241–59) and Morgan 2002, p. 14, pl. 10 (*Vie de seint Ædward*, Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 522).

16 Martin and Vezin 1990, illustrations 196, 202–6, 210.

17 *Facsimile Harley 2253*, fol. 67v (art. 37) two columns, fols. 112v-13 (art. 79) three columns.

more freely.[18] From the mid-thirteenth century the most common layout for long verse texts was two columns,[19] but towards the end of the fourteenth century the single column became the principal layout for verse texts,[20] and scribes began to abandon the practice of separating the first letter from each line of verse.[21]

In copies of the Psalter produced at the beginning of the period 1100–1425 each psalm verse began on a new line with a 'versal' (*littera notabilior*) which was often decorated or illuminated. Any run-overs were indented,[22] but the practice of indenting was abandoned in the late thirteenth century.[23] From the fourteenth century the psalms in Missals, Breviaries and Books of Hours were copied continuously, and the beginning of each verse was identified by the versal.[24]

Special layouts were employed for particular kinds of texts. The layout of the liturgical Calendar remained unchanged, and persisted in printed books. Calendars were usually copied on a separate quire of six leaves placed at the beginning of a book. Each month occupied a whole page ruled with a layout of four columns (fig. 4.3).[25] The first column contained the Golden Number, and the second contained the Sunday letter, both of which were required to work out the dates of Easter, Lent, and moveable feasts.[26] The third column contained the days of the month in Roman style, beginning with the enlarged letters **KL** (Kalends, the first day of the month), and the fourth and widest column indicated the feasts and commemorations to be observed on each day. As the number of feasts and commemorations increased during the course of the Middle Ages, they were graded in order of their importance, and the grading

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18 *Vernon manuscript*.
19 For examples of layouts in two columns, see *DMOL*, pl. 115 (1260–70) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 132); *Romance of Horn* in Anglo-Norman; Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 151; *Owl and Nightingale*; *Auchinleck manuscript*; Skeat 1892, pl. VII (*Havelok the Dane*); Wright 1960, pls. 11 (*Cursor mundi*) and 13 (*Handlyng synne*).
20 *South English Legendary*, frontispiece; Skeat 1892, pl. IX and *Facsimiles Trinity College*, pl. VII (*Piers Plowman*); Parkes 1991, pls. 42–3, 45, 46–7; Thomas Hoccleve, *Facsimile verse texts*.
21 For example, *DMOL*, pls. 197 (1361–76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 76), 215 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257).
22 On the layout of psalms, see Parkes 1992a, pp. 103–4 and pls. 10, 43 and 21.
23 Parkes 1992a, pl. 22 (BL. Arundel ms. 83 pt I).
24 Parkes 1992a, pl. 24 (Oxford, Keble Coll., ms. 14); *DMOL*, pl. 208 (c.1373) (Bodleian, Auct ms. D. 4.4).
25 Calendars: *DMOL*, pl. 53 (1139–58) (Bodleian, Auct. ms. D. 2.6).
26 Since the lunar year is shorter than the solar by eleven days each year during a nineteen-year cycle, the Golden Number and Sunday Letter were required for computing the date of Easter. The number refers to the full cycle of the Paschal full moon, the letter indicates the Sunday on which Easter would fall. On the computation of Easter, see J. R. Lunn, Appendix XIII in Clement Maydeston, *Ordinale Sarum*, pp. 673–87; Poole 1928, pp. 22, 32–6; Cheney 1970, pp. 6–9. The Calendar in *DMOL*, pl. 70 (1161–73) (Bodleian, Auct. ms. D.2.4) was prepared for five columns, with the phases of the moon in the second.

was often indicated in the Calendar.[27] Calendars with full entries for each day, but without grading, may have been used as Almanacks for dating documents.[28]

Most religious communities possessed a Martyrology (a 'directory' of saints' days) containing the eulogies of the saints, especially those whose commemoration was required by local tradition (fig. 4.4). Entries for each day of the twelve months (beginning at 1 January) were copied in a single column of long lines.[29] The entry for each day was accompanied by the *datarium*: the letters indicating the phases of the moon, and the number indicating the corresponding day of the solar month for each of the nineteen years of the lunar cycle.[30] In monasteries and secular cathedrals it was customary to read out the date, and the saints for the following day, in the Chapter held each day. In the thirteenth century the *datarium* was copied above the eulogies for each day. The obits of benefactors and members of the community were often added at the end of the entries for each day.[31]

The earliest annals were entered in copies of Easter tables,[32] but in the ninth century annals were separated from such tables. The change can be seen in the first quire of the earliest surviving copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[33] The scribe entered a complete sequence of the years of grace to 417 AD in double columns. Very few events were recorded for these years, indicating that the framework for the layout was probably based on a set of Easter tables. But from 449 AD, as the number of events recorded increased, the scribe entered the year of grace followed by the annal in a single column of long lines. Each year began on a new line. In later copies of the *Chronicle* scribes used the same layout, but omitted those years for which there were no events to be recorded.[34] This later layout was employed throughout the Middle Ages, but in a small number of manuscripts short annals for years in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were still entered in copies of Easter tables (fig. 4.5).[35]

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27 Grading: a major feast (*duplex*) is preceded by a vigil on the night before, and other directions indicate the number of lessons in the Office (a maximum of twelve in a monastic kalendar, nine in a secular one), and for the Mass whether there is a procession at a major feast, or whether particular vestments are to be worn: for example, in *DMBL*, pl. 101 (1173–1220) (BL, Cotton ms. Galba E. X) in copes; in *DMCL*, pl. 122 (Norwich, 1278–88) in albs or copes (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 465). Some saints were commemorated only by prayers during the Mass or Office for the day ('commemoratio'). Calendars in Books of Hours should be regarded with caution.

28 See *Facsimile Digby 86*, fols. 68v–74, and p. xxxiv, no. *89.

29 *DMBL*, pl. 58 (1100–1110) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius C. XII).

30 See references in nn. 26 (on epact numbers) and 31.

31 *DMCL*, pl. 110 (1253–62) (CUL, ms. Ll.2.9) (fig. 4.4); *CRMSS*, pl. 55 (a), with obits at end of entry (BL, Royal ms. 7 E.VI).

32 See Lowe 1960, pls. XVIII (a)-(c) and p. 20 (s. viii with later continental annotations).

33 *Parker chronicle*, fols. 1–16.   34 Whitelock in *Asser's life*. For later examples, see n. 101 below.

35 *CRMSS*, pl. 60 (c) (BL, Royal ms. 8 E. XVIII). For other examples, see Gransden 1974, p. 30, nn. 9 and 10.

These examples illustrate the persistence of traditional layouts with only minor changes, but other special layouts were developed in the period after 1100. Since Late Antiquity different generations of readers had added glosses *ad hoc* to copies of texts which were regarded as having canonical status.[36] It was not difficult to follow glosses inserted between the lines of the text, because many were placed above the words and phrases to which they referred, but longer glosses and glosses by later readers had to be added wherever space was available, usually in the margins, and seldom alongside the relevant passage in the text.

In the twelfth century the most important texts for study were the books of the Bible.[37] Teachers compiled collections of explanatory notes, adding their own comments and selecting expositions of the text from patristic commentaries, and arranged them according to the *ordo narrationis* of the Bible text. Short glosses were inserted between the lines of the text, longer ones were copied in the margins. The authority derived from the sources of the glosses, and their arrangement in relation to the text, produced a form of hypertext (fig. 4.6). Text and glosses were perceived as a single entity and were usually copied by the same scribe. The text was written in a large or medium-size script, the glosses in a smaller version of the same script. The hierarchy implied in the two sizes of handwriting reflected the difference between the status accorded to the content of the gloss and that considered to be inherent in the sacred text itself.

In the second half of the century the different compilations of glosses on the Psalms and Pauline Epistles (then regarded as the most important collections of texts in the Bible for the study of theology)[38] were superseded by the commentaries of Peter Lombard, which supplemented those of his predecessors.[39] This expansion of the gloss (known as the *Magna glosatura*) stimulated further developments in the layout of the page. The disposition of text and gloss, and the sizes of the columns on each page, were determined by the length of the commentary on that particular section of the text. The pages in these copies were ruled for the gloss, and the text was copied on alternate ruled lines.[40]

36 Reynolds and Wilson 1974, pl. VIII, illustrating a commentary of s. v/vi on Virgil; Leonardi, Morelli and Sancti 1995, pl. I following p. 41, commentary on Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, s. ix/x; Webber 1992, pl. 15, commentary on the Pauline Epistles, s. xi[2].

37 On the gloss, see Smalley 1952, pp. 46–66; on the books, see De Hamel 1984 and Gibson 1989.

38 Early glosses: *DMOL*, pls. 63 (before 1167) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 862); cf. De Hamel 1984, p. 26, n. 64, and 64 (1158–64); Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 43 (s. xii 3/4) (Durham, Cath. lib. ms. A.III.4).

39 See the entry on Peter Lombard by J. de Ghellinck in Vacant, Mangenot and Aman 1903, XII, cols. 1956–9.

40 On ruling, see De Hamel 1984, pp. 23–7.

In the commentary the cues to the biblical text were underlined in red, and each of the Fathers quoted there was identified in the margins.[41] Each page was designed separately – presumably by a process of calculation and careful alignment in the exemplar(s), assisted by the ruling which could accommodate both text and commentary. It seems likely that some scribes reproduced a 'facsimile' of the layout in their exemplars, but adjusted the commentary on a page whenever necessary. Such adjustments would explain the presence of a *signe-de-renvoi* at the foot of a column, which links an incomplete gloss to its continuation in another column, or on the next page (fig. 4.6, Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B.3.11).[42]

A different layout was employed for copies of Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica* (completed before 1164) which became the standard manual for biblical history. The author supplied his own hypertext by inserting *incidentia*, observations on the history of the pagans, within the chronological framework of biblical history.[43] Scribes usually copied the text in a two-column layout, but divided some columns into two narrower columns: one for the text, the other to accommodate the *incidentia* alongside it, thus distinguishing between pagan and sacred history.[44] In some copies the *incidentia* were also written in smaller handwriting.

The process of replacing annotation with hypertext can be seen in copies of other texts. In early copies of Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum* scribes anticipated glosses by providing wide margins, sometimes ruled to receive them.[45] The study of canon law developed rapidly in the second half of the twelfth century, and, as scholars augmented the commentaries of their predecessors, they expanded the explanations of the text and added references to other texts. The recognized apparatus to Gratian's text (sometimes referred to as the 'glossa ordinaria') was first compiled c.1215 by John of Halberstadt

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41 The citation of *auctores* had already been revived in the commentary on the Psalms by Gilbert de la Porrée: Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 45 and with *lemmata* in red, s. xii med. (Durham, Cath. lib. ms. A.III 10); De Hamel 1984, and Parkes 1991, pl. 15 (b). The design of the page in copies of the *Magna glosatura* is illustrated in De Hamel 1984, pl. 10 (Bodleian, Auct. ms. D. 2.8); see also Parkes 1991, pp. 36–7 and pl. 4. For an example of the problems in the early stages of the design of the page in glossed books, see Leonardi, Morelli and Sancti 1995, pl. III, following p. 41.

42 For examples of such *signes de renvoi*, see *DMCL*, pls. 69, 70 and 71 (all in the bottom margins): De Hamel 1984, pl. 15 (Rouen, Bibl. Mun., ms. A. 203), and p. 31 and n. 25.

43 For the date of Peter Comestor's *Historia*, see Manitius 1911–31, III, p. 157; for the author's responsibility for the hypertext, see the dedicatory letter to William, archbishop of Sens: 'De historiis quoque ethnicorum quedam incidentia pro ratione temporum inserui' (BL, Royal ms. 4 D. VII, fol. 9 col. a), where it is glossed 'Que non pertinet ad regnum Iudeorum'.

44 The layout is illustrated in Thomson 1985, II, pl. 244 (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.VII).

45 Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 47 (Durham, Cath. Lib. ms. C. II.1).

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(Iohannes Teutonicus), and was revised by Bartholomew of Brescia in the mid thirteenth century.[46] However, in some thirteenth-century English copies of Gratian the *glossa ordinaria* was not added until the fourteenth century.[47] Most of the copies of Gratian, and of the other major collection of the sources of canon law, the *Decretals* (and the later *Novellae*, *Sext* and *Extravagantes*), which circulated in England from the late thirteenth century onwards, were produced by Italian scribes and artists working to 'facsimile' layouts. In these manuscripts the apparatus was copied in all four margins around a two-column layout for the text.[48] Some of these copies written by Italian scribes were illustrated and decorated by artists in England in the fourteenth century (fig. 11.2); conversely the Italian layout influenced that in some copies of English canon law texts.[49]

The development from notes taken down by students in lectures to hypertext is illustrated in copies of the *Libri naturales* of Aristotle. The earliest datable English copy of these texts was produced in Oxford before 1253/4, and the notes reflect the lectures given by Adam of Buckfield.[50] The page was ruled with one broad column for Aristotle's text, and three others to receive glosses: one in the inner margin and two in the outer margin. This layout also appears in a later thirteenth-century manuscript in which Henry of Renham added glosses between the lines of the text and within the ruled columns, whilst attending a course of lectures in the schools at Oxford.[51] In both manuscripts later scribes have added commentaries by recognized authorities: in the first that of Thomas Aquinas, in the second that of Averroes.[52]

During the third quarter of the thirteenth century English scribes adopted a more convenient layout for texts with hypertext, and this was employed in

46 On the development of the apparatus for Gratian's text, see the note by H. Kantorowicz in Smalley 1952, p. 55; for details, see Van Hove 1945, pp. 425–32.

47 Gloss added later in *CRMSS*, pl. 64 (c) (BL, Royal ms. 9 C.III); Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pl. lxv, no. 165 (BnF, ms. lat. 11713).

48 'Facsimile' layouts: in some copies the separation of words is irregular or non-existent. This suggests that scribes were cramming the same number of words in a line that they found in the exemplar. See Michel 1953, tavv. III and IV (both reduced), and Eheim 1959, tav. VII.

49 English artists appear in the Smithfield Decretals: *Survey*, v, no. 101, pl. 258; *CRMSS*, pl. 67 (BL, Royal ms. 10. E. IV). See also *DMCL*, pl. 219 (1430–46, Lyndwode's *Provinciale*) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O.4.14).

50 Ehrle and Liebaert 1932, Tab. 40 (BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 206). Twenty *peciae* from this manuscript were pledged by William of Solers against a loan from the St Frideswide's chest in Oxford on 12 February 1259. On the glosses, see Pelster 1936. On Buckfield and Solers, see *BRUO*. On the university context, see Callus 1943; Weisheipl 1984.

51 BL, Royal ms. 12 G. II, fol. 2v, where a contemporary hand has added 'quem scripcit [*sic*] henricus de Renham et audiuit in scolis Oxonie et emendauit et glosauit audiendo' (Parkes 1991, pl. 2 and p. 22) (fig. 10.2). Both this and the Vatican manuscript are copies of the *Physics* in the version of the *Corpus uetustius*, but glosses in both manuscripts record variant readings in the 'alia translacio' (presumably that by Michael Scot c.1220–35).

52 Averroes is identified in the glosses as 'Commentator'.

high-quality copies of the commentaries of Averroes on the *Libri naturales*. This new layout enabled scribes to copy text and gloss consecutively throughout the book. They reverted to a two-column layout and copied sections of the text followed by the relevant sections of the commentary in a single sequence. The distinction between text and commentary was achieved by copying the commentary in a smaller script.[53] This layout also appears in other texts, notably in contemporary, illustrated copies of the Apocalypse accompanied by the commentary of Berengaudus (fig. 6.4),[54] and in copies of Peter Lombard's *Magna glosatura* on the Psalms.[55] In early fourteenth-century copies of Averroes' commentaries the text of Aristotle was copied in a larger display script.[56] This layout for texts with hypertext was employed throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The principal variations appear in the ways in which scribes distinguished the text from the commentary.[57] In a late fourteenth-century copy of Rolle's commentary on the Psalter the scribe employed Bastard Anglicana (a display script) for each verse of the Latin psalms, but copied the English translation of the verse (underlined in red) as well as the English commentary in Anglicana formata, the variety of the script ordinarily used for texts.[58] In a later copy of the Wycliffite translation of the Gospels accompanied by a commentary in English the scribe employed the Textura semi-quadrata script for both text and commentary, but he copied the text in larger handwriting, and underlined it in red.[59]

Other special layouts include those with musical notation, and copies with parallel texts. Musical notation first appears as an interlinear or marginal gloss to a text in the ninth and tenth centuries. At the beginning of the twelfth century the layout of the page was often determined by the text, and neumes were copied above it. But developments of the stave and in notation during the course

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53 The new layout in copies of Averroes' commentaries is illustrated in *Survey*, IV, 2, nos. 146 (b), pl. 223 (detail) (on the *Metaphysics*) and no. 156 (c), pls. 275, 279–80 and Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pl. LI, no. 140 (BnF, ms. lat. 6505).

54 *Survey*, IV, 2, nos. 124, pls. 128–9 (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Mus., ms. III 1), and 125, pl. 130 (BL, Add. ms. 35166) (where the commentary in both copies is written in red ink); *Survey*, IV, 2, no. 154, pls. 264–5.

55 Copies of Lombard on the Psalms: *DMBL*, pl. 161 (c.1269) (BL, Royal ms. 2 F.VIII); Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pl. LX, no. 153 (BnF, ms. lat. 15211).

56 Copies of Averroes: on the *De caelo*, *DMOL*, pl. 150 (c.1308) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 244); on the *Physics*, *HUO* I, pl. VIII (before 1327) (Oxford, Balliol Coll. ms. 114). In Cambridge, Peterhouse ms. 56, the sections of the glosses are numbered: Parkes 1991, p. 57.

57 For example, in *DMOL*, pls. 197 (1361–76, commentary on the prophecies of John of Bridlington) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89), and 215 (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257); *ECBH*, pl. 2 (i) (1381; Alexander de Villedieu, *Massa compoti*).

58 Rolle, Commentary on the Psalter: Kenyon 1900, pl. XXIII.

59 *Wyclif and his followers* 1984, no. 76, pl. on p. 49, Gospels and commentary.

of the century reversed this situation, and subsequently the layout of the page was determined by the notation.[60] Parallel texts in two languages were copied in alternate columns of a two-column layout,[61] but the tripartite Psalters produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the second half of the twelfth century were arranged in a more elaborate layout. The Hebrew and Roman versions were copied in two narrow, inner columns, and the Gallican version was copied in larger handwriting in a wide outer column. In the 'Eadwine Psalter' continuous interlinear vernacular glosses were added to the Hebrew and Roman versions, but the Gallican version was accompanied by an apparatus of interlinear and marginal glosses (fig. 15.2). The layout also accommodated half-page illustrations at the beginning of each psalm.[62]

The most important component of any layout is the deployment of display script to identify features on the page that are fundamental in the presentation of any text: headings, and the beginnings of chapters, paragraphs and sentences. Twelfth-century scribes had inherited a hierarchy of scripts, which they could employ for different purposes alongside that used for the text: as primary display script (for titles of works, and for headings of major divisions within a text), as secondary display script (for the opening words of a major division of the text), and as tertiary display script (for *litterae notabiliores* within the text itself) (fig. 4.9).

In the first half of the century scribes continued to employ versions of three ancient scripts: Rustic Capitals, Square Capitals and Uncial (figs. 4.10, 4.12).[63] Often the choice of script for a particular display function seems to have been left to the scribe, since different display scripts were used for the same function by scribes working in the same community. During the course of the century many scribes began to employ a hybrid display alphabet incorporating decorative versions of letter shapes from all three scripts, and this hybrid variety (often dominated by Rustic Capitals) was in common use until the end of the twelfth century.[64] During the thirteenth century this hybrid variety was

60 Contrast the notation in *DMCL*, pl. 37 (1096–1112) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 146) with that in Fenlon 1982, no. 9 (s. xii 4/4).
61 Parallel texts in Latin and French in the Winchester Psalter: *DMBL*, pl. 66 (1121–61).
62 Eadwine Psalter (*DMCL*, pls. 63–4, 1145–70): Gibson, Heslop and Pfaff 1992. The Great Canterbury Psalter: *Survey*, IV/1, pl. 1 and no. 1.
63 Rustic Capitals were employed for headings by scribes throughout the twelfth century and later: *DMBL*, pls. 61 (1108–1114), 97 (before 1173) and *CRMSS*, pl. 59 (s. xiii 2/4) (BL, Royal ms. 8 D.XXII). For Uncial letters, see *ECM*, pl. 12 (s. x). Later, Uncial forms appear most often in tertiary display script at the beginning of a sentence or a line of verse: Thomson 1985, II, pls. 81 (s. xii med.) (Kew, Cron. Coll.) and 226 (s. xii²) (Winchester Bible).
64 For hybrid alphabets, see Thomson 1985, II, pls. 238–9 (tertiary display script, s. xii²) (BL, Royal ms. 13 D.IV); *DMBL*, pl. 59 (b) (incipit, c.1105) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C. V); *DMCL*, pl. 92 (incipit, after 1184); *DMBL*, pl. 109 (running title, 1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.III).

developed into a distinctive script of filled Lombards (sometimes referred to as 'Gothic Capitals') which replaced older scripts for secondary and tertiary display purposes (figs. 4.1, 4.4, 4.8, 4.13, 4.14).[65] By the beginning of the fourteenth century scribes had come to recognize a new hierarchy of scripts, and often employed Textura quadrata as a script for primary and secondary display purposes alongside other scripts used for the text. As they developed a formal version of cursive script for copying books (Anglicana formata) they also developed a more elaborate version (Bastard Anglicana) for display purposes, thus producing a hierarchy of varieties of the same script.[66]

In the twelfth century the beginning of a text and major divisions within it were identified by prominent decorative initials followed by a large secondary display script for the opening words of the text (fig. 4.10). Primary display script employed for the title of the work was often smaller, and less distinctive.[67] Prominent initials were often used during the following centuries to indicate major divisions within the text, and from the second half of the thirteenth century the decoration of an initial was often extended into the margin alongside the text.[68] Secondary display script was usually confined to a few letters following the initial. Sometimes these letters were incorporated within a decorative panel, and were often executed by the artist responsible for the initial,[69] but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries major divisions within a text – especially in high-quality copies – were indicated by elaborate borders.[70]

Throughout the period from 1100 to 1425 the most common way of indicating the beginning of a paragraph or sentence was by a *littera notabilior* in a tertiary display script. In the twelfth century scribes often indicated the beginning of a paragraph by offsetting the letter in the margin (fig. 4.10), or the space between columns of text,[71] but during the course of the century they began to place the letter within the boundary allocated to the text. Towards the end of the century, and in following centuries *litterae notabiliores* used for tertiary display purposes were coloured, highlighted with colour, or embellished with

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65 For filled Lombards, see *CRMSS*, pl. 30 (BL, Royal ms. 3 C.V); *Survey*, iv/2, pl. 295 (Blackburn City Museum, ms. 091.21001); *Survey*, v, pls. 26, 39 and 199.

66 See ch. 6 below, pp. 132–3.

67 For example, *DMOL*, pl. 48 (1129) (Bodleian, Arch. Selden ms. b.16); *CRMSS*, pl. 41 (b), s. xii (BL, Royal ms., 5.D.II).

68 For a pen-flourished initial extended into the margin, see *CRMSS*, pl. 50 (BL, Royal ms. 7 C.II).

69 For secondary display script executed by the artist, see *DMCL*, pl. 119 (c.1276) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 494/263) and the references in n. 65.

70 See Scott 2002, pp. 10–13 and pls.

71 *Littera notabilior* offset in the margin: Ker 1960a, pl. 17 (1167) (BL, Egerton ms. 3668); *DMBL*, pl. 92 (1169).

decorative penwork by the rubricator (e.g. figs. 4.1, 4.8, 4.13).[72] From the thirteenth century onwards scribes employed a variety of alphabets in tertiary display script, often embellishing the strokes forming the letters with dexterous penmanship, again often highlighted with colour.[73]

In the 1120s Hugh of St Victor remarked that wise men in the past had committed their knowledge to memory, and did not need to thumb through the pages of books to hunt for rules and reasons.[74] Instead he encouraged his pupils to fix in their memories graphic features on the page – such as coloured initials or shapes made by the patterns of words – to register the whereabouts of information within the text that they might wish to find again.[75] He also provided some instruction in the use of mnemonic devices to help them. However, at about the same time scribes and readers were beginning to address the problems of making it easier to find one's way about a book in order to locate the passages in the text which one wanted to consult.

The practice in Late Antiquity of inserting running titles at the tops of pages had been somewhat neglected in the early Middle Ages, but scribes and rubricators in the twelfth century revived this practice. They inserted running titles in copies of texts divided into 'books', and in manuscripts containing several texts by the same author, or works by different authors. Sometimes a reader, or an obedientiary responsible for the collections of books in a monastery, inserted running titles in earlier manuscripts (fig. 4.11).[76] One of the earliest datable examples occurs in a copy of a canon law text, the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres, which was produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, before 1127. This was a collection of authorities arranged systematically according to topics, disposed into eighteen books, with running titles appearing on openings.[77] Running titles appear in books during the rest of the century, and in the thirteenth century they become a common feature – especially in long texts.[78] Running titles in copies of academic texts began to provide more information.

72 Letters highlighted with colour: *DMCL*, pl. 51 (before 1124) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. o.2.24); *DMOL*, pl. 80 (after 1173 or c.1176) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 509); *DMBL*, pls. 113 (b) (1198), 140 (1246), 151 (1255–9); *DMOL*, pl. 110 (before 1272) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 180); *CRMSS*, pl. 32 (1283–1300) (BL, Royal ms. 3 D.VI); *DMCL*, pl. 135 (1304–21) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 53); *DMBL*, pl. 311 (1405) (BL, Add. ms. 32578).

73 See variant forms of *litterae notabiliores* at the beginning of lines of verse in Skeat 1892, pl. xII; *Facsimiles Trinity College*, pls. v and vII; and the scribes in Parkes 1991, pls. 35–45.

74 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon* 3, 3 (ed. Buttimer, p. 53), tr. Taylor, p. 87.

75 *De tribus circumstantiis*, esp. p. 490, lines 25–30; cf. Parkes 1995.

76 On running titles in Late Antiquity see Lowe 1972, I, pp. 199 and 270. For a twelfth-century example at St Albans ('Scribe B') who inserted running titles in a copy of Ambrose, see Thomson 1985, I, no. 22 (BL, Harley ms. 865); whereas the running titles to the fourth item only in no. 58 were probably added by a reader.

77 *DMCL*, pl. 53, but the running titles are not illustrated.   78 See Ker 1972b.

A new major division in a text was first indicated in the running title above the column at which it began, a practice which was convenient for authors as well as readers, enabling them to make cross references within the same work (for example, 'secundum Augustinum supra. distinctio x').[79] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the use of running titles depended on whether or not they were required by the structure of the text, or on the quality of the copy.

Headings were also a help to readers wishing to find their way about a text. Early in the twelfth century some scribes had begun to copy headings of major divisions within a text, in the same script as the text, but in red ink (figs. 4.2, 4.10).[80] Others had adopted this practice for subordinate headings and for chapter or section numbers.[81] By the end of the century most scribes used the same script as the text for all headings. From the second quarter of the twelfth century scribes began to insert headings at the ends of lines, often with run-overs into lines of surrounding text.[82] Although this practice could have originated as a space-saving device in a two-column layout, it also appears frequently in copies written in single columns of long lines. A more likely explanation is that by removing the headings away from the initials, the headings that identified the content of the text in the following section became more prominent for the reader. This feature became a convention in thirteenth-century manuscripts.[83] Some scribes deliberately reduced the number of letters in a heading at the ends of consecutive lines, to confine it within a triangular space, so that the heading became more conspicuous and decorative (fig. 4.7).[84] In the fourteenth century scribes who copied books in a script of cursive origin often preferred to use a display script for headings – a variety of Textura, or a more formal variety of the cursive script.[85] Some scribes located

79 See, for example, Parkes 1991, pl. 11 (location of running title); the cross reference is quoted from Parkes 1992a, pl. 26 (with transcription) (BnF, ms. lat. 3050).
80 *DMCL*, pl. 48 (from Rochester before 1124) (CUL, ms. Ff.4.32) with headings in the same script as the text, but in red ink; contrast pls. 49 (b) and (c) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 332) by contemporary scribes in the same community.
81 *DMCL*, pl. 53 (before 1127) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 19). Contrast *DMCL*, pl. 59 (Malmesbury, before 1137) (CUL, ms. Ii. 3.20); *DMOL*, pl. 87 (1187–1205) (Bodleian, Barlow ms. 6).
82 *DMOL*, pl. 60 (between 1149 and 1176) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 67): Parkes 1992a, pl. 67 (before 1253) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 198).
83 *DMBL*, pl. 121 (before 1215) (BL, Royal ms 4 D. VII); *CRMSS*, pl. 50 (s. xiii med.) (BL, Royal ms. 7 C.II); *ECBH*, pls. 1 (i) (s. xiii 4/4), 4 (i) (1291); *DMOL*, pl. 147 (1302) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 655).
84 Triangular spaces: *DMBL*, pl. 146 (1251) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero D.V); *DMCL*, pl. 125 (1295–9) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 454/357).
85 Headings in enlarged version of the cursive script used for the text: *DMCL*, pl. 149 (1344–8) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 24); *Survey*, vi, pl. 80. Headings in script influenced by Textura: *DMBL*, pl. 329 (1411 or 1412) (BL, Arundel ms. 38); in a version of Textura: *St John's L. 1*, fols. 16v-17, 41v-2, 92v-3.

headings on separate lines, and underlined them in red instead of writing them in red ink.[86] In manuscripts produced in the last quarter of the century, some scribes or rubricators surrounded a heading with a frame of red ink.[87] However, by this time further developments had taken place in the presentation of a text.

Twelfth-century scribes and rubricators also adopted two symbols to indicate divisions within a text: the *paragraphus*, and, later, the paraph. The *paragraphus* was an ancient *nota* employed as a mark of separation, shaped like a Greek 'upper case' gamma.[88] By the twelfth century its shape resembled a gallows, but rubricators also developed a more decorative form resembling an elaborate long-**s** (figs. 4.1, 4.5, 4.6). The paraph emerged later in the century. It was based on a *littera notabilior* form of the letter **C** with a vertical stroke traced through it, and represented an abbreviated form of *capitulum* (in the sense of 'a head of an argument, chapter, or section'), thus replacing the letter **K** found in earlier manuscripts (figs. 4.7, 4.8, 4.14). All three forms of the *paragraphus* appear before headings which were added in the margins of a copy of the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres (another canon law text) produced between 1119 and 1124, and the *paragraphus* also occurs before citations to the Fathers copied by the main scribe in the margins of a copy of Gilbert de la Porrée's commentary on the Psalms produced before 1166.[89]

From the mid twelfth century the *paragraphus* appears in glossed books (fig. 4.6). Scribes and rubricators seem to have regarded each gloss as an extract from a separate text. At first the *paragraphus* appears before all glosses (whether they were inserted between the lines of text, or in the margins),[90] but towards the end of the third quarter of the century scribes began to replace the *paragraphus* with the paraph,[91] although in some manuscripts the *paragraphus* was employed before interlinear glosses, and the paraph before those in the margins.[92] In a late twelfth-century copy of Gratian's *Decretum* the *paragraphus* introduces the earliest glosses added in the margins, but the paraph introduces

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86 Headings underlined: *DMBL*, pl. 222 (1340) (BL, Arundel ms. 57); *DMOL*, pl. 197 (1361–76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89); *DMBL*, pl. 273 (1384) (BL, Add. ms. 34763).

87 Headings within red ink frames, *DMCL*, pl. 182 (1397–1400) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. ᴋ.26 (231)); *Facsimiles Trinity College*, pl. ᴠɪɪ (s. xiv/xv); *DMOL*, pl. 248 (1403) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 716).

88 On the *paragraphus* in early manuscripts, see Parkes 1992a, pp. 43, 305 and pls. cited.

89 Parkes 1991, pls. 14 and 15 (b); Duggan 1963, pl. ɪɪ.

90 The *paragraphus* in glossed books: *DMOL*, pls. 63 (before 1157) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 862) and 64 (1158–64, 'gallows' form) (Bodleian, Auct. ms. D. 4.6); *DMCL*, pls. 63–4 (1145–70, decorative form) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. ʀ.17.1); *DMBL*, pl. 104 (1176, 'gallows' form) (BL, Harley ms. 3038).

91 Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 43 (s. xii 3/4, ɪ–ɪᴠ Kgs) (Durham, Cathedral Lib., ms. ᴀ.ɪɪɪ.4); *Survey*, ɪᴠ, 1, pl. 1 (Great Canterbury Psalter).

92 *DMCL*, pl. 98 (before 1199, Minor Prophets) (CUL, ms. Kk.4.21).

the latest glosses.[93] In the thirteenth century scribes continued to use the paraph before glosses in a glossed book,[94] but the symbol also began to take over the principal functions of the *paragraphus* as a mark of separation (figs. 4.7, 4.8). It appears before each item in a list, before chapter numbers at the ends of lines of text, and was also used to separate text from run-overs at the ends of lines.[95]

The extension of the use of the paraph to indicate divisions within a text was stimulated by developments which had taken place in the Schools during the second half of the twelfth century. A reader was expected to assess the understanding embodied in a text (*textus intelligentia*) by analysing its structural organization (which came to be known as the *forma tractatus*, or *ordinatio*) as well as the author's procedure (the *forma tractandi*), in order to expound his *modus agendi*.[96] When assessing the value of a text a reader was also expected to apply processes of reasoning: to pose questions on issues raised in the text, and to resolve these questions.

Commentaries were written in the literary genre which had been adopted for academic discourse in lectures and other kinds of treatises – the *quaestio*.[97] In copies of texts the forms of the *quaestio*, and the stages in the arguments were carefully signposted. Scribes entered two diagonal strokes at the beginnings of such sections when copying the text, as a sign to the rubricators to insert paraphs.[98]

In the fourteenth century the paraph appears as a signpost not only in academic texts[99] but also in other kinds of texts that were not intended for

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93 Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 47 (s. xii ex., Gratian) (Durham, Cathedral Lib., ms. c.ii.1). The earlier glosses appear in the first column of the outer margin, the later glosses in the second column.

94 *DMCL*, pl. 112 (c.1255) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b.11. extra 1). Before a gloss added in the margin: Thomson 1985, ii, pl. 244 (after 1215) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.VII).

95 In a list: *DMBL*, pl. 128 (1221–2) (BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius B.II), before the entry of each manor in a survey of the demesne manors of the bishops of Ely; before chapter numbers in the margins: *CRMSS*, pl. 32 (1283–1300) (BL, Royal ms. 3 D.VI); to indicate run-overs: *Facsimile Digby 86* (s. xiii/xiv; see Introduction, p. xlvi); *Survey*, v, pl. 156 (Bodleian, Gough ms. liturg. 8).

96 'Textus intelligentia': 'Quid enim aliud in lectura quaeritur quam textus intelligentia', Robert of Melun, *Sententiae*, in *Oeuvres*, iii, praefatio.

97 See Parkes 1991, p. 52, for the framework of a *quaestio*; examples tr. in Minnis, Scott and Wallace 1988, p. 212 et seq. Parkes 1992a, pp. 80–1 (and cf. pl. 26) on the punctuation of academic texts which relied heavily on the paraph.

98 This practice persisted, and the diagonal strokes can often be seen under a paraph: *DMOL*, pl. 131 (1290–6) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 119); *DMBL*, pl. 186 (1303) (BL, Cotton, ms. Caligula A.X); *DMOL*, pl. 227 (1389) (Oxford, Oriel Coll. ms. 15). The diagonal strokes survive in manuscripts which were not rubricated: Parkes 1992a, pl. 28.

99 Paraphs in copies of academic texts produced in England: *CRMSS*, p. 56 (c) (s. xiii, Peter of Cornwall, *Pantheologus*) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.IV); *DMCL*, pl. 119 (c.1276, Porphyry's *Isagoge*) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 494/263); *DMOL*, pl. 131 (1290–6, Giles of Rome) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 119); *DMCL*, pl. 149 (1344–8) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 24) and *DMOL*, pl. 202 (1369) (Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 71), both copies of Bradwardine's *De causa Dei*; *ECBH*, pl. 5(i) (1380, Haly Abenragel, *De iudiciis stellarum*).

academic readers. The paraph was used to indicate the *forma tractatus* or *ordinatio* of a text: the beginning and other divisions which reflected the perceived *modus agendi* of the author, however simple. In England this particular function was widely disseminated in Registers of Writs, the principal reference books on common law procedures, where scribes or rubricators placed paraphs before headings in the margins to identify each writ, and the *regula* and *nota* that determined the conditions and situations in which it could be issued. A corresponding paraph was also inserted at each of the appropriate places within the text.[100] In other manuscripts the symbol was placed before each new text in miscellanies, each entry in copies of annals, and compilations like the *Tabula septem custodiarum*.[101] The paraph was also used as a signpost to indicate the beginning of a paragraph in a prose text, and before each paragraph or stanza in verse texts.[102] In 1340 Dan Michel at Canterbury inserted paraphs before underlined subordinate headings at the ends of lines in his fair copy of the *Ayenbite of Inwit* (a departure from his earlier practice when he had copied a miscellany of astrological and astronomical texts in 1318);[103] but occasionally a scribe would prefer to introduce a heading with the word *Capitulum* instead of the paraph.[104] The symbol was also used to indicate significant details in a text: for example, to indicate mnemonic verses which summarize the procedures discussed in a treatise on computing dates, and *sententiae* in a copy of Milemete's text.[105] Readers also inserted paraphs in order to draw attention to *notabilia* in the text.[106]

Another significant detail embodied in a text was a quotation. In most twelfth-century manuscripts quotations were distinguished from the rest of

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100 Registers of Writs: *DMOL*, pl. 145 (after 1297) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. D. 893) ; Brown 1990, pl. 35 (c.1305, compiled by Richard of Sheffield when a chancery cursitor); *DMOL*, pls. 156 (after 1310), 160 (c.1320), 171 (after 1327), 172 (after 1330, also containing Statutes), 174 (after 1333).
101 Before each text in a miscellany: *DMCL*, pl. 115 (1261–8) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 205/111); *Facsimile Harley 2253*; before year-numbers in copies of annals: *DMOL*, pl. 116 (c.1264, Hyde Abbey); *DMBL*, pl. 182 (c.1300, Lichfield); *DMCL*, pl. 163 (1377–96; Sprott's Chronicle, in which the years are calculated from the beginning of the world) (CUL, Add. ms. 3578); in a different kind of text: *DMOL*, pl. 180 (1339), *Tabula septem custodiarum* (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 685); see *CBMLC* II.
102 In both prose and verse texts: *Facsimile Harley 2253* and *Auchinleck manuscript*, both s. xiv med.; verse texts in *DMOL*, pl. 146 (1300) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 399); Skeat 1892, pl. IX; *Facsimiles Trinity College*, pl. VII.
103 Dan Michel: Wright 1960, pl. 12 and *DMBL*, pl. 222 (1340) (BL, Arundel ms. 57), and contrast the early manuscript copied by him, *DMOL*, pl. 159 (1318) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 464).
104 'Capitulum' instead of paraph: *DMOL*, pl. 197 (1361–76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89); *DMCL*, pl. 197 (1408) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. R.15.21); *CRMSS*, pl. 1 (s. xv) (BL, Royal ms. 1 A.X).
105 Mnemonic verses: *DMOL*, pl. 129 (1282) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 2); Milemete: *DMBL*, pl. 205 (BL, Add. ms. 47680).
106 *Paragraphus* and paraphs inserted by readers: *DMOL*, pl. 43 (1124–33, probably a contemporary reader) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 561); *DMCL*, pl. 52 (probably c.1300) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O.5.20).

the text by punctuation. A quotation was treated as an independent *sententia* beginning with a *littera notabilior* after a separate sentence containing the verb of speaking. Sometimes scribes began a quotation on a new line with a prominent *littera notabilior* offset in the margin.[107] An alternative method (which was restricted to indicating quotations from the Bible) was to insert the *diple* (another ancient *nota*) in the margins alongside each line of text occupied by the quotation (fig. 4.12).[108] A quotation was often assumed to be familiar to a reader, who would have recognized it from the drastic abbreviation of some of the words, or, in some cases, because it was accompanied by a citation of the source.[109]

During the last quarter of the twelfth century scribes who copied commentaries on the Psalms and Pauline Epistles began to underline in red the *lemmata* from the biblical text.[110] By the fourteenth century this became the usual way of indicating quotations from authorities, accompanied by precise citations (fig. 4.8).[111]

In copies of vernacular texts from the last quarter of the fourteenth century scribes indicated quotations from Latin texts (and also Latin words) in various ways. In copies of *Piers Plowman* and the *Prick of Conscience* they were often surrounded by a frame in red ink; but some scribes copied quotations in a larger display script, whereas others copied them in the same script as the text, but in red.[112]

Other kinds of apparatus provided independent access to information, and discussions of subordinate topics within a text. For those readers who wished to search for material to use in the contexts of different arguments, the most important of these forms of apparatus was the *tabula*, or index (the equivalent of a modern database).[113] *Lemmata* (key words) in the text were arranged

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107 Quotations: *DMBL*, pl. 61 (1108–14) (BL, Royal ms. 6 C.VI), line 10 following 'dicat' in previous line and beginning with an offset capital (Job 26: 14); *ECBH*, pl. 4 (i), lines 2–3 (Mark 16: 16).

108 Diple: Parkes 1992a, pp. 57–8, 139 nn. 104–7, pls. 7, 11 and 67; *DMCL*, pl. 128 (a) (c.1299) (Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms. 89), opposite the first line of new paragraph in col. b, beginning with quotation from Job 1: 1.

109 *DMCL*, pl. 61 (c.1140) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., MS. B.20 (42)), col. a line 38, 'Euge serui bone et fidelis intra in gaudium Domini tui' (Matt. 25: 23); *DMCL*, pl. 125 (1295–9), col. b line 20, 'Accinge sicut uir lumbos tuos' (Job 38: 3), 'Sint lumbi uestri praecincti' (Luc. 12: 35).

110 Parkes 1991, pls. 4 (s. xii²), 15 (b) (before 1166).

111 *DMOL*, pl. 198 (1361–89, Simon de Boraston, *Distinctiones*) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 216): *lemma* and quotation from Ecclus. 2: 8; *DMBL*, pl. 295 (1396, *Floretum evangelicum*) (BL, Harley ms. 401).

112 Quotations or headings within frames: Skeat 1892, pl. ix; *Facsimiles Trinity College*, pl. vii (both copies of *Piers Plowman*); *lemmata* in a display version of the script of the text: Kenyon 1900, pl. xxiii (Rolle on the psalter); quotations in display version: Parkes 1991, pls. 46–7 (Nuns' Priest's tale); names and colophon in Textura script in red ink: Dutschke 1989, pl. 78 (*Piers Plowman*).

113 Weijers 1995; Parkes 1995; Cremascoli 1995. On the procedure involved (and of particular importance), Rouse and Rouse 1974; Rouse and Rouse 1990a; Rouse and Rouse 1982. For a shorter account of the context in which these developments took place, see Parkes 1991, pp. 35–69.

in alphabetical order based on a convention derived from lexicography (fig. 4.13).[114] Alphabetical order offered a neutral way of presenting material, since it allowed freedom to the user to transfer material or ideas to other contexts.[115] Alphabetical arrangement was confined to the letters at the beginnings of words. In earlier glossaries words were arranged in *AB* order,[116] and this order appears in the thirteenth-century indices. It was not until the fifteenth century that they were arranged in *ABCD* order. The problem which delayed this development was the instability of Latin spelling.[117]

The earliest datable English example of an index is that produced for a copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* by William of Tatwick OFM in 1299 (fig. 4.14). He arranged this index in *ABC* order with lapses into *AB* order, and wrote the entries continuously in a two-column layout, with a paraph before each entry. References to the text are made according to the division into books, each with a series of numbered columns in the copy which the index was to accompany.[118] Tatwick may have been influenced by the *tabulae* on patristic texts prepared by Robert Kilwardby OP (probably in the 1250s).[119] Unlike Tatwick's *tabula*, Kilwardby's (arranged in *AB* order) were intended for use with different copies of the same texts, and employed references according to a system of numbered sections within each text. Several copies of the texts survive with the numbers of these sections entered in the margins.[120] In 1381 Thomas Downe OFM copied a *tabula* of the sermons of James of Voragine in *AB* order, but with each entry on a new line.[121] Some time in the mid fifteenth century Thomas Graunt produced a *tabula* for Roger of Waltham's *Compendium morale*, which survives in several copies of the work.[122] This index was arranged in *ABCD* order (again with lapses), and each entry appears on a new line, beginning with a *littera notabilior* highlighted with colour. By this time some anthologies of texts were also arranged in alphabetical order: for example, the *Alphabetum narrationum*, a collection of *exempla* for preachers.[123]

Another kind of apparatus was developed from the lists of chapters which preceded each book of a text in earlier manuscripts.[124] Whereas the index

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114 Daly 1967; Daly and Daly 1964.   115 Parkes 1995, esp. pp. 31–7.
116 Hessels 1920; Bischoff 1988, pp. 13–25.   117 Parkes 1995, pp. 39–40.
118 *DMCL*, pl. 128 (a), the copy for which Tatwick's index was intended (Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms. 89). Note the numbers above the columns.
119 *Tabulae* of Kilwardby: Weijers 1995, pp. 16–19; Rouse and Rouse 1990a, pp. 222–3.
120 For example, Parkes 1991, pl. 11 and pp. 62–3 and references.
121 Thomas Downe OFM, at Bristol: *DMCL*, pl. 167 (1381) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. F. 7 (144)).
122 Thomas Graunt: Parkes 1995, pl. VIII following p. 41.
123 *Alphabetum narrationum*: Parkes 1991, pl. 10 and p. 63.
124 Tables of contents in chapters: Mynors, *DCM*, pls. 26 (s. xi ex.), 39 (s. xii in.) and 52 (s. xii²) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. mss. B.II.10, B.II.26, A.II.1); *CRMSS*, pl. 47 (s. xii) (BL, Royal ms. 6 C.VIII).

provided independent access to subordinate information within a text, the synoptic tables of contents produced by Robert Kilwardby (and known as *intentiones*) emphasized the contexts in which this material appeared.[125] These summaries of chapters in various patristic texts could be used with any copy of the relevant text. Most of the surviving manuscripts of the *intentiones* were produced in England. By the end of the thirteenth century a synoptic table of contents was also provided for copies of the *Summae* of Thomas Aquinas.[126]

Whereas most of these tabulae were produced for the benefit of academic readers, others were produced for texts intended for members of the professions. One of the most interesting examples is the detailed table of contents (or 'kalendar') prepared for an early copy of Bracton's treatise on English law – *De legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie*, a work which was left unfinished at his death in 1258.[127] The manuscript in which this table of contents appears is one of the earliest surviving copies of the text.[128] The text was copied in a competent, but not elegant, book hand (Textura semi-quadrata), but the table added at the beginning of the volume was written in a well-formed cursive hand (Anglicana) during the second half of the thirteenth century. One of the striking features of this table is that the scribe introduced each entry with a variant form of the *paragraphus* that appears in records of the courts and in the plea rolls.[129] This symbol and the scribe's apparent familiarity with the legal terminology in the headings suggest that he had considerable experience of the courts, and was probably a clerk to a judge, or an official in one of the courts. By contrast, the index which was prepared for an early fourteenth-century copy of Bracton's text was by a different kind of scribe, who employed Textura semi-quadrata for the *lemmata* and Anglicana only for the references, but with the paraph to introduce each entry.[130] These entries were arranged in *AB* order (with some lapses), but the entries beginning with the letters *U, V* and *W* have been incorporated in a single sequence. Unfortunately the index is not with the copy for which it was intended.[131]

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125 Kilwardby's *Intentiones*: Weijers 1995, esp. p. 16; Rouse and Rouse 1990a, pp. 222–3 and pl. 144; Parkes 1991, p. 56.
126 Parkes 1991, p. 54.   127 On Bracton's career, see *BRUO*, and below, pp. 275–7.
128 Bodleian, Digby ms. 222, probably s. xiii 3/4. Handwriting of the text illustrated in Richardson 1965, pls. 2 and 4 (which also illustrate annotations indicating that the quires were loaned out for copying).
129 Table of contents (or Kalendar) illustrated in Richardson 1965, pl. 1. This form of the *paragraphus* also appears in the handwriting of the scribes of Bracton's notebook: *ibid.*, pls. 6–8. On this book, now BL, Add. ms. 12269 (s. xiii med.), see also Maitland in Bracton, *Notebook*.
130 Examples from plea rolls: Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pls. xviii (a) (court roll, 1275), xviii (b) (assize roll, 1292) and xxi (b) (de banco roll, 1307). But this form of the *paragraphus* appears in other rolls, for example the household roll of Eleanor Mortimer for 1265 (Clanchy 1993, pl. xi).
131 Clanchy 1993, pl. xix (from Cambridge, ma, Harvard University Law Libr. ms. 1).

The late fourteenth-century book differs more from its early medieval predecessors than it does from the printed books of our own day. Many of the features of layout and in the presentation of the text that we take for granted were developed during the period 1100–1400. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries printers took over these features, but had to adapt them to the limitations of the forme. Scribes, on the other hand, had more freedom (and, perhaps, more contact with those who commissioned books), that enabled them to develop, and refine, the page for the convenience of readers.

5

Technology of production of the manuscript book

RODNEY M. THOMSON, NIGEL MORGAN,
MICHAEL GULLICK AND NICHOLAS
HADGRAFT[†]

I.   Parchment and paper, ruling and ink

Rodney M. Thomson

Right through our period even the humblest books were relatively expensive items, luxury books with illumination astronomically so. This was because even the most basic materials of book manufacture were themselves expensive, and their preparation involved considerable and skilled labour. Cheapness, and therefore availability to a wider market, could only be achieved, from c.1300 by the use of paper rather than membrane for writing on, and at all times by writing small and heavily abbreviated script so as to cram the maximum amount of text into the smallest number of leaves.

The preferred writing material, however, was always membrane (parchment), that is the skin of sheep or calves (vellum), virtually indistinguishable,[1] carefully prepared in a way more or less standard over time and all over Europe.[2] The skin of these animals, when appropriately trimmed, yields a rectangle of approximately the same size and proportions, thus determining both the size and shape of the books made from it. Folded once, the sheet will produce a bifolium (double page) of the largest format (folio), used sparingly, for grand books such as the great illuminated Bibles of the twelfth century, and for Missals and noted service-books at the end of the period. The leaves of these largest of books measure some 500–600 × 350–425 mm.[3] Folding twice

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[†] Nicholas Hadgraft died in July 2004. Shortly before his death, he and I agreed upon the final text of our paper, but I have provided all of the illustrations and seen the paper through the press. M. G.

1 Ivy 1958, p. 34 and n. 9; Gullick 1991, p. 145 n. 1.

2 Thompson 1936, pp. 24–30; Reed 1972; De Hamel 1992a, pp. 8–16.

3 One of the largest surviving books made in England during our period (shortly before 1398) was the Carmelite Missal (BL, Add. ms. 29704–5). The size of the original leaves has been calculated at 639 × 425 mm: Rickert 1952, p. 24; *Survey*, VI, no. 2.

produces four leaves (two bifolia) of quarto format (c. 250–350 × c. 150–250 mm), the norm at all times but especially for the standard monastic books of the twelfth century; later the proportion of smaller books, produced by folding the original skin one more time (producing eight leaves, octavo) becomes greater.[4] This was the format used, for example, for the small pocket Bibles produced commercially in Paris and Oxford c.1230–1300, and for the cheap and portable books favoured by the friars.[5] Some of these small books were made of extremely thin, almost translucent parchment. It used to be thought that this was prepared from the skins of unborn animals (so-called 'uterine' vellum); now, however, it is thought, either that it was prepared from the splitting of normal skin, or from the skin of such small animals as rabbits or squirrels (even rats have been suggested).[6] Finally, books made in Italy frequently found their way to England, especially thirteenth- and fourteenth-century glossed law books from Bologna. These were sometimes made of goatskin and usually prepared 'in the Italian manner', that is with a highly polished surface which did not always absorb and retain the ink very well.

While the method of preparing the skin is well understood, and has persisted until the present, nothing is known about the management of herds to be slaughtered in order to produce writing material.[7] It is inconceivable that this was done separately from slaughter for meat, which must have raised a particular problem on monastic estates, since the monks themselves could not consume it; presumably it was salted and sold off at the nearest market. Large amounts of parchment might be required over the sometimes short period during which a scriptorium was active, or in order to produce a large-format book. A great Bible, for example, would require the skins of 200 to 400 animals.[8] Quality as well as quantity might be a consideration; in the case of the Bury Bible, parchment was sourced from as far away as Scotland.[9] Such special parchment was sometimes used by illuminators for their miniatures and pasted onto the normal parchment used for the book as a whole. Examples of this practice are found in several English twelfth- and thirteenth-century Bibles, Psalters and Lives of Saints.[10] Professional parchmenters appear in documents from urban

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4 Gilissen 1977, pp. 21–35, on the folding of the skins.

5 Alexander and D'Avray in *MO*, pp. 60–4, 69–71.   6 Schutzner 1999, p. 49 n. 15.

7 A rare spotlight on this is provided by the accounts of Beaulieu Abbey: *Account book Beaulieu*, pp. 195–8, relevant extracts tr. and discussed in Gullick 1991, pp. 147–8, 153.

8 The figure is reached by halving the number of leaves in the book. The Lambeth Bible, for instance, has 638 leaves, requiring the skins of 319 animals, the Winchester Bible has 468 leaves, made from the skins of 234 animals, the Bible of Hugh du Puiset 723 leaves, therefore requiring 362 skins.

9 Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 2; Thomson 2001b, pp. 25–6. On the early tradition of parchment manufacture in England, see Brown 1974.

10 *Survey*, IV, nos. 12(a), 32, 49, 74, 85, 112, 134, 167; Alexander 1992, 35–6, fig. 53.

centres from the late twelfth century on, but there is no reason to think that they were not active earlier.[11]

Preparation of the skin has several times been described in detail;[12] in summary, it involves washing (sometimes in lime as well as water) until the hair falls out, scraping (over a beam called a 'herse') to remove remaining flesh and hair, stretching and drying on a frame while further scraping is carried out with the *lunellum* (a crescent-shaped knife), to achieve the required thinness and flexibility.[13] During this process, incautious use of the *lunellum* might open up holes in the parchment, and these are frequently to be seen in the finished product. Finally, the parchment is taken from the frame and rolled up. At this point or later, it could be rubbed with chalk or pumice to prepare the surface for writing.[14] The details of the whole process must have varied over time, and for different sorts of books, in ways that we can now only guess at.[15] Parchment prepared for monastic books in the twelfth century tends to be thick, ivory to off-white and sometimes has a slightly furry surface; that used for university books in the fourteenth century is thin, dark and easily crinkled or creased; presumably this was because steps in the process were being omitted to keep costs down. With the fifteenth century comes a return to twelfth-century standards and better, with very beautiful parchment of consistent quality, almost pure white and free of blemishes, being used for books of any pretentions. Prices for parchment varied, across the period, from about 1d to 6d per sheet,[16] so that the total cost of the high-quality parchment required for a large and splendid book such as the Litlyngton Missal (Westminster Abbey, 1383–4), at 6 1/2d per sheet, could be as high as £4 6s 8d, a figure only exceeded, in this case, by the gold used, and rather more than the cost of two years' board and lodging for the scribe.[17]

Paper, made of linen rags, reached Europe from the East in the thirteenth century. Its English chronology indicates a slow and cautious rise in status: the earliest surviving document made of paper is dated 1216–22, the earliest datable

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11 E.g. at Hereford: Mynors and Thomson 1993, p. xix; at Oxford, De Hamel 1992a, p. 8. The Ely precentor's accounts specify a parchmenter in Cambridge: Gullick 1985, pp. 14–15. For parchmenters in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Cambridge, London and Oxford mentioned in documents along with illuminators, see Michael 1993, pp. 79, 80, 84, 87, 89, 90.

12 Thompson 1935b; De Hamel 1992a, pp. 8–16; Gullick 1991, pp. 12–13.

13 Excellent medieval illustrations of the process and the instrument are in De Hamel 1992a, figs. 7 and 8 (fig. 5 shows the same today), and Janzen 1991, pp. 391–8.

14 Gullick 1985, p. 2.

15 That parchment of differing levels of quality could be produced at the same time and place is demonstated by the Beaulieu Abbey accounts: Gullick 1991, pp. 147–8, 153.

16 See the table of prices in Gullick 1991, pp. 154–5.

17 Bell 1936–7, pp. 314, 318, 320, 321; Gullick 1985, pp. 3, 6–16; Robinson and James 1909, pp. 7–8. The scribe of the Missal, Thomas Preston, was paid just over 9d per week.

administrative register from 1307; the earliest datable literary manuscript from 1390, and several others are datable soon after.[18] The broad outlines of the process of paper-making are well known,[19] involving washing, fermenting and beating clean undyed rags to produce a fibrous pulp. Sheets of the pulp are squeezed between layers of felt and wire frames, then dried and sized with animal glue to make them less absorbent of the ink. By c.1300 paper-makers (all of them on the Continent within the period covered by this volume) were making patterns within the wire frames to produce the 'water-marks' by which different stocks and manufacturers could be distinguished.[20]

Books made of a mixture of paper and parchment are not infrequently found. One reason for this is that paper is not as strong as parchment and could be torn, or deteriorate over time where the sewing passed through and along the innermost spinefold of the quire. This problem could be met either by making the inner and outer bifolia of each quire of parchment, or by providing guards of thin parchment running down the innermost spinefold to support the sewing.

At this point our discussion transfers from parchmenter and paper-maker to the scribe, whose task it usually was to fold the sheets into sections (also called gatherings or quires), and to rule each page prior to writing. The implements of a scribe/clerk and his ways of using them are described in two lists by Alexander Nequam in the late twelfth century and a third by John of Garland in the mid-thirteenth. In his *De nominibus utensilium* Nequam writes:

> Let him have a razor or knife for scraping pages of parchment or skin; let him have a 'biting' pumice for cleaning the sheets, and a little scraper for making equal the surface of the skin. He should have a piece of lead and a ruler with which he may rule the margins on both sides – on the back and on the side from which the flesh has been removed. There should be a fold of four sheets (*quaternus*). I do not use the word *quaternio* because that means a 'squad in the army'. Let these leaves be held together at top and bottom by a strip (of parchment threaded through). The scribe should have a bookmark cord and a pointed tool about which I can say 'I have pricked (*punxi*) not pinked (*pupigi*) my quaternion'. Let him sit in a chair with both arms high, reinforcing the back rest, and with a stool at the feet. Let the writer have a heating basin covered with a cap: he should have a knife with which he can shape a quill pen; let this be prepared for writing with the inside fuzzy scale scraped out, and let there be a boar's or goat's tooth for polishing the parchment, so that the ink of a letter may not run (I do not say a whole alphabet); he should have something with which letters can be cancelled. Let him have an indicator (*speculum*) or

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18 See above, ch. 3, pp. 41, 48 and n. 49, and for early dated English examples Hunter 1857.
19 The most recent description is in De Hamel 1992a, pp. 16–17.
20 The standard, and still only complete catalogue of watermarks is Briquet 1968.

line marker (*cavilla*) in order that he may not make a costly delay from error.[21] There should be hot coals in the heating container so that the ink may dry more quickly on the parchment in foggy or wet weather.[22]

The second text is in Nequam's *Sacerdos ad altare*, surviving uniquely in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 385/605, of the second half of the thirteenth century:

> The copyist, who is commonly called the scribe, shall have a chair with project-ing arms for holding the board on which the choir of parchment is to be placed. The board must be covered with felt on which a deerskin is fastened, in order that the superfluities of the parchment may be more easily scraped away by a razor. Then the skin of which the quire is to be formed shall be cleaned with a mordaunt pumice and its surface smoothed with a light plane. The sheets shall be joined above and below by the aid of a strip threaded through them. The margins of the quire shall be marked on either side with an awl in even measure so that by the aid of a rule the lines may be more surely drawn without mistake. If in writing any erasure or crossing out occurs, the writing shall not be cancelled but scraped off.[23]

John of Garland in his *Dictionarius* writes more briefly:

> These are the instruments necessary for clerks: books, a desk, a lamp with a tallow candlestick, a lantern, a horn with ink, a quill, a plummet, a ruler, a desk board, a stick (*ferula*), a chair, a slab (*asser*), a pumice with a plane, a crayon.[24]

Quires at the beginning and end of our period were normally of eight leaves (or four bifolia), but between the late thirteenth century and c.1400 (especially in an academic context) quires of twelve were in vogue. For some reason the Italians favoured quires of ten. In small books using very thin parchment, or books of paper, quires of up to sixteen leaves or more can be found. Writing was sometimes carried out before folding, sometimes after binding, but the inconveniences of doing either are obvious.[25] When folded, and prior to writ-ing, each quire needed to be kept together by a loop of string or parchment

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21 Destrez 1935b on surviving French line markers, which also indicate the columns 1–4 for a double page spread with two columns per page; Emms 2001 for English examples.

22 Holmes 1952, pp. 69–70 for the translation; Wright 1857, pp. 116–17, Scheler 1867, pp. 112–13, and Hunt 1991, I, pp. 188–9 and II, p. 79 for the Latin texts with Anglo-Norman glosses.

23 Holmes 1952, pp. 278–9, for the translation; Haskins 1927, p. 361, and Hunt 1991, I, p. 272 for the Latin text.

24 Rubin 1981, pp. 58–9; Wright 1857, p. 130, Scheler 1867, pp. 31, 67–8 and Hunt 1991, I, p. 200, no. 56 and II, p. 137 no. 56, for the Latin text with Anglo-Norman glosses.

25 The former procedure is illustrated in De Hamel 1992a, fig. 19 (and see p. 20), the latter by his fig. 22, implied also at a much earlier date in his fig. 29. See also Doyle 1972, and the earlier literature cited on p. 35.

('tacket') which passed through a hole pierced near the head or foot of the spinefold.[26] In addition, in (say) a quaternion, leaves 1–2, 3–4, 5–6 and 7–8 would be in the first instance joined at either head or foot, requiring to be slit through, at least in part. Next, each page had to be ruled, once a desired format had been fixed upon. For most books this involved a frame of constant dimensions defining the written space (sometimes called the 'text block'), in larger books divided vertically into two columns,[27] and provided with horizontal lines for writing on. In most books retaining their medieval dimensions (that is, the edges untrimmed by a modern binder), the height of the frame approximates to the total width of the leaf, and the ratio of height to width of the frame to the ratio of height to width of the leaf.[28] This left wide margins, desirable for both practical as well as aesthetic reasons: the upper margin might accommodate running heads, sometimes on a separately ruled line (or between a pair of them); the lower might contain devices (described below) to help the binder assemble the quires in the right order, and of course annotation might occur – and often does – in any or all of them.[29] The ruling instrument until c.1150 was a sharp point (stylus), a lead point (plummet) from c.1120,[30] and from the late twelfth century an instrument of unknown form and composition which produced an often coarse brown line – sometimes called crayon by modern writers. Towards the end of our period, and on into the fifteenth century, some manuscripts were ruled, the frame only or the writing-lines as well, in black or coloured ink, presumably for decorative purposes. From c.1300 ruling of the frame only becomes increasingly common. In such a case the writing line is often irregular and the number of lines varies slightly from page to page; however, it can also be strikingly regular: either expert scribes learned to write straight without guidance, or they employed ruling frames, which are known to have existed, but usually leave no trace.[31]

Keeping ruling regular from page to page, and from quire to quire, was achieved by transferring to the page, doubtless from a template, pricks made with a sharp object, at or near the intended ends of lines. For the frame, the instrument used was a knife, awl or compass.[32] For the much more frequent

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26 A remarkable surviving example is the unbound Durham Cathedral Libr., ms. A. IV. 34; Mynors, *DCM*, no. 74; Ivy 1958, p. 38; Doyle 1972.
27 On the gradually increasing frequency of books in 2-column format through the twelfth century, see Ker 1960a, p. 42.
28 On page/text area proportions see Tschichold 1955, 1965, and Gilissen 1977, pp. 125–45.
29 For more elaborate formats, requiring more complex ruling patterns, see above, ch. 4.
30 De Hamel 1992a, p. 23, figs. 15, 16.
31 J. P. Gumbert, 'Ruling with rake and board', in Gumbert 1986, vol. I, pp. 41–54; De Hamel 1992a. Shailor 1988, p. 16, illustrates an example from the Muslim world.
32 Jones 1944, 1946, though his examples are all non-English and earlier than our period.

prickings of lines for writing on, a small spiked wheel was sometimes used.[33] Pricking by the quire, however, would not work for most books containing text with commentary, such as the glossed biblical books produced c.1130–1250, and the books of canon and civil law produced through most of the period, but particularly after c.1250.[34] In these books the layout of text and commentary varied from page to page, so that each one had to be pricked and ruled individually. Little is known of how this was actually achieved, in such a way that the commentary kept pace with the main text. Certainly the ratio of text to commentary could vary widely from one page to another. Prior to c.1150 the lines for writing on were pricked for down the outer margins of each leaf and the ruling executed across the open bifolium. Thereafter, possibly in response to the appearance of glossed books, pages were pricked for in the inner margins as well, so that each page could be ruled individually.[35] This change was roughly concurrent with that from stylus- to plummet-ruling,[36] and both can be usefully diagnostic in dating manuscripts to the first or second half of the twelfth century. Similarly diagnostic is a fundamental change of scribal practice which took place during the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Until that date scribes wrote the top line of the text above the top ruled line, but by c.1250 they were writing the first line of text *between* the two topmost ruled lines.[37]

Scribes made their own pens and ink. Pens were almost invariably made using quills (as distinct from the reed or metal pen used in the ancient world), of which the best were thought to come from the wings of goose or swan.[38] The tip was pared away to a point which was then squared off and slit up the middle. This process needed to be repeated frequently during writing: John of Tilbury, in his *Epistola de arte notaria*, written c.1174, advises a busy scribe to provide himself with a supply of 60 to 100 pens for a day's work, so that he would not have to waste time with constant sharpening.[39] Representations of medieval scribes usually show them with both hands full: in the one the pen, in the other the knife for sharpening it, also used for flattening the parchment and for the *en passant* correction of faults.[40] Ink for writing, both black and red, was made in

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33 Dane 1996.   34 For the format of these books, see above, p. 62.

35 The reader should bear in mind that not all prickings needed to be used to create lines. For instance, in many early glossed biblical books the gloss-lines were ruled *ad hoc*.

36 Ker 1960a, pp. 42–3.   37 Ker 1960b.

38 Nonetheless, the word used regularly for a pen was 'calamus', literally meaning a reed. Malcolm Parkes (below, p. 111 n. 9) claims that the scribe of the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 2) used a reed pen.

39 Rose 1874, p. 314.

40 Alexander 1992, figs. 9, 13, 22, 27, 122; De Hamel 1992a, front cover and title page illustration, figs. 1, 28–9; Brown 1994a, p. 16.

various ways, none requiring ingredients that were too hard to find. The most basic distinction is between carbon and iron-gall ink.[41] The first was made of charcoal or lamp-black ground and mixed with gum arabic as a fixative. Iron-gall ink, more improbably, was made using the apple formed around the egg laid by a gall wasp in the growing bud of the oak tree. The flesh of the gall apple, rich in tannic and gallic acids, was crushed and boiled in water, white wine, beer or vinegar. To this was added naturally occurring copperas (ferrous sulphate), the whole stirred together with some gum arabic.[42] Recipes for ink occur in Middle English as well as Latin.[43] Changes in the colour and consistency of inks used in English manuscripts over time are easily observable, though they have not been subjected to scientific analysis. It is usually dark brown to nearly black in the twelfth and first three quarters of the thirteenth centuries. Particularly in university books of c.1275–1350 it is pale brown, sometimes to the point of near-illegibility against cheap, dark-coloured parchment. Towards the end of the period and on into the fifteenth century jet-black becomes the rule. In the twelfth century the scribe might be responsible for at least the minor decoration in a book, and might use two to four other colours, but red was always the second colour after black, and is almost invariably found even in the plainest books. It was used not only for initials but for headings and rubrics, underlining (as of lemmata in commentaries), and highlighting of small initials (from the mid fourteenth century this was also done in yellow). In rare instances, marginal notes indicate the colours for these initials, notably in the late twelfth-century Aberdeen and Ashmole Bestiaries.[44] Red ink (minium or vermilion) was most commonly made of cinnabar or mercuric sulphide, naturally occurring in Spain, ground and mixed with glair and gum arabic.[45]

The quire is the basic structural unit of the book, and was thought of as the basic commercial unit as well. Scribes charged by the quire, and their calculations (as well as those of the illuminators) often survive as notes, usually near the foot of the last verso of each quire, or aggregated at the very end of the book.[46] Perhaps the last task carried out by the scribe was to ensure that the quires would be bound together in the correct order. During the twelfth

41 De Hamel 1992a, pp. 32–3.
42 Theophilus: *The various arts*, p. 34, provides a more straightforward recipe involving hawthorn bark and an iron rod. 'Galls' are specified in the precentor's accounts from Ely Cathedral: Gullick 1985, pp. 8–15. For examples of ink recipes c.1300 in BL, Sloane ms. 1754, fols. 151v, 217–217v, see Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda 1983, p. 382.
43 Ivy 1958, p. 45, from the early fifteenth century, Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 14. 45, fol. 77. See on the manuscript Mooney 1995, p. 47 no. 6.
44 Petzold 1990; Alexander 1992, pp. 45, 105. Scott 1995, pp. 143–5, pls. 20–1, gives instances of marginal notes to indicate gold initials in fifteenth-century English mss.
45 De Hamel 1992a, p. 33.   46 E.g. Oxford, Merton Coll., mss. 42, 168, 256A, 282.

century this was usually achieved by writing a roman numeral at the beginning or (more commonly) at the end of each quire. Numbers disappear after c.1200, to be replaced by a system of 'catchwords': at the foot of the last verso of each quire was written the first word or two of the succeeding one.[47] This system lasted throughout our period and beyond, but was often supplemented or replaced by a quite different system of 'signatures'. In its commonest form, this meant that each quire was assigned an alphabetical letter, and each of the bifolia which constituted it a roman or arabic numeral. The combination would then be written on each leaf through the first half of the quire; thus the early leaves of the first quaternion of a book would be lettered a1, a2, a3, a4, of the second quaternion b1, b2, b3, b4 and so on.[48] This system had the virtue of ensuring, not only the correct order of the quires, but of the leaves within them. Despite this, it is not uncommon to find late medieval manuscripts misbound; one reason for this is that all of these systems were vulnerable to the binder's knife.

Handwriting is discussed in part II chapter 6 below; however, at least three areas of scribal activity are relevant here: the time it took to write a book, the correction of the scribe's work, and scribal 'colophons', statements appended to the text in which scribes sometimes included their names and the date on which they finished writing.

While we can sometimes know how long it took to write a particular book from start to finish, it is much harder to ascertain how rapidly scribes wrote, given that it can never be known how many working hours were involved. Michael Gullick, himself a scribe, has indicated that even Romanesque scribes, who as a rule wrote carefully and calligraphically, worked relatively rapidly, producing an average of about 200 lines per day. Records indicate that even a large book could be written within two months (given a team of scribes working more or less simultaneously), but more typically might take a year or two.[49]

The scribe himself, the chief scribe of the scriptorium, or another person, would often check and correct a completed text. Correction of the lowest level consisted of writing the correct words in the margin and cancelling (by lining out or a line of dots below) the erroneous ones in the text. At the next level the erroneous words were erased and the correct text inserted. Where appearance was important, as in a great Bible, the marginal corrections were erased after insertion. In commercially produced books of the thirteenth and fourteenth

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47 Both numbers and catchwords were sometimes treated ornamentally, by being framed, highlighted with red, or flourished.
48 See the excellent diagram in Shailor 1988, p. 54.   49 Gullick 1995c.

centuries, correction was often carried out systematically, and signalled by the writing of 'corr[ectus est]' at the end of each quire.[50]

Throughout the period, scribes often 'signed off' with a pious or jocular phrase or verse, only rarely adding their name and/or the date of completion.[51] This information, so welcome to modern scholars, tends to increase with time, but only becomes frequent in the fifteenth century, and even then is not nearly so frequent in English books as in Italian humanistic books of the period. A well-known exception from early on is the case of the Cirencester canon-scribes who, around the middle and third quarter of the twelfth century, provided their names and that of the abbot under whom they wrote.[52] Prima facie, colophons can be useful in dating books; however, caution is necessary because scribes could and did copy colophons, as well as the main text, from their exemplar.[53]

Most medieval manuscripts are either undecorated, or decorated only from c.1200 with red and blue initials flourished with pen-work of the other colour, in the late fourteenth century also with purple ink.[54] This level of work was presumably done by the scribes themselves, or by others (in a professional context) who specialized in such work without necessarily having pretensions as illuminators. Very often scribes left spaces for coloured initials and other forms of decoration, and very often these were never filled in. From our perspective it is surprising how many university books in particular, evidently heavily used, were nonetheless allowed to remain in this state.

II.   Illumination – pigments, drawing and gilding

Nigel Morgan

The study of the techniques of drawing and painting in English manuscripts in the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century is hampered by the relative lack of scientific examination of pigments and media. This is in marked contrast to the state of knowledge of panel and wall paintings of these centuries which have long been subjected to close technical analysis.[55] It is very rash to attempt to determine technique with the naked eye alone, without supporting investigations involving microscopic, spectroscopic, infra-red and

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50 Ker 1960a, pp. 50–3; Ker in *MO*, pp. 30–2.
51 European colophons are (notoriously imperfectly) catalogued in Bénédictins de Bouveret 1965–82.
52 *DML*, no. 864; *DMO*, nos. 798–803; Mynors and Thomson 1993, pp. 70–1, 96–7.
53 A. G. Watson in *MO*, pp. 137–9. Cf. *DML*, no. 869, there said, on the basis of the colophon, to have been made 1022–41 at Saint-Bertin, but actually made at Gloucester Abbey c.1125–50.
54 For the earliest examples of these pen-flourished initials in England see Morgan 2002, pp. 2, 10–13; Scott-Fleming 1989, pp. 85–94; Augustyn 1996, cols. 1122–3, 1132–5.
55 For examples of panel painting see Massing 2003 and for wall painting Tristram 1950, pp. 395–410, and Howard 1995.

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ultra-violet examination, or chemical analysis of paint samples.[56] If this can be done – and in the case of the latter approach the removal of paint samples from an illuminated manuscript is hardly ever permissable – firm evidence can be adduced to identify pigments and binding media.[57] If it cannot, identification can only be speculative. Several manuscripts survive which were left unfinished, with the drawing and painting in various stages of production, and these enable some conclusions to be reached about techniques such as preliminary sketches, colour grounds and processes of gilding. This account of illuminators' techniques will conclude with a discussion of two Apocalypses of the thirteenth century and a Psalter of the early fourteenth century in which these processes can be described.

Documentary sources which provide relevant information are payment accounts to illuminators in which their requirements of parchment, ink, pigments and gold are specified. Unfortunately, very few of these have so far been discovered, and those which have are disappointingly restricted in the number of pigments purchased. From information from similar documents in France and Italy we are able to more confidently assess the range of pigments used. Eleanor of Castile, Edward I's queen, had a personal illuminator named Godfrey and two scribes, Roger and Philip, and several materials required by them are recorded in her accounts. Parchment, vermilion pigment, gold, gum arabic (*gumma alba de Ispannia*) and ink were purchased for them in 1290 for the purpose of making books for the queen, whereas other accounts record books purchased in a finished state. On January 17 of that year 6s 8d was spent on gold and a further 14s 8d on gold for her books in the six months to the end of July.[58] The cost of the gum arabic and the vermilion pigment is not known because they are included in a payment of 9s 4d in November for gold and other materials required by Godfrey.[59] It is significant that these things were available in various towns, with Cirencester, Lincoln, London and Oxford specified.[60] A number of service books were made for St George's Chapel, Windsor between 1379 and 1385 for which the accounts specify some individual items of materials.[61] In one account for the making of a Gospel Lectionary nineteen quaternions of parchment cost 12s 8d, the ink 1s 2d and the vermilion pigment

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56 Best, Clark and Withnall 1992, Best *et al.* 1995, and Clark 1995 are examples of Raman microscopy used for pigment analysis; Porter 1995 discusses other techniques of investigation.

57 It should also be noted that modern illuminators' techniques well described, for example, in Lovett 2000, pp. 149–99, and Binski and Panayotova 2005, pp. 22–36, do not necessarily follow closely those of the Middle Ages.

58 Parsons 1977, pp. 84, 87, 92, 95, 101, 110.

59 Parsons 1977, p. 131.   60 Parsons 1977, pp. 92, 95, 104, 131.

61 Middleton 1892, pp. 220–3, gives the accounts for a number of these books.

9d, with the total cost for writing of the book 13s 4d and for the illumination 3s 4d. As gold is only specified for the precious binding, it seems that the illumination was modest. The accounts for Abbot Litlyngton's Missal made for Westminster Abbey 1383–4 (Westminster Abbey Library, ms. 37) at the total very high cost of £34 14s 7d break down the expenditure in terms of parchment, binding, writing and illumination, but do not specify the cost of the illuminators' pigments and gold. The cost of the illumination was £22 0s 4d for the pages with borders and large initials and 10s for the full-page picture of the Crucifixion, whereas the two scribes required for the text and musical notation were paid £4 3s 4d.[62] If illuminators were paid at a similar rate to scribes, the inference is that the amount expended for gold and pigments was included in their payment. This seems to be the norm for illuminators' accounts, and cases in which the cost of their materials is specified are very rare. A less costly Missal made for the Abbey in 1386–7 records the expenditure on vermilion and azure which were probably for plain red and blue initials without use of gold or other colours.[63] Similarly, the Ely precentors' accounts, while informative on matters of parchment and binding materials, only in one instance specify purchase of pigments, again vermilion.[64]

Many illuminated manuscripts show a much wider range of colours than the vermilion, azure and gold cited in these accounts. Many texts in manuscripts of English provenance in both Latin and the vernaculars (Anglo-Norman and Middle English) describe numerous colour pigments, the way they are to be prepared, the binding medium in which they were suspended, and the complementary colours to be used for shadowing and highlighting.[65] Although these read as if they were practical manuals for the use of illuminators, the compilations of texts in which they occur are often for the use of alchemists,[66] but sometimes, surprisingly, instructions on pigments are found in compilations of miscellaneous texts for religious instruction and devotion. Assuredly, illuminators learnt their craft from practical instruction and seldom, if ever, from reading such texts.[67] Nonetheless, some of them include practical details, particularly on the use of colour, and they provide some basis for attempting to describe techniques which are observable in the extant illuminated manuscripts. The

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62 Robinson and James 1909, pp. 7–8.   63 Robinson and James 1909, p. 8.
64 Gullick 1985, pp. 10–11.
65 Thompson 1926, Bulatkin 1954, pp. 490, 494, and Hunt 1995a on such manuscripts of English provenance; Thompson 1935a lists manuscripts with an index of the techniques they describe, but does not specify which are English; Gullick 1995d and Clarke 2001a, pp. 58–115, for bibliographies of treatises on techniques and the manuscripts containing them.
66 Singer 1928–31, pp. 589–608; Halleux 1979, pp. 74–9.
67 Gullick 1979a, p. 2, distinguishes between practical texts and those which represent a 'literary interest in technology'. The two types are combined in the treatises.

names of authors, dates and places of origin of these treatises are uncertain, and there is no proof that any of their authors were English. Such descriptions of medieval illumination techniques are European in the widest sense, and in no way help to define any particular technique as specifically English. Whatever their date and place of origin may have been, these texts appear in a series of English manuscripts from the mid-twelfth century onwards, and they will be referred to as sources for descriptions of the techniques.

An account of colour pigments, the anonymous *Mappae clavicula*, in its main parts originated in the tenth century or earlier, but was added to in the twelfth century.[68] This text in whole or part exists in many manuscripts of English provenance from the twelfth century to the end of the Middle Ages.[69] Of particular importance for an understanding of the preparation and use for painting of the colour pigments are its first eleven sections, *De coloribus et mixtionibus*, which were probably written in the middle of the twelfth century.[70] The text of the *Mappae clavicula* has been shown to derive from a Greek alchemical treatise to which sections, some of practical artistic nature, were added.[71] Another work, originating in the eleventh century, the *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum* ascribed to a certain 'Heraclius', also occurs in several English manuscripts, notably one of the first half of the thirteenth century from St Augustine's, Canterbury (BL, Egerton ms. 840A), which also contains Book I of the famous treatise on artistic practice, Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, and parts of the *Mappae clavicula*.[72] The German scholar, Roosen-Runge, studied the use of colour in a number of major English twelfth-century manuscripts, the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Pfarrbibl., ms. St. Godehard 1), the Bibles of Bury (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 2), Dover (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., mss. 3–4), Lambeth (Lambeth, ms. 3) and Winchester (Winchester Cathedral, ms. 17), and compared their use of colours with the descriptions in the *Mappae clavicula* and 'Heraclius'.[73] By the use of microscopic analysis he

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68 Smith and Hawthorne 1974.
69 E.g. from St Augustine's, Canterbury: BL, Egerton ms. 840A (13th cent., first half), and Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. C. 7 (14th cent.); Johnson 1935, pp. 74, 80.
70 Smith and Hawthorne 1974, pp. 26–8. Bulatkin 1954, pp. 488–90, thinks this text to be the first use of '*matizare*' meaning to grade colour for highlighting and shadowing; Roosen-Runge 1967, pp. 24–9, 185–91; Petzold 1995 on the twelfth-century English manuscripts containing the *De coloribus et mixtionibus*.
71 Halleux and Meyvaert 1987.
72 Editions of 'Heraclius' are Merrifield 1849, I, pp. 182–257 (with transl.) and 'Heraclius': *Heraclius* by Ilg in 1873. On this ms. see Theophilus, *The various arts*, p. lxvii. The manuscript was originally part of Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 15. 15, from which it was removed in the nineteenth century.
73 Roosen-Runge 1967, pp. 79–146, and Roosen-Runge 1977. See Thompson 1972 for a critical review of the former.

was able to parallel the instructions given in these treatises with the colour combinations and techniques of modelling in these manuscripts.

Book I of the *De diversis artibus* by the early twelfth-century monk working in Lower Saxony, Theophilus, possibly identifiable as Roger of Helmarshausen, is concerned with book illumination and occurs in several English mss.[74] In addition to descriptions of the use of various colour pigments, Book I of Theophilus contains sections on the making and application of gold paint and gold leaf.[75] In contrast to the *Mappae clavicula* and 'Heraclius', compilations of texts from various origins, Theophilus is more practical and less a product of a primarily literary tradition.

Another important treatise on colour, the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum sive pictorum*, probably originating in France, occurs in three English manuscripts, and derives in part from 'Heraclius'.[76] All date from c.1300 and have many texts of practical instruction, with the first two manuscripts in the main being compilations of Latin alchemical texts.[77] The book from Ludlow, in contrast, contains mainly Anglo-Norman devotional texts, religious instruction and charms.[78] The descriptions of colours and painting techniques in the *Liber de coloribus* seem to correspond with what can be observed in English illumination of the period c.1250–1350, always with the proviso that without scientific analysis the pigments for the particular colour mentioned in the treatise can only be identified hypothetically. The preparation of both inorganic and organic pigments is described. In the case of the latter, which would deteriorate in solution, the pigments were preserved dried on pieces of cloth which could be placed in the binding medium to release their colour when needed by the painter.[79]

The principal binding medium used for the pigments was 'glair' made from beaten egg whites with the addition of water, or, alternatively, gum arabic

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74 E.g. CUL, ms. Ee. 6. 39, pt. iii, of the thirteenth century; BL ms. Egerton 840A which belonged to St Augustine's, Canterbury, of the first half of the thirteenth century; Oxford, Magdalen Coll., ms. 173, of the fourteenth century. On these see Johnson 1938, pp. 87, 93–4, 96, and Theophilus, *On divers arts*, p. xvii, listing the first two as among the main textual witnesses. See also Theophilus, *The various arts*, pp. lxv–lxix.

75 Theophilus, *On divers arts*, pp. 21–2.

76 BL, Sloane ms. 1754 of unknown provenance; Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 125 from St Augustine's, Canterbury; BL, Harley ms. 273 from Ludlow parish church. The sections on illuminators' techniques in these three manuscripts are listed in some detail in Johnson 1938, pp. 91–2, 93–6, 102. Thompson 1926 prints the text of the Sloane ms.

77 Sloane 1754 was initially published by Thompson as French, but in a subsequent note the advice of Sydney Cockerell and Eric Millar led him to consider it as English. Unfortunately, most of the literature still refers to the ms. as French.

78 Ward and Herbert 1883, I, pp. 587–88, lists the contents.

79 Thompson 1926, pp. 286–7, gives the text in BL, Sloane ms. 1754, which describes how cloth dyed with *folium* (turnsole) is placed in glair to release a purple colour. On *folium* see Theophilus, *On divers arts*, pp. 38–40.

or some form of resin diluted in water. Theophilus says that glair is suitable for minium, ceruse and carmine, whereas the resin and water solution is used for other pigments, save for Spanish green (copper acetate), for which wine is appropriate.[80] Gum arabic was sometimes added to the glair to assist the tempering of certain pigments. A full description of the lengthy preparation of this glair has not so far been discovered in any English medieval manuscript, but a detailed practical account is given in an eleventh-century German manuscript which a modern illuminator describes as so authentic that 'only those who have prepared and used glair can appreciate the authenticity of every detail contained in the treatise'.[81] There is no reason to doubt that the method of preparation described in this treatise was ubiquitous throughout Europe.

The main colours listed in these various texts are:[82] Azure blue (from the mineral *azorium*, azurite – copper carbonate, ground to powder); Brazil red (from the powdered wood of a tree of the *Caesalpina* species); Carmine red (from the eggs of the kermes insect); Dragonsblood (dried resinous sap of the plant *Pterocarpus draco*);[83] Green (terre-verte – green earth, the colour resulting from iron and manganese salts); Folium (a red-purple organic vegetable colour); Indigo (a purple organic vegetable colour); Malachite green (malachite – copper carbonate, ground to a powder); Minium album (white lead); Minium rubeum (red lead); Ochre (iron oxide); Orpiment (arsenic sulphide mixed with cinnabar – vermilion); Saffron (from saffron or crocus); Ultramarine (lapis-lazuli); Verdigris (copper acetate); Vermilion (occurring naturally as *sinoper* or cinnabar, mercury sulphide);[84] Violet/Purple (various organic vegetable colours).[85] An artificial blue could be made by mixing verdigris in solution with ammonia and lime or ground egg shells, creating a cuprammonium lime compound.[86] There is a series of recipes for colours in Anglo-Norman in the late twelfth-century BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. XXIV, written at the Cistercian

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80 Theophilus, *On divers arts*, p. 38.

81 Gullick 1979a, p. 2 n. 3, and Thompson 1932b for the text of the treatise.

82 Kühn *et al.* 1988, p. 75, give the list in the *Mappae clavicula*: 'Colores in pargameno spissi et clari, hii sunt: azorium, vermiculum, sanguis draconis, carum minium, folium, auripigmentum, viride grecum, gravetum indicum, brunum, crocus, minium rubeum vel album, nigrum ex carbone. Hi omnes colores destemperantur a glarea.' See also Bischoff, Waetzoldt and Roosen-Runge 1952, pp. 150–8, and Halleux 1990.

83 Used in rare cases for painting on gold draperies as a shadow colour as in the Lambeth and Gulbenkian Apocalypses: Morgan and Brown 1990, facsimile fols. 8v, 47; Morgan *et al.* 2002, facsimile fol. 15v.

84 Some of the English mss. of treatises on pigments, such as BL, Sloane ms. 1954, describe how to make artificial vermilion from mercury and sulphur: Thompson 1933.

85 Kühn *et al.* 1984, pp. 77–101, give a full listing of the colour pigments used in manuscript illumination. See also Thompson 1936, pp. 80–187, not however exclusively concerned with pigments for manuscript painting.

86 Orna, Low and Baer 1980, pp. 58–60.

abbey of Rufford (Notts.), although in that case the colours are not only for illuminators, but also for other purposes such as dyeing.[87] There are also Middle English recipes in BL, Harley ms. 2253 for brazil, azure and verdigris.[88] The methods of preparing the colours and their appropriate tempering medium are best described in the English manuscript BL, Sloane ms. 1754 (c.1300).[89]

   A significant aspect of English illumination from c.1260 onward is the great interest shown by some illuminators in modelling three-dimensional forms of figures by shading and highlighting the colours. This is not to say that such shading and highlighting was never used earlier, for it is in various ways in the twelfth century. At that time shadows and highlights are often as decorative abstract patterns rather than serving to depict objects and figures in their proper three-dimensional form. The development of painterly modelling of figure forms also takes place in France in the last third of the thirteenth century, notably in the painting of the miniaturist, Honoré, working in Paris c.1285–1300.[90] This technical and stylistic interest of book illuminators and panel painters is described in fourteenth-century commentaries (e.g. of Nicole Oresme) on the section on vision in Aristotle's *De anima* where the perception of depth by shading is discussed: 'therefore in paintings because of the intension and remission of colours we judge a plane surface to be concave, or convex and standing out, because just as the colour is more intense in one place than in the other, so also is the *species* in the eye'; 'when painters wish to indicate on some part of the plane surface that some part of this surface should appear to stand out, they colour this part with a colour which has more light, like with white colour; however the part which they wish to appear depressed they colour with a colour which has less light and with a dark colour, like the colour of black'.[91] It seems likely that the commentators, in writing in this manner, derive their explanation from observation of contemporary artistic practice. The illuminators of the Lambeth, Gulbenkian and Abingdon Apocalypses in the period c.1260–75 show a consistent interest in modelling colour.[92] The painting process is described in BL, Sloane ms. 1754, specifying the colours used for highlighting and shadowing, which usually differ from the ground colour, and using the verb '*ma(p)tizare*', to mean 'to model in lights and shades'.[93]

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87 Hunt 1995a.   88 Keller 1971, p. 96.

89 For the texts see Thompson 1926, pp. 292–305, and Bulatkin 1954, pp. 494–8. On tempering see also Hunt 1995a, pp. 205–9.

90 Morgan 1986, pp. 113–14.   91 Marshall 1981, pp. 171–2.

92 On the use of colour in these books see Morgan 1986, pp. 111–13; *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 126–8, pp. 102–3, 106–7, 109; Morgan and Brown 1990, pp. 85–7; Morgan *et al.* 2002, pp. 176–9.

93 The text is discussed perceptively and exhaustively by Bulatkin 1954 with pp. 511–14 on the meaning in regard to medieval painting. See also Thompson 1926, pp. 288–93.

A particular advantage of the Abingdon Apocalypse (BL, Add. ms. 42555, c.1270) for an understanding of painting technique is that many of its pictures are in varying states of completion. Its use of colour and modelling is more complex than the contemporary Douce Apocalypse (Bodleian, ms. Douce 180) and the early fourteenth-century Tickhill Psalter (New York, Publ. Libr., Spencer ms. 26), both of which contain much illumination at various stages of completion.

Techniques for the application of gold are described in the Ludlow manuscript, BL, Harley ms. 273, and in other English manuscripts containing Book I of Theophilus.[94] The application of both gold and silver foil are described in Middle English in BL, Harley ms. 2253, which like Harley 273 is a compilation of mainly devotional and religious instruction texts, in this case predominantly in Middle English rather than Anglo-Norman.[95] It is difficult to understand why descriptions of techniques of manuscript illumination are found in such books. Gold could be applied either as leaf or as a paint of powdered gold mixed with gum arabic. There are also forms of imitation gold. The making of powdered gold involved mixing gold leaf with mercury into an amalgam, followed by the dangerous operation of evaporating off the mercury (mercury vapour being highly toxic). Theophilus in Book I describes at length how the leaf is made by beating with a mallet, and how the surface for gilding is coated with an adhesive mordant (gum arabic or egg white, both mixed with a little water) before the leaf is applied.[96] Saffron, red lead or brazil wood pigments could be added to the mordant to give it a yellowish or reddish colour in order to enhance the tone of the gold.[97] A second layer of gold leaf could be applied after smearing the mordant on the surface of the first. Such gilding cannot be highly burnished and usually has a rather matt appearance. Highly burnished gold resulted from application of a thin ground of powdered bole (a red clay) mixed in dilute glue or gum arabic such that it can be painted on the parchment, and when dry smoothed by gentle polishing. Chalk or gesso could also be used for this ground, both being mixed with glue, gum arabic or glair. Then with coats of the adhesive mordant, several applications of leaf produces a thick enough layer of gold for burnishing.[98] The treatises advise that burnishing is best done with the tooth of a boar or dog, pressed gently

94 CUL, ms. Ee. 6. 39 (pp. 243–73), BL, Egerton ms. 840A, and Oxford, Magdalen Coll., ms. 123: Thompson 1932a, pp. 215–17; Johnson 1938, pp. 86–9, 93–6; Alexander 1964, pp. 35–47, describes the techniques of 'Heraclius' and the *Mappae clavicula* and related treatises.
95 Keller 1971, pp. 96–7; *Facsimile Harley 2253*, pp. ix–xvi.
96 Theophilus, *The various arts*, pp. 20–2, 28. This section on gold is considerably expanded in BL, Egerton ms. 840A: Theophilus, *Schedula diversarum artium*, pp. XIII, 72–81.
97 Theophilus, *The various arts*, p. 28.   98 *Heraclius*, III sect. XLI, p. 80.

on the gold at first, but harder as the surface is polished.[99] The preparation of powdered gold is described in the *Mappae clavicula* and Theophilus.[100] It can be made by grinding gold leaf with honey or salt to create small particles, or by the previously described hazardous method using mercury. Very exceptionally in England, but more commonly in France, powdered gold could be painted as decorative patterns on burnished gold. English examples of this technique are the 1284 part of the Alfonso Psalter (BL, Add. ms. 24686) and the Bible (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 34) of c.1300–10.[101]

After the first stage of drawing of the figures and ornament in plummet or metal point, the next step would be to gild those areas required on the figures, ornamental features or as background. In some cases, but not always, a bole, chalk or gesso ground was laid before applying the glair, which acted as a mordaunt for the gold leaf. Theophilus, for example, describes direct application of the gold leaf on the glair, and this was doubtless the technique often used, particularly for small ornamental initials.[102] For large gilded background areas in full page miniatures a bole or gesso ground was needed, particularly if several layers of leaf were applied to make the gold thick enough for incised line and punch-dot patterns which are frequently found from the late twelfth century onwards.[103] A very early example of such treatment of the gold surfaces is the Glasgow Psalter of c.1170.[104] This ornamentation enlivens the surface of the burnished gold and is formed of rosettes of punch dots, chequer-board patterns of ruled lines, foliage designs either of punch dots or reserved in the burnished surface with the background covered with punch dots. Such ornamentation of the gold is found in many manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, an impressive feature of the illuminators' technique which regrettably has been little studied.

Forms of imitation gold were used by illuminators, of which the one occasionally found in English manuscript is 'mosaic gold' (*purpurina*), stannic sulphide (SnS_2), made by heating together tin leaf, mercury, sal ammoniac and sulphur.[105] Its occurrence has been noted on rare occasions, but has not been confirmed by scientific examination.[106] Mosaic gold appears as tinged dull grey-green but with a reflective glittering surface.

99 Theophilus, *The various arts*, pp. 22, 28, and Peter of St Omer, *Liber de coloribus*, no. 192, p. 193.
100 Theophilus, *On diverse arts*, pp. 34–6. 101 *Survey*, v, nos. 1, 25, col. pl. 1. figs. 52–3.
102 Theophilus, *The various arts*, p. 22.
103 For early examples see *Survey*, IV/1, p. 32, nos. 12–15, 19, 37, 40, 42, 44–5, 47.
104 Glasgow UL, Hunter ms. U. 3. 2; *Survey*, III, no. 95.
105 Ross 1973. Thompson 1936, p. 182, is probably correct in asserting that it was first used in Europe in the thirteenth century.
106 *Survey*, IV/2, pp. 33, 142, 146, 167, 171; Morgan 1986, p. 114; and in the English Bible in Bagnoregio of c.1290 not included in the *Survey* volumes; Bennett 1994.

The stages of illuminating a manuscript, as previously noted, can be clearly observed on the many unfinished pages in two Apocalypses (Abingdon and Douce), both of c.1270, in the Tickhill Psalter of c.1303–14, and also on the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* of c.1290–1310.[107] The first task was to outline frames of initials or miniatures in plummet (lead point), crayon, dilute red earth paint, metal point (ferrous or silver), or pale ink, and then to make the underdrawings of the figures and architectural or landscape features. In almost all cases the scribe first wrote out the text and must have been instructed to leave the spaces for the decoration or illustration by the designer of the book, or he knew where to do this from the exemplar he was copying. In some cases these spaces were never filled, as in the Thomas of Kent, *Roman de toute chevalerie* (Durham, Cathedral Libr., ms. C. IV. 27B) and Life of St Cuthbert manuscripts (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O. 1. 64), where drawn frames, blank areas or picture titles are provided.[108] Underdrawings in plummet which were never painted occur, for example, in the Life of St Cuthbert, Cambridge, Trinity Coll. O. 1. 64 and the Apocalypse, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean ms. 123.[109] In some cases, perhaps when the artist was unfamiliar with the image which he was required to depict, small marginal drawings in plummet occur as a guide to the image he was to place in the initial or framed picture.[110] Few survive, doubtless because these aids were usually erased when the illumination was completed. Some are in a Bestiary of c.1200 (Aberdeen, UL, ms. 24) which also has some of its animals with pricking marks for transfer of the design by pouncing.[111] It seems that such sketches were considered necessary to assist the illuminators of the luxury copies of Aristotle made in Oxford in the thirteenth century, probably because the artists were illustrating texts for which they had no pictorial models.[112]

Traces of underdrawings in plummet are visible in the Tickhill Psalter and the Douce Apocalypse, but in the latter they are worked up in ink.[113] This strengthening of the line in ink at this stage is common, but some illuminators painted directly on the plummet. The next stage was the gilding and burnishing of the gold surface, whose techniques have already been described. Many pages in the

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107 *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 127, 153; *Survey*, V, no. 26; Alexander, Marrow and Sandler 2005, pp. 201–7, no. 41; Morgan 2006. For colour plates of the Abingdon and Douce Apocalypses pages with the illumination incomplete see Lovett 2000, p. 152, De Hamel 2001b, p. 7, figs. 5–8, 73, fig. 90, and *Apokalypse (MS Douce 180 der Bodleian Library, Oxford)* 1982, pp. 75, 76, 81–4, 90–7.
108 *Survey*, IV/1, p. 58.   109 *Survey*, IV/1, no. 12b, figs. 44–5; IV/2, no. 187, figs. 419–21.
110 Alexander 1992, p. 68, fig. 109.
111 Muratova 1989, pp. 54–6, 58. On pouncing technique see Scheller 1995, pp. 70–3.
112 Camille 1985, pp. 40–1; Alexander 1990, pp. 311–12, figs. 7, 8; *Survey*, IV, nos. 145, 146 (b).
113 Gullick 1979b, pp. 7–9, on underdrawing and ink outline.

Abingdon and Douce Apocalypses were left at this stage.[114] Then the painter laid the flat ground colours, some of which he would later shadow or highlight with other colours to achieve modelling, usually after the ground colour had dried, but in some cases while it was still wet.[115] The treatises on colour, notably the *De coloribus et mixtionibus*, precisely describe the colours which should be used for shadowing and highlighting a particular ground colour. Roosen-Runge used microphotography to demonstrate that twelfth-century English painters used these colour combinations, but with linear systems rather than graded shading and highlighting. In three Apocalypses produced c.1260–75, Lambeth (Lambeth, ms. 209), Gulbenkian (Lisbon, Museu Gulbenkian, ms. LA 139) and Abingdon (BL, Add. ms. 42555), painterly modelling by careful gradation of tone can be observed, and this is commonly found in the work of many English illuminators from this time onward. The old technique of highlighting used in the twelfth century, of thin white or yellow criss-cross lines, still continues to be used, notably in the Gulbenkian Apocalypse. Similarly, white streaks of paint are sometimes used to highlight the edges of the folds, as in the Oscott Psalter (BL, Add. ms. 50000).[116] The areas to be shadowed or highlighted depended on the fold patterns, and one reason for strengthening the plummet underdrawings with ink was to enable these fold lines to remain visible after the ground colour had been applied. In most cases the fold lines in black ink had to be redrawn after the painting process was finished, and this was also done for the outlines of the figures and their facial features. Similarly, the gilded areas in the figures, such as haloes, were also delineated after gilding with a black ink line.

Similar stages of drawing, gilding and painting can be observed in the Tickhill Psalter.[117] In that manuscript the first drawing stage was in pale brown ink, followed by strengthening with dark black ink. Gold was applied both on a bole ground in parts, but without one when used for draperies which were not burnished. After the colouring had been done, highlights were applied in white, and as a final stage the outlines and drapery folds were redrawn in black ink. A special case is the Hereford *Mappa Mundi* where a division of labour between artists and scribes and loss of paint surfaces enables identification of the stages of drawing and colouring of its cartographic features.[118]

114 *Apokalypse* 1982, facsimile, pp. 92–7.   115 *Apokalypse* 1982, facsimile, pp. 75–6, 90–1.
116 Marks and Morgan 1981, p. 68, col. pl. 15.
117 Egbert 1940, pp. 77–8, pls. LXXI–LXXXVI, gives a brief analysis of the unfinished part fols. 91v, 94r–112r.
118 Morgan 2006, pp. 119–21.

There was evidently some concern to protect elaborate illuminated pictures by adding a silk or cloth 'curtain' attached by threads to the top of the page and covering the miniature. The silk is usually red, pink or blue. Most of these have been removed in later centuries, but a few manuscripts have many such curtains, and others have the stitch holes still visible, usually at the top of the page. These protective devices seem to have been particularly popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although no English examples survive from the period before 1100, the early twelfth-century life of St Margaret by Turgot mentions silk covers as having been in the Gospel book belonging to St Margaret of Scotland (d. 1093).[119] They are not often mentioned in catalogue descriptions of manuscripts, and only a few cases have been discussed of stitch holes remaining where the curtain has been removed. At present we do not know how common they were, or the extent to which their use was continuously popular throughout the Middle Ages.[120] Stitch holes survive in the Bury Bible and on the prefatory leaves of Old and New Testament scenes once in the Eadwine Psalter, but now excised from it.[121] On six pages of the Treatise of Walter of Milemete (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. 92) of 1326–7 the illuminations have blue silk covers.[122]

III.   Bookbindings

Michael Gullick and Nicholas Hadgraft[†]

There are broadly three kinds of medieval book: first, books containing texts for reading and study (library books), secondly, books for use in a church or chapel for public or private devotion (liturgical books), and, thirdly, books containing records and business materials for reference and administration (archival books). Each kind of book had a different use, and this was often reflected in the manner in which each was made, used and housed, including the manner in which they were bound. However, the only kind of British books with medieval bindings that have been studied are library volumes, and few liturgical books with medieval bindings have survived at all. The number of archival books to have survived in medieval bindings is simply unknown, and very little has been written about those which have. Therefore almost everything below is concerned with library books that have survived with medieval bindings.

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119 Turgot of Durham: *Vita Margaretae Scotorum*, p. 250 – 'panniculi de serico'.
120 A list, certainly not complete, is given in Thomson 2001b, p. 3 n. 5. To it can be added the pages of Walter of Milemete mentioned above, and Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 208 (glossed Psalter, s. xiii in.).
121 Thomson 2001b, pp. 3–4; Gibson, Heslop and Pfaff 1992, pp. 28–9.
122 James 1913, p. xxxvii.

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There are two kinds of medieval bindings: first, those whose quires were 'sewn' to 'supports' and enclosed in wooden boards covered with skin, usually manufactured by tawing ('tawed skin');[123] secondly, those whose quires were either individually 'stitched' or sewn, and enclosed in a semi-stiff or limp covering, usually either of parchment or tawed skin.[124] The purpose of both kinds of covering remained the same: a means of enclosing leaves of parchment made up into quires taking into account their hydroscopic nature, natural features and irregularities. In 'stiff-board' bindings the wooden boards acted like two platens, squeezing air from between the leaves when closed, to prevent them reacting to changes in the surrounding environment and to exclude dust. The means of achieving these aims changed during the period, the increasing number of books needing to be bound leading to large and small changes in the use of materials and techniques. The history is one of qualitative decline that continued until the end of the Middle Ages and beyond. However, what is interesting is not merely the story of the decline, but also the manner in which binders responded to changes in demand as clients clearly wanted as much (if not more) for less. The duty of the historian of binding structures is to chart the changes and differences in materials and techniques in all kinds of bindings, leading to an understanding of how and why bindings of one period differ from those of another. Unfortunately, few scholars have been able to distinguish the bindings of one period from another due to the lack of reliable guides, but the lack of reliable guides has largely been due to the variability of information in print concerning the number and location of bindings and the paucity of binding historians. Some catalogues and handlists have mentioned whether a manuscript has a medieval binding, but these descriptions rarely do more than draw attention to the presence or absence of such a binding. Although these are useful, the information most needed by the binding historian is a record of the details, and most of these are beyond the scope of either catalogues or summary lists. As with almost every other physical aspect of the medieval book (parchment, ruling, script, and major and minor initials), it is the collection and interpretation of a large body of observations in specialist studies that might eventually enable non-specialists to provide more informative summary descriptions.

The greatest problem facing historians of medieval binding structures is the paucity of original material and the often degraded condition of what original

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123 Here and below we use the neutral term 'tawed skin' and not the inaccurate 'tawed leather'. For the manufacture of tawed skins see Reed 1972, pp. 50 and 62–4.
124 In what follows, the first use of a technical term will be enclosed in quotation marks. The meaning of some of the terms (most of which are self-evident) is made clear in the captions and labels to the figures.

material has survived. N. R. Ker, writing in 1963, observed: 'There is much to regret. The British Museum [now the British Library], the Cambridge University Library, most cathedral and college libraries, and most of the big private collections of the past have rebound their collections wholesale, and often surely quite unnecessarily, in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'[125] He could have added 'the twentieth century', for medieval bindings are, unfortunately, still being rebound (at worst) or unsympathetically restored or repaired (at best).[126]

A pioneer paper by Graham Pollard published in 1976 was written to help non-specialists with dating stiff-board bindings, and it is still useful, although it can now be supplemented with more recent work.[127] While Pollard's paper was prompted by the lack of reliable guides, very little good quality specialist work has been published subsequently on any aspects of either large or small groups of British bindings from any century or period between 1100 and 1400. The most helpful work has probably been the provision of fuller and more reliable descriptions of the medieval bindings in three collections: the Lyell collection (housed in the Bodleian Library), and the collections at Hereford and Worcester cathedrals.[128]

In 1999 was published the first comprehensive and reliable guide to the archaeology of medieval bindings by the Dutch binding historian, J. A. Szirmai, based upon a careful examination of a considerable number of medieval bindings from all over Europe.[129] With its many illustrations, it has made available, perhaps for the first time, to those who work with medieval books, but who know little or nothing about medieval bindings, the nature and richness of the material, and its importance to the whole study of the medieval book. The bibliography lists almost everything of value that has been published on its subject, and vividly demonstrates just how few good studies have been done. Therefore, while the book shows what can be done and what has been accomplished, it also reveals the enormous gaps in our knowledge. A careful reading of the book will also provide the reader with some basic terminology, but this is a matter over which there is not universal agreement. A reliable illustrated manual of terms is in Dutch, but it includes English, French and German equivalents, and a good selective glossary of terms has been published by Christopher Clarkson.[130]

The two fundamental features of stiff-board bindings that enable them to be dated are the number of 'primary sewing supports' and the 'lacing path pattern'

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125 *MLGB*, p. xxi.   126 See Szirmai 1986 and 1996.
127 Pollard 1976.   128 De la Mare 1971; Mynors and Thomson 1993; Thomson 2001a.
129 Szirmai 1999.   130 Gnirrep, Gumbert and Szirmai 1992; Clarkson 1996b, pp. 207–12.

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in the boards. The number of sewing supports increased during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and while a twelfth-century binding usually had two or three, occasionally four, a fourteenth-century binding could have as many as twelve. So far as lacing path patterns are concerned, the 'slips' of a twelfth-century binding entered a tunnel in the thickness of the enclosing boards ('Romanesque-style' boards) (fig. 1 on p. 100), whereas by the end of the thirteenth-century the slips usually passed into channels on the exterior faces of the boards ('Gothic-style' boards) (fig. 2 on p. 101). In binding history, the terms 'romanesque' and 'gothic' always refer to this diagnostic feature of boards, and not to limitations of date.

Because of the paucity of reliable studies, the present contribution to the history of binding is divided into a series of short and focussed accounts of bindings or particular binding features, with summary accounts of what is known and what is not, sometimes with pointers for future work.

1. *Twelfth-century stiff-board bindings*

The number of surviving twelfth-century bindings is unknown. There is an excellent general survey by Christopher Clarkson in which the main features of twelfth-century bindings are isolated and discussed, and this almost entirely supersedes an earlier survey by Graham Pollard.[131] The earliest English bindings with Romanesque boards date from the 1080s, and some of these have been discussed in the first volume of this series.[132] Studies have been made of post-1100 bindings from the abbeys at Buildwas, Bury St Edmunds and Leicester, and there are studies of individual bindings from Winchester Cathedral, the abbey at Sherborne, and a manuscript of unknown origin.[133] However, the most detailed and reliable study is of four Romanesque bindings ranging in date from the 1080s to c.1200.[134] There are general surveys of the twelfth-century bindings at Hereford and Worcester cathedrals (figs. 5.1, 5.2), the former having an especially important collection, in the descriptive catalogues of their manuscripts).[135] Most of these bindings were probably made at and for ecclesiastical institutions as, until the end of the twelfth century, a fully fledged urban-based professional booktrade did not exist, and when one did it was probably limited to only a few places.

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131 Clarkson 1993; Pollard 1962.   132 Gullick, forthcoming.
133 Sheppard 1996, Sheppard 1997, nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17, Sheppard 1998, Gullick 2006, pp. 169–70, Nixon 1976, Borrie 1968, Gullick 2000.
134 Clarkson 1996a, nos. x–xii and xiv.
135 Gullick, 'The Bindings', in Mynors and Thomson 1993, pp. xxvi–xxxii, and Gullick, 'The Bindings', in Thomson 2001a, pp. xxxviii–xlvii.

The most fundamental features of these bindings are as follows:

1. The quires were sewn with fairly thick thread to sewing supports of broad 'straps' of tawed skin slit across the width of the spine usually using a 'herringbone' sewing. The number of supports was usually two or three, and these were often positioned to divide the height of the spine of the book into more or less equal parts (figs. 1 and 5a on pp. 100, 104). The 'sewing stations' are always in the form of pierced holes, and sewing stations in manuscripts during the period 1100 to 1400 that were not made with an awl (or a similar tool) but with a knife are nearly always indicative of a continental origin or binder.[136] It is usual for these bindings to have a 'change-over' station ('kettle station') about mid-way between the outermost supports and the head- and tail-edges.

   The use of primary supports with a separate change-over station appears to be the commonest sewing technique. However, there are small numbers of surviving bindings sewn in one of two different techniques. In the first, the outermost primary sewing supports (there must be at least three) are close to the head- or tail-edges, and these supports are 'end-of-spine-supports' whose stations doubled as change-over stations (fig. 5b on p. 104). This technique has not yet been the subject of any study.[137] In the second, each primary support is individually sewn, and there are at least two variant forms (fig. 5c on p. 104). This technique has been the subject of an exemplary study by Christopher Clarkson.[138]

2. During the first half of the century at either end of the spine there is one similar support to the primary sewing supports known as 'end-bands'. These were usually sewn with a similar thread to the primary sewing in a separate and subsequent sewing campaign. Two threads, one natural and one coloured (blue is common), might be used.[139] End-band sewing usually, but not always, incorporates a piece of skin the width of the spine that extends beyond the edges of the book, and this is known as a 'tab-stiffener' (fig. 1 on p. 100). These tab-stiffeners might be one piece of skin, running the full length of the spine, or two pieces, one at each end of the spine. Tab-stiffeners were sometimes 'faced' with either another piece of skin (often coloured red)

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136 It should be noted that not all continental bindings have sewing stations made with a knife, for many have pierced stations.

137 The technique appears to be commoner in books from the northern half of England than the southern.

138 Clarkson 1996b. Since this paper was written we have discovered or learnt about other examples of the technique in both English and continental bindings.

139 A primary sewing with end-of-spine supports does not (of course) have end-bands.
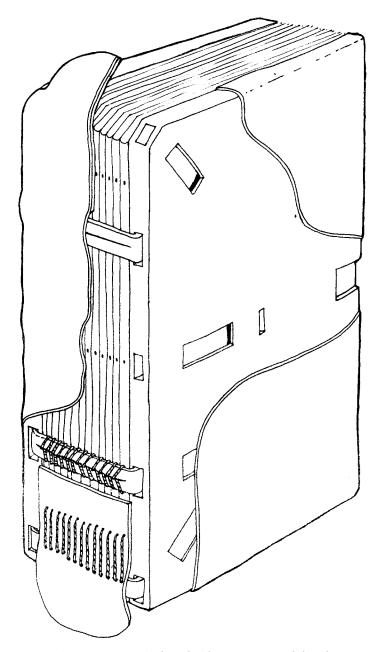
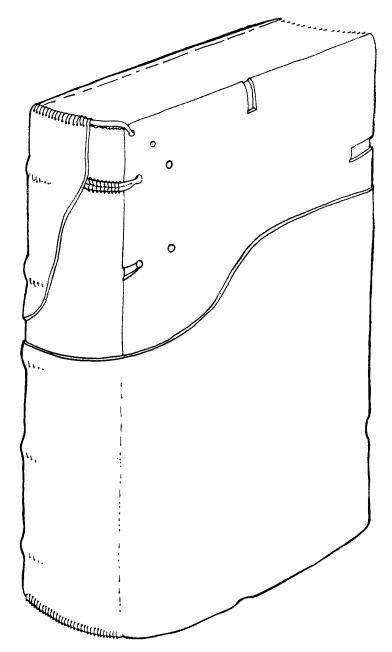Figure 1 A manuscript bound with Romanesque-style boards.

Figure 2 A manuscript bound with Gothic-style boards.

Figure 3 Sections of Romanesque-style boards showing lacing paths.

or a piece of textile between the tab-stiffener and the spine. Increasingly, during the second half of the century, end-bands made of an unslit strap and not as broad as the primary supports, were employed. These end-bands were sewn with a plain thread and a secondary, decorative, sewing added, usually in more than one colour (natural and blue are again common), and these are known as 'compound end-bands'.[140]

3. English boards throughout the period 1100 to 1400 were almost always made from quarter-cut oak, usually slightly thicker at the spine-edge than the fore-edge.[141] The shape is partly due to the way the boards were cut, but it also has structural advantages. Boards were frequently quarter cleft to produce split lengths of timber across the radials. The effect of this splitting is the production of wedge-shaped planks, with the most densely packed radials at the centre forming the thinner edge. The thicker edge, with the most recent radials, would have been easier to square, drill and channel than the denser wood at the thinner edge. The 'lacing paths' to accommodate the slips in twelfth-century boards extended well across the boards, sometimes as far as half-way, in one of two forms: one is known as a 'long-lacing path', and the other as a 'short-lacing path' (figs. 1 and 3 on pp. 100, 102).

   Boards were usually shaped at the three exterior edges to ease the passing of the covering skin (usually tawed) that had wide 'turn-ins' at the interior faces and was extended into tabs at either end of the spine. The tabs of the covering skin were sometimes sewn to the tab-stiffeners and the tab facings (if there were any) around the outermost edges with a 'perimeter sewing', sometimes with plain thread and sometimes with plain and coloured threads. The spines of these bindings are always flat

4. Some, but not all, bindings had a fastening system comprising one or two straps anchored with nails in a recess cut into the exterior face at the leading edge of the upper board (fig. 1 on p. 100). Such straps were usually made

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140 The origin and diffusion of compound end-bands is unknown at present, although as the bindings of mid-century glossed books of the Bible seem to be the first to employ them, it is possible that their origin was in France.

141 It should be noted that although bindings with non-oak boards are nearly always of Continental origin, some continental bindings (especially from France) do have oak boards.

of more than one layer of skin sewn together, and they passed around the fore-edge to the lower board where a metal 'strap-end' with a central hole was put onto a metal pin (or pins if there were two straps) positioned at or near the centre line of the board.[142]

2. *Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stiff-board bindings*

The number of surviving bindings from the period 1200 to 1400 is unknown, and no studies have been made of either a group of bindings of known origin or provenance, or any individual bindings. There are a few remarks about such bindings in the descriptive catalogues of the manuscripts at Hereford and Worcester cathedrals.[143]

By the end of the thirteenth century Romanesque-style boards had been supplanted by Gothic-style boards. This change was accompanied by others, although a basic chronology of the changes has never been attempted. The most fundamental features of these bindings are as follows:

1. The quires were sewn with thread that was usually thinner than earlier, and often less well made, to sewing supports of increasingly thinner straps of tawed skin using either a herringbone or 'straight' sewing (fig. 2 on p. 101). The number of supports increased, and, although usually positioned the same distance apart, the outermost supports can be quite close to the edges of the leaves. The sewing stations are still in the form of pierced holes, and these bindings always have a change-over station about midway between the outermost support and the head and tail edges (fig. 5e on p. 104). Tab-stiffeners were abandoned, and spine-liners adhered to the spine introduced, although not all bindings have liners.

2. End-bands were increasingly sewn with thinner thread than the primary sewing thread, and were often, but not always, compound ones. Tabs became increasingly rare during the first half of the thirteenth century, and the covering skin was cut horizontally at the ends of the spine. End-band cores were usually at or near the back corner of the spine (whereas earlier they were often below the back corner), and secondary cores were introduced, with the secondary sewing, frequently of more than one colour, often passing through the cover skin (fig. 2 on p. 101).

3. Boards were shaped at all four edges, although more extensively at the three exterior ones, so that the outer edges are often markedly thinner than the centre of the board (figs. 2 and 4 on pp. 101, 104). During the thirteenth century boards became increasingly thinner than earlier ones, and lacing

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142 For the position of straps and pins see also Gullick, forthcoming.
143 Gullick in Mynors and Thomson 1993, and Gullick in Thomson 2001a.

Figure 4 Section of Gothic-style board showing lacing path.

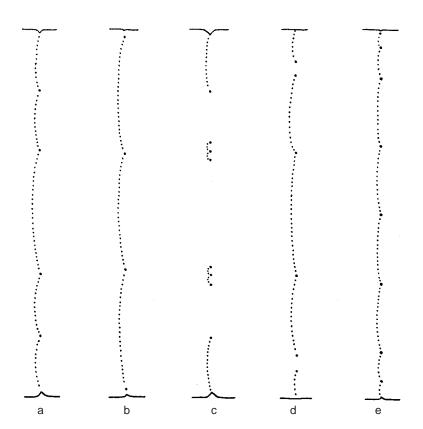| a	b	c	d	e

Figure 5 Internal sewing patterns s. xii to s. xiv.

paths became shorter. It seems that Gothic boards were made thinner and shaped to reduce their weight and bulk, partly at least to compensate for weaker primary sewing supports and poorer and thinner thread. The covering skin was also usually thinner than earlier, and the turn-ins narrower. The use of skins stained red was quite common, but a few green and black covering skins, mentioned occasionally in the written sources, have been identified.[144] The shape of the spine was initially flat, or nearly so, but

144 Note that tawed skins can be stained, but *not* dyed.

increasingly it became slightly rounded with the primary supports visible as 'raised bands' on the spine (fig. 2 on p. 101).

4. Nearly all bindings had a fastening system. By the end of the fourteenth century, straps with a 'catch' had been introduced, passing to 'catch-plates', although the older strap-and-pin arrangement was never entirely replaced. However, straps and pins could be placed on all three outer edges, probably under continental influence (fig. 2 on p. 101).[145] Fastenings have often been lost or replaced (sometimes more than once), and the types and chronology of fastening systems on English-made bindings during the period 1200 to 1400 has yet to be determined.[146]

Throughout the period 1100 to 1400 a binding could have an 'overcover' or 'chemise', usually of skin.[147] The proportion of bindings that once had them is unknown as many have been removed and lost, while many of those that have survived have had their 'skirts' cut off. Some bindings had copper-alloy bosses, sometimes on one board, sometimes on both, but many of these have either been lost or removed.[148] The frequency and chronology of bosses has not been the subject of any study.

A small number of bindings have edge decoration, usually simple red geometrical forms.[149] Other examples have almost certainly been lost when manuscripts were retrimmed when being rebound, but there may well be some examples that have simply not been noticed. However, sometimes other, more elaborate images, such as coats of arms, were painted onto one or more edges, although these could always have been added long after the date of the binding. The most spectacular example of edge decoration is the portraits of three saints, one on each outer edge, on a late twelfth-century Durham Cathedral manuscript containing lives of the three portrayed saints. It has recently been argued that the decoration is contemporary with the book and not (as has been proposed) added at a later date.[150]

3. *Treasure bindings*

There were once many treasure bindings in ecclesiastical institutions, although they were probably either kept in the church (Lanfranc once mentions Gospel Books in the church with 'imagines' on their covers),[151] the treasury or other

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145 Fastenings on all three outer edges occur on bindings from southern Europe, especially ones from Italy and the Iberian peninsula, and it may be that the practice originated there.
146 See further Szirmai 1999, p. 260.   147 Clarkson 1993, fig. 13, and Szirmai 1999, fig. 8. 21.
148 De la Mare 1971, pl. 37, and Gullick 1998c, figs. 1–3. During the twelfth century bosses often occur on bindings of manuscripts of probable or certain northern origin, and they may have been especially frequent on Cistercian books.
149 Foot 1996.   150 Norton 2001.   151 Lanfranc, *Monastic constitutions*, p. 28.

places of safekeeping. A mid-twelfth-century inventory from Ely lists seventeen, their exteriors carefully described, and at least two, probably three, were the gifts of identifiable twelfth-century persons. In each of these cases the word used concerning the books is 'fecit', and it seems more likely that these gifts were newly commissioned rather than 'second-hand'.[152] An inventory drawn up in 1295 from St Paul's, London, lists eleven Gospel Books in treasure bindings, their exteriors also carefully described, and three of them were given in the twelfth century by the same donor.[153] A third inventory drawn up in 1315 at Christ Church, Canterbury, describes twenty-two treasure bindings, the exteriors carefully described, one of which belonged to Archbishop Thomas Becket (d. 1170) and another that was a gift from Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (d. 1300).[154] An inventory made in 1388 of books in the vestry at Westminster Abbey describes eighteen service books and twelve Gospel Books, but only the bindings of the Gospel Books were described, and these were all treasure bindings.[155]

Written evidence such as this has yet to be properly assessed, although there is a good basic printed collection of relevant texts to 1307.[156] Only two twelfth-century books with treasure bindings have been published, the Sherborne Cartulary and the Book of Llandaff, and none from subsequent centuries. The two survivors are now stripped of their ornament, but both have their boards (each with a recess on one board) complete.[157]

4. *Blindstamped bindings*

The Carolingian practice of decorating the exteriors of some books with blindstamped tools was revived in France in the mid-twelfth century and soon spread throughout Europe.[158] There are twelve surviving Romanesque blindstamped bindings of English origin, three made at Winchester,[159] three made at London,[160] and six of uncertain origin or provenance.[161] The Winchester group is the earliest (mid-century), followed by the London group (last quarter of the century). One of the latest is probably early thirteenth century, and was almost certainly at Gloucester Abbey soon after it was made, but its

152 *Liber Eliensis* 2005, pp. 290–1.   153 Ker, *BCL*, pp. 230–1.
154 Wickham Legg and St John Hope 1902, pp. 78–9.   155 Wickham Legg 1890.
156 Texts concerning treasure bindings are recoverable from the index in Lehmann-Brockhaus 1955–60.
157 Borrie 1968, Huws 1987, pp. 146–8.
158 De Hamel 1984, ch. 6, Stirnemann 1994, p. 284 (n. 65).
159 Schmidt-Künsemüller 1985, nos. 99–101, with plates. For this group see Nixon 1976.
160 Schmidt-Künsemüller 1985, nos. 102–4, with plates.
161 Schmidt-Künsemüller 1985, nos. 105 and 107–10, with plates, and Gullick 2000. For a well-illustrated general account of all three English groups see Foot 1984.

origin (probably unlikely to be the abbey itself) is unknown.[162] There are a few descriptions of other blindstamped bindings ('presso' and 'impresso') in the library catalogues from Reading and Leicester, but whether any or all of these were imports from the continent or English-made is naturally unknown.[163]

Blindstamped bindings, English and continental, were invariably covered with brown-coloured tanned leather, as this material is better able to receive and show off blindstamped decoration than tawed skin. So far as it is possible to tell (the structural details of all but three of the English examples have been distorted or damaged by later repairs or rebinding) there is nothing otherwise remarkable about the books but for the use of laminated 'boards' made of leaves of parchment from a discarded manuscript in one of the Winchester bindings.[164] Between the early thirteenth century and the fifteenth, when there was a widespread revival of decorating bindings with stamps throughout Europe, no blindstamped bindings of English origin have been firmly identified.[165]

5. *Limp covers*

There is little doubt that there once existed a large number of books with limp covers of parchment, tanned or tawed skin, and even textile ('limp bindings'), but there are now very few of British origin as nearly all of them have been rebound in modern times (fig. 5.2).[166] Their extent and number can be deduced from descriptions in medieval catalogues ('in quaterno' and 'in quaternis' are common terms),[167] supplemented by the few surviving examples, mostly in small collections where they remained undisturbed. The catalogue drawn up in 1400 at the Praemonstratensian house at Titchfield lists 224 volumes of which about 33 per cent were 'in quaterno'.[168] This proportion may have been typical, and there is at least one private library which had a similar proportion of limp covers. Of the nearly 100 books bequeathed to Evesham by Prior Nicholas (d. 1392) about one third had limp covers.[169] No attempt has been made to collect and discuss the few English survivors, and only one has been discussed in detail.[170] Books in limp covers are not inferior versions of stiff-board bindings

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162 Gullick 2000, p. 7.
163 *CBMLC*, III, B71, nos. 140, 141, 142 and 200, and *CBMLC*, VI, nos. 64, 121, 164, 507 and 508. See further Gullick 2006, pp. 154–5.
164 Nixon 1976.   165 However, see the discussion to nos. 430–5 in Alexander and Binski 1987.
166 Szirmai 1999, ch. 10, Scholla 2002 and 2003.   167 Gullick 2006, pp. 166–9.
168 The figure has been calculated from the edition in *CBMLC*, III (P6). See further the discussion of this and other evidence in Gullick 2006, pp. 165–7.
169 The figure has been calculated from the edition in *CBMLC*, IV (B30).
170 Scholla 2002, pp. 191–2, discusses Worcester Cath., ms. Q. 44 (s. xii/xiii).

but usually practical bindings of sound and even sophisticated construction, and their structural features display considerable variety and ingenuity.

6.   *Bindings with a covering of embroidery or textile*

Surviving bindings with a cover or overcover of embroidery or textile are very rare, although these may once have been quite common, especially upon private books of devotion and liturgical books. Mention of such books occurs in written and visual sources, but no attempt has been made to collect such material. One binding with an embroidery cover, in poor condition, has been published.[171]

7.   *Binders and their equipment*

The names of binders appear in a variety of written sources from the late twelfth century onwards. The earliest professional bookbinder so far identified, named John, was based in London where he witnessed a document datable 1195 × 1215.[172] The only English centre from which the names of many members of the booktrade are known is Oxford, where twelve binders were active in the thirteenth century.[173] The earliest known inventory of a binder's equipment was made at Worcester Cathedral in 1384/5, and it is very terse, appearing to list a laying press, a draw knife and other, unspecified tools.[174]

8.   *Images of books*

Books appear frequently in manuscript illuminations and in sculpture, as well as in other media, but there is no study of the British material. Images of books deserve to be collected and analysed as they may prove to be important in helping to chart the chronology of the external features of bindings.[175]

9.   *Repairs and rebinding*

Few medieval bindings have survived in a more or less pristine condition, and there are very few that have not been repaired in either medieval or modern times. In particular, fastening mechanisms (straps and clasps) and metal furniture (bosses and corner pieces) have frequently either been added, removed or replaced, and the skirts of overcovers cut off. (At least some of this may have been due to the change in fashion from storing books flat to storing them upright in shelves, for straps, bosses and overcovers would then have been

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171 Wallis 1987.   172 *Early charters St Paul*, no. 210.
173 Pollard 1955, based upon material subsequently published by Salter 1960–9.
174 Gullick, 'The Bindings', in Thomson 2001a, pp. xli–xlvii.
175 See, for example, Dodwell 1993, pl. 35, *Survey*, iii, pl. 256, Zarnecki, Gem and Brooke 1984, nos. 44 (plate on p. 53) and 173c, and Alexander and Binski 1987, no. 613.

very inconvenient.) The biggest danger to medieval books at present (including bindings) is from excessive use and handling for, as interest in medieval books has grown enormously during the past fifty years, the physical condition of many has declined markedly (as we have been able to observe in our own, relatively short careers). However, while alteration and repair of the external features are fairly simple to observe and record, changes to the internal features, especially sewing, are more difficult to recognize and chart.

Some manuscripts have been completely rebound, sometimes more than once, during the medieval period. Others may contain some part of their contemporary binding and other parts that are due to a second binding campaign. A primary sewing may be untouched, but end-bands and covering may be renewed. A manuscript may be resewn, but the boards reused, sometimes turned and reshaped, so that the former fore-edge becomes the spine-edge. There are also post-medieval boards and covering that enclose manuscripts with medieval sewing, sometimes the first sewing, and it is slowly being realized that there is a significant number of such books.

A few medieval English library catalogues or booklists describe not only the content of the books but also a significant number of their bindings, notably ones from Christ Church, Canterbury (c.1170), Reading (s. xii ex.), Lanthony Secunda (c.1355–60), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (c.1376), Titchfield (1400) and Leicester (s. xv ex.).[176] The same is true of some lists of books owned by individuals.[177] The binding descriptions in the Leicester catalogue have been the subject of a recent careful study, which draws on comparable English and Continental material.[178] These descriptions reveal the variety of coverings, and, to the informed reader, variety of structures used for medieval library books, now mostly obscured and lost. Medieval libraries and book collections did not comprise rows of books bound in a similar fashion stored vertically in shelves, but books bound in different ways, using different structures and materials according to the content, purpose and intended life of individual books, many or most probably stored horizontally. Almost everything about them and those who made them has yet to be discovered.

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176 James, *AL*, pp. 7–12, *CBMLC*, ii (B71), *CBMLC*, vi (A16), *CBMLC*, ix (UC18), *CBMLC*, iii (P6), and *CBMLC*, vi (A20) respectively.

177 A starting point for a collection of this kind of material is in the texts published in Cavanaugh 1980.

178 Gullick 2006.

6

Handwriting in English books

M. B. PARKES

Twelfth-century scribes inherited a script which had been developed by scribes on the Continent during the ninth and tenth centuries, and imported into England in the mid-tenth century.[1] This script, known as 'Caroline Minuscule', eventually became the basis for modern type faces. Scribes on the Continent had gradually eliminated variant letter shapes inherited from Antiquity, so that by the tenth century each letter had its own constant shape. Scribes constructed these shapes with a minimum of distinctive characteristics which appear at the level corresponding to the upper segment of the letter **x**. These characteristics, the 'cues for legibility', became the essential elements which enabled readers to identify letter shapes quickly.[2]

The cues for legibility can be observed on this page by covering the tops of the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** and the bottom of all letters below the upper segment of **x**. At this level the reader distinguishes between different letter shapes formed with the same repetitive stroke: **bp**, **dq**, **ceo** and **hkl**. The arches of **m** and **n**, which distinguish them from **i** and **u** (for example, in the word 'minimum'), and the essential elements which identify **a**, **g**, **r**, **t** and **x** itself, are all located at the same level.[3] These cues for legibility have been invariable in all traditions of handwriting in the Latin West since the ninth century, but the shapes of letters – especially above and below minim-height – could be changed. Because handwriting is not a mechanical artefact like printing, different generations of scribes modified the ways in which they traced the component strokes when constructing letter shapes.

In handwriting, letter shapes are determined by the *ductus*. This comprises a basic *ductus* (the repetitive traces of the pen required to construct the letter shapes of a particular script or variety of script) and the personal *ductus* which

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1 Bischoff 1990; *ECM*.
2 Parkes 1991, pp. xv–xvii. More detailed discussion is in Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 4.
3 g can be identified from the top of the lobe and the connecting stroke to the following letter.

reflects the way in which each scribe executed these traces.[4] Over time the general assimilation of changes in the personal *ductus* of different generations of scribes – especially those who sought to introduce features of style appropriate to contemporary taste – led to modifications in the basic *ductus* of script, and ultimately to the development of what we would now recognize as new scripts.

The impact of Norman reforms after the Conquest stimulated spiritual and intellectual energy in English monasteries, creating a demand for copies of patristic as well as new texts imported by Norman monks. These demands were met by organized copying within the monasteries, especially in the new communities like Rochester at the beginning of the twelfth century, and later in Cirencester.[5] Some communities hired scribes (laymen or secular clergy) to supplement the efforts of the monks, as at St Albans, and, later, at Abingdon where hired scribes produced copies of patristic texts whilst the monks copied books for the *opus Dei*.[6] Monks also compiled and maintained the records required for running a monastery and protecting its privileges.[7] Organized copying by members of a community usually lasted only for short periods: once a community had built up its collection of texts, organized copying was abandoned, and with it some of the distinctive features in local handwriting.

By the beginning of the twelfth century the appearance of handwriting in books had been affected by two major developments in the techniques of handwriting: changes in the nature of the pen and in the way it was handled. Both changes appeared first in Europe in the handwriting of scribes in England and Normandy. They preferred the more flexible quill pen (instead of the reed pen), and, at the same time, adopted a constant pen-angle of 45° (instead of the 25°–30° employed by earlier scribes.[8] These changes altered the distribution of thin strokes traced with the leading edge of the nib and thick strokes traced with its full width. Scribes were able to construct letters with more frequent short strokes, and by breaking curved strokes at junctures with other strokes, thus altering the profiles of the letter shapes.[9] The letter o became a narrow

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4 Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 4.
5 Ker 1960a, Gullick 1998b (on Christ Church Canterbury), Webber 1995 and 1998 (on Christ Church and Bury St Edmunds), Thomson 1985 (on St Albans), Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 4 (on individual scribes at Canterbury, Rochester, Exeter and Cirencester).
6 Hired scribes: Ker 1960a, Gullick 1998a, Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 2.   7 Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 2 and references.
8 Changes in the technique: Petrucci 1989, p. 125; Boussard 1951, pp. 259–64; Parkes, *CLS*, chs. 4 and 6.
9 The overall effect of these changes may be seen by contrasting *DMBL*, pls. 30 (1012–13) (BL, Arundel, ms. 155) and 42 (1046–72) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius A.VII) with pl. 63b (1119–40) (BL, Egerton ms. 3721). The Bury Bible (*DMCL*, pls. 45–6, 1121–38 and Thomson 2001b), was copied with a reed pen.

diagonal ellipse instead of the almost circular, more horizontal ellipse of the previous centuries (figs. 4.12, 6.1).[10]

Twelfth-century scribes had also inherited the convention of separating the different parts of speech according to the morphological criteria discussed by the grammarians of Late Antiquity.[11] Scribes compressed the letter shapes laterally to reduce the amount of space occupied by words, and to leave spaces (usually the width of **m** or **n**) between them. In order to assimilate the letters within the larger patterns of individual words, scribes traced the serifs at the tops of the ascenders, and at the feet of the minims and the stems of other letters, with symmetrical strokes to bind the letters together within a word.[12] For the same reason they sought to trace the repetitive strokes in the lobes of **b**, **p** and **d**, **q** and the stems of **c**, **e** and **o** so that the thickest parts of the strokes were symmetrical.

A scribe had to make certain decisions before writing, which influenced the graphic impact of the handwriting on the page. The module of the handwriting (the distance between the feet of the minim strokes on one line and the feet of those on the next) determined the height and size of the letters. The relationship between the width of the nib and the height of the minim strokes determined the character of the traces. When the height of the minims was equivalent to twice that of the nib-width, the traces produced bold strokes; but when the minim height was equivalent to four nib-widths, the traces produced narrow strokes. These decisions would determine the density of the chiaroscuro patterns produced by the text on the page (figs. 4.12, 6.1, 6.2).[13]

10 In some hands the first stroke of o was traced as a vertical stroke turned over at the foot.

11 On the development of word-separation by insular scribes, see Parkes 1991, pp. 1–17. Although word-separation was well advanced by the beginning of the twelfth century, it was not always consistent. In the first half of the century, some scribes continued to employ bound morphemes. They treated a preposition as a prefix of the following noun: *DMOL*, pl. 37, line 3 'inspe' (1108–26); *DMBL*, pl. 61, line 17 (1108–14) 'ineade*m*' (but 'in*ter* iecta' in line 22) (1108–14); *DMOL*, pls. 45, line 12 'adsimilitudine*m*' (before 1125), 48 col. a line 8 'aburbe', col. b line 17 'aditalia*m*', corrected by a reader (1129), 49, line 10 'aboriente' (before 1169?). Some scribes treated a negative as a prefix of the following verb: *DMBL*, pls. 60, lines 19 'nonesset' and 25 'nonsit' (before 1107), 61, line 7 'nonpotuit' (1108–14), and with the *nota* for 'est': *DMOL*, pl. 63, col. a (gloss) line 13 'non÷' (before 1157), and by analogy 'id÷': *DMCL*, pls. 57 col. b lines 26, 32, 35 (1130–45) and 69, interlinear gloss line 3 'idest' (1164–70, English scribe) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. ms. B. 3.11) (fig. 4.6). Some scribes also treated a conjunction as a prefix of the following word: *DMOL*, pl. 37, lines 6 'siqu*is*' and 11 'sihoc' (1108–26); *DMBL*, pl. 61, line 3 '&armatos' (1108–14); *DMOL*, pl. 49, line 22 '&ipse' (before 1131?); *DMCL*, pl. 60, line 6 '7cotidie' and '7pascha' (before 1138), whereas the scribe of *DMBL*, pl. 92 (1169?) is less consistent. Isolated examples of inappropriate word-separation appear in the thirteenth century (*Survey*, IV/2, pl. 146 'inasya' [*in asia*], s. xiii 3/4).

12 The principal function of serifs since Late Antiquity has been to prevent (or discourage) the eye of the reader from slipping inadvertently from one line of text to another.

13 See Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 4, for discussion of examples, and the glossary for the terminology used here to describe features of handwriting.

Twelfth-century scribes also inherited three sizes of script: large for Bibles and Psalters, medium for most texts and small for 'school' texts. During the course of the century the proportions of the letters in the large and medium sizes of handwriting changed. In the first half of the century the ascenders of **b**, **d**, **h**, **k** and **l** were twice the height of the minim strokes (fig. 6.1), but during the second half of the century the height was reduced to one and a half times the minim height.[14]

The other principal developments in the construction and distribution of letter shapes in the large and medium sizes of handwriting were as follows:

At the beginning of a word the letter **a** was often taller than minim height; scribes traced it with a long curving headstroke beginning alongside the lobe of the letter. Within words, where the size of the letter was confined by the available space, the headstroke was traced close to the top of the lobe, and occasionally touched it (fig. 6.2).[15]

At the beginning of the century the letter **g** formed with a lobe and a '3'-shaped stroke for the stem and tail was replaced by a two-compartment form.[16] From the middle of the century scribes traced this form with a lobe stroke and a stem descending a short distance below the level of the lobe. The lower compartment was closed by a diagonal stroke traced from right to left starting from the point where the lobe joined the stem, and was completed by breaking it into an anti-clockwise curve which joined the base of the stem (fig. 6.2).[17]

Scribes traced the sequence of minims and the arches of **m** and **n** with sweeping clockwise curves reversed at the feet into short, compressed anti-clockwise curves to complete the minims with diagonal serifs (fig. 6.1). It was difficult to compress these letters with a pen-angle of $45°$ and to maintain

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14 For the change in the height of ascenders, *DMOL*, pl. 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88).

15 Taller **a** at the beginning of a word: *DMCL*, pls. 59, col. a, last line (before 1137), 74 (1164–75) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 139); as *littera notabilior* (more noticeable letter): Ker 1960a, pls. 10a, 11 (verso), *DMCL*, pl. 86 (after 1173). Length of headstroke: contrast *DMBL*, pl. 53 (c.1096) (BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius A.XIII) with *DMOL*, pl. 49 (not before 1131?); and for a sequence of further development *DMBL*, pl. 78 (after 1146) (BL, Add. ms. 46487), *DMCL*, pls. 67 (c.1155) and 90 (after 1179), *DMOL*, pl. 90 (1194). Lower headstroke within words: *DMBL*, pl. 58 (1100–10) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius C.XII); *DMCL*, pl. 81 (1167–83) (Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms. 2).

16 '3'-shaped **g**: *DMBL*, pl. 60 (before 1107) (BL, Royal ms. 5 D.I); *DMCL*, pl. 37 (1096–1112) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 146). '8'-shaped **g**: *DMOL*, pls. 37 (1108–26) (Bodleian, ms. e Mus. 112), 45 (c. 1125) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll. ms. lat. 100).

17 Construction of '8'-shaped **g**: *DMCL*, pl. 49b (before 1124) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 332), *DMOL*, pls. 56–59 (Cirencester) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., MSS. 52, 53, 63), *DMCL*, pl. 63 ('Eadwine Psalter'); *DMOL*, pl. 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88).

a consistent height for the arches, as well as the appropriate space between the minims. Therefore, during the second half of the century scribes found it more convenient to break the final strokes of **m** and **n**,[18] tracing the final arch with a blunt point, and to complete the minim and serif with a single, shallow anti-clockwise curve (fig. 6.2).[19] From the third quarter of the century scribes approached the tops of the letter **i** and first minims of **m** and **n** with a short diagonal stroke traced with the full width of the pen (a 'lozenge' shape), before breaking it into the vertical downward stroke.[20]

From the beginning of the century scribes began to employ '2'-shaped **r** after **o** within words as well as at the ends of words.[21]

Small capital forms of **R** and **S** were occasionally used in names in any position,[22] but from the 1170s **S** appears more often at the end of words,[23] and by the end of the century both **R** and **S**, reduced to minim height, became features of style in large, formal handwriting (fig. 6.2).[24]

By the middle of the century scribes traced the second stroke of **x** as a shallow, clockwise curve which extends beyond the preceding letter (fig. 6.1). By the end of the century it was extended further into a reversed curve (fig. 6.2).[25]

When two letters appeared together in ligature, the shape of the second letter was altered. Although ninth-century scribes eliminated many ligatures, some survived into the twelfth century.

18 Problems with the height of the arches of **m** and **n**: Parkes 1991, pls. 12a–b (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 50); *DMOL*, pl. 50b (1131–34) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 297); with the spaces between minims *DMBL*, pl. 66 (1121/9–1161) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C.IV); arches formed with almost broken strokes *DMCL*, pl. 49d (before 1124) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 332).

19 Anticlockwise curve: supply leaves to the Winchester Bible: Ker 1960a, pl. 22c.

20 Approach stroke to first minims: Ker 1960a, pl. 19b (1176); *DMBL*, pl. 104 (1176) (BL, Harley ms. 3038); *DMOL*, pl. 86 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423); *DMBL*, pls. 111 (1192–1202) (BL, Harley ms. 1229) and 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007).

21 '2'-shaped **r** after **o** within words: *DMBL*, pls. 58 (c. 1100–10) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius c.XII), 61 (before 1114) (BL, Royal ms. 6 C.VI), 63(a) (1119–46) (BL, Egerton ms. 3721); *DMOL*, pls. 40 (before 1124) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 134) and, pl. 52 (1135–43) (Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 157); thereafter common practice.

22 **R** and **S** in names, **R** at ends of names: Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 44 (c.1166) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. B.II 35); **S** in sacred names: *DMCL*, pl. 67 (c.1155) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 15.10); *DMBL*, pls. 79 (Cirencester) (BL, Royal ms. 3 A.XII), 88 (1161), line 9 'angelis' (BL, Royal ms. 2 A.X).

23 Small **S** at ends of words: *DMCL*, pls. 58 (c.1132) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. A. 22), 61 (c.1140) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. B. 20), 88 (after 1174) (CUL, Add. ms. 4079); *DMBL*, pl. 99 (1173–92) (BL, Add. ms. 46203); Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 47 (in text) (Durham, Cathedral Lib., MS. c.II. 1).

24 **R** and **S** as features of style within words: *DMBL*, pls. 112, 113 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007; BL, Cotton ms. Claudius E. III); *DMCL*, pl. 99 (before 1201) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 76), all produced in London.

25 *DMOL*, pl. 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88); *DMBL*, pl. 99 (1173–92) (BL, Add. ms. 46203).

et. Tall **e** with the tongue extended downwards to form the stem of **t**, lying almost on its back, and completed with a diagonal headstroke (**&**), persisted as a convenient way of indicating the conjunction (fig. 6.1). (Subsequently it has been called the 'ampersand' – a corruption of the phrase '*et* and *per se* "and"'.)

ct, **st**. The headstroke of the first letter was traced directly into an extended stem of **t**. In the case of **ct** the linking stroke was often extended into a loop above both letters.[26]

The ninth-century ligatures **ri**, **rp**, **rr** and **ru** appear sporadically in twelfth-century handwriting. The second letter lost its approach stroke; the shoulder of **r** was extended upwards and broken into the vertical stroke forming the stem of the following letter, but with a spur at the point of breaking which often protruded above minim height.[27]

NS, **NT**, survivals from Old Roman Cursive in which the letter **S** or the stem of **T** form the final stroke of Capital **N**, were occasionally used by scribes as a space-saver at the end of a line.[28]

Since the late eleventh century the small variety of Caroline Minuscule had been used mainly by students and scholars. It appears most frequently in books of small format, or in separate booklets bound in collections that contain texts or commentaries associated with the schools. These copies were often written on poor-quality or unbleached parchment, and lack decoration (although some were provided with coloured initials).[29] This variety of the script was also used for annotations and glosses in other texts.[30]

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26 **st** (*passim*). **ct**: *DMOL*, pls. 48 col. a, line 12 (1121) (Bodleian, ms. Arch. Selden B. 16), 49, line 23 (after 1131) (Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 157); *DMCL*, pl. 61 col. b, line 1 (c.1140) (Cambridge, St John's Coll. ms. B. 20); *DMBL* pl. 80, line 12 (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.VI) and *DMOL*, pls. 58 col. a, line 8 (1149–76) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 52); *DMOL*, pls. 66b, line 3 (before 1161) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 63), 75, line 4 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88), 76, line 8 (before 1171) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. E. inf. 1); *DMCL*, pl. 88, col. a, line 4 (after 1174) (CUL, Add. ms. 4079); *DMCL*, pl. 95 second entry (1192–8, Winchester) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 339).

27 **ri** in Delisle 1909 (1122–3), tituli nos. 83 (Gloucester), 168 (Winchester, Nunnaminster), 204 (London, St Paul's); *DMCL*, pl. 39, line 7 'necessaria' (1112–26) (Cambridge St John's Coll., ms. D. 19); **ri**, **rp**, **rr** and **ru** in *DMOL*, pl. 59 (1149–76) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 63). These ligatures became less frequent as '2'-shaped **r** was used after **o** in all contexts, but the ligature persisted into the following century: *DMBL*, pl. 116, col. b, lines 1, 8, 12 (1205–7) (BL, Cotton ms. Faustina A.VIII). **ri**, **rri** and **ru** appear in the gloss of De Hamel 1984, pl. 10 (Parkes 1991, pl. 4) (Bodleian, Auct. ms. D. 2.8), s. xii². On these Caroline ligatures, see Parkes, *CLS*, chs. 5 and 6, pl. 24.

28 **NS** and **NT**: Ker 1960a, pl. 11 (verso p., s. xii 1/4), where they appear at the ends of words, *DMCL*, pl. 64 (last gloss; 1145–70) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. R. 17.1). Later **NT** appears in small hands: *DMOL*, pl. 77, final word (1171–7) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. Q. f. 8).

29 Parkes 1991, pp. 71–89.

30 Additions, glosses and annotations in margins: Webber 1992, pl. 15 (s. xi ex.); Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 40–1 (s. xii 1/4) (St Albans Psalter); Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 33a (last addn on page, s.

Small, often minute handwriting (figs. 6.3, 4.13)[31] is usually informal, reflecting the rapid personal *ductus* of individual scribes. Apart from its size it is also characterized by the appearance of variant letter shapes:

A headless form of **a** appears within words and was sometimes employed at the beginning of a word (figs. 6.3, 4.13).[32]

A round-backed form of **d** appears alongside upright **d** in the first half of the century, but gradually predominates and was used consistently from the middle of the century (fig. 6.2).[33]

From the beginning of the century scribes employed the '2'-shaped **r** after **o** in all contexts.[34] Later in the century it occasionally appears also after **b** and **p**.[35]

Scribes often employed a variant form of **S** at the ends of words. They traced the letter with a single stroke: a tall, prominent curve completed with a shallower and shorter reversed curve which sometimes descended below the level of the other letters (fig. 4.10, line 7).[36]

The ancient 'Tironian' *nota*, or shorthand symbol, shaped like a figure '7' was used for the conjunction *et*. In the first half of the century it often appears alongside the *et* ligature, but superseded it by the middle of the

xii ¹) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. B. IV. 24); *DMCL*, pl. 58 (after 1130) (Cambridge, St John's Coll. ms. A. 22).

31 Such handwriting, described as 'écriture microscopique' by Omont and Molinier 1889, p. 108, is poorly represented in published facsimiles.

32 Two forms of **a**: Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 166 (Bardney) headless **a** predominant; Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 36–7, 40–1 (s. xii 1/4). Headless **a** only: Mynors, *DCM*, pls. 36–7 (s. xii 1/4) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. Hunter 100); *CRMSS*, pls. 73b–c (s. xii 1/4) (BL, Royal ms. 12 E.XX); Thomson 1985, II, pl. 236 (s. xii med.) (Bodleian, Laud. ms. lat. 67).

33 Round-backed **d** as variant: Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26), Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 166; Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 36–7, 40–1 (s. xii 1/4); *DMCL*, pl. 57 (c. 1130–45; John of Worcester) (CUL, ms. Kk. 4.6); Parkes 1991, pl. 15b (before 1166) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 36); *DMCL*, pl. 80 (1167–83) (Cambridge, St John's Coll. ms. G. 15), and *DMBL*, pl. 109 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.III). Round-backed **d** appears consistently in *DMOL*, pls. 64 (1158–64) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. D. 4. 6) gloss, 81 (after 1176) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 287),

34 '2'-shaped **r** after **o** in all contexts: Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 40–1 (s. xii 1/4, variant); *DMOL*, pls. 55 (after 1147) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40), 63 (before 1157) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 862) gloss, 74 and Parkes 1991, pl. 15b (Oxford, Balliol Coll. ms. 36); *DMOL*, pl. 83 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40).

35 '2'-shaped **r** after **b**: *DMBL*, pl. 93 col. a line 3 (1171) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius C.IX); after **p**: *DMOL*, pl. 83, line 3 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); after both **b** and **p**: *DMOL*, pl. 86 lines 17, 18 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423).

36 Final **S** variant: *DMOL*, pl. 43 line 2 (1124–33) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 561); Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 40–1 (s. xii 1/4); *DMOL*, pl. 55 final word (after 1147) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); *DMBL*, pl. 109 col. b line 8 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F. III).

century.[37] Towards the end of the century it was furnished with a cross bar.[38]

From the beginning of the century one of the most characteristic features of texts copied in small handwriting is the frequency of simplified spellings indicated by abbreviation symbols (fig. 6.3).[39] Twelfth-century scribes used the same symbols as earlier scribes, but they used them more often. They inherited a system of abbreviation based on suspension (where a scribe wrote the first letter of a word or syllable and omitted the rest) and contraction (where a scribe wrote the first and last letters of a word, omitting the others between them). Twelfth-century scribes combined the two methods, producing simplified forms of common words (and occasionally formulaic terms) which appeared frequently in a text.[40] The number of words abbreviated by two or more syllables is much greater in small hands than in medium-sized ones.[41]

The principal developments in the use of abbreviation-symbols in the twelfth century were as follows:

The curved common mark of abbreviation, which had appeared at the end of the previous century, persisted, but some scribes replaced it with a horizontal stroke in the later years of the century.[42]

comm- was frequently written out in full, but during the course of the century the first **m** was omitted and indicated by the common mark of abbreviation.[43]

37 Tironian *nota* as variant with ampersand: *DMOL*, pl. 38 and Parkes 1991, pls. 12c, 14 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 166. Tironian *nota* instead of ampersand: *DMOL*, pls. 55 (after 1147) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40), 64 (1158–64) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. D. 4.6) and all subsequent datable manuscripts (except for *DMOL*, pl. 74 and Parkes 1991, pl. 15b (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 36), where the *terminus ante quem*, 1166, is the date of the owner's death).

38 The Tironian *nota* with cross-bar appears in *DMOL*, pl. 80, line 2 (after 1173 or 1176) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 509); (after 1188) *DMBL*, pl. 109 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.III).

39 See Parkes 1991, pp. 19–33, with further references.

40 For example, Parkes 1991, pls. 12c line 1 '*tantummodo*'; 14 line 3 '*post hoc modo*', penultimate line '*transgressionem*' (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26).

41 For example, contrast the abbreviation symbols in *DMOL*, pls. 38 (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26) and 40 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 134), manuscripts of comparable date. The amount of abbreviation also depends on the nature of the text, and on the size of the page or length of the column, which would impose restrictions of space.

42 Common mark, curved: *DMCL*, pl. 37 (1096–1112) (BL, Royal ms. 5 D.I); *DMBL*, pl. 60 (before 1107); *DMOL*, pl. 37 (1108–26). Both curved and horizontal strokes appear in *DMBL*, pl. 93 (c. 1171), and *DMOL*, pl. 82 (a) (c.1177); whereas the horizontal mark alone appears in *DMOL*, pls. 73 (1164–8) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 56), 80 (after 1173 or c.1176), 81 (after 1176), 83 (1177–82), 86 (after 1185) and in subsequent datable manuscripts. The horizontal mark also appears earlier in the Cartulary of Ely, *DMCL*, pl. 62 (after 1144) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O. 2.41), perhaps influenced by the practice in documents.

43 *DMCL*, pl. 67 col. b line 15 '*commendatur*' (c.1155) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 15.10); *DMBL*, pl. 93 col. b line 6 '*communi*' (1171?) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius C.IX).

con- was usually written out in full, but abbreviated forms 'co*n*' and 'c' with the common mark of abbreviation appear during the first half of the century.[44] In the second half of the century scribes frequently employed the ancient *nota* for *con*, traced like a figure '9' (fig. 4.4, line 3).[45]

enim: the earlier *nota* (resembling a modern capital **H**, but with a diagonal instead of a horizontal cross bar) appears during the first half of the century (fig. 6.3, line 23).[46]

est: scribes continued to employ the earlier *nota* ÷ (fig. 4.5, after mcxli),[47] but in more formal handwriting **e** surmounted by the common mark of abbreviation, and separated from surrounding letters by the *punctus*, became common during the course of the century (fig. 6.3, penultimate line).[48]

The 'Tironian' *nota* and the *et* ligature (**&**) were used to indicate the syllable *et*, especially at the ends of words, but the *nota* superseded the ligature in this context during the course of the century.[49]

etiam was represented by the 'Tironian' *nota* for *et* surmounted by a common mark of abbreviation.[50]

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44 co*n*: *DMOL*, pl. 45 line 15 'co*n*fligitur' (c.1125; William of Malmesbury) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 100); *DMBL*, pl. 59 col. a line 8 'coniuge*m*' (c.1105) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C.V); co*n*: *DMBL*, pl. 59 col. b line 5 'constantini'; *DMCL*, pls. 53 col. b line 15 'co*n*sulendos' (before 1127) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 19), 60 line 3 'co*n*uersatio' (before 1135) (Cambridge, Emmanuel Coll., ms. 1.2.17), 59 col. b line 22 'conscientie' (before 1137) (CUL, ms. Ii. 3.20).

45 *Nota*: *DMBL*, pl. 70 line 5 'co*n*currentes' (1131) (BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian A.IX); *DMCL*, pl. 86 line 11 'co*n*fessore' (after 1173) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O. 2.1), *DMBL*, pls. 106 line 6 'co*n*uictus' (1181–2) (BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius E.IV), 109 col. a line 16 'co*n*fugat' (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7. F.III); *DMCL*, pls. 95 line 24 'co*n*secuta' (1192–8) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 339).

46 *Nota* for *enim*: *DMBL*, pl. 70 line 14 (1131?) (BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian A.IX); *DMCL*, pls. 59, col. b, line 7 (before 1137) (CUL, ms. Ii. 3.20), 61, col. b, line 10 (c.1140) (Cambridge, St John's Coll. ms. B. 20).

47 *Nota* for *est* (÷): *DMOL*, pls. 37 (1108–26) (Bodleian, ms. e Mus. 112), 38 (1119–24) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); *DMCL*, pl. 57 (1130–45; John of Worcester) (CUL, ms. Kk. 4.6); *DMOL*, pl. 83 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40). Some scribes writing formal hands employed both ÷ and **e**: *DMCL*, pl. 44, line 16 (1120–40) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. ms. R. 7.28); *DMOL*, pl. 74 (before 1166) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 36); *DMCL*, pl. 82, line 18 (1167–83) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O. 7.13).

48 *est*: **e** with common mark of abbreviation only: *DMCL*, pl. 58, line 3 (1132) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. A. 22); in more formal hands with common mark of abbreviation, and separated by points: *DMOL*, pls. 57 (1147–76) (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 68), 66a (before 1161) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 63); with and without points, 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88), 77 (1171–7) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. Q. f. 8).

49 During the first half of the twelfth century, scribes continued to use the *et* ligature (**&**) to indicate the syllable *et* within words: *DMCL*, pl. 37, line 5 (1096–1112) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 146); *DMBL*, pl. 61 (1108–24?) (BL, Royal ms. 6 c.VI). The ligature was gradually replaced by the Tironian *nota*: Parkes 1991, pl. 14, 'quamlib*et*' (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26); Thomson 1985, II, pl. 236 (s. xii med.), *DMCL*, pls. 86 (after 1173) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O. 2.1), 90 (after 1179) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., McClean ms. 134; Thomson 1985, II, pl. 237 (s. xii 4/4) (Bodleian, ms. Selden supra 24).

50 *etiam*: *DMOL*, pl. 74 line 21 and Parkes 1991, pl. 15b col. a line 15 (before 1166) (Oxford, Balliol Coll. ms. 36); *DMOL*, pl. 86 line 9 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423).

prae: during the first quarter of the century some scribes who wrote formal hands represented the prefix with a common mark of abbreviation above the **p** and surmounted by suprascript **a** (fig. 4.10, line 8).[51]

In small, informal handwriting other ligatures appear alongside **ct**, **st** and **r** with a following minim. These were:

de in which the curved ascender of round-backed **d** also formed the stem of **e** at the top of the ascender (fig. 4.5, line 2).[52]

aʀ in which the stems of both **a** and a following **ʀ** (reduced in size to minim height) were formed with a single stroke. This ligature first appears in datable manuscripts during the third quarter of the century.[53] At about the same time a diagonal stroke through the limb of **R** was employed to indicate the abbreviation of *-arum*.[54]

Scribes often resorted to space-saving devices such as conjoint letters and 'biting'. In conjoint letters – **pp** and **bb** – the vertical stroke of the second letter touches the lobe stroke of the first. Conjoint **pp** appears at the beginnings of words, where the juxtaposition of the letters arises from the omission of a syllable indicated by an abbreviation symbol accompanying the first letter.[55] Conjoint **bb** is much rarer, since Latin vocabulary rarely offers opportunities for this juxtaposition, but occasionally appears within words.[56] By contrast, 'biting' is the coalescence of contrary curves in juxtaposed letters. The biting of round-backed **d** with a following **e** or **o** appears in the mid-twelfth century.

51 *prae*: Thomson 1985, II, pl. 6 lines 2 and 6 (s. xii in./s. xii 1/4) (BL, Royal ms. 13 B.V); *CRMSS*, pl. 73a line 14 (s. xii 1/4) (BL, Royal ms. 12 D.IV); Thomson 1985, II, pl. 80 line 8 (s. xii 2/4) (BL, Royal ms. 12 G.XIV). For a possible explanation of this orthography, see Parkes 1994, esp. pp. 27–8.

52 **de** ligature: Parkes 1991, pp. 72–3 and pls. 13a–b (s. xii 2/4) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 23); *DMOL*, pl. 77 lines 5–7 (1171–7) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. Q f. 8) ; *DMCL*, pls. 93 (1185–91) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. ʀ. 14. 9), 95 (1192–8) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 95). The ligature persisted and appears in manuscripts at the end of the thirteenth century: see *Owl and Nightingale*, verso pages (Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 29).

53 **aʀ** ligature: *DMOL*, pl. 83 line 5 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); Mynors, *DCM*, pl. 47 (s. xii 4/4) (Durham, Cathedral Lib. ms. c.II.1), in text.

54 *-arum*: *DMOL*, pl. 86 (after 1185) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 423); *CRMSS*, pls. 70 line 1 (s. xii ex.) (BL, Royal ms. 12 C.XIX), 36 col. a line 5 (s. xii/xiii) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.III).

55 Conjoint **pp**: *DMOL*, pl. 38, line 5 (1119–24); *DMBL*, pl. 83 (1150–3) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius A.XVII); *DMOL*, pl. 73, line 2 (1164–8) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 56); *DMCL*, pl. 80, line 12 (1167–83) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. G. 15); *DMOL*, pls. 81 (after 1176) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 287), 83 (1177–82) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40); *DMBL*, pl. 109 (1191/2) (BL, Royal ms. 7 F.III); and adopted in larger hands: *DMBL*, pl. 93, col. a, line 14 (1171?) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius C.IX), **pp** within words in *DMOL*, pl. 73, line 2 (1164–68). In *DMCL*, pl. 87 (after 1173) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. O. 4.5) the scribe used it as a space saver (col. a, line 2) but not in the same word when it appeared elsewhere on the same page.

56 Conjoint **bb**: Delisle 1909 (1122–3), titulus 184 (Nunnaminster, Winchester); *DMCL*, pl. 94, col. a, line 22 (after 1188) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5. 30).

By the last quarter biting had been extended to **p** with a following **o**, and eventually **o** with a following **c** (fig. 6.4) and **b** with a following **o** (col. b line 5, fig. 6.4).[57]

During the course of the century scribes copying new academic texts had adopted a size for this category of handwriting that was intermediate between the small, often rapidly written version used by students and scholars, and the medium-sized handwriting used for most other texts.[58] The small version had been used in the eleventh century for adding glosses to Bible texts,[59] and scribes in France and England adopted the more stable intermediate-sized version for copying the recognized gloss which accompanied the text in glossed books.[60] The characteristic letter shapes (especially round-backed **d** and the *notae*) as well as the space-saving devices (conjoint letters, biting, and the frequent use of abbreviated forms of words) enabled scribes to accommodate both gloss and text on the same page. The handwriting of the gloss had to be executed to a standard which would be appropriate to accompany the large formal handwriting employed for the text. The standard and status thus acquired allowed and encouraged scribes, who copied other texts in medium- and large-sized handwriting, to adopt some of the features (especially the round-backed **d**, the *nota* for *et*, and the practice of biting) characteristic of the intermediate-sized hands (fig. 6.4, col. b).[61]

By the end of the twelfth century the circumstances in which books were produced had changed.[62] The monasteries had ceased to be significant centres of book production. A few monks copied their own works (especially annals and chronicles), or collections and miscellanies. Others continued to update books for the *opus Dei*, cartularies, narrative accounts of their communities, as well as maintaining the records required for running the monastery and its estates. Most accessions to a monastery's collections of books were gifts or purchases. From the late twelfth century onwards most books were produced by scribes working in different environments. Some books were produced by itinerant craftsmen, others by commercial scribes (including part-timers,

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57 Biting: **de do** *DMOL*, pls. 55, lines 3, 6 (after 1144) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 40), 81 (after 1176) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 287); **po** *DMOL*, pl. 82 b (c.1177) (Bodleian, ms. e Mus. 249); **oc** *DMCL*, pl. 91, line 1 (after 1183) (Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., ms. 119); **bo** *DMCL*, pl. 94, col. b, line 12 (after 1188) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5.30).

58 See Parkes 1991, pp. 71–89.

59 Webber 1992, pl. 15 (Oxford, Keble Coll., ms. 22) (see also above, n. 31).

60 De Hamel 1984, esp. pl. 10 (Bodleian, ms. Auct. D. 2. 8) and p. 30; Mynors, *DCM*, pls. 43, 47 (Gratian) and 48 (Durham, Cathedral Lib., mss. A.III. 4, C.II. 1, A.III. 17); *CRMSS*, pl. 36 (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.III).

61 For example, *DMCL*, pl. 94 (after 1188; Gerald of Wales) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5.30); *DMBL*, pl. 112 (c.1195; Ralph of Diss) (BL, Add. ms. 40007), with **da**, **ba**, **be**, **pp** and the *nota* for *et*.

62 Discussed in Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 2.

like lay clerks and secular clergy – especially chaplains) who worked in major centres, such as London, Oxford, Cambridge and Salisbury, and produced books to order. During the course of the thirteenth century other scribes, like parish priests, scholars and laymen who were accustomed to write in the course of pursuing their professions ('professional' scribes), produced books for their own use – a practice that expanded rapidly during the following centuries.

During the course of the thirteenth century the pages of de-luxe copies of texts – especially Psalters and Books of Hours – were often embellished with illuminated initials, illustrations, and eventually with extensive border decoration. Scribes sought to restore the visual impact of the text to balance these dominant decorative features. The large, formal handwriting developed during the period 1200–1500 is often referred to as 'Gothic', but the term should refer to an attitude as to what constituted elegance in handwriting. Likewise, the term 'calligraphy' should refer to the manifestation of an attitude to handwriting reflected in those features of penmanship which were chosen, exploited and executed for conspicuous effect. Like all attitudes, what constituted elegance, and the calligraphy required to achieve it, were subject to changes of fashion. These changes produced innovations in the handwriting employed for de-luxe books, which subsequently became conventions when they were imitated by other scribes working in a competitive market.[63] The impact of this new environment of competitive craftsmanship is reflected in the developments in the varieties of Textura during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

These developments emerge in the last decades of the twelfth century, when scribes producing de-luxe copies introduced features from the large handwriting used for Bibles or the biblical text in glossed books (like the pointed arches of **m** and **n**) and characteristic letter forms and biting from the intermediate-sized handwriting used for the gloss.[64] In the thirteenth century commercial scribes replaced the medium-sized handwriting previously used for patristic and other texts with the intermediate-sized version, although they often reduced the size and the space between the lines of writing to accommodate longer texts in a single volume. The small and large-sized hands employed in

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63 Discussed in Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 7.
64 Arches of **m** and **n**: *DMBL*, pls. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007), 113 (1198?) (BL, Cotton ms., Claudius E.III); *Survey* IV/1, pl. 21 (Psalter, s. xii/xiii) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 10. 9); *DMBL*, pl. 103 + *CRMSS*, pl. 19a + *Survey*, IV/1, pls. 10–12 (Westminster Psalter, s. xii/xiii). (These scribes appear to have been working in the London metropolitan area: Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 8.) For earlier examples of treatment of arches of **m** and **n**, see Ker 1960a, pl. 22c (supply leaves to the Winchester Bible). For the introduction of features from intermediate-sized handwriting, see the examples in n. 61 above.

high-quality books had more features in common than in the previous century. Apart from the size, the most obvious difference between them was that scribes who produced large, de-luxe copies avoided the frequent abbreviation of words, whereas those who produced copies in smaller handwriting developed further, even more drastic abbreviations of technical terms in academic texts.[65]

The principal changes shared by both sizes of handwriting were as follows:

Scribes reduced the ratio of the nib-width to minim height, thus producing bolder strokes which often reduced the spaces within letter shapes (figs. 6.4, 6.5).[66]

In the late twelfth century the centre of the headstroke of **a** was broken with a blunt point by analogy with the treatment of the arches of **m** and **n** (fig. 6.2).[67] By the second quarter of the thirteenth century scribes began to close the gap between the headstroke and the lobe,[68] and by the middle of the century they had produced a two-compartment form appearing first as a variant,[69] subsequently as a constant feature which replaced the earlier form.[70] In formal handwriting of the second half of the century the stroke forming the upper compartment was broken twice: once at the highest point of the trace, and again to form the stem of the letter.[71] Towards the end of the century scribes traced this stroke with spurs at the points of breaking (fig. 6.4).[72]

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65 See further Parkes 1991, esp. pp. 26–7.
66 Bolder letters: the ratios between nib-width and minim height ranged from between 1:3 and 1:4 in the thirteenth century. Contrast spaces within letters in *DMBL*, pl. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007) with ibid., pls. 126 (BL, Arundel ms. 157) and 127 (BL, Royal ms. 1 D.X) (both before c.1220); and *DMCL*, pl. 94 (after 1188) (CUL, ms. Mm. 5.30) with *DMBL*, pl. 139 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088).
67 Broken headstroke of **a**: *DMBL*, pls. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007) and 113 (c.1198) (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius E.III).
68 Low headstroke of **a**: *DMBL*, pls. 121 (before 1215) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.VII), 139 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088); 'closed' **a** as variant: *DMBL*, pl. 142 (Psalter, 1246–60) (BL, Royal ms. 2. B.VI); *Survey*, IV/1, pl. 240 (Psalter, s. xiii 2/4) (Oxford, New Coll., ms. 322), *Survey*, IV/2, pl. 18 (Psalter, s. xiii med.) (London, Royal Coll. of Physicians, ms. 409).
69 Two-compartment **a** as variant: *Survey*, IV/2, pl. 24 (Amesbury Psalter, s. xiii med.); *DMCL*, pl. 112 (c.1255, where it appears as a variant in the text of a glossed Bible) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 11 extra); as variant in a smaller hand: *DMBL*, pl. 146, lines 20 'captus', 23 'mandatis' (c.1251) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero D.V).
70 Two-compartment **a** appearing consistently in smaller hands: *Survey*, IV/1, pls. 186–9 (bestiary, s. xiii 2/4/med.) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. 254); *DMOL*, pl. 104 (*Computus metricus*, 1240–8) (Bodleian, Savile ms. 21); *DMBL*, pl. 141 (chronicle, 1246–59) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius A.XX); *DMOL*, pl. 111 (Franciscan Missal, 1255–60) (Bodleian, ms. lat. liturg. f. 26).
71 **a** breaking: *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 305 (Book of Hours) (BL, Egerton ms. 1151), 313 (Cuerden Psalter), both s. xiii 3/4; pls. 407–11 (Psalter, s. xiii 4/4) (Cambridge, Queens' Coll., ms. 17).
72 Spurs: *Survey*, IV/2, pl. 244 (Oscott Psalter), 293 (s. xiii 3/4); *DMBL*, pls. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300) and 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284).

During the course of the thirteenth century the height of the ascenders was reduced;[73] that of **b** was often shorter than those of **h**, **k**, and **l**. Ascenders were wedge-shaped, but the way in which they were formed sometimes produced forked ascenders, or a shallow depression visible in the top of the wedge. Other scribes completed ascenders with a horizontal (or almost horizontal) serif (fig. 6.4).[74] The practice of linking the tops of **ll** with a single elongated horizontal stroke became more common during the course of the century (fig. 4.4).[75]

Round-backed **d** became the predominant form of the letter in all categories of handwriting during the course of the century. The upright form persisted until the third quarter of the century – especially in some de-luxe copies of Psalters and Books of Hours.[76] Thereafter, upright **d** was often retained before a minim stroke, and in the sacred names.[77]

Most scribes employed the 'Tironian' *nota* with the cross-bar for *et*, but the form without the cross-bar persisted in formal hands until the middle of the century.[78] The *et* ligature (**&**) also appears in some formal hands throughout the century.[79]

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73 Height of ascenders: contrast *DMBL*, pl. 103 + *CRMSS*, pl. 19a (Westminster Psalter, s. xii/xiii) and *DMBL*, pl. 127 + *CRMSS*, pl. 13 (Psalter) (BL, Royal ms. 1 D.X), both produced before 1220, with *DMBL*, pls. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1284–1300) and 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284).

74 Ascenders: forked as stroke added from left at the top of the ascender (especially in smaller hands): *DMBL*, pls. 119 (1212) (BL, Harley ms. 447), 128 (1221–2), 146 (c.1251). Later scribes merely approaching ascender from the left without fork: *DMBL*, pls. 161 (c.1269), 165 (1274–92 but probably s. xiii/xiv) (BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra A.XII). With a shallow depression in the top of the ascender in formal hands: *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 18–19, 24 (s. xiii med.); *DMBL*, pl. 142 (1246–60); *Survey*, IV/2, pl. 69 (s. xiii 3/4) (Evesham Psalter), *DMBL*, pl. 169 (1283–1300) (BL, Royal ms. 3 D.VI). Horizontal serifs: *DMBL*, pls. 126, 127 (both before 1220), 142 (1246–60); *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 193–4, 283, 284 (all s. xiii 3/4). Diagonal serifs (resembling those in hands of s. xii) as well as horizontal serifs: *DMBL*, pl. 103 + *CRMSS*, pl. 19 (a) (before 1220). For a mixture of forked, 'depressed' and horizontal serifs: *Survey* IV/2, pl. 240 (s. xiii 3/4) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., McClean ms. 44).

75 Treatment of **ll**: *DMBL*, pls. 121, col. b, line 11 (before 1215) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.VII), 141, col. a, line 9 (1246–59) (BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius A.XX), 146, line 11 (c.1251) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero D.V).

76 Upright **d** as predominant form: *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 193–4 (Psalter, s. xiii 3/4) (BL, Add. ms. 54179); with round-backed **d** as variant: *CRMSS*, pl. 8 + *DMBL*, pl. 150 (1254: William of Hales Bible), where upright **d** appears before **e** and **o**, and round-backed **d** appears occasionally before **e** and **o** without biting.

77 Retention of upright **d** in *nomina sacra*, and before minims: *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 146 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 196 (Princeton UL, Garrett ms. 34), (both s. xiii 3/4); *DMOL*, pl. 110 (before 1272) (Douce Apocalypse).

78 'Tironian' *nota* without cross-bar: *Survey*, IV/1, pls. 112 alongside **&** (s. xiii 1/4) (New York, PML, ms. M. 791), 216 (CUL, ms. Ee. 2.23), 229 (s. xiii 2/4) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 350/567); *Survey* IV/2, pl. 21 (Amesbury Psalter) (s. xiii med.).

79 *et* ligature in *DMBL*, pls. 126, line 10 (BL, Arundel ms. 157), 127, line 2 (BL, Royal ms. 1 D.X) (before 1220) and *Survey*, v, pl. 9 (Windmill Psalter, s. xiii ex.).

From the middle of the century the '2'-shaped **r** was used after other letters completed with a clockwise curve – **b**, round-backed **d**, **h** and **p** – and appears also in de-luxe copies (figs. 4.1, 4.4).[80]

The reduced forms of capital ʀ and s appear more frequently in words throughout the text, in both formal and less formal handwriting (fig. 6.4, **s** only).[81]

From the middle of the century, variant forms of the letter **x** appear in books, and reappear in later centuries. The first was constructed with three strokes: two forming a shape like **r** with a short shoulder-stroke, and the third added to the left near the bottom of the first stroke.[82] In another variant of this form scribes traced the first stroke with a long vertical movement in the middle,[83] and the third was traced in the same way, but with a horizontal cross-bar across the vertical movement.[84]

Scribes continued to use the earlier space-saving devices, but the conjoint letters **pp** became standard practice in all positions within a word (fig. 4.13, line 31); biting became a feature of style. Scribes extended the range of letters combined in biting to include **b** with a following **a** or **e**; **d** with a following **a**; **h** with a following **a**, **e** or **o**; **o** with a following **c**, **d**, **e**, **g**, **o**, **q** or small capital S; and **p** with a following **a** or **e**. All except **o** and **q** appear in a well-written small hand before 1255.[85] From the middle of

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80 '2'-shaped **r** after **b**: *CRMSS*, pl. 33 (French Bible, in both text and gloss, s. xiii ²) (Royal ms. 3 E.I); *Survey*, ɪᴠ/2, pl. 188 (small Bible, s. xiii 3/4) (BL, Add. ms. 52778). '2'-shaped **r** after round-headed **d**: *Survey*, ɪᴠ/1, pl. 259 (*Chirurgia* in French, s. xiii 2/4); *CRMSS*, pl. 8 + *DMBL*, pl. 150 (William of Hales Bible, 1254). '2'-shaped **r** after **h**: *Survey*, ɪᴠ, 2, pls. 146 line 15 (Abingdon Apocalypse) and 317 (small Bible) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. ᴅ. 1.17), both s. xiii 3/4. '2'-shaped **r** after **p** in small hands: *DMOL*, pl. 106 line 12 (1244); in a larger hand *DMBL*, pl. 142, BL, Royal ms. 2 B. VI (Psalter, 1246–60). Thereafter the form was used more frequently in various categories of handwriting.

81 ʀ (reduced to minim height) appears within words: *CRMSS*, pl. 19a (Westminster Psalter, before 1220); *Survey*, IV/1, pl. 247 (De Brailes Hours, s. xiii 3/4); at the end of a word: *DMBL*, pl. 142 (Psalter, 1246–60); *Survey*, ɪᴠ/2, pl. 14 (Bestiary, s. xiii med.) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 764); *CRMSS*, pl. 8 col. a line 3 (William of Hales Bible, 1254); *Survey*, ɪᴠ/2, pls. 222–3 (Averroes, s. xiii 3/4) (Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 269), and at the beginnings, middle and ends of words, *DMBL*, pl. 163 (account of Becket, 1272–8). s (reduced to minim height) appears frequently (and often consistently) at the ends of words throughout the text: *DMBL*, pl. 121 and *CRMSS*, pl. 37 (Comestor, before 1215); *DMOL*, pl. 104 (*Computus metricus*, 1240–8), *DMBL*, pl. 146 (chronicle, c.1251). In *CRMSS*, pl. 27 (s. xiii med.) (BL, Royal ms. 2 E.IV), it appears consistently in the text, but less so in the gloss. *Survey*, ɪᴠ/2, pls. 108–12 (psalter), 146 line 6 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 244 (Oscott Psalter) and 284 (Salvin Hours), all s. xiii 3/4.

82 **x**: *DMBL*, pl. 139, lines, 2–4 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088): *DMCL*, pl. 112, line 11 (c.1255) (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. ʙ.11. extra 1) text.

83 **x** (vertical movement): *Survey*, ɪᴠ/2, pls. 146 line 6 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 284, 289 (BL, Add. ms. 48495) (both s. xiii 3/4).

84 **x** (crossbar): ibid., pl. 196 (s. xiii 3/4) (Princeton UL, Garrett ms. 34); *DMBL*, pl. 163, col. b, line 9 (1272–8) (BL, Cotton ms. Galba ᴇ.ɪɪɪ). Cf. *Survey*, v, pl. 83 (s. xiv 1/4) (Madresfield Court, Coll. Earl Beauchamp, ms. ᴍ).

85 Parkes 1992a, pl. 67 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 198). (For twelfth-century examples see above, notes 57 and 61.); **he** in *DMBL*, pl. 131 (1228–34) (BL, Arundel ms. 303); **ho** in *DMOL*, pl. 111 (c.1255)

the century scribes copying de-luxe books employed biting on an eclectic basis,[86] but by the end of the century most sequences appear in de-luxe copies of Psalters and other texts.[87]

In the thirteenth century scribes paid careful attention to features of style, especially at the feet of minim strokes (figs. 6.4, 6.5). Some twelfth-century scribes had completed the minims with a horizontal serif to the right, others by turning the feet of the minims into a curve culminating in a diagonal serif.[88] Thirteenth-century scribes developed these features to produce different varieties of the Textura script.

In the large handwriting employed for copies of Psalters and Books of Hours scribes adopted horizontal serifs, but traced the final minims of **m** and **n** in a different way. They created a perceptible swelling in the lower half of the stroke by slowly pivoting the pen on the leading edge of the nib (at the left edge of the stroke) sometimes leaving a hollow in the base of the minim before terminating the stroke with a short serif (horizontal, or almost horizontal to the right.)[89] This variety of the script was subsequently referred to as 'littera prescissa'. This development culminated in the calligraphy manifest in the handwriting of, for example, the East Anglian Psalters during the first half of the fourteenth century.[90]

In the smaller handwriting of the thirteenth century, scribes adopted the other twelfth-century practice of completing the minims by turning the strokes

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(Bodleian, ms. lat. liturg. f. 26, col. b, line 6); **oe** in *DMCL*, pl. 102, col. b, line 22 (1209–23) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 425); **oc** and **oq** in *DMBL*, pl. 142, line 4 (Psalter, 1246–60) (BL, Royal ms. 2 B.VI).

86 For example, **ha**, **he** in *Survey*, IV/2, pl. 146 (Abingdon Apocalypse, s. xiii 3/4).

87 At the end of the century **da**, **ha**, **he**, **ho** appear in *DMBL*, pl. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300), and *Survey*, v, pl. 3, from the same manuscript adds **oc** and **oo**. **ba**, **da** and **pe** appear in *DMBL*, pl. 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284), *Survey*, v, pls. 1 and 4 add **ha**, **ho**, **he** and **oq**.

88 Treatment of minims s. xii. Horizontal serifs: *DMOL*, pls. 66a (1161) (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 63), 75 (1167) (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 88) and 76 (before 1171) (Bodleian, ms. Auct. ᴇ. inf.1); *DMBL*, pl. 112 (c.1195) (BL, Add. ms. 40007); curved at the foot culminating in a diagonal serif: *DMOL*, pls. 40–1 (Bodleian, Bodley mss. 134, 387), 42 (Oxford, Worcester Coll., ms. 273) (all s. xii 1/4), 50 (1131–34) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 297); *DMBL*, pl. 75 (1140) (BL, Add. ms. 14250); *DMOL*, pls. 82 (c.1177) (Bodleian, ms. ᴇ ᴍᴜs. 249), 90 (1194) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 672).

89 Swelling: *Survey*, IV/1, pl. 247 (De Brailes Hours, s. xiii 2/4), *Survey* IV, 2, pl. 20 (Missal of Henry of Chichester, s. xiii med.), *DMBL*, pl. 142 (Psalter, 1246–60). Later the serifs become more prominent: *DMBL*, pl. 163 (Becket material, 1272–8) (BL, Cotton ms. Galba E.III); *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 283 (psalter) (Bodleian, Laud. ms. lat. 114), 284 (Salvin Hours), both s. xiii 3/4; *Survey*, v, pl. 9 (Windmill Psalter, s. xiii ex.). Some scribes traced the stems of **c**, **e**, **t** and the first stroke of **o** with diagonal broken strokes at the feet: *DMBL*, pl. 142 (1246–60) (BL, Royal ms. 2 B.VI); *Survey*, IV/2, pls. 18–19 (s. xiii med.) (London, Royal Coll. of Physicians, ms. 409) and 284 (Salvin Hours, s. xiii 3/4).

90 For example the Ormesby and Bromholm Psalters: *Survey*, v, frontispiece and pls. 97–9. On the varieties of Textura see Van Dijk 1956, pp. 55–9.

to the right into a diagonal serif.[91] The high quality of some of the handwriting brought this treatment of the minims into the contemporary canon of features of style, and such small handwriting appears in the small Bibles characteristic of the thirteenth century.[92] This variety of Textura came to be referred to as 'littera semi-quadrata'.

From the middle of the century scribes who copied de-luxe copies of books in larger handwriting transformed the minims of Textura semi-quadrata, by breaking the strokes into broad, straight, diagonal feet, traced with the full width of the nib before completing them with inconspicuous straight serifs, traced with the edge of the nib in the opposite diagonal.[93] Later scribes introduced spurs at the points of breaking (figs. 6.4, 6.5).[94] In this variety of Textura, subsequently referred to as 'littera quadrata', the same elements of style were distributed throughout the different letter shapes. The treatment of the feet of the stems of **b**, **c**, **e**, **l**, **r** and the first stroke of **c**, were traced in the same way as the feet of the minims. These traces also corresponded with those of the arches of **m** and **n**, and the shoulder of **r**, all at minim height.[95] The symmetry in the chiaroscuro patterns on the page produced a conspicuous graphic image which, perhaps with the repetition of the same traces in so many letters, ensured that this variety of Textura replaced 'littera prescissa' during the the fourteenth century, and survived into the age of the printed book as the principal archetype of 'Black Letter Text'.

In a smaller version of Textura semi-quadrata, written with a more rapid *ductus*, scribes often traced the arches of **m** and **n** not with a curve, but with a thin straight diagonal stroke broken at an acute angle directly into the stem of the following minim. The foot of the minim was broken, again abruptly,

91 Well written copies of Textura semi-quadrata: *DMBL*, pl. 121 + *CRMSS*, pl. 37 (Comestor, before 1215) (BL, Royal ms. 4 D.VII); Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pls. xxxiv, nos. 104 (Comestor) (BnF, ms. lat. 15429), 105 (Lombard's Sentences) (BnF, ms. lat. 14514); xxxv, no. 108 (*Almagest*) (BnF, ms. lat. 7255); xxxvi, no. 116 (Aristotle) (BnF, ms. lat. 15088), all s. xiii 1/4; Parkes 1992a, pl. 67 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 198) (Grosseteste's Augustine and Gregory, before 1255 and perhaps after 1235; cf. also Ker 1972b, pl. 8), Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pls. xliii, no. 125 (Aristotle, s. xiii med.) (BnF, ms. lat. 6576), xlv, no. 131 (Lombard's Sentences, s. xiii 3/4) (BnF, ms. lat. 15321).

92 Small Bibles: *DMBL*, pl. 131 (1228–34) (BL, Arundel ms. 303); *Survey*, iv/1, pls. 226–7 (Bodleian, ms. lat. bibl. e. 7); *MO*, fig. 40 – all produced for members of the Dominican Order, s. xiii 2/4. Others include: *Survey*, iv/1, pl. 251 (s. xiii med.) (San Marino ca, Huntington Lib., ms. hm 26061); *DMBL*, pl. 150 + *CRMSS*, pl. 8 (William de Hales Bible copied at Salisbury in 1254).

93 Textura quadrata: *DMBL*, pl. 139 (c.1244) (BL, Egerton ms. 3088); *Survey*, iv/2, pl. 146 (Abingdon Apocalypse), 244 and 246 (Oscott Psalter), both s. xiii 3/4; *DMBL*, pls. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300), 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c. 1284); *Survey*, v, pls. 31 (Hours, s. xiii ex.) (Baltimore md, Walters Art Gall. ms. w. 102), 63, 78 (Hours, s. xiv in.) (CUL, ms. Dd. 8.2).

94 Spurs: *Survey*, iv/2, pls. 244 and 246 (Oscott Psalter, s. xiii 3/4); *DMBL*, pls. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300), 171 (Alfonso Psalter, c.1284).

95 Ashridge Comestor see Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 7, pl. 26.

into a longer serif parallel to the diagonal forming the arch.[96] Another feature of this less formal version was the increasing use of headless **a** (fig. 4.13).[97] Textura semi-quadrata was employed for academic texts for much of the fourteenth century, but the increasing number of longer texts, as each generation of scholars commented on the work of their predecessors, led to the deterioration of this variety of the script.[98] A rapid *ductus* led to simplification of the letter forms, and in many cases the separation of component strokes of individual letter shapes. At the end of the fourteenth century this variety appears in copies of Wycliffite texts, but in some copies of the translations of biblical texts discipline was restored in executing the script.[99]

In the twelfth century the small book hand had appeared in copies of contemporary vernacular texts. The earliest examples in England are copies of French texts: the *Vie de Saint Alexis* and the *Chanson de Roland*.[100] Later it appears in contemporary texts in English,[101] where scribes continued to use the Insular letters, ð, þ and ƿ, and ȝ (but only for the velar spirant, alongside the Caroline form of the letter for the velar stop).[102] From the second quarter of

96 Rapid Textura semi-quadrata: *DMOL*, pl. 102 (*Theologica*, 1234) (Bodleian, Hatton ms. 26); *DMBL*, pl. 161 (Lombard on the Psalter, 1269) (BL, Royal ms. 2 F.VIII). Minims: for scribes who frequently lapse into a more cursive treatment, see *MO*, fig. 33 (Avicenna, 1230–40); *DMOL*, pls. 106 (1244) (Oxford, St Edmund's Hall, ms. Kk.60), 108 (Arzachel, c.1250–52) (Bodleian, Savile ms. 22); *DMBL*, pl. 146 (chronicle, c.1251) (BL, Cotton ms. Nero A.v).

97 Headless **a**: *DMBL*, pls. 115 (Rochester, list of books, 1202) (BL, Royal ms. 5 B.XII), 135 (1231) (Royal ms. 9 B.V); *DMOL*, pl. 108 (Arzachel, *Tabula*, 1250–2) (Bodleian, ms. Savile 22). As variant: *DMOL*, pl. 143 (Gerard de Nogent on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, 1294) (Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 261).

98 The handwriting of commercial scribes who copied academic texts in university towns is not yet well represented in published facsimiles. For some idea of the kinds of deterioration in Textura semi-quadrata caused by rapid writing (notably the resolution of vertical strokes into uneven curved ones which produce irregularities in the proportions and sizes of individual letters), see the treatment of ascenders and descenders in the text of Parkes 1991, pl. 2 (s. xiii ex.); Destrez 1935a, pls. 26–7 (Guy d'Evreux, Oxford, 1320s); contrast the handwriting on fol. 1 (pl. 26) with that on fol. 181 col. b (pl. 27); Parkes 1992a, pl. 27 (Worcester Cathedral Lib., ms. F. 103, with careless tracing of strokes especially at junctures; Parkes, *ECBH*, pl. 16ii (Oxford, Merton Coll. ms. 235), well-written, but rotund letter shapes.

99 For a well-written copy of the later Wycliffite version of the New Testament, see Kenyon 1900, pl. xxv (BL, Egerton ms. 1171), and contrast with *CRMSS*, pl. 1 (BL, Royal ms. 1 A.X).

100 Alexis: Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pls. 35–7; the same scribe was responsible for the commentary in the margins of pls. 40–41 (s. xii 1/4). On the copy of the *Chanson de Roland*, see the discussion in Parkes 1991, pp. 71–89 with pls.; *Facsimile Digby 23*.

101 English texts: *Poema morale*, homilies (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 14. 52, s. xii ex.); homilies etc. During the twelfth century and into the thirteenth scribes continued to copy OE texts (see Ker 1990, p. xviii, for a list). The handwriting used for the earliest copies of ME texts (Peterborough Chronicle continuations and *Ormulum*) are idiosyncratic in different ways.

102 The Insular **g** appears in some unusual configurations, e.g. *English Ancrene riwle* 1972, frontispiece, verso page, main scribe (Scribe A); or he could have mistaken a form in his exemplar as an **s**. A form of **g** with a vague resemblance to a capital **S**, which sits on the line of writing, appears in the hand of the first scribe of Lambeth, ms. 487 (fol. vi, s. xiii in.). Insular **g** reappears and ascends above minim height in two manuscripts of s. xiii 2/4 with related texts: Bodleian, Bodley ms. 34 (*Facsimile Bodley 34*); BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. XIV (*English Ancrene riwle* 1952, frontisp.). A later

the thirteenth century scribes introduced features of style from Textura semi-quadrata (notably forked ascenders, bold strokes and the treatment of minims); closed **a** appears as a variant in copies of French texts, but two-compartment **a** is rare in texts of either language before the last quarter of the century (fig. 6.5).[103]

The 'aspect' of the handwriting in English texts differs from those in Latin and French, because English orthography does not require a long sequence of minims found in forms of Latin words (and, to a lesser extent, in French). In twelfth-century copies of French texts, abbreviated forms (apart from the Tironian *nota* for *et* towards the end of the century) are rare;[104] but in English texts scribes continued to use the Anglo-Saxon abbreviation þ (with a stroke to the right of the ascender for the various spellings of 'that') and the Tironian *nota* for the conjunction. In the thirteenth century scribes of English texts used the common mark of abbreviation to indicate the omission of **m** and **n**, and the small, suprascript, '7'-shaped stroke for omitted '-*er*' or '-*re*'. Suprascript vowels appear only sporadically until the fourteenth century (fig. 6.8, lines 3 and 4).[105] This restraint may well have been a concession to readers who were less familiar with Latin, and with the significance of abbreviation symbols.

Throughout the history of handwriting in the West there has been a tendency to use the everyday 'business' handwriting for copying books.[106] In England from the twelfth century onwards the momentum of rapid writing in documents (and especially in records) contributed to a constant process of cursive development, generating fluent, rotatory movements which led to modifications in the construction of letter shapes.[107] Scribes lifted the pen less

version of Insular **g** appears in Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 402 (*Ancrene wisse*, s. xiii 4/4; *English Ancrene riwle* 1962, frontisp.).

103 Bodleian, Bodley ms. 34, s. xii 2/4 (probably in the 1240s); BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. XVIII, s. xiii 2/4 (*English Ancrene riwle* 1963), in the late 1240s; BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. XIV (*English Ancrene riwle* 1952), similar date to Titus D. XVIII; *DMCL*, pl. 112 (gloss, c.1255), and *DMOL*, pl. 111 (1255–60); (closed **a** in a French text: *Survey*, iv/1, pls. 256–61); Wright 1960, pl. 7 + *Owl and Nightingale* (facs. edn of BL, Cotton ms. Caligula A. IX, s. xiii 4/4); compare the first 9 lines with *DMBL*, pl. 169 (Ashridge Comestor, 1283–1300); Wright 1960, pl. 8 (bestiary, s. xiii/xiv). Other scribes preferred narrow strokes, leaving more spaces within the letters: Bodleian, Bodley ms. 42, fol. 250r (lyrics, s. xiii 3/4, with two-compartment **a**); Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. c. 22, fol. 298r (lyric, s. xiii 3/4; two-compartment **a** as a lone variant in a short text, forked ascenders, **f** and **s** with descenders): *Owl and Nightingale* (s. xiii ex.).

104 Abbreviations appear in Bodleian, Digby ms. 23 (Parkes 1991, pls. 13a and b; *Facsimile Digby 23*, p. 71; s. xii 2/4) and Bodleian, Douce ms. 381 (Adam de Ros, *Visio S. Pauli* in French verse, s. xii 4/4; Dean and Bolton 1999, no. 553).

105 Abbreviated forms appear in the manuscripts cited in n. 104. Suprascript vowels appear in Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 29 (s. xiii ex.; *Owl and Nightingale*, fols. 156–9v; also abbreviation for –*ur* which appears at ends of comparative adjectives, probably reflecting dialect spelling).

106 At the end of the twelfth century, Alexander Nequam distinguished between the kinds of handwriting used for books, for glosses and marginalia, and for documents (Wright 1857, p. 117).

107 On cursive resolution and development, see Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 5, with plates and further references.

often and recorded on the writing surface traces of auxiliary movements in the transitions from one stroke to another and from one letter to the next. For example, twelfth-century scribes traced the stems of **f**, **r** and tall **s** with long descenders curving to the left before raising the pen, thus anticipating the upward, clockwise, rotatory movement to reach the position required to trace the headstrokes of **f** and **s**, and the shoulder of **r**. Scribes approached the tops of ascenders with a broad anticlockwise loop movement from the final stroke of the preceding letter. Many scribes recorded only the end of this movement, as a short curve from the right into the top of the ascender.[108] The curved ascender of **d** was approached in the same way. Such modified letter shapes appear as variants in rapidly written book hands, as in the only surviving copy of the English text *Vices and virtues*, produced around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[109]

During the first half of the thirteenth century the rapid *ductus* became the basis of the structure of the handwriting used for documents: the transitional movements between strokes were deliberately recorded on the surface, and were accepted as part of the morphology of the script.[110] Some scribes when writing original documents continued to lift the pen more often, but enhanced the quality of their set hands by treating details of cursive forms as features of style.[111] During the second quarter of the century the kinds of set hands found in documents also appear in books.[112] The proportions, size, and basic *ductus* of the handwriting of the main scribe of the earliest surviving copy of the *Ancrene Riwle* closely resemble those in the handwriting of a roll listing the tradesmen at Wallingford in 1229–30.[113]

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108 See Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, frontispiece.

109 *Vices and virtues*: BL, Stowe ms. 34 (Wright 1960, pl. 3). The cursive features appear in variant forms: long descenders of **f**, **s** and **r** all curving to the left at the foot, and (more frequently) **d** with ascender traced with an anticlockwise curve from the top.

110 Brown 1990, pl. 33 (?1208–10); *DMCL*, pl. 104 (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms 271) (Clerkenwell entry on Amphelisa mortuary roll, before 1214); Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. XIIa and b (also Jenkinson 1915, pls. XII and XIII, Lincolnshire Subsidy Roll (assessment of fifteenth) 1225, where **f** and **s** do not have descenders).

111 Hector 1966, pl. Va (1229–30) (PRO, DL 36/1/247); contrast treatment of minims with the carefully formed long descenders of **f**, **r** and **s**, and forked ascenders with loops, as features of style; *Cartulary St John* 1914, pls. VII, VIII (hand of Town Clerk of Oxford, 1233 and 1235).

112 Document hands in books: *CRMSS*, pls. 59b (BL, Royal ms. 8 D.XXII, 47 (list of chapters)) (BL, Royal ms. 6 C.VIII). Cf. the large display version on heading of the Amphelisa roll (*DMCL*, pl. 103, before 1214); also (at the opposite end of the scale) *DMCL*, pl. 109 (1249–51) (Cambridge, St John's Coll., Muniments C 7.1).

113 *English Ancrene riwle* 1972, frontispiece (BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra C. VI, Dobson's 'Scribe A'); compare with Clanchy 1993, pl. X (Wallingford Roll, 1226–7). Note also the forms of **g** which are identical. The Cotton scribe also traced the occasional ascender with a small loop at the right. Compare also the handwriting of William of Mildecumbe in *Cartulary St John*, pls. VII and VIII (1233 and 1235), who also used the same form of **g**. This form also appears in Bodleian, Bodley ms. 34 (*Facsimile Bodley 34*). The manuscript of the *Ancrene wisse* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms.

Further developments in cursive handwriting appear in documents from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. These include the appearance of: headless **a**, and a very tall **a** in which the headstroke terminates in a long (often descending) stem; **d** with a looped ascender completed by a thick, diagonal, reverse curve; forked ascenders with a prominent loop on the right; **m** and **n** traced with clockwise curves producing attenuated strokes culminating in a point; and **r** with a long vertical descender (fig. 6.7).[114] Some of these forms appear as variants in book hands written in a dominant personal idiom, suggesting that the scribes were copying texts for themselves. For example, a copy of extracts from the *Ancrene Riwle* bound with other material that would have been useful to a parish priest;[115] and the handwriting of a scribe who added texts in two manuscripts.[116] Cursive features dominate the handwriting of a layman, Arnald Thedmar, alderman of the city of London, which he used for his continuation of the Annals of London (1265–74).[117]

The process of cursive development led to the emergence of a distinctive cursive script (Anglicana) during the last thirty years of the century.[118] The script was small, and scribes wrote it with a fine nib, producing very thin strokes, and incorporated some of the features already mentioned. The characteristic letter shapes are: two-compartment **a** traced in various configurations which rises well above minim height; small, '8'-shaped **g**; long-tailed **r**, but with a diagonal stroke rising from the base of the descender to minim height where it

402) is frequently assumed to be an early copy because of its orthography, but the scribe employed an abbreviation symbol for 'est' (*English Ancrene riwle* 1962, frontispiece, recto line 19) which first appears in recorded English datable manuscripts in 1308 (*DMOL*, pl. 150, Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 244). It is more likely that the copy was produced s. xiii 4/4 for presentation to Wigmore Abbey, as the inscription testifies.

114 Further cursive developments: Clanchy 1993, pl. xi (Eleanor de Montfort's household roll, 1265); letter written for Llywelyn ap Gruffud ('in castro iuxta Pyperton', 1265) Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xiiib; Brown 1990, pl. 34; *Merton muniments*, pls. ii (founder's statutes, 1264), v a–c (1266–8); *DMOL*, pl. 127 (Amaury de Montfort in jail, 1276).

115 Scribe of *Ancrene riwle*: *Cambridge, Caius 234/120*, frontispiece (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 234/120, s. xiii 3/4). The practice of adding descenders to **s** and **r** also appears in English manuscripts produced earlier in the century (*CRMSS*, pl. 59b, BL, Royal ms. 8 D.XXII).

116 The scribe of Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. b. 1. 45 (*Facsimiles Trinity College*, pl. iv, 'Atte Wrastling'), who fills up spaces left by earlier scribes with short English texts. He also corrects and supplements the text in BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra C. VI (*Ancrene riwle*, Dobson's 'Scribe d'), illustrated in *English Ancrene riwle* 1972, pl. opposite p. 110. His handwriting is also s. xiii 3/4 rather than late s. xiii (as suggested by Dobson). The Trinity manuscript has a number of Augustinian texts, and the Cleopatra manuscript was subsequently given to the Augustinian canonesses at Canonsleigh in Devon. His language has been assigned to NW Norfolk by Angus McIntosh (quoted by Laing 1993, p. 34), where there were numerous houses of Augustinian Canons. This scribe worked on the manuscript before it was acquired by the foundress of the convent for nuns.

117 Thedmar: *DMLL*, pl. 27 (where it can be contrasted with the cursive hand of his assistant in the later years) (London, Corporation of London Record Office, ms. Cust. 1).

118 On Anglicana, see Parkes, *ECBH*, introduction and plates.

was broken into a shoulder stroke; a cursive form of short **s** often rising above minim height, employed at the beginnings and ends of words.

Anglicana became the dominant script in reference books compiled and copied by clerks in local administrations, and practitioners in the new professions of common law and estate management, or in commercial activities (fig. 6.7, 6.9). For example, between 1261 and 1268 Robert Carpenter II of Hareslade, a bailiff on the Isle of Wight, copied formulae and memoranda;[119] and in 1305 Richard of Sheffield compiled his own register of writs when he became a chancery cursitor.[120] From the 1280s a distinctive version of Anglicana was employed by scholars at Oxford, who collected and copied for themselves treatises and fair copies of *reportationes* of lectures or *Quaestiones*.[121] The script was also adopted by others (probably commercial scribes) when copying a broader range of texts in the early years of the fourteenth century.[122]

Scribes also sought to develop a new book hand from cursive origins, that would meet contemporary criteria for the decorum required of handwriting in books.[123] Some scribes experimented;[124] others incorporated cursive forms in handwriting based on the proportions of Textura semi-quadrata.[125] Some employed the engrossing hand used for original documents, tracing strokes with meticulous care, and introducing features of style. For example, they completed the minims of **i**, **m** and **n** with feet, traced ascenders with elaborate forks, and the headstrokes of **f** and long **s** below a short curved approach stroke from the right, in a way which has suggested to some a 'double headstroke'.[126] The earliest datable example of Anglicana formata in a book is illustrated in fig. 6.6 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 465).

119 Robert Carpenter II: *DMCL*, pl. 115 (1261–8) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 205/111).
120 Richard of Sheffield: Brown 1990, pl. 35; Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 7.
121 Scholars: Parkes, *ECBH*, pl. 16i (1282); *DMOL*, Pl. 129, probably originating among the Franciscans at Oxford (Bodleian, Digby ms. 2); *DMCL*, pl. 130 (1301–6) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 668*/645). On these manuscripts, see Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 7. Pl. 129 (CUL, ms. Hh. 3.11) facing pl. 130 in *DMCL* provides an excellent opportunity to contrast the 'academic' version of Anglicana with that used by 'professional' scribes in other texts.
122 In other texts (probably copied by commercial scribes): *DMLL*, pl. 32 (1285–90) (London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale ms. 135); Gilbert of Thornton's *Summa de legibus*; *CRMSS*, pl. 29 (BL, Royal ms. 2 A.XIII) (given by Walter of Hemingburgh to the Augustinian priory at Guisborough (Gisburn)).
123 On decorum, see Parkes, *CLS*, chs. 6, 7 and glossary.
124 *Facsimile Digby 86*, fol. 62, where the experimental handwriting (with bolder strokes) appears in the text at the top of the page, and the scribe's usual handwriting appears in the addition below. See also the handwriting of William Tatlock in fig. 4.14; Scribe 3 of the Auchinleck ms. (*Auchinleck manuscript*), fols. 70–107 (s. xiv [1]).
125 Cf. grant by Henry III (1271, *Merton muniments* 1928, pl. IVb).
126 Parkes, *ECBH*, pl. 4i + *DMOL*, pl. 137 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 406) (1291; sermons); compare with Pilkington Charter of the same date (*Survey*, v, pl. 43) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. ms. 46–1980), also with charter of Henry III (Chaplais 1971, pl. 4b, 1265).

During the first decade of the fourteenth century scribes who produced documents in the royal administration developed a new style. In particular they replaced forked ascenders with curved hooks traced from the tops of the ascenders.[127] The scribe in fig. 6.8 adopted this feature in larger handwriting when copying a book. Other scribes, influenced by this new engrossing hand, produced a 'display' script for copies of books with illustrations and prominent decorated borders.[128] They abandoned the cursive form of short **s**, and replaced it with long **s** at the beginnings of words and a small capital **s** at the ends. Some scribes replaced long-tailed **r** with a shortened version, or with the short **r** of Textura semi-quadrata.[129]

The emergence of Anglicana formata was one of the most important developments in the history of handwriting in England. At the beginning of the fourteenth century scribes recognized the existence of a hierarchy of scripts to be used in books. At the top of the hierarchy the two display scripts, Textura prescissa and (increasingly) Textura quadrata were employed in de-luxe copies of texts, whereas Anglicana was at the bottom of the hierarchy, with Textura semi-quadrata in between. When scribes employed Anglicana formata based on the engrossing hand as a less expensive script in de-luxe copies, this new variety of cursive origin began to encroach on the hierarchy, and to replace Textura semi-quadrata in the estimation of scribes.[130] Whereas in the late 1350s a scribe copying a text accompanied by a gloss in the margins would employ a variety of Textura for the text, and Anglicana formata for the gloss (fig. 4.8), a scribe in the late 1380s would use Anglicana formata for the text and Anglicana for the commentary, acknowledging the existence of a hierarchy of varieties in the same

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127 Scribes in royal administration: Chaplais 1971, pls. 7b (1301), 9a (1305), 8b (1307; written by a clerk of the Wardrobe).

128 *DMLL*, pl. 44 (1321–8) (London, Corporation of London Record Office, ms. Cust. 6) + Ker, *BCL*, pl. 19 + *Munimenta Gildhallae*, II, frontispiece; *Survey*, v, no. 72, pls. 187–8 (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., ms. lat. 16, fols. 139–81: Commentary (in French) on the Apocalypse, s. xiv 2/4, probably third decade); two manuscripts by the same scribe (s. xiv 2/4) produced for Simon Bozoun, prior of Norwich (1344–52); *DMCL*, pl. 142 (*Liber itinerariorum*, after 1331) (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 407) and Parkes, *ECBH*, pl. 4ii (Marco Polo etc.) (BL, Royal ms. 14 C.XIII) (Ker, *BCL*, p. 260, nos. 47 and 42). See also below, n. 132.

129 The scribe of the Lincoln Coll. manuscript observed the new convention for **s** and employed short **r**. Long-tailed **r** was retained in most later manuscripts: e.g. *DMOL*, pls. 198 (1361–89) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 216), 215 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257) text.

130 For examples which illustrate the pressure for changes in the hierarchy, see the two manuscripts produced (s. xiv med.) at Salisbury by the same scribe for Bishop Robert Wivill (1330–75). The first (Hunt 1962, p. 23 pl. IVa) was written in ambitious but inferior Textura quadrata, the second in a 'mixed' hand with features of Textura quadrata deployed in Anglicana formata (Bastard Anglicana). Another, more unusual example is the handwriting which James le Palmere employed for books. He served as Clerk of the Great Rolls (the Pipe Rolls) of the royal Exchequer from 1368 until just before his death in 1375, and introduced the size and proportions of Textura into an elaborate version of Bastard Anglicana used for display script in the books. On these two scribes, see Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 8 and pls. 60 and 61.

script.[131] Another manifestation of this change is that some fourteenth-century scribes created artificial versions of Anglicana for headings and colophons by exaggerating the size – especially the height of the letters – to exploit their own choices of features of style.[132] By the end of the century some scribes also used such artificial versions for the *lemmata* (usually quotations from the Bible) within the text, as well as for headings.[133]

In the mid-fourteenth century the rapid handwriting of scribes who employed the basic variety of Anglicana began to incorporate the features of further cursive development (figs. 6.7, 6.9). The principal change was an increase in the number of anti-clockwise loop movements of the pen in the basic *ductus*. Scribes traced the letters **d**, cursive **e** (and, later, **b** and **v**) with different configurations of the same anti-clockwise loop. They also traced a sequence of minims (apparently sloping from top left to bottom right) with a single multiple stroke traced with repeated anti-clockwise movements.[134] Scribes simplified the letter **r** by omitting the shoulder stroke, and tracing the upward diagonal stroke from the base of the descender at an oblique angle which became wider over time.[135] Cursive **e** appears within words as well as in final positions (fig. 6.12). These features often appear in books copied in small (sometimes minute) handwriting, in which the more complex letters – like **a**, cursive short **s**, and, sometimes **g** – protrude more noticeably above minim height.[136] Some scribes also employed frequent (often drastic) abbreviations of words.

During the second half of the fourteenth century a new script was imported from the continent, where it had been developed from the version of Italian

131 *DMOL*, pl. 215 + *ECBH*, pl. 2(i) (1381; Alexander of Villedieu, *Massa compoti*) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257); Kenyon 1900, pl. xxiii (s. xiv 4.4; Rolle on the Psalter) (BL, Arundel ms. 158).
132 Artificial or enlarged script: *DMBL*, pl. 194, incipit (after 1300) (BL, Add. ms. 35116); *DMCL*, pl. 149, heading (1344–8) (Cambridge Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 24); Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pl. lxxix, no. 191 (s. xiv med.; colophon and heading) (BnF, ms. fr. 9562); *DMOL*, pl. 199 (1364: colophon, but with bolder strokes dated according to regnal year) (Oxford, New Coll., ms. 173); *DMCL*, pl. 162, incipit (1376–1400) (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 82/164).
133 Artificial script as display script in lemmata as well as headings: *Facsimiles Trinity College*, pl. vii (*Piers Plowman*, headings, s. xiv/xv).
134 Rapidly written Anglicana: *Merton muniments*, pls. xiii–xiv (College scrutiny, 1338–9, discussed in Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 2 and pl. 12); Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xxixb (1391; record of inquisition). An early stage in the development of cursive **e** (where it lies on its back with the tongue traced vertically) is in *DMOL*, pls. 154 line 3 'de' (after 1310) (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 940), 161 first word (c.1321) (Bodleian, Rawlinson ms. c.292); a more rapidly written version becomes common in documents of s. xiv². For multiple strokes forming sequences of minims, see *DMOL*, pl. 215 line 21 'simul' (1381: in commentary) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257).
135 Developments in the treatment of long-tailed **r** took place in both Anglicana and Anglicana formata. Elimination of the shoulder stroke: *DMOL*, pls. 174, line 3 'impetrat' (after 1333) (Bodleian, Rawl. ms. c. 666), 197 last line 'guerra' (1361–76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89). Changes in the angle of the upward diagonal stroke: *DMOL*, pl. 215 line 20 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257).
136 Size of complex letter forms: *DMOL*, pls. 177 (1334–49) (Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 91), 197 (1361–76) (Bodleian, Digby ms. 89), 215 (1381) (Bodleian, Douce ms. 257).

'littera cancelleresca' adopted by scribes in the papal chancery at Avignon.[137] The earliest datable English example is the handwriting of John de Branktre, a scribe in the royal Chancery, who had learned the script (probably from a French scribe) whilst in Avignon on the king's business in 1355–6.[138] This script (Secretary) was adopted c.1372 by clerks in the offices of the royal Privy Seal and the Signet, where the predominant language of the documents produced was French.[139]

The Secretary script introduced a new style of penmanship.[140] The principal features were: the basic *ductus* which replaced curved strokes with broken strokes traced in different diagonals according to the constant pen angle; letter shapes constructed with this *ductus*, which had no counterparts in Anglicana: 'diamond'-shaped headless **a**; **g** with a single lobe traced like **a**, and a tail stroke; short **r** with a diagonal stem, a thin stroke rising from the foot of the stem in the opposite diagonal, and a shoulder stroke traced from the top of the stem; a two-compartment 'kidney'-shaped short **s** used in final positions (fig. 6.11). The basic *ductus* also appeared in the formation of the broken lobes of **d** and **q**, the letter **o**, and the stems of **c** and **e**. Isolated Secretary forms began to appear in the indigenous cursive script, and the influence of the basic *ductus* in other letter shapes.[141]

Thus, between c.1380 and c.1425 the new graphic environment, created by the co-existence of different styles of penmanship in handwriting at the same levels of the hierarchy, encouraged scribes to exploit the diversity of style in handwriting of cursive origin used for books. Two scribes who produced deluxe copies of the Statutes of the Realm (c.1389 and c.1407)[142] employed the

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137 On 'littera cancelleresca', see Petrucci 1989, pp. 151–5, with pls. and references (cf. *DMBL*, pl. 216, BL, Royal ms. 6 E.IX; (1335–40), a very formal hand from Prato). The earliest datable examples of the new script in France are two copies of Statutes for the Benedictine Order (1337): *DMBL*, pl. 219 (BL, Add. ms. 15339) and Samaran and Marichal 1974, pl. CIV (BnF, ms. lat. 13809).

138 On the introduction of the script into England, see Parkes, *CLS*, chs. 5, 7.

139 Chaplais 1971, pp. 27–8 and 52 (and pl. 16c). On the appearance of the script in ecclesiastical registers, see Parkes, *ECBH*, Introd. and pls. 9 and 10. The earliest dated example of Secretary in an English book is *DMBL*, pl. 273 (1384; Rolle, *Emendatio vitae*) (BL, Add. ms. 34763). An early example of the 'academic' version of Secretary, written more rapidly, appears in *DMBL*, pl. 284 (BL, Harley ms. 3524) (copied by a continental scribe 'in aula Brizznas' (Brasenose Hall), Oxford, in 1390: excerpts from patristic texts). The letter shapes of Secretary, but with little influence on the basic *ductus*, appear in *DMCL*, pl. 170 (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. I.19) (Oxford, c.1382, but before 1394; formulary for writing letters, by Thomas Sampson, who ran a business school in Oxford).

140 See Parkes, *ECBH*, Introduction and plates.

141 Isolated forms in Anglicana: e.g. *DMCL*, pl. 162 col. a **g** in line 9, **s** in line 10 (1376–1400). In Anglicana formata: *DMBL*, pl. 271a (1381) (BL, Royal ms. 4 E.II), second scribe, **r** and **s** line 8, **a** line 18, **d** end of line 10; *DMCL*, pl. 163 col. a line 14, **d**, **o**, **r**, **s** in 'ideo de liberis' (1377–96) (CUL, Add. ms. 3578).

142 *DMCL*, pl. 174 (Cambridge, St John's Coll., ms. A. 7) (c. 1389; detail in Rickert 1952, pl. XLVb); *Survey*, VI, pls. 83 (c.1399) and 82 (c.1408) (San Marino CA Huntington Lib., ms. HM 19920) copied

engrossing hand, elaborating on developments introduced in the Chancery of Richard II.[143] Some scribes began to apply the modes of handwriting, each with its own conventions, such as lateral compression of the letters (and the spaces between them), or patterns of symmetrical broken strokes.[144] Others preferred a traditional version of Anglicana formata (fig. 6.10), that had emerged in the large handwriting of books in the 1320s.[145] In the last quarter of the fourteenth century the Secretary script rapidly came into fashion. Some scribes incorporated features of Textura quadrata (notably broken strokes at the feet of letters), thus developing an early version of English Bastard Secretary.

Subsequently the prevalence of polymorphism created by the coexistence of two cursive scripts encouraged scribes to borrow letter forms and graphic ideas from a range of scripts on a pick-and-mix basis as features of style. Style in book hands began to reflect the initiative of individual scribes, and the personal idiom in their handwriting gradually became more prominent.[146] The number of scribes who employed the Secretary script increased, until it eventually replaced Anglicana as the principal medium for manuscript books for much of the sixteenth century.[147]

by Richard Frampton (on whom see Parkes 2004), and *DMLL*, pl. 74 (Cowcher-Book for the Duchy of Lancaster) (PRO, DL 42/1).

143 Engrossing hand: Johnson and Jenkinson 1915, pl. xxxa (1381); Chaplais 1971, pl. 20c (1397).

144 The *modi scribendi* in English manuscripts are discussed in Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 7, and illustrated in pls. 32–4.

145 Compare the handwriting of 'Scribe D' in *MSML*, pls. 49–52, with the handwriting of the scribe in *DMLL*, pl. 44 (London, Corporation of London Record Office, ms. cust. 6). For other examples, see Thompson 1912, facs. 211 and *Cyrurgie*, frontisp.; and the lines of English text in *St John's L. 1*, pl. 14.

146 Personal idiom: Parkes, *CLS*, ch. 7 and pls. 44–50.

147 For developments in English handwriting in the fifteenth century, see Parkes, *ECBH*, and Parkes, *CLS*, chs. 7 and 8.

Monastic and cathedral book production

RODNEY M. THOMSON

Throughout the period covered by this book, as well as both earlier and later, English manuscripts were written in monastic communities, and by individual monks both within and outside of them.[1] But it was the period c.1100–c.1175 that was dominated by the production of monastic scriptoria. This period, approximating to the first century after the Norman Conquest, was described by Neil Ker as

> the greatest in the history of English book production. Manuscripts were perhaps better written in the eighth century and in the tenth, but they are not numerous. It is no exaggeration to say that a well-written English twelfth-century manuscript is something we have a good chance of being able to see in many of our towns . . . They are the considerable remains of the large number of books produced by the scribes of this period; accurately copied, competently and often beautifully written and decorated, well spaced, fully punctuated, and neatly corrected.[2]

These qualities were the direct consequences of the aims and organization of monastic life, and of the monastic notion of the role and status of the book within it. Books were vehicles for sacred texts, the most central and fundamental ones biblical and patristic, or for writings that were at least aids to the study of those texts, such as primers of grammar and exemplars of rhetoric. The central texts were regarded as of enormous value, to be read meditatively (*lectio*), whether *sub voce*, privately, or out loud in the monastic church or refectory. It followed that the books containing them should be well written, in large, clear script. Moreover, the value of these texts was conceived as enduring, even permanent; indeed few, if any, texts in monastic books were regarded as ephemeral. It followed that the books containing them should be made to last indefinitely, their materials durable and their construction sound. The

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1 Doyle 1990b.   2 Ker 1960a, p. 1.

making of books along these lines could not be done cheaply, and it could not be hurried.

The impact of the Norman Conquest

In the realm of book-making the Norman Conquest marks a decisive dividing line, even though the full effects of its considerable impact took several decades to register.[3] Books and collections in Anglo-Saxon England were unique and insular. From a continental perspective many mainstream patristic and classical texts were lacking, and the use and status of the vernacular for religious texts suspicious, not to say a sign of barbarity. Some of the first generation of Norman prelates in England complained of fundamental texts not to be had, and the difficulties of having them copied, even back in Normandy.[4] There were many problems: Normandy itself was only beginning the enterprise of monastic library building, and neither exemplars nor scribes were always easy to obtain. The script written in England on the eve of the Conquest, the local variety of Caroline minuscule, was on the whole elegant and legible,[5] but the Normans do not seem to have appreciated it – or perhaps English scribes were unwilling or unavailable to write texts in it for their new masters. Identifiable examples of it can still be found after c.1100 in particular localities such as St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury – surprisingly, since Abbot Scotland, 1070–87, had been a monk at Mont St Michel and introduced scribes (presumably also monks) from there.[6] At Christ Church, on the other hand, a dramatically new and different variant of the same family of script was already in evidence before 1100, and one of its earliest practitioners was an Englishman, the famous biographer of St Anselm, Eadmer (fig. 7.1, Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 452).[7]

These facts give an impression of random, uncoordinated book-making which is doubtless true for this early period. At some places copying of books and the building up of a substantial collection scarcely seems to have begun before the early twelfth century. At others a start was made very quickly.

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3 Thomson 1986.
4 Anselm, *Epp.* 23 and 25 to Lanfranc, in Anselm: *Opera omnia* ii, pp. 130–1, 133. The letters describe the difficulty in obtaining for Lanfranc a good copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob*. It is striking that a work regarded as so fundamental in English twelfth-century libraries was evidently not available at Canterbury in the 1070s: Ker 1972b, esp. p. 77. Herbert Losinga, bishop of Norwich (1094/5–1119), wrote to Roger, abbot of Fécamp (1107–19), asking him for a copy of Suetonius ('I cannot find him in England'): Herbert Losinga, *Ep.* 5 (p. 7); tr. Goulburn and Symonds 1878, i, p. 64.
5 *ECM*.
6 Alexander 1970, pp. 17–18, 40, 43, 81, 84, 212, 227; Dodwell 1954; Ker 1960a, pp. 22, 27, 30.
7 Gullick 1998b.

The pre-eminent example of the early production of impressive books in the new style is the monastic cathedral of Durham, under the initiative of Bishop William of St Calais (1080–96).[8] An early list shows that he personally commissioned and donated forty-four books in forty-nine volumes, of which twenty-two survive. Most of these books share a family likeness which sets them apart from all of the pre-Conquest books still at the Cathedral (fig. 7.2, Durham, Cathedral Lib., ms. B.III.10).[9] They are large (mostly approximating to a modern quarto), especially the bishop's famous two-volume Bible, spaciously formatted and grandly written, colourfully if modestly decorated. Almost all the scribes and decorators were Norman, some of them identifiable in other books from places such as Rouen and Bayeux. Some at least of the work was actually carried out in Normandy, for we are told that the bishop had it done while he was in exile there in 1088–91,[10] following his unwise involvement in a conspiracy against William Rufus.

During this early period especially, we should not make too rigid a distinction between monastic and secular communities. At secular cathedrals such as Exeter, Wells and Salisbury, for a time, continental bishops sought to organize their chapter along quasi-monastic lines, that is to say living in community and observing the ninth-century Rule of Chrodegang of Metz.[11] This arrangement seems to have been abandoned in the early 1100s, and it may be significant that at Exeter and Salisbury at least, most of the local book production seems to have occurred during the last quarter of the eleventh century. Thereafter, they reverted to the pattern of the secular cathedrals generally, at which libraries were small, and books acquired sporadically, by purchase on the open market, or by commissioning from professional scribes.[12] Nonetheless, in terms of their physical features, books made at and for the secular cathedrals are indistinguishable from monastic books.

From Exeter survives another group of books made in the last quarter of the century. They cannot be associated with a particular commissioner, but one presumes that their acquisition owed something to the first Norman bishop, Osbern (1072–1103). There was already a tradition of episcopal patronage of book-making at Exeter, for Osbern's predecessor Leofric (1050–72), acquired a

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8 Mynors, *DCM*, pp. 32–45 and pls. 16–31; Gullick 1990.
9 Of which some twenty survive, complete or as fragments: Mynors, *DCM*, pp. 13–31, pls. 1–15.
10 Symeon of Durham: *Libellus Dunhelmensis* iv. 5 (pp. 244–5).
11 Exeter, where the Rule was introduced by Bishop Leofric: *English episcopal acta 11*, pp. liv-lv. Wells, where the Rule was introduced by Giso (1061–88): *Historiola*, p. 19. The arrangement was destroyed by his successor, John of Tours (1088–1122). Salisbury, where Osmund seems to have introduced a similar regime: *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae 4*, p. xxiv, and *English episcopal acta 18*, pp. xxxiv–xxxviii.
12 For the reasons why, see Thomson 2006, pp. 43–4.

famous collection.[13] But Leofric's books were utterly different in both appearance and content from those of Osbern's time, which contained central patristic texts. Like the Durham books, they are grand and expensive, and the work of Norman scribes and illuminators, among them Hugo Pictor and other scribes found in the Durham books themselves. It has been doubted that they are local products, but the question is: were they made in Normandy, or the work of Norman professional scribes working in England? It may be that the answer to this question is provided by a mere fragment of a once-handsome book now at Clare College Cambridge, N[1]. 1.9 (18).[14] The scribe of its main text is found in both Durham and Exeter books, but its exceptionally beautiful initials are in a style found in other manuscripts made at St Albans Abbey in the early 1100s. At first sight this is confusion worse confounded: the book could presumably have been made at any one of the three places. However, its rubricator is found in other St Albans books, and that, together with the decoration, would appear to make the case for a St Albans origin. If that is so, then its main scribe was presumably a Norman who worked in England, perhaps earliest at Durham, then at Exeter, then at St Albans, and doubtless at other places as well. The house chronicle from St Albans says that Abbot Paul (1077–93) 'sought the choicest scribes from afar' to make the abbey's books;[15] this man was doubtless one of them, though the Clare College manuscript was probably made during the next abbacy (Richard d'Aubigny, 1097–1119).

At Salisbury an entirely different path was followed. Here, at a see founded as recently as 1078, a library had to be built from scratch. Bishop Osmund (1078–99) set about copying himself, and involved many of his canons as well – setting in motion what was in effect a community project. Some seventy manuscripts survive from the period before the 1120s; after that little more was done. The seventy have been divided into two groups, representing two generations of collaborating scribes; the changeover apparently coincided more or less with Osmund's death.[16] However, in terms of physical appearance and content there are no major differences between the groups.

These manuscripts look quite different from those of the same date from Durham and Exeter.[17] Their appearance for the most part is the reverse of grand: medium-sized, with not many leaves, usually written by more than one scribe, sometimes by many; indifferently formatted, with little or no decoration – even the plain red initials were often made with poorly mixed ink, the result watery and pinkish, with 'spread' on the page. The scribes tended to write

13 On which see Drage 1978.   14 Gullick 1998a, pp. 7, 20, and pls. 1 and 2.
15 *Gesta abbatum*, pp. 57–8.   16 Webber 1992, pp. 8–30.   17 Ker 1976; Webber 1992, ch. 1.

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small, informal 'academic' hands, better suited to note-taking than long tracts of text. They are nearly all of continental appearance,[18] but this time there can be little doubt that the books were made on the spot. Twenty-six different scribes have been identified, with about equal numbers in each of the two groups. Here the canons themselves seem to have done the copying, under the supervision and with the involvement of their bishop. In addition, three of the scribes helped write the Exon Domesday and associated documents c.1086.[19] The fact that Osmund had been royal chancellor might lead us to suspect that he recruited some of his canons from the royal household,[20] and that some of them were already used to doing clerical work for the king. The contents of the manuscripts are for the most part what one would expect – basic patristic texts, but there is a good handful of odd texts which do not appear in any other English collection of the period.[21] Most noticeable is the small group of classics: Cicero, Seneca, a florilegium of passages from Valerius Maximus and Aulus Gellius, and, most unusual of all, the first eight plays of Plautus – the only surviving English copy, and one of the very few to be made anywhere in Europe between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.[22]

The heyday of monastic libraries and scriptoria: c.1100–50

Most religious communities, however, only began a concerted programme of book-making after c.1100, and generally completed it about the mid-century. By this date medium- or large-sized abbeys (that is, with a population of about fifty to eighty monks) could be expected to have a collection of anywhere between 100 and 500 volumes. In looking at booklists and at the contents of surviving manuscripts of known locality from the period, one is immediately struck by the impression of sameness, and if one's view were extended to material of the same sort from the Continent, that impression would not change. The making of books and collections in English religious houses was part of a pan-European enterprise, in which the 'core' books regarded as the most desirable to possess varied little from centre to centre, or country to country.

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18 Webber 1992, pp. 9–10, 17–19, 26–7, 30.
19 Webber 1992, p. 13; Webber 1989; *MMBL*, II, pp. 800–7.
20 Everard of Calne and Ranulf Flambard, for instance.
21 One interesting text, discussed in detail by Webber, is the so-called 'Irish Reference Bible': Lapidge and Sharpe 1989, no. 762; Webber 1992, pp. 38 and n. 27, 61, 63 n. 73, 165–6, 200; Wright 2000, pp. 127–8.
22 Webber 1992, pp. 41–2; on Plautus in particular, Reynolds 1983, pp. 302–7; Munk Olsen 1982–9, II, pp. 229–41.

Most of these books will have been made locally, and over two or three generations of scribes, allowing for the development of 'house' styles of script and decoration. In some cases it is possible to identify the place of origin of a book because of its distinctive appearance. Where we find even a small group of books from a known locality, worked on by the same scribes, we can speak of a 'scriptorium'.[23] It is important to understand what is meant by this term. In some instances, notably at St Albans Abbey, it could mean an actual room or building, dedicated staff who might be paid professionals, not themselves monks, and continuously operating infrastructural support, such as specially allocated revenues.[24] A scriptorium of this sort might operate, more or less continuously, for fifty years or more, and it might produce work on commission, for other communities or for individual prelates who were not members of the house itself. But this was probably rare. In most cases, one suspects, copying was done by the monks themselves, each new generation trained up by an older and skilled man, and the work ceased as soon as the community was felt to have adequate library resources, maybe after two to four decades. Small communities, such as dependent cells, might not even have this much, but obtained their books from the mother house, or from elsewhere by purchase.

Our detailed knowledge of how particular scriptoria worked is very much constrained, even distorted, by the vagaries of the surviving evidence. Good numbers of books and booklists survive from the Canterbury houses, from Bury St Edmunds Abbey, and from Durham Cathedral Priory. Worcester Cathedral Priory is represented by nearly 400 books, but not a single pre-Reformation booklist. At the other end of the spectrum, there have been appalling losses. The Cistercians have suffered particularly badly, with only handfuls of books surviving from such grand houses as Rievaulx, and hardly any booklists; but the same is true of major Black Monk establishments like Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, Westminster, and the Cathedral Priories of Winchester, Ely and Norwich – in the latter case exacerbated by a disastrous fire in 1272.

The organization of copying and dissemination

To make a copy of a manuscript book one needs the necessary materials (of which the most expensive was parchment), one or more exemplars, and at least

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23 A 'scriptorium' might be minimally defined as a centre where (according to the surviving evidence) at least two scribes working in conjunction wrote significant amounts of the main text in at least two manuscripts.
24 Gullick 1998a, pp. 2–6.

one scribe. Obtaining an exemplar was not straightforward; one needed to first find out where it was held, and then negotiate with its owner, almost always another religious community. We have very little information about the process involved, but sufficient to know that there was no uniform pattern. One might send a scribe to the community which owned the exemplar, in order to copy it on the spot, the owners naturally having to maintain the scribe (perhaps a monk of the community wanting the copy) while the work was done. Or one might ask the community owning the exemplar to themselves commission a scribe locally to do the copying, either a member of the community itself or a paid professional. Or the community wanting the copy might borrow the exemplar for a specified period and make their own arrangements for its copying. The *Gesta abbatum S. Albani* says that Abbot Paul had splendid books copied 'from exemplars supplied by Lanfranc', his kinsman as well as archbishop of Canterbury.[25] At least three surviving manuscripts from St Albans derive from exemplars at Canterbury: in one case we have a chain of copies leading from Mont Saint-Michel to St Augustine's Abbey, thence to St Albans.[26] Early in the twelfth century (before 1109), Bishop Herbert of Norwich wrote to Abbot Richard of St Albans, asking for the loan of a copy of Josephus, which the abbot had excused himself from sending earlier because it was not yet bound.[27] The book concerned was probably the splendid two-volume copy which still survives; whether Herbert ever succeeded in having a copy made from it we do not know.[28] Finally, it seems that sometimes one or more exemplars actually circulated, that is, were passed from hand to hand, copies being taken from them at many places. We have no idea of how this was arranged. Neil Ker showed that a ninth-century continental copy of Augustine, *De nuptiis* and *Contra Iulianum* (at Burton Abbey by the late twelfth century), lies behind surviving copies from Rochester, ?Winchcombe, Salisbury and Bury.[29] All surviving English copies of Augustine's *Confessions*, the earliest of the late eleventh century, are based upon one of two exemplars brought into England after the Conquest, both apparently from Flanders.[30] One of them produced a group of descendants mainly from the south-west (Exeter, Gloucester, Salisbury, Hereford, Lanthony Secunda and Lincoln), while the other was responsible for a smaller group in the south-east and north (Canterbury, Rochester and Durham); one

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25 Thomson 1985, I, p. 13. 26 Thomson 1985, I, p. 40.
27 Thomson 1985, I, p. 16. 28 BL, Royal ms. 13 D. VI–VII.
29 Ker 1960a, pp. 12–13, 54–7. Ker assumes that Hereford Cathedral, ms. P. VI. 2, was made there. But there is no evidence that the ms. was at the Cathedral prior to the early seventeenth century, and its script and decoration suggest a Winchcombe origin. A good basis for this sort of study is now provided by the inventory of manuscripts in Gameson 1999a, pp. 55–158.
30 Webber 1996.

manuscript in each group (from Exeter and Rochester) was collated with a representative of the other. Roger Mynors first drew attention to the two northern families of Bede's *Ecclesiastical history*, one based on another of William of St-Calais' books, with twelfth-century descendants at Worksop, Tynemouth and Newminster (plus four later survivors); the other represented in Yorkshire from the early twelfth century, at Selby, Fountains, Kirkham, Jervaulx and York Minster.[31] A well-known example is the ninth-century bibliographical collection, made on the Continent, which ended up at Hereford Cathedral after copies had been taken directly for Salisbury, and indirectly for another sixteen places.[32] Yet another is a ninth-century Frankish copy of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical history* now at Worcester Cathedral. An inscription on its cover shows that it was at Canterbury before it came to Worcester, and it seems to have been the (direct or indirect) exemplar for surviving twelfth-century copies from Christ Church Canterbury, Rochester, St Albans and Salisbury.[33] One suspects that, in most cases, a two-way deal was involved, in which some form of benefit was passed from the community wanting the exemplar to the community that made it available. But, as the above examples indicate, in some cases a personal relationship between the leaders of the donor and recipient community was crucial.

As for the scribes, they might be either professionals or members of the community, in what proportion cannot be said. If professionals, they might be engaged to write a book or two, or be maintained by the community for a substantial period of time. We have seen that Abbot Paul engaged paid scribes at St Albans. This arrangement seems to have persisted through most if not all of the twelfth century. Paid scribes were also introduced at Abingdon by Abbot Faricius (1100–17), no fewer than six to service a community of about fifty monks.[34] We do not know when this arrangement came to an end, but one imagines that on such a basis the abbey must have had a full complement of liturgical books and of core texts for its library well before 1150. Professional scribes were also used at Evesham.[35] Some other communities do not seem to have used them at all, and it is differences such as these that account for the wide range of variation in the quality of books surviving from English communities

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31 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, pp. xlix-lv.
32 Hereford Cathedral, ms. o. iii. 2; Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, pp. xxxix–xlix.
33 Worcester Cathedral, ms. q. 28: Webber 1992, pp. 54–5; Thomson 2001a, p. 135.
34 *CBMLC*, iv, b2. Other instances are cited by Gameson 1999, pp. 8–9. On professional scribes at this period generally, see Gullick 1998a.
35 Thomas of Marlborough, *History Evesham*, pp. 392–5; Gullick 1998a, pp. 5–6. The Evesham customs which he mentions are to be dated between May and October of 1206, not 1214. But he is right to suggest that these were a codification of pre-existing practices.

of this period. At some places the script of books known on other grounds to have been written locally is sufficiently distinctive to enable the attribution of other books without other evidence of origin; at other places this is not the case. Christ Church Canterbury, for instance, had developed a style of script by c.1100 which is recognizable at a glance, and which seems to have spread to few other places apart from nearby Rochester.[36]

Some places also developed a distinctive style of decoration. More than twenty years ago Jonathan Alexander described and discussed the typical 'arabesque' initials found in English manuscripts dating between the late eleventh and late twelfth centuries.[37] While there is a general likeness such that they are recognizably English, it is also true that different scriptoria produced distinct variants of it. Well-known examples survive from the Augustinian house at Cirencester (fig. 4.12) and from the Benedictines at Reading, but distinctive styles were also developed at Christ Church Canterbury, Bury St Edmunds, Durham, Worcester, Winchcombe and Hereford. The artists responsible for initials of this sort were not the lay, itinerant professionals who might be called in to execute major illustration, but rather the scribes of the text and members of the communities for which the books were made. If a particular community had a strong scriptorial tradition, such scribe-artists might inherit or create a 'house style'. This can provide useful evidence for identifying the scriptorium in which a particular book was made, and it can also illustrate connections between scriptoria from the same region.

Initials of this sort were sometimes inhabited but not historiated.[38] They were usually drawn with a pen, without outline or shading. The colours are usually one or more of those used for plain initials or display script: red, blue, green, and less commonly yellow and purple. In the course of the century red and blue became increasingly predominant, while purple dropped out altogether. Initials of this type were thought appropriate to mark the main divisions of a text. The opening initial might be of the same type, but equally it might be done in a more elaborate style, either outlined in ink of text with colour wash or – one more step up the ladder – in opaque colours with shading and gold, and in either case inhabited or historiated. The arabesque initials themselves are not all on the same level; instead, they occupy a band, ranging from the most modest in a single colour with a very little ornament, to the most

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36 Ker 1960a, pp. 25–32.
37 Alexander 1978a. Attention had already been drawn to such initials by Mynors, *DCM*, pp. 6–9, by Parker MacLachlan 1986 (the printed version of her doctoral thesis of 1965), pp. 46–54, 251–68, and by Temple 1971.
38 'Inhabited' meaning containing birds, dragons and the like; 'historiated' meaning containing recognizable figures, usually enacting a narrative episode.

elaborate, complex in design and multi-coloured, demanding considerable skill of the executor, and aesthetically pleasing, even striking. Alexander suggested cautiously that they owed their origin to the Normans, and this seems to be so.[39] The process by which these Norman initial-styles evolved, by the early 1100s, into something distinctively English, has not yet been elucidated.

I want now to review the work of some representative English scriptoria of the period. At the top of the range, in terms of quality, come the two Canterbury houses, on whose scriptoria much work remains to be done. But St Albans vied with Canterbury in producing books of the highest quality, some of them for 'export'. About fifty books survive from twelfth-century St Albans. Unfortunately there are no complete library catalogues from the house for the whole of its existence.[40] A remarkable bibliographical enterprise, Walter of St Albans' *Indiculus* or *De libris ecclesiae*, written in the 1180s, survives only in extracts made by John Bale.[41] They suggest that the complete work represented an updated version of Cassiodorus' *Institutes*, based upon texts held in the abbey library. This and other evidence leaves no doubt that the surviving books are only a small fraction of what was there c.1200. The local chronicle tells us of about fifty books made under Abbot Paul alone, twenty-eight of them books for study, but there are no survivors from this period at all.[42] Then, from around c.1110 on, a good number of books survive, testifying to fairly continuous production until late in the century. The books from the first half of the century can be divided into two groups, distinguished both by script and decoration, perhaps corresponding to two generations of scribes. The first group consists of seven surviving books (fig. 7.3, Cambridge, King's Coll., ms. 19), the second of eighteen, and there are three books with script showing features of both groups. In each group can be discerned the hand of a master and several assistants. The master of Group I began books and chapters, and revised the work of his assistants. Stylistically there is not much continuity between the groups; nor between the first group and the small number of St Albans books earlier than this: one gets the impression of a turnover of personnel, of the introduction of new blood.

Group II comprised at least three scribes plus a man who must have been successor and director of the scriptorium after the master of Group I (fig. 4.11). He did the same sort of work (rubrics, running titles and tables of contents),

39 Alexander 1978, pp. 100–1. Cf. a ms. from Winchcombe, Bodleian, ms. Bodley 289, f. 143v col. a; ms. Bodley 683, opening initial on f. 1, ms. Bodley 810, initial **C** on f. 89v. Mynors found one of the characteristic Durham motifs (the 'clove curl') earliest in a book made for William of Saint-Calais: Mynors, *DCM*, p. 30.

40 Thomson 1985, 1, pp. 3–6. 41 Hunt 1978, pp. 251–2, 269–73; *CBMLC*, IV, B85.

42 Matthew Paris, *Gesta abbatum*, p. 58.

but in addition copied liturgical books and documents, one dated 1145 and another later than 1158.[43] This means that he began working under Abbot Geoffrey of Gorron (1119–46). Now Geoffrey, we are told, reorganized the scriptorium to provide for three scribes simultaneously.[44] I think, then, that Group II must represent a new team set up by Geoffrey: the reason why can only be guessed. What is obvious is that the standard, of both script and decoration, rose considerably. These scribes were, or worked in conjunction with, a group of artists who executed decoration of the highest quality, and together they produced work that was in some senses for 'export', presumably to order. The most famous of these was the St Albans (or Albani or Hildesheim) Psalter, dated to the 1120s, whose main artist also appears in three other books, one written at and for Bury Abbey, the remaining two written by St Albans scribes of both groups, apparently for export.[45]

It is perhaps not surprising that St Albans made books for its nine dependent cells, which were scattered, notably Tynemouth in the far north.[46] More remarkable is the evidence that it produced fine books for noble religious women and their communities. The abbey had such persons under its wing from at least soon after the Conquest. In Abbot Paul's time a group of religious women lived in the abbey almonry; in 1140 Abbot Geoffrey moved them out and joined them to other women in a newly founded nunnery at Sopwell.[47] One of the most splendid books of the twelfth century, the St Albans Psalter, was apparently made in the abbey scriptorium for the local recluse Christina of Markyate.[48] The exquisite small book known as the 'Golden Psalter' was written around the mid-century by identifiable St Albans scribes.[49] Its liturgical features suggest adaptation of St Albans use for a religious woman or a nunnery. Part of another beautiful liturgical book of the same period, a Calendar now in the Bodleian Library, made at and for the abbey, was nonetheless at the

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43 Thomson 1985, I, pp. 29–30. Since then, Michael Gullick has identified him as the scribe of Durham Cathedral Archives 3. 2. Spec. 1 (1158 × 1173), and Hertford, Archives and Local Studies Centre, Gorhambury VIII B. 60 (1155 × 1158); Thomson 2006, p. 29 and pl. 8.

44 Matthew Paris, *Gesta abbatum*, p. 76.

45 Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960; Thomson 1985, I, pp. 25–6, 30. The latest studies, with many colour reproductions and good bibliographies, are Knapp 1999, pp. 91–115, and Geddes 2005. One of this group, Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 70, was possibly made for Henry, archdeacon of Winchester, bishop of Verdun 1117–29.

46 Thomson 1985, I, pp. 12, 15. Tynemouth books, in styles suggesting manufacture at the mother house, are Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 82, BL, Cotton ms. Julius A. X, ff. 2–43, Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 4, and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 134. Lambeth, ms. 420, was given by the abbot of St Albans to its cell at Hertford between 1235 and 1263. Thomson 1985, I, pp. 116–19, II, pls. 140–3, 152.

47 Thomson 1985, I, p. 22.

48 Hildesheim, Pfarrbibliothek, ms. St Godehard 1; Thomson 1985, I, pp. 25–6.

49 Thomson 1985, I, pp. 28–30, 48, 100–1.

Oxfordshire nunnery of Littlemore later in the century.[50] Two other books made at the abbey, another Calendar, now by itself, and a Psalter, were destined for successive noble (Flemish) abbesses of Wherwell in Hampshire.[51]

Just below this level were places such as Bury and Durham (after 1096), where books of medium quality were produced, probably by well-trained monks. The two places are represented by a comparable number of surviving manuscripts – about fifty each – from the first half of the century. At both places the manuscripts show a reasonably distinctive house style in the minor decoration, numerous instances of the same hand in more than one manuscript, and evidence of one or more master scribes, all signs of a strong, well-organized and reasonably continuous scriptorial tradition. Recent work on the Durham precentor and chronicler Symeon has revealed that he was an expert and important scribe, active from the early 1090s to 1128 at least, responsible for writing in more than thirty manuscripts and for the texts of seven charters.[52] One of the manuscripts appears in William of St-Calais' booklist; Symeon, perhaps from north-west France to judge by his hand, collaborated with a Norman scribe in this as well as another Durham manuscript, thus showing that at least this one of Bishop William's books was written at Durham, not in Normandy.[53] Symeon was clearly master of the scriptorium for some time, supervising the work of others, rubricating, correcting and numbering quires. After his death scriptorial activity slowed down and the impetus deriving from William of St-Calais and Normandy attenuated. Other, more dispersed continental influences came into play as they did elsewhere.[54]

A good deal of detailed work has been done on the Bury scriptorium, and in many ways its modus operandi and its products can be taken as 'average' or 'typical' of monastic book production at large houses in twelfth-century England.[55] One gets the impression of a scriptorium that only became active from c.1125: there may have been a particular reason for the late start. In 1100 the king forced upon the monks as their abbot Robert, son of the Earl of Chester. The monks vigorously resisted his appointment, and two years later he was deposed by Archbishop Anselm. In revenge, King Henry refused to allow the consecration of the next abbot, and appropriated the abbatial revenues between 1102 and 1106. There was another vacancy from 1107 until 1114, again the result of royal displeasure.[56] But by the 1120s a degree of stability

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50 Bodleian, ms. Auct. D. 2. 6; Thomson 1985, i, pp. 30–1, 101.
51 Thomson 1985, i, pp. 30, 56–60, 120–1, 123.   52 Gullick 1994 and 1998e.
53 Gullick 1998e, pp. 15, 24: NLS, Advocates ms. 18. 4. 3, and Durham Cathedral, ms. b. iii. 9.
54 See below, pp. 153–8.   55 What follows is based upon Thomson 1972, repr. Thomson 1998, i.
56 *Memorials St Edmunds*, i, pp. 353–6.

had been achieved, and the abbey began producing books at an astonishing rate, over a period roughly corresponding to the abbacy of Anselm (1121–48). The evidence of the earliest section of the abbey's library catalogue (from the 1150s) and of the surviving books indicates that the copying of certain classes of work began near the start of his abbacy, and was nearly completed by its end. As usual, it was all about the basics, with pride of place going to patristic literature. The figures are impressive: at least sixty-nine works of Augustine, twenty of Ambrose, eleven of Jerome, eight works each by Isidore and Bede, three of Gregory, Cassiodorus' Psalter-Commentary and *Institutes*, Boethius' treatises on arithmetic and music. There are also a number of works of Greek Fathers in Latin translations: Origen, Eusebius, John Chrysostom and Nicetas.

A long way behind the patristica, but still noticeable, come classical and late antique works. The classics included two copies of Virgil and one of Servius' commentary, Statius, Seneca's letters and other unspecified works of his, pseudo-Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores*, Apuleius, Solinus, Justin, Terence, Pliny's *Natural History*, a glossed Juvenal and three copies of Priscian. Rarities are copies of Caesar's *Commentaries*, Quintilian's *Institutes* and the plays of Plautus, in the same volume as the Terence, the only known medieval instance of such a combination. Then there are Late Antique works: three copies of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, Sidonius Apollinaris' letters, Martianus Capella and Orosius. Most of these texts are relevant to the basic and popular fields of grammar and rhetoric, and these interests doubtless account for their selection for the library.

Between c.1125 and c.1150, then, the Bury library was acquiring patristic, classical and late antique works at a rapid rate. While this pattern was not unique, there seems little doubt that the influence of Abbot Anselm accounts for such a sudden and sustained burst of activity.[57] Anselm's cosmopolitanism is well documented. He was a native of northern Italy and Archbishop Anselm's nephew. These facts are of interest, but it must be said that little impression can be gained of the abbot's intellect and literary attainments. The only writing of his that survives is a version of the English collection of the Miracles of the Virgin.[58] Maybe there was once more, for Osbert of Clare, writing to him c.1138, said that 'rhetoricis coloribus tanquam Tullius exundat',[59] and the collection

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57 In addition, it is probable that exemplars were by then more freely available than they had been before c.1100.
58 Southern 1958. The collection which he attributed to Anselm was printed, from a single witness, as *Miracula Virginis Mariae*, pp. 15–61.
59 Osbert of Clare, *Ep.* 5 (*Letters*, p. 63).

of classical and late antique texts made at the abbey in his time seems to indicate his interest in this area.

Earlier in his career Anselm had been abbot of SS Alexius and Sabas in Rome, a Greek-Latin house with strong ties in southern Italy. He was influenced by Greek theological ideas, as is known from his championship of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in England, for which he was again praised by Osbert of Clare.[60] A Bury manuscript of his time containing a collection of key patristic texts on this subject may have been commissioned by him,[61] and this element in Anselm's background may account for the good number of Greek Fathers in the Bury library, although individually or in smaller numbers all of these could be found in the larger continental libraries north of the Alps.

There may also be some connection between Abbot Anselm's alleged rhetorical interests and the presence in the library of a remarkable number of works by the foremost Latin poet of the age, Hildebert of Le Mans (d. 1133). In the early 1120s a local monk made an adaptation of Hildebert's verse epitaph for Bishop Peter of Poitiers, applying it to Archbishop Anselm, and inserted it in the Bury copy of his letters.[62] Then, from about the mid-century, comes an important florilegium of Latin metrical verse, mostly by Hildebert of Le Mans and Marbod of Rennes, with other pieces by Bishop Patrick of Dublin, Gualo of Brittany, Embrico of Mainz and Serlo of Bayeux. Other, later manuscripts from the house show a continuing interest in Hildebert and early twelfth-century metrical poetry generally which may have received its original stimulus from Anselm.

A good deal of work has been done in identifying the scribes of books from Anselm's time, and in determining their chronology and relationships. Bury books from this period are well if not excellently written, in hands which owe more to Anglo-Caroline than to continental minuscule.[63] Decoration became more conspicuous and standardized. The earliest books from Anselm's time have plain initials in single colours of red, green, blue or violet. By the end of his reign a distinctive variety of English arabesque initial had been developed for the openings of books or chapters, sometimes accompanied by display-script in coloured capitals. The decoration is sufficiently characteristic to be termed a 'house style', but is hard to differentiate clearly from that of some other

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60 E. Bishop, 'On the origins of the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary', in Bishop 1918, pp. 238–59, at 242–9; Osbert of Clare, *Ep.* 7 (*Letters*, pp. 65–8). Further literature is listed in Thomson 2006, p. 32 n. 56.

61 Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 111, part i (ff. 5–48).

62 Thomson 1973, repr. Thomson 1998, vi.

63 McLachlan 1986, pp. 38–45; Webber 1998, pp. 190–1.

centres.[64] Occasionally the local decorators became more ambitious, and some major initials were executed with an outline in ink of text, filled with foliage inhabited by dragons and other beasts, or human figures such as prophets or kings. Such initials were indiscriminately left plain, washed in, or painted with gold and opaque colours.[65] A certain amount of decoration was left unfinished. The large coloured initials, in particular, are frequently found prepared for foliage infill which was never executed. The impression is one of haste rather than carelessness, and is probably to be accounted for by Bury's comparatively late start in acquiring the patristic and classical texts which were basic to the programme of Benedictine learning as conceived on the Continent. But the feature is by no means unique to Bury.

Some other substantial houses such as Worcester Cathedral Priory and St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, take us a rung or two further down the ladder: in both places the books were apparently made by the monks, and are of medium-to-low quality, with little decoration. The writing in Gloucester books suggests a higher degree of training and scriptorial organization than Worcester. About fifty twelfth-century manuscripts survive from Worcester, about forty from Gloucester. In neither case do we know what proportion of the original whole this represents. At Worcester it is, as yet, hard to know how the scriptorium was organized.[66] The general impression is one of a certain looseness of discipline, though local copying seems to have been reasonably continuous and spread across most of the century. The hand of the local chronicler, John of Worcester (who died in the 1140s), is prominent, and he was a poor scribe.[67] If the surviving books are any guide, the emphasis was on cheapness: many of the books have a 'home-made' appearance, and there is evidence of conservatism: round script in continuity with the pre-Conquest style all the way through the century, decoration mostly very simple, though a recognizable house style developed

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64 Above, pp. 144–5. McLachlan 1978a, pp. 339–43. On the Reading and Cirencester initials, see Alexander 1978a, pp. 103–4, on the Reading ones also Coates 1999, pp. 46–60, 144–54. Other 'house styles' in initials can be associated with St Albans, Winchcombe, Worcester, Lincoln and Hereford. On St Albans: Thomson 1985, I, pp. 17, 24–5, 30–1, ii, pls. A–B, 31, 34–5, 38–9, 41–50, 52–9, 96–9. St Albans, however, is a special case because of its apparently consistent employment of paid scribes and illuminators throughout the century. On Winchcombe: *Survey*, III, p. 86 no. 53; *MO*, fig. 20. On Worcester: decoration done locally between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries is described in Thomson 2001a; see also Gullick 1998d. On Lincoln: *Survey*, III, pp. 59–60, nos. 13–14; Thomson 1989, p. xiv and pl. 37. On Hereford: Mynors and Thomson 1993, pp. xviii–xix, pls. 4–9, 72, 78.

65 For example, Cambridge, Pembroke College, mss. 29, 72, BL, Egerton ms. 3776, Lambeth, ms. 67, Bodleian, mss. e Mus. 27, e Mus. 36, Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 492.

66 The following discussion is based upon McIntyre 1978 and Thomson 2001a, esp. pp. xxii–xxiv.

67 A list of the manuscripts in which his hand appears is in *MLGB*, pp. 206–9 nn. Plates illustrating his hand are in *NPS*, ser. 2, II, pl. 87b, *DMOL*, I, pp. 128–9, II, pl. 52.

early on and changed little over the decades.[68] Linked with John of Worcester is a manuscript containing important astronomical texts, in large format, with many coloured diagrams, yet exceptionally badly executed: poorly written, ruled and painted, an unusual example of amateurism in a large monastic scriptorium.[69] On the other hand, Worcester Cathedral, ms. F. 24 is exquisitely made; containing the earliest copy of Vacarius' *Liber pauperum* (c.1150), it mysteriously suggests the study of Roman law at the Cathedral Priory.[70] These cross-currents make it difficult to evaluate the scriptorial tradition and intellectual climate of twelfth-century Worcester.

St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, shows more signs of intellectual life, yet its books too are humble.[71] But we must be particularly cautious in making this evaluation, for Gloucester seems not to have used any form of *ex libris* for the whole of its history, so that several attributions are uncertain; conversely, there may be many more unidentified Gloucester books in existence. As at Bury, copying seems to have begun, or intensified, c.1125 and to have continued until the mid-century: there is both anecdotal, documentary and palaeographical evidence for this. Some of the local script, preserved for us in both books and charters,[72] is very good and strikingly uniform, so that the work of individual scribes is hard to separate out; the books are often in small format, sparsely decorated, with several or many texts between two covers, heavily used well into the next century. Once again the evidence suggests two phases or generations, of roughly equal numbers of books (about a dozen each), with a single master scribe (perhaps the precentor at the time) operating across both of them, executing tables of contents, corrections and short passages of text. Two exceptional books stand out: a copy of John Chrysostom's works with a full-page, framed outline drawing, and a Gospel Book with evangelist portraits in a strangely anachronistic Carolingian style.[73] Gloucester was also a notable

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68 Thomson 2001a, pp. xxii–xxiii.   69 Bodleian, ms. Auct. F. 1. 9.

70 Worcester Cathedral, ms. F. 24: Thomson 2001a, pp. xxiii–xxiv, 18. CUL, ms. Kk. 4. 6, a book associated with John of Worcester, is also roughly made. Its rubrics often do not fit the space, and were allowed to overflow down the margin or central column. It contains amateurishly made painted initials (for example f. 86rv), but also some as expertly made as any in Worcester Cathedral, ms. F. 24 (for instance, fols. 163v, 166v, 183, 199v, 207v, 213, 216, 217).

71 What follows is based upon Thomson 1997.

72 *Original acta Gloucester*. Studies of medieval scriptoria need to pay attention to contemporary documents, which can sometimes provide precious examples of dated work by the scribes of manuscript books.

73 Hereford Cathedral, ms. O. V. 11, PML, ms. M. 777, *Survey*, III, nos. 25, 51. The evidence for a Gloucester provenance is presented in Mynors and Thomson 1993, p. 36, and in Thomson 1997, pp. 16, 22. The artist of its famous drawing of Marcus' vision of John Chrysostom glorified was clearly a professional, who also worked on BL, Lansdowne ms. 383 (the 'Shaftesbury psalter'), and Bodleian, ms. Auct. F. 6. 5 (*Survey*, III, nos. 51, 48–9). The provenance is certain for the Hereford

centre of studies, apparently taking in outside students in the 1160s: one of its surviving manuscripts contains the works of Boethius with unique glosses which have not yet been studied.[74]

Not as populous as either of these houses, but perhaps with a more distinguished scriptorium, was the abbey of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire. Unfortunately, only about ten manuscripts from the early twelfth century survive from this house (and very few from later). They are, however, clearly the pathetic remnant of what must once have been a fine collection. Most of them are large and spaciously formatted. The writing, which may have set the benchmark for the 'west country' style, is almost all excellent and, like Gloucester, exemplifies a highly disciplined scriptorium, in which a pattern was set and followed so competently that the work of individual scribes is difficult to distinguish. Moreover, there is a highly distinctive and attractive style of decorated initial which enables Winchcombe books to be attributed with some confidence, even when marks of ownership are lacking.

At the lowest end of the spectrum is a house like Malmesbury.[75] There is an immediate problem in that most of the surviving books known to have come from Malmesbury can only be so identified because of a connection with the famous monk and historian William (d. c.1143). They create an impression, which may or may not be correct, of a communal copying programme driven by one man, ending with his death. It is William who tells us of Abbot Godfrey of Jumièges (d. 1105) starting a library *ab ovo*, seconded by William himself.[76] One manuscript survives from this time, Lives of Saints with an earlier Jumièges provenance.[77] Eleven manuscripts have so far been identified as written by William and his fellow-scribes, yielding a total of fifty-four hands apart from his own.[78] These books are mostly small and formatted in various ways, with little decoration. The scribes' competence varies, but most of them were clearly not very practised, so one assumes that they were local monks, probably cajoled by William into copying text, sometimes for no more than a few lines or leaves until he or they lost patience with a task to which they were neither accustomed nor sympathetic. William himself did not act as director of the scriptorium like the St Albans masters, or Symeon of Durham. His role was more like that of John of

manuscript; the Gospel Book, PML, ms. M. 777 (*Survey*, III, no. 25, as unprovenanced), if not from Gloucester, was certainly made in the West Midlands.

74 For the evidence of an external school at Gloucester, see Thomson 1997, p. 12. The glossed Boethius is Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 309/707: Thomson 1997, pp. 12–14; Gibson and Smith 1995, pp. 61–2.

75 What follows is based upon Thomson 2003, ch. 4.

76 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, c.271 (pp. 431–2).

77 Bodleian, ms. Bodley 852 + ?BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius D. XVII, ff. 1–22; Thomson 2003, pp. 79–80.

78 Eleven manuscripts and fifty-four hands were listed and studied in Thomson 2003, ch. 4.

Worcester: he wrote whole texts or substantial tracts of text himself, sometimes he corrected the main text, and in three cases wrote prefatory verses declaring the book to be his, together with tables of contents. The result looks more like a personal than an institutional library; but physically and in content it also looks a little like the Salisbury books discussed earlier.[79] Nonetheless, William was his monastery's precentor, with responsibilities which he took seriously; for the simpler monks he compiled a florilegium of Gregory's works, and abbreviated editions of two Carolingian works, Paschasius Radbertus' Commentary on Lamentations and Amalarius' *De divinis officiis*.[80]

The production of splendid books

Some of the most splendid books from twelfth-century Europe were made in, and for, the wealthiest English Benedictine abbeys and cathedral priories.[81] The books were nearly all large-format Bibles, and in most cases, while the local 'scriptorium' might have been involved, the major artwork at least was executed by hired, and doubtless well-paid, professionals. Large Bibles first appear in some places before c.1100 – at Durham, Rochester and Lincoln – well written but not highly decorated. None of these early examples have miniatures, and even their decorated initials are not necessarily of the first order of quality. But, from c.1125 on, there appears a series of monumental Bibles so splendid that even today they are given individual names which eclipse their shelfmarks: the Bury, Lambeth, Winchester, 'Auct.', Dover and Pudsey Bibles, together with some equally grand parts of Bibles: the St Albans, Shaftesbury, and Eadwine (see fig. 15.2) Psalters, and the Pembroke (Bury) Gospels. Other examples survive as fragments. And a few non-biblical manuscripts were given lavish treatment: the St Albans Terence and perhaps Le Mans Pliny (Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 263).

The influence of the Schools c.1150–c.1200

From around the mid-century monastic (and other) libraries underwent a new growth spurt, under the impact of new forces. These forces originated in Continental Europe, and above all in the schools of Paris and its environs. It is registered most visibly in the appearance of glossed books of the Bible in

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79 See above, pp. 139–40.
80 Thomson 2003, pp. 5, 9–10; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, II, pp. xlvi–xlvii.
81 The books cited in this paragraph are catalogued in *Survey*, III, nos. 13, 29, 35, 48, 56, 68–70, 73, 82–3, 98. Recent studies of individual books are Oakeshott 1981; Thomson 2001b; Riedmeyer 1994; Gibson, Heslop and Pfaff 1992; Kauffmann 2003, chs. 3 and 4.

every library of which we know anything. The *glossa ordinaria*, or interlinear and marginal commentary on the whole Bible, completed in the 1150s, was the product of two generations of cumulative though uncoordinated work by a number of individuals and groups in the schools of northern France. The main contributors known to us by name were the brothers Anselm and Ralph at the Cathedral School of Laon, then Gilbert of Poitiers, also at Laon, and later still Peter Lombard at Paris.[82] Volumes of parts of the commentary made early on show a range of variation in text and format, but by the mid-century its content was reasonably standardized, though its format was still changing, achieving a high degree of uniformity a couple of decades later (fig. 4.6). The commentary was very extensive. Individual volumes contain one or at the most a group of biblical books: the glossed Psalter was large enough to fill a fat volume, the glossed Minor Prophets, Pauline and Canonical Epistles were each commonly found between two covers; the glossed Gospels might be found singly or two together, and so on. No matter what the format, these books always included the complete biblical text, usually in large script, with interlinear and marginal gloss. In early copies the upper and lower margins were used for commentary, as were columns flanking the biblical text. It should be said that formatting such books, in which the commentary had to keep pace with the main text, was no easy matter: put simply, each page had to be formatted individually.[83] The wonder is that a satisfactory solution was found so quickly, and that one rarely finds examples of glossed books formatted unsuccessfully. These books were probably not easy to manufacture in local scriptoria, and local manufacture by professionals, or purchase from centres of manufacture such as Paris itself, became the norm. It may not be too much to say that the appearance, and central role played by these books, spelt the demise of the monastic scriptoria.

Not only did these books make an appearance in every library, in some they were the major acquisition of the second half of the century, and in some there seems to have been an effort to obtain the glosses on every biblical book – amounting to a set of between twenty and thirty-five volumes. Thirty-six appear in the late twelfth-century Bury catalogue, of which nearly thirty survive, representing a nearly complete set copied under Abbot Hugh (1156–80).[84] At Durham Cathedral there are still thirty-seven (every book of the Bible, some more than once), and at Hereford thirty-nine, about thirty of which were

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82 De Hamel 1984, pp. 1–9; Stirnemann 1994; Gilbertus Universalis, *Glossa ordinaria*.
83 De Hamel 1984, pp. 14–27.
84 *CBMLC*, IV, B13.91, 120–5, 127–30, 132–48, 158, 216–32, with identifications of surviving volumes.

probably or certainly there in the twelfth century.[85] From Rochester there are a dozen survivors, about half of the total that appears in the library catalogue of 1202; twenty from the Cistercian abbey of Buildwas, and six out of the thirty-two listed in the 1192 catalogue from Reading.[86] Although the nature of the evidence differs from place to place, there is a remarkable consistency about these figures: mostly in the thirties, that is, approximating to complete and even over-complete sets. Surplus volumes must have been acquired frequently by random donation, and must have been quickly disposed of. The survivors may be divided into three or four groups. The earliest, perhaps made in the 1140s, look like local products of the centres where they were kept, and there are often minor formatting problems at this stage. Then, from the 1160s to 1180s, the heyday of glossed book production, we meet with the books first identified by De Hamel as Parisian professional products (including their bindings), identifiable almost at a glance because of their striking and standardized decorated initials.[87] Thirdly, over much the same period, we have possible English variants and adaptations of this Parisian style, which have yet to be teased out. Art historians have dubbed the style of the historiated initials in some of these and other books of the time 'Channel Style', signifying that it is found in books arguably made in both France and England, on the basis of other evidence such as script.[88] Some fine examples are among the books commissioned by Abbot Simon of St Albans (1167–83).[89] Given St Albans' tradition of retaining professional scribes and illuminators, there is every reason to suppose that these were made on the spot. As a fourth category we may distinguish, if we like, luxury books such as those commissioned in Paris by Thomas Becket and others and given to Canterbury.[90] Some places, like Bury, went after these books early and enthusiastically; some showed, by the expense they lavished on them, how highly they were esteemed, and what permanent value they were considered to have. At some places, such as Bury and Lanthony, large numbers of glossed

85 Items definitely not at Hereford in the twelfth century are asterisked: Hereford Cathedral, mss. O. I. 1*, O. II. 1–2, O. II. 4*, O. III. 7, O. IV. 1, O. IV. 4, O. IV. 7, O. IV. 12*, O. V. 1*, O. V. 3, O. V. 7–8, O. VI. 1, O. VI. 4–6, O. VI. 9, O. VI. 12, O. VII. 10, O. IX. 1, O. IX. 5, O. IX. 7, O. IX. 9, O. IX. 11, P. I. 7–8, P. I. 14, P. II. 9–11, P. II. 13*, P. III. 8, P. IV. 3, P. IV. 12–13, P. V. 8*, P. V. 13, P. IX. 4. The evidence for early provenance is presented in Mynors and Thomson 1993.

86 For the Reading and Rochester catalogues, with identification of survivors, see *CBMLC*, IV, B71. 5–14, 20–8, 37, 59, 137–42, 170, 173–4, 182–5; B79. 66–7, 69–70, 78, 113–18, 127–32, 139–40, 157–8, 200–4; for the Buildwas books, see Sheppard 1997.

87 De Hamel 1984, pls. 15–17.

88 Cahn 1975; De Hamel 1984, pp. 59–62; Avril and Stirnemann 1987, nos. 44–51 and p. 29 'Note liminaire'.

89 Thomson 1985, I, pp. 54–5, II, pls. 185–7.

90 Bodleian, mss. Auct. D. 2. 8, Bodley ms. 725; De Hamel 1984, p. 61.

books appear to have been made locally; at others, such as Durham, they were gifted, while at others again (for instance Hereford and Buildwas) they were acquired by a combination of both methods. A few places, notably Worcester and Salisbury, seem to have shown little interest; there are eighteen survivors at Worcester, but most of them seem to have come there late.[91]

Glossed books, then, were far and away the most typical scholastic product to be found in England after the middle of the century. But they do not constitute the whole story. A few other fundamental texts became more and more common as the century wore on: Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scolastica*, Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum*, and the works of Hugh of St Victor: in the last case especially more work is needed to identify English copies.[92] Lombard's *Sentences* was easily the most popular and influential textbook of the later twelfth century and beyond, as Hugh of St Victor was the single most influential teacher, both in person and through his writings. There is a certain amount of evidence for Englishmen studying at the Augustinian house of St Victor at Paris after the mid-century.[93] In particular, there seems to have been a special relationship between St Albans and St Victor.[94] Testimony to this is the correspondence represented by six surviving letters, datable between 1167 and 1173, from Abbot Simon of St Albans (1167–83), Prior Warin and his brother Matthew, to Prior Richard of St Victor (d. 1173). They reveal a close personal relationship between the Scottish-born, Paris-based theologian and the English monks. Above all, Warin asks for copies of Richard's writings, to be used as exemplars for further copies, 'so that England may be resplendent with the treasures of your wisdom'. In similar vein, Abbot Simon describes to Richard his attempt to put together a complete collection of the works of Hugh of St Victor. He is not sure that it is complete, so he is sending a checklist of Hugh's works held at St Albans, and asks Richard to identify any omissions, so that the bearer of letter and list may make arrangements to fill them. Here is a rare and fascinating insight into the way in which a premier monastery could take on the role of guardian and distributor of exemplars. Long ago Richard Hunt discovered the probable response to Abbot Simon's request, the 'Indiculum omnium scriptorum magistri Hugonis de Sancto Victore' which

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91 Thomson 2001a, pp. xix and n. 8, xxiv.
92 The basis is already laid by Goy 1976 and Kurz 1979. Goy's work is now in need of revision, so far as England is concerned, especially with respect to collections of *sententiae*: Thomson 2006b.
93 For example, Robert of Melun (*PL* 196. 1225: letter of Richard of St Victor congratulating him on his promotion to the bishopric of Hereford, recalling his earlier teaching at St Victor); Master Robert of Edington of Durham: Mynors, *DCM*, p. 78 (list of his books kept at St Victor). Fascinating evidence of contacts between England and St Victor is presented by Stirnemann 1998, pp. 307–17.
94 Sketched in Thomson 1985, I, pp. 64–6.

survives in a fourteenth-century English manuscript.[95] It is just a pity that the two surviving twelfth-century manuscripts of Hugh's writings from St Albans are in one case earlier, in the other later than Abbot Simon's time,[96] so that they cannot be connected directly with his request. The later of the two, though, has a famous frontispiece showing Hugh of St Victor instructing, an iconic representation of teaching and learning in the twelfth-century schools.

How were such books acquired? Probably the main conduit was the schools' human products, the *magistri*. The best-known demonstrations of this come from Christ Church, Canterbury: Thomas Becket (d. 1170) gave sixty-nine books, Master Ralph of Reims or Sarre (d. 1194) another twenty-five, and Herbert of Bosham, who had studied under Peter Lombard in Paris, personally wrote and donated splendid and elaborate two-volume copies of his old master's commentaries on the Psalms and Pauline Epistles.[97] Twenty-one of Becket's and twenty-four of Ralph's books were glossed books, and each of them also gave a copy of the Lombard's *Sentences*. Both Becket's and Ralph's collections included books that they had used personally, whereas Herbert's gift was intended as such from the first.

Many examples might be added from elsewhere. Ralph Foliot, archdeacon of Hereford 1179–98/9, gave the Cathedral a fine set of twenty volumes, mainly glossed books, the donation recorded in a very formal inscription on the first leaves of nine of perhaps a dozen survivors.[98] Most of them are in English hands, and share scribes and decorators. There is no reason to suppose that the books were made at Hereford though; two of them have notes in Ralph's hand, suggesting that they were used by him when still a student, most likely at Paris. The likelihood is that his original gift included a complete set of glossed books. At about the same time Durham Cathedral Priory acquired the books of one Master Robert of Edington, presumably by donation.[99] One of the eight survivors contains a list of the contents of his personal library, comprising thirty-eight volumes, including twenty-two glossed books, said to be 'repositi apud Sanctum Victorem'. The glossed books give a complete coverage of the Bible, with some duplication. A similar example is the donation of Master Robert Amiclas to the Cistercian house of Buildwas in Shropshire.[100] This man, probably English and from the vicinity, is known to have been a teacher

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95 Hunt 1978, pp. 253–4; the list printed by De Ghellinck 1910; Stammberger 2005.
96 Bodleian, mss. Laud. misc. 370 and 409, described in Thomson 1985, I, pp. 107–8.
97 Dodwell 1954, pp. 104–7; De Hamel 1984, pp. 42–3; De Hamel, 'Manuscripts of Herbert of Bosham', in *MO*, pp. 38–41.
98 Mynors and Thomson 1993, pp. xviii–xix.
99 Mynors, *DCM*, pp. 78–9; De Hamel 1984, p. 13.
100 Thomson 1995; Sheppard 1988, 1990, pp. 197–8, and 1997, pp. lvi–lviii.

of theology and/or the liberal arts at Paris in the 1140s. His name appears again in a glossed book from Buildwas: 'Iste liber est magistri Roberti amiclas'. The inscription is undoubtedly autograph, and its writer heavily annotated the text and gloss in the book itself, as well as another twenty glossed books, including ten which lack the Buildwas *ex libris*. Some of these books are linked by shared scribes, most of whom are French, and that, plus his own annotation, suggests that Amiclas had been using them for his teaching at Paris. In one of them he jotted a list of seventeen books, presumably in his own possession: seven of them are glossed books, the rest are liberal arts titles. It is not known how his books came to Buildwas, probably c.1170, but I think it can reasonably be presumed that he donated or bequeathed them: perhaps, after pursuing a successful teaching career in Paris, he retired to Buildwas or nearby.

Non-monastic books of the twelfth century

The monasteries may have dominated English book production in the twelfth century, but it should not be assumed that all books were made in monasteries. We have already seen that some secular cathedrals made large numbers of books over the last quarter of the eleventh century, and some of them continued to make them during the twelfth. Lincoln and Hereford Cathedrals are the best examples, with comparable numbers of surviving books, Lincoln also providing a surviving catalogue made soon after the mid-century, with additions to c.1200.[101] At both places some books were made in the locality, not in large numbers, probably over a short period, and possibly in the town or at any rate using hired labour rather than by the canons themselves.

Lincoln was a new bishopric, founded in the 1070s by the Norman Remigius, who moved the see from the ancient and by then unimportant town of Dorchester. The first part of the Cathedral's inventory of books is a copy of an earlier one made about February 1148.[102] It comprises forty-four books for study, of which eleven survive, and twenty-six service-books, none now extant. A total of forty-four library books close to the mid-century is not many; at that date the Cathedral still had only the first of a three-volume set of Augustine's commentary on the Psalms (and did not get the third volume until the fourteenth century). Copying seems to have begun c.1100, and was done, in some sense, 'on the spot'. The key book is the two-volume Chapter Bible in large format, commissioned by Archdeacon Nicholas about that year, written and decorated in an unusual style; its initials, in bright orange, yellow, blue and

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101 On the Lincoln and Hereford books, see Thomson 1989 and 2003.
102 *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae 3*, p. 16.

green, featuring little comic-strip figures with huge hands and fingers, are unmistakeable, and make it easy to pick out nine more manuscripts in the same style (fig. 7.4, Lincoln Cathedral Lib., ms. 90).[103] The hands of all these books have a family likeness, and are more or less strongly influenced from the Continent, but there is only a single instance of one scribe in more than one book. Combining the evidence of the books and inventory, it looks as though twenty to thirty books of this type were written and decorated within a period of fifty to seventy years, but perhaps over a shorter period of time within that span: not much when compared with the greater Benedictine abbeys.

Hereford, by contrast, was an old see, founded in the eighth century, but nothing much of its pre-Conquest library survives, not surprisingly, given that the Cathedral was burnt down by the Welsh in 1055. Still, there are two splendid Gospel Books of the eighth and eleventh centuries, and Archbishop Matthew Parker (1559–75) was given three volumes of Old English homilies which may still exist but cannot be identified.[104] What survives from between the Conquest and the late twelfth century mostly looks very Continental. Three books are possibly from the episcopate of Robert Losinga (d. 1095). They are written in Norman or Lotharingian script, and two of them contain canonistic and theological material suggestive of Continental learning.[105] There are another fifty-odd from the twelfth century, of which thirty-seven can be said to have been definitely made locally. Some of them are in the script that we call 'west country',[106] but they co-exist with hands that are certainly Norman or French, especially around the middle of the century. And these 'foreign' hands occur in books bound and decorated locally. This doubtless reflects the succession of French, or French-trained bishops and canons: Gerard (1096–1100), Robert of Béthune (1131–48), Gilbert Foliot (1149–63), Robert of Melun (1163–7), and Robert Foliot (1174–86).[107] About half of these books are glossed biblical books made around the mid-century and later.[108] If we subtract them, the remaining total is small, and as with Lincoln raises the question of whether the Cathedral had a 'scriptorium' in any sense. The canons of English cathedrals

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103 Thomson 1989, pp. xiv, 3, 212; *Survey*, iii, nos. 13–14, 61. Continental manuscripts with decoration in a similar style are Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, mss. 8 and 119, both made in the locality c.1100 and s. xii 2/4 respectively, illustrated in Cahn 1996, pls. 339, 341.

104 James 1912a, i, p. xxi (referring to ms. 114, art. 154, dated 3 Mar. 1564).

105 One of them, Hereford Cathedral, o. viii. 8, was written locally, since its main scribe (though continental, probably Lotharingian) also wrote an episcopal charter dated 1085: Gullick 2001, pp. 103–4 and pl. 34. The charter, TNA: PRO, C. 115 G. 31/4095, is reproduced in Galbraith 1929, plate opposite p. 353.

106 The tail, often finished with an extra cross-stroke, tends to be hunched up towards the right in relation to the bowl. Occasionally, when written on the lowest line of a page, the cross-stroke is prolonged and formed into an arrow.

107 *English episcopal acta 7*, pp. xxxvii–xliii.   108 See below, pp. 154–5 and n. 85.

were highly mobile and often absentee; they would not have provided a satisfactory recruiting base, so perhaps personnel were hired for a short period, or perhaps a book-making atelier existed in the town, and took commissions from the Cathedral as well as other places.[109] We simply do not know. All that can be said is that the continuity of a particular style of decorative initial suggests a mechanism that was locally based and of some longevity.

By contrast with the larger monasteries and cathedral priories, these libraries were small. In the inventory of Lincoln Cathedral's books made c.1160 are 109 books for study, and in its mid fifteenth-century list of chained books are exactly the same number again. The library had not grown, though there had been sufficient turnover (about sixty-nine volumes) to change its character. Thus, in comparison with monastic libraries, not only was this one small, but its contents were unstable: over a period of three hundred years rather more books left than were acquired. It follows that the contents of the library were restricted, and the same seems true at Hereford. There is nothing to support the contemporary reputation of these places as centres of advanced scholarship, or of teaching and learning at any level at all.[110] The point is that their libraries were basic reference collections. A chancellor who took his teaching duties serious, a *magister scholarum*, or a canon who spent time observing the stars, used his own books.

To be able to read, write and think in Latin required considerable training, both at elementary and advanced levels. Novice monks were trained in-house, and many monasteries also ran separate, external schools. The chancellor of a secular Cathedral was nominally in charge of teaching in the diocese, and might run, or organize someone else to run, a school at the Cathedral itself, probably not usually at a very advanced level.[111] All these schools required textbooks. But 'school' books are hard to identify in cathedral collections, as they are also in monasteries. William de Montibus, chancellor of Lincoln, undoubtedly taught there, but scarcely any of his writings are represented among the surviving books from there.[112] Lists of teaching texts survive from a few monastic houses, one of c.1100 possibly from Worcester, another, of the late twelfth century, from Christ Church, Canterbury.[113] The library catalogue from an unlikely small house, Whitby, includes a set of school-books, so does the twelfth-century

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109 See below, p. 189.   110 For their contemporary reputation, see Thomson 2006, p. 44.
111 Edwards 1949, pp. 178–88; Southern 1970a, pp. 66–74.
112 Manuscripts of his works are listed in Goering 1992.
113 James, *AL*, pp. 3–12, with many multiple copies. James considered the list to be the surviving fragment of a much longer catalogue; it is, however, much more likely to be complete.

catalogue from Durham Cathedral Priory, and so does the list of 1202 from Rochester.[114] It is probable that these sorts of books do not turn up as often as one might expect in the library catalogues of large houses because they were sometimes kept, and therefore inventoried, separately. Moreover, despite the fact that such lists often record multiple copies, books of this sort have a poor survival rate, probably because they tended to be heavily used and therefore fell to pieces even before the age of printing or the Reformation.

We have little or no idea of books connected with non-cathedral schools at such places as London, Northampton and Oxford.[115] From Oxford one gets a glimpse of the theological lectures given in the 1190s by Alexander Nequam, since after he became abbot of Cirencester he wrote them up as his *Speculum speculationum*.[116] But of the audience reaction, registered in students' texts or *reportationes*, almost nothing has survived. The closest we can get to these are two rather scruffy little books which ended up in the library of St Albans Abbey: Bodleian, ms. Laud. lat. 67 (commentaries on Galen and Lucan, Porphyry and Aristotle, fragmentary Priscian glosses), and ms. Selden Supra 24 (new translations of Aristotle); probably both books came from Paris.[117] A slightly later example is the early thirteenth-century Worcester Cathedral, ms. Q. 81, containing Aristotle and Arabic commentators, Avicenna, Alfarabi, Alkindi, Algazel and Qusta ben Luqa, owned by a consortium of graduate students at Oxford c.1244, later at the Cathedral Priory.[118] Laurence of Durham, prior of St Albans soon after 1153, abbot of Westminster 1158–73, made *reportationes* of lectures by Hugh of St Victor at Paris some time before 1145. They survive in later fair copies.[119]

Even less attention has been given to books owned by individuals before the late thirteenth century because even less is known about them. It is natural to begin by considering the books of kings and nobles.[120] In earlier times, in England as well as in Continental Europe, rulers (kings and emperors) had been associated with books in various ways, as commissioners and donors (King Æthelstan is a good example),[121] as dedicatees, even, in the case of Alfred, as

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114 Whitby: *CBMLC*, IV, B109. 59–86, headed 'Isti sunt libri grammatici', meaning books for elementary instruction, not books about grammar. Durham: *Catalogi Dunelm*, pp. 3–6. Rochester: *CBMLC*, IV, B79. 162–98.

115 On these Schools, see Southern 1976, esp. 266–73, perhaps too negatively.

116 Alexander Nequam: *Speculum*.   117 Thomson 1985, I, pp. 64, 104–5, 110–11.

118 Thomson 2001a, pp. 176–7.   119 Thomson 1985, I, pp. 45–6; Croyden 1950.

120 On the learning of English kings after the Conquest, see Galbraith 1935, pp. 211–13; Thompson 1939, ch. 7; David 1929; Legge 1969, p. 680; Van Houts 1989; Dronke 1984, earlier literature listed at p. 281 n. 1, esp. Haskins 1925; Cavanaugh 1988, esp. pp. 304–5.

121 Keynes 1985.

authors. But one of the puzzling features of the twelfth-century renaissance is the absence of participation by monarchs, whether as patrons, donors or consumers. A notorious exception proves the rule: Henry II's cheating the monks of Winchester out of their newly completed great Bible in order to make a royal gift of it to St Hugh's charterhouse at Witham.[122] This non-participation was not peculiar to English monarchs, nor were the nobility much different: Henry the Lion of Saxony stands out, across the whole of western Europe, as a great magnate who thought it important that his image appear in splendid books which he commissioned.[123] This withdrawal, I suspect, had different causes in different places. In England, bureaucratic administration based upon the efficient harvesting of regular sources of revenue had superseded great triumphal itineraries, sacred ceremonial and splendid symbolic effigies (in great Bibles and Gospel Books), as the means by which kings expressed and maintained their power. King Harold may have had one or more books on falconry, but such books clearly belong in the realm of noble entertainment and relaxation, not that of learning or propaganda.[124]

If kings had to some extent abandoned 'high culture', their women had not. Queen Margaret of Scotland owned an illuminated Psalter;[125] but for most of the century our sole evidence for a connection between royalty and books is in terms of dedications. In many cases these dedications may reflect no more than desperate communal or authorial hopes for royal protection and favour. Still, at least a dedication implies a presentation copy, which might become the nucleus of a royal book collection. Hugh of Fleury's *De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, written soon after 1107, was dedicated to Henry I.[126] Other works of history were dedicated to David of Scotland, to the two Matildas (Henry's wife and daughter), and to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, his bastard.[127] Matilda I commissioned a Life of her mother, Queen Margaret, a French translation of the *Navigatio S. Brendani*, and an account of her descent from the royal house of Wessex which was to become William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*.[128] A fine copy of the anonymous *Kaiserchronik*, made for Matilda II and her first husband, Emperor Henry V, seems to have remained in her

122 *Magna vita Hugonis*, I, pp. 84–7.
123 Dodwell 1993, pp. 284–6, earlier literature cited at p. 428 n. 113. Prince Henry, son of King Louis VI of France (d. 1175), presented a fine set of glossed books to Clairvaux, but his career was clerical: monk of Clairvaux, bishop of Beauvais, archbishop of Reims: De Hamel 1984, pp. 5–7, 74–5.
124 Haskins 1922; Cochrane 1994, p. 53.
125 Turgot of Durham: *Vita Margaretae*, c. 11 (p. 250). Also Gameson 1997.   126 *PL* 163. 939.
127 William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum* to David, Matilda II and Robert Earl of Gloucester; Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* to Robert.
128 Huneycutt 1989; Legge 1963, pp. 8–18; William of Malmesbury: *Gesta regum*, Ep. 2. 4–5.

possession when she returned to England after his death in 1125.[129] Henry I's sisters and wives were the recipients of complimentary Latin verse from some of the best poets of the day: Hildebert of Le Mans and Baudri of Bourgeuil.[130] The vernacular poet, Gaimar, boasted that he knew more tales than David ever knew or than Adeliza (Henry I's second wife) had books.[131] This David was presumably the man commissioned by Adeliza to write a poem in French in praise of her husband. The level of this activity rose sharply at the court of Henry II and Eleanor; it was also more evenly spread between the king and his wife, and between England and his Continental lands. Dedications include Wace's *Roman de Brut* (to Eleanor in 1155), poems by the troubadour Bernard de Ventadour (to Henry), and to the king also works which were not merely entertainment literature: Adelard of Bath's treatise on the astrolabe, Richard FitzNeal's *Dialogus de scaccario*, and Robert of Cricklade's *Defloratio Plinii*, of which we may have the presentation copy.[132] Such works were not being offered to twelfth-century French kings or even German emperors.

Even so, the first English king who showed a real interest in books and who had a collection worthy of the name was John. In 1203 he paid a royal official 'ad cistas et carettas ad ducendos libros r(egis) ultra mare',[133] and in 1205 another for sending a 'Romancium de historia Angl(ie)' to him at Windsor.[134] In 1208 he received from the sacrist of Reading a sizeable cache of books which certainly would have needed a cart for its transport: six volumes of glossed books of the Old Testament, the Old Testament volume of a two-part Bible, Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis*, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Augustine's letters, *City of God* and commentary on the Psalms, Valerius Maximus, (some of) Origen's Old Testament commentaries, and – most unusually – Candidus Arianus, *De generatione divina*.[135] In the same year he received back a copy of Pliny's *Natural history* ('librum nostrum qui uocatur Plinius') which had been in the abbot's keeping.[136] This is a quite extraordinary set of books to be associated with a layman, suggestive both of a high level of Latin literacy and of theological learning. There is nothing comparable throughout twelfth- or thirteenth-century Europe. It looks as though Reading, a royal foundation and focus of royal patronage, might have been the regular

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129 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 373.
130 Van Houts 1989, pp. 45–53.   131 Holzknecht 1923, p. 219.
132 Dronke 1984, pp. 281–8; Haskins 1925, pp. 74–6. Eton College, ms. 134, is probably the presentation copy of Robert of Cricklade's *Defloratio*. It is described in *MMBL*, II, pp. 755–6.
133 *Pipe roll 5 John*, p. 139.
134 *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, i. 29b. The description suggests Geffrei Gaimar's *L'Estoire des Engleis* rather than Wace's *Roman de Brut*.
135 *CBMLC*, IV, B72.   136 *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* i. 108b.

repository for the royal book collection.[137] One wonders whether the Pliny was the copy of Robert of Cricklade's *Abbreviatio* offered to John's father. All this royal ambience is conspicuously cross-Channel, weighted rather more towards France than England; the vernacular texts involved are always in French.

Our knowledge of book ownership among the lay nobility is, naturally, even more circumscribed. One example suggests that there may have been more of it than we know. The *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani* tells of a local knight who financed the making of books in Abbot Paul's scriptorium. As a reward, he himself received the first batch to be completed, and 'other books for his court chapel at Hatfield'.[138] Perhaps all the volumes were liturgical books.

Most of our evidence for private ownership, however, concerns churchmen, and that evidence consists primarily of donor' lists,[139] which means that one cannot always know whether these were their personal books, or books specially commissioned for the donation. A case in point is the benefaction of ten books to Lincoln Cathedral by Bishop Robert de Chesney (1148–66): the seven surviving examples are high-quality products, homogeneous in many of their physical features, and sharing the same scribes and decorators.[140] This implies manufacture in the same place, and the decoration in one book in particular suggests that that place was the abbey of St Albans.[141] That makes one wonder whether Robert put this collection together with Lincoln in view in the first instance. This was certainly not the case with Philip of Bayeux, dean of Lincoln c.1130–40, and bishop of Bayeux c.1142–63, who amassed the huge and important personal collection mentioned earlier; he seems to have acquired all or most of it on the Continent, and left it to the abbey of Bec.[142] The impression that one gets is that churchmen generally owned something between a

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137 Coates 1999, pp. 6–13, though the conclusion drawn above is my own. Possibly supporting this interpretation is the Anglo-Norman verse translation of the beginning of Adelard of Bath's treatise on falconry found in BL, Harley ms. 978 (s. xiii, from Reading). Now the thirteenth-century troubadour, Daude de Prades, referred to Adelard's treatise, which he used, as 'a book of King Henry's', presumably meaning Henry II. Perhaps this copy was kept at Reading as part of the king's collection, and was the exemplar for the extract in Anglo-Norman verse made there. See D. Evans, 'Adelard on falconry', in Burnett 1987, pp. 25–7, at 26.

138 Matthew Paris: *Gesta abbatum*, pp. 57–8.

139 For example, Ramsey (*CBMLC*, IV, B67); Rochester (*CBMLC*, IV, B79–81); Peterborough (*CBMLC*, VIII, BP4–19); Lincoln (Woolley 1927, pp. v–ix).

140 Thomson 1989, p. xv.

141 Lincoln Cathedral, ms. 4: Thomson 1989, p. 5 and pl. 9a; cf. Thomson 1985, II, pls. 96–9 (Cambridge, Pembroke College, ms. 180 and Emmanuel College, ms. 3.3.11, both from St Albans).

142 Rouse and Rouse 1990a.

handful and a few dozen books, and that these were usually acquired during the period of their studies.[143]

Comparative marginality: the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

From the early 1200s monastic book-making ceased to be a corporate enterprise. Local manufacture was the exception rather than the rule in the building of monastic libraries. Random donation or purposeful purchase from commercial stationers were now the principal means of acquisition. Most monks who copied books now did so for themselves in the first instance, and to a modest standard.

From late in the thirteenth century 'for themselves' often refers to their needs as university students, and books written in this way are indistinguishable from books written by students who were not monks (fig. 10.2).[144] Very many books of this sort survive from Worcester Cathedral Priory, which was assiduous in sending its two monks per annum to Gloucester College in Oxford University from the late thirteenth century until the Dissolution.[145] In 1336 Pope Benedict XII enjoined every Benedictine house to support at least one monk out of twenty annually at university, and to provide them with the textbooks prescribed by the university curriculum. The monk-students were permitted to annotate these books, but were obligated to return them to the monastic library on completion of their studies, and not to pawn or sell them in the meantime. In fact both pawning and selling took place not infrequently, and books were lost to the house thereby.[146] But it is also the case that the inmates of Gloucester, Durham and Canterbury Colleges bought books on the open market, and wrote their own books either as individuals[147] or in groups.[148] These eventually found their way back to the monastic library, offsetting the occasional losses to it. It is difficult to believe that these books, ugly and difficult to read, were of much

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143 For the books of Masters Robert of Edington and Robert Amiclas, see above, pp. 157–8.

144 Coates 1997.   145 Thomson 2001a, pp. xxv–xxx.

146 For instance, Oxford, Merton College, ms. 32 (Augustine, *De trinitate*, s. xii 3/4), made at Worcester Cathedral Priory, was at Oxford c.1300 when it was annotated by one or more Worcester monks. Between 1462 and 1470 it was in the possession of two seculars who pledged it in a loan-chest. Eventually it was bought by Richard Fitzjames, warden of Merton 1483–1507, who gave it to the College.

147 Worcester Cathedral, ms. F. 139 (s. xiv in.), is the autograph copy of the monk Richard of Bromwych's commentary on the Sentences.

148 For instance, Worcester Cathedral, ms. Q. 42 (*Distinctiones Mauricii*, s. xiii ex.) was written by a consortium of eleven monks at Gloucester College, Oxford, between 1277 and 1301.

use to the community at large; nonetheless, they would at least benefit other monks who became students in their turn.

But individual monks still made books specifically for their communities, sometimes to a high standard. The outstanding (though almost unique) example during the thirteenth century was Matthew Paris (d. 1259), monk of St Albans, historian, scribe and artist, whose hand is found in nine surviving manuscripts (fig. 16.2).[149] He was of course heir to a long and rich corporate tradition, but his achievement was entirely individual, and geared in the main to his own historical writings, that is, to works created by himself. He may have learned his writing skills at the abbey, but hardly his artistic style. And yet the tradition, and perhaps Paris' particular example, lived on, or at least was to be revived more than once at the abbey, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[150] Not long before 1380 the then abbot and precentor collaborated in the building of a 'domus scriptorie', presumably to replace the old one, if indeed that was still in existence. The precentor was the chronicler Thomas of Walsingham, who in that year compiled the monastery's book of benefactors, written by another monk, William of Wyllum, but illustrated by a layman, Alan Strayler.[151] At about the same time the monk William Wyntershulle copied, or arranged to be copied ('non sine magnis sumptibus fecit conscribi'), a massive manuscript containing John of Tynemouth's *Historia aurea*.[152] A little later John Whethamstede, abbot 1420–40, then again 1451–65, commissioned a number of high-quality books, some containing his own voluminous compilations.[153] They were destined both for the monastic community, for the abbot's high-ranking friends, and for the library of Gloucester College, Oxford. Some of these were definitely copied by monks, some even by the abbot himself, but of others one simply does not know. The script of the survivors has a family likeness, but its generally high quality, and physical features demonstrating foreign influence, suggest that it was the work of one or more paid professionals, perhaps attached to the abbot personally. But by this date St Albans was exceptional among Benedictine houses for its patronage of books and learning; in part this was doubtless due to the abiding strength of its long tradition, in part to the personality and interests of Abbot Whethamstede.

Ian Doyle has written that 'in this period, the monastic order for which proportionately the most explicit evidence survives of book production by its

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149 Vaughan 1958; Lewis 1987.   150 Doyle 1990b, pp. 3–5; Clark 2004.
151 Galbraith in *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii.
152 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, mss. 5–6; *DMCL*, no. 120 (but dated too late by perhaps twenty years).
153 Howlett 1975; *CBMLC*, IV, B86–91.

members is the Carthusian'.[154] Happily, many of these Carthusian books were signed by individuals about whom a certain amount is otherwise known. At Sheen (Middlesex), founded in 1415, five named scribes were active through the fifteenth century, the best known, William Darker, producing manuscripts both for Sheen itself and for the nearby Bridgettine nuns of Syon; significantly, such men now wrote highly individual hands, and there was no such thing as a recognizable 'house' or even 'Carthusian' style. At Witham (Somerset) and later at Sheen, Stephen Dodesham (d. 1482), 'one of the most prolific medieval English scribes yet recognized', wrote at least fifteen books and probably many more, in a variety of script styles.[155] One of his products is a splendidly decorated copy of Nicholas de Lyra's Postils on the Bible in four massive volumes. Its illuminator (Scott's Illustrator B) also worked on a two-volume copy of the *Sanctilogium Saluatoris*, copied by Dodesham for Syon. The Lyra was carefully corrected in the margins by no less than Abbot Whethamstede of St Albans. Dodesham incorporated these corrections into the text itself, and the book was duly presented to St Albans Abbey in 1457.[156]

154 Doyle 1990b, p. 13; D. N. Bell, 'Monastic libraries: 1400–1557', in *CHB*, III, pp. 244–9, 251–2; *CBMLC*, IX, esp. pp. 609–52.
155 Doyle 1990b, pp. 13–14.   156 *Survey*, VI/I, p. 71 n. 33, II, p. 214.

Urban production of manuscript books and the role of the university towns

M. A. MICHAEL

Each medieval book is an individual creation, and a surprising number of artisans trained in a variety of skills and belonging to different trades contributed to its making. The writing and decoration required mineral, vegetable and animal constituents which, in some cases, had to be imported from distant places only dreamed of by those who used them. Thus, an illuminated book often shows evidence of the fullest extent of international trade in the Middle Ages, while its written and pictorial content represent a sophisticated summary of the cultural heritage of the society which produced it.[1]

A great many texts were essential to the everyday functioning of society: legal books were required for the administration of justice and the study of law, liturgical books were required and used in every church and chapel, books for the university curriculum and study Bibles were needed at universities and colleges, and vernacular poetry and literature was widely read or listened to by wealthy and aristocratic lay persons.[2] Books were required for a diversity of reasons for both secular and religious audiences whose needs and interests sometimes overlapped. Many texts had multiple functions. Books of Hours and Psalters made for the laity served as teaching aids for instructing children in the alphabet and reading at their first stage of education, and often incorporated pictorial narratives and devotional images as well as the liturgical calendar of the year.[3] Moreover books were considered valuable gifts and played a central role in the act of gift-giving throughout the Middle Ages.[4] Betrothed couples could exchange books, wealthy landowners ensured that their families were remembered for posterity through the daily use of luxury books given to their favourite chapels, and scholars donated books to institutions and libraries at

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1 Boyle 1984a; Brownrigg 1990, 1995; Alexander 1992; De Hamel 1992a.
2 A good account of the variety of books and their different audiences can be found in De Hamel 1994. On legal books see L'Engle and Gibbs 2001. On the types of book owned by parish churches (mostly fifteenth century), see Kisby 2002, and the chapter by Morgan, pp. 295–6.
3 Grössinger 1997, pp. 51–4; Wieck 1988, pp. 27–54.
4 On gift-giving, see Osteen 2002; Davies 2000.

which they had studied or taught.[5] Although it may be argued that books were a luxury, possessed by few, they had both a symbolic and ritual meaning that cut across social barriers, and that needs interpretation beyond their obvious function.

The emergence of urban centres

The commonly held popular myth that all illuminated manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages were made by monks cannot be sustained when the documentary evidence for the urban centres and physical evidence of surviving books is examined. English monasteries had already institutionalized the practice of employing lay scribes and other artisans by the twelfth century. This practice involved experienced illuminators who could finish books written partly 'in-house' by the monks. A well-known example of this practice is the Winchester Bible which was written at Winchester but illuminated over a long period of time by professional artists who were clearly able to paint on walls as well as in manuscripts.[6] Peripatetic artists, whether in minor religious orders or monks themselves can be found throughout the history of book production. When important books were required, their editors, scribes and illuminators often travelled great distances in order to complete their work. This practice of asking professional artists to embellish books written by individuals in religious houses never really died out, and evidence of it can be found throughout the Middle Ages.[7] The Augustinian canon, Robert of Tickhill (c. 1300), for instance, appears to have written and gilded his own Psalter, but it was certainly illuminated by professionals; the executors of the illuminator Elias Spryngere of London (d. 1374), delivered a Breviary to a monk of Rochester who said that he had left it with Elias to be illuminated.[8]

There is sufficient documentary evidence to suggest that lay centres of book production grew around the emerging university centres, first at Oxford in the late twelfth century and a little later, less actively, at Cambridge, but also around the law courts of London and St Paul's Cathedral.[9] The types of book that were required by the university centres for the various faculties, canon and civil law, philosophy, theology and arts, were, in fact, rarely copied in monastic

5 For women's patronage in general see Gee 2002; Michael 1997a, p. 61. For a more general study of lay ownership, see the extensive lists of their books in Cavanaugh 1980.

6 *Survey*, III, nos. 83–4; Zarnecki, Gem, and Brooke 1984, nos. 64–5. For an alternative view suggesting a division of labour between wall painters and illuminators, see Park 1983.

7 Doyle 1990b.   8 Egbert 1940 for Tickhill; Michael 1993, pp. 72, 89, for Elias Spryngere.

9 For the general development of these university town centres De Hamel 1994, pp. 108–40, and the bibliography, pp. 260–1.

centres at this time.[10] There is also evidence for commercial book production in important cities, above all London, but Lincoln, Norwich and York were also centres of the book trade throughout this period, and some other cities may have supported a few text-writers, bookbinders and illuminators.[11] Although the documentary evidence is relatively scant, the emerging picture is one of urban centres with specific streets being dominated by scribes, parchment makers and sellers, bookbinders, illuminators and one or two stationers. The latter acted as middlemen in the production of a book on which all of these different artisans would have worked in some way. Depending on the size and commercial importance of the city, a number of such artisans can be found in the records (e.g. at Norwich) or (as in the case of Winchester c.1400) sometimes only one scribe and illuminator seems to have earned a living.[12] Advertisement sheets for scribes have survived, notably from Oxford, which show the different types of script that each individual scribe could offer.[13] Notes for the payment of scribes and illuminators and the survival of a contract from fourteenth-century York suggest that piece-work was usual.[14] The size and complexity of the initials determined the cost, with the colours and metals used in illuminating often being priced separately; these materials were often provided by the patron or stationer and given directly to the illuminator or scribe who was not expected to keep a stock of such expensive items.[15]

Terminology and trades

By the end of the twelfth century the various processes required for book production had already devolved into discrete trades. By the end of the fourteenth century an important centre could boast a number of well-defined roles for book artisans. These were: parchment makers (parchmeners), text copiers (probably the *exemplarii* or text-writers, but not necessarily the scribes or scriveners who probably concentrated on the writing of legal documents and letters); illuminators also called limners (who decorated books with pictures, initials and borders), tourners and flourishers (who provided pen-worked initials) and even noters (who provided the musical notes in liturgical manuscripts) as well as bookbinders.[16] It is also clear that almost anyone who had been taught

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10 Parkes 1992b; L'Engle 2001, especially p. 43.   11 Doyle 1990c.
12 See Keene 1985, vol. i, p. 53, and vol. ii, no. 99, and in this chapter p. 189 and n. 147 for Norwich.
13 Van Dijk 1956; Steinberg 1942; Gullick 1995b, pl. 11.   14 Michael 1993, pp. 75, 77.
15 An early fifteenth-century dispute over the price of 'limining gold' in Nottingham suggests that the illuminator was provided with gold by a middleman who had been paid by a text-writer: Stevenson 1883, p. 121, no. 49. I should like to thank Dr Philip Lindley for pointing out this reference to me.
16 Doyle 1990c, pp. 13–15. For a discussion of the term 'illuminator', see Gullick 1995a.

to write could be described, or describe him or herself, as a scribe. On the other hand, many of the people described as 'scrivener' by the end of the fourteenth century in London wrote only legal documents, while those described as brevitor were probably writing letters for the illiterate.[17] In fourteenth-century London a clear distinction was made between the guild of the writers of Court Letter, essentially writers of legal documents, who could also be notaries public (later the members of the Scriveners' guild), and the writers of text-letter (*littera textualis*). Competition from a proliferating educated class of 'scriveners' in London led the text-letter writers to decide that they needed to incorporate as a guild. They eventually joined with the guild of the Illuminators, finally re-named as that of the Stationers.[18]

The term stationer (*stationarius*) is particularly interesting. It does not seem to have had a particular trade connotation in the sense of 'maker', but it is linked to the medieval Latin word for a holder of a post (official) or a market-stall or shop. The French term *libraire* and the Latin *stationarius* were interchangeable. In 1275 the *libraires* of Paris were charged by the University of Paris to control the copying of books.[19] Thus, by the end of the thirteenth century a primitive form of copyright control was imposed in Paris and at other Universities such as Bologna, by which peciae (pieces of books, that is, single or multiple quires), could be rented by students and copied (apopecia) from an authorized source – the stationer – who was required to abide by statutes issued by the University.[20] It has been questioned whether any such formal statutory arrangement existed in England in the thirteenth century, but it is clear that legal arrangements were made with the 'university illuminator' in Oxford in 1445.[21] Destrez had maintained that the pecia system, if not the statutes controlling it, was in use in Oxford in the late thirteenth century, but more detailed recent research has shown that this was not the case.[22] Nevertheless, the terms 'stationer' and 'stationery' as used in modern English appear to derive from the practice of renting quires of written exemplars and the association between this and the re-selling or commissioning of books.[23] Many stationers seem to have acted as coordinators for the creation of books by organizing artisans to produce a finished product, but it is unclear whether they ever kept new books in stock (as in a modern book shop), or simply acted as co-ordinators for the copying of old

17 Doyle 1990c, p. 20. See also Kelly, Rutledge, and Tillyard 1983, p. 30, for the use of the term *brevitor*.
18 Christianson 1990, pp. 25–6.   19 Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. I, p. 78.
20 Pollard 1978; Rouse and Rouse 1994.   21 Michael 1993, Appendix B, p. 78.
22 Destrez 1935a, pls. 27–31; Parkes 1992b, pp. 462–70, for the refutation. For the coining of the term *apopecia* (used to describe a book, or part of a book copied from University-issued *peciae*), see Boyle 1984a, no. 1752.
23 L'Engle 2001, esp. p. 41.

or borrowed books. That protection of the trade in new books was perceived to be important is reflected in the rules governing the re-sale of used texts found in the Paris University Statutes of 1275.[24] The role of the stationer or *libraire* in medieval book production is particularly important and can only really be compared with the role of the middleman in the cloth trade who collected and sold yarn from individuals in the countryside before the advent of industrialized weaving.[25]

Documents, patrons and books

There is sufficient evidence from the surviving written records alone to enable the creation of a picture of how and where books were made in the major urban centres in England from the late twelfth century onwards. Records of trade, taxes, wills, statutes and even criminal and other court cases provide a plethora of detail. Pictorial imagery provides further information. Art historians have long noted the importance of the calendars and litanies associated with the liturgical books favoured by the laity, notably the Psalter and the Book of Hours – the best-sellers of their day. These can sometimes help to localize the dioceses for which liturgical and devotional manuscripts were made. Based on this information, a typology of modes of decoration can be established for those books which received illumination. In some cases patrons might order a book from a centre not associated with the diocese in which they were going to use the book, but in many cases groups of manuscripts illuminated by the same artists can be associated with a particular locality. The disjunction of style within a single book can suggest either a different artist working in the same locality or training elsewhere for an artist who had moved to a new one.[26] Other liturgical books such as Missals, Breviaries, Graduals and Antiphoners also provide this type of information as they were required books in all churches and chapels and needed to be kept up-to-date, as the parish visitation records attest.[27]

It was also necessary for some of the higher nobility to employ their own scribes and illuminators, both for the account keeping required in their households, and for their recreational and devotional needs. We know, for example, the names of the illuminators and scribes employed by Eleanor of Castile, Isabella of France and Philippa of Hainault.[28] Nonetheless, a peripatetic life was clearly the norm for a gifted illuminator such as Godefridus Pictor who

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24 Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. i, p. 77.   25 See Hallas 1990.   26 Michael 1988.
27 Morgan in this volume, p. 294.   28 Michael 1985.

worked closely with the scribes Roger and Philip in Eleanor of Castile's house-hold.[29] It is of special interest that he bought supplies in Oxford, London and Lincoln as well as ready-written liturgical books in Cambridge, perhaps with the intention of illuminating them for the Queen. Queen Philippa's illumina-tor was called 'Master' Robert, suggesting that he may also have painted on a larger scale or simply enjoyed a certain status because of his employment by the Queen.[30] King John the Good of France had need of parchment and books which were bought for him in Lincoln during his captivity in England after the battle of Poitiers.[31] That it was common practice for the higher nobility to employ their own illuminator seems clear from the documents for Elizabeth de Burgh, the Lady of Clare, while the Bohun family were patrons of John de Teye, an Austin friar who illuminated for the family and who also trained another illuminator, Henry Hood.[32]

Methodology

Archival documentary evidence sometimes yields the names, occupations and sites of shops and tenements where book artisans lived. On rare occasions these can be associated with inscriptions in surviving books that reveal a connection between a name and a manuscript. Sometimes a document links the name of a person to the locality in which he worked. It may also indicate the relative social status of a particular person and his or her relationship with the different types of book artisan in the urban centre in which they lived. It might indicate guild membership or fraternity membership concerned with good works and the upkeep of local parish buildings.[33]

Owners and patrons often had the obits of loved ones inserted into Calen-dars and their sex can often be determined by the gender of the Latin prayers. The provenance of books can be further traced through inscriptions on the fly-leaves and armorials added to the pages, painted on the fore-edges or added to bindings. Where a number of books exist with similar patterns of patronage and similar liturgical uses, the evidence can be used to piece together a picture of how books were used in everyday life. Where decoration survives this can

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29 Parsons 1977, pp. 13, 28, 63–4.
30 See Vale 1983, p. 47, n. 83. It should be noted that only Magister Hugo of the twelfth century, Magister Augustus of the thirteenth century, and Magister Robertus of the fourteenth century have so far emerged from the documents with this title amongst illuminators. For a discussion of the term 'Magister', see Gullick, 1996a.
31 Doyle 1990c, p. 21; Michael 1993, p. 74.
32 Roth 1961–6, vol. ii, p. 559; Sandler 1985; Michael 1993, p. 71.
33 For parish guilds see Duffy 1992, pp. 141–54. See in this chapter p. 188 and n. 140 for William Abell who was an illuminator, guild member and a church warden.

help to build up an art-historical picture of the types of painting popular in different regions. It is the case, however, that many illuminators and other artists travelled freely between centres around the country and more than one style of painting could be practised in a large centre. Following the old art-historical practice of attributing work not believed to be by a 'master' to their 'workshop', the term 'workshop' has somewhat confusingly been applied to such groupings of illuminators and artists. Certain artists may have had close family links to assistants, who could be wives, daughters and sons as well as apprentices.[34] But it is clear from the evidence that emerges from the documents and from the surviving illuminated manuscripts, that a bespoke trade existed throughout this period. Jonathan Alexander has demonstrated that model books may have also played an important role in the dissemination of large programmes of illustration such as the great Apocalypse cycles of the thirteenth century.[35] Equally important are surviving instructions to the illuminator (often in Latin or French) which suggest that once trained an illuminator had considerable leeway in deciding exactly how an image was depicted.[36]

Evidence from documentary sources alone for book production in England would lead, for instance, to the anomaly of a place like Salisbury apparently having little importance when, in fact, several liturgical books survive that were illuminated for patrons in this area. Reliance on *a posteriori* proof provided by written documents is thus limited by chance survival. The nearest that the documents can come to any semblance of a prosopographical survey is through such studies as Franson's lists of the names of artisans.[37] On the other hand, codicological data from surviving books has recently been deconstructed to a point where a number of different but closely related typologies concerning the type of parchment used, the ink, the ruling patterns, pen flourishing and techniques of illuminating, writing, binding, etc. are considered separately and then synthesized with an appreciation of the iconographical and stylistic aspects of any pictures and decoration found in the book.[38] This codicological approach mimics the essentially *a posteriori* empiricism of historians who rely on written evidence, but has the advantage of incorporating the physical archaeological evidence from the surviving objects into the history of book production.[39]

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34 The daughter of the Parisian *enlumineur du roi* Jean le Noir, Bourgot, was also an illuminator, and in all probability Master Robert, illuminator to Philippa of Hainault, was working with his wife. See Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. I, p. 237, for further Parisian references, Michael 1985, p. 589, and Michael 1993, pp. 81, 83–4, 86, 88, 94, for English female illuminators.
35 Alexander 1992, pp. 98–120.
36 Alexander 1992, pp. 53–63, but see also Carruthers 1990, pp. 221–57.   37 Franson 1935.
38 Higgitt 2000.   39 This approach was pioneered by Delaissé 1976 (first published in 1967).

This account of the most important urban and university centres will attempt to marry the information that can be derived both from the physical survival of objects and from the documentary evidence, in order to describe the production of illuminated manuscripts. The survey begins with the university city where the largest numbers of documents and manuscripts have survived from early in our period.

Oxford

Documents and manuscripts from Oxford suggest that a thriving centre of bespoke book production and copying existed from the late twelfth century, its beginnings probably linked to the origins of the university.[40] Parkes has shown that the centre produced a full range of books, both illuminated books for the laity, and also books for the university curriculum. Of particular interest are the documents which link the illuminator William de Brailes with tenements in Catte Street in the centre of Oxford, where many book artisans worked. Like nearly all scribes and illuminators at this time he was in minor religious orders, but had a wife called Celina. His success is reflected in the number of tenements he held, and his self esteem by the fact that he signed two surviving illuminated manuscripts made for the laity, a Psalter and a Book of Hours, even including depictions of himself in them (fig. 8.1).[41] His successors, who also held tenements in Catte Street, may have been his son and grandson Walter de Brailes (c.1288–91) and John de Brailes (c.1307).[42] The recent work of Richard and Mary Rouse on Paris shows that a comparable community of individuals working in the book trade lived in the area south of Notre Dame de Paris at exactly the same time.[43] Another contemporary parallel can be drawn with London, as a few early thirteenth-century documents suggest that a community of book artisans existed about 1200 in the vicinity of St Brides, Fleet Street.[44] It is clear, however, that the law courts and schools of London did not create the same intellectual climate as that found in Paris and Bologna or, in the case of England, at Oxford.[45]

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40 Pollard 1964; Parkes 1992b, esp. p. 413; De Hamel 1984, p. 140; Doyle 1990c, p. 17.
41 These signed books are: a Psalter which survives as single leaves, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 330, six leaves; PML, ms. M. 913, one leaf, and one of the earliest fully illustrated Books of Hours, BL, Add. ms. 49999. He depicts himself with a tonsure and uses the French phrase *W. de Brailes qui me depeint* in the Book of Hours: Cockerell 1930; Pollard 1955; Donovan 1991; *Survey*, IV/1, nos. 72–3.
42 Michael 1993, pp. 66, 86.   43 Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. I, p. 73.
44 Michael 1993, pp. 66, 68.   45 Bohácek 1966.

The fortunate survival of large numbers of documents for Oxford suggests that the networks of artisans who cooperated with each other in the thirteenth century are remarkably similar to those found in Paris at the same time, although much smaller in number. Examining the lists of witnesses to transactions is particularly fruitful: it builds a picture of cooperation between husbands and wives and succession from father to son and daughter. For instance, in 1190 Roger Illuminator is a witness for Jordan a glass maker, while by c.1210 Peter Illuminator and his wife Sara sell a property in Catte Street to Adam Bradfot.[46] The witnesses to this sale include Thomas Scriptor, Roger Pergameneus, Ralph Illuminator, Robert son of Roger Illuminator (no doubt the Roger mentioned in 1190), Roger Illuminator himself and William Illuminator. Peter, Ralph and William all join in to witness another grant c.1215.[47] The picture of the people who worked in the Street is further enhanced by a grant of Elyas Bradfoot of land on Catte Street between the property of Laurence Ligator (evidently a binder) and Emma 'Rideratrix' (a strap-maker?) to William, son of Robert of Northampton. Elyas Bradfoot is almost certainly related to Adam Bradfot who bought property from Peter Illuminator and Sara his wife, because we are told that Adam Bradfot is in fact Sara's father.[48] Peter Illuminator and Sara have a son called Simon who in 1268 is styled Simon Bradfot (not designated an illuminator, but a grant of his is witnessed by William Illuminator of St Mary's parish). The final reference to Peter the Illuminator in his own right appears c.1220, when a new set of names begins to dominate the scene.[49]

A finely illuminated Psalter and Hours of the Virgin from this early period has a collect to St Frideswide and Calendar and litany which suggest that it was made for a person in some way connected with the Augustinian Priory of St Frideswide, Oxford, where her relics rested.[50] Closely related to it stylistically is a Psalter almost certainly made for the Augustinian nuns of Iona which also, unusually, contains two feasts of St Frideswide; there is every likelihood that it was made in Oxford for the Scottish community.[51] Nigel Morgan has suggested that these books should be grouped with the Munich Psalter, another two liturgical Psalters, a glossed Psalter and a Missal of the Augustinian Canons of Lesnes in the diocese of Rochester, Kent, on both stylistic and iconographical grounds.[52] Most of these books were clearly not destined for Oxford, but it

46 Michael 1993, p. 79.
47 Michael 1993, pp. 64, 79.   48 Michael 1993, p. 80.   49 Michael 1993, pp. 66, 83.
50 BL, Arundel ms. 157: *Survey*, IV/1, no. 24.
51 NLS, ms. 10,000 [olim 3141]: *Survey*, IV/1, no. 29.
52 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. clm. 835, BL, Royal ms. 1 D. X, and BL, Harley ms. 2905, Bodleian, Bodley ms. 284, and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, ms. L 1916/404: *Survey*, IV/1,

seems fairly certain that they were made in that city or by artists trained there. The great Lothian Bible owned by St Albans Abbey may have been written there, but its links with work by William de Brailes and the Munich Psalter suggest that it was not illuminated by local monks.[53] Whether the artists who worked in Oxford went out to religious houses or whether the books were brought to them at Oxford is unclear. That Richard, a monk of Rochester, took a Breviary to London to be illuminated as late as 1374, suggests a way in which this information should be interpreted in that a nearby urban centre was chosen for the illumination of an already written text.[54] This model cannot fully apply to the nuns of Iona in Scotland or the canons of Lesnes in Kent, who chose to order their manuscripts from Oxford rather than from somewhere nearer.

Job Illuminator, Radulfus (Ralf) Illuminator and Robert Illuminator appear c.1230 in the Oxford documents. From this time onward William de Brailes appears as a witness for Walter Illuminator, along with Ralf, Robert and Job Illuminators and Simon Parchmener.[55] Job evidently knew Simon the Parchmener well as he was a witness for Simon's son John c.1236. A number of grants witnessed by William de Brailes in 1238 associate him with the Catte Street tenements and Master Martin of Winton, as well as Thomas Scriptor. During this time two stationers appear in the records, Alan (1235) and Roger Adinton together with his wife Petronella (1240).[56] Peter the Illuminator's lands at Catte Street are again referred to c.1246 by John Pilet (whose grant to Walter son of Paulinus of Evesham had been witnessed by William de Brailes in c.1230). References to Ralf Illuminator at Herbeghall in Catte Street continue until about 1279.[57]

William de Brailes was probably both a text-writer and illuminator because the inscriptions giving his name and occupation in his two signed works are written in an assured hand obviously capable of text copying at a high level. Work stylistically associated with de Brailes is best exemplified by the leaves with many pictures of Old and New Testament scenes in Baltimore and Paris, once part of a Psalter (Stockholm, Nat. Mus. ms. B.2010) evidently made in Oxford for a London patron.[58] Alternatively, the book, begun in London, was transported to Oxford for completion.[59] The peripatetic nature of scribes and

nos. 29, 28, 31, 73 respectively. I am indebted to Dr Rowan Watson for allowing me to examine his unpublished catalogue entry for the Lesnes Missal.

53 PML, ms. м. 791: *Survey*, ɪv/1, no. 32.
54 Michael 1993, p. 72.   55 Michael 1993, pp. 82–3.
56 Michael 1993, p. 81.   57 Michael 1993, pp. 88–90.
58 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. w. 106, and Paris, Collection Wildenstein, Musée Marmottan: *Survey*, ɪv/1, nos. 68, 71.
59 Noel 2004, pp. 43–50, for detailed arguments for the Stockholm Psalter as an Oxford product.

illuminators and the portability of their products, means that we may never know exactly what happened in this case.

De Brailes appears to have used models from the previous generation of artists who worked in Oxford on the Huntingfield Psalter and the Lothian Bible, suggesting that he learnt his craft locally.[60] A number of study Bibles were illuminated by de Brailes, as might be expected from someone working in thirteenth-century Oxford, where such books would be needed for studies in the faculty of theology. Of two typical examples one may have been made for the Dominican Priory at Oxford, and the other has a Calendar which suggests an interest in St Frideswide.[61] As Michael Camille has shown, de Brailes also collaborated with the scholarly community in Oxford on more ambitious projects such as an illustrated copy of Aristotle's logical works made c.1240.[62]

During the period after c.1246 Reginald Illuminator (married to Agnes) and Hugh Illuminator dominate the Oxford records. Reginald may be the same man who wrote notes in the last of a five-volume set of the Glossed Bible.[63] They indicate the number of initials executed: 1,453 large and 12,406 smaller ones. This shows that he was being paid by the initial, a practice commonly found in later documents.[64]

Another Reginald Illuminator, or perhaps the same one who had remarried, is referred to as deceased in 1279 in a record of Contassa, widow of Reginald Illuminator. She may be the same as the Contassa La Luminur who had lands at 1–11 Pembroke Street in the same year. The name is rarely found, but she is not unusual in being called La Luminur. Agnes La Luminore (or Luminor) is also recorded in 1279 in her own right, renting to one John and gifting another rent to Gunnora Espicer.[65] Somewhat confusingly, a Reginald Illuminator was recorded with a wife called Agnes c.1257 in the Oseney Cartulary, so it may be that we are dealing with two sets of husband and wife teams of illuminators rather than one: a Reginald is recorded in 1267 as a witness for William 'ligator librorum' in St Peter's parish and is still referred to as the former owner of land west of St Frideswide's in 1311. This situation in Oxford is more understandable in the light of the recent analysis of the evidence for Paris, where such husband and wife (or family) teams were to be found at much the same time.[66]

Around 1288, John le Luminor of Chesterton and his wife Alice appear at Catte Street. Interestingly, the first person with whom John is known to have

60 PML, ms. M. 43; *Survey*, IV/1, no. 30.
61 Bodleian, ms. Lat. bibl. e. 7, and Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 105; *Survey*, IV/1, no. 69, p. 115.
62 BAV, ms. Borghesiani 58; Camille 1995.   63 BL, Royal ms. 3 E. V; De Hamel 1994, p. 140.
64 A good example of payment by initial for the illumination of a Psalter is found in 1346 in the York Fabric Rolls: Michael 1993, pp. 77, 88.
65 Michael 1993, pp. 80–9.   66 Rouse and Rouse 2000, vol. I, pp. 89–97.

dealt is Walter de Brayles, from whom he rented a tenement there. Although it will never be possible to prove that Walter was the son of William de Brailes the illuminator, the close-knit community of book artisans in Oxford seems unlikely to have had more than one family from Brailes in Warwickshire who dominated the rents in Catte Street and dealt almost exclusively with illuminators and text writers. John is referred to at Catte Street and possibly at Broad Street, and as holding 2 pence of Walter of Boston for St Fridewide's Tenement in 1291. A John le Luminor, who may be John of Chesterton, is a witness with Henry Peyntor in 1303, and John le Luminor acts in the imprisonment of Margery and Julia daughters of John Rughlowe, as recorded in the Patent Rolls in 1304. If this is the same man, it would make sense that he was also executor of the will of Isolde Overtice in 1307. A John de Chastleton Luminor is recorded at 39 Broad Street leaving a gift to Isolda his daughter and William her husband in 1317. It could well be that John le Luminor, John de Chastleton le Luminor and John de Chesterton were all one and the same person and that Isolda was a family name.[67]

William of Devon, who wrote the illuminated Bible in the British Library which bears his name, has not been identified in other documents, but the illumination in his Bible can be linked with a group of manuscripts associated with the Oxford region.[68] Other manuscripts which have a stylistic affinity with the earlier work of William de Brailes, such as some copies of Aristotle's *Libri naturales*, can also be linked with some of the work on the Salvin Hours, a book perhaps made in Lincoln by artists trained in Oxford.[69] Since Branner's pioneering article, the artists of the William of Devon group of manuscripts have been associated with a group of Parisian scribes and artists, the so-called 'Johannes Grusch Atelier'.[70] The implication is that artists from Paris must have come to a centre in England (almost certainly Oxford) where they worked and trained others in their particular style. In turn, a large number of English scribes are known to have worked in Europe, notably in Paris, and also in Bologna, where Parisian artists and English scribes can be shown to have collaborated on a Bible c.1250.[71]

During the early fourteenth century the key stationer in Oxford appears to have been Robert, 'notarius et stationarius de Cattestrete', who witnesses a grant in 1308.[72] A new set of people come into the records from c.1307. It is

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67 Michael 1993, pp. 63–8.　　68 BL, Royal ms. 1 D. I; *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 159–64.
69 BL, Harley ms. 3487, BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 206 and BL, Add. ms. 48985; see *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 145, 146a and 158.
70 Branner 1972; Bennett 1972; Higgitt, 2000, pp. 121, 212–13, 286–7.
71 Rouse and Rouse 1997.　　72 Michael 1993, p. 86.

tempting to suggest that John de Brailes, granted a tenement by Adam Scot in Catte Street, represents a third generation of Brailes there.[73] Henry le Luminor, recorded three times in St John's parish between 1310 and 1339, and Matilda Lumynour, a juror in the Assize of Bread and Ale in 1338, are the only book artisans known to have worked in Oxford in the early fourteenth century. That the trade was still thriving mid-century is, however, attested by an Oxford charter of 1355 which records the necessity for taxing scribes, illuminators and parchment makers.[74] In the 1370s William Lymnour and John Lymnour appear to be practising at Catte Street. The poll tax register for 1380, however, records an interesting group of people which indicates that husband and wife teams like those found in the early thirteenth century, combined with servants and other book artisans, were still in existence. It is also clear that Oxford remained a centre of book production in the fifteenth century.[75]

A number of early fourteenth-century manuscripts of canon law can be associated with Oxford from caution notes inscribed in them when they were placed in communal chests as sureties by students and academics who needed loans. Such texts could include a glossed copy of the *Liber sextus*, with the caution of one Richard Norton, dated 1333, and an Augustine with the caution of Richard Elynton, fellow of Merton College, dated 1350.[76] The illumination found in these books is related to the main style (style C) of the copy of the *Secretum secretorum* of the Pseudo-Aristotle given to the young Edward III by one of his teachers, Walter of Milemete, in 1326–7, together with Walter's own treatise, *De nobilitatibus scientiis et prudentiis regum*.[77] The illuminators of these two books also worked on many manuscripts with Oxford connections produced in the period c.1310–40. An artist from this group, for example, illuminated the Oxford University Statute Book itself at some time in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[78] Examples of this style of illumination can be found in most libraries that have books representing the university curriculum texts of the early years of the fourteenth century.[79] Law books illuminated or penflourished in this style often found their way into cathedral libraries. At Durham they arrived through Durham College Oxford and the donations of men like Alan de Chirden (fellow of Merton College c.1291–1323) and Bishop Robert

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73 Michael 1993, p. 66.　　74 Michael 1993, p. 89.
75 Michael 1993, pp. 89–93.
76 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 257/662, and Oxford, Merton College, ms. 37: for loan chests, see Pollard 1940 and Lovatt 1993.
77 BL, Add. ms. 47680, Oxford, Christ Church, ms lat. 92; Michael 1987, vol. I, pp. 127, 173 *et passim*.
78 Oxford, University Archives, ms. A. 1; Pollard 1968; Hackett 1984, p. 53, n. 4 and plate VI; Alexander and Temple 1986, nos. 275, 317.
79 L'Engle and Gibbs 2001, p. 21.

Greystanes (1333).[80] A Durham copy of works of Anselm and Augustine was clearly illuminated by an artist who worked on the *Secretum secretorum*, while the two volumes of Augustine in the Cathedral Library, donated by Bishop Greystanes, are illuminated by different artists, but show the same system of gathering marks.[81] Alan de Chirden gave a book to Merton College, but he was also vicar of Northallerton (North Yorkshire) relatively near Durham. His copy of Thomas Aquinas' Commentaries on Matthew and Mark was illuminated in Style C of the *Secretum secretorum* manuscript, almost certainly at Oxford.[82] The armorials which decorate the book, however, indicate that he may not have been its first owner, and that it may have belonged to Durham College, Oxford, or the bishop of Durham, Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham 1284–1311.[83]

Many of the manuscripts at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, seem to have arrived from Oxford in the fourteenth century. Such a book is a mutilated copy of Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *Libri naturales*, annotated by Robert Hardley, fellow of Merton College c.1328–49, pledged in a Cambridge chest in the period 1368–78 by Robert Tunstede, fellow of Peterhouse from 1352, and again by Richard Dereham of Gonville Hall in the late fourteenth century.[84] It is particularly interesting that most of the manuscripts chosen by Destrez to illustrate his no longer acceptable account of the Oxford pecia system of copying, display initials by the same group of artists.[85] Liturgical books such as the Huntington Hours, the Edinburgh Breviary, the Evesham Almonry Museum Psalter, and the Sidney Sussex Psalter, were executed in this same style and can be linked with Oxford and the region to the west and south of the city c.1320–30.[86] The illuminator of the early fourteenth-century copy of the Abingdon Chronicle, who worked in this style, can be found in the copy of Walter of Milemete's treatise, *De nobilitatibus sapientiis et prudentiis regum* (Oxford, Christ Church ms. 92) presented to Edward III early in 1327, together with the *Secretum secretorum* manuscript in whose decoration Oxford artists participated.[87] This may mean that the presentation copies of both these volumes

80 For Greystanes, see Piper 1978; Foster 1979, p. 42.
81 Durham, UL, ms. Cosin v. i. 8; Michael 1988, p. 110.
82 Durham, Cathedral Library, ms. A. I. 11; Bennett 1986, p. 13.
83 Powicke, *Merton*, p. 100, no. 56; *BRUO* 419.
84 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 486/482; James 1907–14, vol. II, pp. 555–7; *BRUO* 871; *BRUC* 598–9; Michael 1987, p. 304; Richard Dereham, d. by Feb. 1417 (*BRUC* 184–5).
85 Destrez 1935a, pls. 25–7.
86 San Marino, Huntington Library, ms. HM 1346; Edinburgh, UL, ms. 27; Evesham, Almonry Museum, s. n.; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, ms. 76; Michael 1987, vol. i, pp. 183–207; Michael 1988.
87 Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 17. 7: James 1900–4, vol. II, p. 414; Michael 1987, vol. i, p. 291; Lachaud 2000; Nederman 2002.

were, at one stage, being illuminated in Oxford, or, at least, that Oxford artists were called upon to illuminate parts of the book, under royal patronage.

A similar story may lie behind Walter Meriet's copy of Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (fig. 8.2).[88] One of the most popular university text books of the Middle Ages, copies were rarely illuminated in the early fourteenth century. But for this copy, Meriet, chancellor of Exeter Cathedral in 1333, commissioned lavish illumination in which his armorials were displayed no fewer than twenty-five times, accompanied, at each chapter heading, by repeated images of its Franciscan author kneeling before the Virgin. The artist who illuminated this book also decorated the Sidney Sussex Psalter, which has a litany for use in the diocese of Exeter.[89] A series of letters from Bishop John Grandisson of Exeter admonishing Meriet for his absenteeism and profligacy with money came to a head with a mandate of 1339, which states: 'Walter . . . had books made, both ready made and with ornaments added for him, to the ruin of his poor and infirm parishioners'.[90] The same sentiments were probably expressed by Prior Robert of Tickhill's fellow Augustinian canons at Worksop before he was removed for overspending in 1314 with only half the gilding and illumination of his lavish Psalter complete.[91] Given Meriet's absenteeism and his scholarly tastes, it seems probable that his book was illuminated in Oxford rather than Exeter. A similar instance of a book which originated in Oxford arriving in Exeter is the copy of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* which was pledged in the Vaughan Chest by Master Robert de Kynevelle or his brother John in 1328, and later acquired by Master Thomas Buckyngham (all three of them Fellows of Merton College), who gave it to Exeter Cathedral Library by c.1356.[92]

Other illuminators worked on the two books associated with Milemete in a style close to that of the Hours made for the de Bois family of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, which is related to that of stained glass found in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire.[93] They also collaborated on law books illuminated in Oxford by other painters who worked on the two Milemete volumes.[94] The books illuminated by artists trained in these styles range from the Statutes of

88 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 280/673: Michael 1987, vol. i, p. 306, n. 414.
89 Michael 1987, vol. i, p. 183.
90 See *Register Grandisson*, vol. ii, p. 85; Michael 1987, vol. ii, p. 891, n. 415.
91 Egbert 1940, pp. 121–3; *Survey*, v, no. 26.
92 Bodleian, ms. Bodley 335: Pächt and Alexander 1973, no. 478.
93 PML, ms. M. 700; *Survey*, v, no. 88, p. 96; Smith 2003, pp. 20–32.
94 See Marks 1998, p. 208, Stanford on Avon n. iii 4c, Newton and Kerr 1979, pp. 56–7, Cassington s. iii, 1a; Michael 1987, vol. i, p. 291.

the University of Oxford to books of canon law and philosophy, Breviaries, Psalters and Books of Hours, and some of their artists may have travelled between Oxford and centres such as London, Cambridge and Lincoln, as well as to other urban centres in the Midlands and West.[95] The distinctive style of the de Bois Hours artists can also be found in an Hours which may have been made for use in Lincolnshire, a copy of the Statutes of England which may have been made in London, and a Breviary fragment now in Syracuse University Library, New York, in which there is collaboration with an artist from the Queen Mary Psalter group who certainly worked in London.[96]

A hint of the everyday life of these Oxford book artisans towards the end of the fourteenth century is provided by a document of 1394, in which Henry Lymnor applies for a writ of excommunication against a glover, presumably because of an unpaid debt. The same Henry seems to have accommodated workmen in his house while they were extending the tower and walls of New College in 1396, and a chance reference in the Patent Rolls of 1432 provides the name of William Lymnour of Oxford, who claims against Ralph Wells of Hokwell for a horse.[97] Typical of the sort of book made in Oxford at this time is a copy of Bartholomeus Anglicus, pledged in the University Chest in 1390 and eventually given to Exeter Cathedral by Robert Rygge (fellow of Exeter College 1361–4/5, chancellor of the University c. 1380–8, canon of Exeter, d. by April 1410).[98]

Catte Street in Oxford seems still to have been a centre for the production of books in the early fifteenth century, but less evidence has survived than for the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It is notable that only a very few stationers are mentioned in the documents after 1400 and that one of them was a notary.[99] The Oxford stationer John Godsond must have been active by the time he drew up a contract with John Coueley lymnour for the illumination of books for the University (c. 1445).[100] Coueley and William Lymnour (probably William Bedwyn, recorded in 1432) may have been trained in the early years of the century. From this period there survives evidence for a Joan Lymner, possibly the widow or wife of John Illuminator, who was working as early as 1375 and may have died by 1403.[101]

95 Michael 1987, vol. II, p. 750 for a chart of the law books illuminated by these groups of illuminators.
96 For the Hours, Bodleian, Douce ms. 231, see *Survey*, v, no. 87; for the Statutes BL, Harley mss. 926–7, and the Psalter fragment of a Breviary, Syracuse, University Library, ms. Uncat. 1, see Michael 1987, vol. I, pp. 284–312, esp. p. 293.
97 Michael 1993, pp. 93, 97.
98 *BRUO* 1616; Bodleian, Bodley ms. 749; Pächt and Alexander 1973, no. 672.
99 Michael 1993, p. 67.   100 Michael 1993, p. 68.   101 Michael 1993, p. 94.

London

The documents that survive for London suggest a growing organization of trades from the late thirteenth century onwards until the incorporation of the text-writers and the illuminators into guilds and the merging of their activities by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Christianson's work on London book artisans benefits greatly from the entries in the Letter Books of the City of London for the period after 1350, and the Bridge House records relating to Old London Bridge.[102] Most of the early references to Londoners involved in the book trade are to be found in the documents relating to St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, the Ancient Deeds and Hustings Rolls, and the random references found in court rolls, and in legal and even criminal records.[103]

Illuminators were active in London from at least c.1200, as is evidenced by grants of land witnessed c.1200–25 by William Lenluminator, John Luminarius, Warin Parcheminer, Abel Parmentarius and Martin Parmentarius at St Brides Fleet Street and opposite the Fleet prison.[104] The fortuitous survival of a set of ancient deeds for Bermondsey tells us of Isabella Le Luminurs, who granted land (given to her by her nephew John (son of William Luminur) on her marriage to William Dilwys) to William Rokesle in the period 1250–72. The desire to maintain her family name perhaps indicates that she was a practising illuminator herself. Similarly, Alice le Luminurs of Bermondsey (daughter of Isabel Luminurs), John le Luminor, and William Eluminur were all land owners or witnesses to transactions concerning land in Bermondsey c.1250–90.[105] Particularly valuable is a document of John of Chigwell in Essex ('Johannes de Chikewell le Luminour'), endorsing his feoffment of a garden to John Everard, making it clear that his family name was not that of his occupation, in the same way as William le Illuminator alias Erminer did in the 1230s.[106]

As Nigel Morgan has noted, it is almost impossible to identify works from the early thirteenth century which were produced with certainty in London. The Westminster Psalter seems to have been made for Westminster Abbey c.1200, and has additions of c.1250 almost certainly made in London.[107] More securely associated with London are the line drawings in the Black Book of the Exchequer, c.1240–50.[108] It is possible that many of the artists who worked for the court were familiar with London and passed through it, so that a number

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102 Christianson 1987; Christianson 1990.
103 For a full bibliography of these and other records see Michael 1993, pp. 99–109.
104 Michael 1993, pp. 79–80.   105 Michael 1993, pp. 81–2.
106 *Descriptive catalogue of ancient deeds* (PRO), vol. IV (1902), pp. 255–6, no. A 8041.
107 BL, Royal ms. 2 A. XXII; *Survey*, IV/1, no. 2.
108 TNA/PRO, ms. (E 36) 266; *Survey*, IV/1, no. 83.

of the more sophisticated Apocalypse manuscripts, for which England was famed in the thirteenth century, may have actually been produced there.[109] It is clear, for instance, that two of the artists who worked on the ceiling of Henry III's Painted Chamber at Westminster also worked on separate Apocalypse manuscripts, which in turn had their imitators.[110] Other illuminators have been linked with royal patronage and form a reasonably coherent group around the Psalter made for the intended marriage of Margaret daughter of Florent V Count of Holland and Alphonso son of Edward I, but left unfinished after the latter's death in 1284.[111] The format of its page and border decoration is closely linked stylistically with the decoration of the so-called Windmill Psalter, which has been associated with the patronage of Edward I, with the Mostyn Psalter-Hours, and with an extraordinary Bible decorated in Italy by an English artist, now at the Cathedral of St Nicholas at Bagnoregio, near Viterbo.[112] The presence of an English illuminator in Italy comes as no surprise, for English scribes have been identified as working all over Europe in university and urban centres during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[113]

Transactions concerning Bermondsey continue into the later thirteenth century, but the Ancient Deeds of the City of London do not indicate the place of work of the families who owned the land. This is likely to have been closer to Southwark, London Bridge, Fleet Street, Faringdon and Paternoster Row.[114] A William Southflete 'stacionarius' had four new books made for the king, his shop apparently situated in Paternoster Street, and a Nicholas Bookbinder held property at Faringdon without in 1332.[115] Dionysia le Bokebyndere claims against Tyder Thoyd and others for burglary at her house in Fleet Street in 1312, and it seems likely that she is identical with Dionysia the daughter of Margaret and Bartholomew of Westminster, a parchment maker who resided in Holborn.[116] Paternoster Row appears to have been a centre of the book trade from the twelfth century onwards, but most of the surviving documentary evidence comes from the later Middle Ages. The Skinners' Company Book of the City of London was made by Thomas Wygg at the Sign of the 'Bedes' in Paternoster Row, probably after 1441.[117]

Artists from the so-called Queen Mary Psalter group can be shown to have worked in London on the *Liber legum antiquorum regum* of the City by 1321. This is part of a set of law books bequeathed in 1328 to the Guildhall by Andrew

109 *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 110, 122, 124 *et al.*   110 Binski 1995b; *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 132, 153.
111 BL, Add. ms. 24686; *Survey*, V, no.1.
112 PML, ms. M. 102; *Survey*, V, nos. 4, 5; Bennett 1985; Bennett 1994, especially n. 17 for bibliography.
113 Rouse and Rouse 1996.   114 Michael 1993, pp. 68–72.
115 Christianson 1990, p. 70.   116 Michael 1993, p. 111, n. 21.   117 *Survey*, IV/1, p. 25.

Horn, fishmonger and chamberlain (from 1320) of the City of London, who resided at Bridge Street. The *Liber Horn* (Corporation of London Record Office), containing the Statutes of England and related material, can be dated with reasonable certainty to 1311–19.[118] A number of manuscripts of the Statutes of England contain illustrations which are stylistically related to the Queen Mary group and may have been produced in London at this time, but it should be noted that these artists also worked on books made for East Anglian patrons.[119] Another artist from this group has been found working in a glossed text of Aristotle which appears to have been made in Paris.[120] The magnificent Queen Mary Psalter itself, almost certainly made for a royal patron during the reign of Edward II, underlines the francophilia of the English court in the early fourteenth century, epitomized by the sophistication of style and elegance of books such as this.[121] It is closely related to the Breviary made for Chertsey Abbey, west of London, and also to the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, certainly made for a monk of St Augustine's, but evidently written and decorated in London.[122] It seems clear that artists working in this style produced books for patrons in both East Anglia and Kent, sometimes, no doubt, travelling to another centre where they collaborated with local artists, and at other times working on books commissioned in London.[123] Similar problems surround the so-called Madonna Master, illuminator of the Virgin and Child page of the De Lisle Psalter. He has been convincingly associated with monumental painting at Westminster, but may also have worked on books destined for Canterbury; whether these books were made in London is difficult to establish, but it is probable that they were.[124]

Two important manuscripts which appear to reflect book design influenced by the latest ideas of scholarship in London are the collection of philosophical and devotional texts made for Roger of Waltham, canon of St Paul's (c.1309–36),[125] and the great *Omne Bonum* encyclopaedia of the London clerk of the Exchequer, James le Palmer (c.1327–75).[126] The latter attempts to define the key concepts in creation through an illustrated alphabetical treatise and is one of the most ambitious projects of its kind ever attempted. James' clear

118 Corporation of London Record Office, ms. Cust. 6, *Liber Custumarum*; BL, Cotton ms. Claudius D. II; Oxford, Oriel College ms. 46; Corporation of London Record Office, ms. Cust. 2 *Liber Horn*: Ker 1954; Dennison 1990.
119 Michael 1981.   120 BNF, ms. lat. 17155: *Survey*, v, no. 70.
121 BL, Royal ms. 2 B. VII: *Survey*, v, no. 56.
122 Bodleian, mss. Lat. liturg. d. 42, e. 6, e. 37 and e. 39 etc. and PML, ms. G. 53: *Survey*, v, nos. 57, 62.
123 See Michael 1987, vol. I, p. 87; Dennison 1990, pp. 133–4.
124 BL, Arundel ms. 83 Pt II: Sandler 1983, pp. 107–15; Michael 1988.
125 Glasgow, UL, Hunterian ms. 231: *Survey*, v, no. 99.
126 BL, Royal mss. 6 E. VI–VII: *Survey*, v, no. 124; Sandler 1989, 1996.

Anglicana hand has also been identified in a copy of the Commentary on the Gospels by William of Nottingham.[127] A clerk of the Pipe Roll and later clerk to the Engrosser of the Exchequer (1359–68), James saved himself the considerable expense of having his book written out by a member of the text-writer's guild, although the illumination was so costly that the book was completed only after his death. This 'do-it-yourself' approach to the making of books was cited as a reason for the text-writers to form their own guild.[128]

   After 1357, when the scriveners of court-hand, scriveners of text-hand and limners were exempted from service on sheriffs' inquests by the Lord Mayor of London, a different picture of the evidence emerges, one much more in keeping with that for Oxford in the thirteenth century. At least sixteen book artisans are recorded on the south side of Paternoster Row in the early fifteenth century, including text-writers, bookbinders and at least seven illuminators.[129] From the late fourteenth century to the first years of the fifteenth it is possible to associate signed works with documented illuminators. Of special importance are the documents from the Abbot's Treasurer's Roll of Westminster for 1383–4.[130] This provides a breakdown of the cost of one of the grandest of all large Missals from the late fourteenth century, paid for by Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton. The Litlyngton Missal took the scribe Thomas Preston (a lay professional) two years to complete.[131] He may have been assisted by Thomas Rolf with the illumination of the initials which cost £2 20s 3d, although Sandler has identified a number of different hands which contributed to the illumination.[132] The styles of illumination found in the Litlyngton Missal can also be found in other manuscripts probably made in London. These include copies of the *Book on Good Government* and *Libellus geomancie* made for Richard II, the Belknap Hours, and an Apocalypse now in Trinity College, Cambridge, which is associated with the iconographical cycles of the Westminster Abbey chapter house paintings and presbytery screen sculptures.[133] One of the most important, but sadly mutilated, illuminated manuscripts of the late fourteenth century, the Missal made for the London Carmelite House, displays border decoration and initials by at least three different hands, two of whom appear to have been trained in the figure styles and border decoration of this Lytlington Missal group of London

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127 Bodleian, ms. Laud. Misc. 165: Pächt and Alexander 1973, no. 739.
128 Christianson 1990, pp. 21–3.
129 Christianson 1990, pp. 47–58, for bibliographies and plan of London.
130 Westminster Abbey, Muniments 24265∗: Alexander and Binski 1987, p. 519, no. 715.
131 Westminster Abbey, ms. 37: *Survey*, v, no. 150; Christianson 1990, p. 144; East 1998.
132 Christianson 1990, p. 153; *Survey*, v, no. 150.
133 Bodleian, ms. Bodley 581 and BL, Royal ms. 12 C. V; the Belknap Hours (Cologne, Private Collection) and Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. в. 10. 2: Hansen 1939, pp. 89–131, *Survey*, v, nos. 152–4; Binski 1995a.

illuminators (the so-called hands B and C).[134] A third painter, altogether more sophisticated, may well have come to London from the Low Countries and has been identified as the artist of a Missal (dated 1398), later presented to the parish church of Lapworth in Warwickshire by Thomas Ashby (d. 1443).[135]

Documents of c.1400 reveal the name of an enigmatic illuminator who signed a compilation of Offices and Prayers 'Hermannus Scheerre me fecit'.[136] It has been suggested that Herman may be the same person who took over the shop of John Hun in Paternoster Row, who may in turn be the 'Johannes' who signed the great *Livres du Graunt Caam*, one of the most lavishly illustrated books of the early fifteenth century.[137] Herman may have come from Cologne, for he acted as a witness for Peter of Cologne who left his goods to 'Brother Herman of Cologne of the order of the Carmelites' in 1407, but this has been hotly disputed, and the origins of his style have been sought in the Low Countries.[138]

The complexity of the visual information from the surviving books associated with London is reflected in the documents. Christianson has identified a number of limners working in close association in the years around 1400 together with scribes and stationers of considerable prestige such as Richard Frampton, who was called upon to organize the writing and illuminating of the great Coucher books of the Duchy of Lancaster 1406–7.[139] The intimacy of the London scene 1400–50 is demonstrated by the evidence for William Abell, a limner, whose work is known from the Eton College consolidation charter of 1446. He was executor of the will of Thomas Fysshe, another limner, who left his apprentices Robert Fitzjohn and William Buttler in his care. A respected member of the Stationer's Guild, Abell acted as a churchwarden and eventually owned three shops on Paternoster Row; his business was carried on by his wife after his death in 1474.[140]

Cambridge, Norwich and Lincoln

The survival of large numbers of beautifully illuminated books from the region of East Anglia and the Fenlands has led to this region gaining a canonical

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134 BL, Add. mss. 29704–5: *Survey*, VI, no. 2.
135 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 394: *Survey*, VI, no. 6.
136 BL, Add. ms. 16998: *Survey*, VI, no. 21.
137 Bodleian, ms. Bodley 264: Christianson 1990, pp. 124, 157–8.
138 Rickert 1935, p. 40; Rickert 1952, p. 141. For a full account of the more recent debates, see also *Survey*, VI, no. 21.
139 Somerville 1936. Frampton also copied a two-volume Breviary for Henry IV (presumed to be lost), and a Statutes of England (San Marino, Huntington Library, ms. HM 19920): Doyle and Parkes 1978, esp. pp. 192–5; *Survey*, V/2, p. 84.
140 Christianson 1990, p. 59.

importance in the history of English manuscript production of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. It is rare, however, that documentary evidence for place of origin can be linked directly to surviving books. It is much more difficult than is the case with Oxford, to present convincing evidence for book production at the university town of Cambridge, because of the poor survival and limited publication of documents.[141] It seems clear that there was organized activity before 1263–76 when the bishop of Ely issued and confirmed statutes for the book trade. The bishop of Ely's accounts, which indicate that scribes and parchment makers were summoned from Cambridge to Ely, confirm the importance of Cambridge as the major centre from which skills and materials could be brought.[142] The illumination of the University Charter of 1292, by an artist who also decorated an Ely Cathedral Breviary at about the same time, is at a high level of sophistication.[143] At Lincoln it is clear that an area similar to London's Paternoster Row existed, centred around Luminour Lane.[144] At Norwich a scriptor and a brevitor (public letter-writer) can be found in the parishes of St George Tombland and St Peter Parmountergate, and as many as thirty-three clerks and their wives can probably be counted as scriveners between 1285 and 1311.[145] A number of families of illuminators, parchment makers and scribes figure in the obedientiary rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory and in the published deeds of the city.[146] Nekes the illuminator appears in the rolls during the period when Norwich Cathedral priory was re-stocking its library after the fire of 1272, but two families of illuminators were permanent residents in the early fourteenth century: John of Acle, his wife Aldreda, Robert 'Peyntour' his son, and Roger and his wife Helwyse.[147] A thriving trade seems to have continued well into the fifteenth century, and a similar increase in the social status of its practitioners to that found in London, through association with fraternities and legal duties, can be detected.[148]

The umbrella term 'East Anglian illumination' has tended to obscure the complexity of the physical evidence of the decorated books that survive from the East of England. Few books from the thirteenth century can be associated with Norwich, apart from the Carrow Psalter, with a calendar suggesting that it was intended for use in the diocese, and which was at Carrow Priory (Norwich)

141 Grey 1904; Peek and Hall 1962, p. 24.
142 Black 1986, p. 6; Doyle 1990c, p. 18; Hackett 1970, pp. 228–9.
143 CUL, ms. Ii. 4. 20: Binski and Panayotova 2005, no. 178.
144 Hill 1948, pp. 161, 363; Doyle 1990c, p. 21; Michael 1993, p. 74.
145 Kelly, Rutledge and Tillyard 1983, pp. 19, 30.   146 Ker, *BCL*, p. 266.
147 See Rye 1903–15, p. 106; Hudson and Cottingham Tingey 1910, vol. 1, p. 365; Michael 1993, pp. 73, 84, 86. The thriving nature of Norwich is further confirmed by Caroline Hull's work on the Douai Psalter (Hull 1994).
148 Michael 1993, p. 73.

in the fifteenth century.[149] There are similarities between this book, a Decretals, and a second Psalter, certainly made for and used at Carrow Priory in the mid-thirteenth century, and this can in turn be linked with a Psalter made for Norwich Cathedral Priory c.1270–80.[150] It is significant that the artist who decorated the Cambridge University Charter of 1292 closely resembles one of the early artists of the Ormesby Psalter, suggesting that this famous manuscript may have been begun at Cambridge – it was certainly finished at Norwich many years later, where it came into the possession of the Cathedral Priory.[151]

Other illuminators, such as the artist of the Howard Psalter, have strong connections with the Lincolnshire and Norfolk fenlands, and possibly again with Cambridge. The Howard Psalter itself was perhaps made for John Fitton (d. 1326) of Wiggenhall St Germans near King's Lynn. He worked on a Bible Concordance bought by John of Glynton and in at least four other books given by John to the Gilbertines of Sempringham in Lincolnshire. He also illuminated an indulgence roll containing prayers to Robert Grosseteste, for whom a very restricted local cult existed at Lincoln Cathedral, a copy of Justinian's Codex (fig. 8.3) and a copy of the works of St Augustine owned by Simon, abbot of Ramsey.[152]

This artist of the Howard Psalter, on the other hand, collaborated with the next generation of illuminators who worked on books such as the Stowe Breviary for use in Norwich diocese, and the Gorleston Psalter for a lay patron connected with Gorleston parish church, both books perhaps made at Norwich.[153] Perhaps he was an artist who travelled, and whose career was not limited to any single urban entre. Other luxury manuscripts, such as the luxurious Psalter in Brussels made for Peterborough Abbey, were certainly illuminated by peripatetic artists who worked for patrons in various Benedictine abbeys, but who could have been based either in Lincoln or at the East Anglian centres of Cambridge or Norwich.[154] It is noteworthy that the Augustinian canon, Robert of Tickhill, and the Benedictine, Walter of Rouceby, spared no expense on their Psalters, which were illuminated by these professional artists;

149 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. W. 34; *Survey*, IV/2, no. 118.
150 Hereford, Cathedral Library, ms. O. 7. VII, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 6422, and Lambeth, ms. 368: *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 119–20, 181.
151 Peek and Hall 1962, pl. 12, University Archives, ms. Luard 7*. Bodleian, ms. Douce 366 (compare e.g. fol. 63): for the Ormesby Psalter see most recently Law-Turner 1999.
152 BL, Arundel ms. 83 Part I (Howard Psalter); BL, Royal ms. 3 B. III (Concordance); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 7–1953 (Prayer Roll); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 11/11 (Justinian); BL, Royal ms. 5 D. X (Augustine): Michael 1981, pp. 81–8. See also *Survey*, V, no. 51, for the Howard Psalter, and L'Engle and Gibbs 2001, no. 18, for coloured illustrations of the Justinian.
153 BL, Stowe ms. 12, and BL, Add. ms. 49622: *Survey*, V, nos. 50, 79.
154 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9961–2: Sandler 1974; *Survey*, V, no. 40.

monastic patronage seems to have demanded such books of equivalent high quality and luxury to those made for lay patrons.[155]

Most of the decoration of the Psalter which the monk Robert Ormesby gave to Norwich Cathedral Priory in the 1320s is by the same artists and pen-flourishers who worked on a Psalter for the Cluniacs of Bromholm (Norfolk), a copy of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* almost certainly made for Norwich Cathedral Priory, a Bestiary of unknown ownership, and an Apocalypse for Benedictine patrons. These books were probably made in Norwich.[156] Local stained glass (for example at Ringland, Norfolk) and wall painting (for example at Weston Longville, Norfolk) are closely associated with this style, suggesting that book illuminators were following trends in monumental painting in the region.[157] Around 1325–50 it seems that several artists were active in East Anglia and may have been moving freely between the university centre of Cambridge and the commercial centre of Norwich, as evidenced by those who worked on the Douai, Macclesfield and Gorleston Psalters, the Stowe Breviary and related manuscripts.[158] An unfinished Psalter, made for the St Omer family of Mulbarton close to Norwich, suggests that there were local patrons who were eager to acquire luxury books and that they probably found illuminators capable of such high quality work in nearby Norwich.[159] However, another closely related group of manuscripts, associated with the diocese of Ely c.1330–50, suggests the presence of illuminators in the Cambridge area in that period who were aware of the work of these Norwich artists. These manuscripts include the Mortuary Roll of John Hotham, bishop of Ely (d. 1337), the Psalter of Simon de Montacute, bishop of Ely (d. 1345), a Psalter at Brescia made for the diocese of Ely, and a second charter of Cambridge University dated 1343.[160]

York

The size and importance of York, during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, suggests that it must have been an important centre of the book

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155 New York, Public Library, Spencer ms. 26 and Bodleian, ms. Barlow 22: *Survey*, v, nos. 26, 91.

156 Bodleian, mss. Douce 366, Ashmole 1523; Cambridge, Emmanuel College, ms. 2.1.1, Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 64, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 379: *Survey*, v, nos. 43–6, 49.

157 For Ringland, see King, 1974, p. 19, plate VII, and for Weston Longville, see Tristram 1955, pp. 75–6.

158 Douai, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 171, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 1–2005 (Macclesfield Psalter): Hull 1994; Binski and Panayotova 2005, no. 78.

159 BL, Yates Thompson ms. 14: *Survey*, v, no. 104; Metzger 1994; Michael 1997b.

160 Canterbury, Cathedral Library, ms. Ch. Ant. E. 191; Cambridge, St John's College, ms. D. 30 (109**); Brescia, Bibliotheca Queriniana, ms. A. v. 17; Cambridge, University Archives, Luard ms. 33a: *Survey*, v, nos. 109, 112; Dennison 1986a, fig. 22; Michael 1987, pp. 92–109.

trade in the north of England, certainly for the service books required for its archdiocese. This is borne out by the Lay Subsidy Rolls and Registers of the Freemen of York, in which scriveners and bookbinders as well as illuminators figure from the 1270s on.[161] As in London and Oxford, there seems to have been a movement for guild organization during the fourteenth century, and by 1377 the scriveners, text-writers, limners, tourners, flourishers and noters were incorporated. This seems to have occurred in order to stamp out competition from priests and others who might charge for their services unfairly – the same type of reasons for incorporation and regulation were cited in the other centres.[162]

Few thirteenth-century illuminated books can be ascribed to York with any great confidence: the Psalter later owned by Simon Meopham, archbishop of Canterbury 1328–33, was certainly made for use in the York Diocese and its decoration can be associated with that of the so-called York Psalter, itself close to that of the fragments of an English Apocalypse now in Berlin and Moscow.[163] The fact that the artist of these fragments is close to one of the two painters who executed panels for the surviving ceiling paintings of 1264–5 in Henry III's Painted Chamber at Westminster, suggests that these books may have been made in London for the diocese of York, or in York by peripatetic London-based illuminators.[164]

Later thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century manuscripts such as the Percy Psalter-Hours, the De la Twyere Psalter and the Hours formerly at Madresfield Court, demonstrate that there was a demand for luxury liturgical books by patrons within the diocese of York.[165] The exquisitely illuminated Genealogical Roll of the Kings of England with an *ex libris*, c.1300, of St Mary's Abbey, York, may, however, have been executed by artists trained elsewhere who moved with the court when the royal administration was based in York in the years 1298–1305.[166]

The contract of 1346 between Robert Brekling and the priest John Forbor, which survives in the York Minster Fabric Rolls, describes the former as a *scriptor*, but clearly indicates that he should illuminate the Psalter after he has written it, with Calendar, Office of the Dead, Hymnal and Collectar, according

161 Friedman 1989.   162 Christianson 1990, pp. 13–18; Doyle 1990c, pp. 19–20.
163 Lambeth, Sion ms. L. 40. 2/L. 2; BL, Add. ms. 54179; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 1247; Moscow, National Library, inv. 1678: *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 132, a, b, 134, 133.
164 See above, n. 110.
165 BL, Add. 70000 and Private Collection, London; New York, Public Library, Spencer ms. 2; Wormsley, Getty Collection: Michael 1987, vol. I, p. 537, cat. no. 44; *Survey*, V, nos. 11, 36, 37; Fletcher *et al.* 1999, pp. 26–7.
166 Bodleian, ms. Bodley Rolls 3: *Survey*, V, no. 16.

to Forbor's instructions.[167] Each illuminated initial is priced by the number of lines it takes up on the page, a method of pricing universally applied across Europe at the time. The sort of work in which Brekling would have been involved for this commission is more in keeping with a mid fourteenth-century York Breviary in New York, the Percy Hours in London, and a Breviary made for Bridlington.[168] The York Hours at Boulogne and the York Missal in Dublin, from the late fourteenth century, have been regarded as products of the city for both technical and liturgical reasons.[169] The existence of the Hours made c.1405–15 for the Bolton family, mercers of the city, suggests that vigorous local production of books for the laity in York continued well into the fifteenth century.[170]

Other urban centres

From the evidence of surviving liturgical books and the prosopographical studies that have been carried out for some of the major towns in England it is clear that nearly every commercial centre and certainly every cathedral town would have needed scriveners, parchment-makers and bookbinders for production of its diocesan service-books.[171] Recent work has revealed evidence for Thomas Illuminator at Gloucester c.1179–1205 and the name of 'Master Augustus, illuminator of Chester' has survived through his gift of a parcel of land to the abbey of St Werburg, Chester, in the thirteenth century.[172] Single or small numbers of illuminators and other book artisans are known to have made a living in centres such as Bristol, Winchester, Lichfield, Durham and Colchester.[173] At present it is not possible to form a clear picture of these other centres, but more work on local archives will surely reveal the names of more book artisans throughout the country.

It is clear from the documentary evidence and the surviving books that both writing and illumination of books was practised in many urban centres throughout the country, but that certain places were more productive than others, for economic and logistical reasons. The bespoke nature of book production throughout the Middle Ages means that books could be copied and illuminated

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167 For a translation of this contract, see Michael 1993, p. 77.
168 New York, Grolier Club, ms. 3, a Percy Psalter-Hours; BL, Harley ms. 1260 and Bridlington, Private Collection: Michael 1987, vol. 1, p. 510, no. 28, Christie's Sale 1993, lot 15.
169 Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 93; Dublin Trinity College, ms. 83: *Survey*, VI/2, no. 7, pp. 37–8.
170 York, Minster Library, Add. ms. 2: Friedman 1995 *passim*; *Survey*, VI/2, no. 33; Twycross 2004.
171 For instance, Keene, 1985, vol. II, no. 99.   172 Gullick 1995a, 1996a.
173 Doyle 1990c, pp. 22–5, for general comments, and *Survey*, VI/1, p. 34.

nearly anywhere – not just in the large towns. Scribes and illuminators were among the most widely travelled of medieval artisans. They did not require large 'workshops' to ply their trade and could easily be asked to go to another place if work was required. Where there was a large resident academic population requiring books on a regular basis (such as Oxford and Cambridge) more permanent relationships between book artisans became established. It is clear that some illuminators were locally based and trained others in the craft. Some were visitors to places which did not have a continuous demand for luxury books, and others were in the employ of the aristocracy and could travel across international boundaries. Such complexities make imprudent any simple division of book production by region. The lesson to be learned from studying this material is that no one body of evidence can provide the basis for analysis. The surviving archival documents, the codicology and palaeography of the surviving books, the language in which books are written, their texts, the diocesan localization of liturgical books, and also the style of their illumination, provides ample information. It can be best interpreted if all these aspects are considered as a whole.

READERSHIP, LIBRARIES,
TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

9

Library catalogues and indexes

RICHARD SHARPE

The centuries between 1100 and 1400 witnessed the development of book-lists from simple lists into descriptive catalogues, arranged according to a variety of different principles. Before the end of the fourteenth century experiments were being made in employing the fixed order of the alphabet to help, either as an organizing principle or, more commonly, as a means of indexing a catalogue arranged on other principles. The birth of the library catalogue resulted from a change of approach to the custody of and access to books in particular institutions. Its sophistication as a document depended on years of evolution as librarians experimented with different ways of describing books and organizing lists. The origins of the catalogue lie in documents of a much less formal character.

A list of books might be drawn up for many reasons in a wide range of circumstances – books owned by someone, books copied by someone, books that were changing hands between owners. No doubt an equally wide variety of impulses motivated individuals to make lists of their books, but in institutions, where responsibility for the books would pass from one person to another, perhaps at quite short intervals, the need for a record of what books the institution possessed was widely felt. Such lists might well distinguish books kept for study from books kept for liturgical purposes; books kept for administrative reasons, such as custumals and cartularies, were rarely listed at all.

Book-lists are a class of record represented by surviving examples from as early as the end of the eighth century, earlier than any surviving inventories of other categories of goods from the medieval west.[1] It is impossible to be sure whether this reflects reality: administrators in antiquity made inventories, and examples on papyrus have been uncovered in Egypt; their early medieval

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1 The earliest book-list from western Europe may well be the puzzling list in Berlin, ms. Diez. B Sant. 66 [*CLA* VIII. 1044], pr. *Catalogi bibliothecarum*, pp. 41–2, no. 20, and most recently by Gorman 2000, p. 260; this was interpreted by B. Bischoff as a list of books from the court library of Charlemagne, but it is more likely notes made by a reader in Verona towards the end of the eighth century.

successors are often assumed not to have applied literacy in such workaday contexts, but, if they did, the results would have had small chance of being preserved. One factor that may explain why we have book-lists from the Carolingian period is that they were written into library books or liturgical books that had a better prospect of survival than a record on one or two pieces of parchment.[2] In some cases what survives is not the list but information from it, incorporated in monastic histories, such as those of Fontanelle or Reichenau.[3] While some lists of Carolingian date describe several hundred volumes, chance has delivered only a dozen short lists from England for the entire period before 1100.[4] The lack of proper catalogues from the pre-Conquest period inhibits our ability to discuss libraries, but the short lists at least bear witness to early techniques of describing the books.

The oldest descriptive list of books for study to have survived from England briefly records fourteen works; it was added to a mid-tenth-century copy of Isidore's *De natura rerum*, which later belonged to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.[5] The wording reflects how the writer of the list, Æthelstan, evidently a late tenth-century schoolmaster, thought of the works he owned; he sometimes records only the title, sometimes only the author, whichever concisely represented his perception: 'De natura rerum' (i.e. Isidore's work, in a copy of which he was writing), 'Persius. De arte metrica. Donatum minorem. Excerptiones de arte metrica. Apocalipsin. Donatum maiorem. Alchuinum . . .' For one work, the schoolmaster had neither author nor title, but he used the opening words to identify it, 'Libellum de grammatica arte que sic incipit Terra que pars', sufficient for us to recognize another copy of the same work. Such an informal list, with no bibliographical method, is difficult to interpret, not because the writer did not know his own books but because he was too familiar with them to need more precision. It is easy enough now to identify Persius' Satires, popular as a school text, or to distinguish the *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* of Donatus; we might even guess that the work of Alcuin referred to was one of his grammatical texts, though a short moral treatise might be a possibility too; but the two items on metre cannot be interpreted. The list gives us no clue as to the physical books, and fourteen works may have meant fourteen small books like

2 *Catalogi bibliothecarum*, pp. 32–5 (no. 15), from Konstanz, written into a Gregorian sacramentary, now untraced (*Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 27 (no. 37)); *Catalogi bibliothecarum*, pp. 38–41 (no. 18), from Würzburg, written into the front and back flyleaves of a copy of Augustine's *Retractationes*; *Catalogi bibliothecarum*, pp. 37–8 (no. 17), from Weissenburg, entered in a copy of Hilary on Matthew, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., ms. Weissenburg 34 (s. ix), fols. 113v–114r.

3 *Catalogi bibliothecarum*, pp. 1–2 (no. 1), pp. 3–4 (no. 4), pp. 13–16 (no. 7), from Fontanelle (Saint-Wandrille); pp. 4–13 (no. 6), pp. 16–24 (nos. 8–10), from Reichenau.

4 Lapidge 1985.   5 Lapidge 1985, pp. 51–2 (no. iii).

the Isidore, or fewer, since a book might contain several short texts. Another late tenth-century list (BP1),[6] more official in its character, was intended to document for posterity the gifts of Bishop Æthelwold to the monastery of Peterborough, which he refounded.[7] As with the schoolmaster's books, this record was composed in Old English but the Latin books are recorded in Latin; some of these works are recorded by author and title, a convention that makes for great clarity, 'Beda in Marcum', 'Augustinus de achademicis', 'Sinonima Isidori'. Titles already fall into distinct grammatical shapes. Some works are mentioned only by author's name, 'Alchimi Auiti', 'Cilicius Ciprianus', both relatively rare; others only by title, whether because the copy was anonymous, 'Descidia Parisiace polis' (by Abbo of Saint-Germain), or because always anonymous, 'Liber miraculorum', or because simple *Fachliteratur* without need for author, 'Medicinalis', 'De eucharistia', or because familiar enough not to need the author's name, 'Expositio hebreorum nominum', 'Liber differentiarum'. Even in this primitive form, variable habits of description are well established.

The detail included in book-lists always reflects to some extent the reasons for making the record and also how much the person making the list knew about the books. A book can be described in very simple terms, and historically the primary focus was always on the contents, not how they were combined in a volume, still less how to identify the specific volume. Even quite substantial lists can take this form. A second from Peterborough Abbey (BP2), datable between 1111 and 1119, comprises fifty-nine entries, but it makes no attempt to indicate how many volumes or what works formed a single volume. As lists grew longer, the need for better information increased. Benedictine customs required the precentor to keep a list of books distributed among the monks on the first Monday of Lent for private reading during the coming year, and he needed to know not simply what texts each monk had but what physical book. Customs did not require the precentor also to keep a list of all the books in his keeping, but the habit of so doing was widespread. From twelfth-century England there survive several lists that aim to describe whole collections. The earliest, datable to 1122/3, is from Rochester Cathedral Priory (B77, B78), copied into an early twelfth-century cartulary; it originally comprised nearly one hundred entries, but one leaf is missing at the front and a dozen or so entries are later additions. Its layout and wording clearly distinguish one entry from another, indicating

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6 Citations in this form refer to the annotated editions of the document in *CBMLC*. All institutional catalogues as well as many other book-lists, made for different reasons, have been or will be printed with notes and indexes in this series. The catalogues are in most cases also illustrated by plates, and it is usually necessary to take notice of the layout on the page in understanding the nature of such documents.

7 Lapidge 1985, pp. 52–5 (no. iv).

where a work occupies more than one volume and where a volume contains more than one work. The extant text begins among the works of St Augustine (B77. 1–4):

> Expositionem eiusdem super psalterium in.iii. uoluminibus.
> Librum ipsius de ciuitate dei in.i. uolumine.
> Expositionem eiusdem super epistolas sancti Iohannis apostoli in.i. uolumine. in quo et sermo ipsius inter pressuras et apocalipsis et cantica.
> Item Augustinum contra Faustum in.i. uolumine.

This is the typical form of twelfth-century catalogues. Those from Benedictine houses generally sought to be precise about the works entered, even if the titles familiar to a twelfth-century librarian were not always those under which the same works are now known. The six volumes described by these four entries happen to survive, along with a significant proportion of other twelfth-century manuscripts from Rochester Cathedral Priory, so that we have the opportunity to compare the medieval description and the actual book. The arrangement of the catalogue must have begun as usual with biblical manuscripts, but what survives starts with eighteen entries for volumes listed as Augustine's works (though some contained works by other writers as well) (B77. 1–18); there follow seventeen entries for Jerome (B77. 19–35), nine for Ambrose (B77. 36–44), seven for Gregory (B77. 45–51), with other authorities following on. This record helps us to interpret a slightly earlier list from Abingdon Abbey. This is an account of the goods bestowed on the abbey by Abbot Faricius between 1100 and 1117, forming part of a late twelfth-century history of the abbots. Besides the liturgical books made by the monks, it records books copied by six hired scribes to build up the library (B2). The list begins with Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*, his homilies on John's gospel, and 'many other volumes of the same teacher'; then three works of Gregory, and 'many other volumes of the same teacher', two volumes of Jerome, 'and many other volumes of that teacher', and one of Ambrose, 'and many other volumes of that teacher'. There follow four entries on works of other authors and Faricius' 'multos libros de physica'. It looks as if the writer of the history has simply summarized a list drawn up in a form very like that of the Rochester catalogue. A very similar format is found in the library list from Reading Abbey (and its cell at Leominster), drawn up around 1192 (B71, B75, about 280 entries), included like the Rochester catalogue in a cartulary. The shorter catalogues from Burton Abbey (B11, c.1175, 76 entries) and Whitby Abbey (B109, late twelfth-century, 86 entries) are again very similar in their descriptions of the books, though the writing of the lists is far more informal, each squeezed on to a single blank leaf in a book.

Each of these catalogues aims to use a single sentence, often just a few words, to describe a book. For a book that contained few works, the author and title formulation works well, and the phrase 'in uno uolumine' flags where the list moves from one book to the next. The catalogue of c.1200 from Waltham Abbey (A38, 132 entries) uses 'in eodem uolumine' or simply 'simul', usually in combination with a paraph sign (¶), while the list of books included in the early thirteenth-century cartulary roll of Flaxley Abbey (z7, 59 entries), uses just 'in eodem' or 'simul'. Where a volume contains more texts, one usually finds the principal work identified and a formula such as 'ubi etiam est' or more commonly 'in quo etiam continentur' to introduce the other contents. The descriptions resemble the brief itemization of contents that librarians began to enter on a flyleaf at the front of books. Such descriptions adequately convey what an informed librarian wanted to know about each book, even where they did not necessarily itemize the entire contents. While the primary point of reference is the contents, other aspects of the books may be used. Physical aspects of the book, for example, are sometimes mentioned. Size is a common way of distinguishing a book, large or small in format; bindings in boards, the colour of the skin covering the boards, sewn in quires but not bound; some librarians remark on the newness or oldness of a copy or even the quality of the writing. Such adjuncts remind us that the librarian handled the books both as objects and as texts, but in the catalogues of the twelfth century no precise distinction is made. Even where there were multiple copies of the same texts, for example with the school-books at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the twelfth century, the listing makes no attempt to distinguish copies descriptively, though each was assigned a distinctive symbol for the purpose of checking that every copy was present.[8]

This approach to description, centred on the contents, with the occasional use of physical adjuncts, was standard from the early Middle Ages until the thirteenth century. It remained a functional approach to the description of books, even after more advanced methods had developed. Catalogues of this type can be found through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Good examples are the 1202 catalogue from Rochester Cathedral (B79, 241 entries); 1247 author-and-subject catalogue from Glastonbury Abbey (B39, 402 entries); the late thirteenth-century subject catalogue of the much smaller library at the Premonstratensian abbey of Bradsole (P2, 147 entries); the early fourteenth-century shelf-list catalogue from a London house, perhaps Bermondsey (B10, 114 entries from shelves xiiii to xxiiii); the press-list catalogue from the

8 James, *AL*, pp. 3–12 (including the indispensable reproduction of the symbols).

Augustinian priory at Lanthony, near Gloucester, datable to the mid-fourteenth century (A16, 508 entries); and the press-list catalogue from the Cistercian abbey of Meaux, dated 1396 (z14, 363 entries). We may classify such catalogues in accordance with their descriptions as Type 1.

There is more to a catalogue, however, than its approach to describing each book in words. The arrangement of the catalogue is no less important. The most frequent arrangement of catalogues of Type 1 is by subject and author. This was already well established long before 1100. The Bible came first, and from the third quarter of the century, there would sometimes be lengthy lists of glossed books of the Bible, not necessarily produced to form sets, since some parts were more popular for study than others. Next came the leading fathers or doctors of the Church, usually Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, followed by the works of other well-known theological writers. Other ecclesiastical books followed, pastoral works, sermons, and, from the late twelfth century, *sententiae*, *summae* and commentaries on the definitive sentence-collection, Peter Lombard's four books of Sentences. Philosophical texts, especially commentaries on Aristotle, and discussions of logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics, formed the next category in this hierarchy of learning. Secular subjects followed, canon law, civil law, medicine, history and geography, with school texts, including grammar and poetry at the end.

While this hierarchy of learning may dictate the general principles, it does not necessarily dictate the precise organization of a catalogue. Some examples of Type 1 catalogues include headings. The Rochester books, listed by author in 1122/3, were listed again in 1202. At this date the list is divided by location between 'Librarium beati Andree', with headings for each of the four doctors of the church and the English doctor Bede (B79. 1–54), and 'Commune librarium' (B79. 55–199), with other heads to show batches of books acquired at different times (B79. 200–41). The list made at Glastonbury in 1247 has many headings for individual authors and subjects, for example, 'Aldelmus', 'Albinus', 'Alquinus', 'Boecius', 'Phisica', 'Logica', 'Priscianus', 'Donatus', 'Gramatica' (B39. 254–308). The fourteenth-century catalogue from Lanthony is arranged shelf by shelf through four cupboards (*armaria*) and one shelf of a fifth. Even so, the underlying hierarchy is much the same as in earlier lists without headings to indicate location. The first cupboard is almost exclusively biblical; in the second cupboard, Jerome has the second shelf, Augustine the third shelf, but strikingly the first shelf was allocated to the house's own biblical writer, Clement of Lanthony. The list of works on the fifth shelf of the first cupboard, however, includes several quires that break the orderly hierarchy (A16. 70–77, 80, etc.).

It appears that the principle governing the primary arrangement had already given way to the convenience or necessity of fitting later accessions where space allowed before the surviving shelf-list was made. The list from Meaux was also organized by location, with *almaria* in various places (z14. 1–85) and with the principal *almariolum* divided into *thecae* marked with letters of the alphabet, 'in aliis thecis distinctis per alphabetum' (z14. 86–363), though these letter-marks are not included in the catalogue itself, which merely uses a blank line to separate the different *thecae*.

Two libraries have left us lists from the late twelfth century that show developments in librarianship that would become more widespread in the fourteenth century. From Rievaulx, two lists of similar date and content were included at the front of a copy of a theological and pastoral miscellany, now Cambridge, Jesus Coll., ms. 34 (z19, 225 entries; z20, 208 entries). These are Type 1 lists, but they are divided into sections by capital letters rather than explanatory headings, an arrangement that may help us to infer the arrangement of the books in the 1396 catalogue from Meaux (z14). Both are Cistercian houses in Yorkshire, and we might even infer that the Meaux library was still organized much as it had been at the date of the Rievaulx lists, two hundred years before. The late twelfth-century list surviving from Bury St Edmunds (B13, 261 entries including additions), well laid out on leaves at the back of a twelfth-century volume of Genesis and the Song of Songs, both glossed, is the earliest English list to tabulate the contents of a book, one work per line, a method of description which we may call Type 2, and to number the entries for each book (fig. 9.1, Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., ms. 47). This apparent increase in sophistication is not matched by the arrangement of the books, nor were the numbers entered into the actual books, of which many survive, so that their purpose was perhaps only to help articulate which titles belong together as the contents of a book. Additions made to the list do not continue the numbering, though there was some attempt to tidy up the arrangement, bringing together works by particular writers and removing batches of liturgical books from among the library books.

These two lists may be isolated survivors from a false dawn in library cataloguing. Letter-marking by location, tabulation of contents, and numbering of entries are not seen in other catalogues until the fourteenth century. From the closing years of the eleventh century until around 1170 English libraries had experienced a long period of growth; while different libraries undertook campaigns of accession at different points during this period, in some cases more than once, the overall trend is one of deliberately building up monastic

collections. Thereafter for more than a hundred years the libraries of the established monastic orders experienced only unplanned growth through gifts and bequests.

This change is visible in catalogues. At Ramsey Abbey two incomplete witnesses to an early fourteenth-century catalogue are organized, in their surviving portions at any rate, by donor. The names of donors serve as the headings, and under each one are listed the books received from that source. Naturally most of the donors are monks of the house, whose books passed into the collective stock. One of these catalogues (B68, 609 entries in remaining membranes), a roll, written in continuous lines, provides Type 1 descriptions of the books, but the other (of which only two discontinuous leaves survive from a catalogue in the form of a booklet, B67, 192 entries) has Type 2 descriptions, starting each item on a new line; where the two represent the same sections of the catalogue, the booklet contains more detail. So, where the roll has only three entries, 'Effrem. Liber Alquini presbiteri cum Sedulio. Liber qui uocatur Fenix' (B68. 180–2), the booklet version reads (B67. 184–95):

> /¶\ Effrem.
> Vita sancti Alexis.
> *Libri Alquini.*
> Sedulius.
> Prudentius.
> Enigmata Aldelmi.
> Vita sancti Guthberti uers(ifice).
> Liber Catonis.
> Versus Prosperi.
> De duodecim abusionibus.
> /¶\ Albinus de uirtutibus.
> /¶\ Liber qui uocatur Fenix.

The layout in the manuscript does not clearly differentiate which line marks the beginning of a fresh book. In this case 'Libri Alquini' is written in red, which serves the purpose, while the preceding and following entries in the roll are marked with an added paraph in the booklet, which is the commoner means of marking the start of another book. We first met this usage c.1200 at Waltham Abbey (A38); we shall meet it again at Canterbury, c.1326; and it was still in use a century later at Thurgarton Priory (A36, 47 entries). One has to wonder, however, whether the title 'Albinus de uirtutibus' belongs within the volume 'Libri Alquini', since there is no corresponding entry in the roll. These titles are listed under the heading, 'Libri Roberti de Dauentre', from whom it appears that

nearly thirty books were received. From the small number of surviving books from Ramsey, from the use made of them by the sixteenth-century bibliographer John Bale, and from a loan list entered into a theological miscellany, it is evident that individual copies of works were known by their donor's name. So, the loan list begins with 'Biblioteca Roberti de Dauentre' (B69. 1), the first item under his name in both catalogues (B67. 135, B68. 156).[9] The importance of such accessions is reflected in some thirteenth- and fourteenth-century monastic custumals, such as that from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, which requires the librarian to enter the names of donors in the books they gave.[10] It is possible that the customs of Ramsey were similar to these. If we had a complete copy of the Ramsey catalogue, one would hope to see the foundation collection built up in the twelfth century before this record of accession from dozens of donors between about 1170 and 1330.

Such is precisely what we have from Christ Church, Canterbury, the cathedral priory. The books here may well have been listed over and over again between the late twelfth and the early fourteenth century, but the one major catalogue to survive from this period is that compiled c.1326 and copied into Prior Eastry's register.[11] The overall arrangement of this list reflects the location of the books at the time it was drawn up, divided into two *demonstrationes*, that is the two sides of the book room. I suggest that this local usage derives from the division of the books between two piles when they were 'shown' in the chapter house on the first Monday of Lent, an event to which importance was often attached in monastic custumals and for which words such as *demonstratio* or *ostensio* were locally used. The first *demonstratio* (1–782) begins with a second heading, 'Distinctio prima', but the remaining *distinctiones* of the first side are not noted; the second side is divided into seventeen *distinctiones* (783–1,378), but the list then continues with 'Libri extra gradus'. Underlying this physical arrangement, and continuing beyond it, are two historic principles. The first substantive section of the catalogue (1–502) reflects the traditional hierarchy, though it does not follow it precisely. Works of an ecclesiastical nature are arranged for convenience of finding. Augustine as usual takes precedence among ecclesiastical authors (1–45), but instead of being followed by Jerome, an alphabetical principle takes over, Angelomus (46), Aldhelm (47–8), Ambrose (49–61), Anselm (62–72), Amalarius (73–5), Achard (76),

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9 For John Bale's treating books at Ramsey, marked with the donor's name Gregory of Huntingdon, as works authored by him, see Sharpe 2003, pp. 124–5.

10 *Customary Canterbury, Westminster*, I, p. 362.

11 James, *AL*, pp. 13–142, comprising 1,831 items according to his numeration; the new edition will include James' numbering, which does not provide an exact tally of entries.

Alcuin (77), Aelred (78), Arator (79–80), and then Boethius (81), Bruno (82), Bernard (83–4), Bede (85–93), and Baldwin (94–5). Some biblical books (99–110) take their place alphabetically under B, though those included here do not represent the whole of the Cathedral's biblical manuscripts.[12] The alphabetical principle continues, following titles as well as authors' names, until Vitae, but history books, broadly defined, follow as a subject category (282–302), with other subject categories completing this section of the catalogue. From 503, however, the headings in the catalogue are almost entirely the names of donors of books. One and the same catalogue thus embodies three approaches: there is some element of location, there is classification of texts, and there is the accession of books from donors.

Like the booklet catalogue from Ramsey, though more clearly set out, the Eastry catalogue from Christ Church offers what I have called Type 2 descriptions of the books. The concern is exclusively with the contents, carefully itemized and tabulated. Among the works of Hugh of St Victor (within the H series of the foundation collection, 170–7), we find:

> Sacramenta Hugonis maiora. libri ii.
> Item sacramenta H. minora. libri ii.
> Hugo de sacramentis. lib. i.
> ¶Hugo super lamentaciones Ieremie.
>
> > *In hoc uolumine continentur.*
> > Breuiarium Eutropii in Romana historia. libri x.
> > Liber Ricardi Plutonis unde malum.
> > Liber eiusdem de gradibus uirtutum.
> > Adhelardus de naturalibus questionibus secundum Arabicos.
> > Cronica magistri Hugonis.
>
> ¶Hugo de Arca Noe. libri iv.
>
> > *In hoc uolumine continentur.*
> > Expositio eiusdem super prologum beati Ieronimi in pentateuchum.
> > Tractatus eiusdem de institucionum nouiciorum.
> > Liber doctrinalis beati B. abbatis Clareuallensis ad Eugenium papam de uera iusticia.

Here, as in the Ramsey booklet, the paraph sign marks books from which more than one title is reported, though as in the Ramsey booklet its use is not

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12 The listing of Bibles appears elsewhere in Eastry's Register, BL, Cotton ms. Galba E. IV, but was not included in James, *AL*.

wholly consistent. Unlike the extract from the Ramsey catalogues, however, the Canterbury catalogue in this extract seeks to identify works clearly. Even in listing books received from donors, where the itemization is not always so thorough, the Eastry list often, though not always, describes texts in a way that is full and precise enough to be still comprehensible. The formula introducing the itemization can be paralleled in fly-leaf lists of contents from many libraries as well as in the catalogues of other houses. In the case of the last entry quoted, the book survives, now Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 1. 25 (saec. xii), and on the fly-leaf there is a table of contents that has served as the source for the catalogue description. In copying it, the cataloguer has brought one title to the fore, above the contents formula in red ink, and has abbreviated two others. For this reason, he notes Hugh on Jerome's preface to the Pentateuch but omits to mention that the manuscript contains the whole of Hugh's *Adnotationes in Pentateuchum*, while the description of Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione* has been abridged from the fly-leaf's 'Liber doctrinalis Bernardi Clareuallensis abbatis ad Eugenium papam quomodo ueram in omnibus sequatur iusticiam', which itself follows the rubric at fol. 85v of the manuscript.

The alphabetical arrangement of ecclesiastical authors and subjects is carried to its fullest extent at Bury St Edmunds in the mid-fourteenth century by the monk who over many years kept the library, Henry de Kirkestede. He assigned letter-marks to books according to their authors (from A for Augustinus to Y for Ysidorus), class (C for *consuetudines*), or subject (B for *biblica*, M for *medica*), with running numbers. These show the extent to which he embraced the alphabetical principle. The catalogue he compiled has not survived, but notes added by Henry at the front of some Bury books refer to entries 'in registro' and quote the letter-mark.[13] The manner of his descriptions may be inferred from the contents' lists added by Henry in surviving books from Bury. Adding up the highest surviving running-numbers in each letter-class, A. 229, B. 385, to Y. 28, allows us to estimate that this *registrum* comprised over two thousand catalogued items.

Letter-marks in books or in catalogues are the first sign of new development in the composition of library catalogues, but the variety in their uses prevents one identifying this immediately as an advance. Letter-classes in a catalogue, not marked in the books, are first attested at Rievaulx c.1200 (z19), though their meaning is unclear. In the fourteenth century they were used in many different ways. Henry de Kirkestede's logical use at Bury cannot be matched elsewhere. At Norwich, when the stock of books was built up again after a disastrous fire in

13 Sharpe 1998.

1272, books were assigned to letter-classes as they were accessioned; this system can be dated to 1315 or earlier, since we know that a catalogue, now lost, was made in that year. Over the next century new letter-classes were added as the number of books in each class grew bigger; the large class marked x (up to x.228) consisted of books received from Cardinal Adam Easton, accessioned in 1407.[14] These letter-classes at Bury and Norwich were open-ended, relying on arabic numerals. The 1372 catalogue of the York Austin friars instead used a letter-mark for each book, A, B, C; these were entered in the books themselves, and we see from the catalogue that there were many sequences of letters for different subject-classes, and therefore many books marked with the same letter, so this would provide a means of matching book to catalogue only in conjunction with the contents. In a large subject-class the alphabet might be used more than once, adding double letter-marks, AA, AB, AC, and so on. A very similar system was already in use at Durham in the 1340s.[15] The surviving catalogues of the Durham libraries from the 1390s (902 entries) still use multiple series of letters within subject classes; these letters and the *dicta probatoria* also quoted, allow us to find in these catalogues the books listed when they were sent on deposit to Durham College, Oxford.[16] From that date too there survives a catalogue from Peterborough, titled *Matricularium*, which numbers all listed books in this way, from A to z, from A.. to z.., A... to z..., replacing dots with numerals from A.vj to C.xvj. At Norwich, Bury, York and Durham the letters were marked in the books; at Peterborough, strangely, the systematic numbering of the catalogue was not entered in the actual books.

The *Matricularium* of Peterborough (BP21, 348 entries) is another important catalogue with Type 2 descriptions from the late fourteenth century. Where he could, the cataloguer appears to have taken his descriptions from the table of contents added to the books by a thirteenth-century librarian, but many books were acquired after that campaign. Even in these cases the cataloguer's itemization of contents is often detailed. Inevitably, many works were described for which he had no convenient title, and in these cases he would follow the rubrics in the manuscript. To take an example (BP21.251):

x.xj. Regula sancti Basilii // Diffinicio confessionis // Sermo sic incipiens *Si habes*
Salutes cuiusdam sapientis // Bernardus de periculo temptacionis
Augustinus de origine anime uel de spiritu et anima

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14 Ker 1949–53; *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 289–91, 299.   15 Mynors, *DCM*, p. 11.
16 *Catalogi Dunelm*, pp. 10–39 (Spendment list, 1392, 516 entries), pp. 46–84 (Cloister list, 1395, 386 entries); Durham College lists, with non-sequential letter-marks, pp. 39–45.

Sermo sic incipiens *Ecce sacerdos* // Qualiter fit sacramentum altaris
Sermo sic incipiens *Ecce elongaui* // Quid sit predestinacio
Summa de originali peccato // Liber de vij septenis
De confessione que dicitur Cherub // De conflictu uiciorum
Questiones de sacramento altaris // Expositio super canonem misse
Sermo sic incipiens *Nigra sum* // Vita sancti Thome martyris uersifice

Many of these works are difficult to identify, in spite of our having the actual book to help, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 459 (saec. xiii). 'Bernardus de periculo temptacionis', for example, is not known as a work of St Bernard. Four tracts were omitted at different points in the middle of the book, three from the end of the book, and more curiously, the first item in the manuscript, Innocent III's *De miseria conditionis humanae*. This last feature is a characteristic of the *Matricularium*: where we have the means of checking, the first item of books containing more than one work is omitted. It is as if the cataloguer were copying from a document with descriptions like those in the Eastry catalogue from Christ Church but omitting the line marked with a paraph before the contents formula. The omission of the whole collection of twelfth-century glossed Bibles reinforces the inference that this document might not be the librarian's catalogue but perhaps a partial abstract made by one of the monks for his own use. The letter-mark, x.xi (that is x on the eleventh time through the alphabet), was not entered in the book: the marking may have been meant to link this incomplete catalogue to another list of books rather than bearing any relation to the organization of the library. In general, however, letter-marks could provide an easy point of reference from the actual book to its place in the catalogue and perhaps its place in the aumbries.

We have already seen examples of catalogues from the fourteenth century whose descriptions, whether of Type 1 or Type 2, show that many librarians were seeking to give a more detailed picture of the books than earlier catalogues had done; the focus was still primarily on the works contained, but these later catalogues show an increasing interest in the arrangement of the library. Catalogues became considerably more detailed during the fourteenth century, and the second half of the century would see real developments in the approach to cataloguing.

What all these descriptions lacked was a precise indicator that would allow someone quickly to confirm the match of a book and its entry in the catalogue, even where there were multiple copies of the same work. Such an indicator first emerged in the University of Paris towards the end of the thirteenth century in the form of *dicta probatoria*, two or three words, sometimes just one, from the

beginning of the first continuous leaf of text, normally the second folio.[17] The principle is simple. Two handwritten books, even if they begin with the same text, would be unlikely to fit exactly the same number of words on the first leaf (unless a special effort had been made to do so); therefore the first words of the second folio would differ from copy to copy. The reason for noting them, as officially stated, was to identify books on loan precisely, so that the borrower in returning the book could not substitute a copy of the same work but of lower value.[18] When checking a returned book, these *dicta probatoria* could be quickly found without having to take notice of the contents. As *probatoria* their primary role was not in cataloguing, for it would not be easy simply to look up a catalogue entry from the *dicta probatoria*; none the less, catalogues needed to record the vital words. They are less convenient than letter-marks but more definitive. Their use in England is first seen at Oxford in the early fourteenth century. The earliest example is in a list of books of philosophy from Merton College, datable between 1318 and 1334:[19]

prec. x[s]	Vetus logica et noua.	de dono magistri Thome de Bray in secundo folio, *est nosce*
prec. d[i] marc.	Textus libri phisicorum, de anima, metheororum et de generacione et ethicorum et celi et mundi.	de dono M. Willelmi Barneby in secundo folio, *et tali igitur.*
prec. d[i] marc.	Exposicio Thome de Alquino super Methaphisicam.	de dono M. Thome Bray in secundo folio, *corpora cum superioribus.*
prec. x[s].	Exposicio Thome de Alquino super libros phisicorum de anima et aliis paruis libris naturalibus.	ex legato M. Thome Bray. in secundo Folio, *vlteriori sensibili*

Here we see a new type of book-list, with notes set to the left and right of the descriptions. The descriptions themselves are not set out as a table (Type 2) but run on as a sentence (Type 1); the use of the left-hand margin to note *precium* and the right-hand margin to note donor and second folio creates an

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17 The earliest examples of this custom are lists of books dated to c. 1275 and c. 1283 by Rouse 1967, 51–4, 57. The next earliest example dates from 1311, when agents of Pope Clement V were sent from Avignon to Perugia to make an inventory of papal treasure left there, including the library of Boniface VIII and Benedict XI (Williman and Corsano 1999, pp. 125, 138). Thereafter, they note instances at Avignon in 1318 and 1334.

18 As the regulations of 1321 express it, 'scribatur etiam sic in registro, incipit secundo folio sic uel sic, ne fiat fraus in commutando librum maioris precii in librum eiusdem speciei minoris tamen precii' (Delisle 1868–81, II, p. 188n; Rouse 1967, p. 229).

19 Powicke, *Merton*, pp. 47–51. As well as books given by Thomas Bray, it includes one from his bequest ('ex legato'), and he was still alive in 1318. William Barnby was already a fellow of Merton in 1313, but he seceded from the University in 1334, so that his gift was almost certainly made before that date.

impression of tabulation across the page. The inclusion of the donor's name has a long history. Some twelfth-century catalogues of Type 1 would associate the donor's name with an individual book, and we have seen that some thirteenth- and fourteenth-century catalogues used accession from donors as an organizing principle. Noting the *precium* – it is impossible in most contexts to know whether this reflects actual price or appraised value – is a new feature; lists of books in private ownership, wills, and other kinds of inventories concerned with possessions not infrequently add this information. The use of the second folio, however, represents an advance in the description of books; inventories of this kind, using *dicta probatoria* to identify books but lacking any cataloguing principles to help the reader who uses the collection, we may call Type 3.

The next earliest list to use second folios is again from Merton College, c.1349.[20] This use of the second folio probably spread out from Oxford, though not immediately. At Cambridge, we do not find it in book-lists from the 1360s (UC1, UC31). It is first attested there in 1376, when a list of books at Corpus Christi College was drawn up with very wordy, detailed descriptions (UC18, 53 entries), which include not only the *dicta probatoria* from the second folio but also from the penultimate folio.[21] By that date the second folio was in widespread use as a signature identifying a particular book; it appears in brief records of individual books as well as in inventories and catalogues. An indenture for the loan of five books by Durham Cathedral Priory in 1366 is the earliest evidence from a Benedictine house; the earliest Durham catalogue to include second folios dates from the 1390s.[22] William Reed, bishop of Chichester, gave books to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1374, and the indenture between him and the fellows gives very brief descriptions including second folios. A list of service books at Exeter Cathedral in 1384 includes them. In some circumstances the principle was varied to take *dicta probatoria* from other leaves than the second. An indenture dated 1390 from Rochester, for example, lists thirteen books loaned, along with vestments, by the Cathedral Priory to a priest within the diocese. Among these, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and even seventh folios supply the *dicta probatoria* – 'Item exposicionem beati Ieronimi super Ecclesiasten cum aliis in uno uolumine Andree monachi cuius 7^{um} folium incipit *dubitat impleri*' (B83. 9) – though whether that resulted from turning past flyleaves to find the second folio of the text proper or going further into the text for even greater security is unclear.

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20 Powicke, *Merton*, pp. 52–60.
21 The penultimate folio was probably intended as a check that no quires were missing.
22 *Catalogi Dunelm*, pp. 122–3; for the catalogue, see n. 16 above.

In addition to providing a secure match between book and inventory to ensure that the same book was returned from loan or to confirm that all the correct books were present when stock-taking, the method was also useful even to well-educated librarians, helping them, among other things, to differentiate books that contained a single text. So, for example, in 1372, we find that the catalogue of the library of the Austin friars at York uses it, in conjunction with letter-marks, to distinguish multiple copies of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*:

AI	Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. *creatoris*.	
AK	Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. *missus filius*.	
AL	Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. *nitas sicut verbum*.	
AM	Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. *quod aliquod persona*.	
AN	[Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. ∗ ∗ ∗]	ξ\\uenditus//
AO	Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. *pluralitatis distinccio*.	
AP	Textus sentenciarum 2° fo. *vel filius*.	α\\lig'//

The use of *dicta probatoria* makes explicit what must hitherto have been taken for granted, the distinction between a work described by its contents and a work described in physical terms. Detailed physical descriptions are rarely written down, but the owners or keepers of books must always have been aware of the external appearance of books and even recognized a book from the aspect of its pages. To pass on that familiarity was difficult: the second folio provided a diagnostic that was intrinsic to the book yet instantly usable. William Charity, librarian of the Augustinian Abbey in Leicester in the late fifteenth century, combined physical description and the technical use of second folios in listing copies of Lombard's *Sententiae* (A20. 504–11):

Sentencie Petri in magno uolumine et asseribus cum albo coopertorio 2° fo. *An uiri sancti possunt*.

Sentencie Petri in magno uolumine et asseribus cum albo coopertorio 2° fo. *mali sumus*.

Sentencie Petri in magno uolumine et asseribus cum nigro coopertorio 2° fo. *generacionem filii*.

Sentencie Petri in asseribus cum rubeo coopertorio et impresso 2° fo. *Quod non omnia*.

Sentencie Petri in asseribus per R. Barr' cum subrubeo coopertorio et impresso 2° fo. *Quis ordo sit*.

Sentencie Petri per W. Wydes' in asseribus cum subalbo coopertorio 2° fo. *de illis que temporaliter*.

Sentencie Petri per Galfridum Salow in paruo uolumine cum albo coopertorio 2° fo. *Quare magi non*.

Sentencie Petri modici ualoris in asseribus cum albo coopertorio 2° fo. *ueteris ac noue legis*.

The first two are distinguished only by their second folios, though the librarian may well have been able to tell them apart on sight. Size (*magnus, paruus*), materials (*asseres* 'boards'), colour and blind-stamping (*coopertorio impresso*) of the leather covers are physical features recorded, but donors' names again come into play. Two of those mentioned here are not without interest. Richard Barre was archdeacon of Lisieux, later of Ely, and frequently served as a justice in the last years of Henry II's reign and Richard I's. He was still active in 1202, though he may have later retired to live as a canon at Leicester. Five of his books were still at Leicester Abbey when this catalogue was drawn up between 1477 and 1494; they must have been twelfth-century books.[23] Geoffrey Salow was certainly a canon of Leicester, alive in 1357, who appears in the catalogue as owner or donor of seventeen volumes, not including four copies of his own *Lucerna conscientiae*.[24]

From the 1370s we must draw a distinction between Type 3 lists that use the second folio with very brief descriptions of the contents, mentioning only one or two major items, and lists that attempt to give a much fuller picture of the library. Type 3 lists are properly categorized as inventories rather than catalogues. They allow someone with minimal interest in books to take stock of them, often alongside other goods, such as vestments, church plate, or even domestic furniture. Book-lists from the university colleges are usually just such simple inventories. This remains the case where chained books accessible to readers are concerned: the stall-by-stall list of books in Cambridge University Library in 1473 (UC3, 330 entries from seventeen stalls or desks) identifies books by one work and the second folio. College books were in many cases available for long-term loan to fellows, and the library was for the most part therefore a circulating collection. Even where we have a catalogue that aims at completeness, however, as in the register of books, both chained and circulating, at Peterhouse, Cambridge (UC48, 456 entries including additions), begun in 1418 and updated over an extended period, those who maintained it fell far short of the standard of description set by those who began it. The chained books of theology, for example, catalogued in 1418, are described in some detail with a tabulation of their contents (UC48. 1–61),

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23 *CBMLC*, VI, pp. 128-9 (A20. 57, Psalter, glossed; 179, Pauline epistles, glossed; 508, Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*; 1263, Justinian's *Codex*, glossed; 1285, Gratian's *Decretum*). Three of his books are described as having white covers, perhaps simply parchment; only the Sentences here was bound in boards with a stamped leather cover (the meaning of 'impresso' is confirmed from twelfth-century entries in the Reading catalogue, 'in corio presso' (B71. 140–2, 200)). The Leicester catalogue also includes copies of Richard Barre's only known works, *CBMLC*, VI 140, 208, 233, 361 (A20. 146, 469h, 618b,1462); Sharpe 2004, pp. 126–42.

24 *CBMLC*, VI, p. 122 (noting the seventeen volumes of his gift); Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 128 (for surviving and attested copies of his work).

whereas those given soon afterwards by William Dyngley (uc48. 98–124) are for the most part listed by only their principal item and second folio, as a comparison with the surviving books reveals. The universities saw the first use of the second folio, and more importantly initiated changes in the access to books without the mediation of a librarian to find and fetch them, but for whatever reason they did not participate in the development of library cataloguing that we see in the libraries of religious houses from the late fourteenth century.

Several of these new-style catalogues have been mentioned already. The earliest one to use the second folio dates from 1372. This is the descriptive catalogue of the library of the Austin friars at York with 646 entries.[25] It is the only substantial catalogue surviving from any English friary, a frustrating representative of much that has been lost. Here, however, the inclusion of second folios is not entirely systematic: under each subject heading, a distinction is made between the convent's existing collection and the books recently given by Br John Erghome (Argam) (some three hundred in number); with the conventual books, the catalogue usually gives the second folio, but with Erghome's books it does not, though additions among the latter do include the second folio.[26] Erghome himself was one of the four friars present when the list was drawn up on 8 September 1372. The word used to describe it in the heading is *inuentarium*, but this is a true catalogue, not simply an inventory. If I am tempted to assign it to a Type 4, that is merely to say that it combines the descriptive features of Type 2 and the specific indicator of the *dicta probatoria* of Type 3, and that its purpose is to assist users of the library as well as the librarian. It is organized under subject headings, the subjects themselves arranged in accordance with the hierarchy of learning; the contents of each book are tabulated; its letter-mark is given, to the left for conventual books, to the right for Erghome's books. These letter-marks can hardly have helped one to find the books, for the alphabetical sequence begins again with A for each subject; although the letter was entered at the front of the book, it is not clear how the user was expected to determine what subject sequence it belonged to.

This catalogue from York, though still arranged by subject rather than by location, with letter-marks and second folios, represents a clear advance on the more primitive type of catalogue represented, for example, by the Lanthony

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25 *CBMLC*, I, pp. 11–154. It is intended that this volume will be replaced by a new edition in the near future.

26 For example, among the glossed books of the Bible, twelve conventual books have the second folio, ten from Erghome have not (pp. 12–15); under the subject heading *Originalia* (pp. 19–46) only six out of fifty-nine conventual books lack the second folio, but among Erghome's thirty-one books only four additions include the second folio.

catalogue of the 1360s, even though that was arranged by location (fig. 9.2, BL, Harley ms. 460). Subject was the traditional basis of arrangement, accession by donor had taken its place, and with the introduction of press-marks location would become the primary principle.[27] This still allowed for an underlying principle of classification, though the need to leave space for accessions, whether physically or in a catalogue kept in use over an extended period, would remain a problem until modern times. From the late fourteenth century, we find some very sophisticated catalogues in use.

The most accessible of these is the catalogue of the quite modest library of Dover Priory, drawn up in 1389 by Br John Whitfield (BM1, 450 entries). This is divided into three parts. The first part is a shelf-list inventory, arranged case by case, shelf by shelf (working upwards from the floor), with each book numbered; for each book, the second folio (or *dicta probatoria* from another indicated leaf), the title of the principal work, the number of leaves, and the number of works. This is the apotheosis of Type 3 inventories. The second part goes through the books again in the same order as a shelf-list catalogue, this time itemizing each text, quoting its opening words for more certain identification than variable titles and attributions provide, and noting on which folio, recto or verso, it begins. The use of the opening words or incipit to identify a text had a long history, but it was rarely employed so thoroughly. This section of Whitfield's catalogue of 1389 sets a model that would not be generally superseded until the nineteenth century. Finally, the third part is an alphabetical index of authors and texts, keyed by shelf-mark to the preceding inventory and catalogue. To take an example, J. IIII. 9 (BM1. 415) is described in Part One thus:

| Lapidarius monachorum | 3 | mucius exposi | 93 | 3 |

In Part Two, we find the three works listed:

Lapidarius monachorum		Euax rex Arabum
Leges Knoutonis et regum Anglie	41a	Hec est institucio
Macer de uiribus herbarum	58b	Herbarum uires quasdam

The manuscript is now Bodleian, ms. Digby 13 (s. xii), but the modern catalogue conventionally reports the *dicta probatoria* from the second folio rather than the third, where Whitfield, according to his custom, entered the shelf-mark J. IIII, the title 'Lapidarius monachorum', and *dicta probatoria* 'muscius expositum corpus' (shortened to fit the column-width in Part One). The first work was

27 Sharpe 1996, pp. 279–87.

indexed in Part Three as 'Lapidarius metrificatus', the second as 'Leges Knoutonis et regum Anglie', and the third as 'Macer de uiribus herbarum', with the correct folio references.[28] Each part served a different need: the librarian who had to check the books would use the first part, the scholar who wanted to know more about the books available could browse the second part, and the reader eager to find a particular text would use the third. Whitfield explains all this in his preface. He was careful to use letters for each case, roman numerals for the shelves, and arabic numerals for each book on its shelf; the shelf-mark was written on the outside of the books, inside the front cover next to the note of contents, and again in the margin of the leaf from which the *dicta probatoria* had been taken. In order to facilitate finding texts within the books, each volume had been foliated in arabic numerals, and he also added *tabulae* in many individual volumes. John Whitfield was a devoted librarian who knew his collection well and wanted it to be used.

This attempt to meet multiple needs uses forms that would become widespread and would remain in use for centuries. Yet we should not attribute the great leap forward to Whitfield himself. We can see from other examples that the late fourteenth century was an age of experiment in library catalogues. The fact that his is the only surviving representative of the most successful model does not mean that it was his own invention. Similarities in practice bear out what common sense might suggest: the librarians of religious houses tended to learn from one another.

A far more individual solution can be seen in the huge catalogue of the much larger library from St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury (BA1, 1848 entries). This has for many years been dated to the closing years of the fifteenth century, when the extant copy, now Dublin, Trinity Coll., ms. 360, was written. Bruce Barker-Benfield, however, has shown that this was copied from a much earlier catalogue, drawn up according to strict principles in the 1370s, added to thereafter by librarians who did not confine themselves to the same principles of description and organization, so that, even from its recopied form, one can tell what belonged to the original and what had been added before recopying.[29] The organization is by subject in accordance with the traditional hierarchy, and within that by author and title, so that several copies of the same text are brought together. Even where copies of the same work are found in books in which another text takes precedence in the organization, cross-references are supplied, and the whole catalogue was equipped with an alphabetical index.

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28 We may note a certain degradation in copying: 'muscis' in the text has become 'muscius' in the lower margin and 'mucius' in Part One of the catalogue.
29 Dr Barker-Benfield's edition will appear in *CBMLC* in the near future.

Unlike the Dover catalogue, the St Augustine's catalogue does not privilege the physical arrangement of the books, and indications as to where each book was to be found are secondary.

Through the fourteenth century we have seen catalogues develop from lists, written into other books or kept on a few leaves of parchment by the librarian, into self-standing booklets, sometimes running to many leaves, intended as much for the reader as the custodian. Their complexities vary widely as different individuals experimented to include as many features as they could, both in describing the books and in their arrangement both physically and in the catalogue. As one looks beyond the end of the fourteenth century into the period covered by the next volume of this series, it becomes clear from other evidence – shelf-marks in surviving books, records of institutional expenditure, and even some evidence from surviving library rooms – that a new approach to access and storage had created a need for location-led shelf-list catalogues. In the universities there had been select libraries of text-books, secured to reading desks, where students could use them. Readers needed a desk-by-desk finding-list. Such rooms were also set up in some Benedictine houses – it appears to be implicit in the press-marks assigned to books at St Mary's Abbey, York (B121, 653 entries), where there were never more than fifteen letter-marked books at each numbered location, but there were at least fifty locations – though most religious communities did not adopt the desk system. Other books, held as a loan-stock in the colleges of the university, were stored on shelves in a book-room rather than in cupboards and chests, and this approach was adopted in many religious houses, even somewhere as small as Dover Priory. The shelf-marks of surviving books, however, show that it was by no means universal. Where such systems were adopted, the organization of the catalogues did not necessarily follow the Dover model. At St Augustine's, for example, the shelf-marks by case and shelf were added, inconsistently, in the fifteenth-century recopying, with a diagrammatic location register to assist. The late fifteenth-century catalogue from Leicester Abbey tabulates the contents of books, identifies each one by its second folio, and adds (after the manner of St Augustine's) cross-references to other copies of a work elsewhere. The shelf-list, however, is a separate section of the catalogue (A20. 1450–1698), with one-line entries including second folios – in the style of a Type 3 inventory – arranged according to the eight stalls of the library room. Almost 250 books were on open access, leaving nearly 700 books stored elsewhere.

In the informative and spaciously laid out catalogue from the Premonstratensian Abbey at Titchfield (P6, 241 entries), compiled in 1400 by a list-maker in the mould of John Whitfield, we are told that letters identify shelves and

numbers each book on its shelf, but the catalogue inserts the subject headings and explains in its introduction how subjects are distributed between shelves, how many shelves in each press. Just as a location catalogue may contain an implicit subject arrangement, so a letter-marked catalogue arranged by subject may conceal the physical placing of the books. Without the compiler's introduction, this would not be clear at Titchfield.

The fifteenth century brought no great changes in cataloguing techniques. It produced one novelty in the index-catalogue to copies of works by selected authors, surviving from St Mary's Abbey, York (B121, 653 entries). This was not the catalogue of the library but a complement to it, though we cannot now tell whether it was made by the librarian or a studious monk. The arrival of printed books in the late fifteenth century meant great change in some libraries, and one important catalogue from c.1500 bears eloquent witness to this, that of the brethren's library at Syon Abbey (SS1, 1465 entries; SS2, 282 erased or overwritten entries recovered from the index). Its careful layout of class-mark, donor, second folio, and detailed description of contents, sometimes including folio references, has allowed Vincent Gillespie to identify the particular editions of printed texts among the manuscript collection built up since the abbey was founded in 1415.[30]

The study of medieval library catalogues can be challenging. Their diversity is always interesting, and it should serve as a constant reminder that such lists are usually the work of one person or a small team, deciding for themselves how to describe the books and how to organize the catalogue, sometimes in the light of earlier lists available to them, sometimes influenced by experience in other libraries, but often purely from personal inclination. The personality of the librarian influences very directly what we can learn from medieval library records.

30 *CBMLC*, IX, pp. 679–95 (index of imprints).

University and monastic texts

JEREMY CATTO, JAN ZIOLKOWSKI AND
MICHAEL TWOMEY

I. Biblical exegesis, theology and philosophy

Jeremy Catto

Teaching from books, where the teacher had a text but his pupils commonly had not, must have been practised in England at least from the time of Theodore of Tarsus and his school at Canterbury in the 670s. From the twelfth century onwards, the great variety of new schools for advanced teaching gradually settled into an articulated system, in which two emergent universities at Oxford and Cambridge were organized into faculties, and came to supply lectors to cathedral and monastic schools and schools of the friars. The earliest stage of this process, when some religious houses and cathedrals first recruited teachers educated in the schools of Paris or (less probably) Oxford, seems to have developed during the 1150s and 1160s: something of it may possibly be seen indirectly in the two early copies of Gratian's *Decretum* acquired by Durham Priory not too long after its appearance, Durham Cathedral, ms. C. IV. 1, which has a list of questions and notabilia appended, and ms. C. II. 1, which carries an early copy of the standard gloss.[1] But they cannot have been used to train the Durham monks in canon law in any formal way. A similar purpose may have caused Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln (1148–66) to acquire his copy of the Sentences of Peter Lombard, a new standard textbook of theology, which is now Lincoln Cathedral, ms. 31. The bishop had been a scholar of Paris and probably taught in Oxford before 1145, but he cannot have acquired his copy before 1153, the date at which the work seems to have been completed. This copy carries notes in plummet in the end-leaves, showing that it was read attentively, but has none of the early marginal glosses which provide clear evidence of its use for teaching. Nevertheless, it must have been an obvious book to use in the task of instruction of the diocesan clergy in elementary theology.[2] The books

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1 Mynors, *DCM*, nos. 104 and 134.   2 Thomson 1989, p. 23; *BRUO* 406.

of Magister Aluredus, who seems to have been a canon of Cirencester in 1155 and possibly in the 1160s abbot of Haughmond in Shropshire, were more certainly used by a teacher for instruction. His three surviving books, which are probably from Cirencester, attest to the broad if slightly old-fashioned range of his teaching: a copy of the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres, now Oxford, Jesus Coll., ms. 26, a standard canon law book; Gilbert de la Porrée's 'glossa media' on the Pauline Epistles from the school of Laon (Hereford Cathedral, ms. O. II. 4), and a book of Virgil in which the text of the *Aeneid* is glossed interlineally and in the margins in a contemporary hand, probably that of Aluredus himself, as well as in two other and much later hands (Oxford, All Souls Coll., ms. 82).[3] All these books were eminently school-texts, and the *Aeneid* was prepared for exposition *ex cathedra* like a university text-book of the next century. It is probably significant that the latter two were written in expert proto-gothic hands which prefigure the script of academic manuscripts. Cirencester evidently had a wide-ranging monastic school, over which at the end of the century Alexander Nequam, one of Oxford's earliest undoubted masters, would preside.[4]

Cirencester was a medium-sized house of Augustinian canons, less bound than the greater Benedictine monasteries by the weight of its rule and traditions, and therefore perhaps more capable of adjustment to the constant novelties of the university world. Monastic houses had themselves, however, vigorously developed in the course of the twelfth century their distinctive intellectual milieu, founded on deeper and wider reading than was common among the disputants of the schools. The vast body of surviving manuscripts of the Latin fathers, together with classical texts, Carolingian ecclesiastical writings and more recent books of spirituality made in monastic scriptoria during the century is the most tangible legacy of its activities; it seems clear that even small communities deliberately copied or collected books, if the surviving book-lists of the late twelfth century are typical.[5] The Bible, now furnished with a modern gloss, and the exegetical writings of the Fathers were the essential objects of the more profound and personalized *lectio divina* practised in the cloister after about 1130; both the organization of the books in the larger libraries with call-marks and the system of distribution of books among the monks would be the models later adopted by friars and by secular students in universities. The character of the monastic library is well illustrated by the case of Bury St Edmunds, where a library of considerably over two hundred books, recently copied in the main,

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3 Mynors and Thomson 1993, p. 13; Watson 1997, pp. 172–4; Baswell 1995, pp. 41–83.
4 On Nequam, see Southern 1984, pp. 22–5; Hunt 1984.   5 See the lists in *CBMLC*, III–V.

had been established by 1200. In the course of the following two centuries, it would be multiplied tenfold, while retaining its essential character as a repository of spiritual wisdom; the community's religious life would be continually renewed by its library, as has recently been demonstrated.[6] While much effort was expended at Bury and elsewhere on the instruction of novices, the purpose of monastic learning was ultimately quite different from that of universities, the individual contemplation of eternal truth, not the cooperative analysis of ideas through argument. After about 1280, nevertheless, as monastic communities began to feel a need of university training for at least some monks, their achievement began to impinge on secular scholars and friars: their books were read and copied, and the organization of their libraries imitated.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the emergent universities of Oxford and Cambridge had no collections of books. A few books however survive to show their use in the process of teaching. In a period when a distinct faculty of arts was taking shape in both Oxford and Cambridge, none of them carry marks of their ownership or compilation by young scholars who attended lectures on the trivium or quadrivium; if they took notes in *quaterni* like their successors, their notes have not been preserved. Both their seniors who studied theology, however, and their masters lecturing in arts – who in many cases must have been identical – have left collections of essential texts and notes. Durham Cathedral, ms. A. III. 12 seems to be the notebook of a theology student attending lectures and sermons at Oxford about 1230; it contains his notes on Robert Grosseteste's and another master's lectures on the Psalter, together with some Parisian materials: the *Allegoriae* on the New Testament ascribed to Hugh of St Victor (really by Richard) and some fragments of Stephen Langton's glosses on Exodus and Ecclesiastes, together with some elementary aids to biblical study.[7] We can observe in this volume the progress of rapid script within a prepared structure, which would enable texts of lectures to be recorded by *reportatio* as they were given; and in the further provision of notes and glosses in the margins it is possible to detect the student's enrichment of the basic text, presumably for his own use in academic exercises, or as a master in his own right. He must have found his exemplars in the burgeoning Oxford book market which in the absence of stable libraries precariously supplied the needs of scholars. New philosophical texts, notably of recently available works of Aristotle in Latin and of his commentators Avicenna and Averroes, were in great demand in Oxford in these decades: Robert Grosseteste must have

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6 Heale 1994, pp. 101-23. On the Bury library see Thomson 1972; R. H. and M. A. Rouse in *CBMLC*, XI, esp. pp. xxix–lxxxii, cxxii.

7 Thomson 1940, pp. 13–17; Catto 1984, pp. 479–80.

had access to a text of Averroes before 1235, and in Worcester Cathedral, ms. Q. 81 we have one of the earliest texts of the Latin Avicenna which must have circulated in Oxford in the 1230s, and then come into the possession of a master of arts, perhaps Mr Nicholas Bacon, about 1244.[8] The constantly changing demand for texts from Toledo or Paris cannot but have stimulated the existing book trade of Oxford, even though many texts were produced by scholars themselves, and the features of the Oxford academic book, a folio typically written in two columns in a small gothic script of about 45 lines to the page, and decorated with penwork initials in red and blue, seem to have emerged before 1250.[9]

It is not clear that a similar book trade served the university of Cambridge. At least one manuscript, however, made presumably by or for a master of arts, can be located in Cambridge about 1230. This is Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica, ms. 401, a codex which has become well known as the unique text of the earliest Cambridge university statutes; this item also serves to show that the rest of the contents came from a Cambridge university milieu. They consist of grammatical texts, poetry and form letters largely of the twelfth century, such as a master of grammar might use to teach his subject to students wishing to be conscientious priests: the *Liber lapidum* of Marbod of Rennes, the *Ars versificatoria* of Matthew of Vendôme, *De mundi universitate* of Bernardus Silvestris, Hildebert of Lavardin's *De concordia veteris et novi sacrificii*, preceded by the *Aurea expositio hymnarum*, possibly by a pupil of Peter Abelard, the *Speculum ecclesiae*, a mystical explanation of the liturgy, canonical hours, etc., attributed to Hugh of St Victor and some brief grammatical texts.[10] This need not imply that grammar dominated the teaching of arts at Cambridge, which is contradicted by the statutes and other evidence, but the body of texts from both Oxford and Cambridge taken together gives the impression that before 1250 masters could only rely on a rather fortuitous collection of texts, in the absence of accessible libraries and bibliographical support. With the development of the friars' convents and the secular colleges, that was about to change.

The first determining factor in the emergence of the academic text-book, however, was not brought about by the friars. It was the stabilization of study at the universities and the establishment of separate faculties, probably in the 1230s, with set texts which remained on the syllabus for several centuries, which gave an opportunity for regular trading in books which would retain their usefulness. In the arts faculties of Oxford and Cambridge, supplemented

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8 The location of this text in Oxford is shown by the presence in the manuscript of the accounts of a household of scholars, probably drawn up by Bacon. See Emden 1966.

9 Pollard 1964; Parkes 1992b, pp. 413, 417–18.   10 Hackett 1970, pp. 8–14.

by the *studia generalia* of the friars, the set books of Aristotle, preferably accompanied by his Arab commentators, soon took on a familiar appearance. Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 114 may be taken as an example of the type of book used for teaching by masters of arts in the early fourteenth century: a folio of about 363 mm × 239 mm, suitable for laying on a lectern, its text of Aristotle's *Physics* in larger script with the commentary of Averroes in smaller lettering interspersed was regularly written in two columns probably by a single scribe, with regular capitals and running titles to facilitate the reader's finding his place. Generous margins allowed the owner, in this case Mr Laurence Thornhill, to annotate the text. He pledged the book more than once for a loan in the 1320s, and finally bequeathed it to Balliol where a succession of masters used it. Perfected over several generations, it was a custom-made instrument for the education of undergraduates in arts.[11] Similar texts made in Cambridge in the second half of the thirteenth century have as yet not been recognized, and the majority of books required for the arts faculty which were acquired by Cambridge colleges seem to have come from Oxford. Cambridge, Pembroke Coll., ms. 193, a copy of Aristotle's *Organon* made in the third quarter of the thirteenth century and acquired by the college soon after its foundation in the mid-fourteenth century, belongs to a recognizable group of university books made in Oxford (fig. 10.1).[12] A slightly later early fourteenth-century text of Aristotle's *Physics* in two parallel translations, accompanied by the gloss of Averroes squeezed into a third column between them or inserted in various irregular shapes, looks like a more idiosyncratic production, possibly made in Cambridge, but must have enabled its reader to expound the text with unusual learning; it belonged in 1349 to Mr John Tyverington and is now Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms. 66.

As work on the Aristotelian corpus progressed, Oxford masters produced a steadily growing body of commentaries which themselves generated a developing form of presentation on the page. The most traditional form was that of the *glossa ordinaria*, generally used for basic texts in the twelfth century and adapted to Aristotle in the thirteenth: in the second half of the century Mr Henry of Renham wrote a gloss, both interlinear and marginal, on a series of the master's texts, now BL, Royal mss. 12 G. II and 12 G. III, 'while he heard the text [expounded] in the Oxford schools, and he emended and glossed it as he heard it' (fig. 10.2). The glosses were largely taken from Averroes, and

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11 For a description, see Mynors 1963, pp. 92–3.
12 *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 145, 146, pp. 125, 130–3; Binski and Panayotova 2005, nos. 175, 176. Cambridge seems to be producing a greater proportion of its own books after c.1300. On illuminated books produced there in this period see above, ch. 8, pp. 189–91.

the text was further enriched with Thomas Aquinas' commentary in the outer margin. This kind of text originating in the lecture hall was already rather old fashioned by 1250. The commentaries of Master Adam of Buckfield, which were written perhaps in the 1240s, were continuous treatises, though they remained close to the master's text, which was recalled in short *lemmata*, and to the accepted commentators. Geoffrey of Aspall's commentaries, written about 1260, took the process to its natural conclusion: proceeding *per modum questionis*, by raising questions and answering them systematically. In this form, essentially unchanged, later commentators such as Walter Burley in the 1310s and 1320s or John Dedecus (Dedacus), who was probably a master of Cambridge, about the end of the fourteenth century would provide regent masters of arts with authoritative works of reference for their lectures.[13]

The circulation of texts necessary for the study of arts seems to have depended on private enterprise. Students attending lectures on Aristotle clearly made *reportationes* of the master's words out of which fair copies were made and circulated, since one such copy was acquired by John Aston OSB (now Worcester Cathedral, ms. Q. 13).[14] Since all the trades associated with the making of books were well established in Oxford before 1200, it was not long before traders in books, *editores librorum*, appeared; but none of the few records of their sales concern texts which circulated in arts faculties. In the higher faculties of canon and civil law (discussed in the next section) and theology, however, access to the texts and to scholarship upon them became ever more imperative; it was necessary for masters both to have recourse to the book market and to take measures to establish libraries for specific communities of scholars and, eventually, for the university itself. At an early date, before 1250 evidently, university stationers were appointed, though their main business seems to have been the valuing of books pledged by scholars for loans. A case has been made for their organizing the copying of texts on behalf of the university, and preserving the exemplars in the *cista exemplariorum*, a *pecia* system on the model perceived by some scholars to have been set up at Paris. The evidence for this, however, is rather exiguous: some thirteen manuscripts, six of theology and seven of canon law, in which '*pecia* notes' or numbered notes of the quires copied occur. The notes certainly prove the existence of a copying trade, but so far no evidence has been adduced to show that it was in any sense official; the *cista exemplariorum* is more likely to have contained university muniments than books. But texts

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13 On Renham, Buckfield and Aspall, see Macrae 1968, pp. 94–134, and Parkes 1992b, p. 424; on Burley, see Martin 1964, and on Dedecus, Clark 1980.
14 Parkes 1992b, pp. 424–5.

were clearly copied professionally.[15] It was by no means the only way by which theologians acquired the texts they needed, since they increasingly copied texts themselves in the rapid Anglicana script adopted in many university books, or employed students to copy them; but there was enough work for scribes to make a living in university towns.

The purchase of books was an expensive way of acquiring the means of study. In the course of the fourteenth century their availability in university towns must have rapidly increased, and their price correspondingly diminished. Many masters of the fourteenth century had books: a few built up large collections, such as Mr Nicholas of Sandwich, an Oxford resident over many years from about 1305 to the late 1340s, and his protégé Mr William Reed, who at his death in 1385 owned over 400 books (fig. 3.3).[16] Increasingly, however, the masters followed the monastic houses in the direction of establishing libraries. The pioneers of libraries in Oxford were the new convents of friars established in Oxford from the 1220s, where, by 1270 or so, a majority of theologians were resident. The convent library, it is true, was not their first expedient for acquiring access to the texts they increasingly needed, presumably because several decades of accessions were required to make an adequate library. For more immediate purposes, the first cohorts of theologians needed to use texts where they could find them. To deploy their limited resources to the full, they were given direction by the example of Robert Grosseteste, the first lector of the Franciscans in Oxford, who before 1230 drew up a complicated subject index of the writings of various of the Fathers, marking particular subjects with an elaborate code of signs. This enabled him to find his way among their voluminous writings to particular topics, such as imagination, or the road to heaven. Grosseteste's index was taken up by his Franciscan friend Adam Marsh, and may have been used communally by the Oxford Franciscans as a guide to patristic literature.[17] It was followed by Robert Kilwardby's *Tabulae super originalia patrum*, another subject index of the fathers which included short summaries of their works (*intenciones*), compiled perhaps in the 1250s and used outside the Dominican milieu for which it was probably intended.[18] These works made it easier for theologians to find their way through their most important sources, but they did not make the sources themselves more accessible. It was perhaps for that reason that early in the fourteenth century the Franciscans embarked on an organized effort to locate texts of the main patristic authors in 167 monastic libraries spread across England and Scotland, to which, presumably, they had

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15 Pollard 1964 and 1978; Parkes 1992b, pp. 462–70. On the *pecia* at Paris, see Destrez 1935.
16 *BRUO* 1556–60, 1639–40.   17 See Hunt 1955; Southern 1992, pp. 186–98.   18 Callus 1948.

the entrée. The result was tabulated in a massive index, the *Registrum Anglie*, available it seems only to Franciscans. It was associated with an equally voluminous collection of references to passages in the fathers which expounded texts of scripture, arranged in biblical order; the passages came from the commoner authors in the *Registrum*, and the collection must have been useful primarily in conjunction with it. The work came to be known as the *Tabula septem custodiarum*.[19] These indexes, monuments of corporate endeavour over several years, are also eloquent testimony to Franciscan theologians' enduring need for books, not only in Oxford but in all their convents, and to their enterprise and ingenuity in finding them.

The friars in their university convents had pioneered the concordance and the index. They were equally inventive in their development of convent libraries. As friars tended to circulate among several conventual houses and to renounce in various degrees the holding of property, the books in particular houses or assigned to the use of individual friars tended to be fluid, increasing the pace at which texts were read and put to use by disputants in the schools and by authors of the vast new body of theological and exegetical literature issuing from their convents.[20] Some kind of permanent collection, which included the books left by Robert Grosseteste, was established in the *armarium* of the Oxford Greyfriars, and was used for reference; it was probably where authentic texts of the friars' work were kept for copying. Besides this there was a lending collection, the *libraria studencium*. It is likely, though there is no direct evidence, that there were similar arrangements in the libraries of other convents of all the orders. In any case the few surviving book-lists show that by the later fourteenth century convent libraries even outside university towns could rival in size the great monastic houses: the Austin Friars of York in 1372 possessed 319 volumes, to which the bequest of friar John Erghome added 306 more by 1385.[21] That may have been exceptional, but if the books in the possession of individual friars are taken into account it is clear that a friar in 1350 was in a position to consult quickly a vastly greater body of texts than his predecessor in 1230 – even leaving out of account the burgeoning new literature produced in the intervening years. William Woodford OFM was able to cite hundreds of works of both ancient and modern authors, giving precise references, in his Oxford doctoral lectures on St Matthew's Gospel in 1373, and in a later work to list the main authors of his order and their works, clearly from direct acquaintance

19 The *Registrum* is ed. in *CBMLC*, IV. On its context and date, and on the *Tabula septem custodiarum*, see pp. lxix–cxlviii.
20 See Parkes 1992b, pp. 431–45, and for lists of books *CBMLC*, I.   21 *CBLMC*, I, pp. xxiv–xxxv.

with them.[22] It is probable, too, that the friars had a considerable effect on the format of the scholastic manuscript. Texts of lectures on Peter Lombard's Sentences or on the Bible could circulate rapidly in less formal variations on the thirteenth-century texts of standard authors like Aristotle: copied by friars in an abbreviated Anglicana script in a passable imitation of the professional scribe's two-column ruled page with generous margins, the disturbingly radical quodlibets of the Parisian theologian Henry of Ghent could be circulated by the Cambridge Franciscans, if only to provoke a critical response.[23] The Italian friar Nicholas Comparini OFM of the Assisi convent has left an even less formal octavo text of lectures given in the Norwich *studium* of the Order about 1337, a rare witness to scholastic exercises outside the universities, and to the ease of transmission of these texts to a distant Italian readership.[24]

Monastic houses began to send monks to university systematically from about 1280. They were assisted by the books they could bring with them from their parent houses, but were soon copying new university texts: Nicholas Vaux OSB of Glastonbury copied Oxford, Oriel College, ms. 15, a collection of current theological literature, about 1390, while the cathedral priories with diocesan responsibilities like Worcester or Durham brought their collections up to date from the Oxford or Cambridge book markets. With the emergence of secular colleges at the same time, libraries for the use of masters under no religious vows completed the transformation of the universities from places with a minimum of books to the most extensive concentrations of texts, and the most dynamic centres of copying and exchange in England. Like friars' libraries, college libraries were designed to maximize the use of books: some books were kept for reference, but most were available for the *electiones* or long-term borrowing of the fellows. At Merton, where records of some *electiones* survive, some fellows could borrow seven or eight books at a time. It was generally expected, though only at Merton spelt out, that fellows would leave their own books to their college libraries, whose early collections grew haphazardly; at Peterhouse the first library, evidently furnished with benches and lecterns, was founded between 1344 and 1418 (when it had 384 volumes) while Merton's library was probably built even earlier, but survives now as rebuilt 1371–9.[25] College collections, then, grew as a by-product of the personal books of fellows and other donors, rather than from any consistent purchasing policy; but

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22 Doyle 1975, pp. 93–106.
23 The Cambridge Franciscans' text is now Oxford, Balliol Coll., ms. 214.
24 Doucet 1953; Courtenay 1982, pp. 260–3.
25 On monastic college libraries see Parkes 1992b, pp. 446–55; on secular college libraries see Ker 1978; J. W. Clark, 'On the history of the library', in James 1899, pp. xvii–xxvii; Leader 1988, pp. 71–5; Powicke, *Merton*; Parkes 1992b, pp. 455–62.

the books found in them were put to frequent use. The need for a university library in this period must have been felt, but neither university had any funds available. At Cambridge a university library does not seem to have been envisaged before the 1430s. The Oxford masters were the intended beneficiaries of Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, whose collection of books was bequeathed to them in 1327. Though they had some difficulty in securing the books, which may not have been available for consultation before 1367, they were then to be placed in a room above the congregation house annexed to St Mary's. It is not clear even then that the library was in operation before its definitive opening in the same place in 1412.[26]

The proliferation of manuscript books and the comparative ease of individual scholars adding to the stock broadened the possibilities for their format. Besides the continuing production of standard scholastic texts in Anglicana or (from the beginning of the fifteenth century) in Secretary script, scholars began to put together their own selection of texts in books competently written by themselves or an amanuensis. Collections of contemporary logical tracts, presumably made by masters of arts, became common in the late fourteenth century. The advent of paper made it possible for an unknown Worcester student-monk, about 1365–70, to record in a notebook a number of academic exercises in the Oxford theology school. He took trouble to connect his quires, or some of them, with catchwords, and made a professional-looking ruled frame for his notes, but filled it with columns of a variable number of lines and even abandoned the two-column structure in one quire.[27] The informality of his notebook's appearance was paralleled or exceeded by many subsequent compilations of notes, contemporary disputations and short texts, which often provide unique evidence of the arts or theology schools in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 116, whose compiler is equally unknown, might serve as an example of a similar notebook made about 1400 by a scholar or master in the arts faculty at Oxford. The genre was, of course, intended only for the use of a single individual or at most a group of friends, and in no way implies a decline in the standard of production of scholastic manuscripts; for more formal purposes, elegant and accurate texts could be made, not only by professional scribes (some of whom flourished in the fifteenth-century universities) but by students, in particular student-friars like Cornelius Oesterwick OP, who copied works of William Woodford and

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26 Leader 1988, p. 224; Parkes 1992b, pp. 470–2.
27 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl., ms. 4698, compiled in 1373, is an example of a collection of logic textbooks which would proliferate in the fifteenth century and would in one form be printed as *Logica Oxoniensis*. The notebook is Worcester Cath., ms. F. 65.

others for the regent master of the Oxford Blackfriars in 1430.[28] Another consequence of the wealth of texts available for copying in Oxford by 1400 was the university's role, together with Paris, in determining the set texts and standard literature studied in the new universities of central Europe and in the new theology faculties which were being opened in such older universities as Bologna and Padua. These institutions were intended to provide an education identical to that of Paris and Oxford for a wider clientèle, and their scholars therefore imported texts, by acquiring English codices or by copying their contents as circumstances permitted. About 1366 Adalbert Ranconis, for instance, one of the founders of the theology school at the new University of Prague, brought back among other texts an English copy, or possibly the autograph, of Richard FitzRalph's *De pauperie Salvatoris*. At the same time German, probably Franciscan, scholars made copies of the *Summa logicae* of Richard Brinkley OFM, which are now the sole witnesses to the full text.[29] That English academic texts should be read in distant universities within a decade is a mark of the transformation of Oxford and Cambridge into focal points of the distribution of texts and codices.

The academic book had begun its life as an instrument of twelfth-century teaching and learning in cathedral and monastic schools. It had achieved its standard international format during the next century, a folio with a regular two-column frame carrying a highly abbreviated text in a cursive hand, and margins wide enough for copious annotation. By 1400 its English subspecies would be an item in a bibliographical support system of libraries and bookshops, furnished with subject indices and listed in catalogues, which would make possible the broad learning and ready arguments of the educated graduate. It was an achievement no less substantial for being the work of thousands of scribes, index-makers and cataloguers whose names we shall never know.

II.   Latin learning and Latin literature

Jan Ziolkowski

The specific texts of Latin literature which were written by hand on parchment or paper and were often eventually bound in books, the types of manuscripts in which they were assembled, the varieties of layout that were adopted for presenting them, the scripts preferred for recording them, the scope and content of the material that introduced, accompanied or followed them – all of

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28 Now Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B. 15. 11 (347).

29 The FitzRalph manuscript is now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibl., ms. 1430; the two Brinkley texts are Leipzig, Universitätsbibl., ms. 1360, and Prague, National Libr., ms. II. A. 11.

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these variables modulated over the three hundred years under examination here, as did the social status and institutional affiliation of the authors who produced the contents and of the book makers who manufactured the forms, the sorts of institutions and individuals who commissioned and owned them, the kinds of readers who received them and transmitted them, and the settings in which they were read, studied and explicated.

Although in our times the abilities of reading and writing are regarded as being closely related or even indifferentiable, the handwritten quality that the word *manuscript* proclaims should not make us underestimate how distinct the skills of composing book-length texts (authors), writing them into book form (scribes) and reading them could be (readers). When the texts in question are Latin, the reason for this distinctness lies partly in the specific oddity of the stature that the language held in the Middle Ages, partly in the fundamental differences between manuscripts and printed books. The special place of *Latinitas* affected what was written and how, as well as who read it and how.[30] No great expertise or perspicacity is required to recognize that from 1100 through 1400 the corpus of Latin literature evolved and altered. Even in the highly conservative grammar schools the basic menu of Classical Latin and Late Latin staples underwent modifications, as old standbys fell out of vogue and other texts emerged to occupy their places. In addition, entirely new texts sometimes became the medieval equivalents of today's 'bestsellers', not only in higher-level education and learning but also in the grammar schools. The very conception of literature underwent sweeping changes.[31]

Particularly in the grammar schools, shifts in textual preferences often reflected developments in the linguistic context of Latin. Latin, although not a fully living language spoken on the streets by women and men of all social classes, was far from being the fossil it is today. It served on an everyday basis for much oral and written communication, as well as for the reading of many important authors and other documents. At the same time, it resembled dead languages in not being anyone's native tongue. It had to be acquired through years of intensive language study, which coincided with years of formation that sought to mould boys into educated men who shared not only a learned language but also a morality, a grasp of religion, a culture, and even what could be called a 'way of life'.

The methods by which the young learned Latin evolved considerably between 1100 and 1400 from what they had been during the Old English

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30 For a very helpful assessment of the place Latin occupied in medieval English culture, see Baswell 1999.
31 I follow the broad conception of literature enunciated in Rigg 1992, pp. 6–8.

period, and this evolution had a major impact on the texts copied and read. Beyond the changes that took hold throughout western Europe were circumstances peculiar to England's multilingualism. Although what is now France had its own subtle complexities with entirely separate languages such as Breton alongside many dialects of French itself, England in 1100 not only contained pockets of Celtic and Nordic languages but even more complexly had a large population of native Old English speakers which was ruled by a superstratum of Norman French speakers. England had two prestige languages, both foreign, in French and Latin.[32]

Acquisition of Latin required schooling, especially in canonical literature that was predominantly poetry. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Latin appears to have been learned no longer directly from English, as it had been before the Conquest, but rather through the intermediary of French. The *locus classicus* for the phenomenon of teaching Latin through spoken French in English grammar schools is a passage from the 1320s in the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden (d. 1364), monk of St Werburg's (Chester), but it probably reflects a circumstance that was already being renegotiated.[33] For pupils who were native speakers only of Norman French or even who were fully bilingual in French and English, approaching Latin through French made perfect sense; but as the number of such speakers dwindled in the fourteenth century, the practice of teaching directly from English (now Middle English rather than Old English) resumed.[34]

In the second half of the fourteenth century, French disappeared as the filter between Latin and English. New grammars became necessary, because it made no sense to teach a third language through a second, if the necessary study materials could be created readily in the first. The earliest extant grammar which features even rudimentary explanations in English (mainly translations of the inflections of Latin verbs) is John of Cornwall's *Speculum grammaticale*, composed in 1346 in Oxford, where John was a schoolmaster at Merton College.[35] This evidence lends support to the assertion made by John Trevisa (c.1342–1402) in 1385 that John of Cornwall was the first master to promote English instead of French as the medium of instruction. According to Trevisa, in less than half a century the same transition had been made throughout England. The resurrection of English as the language through which Latin was learned coincided with the revitalization of English as a literary language. In the

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32 On the place of French in England, see Calin 1994, pp. 3–16, and Crane 1999.
33 Cited but not quoted by Orme 1989, p. 10, and Orme 1973, p. 95; Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, pp. 158–61.
34 On the question of languages, see Orme 1989, pp. 4–5.   35 See Orme 1973, p. 95.

fourteenth century English gained recognition as a literary language in its own right and after 1400 production of books in the vernacular exploded, moving outside the zone of religious writing to which it had been largely restricted.[36]

Before English reasserted itself, the importance of French language and culture in England ensured that Latin treatises on grammar, rhetoric and related subjects written in France would serve well in schools across the Channel. Although some of their authors' presumptions about the operations of language rested upon French, that circumstance posed few difficulties so long as French was the language of the Latin grammar schools in England. Thus Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale puerorum* (1199) and Evrard of Béthune's *Grecismus* (late twelfth-century), which were staples of schools in many places on the Continent, became widely used in England.[37]

The linguistic relations among English, French and Latin were peculiar to England, but they were far from being the only profound shifts that would have had effects on books and their use. The most powerful factor may have been an institutional one, in that English education underwent enormous growth and transition from 1100 to 1400. Whereas in the preceding period formal instruction had been available almost exclusively in cloister schools, in the twelfth century alone education expanded appreciably, as the number of secular schools rose rapidly. Initially connected with the cathedrals, these secular schools were public, in that they were available to all who could pay. Although the evidence remains incomplete, the existence of secular schools open to the public can be documented in a minimum of thirty cities and towns in England.[38] To expand our purview both backward and forward from the twelfth century, at least three dozen towns and cities are known to have had a school, even if only for a portion of the time, between 1066 and 1200, and the number rises to at least seventy – in other words, nearly double – in the thirteenth century.[39]

Among these dozens of grammar schools the most prominent were those of Oxford. No writings from masters who taught there appear to have survived from before the thirteenth century, but treatises are extant from three who offered instruction in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and very early fifteenth centuries. The earliest is Richard of Hambury (d. 1293 or 1294), who wrote disquisitions *On difficulties in Priscian* as well as on the principal divisions of

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36 Edwards and Pearsall 1989, p. 257.

37 Orme 1976, pp. 89–93. The standard edition of the *Grecismus* remains that of Wrobel 1887, but there is now also an extensive study of glossed thirteenth- and fourteenth-century versions: see Grondeux 2000.

38 Orme 1973, p. 167; Orme 1976, pp. 1, 4, 6.   39 Orme 1989, p. 5.

grammar and on the parts of speech, while the latest is John Leland (d. 1428), who left at least ten treatises on assorted topics in grammar.[40] Between them is John of Cornwall.

Although at the very start of the twelfth century most books produced in England were written, illuminated and bound in monasteries, by the end of the century the production of manuscript books had ceased to be a monopoly of monks. As educational establishments burgeoned in Oxford, demand there had reached a sufficient level that already before 1300 dozens of parchment makers, scribes, illuminators and bookbinders are documented in Oxford records.[41] In these records illuminators number more than the other groups, which sug-gests – as do the characteristics of two groups of extant manuscripts which are believed to have been made in Oxford in the first half of the thirteenth century – that the local manufacture there focussed on luxury books.[42] The book trade may have been lucrative, but it is possible that initially the comparatively long experience of Parisian bookmakers and the economy of scale that came from the large scale of their book trade put the Oxford book-makers at a disadvantage in ordinary books.

Whether in major centres of learning such as Oxford (and Cambridge) or in other towns or cities, the typical course of studies in the medieval English grammar schools held stable across space and (to a lesser extent) across time. The progression retained a basic consistency across the centuries, notable for its concentration upon literature. At roughly seven years of age boys – and most of the children whose families arranged for them to study Latin were boys – would have started to gain an exposure to Latin through singing and reading. Their learning was directed towards the ultimate goal of being able to perform the liturgy. After mastering the alphabet, they would have learned to read and pronounce Latin words and to chant them in plainsong. Among the texts to which they would have been exposed would not have been literature in the broader sense of belles lettres, but instead the Psalms, the Hours of the Virgin, and assorted prayers and hymns.[43] In monastic schools and in cathe-dral schools the books to assist the schoolboys in studying such texts would have been readily available, although the style of instruction would not neces-sarily have compelled the individual pupils to have their own copies. In fact, one of the liveliest debates over English books around 1100 offers sharply

40 See Hunt 1964. On John Leland in particular, see also D. Thomson 1979, pp. 6–12, and D. Thomson 1983.
41 Pollard 1964.
42 See Parkes 1992b, p. 413, referring to *Survey*, IV/1, nos. 24, 28–32, 69–74, and Michael 1988, pp. 130, 107–15.
43 Orme 1976, pp. 62–3 and 102.

contrasting perspectives on the validity of the term *classbook* as applied to monastic manuscripts and on the functions such books would have served.[44] In public schools the books would probably have had to be purchased in most cases by pupils or their parents, a circumstance which would have bolstered the growing demand among the laity for private devotional books.

Within a few years – by age ten, eleven or twelve – the pupils would have been ready for the study of grammar proper. Their first text would have been the *Ars minor* of Aelius Donatus (often designated simply 'Donat'), which they would have perused to begin acquiring the basics of Latin grammar: correct spelling and pronunciation, morphology and syntax, and vocabulary.[45] At this stage their schooling was intended to give them a grasp of inflections and meanings. En route to such a grasp, they would have absorbed the contents of the new mainstays in the lower level of grammar school, Alexander's *Doctrinale* and Evrard's *Grecismus*. Additionally, they would have pored over vocabulary-building treatises, such as the *Synonyma* (also known as the *Liber de homonymis*) and *Aequivoca* by John of Garland (d. c.1272).[46] Among the relatively few other English scholars who left treatises on grammar which circulated broadly are Osbern Pinnock of Gloucester (mid-twelfth century), who composed the *Panormia siue Liber deriuationum*, and Alexander Nequam (1157–1217).[47]

In studying grammar for a total of five to seven years, the boys spent much of their time in the recitation, reading and analysis of literary texts in school-books. Latin literature was prominent throughout the language-focussed branches of study, the trivium of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic (known alternatively as 'the arts of eloquence' or 'logical arts'). Already in the Carolingian era these canonical literary texts began to be grouped together, with the most common combination being fables and proverbs. For more than two millennia, fable constituted one of the most constant traditions in European literature. Within this tradition the two texts which had the greatest success in the schools were fables in elegiac couplets by Avian (probably fourth or fifth century) and prose reworkings of the iambic senarii by Phaedrus (first century); the latter, which came to be known under the title of *Romulus vulgaris* in the Middle Ages, was itself eventually versified in elegiac couplets.[48] Two English contributions to the genre were by Alexander Nequam, the *Novus Aesopus* and *Novus Avianus*.[49]

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44 See Rigg and Wieland 1975, and Wieland 1985.   45 Holtz 1981.
46 Bursill-Hall 1976, pp. 169–71, and 1979, and Hunt 1991, I, pp. 136–42.
47 On Osbern of Gloucester's *Derivationes* see Hunt 1958. The fullest listing of Osbern's extant writings, the rest of which are exegetic and theological, will be found in Sharpe, *HLW*, pp. 407–9.
48 On *Romulus*, see Thiele 1910. On Avian and *Romulus*, see Grubmüller 1977, pp. 58–66.
49 Alexander Nequam: *Novus Aesopus* and *Novus Avianus*; Hunt 1984, pp. 41–2, 125, 128–9.

The proverbs with which the fables of Avian were paired were the fourth-century so-called *Distichs* of Cato (often designated simply 'Cato'). From the ninth century through to the end of the twelfth, the books, or parts of books, in which Avian and Cato were preserved together are known as *libri catoniani*. Gradually these two formed the basis for a larger cluster of texts, with the addition of the ninth-century *Eclogue* of Theodulus, the sixth-century elegies of Maximian, and the most important Latin version of the Troy story, the *Ilias latina* (commonly known misleadingly as 'Homer'). Eventually the *Ilias latina* dropped from the canon. In the thirteenth century the school curriculum favoured a set of six elementary Latin texts, all but one from antiquity and late antiquity. Conventionally designated the *Sex auctores* (not everything is as it sounds), this half dozen comprised the *Distichs* of Cato, *Eclogue* of Theodulus, fables of Avian, elegies of Maximian, Statius' *Achilleid* and Claudian's *Rape of Proserpina*, with the last two texts sometimes in reverse order but with the others usually appearing in the progression just given (fig. 10.3, Lincoln Cathedral, ms. 132).[50]

The cultural efflorescence to which the name 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance' has been attached had included – not without considerable controversy – a new responsiveness to the works of Medieval Latin authors – *moderni auctores*.[51] Although it took time for this openness to achieve a lasting effect in the highly conservative lower reaches of grammar instruction, in the fourteenth century the *Distichs* and *Eclogue* remained in vogue, but the other texts of the *Sex auctores* were replaced for reasons of language, style, form and content by medieval Latin poems. Eventually the assemblage of texts became the *Auctores octo morales*, the progression of school texts which dominated from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the mid-sixteenth.[52] The *Auctores octo morales* comprised the *Distichs* of Cato; the *Eclogue* of Theodulus; a twelfth-century book of manners, *Facetus*; a twelfth-century poem *On Contempt for the World* (often called 'Chartula'); Matthew of Vendôme's (twelfth-century) epyllion on the book of Tobit in the Vulgate Bible, *Tobias*; Alan of Lille's (d. 1203) *Proverbs*, as a complement to the proverbial wisdom of the *Distichs*; some sixty *Fables of Aesop* ascribed to a twelfth-century Gualterus Anglicus ('Walter the Englishman'); and a twelfth-century compendium of Christian dogma, *Floretus*.

Successively, the *Liber Catonianus*, *Sex auctores* and *Auctores octo* attained such predominance in basic education that to set up shop, an aspiring master of a

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50 Boas 1914. For table of changes, see Boas, p. 46. For a more recent study, with a list of manuscripts (most of them English) from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Clogan 1982.
51 Ghisalberti 1992.
52 Lyon: John de Prato, 31 December 1488. For an English translation of the whole, see Pepin 1999.

grammar school would have needed only his own copies of them as well as of the standard grammar text-books such as the *Doctrinale* and *Grecismus*.[53] This is most definitely not to imply that no other works were studied in the grammar instruction, particularly in the upper levels, and that grammar masters had to follow a rigid progression from one set text to another.[54] It is the happy conceit of a late nineteenth-century scholar that the twelfth century ushered in an *aetas ovidiana* to succeed the *aetas horatiana* which had immediately preceded it and the *aetas virgiliana* which had started the sequence.[55] Although such a timeline is far too strict to accommodate all the variety of the classical tradition and of literary reception and creation during the Latin Middle Ages, there is truth to the view that Ovid and pseudo-Ovidian poems were widely read and imitated during the three hundred years from 1100 to 1400.[56] But Virgil, Horace and various other poets of antiquity and late antiquity continued to be appreciated, both inside the curriculum and outside.[57]

Among the *moderni* many newcomers had their day. In the twelfth century many new texts were judged meritorious of close reading and glossing that in earlier centuries had been lavished only upon much older texts. Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, with its methodical overviews of the key names and concepts in the seven liberal arts and with its verbal map of the cosmos, elicited illustrations, commentaries and glosses. Walter of Châtillon's (c.1135–c.1179) *Alexandreis* was also heavily glossed. It is preserved in at least two manuscripts written in English hands in the late twelfth or thirteenth century. In one of them, it was written with Claudian's poetry in a smaller component of the manuscript which was once a manuscript in its own right.[58]

To take two further examples that share a coincidental connection with the cathedral of Lincoln, a poem in sixty-eight elegiac couplets on the sacrament of penance entitled *Liber penitencialis* (but often known by its incipit as 'Paeniteas cito') which was widely copied was probably composed by the Englishman William de Montibus, who studied in Paris and later lectured until his death in 1213 at Lincoln, where he had succeeded Walter Map (c.1140–1210) as

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53 Orme 1973, p. 126.
54 Twenty-five manuscripts are examined by Br Bonaventure 1961. For general observations of their characteristics, see Moran 1985, p. 26.
55 Traube 1911.
56 From the extensive scholarship on the Ovidian tradition I will cite only Hexter 1986.
57 C. Baswell identifies more than thirty-five Virgil manuscripts copied in England or brought there during the Middle Ages: see Baswell 1995, pp. 285–308. Reynolds 1996, despite her broad title, focusses upon 'glossing on Horace's *Satires* in twelfth-century manuscripts from England and Northern France' (p. 1).
58 Walter of Châtillon: *Alexandreis*, pp. xxiii–xxxiv: Princeton, UL, ms. Garrett 118, and Bodleian, ms. Auct. F. 2. 16 (SC 2077).

chancellor of the cathedral.[59] Another poem, this one on manners, goes under the name *Stans puer ad mensam* from its incipit; its first seven lines are from the pen of Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), Bishop of Lincoln, and the remainder of the poem was appended by other authors, with English versions among them.[60]

In classifying manuscripts as English or not, it can be an anachronistic trap to think along national lines since England and France were so often united politically and culturally. Especially because in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries many scholars and others who knew Latin spent extended periods on the other side of the Channel, it is not always possible to determine beyond all doubt what was an English manuscript and what a French. If a student of Anglo-Norman background commissioned a manuscript while in Paris and wrote glosses in it before carrying it back to England, where it remains until the present day, the book could be called French – but alternatively it could be labelled English. And the preceding caveat disregards complicating questions about the nationality of the author or text written in the manuscript. To move from the hypothetical to the tangible, Bodleian, ms. Rawl. G. 109, is a manuscript from the twelfth or early thirteenth century that was written in France before – it has been argued more than once – being carried to England, or that was written in England on the basis of a French exemplar.[61] It comprises six sections, which were originally separate booklets before being bound together into a single manuscript. The first part contains 150 poems, among which are many by Hugh Primas (c.1093–1160) and even more by Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1133 or 1134). The second and third parts are occupied mostly by verse by the twelfth-century poet Simon Aurea Capra (Chèvre d'Or). The fourth presents the poems from the second half (subtitled *Megacosmus*) of Bernard Silvestris' prosimetrum, *Cosmographia*. The fifth is Ovid's *Remedia amoris* and *Ex Ponto*, while the sixth is an incomplete text of the prose *De legibus Anglie* attributed to Ranulf Glanvill (d. 1190).

Beyond attention to literary style and criticism, the loftier reaches of training in Latin grammar included attention to composition and, like most other major components and trends in grammar, the practice of composition had effects on books. Apart from works old or new that had earned recognition either in Europe as a whole or in England as a separate region, many manuscripts contained compositions that have come down to us in a unique copy or in very few manuscripts. One source of such compositions was the schoolroom. In the *Institutio oratoria* (1. 9. 2–3) Quintilian had discussed how schoolmasters

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59 Mackinnon 1969; Goering 1992. 60 Gieben 1967.

61 Hildebert, *Carmina minora*, pp. xiii–xiv, and Hugh Primas, *Oxford poems*, pp. 2–3. For a detailed description, consult Rigg 1981.

should use Aesopic fables to replace the nursery tales with which boys would be familiar upon first entering school, and he had suggested how after reading a fable the boys could be required to complete composition exercises of paraphrase, abridgment and expansion. The persistence of this pedagogic technique can be traced even in the late twelfth century, when Alexander Nequam followed the same procedure in his *Novus Avianus* by giving three versions (*copiose*, *compendiose* and *subcincte*) of the fable of the eagle and the tortoise (the second fable in Avian's collection).[62] Geoffrey of Vinsauf (d. after 1200) demonstrated in his *Poetria nova* how to handle such an assignment, although the material he chose for his samples is closer to fabliau than to fable. But writing exercises would have included many other types, beyond simple tasks using fable. When the late fourteenth-century statutes for the Oxford grammar schools recommend that students be asked to complete composition assignments on a regular basis, it is likely that they intended more sophisticated and varied obligations.[63]

Did many or any of the pieces that pupils and students wrote for their masters find their way into books? Parchment was too costly a material to use for functions that blackboards or markerboards, inexpensive paper and computers fulfil in today's classrooms. The most practical and economical substitute for parchment took the form of wooden tablets covered with wax. It was on such tablets, often two hinged together, that pupils and students would write temporary records with a stylus. Although such tablets have survived in scant numbers even from the early modern period, they are often mentioned in medieval texts and represented in medieval art. Probably the boys were usually responsible for supplying such materials themselves, but we do know that the grammar schools, such as Merton College in 1347, sometimes bought parchment, ink and wax tablets for the use of the boys.[64] The survival rate of schoolboy compositions on scraps of parchment would not have been much higher than on wax tablets, with two exceptions, both of which involved recopying. First, schoolmasters probably collected compositions that they wrote themselves as models and that their most successful students produced. They could have incorporated these compositions into their own grammatical and rhetorical treatises or into model books or anthologies. Such an anthology may be found in two runs of poetry in Glasgow, UL, ms. Hunterian v. 8. 14, which also contains treatises on composition by Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Gervase of Melkley (early thirteenth century).[65] Second, it is very likely

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62 Alexander Nequam: *Novus Avianus*, III, pp. 463–4: compare p. 225.
63 Orme 1976, p. 100 and 119.   64 Orme 1976, p. 119.   65 *Thirteenth-century anthology*, p. 4.

that students with literary aspirations sometimes retained their juvenilia and found ways to rework them and insert them into literary works they composed subsequently.

Occasionally we have holographs or later manuscripts based closely on holographs that offer us windows into the manner in which authors composing medieval Latin texts operated – and how scribes who put them into books behaved. The exception that proves the rule is Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, which is extant in only one manuscript (Bodleian, ms. Bodley 851). By the roughest of measures, this codex contains three separate works, first Map's medieval Latin prose, then an anthology of medieval Latin verse, and finally a text of the Middle English *Piers Plowman*. It seems to have been made in Oxford sometime before 1388, but the texts it contains are earlier – hundreds of years earlier, in some cases. For instance, *De nugis curialium* was composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century, but in fits and starts that may cover more than a decade (with the earliest section being possibly from as early as 1177, the latest perhaps later than 1194). Circumstances suggest strongly that after writing much of the text (though 'draft' would be a fairer way to characterize it) in the early 1180s, Walter let it sit in unbound quires to which he added slips of vellum. Later, driven by a new sense of organization, he cut the quires and shuffled the resulting groups of folios.[66]

From the twelfth century on, ever more students aspired to learn Latin out of concern not about the beauties and glories of high literature but rather about the lucrative potentials of practical communication skills, such as letter writing. For students who wished to acquire professional aptitude in letter writing through *ars dictaminis*, their exposure to poetry would have been limited to the literature in the elementary curriculum but their knowledge of prose would have continued to grow through close study of prose epistles in model books. English authors played an active role by writing treatises on prose composition.[67] Peter of Blois (d. 1212), whose collected letters were widely read and imitated and who also wrote a tract *De arte dictandi rhetorice* (CUL, ms. Dd. 9. 38, fols. 115r–21r), is representative of both achievements.[68] Loosely related to the theory was the English contribution to the practice of letter writing. Here the monks of Canterbury formed a major hub of activity, first with letters pertaining to Thomas Becket and then with letters detailing their various disputes over the election of their abbots.[69] The scribes and supplies in their scriptorium constituted an enviable resource for pressing the case for canonization

66 Walter Map: *De nugis curialium*, pp. xxix–xxx.   67 Camargo 1995.
68 Southern 1970b, pp. 115–16.   69 The main source is the *Epistolae Cantuarienses*.

or against what the monks perceived as meddling in their affairs by king, bishops and others.

For the many other students who did not specialize in letter writing, Latin grammar and the literature with which it was implicated were not pursuits that ceased with the completion of the first stages in the ascent to learning and wisdom. Among the other branches of rhetoric that grew under the influence of Cicero and the Ciceronian tradition from the twelfth century were the arts of versifying, the *artes poeticae*. In this special division of rhetoric too, English authors contributed prominently: both Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Gervase of Melkley wrote *artes poeticae*.[70]

In the twelfth century the arrival of hitherto-untranslated logical writings by Aristotle and his Arabic commentators led to revolutionary, new approaches which took grammar into realms of conceptual sophistication far beyond the old philology. The most advanced stage of grammatical study came to entail an almost philosophical grappling with the structure of language and its rules. Most of the innovative work at this intersection between grammar and logic was produced by continental scholars. Not alone, but certainly at the forefront of this movement, was Petrus Helias, a mid-twelfth-century grammar master of Paris who became renowned for his logic of language.[71] In contrast, English schoolmasters restricted their writing to distillation or abridgment of longer works by others for their students.[72] Yet they were influenced by Petrus Helias and the like, as can be gathered not only from our knowledge of those such as John of Salisbury who studied with Petrus but also from the quantity of English manuscripts in which Petrus' main work is preserved.[73]

In discussions of grammar, the name of Donatus is frequently paired with that of Priscian. For instance, both of them are found among the prescribed texts in the University of Oxford statutes of 1268.[74] This coupling of the two authors is misleading, since whereas Donatus was – as we have seen – ubiquitously employed at the lowest level of learning, the *Institutiones grammaticae* of Priscian (styled *Priscianus maior*) could be used only at a decidedly more advanced level. Modist grammar, a theory of grammar formulated on the basis of the conception of *modus significandi*, may have begun to reach Oxford c.1280.[75] Whatever the exact timing, extensive commentaries on Priscian have

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70 Geoffrey's major works were the *Poetria nova*, *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* and *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis*. The *Documentum* is heavily English in its manuscript transmission. Gervase of Melkley wrote a prose art of poetry some time before 1216. On both, see Rigg 1992, pp. 108–11.

71 Lewry 1984, p. 401.   72 Orme 1973, p. 95.

73 Petrus Helias: *Summa super Priscianum*, I, pp. 2–9.   74 *Statuta antiqua*, p. 26.

75 Lewry 1984, p. 420.

been ascribed to the Dominican Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1279).[76] William de Bonkes, a fellow of Balliol College in the 1290s (d. after 1299) all of whose other extant writings are commentaries on Aristotle, composed questions on Priscian's *De constructionibus* (*Priscianus minor*).[77] At roughly the same time, the Franciscan Roger Bacon (d. 1294) engaged in similar philosophical speculation in his *Summa grammaticae*.[78] A *Tractatus de grammatica* attested in two English manuscripts and wrongfully attributed to Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) belongs to the same upwelling of interest.[79]

Not only in grammar but in most of the other liberal arts, more and more Latin texts of ever greater length were being composed or translated from the twelfth century on, and more and more pupils were being trained to read them in schools and students in universities.[80] Furthermore, the pupils and students were taught to read them in different ways from their peers in earlier centuries. At the beginning of our period most manuscripts were produced for monasteries, where reading was a matter of *ruminatio* with the goal of reading authoritative texts slowly and repeatedly so as to facilitate either word-for-word or idea-by-idea recollection of their contents; by the end much reading was connected with schoolrooms and lecture halls, which put a heavier emphasis on gaining a familiarity with contents which could be retrieved through later consultation, using ever more sophisticated finding aids.[81] Alongside the heightened demand for learned texts and commentaries was a growth among the literate outside schools and universities for books to provide them the guidance and entertainment they wished. All these factors combined to result in a sharpened demand for books.

At the universities books were a valuable commodity, the acquisition of which was a costly investment, the theft of which a major loss, and the bequeathing of which a much-appreciated beneficence.[82] Most books at the universities belonged to the masters or their students.[83] Some students could borrow books from monasteries, priories and cathedrals with which they had connections.[84] When the friars – especially the Franciscans – gained prominence in higher learning, they sometimes sought to make books available free of charge to college communities. For instance, in 1289 Archbishop John Pecham

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76 Lewry 1984, pp. 412–13 for references. Although ascribed to Kilwardby in three manuscripts, the commentary on *Priscianus maior* is now thought to have been written in England by a later master sometime before 1280.

77 Lewry 1984, p. 420.　78 Lewry 1984, p. 414.

79 Lewry 1984, pp. 414–15.　80 In this paragraph I am indebted to *ECBH*, p. xiii.

81 Although not concerned with any specific manuscripts, the study that provides the best succinct overview of this development is Illich 1993.

82 Parkes 1992b, p. 409.　83 Parkes 1992b, p. 407.　84 Parkes 1992b, p. 412.

(c.1240–92) required Merton College to acquire copies of three grammatical works of reference and to place them on a decent table where they could be consulted conveniently by all the fellows.[85] In the late thirteenth century a conviction seems to have been born or at least strengthened in the English universities that colleges should own books for both reference by the community and borrowing by individual users.[86] At the same time, wealthy and powerful benefactors, such as bishops, began to make bequests for reading rooms and books to Oxford.[87] In the fourteenth century schools began to buy copies of the required readings for the boys: in 1308–9 Merton College bought for the boys the *Distichs* of Cato for 2d, in 1309–10 a Donatus for 3d, and in 1347–8 a 'book' of Horace for 1/2d.[88] In addition, generous bequests came from scholars themselves. Thus in 1329 and 1358 St Paul's School, London, inherited multiple copies of basic texts from almoners who were responsible for the boys.[89]

What was the role of literature in the libraries the contents of which are known to us? The places which had the highest concentration of manuscripts and which have left the fullest records are Oxford and St Paul's School, London, which fit the model of the new secular schools, and Canterbury, the ecclesiastical centre of England, which remained, even after the growth of those schools, one of England's most important literary centres, if we define 'literary centres' as including places distinguished even more by their holdings of manuscripts than by the productiveness of their writers.[90] The catalogue from Christ Church which was compiled c.1170 offers a wide spectrum of grammarians, historians and poets from antiquity and late antiquity.[91] Of course, reading was no more restricted to institutional libraries than it was to schoolrooms or lecture halls. Not only for want of coffee, the Middle Ages had no exact equivalent of coffee-table books, but medieval literati were not without their own conception – although not universally accepted! – of reading for pleasure.[92]

The courts that clustered around bishops, archbishops, kings and other potentates of medieval society in England as elsewhere were home to large numbers of courtiers, many of whose professional qualifications reflected their command of medieval Latin culture, since many of them performed services by

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85 Here I follow Parkes 1992b, p. 456.
86 Parkes 1992b, p. 457: 'The statutes of University College of 1292 envisaged one stock of books to be set apart for reference, and another from which books could be made available to individual fellows . . .'
87 Parkes 1992b, pp. 470–1.   88 Leach 1911, pp. 220–3, 300–1.
89 Leach 1910, pp. 220–2, and Orme 1973, pp. 124–5.   90 James, *AL*, p. xix.
91 James, *AL*, pp. 7–12: Priscian, Donatus, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Boethius' *Consolatio*, Sallust, Cicero, Arator, Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal, Persius, Prudentius, Prosper, Juvencus, Sedulius, Ovid, Cato, Theodulus, Avian.
92 A fundamental exploration of this topic is provided by Olson 1982.

writing Latin documents or participating in diplomatic missions that involved engaging in Latin negotiations. These courtiers read Latin, sometimes simply because it remained the international language par excellence (or *per excellentiam*). They created texts on the basis of their daybooks, as Walter Map did, and they assembled or had assembled anthologies, florilegia, commonplace books, and the like.

The heads of such courts or humbler members of them were often men who wrote, commissioned and owned books.[93] In 1344 Richard of Bury, Bishop of Durham, produced a prose work entitled the *Philobiblon* in which he praises manuscripts for both their form and content – as objects and as vehicles of wisdom – and showers contempt upon those who spurn books in favour of other activities, such as drinking.[94]

The twelfth century manifested two seemingly contrapuntal tendencies which set the stage for many later developments in English manuscript books. One trend was for the average size of books to diminish, as a higher proportion of the total was produced for individuals and schools as opposed to monasteries. Taking this diminution to an extreme which is reminiscent of pocket-sized paperback books of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the girdle book, a rare survival from the end of the period under consideration here, presented texts in a format so small that users could carry them with them on their belts as they went about their daily tasks or travelled.[95]

The opposed tendency was that the length of many new texts being compiled increased. The counterpoint of 'bigger' (meaning longer) texts in smaller-sized books necessitated or at least encouraged the development of hands that could be written more quickly, so as to facilitate the faster production of books. The cursive hands that were used around 1200 for documents and glosses but not for the texts of books were refined in the thirteenth century into a hand that could be used on a regular basis in books.[96]

It has been observed that 'most works copied in and before the twelfth century were better organized in copies produced in the thirteenth century, and even better organized in those produced in the fourteenth'.[97] Scholastic culture entailed new conceptions of writing, new modes of reading and new formats in the presentation of texts – in other words, new types of books. The

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93 Baswell 1999, pp. 142–4, has interesting reflections on the ownership of Latin books.
94 Richard of Bury: *Philobiblon*.
95 For an illustration and brief description of a fifteenth-century, possibly English, girdle book, see Shailor 1988, pp. 66–7.
96 *ECBH*, pp. xiii–xiv.
97 Parkes 1976. This observation has been, if not altogether contested, then at least greatly qualified and restricted by Gumbert 1995.

innovative conception of what has been called the Gothic book affected the appearance of folios outside the text block, since they included more frequent use of running titles (short indications, usually at the tops of folios, of the text or part of text available at any given opening) and foliation (the medieval equivalent of page numbering). Within the texts themselves, divisions and subdivisions were made more easily recognizable, with clearer indication of chapters and paragraphs. Furthermore, the texts were framed at the beginnings and ends by tables of contents and indices that enabled users to employ to fullest advantage the new finding devices on the folios and in the texts.[98]

Powerful factors maintained Latin literature in the Middle Ages, even as the vernacular literatures grew in prestige and earned their place in written culture. The classical tradition, although contested for both religious and aesthetic reasons, remained a source of strength, and the commitment of the Church to the use of Latin in the Scriptures, liturgy and ecclesiastic business was also a mighty buttress. The Latin language had a stability across time and space which the vernaculars had not had the chance to demonstrate, and this stability originated largely from a continuity in the sorts of texts which were read and which provided readers, especially learners, with their basic sense of Latinity. Yet this stability must not be equated to immobility in either the language itself, the texts through which it was purveyed, or the media in which the texts themselves were recorded. The three hundred years from 1100 to 1400 saw no single technological advance in book-making to compare with movable type, and it had no one individual whose name has become as indelibly associated with progress as Johann Gutenberg, but in their own right these three centuries brought equally profound changes in reading and writing, most of which left clear traces in the manuscripts.

III.   Encyclopaedias

Michael Twomey

Only for slightly over 100 years, beginning probably with Delisle's essay in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, has 'encyclopaedia' been used to define medieval compilations that aimed to present a universe of learning.[99] In the wake of de Boüard's influential 1930 article,[100] scholars have extended the term to many kinds of compilations. Since encyclopaedic texts arranged according to systems

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98 Over the past three decades these phenomena have been the object of increasing attention in the work not only of M. B. Parkes but also of R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse: Rouse and Rouse 1979, pp. 26–34.
99 Delisle 1888, p. 355.   100 De Boüard 1930.

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of knowledge, such as theology or the liberal arts, are covered elsewhere in this volume, for the purposes of this section 'encyclopaedia' refers to a compilation whose contents attempt a description of the natural order.[101] In Britain in the year 1100 the term 'encyclopaedia' in this sense can be applied to only a few texts. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (or *Origines*, written in 636) established a comprehensive model covering both the natural worlds and the *artes*.[102] His *De natura rerum* (612–14) established a more selective model limited to the heavens and the globe.[103] The *De rerum naturis* (or *De universo*) of Rabanus Maurus, written in 842–52, re-ordered the contents of the *Etymologiae* and added allegories.[104] So similar are the contents of Isidore's and Rabanus' encyclopaedias that some copies of the *De rerum naturis* (e.g., Oxford, St John's Coll., ms. 5, from Reading, s. xii ex.)[105] are titled *Etymologiae*. In the early years of the eighth century, Bede combined material from a modest seventh-century Irish encyclopaedia, *De ordine creaturarum*, with Isidore's *De natura rerum* to produce his own *De natura rerum*.[106]

These early encyclopaedias are monastic texts used in the *studium*, and indeed Rabanus and Bede were themselves teachers in monastic schools. A list of school texts written at the end of a copy of Isidore's *De natura rerum* from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in BL, Cotton ms. Domitian a.i (s. x med.), fol. 55v, begins with the *De natura rerum* itself.[107] By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, the library of Salisbury Cathedral contained both full and partial copies of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, plus extracts of the *De natura rerum*.[108] Extracting was how encyclopaedias were adapted for instructional use, and the significance of the extracts is suggested by their identification both as booklets and as parts of composite manuscripts in the book lists and catalogues of religious houses. The practice of extracting is most easily observed with respect to the *Etymologiae*, which is also the encyclopaedia most commonly found in monastic libraries down to the Dissolution. Thus when the Oxford Franciscans compiled the *Registrum Anglie*, they noted partial copies of the *Etymologiae*, for example at the Benedictine abbey of Bury St Edmunds.[109]

It is not possible to say precisely when the Carolingian encyclopaedias ceased to serve as school texts, but it is clear that as a group their influence waned from about 1200 on. By 1300, encyclopaedias were becoming chiefly reference books. Although one might assume that old encyclopaedias were driven out

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101 Types of encyclopaedias: Meier 1984 and 1997a.
102 Isidore: *Etymologiae*.   103 Isidore, *Traité de la nature*.
104 Rabanus: *De rerum naturis*; a new edition by W. Schipper is in preparation.
105 *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. *CBMLC*, ii; Hanna 2002, pp. 6–7.
106 Bede: *De natura rerum*; Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 72.   107 Lapidge 1985, p. 51, item iii. 1.
108 Webber 1992, pp. 144, 145, 146, 159, 165.   109 *CBMLC*, ii, no. 8. 2.

entirely by new ones, annotations in the manuscripts themselves suggest that the Carolingian encyclopaedias continued to be read in English religious houses to at least 1400. The text of Rabanus Maurus in Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 746 (Oxford Franciscans, s. xiii) was heavily annotated by Robert Grosseteste, for whom the manuscript may have been produced.[110] Otherwise, demand for encyclopaedias shifted from the Carolingian corpus to new encyclopaedias, some of which were produced in England or by Englishmen living abroad. The first of the new wave were the *Imago mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis and the *De naturis rerum* of Alexander Nequam, which in a sense define the transition in that they look both backward and forward.

Honorius, who may have been a student of Anselm of Canterbury and who probably concluded his career in Regensburg, seems to have issued the *Imago mundi* in England c.1110.[111] Compiling the *Imago mundi* out of late classical and early medieval authors, Honorius for the most part promoted Carolingian learning. Nevertheless, the *Imago mundi* was the geographical and historical resource of choice until it was displaced by Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum* in the later thirteenth century; and when this happened the *Imago mundi* gained a new life by becoming the first Latin encyclopaedia to be translated into a vernacular language. During the thirteenth century it was adapted into French by Gossuin (or Gautier) of Metz and into Anglo-Norman French verse by two anonymous poets, and manuscripts of these versions circulated in England. Caxton's *Mirrour of the World* of 1480/1 and 1490 translates the French *Image du monde* of Gossuin.[112]

Like Bede and Rabanus Maurus before him, Alexander Nequam (or Neckam, 1157–1215) taught in the schools, but he is the first encyclopaedist to teach in a university – Paris, c.1175–82.[113] The *De naturis rerum* (c.1200–4),[114] written while Nequam was a canon at the Augustinian house of Cirencester, is the most frequently mentioned encyclopaedia in the *Registrum Anglie* after Isidore's *Etymologiae* and Rabanus' *De rerum naturis*, and for the most part it circulated in England rather than on the Continent. Nequam's encyclopaedia is the earliest to be used in preaching, the chief application for encyclopaedias after c.1200. Whereas in the schools they had been sources for the study of the *artes*, in sermons encyclopaedias served as sources of *exempla*. The practice of extracting continued, with four encyclopaedias serving as source books for preachers' handbooks called *libri exemplorum*: Nequam's *De naturis rerum*, Bartholomaeus'

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110 Schipper 1997, pp. 2, 6–13, and pls. 2, 4, 7, 8.
111 Flint 1982 and 1995, pp. 6–34. See also Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 180.
112 Gossuin, *Image du monde*. Other Anglo-Norman versions: Twomey 1988, pp. 189–90.
113 Hunt 1984, pp. 4–10.   114 Alexander Nequam: *De naturis rerum*; Hunt 1984, pp. 134–6.

De proprietatibus rerum (c.1240), Thomas of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum* (c.1240), and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum maius* (c.1245–55).[115] In England, the scarcity of manuscripts of the *Speculum maius* and the *Liber de natura rerum* suggests that Nequam and Bartholomaeus alone served this purpose. For example, the *De proprietatibus rerum* is the principal medieval source used in Nicholas Bozon's *Contes moralisées*, an exemplum collection written in Anglo-Norman French in about 1320.[116]

Only three encyclopaedias therefore enjoyed continuous use from the time of their composition to the end of the fourteenth century: Isidore was employed in the study of grammar, while Bartholomaeus and Nequam provided material for sermons as well as scientific information. However, if one were to choose a single text to represent the use of encyclopaedias in England for the period 1100–1400, that text would be the *De proprietatibus rerum*.[117] Although he is called 'Anglicus', nothing is known of Bartholomaeus' life prior to his appearance in the late 1220s as a lecturer in Paris. A Franciscan, he was posted to Magdeburg in 1230, after which he might have gone to Austria and Bohemia, dying in Saxony in 1272.[118] The appearance of his encyclopaedia in book-lists and wills, its use in sermons and in vernacular literature, and the large number of surviving manuscripts and of allusions to it indicate the popularity of the *De proprietatibus rerum* among both clerical and secular readers (fig. 8.2).[119] In 1398/9 John Trevisa (c.1340–1402) translated it into English. All eight surviving complete manuscripts of Trevisa are from after 1400; the first printed edition is by Wynkyn de Worde (1495). A French version (1372) by Jean Corbechon also circulated in England.[120]

Encyclopaedia manuscripts were designed for searchability, divided and subdivided in the same manner as other books. The work, called *opus* or *liber*, was divided into major sections called *libri*, which in turn were divided into minor sections called *capitula*. Pages were usually in two columns, with running book numbers at the top centre of the folio.[121] Latin methods of book division and *mise-en-page* were also adopted in vernacular encyclopaedias, such as John Trevisa's English version of Bartholomaeus. Although alphabetical order was

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115 Berlioz and Polo de Beaulieu 1994; Bartholomaeus Anglicus: *De rerum proprietatibus*; partial editions of Bartholomaeus are listed in Meyer 2000, pp. 417–18; a new edition of the Latin text is in preparation by B. van den Abeele and H. Meyer; Thomas of Cantimpré: *De natura rerum*; Vincent of Beauvais: *Speculum quadruplex.*
116 Van den Abeele 1988.   117 Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 69.
118 Seymour *et al.* 1992, p. 10.   119 Twomey 1997; Edwards 1985; Seymour 1974.
120 On Trevisa: Keiser 1998; John of Trevisa: *Properties of things*, I, pp. xi–xii, III, pp. 10–26. De Worde's printed edition is *STC* 1536. English ownership of Corbechon's French version: Seymour 1974, p. 159. A new edition of Corbechon is in preparation by B. Ribemont and B. van den Abeele.
121 Palmer 1989.

not used except in the *Omne bonum* (below) or in extracts such as BL, Royal ms. 7 C. V (Bury St Edmunds, s. xiii), a compendium drawn from Bartholomaeus,[122] from the fourteenth century onwards alphabetical lists of books and chapters are sometimes found. In the case of Bartholomaeus, they occur in 30 per cent of the Latin manuscripts but in none of the French manuscripts, although the English version by Trevisa begins with a table of contents in Latin.[123] Readers would sometimes prepare their own tables (fig. 10.4, Isidore, Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. 0.3.37). At St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, the two copies of Bartholomaeus' *De proprietatibus rerum* each came with tables, and their makers were identified in the library catalogue.[124]

Marginal glosses, which could be the random notes of individual users or a scribally executed program, also aided in searching. About two thirds of the Latin manuscripts of Bartholomaeus were provided with moralizing and allegorizing glosses. There is evidence that these glosses have their own textual history and they do not appear in vernacular translations or printed editions. Not only did these glosses make the manuscripts more searchable, they guided the reader's understanding of the text.[125] Like bestiaries, lapidaries and other books using visual supports, encyclopaedias might be illustrated; but in certain cases – the *rotae* in Isidore's *De natura rerum*, for example – there were pictorial programs that could serve iconically to help identify the contents (fig. 10.5, BL, Royal ms. 6 C.1).[126] In Gossuin's prose *Image du monde* the illustrations were part of the original plan, as the prologue cites the number of figures for each chapter and also notes the total for the book as a whole.[127] Some manuscripts of the Latin and French versions of Bartholomaeus have pictorial programs of historiated capitals and larger illustrations, although in Latin manuscripts from England historiated capitals are the rule.[128] A pictorial program is also in the *Omne bonum*, an alphabetical re-arrangement of the *De proprietatibus rerum* by James le Palmer compiled c.1360–75.[129]

From the mid-thirteenth century on, bequests account for most books acquired by religious houses.[130] Through bequests, religious houses acquired encyclopaedias that were used neither in the schools nor in preaching, such as the copy of Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, an encyclopaedia rare in England, that Guy de Beauchamp donated to the Cistercian abbey at Bordesley, Worcestershire, in 1306.[131] Bequests account for redundant copies of books already owned

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122 Meyer 2000, p. 183.   123 Meyer 2000, p. 204.
124 James, *AL*, Fifteenth-century catalogue, nos. 863. 6, 864. 7.
125 Meyer 2000, pp. 122–4, 205–23; Lidaka 1997.   126 Meier 1997b; Bober 1956–7.
127 Gossuin: *Image du monde*, pp. 57–8.   128 Meyer 2000, pp. 223–31, 363–79.
129 Described in Sandler 1996; Meyer 2000, p. 186.   130 *CBMLC*, IV, p. 158.
131 *CBMLC*, III, no. z2.1.

by an institution, especially a large institution with a great library. According to the catalogue of 1325–50, the Benedictine Abbey at Ramsey had three copies of the *Etymologiae*, two of which were identified as bequests.[132] Bequests also provided many of the encyclopaedias in university libraries. Usually the donors were individuals, but the monks of Canterbury Cathedral Priory made a collective donation (recorded in 1524) of 292 books to Canterbury College, Oxford, for the use of monks attending the college, and three of these were copies of the *Etymologiae*.[133] Oxford and Cambridge colleges received ten copies of Bartholomaeus' *De proprietatibus rerum* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while Merton College, Oxford, received bequests including one copy each of Honorius' *Imago mundi* and Vincent's *Speculum*, plus no fewer than two copies of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, in the same period.[134]

Both surviving manuscripts and medieval catalogues tell us something about the textual environment of the encyclopaedias, although drawing conclusions on the basis of the company a text keeps – both on the shelf and between covers – is risky. Larger encyclopaedias usually occur as single books, but occasionally we find encyclopaedias bound with other encyclopaedias, as in Oxford, Trinity Coll., ms. 64 (s. xiii), from St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, which contains Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Honorius' *Imago mundi* and Rabanus' *De naturis rerum*.[135] A large and popular encyclopaedia such as Bartholomaeus', which was sometimes illustrated, could be very costly; but in a less valuable form it might be an everyday book. Thus Bartholomaeus' *De proprietatibus rerum* was one of 109 chained books (now Lincoln Cath., ms. 154, s. xiv²) at Lincoln Cathedral, while at St Leonard's Priory in Norwich, it was held 'in communi' in the chapel.[136] In medieval book lists, which are mostly from the twelfth century or after and exist in various states of completeness, books may be grouped topically (sometimes with subject headings); and when this happens, encyclopaedias are found in any number of categories. Nevertheless it is clear that although they are found in all the libraries of the religious orders in England, encyclopaedias were always vastly outnumbered by patristic texts, saints' lives, service-books, and Bibles.

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132 *CBMLC*, IV, nos. B68. 34, 498, 521.
133 James, *AL*, pp. 166 item 50, 167 item 72, 168 item 131.
134 Seymour 1974, pp. 159–62; Powicke, *Merton*, pp. 189, 110, 84, 160, 188. Surviving manuscripts and manuscripts in medieval book lists: Twomey 2002, pp. 317–42.
135 *CBMLC*, IV, no. B49. 8.   136 Thomson 1989, pp. xiii, xvii, 122; *CBMLC*, IV, no. B62. 38.

Law

NIGEL RAMSAY

Two distinct bodies of law were dominant in England in the twelfth to four-teenth centuries: the law of the Church, or canon law, and the law of the land – that is, the king's law, or, as it came to be known in the thirteenth century, the common law. The two bodies developed in theoretical complexity and in detail of coverage, with an ever-growing number of explicit laws (canons, decretals, ordinances and statutes) being matched by a mass of customary variations. Separate legal professions came to specialize in the two types of law, and for their benefit books were written in which the different laws were more or less systematically set out and expounded. For both laws some juristic underpin-ning was provided by the civil law – the law of the later Roman empire, as set out in the sixth century by the emperor Justinian. Both on account of its influ-ence on the canon law and the nascent common law and because of its own importance, the civil law's texts and commentaries must also be considered here.

Canon law

General councils in the twelfth century

The Church's law – as also its fundamental creeds and its theology – was anciently developed in the General or Ecumenical Councils, such as those of Nicaea I (325), Chalcedon (451) and Nicaea II (787). These councils' canons were made known in England from the seventh century onwards. The councils of the Western Church (Constantinople IV, 869–70, and then Lateran I, 1123, and others) were attended by large numbers of archbishops and bishops and other senior ecclesiastics, who brought back home the texts of the conciliar canons.[1] Within each country or ecclesiastical province the canons were then

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1 Kéry 1999.

publicized and – to some extent – developed or adapted for local conditions through provincial councils and diocesan synods.

In post-Conquest England, Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–89) went far towards a reorganization of the whole English Church through a series of councils, notably at London (probably in 1075) and Winchester (1076): these asserted the primacy of Canterbury, directed bishops to hold synods twice a year, attempted to enforce clerical celibacy, and sought to limit laymen's control over parish church benefices.[2] Lanfranc's archiepiscopate coincided with the pan-European reform movement presided over by Pope Gregory VII. The balance of power within the Church shifted towards Rome, and in the twelfth century the papacy came to have the upper hand in the direction of the English Church's law. In the long run, it was texts emanating more-or-less directly from the Continent that determined the development of canon law in England: the future lay not with councils convened in England but with the decretal letters (or rulings) issued by the papacy to resolve particular legal disputes or uncertainties. The actual processes by which the crucial texts were copied and circulated are still far from clear. The historian is dependent on what has been preserved, and all too little has survived from episcopal archives and libraries of this period. Each bishopric had its endowment of lands that were seen as more-or-less inalienable, but not until long after the Middle Ages did any bishopric have a library that was to be passed on from one holder of the see to the next: administrative records alone were preserved in the episcopal chancery or registry. Each bishop either built up his own set of texts or borrowed them from the library of his cathedral. Fortunately, the cathedral libraries' contents have survived in some quantity to the present day – whether or not *in situ* – and it is upon these that historians can draw.

Early collections of canon law

Probably no later than 1075, Archbishop Lanfranc himself brought from the Continent an abridgment of the collection of papal decretals and decrees of early Church councils that in large part had been put together in the mid-ninth century by Pseudo-Isidore (the collection sometimes called the False Decretals). This *Collectio Lanfranci* (as modern scholars have termed it) was not the first collection of conciliar canons to circulate in England, but Lanfranc's promotion of it caused it to be copied in some numbers, and it played a critical role in bringing the English Church into the framework of the universal Church.[3]

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2 *Councils and synods* I/2, pp. 591–634.
3 Brett 1992; Gullick 2001; for the broader context, Brooke 1931, Philpott 1993; Helmholz 2004, pp. 73–4.

Still extant is a copy (now Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. B. 16. 44) written in Normandy in the mid eleventh century and with a note in the hand of a member of Lanfranc's household stating that the archbishop himself had brought it from the abbey of Bec (where he had been prior until the mid 1060s); it subsequently belonged to his cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury. Nine other copies survive, mostly associable with particular bishops or cathedral libraries, and in two or three instances datable to Lanfranc's lifetime. It cannot, however, be assumed that Lanfranc arranged directly for the importation or copying of all these: other prelates, such as Osbern, Bishop of Exeter (1072–1103), doubtless followed his lead but acted independently to secure a copy for their own use. Two volumes are in a Continental hand, one is by a Continental scribe known to have worked in England, and the others are by English scribes.

The weakness of the canon law at this time was that it comprised little more than a mass of canons promulgated by a variety of councils of the Church: they lacked consistency (and, indeed, often contradicted each other) and so could not be said to form a coherent body of law.[4] Some private individuals had indeed written books that attempted to offer the desired juridical coherence: the most successful were Burchard of Worms, who wrote a large and influential *Decretum* in the early years of the eleventh century, and Ivo, bishop of Chartres (d. 1115–17), whose much longer *Decretum*, of c.1095, was followed by his abridged and revised *Panormia*.[5] Two English copies earlier than c.1200 survive of Ivo's *Decretum*, one (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 19) of the early twelfth century from Christ Church, Canterbury, as against eighty of the *Panormia*.[6] Ivo declared that he was seeking to achieve a 'consonantia canonum', but it was only in the next century that a successful 'harmony of discordant canons' was achieved. 'Concordia discordantium canonum' was the title given by Gratian to his textbook; medieval scholarship, however, knew it too as the *Decretum*.[7] The standard medieval version of Gratian's *Decretum* includes the decrees of the Second Lateran Council (1139), and has commonly been dated to c.1140, but its text had already had a considerable genesis and, seemingly, was yet to undergo a further redaction. Its first version was as derivative of its predecessors as Burchard's or Ivo's *Decretum* had been: perhaps 375 of the 3,500 cited canons were taken from Pseudo-Isidore. Roman law citations only appeared in quantity after the first version had been finished, and it is not even certain whether Gratian himself added them. Gratian's crucial novelty lay in his application of the dialectical method – apparently learned from Peter

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4 Helmholz 2004, pp. 68–79.   5 Barker 1991.   6 Brett and Owen 1998, nos. 10, 12–13.
7 Helmholz 2004, pp. 74–9; J. Rambaud in Le Bras, Lefebvre and Rambaud 1965, pp. 78–129; Winroth 2000.

Abelard – which enabled him to produce a work that was juridically cohesive as well as intellectually attractive. Walter Ullmann described it as 'assuredly . . . the most successful text-book ever written', and declared that the number of manuscripts of the *Decretum* is exceeded only by those of the Bible.[8] Gratian's work reached England within a few years, and John of Salisbury was familiar with it by 1160.[9]

Gratian's *Decretum* was followed by nearly a hundred years of papal decretal-issuing before Gregory IX decided to bring together some of the more significant rulings of those years and to issue them as an authoritative collection (see fig. 11.2). The Spanish canonist Raymond of Peñafort (d. 1275) was charged with the task in 1230. His work was completed four years later, and was promulgated by a papal bull. He drew substantially on earlier decretal collections, of which a significant group had been put together in England in the 1170s to 1190s.[10] The five books of Gregory IX's *Decretals* were supplemented by further collections of papal rulings: the *Liber sextus (decretalium)*, or Sext, commissioned and formally promulgated by Boniface VIII, and the Clementines, sometimes called the *Liber septimus*, promulgated first by Clement V in 1314, and then, more authoritatively, by John XXII in 1317. The promulgatory bulls were addressed to certain universities, together with copies of the books. The Sext was sent to Bologna and Paris, and also, according to some copies, to Oxford. One copy of the Clementines (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 247) has a colophon stating that they were published at Oxford on the feast of the conversion of St Paul (25 January 1318).[11] Within a few years, each became part of the curriculum of every faculty of canon law, and each fairly rapidly also acquired an authoritative or standard gloss (*glossa ordinaria*): by Bernard of Parma on the *Decretals* (first version in 1241; final version issued between 1263 and Bernard's death in 1266), and by Johannes Andreae on the Sext (1303). The standard gloss on the *Decretum* was by Johannes Teutonicus (d. 1245), updated by Bartholomew of Brescia (d. 1258).[12]

Ecclesiastical law: subsidiary legislation

The legislative and judicial decrees of the papacy and of general councils of the Church were made known both directly (as by the papacy's despatch of its own decrees as letters to the affected parties) and indirectly (for instance, by the

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8 Ullmann 1975, p. 165. Melnikas 1975, III, pp. 1261–7, lists almost 500 MSS, but without indication of date or origin.
9 John of Salisbury, *Letters*, I, p. xx n.1 and p. 153; cf. *Councils and synods* I/2, p. 780 n. 5.
10 Duggan 1963.   11 Tarrant 1985, p. 82.
12 Further details in Brundage 1995, pp. 207, 219–20.

widespread copying of those papal decretals considered to have a significance that went beyond the case or dispute in question). But an essential role in publicizing papal decretals and conciliar canons was also played by provincial councils, attended by bishops and other senior ecclesiastics. They served both to publicize recent law-making and to adapt it to local customs. Gratian had asserted that provincial councils did not have the power to make new law, but were to correct and to enjoin the observance of pre-existing law. This reflected normal practice at that date, when canon law had not yet developed into a full juridical system but resembled more a series of rulings, and national customs did not need to be defined because there was no hierarchical framework into which to insert them. Consequently, the canons of English councils of the twelfth century are often little more than repetitions of papal decretals and general councils. From the thirteenth century, however, the English provincial councils' canons were often concerned with the *minutiae* of subjects such as tithes, where there was no pre-existing body of ecclesiastical law and where local legislation was entirely acceptable to the most papalist of canon lawyers – while at the same time it was understood that such legislation was subsidiary to the law common to the western Church as a whole.

Legatine and provincial councils

The general councils of the Church, such as those held at the Lateran in 1179 and 1215, were attended by numbers of English bishops and abbots, and these men or members of their households doubtless brought copies of the councils' canons back with them. The way in which the *Collectio Lanfranci* was acquired by different bishops and cathedrals shows how such texts could be made known in all corners of the land. Nonetheless, it was recognized at the time that a text's impact was far greater if it was discussed and promulgated in a formal and public manner at a meeting of all the senior English ecclesiastics; account could then be taken of any English customs that required a variation on the general rules, and it could be enforced with far greater authority. The earliest of such councils to be held in England (beginning in 1125) were legatine – that is to say, held under the authority of a papal legate. Far more numerous were the provincial councils (sometimes called convocations) that were held in accordance with a decree of the Lateran council of 1215: by Archbishop Stephen Langton at Oxford in 1222, and (in theory) annually thereafter.

The canons drafted at provincial councils were straightway read out publicly, for the benefit of all present. Written texts were essential, although the process by which these were copied and transmitted is still only imperfectly known and was perhaps rather haphazard. A letter of Archbishop Anselm, sent shortly

after the London council of 1102, suggests that redrafting took place after the council, and that the archbishop then took responsibility for the circulation of copies of the final text. By 1261, however, the canons were issued as letters patent, with the seals of all the bishops who had been present.[13] BL, Cotton Charter XVI. 29, is an extant example of the letters issued at the council held at Lambeth in this year. It may be that dozens of such documents were drawn up by clerks attending the council. The issuing of some form of sealed letters seems to have remained standard practice for the rest of the Middle Ages. The canons of Archbishop Thomas Arundel, 1408–9, were issued as letters close to the bishop of London, who was directed to send copies under his seal to the other suffragan bishops; all the bishops were then to publish them in their synods and chapters. One such letter survives (BL, Cotton Charter xv. 12), sent by the bishop of London to the dean of St Paul's on 1 April 1398, reciting Archbishop Roger Walden's conciliar canon about festivals (8 March).

Individual sets of canons were never long enough to make up a book by themselves, but were copied into books containing all sorts of other texts. Copies of the early provincial councils' canons are rare, but are found principally in collections of papal decretals or of canons of general Church councils: for instance BL, Cotton ms. Claudius A. IV (s. xii), contains draft canons of Archbishop Richard of Dover, 1175, together with decretals of Pope Alexander III and the decrees of the council of Tours, 1163.[14] The canons of twelfth-century councils were sometimes not considered worth preserving, because they were not regarded as of permanent import; by contrast, the canons of councils following the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) were regarded almost as if they constituted an English supplement to the *Corpus iuris canonici*, and were frequently copied, generally into books containing legal or theological material, and only very rarely into archival books such as episcopal registers. A typical instance is the copying of the statutes for religious issued at the papal legate Ottobuono's council (1268) into a book from St Mary's Abbey, York, along with statutes of the provincial monastic chapter and a house chronicle (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 39). At Norwich Cathedral Priory, a copy of Ottobuono's statutes was set aside for readings in the refectory;[15] at Norwich's dependent cell of Yarmouth, Ottobuono's statutes were combined with a chronicle and other works.[16] For each set of conciliar canons of the years 1222 to 1342, there are on average some fifty surviving manuscripts, copied over a period of two centuries and more.[17]

13 Cheney 1935, pp. 210–11.   14 Cheney 1975.   15 Saunders 1930, p. 143.
16 *CBMLC*, IV, B64. 10.   17 Cheney 1935, pp. 218, 221.

Diocesan synodal statutes

To diffuse knowledge of papal decrees and conciliar canons through his diocese, a bishop would convene a diocesan synod. Such gatherings had an ancient history, and had long served in a general administrative, judicial and legislative as well as pastoral capacity, but their role as the forum for the making and publication of diocesan statutes was very much the result of the sixth decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which required synods to be held annually.[18] The Church was at this date focussing its concerns on the parish clergy, and the intention was that the clergy should all attend their own diocesan synod so as to be brought up to date with the Church's law and theology. The synods commonly issued statutes, both to clarify matters of faith (on occasion, even offering something as basic as a summary of the seven sacraments) and to provide expositions of such topics as confession and penance, as well as to deal with administrative and legal matters, such as tithe and mortuary payments. The authorship of these statutes is generally unknown, for, as Cheney remarks, 'the more learned a bishop was, the more scholarly assistants he was likely to have in his service'.[19] The most influential set of statutes was undoubtedly that issued for the diocese of Salisbury between 1217 and 1219 and attributed to the then bishop, Richard Poore;[20] he certainly had ability and interest sufficient to make him a plausible candidate for authorship, as he had once been a fellow student with the lawyer-abbot Thomas of Marlborough, had attended the Fourth Lateran Council and had probably known personally all the contemporaries whose works are quoted in these statutes.[21] More than half of the chapters are copied or adapted from canonical matter, especially of the Fourth Lateran Council but in three instances from the Third (1179); sixteen of the chapters are derived from the canons of the English provincial council over which Archbishop Hubert Walter had presided at London in 1200. The interchangeability of synodal legislation is shown by the fact that seventeen of the Salisbury chapters seem to have been copied directly from the Parisian statutes attributed to Bishop Odo de Sully (1196–1208), while the Salisbury statutes were themselves copied *en bloc* for Durham, 1228 × 1236, and in substantial measure for the Scottish diocese of Aberdeen, perhaps in the 1220s or 1230s.[22]

Very little is known about how the texts of these statutes were transmitted, after they had been 'read and published' in the synod. Parish clergy or

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18 Cheney 1941; the texts of statutes pr. *Councils and synods II*.
19 Cheney 1941, p. 49.   20 Pr. *Councils and synods* II/1, pp. 57–96.
21 Cheney 1941, p. 52; Kemp 1998.   22 Watt 2000, pp. 59–60.

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parish churches were commonly ordered to have copies. They were not lengthy texts, and occasionally it was directed that they be copied into a Missal or other service-book; alternatively, the parish priest might be ordered to keep them as a separate booklet (*libellus* or *quaternus sinodalis*).[23] Such loose gatherings inevitably had a slim chance of survival, and none is extant today. Synodal statutes do survive in considerable numbers, however: like provincial canons, they were copied into books containing other material, and these books reveal something about the people who were interested in them. For instance, the four manuscripts of the Salisbury statutes attributed to Richard Poore are: a contemporary copy, perhaps even an official draft, in a thirteenth- and fourteenth-century volume also containing sermons and St Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum ecclesie* (Worcester Cathedral, ms. Q. 67);[24] with a collection of other diocesan and provincial canons, bound up before the end of the thirteenth century as part of a muniment-book of Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury Dean & Chapter Muniments, Liber Evidenciarum c); with other diocesan statutes and the *Summa Ricardi de sacramentis* (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 360); and with other provincial and legatine canons and the Clementines, all written in the mid fourteenth century (BL, Harley ms. 52).[25]

Lawmaking by and for the religious orders

By the twelfth century it was generally accepted throughout the Western Church that the religious orders needed to operate within a clear legal and regulatory framework. Mere adherence to the Rule of St Benedict was insufficient. Self-government was still possible, but only if adequately policed. The most influential model was that of the Cistercians, in which the abbots of all Cistercian houses met in an annual chapter at Cîteaux to make and revise the order's rules and to arrange disciplinary procedures for houses that were giving cause for concern. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the order gained many papal privileges, and these presumably were made known to individual houses by being copied and brought back to England from the annual general chapter. Certainly, from 1212 onwards each abbot who attended the general chapter took back with him a copy of the latest set of *Deffinitiones generales* (or statutes).[26]

One of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council was the requirement that in each country the Benedictine monasteries should unite themselves by holding

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23 Cheney 1941, pp. 45–6. A survey of churches belonging to St Paul's Cathedral, 1297, shows nine out of sixteen as possessing texts of synodal statutes: Simpson 1895b, pp. 2–62 passim.

24 Thomson 2001a, p. 165.   25 Cheney 1941, pp. 57–9; *Councils and synods* II/1, pp. 57–8.

26 *Statuta ordinis Cisterciensis*, I, p. 390.

at thrice-yearly intervals a general or provincial chapter of the heads of all independent houses, with lawmaking powers enforced by the carrying out of visitations by the monks themselves.[27] No central register with a complete record of the chapters' lawmaking has survived (although in 1426 such a book was ordered to be kept); lost, too, is the central archive of the chapters, which was kept at their usual meeting-place, St Andrew's Priory, Northampton. On the other hand, relevant pieces of capitular legislation were copied at individual monasteries in such numbers that few texts of importance cannot today be recovered.

It is very likely that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the statutes made by the Benedictine chapters were all authenticated by being sealed – that is to say, they were issued in roll form. This certainly must have been the case in 1426, when the chapter laid down that each house's proctor should himself draft a copy of the statutes while he was still at the chapter, and have it sealed and endorsed by the president before he departed.[28] The existence of these 'originals' in roll form may have encouraged a tendency to make copies of them in roll form too.

Throughout the period 1215 to 1336, the English Benedictine houses were divided into two provinces: northern (with just four abbeys) and southern (with about sixty). Four rolls in the Durham Cathedral archive contain sets of statutes and chapter acts, each beginning in 1222 but brought down to different dates in that century (the latest being 1293). Just one roll is extant for the southern province in this period: a now-fragmented roll in the Worcester Cathedral archive (B 1610 and C 875A) with a record of the chapters of 1252 and 1255; it also has the texts of some contemporary papal letters and the statutes for the Benedictine order issued by Gregory IX and confirmed by Innocent IV in 1253. Texts for the southern province survive as copies in cartularies and in books, sometimes containing the Rule of St Benedict and certain papal decretals, perhaps for reading in the daily monastic chapter meeting (e.g. CUL, ms. Ii. 1. 5, and Bodleian, Bodley ms. 39).

In 1336 Pope Benedict XII promulgated as a bull (*Summi magistri*) a set of constitutions that formed the blueprint for the Benedictine houses' general organization for the rest of the Middle Ages, most notably in providing for the education of their monks at university.[29] The two English provinces were now merged into one provincial chapter. No rolls of statutes and *acta* survive from after 1336, and no official or sealed texts; but again the texts are recoverable

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27 Pantin 1927 for the fullest general account; the chapters' statutes and decrees pr. *Documents Black Monks*.
28 *Documents Black Monks*, 2, pp. 177–8.   29 Summarized in *Documents Black Monks*, 2, pp. 230–2.

as copies, especially when copied into finely produced books.[30] Benedict XII's constitutions and the code of statutes subsequently produced at the general chapter held at Northampton in 1343 were so important that there are still numerous copies: six volumes at or from Durham, and others from Reading, St Albans and its priory of Belvoir.

The 1215 Lateran Council's requirement of triennial general chapters also applied to religious orders other than the Benedictines.[31] For instance, an English Augustinian general chapter was first convened in November 1217, and issued a series of statutes. The earliest extant texts of the general chapter's legislation are of perhaps the next chapter, 1220, and are in roll form (BL, Cotton Charter XIII. 3, which contains the acts of seventeen chapters, down to 1302). In 1325 it was provided that no statute was to be accepted unless it was authenticated by the seals of the two presidents of the chapter.[32] The drawing-up and despatch of such documents proved onerous, and a statute of 1325, that had insisted on it, was repealed in 1401. Responsibility for recording the chapters' acts was now passed to the individual houses in attendance. The texts of the acts are preserved in just seven codices, of c.1280 and later.[33]

Civil law

By the middle of the twelfth century, England was sharing in the revived study of the antique Roman law, as set out in the *Codex* (imperial edicts and constitutions), *Novellae* (supplementary legislation) and the *Digesta* or *Pandectae* (jurists' statements of the law), all of which had been put together at the behest of the emperor Justinian between the 530s and 560s. The very substantial fifty-book *Digest* was the most important for medieval studies, since it provided a body of legal principles out of which other juridical structures could be developed. The *Digest* was divided in the Middle Ages into three volumes: the 'Old Digest' or *Digestum vetus* (book I to part way through book XXIV, title 3), *Infortiatum* (from book XXIV, title 3, to the end of book XXXVIII) and 'New Digest' or *Digestum novum* (books XXXIX to L). Until the thirteenth century, only the first nine books of the *Codex* were generally copied, as the last three (dealing with Byzantine public law) were considered irrelevant; these three books, or *Tres libri*, were then combined with the twelfth-century *Authenticum* (abridged from the *Novellae*) and the *Institutiones* (a version of the pre-Justinian *Institutes* of Gaius) to form the *Parvum volumen* ('little book'; usually called simply the

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30 Pantin 1927, p. 197.   31 Sayers 1964.   32 *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, pp. xvii, 14.
33 *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, pp. xxxviii–xlii.

Volumen). Together, the *Codex*, *Authenticum* and *Digest* formed the received body of civil law, the *Corpus iuris civilis*. From the thirteenth century, it also included the *Libri feudorum*, a collection of Italian treatises of feudal law. By this date these texts were usually accompanied by an apparatus, commonly of the Bolognese jurists Azo or Accursius (see fig. 8.3).

It is still unclear exactly how English scholars came to share in the understanding of these rediscovered texts. Until recently, historians have concentrated on what can be associated with the establishment of the university of Oxford; it is more realistic, however, to see the civil law's history as linked with the development of the canon law and with the patronage of ecclesiastical prelates in the cathedral schools and the various centres of the Church's legal activities.

As early as the 1120s, Gilbert Foliot (later bishop of Hereford and then of London; d. 1187) had acquired some knowledge of Roman law, conjecturally in Bologna.[34] Soon after his return to England, as abbot of Gloucester (1139), he was intimate with Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury (1139–61). Theobald himself played a critical role in the revival of Roman law, by bringing to England the young Bolognese-trained civil lawyer, Vacarius, perhaps in 1144.[35] Vacarius was for a time in Canterbury, where he is said to have taught law, and then by 1159 he was in the service of Roger, Archbishop of York (and once archdeacon of Canterbury). He acted for Roger as his agent in France and at the papal court, and in the later 1170s was frequently appointed a papal judge delegate (i.e., as one of those ecclesiastics given delegated power by the papacy to resolve ecclesiastical lawsuits in England). Vacarius wrote a treatise on the law relating to marriage, *Summa de matrimonio* (c.1156),[36] which shows much awareness of Gratian's *Decretum*, but his most influential work was his *Liber pauperum*, apparently written in the 1150s.[37] This is a compilation of excerpts from the Digest and Code, reduced into nine books and roughly corresponding to the scheme of the *Institutes*; it is sparingly glossed, principally with further excerpts from the *Corpus iuris canonici*.

Seven manuscripts and nineteen fragments of the *Liber pauperum* survive, mostly of the 1190s or early years of the thirteenth century.[38] Initially, it enjoyed considerable success. Oxford students were nicknamed *pauperistae*, because of

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34 Gilbert Foliot, *Letters*, pp. 59–69.   35 Southern 1976, pp. 259, 279–80.
36 Vacarius, *Summa de matrimonio*.
37 Vacarius, *Liber pauperum*; Southern 1976, p. 278; Boyle 1983, pp. 116–24; Stein in *Teaching of Roman law*, pp. xxviii–xxxvii.
38 Boyle 1983, p. 121; a smaller tally was given by Southern 1976, p. 272 n. 2.

their alleged dependence on it; but it circulated throughout the Anglo-Norman world. The earliest copy (Worcester Cathedral, ms. F. 24), which has been dated to the mid-twelfth century, is written 'in one exquisite English protogothic bookhand'.[39] It was glossed sparsely, though in several layers; later versions are much more heavily glossed, and one of these (now St Petersburg UL, ms. lat. 4) shows particularly careful design. Each page comprises five columns, of which the first has the text of Vacarius, the second and fifth have been left blank for students' notes, while the third and fourth, which are narrower, have the Roman law texts.[40] Vacarius' text is full of the comments of his own teachers at Bologna and of other scholars of that generation (i.e., the early 1140s).

By the 1150s, complete copies of the Digest and the other texts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* were no doubt available in England; as usual, the evidence of book ownership in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries comes from the catalogues of institutions and not of private individuals.[41] For instance, the earliest catalogue of the library of Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury (c.1170 or a little later) includes a copy of the *Institutes*;[42] a list of the books copied for Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough (1177–93), includes the *Institutes*, *Authenticum* and *Infortiatum*, the Old Digest and the New Digest, a complete *Corpus iuris civilis* in two volumes, and the *Summa Codicis* of Placentinus (d. 1192).[43] Since Benedict had previously been prior of Canterbury, it is very likely that these books had been copied from examples at the Cathedral Priory there.

Canon and civil law at Oxford and Cambridge in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

It may always be debatable whether Oxford students learnt law directly from Vacarius himself or merely from his *Liber pauperum*. It is, however, incontestable that by the 1190s canon law was being taught there. Thomas of Marlborough (d. 1236), Abbot of Evesham, who himself both studied and lectured in law at Oxford in this decade, mentions three of his masters in the schools there: Honorius of Kent (later archdeacon of Richmond), Simon of Southwell or Sywell (later treasurer of Lichfield), and John of Tynemouth (later archdeacon of Oxford).[44] Student notes (*reportationes*), made c.1200, survive of lecture comments or glosses on the whole *Decretum* by Simon of Southwell and John of Tynemouth (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 283/676) and there are notes of *Quaestiones* by these two and other masters in another

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39 Thomson 2001a, p. 18 (dated 1145 × c.1150).   40 Boyle 1983, p. 124.   41 Senior 1931.
42 James, *AL*, p. 12, no. 221: *Institutiones Iustiniani*.   43 *CBMLC*, VIII, p. 19.
44 *Thomas of Marlborough, History Evesham*, pp. 232–3; Boyle 1983, pp. 110–11.

manuscript of the same date (BL, Royal ms. 9 E. VII, ff. 191–8).[45] Oxford no doubt benefited from the hostilities between England and France in the years after 1193, which made it almost impossible for English students to go to Paris or other foreign universities. A longer-term factor which left Oxford well placed for canon law studies was the the town's geographical position which made it a convenient meeting place for ecclesiastical courts: the teachers of canon law might act as judges or at least as counsel, and their students could see the law in action and perhaps share in the work of preparing the written texts on which ecclesiastical litigation always depended. An account of two students from Friesland who were at Oxford in the 1190s makes it clear that their course combined civil and canon law: their principal textbooks, which they copied out, studied and glossed, were the *Decretum* and Vacarius' *Liber pauperum*.[46]

A row at Oxford in December 1209, when two students were hanged for complicity in a murder – capping the uncertainties caused by Pope Innocent III's interdict on England, 1208, and the excommunication of King John, November 1209 – apparently led to a dispersal of the masters. Some went to Paris, but others to Reading and Cambridge. Cambridge proved the winner, for reasons similar to those that had once made Oxford so attractive for canon lawyers: it was where the courts of both the archdeacon of Ely and the bishop of Ely's consistory generally had their sessions.[47] Canon law, it appears, accordingly was taught at Cambridge from the very beginning: the university's first recorded chancellor, Richard of Leicester or Wetheringsett (in office by 1222), was a canon lawyer and acted as official-principal of the bishop of Ely. Master John of Caen, who was also official of the bishop of Ely, lectured in canon law – presumably at Cambridge – and was author of an *Abbreviatio Decreti* (BL, Cotton ms. Claudius A. IV, ff. 85–191). It seems likely that civil law was also taught at Cambridge from the beginning, even though it is not mentioned in the earliest university statutes (c.1250). A civil law 'professor' (i.e., DCL) is mentioned at Cambridge in 1267: Simon of Asceles, who went on to be prior of Barnwell.

By this date, however, Oxford had recovered from the events of 1209 and was once more of European status. Pope Honorius III's ban on the teaching of civil law at the university of Paris (1219) no doubt had the effect of strengthening civil law studies at Oxford and Cambridge, where separate civil law faculties were now set up.[48]

45 Kuttner and Rathbone 1949–51, pp. 317–21; Boyle 1983, p. 111.
46 Boyle 1983, p. 114.   47 Brundage 1993.   48 Boyle 1984, pp. 536–8.

University supervision of book production: the pecia *system*

The provision of accurate copies of texts was indispensable for studies in canon and civil law. Some of the key texts – most notably, the Digest – were very long, and the writing of texts with marginal glosses was an undertaking that called for more skill (and time) than the average student or teacher was likely to possess. Unsurprisingly, then, professional scribes have been found in the records of university towns throughout Europe from the late twelfth century onwards. Medieval scribes generally wrote not by the page but by the gathering (quire or, to use the Latin word for 'piece', *pecia*): their exemplars also comprised sets of unbound quires or *peciae*. The booksellers who stocked such texts were known as *exemplatores*, since their speciality was the provision of copies that had been transcribed from such exemplars.

It is not certain when the practice of copying from exemplars was first brought under the control of the university authorities. Jean Destrez, who examined fifteen thousand thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts in a search for books that had once served as exemplars or that had copyists' marginal notes that showed the books to be the work of the specialist *pecia*-scribes, found none earlier than the second quarter of the thirteenth century; but he believed that it was in Paris at this time that the '*pecia*-system' began. The earliest university statute at Paris that aimed to regulate the local book-trade was made in 1275,[49] at a general session of the university's masters that was held – most unusually – in the Dominican convent, and it is possible that the Dominican order's particular interest in book production played a part in its genesis.[50]

Others have drawn attention to an undertaking of the Italian town authorities at Vercelli, that they would have two *exemplatores* who would provide exemplars for scholars in both laws and in theology, correct in both text and in gloss, and from which the scholars could obtain copies at a set price. This undertaking was part of a wider agreement between the town of Vercelli and certain masters of the university of Padua who were proposing to form a breakaway university at Vercelli, and it is striking that regulation of the book trade featured at such an early stage of negotiations. The university of Padua itself had been formed only six years earlier, in 1222, by a secession from the university of Bologna: what was proposed for Vercelli was doubtless current at Padua, itself copied from the established practice at Bologna.[51]

49 Destrez 1935a; Pollard 1978, pp. 145–6; Rouse and Rouse 1988, p. 44.
50 Rouse and Rouse 1988, pp. 45, 84.   51 Pollard 1978, p. 148.

The '*pecia*-system' as developed in the course of the thirteenth century in these universities and in Florence, Naples, Paris, Toulouse and Oxford, was one aspect of the way in which the book trade operated under the protection and control of the university authorities.[52] Booksellers (or *stationarii*) would stock copies of the texts that had been approved by the university, which itself would have laid down the number of gatherings (*peciae*) in each book and the price that was to be charged per *pecia*.[53] A student could only obtain books from one of these stationers, for they had been given a monopoly within the university town; but the student had the option of either borrowing the *peciae* one at a time and making his own copy or contracting with a professional scribe to write a copy for him. At Bologna and Paris, a university committee examined and verified texts (both new works and, once a year, old exemplars), and the university then published a list of books with their numbers of *peciae* and their price; the stationers displayed this list in their shop, together with the names of authorized scribes. Nine such lists of law-books are known, mostly if not all from Bologna and Paris;[54] they show the scale of the enterprise, with the number of texts increasing at Bologna from forty-eight in 1274–6 to ninety-three in 1317–47, and of course they also show which were the most popular commentaries and treatises.[55]

'*Pecia*-production' flourished for about a hundred years, until the mid-fourteenth century. Its success is easily explicable; given that most authors in this period did not write out their own books but chose either to dictate them to scribes or to allow their students to make *reportationes* (lecture notes), corrupt texts could easily proliferate; and yet for law treatises and commentaries, with their numerous cross-references to the texts of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and *Corpus iuris canonici*, complete accuracy was essential. The Digest was (and is) known in only one ancient copy, which was at Pisa until 1284, and then in Florence (whence its name *Littera Pisana* or *Florentina*), but the next oldest copies (with the text known as *Littera vulgata* or *Bononiensis*) had been in Bologna since the time of Irnerius (d. c.1125).[56] Their presence in Bologna must have been as much of an advantage to the Bolognese book-trade

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52 For the *pecia*-system at Oxford, see Pollard 1964, but note the reservations of Parkes 1992b, pp. 462–70.

53 Pollard 1978; Humphreys 1979.

54 Kaeppeli and Shooner 1965, pp. 111–29; Genest 1988; Soetermeer 1997, pp. 311–33; Soetermeer 1999, pp. 229–46 and 387; Murano 2005.

55 A total of about 140 *pecia*-type exemplar mss. is known: Murano 2002, with catalogue of 77 legal mss at pp. 142–72.

56 Roby 1884, pp. ccxxxix–ccxli, summarizing Mommsen's arguments for the Irnerian ms(s) being based on the Pisan ms. collated with a (now-lost) ms. which offered some superior readings.

as it was to the university, since the trade could use them to produce reliable copies.

The '*pecia*-system' was developed not only to achieve an adequate supply of accurate copies of texts; it was also a means of controlling their price. The statutes of Bologna's law faculty both set a price for each *pecia* and stipulated that it should be sixteen columns (at two columns per page, or four to a folio) and that each column should contain sixty lines and each line thirty-two letters. The scribes' short-cuts or economies were therefore in the size and quality of their parchment: university books became more compact, and their parchment was inferior and cheaper. It must also gradually have become apparent that the *pecia*-system did not always result in outstandingly accurate texts.

The '*pecia*-system' impacted on English lawyers. They had the choice of going to an Oxford-based stationer or to one in, say, Paris or Bologna, and the evidence suggests that – at least for those who could afford it – the preferred option was to buy a Bolognese product. But the books that they bought were not necessarily *pecia*-products: they sometimes wanted books of a higher quality. Many of the Englishmen who went to Bologna to study law already had a degree from Oxford or Cambridge, and some had already obtained an ecclesiastical benefice, even an archdeaconry: these were men who could well afford to buy the best. Both surviving books and the summaries of contracts in the Bolognese notarial registers stand as proof of Englishmen's readiness to buy Bolognese products, distinctively written in the clear and legible Bolognese script. In 1302, for instance, David [son of] Simon of 'Quetisbch' (?Wisbech) in England contracted at Bologna to buy a [*Parvum*] *Volumen* and *Decretum* for twenty-four Bolognese pounds; in this case – unusually but not exceptionally – the scribe was also from England: William son of Rodulf of 'Nuytebi' (?Whitby).[57]

Illuminated books of civil and canon law

For book buyers who did not want to take advantage of the fixed prices of the *pecia*-system, the developing European book trade offered a wide range of possibilities. A book might be commissioned in one country, illuminated in another, and used in a third. The Bolognese script was imitated elsewhere in Italy (and in England itself); the illuminators were increasingly capable, but those of Paris were more numerous and perhaps less expensive. Such was the status of canon and civil law texts (always with apparatus) that it may have seemed natural to buy a slightly showy book – rather as books of statutes

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57 Orlandelli 1959, p. 56, no. 79.

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of the realm were the most prized and most frequently decorated English law-books. Illuminated copies of the Decretals (1234) have been found from 1241 onwards.[58]

The diversity of the origins of the hundreds of canon and civil law books that belonged to Englishmen in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is striking.[59] A copy of the Decretals, of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, with the apparatus of Bernard Botone of Parma (now London Metropolitan Archives, Corporation of London Record Office, Cust 9),[60] has what might be called a French text (since it begins with Gregory IX's publication-letter addressed to the university of Paris). It was written either in France or England, but is annotated in a contemporary English hand, which indicates that it was in English ownership from the beginning. Some of its decoration appears to be French, some English, as also in another manuscript of the same text with Bernard's apparatus (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. McClean 136) (fig. 11.2).[61] An early fourteenth-century copy of the Sext and *Extravagantes*, with the apparatus of Johannes Andreae and others (BL, Royal ms. 10 E. I), has script and decoration by both Italian and French scribes and artists. An early fourteenth-century copy of the *Decretum* had spaces left for illumination by its Italian scribes, but only one miniature was ever added, in England (BL, Royal ms. 10 E. II); this manuscript has the distinction of having belonged in 1381 to John Wyclif. Such instances of transnational completion of texts or addition of illustrations could easily be multiplied.

The common law: the twelfth century

The law of the land and of the King's courts

Any writer who c.1100 wished to set out or explain the general law of the land would have been faced by a distinct lack of suitable materials. Neither William I nor William II had issued a general law code. To import a body of law from the Continent – as it might be said that Lanfranc did for the Church – was out of the question. Henry I promised at his coronation to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor, but these were in effect the laws of Cnut (1016–35), and were in Old English, whereas Henry's principal bureaucrats and justices were probably familiar only with Latin and French.

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58 Kuttner and Smalley 1945, p. 98; Gibbs 2002.
59 L'Engle and Gibbs 2001. For their typical format, see ch. 4 above.
60 *MMBL*, I, pp. 19–20, describing its text as 'very corrupt'.   61 Michael 1981, p. 86 n. 21.

The easiest solution was to engage in compilation: this was done by men linked in some way with Rochester Cathedral, where the *Textus Roffensis*, containing both pre-Conquest royal laws and William I's *Articuli* and Henry I's coronation charter, as well as some papal decretals, was written 1122–3,[62] and, probably, St Paul's Cathedral London (this St Paul's manuscript is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 383, c.1100).[63]

A more ambitious approach was taken by the Norman (or at any rate French-speaker) who sought to produce a book that would be intellectually accessible (by being in Latin), up to date (by including the legal provisions of Henry I as well as all the Anglo-Saxon rulers' law codes), and analytical or at least didactic (by treating of *cause*, the canon lawyers' word for lawsuits). His book has been known as *Quadripartitus* ever since Felix Liebermann found such a title on a flyleaf of an early copy.[64] It is certainly true that the book was planned in four parts, but parts three, 'on the nature and conduct of lawsuits', and four, 'on theft and its elements', were never written. The book was long in the making, and although there are specific reasons for dating its completion to between 1113 and 1118, its first recension is probably not later than 1108 (as it includes the canons of the English Church council of that year), and it may of course have been begun much earlier.[65] It survives in three recensions, and its author would seem to have altered his course as he decided to expand the second part (and perhaps adapt the projected third part) into a separate account of the laws of Henry I (*Leges Henrici primi*). Nine manuscripts survive, of which the earliest (BL, Cotton ms. Domitian A. VIII, ff. 96–110v) may date from the 1120s or 1130s;[66] three were supplemented by other legal texts, indicating a perception of it as a practical or legal rather than a merely historical collection. The author's identity is unknown. He was up to date in his reading, making use of contemporary canonical sources, such as the *Decretum* and *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres. The inclusion of letters from Gerard, Archbishop of York (1100–8), surely indicates that the author was in some way associated with Gerard, as a leading official or protégé. Wormald suggested that he might have been some such senior ecclesiastic as William Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter (1107–37), who was both a royal justice and heavily involved in Anglo-papal diplomacy.[67]

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62 Ker 1990, no. 373; *Textus Roffensis*; Wormald 1999, pp. 244–53.
63 Ker 1990, no. 651; Wormald 1999, pp. 228–36.
64 *Quadripartitus*; Plucknett 1958, pp. 24–30; Wormald 1994.
65 Wormald 1994, p. 140 n. 78, and Sharpe, appx. to Wormald 1994, pp. 150–1.
66 Wormald 1994, pp. 114–21, for details of mss.
67 Wormald 1994, p. 144 n. 91, with due reservations.

The *Leges Henrici Primi* ('Laws of Henry I') is not at all what might be expected from that title, which is in any case a shortening of what is given in some of the surviving manuscripts.[68] It is not a collection of legislation introduced by Henry I, but something much more ambitious: an exposition of all the laws then in force and applicable to laymen.[69] The Crown's jurisdiction receives much emphasis, with a stress on royal justice, the king's peace and royal writs; but – unlike later writers – the author gives a reasonable amount of space to the jurisdiction of the hundred and county courts and to baronial powers and obligations. He sometimes seems to draw on his own experience, but it might also be said that some intellectual timidity is shown by his clear preference for citing written sources. His general propositions are certainly drawn from a wide range of reading: the Bible, the Fathers (as in the statement that 'reum non facit nisi mens rea', 'there is no crime without a culpable mind', which is ultimately derived from St Augustine),[70] Frankish capitularies, Pseudo-Isidore, and Ivo of Chartres; Roman law is strikingly absent, however, with the exception of one purported borrowing from the Theodosian Code.[71] The book's novelty lies in its being an exposition of the current law, and not just a collection of the laws in force. The author bases himself on the Anglo-Saxon laws (as translated in his own *Quadripartitus*) and their post-Conquest supplements, but he cuts them up, re-ordering and at times even changing them, with the aim of producing a coherent statement and explanation of the law. For his time, this was remarkably ambitious, and although his train of thought is sometimes illogical, his presentational methodology foreshadows that of Gratian's *Decretum*. As Maitland wrote, 'we should remember that he was engaged on an utterly new task, new in England, new in Europe: he was writing a legal text-book, a text-book of law that was neither Roman nor Canon law. To have thought that a law-book ought to be written was no small exploit in the year 1118'.[72] His impact is hard to gauge: the six surviving manuscripts range in date from c.1201 to 1330, and four are from the group of legal texts dating from the early fourteenth century and linked with London's Guildhall. The best and second earliest copy is in the Red Book of the Exchequer of c.1230.

The author of *Quadripartitus* and the *Leges Henrici Primi* was not the only man to set out afresh the pre-Conquest laws: there are other twelfth-century

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68 'De libertate ecclesie et totius Anglie obseruanda leges Henrici primi': *Leges Henrici primi*, p. 7.
69 *Leges Henrici primi*; Plucknett 1958, pp. 27–30; Wormald 1999, pp. 411–14, 465–8 and 473.
70 *Leges Henrici primi*, p. 11.   71 *Leges Henrici primi*, p. 31.
72 Pollock and Maitland 1898, I, pp. 100–1.

collections, such as the *Instituta Cnuti*,[73] *Consiliatio Cnuti*,[74] *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*[75] and *Leis Willelme*.[76] These have too often been portrayed as merely antiquarian in their origin or aim; they were, however, neither simple transcripts nor without practical contemporary value. The law that they presented had in large measure been promulgated before the Conquest, but the authors were selective in what they excerpted and they varied in their approach. The ecclesiastic who put together the *Instituta Cnuti* frequently omitted ecclesiastical provisions, as though he was aiming to distinguish canon law from secular (the two being combined together in pre-Conquest royal legislation); in the *Leges Henrici Primi*, by contrast, there is perhaps a deliberate or 'political' antiquarianism in the critical view of the way in which secular and spiritual jurisdiction was being separated out, and even of the way in which the Crown's jurisdiction was increasing at the expense of local courts. On the other hand, neither *Quadripartitus* nor the *Leges* ignores the Crown's more recent legal initiatives out of mere wilfulness: it is simply that they focus on those texts generally seen at the time as significant pieces of law-making or restatements of the law. The coronation charter or confirmation of liberties issued by Henry I was seen as highly significant throughout the twelfth century, and was called the Great Charter (*magna carta*): it was accordingly much copied.[77] The assizes of Henry II – judged so important by modern historians – presumably were not regarded by contemporaries as pieces of law-making, for their texts have survived by only the barest of margins.[78] The Assizes of Northampton, 1176, and of Arms, 1181, are given only in the chronicle of Roger of Howden; the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, is given only by Roger of Howden and in Bodleian, Rawl. ms. c. 641; and the Inquest of Sheriffs, 1170, is given only in Rawl. c. 641 and the chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury. The two texts in Rawl. c. 641 are in a gathering perhaps written in the reign of John (but not earlier) and which was at some point bound with a collection of the *Instituta Cnuti*, *Leis Willelme* and other Anglo-Norman legal texts. Roger of Howden perhaps recorded the assizes because he acted at times as a royal judge and was professionally concerned with their implementation; as a historian, however, he felt free to alter them, treating

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73 Liebermann 1893; O'Brien 2003, Wormald 1999, pp. 404–5.   74 Wormald 1999, pp. 405–6.
75 Ed. and tr. O'Brien 1999a; Wormald 1999, pp. 409–12.   76 Wormald 1999, pp. 465–76.
77 Liebermann 1894; ed. *Councils and synods* I/2, pp. 652–5; Wormald 1999, pp. 400–2; tr. *English historical documents 1042–1189*, pp. 432–4. See also below, p. 281.
78 Holt 1971. The Assizes of Clarendon, Northampton and of Arms tr. *English historical documents 1042–1189*, pp. 440–3, 444–6 and 449–51, and the Inquest of Sheriffs at pp. 470–2.

them quite differently from the text of *Glanvill* which he also incorporated into his writings.

Glanvill

If the texts of Henry II's assizes had been lost, then the book known as *Glanvill* would come as even more of a surprise. *Glanvill* is all that *Leges Henrici Primi* is not. As a law-book, it shares with the *Leges* little more than that it too is anonymous, and doubtless the work of someone who was professionally concerned in the administration of justice and who had had a clerk's education in Latin. There is, however, a tradition dating back to the thirteenth century of calling it *Glanvill* and of implying that it was in some way the achievement of Ranulf de Glanvill (d. 1190), who in 1180 was appointed Henry II's justiciar (or principal judge);[79] in an early manuscript of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, it and other legal materials are all preceded by the comment that these English laws were 'founded on the wisdom' of Ranulf Glanvill ('cuius sapientia condite sunt leges subscripte'). *Glanvill* is concerned only with the law as dispensed in the royal courts – 'in the king's court at the Exchequer, and before the justices wherever they go', as the version of the text given by Howden puts it. Moreover, the book is essentially an account of the writs needed in civil litigation and of the procedure connected with them; and yet, as though the author was too much of a jurist to be satisfied with writing a guide to procedure, he at times uses writs as springboards from which to plunge into a substantive analysis of the law. This is to some extent the case with book IV, on advowsons, and it is very much the case with books VI and VII, on dower, where there is a lengthy and careful definition of dower – described by Hall as 'the first essay of its kind in English law'[80] – as well as a treatment of procedure that is less exclusively focussed on the royal court. Criminal causes head the list of topics at the start of book I, but again it is as if the author found the topic juristically dull, for the account of criminal pleas is actually deferred to the final book, XIV, where it is treated summarily. 'The crime of robbery', writes the author, 'need not be discussed, for it raises no special problems', and of theft he states that 'since the avowed aim of this present work is to consider only the king's court, it is not appropriate to deal here with thefts and other pleas belonging to the sheriff,

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79 In Lambeth, ms. 429, it is stated that the book was composed in the time of Henry II, 'when justice was under the direction of the illustrious Ranulf de Glanvill, the most learned of that time in the law of the realm and of ancient customs'.
80 *Glanvill*, p. xxiii.

which are heard and determined according to the varying customs of different county courts'.[81]

Glanvill's author clearly had had some training in Roman law.[82] His prologue starts with a conscious echo of the preface to Justinian's *Institutes*, and goes on to quote the civilians' well-worn tag, that 'what pleases the prince has the force of law' ('quod principi placet, legis habet vigorem').[83] On the other hand, as Hall observed: 'No lawyer acquainted with the *Corpus Iuris* can write in Latin about law without employing the language of a Romanist; but he may not use, or mean to use, the Latin words in their precise Roman law sense, nor may he intend to reproduce the Roman law rules as he finds them in the authorities.'[84] The importance of the author's civilian training (whatever may have been its extent) perhaps lay principally in his being able to think coherently about legal concepts, and to apply his skills to something as ostensibly unpromising as the writs used to initiate particular procedural stages. He makes only one direct allusion to canon law.[85] Refreshingly, he did not feel the need to dress up his approach with quotations or adaptations from the laws of Cnut, and indeed at one point he describes the laws of England as unwritten.[86] He was ready to set out the law as given in the various assizes of Henry II; that he does not actually name them or quote from them, or, indeed, give any indication that he regards Henry as an innovative legislator, may possibly be because he was aware that Henry was in large measure reiterating early twelfth-century provisions.[87]

Glanvill is clearly written, and the survival of over thirty medieval copies is one measure of its success. It was sufficiently short to be treated as a tract fit to be joined with other works. It was completed between November 1187 and the death of Henry II (1189), and several copies are datable to within a generation of that time: such are, for instance, the copy incorporated by Roger of Howden as an appendix to his *Chronica* for the year 1180 (BL, Royal ms. 14 C. II, ff. 226–74; written between 1199 and 1202),[88] and a copy written c.1200 and perhaps kept at the royal Exchequer then or within a few years (Oxford, Balliol College, ms. 350, ff. 43–71).[89] Early in the thirteenth century the text was made easier

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81 *Glanvill*, pp. 175, 177. The sweeping generalization that pleas of theft belong to the sheriff is misleading, in that it ignores the many franchises and other areas of jurisdiction that were exceptions to the rule.
82 Van Caenegem 1959, pp. 373–86.   83 Justinian, *Institutes*, 1. 2. 6, pp. 5–6.
84 *Glanvill*, p. xxxvii.   85 *Glanvill*, pp. xxxix and 88.   86 O'Brien 1999b, pp. 11–16.
87 This is debatable. The defenders of the authenticity and originality of Henry II's assizes substantially outnumber their assailants, such as Richardson and Sayles 1963, pp. 198 and 438–49; see further Holt 1971, p. 85.
88 Corner 1983.   89 Southern 1950.

to use: rubrics were added, and at almost the same time the individual sections or chapters were numbered. In the *beta* group of texts, which also first appear at this time, a large number of standard cross-references and a few marginal comments or corrections were added; too often, however, errors in chapter numbering or other inconsistencies render valueless this theoretically useful quasi-gloss.[90]

The common law: the thirteenth century

As *Bracton* was later to put it, 'From of old the rule has been that no one can bring an action in the king's courts of common law without the king's writ.'[91] To commence an action before a royal judge, it was necessary first to purchase from the king's Chancery a writ of the appropriate form. As a law-book founded on the texts of writs, *Glanvill* is so closely related to the earliest collections of writs, copied like formularies onto rolls or in book form, that it is sometimes argued that there must have been some direct link between the two. The earliest such 'registers' of writs date from no more than a generation later than *Glanvill*'s composition, a relatively insignificant time gap. The best approach, however, must be to accept that the author of *Glanvill* had correctly seen that writs – as the initiators of procedural stages of litigation – had already been substantially transformed from written executive orders to the originating writs of the common law courts. Henceforth, any practical discussion of the law as administered in the king's courts was bound to be focussed on writs, and accordingly a legal practitioner at any level was certain to find it convenient to have to hand a collection of their texts.

Registers of writs

Two of the earliest surviving registers are BL, Cotton ms. Julius D. II, ff. 143v-147v, and CUL, ms. Ii. 6.13, ff. 56–62v.[92] The first purports to include a set of the writs *de cursu* ('of course'; the standard-form writs) as sent to Ireland by Henry III in 1227, so that justice could be done there according to the custom of England.[93] Maitland saw in this collection of writs both 'a solemn and authoritative introduction into Ireland of the English system of procedure' and 'a copy of an official copy of the English Chancery Register' of such writs. Neither interpretation is today accepted. The collection of writs in Julius D. II

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90 *Glanvill*, pp. lii–liv.   91 *Bracton*, IV, p. 286.   92 Maitland 1911, II, pp. 110–73.
93 Pr. and tr. in *Early registers writs*, pp. 1–17; discussed at pp. xxxiii–xl.

seems rather to represent a proposal or project for the transformation of such a register; the covering writ of 10 November was never enrolled, and English law was extended to Ireland by other directives, in 1226 and 1228. The register in Julius D. II is best seen as a copy of a collection that perhaps was in the keeping of some Chancery official at Canterbury or who at least had some connection with St Augustine's Abbey there, for the volume as a whole unquestionably relates to Canterbury.[94]

The register of writs in CUL, ms. Ii. 6. 13, appears to have been written about the second quarter of the thirteenth century, its contents having been originally compiled in the 1220s and certainly before 1236.[95] It contains fifty-eight writs, comparable to the fifty-seven in Julius D. II. Like every other register, each begins with a writ of right ('The King to so-and-so, greeting. We command you that, without delay, you do full right to A. concerning . . .'); beyond that, however, the two vary dramatically in the order in which they present their texts: up to a point, writs are placed in groups (such as writs of right), and there are even similarities of short sequences within groups, but otherwise the groups vary in order, size and composition. Maitland's suggestion was that 'the official Register of the time may not have taken the shape of a book, but may have consisted of a number of small slips of parchment filed together'.[96] This view was also argued for by Hall, on the grounds that the relative similarities of groups are only explicable on the basis of groups of transposable slips of parchment and of there necessarily being authoritative texts of writs within the royal chancery. It is however also possible to hypothesize a multiplicity of sets of writ-texts existing simultaneously, in the ownership of different Chancery clerks, senior officials and other senior servants of the Crown. Each such set of slips might of course be added to, with different writs being inserted in different places, and so the set would diverge from its parent or original (group-)form.

Registers of writs grew longer with the passage of time, as the making of statutes and other developments caused the law's provisions to multiply. Besides, the general principle remained, that a new writ could be invented for any new wrong. Some of the writs *de cursu* had their beginnings in the early twelfth century, and attempts have even been made to trace their origin to specific dates.[97] Greater certainty is possible for the thirteenth century, when a number of specific writs are found attributed to named chancellors, judges or senior Chancery officials. For instance, William de Ralegh (d. 1250) is identified

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94 Sayers 1962, pp. 199–200.   95 Hall, in *Early registers writs*, pp. xl–xliv; pr. and tr. pp. 18–32.
96 Maitland 1889–90, p. 167 (= Maitland 1911, II, p. 138); Hall, in *Early registers writs*, pp. cxviii–cxxiii.
97 *Brevia placitata*, pp. lxii–lxxv.

in one thirteenth-century register of writs (CUL, ms. Kk. 5. 33) as having invented the writ of cosinage (1237) and others; likewise, a writ is mentioned in a Fine roll, 1257, as having been devised by Henry de Bracton.[98] Several registers mention writs as having been made by Walter de Merton, when a privy clerk and prothonotary of the Chancery (Merton was later Chancellor; d. 1277) and by Sir Robert Parving (Chief Justice of the King's Bench and Chancellor; d. 1343).

In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the register grew fifty-fold in size; in terms of the number of surviving manuscripts, it is exceeded only by books of statutes. But what is exceptional about the register of writs is that as it grew in extent, it also became more standardized and uniform. Was there, then, from time to time, some re-arrangement by particular chancellors or senior officials, as Maitland supposed?[99] It is certainly striking to see how the different groupings of writs had their constituents varied – perhaps in c.1260 and again c.1300–1310.[100] These shifts of position are individually explicable in terms of juristic logic and practical convenience, as well as of the date at which the writs appeared; but overall they represent a development which is in striking contrast to the normal growth of texts, which is towards increasing diversity.[101]

The surviving manuscript registers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries undoubtedly have great potential value for what they may show about the history of the legal profession and especially of the interplay between the judiciary, the royal chancery, and the pleaders and attorneys. The register's role in legal education is revealed by the other texts commonly bound up with it in the thirteenth century, when it was still comparatively short.[102] Of the thirty-seven manuscripts of *Glanvill*, eighteen also contain a register.[103] Collections of statutes, some of the shorter legal treatises of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and *Novae narrationes* are also frequently found with registers. Such combinations indicate how all their elements served a didactic function. Almost 200 registers from this period have been identified and dated,[104] but very few have been examined codicologically, or with an eye to what texts are found with them: a book's inscriptions of ownership may in

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98 *Early registers writs*, p. xv n. 2.   99 Cf. Hall, in *Early registers writs*, p. cxix.
100 *Early registers writs*, pp. cxx–cxxiii.   101 Plucknett 1958, pp. 31–4.
102 Brand 1987, pp. 155–7.
103 Hall, in *Early registers writs*, p. cxxv n. 4; Hall contrasts this with the fact that only one *Bracton* is bound up with a register.
104 *Early registers writs*, pp. xxiii–xxvii.

a sense be less revealing than analysis of its specific combination of texts.[105] As with so many medieval books, it must be assumed that those that were, or ended up, in institutional ownership were likeliest to survive; and such copies must be assumed to be unrepresentative of the generality. For instance, at least ten volumes with registers survive from English religious houses, but one of these books (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 297), written at Thorney Abbey (Cambs) at the end of the thirteenth century, contains registers dating from the early 1200s. It would have been positively misleading if the abbey had placed reliance on these ancient forms in the fourteenth century.[106]

The treatise called Bracton

Glanvill inspired one exceptional book, a legal treatise that was so comprehensive that it came to be ten times the length of *Glanvill*: this is the treatise *De legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie* ('Of the laws and customs of England'), attributed for most of its history to Henry de Bracton. About fifty copies survive,[107] and the scholarly endeavour of assessing and editing them has been persistently controversial.

Henry de Bracton was an ecclesiastic who acted as royal justice from 1245 onwards; fairly certainly, he was earlier a clerk in the service of another, more prominent royal justice, William de Ralegh, until the latter became bishop of Norwich in 1239. *De legibus* contains numerous allusions to both Ralegh and the judge for whom he himself had once acted as clerk, Martin of Pattishall. In 1884 Vinogradoff discovered a manuscript (BL, Add. ms. 12269) in which were copied no fewer than two thousand cases from the judicial plea rolls, and especially from those recording the cases judged by Pattishall and Ralegh. Some of these rolls survive and can be seen to have markings on them beside the cases which are found in Add. ms. 12269;[108] similarly, 200 of the cases in Add. 12269 are referred to in *De legibus*. In due course the contents of the manuscript were edited by Maitland as *Bracton's note book*.[109]

The text of *Bracton* is consciously influenced by Roman law. Its opening sentences are a direct quotation from the proemium of the *Institutes*, and it goes on to follow the *Institutes* closely, with the assertion that 'Though in almost all lands use is made of *leges* and *ius scriptum*, England alone uses unwritten law and

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105 Descriptions in Baker and Ringrose 1996, in the catalogues of the British Museum's *Additions* published in the decades after 1910, and in *CRMSS*.
106 Hall, in *Early registers writs*, pp. cxvi and xcviii–civ.
107 Additions to Woodbine's total of forty-six in Baker and Ringrose 1996, p. 68.
108 *Rolls of justices*, pp. xii–xiv and plates II–IX.   109 Bracton, *Notebook*.

custom. There law derives from nothing written, [but] from what usage has approved.'[110] The importance of Roman law for *Bracton* is that it led its author into a clear separation of law from procedure. The law administered by the king's courts at this date hardly comprised more than procedural questions of the applicability of particular writs to particular sets of circumstances, and the triumph of *Bracton* is that it uses the juristic strength of Roman law to present English law as a series of principles.[111]

The question of how far *Bracton*'s author was familiar with the primary texts of Roman law has proved endlessly contentious. Maitland systematically exposed the treatise's indebtedness to the *Summa institutionum* of the Bolognese civilian, Azo (d. c.1220). The edition of *Bracton* published between 1915 and 1942 by Woodbine failed either to address this problem satisfactorily or to draw up a coherent *stemma* of the manuscripts. 'No one of the extant manuscripts', he asserted, 'is nearer than the third generation to the original'; and in this he was doubtless correct.[112] But his edition was at least over-cautious in its rejection of all the marginal additions to the text (*addiciones*) as representing later versions, so that the manuscript with fewest *addiciones* was assumed to represent the purest text. He could not countenance the likelihood that the author himself had been responsible for any of the *addiciones*. He was too scrupulous not to point out that one *addicio* in Bodleian, Digby ms. 222, a reference to 'Martinus in banco anno septimo' ('Martin [of Pattishall] on the Bench, in the seventh year [of Henry III]') was even to be found in *Bracton's note book*; but he nonetheless felt obliged to exclude it.

Bracton was exceedingly popular, but only from the late thirteenth century onwards. Most of the surviving manuscripts date from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and, since none is copied from the other or from the original or even from the archetype, it must be that at least an equal number has been lost: Kantorowicz thought as many as 180.[113] At the same time, Kantorowicz argued that the text has descended to us from one lost archetype, copied from a manuscript that 'must have been in an appalling state of disorder after several years of drafting and about thirty years of adding to it': this copyist could henceforth be blamed for the many misunderstandings and mistakes that had caused Maitland to declare that the author could have been no more than 'an uninstructed Romanist'.

Between 1968 and 1977, S. E. Thorne published a new edition of *Bracton* combining Woodbine's Latin text with his own English translation of what he

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110 *Bracton*, II, p. 19.   111 Cf. Plucknett 1958, pp. 49–52.
112 *Bracton*, I, p. 24.   113 Kantorowicz 1941, p. 56.

believed to have been the original text. In the introduction to volume III, he argued for the existence of a prototype *De legibus* earlier than the Statute of Merton (1236): this included passages outdated by legal changes in the early 1230s and even the 1220s. It was revised in the 1230s, and then, soon after 1256, abridged into a form corresponding to the (lost) archetype of the present text. Thorne thought that the reviser of the 1230s was perhaps Henry de Bracton; some of the abridging editor's omissions were subsequently reversed or made good by the copying of *addiciones* into the margins of manuscripts. Henry de Bracton was too young to have written the prototype text in the 1220s or early 1230s, and someone else – although probably also a clerk of William de Ralegh's – must have been the first reviser. Yet another mind was to be given the credit for the original version: William de Ralegh himself.

Problems remain, not least in the reconstruction of the final form of the text. Like Maitland (but not Woodbine), Thorne attached particular importance to Bodleian, Digby ms. 222, seeing it as at the head of one of the principal textual families (fig. 11.1). However, a codicological examination of the manuscript shows it to be more problematic than even Woodbine imagined. It proves to have been produced in the late thirteenth century or even c.1300 on something like the universities' *pecia* system. Different quires or *pecie* are in half a dozen different hands, and the fact that a good many of the quires end with a blank half-side or more suggests that the scribes were copying simultaneously, and without sufficient experience to calculate how much space they would need. The quality of the different quires varies considerably, in terms of both the parchment and the scribes' neatness and decoration. Different quires seem to have been intended for different customers: different names are written minutely at the foot of their opening leaves. The inference must be that Digby 222 was produced in a hurried and careless way. Moreover, the presentation of the text varies markedly from quire to quire: some have rubrication in both the margins and the text, and these also have marginal *addiciones*, but one quire has no rubrication and no *addiciones*, while another has very short *addiciones*, cued to the text by a variety of *signes de renvoi* not used elsewhere. A fresh series of quires starts at fol. 144, which is headed 'prima pecia'. From the textual point of view, then, each quire needs to be considered separately: what is true of one quire need not be true of another. The most important medieval English law-book still bristles with complications.

Bracton's *successors and other legal treatises*

Glanvill and *Bracton* were rendered increasingly out of date by the enactment of new legislation, especially in the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), while the

legal profession was made up, increasingly, of untonsured laymen who were at ease with Anglo-Norman rather than Latin. Were *Glanvill* and *Bracton* to be updated or replaced?

Two attempts to update *Glanvill* are known; neither amounted to much. The first, in c.1240, was the mere addition of a list of twenty-one ordinances (from the reissue of Magna Carta in 1225 to the Provisions of Merton, 1236) and a register of writs (probably earlier than 1235). Two late thirteenth-century manuscripts of this compilation survive.[114] Far more ambitious was the attempt to revise the work in its entirety, adding new writs and rules at appropriate places, correcting what had become antiquated, and re-ordering some of the material. Maitland, who first discussed what he called '*Glanvill* Revised', thought it the work of a rather inadequate reviser, working in the 1260s.[115] Hall, however, has argued that it is much earlier, perhaps from 1229, and that it subsequently suffered from 'useless or erroneous' revision in the 1260s.[116] Two copies are known: CUL, ms. Mm. 1. 27, ff. 30–64v, and its exemplar, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 205/111.[117]

Bracton was inevitably exposed to the efforts of revision or excerption, being both more encyclopaedic, in far wider circulation, and also so long that it was beyond the financial reach of many potential readers. Accordingly, sections of the work are sometimes found copied as though they were separate treatises. More influentially, however, *Bracton* served as the basis for some of the numerous law treatises written in the 1260s and later decades of the thirteenth century. Intellectually, none of these treatises was on a par with *Bracton*, but then their aim was different: they were seeking to provide a practical, not a learned, account of the law. They form a whole new genre of legal literature, and one that developed rapidly in the course of two generations. It is true that one or two attempts were made to produce a shorter but more up-to-date *Bracton*, so as to take account of Edward I's legislation and its consequences. The best of these is *Fleta* (so called from its having been written in the Fleet prison). It is particularly original in its treatment of the Crown's central law courts and of the royal household, and it has been suggested that it was written by a lawyer who had acted as attorney for the Crown, Matthew of the Exchequer.[118] It survives in a single copy: BL, Cotton ms. Julius B. VIII. A somewhat similar venture was the *Summa de legibus* attributed to Gilbert de Thornton (Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench, 1290–5): like *Fleta*, it is in Latin. It survives in only

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114 Richardson 1938.   115 Maitland 1892–3.   116 *Glanvill*, pp. lviii and 195–8.
117 For the former, see Baker and Ringrose 1996, pp. 470–7.   118 Denholm-Young 1943.

two manuscripts: Lincolns Inn, Hale ms. 135, and a shorter version, Harvard Law School, ms. 77.[119]

Far more successful, at least in terms of the number of surviving manuscripts, was the summary of *Bracton* in Anglo-Norman, confusingly called *Britton*.[120] Plucknett praised *Britton* as 'a model of clarity and conciseness', expressed surprise that there seems to have been no contemporary reaction to its ultra-royalist device of presenting the law as a code given by the king, and concluded that '*Britton* is the end of an age'.[121] This seems fair, for despite the considerable number of extant copies of the work, it was aimed at those outside the legal profession who wished to understand the law in a detached way. Between 1275 and 1375, just as one might have expected to find copies of *Bracton* in the libraries of at least a few monasteries, cathedrals or university colleges, so one finds *Britton* in, for instance, the small book-collection of the Chamber of the city of London.[122]

The professional common lawyer, and anyone who aspired to be one, preferred to get his guidance from works of a more practical nature, preferably in Anglo-Norman. Possible forerunners of these handbooks were little treatises on estate management, although these too are first found only in the 1260s;[123] it is hard to tell how far the success of this sort of treatise may have prompted the production of legal treatises, even if both sorts are often found together in the same manuscript and clearly were produced in the same scribal workshop. The legal treatises commonly bear the name of one of the Crown's more prominent judges – men such as Ralph of Hengham (d. 1311) or John of Mettingham (d. 1301) – but it is doubtful whether these ascriptions are reliable. The so-called *Hengham magna* or *Summa magna* of Hengham, perhaps of 1260 × 1272, heavily dependent on both *Glanvill* and *Bracton*, is largely concerned with procedure on a writ of right: its value was accordingly limited to those concerned with this decreasingly used process.[124] Its real author was perhaps a Chancery clerk who had risen to be keeper of the rolls and writs of the Common Bench, John Blundel – if it can be supposed that real names were used in certain manuscripts of the work. *Hengham parva* deals rather summarily with a variety of topics; it

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119 Cf. Plucknett 1958, pp. 78–9; Thorne 1947.
120 *Britton*. Its editor, Nichols, rejected the possibility of its having been written by John Breton, bishop of Hereford 1269–75. Nichols listed twenty-six MSS.; Baker and Ringrose 1996, p. 63, adds another twenty-three.
121 Plucknett 1958, p. 79.
122 Andrew Horn's book bequest to the Chamber, 1328, will be ed. in *CBMLC* forthcoming.
123 Robinson 1980 discusses one now-dismembered volume of estate and legal materials of the 1250s and 1260s (Bodleian, Douce mss. 137 and 132).
124 Ralph of Hengham: *Summae*; Brand 1976.

was perhaps a student's book, not being detailed enough for a practitioner's purposes.[125] Some 125 manuscripts contain one or both of *Hengham magna* and *parva*: each was popular, despite being in Latin.[126]

In a different category were the treatises for beginners wishing to learn the law. These approached it in a different way, being tied far more closely to the practical business of pleading, as commentaries on writs. The most popular, which exists in many recensions, is now known as *Brevia placitata*, better understood by one of its medieval titles, such as *Breves pleidez*, *Pleez en Fraunceys* or *Brefs enromancees*.[127] It was first composed in or soon after 1260, and is wholly in Anglo-Norman; in its earlier versions it was little more than a formulary.

Out of *Brevia placitata* developed another treatise, equally practical but aimed at the practitioner or most advanced student: *Novae narrationes*.[128] It does not offer the texts of writs (presumably on the grounds that every practitioner would have his own register), but presents every possible complication that might arise in the course of pleading. It grew into a lengthy book, which is perhaps a sign of its usefulness, and is perhaps the commonest of all surviving common-law treatises from before 1400.

Statutes of the realm

In any discussion of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century statutes, two potentially conflicting principles of the legal world can be seen as predominant. On the one hand, a statute could be seen as the descendant of such royal grants or concessions as the coronation oath of Henry I or King John's Magna Carta: as such, its authority and authenticity derived in part from its being issued as royal letters patent with the king's Great Seal attached. On the other hand, the justices in the king's court adhered to an ancient view of the law, which tended to emphasize the pre-eminence of the court's (or justices') own juridicy: by this, the details of the law administered by the court reposed in the justices' memory, and statutes could only have authority insofar as the justices applied them in court.[129] The two principles long persisted, seemingly without colliding, and indeed sometimes reinforcing each other, and each left its mark on the process of copying the statutes.

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125 Plucknett 1958, p. 77.
126 Listed in Ralph of Hengham: *Summae*, pp. lxxiii–lxxviii; Baker and Ringrose 1996, pp. 64–5, adds twenty-nine more of *Hengham magna* and forty-six of *Hengham parva*. There are ME translations of both in Bodleian, Rawl. ms. в. 320 of the late thirteenth century.
127 *Brevia placitata*; Plucknett 1958, pp. 82–8. Turner's list of sixteen mss. is increased to thirty-six by Baker and Ringrose 1996, p. 156.
128 *Novae narrationes*; Plucknett 1958, pp. 89, 97, 99.   129 Plucknett 1949, ch. 1.

Ambivalence about the nature and authority of statutes perhaps explains why they were so irregularly recorded in the thirteenth century. Statutes as such seem to have been distinguished conceptually from other legislative and administrative provisions in about the 1250s,[130] but the Crown's officials were very slow to begin regularly recording them. Within the Exchequer, a few were transcribed onto the Memoranda rolls, in 1273, 1293 and occasionally thereafter, while a few were also copied into the Red Book of the Exchequer; there were, however, sealed copies of at least some of the statutes, and these had the advantage of being portable as well as authoritative. If an Exchequer official wanted to have to hand a collection of copies, it was up to him to make one – and this was the course taken by Hugh de Cressingham, justice itinerant and then treasurer of Scotland. When he was killed by the Scots (1297), his book of statutes was taken by the Exchequer, and it remains the Exchequer's earliest collection of statutes, valuable for the 'cleanness' of its texts (TNA:PRO, E 164/9).[131]

The origin of statutes, in royal declarations and concessions, must explain both why statutes took their particular form and also how they circulated. No original copy of Henry I's coronation oath has survived, but from early transcripts it can be seen that one copy was addressed by the king to a bishop and sheriff together – 'Samson the bishop and Urse d'Abitot the sheriff and all his barons and faithful men, French as well as English born, of Worcestershire' – while another was addressed to a sheriff alone: 'to Hugh of Buckland, sheriff, and to all his faithful men, French as well as English, in Hertfordshire'.[132] These two were doubtless preserved at Worcester Cathedral and at St Albans Abbey, just as two originals of the 'great charter' of King Stephen (1136) have been preserved in the archives of Exeter and Salisbury Cathedrals.

The production of King John's Magna Carta was entrusted to a committee of nine senior English ecclesiastics (including the archbishop of Canterbury) and the papal legate, Master Pandulf; exemplifications were despatched throughout England, perhaps on the basis of one per county.[133] Four survive, including one at Lincoln Cathedral and another at Salisbury; none now has a seal attached to it, and, rather oddly, only one has even the slits for seal-tags, although the chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall implies that each charter had the royal seal. The

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130 The classic discussion is Richardson and Sayles 1934.
131 Richardson and Sayles 1934, appx. 1A; *MLGB*, I, pp. 185–90 (where dated to c.1291).
132 Poole 1913; further examples are listed in *Regesta*, no. 488, tr. *English historical documents*, pp. 432–4; Wormald 1999, pp. 400–2.
133 The list of recipients given in *Rotuli litterarum patentium*, p. 180, names thirty-two counties, and shows that multiple copies were given to some recipients; this order for their despatch refers to them variously as letters patent, charters and writs.

king directed that it be read publicly by the sheriff in each county – that is, at a meeting of the county court, no doubt in a French translation and possibly also in English.[134] The Provisions of Oxford, 1258, were summarized in letters patent in Latin, French and English, sent to every county in England as well as to Ireland.[135] Subsequent confirmations of Magna Carta, by Henry III (1216, 1217, 1225, 1252 and 1265) and Edward I (1297 and 1300) were probably all published in exactly the same way, by the despatch of sealed copies (generally in the form of letters patent) to all the shires. The Church sometimes gave supplementary force to the Crown's enactments or confirmations: in 1298 Archbishop Winchelsey, in accordance with recent decrees of Convocation, ordered the public reading in each cathedral, in English, of Magna Carta and the Charter of the Forest, with the threat of excommunication for anyone who infringed them.[136]

Statutes issued as sealed charters by the Crown were of course issued at the Crown's expense. In April 1268 it paid Master Thomas of Wymondham 4s 7d for parchment and 30s for the writing of thirty sets of the statute of Marlborough, for despatch to the sheriffs and the justices itinerant.[137] Those received by sheriffs should have been handed on by successive holders of the office in each county,[138] while those received by the justices might sometimes ultimately have returned to the Chancery or Exchequer. All documents with the king's seal were naturally treated with particular respect, including statutes. Occasionally, in records of legal proceedings, mention is made of a sealed copy of a statute being brought into court.[139] In 1327 the Commons requested in Parliament that the substance of their petition and the Council's answers should be put in writing under the Great Seal, so that the sheriffs might cause both to be proclaimed throughout their counties.[140]

The old judicial conception of a statute, as deriving its authority from the judges' knowledge of it and readiness to apply it, was never formally abandoned. In 1305 the chief justice, Ralph of Hengham, in deciding to apply a provision of

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134 A contemporary French translation pr. Holt 1974.

135 Poole 1913, p. 450. French and English translations are recorded on the Patent roll (*Foedera*, I/1, pp. 377–8), and an original, addressed to Oxfordshire, is preserved in the archives of the city of Oxford.

136 *Registrum Wynchelsey*, I, pp. 268–72.

137 *Calendar liberate rolls*, VI, p. 25, no. 228. Richardson and Sayles 1934, p. 547 n. 31, wrongly interpret the mention of thirty sets (*parium*) as meaning sixty copies.

138 The sealed copy of the statute of Westminster II which belongs to the Duchy of Cornwall (TNA:PRO 30/26/210) is presumably the copy sent to the county of Cornwall in 1285 for publication there. It comprises five membranes, fastened together at the foot (which has been reinforced with extra strips of parchment) and with the Great Seal's seal-tag threaded through this foot.

139 Plucknett 1922, pp. 11, 104.   140 Richardson and Sayles 1934, p. 546.

the statute of Marlborough rather than the more recent statute of Westminster II (1285), said in court: 'Do not gloss the statute. We know it better than you, for we made it, and one often sees one statute undo another.'[141] His defensiveness may reflect the fact that judges and legal practitioners were already starting to move towards a more literal interpretation of the statutes. By 1299, and perhaps from the 1280s, the Chancery maintained a statute roll, onto which the texts of most statutory provisions were copied; and this gradually gained in authority. Legal practitioners throughout England now needed their own collections of the texts of statutes almost as much as they needed registers of writs.

The earliest privately owned copies of statutes were very possibly all in roll-form, like the sealed copies.[142] The earliest dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, nearly contemporaneous with its text of the 1225 reissue of Magna Carta (London, Society of Antiquaries, ms. 544).[143] It apparently belonged to Halesowen Abbey, and at least two other rolls of statutes (San Marino CA, Huntington Library, ms. HM 27168; late thirteenth-century; and Princeton UL, Scheide doc. 7111; c.1300) also appear to have belonged to religious houses. It can perhaps be assumed that while these three survived because they belonged to an institution, they are probably representative of what many individual lawyers owned. A few such rolls of c.1300 or the early years of the fourteenth century have somehow survived.[144] Already, by the late thirteenth century, however, it must have been more usual to own copies of the statutes in book form.

Collections of the statutes down to the death of Edward II (1327) came to be known as *Statuta vetera* or *antiqua*, in contrast to the *Statuta nova* of 1327 onwards (fig. 6.7). Nearly 200 copies of the *Statuta vetera* have been identified.[145] They generally contain a text of Magna Carta, perhaps as reissued in 1297, and the principal pieces of legislation of the reigns of Henry III and Edward I; but they also often contain other texts that were considered useful for the practitioner, such as the tract on the king's rights called *Prerogativa regis*, or the manorial surveyor's guide, *Extenta manerii*. The habitual inclusion of such texts gave some of them a quasi-statutory standing and thus reinforced the likelihood that they would be included in later copies.

Some of the copies of *Statuta vetera* are little more than pocket-books, small enough to be carried around in the bags of lawyers who were travelling to

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141 Plucknett 1949, pp. 72–3. 142 Skemer 1995 and Baker and Ringrose 1996, pp. xxii–xxiv.
143 *MMBL*, I, p. 314; Willetts 2000, p. 251. 144 Skemer 1995, pp. 195–8.
145 Skemer 1997, pp. 24 and 44 n. 1.

and from Westminster or with some itinerant justice.[146] Others are in larger format and have more varied contents: sometimes these are clearly bespoke productions, with texts copied for a lawyer who had specifically requested them.[147] It is likely that these books were produced in London or Westminster, by professional scribes who were also producing registers of writs and copies of *Bracton* and other legal treatises: the presence in these books of, say, a writ directed to a particular sheriff does not indicate that the scribe was based in that sheriff's office or locality.

Most copies of the *Statuta vetera* were workaday productions: they were intended for use, by readers who could be expected to know their way around them. The statutes were generally copied in Latin (rather than Anglo-Norman), and certainly not in English, and so they were hardly appealing to a legally untrained layman or ecclesiastic. On the other hand, as the importance of specific statutes became more apparent to landowners and prelates in the course of the fourteenth century, so the book trade professionals responded, by producing some exceptionally handsome copies of collections of statutes (fig. 11.3). These books were doubtless all produced on commission and intended in part for show. The earliest to survive is Princeton UL, Scheide ms. 30, which was (apparently) commissioned by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham (d. 1311), a professional administrator entirely capable of using such a work.[148] More patently for a non-professional is Harvard Law School, ms. 12, of c.1307, which has line drawings in the margins to indicate the subject matter of the adjacent statute (e.g. a widow gestures with her hand towards an Anglo-Norman text of the statute of Merton, which has provisions about the rights of dowagers).[149] It has been thought that this book was given by Philippa of Hainault to King Edward III. More remarkable are the drawings in Norwich Castle Museum, ms. 158-926/4d, of the 1330s, by one of the illuminators who worked on Queen Mary's Psalter.[150]

Reports of pleadings in the courts of common law: the Year-books

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, every lawsuit that came before the king's justices was recorded, in the sense that a summary of the case was

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146 Baker and Ringrose 1996, p. xxii n. 5, mentions one of 86 mm × 58 mm. Note also the discussion and illustration of Harvard Law School, ms. 175, in Clanchy 1993, plate XVI.
147 E.g. Princeton UL, Garrett ms. 146, discussed by Skemer 1997; Harvard Law School, ms. 36, in Clanchy 1993, plate XVII.
148 Bennett 1986, proposing Bek as patron.   149 Clanchy 1993, plate XVIII; Michael 1985.
150 *MMBL*, III, pp. 513–15; Dennison 1986b, pp. 300, 312 n. 86.

entered on the presiding judge's plea roll. Only a small proportion of the rolls survives, especially for the proceedings before the justices in eyre (the itinerant judges, who had been commissioned by the Crown to hear cases in the different counties).[151] Moreover, the early plea rolls contain only summaries of the cases, and with an emphasis on what concerned the Crown.[152] By the early fourteenth century the record is fuller, giving the substance of the count (or plea), and then starting separate paragraphs for the defendant's plea and the plaintiff's replication, and so on. However, this was not a full report of what happened in court. The speciality of the pleaders (and especially of the serjeants at law, the pleaders who practised in the technically most demanding of all forums, the court of Common Pleas) lay in advancing tentative pleas and arguments, 'licking their plea into shape' (as Maitland put it) as they sought to establish a clear issue on which to differ from counsel for the other side. These tentative pleas, which were in Anglo-Norman, did not form part of the plea rolls' Latin record, and yet it was in formulating and advancing them that lawyers most clearly showed their expertise and earned their fees. Treatises like *Brevia placitata* and *Casus placitorum* were one introduction to the subject,[153] but the recording of actual examples of tentative pleading from recent court cases was clearly a better way to keep a lawyer up to date – or to instruct the aspiring young practitioner. In the late thirteenth century, this sort of recording sometimes took place not only in the court of Common Pleas, but also in eyre cases and occasionally even in the Exchequer of the Jews. The language used was Latin; but the focus soon shifted to the Common Pleas, and the language became Anglo-Norman.[154]

By 1300, the court of Common Pleas was dealing with thousands of law-suits in each of the three legal terms of the year, but in only a very few was the tentative pleading of interest to other lawyers. Perhaps such cases were remarked on at the time, or perhaps someone who was associated with the legal book trade saw an opportunity. At all events, while more than one version commonly survives of each report of pleading set down in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries – thus indicating the existence of more than one 'reporter' – these reports can equally be shown to have circulated in a semi-commercial way at a very early date. How this happened is unclear. One suggestion is that each case-report should be seen as a separate entity, written

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151 Crook 1982, pp. 12–30. Between 1194–5 and 1208–9, 104 eyres are known to have been held, but only seventeen plea rolls survive for them.
152 Plucknett 1956, pp. 257–8 and 402–5.
153 See however the cautionary comment by Baker 1989b, p. 18.   154 Brand 1995.

on a separate slip of parchment, and that these slips were then circulated, the notes of different 'reporters' getting mixed together at an early stage of the proceedings.[155] At first, small selections of reports are sometimes found in legal miscellanies: one such is BL, Add. ms. 38821, written in the early or mid 1280s, which contains twenty-six reports, of which some at least are from the 1270s, together with a register of writs, a collection of statutes (mostly in Anglo-Norman), a treatise on the law of essoins, a version of *Brevia placitata* and other texts.

These early reports were apparently selected haphazardly, and certainly with no particular concern to make the details of the actual case identifiable: their interest and value lay in their instructional value. They might, perhaps, have developed as collections arranged by subject, such as are found in the early fourteenth century.[156] Gradually, however, the making of such reports developed a more regular pattern, with fewer 'reporters' but more reports; and the reports were transcribed and sold as collections of particular terms. Until Tudor times they were most commonly called Books of Terms (before being renamed Yearbooks), and the retrospective re-packaging that the early reports received from the mid-fourteenth century on has done much to obscure their original form and date. On the other hand, the demand that had by then set in for books of terms as instructional guides has at least ensured the survival of many of the earlier reports, while modern scholarship is often able to pin down the actual date and details of cases, by dint of laborious searches through the plea rolls.[157]

By 1320 the collections had assumed an instructional function, demonstrated by the inclusion in the reports of queries as to what would have happened if the facts had been slightly different. The same queries occur in nearly all the extant manuscripts, showing that they were inserted in the reports at a very early stage. Plucknett concluded: 'We can hardly doubt that the explanation is that these reports were made the starting point of class teaching.'[158]

Perhaps in keeping with their didactic role, all of the reports are anonymous. The bequest in 1415 by Richard Bankes, Baron of the Exchequer, of 'the

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155 Two such slips are pr. by Dunham in *Casus placitorum*, pp. xc–xciii, and discussed at xlix–lii, liv–lvii; Plucknett 1958, pp. 107–9.

156 Winfield 1923–4, pp. 218–19. Out of such collections developed the 'Abridgments'.

157 The medieval law reports were almost definitively defined as Year-books and given a standard format and reference system (by regnal year, term, 'folio' and plea number) in the classic edition overseen by John Maynard in 1678. Modern editions, in the Rolls Series and among the publications of the Selden Society, are now headed, chronologically speaking, by *Earliest English law reports*, in which are printed all the 142 reports of cases identifiable as having been heard in the court of Common Pleas between 1268 and 1289.

158 Plucknett, in *Year Books Edw. II*, p. lxvi; Brand 1987, pp. 158–60.

books of terms which belonged to Robert de Plesyngton' does not indicate anything more than ownership by Plesyngton, a former Baron of the Exchequer who had died in 1393.[159] The earliest reports by an identifiable author are those of John Bryt, 1410–11.[160]

Canon, civil and common-law books in the fourteenth century

The history of law-books in fourteenth-century England is characterized more by changes in book production, and especially the writing of personal compilations, than by the appearance of major new treatises or commentaries. Civil law studies had lost the intellectual edge that they had enjoyed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and although they flourished up to a point (notably, in terms of numbers of students) at the two English universities, this was primarily because they formed the requisite grounding essential for a career in international diplomacy.[161] Few English canonists made their mark on a European scale; the best known, John of Aton (or Acton; d. 1349), wrote a commentary on the legatine constitutions of Otho (1237) and Ottobuono (1268).[162]

For at least the first third of the century, the common law was still coming to terms with the enormous legal changes introduced by Edward I's legislation and then by its aftermath (such as the largely judicial creation of the entail). The second third of the century saw less judicial flexibility, epitomized by one judge's declaration, in 1345, that 'We cannot do this in the absence of any statute'.[163] The statutes themselves in this period were concerned more with clarifying or amending existing laws than with pushing through major legal changes: a typical new statute was that which abolished the murder fine and presentment of Englishry, in 1340. A statute of 1362 calling for the abolition of Anglo-Norman in the law-courts seems to have been wholly ineffectual.

The law books of the thirteenth century continued to be widely copied in the fourteenth. There are more fourteenth- than thirteenth-century manuscripts of *Bracton* and *Britton*. The register of Chancery writs was overhauled for the last time in about the 1380s;[164] as Maitland put it, 'a register from the end of the fourteenth century is in point of form the register that was printed in Henry VIII's day'.[165] The making of new statutes ensured that the books of

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159 *Register Chichele*, II, pp. 66–9, at 68: 'liber terminorum qui fuit Roberti de Plesyngton ac alii libri et quaterni pertinentes ad legem terre'.
160 Baker 1989a.   161 Allmand 1982; Southern 1987.
162 Logan 2004.   163 *Year Books Edw. III*, p. 12.
164 Hall, in *Early registers writs*, p. cxxii.
165 Maitland 1889–90, p. 223 (= Maitland 1911, II, p. 170).

Nova statuta (the statutes postdating 1327) continued to lengthen; but no major discussion or gloss was written on either. Two copies survive of a collection called *Questiones compilate de Magna Carta et aliis statutis*, of about the 1340s: these record lawyers' discussions of legal points arising from the interpretation of particular chapters of some of the statutes of Henry III and Edward I. The *Questiones* seem to be a record of lawyers' learning exercises, and are of interest in that rather narrow context.[166] Overall, it can be said that the fourteenth century's supplementation did little to reduce the importance of thirteenth-century legislation for either the common law or canon law, and so the value of older books was unaffected. For instance, in 1378 the Bishop of Worcester's visitation injunctions to the Abbot of Tewkesbury included a reminder of the need to read in chapter every year the legatine constitutions of Ottobuono (1268).[167]

One striking development, however, was a great increase in the making of private collections of texts. It is noticeable, too, that some individual lawyers were ready to write out their own compilations. Was it now recognized as being of educational value to write one's own law-book in one's own hand, rather than to buy it from a commercial outlet in London or Westminster? These books have not survived well, perhaps in part because they were written on paper rather than parchment; and those that are extant are still little investigated. Nevertheless, their existence is also demonstrated by occasional mentions of them in lawyers' wills.

In 1361 William Doune, archdeacon of Leicester, provided in his testament for the disposal of his considerable collection of law-books. Among them was a copy of the Clementines in his own hand, while two others were of his own composition, one being described as 'a great and very thick book containing many questions and allegations of advocates in causes at issue in the apostolic palace, and many things of high advantage to a pleader, especially in the court of Rome'.[168] A contemporary of Doune's, and one who like him practised early in his career at the papal court, was Thomas Fastolf (d. 1361), who rose to be bishop of St Davids. His testament makes no mention of books, but he is known to have written a series of reports of the arguments in thirty-six cases heard at seventeen sessions of the papal *Rota* between December 1336 and February

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166 Brand 1987, pp. 160–1; *Readings and moots*, II, pp. xxii–xxv and cxlii–cli; Baker and Ringrose 1996, pp. xxxii–xxxxiv, 327 and 461.
167 *Calendar Register Wakefield*, pp. 158–61, no. 844.
168 Thompson 1915, p. 282, translated at 264; p. 284 for another such book of reports. For other examples of canon lawyers' memoranda and formulary books, see Owen 1990, pp. 30–42.

1337. Copies of these reports circulated on the Continent, if not in England, and were printed in 1475 as part of the collected *Decisiones rotae*. It has been suggested that these reports were written under the influence of the English common-law ('Year-book') tradition; certainly, the *Rota* reports later provided the model for the reporting of secular cases in the royal courts of France and Italy.[169]

A few non-lawyers also wished to acquire some law-books. The lawyers' Anglo-Norman was still perfectly intelligible to the nobility and, no doubt, to the gentry until the end of the century, and yet it is remarkable that books of statutes seem only very rarely to have been acquired by such men. The principal texts of the canon and even civil law were perhaps more likely to be acquired by such people. The Decretals of Gregory IX (1234) were copied more in the fourteenth century than in the thirteenth, as they were now accepted as the definitive canon law collection; in this sense, they were more successful than the Clementines (1317)[170] or *Extravagantes* (1325). *Extravagantes* was the name later given to a collection of twenty decrees of John XXII, which was published by Zenzelinus de Cassagnis; it was slow to attain scholastic status, no doubt because it had not had the benefit of papal promulgation. Occasionally the Decretals are found in the ownership of the laity, such as Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare, who in 1355 bequeathed to Clare Hall, Cambridge, 'i poire de decretals'.[171] Frequently, in both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they were owned by parish priests, who sometimes even considered them appropriate books to leave to their own church. Sir John Holt in 1415 bequeathed to his clerical son, Richard, a Bible, *Legenda aurea* (Golden Legend), an illuminated Psalter, and a French translation of the *Codex*.[172]

Books of canon law, then, were diffused ever more widely in society; books of the common law, by contrast, were increasingly restricted in their circulation, as academic works like *Bracton* gradually lost their practical value and were not replaced by anything comparable. Only a few of the newer libraries, such as those of certain colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, seem to have made a conscious effort to keep up to date with the more recent canon and civil law commentaries and treatises. In the early 1390s, the royally supported King's Hall at Cambridge had a library of about 123 books, of which 55 were

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169 Baker 1986; cf. Boyle 1965, p. 416 (reports by Richard Vaughan, c.1339 or 1346), and Dolezalek 1989 (reports, 1332 × 1361, made or copied by Simon of Sudbury, later archbishop of Canterbury).
170 MSS of the Clementines are listed by Tarrant 1984–5.
171 *Collection of wills*, pp. 22–43, at 31.
172 'Librum codiceum in franciscana lingua scripta': *Register Repingdon*, pp. 285–6, no. 531.

of civil law and 24 of canon law; it did not, however, yet have any of the works of Bartolus de Sassoferrato (d. 1357).[173] The older libraries, such as those of the cathedrals, took less trouble now to get anything other than the basic texts and the leading commentaries; nevertheless, they were commendably careful to preserve their older law books, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*This chapter has been very much improved by the suggestions and corrections of Christopher Brooke.

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173 Cobban 1969, pp. 246–55; King's Hall library loan lists of 1386–7, 1385–8 and 1391–3 and a catalogue of 1391(?), pr. *CBMLC*, x, pp. 323–49.

12

Books for the liturgy and private prayer

NIGEL MORGAN

Service books

Production of liturgical books required for the services of the Church must have been the largest category of work for scribes and illuminators in the Middle Ages, for which there was continuous demand from a wide range of patrons. At the peak of the population expansion in the mid-fourteenth century, shortly before the decline resulting from the Black Death, there were probably at least 20,000 churches and chapels in England and Wales.[1] The overwhelming majority were parish churches, in contrast to the much smaller numbers of cathedrals, colleges and churches of the religious orders. The foundation statutes of some collegiate churches give details of book provision.[2] All these places needed liturgical books, and from the inventories that survive almost all of them had more than one of each of the books needed.[3] Even small parish churches and chapels often possessed two or three Missals, Breviaries, Graduals and Antiphoners.[4]

Taking as an example one type of service book; at a conservative estimate some 40,000 Missals for use in the churches and chapels of England and Wales must have existed at the end of the period covered by this volume. Any attempt to discuss the production centres, formats, textual variations and decoration of this book essential for the daily celebration of the Mass, is put into depressing perspective by the fact that only about ninety fairly complete Missals of the period c.1100–1400 survive. Of these, only nineteen are documented as belonging to specific parish churches, although in addition to these there are of unknown provenance thirty-three of the use of Sarum, six of the use of York, three of the use of Hereford, and three of the use of Lincoln,

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1 Swanson 1999, pp. 167–8 gives a slightly higher figure for 'liturgical sites'.
2 E.g. the 1339 statutes for Ottery St Mary, Dalton 1917, pp. 156–62.
3 De Mély and Bishop 1892 provides a comprehensive listing of published inventories up to 1892. Those published since that date are not conveniently listed together in any bibliographic source.
4 E.g. Turner 1878, pp. viii–x for the 1331 and 1377 inventories of the small diocese of Rochester parish churches of Brenchley, Tudeley, Yalding and Leigh. For Dover Castle chapel in 1344 and 1361 see Way 1854, pp. 382, 384, and the London Bridge chapel in 1350, Riley 1868.

some of which were very likely from parish churches.[5] Of surviving Missals from the religious orders between 1100 and 1400 eight are Benedictine, three Cistercian, two Cluniac, six of the Augustinian canons, two of the Gilbertines, and three Franciscan. For most other types of service book, save for Breviaries, of which about 100 pre-1400 manuscripts exist, the extant numbers are considerably less. Fortunately, a wide range of surviving lists of service books, above all in inventories, wills and visitation records, gives a great deal of information about this category of book.[6]

The number of liturgical books owned by churches of widely differing wealth and status is known from inventories. Many of these survive from c.1250–c.1400 but very few indeed from the preceding one hundred and fifty years.[7] For the twelfth century it is difficult to make any assessment of this type of book, save by studying the minimal number of extant manuscripts. For cathedrals, abbeys and priories, the liturgical books are seldom listed in their surviving catalogues. From the Benedictines and Cluniacs there are lists for Coventry, Glastonbury, Leominster and Reading.[8] For the Cistercians and Premonstratensians there are lists for Bradsole (Kent), Meaux (Yorks), Stoneleigh (Warw), Titchfield (Hants) and Welbeck (Notts).[9] For the friars the service books are only listed for the Franciscans of Ipswich.[10] They were mostly kept in the churches in cupboards or chests beside the altars, but in the great churches in the sacristy or vestry, as at Christ Church, Canterbury in 1315/16 and Westminster Abbey in 1388, and so were not listed as part of the library.[11] At Canterbury and St Paul's many of the gospel books had jewelled, gold and silver covers.[12] At Westminster there is also a 1304 inventory of the Lady Chapel which suggests that some liturgical books were kept there, and the Breviary is described as 'fixum in pulpito'.[13] In some churches service books are described as being chained,[14] and at Exeter Cathedral a wooden book box was once attached to the wall.[15] Occasionally liturgical books are marked

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5 For those belonging to known parish churches see *MLGB*, pp. 219–24 and *MLGB Suppl.*, pp. 72–4.
6 The evidence from wills, for the most part, is only cited up to c.1360, being too extensive after that date to have been adequately assessed.
7 The only pre-1250 service book parish church inventories known to me are some of 1138 and 1160–81 for three London parish churches, and of 1220–4 for some in the Salisbury diocese: Simpson 1897, pp. 299–300 and *Vetus registrum Osmund.*, I, pp. 275–314.
8 *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 28–30, 110–13, 210–11, 231–2, 443–4, 446–7, 460.
9 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 37–9, 142, 176–8, 253–4, 256–7.
10 *CBMLC*, I, p. 213. Some service books are listed as given to the Austin friars of York in the 1372 catalogue: *CBLMC*, I, p. 101–2.
11 Wickham Legg and Hope 1902, pp. 25, 28–9, 75, 78–9 and Wickham Legg 1890, pp. 233–4.
12 Ker 1969/Ker, *BCL*, pp. 230–1.   13 Westlake 1923, p. 502.
14 *Cartulary God's House*, p. xcii at God's House, Southampton; Oliver 1861, p. 308 at Exeter cathedral.
15 Clark, 1902b.

'de armariolo in choro', as in a Breviary (BL, Royal ms. 2.A.X) of c.1150, and Psalter (BL, Royal ms. 2.B.VI) of c.1250, both from St Albans Abbey, to signify their location in a choir cupboard.[16] Such an 'armariolum ad libros' is described at Lichfield Cathedral, and a cupboard for the books was purchased in 1329–30 for the parish church of Norham (Co. Durham).[17] In visitations a wooden chest for the books is sometimes mentioned for parish churches, and also in the statutes of some collegiate churches.[18] For both cathedral and parish churches books are sometimes listed according to altar, suggesting their permanent location in that part of the church, and occasionally the particular part of the church where a book was chained is specified, as at Lichfield cathedral (in the choir) and St Peter Mancroft, Norwich (in the Lady Chapel).[19] Location at altars was specified at Salisbury Cathedral in 1222, the chantries of York Minster in 1360, 1364 and 1368, the Temple church in London in 1307, and for the parish church of St Cuthbert, Wells, in 1393.[20] At Lichfield Cathedral in 1345 the service books are listed in the sacrist's catalogue, implying that they were perhaps kept in the sacristy. The sacrist in most establishments was in charge of the maintenance and supply of these books, so perhaps this list is an inventory drawn up by him, and no specific location for them can be concluded.[21] At St Paul's Cathedral in 1245, 1255 and 1295 they are listed as in the treasury.[22] Several inventories of the possessions of bishops (1303, Richard Gravesend of London; 1310, Thomas Bitton of Exeter) and of the nobility list them as 'chapel books'. If the inventory lists their possessions by room, this probably suggests that the chapel was where they were kept.[23] Similarly in the wills of such people the service book bequeathed may be described as 'from the chapel'.[24]

Accounts for the purchase of such books occur for some religious houses, recorded by the sacrist or precentor, as at Norwich c.1272–1317 and Worcester in 1388 and 1401.[25] Inventories made by the churchwardens of a parish church and by executors also quite often place valuations on them, as at All Saints, Bristol in 1395 and Queen Isabella's chapel in 1359.[26] Churchwardens' accounts

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16 Thomson 1985, p. 94, no. 25; *Survey* IV/I, no. 86.
17 Cox and St John Hope 1882, p. 114; Cox 1886, p. 205; Raine 1852, p. 271.
18 Thompson 1937, pp. 72–3; *Register Stapledon*, p. 368.
19 Cox and St John Hope 1882, pp. 114–15; Cox 1886, p. 204; *Archdeaconry of Norwich*, p. 3.
20 *Vetus registrum Osmund*, II, pp. 137–41; *Fabric rolls York*, pp. 275–304; Serel 1875, pp. 100–4; Harrod 1859, pp. 90–1.
21 Cox 1886, pp. 204–5; Cox and St John Hope 1882, pp. 114–15.
22 Simpson 1887, pp. 496–500; Ker 1969/Ker, *BCL*, pp. 215–36.
23 Hale and Ellacombe 1874, pp. 3–5, 47, 50–2. These are the accounts of the executors. Two Psalters, a Legendary, a noted Collectar and an Evangeliary are listed in the Garderobe.
24 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 67–8, 458–9, 588, 849–50, 880–1.
25 Ker 1949–53/Ker, *BCL*, pp. 266–71 and Thomson 2001a, p. xxxi.
26 Nicholls and Taylor 1881, pp. 105–6 and Palgrave 1836, III, p. 244.

also record the purchase of books for their church, and sometimes the payments to the scribe, illuminator or binder.[27] These provide much information on their cost or considered value. Wills of individuals of a range of social classes bequeath service books to various persons or places, and a valuation is sometimes put on them. Quite often wills and inventories specify the relative size and age of the books, as large or small, new or old. For parish churches there are also lists of liturgical books compiled at visitations when the archdeacon and his assistants checked that the church had all the books necessary for celebration of the mass and divine office. They often comment on a book's condition and whether it represented the liturgical use appropriate for the diocese in which the church was located. The physical condition of the binding and of the clasps is often recorded, and whether the text is complete or deficient.[28] Some copies of the Office of the Dead, or of the services for Corpus Christi introduced in the fourteenth century, are listed as unbound in quires or as rolls.[29] Also, visitation records comment on any books which were lacking from those considered essential for the performance of the services. Between the thirteenth and the early fifteenth centuries there are extensive visitation records of parish churches for the dioceses of Bath and Wells (1335), Canterbury (1293–4, 1327–8), Ely (1278–1390), Exeter (1281, 1294, 1301, 1328–31, 1342), Hereford (1397), London (1138, 1160–81, 1249–52, 1297), Norwich (1368, 1400) and Salisbury (1220–26, 1300, 1405).[30] Some archdeacons, in particular those who conducted the thirteenth-century London visitations, were scrupulous in their examination and description of the texts in the service books. The 1297 London visitation, many of those of Ely diocese 1278–1390, and the 1368 Norwich visitation, systematically list the books (fig. 12.1).[31] This plethora of inventory, will and visitation evidence amply compensates for the paucity of surviving manuscripts. If combined with analysis of the format, decoration and text contents of those few which survive, this evidence helps towards a wide understanding of these books and their provision for different types of churches.

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27 Bath, St Michael (1349–70); Tavistock (1401/2); Hythe (1412/13) – Mackeson 1876, Scott Robertson 1876, Pearson 1878, Worth 1887.

28 E.g. Moorman 1945, pp. 152, 210–11 for some churches in Kent and Devon. Woodruff 1917, pp. 170, 171 and Woodruff 1918, passim for churches in Kent in 1293/4 and 1327/8.

29 Texts bound in quires or as rolls: Westlake 1923, p. 502: Hale and Ellacombe 1874, pp. 5, 47; *Register Chandler*, pp. 55, 60, 68, 70; *Archdeaconry of Norwich*, passim; *Cartulary God's House*, p. xci.

30 Bannister 1929–30; Coulton 1911; *Vetus liber Eliensis*; Harrod 1859; *Register Stapledon*; *Charters Salisbury*, pp. 369–70; Luard 1879; Michell Whitley 1910; *Monasticon Exoniensis*; Simpson 1895a, 1895b, 1897; *Register Chandler*; *Archdeaconry of Norwich*; Woodruff 1917, 1918.

31 Simpson 1895b; *Vetus liber Eliensis* (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll., ms. 204/110); *Archdeaconry of Norwich*.

From the early thirteenth century bishops in their synodal statutes, in their zeal for post-Lateran IV reform of the parochial system, list the liturgical books required for parish churches, and stipulate that these statutes must be made known to the parishes.[32] The visitation records of the Exeter and London dioceses sometimes record whether the parish churches possessed or lacked the synodal statutes.[33] In the 1240 statutes of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, the texts required are: Missal, Breviary (usually listed as Portiforium rather than Breviarium), Gradual, Antiphoner, Troper, Psalter, Manual and Ordinal.[34] The c.1238–44 list in the statutes of Robert Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, omits the Breviary, but adds the Epistle Lectionary (Epistolary) and Gospel Lectionary (Evangeliary). The Breviary was doubtless often omitted because, as the inventories bear witness, it frequently must have been in the personal possession of the priest, and sometimes none were owned by the parish. The very frequent bequests of Breviaries in priests' wills bear this out, but they were also bequeathed by lay people who owned them privately.[35] Lists in later bishops' statutes sometimes include the Collectar (the book containing the collects for the Office), Office Lectionary (Legendary), Hymnal and Venitarium (containing the invitatories for the Office).[36] The Troper is occasionally listed as a Sequencer, because its main contents are the sequences for those feast days in which the sequence, which precedes the Gospel, is proper for the Mass. Sequences and the troped versions of the Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, used for major feasts, are frequently found in the text of the Gradual or as part of the Missal, and this may explain the very few extant Tropers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[37] The Troper is, however, quite often listed in the inventories of parish churches. Similarly the epistle and gospel readings in the Mass, and the readings in the Divine Office, were contained in the Missal and Breviary respectively, so many churches did not possess separate Epistle, Gospel and Office Lectionaries. Again, the small numbers of existing manuscripts of these texts suggest that they were less essential than the other service books. The inventories, visitations and wills often specify whether the

32 Cheney 1973a, pp. 151–3; *Councils and synods II*, pp. 296 (1240 – Worcester), 379 (1238–44 – Salisbury), 599 (1258 – Bath and Wells), 1005–6 (1287 – Exeter).

33 *Register Stapledon*, pp. 130, 133; Simpson 1895b, pp. 2, 9, 13, 18, 25, 27, 34, 37, 43, 55, 59, 61.

34 The text contents and liturgical functions of these books are discussed in detail by Wordsworth and Littlehales 1904 and Harper 1991.

35 For the period up to 1350 for priests, Burtt 1867, pp. 343–4, Malden 1900, p. 525, Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 85, 101, 115, 223, 233, 269, 333, 653, 721, 762, 803, 811, 829, 889, 944, and for laity, *Cartulary Oseney*, I, pp. 135–6, Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 106, 495, 550, 588, 856, 901, 903.

36 *Councils and synods II*, pp. 1005–6 for these books in the Exeter statutes of 1287.

37 For the contents of a c.1300 Sarum Troper see Hand 1957–60 and *Tropaire-prosaire Dublin*, pp. 11–35.

Missal and Breviary contain music by listing as 'with note' those that do. In the thirteenth century there was often confusion and dispute as to whether the rector, vicar or the people should provide the service books for their parish church, because episcopal statutes are unclear or contradictory on this issue.[38]

Cathedral and abbey churches also list the books used specifically by the bishop or abbot, the Benedictional and Pontifical, and these occur as bequests in bishops' wills, such as Bodleian, ms. Rawl. C. 400, the Pontifical of Roger Martival, Bishop of Salisbury (1315–29).[39] Bishops, such as Archbishop Walter Reynolds of Canterbury, often left these books to their successors. For instance, the late fourteenth-century Pontifical, Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 79, was owned by three successive bishops.[40] It is exceptional to find Pontificals other than in cathedrals and abbeys, but a Pontifical given by Bishop William of Wykeham, is described as belonging to his foundation, Winchester College.[41] The pontifical office of confirmation sometimes existed as a separate unbound text in gatherings.[42] Benedictionals appear in the thirteenth-century inventories of St Paul's Cathedral, London, and at Westminster Abbey in 1388.[43]

The texts of these various liturgical books differed according to the diocese or religious house for which they were intended, as they were defined by the special characteristics of their liturgical use. Prayers, biblical readings, graduals, antiphons, versicles, responsories and the calendar of the feast days of saints varied between use, and those carrying out visitations checked whether the use of the service books of the parish churches was correct for their diocese. Sometimes they note that the book was not of the use of the diocese, or that a monastic service book had been inappropriately acquired by a parish church.[44] This might well not have been the fault of the parish because, for example, the 1258 statutes of Bath and Wells record that monasteries donated their old service books to the parish churches in their possession.[45] For the monastic orders each Benedictine house had its own individual use, but the Cluniacs, Cistercians and Carthusians had uniform uses which had to be followed by all abbeys and priories of their orders. The Augustinian canons, like the Benedictines, had a different use for each house, except for those of the Arrouaisian and Victorine

38 Moorman 1945, pp. 140–5 on this issue.   39 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 573.
40 Wright 1985, p. 451 (will of Archbishop Walter Reynolds of Canterbury); *Register Grandisson*, p. 1515 (will of John Grandisson); Lowth 1777, p. xxxvi (will of William of Wykeham); Binski and Panayotova 2005, no. 54.
41 Gunner 1858, p. 64.
42 E.g. Archbishop Walter Reynolds of Canterbury in 1327: Wright 1985, p. 462.
43 Simpson 1887, p. 498 and Wickham Legg 1890, p. 234.
44 Coulton 1911 for numerous examples in the diocese of Exeter in 1342. The parish church of Tarvin (Cheshire) in 1317 had a nuns' Missal: Tringham 2001, p. 219.
45 *Councils and synods II*, p. 599.

congregations which had more or less uniform uses for their member houses. As only one service book survives from the English Premonstratensian canons, the late fifteenth-century Ordinal of Easby (Cambridge, Jesus Coll., ms. 55), no estimate can be made as to the uniformity or diversity of their liturgical texts, although information is given in the general statutes of their order.[46] Finally, the friars each had a use uniform to their order. Occasionally, those religious houses that had a uniform use for their order added texts for a few of the major saints of the diocese in which they were located. Religious houses on occasion had service books of the secular church, '*ex usu seculari*', sometimes Sarum, as was the case for the Benedictines at Jarrow, Wearmouth and Coldingham.[47]

Diocesan uses of the secular church present a complicated situation, at least up to c.1300. As far as the evidence exists – and there is hardly enough of it to be certain – there was a considerable difference of liturgical use both between and within the various dioceses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[48] From the middle years of the thirteenth century there seems to have been a move by bishops of the province of Canterbury, to standardize liturgical practice, using as a model the liturgy of Salisbury cathedral, the 'use of Sarum'.[49] That was evidently considered as the ideal model for the liturgical practices of a secular cathedral, but why Sarum use was chosen, rather than that of another secular cathedral, is hard to explain. Some cathedrals began to take up Sarum use by adopting the constitutions and customs of Salisbury, whereas others took up the liturgical Calendar of Salisbury, and eliminated most of their local saints' cults.[50] The statutes of many collegiate churches founded in the second half of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries stipulate that their liturgical practices should be according to the use of Sarum.[51] This includes the academic colleges, such as Queen's College, Oxford, whose *Liber obituarius* of c.1350–1 has a Sarum Calendar.[52] Indeed, the increasing domination of the Sarum Calendar from the

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46 On the Premonstratensian liturgy and the Easby Ordinal see Gribbin 2001, pp. 1–27.
47 *Inventories Jarrow Monk-Wearmouth*, pp. 33, 52, 153, 160, 163, 182; *Correspondence, Coldingham*, pp. xl, lxvii.
48 These issues are discussed in Morgan 2001.
49 For a listing of statutes and other documents referring to the introduction of Sarum use see *Statutes Lincoln*, pt. II, pp. 831–42 and *Use of Sarum*, I, pp. xxi–xxxvii; II, pp. xxvii–xxxii. In *Councils and synods* II, however, many of the statutes have been re-dated. The only early Sarum text in a modern edition, as opposed to those of the sixteenth-century printed books, is that of the Missal by Legg: *Sarum Missal*. For an overall account of the history of the use see King 1959, pp. 280–326.
50 Morgan 2001, pp. 201–6 for the saints in pre-Sarum diocesan calendars.
51 For the foundations of Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham see Thompson 1944; in the unpublished 1352 statutes of St George's Windsor, Bowers 2001, p. 172; in 1355–6 for the Lancastrian foundation of Leicester, St Mary in the Newarke, Thompson 1937, pp. 54, 59.
52 Magrath 1910 for an edition of the calendar with detailed commentary.

second half of the thirteenth century onwards throughout the British Isles is the best evidence for the widespread adoption of the liturgy of Sarum for the Mass and the Divine Office. Some dioceses had adopted Sarum use by c. 1300 whereas others were still in the process of taking it up in the fourteenth century. William Selk, vicar of All Saints, Bristol, in the diocese of Worcester, had a Sarum Missal in 1270.[53] At Canterbury Cathedral itself in the inventory of 1315/16 three of the Breviaries are described as of the use of Sarum.[54] In the Canterbury diocese in 1313 at St John's Chapel, Sevenoaks, and 1327–8 at Worth, service books not of Sarum use are recorded, implying that they were expected to be of that use.[55] For some dioceses, such as London, the local liturgy seems to have persisted, only finally to be abolished by Bishop Clifford in 1415.[56] However, the evidence of several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century liturgical books of the London diocese shows that both Sarum and St Paul's books were in use there long before 1415, although the cathedral church continued its own use.[57] The commonly held idea that the taking up of Sarum use was episcopal policy in the reign of Henry V is completely wrong and contradicts the evidence of extant manuscripts, the inventories, and many prescriptions of liturgical use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[58]

For reasons so far unexplained the diocese of Hereford never adopted Sarum use.[59] Neither did the northern province of York, even though several places in that province in the thirteenth century did use Sarum books, as at Shirburn (Co. Durham) hospital in 1259 where there were three Sarum Graduals.[60] In 1282 Archbishop Wickwane of York ordered that the parish churches of his diocese must ensure that their books were of York use and if not to replace them within a year.[61] By the fourteenth century the province of York had standardized its own use and, as with Sarum, the emergence of a standard York Calendar, sanctoral, litany, Office of the Virgin and Office of the Dead is the clear sign of this process.[62] It is also significant that, in 1342 when the collegiate church of

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53 *PS* ser. 2, ii, pl. 137.   54 Wickham Legg and Hope 1902, pp. 25, 75.

55 *Registrum Winchelsey*, p. 1233 and Woodruff 1918, p. 82.   56 Simpson 1892.

57 Simpson 1895b, pp. li–lii, 2, 9, 13, 21, 25, 27, 34, 40, 43, 46, 48, 49, 51, 57, 61.

58 See Catto 1985, pp. 104, 107–9 for a statement of this point of view.

59 The early texts and development of the Hereford use are discussed and edited in *Hereford Breviary*. For an overall account of the history of the use see King 1959, pp. 348–69.

60 The early York texts are discussed, listed, edited and reproduced in facsimile by Frere 1940b, 1940c, Friedman 1995, pp. 237–54, *Facsimile York Processional* and *Facsimile Breviary York*. The option of Sarum or York use in 1286 and 1292 was allowed at the collegiate churches of Chester le Street and Bishop Auckland (Co. Durham): *Statutes Lincoln*, ii pt. 2, p. 837. For Shirburn see Cavanaugh 1980, p. 762. For an overall account of the history of the use see King 1959, pp. 326–47.

61 *Register Wickwane*, p. 80.

62 Morgan 1993/94, pp. 516–19 on the standard fourteenth-century Calendar, litany, Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead texts.

Sibthorpe (Notts) was founded, the use of York was stipulated for its priests.[63] This change from many local diocesan uses to two predominant standard uses in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England is almost unique in Europe. It extended also to Wales, Ireland and Scotland, all of which took up Sarum use from the thirteenth century onward with minor adaptations to their own local liturgical traditions.[64] Similarly in England, the various dioceses made minor changes to the Sarum or York use, introducing for example, local diocesan feast days of saints which were not in the Sarum Calendar. This becomes clear in Sarum Calendars with supplementary feasts for some dioceses (e.g. Ely, Exeter, Norwich and Worcester) by the first half of the fourteenth century.[65] For other dioceses (e.g. Canterbury, Lincoln) the existence of standardized supplements is less clear. In the case of Lincoln the few surviving texts of that use have yet to be studied.[66] In 1368 the chapel of Wakebridge at Crich in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield had a Manual of Lincoln use, and in 1386 Richard Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, had a Breviary of Lincoln use.[67]

The diocese of Exeter provides much information, from visitations, episcopal statements and extant texts, about the period of transition to Sarum-Exeter use in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[68] In the 1301 and 1315 visitations of bishops Thomas Bitton and Walter de Stapledon, books of Sarum and not of the diocesan use are singled out for mention, but are not condemned.[69] From the time of Bishop Grandisson are the Legendary in two volumes owned by the bishop himself (Exeter, Cath. Lib., ms. 3504–5), and his Ordinal of 1337, known from a late fourteenth-century copy (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 93).[70] The Calendar of saints' days in these manuscripts is that of Sarum but with the addition of the feasts of Brannock, Kieran, David, Petroc, Sidwell, Thomas of Hereford, Frideswide and Winifred, which at the time must have been the Exeter supplements to Sarum. Also of Bishop Grandisson's time are the liturgical directives in the 1338–9 statutes of his foundation, the collegiate church of Ottery St Mary.[71]

63 Thompson 1943, pp. 99–100.
64 *Use of Sarum*, I, pp. xxiv–v, xxviii–ix, xxxvi; *Episcopal Acts Welsh*, pp. 355–6 for Salisbury use at St David's in 1224.
65 These supplements are defined in Lasko and Morgan 1973, nos. 26, 30, 40 and *Survey*, v, nos. 1, 47, 51, 79, 109, 112, 119 for Ely and Norwich, and Morgan 1978, pp. 99–101 for Worcester. For Exeter see Morgan 2001, pp. 192–3, 205.
66 For three Missals of that use see Morgan 2001, p. 183.
67 Cox 1879, IV, p. 65 and Pretyman 1850, p. 324.
68 The Exeter service books have been well published and discussed in *Ordinale Exon.* and Frere 1940a. See also *MMBL*, II, pp. 808–11,
69 *Register Stapledon*, pp. 38, 111, 170, 185, 193, 337, 368, 409.
70 *Ordinale Exon.*, I, pp. 1–369; III, pp. 13–470.
71 Dalton 1917, pp. 133–259 with a very extensive commentary.

The introduction of Sarum use in the diocese of London is complex. It is always said to have been adopted late, in 1415 when Bishop Clifford finally abolished the use of St Paul's.[72] The calendar of saints' days used by the diocese differed greatly from that of Sarum, and is well documented in a number of thirteenth-century manuscripts, but is in very few after 1300.[73] Both St Paul's and Sarum service books are recorded as being in the possession of churches in the thirteenth-century visitations of the diocese, but in the 1280–90 episcopal statutes '*libri de usu ecclesie Londoniensis*' are still stipulated.[74] One of the earliest Sarum Missals, Paris, Bibl. Arsenal, ms. 135 (c. 1250–80), was clearly written for use in the London diocese.[75] The Breviary of Richard Gravesend, Bishop of London, used in his chapel and recorded by his executors, was also of Sarum use. Many extant Sarum service books of the period before c.1400 were owned by parish churches in the diocese.[76] In 1376 the Pope had been petitioned to authorize the church of St Giles Cripplegate to follow Sarum use, with the petition declaring that the use was that of almost all the parish churches of the province of Canterbury.[77] Notwithstanding Bishop Clifford's statement of 1415 it seems likely that, as elsewhere in the province of Canterbury, the Sarum use had been gradually introduced into the London diocese from the late thirteenth century onward.

The adoption of Sarum use, more or less achieved throughout the province of Canterbury by 1400 on the evidence of surviving examples, does not mean that the contents of liturgical books were ever absolutely uniform and correct according to the texts used at Salisbury itself. Only with the coming of printed books was some degree of textual uniformity achieved. The close textual comparisons that have been made of Missals, for example, reveal many minor differences,[78] and it is likely that such differences even continued in small ways into the era of the printed book. Although it is simple to determine from its Calendar and/or sanctoral whether a liturgical book is basically of

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72 For the use of St Paul's see Simpson 1880, pp. 61–73, Pfaff 1998b and Thacker 2004, pp. 117–21.

73 Eeles 1959–60 and Morgan 2001, pp. 196–7, 202, 205–6.

74 *Councils and synods* II, p. 657. For Sarum books in 1249/52 and 1297 see Simpson 1895a, p. 5 and 1895b, pp. 40, 49, 57. For St Paul's books Simpson 1895a, pp. 1–2, 13, 16, Simpson 1895b, pp. 2, 13, 21, 27, 34, 43, 46, 48, 61 and Simpson 1897, pp. 291, 295–6.

75 *Sarum Missal*, p. viii misdated the manuscript to c.1300, and this misdating has persisted in the literature. On the probable London diocese provenance for the Calendar see Hohler 1978, p. 27 and on the dating c. 1250–80 see *Survey*, IV/2, p. 49.

76 CUL, Add. ms. 2602, an Antiphoner of c.1300 from Springfield (Essex); BL, Harl. ms. 2787, a Missal of c.1390 from Maldon (Essex); Ushaw Coll., ms. 8, a Psalter-Manual of c.1380 from High Ongar (Essex); NLW, ms. 492E, a Missal of c.1400–10 from Great Easton (Essex); BL, Harl. ms. 2942, a Processional of c.1400 from St Sepulchre, London; Oxford, Christ Church ms. lat. 87, a Missal of c.1400 from St Botulph Aldgate.

77 Wickham Legg 1907.   78 Pfaff 1992.

Sarum or York use, to discover the minor idiosyncrasies of its text is no easy task.[79] Even if such idiosyncrasies will eventually be defined, it is an open question as to whether they represent an intention in regard to the destination of the book, or whether they are simply the inevitable result of textual corruption. The large numbers of service books which had to be written, above all for parish churches, must have meant mass production by the book trade. Only in rare cases were there custom orders for a particular church with demands on textual specificity regarding, for example, the dedicatory saint of the church.

There is no significant difference between the format of service books for the religious orders and for the secular church, and examples will be taken from both. The books required for the Mass, the Missal, Gradual and Processional were made in various sizes, although for the obvious practical reason that they have to be carried while walking Processionals had to be quite small.[80] Graduals, often intended for use on a lectern by a group of people, are fairly large.[81] Missals vary greatly in size, from small portable Missals like the Sarum-London, Paris, Bibl. Arsenal, ms. 135 (184 × 130 mm), to the c.1400 Carmelite Missal, BL, Add. mss. 29704–5, 44892 (640 × 425 mm).[82] The enormous size of the Litlyngton, London, Westminster Abbey, ms. 37 (525 × 360 mm) (fig. 3.1), Sherborne, BL, Add. ms. 74326 (535 × 380 mm, but cropped) and Carmelite Missals, which must have made them very inconvenient to use, is only paralleled in texts of Middle English literature.[83] Wills and inventories reveal that some clerics, and particularly bishops, owned one large and one small Missal.[84] The former would be used at a large altar for High Mass, the small one for private masses in the side chapels of a church, or in small chapels, whether as independent buildings or within castles or manors. The small one would also be easily portable when priests had to travel. The valuations of books show that Processionals were the cheapest, followed by Graduals, and large Missals, some having much illuminated decoration, the most expensive.[85] The Missal in Bishop Trefant of Hereford's will in 1404 was valued at £24, and that is at the top end of the price range for that type of book.[86] Some

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79 The sanctoral, which is the section of liturgical books containing the feasts of the saints, should correspond in content to the Calendar, but this is not always the case.

80 The c.1380–1400 York Processional (Bodleian, ms. e Mus.126) in facsimile in *Facsimile York Processional* is of typical size, 228 × 151 mm.

81 The late thirteenth-century Sarum Gradual, Bodleian, ms. Rawl. liturg. d.3 is of typical size 250 × 170 mm: *Graduale Sarisburiense*, p. liii; Frere 1894–1932, no. 204.

82 *Survey*, vi, no. 2.

83 *Survey*, v/2, no. 150, *Survey*, vi, no. 9 and Backhouse 1999. *Vernon manuscript*, p. 1 gives the dimensions of a number of these gargantuan books.

84 As in Bishop Grandisson's will of 1369: *Register Grandisson*, p. 1515.

85 Average valuations range from 12s to £10.   86 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 874.

of the most expensive Missals probably had ornaments of precious metal on their covers, which may cause their high valuation, rather than their size, and quality of script or illumination. Noted Missals, which contain all the musical settings from the Gradual, are usually of similar size to that book, but can be larger (fig. 12.2).[87] If the church had no Epistolary or Evangeliary – and the inventories reveal that many did not – then the Missal would have to be used for the reading of the epistle and gospel. The few examples extant of Epistolaries and Evangeliaries are fairly large, such as the c.1390–1400 illuminated noted Epistolary, Oxford, Trinity Coll., ms. 77 (290 × 195 mm) and the huge c.1400 Lovel Lectionary, BL, Harl. ms. 7026 (470 × 310 mm) given by Lord Lovel to Salisbury Cathedral.[88] Another book quite frequently found in parish church inventories is the Troper which contains the sequences for the Mass.[89] Only two Tropers from the c.1100 –1400 period survive as single books (CUL, Add. ms. 710, a c.1300 Sarum Troper from Christ Church, Dublin; Oxford, Univ. Coll., ms. 148, a c.1300 Troper from Chichester Cathedral).[90] These are of average size 250 × 180 mm and 205 × 135 mm with minimal decoration.

For the Divine Office the books required were the Breviary, Antiphoner, Legendary, Psalter, Hymnal and Collectar.[91] Some churches did not have the Legendary, Psalter, Hymnal and Collectar because their texts were contained in both the Breviary and the Antiphoner. The Hymnal is often combined with the Psalter, and the Collectar contains the Capitular, the short readings of the lesser hours. Breviaries are usually small, intended as they were for private recitation of the Office and to be easily portable. They can be very small, such as the extensively illuminated c.1340–50 Sarum Breviary divided between Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 3a and Melbourne, UL, s.n. (100 × 68 mm) but a typical size would be the Chertsey Breviary, Bodleian, mss. lat.liturg. d. 42, e. 6, e. 37, e. 39 (250 × 130 mm), illuminated by the Queen Mary Psalter workshop, a group of artists connected with London.[92] Noted Breviaries for use in choir are usually as large as Antiphoners, both books evidently intended for use on lecterns.[93]

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87 E.g. the c. 1250 Noted Missal of the Worcester diocese, CUL, ms. Kk.2.6 (308 × 230 mm); Frere 1894–1932, no. 806.
88 Frere 1894–1932, no. 513, pl. 14; *Survey*, VI, no. 10; Backhouse 2003.
89 These are musical settings of texts sung before the reading of the Gospel on major feast days, or for special masses, as in the case of the *Dies irae* for the Requiem Mass.
90 *Tropaire-prosaire Dublin* and Frere 1894–1932, no. 481.
91 For the contents and liturgical function of these books see Wordsworth and Littlehales 1904 and Harper 1991.
92 Michael and Morgan 1993; *Survey*, V, no. 62. See chapter 8 by M. A. Michael pp. 185–6 for the importance of the work of these illuminators as evidence for London production.
93 The York Noted Breviary (Lambeth, Sion Coll., ms. L.40.2/L.1) in *Facsimile Breviary York* is 290 mm × 200 mm. The Noted Sarum Breviary (Salisbury, Cathedral Lib. ms. 224) is 388 × 262 mm: *MMBL*, IV, pp. 264–6.

Another book sometimes found is the Martyrology which was certainly used for readings in the chapter house in religious houses and cathedrals; its function in parish churches is unclear.[94]

Essential for all churches was the Ordinal which gave directions as to how the services should be done.[95] The Sarum Ordinal was revised in the mid-fourteenth century necessitating not only the purchase of new Ordinals, but also the acquisition of new Missals and Breviaries with changed rubrics.[96] This provision of the revised texts in the second half of the fourteenth century coincides with the famous Wycliffite complaints c.1365–75 about the Ordinal and the unnecessary expense in acquiring new Sarum service books: 'ʒif alle the studie and traveile that men han now abowte Salisbury uss with multitude of newe costy portos, antifeners, graielis, and alle othere bokis weren turned into makynge of biblis'.[97] They complained, not because Sarum books were being introduced as a new liturgical use, but because the already established liturgical rite required the newly rubricated texts to be bought for the churches, and the Wycliffites viewed this as involving undue expense. Ordinals seem hardly ever to have been illuminated. Parish priests also had to have a Manual which contained all the occasional services such as baptism, marriage, visiting of the sick, the last rites and the funeral liturgy.[98] These books, which had to be portable, are small, and if decorated with illumination this is of quite simple type with ornamental initials and partial borders.[99]

The final types of service book are those for bishops, the Pontifical and the Benedictional, which contain the services and blessings which only bishops could celebrate. The Benedictional, which contains the special episcopal blessings given at Mass after the consecration, was a type of book used in the early Middle Ages, but its text is usually incorporated in the Pontifical from the twelfth century onwards.[100] Pontificals, as befits the status of their users, are large and usually illuminated. They are of equivalent size to the largest Missals and Noted Breviaries, and must have been unwieldy to use if they could not be placed on a lectern. A few are smaller, or only have a partial text, and very probably these formats were used for pontifical ceremonies

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94 On the use of this book in the chapter house in cathedrals see Wordsworth 1898, pp. 18–20.
95 *Use of Sarum*, II, pp. 1–233 for Sarum, *Hereford Breviary*, III, pp. 39–81 for Hereford, *Ordinale Exon.*, I, pp. 1–369 for Exeter, Reynolds 1881, pp. 1–72 for Wells, and *Ordinale Barking* for Barking. The York Ordinal in BL, Harl. ms. 2885, has not been edited.
96 *Use of Sarum*, II, pp. x–xxvii.
97 For these texts of complaint about 'Salisbury usse' see Clement Maydeston: *Tracts*, pp. xiv–xvii.
98 For Sarum see *Manuale Sarisburiensis* and York, *Manuale Eboracensis*.
99 Such as the c.1390 Sarum Manual, Liverpool, Cathedral Lib., ms. 20: *MMBL*, III, pp. 180–1.
100 Frere 1901; Leroquais 1937, I, pp. 148–55; II, pp. 112–15, Brückmann 1973 and Colker 1991, pp. 195–8 catalogue the English and Welsh Pontificals of the period.

whenever possible. The large copies were passed on from bishop to bishop, as was the profusely illustrated Pontifical, Cambridge, Corpus Christi, ms. 79 (400 × 255 mm), made for Bishop Mohun of St Davids, but passing to Bishop Clifford of London and eventually to Bishop Morgan of Worcester.[101] Bishop Grandisson (d. 1369) willed two *libri episcopales*, large and small, to his successor.[102]

Where were the service books made and who commissioned them? For the monastic churches, particularly those of the Benedictines, there is some evidence that some may have been made 'in house'. The special individual liturgical use of each Benedictine house would require a text exemplar to be provided for the scribes. In the twelfth century book production within the monasteries is well documented. At St Albans a Breviary of c.1150 (BL, Royal ms. 2 A. X) and two Graduals of the second half of the century (BL, Royal ms. 2 B. IV; Bodleian, ms. Laud. Misc. 258), the Breviary of Winchcombe of c.1150 (Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun., ms. 116), and the Bury St Edmunds Missal (Laon, Bibl. Mun., ms. 238) of c.1120–30, seem all to have been made within the monasteries.[103] At Leominster Priory in the second half of the thirteenth century a monk, W. de Wycombe, wrote liturgical books, and so did John of Bruges, a monk of Coventry Cathedral Priory c.1240.[104] At Ely and Worcester Cathedral Priories the precentor seems to have supervised the ordering of liturgical books, some prepared 'in house'.[105] Increasingly, probably, the richer houses commissioned lay scribes and artists as in the case of the richly illuminated Missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton for Westminster Abbey (London, Westminster Abbey, ms. 37) made in 1384.[106] A late thirteenth-century Breviary/Missal for Ely Cathedral Priory (CUL, ms. Ii.4.20) was illuminated by the same artist who decorated the Cambridge University charter of 1292, and was probably a layman working in that city (fig. 12.3).

Although service books mainly belonged to a church or chapel, both Missals and Breviaries were sometimes commissioned by rich patrons for churches or bequeathed to a church in their wills.[107] Commissioned Missals with elaborate illumination are the c.1320 Tiptoft Sarum Missal (PML, ms. м. 107) and the Missal (BL, Add. mss. 29704–5, 44892) for the Carmelites of London.[108] The Tiptoft Missal has the patrons, John Clavering and his wife, Hawyse Tiptoft,

101 Lowden 2003, pp. 40–3; Binski and Panayotova 2005, no. 54.   102 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 371.
103 Thomson 1985, pp. 94–5, 105–6, nos. 25–6, 47; Leroquais 1934, pp. 283–5; McLachlan 1978b.
104 Madan 1926; *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 108–13.   105 Evans 1940, p. 40 and Thomson 2001a, p. xxxi.
106 *Survey*, V/2, no. 150.
107 For Missals bequeathed by the laity up to 1370, *Cartulary Oseney*, I, pp. 135–6, Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 106, 107, 108, 114, 151, 157, 237, 290, 325, 364, 431, 456, 588, 901, 903, 948.
108 *Survey*, V/2, no. 78; *Survey*, VI, no. 2.

kneeling in the border before the elevation of the Host in the historiated initial at the beginning of the Canon prayer. The anonymous patrons of the Carmelite Missal are perhaps the man and his wife kneeling in the historiated initial of the introit to the votive mass of the Holy Trinity. It seems unlikely that many lay people kept Missals in their private possession, but as these books are quite often bequeathed in their wills, perhaps they had already been given for use in their parish church or chapel but in effect remained in the lay person's possession in their lifetime, only to belong to the church after their death.[109] In the case of priests and bishops, who also bequeath Missals in their wills, the case would be different. They usually specify a small Missal, which could be carried with them when travelling. When such wills list large Missals, these were probably located in their churches or chapels, but in their lifetime belonged to the testators. In the case of Breviaries, usually quite small unless they were noted, both the laity and priests had them as private possessions, and in wills they are often bequeathed to individual persons rather than to churches. The wills of bishops, canons and the high aristocracy, in contrast to those of parish priests and laity of the professional classes, reveal them as owning many service books as were required for their chapels.[110] Those of Bishop John Grandisson and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, list as many books as would be possessed by a large parish or collegiate church, and the valuations of them suggest that most were luxury illuminated copies.[111]

It is not clear where most of these books for cathedrals and parish churches were made. Accounts of payments made c.1379–85 to scribes and illuminators for an Antiphoner, Evangeliary, Martyrology and three Processionals, exist for St George's Chapel, Windsor, but it is not known where these people worked.[112] A few books with rich illumination perhaps were made in centres such as London, Oxford and Cambridge, as in the case of the Tiptoft Missal (PML, ms. M.107) and the Sarum Missal of 1398 for Lapworth church (Warw) (Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 394).[113] Most of the surviving liturgical books have relatively simple decoration of ornamental illuminated initials of average quality. As yet, provincial book production centres have been poorly defined, but it is probable that for many dioceses the cathedral city was the place of production. Text exemplars would be readily available in these cities. The surviving books of the use of York, much fewer than those of the use of Sarum, have been studied in regard to their ornamental and figure

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109 As in the case of Margaret Latymer in her bequest to St Peter Mancroft, Norwich: *Archdeaconry of Norwich*, p. 2.
110 See n. 24.   111 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 371–5, 849–50.   112 Middleton 1892, 220–3.
113 *Survey*, V/2, no. 78; *Survey*, VI, no 6.

decoration, and show some similarities which suggest that they may have been made in one centre, presumably York itself.[114] Our present state of knowledge makes it impossible to come to any firm conclusions about centres of production outside of London, Oxford and Cambridge where scribes and illuminators are well documented.[115]

Prayer books

Service books were primarily intended for use in the public liturgy and the majority belonged to a church or chapel as an institution rather than to individuals. A simplistic division between public liturgy and private devotion is most certainly not characteristic of late medieval religion in which the social and the personal penetrate and overlap.[116] The Breviary could be read privately by priests, and occasionally also by the laity, as a book for personal use and ownership.[117] Another service book, contained both within the Breviary and as a book in its own right, the Psalter, had since the early Middle Ages been used for private devotion both by the clergy and lay people.[118] During the period c.1100–1400 other types of text and books evolve for personal devotional reading, some of them containing liturgical texts, whereas others are miscellanies of prayers and meditations combined with texts of religious instruction.[119] The most popular of these books used for private prayer was the Book of Hours, whose texts were excerpted from the Breviary, and which first appeared in England as a separate book in the middle of the thirteenth century, and by 1400 had become the most common prayer book of the laity, although it was also used to a lesser extent by priests and members of the religious orders.[120] There are Books of Hours of the use of the Augustinian canons such as that of the late fourteenth century from Launceston (Cornwall),[121] but the c.1260–70 BL Egerton 1151, whose text has Augustinian elements, was made for a lay

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114 Friedman 1995, pp. 79–107, 114–47, but the majority of the material discussed is after 1400.
115 See chapter 8 by M. A. Michael pp. 169–91 for discussion of these issues.
116 On this see the perceptive articles of John Bossy 1983, 1991.
117 On the textual evidence for private recitation of the Office becoming usual in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see Salmon 1962, pp. 13–17, 139–41.
118 Leroquais 1940–1, pp. v–xii discusses the private recitation of the Psalter in the Early Middle Ages.
119 See for the latter Alexandra Barratt's chapter 14 in this volume pp. 364–6.
120 Although there are no independent books of Benedictine Hours of the Virgin before 1400, some exist from the fifteenth century: e.g. Bodleian, ms. lat.liturg.g.8 and Bodleian, ms. Gough liturg.18 from Tynemouth, PML, ms. m.99 and Bodleian, ms. Rawl. liturg.f.1 from Gloucester, and Bodleian, ms. Rawl. liturg.g.10 from Westminster.
121 Little Malvern, Berington Coll., now on deposit in Birmingham UL. See Wormald 1938.

female patron.[122] Instructions on a program of prayer during the day are given in the early thirteenth-century *Ancrene riwle* and in a c.1400 advice on daily devotions written by a parish priest for one of his parishioners.[123]

Collections of prayers in Latin for private recitation had existed since the early Middle Ages, particularly for monastic readership, but from c.1150 new prayers in the vernaculars of Anglo-Norman and Middle English proliferate. The difference between books with collections of prayers and those included in the Psalter and the Book of Hours, is that very few of the prayers in the prayer collections are found in the Breviary, whereas the others are derived from it. Such prayer collections were written for extra-liturgical reading, and when they occur in Books of Hours are not part of the Offices derived from the Breviary. Both the Psalter and Book of Hours contain texts which could be used both in the public liturgy and for private devotion. The Psalter was a required service book for parish churches, listed in their inventories and stipulated in episcopal statutes, but it was also a book of personal ownership for private devotion.[124] As these various forms of prayer book were mostly in private possession, rather than kept together with the service books in vestries or altar cupboards, they suffered much less than the public service books from the depredations of the Reformation. Psalters and Books of Hours outnumber the total of all other types of surviving liturgical books.[125] The evolution of 'prayer books' between 1100 and 1400 can thus be much more confidently assessed than that of service books, in terms of text content, format, decoration and ownership. Many of them contain marks of ownership by individuals, such as obits of the family entered in the Calendar, or heraldic devices enabling identification. Psalters and Books of Hours almost always have illumination, and such books were often special gifts on occasions such as marriages, such as the Alfonso Psalter (BL, Add. ms. 24686) made for the planned marriage of Edward I's son, which never took place because of his unexpected death.[126] Books containing collections of prayers are usually very plain.

The Psalter also served as a text for elementary education, as did the Hymnal.[127] The learning of certain psalms and hymns was a first step in the learning of Latin, and the Psalter had been used for this educational purpose since the early Middle Ages. At York Minster c.1375–1400 boys, while learning

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122 *Survey*, iv/2, no. 161 and Donovan 1991, pp. 186–8.
123 Ackerman and Dahood 1984, pp. 18–19, 29–38; Pantin 1976.
124 See the section on service books p. 295 for references to the episcopal statutes.
125 See the many examples catalogued in *Survey*, iii, iv, v, vi and these are only those which have elaborate illumination.
126 *Survey*, v, no. 1; McKinnon 1984 for Psalters as gift books.
127 Riché 1979, pp. 223–5; Orme 1994, pp. 565–6; Orme 2001, pp. 245, 263–4.

the psalms, misused the choir Psalters and made them dirty.[128] The Book of Hours also came to have an educational function and in late medieval England was called the Primer to signify that, an early use of the word occurring in the 1323 will of Lady Elizabeth Bacon.[129] Texts sometimes added to the 150 psalms were the basic prayers to be learned by a child as specified in the 1262/5 episcopal statutes of Winchester.[130] The *Gloria*, *Credo* and *Pater Noster* from the Mass occur in many twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Psalters,[131] although seldom occur after that date when they are replaced by Marian prayers such as the *Salve Regina*.[132] In two cases the ABC is found in Psalters made in England: Copenhagen, Kgl. Bibl., ms. Thott. 143 2° of c.1170, possibly intended for a member of the Danish royal family, and BnF lat. 1315 of c.1210, evidently written for a young girl.[133] All Psalters contained a calendar, litany and the canticles, and from the early thirteenth century many also had the Office of the Dead which in the late Middle Ages came to be read as a private devotional exercise.[134] In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries they also sometimes contained the Office of the Virgin, but by 1300 this had come to be the principal text element of the Book of Hours as an independent book.[135] The combination of the Psalter and Book of Hours as a single book continues in England even into the fifteenth century, long after the Book of Hours had become a book in its own right. Psalters also sometimes had other devotional texts added, like the Psalter of the Virgin, a series of 150 Ave invocations.[136]

It is difficult to understand exactly how Psalters were used for private devotion. These are always marked for liturgical use with large decorated initials for the first psalms to be sung at Matins for the seven days of the week and the first psalm for Sunday Vespers.[137] Unless the owner also possessed a Breviary the reading of the sets of psalms as parts of the daily offices would not have been possible, both because there was no indication of which psalms were to

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128 *Fabric rolls York*, p. 243.
129 The term Primer is used in several pre-1400 wills: e.g. Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 61 (Lady Bacon), 96, 110, 212–13, 235, 286, 324, 460, 648, 656, 746, 748, 758. For a discussion of the term see Brown 1905–6, pp. 14–15.
130 *Councils and synods II*, p. 713.
131 e.g. *Survey*, III, nos. 29, 48, 78, 95, 96; *Survey*, IV/1, nos. 7, 23, 24, 34, 35.
132 It should be noted that the *Salve Regina* is essentially an antiphon rather than a prayer, and from the thirteenth century onward came to be sung in the public liturgy at the conclusion of Compline. On this see Morgan 1991, pp. 73–5; Morgan 1999, p. 125; Morgan 2003, pp. 104–5.
133 Stirnemann 1976, pp. 175–7; Avril and Stirnemann 1987, pp. 51–2, no. 78. On the ABC in elementary education see Wolpe 1965 and Alexandre-Bidon 1989.
134 Ottosen 1993, pp. 31–49 on its development and use.
135 On the Hours as an addition to thirteenth-century Psalters, see the list in Morgan 1991, p. 72.
136 Meerssemann 1960, pp. 12–17, 98–105 for these Ave Psalters. The text occurs in the following thirteenth-century Psalters: *Survey* IV, nos. 24, 106, 114, 118, 141, 151.
137 The iconography of the historiated initials of the thirteenth-century English examples has been analysed in Haseloff 1938.

be read, and because the accompanying prayers and readings of the Office were lacking. The Breviary also contains the antiphons for the psalmody in its liturgical Psalter. These antiphons are usually lacking from single-volume Psalters and when they do occur it is perhaps because the book was intended for use as a service book, or was the Psalter part of a multi-volume Breviary. The early thirteenth-century Psalter which belonged to the parish church of St Helen, Worcester (Exeter, Cath. Lib., ms. 3508), is of this type with antiphons.[138] Very few single-volume liturgical Psalters with antiphons survive probably because they were kept together with the service books and were almost all destroyed together with them at the Reformation. The only psalms marked by large decorative initials for private devotional reading in some Psalters are the 'psalm of the Passion', psalm 21, *Deus, deus meus, respice me: quare me dereliquisti*, and the first of the fifteen gradual psalms, psalm 119, *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi*. The gradual psalms (119–133, Vulgate numeration) had originated in Benedictine monasteries for reading as an addition to the Divine Office of the day.[139] The seven penitential psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142, Vulgate numeration) are never given special marking by larger decorative initials. The reading of these psalms also originated in the Benedictine Office.[140] This absence of any emphasis on these two sets of psalms by special marking in Psalters is all the more remarkable since they come to be included in most Books of Hours. Perhaps the owners of Psalters read such particular psalms as fulfilled their devotional needs at any particular time. Only in one case, the Leyden Psalter (Leyden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, ms. lat 76A), is there a text suggesting how the psalms should be read, and probably that was an addition made when the book passed to France in the 1220s or 1230s.[141] In the Middle English devotional miscellany BL, Harley ms. 2253, sections 101, 110 and 111 are concerned with sets of instructions on the reading of the psalms as prayer for various intentions.[142]

The Book of Hours provided a well-structured series of texts for private devotion which the Psalter lacked, and it soon became much more popular than the Psalter as a prayer book for lay people. It arises as an independent book after the Hours of the Virgin had become an obligatory daily addition to the Office, first in the monastic orders and eventually also for the secular clergy.[143] Another basic text of the Book of Hours was the Office of the Dead,

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138 *MMBL*, II, pp. 814–16 and Morgan 1978, pp. 91–2, 98–103.
139 Symons 1924 and Knowles 1933.   140 Symons 1924 and Knowles 1933.
141 Morgan 2005, p. 318.
142 Kuczynski 2000, pp. 148–9. This article also discusses the prayers in this manuscript.
143 For its rise as an obligatory addition to the Office in England see Morgan 1999, pp. 122–5.

referred to in medieval sources by its antiphons for Vespers and Matins as *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and this too had become an obligatory addition to the Office, first in monasteries and then for the secular church.[144] All the main texts of the Book of Hours were derived from the Breviary, comprising the short version of the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead and the Litany.[145] Other votive Offices of the Cross, the Passion, the Holy Spirit and the Trinity were sometimes additional texts.[146] The gradual and penitential psalms are included, although the former are more frequent in early manuscripts and by 1400 they seldom occur in Books of Hours. Various devotions to the Virgin are included such as her joys and sorrows, in various numbers (five or seven being the most popular), and prayers to God, Christ, the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Holy Face, the Five Wounds, Mary and the saints, often in the vernaculars of Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Welsh, but in most Books of Hours these are in the minority compared with the texts in Latin.[147]

Collections of prayers existed both in the format of books and very occasionally as rolls (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. 7–1953; TNA:PRO, ms. c.47/34/16, both of c.1320–30; Esopus NY, Mount St Alphonsus, ms. 1 of c.1375–1400) although this latter roll format was more used in the fifteenth century.[148] Half of the extant prayer books are Benedictine, Cistercian, or of the Augustinian canons: e.g. London, Soc. Antiq., ms. 7 of c.1125 from Durham; Verdun, Bibl. Mun., ms. 70 of c.1120–30 from St Albans; Bodleian, ms. Auct. D.2.6 of c.1150 from a Premonstratensian house; Oxford, Worcester Coll., ms. 213/213* of c.1250–75 from Reading; Lambeth. ms. 522 of c.1280 from St Augustine's, Canterbury; BL, Add. ms. 37787 of c.1386 of the Cistercians of Bordesley (Worcs); and BL, Add. ms. 33381 of c.1400 from Ely.[149] The other manuscripts are of uncertain provenance, but several of them may be from religious houses. It seems that the laity used the relatively small numbers of popular prayers contained in prayer rolls or added to Psalters, Books of Hours

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144 *Councils and synods* II, pp. 53, 79, 213, 301, 377, 1019 for episcopal statutes regarding the Office of the Dead.
145 On the origins of the Book of Hours see Bishop 1918, pp. 211–37 and Schmitz 1928.
146 See for the variable contents of thirteenth and fourteenth-century English Books of Hours, Donovan 1991, pp. 183–200, Higgitt 2000, pp. 165–71, 312–30 and Smith 2003, pp. 152–248, 297–324.
147 See Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 723–35, 740–827, 851–909, 920–47, 970–85 for full listing of the Anglo-Norman prayers and devotions in English manuscripts. Their Middle English equivalents are most regrettably not so conveniently gathered together. For prayers to the Holy Face and the Five Wounds see Corbin 1947 and Pfaff 1970, p. 84.
148 On these see Wormald and Giles 1982, pp. 470–5; Bentley 1831, pp. 405–13; *MMBL*, I, p. 181; Robbins 1939c, p. 415.
149 On these see Bestul 1977a; *Durham devotions*; Pächt 1956; *Survey* III, no. 75; *MMBL*, III, pp. 726–32; Reinsch 1880; Leclercq 1959, pp. 589–92; British Museum 1894, pp. 9–11; British Museum 1912, pp. 140–50.

or on flyleaves and blank pages of various texts, whereas very extensive prayer collections were almost exclusive to the religious orders. The contents of these books is very variable, although a number of them have as a core text the prayers and meditations ascribed to St Anselm.[150] Prayers and psalms in Latin and the vernaculars also occur in miscellanies of devotional and instructional texts such as Bodleian, ms. Digby 86 and BL, Harley ms. 2253.[151]

The patrons of Psalters cover a very wide range from the monastic orders to the merchant class, and examples survive from almost every social category within that range.[152] Of all manuscript books of the period these Psalters for private reading present the greatest range of formats, size and quality. The size range from the very large c.1310–20 Ormesby Psalter, Bodleian, ms. Douce 366 (394 × 279 mm) to the tiny c.1270–80 Psalter, PML, ms. M. 679 (51 × 37 mm), in which the text takes up 400 folios.[153] There is a great range in size of script with some using large *Textura prescissa* as if they were intended for lectern reading. Many of these books are illuminated, some of them more lavishly than any other type of book. The extent and nature of the illumination is in no way dependent on the patron, for a Psalter produced for or at a Benedictine abbey can be as luxurious in its decoration as one for an owner from the high aristocracy. Psalters for the Cistercians are sparsely decorated, and those few which have definite parish church ownership are mostly of average quality in script and illumination.[154] Two luxury Psalters (Douai, Bibl. Mun. 171; BL, Add. 49622) whose Calendars both have the dedication of the parish church of St Andrew, Gorleston, were almost certainly destined for a person connected with that church rather than commissioned as books for the church itself.[155] The most luxurious Psalters contain full-page miniatures of narrative sequences of the Old and New Testaments as a preface to the psalms.[156] These may have been an extension of the teaching function of the Psalter from the learning of Latin to the learning of biblical stories. Other Psalters have a few full page minatures of a devotional nature, such as the Virgin and Child, the Crucifixion, Christ in Majesty or the saints.

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150 See Pächt 1956, Bestul 1977a, 1977b, 1978 and *Survey*, IV/2, no. 141.

151 *Facsimile Digby 86*, pp. xv–xvi, xx, xxviii, xxx, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxv; *Facsimile Harley 2253*, sections 19, 69, 99, 102, 105, 108a. On these miscellanies see chapter 14 by Alexandra Barratt in this volume pp. 341–65.

152 See Morgan 2005 for a study of the patrons of English Psalters in the thirteenth century and *Survey*, V/2, pp. 210–12 for listing of Psalters and their patrons.

153 *Survey*, V/2, no. 43; *Survey*, IV/2, p. 153 – there is no published catalogue description of Morgan 679. The c.1225–50 St Osyth OSA Psalter (Oxford, Trinity Coll., ms. 82) is 65 × 47 mm.

154 E.g. for the Cistercians, CUL, Add. ms. 851, and for parish churches the c.1210–20 Exeter, Cath. Lib., ms. 3508 from St Helen, Worcester, and the c.1320 Syracuse, UL, ms. Uncat. 1 from Orpington (Kent). On the latter two see *MMBL*, II, pp. 814–16 and Watson 1977.

155 *Survey*, V/2, nos. 50, 105.   156 Morgan 1992 for the thirteenth-century examples.

In the twelfth century several Psalters seem to have been made at monastic centres for clerical or lay patrons who were not members of the monastic community. Their Calendars and litanies point to text exemplars of monastic origin. Examples are the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, St Godehard) which was made for the anchoress, Christina of Markyate, the Shaftesbury Psalter (BL, Lansdowne ms. 383) perhaps for Queen Adeliza, the Winchester Psalter (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C.IV) possibly for Bishop Henry of Blois, and the Copenhagen Psalter (Copenhagen, Kgl. Bibl., ms. Thott 143 2°) perhaps made at an English Augustinian house for the young King Canute VI of Denmark.[157] By the beginning of the thirteenth century, when book production declined in the monastic houses and had been taken over by urban centres, the Calendars and litanies of Psalters are of diocesan (Sarum and York) use, save for those books specially destined for the monastic houses. Luxury Psalters were indeed still made for the Benedictines, Cluniacs and the Augustinian canons throughout the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth, and are among the finest examples.[158] A fine late thirteenth-century example was made specifically for Robert, a canon of the Augustinians of Bristol (Křivoklát, Castle Lib., ms. I. b.23), who is depicted at prayer in one of the initials.[159] Rich Psalters for nuns are the Amesbury, order of Fontevrault (Oxford, All Souls Coll., ms. 6) Psalter of c.1250–55, and that for Lacock, Augustinian (Bodleian, ms. Laud. lat. 114) of c.1360.[160] A luxury Psalter of c.1330 for the Austin Friars (El Escorial, Biblioteca, ms. Q. II. 6) passed in the fifteenth century to the Premonstratensian canons of West Dereham (Norfolk).[161] Apart from this example, Psalters for the friars are modest in appearance, and this is also the case for those made for the Cistercians.

Notwithstanding these patrons from the religious orders, the predominant patronage of Psalters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was from the aristocratic laity. When heraldry becomes part of the decoration, from c.1250 onward, the patrons can often be identified. For the earlier period such identification is rarely possible. An early thirteenth-century Psalter (Munich, Staatsbibl., ms. clm. 835) has eighty-eight full-page miniatures of narratives of

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157 On these see Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960; Wormald 1973; *Survey*, III, nos. 29, 48, 78, 96; Morgan 1981, pp. 153, 170 n. 106; Haney 1986; Kauffmann 2001; Haney 2002; Stirnemann 2005.

158 For Benedictines from the thirteenth century the Westminster (BL, Royal ms. 2 A.XXII), Peterborough (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. 12; London, Soc. Antiq., ms. 59) and Evesham psalters (BL Add. ms. 44874), and from the fourteenth, two for Peterborough (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., ms. 9961–2; Bodleian, ms. Barlow 22), two for Ramsey (PML, ms. M.302 and St Paul in Lavanttal, Stiftsbibl., ms. xxv/2.19, Holkham Hall, ms. 26) and two for the Cluniacs of Bromholm (Bodleian, ms. Ashmole 1523) and Thetford (New Haven, Beinecke Lib., ms. 417): *Survey*, IV, nos. 2, 45, 47, 111 and *Survey*, V/2, nos. 40, 41, 44, 91, 108, 143.

159 *Survey*, IV/2, no. 184.   160 *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 101, 157.   161 *Survey*, V/2, no. 80.

the Old and New Testaments with particular emphasis on the lives of heroic and virtuous women such as Esther, Ruth, Judith and Susanna, which may suggest that it was intended for an unidentifiable woman owner.[162] These narrative pictures continue to be included in Psalters as full-page miniatures up to the early fourteenth century, although from then on they are transferred to historiated initials and bas-de-page illustrations combined with framing border extensions. Fourteenth-century examples with extensive cycles as full-page miniatures are the Queen Mary Psalter (BL, Royal ms. 2 B.VII) and the Peterborough Psalter (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., ms. 9961–2), and as historiated initials and bas-de-page in the Tickhill Psalter (New York, Public Lib., ms. Spencer 26) and the Psalters made for the Bohun family (Oxford, Exeter Coll. ms. 47; BL, Egerton ms. 3277; Bodleian, ms. Auct. D.4.4).[163] These biblical narrative scenes which have little to do with the text of the psalms were probably intended to have an educational function. Psalters were often bequests in wills of the laity of both the nobility and merchant class.[164] The richly decorated ones could be worth as much as £10, for example, the Psalter at Clare College chapel c.1370–5.[165]

Books of Hours, like Psalters, are found in a range of formats, sizes and decoration.[166] Most are smaller than Psalters, but range in size from the very large Salvin Hours, BL, Add. ms. 48985 (322 × 218 mm) and de Bois Hours, PML, ms. M.700 (308 × 200 mm) to a small book such as BL, Harl. ms. 928 (112 × 77 mm).[167] Unlike Psalters their owners, when known, are almost completely restricted to the laity. There are a few Benedictine and Augustinian Hours of the Virgin attached to a Psalter,[168] but before 1400 there is no Book of Hours as an independent book from these religious orders.[169] A richly illuminated Dominican Book of Hours (formerly Bodleian, Astor Coll. A.1), whose calendar has the dedication of the Blackfriars of Shrewsbury, was made for Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Northampton, a patroness of their order.[170] It is the only example of the period. The others are of the uses of Sarum and York, sometimes through supplementary entries in their calendars suggesting ownership or origin in a particular diocese (e.g. the Zouche Hours, Bodleian, ms.

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162 *Survey*, IV/1, no. 23.
163 *Survey*, V/2, nos. 26, 40, 56, 134, 135, 138; Egbert 1940; Sandler 1974 and Stanton 2001.
164 *Cartulary St Frideswide*, I, 334; Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 106, 108, 290, 335, 504, 642, 647, 684, 856, 861, 903 (for the period up to 1360); Deanesly 1920, p. 351.
165 *Report (2nd) of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* 1874, p. 110.   166 Donovan 1990.
167 *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 158, 185; *Survey*, V/2, no. 88.
168 E.g. the early fifteenth-century Lambeth, ms. 558 for Christ Church Canterbury, and the c.1210–20 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, ms. 78.A.8, probably a text for the Arrouaisian Augustinians of Harrold (Beds.), but written for a lay person. See *Survey*, IV/1, no. 35 and James 1932, pp. 761–5.
169 See nn. 120, 121.   170 *Survey*, V/2, no. 111.

lat. liturg e.41 of Ely diocese).[171] Some have full-page miniatures preceding the various hours (e.g. the Taymouth Hours, BL, Yates Thompson ms. 13 and the Neville of Hornby Hours, BL, Egerton ms. 2781), whereas simpler ones merely have historiated initials with decorative border extensions.[172] Such books are frequent bequests in wills where they are called Book of Hours, Matins book of the Blessed Virgin, or Primer.[173]

Manuscripts of collections of prayers are smaller than most Psalters and Books of Hours and are modest in appearance, with little or no illumination. The prayers and meditations of St Anselm on occasions have illustrations as in the St Albans copy of c.1120–30 (Verdun, Bibl. Mun., ms. 70), Bodleian, ms. Auct. D.2.6 of c.1150 made for a Premonstratensian canon and BL, Add. ms. 15749 of c.1250–60, originally part of a Psalter in Preston Harris Museum, made perhaps for a secular priest.[174] The Ely prayer book (BL, Add. ms. 33381) of c.1370–80 contains an image of the Man of Sorrows with the Arma Christi with an accompanying indulgence (ff. 89v-90).[175] The prayer book of c.1375, Chicago, Newberry Lib., ms. 104.5, is a compilation of forty-seven Latin prayers, mostly found in Books of Hours.[176]

Surprisingly, although the Latin Psalter and the Book of Hours were translated into Anglo-Norman and Middle English, these versions, as suggested by the small number of surviving manuscripts, seem to have been much less popular. Although about 250 Latin manuscript Psalters survive from the period c.1100–1400, only about twenty extant Anglo-Norman versions are known, and a similar number of Middle English versions.[177] For Books of Hours the extant manuscripts with exclusively vernacular texts are even fewer. If the constituent texts of the Book of Hours are considered in their Anglo-Norman translation, only two manuscripts are extant of the Hours of the Virgin,[178] two of the Hours of the Cross,[179] one of the Office of the Dead,[180] and one of the Penitential Psalms.[181] There are two surviving texts of the Hours of the Virgin in Welsh,[182] and just a few more of the Middle English Primer,[183] whereas the

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171 *Survey*, v/2, no. 119.   172 *Survey*, v/2, nos. 98, 115 and Smith 2003, passim.
173 See for Primer n. 129, and for Book of Hours and Matins book of the Blessed Virgin, Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 108, 459, 779, 917 and Deanesly 1920, pp. 356–7.
174 On these see *Survey*, III, nos. 31, 75 and *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 140–1.
175 The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm sections are re-used from a c.1250 book.
176 Saenger 1989, pp. 214–18 for a detailed listing of the contents.
177 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 445–9; *Anglo-Saxon psalters*; *Richard Rolle: Psalter*; *Earliest English Psalter*; Burke Severs 1970, pp. 537–9.
178 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 828.   179 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 966–7.
180 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 829.   181 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 450.
182 Shrewsbury School, ms. 11 is the most complete example: *MMBL*, IV, pp. 300–1. For an edition of the text with commentary see Roberts 1961.
183 *Prymer* 1891–2, *Prymer* 1895–7 for the manuscripts and editions of the text.

Latin version seems to have been overwhelmingly the most popular version of the text. Significantly, the 1382 English Primer, Glasgow, UL, ms. Hunterian v.6.22 (472), contains the ABC.[184]

In contrast, prayers and devotional texts not found in the Breviary occur very frequently in Anglo-Norman and Middle English, and these vernacular prayers are often found as additional texts in Latin Psalters and Books of Hours, or as independent prayer collections in books, rolls or as additions on flyleaves or blank spaces in manuscripts of various texts.[185] A few hymns such as the *Veni creator spiritus* and *Ave Maris Stella* were also translated into Anglo-Norman and Middle English.[186] One could conclude from this that the Latin texts used in the public liturgy had a particular authority in that language, whereas para-liturgical devotional texts were considered more permissable in the vernacular. Certain prayers, the *Credo* – mostly the Apostles' and the Athanasian, with only one text in Middle English of the Nicene – and the *Pater noster* are found in Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Welsh versions, and also the popular prayers, the *Ave Maria* and *Salve Regina*.[187] There are also extended verses on each word of the *Ave Maria*, of which similar texts exist in Latin.[188] The Joys of the Virgin were also translated into Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Welsh.[189] Prayers to be recited at the elevation at Mass are a popular genre.[190] Another Mass prayer which is found in Latin, Middle English and Welsh is the *Anima Christi*.[191] The Fifteen Oes prayer, written in England in the late fourteenth century, occurs in Latin, Middle English and Welsh.[192]

These prayers, hymns and liturgical offices in the vernacular occur in compilations of texts for meditation and devotion, as well as in Latin Psalters and Books of Hours. Prayers are often in verse, in some cases of several stanzas, and are sometimes classified as 'religious lyrics'. A good example of a compilation of prayers and liturgical offices in Middle English is the Wheatley manuscript (BL, Add. ms. 39574) of c.1400.[193] This well-written but undecorated book

184 Wolpe 1965, p. 70 with pl.
185 For a discussion of the range of texts, use and function of Middle English prayers see Robbins 1939a, 1939d, 1968 and for short prayers added on flyleaves and blank spaces Robbins 1939b.
186 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 811, 838; Boffey and Edwards 2004, nos. 454, 639, 640, 643, 1081, 1082.
187 Brayer and Bouly de Lesdain 1967–8; Hartung 1986, pp. 2279, 2292–3, 2507–11; Aarts 1969; Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 457, 680–1, 816–21, 840–5; Evans 1986, pp. 57–8, 65.
188 Heuser 1904; Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 816.
189 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 740–70; Woolf 1968, pp. 134–41; Boffey and Edwards 2004, nos. 359, 1029, 1030, 1068, 1122, 1833, 1837, 2118, 2226, *et al.*; Evans 1986, pp. 37–8.
190 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 731–5; Robbins 1942–3.
191 Abbot of Pershore 1923; Frost 1923; Roberts 1956a.
192 Roberts 1956b for the Welsh and Latin texts; Hirsh 1974 for the Middle English text; Krug 1999.
193 *Wheatley manuscript.*

contains prayers to God, the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist, one for recitation at the elevation, hymns relating to Mary and John the Baptist, the seven penitential psalms and the matins readings of the Office of the Dead. It is rare to find such texts in prayer books limited to a single language, and the majority contain a mixture of Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English.

The places of production of these various types of prayer books present the same problems of identification as for the service books. In the twelfth century those containing monastic liturgical texts were in most cases probably made within the monasteries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries few were made 'in house' and liturgical text contents or ownership can no longer be used as an indicator of place of production. Paradoxically, although ownership of individuals and institutions is known for many Psalters and Books of Hours, evidence as to who made them and where they were made is for the most part lacking. Assuredly such books were made at several urban centres in England, but their scribes and artists were very probably itinerant, rather than permanently based in a single centre.[194] Further research on the figural and ornamental decoration of those manuscripts with illumination may enable groupings and identification of some of these urban centres. These problems have already been discussed in the chapter on urban production (see ch. 8).

194 Doyle 1990c presents an overview of 'provincial' book production.

13

Compilations for preaching and Lollard literature

ALAN J. FLETCHER AND ANNE HUDSON

I.   Compilations for preaching

Alan J. Fletcher

When Christ commissioned his twelve apostles and exhorted them to preach the gospel to all nations, he also told them that, when the time came for them to give witness, they should not carry what they would say premeditated in their heads; instead, the Holy Spirit would speak for them spontaneously *in illa hora*.[1] It is curious to reflect, then, that the formidable array of sermon manuscripts and anthologies of material compiled to support preachers in their task that survives from the British Isles in the later Middle Ages betrays how little confidence medieval preachers reposed in the original dominical advice. Miracles now were in shorter supply than in gospel times, it was said, and so preachers were driven to the expediency of mere human assistance. The modern historian of the book, needless to say, has every reason to be grateful for this medieval failure of nerve.

Copious though the legacy of compilations for preaching may be, this is not to imply, of course, that there was never any such thing as the medieval preacher who acted according to strict evangelical precept and who preached as he felt the Holy Spirit had moved him. Necessarily, the efforts of such a man would, of their nature, have left no palpable traces to posterity, unless someone other than him troubled to make notes of his words before they evaporated in the air.[2] Yet even at the best of times the Holy Spirit needed something to work with: the extensive scribal industry that developed in response to the need to stock the preacher's mind with preachable matter, let alone to confer an enduring parchment or paper existence upon evanescent sermon words, would

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1 Mark 13:11.
2 Such note takings, or *reportationes*, are relatively rare (Spencer 2000, pp. 609–10). However, it should be observed that several summaries, taken down in *reportatio* form, survive of sermons delivered at openings of parliament; these specimens of *reportatio* have received little critical attention.

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ensure that in future, the aspiring preacher, provided that he was sufficiently well tutored in such premeditated materials, could at least give the semblance of spontaneous, evangelical simplicity, seeming to invent his sermon on the spot. Indeed, whatever the historical actuality, illustrations from the British Isles of medieval preachers in action rarely depict them preaching from a book, and such instances as might suggest the contrary are not unambiguous.[3] In some cases, the *mise en page* and convenient size of certain sermon manuscripts suggests that they were laid out so as to facilitate easy reading, appropriate, therefore, for carrying into a pulpit where they could serve, if not as a direct crib, then as a handy prompt;[4] but while their layout and dimensions may suggest such a use, we have no clear evidence that they actually so functioned. At the other end of the scale, the sheer inconvenience to the reader attending the tiny, crabbed hands that often crowd the small-format manuscripts typical of those late medieval preachers par excellence, the friars, suggests a different conclusion: while the small size of these codices would have been conducive to portability, thus suiting them perfectly to their peripatetic mendicant users who might wish to travel as lightly as possible, in terms of actual pulpit use they would have been less convenient.[5] *In illa hora*, in the very moment of preaching, minute and highly contracted handwriting is self-evidently unhelpful.[6]

Plentiful though they are, it would thus seem that the bulk of our surviving medieval sermon manuscripts and preaching anthologies tracked the actual preaching event at one or other kind of remove: either they followed in the wake of it (as, for example, when sermons were preached and subsequently written up into sermon diaries); or they anticipated it, by providing the staple material from which the sermon eventually preached would be tailored. Therefore, in the majority of cases, the books of sermons that have come down to us are *de facto* of a literary and a consultative kind. A very few, to be sure, claim to contain a faithful, *in illa hora* record of sermons delivered at historical times and places by named preachers;[7] more usually, however, sermon manuscripts preserve texts by named, or by anonymous, authors, either *in extenso* or in abbreviated form and, save in the case of sermons belonging to the Temporale or Sanctorale, whose normal use coincided with their corresponding liturgical

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3 Compare the comments on the early sixteenth-century sculpture in the parish church at Tong, Shropshire, of Arthur Vernon 'preaching', in Spencer 1993, p. 72.
4 For example, the group of professionally produced late fifteenth-century sermon manuscripts discussed in Fletcher 1998, pp. 154–9.
5 See especially D'Avray 1985, pp. 57–62.
6 Neither are our 'heftiest' extant sermon manuscripts likely to have been carried up into the pulpit by preachers.
7 For example, the *reportationes* mentioned in note 2 above. But even *reportationes*, like a student's lecture notes, abbreviated what was actually said.

occasion, without any indication of when they had originally been preached or might be preached again in the future. There are signs that the tolerance of medieval congregations for longwinded 'predicacioun' may not have been any more robust than that of modern ones.[8] Even supposing that early sermon-goers were more indulgent, it nevertheless remains clear that some sermons, as recorded in manuscript, are so vastly long that they cannot have been delivered as they stand.[9] And in some cases, the provision of sermon manuscripts with indices, or with other forms of textual *accessus*, further supports the case that they were initially conceived as quarries for preachers – important, but essentially ancillary, resources for their own proper efforts in the pulpit and thus bearing only more, or less, directly upon the words actually preached.[10] So although by the late Middle Ages preaching was a familiar and culturally central phenomenon, the codices which contain its chiefest traces witness to it only obliquely: in the moment of their codification, sermons were inevitably entering the domain of the literary and the consultative, and becoming estranged from the actuality of their delivery.

Of course, the literary and the consultative aspects of the manuscript, as these preliminary comments have begun to suggest, were themselves shaped by diverse market requirements, and thus liable to be manifested in a range of formal ways. Hence it follows that a codicological typology of medieval compilations for preaching is only likely to be broadly conceivable. As a sampler of this codicological variety, the rest of this essay will introduce a (generally representative) selection of sermon manuscripts designed for different late medieval interest groups: first, inside the professional Church, for the friars, and for the regular and secular clergy; and second, outside it, for the laity, whose probable readership of books of sermons might on the face of it come as a surprise.

Preaching compilations for the friars

Our first mendicant manuscript is Bodleian, ms Bodley 26. Its 206 leaves measure approximately 151 × 116 mm. Stints by at least sixteen different scribes can be distinguished in it, and these range in date from the first half of the thirteenth century to the early years of the fourteenth.[11] Traces in it of four medieval foliation systems, combined with its scribal arrangement, reveal

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8 Spencer 1993, pp. 91–108.
9 For example, the *Sermones dominicales* of Philip Repyngdon, bishop of Lincoln (d. 1419). For a recent account of Repyngdon's sermons, see Forde 1989.
10 However, collections like *Dormi secure* (see further below) suggest a heavier (and indolent) degree of reliance upon predigested words.
11 For further details see Fletcher 1994.

how it was put together. The first seven quires (ff. 1–103, roughly half its entire length) were originally conceived as a unit in their own right, and were copied by three scribes, two of whom certainly worked in collaboration. The work of the scribe of the ninth and earliest quire, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, was originally part of an independent compilation that was later broken up and eventually accommodated within the present manuscript. The remainder of Bodley 26 includes leaves which, like those of quires 1–7 and quire 9, also originally belonged to another, independent compilation. Thus Bodley 26 was pieced together by some unknown compiler who had at his disposal at least three originally discrete books, booklets or *quaterni*. Since various of his text sources were Franciscan in origin, it is likely that he had access to the resources of a conventual scriptorium or centre. He was active probably in the first half of the fourteenth century. With its cluster of scribes, its small format and its evidence of having been assembled from other books, booklets or *quaterni*, Bodley 26 is a paradigm of a characteristic mode of mendicant book production.

We may compare with Bodley 26 a slightly later case in BL, Add. ms 46919: this too is the product of a Franciscan who, in the early years of the fourteenth century, brought together into one codex of 213 leaves various, originally separate, booklets or *quaterni*.[12] The leaf size is approximately 230 × 170 mm (though many leaves are irregular). Their contents include sermons, plus other assorted theological material. Again as with Bodley 26, several scribal stints (about thirteen in all) are discernible, but a notable difference is that the identity of one of the scribes is known, and he, moreover, was none other than the manuscript's actual compiler, the Franciscan preacher, poet and theologian, William Herebert (d. 1333).[13] If Bodley 26 originated as a personal anthology, even more surely did Additional 46919. Precisely why Herebert found the eclectic mix of matter that he compiled appealing is hard to gauge, though the principal interests evinced are in preaching and preachable material.[14] Some of the material is Herebert's own – certain of the sermons, for example, recorded in Latin, plus a set of Middle English lyrics – and this personal work consorts with matter by others in a codex that witnesses to Herebert's habituation to a cultural milieu where writings in Latin, French and English could associate freely. Such linguistic amphibiousness in the compiler is also glimpsed, to a lesser extent, in Bodley 26, where words in English and French are occasionally to be

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12 Originally there would have been some additional leaves, since the manuscript's index includes the *Proverbs of Hendyng* and the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum*, both now missing.
13 For his biography, see William Herebert: *Works*, pp. 1–6.
14 See the summary of contents in William Herebert: *Works*, pp. 8–9.

found amongst the (preponderant) Latin. Such codices challenge conventional wisdom about the status of these three languages in the British Isles in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but more particularly for present (and future) purposes, the trilingual mélange may entail codicological corollaries worthy of further research. In Add. 46919 we also see Herebert returning to his sermons and poems in order to revise them, thus giving them the air of works in progress; this ongoing editorial activity may perhaps be regarded as a local, textual analogue to the general flexibility apparent in the way mendicant preaching compilations freely combined and recombined their materials, as the multiple stages in the manufacture of Bodley 26 have already testified.

Given the centrality to the mendicant orders of their mission to preach, it is unremarkable that friars perennially had a taste for compilations in which sermons featured prominently. The small format so characteristic of their books might not always be paramount, however, for portability could also be achieved by copying sermons into slim, unbound booklets or *quaterni*. Of course, Bodley 26 enjoyed the additional advantage of having a leaf size that was itself small-scale. Thus while the leaf size of our final example is a little larger (though at 204 mm × 150 mm, still smaller than Add. 46919),[15] it is worth stressing that the manuscript first existed as individual booklets, and that their current assembly was only the afterthought, albeit an important one, on the part of their mendicant scribe and compiler. In Bodleian, ms. Lat. th. d. 1, we see another Franciscan, Nicholas Philip, copying booklets of sermons for his personal use – indeed, he also tells us when and where he preached some of them – before eventually marshalling his booklets into one codex. Between 1430 and 1436, this high-ranking Franciscan travelled the length and breadth of England, preaching at places as far apart as King's Lynn, Oxford, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Lichfield.[16] Ms. Lat. th. d. 1 exhibits none of the scribal multiplicity of the earlier codices reviewed above. All the booklets appear to be in Philip's hand, and for whatever reason, he did not incorporate work by other scribes. When, late in the fifteenth century, his booklet collection was provided with an index – and in the early years of the sixteenth, the collection continued to circulate as a resource within the Franciscan order – this late medieval change continued a codicological evolution that Philip initiated when he first drew his booklets together. His collection was steadily becoming more literary, more consultative, as time went by.

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15 This measurement is taken from f. 74, which probably gives the clearest impression of the original leaf size (in this portion of the manuscript at least); extensive modern repairs throughout have obscured original leaf sizes. I am grateful to Dr H. L. Spencer for taking measurements for me.

16 For further details see Fletcher 1998, pp. 41–57.

Preaching compilations for the regulars

Although the three mendicant preaching compilations just considered were all Franciscan, our typology risks no distortion on that account, for no material differences in book production seem to distinguish one mendicant order from the other. If only because, in the later Middle Ages, the regular clergy are thought to have been less active in preaching than the mendicants and the seculars – the case of the regular canons, to be discussed later, is something of an exception – production of sermon books by regulars might be expected to be somewhat different. And this, for the most part, is the case. It therefore seems appropriate that our first example of one of their preaching books – though it can only loosely be thus classified since the abiding impression it leaves is of an eclectic compilation – should be an exception to prove this rule. It comes, moreover, from an order virtually invisible in modern scholarship on late medieval preaching in the British Isles, the Cistercians.[17] Before the sixteenth century, when they were parted, the two manuscripts now preserved as Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 114 and BL, Cotton ms. Faustina A. V, comprised a single codex.[18] This book, of some 185 leaves (the Dublin portion measuring 240 × 166 mm and the London 240 × 172 mm), formerly belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire.[19] The compilation was written by nine principal scribes, whose work ranges widely in date between the first half of the twelfth century and the second half of the fifteenth. The twelfth-century material, executed in the scriptorium of Durham Cathedral Priory, had arrived at Fountains by c.1200. Here its quires were supplemented with newer ones until finally, on the basis of various later accretions, there emerged the codex as it stands (though now divided between two libraries).

It is difficult to know exactly when the later additions to the twelfth-century core were made. Perhaps some abbey librarian decided that, rather than keeping a number of separate unbound quires in his custody, it would be tidier to sweep them together into one compilation. Alternatively, like a growing pearl, perhaps the later layers coagulated around the twelfth-century seed in an orderly, incremental series corresponding to the chronology of the various subsequent scribal stints. If so, this growth would again seem to have occurred within the walls of the abbey. Whatever the manuscript's precise evolution, its sermon component was the work of four scribes who were all probably active in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Thus while the impressive

17 And this despite the attribution in recent times of a substantial number of Latin sermons to Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx (1109–67); see Aelred of Rievaulx: *Sermones* I–XLVI; *Sermones*, XLVII-LXXIV.
18 See further Fletcher 1998, pp. 21–40.
19 I am grateful to Dr Julia Boffey for taking measurements of BL, Cotton ms. Faustina A.V for me.

tally of scribes at work in the Fountains codex might seem to invite comparison with certain mendicant preaching compilations, especially those of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the resemblance is skin deep. And one feature of the codex that sets it apart from the general run of mendicant preaching compilations is its inclusion of material from the scriptorium of one of the more ancient, pre-mendicant orders within the Church.

However, more conspicuous in the field of late medieval preaching than the Cistercians, was another order of regulars which provided the twelfth-century seed around which Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 114 and BL, Cotton ms. Faustina A. V grew: the Benedictines. In the early years after the Conquest, the works of that giant among Anglo-Saxon preachers, Ælfric, abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Eynsham, were still commanding attention and in demand. His work was being recycled in such collections as BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian D. XIV (mid-twelfth century),[20] or Lambeth Palace Libr., ms. 487 (c.1200) (fig. 13.1),[21] both possibly the products of Benedictine scriptoria.[22] An appreciable number of late medieval sermon books whose provenance is demonstrably Benedictine has survived.[23] As with the mendicants, the Benedictines too were capable of compiling sermon codices out of smaller booklets or *quaterni*, though their booklets or *quaterni* were usually of an ampler format, both in terms of their script and leaf size. One such example is to be found in Worcester Cathedral Library, ms. F. 126, written by several scribes working between the last quarter of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. It comprises 294 leaves that measure 365 × 250 mm and is the largest of the codices reviewed in this chapter. A fifteenth-century inscription at the top of f. 66 declares the late medieval ownership of the manuscript by Worcester Cathedral Priory, and its provision with indices suggests that it may be a more carefully finished and presented specimen of the sort of sermon compilation witnessed, for example, in another compilation of Worcester origin, Worcester Cathedral Library, ms. F. 10, a manuscript with which F. 126 has some sermons in common.[24] Many of the sermons in F. 126 were evidently produced within the Benedictine order (though it includes some material from without),[25] and their particular form of presentation

20 See Ker 1990, pp. 271–7.   21 James 1932, pp. 673–6.

22 BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian D. XIV can be assigned either to Christ Church, Canterbury, or, less likely, Rochester. The possible role of this manuscript within its community is considered by Treharne 2003, pp. 477–81.

23 For an overview, see Wenzel 1993.

24 For a description of Worcester Cathedral Library, ms F. 126, see Thomson 2001a, pp. 87–91.

25 For example, the fifty-five *Collationes dominicales* of Archbishop John Pecham (identified by Wenzel 1994, p. 59) or the *Confessio* of the Franciscan friar John Tyssyngtone (*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 133–80).

suggests an existence suited rather to reading in the cloister than for use in the pulpit.[26]

Our final sermon book in this section on preaching compilations for the regulars, produced in the first third of the fifteenth century (but probably after 1409) and almost certainly under the aegis of the Augustinian canons, will make an appropriate bridge to those sermon books produced by and for the secular clergy. This is because the canons regular, frequently entrusted with the cure of souls, resembled the seculars in that respect.[27] Judging from their notable record of service to the literature of preaching, the various congregations of Augustinian canons took their pastoral responsibilities seriously; indeed, one of their number, John Mirk, prior of Lilleshall Abbey in Shropshire, compiled, probably between c.1382 and 1390, arguably the most influential sermon collection in Middle English.[28]

A handsome specimen of an Augustinian canons' preaching anthology is Hereford Cathedral Library, ms. o. iii. 5, a book of 145 leaves measuring 290 × 200 mm. This manuscript contains two main items, each by a different scribe: first, a collection of sermons, some for the Temporale, some for the Sanctorale, and some for special occasions like visitations; and second, a version of the *Gesta Romanorum*.[29] Cross references within certain sermons suggest that the collection (though not necessarily every item in it) was assembled by a single compiler. Whether this compiler was one and the same as the scribe of the first part of the manuscript, a man evidently trained to write somewhere in Norfolk, is not known.[30] In any event, the compiler was probably working not long after 1409, because one sermon appears to refer to the Oxford Constitutions promulgated in that year by Archbishop Thomas Arundel.[31] Familial references to St Augustine in some sermons suggest that the compiler was also a member of one of the congregations of canons regular.[32] The relatively careful finish of o. iii. 5 has concealed any evidence that its sermons formerly existed in booklet

26 The Benedictines of Worcester seem to have preached regularly in their cathedral in the later Middle Ages.
27 This they normally did, episcopal licence having been obtained, at churches impropriate to their priories.
28 A new edition of this sermon cycle (the *Festial*), is currently being prepared for the EETS by S. Powell. Augustinian canons feature amongst the earliest preachers on record in English in the post-Conquest period. For discussion of the possible date bands of its composition, see Fletcher 1987.
29 See Mynors and Thomson 1993, pp. 19–20.
30 An alternative, though perhaps less likely, explanation is that the scribe was not from Norfolk, but was copying literatim.
31 ms. o. iii. 5, f. 62v, col. b (the Constitutions are printed in *Concilia*, iii, 314–19, and were first presented at the Convocation of Canterbury in 1407).
32 The visitation sermon in ms. o. iii. 5, ff. 38, col. b - 40v, col. b, for example, refers to a monastery, to brothers and canons, and to the Rule of 'beatissimus pater noster Augustinus' (fol. 40, col. a).

form, save perhaps in one respect: occasional duplication of certain items suggests that o. iii. 5 is to be compared with codices like Worcester Cathedral Library, ms. f. 10, referred to briefly above and whose booklet composition is more self-evident, or indeed with the manifest booklet composition of Friar Nicholas Philip also referred to above in Bodleian, ms. Lat. th. d. 1. In both these manuscripts certain items, as in o. iii. 5, have been copied twice. It is easy to imagine this happening if the exemplar of the item duplicated existed within a small, mobile unit (most individual sermons, after all, were short enough to fit onto a single quire) which, unless the compilation was produced in stringently supervised circumstances, might find itself inadvertently recopied.

Preaching compilations for the seculars

All the compilations discussed so far, both mendicant and regular, have something of the haphazard about them, and this applies even to those finished with relative care, like Worcester f. 126 and Hereford o. iii. 5. All seem to have been unique, one-off productions. True, individual sermons in them occasionally reappear in yet other compilations,[33] but this only serves to emphasize the same basic point: the circulation of many late medieval sermon texts was piecemeal; texts often travelled either individually or in small clusters, and thus lent themselves to a potentially endless series of recombinations with other materials when anthologizers were casting about for preachable matter. Yet alongside this piecemeal transmission, whose consequences are most clearly seen in the sheer variety of content that preaching compilations tend to exhibit, there also circulated larger, frequently more stable, groups of sermons, like the 'standard' sermon cycles of the Church Fathers, or those by such newer arrivals as the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine or the Franciscan Nicholas de Aquevilla. While the sermon cycles of these authors could be, and sometimes were, broken up for circulation as smaller units, a need for sermon collections offering systematic coverage of the Church year, apart from collections of a piecemeal sort, caused the larger cycles to cohere centripetally and helped ensure their transmission en bloc. Certainly, piecemeal sermon compilations were often not so utterly eclectic that they neglected the prime preaching seasons of Advent and Lent – many such compilations compare in catering for these times – but they might not go so very much further. Some preachers, conversely, were under an obligation to preach on a more regular basis outside periods of peak demand, and they too needed to be equipped. Thus systematic

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33 For example, the Latin funeral sermon in ms. o. iii. 5, ff. 104v, col. a – 106v, col. b is known in a Middle English version in three other manuscripts (see Spencer 1993, pp. 300–2 and Fletcher 1998, pp. 126–7).

sermon cycles had a prospective market, an extreme example being the notorious *Dormi secure* collection which, by providing a year's worth of off-the-peg sermons, let preachers sleep tight knowing that they would not be embarrassed for something to say on Sunday – hence the collection's arch title.[34] The chances are, then, that when a preaching compilation is found to be thoroughly eclectic in its sermons and other contents, it will also prove to be a personal product, while the manuscript that contains the longer and systematic sermon cycle, by contrast, will prove to be institutionally sanctioned or a product of professional scribes who had a practical eye to the clerical book market. Exceptions to this rule can always be found, of course, but it is fundamentally serviceable.

Sermon books are rarely ornate and de luxe; on the contrary, they incline towards the workaday, as certain of the manuscripts considered above and others to be considered later testify. Nevertheless, some may be handsome, especially those made professionally, such as were many of the manuscripts containing the systematic sermon cycles already alluded to. One prominent and systematic late medieval cycle whose popularity doubtless owed something to its being well placed to catch the attention of an established network of professional copyists is the *Sermones dominicales* collection of the Oxford preacher, John Felton. In turning to Felton, we also arrive at the third group within the professional Church who routinely undertook preaching, the secular clergy. Felton died in Oxford as vicar of St Mary Magdalen's in 1434.[35] Not merely a preacher to his Oxford congregations in the minimum terms his office would have required, but by all reports a devotee of regular Sunday preaching, he achieved some celebrity, even a local reputation for sanctity, on account of his pulpit skills. What seems to have happened is that his *Sermones dominicales*, completed probably in 1431, were taken up and promoted by Oxford's copying houses, since of the thirty-odd manuscripts in which they are currently known to survive, in whole or in part, about half may have been Oxford products. One of this Oxford batch, Oriel College, ms. 10, stands very conspicuously at the 'handsome' end of the book production range. Written by one principal scribe in a University book hand of the mid-fifteenth century, this substantial manuscript of 446 leaves, measuring 348 mm × 228–30 mm, and which also includes two other works eminently useful to preachers (the vast *Summa predicantium* of the Dominican John Bromyard, plus the substantial *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland),[36] could not, in terms of its bulk

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34 Owst 1926, pp. 237–8.   35 Fletcher 1998, pp. 58–118.

36 The *Summa predicantium* awaits a modern edition; for the most up-to-date details concerning its author, see Binkley 1995. The *Manipulus florum*, also awaiting a modern edition, has nevertheless been extensively researched in Rouse and Rouse 1979.

and quality format, be more remote from certain other compilations for preaching that seculars are known to have used. Admittedly, not all the *Sermones dominicales* manuscripts are as handsome as Oriel College 10, but most show signs of having been manufactured with more than average care.

By contrast, at the bottom end of the market, but perhaps bringing us closer to the realities of everyday pastoral use, stand many far humbler compilations owned by seculars. Often they are of paper, or predominantly so: for example, Bodleian, Hatton ms. 96, a rag-bag of hands and quires which an intercalated paper slip containing a memorandum of some wedding banns suggests may have provided a mid-fifteenth century secular cleric, active possibly in or near Bewdley, Worcestershire, with a fund of sermons and preachable matter.[37] No doubt numerous preaching compilations of this more friable sort formerly existed that in time were simply read to bits.

Preaching compilations for the laity

But as noted earlier, once codified, sermons, especially those set down in English, became available for any potential reader, not only for professional clerics, even if the largest sermon readership throughout the Middle Ages doubtless remained clerical. The preface to the Middle English *Myrrour*, for example, a translation of a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman sermon cycle by Robert of Greatham undertaken by an anonymous translator, probably in the late fourteenth century, envisaged its use not specifically by preachers but by *readers* and *hearers*, people wont, moreover, to consume such profitless romances as *Guy of Warwick* or *Sir Tristram*. To the likes of these the *Myrrour*'s sermons were offered as a healthily pious antidote to their unregenerate taste.[38] It is to be suspected that this target readership/audience was either non-clerical or at least included non-clerical elements.[39] Also, the quality format and *mise en page* of certain *Myrrour* manuscripts – the outstanding instance being Bodleian, ms. Holkham Misc. 40 – recall those of certain books produced under Wycliffite auspices and that may have been the products of London workshops.[40] London has been suggested as a possible place of origin for copies of the English

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37 Most folios measure 200 × 138–40 mm; one cluster, however, ff. 213–17, measures 200 mm × 147–50 mm. For an analysis of this manuscript and its constituent parts, see McIntosh and Wakelin 1983.
38 Bodleian, ms. Holkham Misc. 40, f. 1.
39 ms. Holkham Misc. 40, f. 1v: 'þat han god wylle to here þys boke oþer to reden hit'; f. 3v: 'þerfore Ich haue mad þys bok þat iche man may haue delyt forto here and rede openlyche what appendeþ to God and to hym'; f. 5: 'Y beseche hem alle comynlyche þat hit reden or heren þat ȝef þer beo ony defawt in þat hii amende hit'.
40 Duncan 1983. The leaves of ms. Holkham Misc. 40 measure 285 × 190 mm. I am grateful to Dr H. L. Spencer for taking this measurement for me.

Wycliffite Bible, particularly in its Later Version.[41] Given the demonstrable scribal overlap between copyists of certain manuscripts of the English Wycliffite Sermon Cycle and the copy of the Wycliffite New Testament contained in Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 75,[42] it may be that at least some manuscripts of the English Wycliffite Sermon Cycle itself were products of London scriptoria. A systematic palæographical comparison of the scribal hands of a range of Lollard manuscripts produced c.1400 (a range which should include not only manuscripts of the English Wycliffite Sermons and the Wycliffite Bible, but also of the various other tracts and treatises associated with the sect) with the hands of known London scribes is a desideratum. Only when this comparison is done will it be possible to set our understanding of the question of provenance on a surer footing. Indeed, the translation of the *Myrrour* itself was conceivably undertaken in the context of a great vernacularizing enterprise very characteristic of late fourteenth-century England, and with which the aims of English Church radicalism at that date partly overlapped. The endeavour of the radicals to put theological matter, especially the naked text of Scripture, into lay hands was an endeavour that encouraged, as it was itself a response to, a growing lay appetite for spiritual writings in English. This radical endeavour was not exclusively Wycliffite, although no doubt its vociferous Lollard advocacy would have helped to bring it into disrepute. Another vernacular sermon collection which may be near in date to the *Myrrour*, the postils on the Sunday gospels preserved uniquely in Longleat House, ms 4, was apparently written for some eminent lay patron; its author, furthermore, was a friar, thus hardly a fellow-traveller with John Wyclif. Yet the Longleat collection implicitly shared an objective characteristically Lollard in that it too sought to make the Scriptures available in English.[43]

As time went by, there may have been some lessening of the anxieties that initially prompted Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1409 – Constitutions which prohibited all unlicensed Bible translation into English and which would thus have stalled works like the *Myrrour* or the Longleat 4 postils – for signs reappear later in the fifteenth century of some resumption of the lay attempt to appropriate clerical texts. These, however, fall outside our present scope.

Conclusion

In sum, the codicology of medieval compilations for preaching exhibits certain recurrent features. These are often explicable as reflexes of the peculiar

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41 By Doyle 1983, p. 169, and see also now Jurkowski 2005.
42 See Fletcher 1998, pp. 119–42, and Fletcher 2004, p. 93.   43 See Hudson and Spencer 1984.

circumstances of each manuscript's point of origin, whether that origin was professional and targeted at a clerical book market, or in-house, when clerics copied for private use matter which, in some cases, subsequently reverted to confrères. Yet any recurrent features notwithstanding, individual sermon codices are also always likely to contain a margin of surprise that individuality, of its nature, entails.

As might be expected, the professional products tend to be well finished. They are, however, seldom ornate: characteristically de luxe features (historiated initials, floriate borders and writing frames, polychrome decoration, and so forth), while not impossible to find, are very rare. Like the professional products, in-house products too may be handsome; they are more likely, though, to reflect the workaday pastoral circumstances for which they were devised, both in terms of a comparative eclecticism of content, and of an unadorned and pragmatic presentation. They may also contain indications that the sermons compiled in them had a prior written existence in booklet form. Some in-house products also reflect the values and ethos of the order producing them: for example, the friars preferring codices of portable format, the regulars a format for more leisurely and consultative use.

More conspicuously than in the case of many other books produced for the use of the Church, whose formats and contents were more standard, the codicology of manuscript compilations of sermons is varied and unconventional. Such books, whether for preaching or reading, afford particular insights into this fundamental aspect of the worldly mission, both local and national, of the late medieval Church.

II.   Lollard literature

Anne Hudson

Lollardy, the English heresy that took its spring from the ideas of John Wyclif (c.1330–84), was defined by its books and their contents. The first condemnation of Wyclif himself, a bull sent out in 1377 by Pope Gregory XI, cited a list of nineteen errors quoted from his *De civili dominio*; these derived from the reading by the English Benedictine, Adam Easton, of a copy of book i which he had requested should be sent to him in Avignon.[44] Already in 1382, the year in which the English ecclesiastical authorities finally censured twenty-four opinions deriving from Wyclif's works (though not naming their author), a call was issued for the confiscation of written materials, and especially of bills issued by

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44 *Concilia*, III, pp. 116–18, 123–4; cf. Harvey 1998.

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44 *Concilia*, III, pp. 116–18, 123–4; cf. Harvey 1998.

Wyclif's Oxford disciples and disseminated through London and other parts of the country.[45] From then on, and particularly after archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1407,[46] Lollards were often recognized from their books. An extreme case was that of John Claydon, a prominent London skinner, who, to judge by the long process against him, was burned at the stake in 1415 primarily because of his agreement with fourteen errors found in a copy of the *Lanterne of Liȝt* which, notwithstanding his illiteracy, he had commissioned and had had read to him frequently.[47] Claydon had been under suspicion before, but the story is illuminating: it shows not only how the authorities found written materials useful in their pursuit of heretics, but also the value set on books by the heretics themselves and one mode of their use. As late as the 1520s Sir Thomas More was still scrutinizing books to discern heresy (whether Lollard or Lutheran), and suspects were still being incriminated on the basis of their connection with written materials.[48]

Lollard texts straddle the chronological boundaries between this volume and the next. Even if an awareness of the dangerous nature of Wyclif's ideas, and of the dissemination of those ideas outside Oxford University to an audience beyond the academic world, can be discerned before Wyclif's death on 31 December 1384, the spread of written texts only got under way in the last fifteen years of the fourteenth century; their proliferation continued into the next century, and particularly in its first quarter. Dating Lollard texts and manuscripts is problematic.[49] Discussion here will concentrate on those from before c.1430, but will not normally distinguish fourteenth- from fifteenth-century examples. The best known of Lollard texts is the first translation of the whole of the Bible into English in two versions, both of which were made before 1400. Arundel's Constitutions recognized biblical translation as peculiarly dangerous, and its circulation was banned if produced in the time of Wyclif or later unless with episcopal approval of both version and owner.[50] But the survival of the Wycliffite Bible versions in more copies than any other medieval English text makes it clear that this is a special case that needs to be considered separately.

From the earliest days of the movement a number of adherents seem to have had a close link with the production and distribution of books. William Smith started his life as a religious malcontent in Leicester before he came into contact with Lollardy, but by 1382 he was associating with the Wycliffite William Swinderby; in 1389 he was accused amongst Lollard errors of having for eight

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45 *Calendar patent rolls 1381–5*, p. 153; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 313–14.
46 *Concilia*, III, pp. 314–19.   47 *Register Chichele*, IV, pp. 132–8; Hudson 1989, pp. 125–6.
48 Hudson 1988b, pp. 473–94.   49 Hudson 1988b, pp. 9–18.   50 *Concilia*, III, p. 317.

years been writing 'libros eciam solempnes quos in materna lingua de euangelio, de epistolis Pauli, et aliis epistolis et doctoribus', a description that in its specification of *in materna lingua* and its indication of subject matter would well fit such Lollard texts as the *Glossed Gospels* or possibly the vernacular sermon cycle (fig. 13.2, Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B.2.17).[51] A number of other Lollards with the surnames or professional descriptions of *parchemyner* or *skryvener* are found throughout the fifteenth century.[52] Thomas Ile from Braybrooke, a Lollard who became involved in the Oldcastle revolt, was described both as *communis factor billarum* and as *compositor ac asportator billarum*; two accomplices were Thomas Scot, a *scriveyn*, and William Mably *parchemyner*.[53] Whether Claydon's scribe, John Gryme, was also a Lollard is unclear, but his task declaredly extended to checking the accuracy of the copy he had made with the help of one of Claydon's personal servants. The value that Claydon put upon his book, a value that in material terms extended to providing it with a fine red binding, can be paralleled throughout Lollardy: as late as 1521 the Lollard suspect Alice Saunders of Amersham was said to have given sums of twelve and six pence towards the cost of two books, the second of which had cost a group five marks.[54]

Given the association of members of the book trade with the heresy, and given Lollard insistence on the need for the adherent to remain an unseparated member of the secular community, it is not surprising that Lollard books themselves are in many ways typical of contemporary book production. Contemporary edicts against Lollard written materials describe these as *libri*, *schedulae*, *rotuli*, *quaterni*, *bullae* or in English *books*, *rolls*, *quires*, *bills*;[55] these, and variants, seem to recognize the differing size and permanence of the objects, but there is no acknowledgement of their visual distinction from orthodox examples of the same type. John Aston was said to have distributed bills around London in 1382 seeking support for his unorthodox views of the eucharist; he was answered in kind by the orthodox – but, though their opinions were very different, their format was the same.[56] The transitory nature of these bills, and others like them, means that no certain example of a bill survives in its original form. Rolls and quires have likewise largely perished, though in some cases their information may survive transcribed in more permanent form. The recognition of Lollard texts must proceed from their content and not from any idiosyncracies in their physical appearance.

51 Henry Knighton: *Chronicle*, p. 534.
52 Examples in *Concilia*, III, pp. 352, 359; *Heresy trials*, pp. 59, 98–102; Lincoln register Chedworth, fol. 62.
53 TNA/PRO KB 9/204/1 mm.111, 130, 141.
54 *Register Chichele*, IV, p. 133; John Foxe: *Acts and monuments*, IV, p. 231.
55 Hudson 1988b, pp. 200–4.   56 *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 329–31.

The vast majority of surviving manuscripts containing Lollard works are professional productions. Whatever the persecution the movement suffered, it seems clear that, at least up to c.1430, resources, whether of scribes or of money, were available. Equally, the clarity of presentation, the consistency with which certain features are highlighted, and the frequency of correction, suggest that some supervision must underlie the majority of surviving examples. One professional element almost invariably lacking, at least outside a very small number of Wycliffite Bibles, is representational illumination. But rather than lack of resources, this results from Lollard ideological objection to images and their worship.[57] Flourishing on initials is normal, border decoration at the start of a work is not uncommon, the latter in its occasional sophistication indicating that access to the skills involved in illumination could have been available.

The full range of book formats found at the time can be paralleled in Lollard manuscripts. Copies of the standard sermon cycle, for example, range in size from the large display volume to the small possibly pocket book; leaves are ruled in either one, or more commonly two, columns. Traces of booklet production are to be seen in some examples, where the desire to present a liturgically comprehensible grouping within a separable group of quires is visibly traceable.[58] Equally it has been suggested that certain oddities in two Lollard anthologies reflect an exemplar of similar kind, though such format is not invariable.[59] An extreme case is that of the quire now Durham UL, Cosin ms. v.iii.6, a single quaternion containing a Lollard dialogue between a clerk and a knight: in this instance the individual text, short though it was, travelled alone.

Common to the great majority of Lollard manuscripts is a concern with clarity of presentation, though this is inevitably differently expressed according to the text in question. Manuscripts of the *Glossed Gospels*, a continuous commentary derived from the Church Fathers and based upon (though not limited to) Aquinas' *Catena aurea*, on each of the four Gospels, found (for three of the four) in two versions differing in length, regularly indicate at the head of the opening the gospel and the chapter number; changes in the latter are also shown in the side margins and with an enlarged capital. Each chapter is divided into sections and first translated (using a modified form of the earlier Wycliffite version); this material is set out in larger script using ruling of double depth.

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57 Aston 1984 and 1988, pp. 96–159; *Survey*, vi/1, pp. 43–6.
58 *English Wycliffite Sermons*, i, pp. 51–97; for possible traces of booklet production see especially pp. 79–80.
59 Hanna 1990; but compare BL, Add. ms. 24202, Bodleian, ms. Eng. th. f. 39, Douce mss. 273–4, York, Dean and Chapter Library, ms. xvi.l.12.

Commentary material is introduced by key words that are either rubricated or underlined and preceded by a paraph mark; at the end of each comment the source is stated in detail and highlighted.[60] Copies of the Wycliffite revision of Rolle's Psalter commentary follow a similar format: each psalm is likewise divided into sections, and for each section there is a threefold visual distinction between Latin Psalm text, its English translation and the commentary (see Frontispiece). Individual manuscripts retain the threefold differentiation, even though varying means are used to effect it.[61] The layout of the standard English sermon cycle follows an equally complex plan, though one that is necessarily different because of the different nature of the material. Each of the 294 sermons is based on the gospel or epistle prescribed in the Sarum rite.[62] In most manuscripts ample indication is given in headings to facilitate the finding of the sermon suitable for any occasion: this consists of the occasion, opening words of the biblical text in Latin together with the book and chapter reference, and in many cases a sermon number. Different copies use varying means – variation of script, rubrication, underlining – to differentiate these types of information, but each follows its own pattern throughout. Frequently the translation of the biblical lection is interspersed with words of commentary, often breaking the text into small fragments; the biblical words are highlighted by using some distinctive scribal device – but *only* at their first appearance, not if the words are repeated. The scribal device is usually underlining, sometimes in red following guidelines left in the original writing, sometimes emphasized by a distinctive squiggle set before and after the words in question. The systematic exclusion from such highlighting of even single insignificant elements, such as a repeated pronoun or a supplied propword, must have imposed considerable burdens of concentration on the scribes; but not only is the method carried through with remarkable accuracy in all copies, but traces of subsequent correction of rare slips remain in several.[63]

All of the texts discussed in the last paragraph were substantial works, found in several copies and arguably part of a centrally organized provision of written materials, materials whose origins may lie in collaboration. But comparable realization of the importance of presentation can be seen in copies of many, apparently less 'official' works. Two manuscripts survive of the text which

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60 Hudson 1988b, pp. 249–59; see especially BL, Add. ms. 41175 (plate Hudson 1989, p. 133), Bodleian, mss. Bodley 143, 243, CUL, ms. Kk. 2. 9, York, Dean and Chapter Library, ms. XVI. D. 2.

61 Hudson 1988b, pp. 259–64; see especially BL, Royal ms. 18 C. XXVI (frontispiece) and its continuation Lambeth, ms. 34, also Bodleian, ms. Bodley 288, Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. B. 5. 25.

62 *English Wycliffite sermons*, I, pp. 8–50.   63 *English Wycliffite sermons*, I, pp. 124–51 and plates.

John Claydon commissioned, *Lanterne of Liʒt*, though neither of them is his since that was burned with its owner. Both are fairly small volumes, clearly though not splendidly written in long lines; in both the chapter headings are written in red and in one running titles appear including the chapter number. The text contains many long quotations from the Bible, the Fathers and from medieval writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux; these are given in full in Latin before being translated, and the Latin is underlined or written in red.[64] The medieval copies of the *Thirty-seven conclusions of the Lollards* follow a similar pattern.[65] Here each main conclusion is followed by a series of corollaries, each supported by quotation from or reference to the Bible, canon law and the Fathers: again sections are visually separated, and the authority is highlighted by underlining.

The manuscripts of a long anonymous sermon written before 1413 are particularly striking. Within the sermon the preacher reveals himself as peripatetic, and announces that he will leave a copy of the sermon behind for his congregation's scrutiny and that he will answer questions and objections that may have been raised by his enemies on his next return. Two of the three early fifteenth-century copies are in the same hand; all three are pocket-sized.[66] Yet if, as these facts might suggest, these are the actual copies which the preacher intended to be left for the congregation, their quality is remarkable. All are the work of professionals, with consistent highlighting of Latin references and sources and frequent marginal reinforcement of this information; in one of the two copies by the same hand confirmation of correction is provided at the end of one quire, and, since there is careful correction throughout, it is likely that elsewhere in this copy and in the other only later cropping has removed further signs.

Yet, despite the similar care with which the majority of Lollard manuscripts were made, uniformity from one manuscript to another was apparently not an aim. In copies of the long sermon cycle the choice of one column or two is not entirely related to the overall size of the leaf.[67] Although certain elements of texts, such as biblical citation or the source of a quotation, recurrently attract differentiation, the means used to make those differences vary from one scribe to another. Most strikingly, there is not a distinctive 'Lollard script'. Forms of fere-Textura or Anglicana are the most common, but elements of Secretary hand

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64 BL, mss. Harley 2324 and 6613, the second not known to the editor of *Lanterne of Liʒt*.
65 BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. I, Norwich Castle Museum, ms. 158. 926/4g. 3, the second not known to the editor, Forshall 1851.
66 Hudson 1989, pp. 126–7 and plate.
67 *English Wycliffite sermons*, I; compare Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. B. 4. 20 with Bodleian, ms. Additional A.105.

are found in some. The only safe generalization seems to be that the desire for clarity favoured scripts that, compared with those seen in contemporary orthodox English manuscripts, look slightly old fashioned.

Discussion so far has related to manuscripts in English. These, because of the Lollard conviction that the most important task was the education of ordinary lay people, are in the majority. But, in addition to Wyclif's own Latin writings, there are Latin Lollard texts. The bonfire of Wyclif's works at Carfax in Oxford in 1410 was only the most dramatic attempt to destroy the source of contamination, an attempt that continued throughout the following century; but, judging by references in fifteenth-century library lists and in sixteenth-century or later bibliographers, many more disappeared through less organized assault.[68] The few Wyclif manuscripts that survive in England (copies made in Bohemia by the Hussites have survived better) show a typical range of academic format, from an informal, probably a scholar's own copy in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 337/565, through books of a normal professional standard (such as Lincoln Cathedral Lib., ms. 159), to the enormous and slightly pretentious, though textually poor, assemblage of Cambridge, Trinity College ms. B. 16. 2.[69] Two Latin Lollard texts survive in several copies. The first, known in its longer form as the *Floretum*, in its shorter as *Rosarium theologie*, is a long set of alphabetical distinctions; copies of both are for the most part professional productions, again with clear headings, some non-figural ornamentation, and the highlighting of authorities cited; a few copies of the short version are pocket-sized and less well produced (fig. 13.3, Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. B.14.50).[70] The second text is a set of sermons; of this the copies are less uniform, less professional in their hand or layout.[71]

Obvious questions arise from all this detail. Where were the professionals based? Who financed them? Who were the recipients, or the audience, of these written materials? Oxford, the academic home of Wyclif, seems certainly to have been the place where much of the compilation work for projects such as the Latin *Floretum* or the English *Glossed Gospels* was done, and where the scrutiny of Vulgates and commentaries that underlay the biblical translation must have been undertaken – only there, given the hostility of the religious orders to Wyclif and his followers, could the resources of books and scholars have been found.[72] Whether scribal copying was initiated there is less certain; if it was, then it seems likely that the process of dissemination was fairly early

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68 Thomas Gascoigne: *Loci*, p. 116; only three of the eighty-nine chapters of Wyclif's *De civili dominio* now survive in England, but the whereabouts of three further copies in the fifteenth century are known.

69 W. R. Thomson 1983; Hudson 1995; Catto 1987. 70 Hudson 1985a, pp. 13–34 and plates 3–4.

71 Von Nolcken 1986. 72 Hudson 1988b, pp. 103–10; Jurkowski 1997.

removed to places less subject to hostile scrutiny. London, with its wealth of resources, is more likely to have been a significant place of production: Aston could find there in 1382 the producers of multiple copies of his bills; Sir John Oldcastle (to take a later instance) in 1413 lent unbound sheets of heretical material to a book-illuminator of Paternoster Row, presumably for him to decorate;[73] the East Anglian group investigated by Bishop Wakeryng of Norwich (1416–25) included one who in 1424 had kept schools of Lollardy in Ditchingham (Norfolk) 'and a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London'.[74] But it may be that much more improbable and remote places harboured copyists: the two Bohemians who sought out Wyclif's own writings in England in 1406–7 checked their copy of one work in Oxford, but obtained the exemplars for the other two at Kemerton (Glos) and Braybrooke (Northants) – these places had respectively a Lollard parson and a lady of the manor favourable to Lollardy, both owners rather than producers of books; but at the second place connections with the movement continued from the 1380s into the late 1420s, and more active fostering of books would be comprehensible.[75] Oldcastle and the Latimer family could certainly have been involved in the financing of book production; it is to men and women of the minor gentry, as well as to prosperous businessmen such as John Claydon, that we should look to explain the ability of a heretical movement to put out such well written and carefully presented books.

The difficulty in identifying individuals within the book trade, or their financiers, results from the active persecution to which Lollardy was subjected from 1382 onwards, and which intensified under the pressure of Archbishop Arundel in the reign of Henry IV and of Archbishop Chichele in those of his son and grandson.[76] Books, in addition to being vital for the spread of their beliefs, were a major liability for Lollards; hiding them, and their makers, could be crucial to survival – as one late suspect graphically put it 'he had rather burn his books than that his books should burn him'.[77] Consequently it is hardly surprising that recipients of Lollard books rarely identify themselves, either by inscribing their names in surviving examples, or by specifying titles or subject matter in wills or inventories. The fullest evidence for ownership and use of books derives from the hostile witness of trial records. From these it is clear that

73 *Concilia*, III, pp. 352–3.
74 John Foxe: *Acts and monuments*, III, p. 585; the parchment-maker was almost certainly John Godesell: *Heresy trials*, p. 59; *Register Chichele*, III, pp. 198–9.
75 Hudson 1997, pp. 642–4; the manuscript written by these two, in which copying information is recorded, is now Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1294.
76 Richardson 1936; *Register Henry Chichele*, I, pp. cxxix–cxliv.
77 John Foxe: *Acts and monuments*, IV, p. 237.

books were available to a wide range of followers, urban and rural, educated and illiterate, wealthy and impoverished. Books passed from hand to hand, and might be purchased collaboratively or loaned temporarily. Reading might be a private activity, but evidence for this is naturally rare; group reading is better attested, since this could be observed by the wavering or the hostile from whose testimony our record comes. Group reading often involved a single literate person, male or often female, sometimes a child of the family, sometimes a servant, reading to others. From repeated readings some Lollards gained the ability to recite extensive passages, in some cases the whole of a biblical book, from memory; such ability was prized, and children are recorded as having been sent to learn by rote the same material. The schools which, it now seems clear, Lollard communities fostered were evidently based, either immediately or at the remove of memorization, on the provision of books.[78]

It remains to look at the case of the Wyclif Bible. Within Arundel's *Constitutions* this is seen as a defining element in the legacy of Wyclif, and in this the archbishop continued the hostility of earlier chroniclers such as Henry Knighton.[79] But, despite the *Constitutions*' crippling restrictions on ownership, it is clear that copies might be found in unambiguously orthodox hands: four kings, Henry IV, Henry VI, Henry VII and probably Richard III, are known to have owned copies; that belonging to the second was given to the London Carthusian house, where the marginal annotation indicating the biblical passages used within the Carthusian rite suggests that some liturgical value was found in it.[80] The reason for the wide circulation that the translation enjoyed, particularly in its more idiomatic revision, lies in the desire evidently felt by a widening literate laity for scripture in the vernacular. That this translation could satisfy that desire not only amongst heretical groups is the result of its untendentious nature: apart from the small handful of copies to which the General Prologue was attached, and the even smaller number which contained a few marginal glosses of questionable kind, nothing in the actual rendering of the Latin would associate these books with Lollardy.[81]

As books the copies of the Wycliffite Bible share all the characteristics outlined above for more incriminating material: most are professionally produced, along standard patterns of layout; very few have figural decoration,[82] though many have ornamented initials and borders at the openings of the volume or

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78 Hudson 1988b, pp. 174–217, 471–2.
79 *Concilia*, III, p. 317; Henry Knighton: *Chronicle*, pp. 242–4.
80 Summerson 1997; Bodleian, ms. Bodley 277; BL, Royal ms. 1 C. VIII; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs 1997, pp. 281–2.
81 Doyle 1983, pp. 168–9; Hudson 1988b, pp. 237–8.
82 An exception is Bodleian, ms. Bodley 277, fols. 167, 195v, 302.

individual books, most have pen flourishing on the capitals to each chapter. Devices to facilitate location are common, particularly running headings of books and clear separation and numbering of chapters. Perhaps the most remarkable feature, and one that is standard in most copies of the whole of the New Testament (fig. 6.10) or of the Gospels, is the provision of a Calendar and a Lectionary: the Lectionary, covering always the Sunday Sarum use provision but often also that for weekdays and saints' days, gives book, chapter and subdividing letter (according to the practice established by the Dominicans in thirteenth-century Paris) for each lection, followed by the first words and the last. The information is often also transferred to marginal indications both incipit and explicit within the ensuing texts.[83]

Such a Calendar and Lectionary highlight the issue of the use of these Bibles, since they seem to suggest association with public worship. Certainly copies of the entire Bible, like several of those which may be parts of an original whole (perhaps in three volumes), in their physical size and presentation could well be lectern books.[84] Equally many copies, particularly of the New Testament or of the Gospels alone, are well suited to individual use, either in private devotion or to supplement in church the priest's reading of Gospel or Epistle in Latin.[85] A few, particularly copies of a single book, are true pocket-book size; rather fewer could be amateur productions.[86] But present-day survival probably distorts original production: well-produced copies had a better chance of being valued by the families that owned them, especially if those families were in a position where episcopal suspicion was unlikely to be aroused or could be outwitted; the communal copies of which the heresy records bear witness were often destroyed by the investigating authorities, superseded by later translations and abandoned, or simply used to dust.

Despite the need to consider the Wycliffite Bible as a special case, it remains true that many of the problems in considering this book's physical characteristics, its circulation and audience, are not dissimilar from those encountered in more stridently partisan manuscripts.[87] More research may answer

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83 Hudson 1989, p. 131 and plate.
84 Such as BL, Egerton mss. 617/618, Harley ms. 5017; CUL mss. Dd. 1. 27, mm. 2. 15, Additional 6680, 6681; Hereford Cathedral, ms. o. vii. 1, Manchester, John Rylands UL, ms. Eng. 91.
85 Such as CUL, mss. Additional 6682, 6683, 6684; Manchester, John Rylands UL mss. Eng. 3, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.
86 Pocket-sized instances are Manchester, John Rylands UL, ms. Eng. 83, Cambridge, Emmanuel College, ms. i. 4. 33, Cambridge, St John's College, ms. e. 14, Edinburgh, NLS, ms. 6127; possibly amateur are Cambridge, St John's College, ms. e. 18, and Oxford, Queen's College, ms. 369.
87 Since the first version of this chapter was written a new codicological discussion of some Wycliffite Bible manuscripts by De Hamel 2001a, pp. 166–89, has appeared, together with a valuable selection of plates; some of the claims presented there require closer examination than is possible here.

the questions outlined here, and may help to identify further characteristics of heretical production and differentiate this from copies of more heterogeneous nature (where overtly Lollard texts exist side by side with others of orthodox background, or of undeclared loyalties). At present many questions about these enigmatic volumes remain: of the value Lollards set on books there can be no doubt, but to go beyond that statement is to enter the realm of hypothesis and disagreement.

Spiritual writings and religious instruction

ALEXANDRA BARRATT

As soon as a would-be writer picked up the pen in this period, he (or just occasionally she) had to make a far-reaching decision: whether to write in English, Anglo-Norman or Latin. The answer would emerge from the intersection of the text's genre and of the gender, social and religious status of both the writer and the planned audience. Until around 1300, Latin texts would be read almost exclusively by male clerics and vernacular texts by the laity of both sexes and by women religious,[1] though Anglo-Norman texts might be aimed at a slightly higher social class than those in Middle English. But Latin texts might also function as scripts for oral transmission by priests to their parishioners in English, while male clerics did read, and own, texts in French and English as well as Latin. In the fourteenth century, however, 'a new, more pragmatic view of the appropriate language' developed.[2] The choice of French or English became 'fundamentally a political decision – whether to address the rulers or the ruled. The writers themselves, nearly always clerics, are those with education who are for that reason part of the establishment of power. In composing in English they are addressing the unlearned, sometimes to edify, sometimes to entertain, always to instruct.'[3] Texts presuppose competent readers, so we must also consider the ability to read, especially among the laity:

> The turning-point in the history of lay literacy came in the twelfth century. It is among the Anglo-Norman nobility that we find the first indications of a more extensive cultivated literacy . . . Prior to 1300 the language of the literate laity was French, but during the course of the fourteenth century French ceased to be the principal vernacular in England and became a more educated accomplishment.[4]

But at the beginning of this period Latin was the dominant language of learned and literate religious discourse. Historians of the book quickly find

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1 It should however be noted that manuscripts 'belonging to individual women and to female communities in Anglo-Norman England include all the possible variations among the main languages . . . : all in French, all in Latin, all in English, bilingual and trilingual': Wogan-Browne 2001, p. 15.
2 Gillespie 1989, p. 318. 3 Turville-Petre 1988, p. 1. 4 Parkes 1973, pp. 556, 564–5.

themselves adrift in a vast sea of Latin manuscripts, of works of religious instruction, devotion and contemplation, ranging from the elementary and catechetical, to the sublime and contemplative. We can but cast our net, in hope and faith, into the teeming waters and, commenting selectively on the catch, throw much of it back.

The relationship between the intended audience and the demonstrable readership and/or ownership of texts is not always predictable, as one 'mystical' text, containing ascetic teaching and affective meditation, demonstrates. Aelred's brief letter to his recluse sister, *De institutis inclusarum* (c.1160), is found with other didactic and mystical texts: for instance, Bodleian, ms. Bodley 36, contains Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* and Raymond of Peñafort as well as mystical texts by the Victorines, Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux. In the fifteenth century it belonged to the Carmarthen Franciscans. Of other extant manuscripts, part of BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. III (13th c.) belonged to Witham Charterhouse; Bodleian, ms. Digby 218 (13th/14th c.) to Merton College; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université, ms. 790 (dated 1373) to the Cistercian abbey at Whalley; Hereford, Cathedral Library, ms. P. I. 17 (12th/13th c.) to the Augustinian canons at Cirencester; Bodleian, ms. Hatton 101 (13th c.) to the Cistercians at Holme Cultram; BL, Royal ms. 8 D. III to the Benedictine house at Ramsey, Hunts.[5] The text also appears in medieval catalogues and inventories: the Cistercian houses at Meaux (1396 inventory) and Rievaulx (1st catalogue of c.1190–1200) held copies,[6] as did the Benedictines of Ramsey and Winchcombe (extracts),[7] and the York Augustinian Friars (extracts).[8] But not one belonged to a woman or a women's religious house, even though the text is very obviously addressed to a woman.[9] To reach the equivalent of its original audience in the later Middle Ages, the text had to be translated into the vernacular: one of the two Middle English versions is found in the Vernon manuscript (Bodleian, ms. Eng. poet. a. 1: see further below), which may have been compiled for a group of women.[10]

Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum ecclesie* (early 13th c.), 'indisputably a seminal text in the development of mediaeval English mysticism',[11] combines teaching on contemplative prayer with religious instruction even more basic than Aelred's. The original Latin version, written for a single male religious, possibly a Cistercian, survives in Bodleian, ms. Hatton 26 (see further

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5 Barratt 1978, pp. 195–6.   6 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 65, 96–7 for z14.236e and z19.40b.
7 *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 340, 648 for B67.72 and B112.4.   8 *CBMLC*, I, p. 26 for A8.82b.
9 Wogan-Browne 2001, p. 11, makes the same point in the context of Anglo-Norman texts: 'manuscripts and texts made for women were read by men'.
10 Aelred of Rievaulx: *De institutione inclusarum*, especially pp. xiii–xviii.
11 Edmund of Abingdon: *Mirour seinte eglyse*, p. iii.

below). On three separate occasions it was translated back into Latin from the Anglo-Norman versions (one probably made for women religious, one for lay people): altogether thirty-six manuscripts of the various Latin versions survive.[12] The Dover Benedictines owned two copies, while a thirteenth-century book-list from Gloucester Abbey lists a *Speculum ecclesie*, probably Edmund's and probably in Latin.[13] Moreover, St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, was given a volume including 'speculum Edmundi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis' by Michael de Northgate (*fl.* 1340, author of the *Ayenbite of inwyt*), while in 1394 John Hopton, chantry chaplain, bequeathed 'a book called *Speculum ecclesiae*' to the chantry of St Nicholas, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.[14]

Edmund's *Speculum* probably predates 1215, but Latin works of religious instruction in this period cannot be discussed without reference to the seismic impact of the Fourth Lateran Council, held in that year. Its decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* heralded a new emphasis on the sacrament of penance and consequently on clerical and lay religious education,[15] and threw up a vast new genre, pastoralia, a term which 'embraces any and every literary aid or manual which may be of help to a priest in his *cura animarum*, whether with respect to his own education or that of the people in his charge'.[16] These texts are of cardinal importance, and not least from the perspective of the history of the book. Their wide ownership is well documented, while they used 'new techniques for presenting information', such as alphabetical organization, the *distinctio* (sometimes set out schematically) and didactic verses, to convey information concisely and memorably.[17] Although the most popular and influential were the *summae* of the Spaniard Raymond of Peñafort and the Frenchman Gullielmus Peraldus, Britain produced its own variants and it is on these that we shall concentrate.

One of the earliest (c.1215–20) was the *Qui bene presunt* of Richard of Wetheringsett.[18] Copies (often more than one) were widely owned by various religious houses: the Premonstratensians of Bradsole and the Cistercians of Meaux (two copies);[19] the Benedictines of Gloucester (thirteenth-century

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12 Edmund of Abingdon: *Speculum religiosorum*; Forshaw 1971, 1972.
13 *CBMLC*, IV, p. 250 for B47.19a; *CBMLC*, V, pp. 66, 150 for BM1.88a, BM1.376.
14 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 440, 623.
15 As Felicity Riddy has acutely observed, however, post-Lateran pastoral activity 'could hardly have taken place if the laity had not been avid to learn. In the relation between the male clerks and their women readers it must often have been difficult to tell who followed and who led': Riddy 1996, p. 107.
16 Boyle 1985, p. 31. Goering 1996 provides a succinct introduction to the genre.
17 Goering 1996, p. 671. Further on the physical features of these texts, see (especially on Grosseteste's indexing system) Parkes 1980, pp. 57–9, and D'Avray 1980, pp. 60–4.
18 See Goering 1995.   19 *CBMLC*, III, p. 163 for P2.27b; pp. 44, 45 for Z14.79c and Z14.80a.

list), of St Benets Holme (Leland's list), of Ramsey (two copies, mid-fourteenth-century lists), of Rochester Cathedral Priory (1346 gift by Bishop Hamo); of St Albans Abbey (early fifteenth-century list) and of Dover Priory (six copies).[20] The Augustinian canons of Lanthony (Gloucester) owned Lambeth, mss. 392 pt. 2 and 398 pt. 2.[21] Thomas of Cirencester, monk of St Augustine's, Canterbury (*fl.* 1287), gave his abbey a copy.[22] It is interesting that no friars' library is recorded as holding this text, but their book-holdings are generally less well documented than are those of other possessors.

Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum*,[23] 'one of the fullest and most interesting pastoral *summae*',[24] was also early, completed by c.1216. The Premonstratensians of Bradsole (in the late thirteenth century) and of Titchfield owned copies,[25] as did the Benedictines of Evesham, Norwich (Yarmouth), St Mary's, York (no fewer than thirteen copies), and Dover (two copies).[26] From the mid-fourteenth century we have information about copies in private clerical ownership. In an inventory of books sold to pay his debt to Queen Isabella, the royal civil servant William de Walcote (*fl.* 1349) lists 'j. livre de Chabham' twice, while in 1413 William Cave, rector of Woodchurch, Kent, bequeathed a copy.[27]

Pastoralia came, literally, in all shapes and sizes. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (c.1170–1253), composed his *Templum Dei*,[28] 'a popular confessional manual . . . which survives in over 90 Latin MSS', between 1220 and 1230.[29] Leonard Boyle ascribed its popularity to its mnemonic quality;[30] it is extremely brief and usually comes complete with ingenious diagrams that visually summarize its basic catechetical teaching. Copies were owned by the Cistercians of Fountains (Leland's list) and of Meaux (two copies);[31] by the Benedictines of Gloucester (thirteenth-century list), of Ramsey (three copies in the mid-fourteenth-century catalogue) and of Reading (1253 account of a stolen book, possibly now Bodleian, ms. Auct. D. 4. 10).[32] The Augustinian friars of York and the Carmelites of Hulne owned copies[33] and the Lanthony Augustinian

20 *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 249, 256, 340, 398, 534, 556–7 for B47.11a, B50.3, B67.77, B68.443, B82.10, B87.9d; *CBMLC*, V, pp. 53, 66, 84, 95, 96, 112 for BM1.30e, BM1.91b, BM1.126c, BM1.149, BM1.152a, BM1.220b.
21 *CBMLC*, VI, p. 75 for A16.317.   22 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 190.
23 Thomas de Chobham: *Summa confessorum*.   24 Goering 1996, p. 675.
25 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 166, 205 for P2.53, P6.91.
26 *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 149, 323, 742 for B30.99, B64.5, B120.582; *CBMLC*, V, p. 112 for BM1.218a, BM1.220g.
27 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 173.   28 Robert Grosseteste: *Templum Dei*.
29 Hartung 1986, p. 2339.   30 Boyle 1979, p. 11.
31 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 29, 44–5, 59 for Z9.3, Z14.79e, Z14.179e.
32 *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 248–9, 362, 399, 400, 450 for B47.7c, B68.102, B68.448, B68.464, B1.73.a.
33 *CBMLC*, I, pp. 116, 172 for A8.470f, C3.31.

canons (regular clergy with a pastoral vocation) owned four.[34] It was clearly the kind of text that religious houses held in multiple copies – 'class sets', as it were. Secular priests, too, would find it useful: in 1439 William Pyers, rector of Sandhurst, Kent, and dean of the collegiate church of South Malling, Sussex, bequeathed his church a copy.[35]

One of the most widely owned, and best documented, Latin works of religious instruction was William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (consisting of the *Pars oculi*, the *Dextera pars* and the *Sinistra pars*),[36] which 'approach[es] pastoral care from the three angles of confessional practice, sacramental theology and preaching matter'.[37] William also wrote the *Summa summarum*, a compilation of canon law and theology (written 'ad profectum et utilitatem prelatorum religiosorum et omnium clericorum' for 'quilibet litteratus') and the *Speculum prelatorum* (incorporating James of Milan's *Stimulus amoris*). The *Oculus* was written between 1320 and 1326, for 'ill-educated parish priests';[38] but copies were owned by clerics of all conditions – cathedral clergy, parish priests, religious and secular. Of surviving copies, Norwich Cathedral Priory owned CUL, ms. Ii. 2. 7 (fourteenth-century), Canterbury Cathedral Priory owned Canterbury Cathedral Library ms. D. 8 (fourteenth-century), the parish church at Halsall (Lancs) owned Manchester John Rylands Library, ms. lat. 339 (late fourteenth-century), Worcester Cathedral Priory owned Bodleian, mss Bodley 828 (late fourteenth to fifteenth-century) and Hatton 11 (1404?).[39] The house of Bonshommes at Ashridge, Buckinghamshire (who followed the Augustinian Rule and were presumably involved in pastoral work), owned both Oxford, Trinity College, ms. 18 (thirteenth and fourteenth-century), heavily annotated and corrected, and San Marino CA, Huntington Library, ms. EL 9 H.3 (late fourteenth-century).[40] Exeter Cathedral owned Bodleian, ms. Bodley 293 (fourteenth-century) and Reading Abbey the very large (445 × 300 mm) BL, Royal ms. 10 D. X (late fourteenth-century), designed as a reference book or for public reading.[41]

The Titchfield Premonstratensians owned a copy of the *Pars oculi*; c.1400 the vicar of Swine donated a copy to the local Cistercian nuns; the London Cistercians owned a *Speculum religiosorum* (part of the *Speculum prelatorum*).[42] The Eynsham Benedictines owned a *Summa summarum* (catalogue of 1363 × 1366), as did their brothers of Glastonbury (catalogue of 1247/48), Norwich

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34 *CBMLC*, VI, pp. 40, 46, 56, 71 for A16.27b, A16.85a, A16.168a-b, A16.292b.
35 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 653.   36 See the pioneering, and still unsuperseded, study, Boyle 1955.
37 Boyle 1955, p. 84.   38 Boyle 1955, p. 92.   39 *MLGB*, pp. 34, 136, 220, 208, 209.
40 *MLGB*, pp. 4, 5.   41 *MLGB*, pp. 84, 156.
42 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 33, 145, 205 for P6.92, Z25.6, Z12.5.

(Yarmouth cell), and St Albans (early fifteenth-century catalogue, copy given by Thomas Rysborowhe, prior c.1349) (they also owned an *Oculus*), while St Mary's, York, had five copies of the *Oculus* and two of the *Summa summarum*.[43] The York Augustinian friars had a copy of each.[44] The Augustinian canons of Lanthony had one,[45] while the Dover Benedictines owned two copies of the *Pars oculi* and two of the *Summa summarum*.[46]

We have also extensive evidence of ownership from medieval wills and inventories. Cavanaugh lists sixteen gifts or bequests of the *Oculus* between 1330 and 1400, often to parish churches. For instance, in 1382, Thomas de Lexham, canon of Hereford, bequeathed a copy to the church of Feltwell St Mary, Norfolk, 'to be chained to the desk on the right hand side of the choir where the rector sits'.[47] Copies also appear in inventories of c.1349 and 1369, while the 1368 registry of church goods of the Norwich archdeaconry details no fewer than eleven.[48] There were also bequests of the rarer and more specialized *Summa summarum* in 1369, 1393 and 1395 (appropriately to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York),[49] and copies appear in inventories of 1369 and 1386.[50] If our investigations are extended into the first decades of the fifteenth century, we find a copy of the *Pars oculi* bequeathed by a draper.[51]

Vernacular texts, although less common than Latin, have attracted far more attention. *Ancrene wisse*,[52] the early thirteenth-century Middle English guide for anchoresses, is 'essentially a work of practical religious instruction',[53] and should be seen in the same intellectual context as the Latin works.[54] But it was a markedly more mobile text, not only in terms of language. A distinction must be made between its original and subsequent audiences: although it was initially composed for three female recluses, Watson suggests that even then it had 'two subsidiary audiences (the author's learned colleagues and the anchoresses' perhaps illiterate servants)'.[55] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries such anchoresses, technically lay women, 'seem to have been significant for the development of vernacular literature mainly because of their intermediate position between *laici* and *clerici*, illiterates and *literati*'.[56] Watson similarly sees this original audience as drawn from a 'new cadre of "semi-educated"

43 *CBMLC*, IV, pp. 154, 226, 324, 557, 563, 742, 743 for B33.9, B43.42, B64.15, B87.13, B87.61, B120.583, B120.591.
44 *CBMLC*, I, pp. 107, 108 for A8.440, A8.444.
45 *CBMLC*, VI, p. 53 for A16.144 (?=Lambeth Palace Library ms. 216).
46 *CBMLC*, V, pp. 68, 92, 129 for BM1.95a-c, BM1.96a-c; BM1.143b; BM1.294a.
47 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 513.   48 Boyle 1955, p. 94.   49 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 178, 766, 586–7.
50 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 617, 682.   51 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 903.
52 For a useful handlist of all the manuscripts, see Millett 1996a, pp. 49–59.
53 Millett 1994, p. 13.   54 See Barratt 1987, p. 15.
55 Watson, N. 2003, p. 198.   56 Millett 1996b, p. 99.

contemplatives . . . defined less by lack of Latinity than by lack of a *guarantee* of Latinity'.[57] But the text was early adapted for a larger group of women and 'later reworked for nuns, for male religious, for a mixed general audience including both religious and laity, and for a lay audience'.[58] This is reflected in what little we know of the ownership of the various copies, and what we can deduce from their physical appearance.

BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. XIV (c.1225–50), contains a copy of the Middle English version of *Ancrene wisse* addressed to the original three sisters, together with other texts such as the Marian prayer, *On lovsong of ure lefdi* (fig. 14.1). The smallest of all the English and French manuscripts (144 × 107 mm), it was probably designed for individual reading and study. The ornamentation is simple and its editor comments on its general economy.[59] Its near contemporary, BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. XVIII, is very little larger (157 × 120 mm). This version betrays 'relatively superficial if unsystematic revisions for a male audience'.[60] But the manuscript's other texts (*Sawles ward*, *Hali meiðhad*, *Wohunge of ure Lauerd* and *Seint Katerine*) suggest a specifically female audience and together constitute a 'one-volume library' of the *Ancrene wisse* group, a 'highly intelligent selection and ordering of the principal anchoritic works'.[61]

BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra C. VI (dated by its editor c.1227–8), contains a transitional version of *Ancrene wisse*. E. J. Dobson originally suggested that the principal scribe was herself an anchoress, 'industrious and devoted, but neither well trained nor very quick of understanding'.[62] He later abandoned this theory,[63] and the scribe acquired a 'clear, firm, and bold hand.'[64] Scribe B, the corrector and reviser, Dobson argued, was the author of *Ancrene wisse* himself. The manuscript, though plain, seems not to have been designed with economy in mind: it has spacious margins, either for aesthetic reasons or for annotation and revision. Matilda de Clare, Countess of Gloucester (d. 1289), gave it to the Augustinian canonesses of Canonsleigh Abbey, which she had founded. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 402 (c.1225–50), contains a revision by the original author for an expanding community. Larger than the other early manuscripts (215 × 148 mm), with its dark, clear black ink, it would be a good size for communal reading.[65] Around 1300 John Purcel gave it

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57 Watson, N. 2003, p. 200.   58 Millet 1994, p. 14.   59 *English Ancrene riwle* 1952, p. xvi.
60 Dahood 1997, p. 9.   61 *Anchoritic spirituality*, p. 29.   62 Dobson 1962, p. 163.
63 *English Ancrene riwle* 1972, p. lvi, fn. 2.   64 *English Ancrene riwle* 1972, p. xlvi.
65 *English Ancrene riwle* 1962. On the physical appearance of the Corpus manuscript see Dahood 1988. He concludes that 'in the earliest extant manuscripts . . . *Ancrene Riwle* was in some measure set out as a study text. Whoever first imposed the system of graduated initials was concerned that readers grasp the relationships between divisions and not just focus on discrete passages. This concern is compatible with the author's express concern, evident from the lexical cues in the text, to make the structure clear' (p. 97). See Parkes, chap. 6, p. 128 n. 102 for a s. xiii 4/4 dating.

to the Augustinian canons at Wigmore,[66] possibly because its author had been a member of that community.

On the much reworked French version in Trinity College, Cambridge, ms. R.14.7 (late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century), see further below. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 234/120 (mid or late thirteenth-century), is small (135 × 95 mm), modest and not obviously user-friendly. It contains an English version of *Ancrene wisse* as well as extracts from the *Vitas patrum* in Latin, which suggests that the compiler, or the owner, had eremitic interests and was probably male. BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius F. VII (early fourteenth-century), contains a late copy of an earlier Anglo-Norman version,[67] which was a close translation of *Ancrene wisse*.[68] Badly damaged in the Cotton fire, the manuscript was obviously once a handsome volume, more so than 'first generation' copies of the English text, which perhaps reflects the higher social status of Anglo-Norman. A compilation of ascetic and pastoral as well as contemplative and anchoretic material, it also contains a treatise on the pains of purgatory and hell and the joys of heaven, the *Livre de tribulacion*,[69] and 'diuerses oreisouns et meditaciouns'.[70] Some time between 1433 and 1441 Joan, Countess of Kent, gave the volume to Eleanor Cobham, wife of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester:[71] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne has rightly stressed that *Ancrene wisse* is 'a text with a significant Anglo-Norman career, and a text that was still being exchanged in French by women in fifteenth-century England'.[72]

The fourteenth century saw further changes in audience. Watson comments that Nicholas Love, *The chastising of God's children* and Walter Hilton all treat *Ancrene wisse* as a 'specialized guide for professional religious or semi-religious',[73] while other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century works see it as for serious-minded lay people who have inherited the semi-religious status of the original anchoresses. Gillespie points out that 'Five surviving copies . . . were made in the fourteenth century. Adaptations in two of the manuscripts point towards audiences far beyond the anchoresses for whom it was originally composed'.[74] One of these is Oxford, Merton College, ms. 44 (first half of the fourteenth century) which contains a Latin version of *Ancrene wisse* (omitting Book 8), along with such pastoralia as Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* and Raymond of Peñafort. Another is Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys ms. 2498 (c.1350–1400), which contains an English version: far too unwieldy (340 × 240 mm) for private devotional reading, it must have belonged to a

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66 *English Ancrene riwle* 1962, pp. xvii–xviii.   67 Wogan-Browne 2001, p. 13 n. 20.
68 Dean and Boulton, 1999, no. 643.   69 See *Book of tribulation*, pp. 18–22.
70 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 646, 648, 942.   71 See *French Ancrene riwle* 1944, pp. xi–xiii.
72 Wogan-Browne 2001, p. 13.   73 Watson, N. 2003, p. 204.   74 Gillespie 1989, p. 321.

community. With its large red and blue initials and red underlining for Latin quotations, it is easily the grandest of the *Ancrene wisse* manuscripts apart from Vernon. Watson comments on 'the visual care of its manuscript presentation' and points out that this version, which is addressed to both men and women, 'remarkably rethinks the entirety of *Ancrene wisse* as a rule for the laity' or 'a rule for all Christians'.[75] Finally, there is a 'modernized' version of *Ancrene wisse*, by a scribe who 'followed an innovating tendency',[76] in the late fourteenth-century Vernon Manuscript (discussed further below).

There is only one known mention of *Ancrene wisse* in a will. John Clifford, mason, of Southwark, London, bequeathed to the Franciscan nuns at Aldgate in his will of 1411 'duos libros quorum unum vocatur legent sanctorum et alius recti diligunt te':[77] the latter *incipit* is that of *Ancrene wisse*. This is interesting evidence of lay ownership of this text – and of its eventual re-integration into a regular religious community.

Of the other texts associated with *Ancrene wisse*, *Hali meiðhad*, apparently composed for an audience of young women, potential recruits to the anchoritic life but not yet vowed to virginity, is found, along with *Sawles Ward* and *Seint Katerine*, in BL, Cotton ms. Titus D. XVIII (see above), and also in Bodleian, ms. Bodley 34 (c.1200–25). The latter is a small, compact book, much the same size as BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. XIV (118 × 77 mm), written in a 'glossing hand' with red initials at beginnings of each text. We have no information on early ownership.

Perhaps surprisingly, the first relevant Anglo-Norman text of religious instruction is somewhat later than the earliest versions of *Ancrene wisse*. *Corset*,[78] a rhymed commentary on the seven sacraments, was written c.1240–50 by Robert of Greatham, 'le Chapelain', possibly an Augustinian canon from Lilleshall (Northants), for 'seignor Alain' (line 1). The poet thanks God, master of all knowledge,

> Ki vostre halt sen tant encline
>
> Que vous avez eşcun divine.   [divinity lesson]
>
> Et quant n'entendez la letrure,   [learning i.e. Latin]
>
> Al franceis oÿre metez cure . . . .
>
> (lines 7–10)

75 Watson, N. 2003, pp. 217, 219. See also Colledge 1939, arguing for a Lollard author.
76 *English Ancrene riwle* 2000. See also Diensberg 1997, p. 11.
77 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 197.   78 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 590.

The approach to the subject matter is fairly technical and contains a great deal on marriage but even more on the seven orders of priesthood.[79]

The only copy is found in Bodleian, ms. Douce 210 (c.1300), which also contains the *Mirour*, an Anglo-Norman version of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum*, and other religious and moral pieces. Written in brown ink with no decoration, two columns to the page, some of its leaves are irregularly shaped, suggesting that it was compiled with economy in mind. It contains several French poems that would appeal to a secular audience with serious moral and philosophical interests: the unique copy of a verse treatise on knighthood, 'Le chevalier de Dieu';[80] 'La petite philosophie'; 'Le roman de Fortune' (an adaptation of Boethius' *Consolatio* by Simon du Fresne (Simund de Freine), canon of Hereford); Gawain against marriage (an obviously clerical text) and 'Urban le courtois',[81] a courtesy book for boys and young men. This looks like the kind of volume that a tutor in a noble household of boys and youths might use for educational and recreational purposes.[82]

Edmund of Abingdon's early thirteenth-century *Speculum ecclesie* was translated into Anglo-Norman as the *Mirour de seinte eglyse*.[83] Twenty-seven full or partial manuscripts survive: at least four belonged to houses of male religious. Oxford, St John's College, ms. 190 (late thirteenth-century) is a spiritual compendium, its texts ranging from canon law to mysticism, via sermons and works of religious instruction. The *Mirour* is its only vernacular text, apart from a brief prose meditation. Written in tiny hands, so not designed for public reading, it belonged to Westminster Abbey. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 36 (early fourteenth-century) belonged to the priory of Augustinian canons at Lanthony, Gloucester. Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O. 1. 17, belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Whalley; the (incomplete) *Mirour* is its final item. Lambeth, ms. 522 (late thirteenth-century), which contains numerous other religious and devotional pieces in prose and verse, belonged to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (see further below). We also know that Solomon de Ripple (*fl.* 1340) gave the same abbey a 'Speculum sancti Edmundi Archiepiscopi Cantuar',[84] probably in French. Benedictine houses owning copies in the Middle Ages were Canterbury Cathedral Priory,[85] Dover (two copies),[86] Peterborough[87] and St Augustine's, Canterbury.[88] The Premonstratensians of Titchfield owned three copies, according to their catalogue of 1400.[89]

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79 *Corset*, p. 13. See also Legge 1963, pp. 212–13.   80 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 684.
81 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 231.   82 See also Meyer 1880.
83 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 629.   84 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 738.   85 Blaess 1973, p. 330.
86 Blaess 1973, pp. 335 and 338; *CBMLC*, v, pp. 67, 114 for BM1.92d, BM1.224d.
87 Blaess 1973, p. 345.   88 Blaess 1973, p. 354.
89 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 233, 249, 250 for P6.166l, P6.211a, P6.217b.

At least one surviving copy, however, belonged to religious women. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms. McClean 123 (late thirteenth-century), which contains fragments only, belonged to the house of the order of Fontevrault nuns at Nuneaton. Its generous dimensions and bold black script suggest that it was designed for communal use. It contains ownership inscriptions of Alicia Scheyntoun and, significantly, 'domine Margarete Sylemon et discipulas suas'. Was Dame Margaret therefore the priory's *magistra*? The texts are mainly French, including an illustrated verse Apocalypse;[90] at the end is a copy of the early Middle English *Poema morale*, a 200-line sapiential text.

Some copies of the *Mirour* were probably in secular ownership. One is Bodleian, ms. Douce 210 (see above); another is CUL, ms. Gg. 1.1 (first half of the fourteenth century, post-1308), which has an unusual format – small but more than six inches thick (633 leaves) – that suggests private study rather than public reading. It contains a large collection of French poetry, including the *Lumere as lais* (fig. 14.3) and the *Manuel des péchés*, Walter of Bibbesworth's treatise on learning French (addressed to a woman) interlined with English glosses,[91] some Middle English verse (the *Proverbs of Hendyng* with an emphasis on child-rearing), a French Apocalypse with fifty-five illuminations, and an illustrated *Image du monde*. Its combination of prophecies, prognostications, history and popular science as well as biblical and devotional material suggests secular ownership. Possibly it belonged to an upwardly mobile, bilingual, gentry family.

Robert Grosseteste (c.1170–1253), Bishop of Lincoln and author of the *Templum Dei*, wrote an allegorical poem in Anglo-Norman, the *Chasteau d'amour*,[92] 'for the instruction of the laity generally, but immediately and specifically, perhaps . . . for the noble youths . . . in his episcopal household'.[93] The poet explains that not all can know Greek, Hebrew or Latin, but they are still obliged to praise their Creator. Therefore he has written in French for the unlearned:

> En romanz comenz ma reson
> Pur ceus ki se sevent mire
> Ne lettreüre ne clergie.
> (lines 26–8)[94]

There are eighteen complete or partial extant manuscripts, 'all but one from the last half of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century'.[95] Of these, Lambeth, ms. 522 (late thirteenth-century), which also contains the *Mirour*,

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90 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 478; see also *Survey*, IV/2, pp. 193–5, no. 187.
91 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 285.   92 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 622.
93 Hartung 1986, p. 2337.   94 Robert Grosseteste: *Château d'amour*, p. 28.
95 Robert Grosseteste: *Château d'amour*, p. 28.

as has already been noted belonged to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. It is a large book with large script, suitable for public or communal reading, with numerous pictures. The illustration on f. 1 shows a bishop addressing an audience of laypeople, mainly women (fig. 14.2), though later illustrations show black monks and a few friars. A long note in Latin on f. iii‍ᵛ explains its use of French to cater for the laity: 'Et quamvis lingua Romana coram clericis suauitatem non habeat, tamen laicis qui minus intelligunt opusculum istud aptum est.' Possibly the Benedictine house held the manuscript on behalf of the laity. The *Chasteau* is also found in the Nuneaton Book, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean ms. 123, with a fifteen-line Latin summary in red, and, together with the *Mirour* and *Manuel des péchés*, in BL, Royal ms. 20 B. XIV (see further below).

Medieval catalogues show copies owned by both monks and mendicants. The Meaux Cistercians listed one in their 1396 inventory;[96] the Premonstratensians at Titchfield owned three, at least one in Anglo-Norman.[97] Canterbury Cathedral Priory,[98] the Benedictine house at Peterborough[99] and the London Carmelites owned a copy each,[100] as did St Paul's Cathedral, and the Augustinian canons at Leicester.[101]

La lumere as lais,[102] a lengthy (nearly 14,000 lines) versified work of religious instruction, was completed by the Augustinian canon Peter (or Pierre) of Pecham (or Fetcham) in 1267.[103] Divided into books, chapters and *distinctiones*, the poem has a scholastic prologue, for Peter 'avait les habitudes de l'école et les a transportées dans son ouvrage'.[104] He announces:

> Les principale parties ai numez
> K'en sis livres sunt destinctez,
> Mes chescun livre nepurquant en sei
> Est distincté, en bone fei,
> Par chapitres e distincteisuns
> Sicume en rubriche demustrums.
> (lines 615–20)

The manuscripts mainly preserve this system of text-division, as well as indicating the question-and-answer format with 'm(agister)' and 'd(iscipulus)' in the margin as appropriate.

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96 *CBMLC*, III, p. 75 for z14.295a.
97 *CBMLC*, III, pp. 237, 250 for p6.176b, p6.215b, p6.217d; Blaess 1973, p. 349.
98 Blaess 1973, p. 331.   99 Blaess 1973, p. 344.   100 *CBMLC*, I, p. 183 for c5.34.
101 Blaess 1973, pp. 351, 357; *CBMLC*, VI, p. 228 for a20.586.
102 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 630.
103 Legge 1963, p. 214; Pierre d'Abernon of Fetcham: *Lumiere as lais*.   104 Meyer 1879, p. 326.

Peter describes himself as 'un clerc sui de petit renun,/De poi value, verai-ment' (lines 544–5) and makes no attempt to adapt either his manner or his matter to an unlearned audience. Indeed, Arnould criticizes him as one of those who 'se croient encore sur les bancs de l'Université et ne réussissent à produire que des traductions, compilations ou adaptations pédantes'.[105] This is unnec-essarily harsh: Peter claims to write primarily for lay folk who are intelligent enough but simply do not understand Latin:

> . . . pur ceo ke franceis est entendable
> A lais, pur ceo l'ai numé, sanz fable,
> La 'Lumere as Lais' . . . .
>
> (lines 685–7)

His work is not for madmen or children (lines 695–8), though later he envisages an audience of 'Veuz e jufnes, femme[s] e enfanz' (line 13,954): Meyer describes it as representing the type of work 'composée pour des seigneurs normands ou plutôt pour leur femmes'.[106]

There are twenty-one complete or partial surviving manuscripts. One belonged to a noble family, one to a Gilbertine convent and one to a house of Cis-tercian nuns. Cambridge St John's College, ms. 167 (F. 30), which also contains the *Manuel des péchés*, belonged to John Strelley 'de Lyndeby' in the fifteenth century; York, Cathedral Chapter Library, ms. XVI. N. 3, is the only manuscript to survive from the Gilbertine priory at Shouldham, Norfolk;[107] it also contains a French version of Cato's *Distichs* and a political satire. Dublin, Trinity Col-lege, ms. B. 5. 1 (209), belonged to Dame Joanna Kyngeston, Cistercian abbess of Tarrant Keynston (Dorset), in the fourteenth century.[108] BL, Royal ms. 20 B. XIV, which also contains the *Manuel des péchés* and the *Chasteau d'amour*, belonged to John Colyford in 1361, and later to the soldier-diplomat Lord Walter Hungerford (1368–1449), Steward of the Household to both Henry V and Henry VI.[109]

BL, Royal ms. 15 D. II, which also contains an illustrated Apocalypse, extremely large (445 × 300 mm) and lavishly though gaudily illustrated with historiated initials and borders, is a 'sumptuous specimen of East Anglian art . . . with text of a size suitable for a lectern'.[110] It was probably executed for a wealthy lay person, a member of the Welles family, in the early fourteenth

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105 Arnould 1940, p. 35.
106 Meyer 1879, p. 325. See also *DMOL*, I, pp. 15–6 (Item 83) and II, Plate 146, for Bodleian, ms. Bodley 399, dated 1300.
107 *MLGB* Suppl., p. 62; see also *Manuscripts English polyphony*, pp. xiii–xv.
108 *MLGB*, p. 187; see also Cavanaugh 1980, p. 486.   109 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 203, 452–3.
110 Legge 1963, p. 216; see also *Survey*, V/1, pls. 75 and 79, and *Survey*, V/2, pp. 39–40, no. 34.

century.[111] Bodleian, ms. Bodley 399, written in 1300, which also contains the *Chasteau d'amour*, is a user-friendly manuscript, carefully and clearly written, with few abbreviations, a comprehensive and detailed index, and running heads. Physically it is rather similar to Cambridge, St John's College, ms. 167. Another manuscript mentioned earlier as probably in secular ownership, CUL, ms. Gg. 1. 1 (first half fourteenth century), also contains the *Lumere* (fig. 14.3).

The *Lumere* occurs frequently in medieval wills and catalogues. In 1306 Guy of Warwick donated a copy to the Cistercian house at Bordesley (Worcs);[112] in the late fourteenth century the Benedictine John Bradgar (*fl.* 1385) gave a copy to St Augustine's, Canterbury;[113] between 1352 and 1392 Prior Nicholas of Hereford donated a copy to Evesham;[114] c.1390 John de Brymmesgrave, sacrist of Evesham, gave his Benedictine abbey another.[115] In his will of 1412 Richard Snetisham, fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, bequeathed a copy to his chaplain.[116] The Augustinian canons at Leicester owned two[117] and those at Lanthony one, bequeathed by John Leche, chancellor of Oxford, c.1355–60.[118] For a vernacular text, it therefore enjoyed surprisingly heavy male monastic ownership, perhaps because of its uncompromisingly scholastic and academic appearance.[119]

The *Manuel des péchés*[120] was composed in Lincolnshire between 1250 and 1275 by William of Waddington, a secular canon, servant of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York 1215–55,[121] ostensibly for the 'feble & vaillant' (lines 35–6). The poem teaches 'the essentials of the Christian faith in the vernacular'[122] to the laity. But it also 'became popular as a reference book for preachers' and was 'frequently treated as an encyclopedia for clerics, not as a manual for laymen'.[123]

There are twenty-eight surviving manuscripts, some only fragments. CUL, ms. Ee. 1. 20 (fourteenth-century) is user-friendly with running heads in the upper margin indicating content, and marginal notes (e.g. 'Sorcerie', 'karoles') locating topics. CUL, ms. Gg. 1.1 contains the *Manuel* as well as the *Mirour*. Cambridge, St John's College, ms. F. 30 (167) (see above), also contains the *Manuel*, though in a different hand from the *Lumere* and *Mirour*. John Colyford's book, BL, Royal ms. 20 B. XIV, contains the *Manuel* as well as the *Mirour* and the *Chasteau*. Its text has various finding aids, such as 'Cunte' (*conte*) and 'Ensample' (*exemplum*), written in the margin at appropriate points.

111 Egbert 1936, p. 448.   112 *CBMLC*, III, p. 9 for z2.24.   113 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 123.
114 *CBMLC*, IV, p. 150 for B30.108.   115 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 139.   116 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 796.
117 Blaess 1973, p. 357; *CBMLC*, VI, pp. 283, 358 for A20.924a and A20.1430.
118 *CBMLC*, VI, p. 102 for A17.51.   119 See Legge 1963, pp. 214–16; Vising 1923, pp. 17, 57.
120 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 635.   121 Sullivan 1991, p. 155.
122 *Shrifte and penance*, p. 10.   123 Laird 1946, p. 259. See further Arnould 1940.

The *Manuel* seems to have had wide appeal among male religious. The Cistercians at Meaux listed a copy in their 1396 inventory,[124] as did the Titchfield Premonstratensians.[125] Dover Priory owned one,[126] as did the Augustinian canons at Leicester.[127] St Augustine's, Canterbury, was given a copy by the monk Richard of Canterbury (*fl.* c. 1320).[128] A parish priest's inventory of 1369 and a bequest of 1393 include our text.[129] And in 1368 Simon Bredon, fellow of Merton College, Oxford, left a copy to the Benedictine nuns at Malling (Kent).[130] It is interesting that this text seems not to have appealed to the friars, in spite of their interest in the sacrament of penance.

Surviving manuscripts for which we have evidence of male clerical ownership include CUL, ms. Mm. 6. 4 (fourteenth-century), which in the fifteenth century belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Quarr: the *Manuel* is its only French text. This copy lists the nine books with their subjects and writes the text as two octosyllabic couplets per line, indicating headings and text divisions with 'Ci comence . . .', also in red. BL, Harley ms. 273, belonged to a parish church in Ludlow (Salop);[131] BL, Harley ms. 4657 to Durham Cathedral Priory;[132] BL, Harley ms. 4971, to Bury St Edmunds Abbey.[133] Bodleian, ms. Greaves 51 (early fourteenth-century), contains the name 'Johannes de Prohun',[134] who may have been a priest; York, Cathedral Chapter Library, ms. xvi. κ. 7, belonged to a Canterbury Dominican friar;[135] San Marino CA, Huntington Library, ms. HM 903, belonged to St Mary's Abbey, York, bought by or on behalf of brother Clement Warthwyk.[136]

In contrast, Princeton UL, Taylor Medieval ms. 1 (*olim* Phillipps ms. 2223), which also contains the *Chasteau*, is a 'late-thirteenth-century deluxe illustrated copy . . . commissioned for a noblewoman'.[137] It is 'easily carried in the hand, measuring 245 × 125 mm, but it is unusually narrow'.[138] Heraldic devices indicate that it was made sometime between 1280 and 1298 for Joan Tateshal, daughter of Sir Ralph FitzRanulph (Yorks), who married Baron Robert Tateshal of Lincolnshire in 1268.[139]

Other Anglo-Norman treatises of religious instruction include the Franciscan John Pecham's *Ierarchie*,[140] comparing the pseudo-Dionysian nine orders of angels to a king's household, which was written between 1279 and 1290 at

124 *CBMLC*, iii, p. 76 for z14.307; Blaess 1973, p. 351.   125 *CBMLC*, iii, pp. 248–9 for P6.209i.
126 Blaess 1973, p. 336, *CBMLC*, v, p. 88 for BM1.134a.   127 *CBMLC*, vi, p. 358 for A20.1431.
128 Blaess 1973, p. 353; Cavanaugh 1980, p. 165.   129 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 220, 617.
130 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 129; Bell 1995, p. 153.   131 *MLGB*, p. 221.
132 *MLGB*, p. 73; see also Ward and Herbert 1910, iii, pp. 285–8.   133 *MLGB*, p. 20.
134 Arnould 1940, p. 375.   135 Arnould 1940, p. 381.   136 *MLGB*, p. 217.
137 Bennett 1990, p. 164.   138 Bennett 1990, p. 166.   139 Bennett 1990, p. 167.
140 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 631.

the request of Queen Eleanor of Castile.[141] Long thought the only manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, ms. 2899, was written out in 1297 by another Franciscan, Jordan of Kingston, who gave it to his Southampton friary in 1317.[142] Also containing the *Somme le roi* and the popular *Livre de tribulacion*, it is a typical mendicant product, having a 'complete subject-index, with references to the folio and line in Arabic figures'.[143]

Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 14. 7 (fig. 14.4) has already been mentioned. It belonged to Geoffrey de Wroxham, monk of Norwich Cathedral Priory, and contains a compilation traditionally described as a French version of *Ancrene wisse*.[144] But the material is so differently though logically disposed that one has to consider that it may contain texts (addressed to both men and women, including lay people) that were sources for, rather than derivatives of, the Middle English text. The compilation has been characterized as 'dual-purpose, designed on one hand to serve as a preparation for confession for laity and religious alike, on the other hand serving as a handbook of advanced religious experience for the initiated'.[145] The hand is too small for public reading but the dimension of the book (263 × 165 mm) make it too large to hold. It would have to be privately studied at a desk.

Not until the mid-fourteenth century do we come across an Anglo-Norman devotional treatise written by a layman: *Le livre de seyntz medicines* of Henry of Lancaster (c.1310–61).[146] He wrote this religious allegory of seven wounds infected with the poison of seven sins in 1354.[147] Although ostensibly addressing God and the Blessed Virgin, the author recognizes a human audience when he asks 'touz ceaux qe cest petit livre lirront ou orront lire' to pray for him, and promises to pray for them in return.[148] The text survives in two manuscripts (there are also extensive fragments in NLW, Peniarth ms. 388 c 2). The first, Stonyhurst College, ms. 24 (c.1360),[149] was given to Duke Humfrey, the author's great-grandson, by Thomas, Baron Carew (d. 1429). The second is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 218 (late fourteenth-century) – Henry was regarded as Corpus' founder. Still in its original skin wrapper, it is elegantly restrained, written in brown ink in a small hand, with only one gold initial (most of the initials are in blue with red pen-work). This is in keeping with the author's

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141 Legge 1942.   142 Legge 1963, p. 225.   143 Legge 1942, p. 78.
144 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 644, made up of nos. 654, 671 and 682, plus nos. 645, 678, which are not related to *Ancrene wisse*.
145 *French Ancrene riwle* 1958, p. xxiv.
146 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 696; Henry of Lancaster: *Livre seyntz medicines*. See also Arnould 1937.
147 Henry of Lancaster: *Livre seyntz medicines*, p. vii.
148 Henry of Lancaster: *Livre seyntz medicines*, pp. 238–9.
149 Henry of Lancaster: *Livre seyntz medicines*, p. xi.

modesty: he apologizes for his inexpert writing and for his French,[150] describes himself as 'vn fole cheitif peccheour', and conceals his name in an anagram.[151] In the Middle Ages the Titchfield Premonstratensians owned a copy[152] while Maria, Lady Roos and Oreby, bequeathed one in 1394 to Isabella Percy, Henry's step-niece.[153]

But why did Henry choose to write in French, given his qualms? English was well established as a language of religious discourse by the mid-fourteenth century: *Ancrene wisse* and its associated texts were not unique as works of religious instruction composed in English. *Handlyng synne*,[154] the only pre-1400 Middle English derivative of the *Manuel des péchés*, belongs to the early fourteenth century. It is a broad-spectrum work of religious instruction translated by Robert Manning of Brunne, a Lincolnshire Gilbertine canon (*fl.* 1303–38).[155] Although the Gilbertine order did not normally encourage writing, it has been argued that for economic and political reasons they 'had to appeal to "the English" who lived around them'.[156] Robert began his poem as early as 1303 (lines 73–6), writing the preface some time after 1317. He explains his motivation:

> For lewde men y vndyr-toke
> On englyssh tunge to make þys boke.
> For many ben of swyche manere,
> þat talys and rymys wyl bleþely here.
>
> (lines 43–6)

But of the nine complete or partial manuscripts, only Vernon and Simeon (BL, Add. ms. 22283: see further below), which both contain lines 9,899–10,818, entitled 'Septem miracula de corpore Christi', and possibly BL, Harley ms. 1701 (c.1375), are pre-1400. The dearth of earlier manuscripts suggests that the poem, rather than circulating orally (unlikely, given its length), existed in copies that were 'read to death'. Addressed to the common people (ironic, given the luxury nature of the Simeon and Vernon manuscripts), it may have been designed to be read aloud by parish priests to their flock (see lines 10,807–18 and 11,306–10), like the *Lay folks' catechism* (see further below).

The *Ayenbite of inwit* by Dan Michael of Northgate (*fl.* 1340)[157] is the earliest Middle English translation of the *Somme le roi*, a vast compendium of religious instruction composed c.1280 by the Dominican friar Laurent for Philip III of

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150 Henry of Lancaster: *Livre seyntz medicines*, p. 239.
151 Henry of Lancaster: *Livre seyntz medicines*, p. 244.
152 *CBMLC*, III, p. 249 for P6.210.   153 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 746; Riddy 1996, p. 108.
154 Robert of Bourne: *Handlynge synne*.   155 Turville-Petre 1988, pp. 2–3.
156 Turville-Petre 1988, p. 20.   157 Dan Michel: *Ayenbite*.

France.[158] The translator is probably identical with the secular clerk ordained in 1296 to the priory of St Sepulchre, Canterbury (a women's religious house), who by 1340 had become a Benedictine at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. As author (or scribe: the book is 'y-write an englis of his oȝene hand', f. 2) he gave the Abbey the unique manuscript, now BL, ms. Arundel 57, completed in 1340. He also donated twenty-four other books, of a scientific, patristic and didactic nature.[159]

The *Ayenbite* is another broad-spectrum work of religious instruction, which discusses both marriage and celibacy and covers topics ranging from catechetics to contemplation. It was written for lay folk, 'uor lewede men/Vor uader/and uor moder/and uor oþer ken' (II, 262), specifically 'uor englisse men' (II, 5). The size of the manuscript (305 × 195 mm, almost equivalent to modern A4), together with the fair-sized hand and the black ink, suggests that it was not for private reading but for communal or institutional use, perhaps for reference rather than sequential reading given the detailed list of chapters written at the bottom of the first quire's pages. The careful explanation suggests that such an index was unfamiliar, at least to this particular audience:

Þise byeþ þe capiteles of þe boc uolȝinde / And byeþ y-wryte to vynde y-redliche / by þe tellynge of algorisme [i.e. Arabic numerals] / ine huyche leave of þe boc þet hy by. And ine huyche half of þe leaue be tuaye lettres of þe abece. þet is to wytene .A. and .b. .A. betocneþ þe uerste half of . þe leave .b. þe oþerhalf.

(II, 1)

But we do not know who if anyone actually read the manuscript, which remained in the Abbey until the Dissolution;[160] there is no evidence for its circulation or influence.[161]

The mid-fourteenth century 16,000-line poem *Speculum vitae*, traditionally ascribed to William of Nassington (d. 1359),[162] is 'a re-ordering of material from the *Somme le Roi* into a grand synthetic double commentary on the *Pater noster*'.[163] Examined by the Chancellor and council of the University of Cambridge in 1384, only four of its forty surviving manuscripts are pre-1400. These include the Simeon and Vernon manuscripts and CUL, ms. Ll. 1. 8. The latter attributes the poem to Rolle, wrongly giving the date of his death as 1384

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158 On the French text and its author see *Book of vices*, pp. xi–xix.
159 Dan Michel: *Ayenbite* 1979, pp. 12–14.   160 *MLGB*, p. 57.
161 *The book of vices and virtues* is another version of the *Somme*, possibly made c.1375; but of the three copies only the Simeon Manuscript is pre-1400.
162 The *Speculum vitae* is so far unprinted and unedited in its entirety. The first 370 ll. were printed by Ullmann 1884, pp. 468–72.
163 Gillespie 1989, p. 332.

(it also contains a Rolle Passion meditation, which correctly gives the year as 1348). Gillespie characterizes the *Speculum*, which was intended to be read aloud to those illiterate in French and Latin,[164] as 'the nearest thing to a vernacular *summa* produced in the period'. He notes: 'Although probably written for oral performance and for an audience of little theological sophistication, most manuscripts contain an elaborate Latin apparatus',[165] as does CUL, ms. Ll. 1. 8. This suggests clerical mediation, as with *Handlynge synne* and the *Lay folks' catechism*.

The most popular poem and the most widely disseminated work of religious instruction written in Middle English,[166] judging by the 115 known manuscripts, was the anonymous *Pricke of conscience* (c.1350) (see fig. 6.12).[167] It consists of 'seven books which describe, in turn, the wretchedness of man's nature, the world and the various conditions thereof, death and the fear of death, purgatory, the day of judgment, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven',[168] all derived from Latin sources,[169] though the poem itself is not necessarily monastic in origin.[170] The author explains that his treatise is for 'lewed men' (line 9,601), and prays for 'alle þas þat redes it, loud or stille, /Or heres it be red with gode wille' (lines 9,607–8). He also requests their prayers for the translator: 'And yhe þat has herd þis tretice red . . . . /Pray for hym speciali þat it dru' (lines 9,613, 9,616).

The work of Lewis and McIntosh on the manuscripts supports a recent pronouncement that the *Pricke of conscience* 'seems to have had the same patterns of ownership among the middle ranks of clergy and gentry as . . . the *Speculum Vitae*'.[171] The Arundel Castle manuscript (late fourteenth-century) belonged to the York Franciscans; CUL, ms. Dd. 12. 69 (late fourteenth-century), was given to Shermanbury parish church (Sussex) by John Haynes in the early fifteenth century; Cambridge MA, Houghton Library ms. English 515 (second half of the fourteenth century) belonged to a John Kyng in the fifteenth century; the Simeon Manuscript may have belonged to Joan Bohun (d. 1419), Countess of Hereford, mother-in-law of Thomas of Woodstock and Henry IV.[172] BL, Add. ms. 24203 (late fourteenth-century) was written by a Cistercian monk of Fountains Abbey: this single-item, functional, codex has a simple decorative scheme and would be a good size (205 × 155 mm) for reading aloud. Bodleian, ms. Digby 99 (late fourteenth-century), belonged to a canon at the Cluniac priory

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164 Hartung 1986, p. 2261.   165 Gillespie 1989, p. 333.   166 Arnould 1940, p. 38.
167 Richard Rolle: *Pricke of conscience*.   168 Lewis and McIntosh 1982, p. 3.
169 Described as 'agglomérat d'extraits de traités latins' by Arnould 1940, p. 37.
170 Cannon 1999, p. 335.   171 Woods and Copeland 1999, p. 398.
172 Doyle 1953, II, 162–4.

at Thetford but later to lay men and women. It contains Norwich synodalia and several other catechetical texts in Middle English, introduced (f. 25) by a ten-line Latin rubric listing what a parish priest is duty-bound to preach. The Vernon Manuscript may have originated from the Cistercian abbey of Bordesley;[173] Bodleian, ms. Rawl. poet. 175 (second half of the fourteenth century) contains 'the name "Thom*as* Gyll", who may have been a chantry priest somewhere in Yorkshire in the early fifteenth century';[174] Princeton, UL, Taylor ms. Medieval 13, (second half of the fourteenth century) belonged to John Aston of Cropwell Butler, Nottinghamshire;[175] Dublin, Trinity College, ms. 69 (A.4.4) (fourteenth/fifteenth-century) was 'probably of ecclesiastical origin, though it belonged to a layman later in the fifteenth century'.[176]

Of the pre-1400 manuscripts with early provenance information, then, one belonged to Franciscans, two or three to Cistercians, one to a Cluniac house, three to lay men, two to secular priests, and one (possibly) to an aristocratic lay woman. Clearly the text had wide appeal among men and women, clergy and laity. Medieval wills provide further information. In 1399 Thomas Roos of Ingmanthorp, Yorks, bequeathed a copy to William de Helagh;[177] in 1415 Henry le Scrope, Lord of Masham, bequeathed one to his sister Matilda, a London Minoress.[178] There are four further bequests (two by lay men, two by clerics) in the fifteenth century, possibly of later copies.

Nearly contemporaneous is the mistitled *Lay folks' catechism*,[179] composed in 1357 by John Gaytrygge (or Gaytryk), a Benedictine monk of St Mary's Abbey, York. Archbishop Thoresby had commanded him to translate the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Faith 'and other things' into the vernacular for the instruction of the laity,[180] an expansion of his directions to the York clergy, in their turn modelled on Pecham's 1281 Lambeth Constitutions. Although characterized by Hudson as a 'relatively late and unsophisticated product of the educational movement whose aims were formalized in the edicts of the 1215 Lateran Council',[181] Gillespie comments that Thoresby's instructions 'mark a significant stage in the evolution of the vernacular pastoral manual by conferring official approval on and encouraging the circulation of a vernacular version of his Latin original'.[182]

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173 See further Lewis 1981. 174 Lewis and McIntosh 1982, p. 116.
175 Lewis and McIntosh 1982, p. 126. 176 Lewis and McIntosh 1982, p. 135.
177 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 748. 178 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 775. 179 *Lay folks' catechism*.
180 My translation: Latin edited from BL, Cotton ms. Galba E. X by Swanson 1991, p. 98.
181 Hudson 1985b, p. 243.
182 Gillespie 1980, p. 43. See also his comment that Thoresby's decision 'reflects a growing awareness and exploitation of the vernacular in catechetic contexts', Gillespie 1989, p. 318. See also Fitzgibbons 2002, p. 41.

Few of the twenty-six manuscripts containing complete or partial versions of this text[183] pre-date 1400, although BL, Add. ms. 24202, and BL, ms. Arundel 507 (which belonged to Richard of Segbrok, monk of Durham Cathedral Priory, *fl.* 1396), are dated as c.1400. But the text circulated in other ways: in 1401 Richard Ullerston claimed that Thoresby had sent copies 'in smale pagynes to þe comyn puple',[184] and the Archbishop's Register preserved the English text along with the Latin. Ian Doyle states that this copy 'can be dated firmly to 1357 and its scribe named'[185] and points out:

> The other early copies . . . are all northern . . . though not before the last quarter of the century, and of utilitarian character . . . . Since any separate 'pamflet' copies made for its original pastoral purpose were unlikely to last independently . . . the *Catechism* survives almost solely within volumes containing other texts of English and Latin catechetic, homiletic, ascetical and meditative literature, compiled as much for private reading as public use.[186]

The peculiarities of circulation are bound up with the unusual nature of this text, which was composed as a script for oral performance by the clergy: the archbishop

> Has tretyd and ordayned for commune profet,
> Thurgh the consaile of his clergie.
> That ilkane that vndir him has kepynge of saules,
> Openly on Inglis opon sononndaies
> Teche and preche thaim, that thai haue cure of,
> The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten . . . .
>
> (lines 46–51)

It was therefore written in English for the benefit of uneducated priests, not of the laity. Similarly, copies were originally owned by priests: 'Almost all the surviving copies . . . indicate that the clergy were ordinarily the owners and users, the laity merely listeners',[187] although '[l]ater in the fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth centuries its use was extended to both private reading and public recitation'.[188] So here we have an interesting example of a text that is not *a* book, or even *in* a book, until the early fifteenth century when it becomes, as it were, privatized and personalized, as in the Thornton Manuscript.[189]

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183 Powell 1994, p. 73 and note.   184 Bühler 1938, p. 175, and Powell 1994, p. 76.
185 Doyle 1982, p. 90 and n, p. 142. The scribe was Thomas de Aldefield of York.
186 Doyle 1982, p. 91.   187 Doyle 1953, I, 32.   188 Hartung 1986, p. 2271.
189 See also Gillespie 1980, pp. 45–6.

Although Richard Rolle died in 1349, there are very few pre-1400 copies of his works. Hope Emily Allen remarked that this 'probably should be interpreted as meaning that the first copies were worn out by the eagerness of readers'.[190] But this phenomenon is not peculiar to Rolle, and Michael Sargent has noted the paradox that 'the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were the great age of thirteenth and fourteenth-century spirituality'.[191] Perhaps, though, rather than puzzling over the scarcity of fourteenth-century copies of Rolle's writings, we should emphasize their relative popularity in the fifteenth century when Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions had discouraged the circulation of later, possibly heretical, vernacular texts.[192]

The earliest dated Rolle manuscript is BL, Add. ms. 34763, a small commonplace book (160 × 110 mm) written in a number of different hands: on f. 44v Rolle's *Emendatio vitae* is dated to 6 April 1384. The contents, exclusively Latin and including the pseudo-Bernardine *Speculum peccatoris* and the *Scala claustralium*, suggest ownership by a male cleric with contemplative interests, while the size suggests private study and devotion.

Early copies of Rolle's *Incendium amoris*[193] include CUL, ms. Dd. 5. 64 (see below: it contains both Latin and English texts); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, mss 2103 and 1485 (also containing the *Oleum effusum*), both of which belonged to the Enghien Charterhouse in Hainault;[194] and Uppsala, University Library, ms. c. 1, which belonged to the Bridgettine mother house in Vadstena. Christopher Braystones (d. 1374 or 1375), Benedictine monk of St Mary's, York, owned a manuscript containing this text and the *Emendatio vitae*,[195] while in 1415 Henry le Scrope bequeathed a copy of the *Incendium* (and another containing *Judica me*).[196]

The *Emendatio* survives in over ninety manuscripts. Pre-1400 copies (apart from BL, ms. Add. 34763) include CUL, ms. Dd. 5. 64, and Bodleian, ms. Hatton 26. Section C of this manuscript, which contains the Rolle text (and also the original Latin text of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum*), belonged to the Stafford Priory of Augustinian canons, an order which often had parochial responsibilities and might well use vernacular material. Its scribe also wrote ms. Hatton 86 (see below). In 1427 John Newton, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, bequeathed a copy,[197] while the London Carmelites owned a manuscript containing the *Emendatio*, the *Incendium* and other Rolle texts.[198]

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190 Allen 1927, p. 46.   191 Sargent 1984, p. 176.   192 See Watson 1995.
193 Richard Rolle: *Incendium amoris*.   194 Allen 1927, p. 219.
195 Hughes 1988, p. 93, citing Sargent 1981, p. 162.   196 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 774.
197 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 614.   198 *CBMLC*, I, pp. 186–7 for c59.

Rolle's commentaries on Canticles are found in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 193 (late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century), which belonged to John Hanton, monk of St Mary's Abbey, York;[199] in Hereford Cathedral Library ms. O. VIII. 1 (late fourteenth-century), which belonged, at least in the next century, to Hereford Cathedral and contains eight other Rolle texts; and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. 1485 (see above).

The *Melos amoris*[200] is found in BL, Sloane ms. 2275 (late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century, 240 × 170 mm), which also contains the *Incendium*, *Emendatio*, *Job* and *Contra amatores mundi* as well as the Middle English poem *Stimulus conscientiae* (written as prose), and Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum*, addressed to male religious. In spite of its large size it lacks the easy legibility desirable for public reading. Uppsala, UL, ms. C. 1 (mentioned above) contains the *Melos* and the *Incendium* and belonged to Vadstena.

The *Expositio in Job*, 'strictly speaking, a liturgical not a Scriptural commentary',[201] survives in forty-four manuscripts. In it Rolle 'encouraged the pursuit by the clergy of a rigour of religious life which hitherto had been the prerogative of the cloister . . . In literary terms his work encouraged the movement of the pastoral manual into the realm of the contemplative treatise, to meet (while at the same time encouraging) these new expectations.'[202] It is found in BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius A. XV, ff. 181–94 (formerly part of Oxford, Corpus Christi College ms. 193), owned by St Mary's, York; Bodleian, ms. Hatton 86, which belonged to the Augustinian priory at Stafford (see above); and Oxford, Magdalen College, ms. Lat. 6, which belonged to John Martell (*fl.* 1420), fellow of Oriel. Of Rolle's other scriptural commentaries, Lambeth, ms. 352, was given to Master John May, rector of All Saints, London, by Robert Norton, chaplain of the abbey of Benedictine nuns at Malling (Kent),[203] while Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 431, belonged in the next century to Jean d'Angoulême. The text appears quite frequently in later medieval clerical wills from the diocese of York: 'whilst never as widely owned as William of Pagula's *Pars Oculi* and John of Burgh's *Pupilla Oculi*, [it] appears in bequests in comparable numbers to the *Legenda Aurea* and *Summa Summarum*'.[204]

In contrast to his Latin texts, many of Rolle's English works were written for women, such as Margaret Kirkeby, 'and for other unlettered [in the sense of not knowing Latin] Christians'.[205] On this subject CUL, ms. Dd. 5. 64, is particularly well-informed. It contains the Latin *Emendatio vitae*, *Incendium amoris* and *Exposicio oracionis dominicae*; the English *Form of living* ('scripta a beato

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199 *MLGB*, pp. 217, 321.   200 See Richard Rolle: *Melos amoris*.   201 See Moyes 1984, p. 82.
202 Moyes 1984, p. 95.   203 Allen 1927, pp. 166–7.   204 Moyes 1984, p. 84.
205 Hartung 1993, p. 3055.

Ricardo heremita ad Margaretam anachoritam suam dilectam discipulam'); *Ego dormio* ('scriptus cuidam moniali de ȝedyngham'); *Commandment of love* ('scriptus cuidam sorori de hampole'); ten poems; and a fragment of *Three wyrkings*. Made up of three sections (all defective at the end), Sections A and C are late fourteenth-century. The inclusion of Latin texts, and the use of Latin in the rubrics to the English texts, suggests a male clerical audience and/or ownership, possibly by a cleric with charge of women religious.

Pre-1400 manuscripts of Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*, 'directed toward beginners in the life of prayer',[206] include CUL, ms. Ll. 1. 8 (c. 1350–1400), which also contains the *Speculum vitae* (attributed to Rolle), and the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts. The meditations are related to (possibly even translated from) an Anglo-Norman text in CUL, ms. Ee. 6.16, which belonged to a house of nuns of the order of Fontevrault, probably Amesbury: it contains a prayer to Fontevrault's founder, Robert of Arbrissel. Much of the contents is in Latin, with feminine forms such as 'anime famule tue'. But surprisingly, the grammatical forms in the Anglo-Norman text are masculine, such as 'tous ceux . . . vifs et mors'.

The Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts also contain copies of *Ego dormio*, the *Form of living*, *The bee* and the *Ten commandments*. The latter occurs in Bodleian, ms. Hatton 12 (f. 1 has a chronological note dated 1386), which contains the *English Psalter* and the Magnificat: it is a big book (355 × 240 mm) ideal for public reading, the Latin verses of the Psalms written eye-catchingly in red, with blue capitals.

In conclusion, early Rolle manuscripts (both English and Latin) belonged to various monastic orders, in England and on the Continent – Carthusians (two), Augustinian canons (three), Bridgettines, York Benedictines (two); a cathedral; an individual priest (John May) – but not apparently to mendicants. Wills mention some unspecified Rolle texts. In 1391 Sir William de Thorpe of Northamptonshire left his chaplain 'that book which Richard Heremit composed',[207] an interesting example of transfer from lay to clerical ownership. Richard Sotheworth, rector of South Morton (Berks), who died in 1419, left 'a certain book of mine of Richard the Hermit'.[208] In 1432 Robert Semer of York left 'librum meum de Placebo et dirige, secundum Ricardum heremitam, cum aliis libris ejusdem contentis in eadem' to Robert Helperby, vicar.[209] But in spite of Rolle's decision to write for religious women in English, there is no evidence before 1400 that such women actually owned these texts.

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206 Hartung 1993, p. 3057.　207 Allen 1927, p. 413; Cavanaugh 1980, p. 862.
208 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 798.　209 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 780.

Walter Hilton died in March 1395/6, so it is less surprising that so few pre-1400 copies of his works are extant. The date '1394' is written in Bodleian, ms. Rawl. c. 285, which contains *The Scale of perfection* Books I and II, *Pricke of love*, *Form of living* and an extract from Catherine of Siena; but the Arabic numbers are post-medieval and the manuscript clearly after 1400. The Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts do contain a number of Hilton texts, including *Scale I*, *Mixed life* and *Pricke of love*. Further evidence for the circulation of the *The Scale* around the year 1400 is provided by the Carmelite John Pole (*fl.* 1380), who commissioned a copy, now York, Cathedral Chapter Library, ms. XVI. K. 5,[210] of the Latin translation of *The Scale* made by his fellow Carmelite Thomas Fishlake 'probably as early as 1400 or before'.[211] In 1414 John Newton, Master of Peterhouse and subsequently treasurer of York, bequeathed to the chapter of York Cathedral books by Hilton (and John Howden and Rolle among others);[212] while in 1432 Robert Wolveden, treasurer of York, bequeathed 'unum librum devotum factum per Walterum Hilton',[213] and in 1438 Eleanor Roos of York bequeathed 'unum librum Anglicum vocatum librum primum Magistri Walteri' to a relative.[214] All these might well have been pre-1400 copies.

The *Cloud*-author and his works are even more elusive. He may have been writing at the end of the fourteenth century but there is no pre-1400 manuscript of the complete text of the *Cloud* or *Denis hid divinity*, though Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 385, pp. 213–20 (c.1400), contains a copy of *Benjamin minor*, written in a tiny hand. Indeed, Gillespie suggests that widespread dissemination of his writings was deliberately prevented, as the author had wished.[215]

The Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts, now dated c.1380–1400, come right at the end of our period.[216] They have one scribe in common, their contents largely overlap, and they are clearly related. Though the defective nature of Simeon (which may be slightly later than Vernon) makes the exact relationship hard to establish, Doyle characterizes the two manuscripts as parallel products, 'for the greater part, yet not entirely'.[217] Simeon omits Vernon's version of *Ancrene wisse* and adds both the *Book of vices and virtues* and part of Sir John Clanvowe's *The two ways*: this might suggest that the compilation was designed for a lay man rather than a devout woman (lay or religious),[218] but it has long been maintained,

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210 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 657–8; *MLGB*, p. 24.   211 Hussey 1973, p. 456.
212 Cavanaugh 1980, pp. 607–9.   213 Cavanaugh, 1980, p. 947.
214 Cavanaugh 1980, p. 749.   215 Gillespie 1989, p. 322.
216 See Doyle 1983, *Vernon manuscript*, and the excellent collection of essays, Pearsall 1990, especially Doyle 1990a; Blake 1990 and Hussey 1990.
217 *Vernon manuscript*, p. 1. See further Lewis 1981, pp. 251–3.
218 See further *Vernon manuscript*, p. 15.

perhaps on rather insecure grounds, that Simeon belonged to Joan Bohun (see above, p. 358). But whoever commissioned or owned the manuscript must have been of high status: the manuscript is extensively decorated, even if the decoration is garish and not always well executed.

Vernon contains, mainly in Part IV, an extensive but discriminating collection of works of religious instruction.[219] These include no fewer than three English versions of Edmund of Abingdon's *Speculum* and one of Grosseteste's *Chasteau*; the earliest copies of *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and the *Charter*; Hilton and Rolle texts; the *Stimulus amoris*; *Ancrene wisse*, and *A talking of the love of God*. Of some of the minor pieces these are the earliest copies, even though Vernon does not often provide 'good' versions of the more important texts. No doubt texts which perished elsewhere in more ephemeral form survived in Vernon because of the manuscript's bulk and extraordinary value. It would be a hard book to mislay. The volume is carefully planned and Gillespie comments on the functionality of the index, probably added right at the end, which 'allows access to sections of works containing matter of particular interest to a particular reader at a particular time, permitting the manuscript to be read thematically. In a sense, it becomes a spiritual encyclopaedia.'[220]

Scholars have speculated for years about the Vernon Manuscript. Many fascinating questions have been posed, but no indisputable answers provided. As Ian Doyle has said, 'as for the initiators, patrons, compilers, original purposes and eventual owners, we . . . are forced still to speculate'.[221] Opinion is divided as to whether the volume was compiled for lay people (an armigerous family, perhaps?) or for religious (women, or perhaps lay brothers?). Many of the texts seem to have been chosen to appeal to devout women but it would be hard to tell from internal evidence alone if this female audience were lay, religious, or in-between (say, a community of vowesses or up-market quasi-beguines), for 'the literary culture of nuns in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that of devout gentlewomen not only overlapped but were more or less indistinguishable'.[222]

It is peculiarly frustrating to have to end on this note of uncertainty, for one cannot overestimate the significance of this manuscript. Although any reader's first and abiding impression is of 'a huge book intended for public reading and display', Vernon is more than a monument to the spread of

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219 Blake 1990 argues that 'the compiler was gathering material in English, presumably for an audience which was either unfamiliar with, or not very confident in the command of, Latin and French' (p. 46) and characterizes Vernon as 'a complete Christian book for someone not in holy orders' (p. 57).
220 Gillespie 1989, p. 328. 221 *Vernon manuscript*, p. 14. 222 Riddy 1996, p. 110.

literacy (from male clerics to lay folk and women), and of English (supplement-ing rather than entirely replacing Anglo-Norman and Latin as a language of religious discourse). It is also still 'part of a predominantly oral and memori-alising culture':[223] that is, of a firmly medieval culture, blissfully unaware that printing, and print culture, were just around the corner.

223 Riddy 1996, p. 111.

Vernacular literature and its readership

TONY HUNT, JULIA BOFFEY,
A. S. G. EDWARDS AND DANIEL HUWS

I. The Anglo-Norman book*

Tony Hunt

The author of a thirteenth-century chess treatise addresses the following instructions to the friend who has commissioned his translation:

> Fet est nekedent, ore le recevét,
> Mun liveret, e pas nel peoplez,
> Kar chose ke trop est poplee
> Meins valt e meins est amee,
> E sens e aveir plus vil en sunt
> Kant commun est a tut le mond.
> . . .
> Pur ceo, beal frere, par icele fei
> Vus conjur, que feistes a mei,
> Ke vus cest livere pas n'aprestez,
> Si vus congié de mei ne aiez.[1]

No doubt the injunction not to lend the book to anyone was inspired by fear of its loss, but the argument about publication, i.e. 'making public', goes back to Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* and the hermetic tradition of the 'books of secrets' in scientific writing, which seek to guard against trivialization.

It is obvious enough that if we are to discover anything worthwhile about the production, circulation and patronage of vernacular books in the Middle Ages, a careful examination of the make-up of surviving volumes is indispensable. Although the study of the medieval book is well established,[2] Anglo-Norman codicology has made somewhat halting progress so far, largely as a result of the reluctance of editors to give detailed and independent assessments of the

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1 *Gius Partiz*, lines 39–44, 53–6. The standard editions of texts referred to in this chapter, and lists of the manuscripts containing them, will be found recorded in Dean and Boulton 1999.

2 On the diversity of its aspects see Glénisson 1988.

manuscripts they are using. Admittedly, the date at which extant manuscripts, booklets[3] and loose sheets were assembled and bound as composite volumes is often incalculable – there are a number of stages between the quire, the unbound pamphlet and the fully bound *manuscrit de luxe*. Manuscripts could remain unbound for centuries,[4] and in that state presented to sponsors and sold by booksellers, as well as kept in book-cupboards and on library shelves. As units in later make-up volumes they can often be recognized by a badly rubbed first page, the result of exposure to wear and tear in their originally unbound state. There are also important differences between miscellanies (a haphazard assembly of disparate but available textual units, sometimes deriving from the *dépeçage* of existing codices), anthologies (a more or less coherent selection of pieces based on a discernible organizing principle), unitary collections (texts arranged according to a thematic cluster or clusters of pieces)[5] and *unica* (sole surviving copies of single texts). The compiler of multitext collections might be one of the original scribes or a later figure, or even multiple figures, and the process of compilation might be immediate or cumulative, spontaneous or carefully considered. The identification of scribes' hands and their use of textual demarcators or identifiers such as catchwords, and careful attention to format or mise en page, are a basic desideratum if we are to understand the function of the books. The contents of a manuscript may be continuous, that is, written across the boundaries of the individual quire, or discontinuous, limited to discrete quires (with areas left blank becoming hosts to all kinds of intruders). They may be in a single language or, characteristically in England, in up to three – Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English.[6] In considering the functional aspect of such manuscripts, it is not merely the contents that count, but material features such as dimensions, weight and quality of parchment, and presence or absence of decoration.[7] Punctuation, word division, systems of abbreviation or insertion, and format[8] may indicate that a text is designed for oral performance or private reading, for specialists or for the widest possible reception. The quire must naturally remain the fundamental unit of analysis,[9] but many refinements need to be brought to our

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3 Robinson 1980; Hanna 1986, and the chapter by Robinson in the present volume.
4 On medieval binding see Vezin 1973, and Gullick and Hadgraft in the present volume, pp. 95–109.
5 This is only a selection of possibilities. On distinctions and terminology see Gumbert 1999.
6 Frankis 1986.
7 See on these questions, including 'la configuration matérielle', Hasenohr 1999, who distinguishes 'recueil organique' (BnF, ms. fr. 375 pt. 2), 'recueil cumulatif' (BnF, ms. fr. 794, the 'Guiot' manuscript), and 'recueil composite' (BnF, ms. n.a.fr. 13521, the 'La Clayette' manuscript). See also Ornato 1997.
8 Martin and Vezin 1990; Hasenohr 1990, pp. 231–349.
9 Vezin 1998, and the notion of the 'élément codicologique' introduced by Munk Olsen 1998.

analyses if we are to illuminate the evolution of the book in a francophone context.[10]

In such a context Anglo-Norman occupies a conspicuous position, for it is inseparable from the production of the earliest manuscripts containing French. Short and Woledge have listed fifty-nine manuscripts written in the twelfth century which contain at least some French (e.g. including glosses) and sixty-four manuscripts which might possibly be assigned to the same period.[11] Anglo-Norman manuscripts are conspicuous in these lists. Of course, relatively few of these items are unitary books containing nothing but French and not a few of them are fragments, but they cover a surprising range of material. For example, BL, Add. ms. 49366 (possibly from the end of the twelfth century), transmits in the *Leis Willelme* the earliest law text in French, but then, as is now widely appreciated, Anglo-Norman writers generated the earliest specimens of almost all the traditional genres of medieval French literature.[12] In addition to this literary precocity, Anglo-Norman scribes preserved what are now the earliest or the most complete copies of a series of Continental poems, including several epics: *Gormont et Isembart*, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, the *Chanson de Guillaume*, the *Destruction de Rome*, *Fierabras*, *Otinel* (the only complete copy), and the *Chanson d'Aspremont*. To these epics may be added two religious works: the Psalter Commentary (originally written in Wallonia) composed for Laurette d'Alsace, and a biblical poem known as *Li romanz de Dieu et de sa mere* by the canon Herman de Valenciennes (completed in the last decade of the twelfth century). The only complete surviving copy of the Psalter Commentary was made at Durham, starting at the beginning of the thirteenth century and now constituting three volumes (Durham Cathedral, mss. A. II. 11–13), totalling over 600 folios. The Norman Wace's Anglo-Norman *Roman de Brut* (finished in 1155), which survives in a large number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, is very important for the transmission of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* in a vernacular version. About half of the surviving twelfth-century manuscripts containing French come from English Benedictine houses and almost half of these are Psalters, some of them certainly from women's houses. English manuscripts seem to have migrated less widely than Continental French ones and in many cases are still found not far from home. For example, the most celebrated Anglo-Norman book is undoubtedly Bodleian, Digby ms. 23, containing the earliest known version of the *Chanson de Roland*, most probably copied in the second quarter of the twelfth century. It seems to have been

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10 For a useful overview see Vielliard 1998.   11 Short and Woledge 1981, pp. 1–17.
12 For a convenient survey see Howlett 1996. Compare Monfrin 1987.

at Oseney Abbey in the thirteenth century. Physically the manuscript is of no distinction, but it is remarkable for containing a text of Chalcidius' Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus* side by side with the *Chanson*. The conjunction of such disparate texts in itself constituted a puzzle, until Ian Short examined the request for artist's materials (vermilion, azure, gold) which was inserted by a fourteenth-century hand in the blank space available on the verso of the last leaf of the *Timaeus*.[13] This request or order could only have been noticed and the desired materials furnished if the manuscript had been unbound and without the text of the *Roland* at that date: in other words, the two texts must have been bound together later. Malcolm Parkes' examination of the script of the *Roland*[14] led him to conclude that the scribe was more familiar with copying scholastic texts, copies of which the manuscript resembles in its size, in the quality of its parchment and in the handwriting. This scribe may have been a chaplain at the court of an English baron, or else attached to a bishop's *familia*, and had been asked, no doubt, to preserve for study or for future performances, a 'text' of the celebrated oral epic.

The striking example of the *Roland*, with its colophon naming a contributor (but was he the author, performer or scribe ?) called 'Turoldus', forces us to acknowledge that a fascinating variety of vernacular texts was being copied in the twelfth century. They include the works of Philippe de Thaon: the *Compuz* (four/five manuscripts of the twelfth century), *Bestiaire* (one manuscript, the only complete copy), and an alphabetical lapidary (one manuscript of c.1200); Benedeit's *Voyage de saint Brendan* composed c.1106 (the two earliest manuscripts are of the end of the twelfth century); early drafts of Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence's *Vie de saint Thomas Becket*; a fragment of Beneit's Life of the same figure, and two fragments of Adam de Ross' Vision of St Paul. Most interesting of all, the *Vie de saint Alexis*, perhaps composed in Normandy in the second half of the eleventh century, was copied as an integral part of the St Albans Psalter, made at St Albans Abbey c.1120–30. This was designed for the anchoress Christina of Markyate, to whose relationship with Abbot Geoffrey the *Alexis* furnished certain parallels,[15] and the vernacular text is illustrated with a remarkable drawing and two short texts justifying the pictorial representation of religious subjects.[16] Thus the twelfth century provided a rich harvest of production of books in the French language, which swells with the opening years of the thirteenth century, when we have Frere Angier's own revised copy of his *Dialogues* and *Life* of Gregory the Great which he composed

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13 Short 1989.   14 Parkes 1991, pp. 71–89.   15 Hunt 2005a.
16 Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald, 1960, Geddes 2005 and the St Albans Psalter website: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter>.

whilst a canon of St Frideswide's, Oxford, and copied out in the years 1213 and 1216 respectively (BnF, ms. fr.24766). This is the earliest dated manuscript of a French literary work.

From the twelfth century we already have coherent multitext collections of the sort which were to become common in the next century. One of the earliest examples is BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. V, pt 1, probably written in the third quarter of the twelfth century, which pairs two works by Philippe de Thaon: the *Compuz* (dedicated to the author's uncle Honfroi de Thaon, chaplain to the royal steward Eudo Dapifer) and the *Bestiaire*. Two hands are at work in the *Compuz* and it is clear that the manuscript was prepared for monastic use. Indeed, in the fourteenth century this part of the manuscript (the second, quite distinct book is a Life of Becket) was in the Cistercian Abbey of Holme Cultram in Cumbria. Another copy of the *Compuz* is part of Lincoln Cathedral, ms. 199, where it occurs amongst Latin texts in a single hand of the middle of the twelfth century. In the fifteenth century this manuscript was in the Cistercian nunnery of Heynings (Lincs). Copying of these striking examples of early scientific writing seems to have ceased within a century of their production, as they were, no doubt, superseded by other works.

Historical writing provides an analogous case. Durham Cathedral, ms. c. iv. 27 of c.1200, unites a series of chronicles: Wace's *Brut* (including the intercalation of Helias' *Prophecies of Merlin*), Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* (inserting the so-called 'Description of England' before the epilogue), and Jordan Fantosme's *Chronicle* covering the events of 1173–4. There are four neat and careful hands at work here, but they are not distributed according to textual boundaries, although the volume has the feel of a unified whole, tracing, as it does, the history of Britain to the death of William II, with Henry II's Scottish campaign thrown in at the end. In fact, Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* survives in four copies but seems to have been eclipsed by Wace's *Brut*, composed nearly twenty years later, for it is never copied alone, but preceded by Wace's work in each of the four extant copies, which range in date from the end of the twelfth century to the first half of the fourteenth. A *Description of England* in Anglo-Norman verse is also transmitted with Gaimar in two of its four copies, and is mentioned in a colophon in a third.

Another unified collection, this time for moral instruction, is BL, Harley ms. 4388, whose 119 folios contain Sanson de Nanteuil's *Proverbes de Salemon*, a work of striking precocity, the 'Sermon' of Guischart de Beaulieu, a translation of Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*, and Elie of Winchester's metrically virtuoso translation of the *Disticha Catonis* (fig. 15.1 in another ms.). These are all didactic works of moral improvement, heavily indebted to Latin sources, but

rendered easy to assimilate for lay readers. Although, in its present state, the manuscript is imperfect (a whole quire is missing), all four works are copied in the same hand and decorated by the same artist. Sanson's work, however, was transcribed separately from the rest, which seem to have formed an unbound manuscript for some time before being reunited with the first eighty-six folios. Other indications of use are that the single scribe, a reliable, conscientious copier writing a neat hand of c.1200, made corrections to the second sequence of works, whilst the *Proverbes* received the attention of a variety of correctors and revisors. In the years following its transcription, the *Proverbes* seems to have been the object of some attention, judging from the marginalia. Sanson's patroness was Aëliz de Cundé, related through blood and marriage to two of the most powerful families in England, the earls of Chester and the Clares, and this manuscript was no doubt destined for use in some aristocratic home.

A purely religious collection is illustrated by BnF, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 4503, the work of an unreliable scribe writing c.1200. Its seventy-four folios contain Herman de Valenciennes' *Roman de Dieu et de sa mère*, the *Vie de saint Alexis*, Clemence of Barking's *Vie de sainte Catherine*, and the translation of a bull of Alexander III in favour of the Templars. Another early collection of religious texts is BL, Egerton ms. 612, a small quarto volume of ninety-eight folios, in a neat, careful hand of the beginning of the thirteenth century, which has a collection of Adgar's Marian miracles composed at the instigation of his friend 'Gregory', followed, by association it seems, by the anonymous *Vie de saint Gregoire*. A fifteenth-century hand has directed in a series of marginal entries that certain miracles should be read 'to collacion' or 'in þe frater' on Marian feast days, including her Nativity.

These four manuscripts exemplify the collection of texts unified by a common concern and copied by a single scribe around or before 1200. Whilst the importance of patronage of individuals during this period should not be under-estimated[17] (the names of approximately fifty patrons have been identified), we must not forget that the monasteries were assiduous instigators of translation, beginning with the Psalter.[18] The Oxford (Montebourg) Psalter was prepared, possibly at Canterbury Cathedral Priory, shortly before 1150 and transcribed in Bodleian, ms. Douce 320, without the Latin source text, unlike the copy in the Arundel Psalter (BL, Arundel ms. 230, late twelfth-century) where the Anglo-Norman is interlined with the Latin, and the Winchester Psalter (BL, Cotton ms. Nero C. IV, c.1150), where it appears in parallel columns with the Latin and accompanied by illuminations with Anglo-Norman captions.

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17 Short 1992.   18 Monfrin 1987, pp. 298–301.

There is also the fragmentary Orne Psalter (Paris, Archives nationales, ms. AB xix, 1734 dossier Orne); but the great symbolic book of the twelfth century is the Eadwine Psalter from Canterbury (Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 17. 1) from the middle of the century, a triple Psalter (Gallicanum, Romanum and Hebraicum), interlined respectively with Latin, Old English, and Anglo-Norman glosses (the latter written in two or three hands and not original with the Psalter itself), constituting a proud display of the prestige attaching to England's multilingual culture (fig. 15.2).[19] From c.1170 we have the prose version of the Four Books of Kings and a fragment of a translation of (all or part) of the Book of Judges made for Master Richard of Hastings and the Templar Othon of Saint Omer.

The early florescence of Anglo-Norman copying, then, centres on monastic scriptoria and the preparation of religious, historical and, occasionally, scientific texts. The thirteenth century, of course, marks the rise of the multi-text volume: miscellanies, anthologies, make-up collections and commonplace books. The most celebrated example of a layman's commonplace book is Bodleian, Digby ms. 86, written in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, largely by a single scribe, possibly compiled by a baronial chaplain since it mixes devotional works with texts for entertainment and a little popular science.[20] The manuscript was at first associated with the Grimhill family and, subsequently, the Underhill family of south Worcestershire. It contains eighty-one items, to which the scribe subsequently added fifteen more, a later scribe providing a further four. The book is of particular importance because four of the French literary texts, and twelve of the English ones, are *unica*. The inclusion of texts in three languages is characteristic of the period. The creative role of the compiler of a book is suggested by evidence that in this case he wished to organize the contents into three parts according to formal criteria: long lines (prose), verse (two columns), and longer verse lines (single columns). In addition, easily identifiable 'clusters' or 'runs' of texts (associated by theme, language or form) evidently encouraged the compiler to make textual adjustments in order to 'graft' one text onto another, thereby producing larger composites 'massaged' to fit their new context.

The development of vernacular medicine is reflected in the notable compendium constituting Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O. 1. 20, a volume of 322 folios dating from 1230–60, written in up to ten more or less contemporary hands (fig. 18.3). The major medical texts are: the versified receipt

19 Gibson, Heslop, and Pfaff 1992.
20 *Facsimile Digby 86*; Corrie 1997; Hunt and Watson 1999, 'Notes . . . ', pp. 45–9.

collection known as the 'Physique rimée'; the prose recipe collection known as the 'Lettre d'Hippocrate'; an acephalous translation of the *Practica* of Johannes Platearius; a prose translation of part of the Salernitan treatise *De instructione medici*; a versified gynaecological treatise translated from the *Trotula maior*, a medical compilation written probably at Salerno in the twelfth century, supposedly by a woman, Trotula (Trota); a versified set of beauty treatments for women (known from one other copy); and a translation of Roger Frugardi's *Chirurgia* adorned at the bottom of the page with forty-eight delicate tinted line drawings of exceptional quality, by an artist who seems to have specialized in medical illustration.[21] The major translations in this volume are *unica*.[22] It is uncertain whether they were composed in England, but they were certainly copied there and the whole volume constitutes a little medical library which someone took considerable pains to assemble and direct the illustration of. It is the major source of our knowledge of Anglo-Norman medicine. At one point in the translation of the *Chirurgia* it is clear that the scribe was copying from a defective model or a set of unbound sheets which became incorrectly ordered; he attempted to patch up the error in a slightly clumsy way.

Then there is the case of Anglo-Norman works copied in Plantagenet domains such as Tours, Bibl. mun. ms. 927, partly by a southern French scribe, which contains a Latin liturgical drama of the Resurrection together with various hymns and 'chants', the Anglo-Norman play entitled *Ordo representacionis Ade*, *La Vie de saint Georges* (not Anglo-Norman), *Les Quinze signes du jugement dernier*, Wace's *Vie de sainte Marguerite*, the *Vie du pape saint Gregoire*, *Le miracle de Sardenai*, and other texts. This manuscript is of special interest. Dating from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it is the earliest paper manuscript in France. It was copied by three or possibly four, contemporary scribes, the first responsible for ff. 1–46 which contain the two plays, the second for the religious narratives, both of the scribes being from the Touraine, and the third, an Occitan, for the last folio (containing the *Epître farcie de saint Etienne*).

Trilingual compendia are frequently found[23] and raise the question of whether they are mere miscellanies, that is without a coherent or planned order of contents, or based on discernible principles of selection,[24] often of short pieces or extracts as is the case with Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. B. 14. 40 (pt 1) from the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[25] The most celebrated of such compendia is certainly BL, Harley ms. 2253, containing over 100 items, in three languages. This book has recently received exhaustive

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21 Hunt 1992; Burnett and Jones, p. 460 in the present volume.   22 Hunt 1994–7.
23 Hunt 1999.   24 Stemmler 1991.   25 Reichl 1973.

treatment, including close attention to the organizing principles which shape it as an anthology.[26] Its principal scribe, a professional working in or near Ludlow c.1314–49, copied ff. 49–140 c.1340, taking charge of the selection and ordering of the 121 items according to his own predilections and the taste of his patron. He was also responsible for assembling BL, Harley ms. 273 (c.1314–28), and for contributing items of a devotional and instructive nature, and later (1316–40) for thirty of the roughly 36 items in BL, Royal ms. 12 C. XII, which is, in part, his commonplace book, containing the unique text of *Fouke le fitz Waryn*; it consists of eight booklets, the compilation of which has been carefully studied.[27] One can discern, within the at first bewildering variety of contents, two miscellanies of serious materials and one of recreational items. As in the case of Digby 86, which he may have known, the compiler of the Royal manuscript may have been a tutor in a baronial household whilst waiting for ecclesiastical advancement. Further studies of the compilatory process have been devoted to the Hibernian manuscript, BL, Harley ms. 913 (early fourteenth-century), which consists of five booklets, two connected with Kildare, and which was subsequently transferred to Waterford where further materials were added.[28] A similar process of piecemeal compilation seems to lie behind other books with Waterford connections, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 405, a make-up volume of seven manuscripts dating from the second half of the thirteenth century to the opening years of the fourteenth. Some of the contents seem to have been transcribed in south-west England, possibly for residents of Waterford, and then taken there where other items were contributed locally. The texts range from prognosticatory pieces, charms, incantations, medical receipts in Anglo-Norman, in the first codex, to literary texts (in a single hand) in Anglo-Norman in the sixth. A range of Anglo-Norman texts thus seems to have been in Waterford in the reigns of Edward I and II, and most notably contains the version of the Hospitallers' *Riwle*. The Franciscan elements of Harley 913 lead us to BL, Add. ms. 46919, of about the same date, the celebrated volume containing the works of the Franciscan, William Herebert (c. 1270–1333).[29]

Wholesale replication of manuscripts ('apographs') is rare, but can be exemplified in the case of BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra B. IX, and Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. o. 2. 45 + BL, Egerton ms. 843, which share a variety of scientific and didactic texts, mostly in Latin, a few in French, in a way which suggests that both were copied from a common exemplar.[30]

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26 Fein 2000.   27 *Fouke fitz Waryn*, pp. xliv–xlvii.   28 Lucas and Lucas 1990.
29 British Library 1979, pp. 197–206; William Herebert: *Works*. On William's sermons see further the
chapter by Fletcher, p. 320.
30 Hunt 1987.

Creative textual adaptation, such as we witnessed in Digby 86, is complemented in some books containing very extensive collections of individual texts by means of scribal revision. Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R. 14. 7 (fig. 14.4) and BnF, ms. fr. 6276, contain a vast Anglo-Norman compilation of instructions for the religious life, based largely on the *Ancrene riwle* and known simply as the 'Compileisun', a name by which the compiler designates four of the five constituent parts or treatises. In each case the text was written by a single scribe who reviewed his text carefully, supplying numerous interlinear or marginal corrections, and marking words or letters for deletion rather than erasing them. In Trinity all cases of eyeskip (some forty-two) were detected by the scribe and rectified at the foot of the column, and he also used the letter *a* to signal a correction (most of them duly entered). The same is true of the Paris copy, except that many of the correction marks are entered by a second hand (contemporary with the main hand) and not all the corrections are made by the main scribe.

Codices containing religious texts tend to form the most unitary books. A good example is BnF, ms. fr.19525 (mid-13th-century), which contains no fewer than twenty-four exclusively religious texts in Anglo-Norman. BL, ms. Egerton 2710 (from the first half of the thirteenth century), which at the end of the fifteenth century belonged to the nuns of Derby Priory, contains ten Anglo-Norman religious texts, most of which are also in BnF, ms. fr.19525. The celebrated 'Campsey manuscript' (BL, Add. ms. 70513, late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century), which belonged to the convent of Augustinian canonesses at Campsey, near Woodbridge in Suffolk,[31] contains thirteen rhymed saints' Lives (three by women), largely concerned with insular, female saints, the original versions of some of the texts possibly written under the patronage of Isabel de Warenne, countess of Arundel (d. 1282). It is an important witness to a literary culture of women in medieval England.[32] The collection was perhaps designed for mealtime reading by the nuns, who may have had a hand in the creation of the manuscript, for there is evidence that some nunneries not only owned books but made their own copies too.[33] It is worth noting that whilst many collections of saints' Lives were organized to cover sequentially the liturgical year, the arrangement of the Campsey Lives does not follow such a sequence. There is some uncertainty as to whether the presence of oral formulae in some texts is evidence for their actual oral presentation.[34]

The most distinguished writer of saints' Lives in the thirteenth century was Matthew Paris, whose hagiographical compositions survive in single

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31 Russell 2003; Wogan-Browne 2001, pp. 204–22.   32 Laurent 1998 and Gehrke 1993.
33 Baker 1924.   34 Hunt 2005b.

manuscripts, accompanied by pictures (figs. 4.2, 20.2).[35] Pictures are also, of course, a feature of Apocalypses with texts in Anglo-Norman verse or prose,[36] which may be accompanied by a prose commentary (sometimes that of Berengaudus).[37] In the so-called 'Abingdon Apocalypse' (BL, Add. ms. 42555, perhaps from shortly before 1262) there is an abridged text of the Apocalypse in Latin, and an Anglo-Norman prose translation (also abridged) of Berengaudus' commentary. This work seems to have been commissioned by Giles of Bridport (Bishop of Salisbury 1256–62), initially for his own use, and given to the Benedictine abbey of Abingdon.[38] Unusually, it contains a full set of illustrations for the commentary in addition to those for the book of Revelation, and in this, and some other respects, it is closely linked to the Gulbenkian Apocalypse in Lisbon which is by the same group of artists. The most widely disseminated commentary was not that of Berengaudus, but one by an anonymous author which survives in at least twenty Insular copies and many other, continental ones.[39] Some other Apocalypses have an Anglo-Norman verse translation which exists in some ten manuscripts,[40] one of which, the so-called 'Yorkshire Apocalypse' signed by the artist John of Parlington (with ninety-four large coloured drawings), was discovered as recently as 1974 in a secret drawer in a piece of furniture in Bristol.[41] The Trinity Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R. 16. 2), with various amplifications of the commentary of Berengaudus in an Anglo-Norman translation, is a magnificent codex from the middle of the thirteenth century which has been reproduced in full colour three times, and which represents such books in their most luxurious form.[42]

Religious compilations continue into the fourteenth century. Cambridge, Emmanuel College, ms. 1. 4. 31 (mid-fourteenth-century), from Worcestershire, seems, despite its modest size (112 × 77 mm) to represent a whole programme of Anglo-Norman piety, formed by twenty-three items in a codex of 196 folios, elegantly decorated and neatly written in a small Gothic bookhand which extends throughout with the exception of the last item (*Gospel of Nicodemus*). However, this codex needs careful study to determine its composition. Some of the pieces are fragments, are incomplete, mix French and Latin with

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35 James 1920; Lowe and Jacob 1924; McCulloch 1981; Backhouse and De Hamel 1988; Morgan 1988. The Life of Thomas Becket (fig. 20.2) may neither have been written nor illustrated by Matthew.
36 Lewis 1995.
37 Delisle and Meyer 1900. See *Survey*, IV/2 and *Survey*, V for recent views on the dating, interrelationships and provenance of the illustrated Apocalypses.
38 Lewis 1986 and *Survey*, IV/1, no. 127, for a different viewpoint.   39 Delisle and Meyer 1901.
40 Meyer 1896.   41 Sotheby 1997, lot 14, pp. 115–28, now Wormsley, Coll. Getty.
42 Brieger 1967 (with text transcribed and translated by M. Dulong); Otaka and Fukui 1977; McKitterick *et al.* 2005 (with text transcribed and translated by Ian Short).

a little Middle English (for example, 'The good wife' on ff. 48b-52), or have uncertain textual boundaries.

Within many collected volumes we recognize the unit of the scribal 'booklet'. As an example may be mentioned ff. 185–220 (quires 17–19) of BL, ms. Add. 45103, which are written in the same hand (responsible for most of the *Brut* earlier in the manuscript) and form a unit (catchwords on ff. 196 and 208), presenting, with no separation by blanks or division into discrete quires, the *Petite philosophie*, *Les Quatre Filles Dieu*, a fragment of an Anglo-Norman poem on the *Apocalypse*, and the celebrated *Seinte Resurecciun* play. Similarly, a booklet written in England in the second half of the thirteenth century containing prognosticatory texts (a chiromancy, spatulomancy, geomancy and a haematological text) together with lapidaries (ff. 85–103), forms a distinct unit within a make-up volume, now BL, Add. ms. 18210, which also contains a sequence of Latin translations by Robert Grosseteste, and ends with a miscellany of medical treatises. Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. o. 5. 32, consists of two booklets: the first, from the first half of the fourteenth century, is a collection of divinatory and prognosticatory texts in Anglo-Norman, including a 'livre d'aventure' with many diagrams, a translation of the *Quadripertitum Hermetis*, a text on surveying of the sort produced by the *agrimensores*, and a lunary (fig. 15.3). The second booklet, from the second half of the century, transmits a medical compendium or 'Practica' written in Latin and Anglo-Norman, followed by a brief medical extract from the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* (preceded by a letter to a queen of Spain), a Latin text on the seasons, a set of medical receipts, and a passage in Middle English. Both booklets were in the possession of one Thomas Richards c.1500. On the top of f. 11v of the first booklet there is a reference to the fifth year of the reign of Richard II, that is 1382. Cambridge, Pembroke College ms. 87 (c.1300), is a Bury book, of varied contents, but on ff.194–208 has been assembled a remarkable collection of Anglo-Norman lapidaries.

Some books have been deconstituted in modern times and recognition of the same hand in what are now separate volumes has led to the reconstruction of the original. The so-called Edwardes ms. in the British Library contained up to seven items before it was disbound in the nineteenth century. It is now partly represented by *Gui de Warewic* (BL, Add. ms. 38662, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century), the *Chanson de Guillaume* (BL, Add. ms. 38663, mid-thirteenth century), and a copy (made between 1206 and 1214) of the 'Johannis Translation' of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin (BL, Add. ms. 40142) originally made for Renaut, Count of Boulogne in 1206. All three are believed to have been made in the same Anglo-Norman scriptorium (the first and third by the

same hand, *Guillaume* a bit later), perhaps that of Oseney or St Frideswide's, Oxford, at about the same time as Angier was composing at St Frideswide's his two works mentioned above. The three works in the Edwardes manuscript became physically associated at an unknown date.

The most compendious of all Anglo-Norman books, aptly described as 'a whole library in itself', is CUL, ms. Gg. 1. 1 of the first quarter of the four-teenth century, consisting of 633 folios of modest size (217 × 142 mm), which contain no fewer than 59 items, of which 37 are important texts in French (fig. 14.3). These figures are matched only by Lambeth, ms. 522, a thick quarto volume of the early fourteenth century, written in a very large hand, consisting of religious treatises and short devotional pieces (fig. 14.2). The contents of the Cambridge ms., an anthology not unlike Harley 2253, are (astonishingly) written by a single scribe some time after 1307. The cost of such an outlay of time must have been considerable and could only have been borne by a very wealthy individual or community. At the beginning of the manuscript, exceptionally, there is a list (possibly displaced) of the contents of the *Lumere as lais*, which follows on ff. 17ra–111rb, and of the contents of the manuscript as far as f. 629rb (the rest of the manuscript comprising the Latin 'Miracula beate virginis'): 'En iceste livre contienent tauntz de romances cum ci aprés sunt nottez e escritz' (f. 6ra). The contents are almost all religious and didactic works, including major compilations. The manuscript is richly decorated and contains a beautifully illustrated Apocalypse in Anglo-Norman prose; its text of Ralf de Linham's *Kalender* is preceded by an elegant miniature of a clerk at a reading desk, executed in blue and maroon against a gold background. Whilst the scribe was not a particularly intelligent reader and copier of his exemplars, he shows an aesthetic concern with the mise en page, ensuring that all the major works start at the head of a column, and utilizing the spaces following their conclusion with sundry short texts. There are a few items in Latin and Middle English. In the seventeenth century it seems to have belonged to a London book-dealer called Washington, then to John Moore (Bishop of Ely 1707–14), and finally to have been presented to Cambridge University by George I.

Some manuscripts were clearly designed for private use: for example, the so-called 'Tywardreath Psalter' (BL, Add. ms. 44949) of the second half of the fourteenth century, which contains a mixture of prayers and verses for the canonical hours in Latin and French, a Calendar, a Psalter with Canticles and the Athanasian Creed in Latin with French translation, with some Latin words in red interpolated to explain and clarify meaning, followed by the Litany. It was written, in a good bookhand, in the north of England, for private, secular use. It thus draws on both the tradition of the Books of Hours and of the Psalters. It

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also contains eight half-page miniatures and other decoration which has suggested a connection with the Egerton Genesis.[43]

The production, distribution and storage of medieval books are difficult areas of enquiry for lack of evidence. Religious houses are the best source of evidence,[44] though their acquisition of vernacular books must almost always have been through donations. Houses with scriptoria may have produced vernacular texts to commission, for example from aristocratic patrons. Something of the reading habits of the nobility c.1300 can be derived from the gift of twenty-seven volumes, comprising some fifty works, to the Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley (Worcs) made by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1306. They include *chansons de geste*, courtly romances, works of piety, and didactic and historical literature – a considerable range of vernacular reading.[45] On the other hand, the catalogue of the Austin Friars at York, of 1372 with later additions, lists some 650 volumes, including no more than three vernacular texts, all of them religious. Dover Priory was much richer in this respect and its catalogue of 1389 includes an ample range of vernacular items. One book alone contains no fewer than nine French texts, ranging from Beneit's Life of Thomas Becket, a Passion of Christ and a poem on charity, to *Fierabras* and *Octavian*, and a French translation of Cato. Other books duplicate Beneit's Life and Cato, whilst containing the commonly found *Manuel des péchés*, St Edmund's *Mirour*, and other texts of the kind assembled in Bodleian, ms. Rawlinson Poetry 241, together with less expected items such as the romance of *Athis et Prophilias*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and Wace's *Brut*. By the end of the fifteenth century the library of Leicester Abbey contained almost 2,000 volumes, but only about a dozen vernacular items, among them a poem on the Trojan War, a romance of Alexander, the Anglo-Norman romance *Bevis of Hampton*, and an unidentified Arthurian narrative.[46] With such indications as these of what was being copied and read we must remain content. The monastic ownership of French manuscripts seems to have reached its zenith by the end of the fourteenth century and thereafter declined as writing in English became predominant.

II.   Middle English literary writings, 1150–1400

Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards

Any attempt to give a concise account of the history of early Middle English literature, and of the material aspects of its production and transmission, faces both quantitative and qualitative difficulties. The relative paucity of surviving

43 *Survey*, v/2, nos. 127, 129.   44 Blaess 1957 and 1973.   45 *CBMLC*, iii, pp. 4–10.
46 *CBMLC*, vi, pp. 106–399.

also contains eight half-page miniatures and other decoration which has suggested a connection with the Egerton Genesis.[43]

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II.   Middle English literary writings, 1150–1400

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43 *Survey*, v/2, nos. 127, 129.   44 Blaess 1957 and 1973.   45 *CBMLC*, iii, pp. 4–10.
46 *CBMLC*, vi, pp. 106–399.

materials from the earlier part of the period is striking when compared with that from the later fourteenth century during Richard II's reign; and the extraordinary efflorescence of what has come to be termed 'Ricardian poetry' (to which could be added 'Ricardian prose') constitutes a sudden richness against which the achievement of much earlier literature looks fragmented and relatively undistinguished. To these disproportions must be added an organizational one: a significant number of works for which distinctive 'literary' claims have been made, most famously the *Ancrene wisse*, have equal reason to figure among 'non-literary' materials and, categorized as religious or devotional items, are discussed elsewhere in this volume.[47]

The cultural situation of English in the post-Conquest period was an extremely marginalized one that stands in contrast to the increasingly dominant status of Norman French. Throughout this period the evidence of book ownership from surviving wills and inventories indicates that cultivated readers who wanted 'literary' texts were likely to own these works in languages other than Middle English: that is, in French or Latin.[48] The low status of the native tongue is a recurrent topos in writings in Middle English between the late twelfth and fourteenth centuries. It is mentioned, for example, in a passage from the so-called Worcester Fragment (c.1180):

> Sanctus Beda was iboren her on Breotene mid us,
> And he wisliche bec awende
> þet þeo Englise leoden þurh weren ilerde.
> And he þeo cnoten unwreih, þe questiuns hoteþ
> þa derne diȝelnesse þe deorwurþe is.
> Aelfric abbod, þe we Alquin hoteþ
> He was bocare, and þe fif bec wende,
> Genesis, Exodus, Vtronomius, Numerus, Leviticus,
> þurh þeos weren ilœrde ure leoden on Englisc . . .
> þeos lœrden ure leodan on Englisc,
> Nœs deorc heore liht, ac hit fœire glod.
> Nu is þeo leore forleten, and þet folc is forloren
> Nu beoþ oþre leoden þeo lœreþ ure folc,
> And feole of þen lorþeines losiœþ and þet folc forþ mid.[49]

The topos is developed in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* of the late thirteenth century:

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47 See pp. 345–8, 359–65, of this volume.
48 For some indication of these, see Salter 1988, pp. 4–100; Revard 1997; Scattergood 1983. On the trilingual aspects of manuscripts in this period see Scahill 2002.
49 *Early Middle English*, item 1, lines 1–19.

þus com, lo, Engelond in-to Normandies hond:
And þe Normans ne couþe speke þo bot hor owe speche,
And speke French as hii dude atom, and hor children dude also teche,
So þat heiemen of þis lond, þat of hor blod come,
Holdeþ alle þulke speche þat hii of hom nome;
Vor bote a man conne Frenss me telþ of him lute.
Ac lowe men holdeþ to Engliss, and to hor owe speche ȝute.
Ich wene þer ne beþ in al þe world contreyes none
þat ne holdeþ to hor owe speche, bot Engelond one.
Ac wel me wot uor to conne boþe wel it is,
Vor þe more þat a mon can, þe more wurþe he is.[50]

And the distinctions between French and 'lewede' English still generate comment in the romance *Richard Coeur de Lyon* of the early fourteenth century:

In Frenssche bookys þis rym is wrouȝt
Lewede men ne knowe it nouȝt
Lewede men cune Frensch non
Among an hondryd unneþ is on.[51]

Such comments reveal a consciousness of marginalization that is reflected geographically in terms of the evidence of manuscript production for literary texts in English. This evidence suggests that these texts, at least in the early part of our period, very often originated in those areas farthest removed from the influence of Anglo-Norman culture, in particular remote from London and the surrounding area. It is only towards the end of the period that metropolitan networks and processes can be perceived as dominant models for the manufacture of manuscripts, and as significant alongside the linguistic and literary aspects of cultural production.

Up to this point, monasteries and other religious institutions had remained important as preservers and transmitters of a vernacular cultural heritage. Worcester Cathedral Priory provides the most striking evidence of this. It is where the copying of Old English texts continued for the longest period after the Conquest, well into the twelfth century.[52] It is also where we see the first intimations of the emergence of new literary forms in a new literary language. What has been termed 'the earliest example of a secular lyric'[53] occurs in a manuscript produced there (BL, Royal ms. 8 D. XIII, f. 25). Other lyrics and more substantial verse texts, notably the 'Worcester fragments', are

50 *Early Middle English*, p. 14, item V, lines 1–11. 51 Brunner 1913, p. 8.
52 For discussion of the copying of Old English at Worcester, see Franzen 1991.
53 '[þe]h þet hi can wittes fule-wis': *English lyrics xiiith*, p. xii.

also associated with Worcester.[54] These suggest a conscious effort to preserve traditions of the past by continuing to write Old English in the new linguistic environment of Middle English, and it is significant that these early attempts at Middle English verse were copied, like Old English verse, as prose. Seth Lerer has astutely pointed out that 'how verse appears as verse becomes a process that involves scribal and editorial decisions that go to the heart of what will constitute the literary forms of early Middle English'.[55] Although the Conquest led to the swift and comprehensive suppression of Anglo-Saxon vernacular literary culture, the emergence of Middle English did not immediately lead to a new sense of verse as a distinctive form. Indeed, regional pressures (such as those relating to the Worcester area), continued to determine that verse was often transcribed as prose during this period.[56] Both lyrics and early verse texts of a more substantial kind, like Layamon's *Brut* (a verse history composed towards the end of the twelfth century), were copied as prose. On the evidence of its two surviving manuscripts (BL, Cotton ms. Caligula A. IX and BL, Cotton ms. Otho C. XIII, originating in Somerset and north-west Worcestershire respectively), the *Brut* was also copied on the margins of the Norman hegemony.[57]

The extent to which activities in other monasteries compare with Worcester's conscious efforts at cultural preservation and/or the development of new forms of vernacular literature is hard to gauge. Naturally, much of the material that survives from such places is religious and hence outside the concern of this chapter. Much of it also circulated by routes which cannot easily now be reconstructed. St Godric's religious songs were presumably transmitted after his death in 1170 by his fellow monks at Durham, but no single authoritative collection of them has survived.[58] But it has been convincingly argued that monasteries, particularly those in the North West, may have had an important role in the preservation of knowledge of Old English alliterative metre and hence have provided a crucial link in the emergence of later Middle English alliterative forms.[59] This is an attractive hypothesis even if not susceptible to conclusive proof. There are occasional hints at monastic interest in other forms of verse, as with the famous 'Cuckoo song', *Sumer is icumen in*, which (together with music and a Latin version) is the only English content in BL, Harley ms. 978, from Reading Abbey.[60] Evidence of the use and transmission of Middle English songs and lyrics in monastic environments at a later date (as, for example, in fifteenth-century collections such as BL, Sloane ms. 2593, and Egerton

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54 Dickins 1935, and *Soul's address*.   55 Lerer 1999, p. 9.   56 Edwards 2000.
57 For the most recent discussion of the *Brut* see Bryan 1999.
58 *Medieval English songs*, pp. 16, 104.   59 Pearsall 1982.   60 Taylor 2002, pp. 76–83.

ms. 3307)[61] confirms that the copying of such texts from an earlier period prob-
ably continued in monasteries, though rarely systematically or extensively.

There are more specific indications of the interest of some religious orders in
the dissemination of verse. The Franciscans have often been linked to the devel-
oping circulation of lyric texts in the vernacular.[62] The 'love ron' attributed to
the Franciscan, Thomas of Hales (composed before 1272) – originating presum-
ably from Hales in Gloucestershire – makes the Franciscan teaching purposes
clear in the heading which circulated with it: 'Incipit quidam cantus quem
composuit frater Thomas de hales de ordine fratrum Minorum, ad instanciam
cuiusdam puelle Deo dicate', and it opens with a stanza recounting the maiden's
request to the friar for a text 'For hwan heo myhte best ileorne' (line 3: 'for
when she best might study').[63] Other evidence for Franciscan involvement with
Middle English lyrics takes different shapes. Franciscan acquaintance with a
range of secular songs is demonstrated by the 'recasting' of some of these in
religious forms by the former Franciscan friar Richard Ledrede (d. 1360), dur-
ing his time as bishop of Ossory.[64] Another friar, John of Grimestone, preserved
short texts on many subjects in his preaching note book (now NLS, Adv. ms.
18. 7. 21).[65] Some of the Anglo-Irish poems copied c.1330 in the extensive
trilingual collection that is now BL, Harley ms. 913, have been associated with
Franciscan friars in Kildare.[66] And friar William Herebert (d. 1333) made auto-
graph copies of his own poems and translations, along with other texts, in the
commonplace book that is now BL, Add. ms. 46919.[67]

While Carthusian houses can be associated with the systematic production
and dissemination of vernacular religious works from the late fourteenth and
early fifteenth centuries,[68] there is little evidence of such activity earlier, and
little to associate these houses with other forms of literary production beyond
scattered details such as those associating the Middle English secular songs in
CUL, Add. ms. 5943 (fig. 15.4) with an individual who progressed from Winch-
ester College (where the songs were probably copied) to the Charterhouse at
Hinton in Somerset.[69] Given the informal routes of transmission characteristi-
cally followed by songs and short texts of similar kinds, the boundaries between
different sorts of community (collegiate, monastic, etc.) must have been quite
flexible.

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61 *Early English carols*, pp. 306–7, 299–300.
62 Robbins 1935; *Early English carols*, pp. cl–clvii, in relation to the carol.
63 *English lyrics xiiith*, p. 68; on Hales, see Horrall 1986.   64 *Lyrics Red Book of Ossory*.
65 Wilson 1973.
66 The manuscript apparently remained in Franciscan circles while it continued to grow: *Anglo-Irish
poems*, pp. 14–24. For further discussion, see Cartlidge 2003.
67 William Herebert: *Works*.   68 Sargent 1976.   69 *Medieval English songs*, pp. 24–5.

The evidence suggests that ambitious Middle English literary compilations from early in the period were produced on the geographical fringes of England, though the specific sites or circumstances of original production are difficult to identify. Oxford, Jesus College, ms. 29, Part II, was compiled, probably in the second half of the thirteenth century, in the area of Hereford or north-west Gloucestershire.[70] It contains more than twenty items in Middle English verse, mainly religious or didactic lyrics, including, as the most substantial single item, *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Alongside this are texts such as *Death's wither-clench*, *An orison to Our Lady*, and poems on *The Last Day* and *The ten abuses*.

The Owl and the Nightingale also appears in a smaller collection, similarly dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, now part of BL, Cotton ms. Caligula A. IX, Part II (ff. 195–261) (fig. 6.5); there are other substantial correspondences in content with the Jesus College manuscript,[71] and although the dialect (north-west Worcestershire) is different, it is sufficiently proximate to support the assumption of a common regional origin for an exemplar underlying both manuscripts. The ultimate origins of the exemplar and the sites of the production of these copies are unknown, but it is probable that they were religious houses. *The Owl and the Nightingale* in content and form is a mock-learned debate between birds with an intended adjudicator, 'Master Nicholas of Guildford', which may suggest an author with an academic or legal background. Several of the Middle English works common to the two manuscripts are devotional. Some support for the possibility that one or more of this group of manuscripts may have had connections with a religious house is to be found in the appearance of a work called 'de conflictu inter philomelam et bubonem in anglicis' – presumably *The Owl and the Nightingale* – in a catalogue of the books at the Premonstratensian abbey of Titchfield (Hampshire), in 1400.[72]

The nature and contents of another thirteenth-century manuscript, Bodleian, Digby ms. 86, suggest that its origin was rather different from that of the collections discussed so far. Although it contains a number of works in Anglo-Norman it also includes over twenty works in Middle English verse, most of these arranged in what is largely a distinctive sequence towards the end of the manuscript (ff. 119–200). These include the early Middle English fabliau, *Dame Sirith* (the only surviving pre-Chaucerian example of this form) and a number of lyrics, mostly religious. The first of its two scribes seems to have been inexperienced in book production and may have produced the manuscript initially for his own use.[73] Dialect evidence suggests that it originated in

70 For a description, see *Owl and nightingale*, pp. ix–x; Laing 1993, pp. 145–7.
71 Laing 1993, pp. 69–70; Cartlidge 1997.   72 *CBMLC*, III, p. 190, 31h.
73 *Facsimile Digby 86*, pp. lvi–vii.

Worcestershire,[74] thus providing a geographical connection with the last site of Old English transcription and with the development of a provincial culture which encouraged the copying of newer forms of English writing. But it has been defined as 'a layman's common-place book or miscellany',[75] which suggests that already, by the late thirteenth century, the production of manuscripts in provincial environments was not solely the preserve of institutions.

To these manuscripts may be added yet another with Worcester associations, Cambridge, Trinity College ms. B. 14. 39, a manuscript of eighty-seven leaves, copied by several scribes, in both verse and prose, and again trilingual in its content (fig. 15.5).[76] It shares a number of works with Digby 86, and with the Jesus College and (to a lesser degree) the Cotton manuscripts of *The Owl and the Nightingale* (fig. 6.5). This collection may have connections with a Dominican house,[77] but the evidence is not sufficiently conclusive to establish where it was produced or owned. It offers further testimony to the regional circulation of collocations of texts and to the varying degrees of scribal collaboration involved in their production.

There is a certain amount of evidence to indicate that early in the period individuals sometimes had direct roles in the commissioning and recording of literary texts. The clearest indication of such activity comes from the single extant copy of the mid-fourteenth-century alliterative romance, *William of Palerne*, now Cambridge, King's College, ms. 13, composed in a Gloucestershire dialect, the poet identifying Humphrey Bohun as his patron.[78] The role of the Bohun family as patrons and bibliophiles is well known, but it is worth noting that there are other indications of the family's interest in vernacular literature, notably the name 'joan bohun' which appears in the large compendium of religious works now BL, Add. ms. 22283, from the late fourteenth century.[79] The scribe of that manuscript also copied the most massive of all compilations of Middle English religious works, the Vernon manuscript (Bodleian, ms. Eng. poet. a. 1), which has been linked to various religious houses in the West Midlands.[80] But, as is often the case, it is not clear whether this evidence of ownership is an indication of commission, or whether there is a direct association between such a commission and a particular house.

These points bear even more forcibly on another, rather later major provincial collection, BL, Harley ms. 2253, copied probably, in the vicinity of Ludlow in the 1340s, by a scribe who seems to have been mainly active as a copyist

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74 Miller 1963.   75 *Facsimile Digby 86*, p. xi.   76 For a full description, see Reichl 1973.
77 *English lyrics xiiith*, pp. xx–xxii.   78 *Survey*, v/1, pp. 34–6.   79 *Vernon manuscript*, pp. 15–16.
80 *Vernon manuscript*; Pearsall 1990.

of legal documents.[81] This collection is the largest early collection of Middle English lyrics, both secular and religious (the so-called 'Harley lyrics'). But it also includes the Middle English romance of *King Horn* and other works, chiefly devotional, in Latin and Anglo-Norman.[82] The generic and linguistic range of this collection may reflect the cultivated tastes of the manuscript's commissioner, who, in view of the apparent reference to Adam de Orleton, bishop of Hereford 1317–27, possibly had some links to an episcopal household.[83] It has been noted that the range of allusion in the lyrics points to associations of some learning and sophistication on the part of the anonymous authors (partly derived, no doubt, from reading in French).[84] Harley 2253 is clearly an anthology designed to reflect an unusually wide spectrum of texts, but emphasizing the literary and vernacular in an attempt to exhibit a range of Middle English verse achievement within a single volume.

The inclusion of *King Horn* in Harley 2253 also points to the emerging significance of romance in the production of literary manuscripts. Romance as a form entered English via Anglo-Norman, the version of Norman French that established itself in post-Conquest Britain. A number of Anglo-Norman romances survive or are known to have existed, mainly from about 1150–1250, apparently among courtly audiences.[85] *King Horn* was possibly the earliest of these to be translated into Middle English, probably in the early thirteenth century, followed soon after by *Havelok the Dane*. *King Horn* appears together with another early romance, *Floris and Blaunchefleur*, in BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius D. III, a manuscript possibly from Gloucestershire. Once again, the west and north-west of England emerge as important sites for the production of literary texts of this kind.

But the distribution of romances also points to production sites nearer to metropolitan areas. *King Horn* and *Floris and Blaunchefleur* are also collocated in CUL, ms. Gg. 4. 27 (2), a manuscript apparently of Berkshire origin (fig. 15.6). Another, fragmentary, text of *Havelok* is in CUL, Add. ms. 4407 (19), from Norfolk. And *King Horn* also appears with *Havelok the Dane* in Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 108. This is a large manuscript, again seemingly from Norfolk, which also contains the *South English Legendary* and other religious verse in Middle English. It was compiled at the very end of the thirteenth century (attracting some later additions) and is possibly the first substantial

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81 *Facsimile Harley 2253*; for a full description of the manuscript's contents, see Guddat-Figge 1976, pp. 195–201. On the scribe, see Revard 1985, p. 45, n. 15, and the references cited there; and see also the further studies in Fein 2000.
82 *King Horn* offers a parallel-text edition.   83 *Facsimile Harley 2253*, p. xxiii.
84 Salter 1983, pp. 19–85.   85 Field 1999 for details.

collection of verse exclusively in Middle English. It has recently been suggested that behind the previously accepted East Anglian associations for these early romances lie possible metropolitan origins, at least in the case of *King Horn*, which, it has been argued, may have been written in London for a London family;[86] indeed, it is possible that the transmission of such texts was characterized by much greater geographical fluidity than has been supposed. The range of texts evidently available to the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, written in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, suggests that either he, or the books he read – possibly both – moved within and beyond the north-west Midland area of the poem's dialect.[87]

The importance of London as a site with a particular demand for romances, however, is highlighted by the production there in the 1330s or 1340s of the so-called Auchinleck manuscript (NLS, ms. Adv. 19. 2. 1). This includes sixteen romances, of which a number are unique, as well as other works in prose and verse, particularly in its early sections, which are primarily devotional and hagiographical.[88] The manuscript was originally very large (moderate dimensions of about 265×205 mm, but with more than 386 leaves). The logistics of producing a compilation of this size are reflected in the evident complexity of its organization: six scribes were involved to different degrees,[89] and, for the first time in an English manuscript of substantial secular content, there is extensive decoration and illustration. Such an immense and complex task could only have been undertaken in London, which perhaps alone in England possessed the requisite resources, both material and human.

Nonetheless, the Auchinleck manuscript is unique, without precedent or emulator. If it is to be seen as a harbinger of the rising status of literary manuscripts, then it was one significantly ahead of any followers: the surviving evidence suggests that few analogous compilations of romances were to be produced before the mid fifteenth century.[90] Metropolitan literary production, it seems, remained primarily concerned with the dissemination of French literary culture until the emergence of London-based writers in the reign of Richard II, and the need for new commercial structures to cater for the interest in the writings of Chaucer and Gower and the B-Text of Langland's *Piers plowman*.

The metropolitan transmission of Langland's poem perhaps signals the beginnings of vernacular manuscript production in London, particularly as

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86 Allen 1988.   87 Bennett 1979, and, more generally, Coss 1985.
88 For a full description and facsimile see *Auchinleck manuscript*.   89 Shonk 1985.
90 The most notable is BL, Egerton ms. 2862, probably produced in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, which includes *Sir Degarre*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Richard Coeur de Lyon* and *The Seege of Troy*; for a description see Guddat-Figge 1976, pp. 182–4.

represented in the career of the copyist now termed Scribe D, who wrote London, UL, ms. v. 88, probably at an early stage of his career, before going on to produce two copies of the *Canterbury tales* and seven of Gower's *Confessio amantis*.[91] The manuscripts of the A version of *Piers plowman*, generally held to be the earliest, are broadly associated with the Worcester area.[92] Hence it had geographical links, however tenuous, with the earliest surviving traditions of alliterative verse writing in Middle English. The emergence, in the late fourteenth century, of copies of Langland's poem in the metropolis, signals a movement, both geographical and cultural, from the margins to a more central position, and a developing concern, mirroring Langland's own, with metropolitan preoccupations and the conditions of urban life.

This movement was buttressed by the emergence of new agents within the structures of London book production, figures with links to noble patrons who seemingly felt inclined to burnish the reputation of their cultural patronage through the acquisition of works by Chaucer and Gower. The Ellesmere Chaucer (San Marino CA, Huntington Library, ms. EL 26 C 9) and the earliest de luxe copies of Gower's *Confessio amantis*, those in San Marino, Huntington Library, ms. EL 26 A 17, and Bodley ms. 902, offer the first intimations of these new kinds of production. These were books with a status that was to be confirmed in the emergence of the next generation of copies of the works of these poets in the early fifteenth century, as well as in copies of works by their followers, Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate.[93] The (largely) London scribes who produced these copies, working in loose collaborations among themselves and with stationers and decorators, signal the establishment of a new large-scale market for contemporary, vernacular works of literature. Such forms of organization seem to have continued throughout the fifteenth century and to have been responsible for the creation of a number of elaborately produced literary manuscripts as well as other, more utilitarian, copies.

By contrast, there seems little evidence of sustained production of literary manuscripts in other parts of the country during the second half of the fourteenth century. The most notable surviving indication of anything of this kind is probably BL, Cotton ms. Nero A. X, apparently produced somewhere near the border of Cheshire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire towards the end of this period, containing *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Pearl*, *Patience* and *Cleanness*. This manuscript is unique in containing only poems written in various forms of alliterative verse. We have no clues as to the identity of the author(s) of the

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91 Doyle and Parkes 1978.   92 Samuels 1963.
93 Doyle and Parkes 1978; Edwards and Pearsall 1989.

poems or the circumstances that led to the commissioning of the manuscript.[94] Its survival, however, raises the possibility that literary works were being produced at provincial sites, and its inclusion of crude illustrations may reflect some acquaintance in these milieux with other more lavish collections of secular poetry.

But by the end of the fourteenth century London had clearly established itself as the major site for the production of such works. It is clear that there existed the range of resources and personnel – scribes, limners, parchmeners, binders – who could be assembled into loose, *ad hoc* collaborations for the creation of quite elaborate books. Such collaborations were seemingly effected through the agency of stationers, who, although they seem only to have established themselves formally as a guild at the beginning of the fifteenth century, were well established in London during the fourteenth century.[95] The concluding decades of this period saw a noticeable expansion both in the numbers of texts available for replication and also in the systematized processes for their copying and circulating. This expansion is most obvious in London, where sufficient numbers of authors and copyists were located to facilitate the development of commercial and labour systems necessary to support a definable book trade.

III.   The Welsh book

<div align="right">Daniel Huws</div>

Welsh literature in the year 1400 was in antiquity and diversity (not to broach questions of quality) comparable to that in English. But in contrast, this Welsh literature survives only in books written after about 1250; in books, however – some eighty manuscripts survive for the period 1250–1400 – which are as well produced as their English contemporaries. The point needs to be made in view of the rapid divergence in this respect after 1400, when Wales went into post-Glyndŵr depression while in England the commercial production of fine books in the vernacular became widespread.

At the fountainhead of Welsh poetry stand Aneirin and Taliesin. While questions have been raised, no convincing arguments have been put forward to gainsay the sixth-century origin of a core of the surviving work attributed to these two bards who are named (with others) in connection with sixth-century rulers in the *Historia Brittonum*.[96] Of early written transmission of the poetry,

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94 Edwards 1997.   95 Blagden 1960; Christianson 1990.
96 *Chronica minora*, III, pp. 111–222, c. 62.

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all that can safely be said is that the texts contain corruptions which can only be explained as misreadings of Insular script: derivation from Insular exemplars could have been as late as the twelfth century.

Surviving written Welsh in books of the period 800–1100 is confined to marginalia, short added texts and glosses.[97] But comparison with neighbouring Ireland and England makes it improbable that books in the vernacular were unknown in Wales. The case is probably one of non-survival, one which calls for explanation. Gerald of Wales refers to books in Welsh, once in reference to genealogy, once to prophetic poetry, but no twelfth-century example survives.[98] *Liber Landavensis* (NLW, ms. 17110E), one of the few twelfth-century books to survive from a Welsh-Norman milieu, is the only one to contain substantial sections (mainly boundary clauses in charters) in the vernacular.[99] The script of these sections in the vernacular has Insular traits. They are one pointer to the possibility that Insular script, although no Welsh examples later than 1100 survive, may, in Wales, as it did in England, have continued in use for the vernacular. The non-survival of post-1100 examples of Insular from Wales and the non-survival of any books in Welsh before the mid-thirteenth century could be explained by two factors: the broken custody of pre-Norman libraries (in contrast to England), and a disregard, after the adoption of continental textura, for books written in an abandoned script (in contrast to Ireland). All pre-1100 Welsh books and fragments which survived did so outside Wales.

The earliest books in Welsh, none of them dated, come in a bunch about the middle of the thirteenth century.[100] They include texts of Welsh law (contemporary with the earliest Latin ones), mostly associated with Gwynedd, still an independent kingdom;[101] two versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the Welsh adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie* (NLW, Peniarth ms. 44 and NLW, Llanstephan ms. 1);[102] and the earliest collection of Welsh poetry, the Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW, ms. Peniarth 1) (fig. 15.7).[103] Edward I's conquest in 1282–3 seems, if anything, to have acted as a spur to recording Welsh literature. The epoch generated *Brut y Tywysogyon* (the 'Chronicle of the Princes', a chronicle of Welsh history up to 1282) and the collection of

97 Lindsay 1912; Jackson 1953, ch. II; Sims-Williams 1998; Pryce 1998; Jenkins and Owen 1983–4.
98 Gerald of Wales: *Expugnatio Hibernica* 1867, p. 402, and Gerald of Wales: *Descriptio Kambriae*, pp. 167–8.
99 *Text Llan Dâv*; Huws 2000, pp. 123–57.
100 Most surviving medieval manuscripts in Welsh are described in [Evans] 1898–1910; all are listed in Huws 2000, pp. 57–64.
101 Charles-Edwards 1989.   102 *Brut Brenhinedd*.
103 *Facsimile Black Book*; *Black Book Carmarthen*; *Llyfr Du*; Huws 2000, pp. 70–2.

court poetry in the Hendregadredd Manuscript (NLW, ms. 6680b). The hundred years from c.1250 to c.1350 produced over fifty extant books in Welsh. These contain almost all that survives of early Welsh literature: four of the five great collections of pre-1300 Welsh poetry, including the Book of Aneirin (Cardiff, Central Library ms. 2.81) (fig. 15.8) and the Book of Taliesin (NLW, ms. Peniarth 2);[104] the classics of medieval secular narrative prose, some later canonized as the *Mabinogion*, and the best of the religious prose.[105]

Colophons survive (others no doubt vanished as books disintegrated) only in three of these fifty or so books: Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O.7.1 (Welsh law) was written by Gwilym Wasta of Y Drenewydd (fig. 15.9); NLW, Peniarth ms. 9 (the Welsh Charlemagne cycle) was written in 1336 by Ieuan Ysgolhaig ['Ieuan the Scholar'] and Oxford, Jesus College, ms. 141, an important collection of religious prose, was written in 1346 by a scribe who identifies himself as 'at that time' an anchorite at Llanddewibrefi.[106] The hand of the anchorite occurs in four other books including the *White Book of Rhydderch* (NLW, Peniarth mss. 4 and 5) where he is one of five scribes responsible for this first known major collection of Welsh narrative prose, including the material of the *Mabinogion*.[107]

Brut y Tywysogyon ('The Chronicle of the Princes') was conceived as a continuation of *Brut y Brenhinedd*. *Brut y Tywysogyon* was a Cistercian text. So, by inference, is *Brut y Brenhinedd* and two other texts adapted into Welsh to provide a preamble to Welsh history: Dares Phrygius (*Ystorya Dared*) and Peter of Poitiers' Chronicle (known in Welsh as *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*); and also the later chronicle to 1461 known as *Brenhinedd y Saesson*.[108] These texts were certainly transmitted by Valle Crucis and Strata Florida, and probably by other Welsh Cistercian houses. The Cistercian houses of native Welsh foundation, daughters and granddaughters of Whitland, have long been regarded as likely producers of vernacular Welsh books. Circumstantial evidence strengthens this view, but it has to be said that only two surviving books, NLW, Peniarth ms. 20 (*Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* and a bardic grammar), written at Valle Crucis about 1330, and BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra B.V, parts i and iii (*Brut y Brenhinedd* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*), by the same scribes, can be conclusively associated with a particular house.

104 For facsimiles and editions: Aneirin: *Book of Aneirin*; Aneirin: *Canu Aneirin*; Aneirin: *Y Gododdin*; Aneirin: *Llyfr Aneirin*; Aneirin: *Gododdin*; Taliesin: *Book of Taliesin*; Taliesin: *Canu Taliesin*; Taliesin: *Poems*. Further, Jarman and Hughes 1992.
105 *White Book Mabinogion*; *Elucidarium*; see Jarman and Hughes 1992 for editions.
106 *Elucidarium*.   107 Huws 2000, pp. 227–68.
108 Peter of Poitiers: *Bibyl Ynghymraec*; *Brut Tywysogyon Peniarth*; *Brut Tywysogyon Hergest*; *Brenhinedd*.

Good cases can be made for associating three books written by the NLW, Peniarth ms. 44 scribe with Valle Crucis, three by the Book of Aneirin (Cardiff, Central Library, ms. 2.81) scribe with Aberconwy (fig. 15.8), five by the Anchorite with Strata Florida and, more speculatively, five by the Book of Taliesin scribe with Cwm-hir.[109] On the other hand, a clear case of non-monastic book-production is provided by Gwilym Wasta ('Was Da', ['good servant']), who wrote two other lawbooks besides Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. O.7.1 (fig. 15.9). He is named as a burgess of Y Drenewydd (Newton, Dinefwr, a borough established in 1298) in 1302–3.

The Welsh of the earliest books had, in contrast to contemporary English, reached a high level of standardization (itself evidence of a tradition of written Welsh far older than the surviving books). Dialectal forms are few. Nothing comparable to the close localization of fourteenth-century English vernacular books can be contemplated in Wales. The best that is possible, on the evidence of the few clear indicators, is a division into northern, south-eastern and south-western regions.[110]

The Anchorite wrote Oxford, Jesus College, ms. 141 for a friend, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip of Cantref Mawr (Carmarthenshire). All the evidence suggests that the White Book of Rhydderch was indeed written for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd, of Llangeitho, Ceredigion (c.1325-c.1398) with whom tradition has associated it. Gruffudd and Rhydderch are the only two pre-1350 patrons with whom surviving books can be linked. They are, nevertheless, probably typical. They were *uchelwyr*, gentry. Gruffudd and Efa, son and daughter of Maredudd ab Owain (d. 1265), ruler of Ceredigion, ancestor of Rhydderch, commissioned translations into Welsh from Latin and French of both religious and secular texts.[111] An earlier owner of Welsh books known by name, from Glamorgan, was the rebel, Llywelyn Bren, executed in 1317.[112] An inventory of his goods lists eight books, three of them in Welsh (no titles given), one the *Roman de la Rose*. Other than lawyers and physicians and men of religion, and perhaps bards, owners of books were likely to have been *uchelwyr*.

Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd was in later life a *dosbarthwr* (expert in Welsh law) and famed as a patron of bards. His parents' household provides a rare insight into literary activity. Ieuan Llwyd (*fl.* 1332–43) and Angharad were

109 Huws 2000, pp. 75, 79, 189–92, 252–4.   110 Thomas 1993.

111 Colophons preserved in the White Book of Rhydderch (NLW, Peniarth ms. 5), quoted in [Evans] 1898–1910, pp. 312 and 314.

112 Huws 2000, p. 54.

patrons of the first *cywyddwyr* (Dafydd ap Gwilym celebrated Angharad in a famous *awdl*); the earliest form of the Welsh bardic grammar, datable to the 1320s, attributed to Einion Offeiriad, contains poetic examples which make personal reference to them.[113] The Hendregadredd Manuscript (NLW, ms. 6680B), a collection of court poetry which was the collaborative work of one main scribe followed by nineteen others working about 1300–1325, probably at Strata Florida, evidently came into Ieuan's possession and was then used as a house-book, its remaining blank pages filled by twenty contemporary hands with poetry quite different in character, some addressed to Ieuan and Angharad, some by the early *cywyddwyr*, including Dafydd ap Gwilym.[114] This stratum of the Hendregadredd Manuscript is a first-hand witness of the Welsh poetic metamorphosis of the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

No book in Welsh can confidently be attributed to the third quarter of the fourteenth century; even candidates are few. It may have been a barren period, blighted by the Black Death. Some time after 1382, however, came the most ambitiously conceived book of the Welsh Middle Ages. The *Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, Jesus College, ms. 111), though its texts are seldom without earlier antecedents, offers almost a *summa* of early Welsh literature, both poetry and prose.[115] Measuring 340 mm × 210 mm, comprising 362 leaves (originally at least 408), the work of three main scribes, it is the largest medieval book in Welsh. Notably absent, probably because it was unavailable, is the poetry of Aneirin and Taliesin, and, in prose, no doubt deliberate exclusions, legal texts and most religious ones. The chief scribe and evident editor, identified by a colophon in Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, ms. 8680, is Hywel Fychan ap Hywel Goch of Buellt. He wrote the Philadelphia manuscript at the command of his master, Hopcyn ap Tomas, of Ynysforgan, near Swansea: so too, the contents suggest, the *Red Book*. Hopcyn was an old man when 'as master of Brut [prophesy]' he was consulted in 1403 by Owain Glyndŵr.[116]

The hands of the *Red Book* scribes appear, with or without others, in nine books. Their activity, collaborative but without monastic association, represents the last flourish of communal book production in medieval Wales. The

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113 The bardic grammars are edited in *Gramadegau*; on Einion Offeiriad, see references given in Huws 2000, pp. 206, n.20, and 217, nn. 41 and 42.

114 *Llawysgrif*; Huws 2000, pp. 193–226. The court poetry is edited in *Cyfres Beirdd*, the later poetry in Owen and Evans 1996.

115 *Text Mabinogion*; *Text Bruts Hergest*; *Poetry Hergest*; Huws 2003.   116 Huws 2000, p. 80.

period may have been a generally active one: several well-produced books of religious and secular prose, including the earliest Welsh medical texts, are among the apparent contemporaries. The fifteenth century in Wales, opening with the depressed decades which followed Glyndŵr's rising, saw book production become little more than a do-it-yourself cottage industry, distinguished only by the occasional good or enterprising scribe.

Pre-1400 Welsh books are all of parchment (no Welsh vernacular paper book survives from before the mid-fifteenth century) and almost all written in Textura. Their decoration is simple, usually plain initials in one or two colours, red and either blue or green (the use of green persisted in Wales into the fourteenth century) or a distinctive blue-green. Gold occurs only in one book (BL, Cotton ms. Cleopatra B.V, part ii), illuminated miniatures are unknown, drawings few. Unambitious though they may be, in everyday craftsmanship the standards of most of these books are high. They represent the high plateau of post-Norman vernacular Welsh book production. The books are mostly small, few more than 200 mm in height. While allowing for the many books which are now fragmentary, it can safely be said that between 1250 and 1400 there was a tendency towards making thicker and more comprehensive books; those for the latter part of this period compared with those for the former part have on average about double the number of leaves (c.120: c.60). Only two books, both of fourteenth-fifteenth-century date, Bodleian, Rawl. ms. B.467 and Oxford, Jesus College, ms. 20, retain their original bindings.[117] Mention should be made, however, of the lower board of *Liber Landavensis*, a rare survival from a twelfth-century metal-covered binding.[118]

To most contemporaries, as to most modern readers, the most exciting Welsh literature of the fourteenth century was probably the poetry of the *cywyddwyr*, of, above all, Dafydd ap Gwilym (*fl.* 1330–50), poetry that was new in metre, in subject matter, in its less formal language and in tone.[119] Remarkably, given that it was an age of excellent Welsh book production, the indications are that this poetry was not gathered into books before about 1450. All that survives in manuscript from the first hundred years of the *cywydd* tradition is a handful of poems added to books in blank spaces.[120] The new poetry, less venerable, regarded as of lower standing, must during this period have been

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117 There is no published description of either of these bindings, both of plain tawed skin over boards.
118 Huws 2000, pp. 124–6, 144–6: NLW, 17110E.
119 Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry is edited in Dafydd ap Gwilym: *Gwaith Dafydd*; a recent translation is Dafydd ap Gwilym: *Poems*.
120 Huws 2000, pp. 88–9, 207–10, 266–7; Owen and Evans 1996.

transmitted orally. Among the most interesting poems of the *cywyddwyr* are those addressed to patrons whose pleasures included reading. There are in these poems references to reading history and legend, chronicles and geneal-ogy, and *hengerdd* (ancient poetry), but, before 1450, not, as reading matter, to *cywyddau*.[121] The transmission of Welsh literature by manuscript, like that by the printed book before the nineteenth century, advanced on an uneven front.

121 Some examples are given in *Poems Cywyddwyr*, pp. xvi–xviii.

History and history books

GEOFFREY MARTIN AND
RODNEY M. THOMSON

Throughout our period history was written as well as made: the past, as far back as Creation, was remembered, and the present recorded. Indeed, paradoxically from our viewpoint, what excited most writers was what was happening in their day; the distant past, if it was noticed at all, was dealt with rather perfunctorily. The literature is so abundant that in this chapter we shall by no means be able even to name all the writers who participated, or any but the most important anonymous works. We shall for the most part be content to note trends, tendencies, motives and contexts. At its widest, historical writing encompassed the history of the kingdom of England, and at its narrowest, the fortunes of a single community, usually religious. As a genre, however, this literature is hard to demarcate. It cannot, and ought not to, be clearly distinguished, for instance, from hagiography, from collections of legal or administrative documents with linking and interpretative commentary, or from romance. Medieval writers themselves sometimes made such distinctions, but very often did not observe them. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries mark one of the greatest epochs in the long tradition of historical writing in Britain, both qualitatively and quantitatively. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this tradition waned and historical writing simply lost significance as a literary genre. One reason for this was doubtless the fact that it was no longer the preserve of authors who had received a thorough education in the liberal arts and who thus understood the classical historiographical and literary norms. Compilation, notes and jottings gained a currency that they had not enjoyed earlier. Largely bygone were any overriding historical vision, the notion of historical writing as a branch of fine literature, or a critical approach to the sources of information.

The years around 1100 mark the opening of a new and distinguished chapter in the story of history-writing in Britain, as even some contemporary writers were aware.[1] In his *Gesta regum Anglorum* (c.1125), William of Malmesbury

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1 Darlington 1947; Brooke 1970, pp. 238–47; Gransden 1974, ch. 8.

surveyed the pre-Conquest scene in terms of the historical writings which it had produced and which were still available to him.[2] Bede, he concluded, was the outstanding historian of Anglo-Saxon England; since his time the record was one of unaccountable inability to emulate him, and of the shameful loss of his legacy. Latin historical writings between his death in 734 and c.1066 were few and of poor quality; the vernacular Chronicle was important for the information it preserved, but not as a piece of literature. These were by no means unreasonable judgments, and it was only well after the Conquest that this state of affairs began to be put right. The new wave began modestly enough, with works of hagiography written predominantly by foreigners like Folcard and Goscelin of St Bertin, then with the Englishmen Osbern and Eadmer at Canterbury, the second of whom wrote in elegant Latin a history dominated by his own time, the *Historia novorum*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 452 (fig. 7.1).[3]

The shock of the Conquest itself, the revitalization of libraries and Latin learning by the Norman occupiers, and the stimulating interaction of English and Normans over the next two generations, comprise the main reasons for this unprecedented upsurge in the acquisition and writing of historical works in England. In part it was a question of preserving a venerable and venerated past, both ecclesiastical (focussing on English saints) and secular (memorializing powerful and devout kings), in part of rescuing and recording the threatened privileges and property of individual religious institutions, in part but one aspect of a renewed, European-wide, interest in writing Latin and works in the tradition of the Ancients.

Ancient models, both classical and Christian, and early medieval ones, both local and foreign, were important in stimulating and shaping new historical works. It now became evident, to others than William of Malmesbury, that Bede's *Ecclesiastical history*, of which over one hundred English copies survive, had lost none of its power with the passage of time.[4] Its influence derived from more than its content. Bede's habit of citing the sources of his information, and particularly his care to identify the friends and correspondents who provided him with material, became after a very long interval an essential feature of scholarly writing. Less obviously but just as importantly, he preserved or revived the classical tradition of historical writing, in which a history, as

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2 William of Malmesbury: *Gesta regum*, book 1 prologue.
3 Gransden 1974, chs. 5 and 7; Thomson in William of Malmesbury: *Saints' Lives*, pp. xxx–xxxi, with references to earlier literature; Southern 1963, pp. 248–52, 274–343.
4 Laistner and King 1943; Mynors in Bede: *Historia ecclesiastica*, pp. xlii–lxx; Brooke 1970, pp. 224, 243–5.

opposed to a chronicle or annalistic compilation, was distinguished by a unifying theme and a moral purpose, expressed in a polished literary style.[5] Yet it comes as a surprise to note that the many English copies made over the course of the twelfth century derive from continental, not English, exemplars. The writings of Bede (for the renewed popularity of his *History* was only part of a rediscovery of his writings in general) had to be re-imported into England after the Conquest, as was the case with very many other Latin writings.[6]

The *Ecclesiastical history*, through the whole of our period, continued to be one of the basic constituents of general chronicles, and so did some classical, Late Antique and Carolingian works. Perhaps the most popular of all of these, again re-imported into England in the late eleventh century, were the two Jewish histories of Josephus.[7] Other works of ancient history introduced at the same time, such as Sallust, Suetonius, Florus' epitome of Livy or Justin's of Pompeius Trogus, were not rare but neither were they ubiquitous. By the middle of the twelfth century, however, Bede and Josephus were to be found in the libraries of almost any religious community of any size and wealth.

There was some direct continuity with the Anglo-Saxon past, notably in the survival and continuation of the sets of interrelated vernacular annals which we know collectively as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Begun in celebration of the West Saxon dynasty, and derived from royal genealogies which would have been oral in their earliest form, it was continued in several monasteries well after the Conquest, and maintained as a general history at the abbey of Peterborough as late as 1155.[8] Not only was the Chronicle continued long after the Conquest, but it was used, sometimes in forms otherwise lost to us, as a source for historical writings in Latin. Writers such as John of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon and Symeon of Durham made such heavy use of the Chronicle that the form in which it was available to them can be recognized and to some extent reconstructed.[9]

Even with respect to historical writing in Latin, native English talent was never entirely suppressed in the post-Conquest period. Eadmer of Canterbury has already been mentioned, and the first general account of Anglo-Norman history was the work of an Englishman, Orderic Vitalis, who entered the monastery of St Evroult in Normandy, and died there c.1143, although he

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5 For a discussion of the genres, see Hay 1977.   6 See above, pp. 137 and n. 4, 142–3.
7 Blatt 1958, pp. 87–94.
8 *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, the Peterborough (ᴇ) version most recently ed. Irvine 2004.
9 *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, trans. Whitelock and others, pp. xviii–xxi; *Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (ᴇ), ed. Irvine 2004, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi, lxxx–lxxxix; Greenway in Henry of Huntingdon: *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xci–xcviii.

paid visits to England in the course of his work and used English archival as well as literary sources.[10] His close contemporary, William of Malmesbury (d. prob. 1143), 'had the blood of both races in his veins', and one of the most noticeable elements in his writing is his 'enduring *feeling* of Englishness'.[11] Yet in his voluminous historical writings he ranged widely in time and space, and is the first author in England to bear comparison with Bede in terms of his intellectual curiosity and his assured technique (fig. 6.3).[12] Unlike Orderic and many others, he viewed recent events as part of a long continuing process, rather than the principal object of his interest.

Most of the first generation of Anglo-Norman historians, Eadmer, Orderic, Symeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury, were Benedictine monks, and Eadmer, Symeon and William at least were the precentors of their houses.[13] This was no coincidence. The monastic precentor was responsible not only for the conduct of worship, but for the acquisition and maintenance of library and service books. The office attracted men of scholarly bent with an interest in the traditions of their community which might in turn generate a broader interest in the history of their country. Like Bede, these men had the resources of their communities behind them. Malmesbury was an ancient house of no great account since its earliest days (c.700), but in William's time it experienced a reflorescence, expressed in an ambitious building programme, of which some striking remnants survive, and a well-stocked library.[14] The network of connections between monastic houses was also important in the creation and distribution of historical works. William, Eadmer, Symeon, Orderic, and John of Worcester were in touch with each other, even while their works were in progress.[15] Some of these connections show up in the early distribution of copies of William's two major works, the *Gesta regum Anglorum* and *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*: one family spread through houses in the north of England, over a long period of time (Durham perhaps being the clearing-house); another was located in the region of Canterbury and Rochester, another centred on St Albans, another on Glastonbury, and yet another on Worcester.[16] William

10 Orderic Vitalis: *Ecclesiastical history*; Chibnall 1984.
11 William of Malmesbury: *Gesta regum* iii. prol. 1; Winterbottom 2003, p. 129.
12 Thomson 2003.
13 On Eadmer see Gransden 1974, pp. 115–16, 129–35, Webber 1995, Gullick 1998b. On Symeon, see Rollason 1998 and Rollason in Symeon of Durham: *Libellus Dunhelmensis*, pp. xlii–xci.
14 Thomson 2003, esp. chs. 4 and 5; Thomson in William of Malmesbury: *Gesta pontificum*, II, pp. xix–xxi, 330–1.
15 Thomson 2003, pp. 72–5; on John of Worcester see Gransden 1974, pp. 144–5, McGurk in John of Worcester: *Chronicle*, II, pp. xxi–lxxxi.
16 Winterbottom in William of Malmesbury: *Gesta regum*, I, pp. xiii–xxi, and in *Gesta pontificum*, II, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

himself travelled about England in search of books and information, visiting all of the places just mentioned, as well as many others.[17]

While this revival in historical studies was spearheaded by Benedictine monks, the secular clergy were not far behind, and by the second half of the twelfth century were making a major contribution. Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon (d. 1155), wrote an important history of the English people, of which at least thirty-five manuscripts were in circulation over the rest of our period.[18] Roger of Howden (a northerner, d. c.1195) and Ralph of Diss (or de Diceto, d. c.1200), Dean of St Paul's London, both drew on their experience as royal officials to comment both on past ages and on their own times.[19] Ralph, who made extensive use of the records of his church as well as those of the Crown, is notable for his use of marginal notes and symbols as an aid to following particular topics, London, Lambeth, ms. 8 (fig. 16.1). It may not be a coincidence that the royal exchequer began at about the same time to use such codes and symbols to facilitate reference to its constantly expanding archives.[20] It was a device later adopted by Matthew Paris,[21] and suggests that these texts, which undoubtedly were intended to be read aloud, were also meant to be studied and used as works of reference.

The humbler genre of annals, now in Latin and usually anonymous, must not be forgotten (fig. 4.5). They were popular at least during the first half of our period, and are also especially associated with Benedictine houses, where they presumably grew out of the practice of commemorating members, *confratres* and benefactors, and out of the example of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which some of them used as a source. One such example, produced at Winchester New Minster, and copied and extended at the Cistercian house of Waverley and at Worcester Cathedral Priory, includes instructions for its continuation:

> You will have to see to it that in this book there should at all times be a blank sheet on which you can note with a pencil such matters as the decease of well-known men or anything memorable about affairs of state if you chance to hear of it, and at the end of the year, one of you (not just anyone, but whoever should be appointed to the task) should write out briefly in the body of the book itself, whatever he considers to be reliable and best worth preserving for

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17 See note 15 above.

18 See Gransden 1974, pp. 193–201, Greenway in Henry of Huntingdon: *Historia Anglorum*, pp. xxiii–cxvii, the mss. of his work at cxvii–clx. Many more mss. contain extracts, of which those known to Greenway are listed in Appendix 4 (pp. 839–42).

19 Roger of Howden: *Chronica*; Gransden 1974, pp. 225–30; Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 591; Corner 1983. Ralph of Diss: *Opera historica*; Gransden 1974, pp. 230–6; Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 446.

20 On the secular clerics of the later twelfth century who wrote history, see Gransden 1974, pp. 219–46.

21 See below, p. 406 n. 46.

the knowledge of posterity; and then the old notesheet should be removed and a new one inserted.[22]

Like other branches of literature, historical works could have practical applications, such as forwarding the careers of their authors. Gerald of Wales (d. 1226), archdeacon of Brecon and thirsting for a see, introduced topographical studies of Wales and Ireland to the academic world, addressing the combined masters and doctors at Oxford on those themes, and setting thereby an example which the universities declined to follow for some seven centuries.[23] The most influential historical writer of the twelfth century, however, found an immediate and enduring fame through a work of the imagination. Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154), probably a canon of St George's, Oxford, one of the constituents of the emerging university, secured long-lived renown with his *History of the kings of Britain* (completed in 1139), one of the few works of that time which is popular reading today.[24] He gathered up the Arthurian and other legends in a story of blood and thunder which became the root and stock of almost every general history subsequently written in England until the seventeenth century.[25] The work survives in more than two hundred manuscripts, mostly written before c.1200, and was one of the few historical works composed in England to have become popular reading on the Continent.[26]

Two features of Geoffrey's *History*, besides its general resilience, deserve particular note. One is that it made fun of other historians, such as William of Malmesbury, for relying upon 'lesser' (that is English-centred) records of the past, while Geoffrey claimed to rest his narrative upon the authority of a 'very ancient book' which he possessed, and others did not.[27] That allegedly venerable source, its respectability enhanced by some overtone of a Celtic origin, told the story of Brutus and his Trojans, who escaped from the wreck of Troy to come to Britain and lay the foundations of the prosperous and assured society of twelfth-century England. It was an exciting story, well presented and deeply flattering to its readers and auditors. The other feature, of equal interest and practically of more consequence, was that its ingredients of magic, battle and romance appealed to a lay audience, and specifically to the knightly aristocracy and its numerous clients. The first feature, interesting in itself, attests to an

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22 *Annales monastici*, IV, p. 355; tr. Goldschmidt 1943, pp. 100–1.
23 Gerald of Wales: *Expugnatio Hibernica*, *Topographia Hibernica*, *Descriptio Kambriae*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*; Bartlett 1982.
24 Geoffrey of Monmouth: *Historia regum Britanniae*.
25 On Geoffrey and the British history, see Tatlock 1950; Kendrick 1950; Hanning 1966.
26 Crick 1989, 1991; Reeve 1991.
27 Brooke 1977; Flint 1979; 'The context and purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the kings of Britain*', in Gillingham 2000, pp. 19–29.

established scholarly and literary genre with recognized conventions, of which the most significant was the concept of authoritative sources. The conventions could be satirized, but in Geoffrey's hands they provided support for a recital which could be, and was, enjoyed in as many ways as it found readers or listeners. The second ensured a much wider audience than a more scrupulously sober exposition of the past would have enjoyed.[28] In fact Geoffrey's work, and the view of British history which it promoted, became deeply rooted in the English consciousness, and an object of fierce patriotic contention even as late as the time of the Stuarts. The Brut Chronicle (so-named after the Trojan Brutus, alleged conqueror and first king of Albion), an adaptation of Geoffrey's *History*, enjoyed particular popularity in the vernaculars of Anglo-Norman,[29] Middle English[30] and Welsh,[31] some versions surviving in over twenty manuscripts. It was in these forms that Geoffrey's chronicle reached a lay readership across a wide social spectrum.

Yet there were a few dissenting voices. The Yorkshire Augustinian canon William of Newburgh (d. after 1199) was a critical historian in the tradition of William of Malmesbury, whose works he undoubtedly knew.[32] In his *Historia rerum Anglicarum* (which opens with the Conquest) Newburgh railed against the 'fictions' proposed by Geoffrey.[33] Gerald of Wales also expressed doubts about Geoffrey's veracity, although he nonetheless used information from the *Historia regum* when it pleased him to do so, quite apart from his own notorious but entertaining fables of extraordinary inhabitants of the human and natural world.[34]

Other narratives of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, like those of Howden and Diss, also concentrated on kings, court and administration. Some of these were in the Anglo-Norman vernacular, more or less influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth and by the conventions of romance which would make them appealing to a 'courtly' audience. The *Estoire des Engleis*, written by Geoffrey Gaimar before 1140, is 'the first known romance history in vernacular verse . . . written in England'.[35] Commissioned by the northern noblewoman Constance

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28 Cf., for instance, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum*, which survives in thirty-seven copies, or the even soberer *Gesta pontificum*, which survives in nineteen.
29 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 2 (Wace), 13 (*Le livere des reis de Brittanie*), 36 (short version *Brut*), 42–5, 46 (long version *Brut*); nos. 13, 36, 46, each survive in fifteen or more manuscripts.
30 *Brut*; Matheson in Edwards 1984, pp. 209–14; Boffey and Edwards 2005, no. 295 for Layamon's verse *Brut*.
31 See above, ch. 15, p. 391.
32 Gransden 1974, pp. 263–68; Gillingham 2003. Another possible critic was Aelred of Rievaulx: Gransden 1974, pp. 212–13.
33 William of Newburgh: *Historia rerum Anglicarum*; Gillingham 2003.
34 Gerald of Wales: Gransden 1974, p. 246.
35 Gaimar, *L'estoire*; Gransden 1974, p. 209, and see pp. 209–12.

Fitz Gilbert, who envisaged it as a translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it was probably meant to be read aloud. In fact it is much more than a translation, if only because the story is carried down to the death of William Rufus in 1100. Benoît de Ste Maure, author of the *Roman de Troie*, under the patronage of Henry II, wrote c.1170–5 a verse chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy, based on the Latin works of Dudo of St Quentin and William of Jumièges.[36] Jordan Fantosme, with greater originality, gives a detailed contemporary account of the rebellion in 1173–4 of Henry's son, Henry, the Young King, and William the Lion of Scotland.[37]

Yet crusading was a topic which excited some of the best historical writing of Western Europe, and Richard the Lionheart was, of course, the preeminent (and indeed the only) English monarch who participated in it. Most English chroniclers of the twelfth century included in their narrative sections on the crusades, even if they did no more than digest the work of others, but Richard, prior of the Augustinian canonry of the Holy Trinity in London, significantly titled his work *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*.[38]

By the end of the twelfth century, then, the Benedictines, Augustinian canons and secular clergy (especially those involved in royal administration) had all made major contributions to the chronicling of their country's history. The Cistercians, whose first English houses date from the 1120s, were latecomers to this scene. They made their first significant contribution to it with the chronicle (to 1224) of Ralph, abbot of Coggeshall in Essex, a lively narrator, well informed about events both inside and without England, especially the Fourth Crusade.[39]

In the thirteenth century a new phase of historical writing emerged, which took its chief impress from the work of monks of the great Benedictine house of St Albans. It is on the one hand surprising that a house which developed such an obvious interest in books and learning from soon after the Conquest did not produce a major historian or significant historical writings during the twelfth century. On the other hand it is astonishing that it nonetheless went on to establish an almost unbroken tradition of writing national history from the 1230s until the death of Abbot John Whethamstede in 1465.[40] The first of the new works from St Albans was compiled by the monk Roger of Wendover

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36 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 2. 2.   37 Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 55.
38 *Chronicles Richard I*, I; Gransden 1974, pp. 239–42.
39 Ralph of Coggeshall: *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 11–18, 166; Gransden 1974, pp. 322–31; Freeman 2002. The Cistercians produced comparatively few chronicles or other literary works: Cheney 1973b.
40 Vaughan 1958; Holt 1964; Gransden 1974, ch. 16; Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora* 1376–1394, pp. xv–xviii, xxxiii–xli.

(d. 1236), who returned to the house after an unsuccessful term as prior of its cell at Belvoir in Leicestershire.[41] He drew, in the approved fashion, upon a variety of earlier works, stretching back to Bede and continuing to his own day. The surviving copies of his *Flores historiarum* derive from a common original, which was presumably Roger's master copy, and the full text of which is yet to be established. Roger was strongly interested in contemporary affairs and the preoccupations of lay society, but he also dwelt on the miraculous and the life of the spirit, approving particularly of the work of St Francis. His critical view of public life led in more recent times to a notion that St Albans gave birth to a constitutional tradition which accorded with modern notions of political probity and responsibility.[42] The *Flores* is important partly because it contains a detailed portrait of King John, critical but also partly fanciful, but chiefly because it became the source of the much more ambitious and better known work of his younger contemporary Matthew Paris. Wendover therefore also came to figure in a reputed 'school' of historical writing at St Albans which is now largely discounted. Both notions arose from a desire on the part of modern students of the Middle Ages to find principles of lasting value in works which they admired, but which seemed far removed from the values and concerns of the all-conquering industrial society. Yet there is no evidence that the abbey appointed monks as its official historiographers, and it is not true that the long line of historical writers at St Albans continuously expressed a distinctive view or set of views which can be identified as peculiar to the abbey, as distinct from the Benedictine order as a whole. Nonetheless, the almost unbroken sequence of St Albans historians from the 1220s until the mid-fifteenth century is distinctive in itself, and inasmuch as each succeeding historian made some use of the works of his predecessors, one can speak of a 'St Albans tradition'.[43] Why this should have happened at St Albans, given its meagre twelfth-century record, and why it should have happened nowhere else is at present a mystery.

Yet St Albans did not stand quite alone. Many religious houses, probably most, kept historical memoranda, often by casual accumulation in the interstices of other records. A rich and powerful house, close to London and a frequent place of call by the court and members of the nobility passing to and from their estates, was bound to pick up and by various means disseminate

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41 Roger of Wendover: *Flores historiarum*; Galbraith 1944; Vaughan 1958, pp. 21–34; Gransden 1974, pp. 359–60.
42 Criticism of this view, at least as applied to Matthew Paris, in Vaughan 1958, pp. 139–52; Gransden 1974, pp. 368–74.
43 Galbraith in *The St Albans chronicle*, p. xxvii.

news and gossip. Bury St Edmunds, which produced the remarkable account of its Abbot Samson (d. 1211) by Jocelin of Brakelond, and a series of annals and short local histories through the thirteenth century, is more typical of the generality of large Benedictine houses.[44] What distinguished St Albans was a relatively high level of intellectual activity, the accidental survival of a reasonable proportion of its literary and administrative archive, and its continuous tradition of critical commentary on the political life of the country.

Even so, without the emergence of Matthew Paris as Wendover's successor, the other factors might have been of little account. Matthew (d. 1259) had formidable energy, and added artistic talent to his literary skills.[45] He wrote a major (*Chronica maiora*) and a minor history (*Historia Anglorum*) of England, drawing in the first instance upon Wendover's work, but adding much material of his own (fig. 16.2). He was an avid collector of facts, of marvels, and of legends. He wrote as a topographer, at home and abroad, adding maps as well as illustrations to his narratives. He also followed Ralph of Diss by adopting marginal *signa*, some of which he found in the manuscript of Ralph's works preserved at St Albans.[46]

Later St Albans writers were themselves conscious of a house-tradition. Writing c.1400, Thomas Walsingham said that after Matthew Paris 'William Rishanger, Henry Blankfrount, Simon Binham and Richard Savage successively (*successiue*) wrote chronicles'.[47] Rishanger (d. 1312) wrote a number of historical works including a chronicle of English history to 1297, and so did Henry de Blankfront (or Blaneford) until at least 1324.[48] Another chronicle, anonymous in the manuscripts, covering the period 1259–1307 but written about the middle of the fourteenth century, may be the work of either Binham or Savage.[49] The work of these men was to be continued by the much more significant figure of Thomas Walsingham, whom we will consider further below.

By the fourteenth century the Benedictine houses were committed to an educational programme which evidently restocked many libraries and probably stimulated monks to write who might else have been content to read.[50]

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44 Much of the surviving material from Bury is printed in *Memorials*, I, pp. 107–336, II, pp. 253–354. See also Jocelin of Brakelond: *Chronicle*; *Electio Hugonis*; *Chronicle Bury St Edmunds*; Gransden 1974, ch. 17.

45 Vaughan 1958; Lewis 1987; *Survey* IV/1, nos. 85, 87–9, 91–3, 96.

46 Vaughan 1958, p. 129 n. 3, p. 211; Gransden 1974, p. 364; Lewis 1987, pp. 43–5, 66–71. The ms. is BL, Royal ms. 13 E. VI: Thomson 1985, I, pp. 73, 100; II, pl. 250.

47 Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora* 1382–92, II, p. 303.

48 Sharpe, *HLW*, pp. 804–5, 163. Blaneford's chronicle ends in 1324, the only surviving copy having lost leaves at this point.

49 Galbraith in *St Albans chronicle*, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi.

50 Wansborough and Marett-Crosby 1997, esp. chs. 3–7.

Those who were now sent to the universities would write as a matter of course, but others at home had the opportunity and the means to emulate them. Works of devotion would always have outnumbered others, and there was no place for history *per se* in any scheme of study at the time or for very long afterwards. Nevertheless the materials of history were abundantly available to the questing mind, and were widely used. Many historical jottings must have been lost, but the major chronicles remained as exemplars. Matthew Paris had set a new standard both in the range of his interests and the accomplished skill of his illustrations. His work was shown proudly at St Albans to distinguished visitors, from the king downwards, as well as being used for the instruction of his contemporaries and later generations.[51]

The last significant achievement of Benedictine historical scholarship, however, came in the early fourteenth century with the universal history of Ranulf Higden, monk of St Werburg's, Chester.[52] Higden's *Polychronicon* covered the history of mankind from Creation to his own day, with a cosmology and a broad account of the world and its wonders (Oxford, Lincoln Coll., MS Lat. 107) (fig. 16.3). Together with the *Brut*, the chronicle which perpetuated Geoffrey of Monmouth's romance and gathered a variety of continuations,[53] the *Polychronicon* became the bedrock of every general history circulating in England after his time.

Higden's popularity has to be considered in two contexts: against a background of general social change, and as part of a movement which affected all manifestations of the religious life. By the fourteenth century Western Europe had experienced several hundred years of material prosperity, tempered inevitably by human failings and natural misfortunes, but resulting in substantial advances in economic and social sophistication and intellectual skills. The religious orders, driven by changes in secular life and internal competition, had also responded to the interests and preoccupations of their patrons and neighbours. Their connections with the laity were closer and more intricate than they had been in earlier times. There were other supplicants for the laity's support, but the supply had not diminished, and overall may have increased. Abbeys and priories no longer had a monopoly of intellectual skills and talent, but they did not lag behind other purveyors of learning and professional expertise, and their libraries were still by far the most substantial repositories of ancient and more recent learning. They were therefore well able to maintain their standing, and in doing so they drew on external resources, from the universities to which

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51 Vaughan 1958, pp. 18–20, 152–4.   52 Ranulf Higden: *Polychronicon*; Taylor 1966.
53 *The Brut or Chronicles of England*; Brie 1905; Gransden 1982, pp. 73–7; Taylor 1986.

they dispatched their most promising members, to the skills which lay society was able to offer them. If they moved away from their old self-sufficiency in the process they lost little or nothing, but merely responded to the opportunity to use their own resources more effectively.

The Benedictines in particular were guided by their own constitutions, enjoined in the decrees of Pope Benedict XII (1334–42) and developed by their own chapters to devise a general scheme of education.[54] Its purpose was partly to ensure the effective administration of their estates and partly to strengthen their relations with lay society, but also, like all their other undertakings to maintain the religious life within their own walls and thus strengthen the Christian faith at large. To that end they provided schools which were not simply a means of recruiting novices, though they might work to that end, but also encouraged the association of fraternities and other benefactors, and cultivated rewarding relationships with the gentry and merchants of their neighbourhood. To achieve their ends they kept their house in order, and education extended beyond a knowledge of the Rule, upon which all else was founded, to a knowledge of the world, of the concerns of civil society, and of history as the record of the ways in which God's purpose had been, and was being, achieved.[55]

The *Polychronicon* therefore was assured of a wide audience. It was addressed to the Christian world at large: Higden would have read it to his own brethren, and it rapidly circulated among other houses, both Benedictine and those derived from the Benedictine practice. However, it also reached the laity, and remained current in one guise or another, to the eve of the Reformation.[56] In the process it attracted a number of informative continuations and modifications. Its most important role was probably in providing both a foundation and model for subsequent histories. One of the most interesting of them is the chronicle written by the learned and well-travelled lawyer Adam of Usk (d. 1421).[57] Most famously, and indicative of its wide influence, the *Polychronicon* was translated into English in the 1380s by John of Trevisa.[58] This is a reflection of the wider need for vernacular versions of chronicles which was also met by Higden's near contemporaries, such as Peter of Langtoft, an Augustinian canon of Bridlington, and the Dominican, Nicholas Trevet, who wrote in

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54 *Documents Black Monks*, ii, pp. 74–9, 82–9, 230–2.   55 Pantin 1950; Clark 2004, esp. pp. 1–4.
56 Dennison and Rogers 2002, pp. 94, 98–9 for copies belonging to the laity.
57 Adam of Usk: *Chronicle*; Gransden 1982, pp. 175–7.
58 John of Trevisa's translation is printed opposite the Latin text in Ranulf Higden: *Polychronicon*. The work was translated again in the fifteenth century: Taylor 1966, pp. 134–40.

Anglo-Norman.[59] Langtoft's chronicle is in the *Brut* tradition relating to the history of England, and Trevet's in the tradition of universal history exemplified by the *Polychronicon*, commencing with God's creation of the world.

Higden was still revising his History in the 1320s. From that time at the latest it was the text to which any serious chronicler turned, not for information only but for the opening section of his work. It did not stand entirely alone. Walter of Guisborough (d. after 1313), an Augustinian canon of that house, had produced a history of England from the Conquest onwards, and drew on a variety of sources for his account of recent events, notably the dramatic politics of Edward I's reign.[60] The *Polychronicon*, however, provided a comprehensive picture of mankind to which an aspiring historian could add any information, usually local in origin, which he might have to hand. Later medieval chronicles are therefore still read mainly for their continuations, the passages which have been added to bring the narrative down to the writer's own day. The survival of Higden's own work and its earliest recensions means that there is never doubt about the scope of his narrative, and beyond the continuations the main interest in the earlier part of such extensions of the *Polychronicon* now lies in such additions as their authors may have made to their model.

Higden was not the last of the great monastic chroniclers, but his was a commanding authority. The last significant chronicler, though not nearly so popular as Higden, was Thomas Walsingham at St Albans (d. c.1422), who made use of Higden, though he was also inspired by his local house-tradition. Walsingham's range was not as wide as Higden's, being chiefly focussed on St Albans and its place in the kingdom, but he was an energetic and innovative student of history.[61] He had of course the example of Matthew Paris before him, and in some respects he continued Matthew's work, but he also went his own way. He revised and continued the *Gesta abbatum monasterii S. Albani*,[62] Paris' domestic history, but his principal work was a history of England which, like Matthew, he delivered in both full and abbreviated versions.[63] In the process he not only absorbed Matthew's history but Higden's as well, not only as to content but also in structure and style. And he knew Geoffrey of Monmouth, of which no fewer than three copies were made at St Albans in his time.[64]

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59 Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 66, 70, list the many manuscripts. There is also a version of Langtoft in Middle English verse by Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Boffey and Edwards 2005, no. 1995.
60 Walter of Guisborough: *Chronicle*.
61 Gransden 1982, ch. 5; Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora* 1376–1394, pp. xviii–xxvii; Clark 2004, ch. 5.
62 Gransden 1982, pp. 124–5.
63 Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora*; Sharpe, *HLW*, pp. 688–9.   64 Clark 2004, p. 180.

Walsingham's energy was not exhausted by his chronicles; he was also responsible for commissioning and supplying the text of an illustrated register of benefactors to the abbey, extending back to its royal patrons and on to the merchants and worthies of the town and its neighbourhood. Its illustrations depicted not only the benefactors themselves, but the properties which they bestowed upon the house.[65] As with Matthew Paris' works, and doubtless modelled on his example, the *Liber benefactorum* and the master copies of the chronicles were grand books, evidently meant to be seen and admired. Any of the texts might have been read aloud: to the brethren assembled in the refectory, or to a variety of visitors, the more distinguished among them gratified to hear their own names or references to events in which they had taken part. At the end of the century Walsingham showed some anxiety about his earlier strictures on John of Gaunt, written when Gaunt was suspected in some quarters of having designs upon the life or at least the authority of his young nephew, Richard II.[66] The passages amended would presumably not have been read in Gaunt's presence at an earlier date, but the amendments made the chronicle suitable for all occasions. There are other themes in the History, such as the excesses of the rebels in 1381, or the threat which Lollardy posed to the Church, which would have been acceptable to any listeners familiar with the court.[67] Those were, however, far from being Walsingham's only concerns. He was deeply interested in classical literature, and in ancient history and mythology, and he would have occupied a prominent place in the history of English scholarship if he had not subsequently been narrowly identified as a leading commentator on the public events and politics of his day.[68] In fact his great chronicle was not widely distributed, though it was evidently admired at St Albans and its daughter houses.[69] From the sixteenth century onwards, however, it was recognized as a major contribution to the English historical record.

In the meantime the Benedictines were adequately provided with works of reference. The *Eulogium historiarum* was apparently compiled in emulation of the *Polychronicon*: it is a less accomplished performance, and the author, though conscientious, was apparently less interested in history than in natural phenomena such as eclipses, meteors and earthquakes.[70] He did nevertheless

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65 The *Liber benefactorum* is BL, Cotton ms. Nero D. VII: *Survey* v, no. 158, describing the illustration, by the professional artist Alan Strayler, as 'of the utmost naïveté and provinciality'; *Survey* vi, no. 82 for the fifteenth-century additions.
66 Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora* 1376–94, pp. xciii–xcix.
67 Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora* 1376–94, pp. 410–503; 583–605, 816–23.
68 Clark 2002b.
69 Thomas of Walsingham: *Chronica maiora* 1376–94, pp. xxvii–lxiv, esp. lxiii–lxiv.
70 *Eulogium historiarum*; Gransden 1982, pp. 102–5.

take account of current events, and in a celebrated passage he denounced the foppish extravagance of fashionable dress in the mid-fourteenth century.[71] That indignation may have been intended for a wider audience, but the general impression of the work is that it was chiefly for domestic use in the Benedictine world. It was copied at least once at its author's house of Malmesbury, another copy came into the hands of a Leicestershire family, and another, of uncertain provenance but with a text that may have been augmented in Canterbury and Westminster, contains a substantial continuation added in the early fifteenth century.[72]

Two works from the late fourteenth century illustrate some of the changes in historical writing taking place at that time. The chronicle of Henry Knighton, an Augustinian canon of the house of St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester, survives in a volume which is close to the author, whose sight was failing, and may have been written or completed to his dictation.[73] It was written in the last quarter of the century and ends in 1396, when Knighton probably died. It was based on a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon* and one of Walter of Guisborough's Chronicle which already contained some additional material from Leicester. Knighton indicated precisely the use that he made of those works, and then added his own narrative from 1337 to 1396, drawing on more than a hundred documents, some of them royal communiqués, others ecclesiastical records, and a number of newsletters. He evidently had ready access to the household of the dukes of Lancaster, first Henry of Grosmont and then John of Gaunt, which was the source of much vivid detail about affairs at home and abroad. The Chronicle would have appealed to an informed and curious audience: Gaunt very probably may have heard it, though it discusses his private affairs, in so far as that adjective is appropriate to a duke and titular monarch, in a free but highly moralistic manner.[74]

A shorter Anglo-Norman work apparently emanating from St Mary's Abbey, York, known since the sixteenth century as the *Anonimalle chronicle*, is famous for the texts of two newsletters from London describing events in the Good Parliament of 1376 and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.[75] The main narrative drew upon a version of the *Brut* and the additional material except for those two passages is of no great consequence, though its details of battles probably also came from contemporary reports.

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71 *Eulogium historiarum*, I, pp. 230–1.
72 The mss. are described in *Eulogium*, I, pp. iv–xiv. For the continuation, see Gransden 1982, p. 158 and n. 5.
73 Henry Knighton: *Chronicle*.　　74 Martin in Henry Knighton: *Chronicle*, pp. xxix–lxxv.
75 See *Anonimalle chronicle* and Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 47.

What Knighton and the *Anonimalle chronicle* exemplify is the existence of a considerable volume of literature, no doubt of much earlier origin but abundant from the early stages of the Hundred Years' War, which appealed to a wide audience, stretching through the politically active strata of society to office holders and aspirants of all kinds, and merchants in the widest sense. They were all concerned with and touched by the chief events of the time, and were not less curious than their predecessors and successors. What had changed was the climate of literacy, sustained by a general level of prosperity despite the convulsions and catastrophes of the time, and affording lessons for reflection and speculation on the course of affairs at home and abroad. Londoners in particular were conscious of their own history. Their officers had long added historical notes to the memoranda that the government of the city required, but the vision of London as the New Troy implies a wider ranging curiosity about the past, and a desire to see the city acknowledged as an exemplar of its day.[76]

The apparent decline of the monastic chronicle in the fifteenth century is another manifestation of those changes. The religious were drawn from and closely connected with the laity: they no longer had a monopoly of literacy, but they could in their turn avail themselves of the services and amenities which the rest of society offered. Some, like John Lydgate of Bury St Edmunds, wrote for great lay patrons; others continued to collect and reflect upon the past and continuing fortunes of their house and in its saintly protectors and benefactors. John Capgrave (d. 1464), prior of the Augustinian friars of King's Lynn, wrote the *Liber de illustribus Henricis* as a Lancastrian manifesto; the materials published in the nineteenth century as Chronicles of the White Rose restored the balance for a time.[77] Political interest was always strong, though sometimes hazardous. On the other hand there was as yet no wide market for historical works *per se*. Even the chronicles and historical memoranda which Londoners compiled were often either left in family hands or remained constituents of public records – so far as those categories can be distinguished. Lists of office holders anywhere naturally attracted additional notes; statements of customs and usages were increasingly marshalled in historical order, or in a manner derived from historical disquisition. The chronicle of Robert Ricard, town clerk of Bristol (1440–97), is an example of this, with notes of local and national events intercalated with lists of city officials.[78]

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76 See further Gransden 1982, ch. 8; Taylor 1987; McLaren 2001.
77 John Capgrave: *Liber de Henricis*. See further *Chronicles white Rose*, and the discussion of city politics in Nightingale 1995.
78 *Maire of Bristowe kalendar*; *Six town chronicles*; Gransden 1982, p. 227 and n. 47; Martin 2000.

Three 'global' issues remain for consideration. One is the popularity and distribution of books containing historical works, which is of course at least a partial indicator of their function. A 'map' of the homes of historical works during our period, compiled from surviving books and references in catalogues, reveals that they were widespread and yet thin on the ground. Few communities, and no persons, had more than one or two books containing historical writings of any sort, let alone those by English writers. Towards the end of our period the core works are found to be those of Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ranulf Higden and the *Brut*. This reveals what we would think of as an uncritical blurring between 'history' and 'romance', and the indistinction is also revealed in lists of books in private ownership. By the end of our period Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Brut* were regularly plundered to make up the long sections of chronicles down to the point when the author himself became an eyewitness. Sometimes these sources were combined, more or less indiscriminately, with information from more reliable sources such as Bede and William of Malmesbury. Occasionally a writer, such as Thomas of Elmham, Benedictine monk of St Augustine's Canterbury, showed greater critical sense: in the prefatory account of his sources he paired Bede 'qui Anglorum describit historiam usque ad annum Domini septingentesimum tricesimum', with William '"de gestis pontificum", quibus nullus in Anglia contradicit'.[79] And yet a demand for works of history is demonstrated by the fact that they tended to be disseminated very quickly. One knows this because some historians, such as William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, were compulsive editors of their own works, tinkering, adding, subtracting and polishing over a decade or more. Surviving copies show that they were made, or were copied from exemplars made from the author's own copy at various stages in these tinkerings, in other words, well within the lifetimes of the authors. The St Albans copy of Ralph of Diss was made in 1199, while the author was alive, and before his last revisions to his work. At St Albans it was continued in annalistic form down to 1210, when it was borrowed by the distinguished canonist Richard de Morins, prior of Dunstable, and used by him in the compilation of annals of that house.[80] It was natural that few histories of England, let alone local chronicles, should be copied on the Continent. Well known in Normandy, and more widely in France, however, were the *Gesta regum* of William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century, and, right across the period, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

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79 Thomas of Elmham: *Historia S. Augustini*, p. 77.   80 Thomson 1985, 1, pp. 71–2.

Secondly, there was not – as there was for example for glossed biblical or law books – a prescribed format or recognized status for books containing historical works. They might be large or small, carefully or informally written, with complex or the simplest formatting, sometimes handsomely decorated but generally not. The humblest of chronicles – annals – had perforce to be reasonably carefully formatted. So did some general histories, whether ancient, like the Chronicle of Eusebius/Jerome, or modern, like Martin of Troppau's, which consisted of concurrent regnal lists, necessitating the use of several columns, sometimes of varying widths.[81] Through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was such general chronicles, as well as genealogical rolls, that attracted decoration of a high order.[82] Otherwise, finely decorated manuscripts of historical works are rare. The substantially autograph copy of John of Worcester, though roughly written, has two imposing framed illustrations (it is not clear why there are not more), and the authoritative manuscript of Ralph of Diss's *Abbreviationes chronicarum* has the famous marginal *signa* which were part of a kind of subject index.[83] Copies of Josephus were often grand and furnished with finely decorated initials.[84] Perhaps the handsomest of all Josephus manuscripts, in large format and with historiated initials, was made at or near Liège in the late twelfth century, but in England and at Merton College Oxford by c.1300.[85] Gerald of Wales's *Topography of Ireland* cried out for illustration, and it is supplied in two surviving copies, doubtless dependent upon the author's own sketches.[86] In the early thirteenth century a fine copy was made of the local chronicle of Abingdon Abbey, with miniatures of the kings and queens of England in colours and gold.[87] From late in the same century and beyond there survive a number of copies of Matthew Paris' *Flores historiarum* with a series of coronation miniatures.[88] The copies of his own works produced by Matthew Paris at St Albans are exceptional, and were always recognized and esteemed as such. Paris was a good scribe and one of the most outstanding artists of his day. In the copies of his historical works he included a range of pictorial material,

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81 E. g. Oxford, Merton College, ms. 315 (Eusebius, s. ix, made on the Continent, in England s. xv).
82 Monroe 1981, 1990; Dean and Boulton 1999, nos. 6, 7; *Survey* VI, nos. 43, 79, 90, 177; *Survey* V, nos. 16, 22, 48.
83 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 157: *Survey*, III, no. 55. Lambeth, ms. 8 (fig. 16.1); ill. Gransden 1974, pl. VII. The symbols are also beautifully reproduced, in colours, silver and gold, in the margins of the copy in BL, Royal ms. 13 E. VI (St Albans, c.1200): see above, p. 406 n. 46.
84 E.g. CUL Dd. 1. 4 + St John's College A.8(8) (Christ Church Canterbury, s. xii in.): Dodwell 1958, pls. 13a, 14e, 20a, 25a–b, 30a, 36a, 37a, d, 41c, 42a, 47b; *Survey* III, nos. 43–4; BL, Royal mss. 13 D. VI–VII (St Albans, s. xii in.): *Survey*, III, no. 32; Thomson 1985, II, pls. A, B, 34, 38–9. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, ms. 4 (c.1140, ?Hereford): *Survey*, III, no. 63.
85 Oxford, Merton College, ms. 317; Cahn 1966.   86 *Survey* IV/1, nos. 59 (a) and (b).
87 BL, Cotton ms. Claudius B. VI; *Survey* IV/1, no. 41.
88 Gransden 1974, pl. IV; *Survey* IV, no. 96, esp. p. 52.

from marginal symbols modelled on those devised by Ralph of Diss as well as heraldic shields, to the copious and lively narrative illustrations in the text, outlined in ink, tinted or washed with red, green and blue (fig. 16.2).[89]

Consideration of Paris' work raises the third and last issue: the oddity that so many of these writings, throughout the period, exist in autograph. These can be roughly distinguished into two classes: on the one hand there are the true authors' working copies, generally plain and in small format, not meant for any other eyes than their writers', and usually containing precious evidence of 'work still in progress'. Of this type are the copies of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum*, of John of Worcester's Chronicle, of Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical history*, of Roger of Howden (marginal additions and corrections), Richard of Devizes, Ralph of Coggeshall and Richard de Morins (the *Dunstable annals*), of the *Eulogium historiarum* and of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*.[90] On the other hand, some authors were also accomplished scribes, who made copies of their finished works for public use: Eadmer of Canterbury is one example, Matthew Paris the most outstanding example of all.[91] Only slightly different is the case of Lambeth, ms. 8 (fig. 16.1), a 'finished copy' of Ralph of Diss' *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, not indeed autograph, but doubtless commissioned and approved by the author, who owned it and left it to the library of St Paul's Cathedral.[92] One can only guess why so many history books survive in autograph or in authorially approved copies. Presumably it has something to do with the pride with which the writers' communities regarded their work. But possibly it also has to do with the preferences of post-Reformation collectors of medieval manuscripts.

*Thanks are due to Professor Michael Bennett for help with this chapter.

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89 See above, p. 406 and nn. 45–6.
90 Oxford, Magdalen College., ms. lat. 172 (William of Malmesbury: *Gesta pontificum*, pp. xi–xviii; Thomson 2003, pp. 80–1; Gransden 1974, pl. v); Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 157 (John of Worcester: *Chronicle*, ii, pp. xxi–xxxv); BnF, ms. lat. 5506 (Orderic Vitalis: Gransden 1974, pl. iv); BL, Royal ms. 14 C. II + Bodleian, ms. Laud. misc. 582 (Roger of Howden: Holt 1971; Gransden 1974); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 339 (Richard of Devizes: *Chronicle*, pp. xviii–xxiv); BL, Cotton ms. Vespasian D. X (Ralph of Coggeshall: Gransden 1974, p. 323 and n. 20); BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius A. X, ff. 5r–89v (Richard de Morins: Cheney 1973a); Cambridge, Trinity College ms. R. 7. 2 (*Eulogium historiarum*, i, pp. iv–ix); San Marino CA, Huntington Library, ms. HM 132 (Ranulf Higden: Galbraith 1959).
91 On Eadmer see Gullick 1998b, pp. 173–87; Southern 1963, frontispiece and pp. 367–74. Matthew Paris: above, p. 406 and n. 46. See, however, the remarks of Vaughan 1958, pp. 130–1.
92 See above, p. 414 n. 83 and fig. 16.1.

Archive books

NIGEL RAMSAY

Medieval archival records might be made in almost any form and to any length. This chapter is concerned with those that were written in or as books, either initially or at a later stage in the development of their particular textual form. Texts that in the twelfth or thirteenth century might be written on rolls and in the fourteenth century as books – such as episcopal registers – are therefore considered to be within this chapter's scope; but texts that were always, or almost always, transcribed in roll form – such as financial account rolls, plea rolls, or the royal Chancery's rolls of letters close and patent – are excluded.[1]

The writing of records in book form had the practical advantage that books were more likely to survive than rolls or single sheets. Furthermore, records written into a Bible or service-book were seen as enjoying enhanced protection.[2] Within the ecclesiastical world, books combining charters and holy texts were probably quite numerous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but such combinations were nearly all destroyed at the Reformation or subsequently, either in the general destruction of Latin service books or by collectors such as Sir Robert Cotton (d. 1631) who were interested in the charters alone.

The development of what might be termed 'best archival practice' represented an interplay between Church and Crown, in which it would be impossible to assign overall priority to either institution, even though particular innovations can sometimes be linked to particular patrons or office-holders. The Crown relied almost exclusively on ecclesiastics for its bureaucracy, and it used its powers of ecclesiastical patronage to bestow ecclesiastical benefices on its servants: its most senior officials were rewarded with bishoprics and so were made responsible for diocesan governance. There was thus a constant process of cross-fertilization between the archival practices of the Crown and of the

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1 A few monastic houses commissioned books containing edited versions of manorial court rolls: Levett 1938, pp. 79–96, Watts 1958–60, p. 31, and Harvey 1999, p. 42.
2 Thomson 1982, pp. 14–16 and nos. 1274–6; Cheney 1983; Jenkins and Owen 1983, pp. 61–5; and cf. Davis 1958, p. xiii.

Church – with Continental influences, especially from the papacy, as a further source of new models.

The original impulse behind the making of archival books was the exigencies of landownership. Both the Crown and the Church needed to know what services or revenues were due to them from their principal tenants; noblemen and knights in the twelfth century might feel that they could remember the burdens and yields of their own landholdings, but with time, and the development around them of a more literate society, they too came to find written records indispensable. The development of a land-market as well as changes in legal practice made it increasingly necessary to have written title deeds – muniments that enormously strengthened what could otherwise only be proved orally by witnesses. In the twelfth century, the Crown developed the use of local enquiries or inquests, in which men sworn to tell the truth (jurors) gave information about a wide range of tenurial matters: these declarations were summarized in writing and despatched via the county sheriff's office to the Crown's Exchequer or Chancery. The noblemen and knights who acted as sheriff, and who often presided at the inquests, needed to be reasonably literate; they also needed to have reasonable fluency in both English and Anglo-Norman (slightly anglicized French) and some Latin, for while the oral evidence at the inquest would be given in English or Anglo-Norman, it was recorded in Latin by the clerks.[3]

The development of what might be called a bureaucratic class in the second half of the thirteenth century and subsequently – exemplified by the sharp rise in the use made of quasi-professional stewards as land managers – gave a further impetus to the need for written records, for the landowner was now less directly in touch with tenants, while the steward would probably retain custody of manorial court rolls and perhaps also account rolls for the term of his office.

For the twelfth-century landowner, the issue was perhaps whether to make a written record or archival copy at all, either as a precaution against possible premature death or because troubled times (such as the reign of Stephen, 1135–54) might result in the destruction of irreplaceable charters. For today's historian, the question must be the wider one of how far the losses of intervening centuries have affected our understanding of whatever the archival practices were in the twelfth century and subsequently. Some sorts of archives have survived better than others: those of the Crown better than those of anyone else, those of bishoprics and cathedrals better than those of most other ecclesiastical

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3 Clanchy 1993, ch. 10.

institutions, those of towns and of the nobility and gentry only very patchily. For instance, the fact that the earliest charter of the town of Cockermouth (not later than 1215) is written on the back of a roll of c.1260 relating to the Cumbrian estates of William de Fortibus (d. 1259 or 1260), earl of Albemarle, is doubtless indicative of the belief by the official running the estates that it would be useful to have that text conveniently to hand in whatever place he kept the Cockermouth surveys, rentals and accounts.[4] Underlying this, how-ever, is the fact that all the de Fortibus estates escheated to the Crown after the death of Isabella de Fortibus, dowager countess of Albemarle, in November 1293: a slice of her archive has thus been preserved ever since with the records of the Crown (since 1838 under the control of the Public Record Office and then of its successor body, the National Archives):[5] if she had had an immedi-ate heir to whom to pass the estates and archive, it may be assumed that the estate records would have been destroyed within a few years more, when their immediate utility was past. The charter had not been endorsed on the estate roll for archival purposes. With Isabella's estate records, as with dozens of others that fell into the hands of the Crown, the Exchequer clerks will in a measure have weeded out whatever was not of practical value – their sole concern being to protect and maximize the Crown's revenue – although what survived that initial purge was likely to be retained thereafter.

Charters, or title deeds, had a much higher chance of survival than other records, both because their legal value was permanent and because it was often hard to distinguish those that were vital from those that either formed part of a root of title or were of merely incidental significance. Cartularies, the archive books in which title deeds were transcribed, had a particularly high chance of survival: of those, for instance, that passed to the Crown at the dissolution of the monasteries, most are still extant. Cartularies, however, were probably only ever a minority of the archival books that the Church and laity once possessed, and a further imbalance results from the tendency of book-collectors and historians in the last five centuries to focus on cartularies in preference to other archival registers or remembrancers.

The Crown

More wide-ranging in its scope, more detailed and quite simply more massive as an undertaking than any subsequent Crown investigation in the Middle Ages,

4 Hall 1977.   5 Cf. Winchester 2003, pp. 111–12.

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William I's Domesday survey (c.1086–7) was an unmatched accomplishment.[6] Its name was borrowed for dozens of later archival books, both in towns and within different elements of the Church. On the other hand, it remains unclear how far Domesday Book itself was either copied or consulted by anyone other than the officials of the royal Exchequer who had its keeping. In the twelfth century it began to be treated as a primary or public record: its first recorded use as a public record (in the sense of being relied on in court proceedings) was between 1111 and 1113.[7] It might be thought that by then its practical value would be limited to what it had to say about land held directly of the Crown in 1066 or 1086 ('Ancient Demesne'); but it was evidently found to be useful for a wider range of purposes. Various documents ancillary to the Domesday survey were copied into twelfth-century ecclesiastical archive books;[8] and at least one private landowner in the mid-thirteenth century had a list of Cambridgeshire *feoda* which he seems to have obtained from some Domesday ancillary source,[9] but it is unlikely that the copyists of these had actually seen the Exchequer Domesday itself. Its reputation was perhaps all the more awesome for being kept locked up in an Exchequer chest. Within the Exchequer, use was probably made of abridgments, such as the late twelfth-century roll in which the Kent folios are summarized.[10]

The gradual process of replacing military service by financial burdens, together with the constant process of Crown tenants dying and being succeeded by heirs, doubtless led to an ever-growing volume of documentation within the Exchequer. However, unless some individual took the initiative, the labour of compiling a book of transcripts would not be undertaken. Historians should be grateful to one such administrator, the senior Exchequer clerk (or baron), Alexander of Swerford (d. 1246), for compiling two extremely useful and diverse registers of official documents and memoranda, with copies of writs, charters and lists of knights' fees: the Black Book of the Exchequer (c.1206) and the Red Book of the Exchequer (1220s; now extant only as a copy begun c.1230).

By Swerford's time, the making of such registers in book form was marked out as exceptional in another way: both the Exchequer (which had initiated an

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6 The dating of 1088 proposed by Roffe 2000 has not met with general acceptance. Bates 1986 gives an annotated listing of Domesday scholarship down to 1984.

7 Richardson in *Memoranda roll*, p. lii; *Herefordshire Domesday*, pp. xxiv–xxviii. Richardson observes that not until c.1180 is there evidence of other royal records being used in such a way. The regular authorization of Chancery exemplifications and extracts from Domesday began much later: they are listed, 1266–1656, in Hallam 1986, pp. 199–209.

8 See below, pp. 424, 427.   9 Fowler 1931.

10 BL, Cotton ms. Vitellius C. VIII, ff. 143–56 (the roll has been cut up and mounted into book format); cf. Hallam 1986, p. 42.

annual roll of financial accounts, the Pipe Roll, by the 1120s,[11] and a Memoranda roll, from about the 1180s)[12] and the Chancery were by this date committed to making all their main series of registers in roll form.[13] The form of these rolls evolved: the earliest Chancery rolls were prepared in duplicate, and their dorse (reverse) was reserved for copies of in-letters and for documents of an unusual kind;[14] but the roll form endured. In France and Scotland, by contrast, the practice of registration by the royal Chancery began later, was far more selective than in England, and – sooner or later – was into books. After Philip Augustus had lost his archives in his defeat at Fréteval (1194), he decided to keep them in a fixed place (the future Trésor des Chartes), and it was presumably in order to have key information to hand as he travelled around his realm that a series of register-books of copies was initiated, the first late in 1204 or early in 1205 and in continued use until 1212. By the mid-fourteenth century there were seventy-one, of which ten had been bound.[15] In Scotland, registers of the Great Seal (of the Chancery) survive (after many losses) as rolls from 1306 onwards and then as books from 1424.[16]

Within the English Chancery and Exchequer, archival books continued to be made, but only exceptionally, and for particularly important bodies of information. Files of feet of fines (the third copies, retained by the Crown, of all final concords made in the king's court) were preserved as single-sheet originals in the Treasury at Westminster from 1195 onwards.[17] The findings of the Hundred Rolls enquiry of 1279–80, for instance, were never transcribed into book form – with the result that some have been identified only in recent years, while others are lost perhaps for ever.[18] On the other hand, direct Crown involvement may have been the cause of the making of a major two-volume Exchequer book in 1302, for it was the keeper of Edward I's wardrobe, John Drokensford, who paid the clerk William de Coshals a total of £4 13s (or 18d per quire) for writing the *Book of fees* (*Liber feodorum*; also known as the *Testa de Nevill* [Nevill's head], perhaps from a motif on the chest in which it

11 See e.g. Green 1982.
12 Richardson in *Memoranda roll*, p. xvi.
13 *List of Chancery rolls*; Hunnisett 1974–7; and for the start of enrolment by both Chancery and Exchequer, Clanchy 1993, pp. 68–70.
14 Cheney 1950, p. 107.   15 Delaborde 1909, pp. ii, iv and xciii–xcix.
16 The twelve extant rolls pr. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*.
17 Richardson in *Memoranda roll*, p. lviii. An introductory account of feet of fines is given by Pugh in *Abstracts feet of fines Wiltshire*.
18 Raban 2004. Ironically, the commissioners for this enquiry had specifically required that findings be 'written in books to be delivered to us'; Raban (p. 42) speculates that this shows that the Crown either had Domesday Book in mind or was thinking of the sheer impracticability of the 'Ragman Rolls' with their dangling seals; but it may be that 'book' is not to be taken literally in this instance.

was kept).[19] It was bound later in the same year, for 10s, by John le Lumynor. It sets out information about lands (fees, or fiefs) held directly of the Crown. The Exchequer had accumulated a quantity of lists of such lands, to enable it to collect taxes assessed on them, such as scutages and aids. The making of the *Book of fees* must have been prompted by the Aid raised for the marriage of Edward I's eldest daughter, but it includes lists dating back as far as 1198, all transcribed without indication of date. Although the *Book of fees* is a rich archival source, it is woefully inadequate as historical record. It was commissioned as a reference book for resolving doubts about particular fees (fiefs) of the Crown and their liabilities, but, like every archival book other than Domesday, it was never seen as an authoritative or primary record. In 1333–4, for instance, Crowland Abbey petitioned in parliament to the effect that, although the Exchequer had tried to levy an aid from it in respect of $2\frac{1}{6}$ knights' fees, this could not be evidenced by the *Book of fees*, which, the petition declared, was 'a collection of official inquests which is not of record'.[20]

More purely archival record-books were also occasionally made. A substantial register containing transcripts of (mainly) Exchequer documents, now generally known as 'Liber A' (TNA:PRO, E 36/274), was compiled in c.1282–92: it is a handsome volume of 459 folios in large format. Inserted at appropriate places in the text are small 'signa' or pictograms which designate the coffers or other receptacles in which the original documents were kept.[21]

The loss of the Crown's Gascon records, captured by the French in 1297, led to a petition from the king's council in Gascony for transcripts of records that were in England in the Treasury (of the Exchequer) or in the Wardrobe (financial department of the royal household). A royal clerk, John Hildesle, Canon of Chichester, was put in charge of a team of copyists. The work was completed in 144 quaternions (991 folios and 16 *pargamena*), doubtless by March 1319, when the clerks were paid a total of £33 18s. 7d. These transcripts were despatched to Bordeaux. Alas, they were found to be riddled with errors. A royal letter of November 1319 sharply suggested that there had been a failure to compare them fully against the originals (i.e., to examine them after transcription), and even their modern editor describes the work as 'shoddy'. Their recall to London was ordered; it is not clear whether they were then collated with the originals, but they were bound into five volumes, of which just one survives (Gascon Register A, now BL, Cotton ms. Julius E. I, ff. 13–280), while in 1320–2 a

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19 *Liber feodorum*, p. viii.   20 Ryley 1661, pp. 648–9.
21 *Littere Wallie*, pp. xxvii–xxxiii, Cuttino 1971, pp. 112–16; *Original Papal Documents*, pp. xxxv and 596–603.

detailed calendar was made of all the records kept in London which related to Gascony.[22]

More far-reaching was another scheme, carried out at the direction of the treasurer Walter Stapledon, to classify and catalogue all the archives of the Exchequer and Wardrobe. This was completed in 1323, and was the most thorough reorganization of the Crown's archives during the Middle Ages (fig. 17.1).[23] Documents were arranged and listed in a series of categories: papal bulls, charters conveying English lands to the Crown, grants of English lands issued as charters by the Crown, private charters, Magna Carta and statutes, instruments relating to the election and consecration of bishops, and so forth.

The Crown did not necessarily eschew registration in book form, but – perhaps because books were more expensive to make than rolls – as a regular practice it was limited to the accounts of the royal Wardrobe. Originally begun as a series of rolls, these accounts were from 1285 onwards drawn up as substantial volumes.[24] 'They are neatly arranged, beautifully written, and prepared for facility of reference with little projecting slips of parchment on which is written the *titulus* referred to, so that we can then turn straight to the page at which each *titulus* begins'.[25] The books cost 2s. 6d each to make and bind (in addition to the cost of the parchment and writing), and were purchased from stationers. Tout declared that their quality peaked in the 1330s, although he also wrote of Queen Isabella's wardrobe book of 1357–8 (BL, Cotton ms. Galba E. XIV) that it 'has script so minute that it can hardly be read without a magnifying glass, yet of exquisite finish and clearness'.[26]

The Crown's Privy Seal office is also known to have kept registers on a regular basis, from the late thirteenth century onwards (at first, no doubt in roll form, but by 1301–2 as unbound monthly quires or gatherings); but they are lost, seemingly because the Privy Seal archive was largely destroyed by fire in 1619.[27] The practice of registering correspondence was adopted by a few of the higher nobility's secretariats in the fourteenth century,[28] and it is likely that in this they took their lead from the Crown. There survives a roll containing abstracts of about 700 privy seal letters of Edward of Caernarvon (later Edward II), 1304–5,[29] while for Edward of Woodstock (the Black Prince) there are a

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22 *Gascon calendar*, pp. vii–x, Cuttino 1971, pp. 121–5; *Gascon Register*, I, pp. xiii–xv.
23 Pr. Palgrave 1836, I, pp. 1–155; Buck 1983, pp. 167–70: TNA:PRO, E 36/268.
24 *List of documents relating to the Household and Wardrobe, John – Edward I* 1964; Safford 1980.
25 Tout 1920–33, I, p. 47.
26 Tout 1920–33, V, p. 285 n. 8; cf. also his comments on a kitchen journal, 1341 and later(?), at IV, p. 115 n.
27 Chaplais 1958, repr. in Chaplais 1981, art. xx.   28 See below, pp. 435–6.
29 TNA:PRO, Exchequer Miscellanea, E 163/5/2; ed. Johnstone 1931.

volume of summaries of letters sent under his privy seal in 1346–8, and three volumes, with a fragment of a fourth, containing copies of letters sent out between February 1351 and November 1365.[30] The senior clerks who worked in such royal chanceries – of the king, queen or the king's son – would tend to change their employer from time to time as they gained promotion, and royal practices could thus get transplanted into the secretariats of the nobility.

The Church

As a landowner, the Church generated records comparable to those of the Crown and the laity. Like any of the nobility, the bishops and religious houses had tenants obligated to discharge knight-service and rents due to the Crown. Similarly, from about the mid thirteenth century onwards, the account rolls and court rolls of episcopal and monastic manors were drawn up in exactly the same form as those of the Crown, nobility and gentry. At the same time, however, some forms of record-keeping were unique to different elements of the Church: principally, to bishops and to monasteries. One method of record-keeping was hardly found in England outside the Church: the use of notaries public to draw up notarial instruments.[31] Notarial instruments, if formally attested, were in principle always to be accepted as authentic by the ecclesiastical courts, and notaries were much used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to record such transactions as episcopal and abbatial elections or certificates of admissions to benefices. If English notaries, like those elsewhere, kept registers[32] in which they summarized or transcribed the instruments they attested, it may be that bishops and religious houses sometimes omitted to keep their own copies of the same documents. Admittedly, no such ecclesiastical notarial register survives from medieval England, however; there is just a handful of notarial formulary-books, containing collections of entire texts.[33]

Bishops

Despite the growing burden of pastoral and general diocesan duties that the papacy and general councils of the Church increasingly required of bishops, it must be said that in England most of them had made their careers as bureaucrats in the service of the Crown. It is, then, no surprise to find that as diocesans

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30 TNA:PRO, Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt, Misc. Books, E 36/144 and 278–80, and Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence, SC 1/58, no. 35; calendared *Register Black Prince*; Sharp 1925, pp. 322–5.

31 Cheney 1972.   32 Cf. Cheney 1972, pp. 50, 100.

33 One such is printed: *John Lydford's book*, a paper book kept by Lydford (d. 1407), who was archdeacon of Totnes (Devon).

they were quick to build up their own secretariats, ahead of most religious houses.[34]

The distinction that came to be drawn in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries between what belonged to the see and what to the chapter of canons or community of monks at each cathedral, must have driven the different parties to sort out their muniments and decide which charters belonged to whom. Before long the two parties had established distinct archives, located apart from each other. The way was now clear for both cathedrals and bishops to have cartularies drawn up, in which their charters could be transcribed in a rational sequence that reflected the arrangement of their temporal estates. By about the middle of the twelfth century, the cathedral priories of Canterbury, Ely, Rochester, Winchester and Worcester possessed handsome volumes containing copies of their charters or privileges, written in bookhand.[35] Of the episcopal sees, however, in the twelfth century only Canterbury is known to have had any such compilation, and that was a collection of papal and other privileges, assembled as part of the archiepiscopal campaign for supremacy over the see of York. Throughout the Middle Ages, indeed, charters relating to bishoprics were scarcely ever copied into cartularies, despite the extensiveness of most episcopal estates.[36] However, a survey of Worcester's episcopal estates was made in c.1170,[37] and one of Durham's in 1183 or 1184 (the Boldon Book),[38] while there were once custumals or surveys of lands of the bishopric of Winchester from this period.[39]

Bishops' record-keeping activities were channelled in a different direction: towards records of their diocese and their own diocesan activities. At least as early as the 1170s, and perhaps following French models, it became common practice for a bishop to have a *matricula* or *scrutinium* drawn up, in which the essential facts about each parish church were set out, archdeaconry by archdeaconry.[40] For Fulk Basset, bishop of London (1244–59), these facts included the name of the patron, the value of the church (apparently as set out in the 'Valuation of Norwich'), and the value of its vicarage (if such existed) or of any pension (annual payment) due to the patron (usually where the church had

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34 Cheney 1950.   35 Ker 1960b, pp. 20–1.

36 For Canterbury, however, a cartulary made in the 1240s survives as part of Lambeth, ms. 1212, mostly written in the 1270s: Major 1950, pp. 158–9.

37 Copied into the Red Book of Worcester, a now-lost register of c.1300 pr. from an eighteenth-century transcript in *Red Book*; the twelfth-century survey excerpted in it, 'Domesday Wygornie', is dated c.1170 by Dyer 1980, p. 4 n. 6.

38 Pr. e.g. Greenwell 1852, tr. G. T. Lapsley in VCH *County of Durham*, 1 (1905), pp. 327–41; cf. Harvey 1994.

39 Vincent 1994, pp. 27–9.   40 Cheney 1950, pp. 112–17; Cheney 1980, pp. 83–4.

not been appropriated).[41] Such summary compendia were always useful, and they continued to be made in the fourteenth century; the finest of all is the 'Domesday Book' of Norwich, 'a sumptuous large folio, liberally rubricated and with initials in blue and gold'.[42]

The increasing complexity of diocesan administration very soon required the making of a much fuller record: the bishop's register.[43] It is unclear when the first of these was made, or how consciously it was arranged in a different form from the church-by-church approach of the *matricula*. The earliest mentioned registers of at least twelve dioceses have all disappeared.[44] Most probably, the making of such registers coincided with the start of the Crown's regular making of plea rolls, charter rolls, and rolls of (out-)letters patent and close, all c.1195–1205; it may also be relevant that the regular sequence of papal registers also began at this time (1198). Equally, it might be said that the episcopal register represents a fusion of the diocesan *matricula* with collections of episcopal (out-)letters: a proto-register of this sort is the letter collection of Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford (1148–63) and then of London (1163–87).[45] Here, an episcopal letter collection is combined with much archival documentation from the bishop's secretariat as well as some contemporary conciliar legislation.

The earliest extant English episcopal registers are the York *rotulus maior* (greater roll), 1225–35, written for Archbishop Walter de Gray (formerly the royal chancellor), and a group of fourteen rolls, c.1214–35, written for Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln and formerly Gray's deputy in the royal Chancery. Gray's roll is over 42 feet long, and the combined length of the rolls of Hugh of Wells is 165 feet.[46] Hugh of Wells also kept a book of only thirty-three folios, the so-called *Liber antiquus*. A kind of expanded *matricula*, it records appropriations of rectories to religious houses (with full texts of the deeds) and ordinations of vicarages.

For most English dioceses, a regular series of registers is extant from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries onwards, by 1290 all in book form. The general practice seems to have been to allocate parchment gatherings (or quires) to different categories of material (institutions to ecclesiastical benefices;

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41 Fowler 1928 (dated c.1244–56, perhaps 1246, suggesting a link with the Council of Lyons, 1246).
42 Cheney 1950, p. 112.
43 Surviving English and Welsh episcopal registers are described by Smith 1981, supplemented by Smith 2004.
44 Smith 1981, p. vii.
45 Pr. Gilbert Foliot, *Letters*, with discussion of the ms. at pp. 2–11; reviewed R. W. Southern, *EHR*, 83 (1968), pp. 784–9, replied to by C. N. L. Brooke in Neininger 1999, pp. 146–8.
46 Smith 1972.

ordinations to the diaconate and priesthood; and miscellaneous texts, such as deeds of appropriation, and visitations of religious houses), perhaps protected by limp parchment wrappers (fig. 5.2), and only to bind them in boards after the bishop had died or been translated to another see. At Lincoln, a volume of copies of royal writs addressed to Bishop Burghersh (1321–40) still retains part of its original wrapper within a later binding (Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln Episcopal Register 5B).

Well-staffed secretariats or registries developed in each diocese, and as more texts were deemed worth transcribing, so there grew a tendency to hive matter off from the main series of registers. The registers accordingly tended to become more sharply focussed, while new series of books were commenced for such materials as consistory court acts and registers of testaments (wills) that had been proved before the bishop or his representative.[47]

Religious houses

Each community of religious – monks, friars, nuns or regular canons – would assemble every morning in chapter, and hear what was needful of the house's business; only in a few of the largest monasteries (such as the cathedral priories of Canterbury and Ely)[48] was a record kept of such matters. Some of the larger and older Benedictine houses supplemented St Benedict's Rule with a custumal in which their administrative and liturgical practice was set out in greater detail: in a sense, these were archival books, for they were seemingly preserved in each house only in one or two copies, and cannot have been in daily use.[49]

At the same time, the monasteries were dependent on the income from their estates: manors and other landholdings, and also churches appropriated to the house so that it would receive tithes. They therefore kept manorial records of the same sort as other landowners. Despite the suppression of the monasteries, these records have survived in great quantity, particularly at those houses which were cathedral priories (such as Canterbury and Durham). All monasteries had a strong sense of their history, the older and larger Benedictine houses supremely so, and the records of their lands were seen in a different light from those of lay landowners: the monasteries' lands had (in general) come by gift, and in the daily chapter meeting the community would be reminded of the names and dates of death of such benefactors, for whose souls it was their obligation to pray. Thus the making of a cartulary sometimes had a consciously memorializing motive,

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47 Donahue 1994.
48 Evans 1940, printing chapter ordinances of 1241 × 1254, 1304 and 1314; Ramsay 1995, p. 366.
49 Three pre-1400 examples survive from Bury Abbey: Thomson 1982, nos. 1292 and 1293 (s. xiii) and 1294 (s. xiv in.). Some of the material in these books is edited in *Customary Bury St Edmunds*.

expressed in a prefatory account of the foundation of the house or a history of its founding family (whose present representative would be the monastery's patron).[50]

Papal and episcopal reformism in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries increasingly required religious houses to keep written accounts and, in effect, to follow contemporary best practice as landowners. It is striking that most of the surviving copies of the thirteenth-century estate-management texts of Walter of Henley and others once belonged to monastic houses.[51] Jocelin of Brakelond's vivid account of how Abbot Samson (1182–1211) brought the abbey of Bury St Edmunds up-to-date is precocious and may exaggerate the speed with which he set about it, but is perhaps representative of how a survey of a monastery's lands was managed:

> At his order a general description was made, in each hundred, of leets and suits, hidages and corn-dues, payments of hens, and other customs, revenues and expenses, which had hitherto been largely concealed by the farmers [tenants]; and he had all these things set down in writing, so that within four years from his election no one could deceive him about the revenues of the abbey, down to a single pennyworth, and this although he had received nothing in writing from his predecessors, apart from a small schedule (*sedula*) containing the names of the knights of St Edmund, the names of the manors, and the sum which each farm should yield. He called this book his calendar, and in it were also recorded all the debts which he paid off; and he looked at this book almost every day, as if he could see in it the image of his competence, as in a mirror.[52]

Samson's own manuscript is lost, but a copy of c.1230 survives – attesting to its utility for the next generation.[53]

It must however be said that until the later twelfth century a good many monasteries continued using surveys which might be as old as Domesday Book. Some houses, such as Abingdon, Bath, Ely, Evesham, Glastonbury and Bury St Edmunds, actually had copies made either from Domesday itself or from the materials out of which Domesday had been drawn up.[54]

Whether they managed their estates themselves or leased them out, monasteries depended in the last resort on their ability to prove their entitlement to such lands, especially in the twelfth century, when written proofs became essential if victory was to be obtained in any lawsuit. Given the risks of fire, theft and accidental loss, it was prudent to transcribe charters into a book: such

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50 Geary 1994, pp. 87–98.   51 Cf. Walter of Henley, pp. 5, 58–61 and table on pp. 51–5.
52 Jocelin of Brakelond, p. 29.   53 *Kalendar Abbot Samson*.
54 For these Domesday 'satellite' surveys, see e.g. Galbraith 1974, pp. 73–99; Clarke 1985; Roffe 2000, pp. 106–12.

a volume, or cartulary, might not have evidential value in legal proceedings, but it would certainly be extremely useful.[55] A standard cartulary form had emerged by the early thirteenth century: the texts of foundation charters and royal, episcopal and papal grants and privileges would be followed by groups of charters arranged topographically (generally, by manor; and sometimes by county and manor).

The earliest English cartularies are those from the cathedral priories. The first that survives is from Worcester, written in the early eleventh century (long before the separation of estates of bishop and church had taken place): BL, Cotton ms. Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 1–109 and 111–18, today sometimes called 'Liber Wigorniensis'.[56] The second earliest is also from Worcester, datable to the 1090s, generally called 'Hemming's cartulary', after its compiler.[57] After this follow the group of cartularies that resulted from the separation of estates;[58] only in the later twelfth century can the general run of monastic cartularies be said to have begun.

About 310 monastic cartularies survive from between the eleventh century and c.1400: twenty-four were begun in the twelfth century, 163 in the thirteenth and 121 in the fourteenth. With the exception of the cathedral priories, the greater Benedictine houses do not appear to have been particularly quick to make cartularies, and nor were the Cistercian houses, though they were zealous in other aspects of their record-keeping. Of the fifteen religious houses from which twelfth-century cartularies survive, nine were Benedictine, two Cistercian and four Augustinian. Four or five of these early cartularies are fragmentary; most are short, a mere twelve to thirty-six folios. Some may have survived because they were extended with supplementary quires, thus becoming embedded in longer volumes. The cartulary of Whitby Abbey continued to be added to until the sixteenth century.[59] Almost all the houses which are known to have had a twelfth-century cartulary also had one or more of a later date: any rational arrangement of the relevant material was bound to require a fresh start, to allow for later accruals of material (although many houses tried to prepare for this by the provision of blank leaves at intervals throughout the book). Even a small house such as Whitby began a second cartulary in the mid-thirteenth century.[60] A few of the early cartularies are notably handsome – none

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55 British cartularies are listed by Davis 1958, supplemented by Hoskin 1996, Vincent 1997–9. For overviews, see Walker 1971, Foulds 1987–8, and Genet 1993; for a comparative look, at France, see Bouchard 2002 and many of the essays in Guyotjeannin, Morelle and Parisse 1993.
56 Baxter 2004, pp. 165–76, 191–205.   57 Tinti 2002.   58 See above, p. 424.
59 Davis 1958, no. 1032.   60 BL, Add. ms. 4715.

more so than the Winchester Cathedral Priory volume (BL, Add. ms. 15350), written in bookhand, and with fine large coloured initials, c.1130–50. Fourteenth-century cartularies rarely include a history of the house, but do sometimes show awareness of the book's potential value as a finding-aid to the original charters, or at least as a book that might need to be used alongside them: cross-reference between cartulary and charters was made feasible, as the cartulary charter-texts were given the same press-marks as were endorsed on the charters themselves.[61] In the thirteenth century, separate inventories of charters had been common;[62] later, their function tended to merge with that of transcripts, as the cartulary assumed the supplementary role of guide to the title-deed charters.

Wider in scope than cartularies (with which they are often confused)[63] were the miscellaneous registers maintained by the larger monastic houses.[64] These had their origin, in part, in the copies of out-letters that were kept, as rolls or books, by abbots or priors.[65] They may thus be seen as a reflection of abbatial authority, and indeed many are specifically entitled or described as the register of a particular abbot; by the same token, they can compensate for the absence of recorded chapter decisions. The convent might agree in chapter to the bestowal of a church in the house's gift, or to the grant of a secular office (such as bailiff or steward), or to the making of a lease or writing of a business letter, but it was nevertheless advisable for a written record to be kept by the abbot himself. Books were accordingly begun, into which copies of such deeds and letters were entered shortly after their making, in a more-or-less strictly chronological sequence.

The earliest English abbatial letter collection is that of Gilbert Foliot as abbot of Gloucester, 1139–48; but this is really part of his personal letter collection, taken away with him when he left the abbey to become bishop of Hereford.[66] Analyses have been printed of two of the earliest surviving registers: from Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury, 1285–1327,[67] and Worcester Cathedral Priory, 1301–38.[68] It may be guessed that the survival rate of registers was less good than that of cartularies, since registers did not usually include texts usable as title deeds; and yet at least a hundred are still extant. The

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61 E.g. at Bury: Thomson 1982, pp. 25–31. 62 Davis 1958, nos. 105–7, 319, 333–8, 438, 520.
63 Many are included in Davis 1958.
64 Pantin 1933; Taylor 1980; Thomson 1982, nos. 1286–91 (1289–91 are s. xv).
65 Such letter collections were listed, and some examples printed, by Hill 1936.
66 His Gloucester letters pr. Gilbert Foliot, *Letters*, pp. 31–112.
67 Hardwick, Mayor and Luard 1856–67, 2, pp. 190–250.
68 *Liber Albus*; selected entries tr. Wilson 1920.

earliest surviving register from Winchester Cathedral Priory was commenced only in 1399, but it opens with texts dating from the previous fifty years: presumably this was the first register to be kept at that large and important house.[69]

Late medieval registers are colourless books, increasingly full of administrative texts such as leases (and a few are lease-books pure and simple): they are products of the monastic secretariat (in a few houses even termed a chancery, in the late fourteenth century). Earlier registers reflect more of the personal concerns of the abbot or prior who headed the house. An abbot who had a strong personality and who achieved much for his house was perhaps bound to have an archival streak, for in the long term it was through the records of his house that he stood best to be remembered. Abbot Samson of Bury's combination of enthusiasm as a builder, efficiency as an estates-manager and thoroughness as a documentalist can be paralleled in other houses at a later date – as can be seen by the register-book of William of Colerne, Abbot of Malmesbury (1260–96), or in the *Memoriale multorum* of Henry of Eastry, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (1285–1331).[70] With much detail of the requisite expenditure, Colerne listed the churches and ornaments he had acquired for his abbey, the lawsuits and other transactions in which he had been involved (at a cost of £2,511 1s 11d), the corn that he had purchased for the monks year by year from his first year as abbot to the regnal year 8 Edward I (totalling £1,315 1s 1½d), and the buildings he had erected, within the abbey and on its manors.[71] Unlike Samson of Bury St Edmunds, he had not gone to university; but his register conveys a powerful impression of someone who knew exactly how to run a large monastery.

Secular cathedrals

Nine of the English cathedrals – Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Salisbury, Wells, York and St Paul's, London – and all four Welsh cathedrals – Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph and St Davids – were set up on the standard Continental model, staffed by a chapter of secular canons most of whom drew an individual income from the revenues attached to their stall or prebend, while also sharing in the common (or chapter) fund.[72] Canons were

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69 Calendared in *Register Saint Swithun*.
70 Colerne's register pr. *Registrum Malmesburiense*. Eastry's register, BL, Cotton ms. Galba e. iv, pr. Hogan 1966; cf. Dobson 1995, pp. 84–5; Ramsay 1995, pp. 354–5.
71 *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ii, pp. 358–67.
72 Edwards 1967, with overview of their archives at pp. 22–32; for individual cathedrals' archive books, see the introductions to the twentieth-century revision of John Le Neve's *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae*, especially the volumes for the period 1066–1300.

frequently absentee, and therefore needed to be informed about both chapter finances and chapter decisions. Responsibility for record-keeping at first lay with the canon holding the office of chancellor (generally also responsible for the library), but then passed to an employee, the chapter clerk.[73]

The secular cathedrals were scarcely affected by Henry VIII's anti-monastic legislation, and their constitutions came through the reformation years unaltered. Not so, however, their archives, which have in general survived much less well than those of the monastic cathedrals: even the records of Lincoln Cathedral, which are the richest of any of the secular cathedrals, cannot compare with those of Canterbury or Durham.

Two categories of text were distinctive of the secular cathedrals: statute books and chapter act books. The former are in some ways comparable to monastic custumals, but they differed in that they served as a source of law (frequently resorted to in the disputes that saw one canon at loggerheads with the rest of his chapter), whereas in a monastery the abbot's word was final.[74] Statute books dating from before 1300 survive from almost every secular cathedral, even though, being books that every canon found convenient to have to hand, they have quite often strayed into the ownership of other institutions. Chapter acts, as the legally binding decisions of the resident canons who met together in chapter, were in a sense elements of change in a cathedral's governing custumal, as well as being decisions about the administration of chapter business. Since they were binding on all members of chapter, it was prudent to set them down in writing; nonetheless it is surprising how late this characteristic archive book sometimes was to make its first appearance.

The earliest extant collection of chapter acts is in Wells Cathedral's *Liber albus* 1 (Wells, Cathedral Library, ms. Reg. 1), a miscellaneous register which includes chapter-meeting agendas and decisions from c.1243 onwards.[75] In content, however, it resembles a monastic register of out-letters rather than one of the later books of chapter acts. The classic form of chapter act book appears first at York, c.1290 (York Minster Archives, M2/4g, fols. 1–28, containing acts for 1290–1338, with other documents), then at Lincoln, 1305, Lichfield, 1321, and Salisbury, 1329. At St Paul's London no register of chapter acts seems to have been kept until 1411.

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73 For Lincoln, see Major 1950; for other cathedrals, Edwards 1967, pp. 205–14.
74 Records of the general chapters of the religious orders are found from a much earlier date: see above, ch. 11, pp. 257–9. Chapter act books were also maintained by a few of the larger and wealthier collegiate churches, such as Beverley (from 1304) and Ripon.
75 Bird 1907, p. ix, and printed at pp. 1–304.

Parish churches

Parish churches and their priests had records that were in principle different. The parish might own land, which from the thirteenth century onwards would be managed by its churchwardens, and it might keep accounts, the earliest survivors being of the early fourteenth century.[76] The synodal statutes, 1217×1219, of Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, directed memoranda to be entered in each church's service books of its land and rents, as well as of its books, vestments and ornaments.[77] The parish priest, by contrast, was required to keep copies of legal matters, such as synodal statutes.[78]

However, any legal change in the nature of a church's ownership – such as the appropriation (legal transfer) to a religious house of its rectorial rights to tithe, etc. – impinged on the parishioners as well as on the priest, and it was in the interests of all parties to keep copies of the deeds by which such changes were made, and especially of the document that set out what the vicar (rector's substitute) was now entitled to. For instance, the deed of 1285 by which a vicarage was ordained (endowed with a proportion of the tithe) at Doulting (Somerset) was copied into the two Missals of Doulting church as well as into the *Secretum* of the abbot of Gloucester, the monastery which had been granted the rectorial rights.[79]

Texts that were too long to copy into service books were likely to be kept as unbound pamphlets. These, whether of church or priest, have virtually all perished; exceptionally, an ecclesiastical taxation list in pamphlet form, of about the 1320s, survives as a result of having been bound into the back of an episcopal register.[80] A very few books have also survived, with an assortment of contents: lists of parishioners liable to wax-scot (altar-offerings), notes of parish boundaries and revenues, and diocesan statutes.[81] The chests in which parish muniments were kept clearly offered scant safeguard against loss and destruction.

Nobility, knights, gentry and merchants

Archival books were extremely rare among the English lay landlords, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even the preservation of muniments seems to have been unusual. The nobility and wealthier knights or gentry

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76 Hutton 1994, pp. 263–93, provides the fullest list of those surviving from before 1690 (only nine being of the fourteenth century).
77 *Councils and synods* II/1, p. 82 and cf. p. 443. 78 *Councils and synods* II/1, p. 467.
79 Bird 1907, p. 521. 80 Exeter, Devon Record Office, Chanter I, fols. 142–62.
81 Owen 1985.

employed clerks, and it was their standard practice to maintain a variety of written household records: lists of household members, livery rolls (listing those in receipt of cloth or clothing) and, above all, diet accounts (listing expenditure on food and drink as well as servants' wages).[82] Unfortunately for us, it was also standard practice to jettison such records (which were perhaps all kept in roll form). Only a few hundred survive from the whole of England from before 1400, and most of these are from the fourteenth century, and are central accounts that include the household, rather than household accounts as such.[83]

The practice of maintaining account rolls for all manors and other rolls for manorial courts was adopted by lay manorial lords in the mid to late thirteenth century. On the other hand, the nobility seem not to have kept records of their higher courts: virtually none of any sort survive for the baronial courts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[84] One explanation must be that it was established in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries that each knight (and his superior) was initiated into his tenure not so much by any written document as by an act of homage to his lord. The performance of homage did not need a deed to be executed or indentures to be exchanged: in the words of Maxwell Lyte, 'with regard to undertenants, it is often as difficult to ascertain when they did homage as to ascertain when they were knighted. A few witnesses sufficed for either ceremony.'[85] In other words, knights and their lords did not have title deeds or other muniments of title (except for lands purchased in the open market),[86] and so of course had no reason to commission cartularies. In the thirteenth century, the position began to change: earls and others who held directly of the Crown might still have no written evidence of such tenure, but the issuing of charters by lords to their tenants and to others (such as religious houses) had become so widespread that modern historians can reconstruct substantial collections of grants made by these men. Nevertheless, the grantors themselves hardly ever kept copies of what they had granted. Underlying this, it may be said that there was also a state of mind among lay landowners different from that of the religious houses: the nobility and gentry in the first few generations after the Norman Conquest were in many ways strikingly unconcerned to stress ancestral permanence for their landholdings. They did not issue leases to provide for younger children or other family dependents, but were ready to make outright gifts to them or to religious

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82 Woolgar 1999, pp. 10–11.
83 Woolgar 1992–3, with list in part 2, pp. 691–726; also Mertes 1988, with list at pp. 194–215.
84 Stenton 1961, ch. 2.
85 Maxwell Lyte 1918, p. xlix, stating that written indentures of homage came into vogue from the beginning of the fifteenth century.
86 Where ownership had passed by final concord, they would have received a foot (copy) of the fine.

houses of land that they felt was surplus to their needs; they therefore saw no point in keeping a record of any ultimate ancestral right or ownership in such lands.[87] This was in sharp contradistinction to the older monasteries, which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries often found themselves in effect dispossessed by their lessees or tenants of what these men had once been granted: the monks therefore needed to maintain records of what had been, in the words of so many charters, given to God and to the monastery's patronal saint. The *Quo warranto* investigations of the late 1270s and 1280s, in which the Crown's lawyers sought to establish by what right various franchises (royal rights, such as the return of royal writs) were being exercised by ecclesiastical or lay landowners, had to be abandoned by Edward I in 1290, due to a wave of baronial opposition. This had grown out of a sense of the impossibility of being able to produce in court the documentary evidence that alone would satisfy the judges. According to one famous anecdote, John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, held up in court an old rusty sword and said: 'Here my lords, here is my warrant! My ancestors came with William the Bastard, and conquered their lands with the sword, and I shall defend them with the sword against anyone who tries to usurp them.'[88]

The nobility

Not every major landowner in the late thirteenth century could claim descent from one of William the Conqueror's sword-wielding companions, and by this date many landowners were having copies made of their more significant written documents. Davis, *Cartularies* (1958) has some 160 entries for English and Scottish 'secular cartularies' (less than one-seventh of the number for religious bodies), and of these, sixty-eight are from before 1400, while barely a dozen date from before 1300. Several are mere lists of charters; only twenty-seven are described by Davis as cartularies, although that number results in part from his unwillingness to categorize as cartularies the collections of charters relating to single manors, of which he provides four examples of 1400 or earlier; several more can now be added.[89]

The nobility had the most extensive estates and it might be thought that they therefore had the greatest need to keep records. The archives of a few

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87 Aston 2004, p. 89.
88 Sutherland 1963, p. 82 n. 2, and cf. p. 98 n. 2; the anecdote was also told of Gilbert de Clare: Clanchy 1993, pp. 35–43.
89 Additions to the list of secular cartularies in Davis 1958 in Hoskin 1996, pp. 11–12; Vincent 1997, pp. 32–8; Vincent 1998, pp. 11–13; Vincent 1999, p. 28.

individual members of the nobility and even of two or three entire comital and ducal establishments have been united with the archives of the Crown, and thus preserved with the Crown's own records, dispersed through a variety of classes in the Public Record Office at the National Archives: invaluable checks on general practice are provided by these exceptional instances. For instance, the records of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, came to the Crown upon his death, childless, in 1306,[90] just as those of Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, came after her death, childless, in 1293. But no register is found among them. There does, however, survive one major landowner's register from this period: a book of forty-four leaves containing copies of manorial extents and custumals (mostly of 1287) and a list of fees (1236), written for Lady Cecily de Beauchamp (d. 1321; of Hatch, Somerset).[91] From the fourteenth century there is a handful of such books, generally explicable as relating to newly acquired lands. For instance, the Mohun family's estate at Dunster (Somerset) was acquired in reversion for 5,000 marks (£3333 6s 8d) in 1376 by Lady Elizabeth Luttrell. The sale was to have effect on the vendor's death, and this occurred only in 1404. There was then a dispute with the vendor's heirs, which resulted in both parties scrambling for the title deeds (which had been lodged with the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury). Care was thereafter taken by the Luttrells to keep written records of all transactions relating to these lands, and a range of estate records (lists of fees, extents and terriers, as well as details of rents and services) was compiled into a register, in book form.[92]

Greater lords than the Mohuns or Luttrells had greater bureaucracies and kept more extensive records. The supreme example must be the Duchy of Lancaster, which resembled the Crown in having a writing office which it termed a chancery (headed by a chancellor who kept the duke's privy seal and was paid an annual salary of 100 marks [£66 13s 4d]). The earldom of Lancaster was conceived as an integral unit, and it and its archive survived such incidents as the Crown's taking it over after the death of Earl Edmund in 1296 and again after the rebellion of Earl Thomas in 1322. No full-dress cartulary of the Duchy of Lancaster's lands survives earlier than the Great Coucher Book compiled in 1402–7 for the estate's receiver-general,[93] although one was begun in about the mid-fourteenth century.[94] More remarkably, however, the ducal chancery kept

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90 Bigod's archive is drawn on by Morris 2005.   91 Pr. and tr. *Registers Beauchamp*, pp. 1–56.
92 BL, Egerton ms. 3724; described in Davis 1958, no. 1285, and in British Library 1982, part 1, pp. 268–9.
93 Somerville 1936.
94 TNA:PRO, Duchy of Lancaster, Misc. Books, DL 42/11; discussed by Baldwin 1926–7, pp. 134–5.

a series of registers of the letters, writs and other administrative documents that went out in the duke's name: the earliest, from the 1350s or 1360s, was in roll form, and is lost, but two registers are extant, in book form, for the years 1371–5[95] and 1379–87.[96] They are not as handsome as the Great Coucher (described by J. F. Baldwin as 'probably the most elegant of any books ever compiled in the service of the government'),[97] but they are substantial and wide-ranging. Like the Great Coucher, they resulted from the private initiative of ducal officers: the making of such books was not seen as an integral part of the duties of office.

Gentry and merchants

Davis 1958 lists forty registers of one kind or another compiled before 1400 for the gentry, including a couple for townsmen or merchants. Hardly any of the gentry is known to have kept a register of letters in this period,[98] but their general registers do contain a fair range of materials. Some are mere rolls with copies of a few deeds; one such is the short collection that, apparently, was put together in the early fourteenth century by Sir William le Latymer after his acquisition of the manor of Thornton near Pickering (Yorkshire).[99] Others are more ambitious, and contain texts reflecting their compilers' role as estate owners and also, sometimes, as estate managers for other landlords: they thus start to resemble the books of legal and estate-management texts usually associated with religious houses. Some also show a concern with past transactions, and contain both charters and other deeds as well as historical memoranda.

One of the earliest is the so-called 'estate book' of Richard Hotot, of Clopton (Northamptonshire).[100] Written in several hands, mostly in the 1240s, the last decade of Richard's life, it was subsequently added to by his son Thomas, partly in his own hand. It remained in loose gatherings until at least 1272–3, but was bound in covers before 1376, when it and another Hotot family register (now lost) were referred to as the Black Book and the White Book. It begins with a family history, including the initial grant of a knight's fee to a forebear of Richard's, in the late eleventh century. The essence of the book is the documentation of Richard's building-up of a much larger estate, both

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95 *John of Gaunt's Register* 1911.   96 *John of Gaunt's Register* 1937.
97 Baldwin 1926–7, p. 140.
98 Exceptionally, there survives one leaf, with copies of eight Anglo-Norman in-letters, to Alice de Bryene, her daughter and her step grand-daughter, datable to the 1380s and 1390s: Swabey 1998.
99 Walton 1927, pp. 25–6, 27, 47 and 49–50, nos. 51, 54, 99 and 104–6.
100 BL, Add. ms. 54228; partial edn with invaluable discussion by King 1983.

by marriage and numerous purchases (the price often being stated), and there are many transcripts of charters as well as separate, annotated lists of rents and services (both owing and due), together with notes of homage requisite for lands held by military tenure (knight service). Magna Carta (1225) and the Charter of the Forest (1217) were perhaps copied for their continuing political and legal relevance; but it surely can only have been for historical reasons that copies were included of the two letters by which King John made his peace with the papacy in 1213, as well as a list of the kings of France, from Clovis to Louis VI. The loss of the second Hotot register is particularly regrettable, because of its remarkable text structure (known from excerpts transcribed in the early eighteenth century): its account of the Hotot family lands is cast in question-and-answer (*capitulum* and *solutio*) form, and strongly suggests that its compiler, Thomas Hotot, had been sent to university.

The three merchants' registers earlier than 1400 hardly form a satisfactory basis for generalization. One is a thirteenth-century Stamford (Lincolnshire) townsman's collection of deeds relating to his acquisitions of property in Stamford and elsewhere; it is a roll of six membranes, six inches wide.[101] It is possible that it has survived because it passed into the archive of Stamford nunnery. The other two are full-dress cartularies, in book form, of London merchants, Adam Frounceys (d. 1375) and John Pyel (d. 1382), who each rose from lowly origins to become mayor, and acquired substantial estates in both London and the country.[102] Frounceys' cartulary is the more sophisticated production: it has abstracts of 1234 deeds, arranged by manors, and, as a preface in Anglo-Norman makes clear, it was written in 1362 as both guide to the content of each original deed, and indication of its location in the box for the manor to which it related. It is thus comparable to the most intelligently devised cartularies of religious house or aristocrat (such as the two cartularies of the inheritance of Philippa, wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March).[103] Pyel's cartulary was produced over a long period of time, from c.1350 to the 1370s, and is a more haphazard compilation: in that, it is wholly characteristic of numerous other cartularies of its time. It was not designed to be referred to every day (as would have been the account books that Pyel doubtless also kept), but it marked in a permanent and potentially useful way what its owner had achieved by a lifetime's resourceful activity.

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101 TNA:PRO, Exchequer, Augmentation Office, Ancient Deeds, Series BB, E 328/16; Davis 1958, no. 1326; discussed by Fryde 2002.
102 *Kalendar John Pyel*, esp. pp. 75–93.
103 *Kalendar John Pyel*, pp. 79–80; cf. Davis 1958, nos. 1292 and 1294.

Towns

There were more than 600 towns in England that by 1500 were of sufficient significance to be termed boroughs – to use one yardstick of significance.[104] Indications in Domesday Book suggest that some towns, notably Colchester, had produced written memoranda for the survey, but nothing comparable survives for another century.[105] Urban records have had a much weaker survival rate than the archives of the religious houses; thus records of any sort generated by towns before 1300 survive for only about twenty-three,[106] and before 1500 for only about sixty.[107]

Royal charters

Urban and monastic record-making practices nevertheless bear comparison in terms of what texts the two sorts of institution chose to have written down, from what date, and why. It is also worth noting where the two differed – most notably in the towns' disinclination to make copies of their royal charters of rights and privileges, whether separately or as elements of cartularies. For instance, beginning with Henry I's grant to London c.1130 (if that is authentic)[108] or Henry II's grant to Lincoln in the 1150s, and gathering pace in the 1190s (when Richard I was seeking money to pay for his crusading), towns were increasingly able to buy grants of the right to pay directly to the king each year as a fixed sum – collected by the towns' own reeves (or bailiffs), without the intervention of the sheriff – the dues exacted by the Crown. Such grants of 'fee-farm' were made to Bedford, Colchester, Hereford, Northampton and Worcester, all within a few weeks of Richard's accession in 1189; many more soon followed.[109] Under King John, a further twenty-three towns obtained such grants.[110] Nor were 'fee-farms' the only form of urban privilege that town communities were being granted by the Crown or other lords at this time. The towns presumably did not make institutional copies of such grants (and confirmations) for the simple reason that as institutions they did not need *aide-mémoires*, as long as their leading citizens either could remember exactly what the Crown had allowed to them or made private notes or copies for themselves. For greater security, however, towns did sometimes pay for a sealed duplicate

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104 Cf. Beresford and Finberg 1973. A 'borough' in the thirteenth century was simply a town which enjoyed some measure of self-government and showed such urban characteristics as being a trading or mercantile centre for its neighbourhood. See further Reynolds 1977, pp. 91–117.
105 Martin 1985, pp. 157–8.   106 Palliser 1978, p. 81.
107 Martin 1997, p. 119.   108 Green 1986, pp. 67–9, tending to accept it.
109 A condensed, annotated list of all royal and other charters of liberties, etc., granted to English boroughs is given by West 1983, pp. 96–102.
110 Ballard 1899.

or even triplicate copy of a charter, at the time that it was first granted.[111] It was no doubt realized that the royal Chancery kept a copy of such charters, so that if the town's records were destroyed by fire or other disaster, an equally authoritative copy could be purchased. By contrast, royal (and papal and episcopal) grants and confirmations of privileges to religious houses needed to be copied because they could not easily be remembered or might too easily be misremembered.

Guild-membership lists

Rather as some of the earliest monastic records are simply lists of tenants and the rents they paid, so the earliest surviving records generated by towns are lists of townsmen – or rather, of the members of the guild that comprised the leading townsmen, and the varying sums they had paid for the right to practise their trade or craft. A roll containing lists of payments for entry into the guild merchant of Leicester survives for the years 1196 to 1225(?).[112] Earlier still are the lists of Dublin's guildsmen, as they paid for admission to the city's guild merchant, from about the 1180s to 1264–5; the lists are on what is now a single roll, of forty-three membranes.[113] In this case, the city may have valued the lists as a record of the identity of its merchants and craftsmen (since it had perhaps a somewhat transient population, or at least one whose members needed to be distinguished from those of the surrounding area), as well as for essential revenue-gathering purposes. The basic, not to say humdrum, function of such lists of townsmen is shown by the fact that the next place for which these records survive is the Thames-side town of Wallingford, with rolls for the regnal years 1226–7 and 1229–30;[114] again, what the rolls actually record is how much money each man paid for the right to practise his trade. Wallingford, an honorial centre (or *caput honoris*) and a strategic river crossing, already had a complex set of records by this time.

Court rolls

Grants of fee-farm to an urban community did not 'make' it a borough, but may be seen as recognition that it was already an entity that could be held responsible to pay its financial dues.[115] A number of town dwellers in the

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111 Jenkinson 1959, p. 7 and nos. 9, 10, 11 and 15, for examples of duplicates, 1194–1236.
112 *Records Leicester*, pp. 12–35; Martin 1960–4, p. 151.　　113 Ed. *Dublin guild roll*.
114 Clanchy 1993, plates IX and X, gives facsimiles of sections of these two rolls. Keene 1985 points out that the rolls are unusual in being (silently) classified, with merchants preceding other occupations: it is possible that the list was compiled by the merchant guild rather than by seignorial authority.
115 This point is stressed by Davis 1968, p. 56. Exeter only obtained a definitive grant of its fee-farm in 1332, the Exchequer having disputed a grant made in 1259 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

late twelfth century were developing a corporate identity, and it is striking how many decided to have their own seal made in the years around 1200.[116] However, townsmen were readier to develop such a sense of their civic identity than they were to keep a written record of it; they were often strangely careless of all records other than their royal charters. It was characteristic that a town's burgesses (or citizens) could not be impleaded in the hundredal or county courts of the county in which it was located, and so each town had its own court or courts; and some if not all of these courts kept their records, like those of the royal and manorial courts, on parchment rolls. Court rolls survive for Wallingford from 1231–2 onwards,[117] for London from 1252,[118] and for Ipswich from 1256. As towns gained the right to do so, their courts came to deal with litigation that concerned the title to real property (lands and tenements) within their area of jurisdiction, and so litigants would want the court's rulings to be recorded.[119] Equally, the non-litigious transfer of title, as by a will, might be recorded on the court's roll, just as the town's seal was sometimes used to authenticate private charters that conveyed properties.[120] The reading of a charter in court served as its publication, and meant that it needed to be recorded as a transaction of the court. However, court records merely recording day-to-day civil litigation have scarcely survived at all in towns where the court did not have jurisdiction over real property.

Custumals

Towns remained unenthusiastic about keeping any record of their own corporate activities. Custumals, setting out the executive and administrative structures and practices of a town, must have been made, but, perhaps almost invariably, only on a personal or ad hoc basis, by those concerned with running the town. London and certain other towns for long clung to the tradition of their Recorder being allowed to declare their customs orally. One of the earliest custumals extant is the mid-twelfth-century single-sheet Latin version of the laws and customs (*leges et consuetudines*) of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[121] Town custumals were seen as highly transferable sets of rules, and those of Newcastle were granted later in the twelfth century by Adam de Brus to Hartlepool and by

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116 Davis 1968, pp. 55–6, lists ten such towns, with the full inscription that was cut round the edge of each seal.
117 Extracts pr. Reynolds and de Boer 1988, pp. 121–3.
118 Martin 1990.   119 Martin 1971.
120 The importance of this use of the town's seal in Winchester (before c.1277), Salisbury and Exeter is brought out by Keene 1985, pp. 12–14; he points out that the town seal was not used in this way in either Wallingford or London, where private deeds were enrolled among the formal records of the borough court.
121 Johnson 1925.

Bishop Hugh du Puiset to Wearmouth and Gateshead; similarly, King John in 1216 granted to Newcastle certain of the customs of Winchester.[122] Outside London, one of the earliest custumals in Anglo-Norman survives at Exeter; datable to c.1230.[123] It would be hard to say whether any of these early custumals was 'official', any more than the rest of a town's records apart from those of its courts. It is, for instance, impossible to say what inherent authority attached to the text of the custumal of Corfe (Dorset) written 'in ancient writing' in a Missal of the parish church, according to a Crown enquiry carried out in 1380: ultimately, it would only have been as valid as the local jurors or leading townsmen were prepared to declare.[124]

Miscellaneous registers: London

In the case of London, however, the keeping of books or registers of miscellaneous town transactions and texts can be traced back to the very early thirteenth century. Between about 1206 and 1216 a small quarto miscellany (now Manchester, John Rylands UL, ms. Lat. 155 + BL, Add. ms. 14252) was compiled: much of its second part is occupied by a copy of the legal treatise *Glanvill*, but it begins with a variety of texts that mostly relate specifically to London, including a custumal of London's laws, list of the city's charters kept in its treasury,[125] list of the city's sheriffs from 1 Richard I to 16 John, oath of 'the Twenty-four' (aldermen, presumably), laws or rules of the weavers and fullers of Winchester and other towns, custumal of London's franchises, and note of the London freemen's privileges in pleas of the Crown.[126] Some of the texts are in Latin, others in Anglo-Norman. The many scribal errors indicate that it was not written by its compiler. Mary Bateson suggested that it was put together by a Londoner 'working most likely in the *camera* of the Gildhall', and she drew attention to his particular interest in bread and cornmongers and in the Cornhill family: it may be, then, that it was compiled by a clerk of the Guildhall who worked for one of the Cornhill family, more than one of whom was active in the city's government at this time.

Later in the thirteenth century, a whole series of books of miscellaneous London transactions began to be compiled: the Letter-books, so called only because they were later put into alphabetical sequence, lettered as book A, book B, etc.; their fourteenth-century names (Lesser Black Book, Black Book,

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122 Walker 1976. For town customs and their portability in general, see Bateson in *Borough customs*.
123 *Anglo-Norman custumal*. The text is incomplete; it is part of a roll and lacks the membrane with the expected clauses about the election of the town's officers and their duties.
124 *Calendar of inquisitions*, p. 86, no. 147.
125 Pr. Round 1899, p. 256 ('De Cartis Civitatis. In thesauro . . .').
126 Bateson 1902; Ker 1954, p. 37, repr. Ker, *BCL*, p. 135.

Greater Black Book and Red Book, for what became A to D) are more sugges-
tive of their lack of sequential order. They were compiled, it seems, by different
Guildhall clerks, acting concurrently; but they incorporate elements of various
earlier series of registers (such as registers of debt-recognizances and leases,
as well as copies of coroners' rolls) and these cannot easily be disentangled.[127]
Letter-book A has material ranging from c.1275 to 1298, Letter-book B from
c.1275 to 1312 and Letter-book C from 1291 to 1309. In the course of the
fourteenth century, the books developed into an official record of transac-
tions of the courts of the aldermen and of the common council, but the first
few volumes are comparable rather with the miscellaneous compilations put
together by Andrew Horn, a leading fishmonger who was the city's cham-
berlain (responsible for matters of collective interest to the citizenry, such as
the common fund, the care of orphans, and admissions to the city's freedom)
from 1320 until his death in 1328. Horn bequeathed six books (in four vol-
umes) to the Guildhall chamber ('Camere Gildaule'): 'vnum magnum librum
de gestis Anglorum in quo continentur multa vtilia', a book of ancient laws
of England ('de veteribus legibus Angl*ie*'), another book of the statutes of the
realm with many of the liberties and other matters pertaining to the city ('de
statutis Angl*ie* cum multis libertatibus et aliis tangentibus Ciuitatem'), two
other legal works, and the chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon.[128] The first
comprised two elements: a chronicle, focussed on London, to 1316, and a col-
lection of London laws and customs, with the Assize of Bread and a list of the
mayors and sheriffs of London down to 1321.[129] The third book is the so-called
Liber Horn, containing statutes of Henry III and Edward I, Edward I's charter
for London (1299) and other royal charters for London, together with a large
collection of London customs and ordinances compiled between 1311 and
1319.[130]

Horn's bequest was fully operative – elements of his legacy are still in the
archive of the Corporation of the city of London today – and it might be said that
it was the transfer of these books to ownership by the Guildhall that made them
into a part of its archive. On the other hand, they would never have been ranked
with the royal charters kept in the city's treasury: they were office books, in
the sense that they were for working purposes. Moreover, as Horn's will makes
clear, they were specifically for use in the *camera* of the Guildhall: the chamber,

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127 Keene and Harding 1985, p. 3. The Letter-books were bound up only after existing for
some time as loose quires or gatherings: for instance, Letter-book C begins at what was once
f. xxv.
128 Horn's book-bequests pr. Ramsay (*CBMLC*) forthcoming. For Horn himself, see Catto 1981.
129 Ker 1954.   130 *MMBL*, I, pp. 27–34; it now has the reference ms. CUST 2.

over which the chamberlain presided. In a sense, then, it might equally be said that he had given them for the use of his successors in the office of chamberlain; and since the city's chamberlain had charge of all the city's records until as late as 1462,[131] it might even be argued that whatever a living chamberlain created and used in an archival way was *ipso facto* already part of the chamber's archive, even if it did not remain there after his departure from office. This, after all, was the view commonly held in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of court rolls, such as those of the London sheriffs' court; the officials' (temporary) ownership of their records resulted from the attribution of personal liability to such officials for any default.

The book of historical texts – lists of popes, emperors, bishops, and officers of the city of London, annals of London from 1188 to 1257, excerpts from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum*, and miscellaneous memoranda of London or of national significance – put together by the Londoner Arnald Thedmar or Fitzthedmar (d. late in 1274 or early in 1275) is equally difficult to categorize as either private or official. Thedmar was an alderman, and his book (now London Metropolitan Archive, Corporation of London Records, ms. cust. 1, generally known as 'Liber de antiquis legibus')[132] has certainly been in the Guildhall's keeping since at least the fifteenth century. Thedmar was never chamberlain, and it has been suggested that the book was still in private ownership in c.1320, nearly half a century after his death.[133]

At the same time, it is clear that the city did maintain some unquestionably official registers; these have survived less well, having fallen victim to the Great Fire of 1666 or other misfortunes. In 1275 the corporation resolved that the names of apprentices should be entered in a 'paper book' in the chamber of the Guildhall.[134] Exceptionally, the city also at one time had a register of its royal charters: 'the great book of charters and liberties of the city' was referred to in 1327, for details of the parliament of January in that year.[135]

Miscellaneous registers: outside London

The picture is simpler and clearer in other towns, perhaps partly because greater archival responsibility was passed to the town clerk at a much earlier date than

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131 Cf. Masters 1969–71, p. 58.
132 *MMBL*, I, pp. 22–7; much of it was printed as *De antiquis legibus*, and the chronicle in it discussed by Gransden 1974, pp. 509–17.
133 *MMBL*, I, p. 27, arguing for private ownership c.1320 solely on the basis of the scripts of articles 35–7.
134 *Chronicles Edward I, II*, I, p. 86: 'in papirio camere Gildaule'. 'Paper' here may simply mean 'register' or 'quire', as this record is perhaps identifiable with leaves incorporated in the early Letter-books.
135 *Calendar Letter Book E*, p. 215; Thomas in *Calendar Mayor's Court*, pp. xxv–xxvi. The book was probably already lost by c.1470.

in London. The general practice seems to have been to keep just one or at most two registers, in which a much more limited (although still very miscellaneous) range of materials was recorded. Only two or three of these books have been studied in detail. One is the Oath Book of Colchester, begun in the 1380s by the town clerk, Michael Aunger, and including copies of the town's New Constitutions (or custumal) of 1372, the oaths of the town's bailiffs, receivers, sergeants, new burgesses and the clerk himself, the Statute of Cambridge, a town rental, a note on millers' toll and notes on the farm of the borough.[136] It seems to have begun as Aunger's private property, but somehow – perhaps because it was converted into an index of court rolls – it passed into the custody of his successors as town clerk. Aunger was doubtless acting as a clerk for individual burgesses, guilds or churches locally: no town clerk in medieval England (save perhaps in London) was required to limit his professional activities to the service of the town as a corporate body, and it would not be surprising if Aunger's practice, which may have been one of a mere handful operating in Colchester, had gained a quasi-monopoly of tenure of the town clerkship over a long period of time. If a town clerk himself paid for and wrote (or used his own clerks to write) such a book, he or his practice might very naturally treat it as private property.

The Colchester Oath Book is written on parchment, but it was probably more usual for town registers or memoranda books to be written on paper, and that material's frailty may partly explain their loss. King's Lynn (Norfolk) still has a paper register which starts in 1307 (having lost some leaves at the beginning), the paper Book of the Hustings Court of Lyme Regis (Dorset) begins in 1308, and Oxford's *Liber Albus*, which begins in 1320, is also of paper.[137] Colchester has lost its medieval Black Paper Book. But even paper books were relatively costly, and were filled up only slowly: one book might remain in use for two or even three centuries, gradually gaining status from its antiquity, and so might come to be specially preserved. In some towns there was one book of authoritative texts called the town's Domesday – a misnomer in terms of its contents (since a survey of all the burgesses' land-holdings was the one text that it was certain not to contain), but a pointer to the book's high status. At Dorchester (Dorset) a register of deeds and wills conveying properties within the town was begun in the year 1394–5, and as early as 1414 was already referred to as 'Domesday' as well as 'the Common Register', in ordinances made by twenty-four local

jurors (or councillors).[138] At Norwich another 'Domesday' book was written at about the same date, between c. 1394 and 1398: exceptionally, this was a cartulary of deeds relating to the town's own properties.[139]

At the same time, it would be hard to overestimate the conservatism of many towns in record-keeping practices. In Exeter – the leading town in south-west England, with a population of perhaps 3,000 in the later fourteenth century – no such book or register either survives or is known ever to have existed from this date. The city's principal law court and its governing council are virtually indistinguishable until 1324 (when a mayoral non-judicial advisory council is first mentioned), and all official memoranda which it was felt necessary to record were entered on the same rolls as the court's judicial business. That is to say, the city's court rolls, extant from 1285, with isolated membranes surviving from the years 1265–72, served as its archival record. Memoranda of such matters as the election of the city's chief officials continued to be entered in them, until at least the early sixteenth century, and, from the fifteenth century, the admissions of men to the freedom of the city. It was from these rolls that the city's first archival book (Devon Record Office, Exeter City Archives, Miscellaneous Book 55) was compiled, in the fifteenth century.[140] In a somewhat similar way, the Red Register of King's Lynn (Norfolk) began as primarily a register of deeds and wills, but from c.1342 the back of the book was used to record town business, entries into the town's liberty, elections of officers and councillors (every year, from 1345 to 1395 – an exceptionally early sequence), town ordinances and so forth.[141] Even in London, administrative as well as legal proceedings at meetings of the mayor and aldermen were entered on a series of rolls from 1323 until the 1480s. This series, which despite losses still comprises 102 'Plea and Memoranda Rolls', was apparently begun as a register of official incoming and outgoing correspondence, but was clearly found irresistible as a place in which to enter miscellaneous administrative documents, from about 1326 onwards.[142]

*This essay has been much improved by the critical comments of Christopher Brooke, Michael Clanchy, Barrie Dobson, Paul Harvey, Derek Keene, Robert Peberdy and Susan Reynolds, who kindly read early drafts of part or all of it.

138 *Municipal records Dorchester*, p. 108; the entire book, which has 701 entries and continued in use until 1701, is calendered at pp. 116–376.
139 Norfolk Record Office, Norwich City Records, 17b: a large volume of 91 folios containing 271 deeds, mostly of 1378–80; discussed by Dunn 2005.
140 R. C. Easterling, introduction to Wilkinson 1931, pp. xi, xxii, xxxii. For Exeter's records, see also Kowaleski 1995, pp. 337–43.
141 *Red Register*; and cf. the review by J. Tait, *EHR* 38 (1923), 126–9. 142 *Calendar plea rolls*.

Scientific and medical writings

CHARLES BURNETT AND PETER MURRAY
JONES

I.   The introduction of scientific texts into
Britain, c.1100–1250

Charles Burnett

The Norman conquest of England occurred within the same generation as the reconquests of Muslim-held territory: namely those of Sicily (1060s), Toledo (1085), and parts of the Middle East (1098). One result of the English Norman Conquest was the refurbishment of the libraries of English monasteries,[1] and it is not surprising that included among the new books imported and copied should be those containing texts made available by Christendom's expansion at the expense of Islam. The earliest of such books, however, probably arrived not as a result of conquest. These were the corpus of Arabic medical texts that Constantine the African is said to have brought from Qayrawan (in present-day Tunisia) to Salerno and translated with colleagues in the Benedictine monastery of Montecassino in the last years of the eleventh century. Already in the early twelfth century copies of these medical texts had been brought to, or made in, English monasteries, among them Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 14. 34, and London, Wellcome Historical Library, ms. 801A (both from Bury St Edmunds Abbey) and BL, Add. ms. 22719, which belonged to St Nicholas in Exeter (a dependency of Battle Abbey). A translation of Arabic astronomical tables from Spain was copied together with notes in Arabic and original texts by Walcher, abbot of Great Malvern (d. 1135), in the scriptorium of Worcester Cathedral Priory between c.1120 and 1140 (now Bodleian, Auct. ms. F. 1. 9). A medical text translated in Antioch in 1127 was already being copied in the scriptorium of Worcester Cathedral by the mid-twelfth century (Worcester, Cathedral Library, ms. F. 40).[2]

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1 See Gameson 1999a, pp. 1–41, and Thomson 2006.   2 Thomson 2001a, pp. 25–6.

We have some hints as to how scientific manuscripts were brought from abroad. The Bury St Edmunds' medical manuscripts may owe their existence to the fact that Abbot Anselm (1121–48) hailed from Italy.[3] Petrus Alfonsi, who collaborated on an astronomical text with Walcher, apologizes for leaving his books 'on the other side of the sea'. But Daniel of Morley, soon after 1175, boasted of bringing 'a precious multitude of books' from Toledo to England. These are most likely to have included Pseudo-Avicenna's *Liber caeli et mundi* and the *De ortu scientiarum* attributed to Alfarabi, two works on natural philosophy which Daniel used extensively in his own *Philosophia* and which interested scholars in the nascent university of Oxford.[4] Daniel of Morley followed the example of other British scientists, most notably Adelard of Bath and Robert of Chester, who spent a period abroad before returning to settle in England. That they brought back books, including some in Arabic script, can be inferred from Adelard's translations of Arabic texts which were made *in* Bath, and Robert's adaptation of astrological tables originally made for Pisa to the meridian of London.[5] The arrival of books can also be inferred from dedications: such as that of the cosmological text, *De essentiis*, dedicated by Hermann of Carinthia in 1143 to Robert of Ketton (who may be different from Robert of Chester), and hence appearing in English copies, and that of a version of Raymond of Marseilles' astrological judgments (*Iudicia*) dedicated to Robert, Earl of Leicester (probably the second of that name, earl 1118–68).[6]

The typical format of these scientific books brought from abroad would have been small unbound *libelli*. The *Liber celi et mundi* that Daniel used can be found in such a *libellus*, bound with other *libelli* containing translations of Aristotle's works on natural science and ethics from Greek, in Bodleian, ms. Selden supra 24. Another set of *libelli* belonging to a 'master Herbert', a doctor who left his books to Durham Cathedral Priory in the third quarter of the twelfth century, was bound together in NLS, ms. Advocates 18. 6. 11. Some of these *libelli* may have been written on the new medium of paper: a single quire of a twelfth-century paper manuscript of a work addressed to Robert of Ketton has been attached to the end of BL, Arundel ms. 268.

The nature of the scientific works introduced into Britain affected the appearance of the manuscripts in which they were copied. In arithmetic the new Arabic numerals posed a problem not only of interpretation (the concept of a symbol for 'nothing' being particularly difficult to grasp), but also of representation.

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3 Thomson 1972, pp. 630, 634.
4 See Burnett 1997, pp. 61–80 ('The Beginnings of Oxford University').
5 Mercier 1987, pp. 108–12.
6 BL, Royal ms. 12 E. XXV, f. 172v, and Bodleian, Digby ms. 57, f. 137v.

Scribes hesitated to treat them in the same way as letters and tended to separate them from the text by placing them in boxes – as 'pictures' or representations of their configurations on the abacus or dust board. In geometry, the complete text of Euclid's *Elements*, first introduced into the West from Arabic by Adelard of Bath, initially posed a great challenge to the scribe. The enunciations of the theorems were regarded as having a different status from the proofs that followed them, and therefore required a different format. Then, for each theorem a diagram was needed which had to be both accurately drawn, and juxtaposed with the appropriate text. The free-hand drawings found in earlier manuscripts of the *agrimensores* (or land surveyors) were no longer sufficient, and rulers and compasses had to be used. The new geometry required more sophisticated scribal techniques. One of the earliest manuscripts of the complete *Elements* (which includes both Adelard's literal translation from Arabic and a version in which the proofs have been rewritten to show their logical sequence more clearly) exemplifies the care required for the 'modern' geometry.[7] In this manuscript, Oxford, Trinity College 47, of the mid-twelfth century, the master scribe has written out the first two or three words of each theorem, placing each incipit in such a position that there should be enough room for the diagram. Other scribes have completed the enunciations and written the proofs in a margin specially prepared (fig. 18.1).

Works on astronomy also frequently required elaborate geometrical diagrams. The sophisticated all-purpose astronomical instrument, the astrolabe, of which Prior Walcher was one of the earliest English users, was often carefully illustrated (e.g. in BL, Royal ms. 15 B. IX), as were other astronomical instruments (e.g. a sundial and a hemisphere, in the same manuscript).[8] Sometimes these illustrations had moving parts, e.g. BL, Egerton ms. 889, which includes a volvella, and are only a step away from the vellum and paper astrolabes that are known to have been made in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[9] But astronomy also entailed tables of the planetary movements. The format of canon tables could be, and occasionally was, employed, with titles and columns decorated with foliation and geometrical patterns. But the sequence of pages upon pages of numbers was novel. It is in these tables that we find

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7 Adelard is referred to as a 'modernus' among geometers in an *accessus* to arithmetic in Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 15. 16, f. 3r.

8 See Burnett 1997, figs. 7–10.

9 See Gingerich 1993. On medieval volvellae in general see Braswell-Means 1991. The use of a ruler (*regula*) and compasses (*circinus*) is specifically mentioned in a treatise on the composition of the astrolabe by Ascelinus of Augsburg, whose earliest manuscripts are Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 283, and BL, Add. ms. 17808 (both eleventh-century). Compasses are also required in drawing the plan for ascertaining where buried treasure can be found, in Robert of Ketton's translation of the *Astrological Judgements* of Alkindi (Bodleian, Digby ms. 51, twelfth-century, f. 76vb).

experiments with more economic ways of writing numerals; e.g. the substitution of 'q' (quatuor) for 'iiii', 'o' (octo) for 'viii', and 'n' (novem) for 'ix', and, by the time of Roger of Hereford's tables (1178), the use of the new Arabic numerals.[10]

The archetypal diagram for astrology is the horoscope, which starts appearing in manuscripts of the twelfth century.[11] Nice examples, referring to the turbulent political situation prior to Henry II's accession to the throne in 1154, are preserved on a bifolium added to BL, Royal ms. App. 85, that gives the appearance of being the very sheet used by the astrologer for his calculations.[12] But much astrological information, too, can be set out in tables. In the most popular introduction to astrology, the *Introductorius* of Alcabitius, one table is described as an aid to memory,[13] and sometimes the tables occur on their own (e.g. BL, Sloane ms. 702, ff. 12r–13r).

The use of diagrams and dials extends to works of magic and divination: for instance, the fortune-telling manual known as the *Experimentarius* in Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys ms. 911 (late thirteenth-century), includes a paper dial with two moving discs, marked with the numbers 1–28 and the topics of the client's questions, respectively.[14] Other forms of divination brought their own novelties. Lines of dots linked in pairs, or with pairs and single dots stacked in four tiers, are an indication that geomantic calculations were being made (as in BL, Sloane ms. 2030, f. 94r).[15] Works on scapulimancy have schematic diagrams of the shoulder-blade of a sheep, marked with 'places' evoking the Mediterranean and the Orient (Cordoba, Jaen, Seville, Egypt and the Yemen).[16] Weather-forecasting texts include asterisms representing the 'lunar mansions' and elaborate diagrams showing the relationship of moist and dry and intermediate, and beneficial and harmful mansions (Cambridge, Clare College, ms. N¹. 2. 1 (15), f. 5v) (fig. 18.2).[17]

One would expect medical works to need illustrations rather than geometrical diagrams. The earliest texts on medicine, such as those of the Constantinian corpus, however, tend to be unillustrated. The first significant illustrations are those that accompany the text of the surgery of Albucasis, translated by Gerard of Cremona (late twelfth century), in which the surgical instruments in the

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10 Lemay 1977, pp. 457–9.   11 For astrological illustrations in general, see Page 2002.
12 North 1987.
13 *Introductorius*, 1 [19] (Al-Qabisi: *Astrology*, p. 236): 'et propter diversitatem eorum graduum et gravitatem eorum memorie descripsimus eos in tabula ut levius esset opus'. The table in question is that of the 'terms' of the planets in each of the signs of the zodiac.
14 *Survey*, IV/2, no. 186. For illustrations to magical manuscripts, see Page 2004.
15 For geomancy see Charmasson 1980.
16 See Bodleian, ms. Canon. misc. 396, fol. 112r, reproduced in Burnett 1996a, XII, fig. v.
17 See figs. 3 and 4 in Burnett 2004.

Arabic text are copied as faithfully as the text is translated literally.[18] As the Middle Ages develops medical illustration becomes more and more frequent.[19]

Aside from providing the models for the formats of specific scientific works, Arabic books may also have encouraged more general characteristics in their Latin counterparts. The claim by Paul Saenger that full word-separation, which is innate to the Arabic language, was introduced into Latin manuscripts by Latin scribes who had direct contact with Arabic manuscripts, is attractive but unproven, and refers to an earlier period than that covered in this volume.[20] More relevant is the fact that the subject matter in Arabic text-books is carefully divided into units of different levels, and that, at the beginning of every level, a full list of numbered titles is given. The most complex example of this is the *Canon medicinae* of Avicenna, translated by Gerard of Cremona. This comprehensive text-book on medicine is divided into five 'books'; each part consists of a number of 'fen' (this Arabic word for 'topic' is retained in the Latin translation); the *fen* are further divided into 'doctrinae' or 'tractatus'; which in turn are subdivided into chapters. At the beginning of the text, the full list of titles to the divisions is given. Another feature was that of the alphabetical arrangement of material. The *materia medica* in the second book of Avicenna's *Canon* are given in Arabic, naturally, in the Arabic alphabetical order. In early Latin manuscripts of the work the Arabic alphabetical order is retained, but soon the Latin alphabetical order was substituted. Also under the inspiration of Arabic models Stephen of Antioch drew up an alphabetical list of the *materia medica* in Dioscorides at the end of his translation of Haly Abbas (1127), giving the Greek and Latin equivalents in columns parallel to the Arabic. Careful divisions of books into chapters, with preliminary lists of chapter headings, and arranging material by alphabetical order were already known in the West from Classical examples, but the Arabic models would have confirmed and encouraged these ways of facilitating access to scientific books.

Common to all these scientific and magical books was the presence of *marginalia* of all kinds. In translations from Arabic the original Arabic terms, in transliteration, are regularly added by Adelard of Bath (e.g. in BL, Sloane ms. 2030, for astrology, and Oxford, Trinity College, ms. 47, for geometry (fig. 18.1)). In the translations of John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona, made in Toledo, a translator's gloss is found.[21] The glosses are attached to the text by a system of index symbols and include equivalents in Arabic, Latin or the Toledan

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18 Irblich 1981.   19 Jones 1998 and Murdoch 1984, pp. 302–27.
20 Saenger 1997, pp. 123–30.
21 English manuscripts in which such a gloss occurs are Bodleian, mss. Digby 149 (s. xiii) and Bodley 464 (s. xiv), both manuscripts of astrological texts: for the latter, see Knorr 1991–4.

vernacular, alternative translations (usually prefixed by 'al') and scientific comments. In addition to marginalia, the translator, or a later scholar, often added glossaries of Arabic terms with Latin explanations. The scribe of Bodleian, Auct. ms. F. 1. 9, wrote the Arabic words (as well as the numerals) in the text in red ink.[22]

The emphasis, so far, has been on scientific books of Arabic derivation. In the twelfth century many texts were being translated from Greek, but these were predominantly the works of Aristotle, and theological texts. In the field of mathematics, the translations from Arabic tended to be preferred to those from Greek. Only in medicine is there a significant Greek contribution, through the translations of some of Galen's works by Burgundio of Pisa. But the manuscripts of Greek–Latin translations show many of the same characteristics as those of the Arabic–Latin ones, especially in the translator's use of glosses and glossaries, and also show features which Greek scholars had already taken from Arabic, such as Arabic numerals.[23]

I have sketched the nature of the new scientific books of the twelfth century and early thirteenth century, whose texts were mainly of Arabic origin, and mentioned in passing copies of these books made in Great Britain. British scholars, in fact, predominate among the translators from Arabic; these include Adelard of Bath, Robert of Chester, Robert of Ketton, Alfred of Shareshill and Michael Scot. Moreover, England provided a fruitful ground for copying the translations and writing works based on them. Several centres can be identified. Parts of a set of volumes containing the astrological works translated by Hugo of Santalla (fl. 1145), were apparently copied in St Augustine's, Canterbury, before the end of the twelfth century.[24] In Hereford, a certain Magister Roger, aside from drawing up astronomical tables for the local meridian, wrote his own introduction to astrology, and Simon du Fresne in c.1195–7 advertises the wealth of scientific learning there, which ranges from the four sciences of the quadrivium, to astrology and geomancy.[25] There are strong indications that Bodleian, ms. Selden supra 24, was put together from manuscripts collected by Alexander Nequam when he was teaching in Oxford in the 1190s. Early in the next century John Blund is said to have lectured on Aristotle there, and his extant book on the soul shows that he was familiar not only with Aristotle's *De anima* but also with several Arabic philosophical texts.[26]

22 See pl. 3, in Burnett 1997, and the articles in Jacquart and Burnett 2005.   23 Wilson 1981.

24 Bodleian, Digby ms. 159 and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 456/394. At least one more volume may have once existed, since the scribe of Bodleian, Savile ms. 15 (s. xv), has copied the texts in both these manuscripts, as well as two further texts by Hugo from a manuscript that has not yet been identified.

25 Hunt 1968, pp. 110, 121–2.   26 John Blund: *Tractatus de anima*.

There would not have been more than a handful of scientific manuscripts in each place (each manuscript might result from the gathering together of, or the copying from, several *libelli*). A scholar could plan to include the whole of arithmetic in a single manuscript (such as Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. R. 15. 16). Another manuscript could include the major works of logic, arithmetic and geometry (Oxford, Trinity College, ms. 47), a third, the principal texts on computing the church calendar and calculating the positions of the planets (Bodleian, Auct. ms. F. 1. 9).[27] Aristotle's works on natural science could easily be included in one volume, if one left aside the *De animalibus*, which was a later addition to the corpus. For medicine more space was needed. The comprehensive medical compendium of Haly Abbas required two thick volumes.

The readership of scientific texts would also have been rather restricted. Most of the literal translations have no dedications at all, suggesting that they were made for the translator's own use (perhaps as an astrologer or doctor) or for the use of his pupils. Others are dedicated to fellow scientists. The translators Hermann of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton dedicated works to each other; Alfred of Shareshill dedicated one work to Alexander Nequam, another to Roger of Hereford. Scientific works dedicated to important and influential figures tend to be original texts or anthologies rather than the translations themselves: for example, Adelard of Bath's dedication of his *Questions on Natural Science*, which purports to impart the 'studies of the Arabs', to the bishop of Bayeux, and Robert of Cricklade's dedication of a *Defloratio* of Pliny's *Natural History* to Henry II.

A small insight into how these new texts were read is given by the notes that have been incorporated into certain manuscripts of the most common version of Adelard's translation of the *Elements* of Euclid. Here several students of geometry are named as contributors to the solutions of problems. Some of them are described as having an 'ocrea' (for which the variant 'vallis' is sometimes given) from which they have taken their information. This is perhaps a kind of leather satchel in which they kept scraps of parchment or the wax-tablets on which they wrote their notes. In the early thirteenth century several such scraps of parchment with astronomical diagrams on them were bound into a manuscript in the Bodleian Library associated with Grosseteste (Bodleian, Savile ms. 21). The story is told that Grosseteste was in the habit of writing down notes on odd bits of parchment as they occurred to him.[28] The survival rate of such notes is not likely to be high. However, one should bear in mind that

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27 On manuscripts of the Church calendar, or computistics, see Bede: *De temporum ratione*, pp. xviii–lxiii.
28 Burnett 1995–6.

notes by scientists themselves are likely to show greater competence in using scientific terms and symbols than the writings of professional scribes. Thus skill in writing Arabic script is shown by the annotator of Bodleian, Digby ms. 51, and Arabic numerals appear more often, and earlier, in notes, than in professionally written texts.

II. University books and the sciences, c.1250–1400

Peter Murray Jones

The emergence of the *libri naturales* of Aristotle as the core of the Arts curriculum at the English universities in the thirteenth century created the need for texts of these works produced in the university setting in considerable numbers. This development was of profound importance to the intellectual life of western Europe as a whole, but can only be properly understood in terms of the relationship between the manuscripts produced and the classroom teaching of the *libri naturales* in particular times and places. The collection of Aristotle's works on natural science known as the *Corpus vetustius* – so-called by modern scholars to distinguish it from the later collection known as the *Corpus recentius*, based on Greek–Latin translations – was formed with translations both from Arabic and from Greek. Those in BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 206 are typical, consisting of *Physics*, *De caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteora*, *De anima*, *De memoria*, *De somno*, *De sensu et sensato*, *De differentia spiritus et animae* of Qusta ben Luqa, *De morte et vita*, *De causis* attributed to Avendauth, and the *De plantis* of Nicholas of Damascus.[29] Most of the thirteenth-century English manuscripts of this *Corpus vetustius* contain not only the texts themselves but what has been identified as the 'Oxford gloss', written in the margins and between the lines of the text, and based in three cases on part on the commentary written on many of the works by Adam of Buckfield (c.1200–after 1279). However, the major source of glosses for Aristotle's *Physics* is the commentary of Averroes, in the Latin translation made by Michael Scot.[30] The glossed books, then, already reflect the programme of classroom teaching at Oxford.

Note-taking in the classroom at the English universities was probably done with a stylus on a wax tablet. But there is evidence in at least one manuscript of the *libri naturales* that a 'dry-point' note with a stylus might be made as a

29 Burnett 1996b; French 1997; Callus 1943; Donati 1991.
30 Burnett and Mendelsohn 1997; Lacombe 1939–45, 1955. Note that in English thirteenth-century university manuscripts Averroes' commentaries tend to be placed in the margins of Aristotle's texts, whereas in Paris manuscripts they form the main text.

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<div align="center">453</div>

provisional stage in recording the comments of the master as he went through the *lectio* of the text. Henry of Renham was the scribe of text and commentary in a large folio volume of Aristotle's works in the 1280s or 1290s (fig. 10.2). Quotations in the commentary indicate that Henry was a student of Adam of Buckfield, and that he heard Adam's course at Oxford. Buckfield was the first English master to produce a set of commentaries on the *libri naturales*.[31] On f. 1 of the volume he added after the title *Volumen de naturalibus Aristotilis* written in book hand, a cursive note that 'Henry of Renham wrote this book and heard the text read in the Oxford schools, then he emended and glossed what he heard' (fig. 10.2).[32] This seems to mean not that he copied the texts out beforehand, and then wrote all the glosses as he heard Adam lecture, but that he took his prepared copy of the texts to class, and there he made very brief notes with a stylus in the corners of a page of the manuscript, using a 'wax-tablet' hand with very angular and 'scratchy' features. Later he expanded his notes to a marginal and interlinear gloss, writing in a regular cursive hand with ink.[33]

The Renham manuscript, like other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century copies of the *libri naturales*, is a large book, ruled so that the text can be glossed extensively in wide margins and between lines.[34] As a consequence there is a dramatic difference between the *quaterni* or *libelli*[35] characteristic of a pre-university stage of copying of the *libri naturales*, which are usually small in format, written in one column and consisting of one or a few texts bound together within a limp vellum cover, and the large text-books normally bound into wooden boards. A chronology of development in the format of manuscripts of the *libri naturales* also has to take account of the rise of extended commentaries and of the disputed question as a vehicle of classroom teaching. Adam of Buckfield's commentaries on the various works in the *libri naturales* are found collected together and written out as coherent texts in manuscripts like London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, ms. 3, c.1300. The great commentary of Averroes on the *Physics*, and of Thomas Aquinas on the *libri naturales*, as they replaced the earlier commentaries and gloss, would also take book form, but less imposing in size than that of the classroom texts. They

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31 Pelster 1936; French 1998.
32 '*Quem librum scripsit Henricus de Renham. et audivit in scolis Oxonie et emendavit et glosavit audiendo.*'
33 Burnett 1995–6: BL, Royal ms. 12 G. II, illustrated in fig. 10.2. This manuscript is also illustrated in Parkes 1992b, Plate XI.
34 BL, Royal mss. 12 G. III and 12 G.V are very similar in contents and format to the Renham volume. Both BL, Royal mss. 12 G. II and 12 G. III were acquired before the end of the century by Rochester Cathedral Priory. Ker 1978 comments on the large format of pre-1500 books surviving from Oxford College libraries. Most date from the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries, and the *libri naturales* are well represented among them.
35 See Part I above.

required smaller margins, though still written in two columns, with Aristotle's text written in front of the commentary in larger script, section by section. From the beginning of the fourteenth century we also find manuscripts based on fair copies of the *reportationes* (probably made by students, then submitted to masters for correction) of the *questiones* of those Oxford masters on disputed points in texts of the *Corpus recentius*. These seem often to have been bound up together, as with Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, mss. 344/530 and 668*/645, where *questiones* on *De anima*, *De caelo et mundo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, and the *Physics*, by Walter de Burley, William de Bonkes, John of Wakefield and others are intermingled with *questiones* on logic and grammar. The scripts in these manuscripts are tiny and use many contractions, and the booklets are much smaller than the text-books of the previous generation. The texts of the *Corpus recentius* were also written out in the fourteenth century with narrower margins and relatively few glosses compared to manuscripts of the *Corpus vetustius*.[36] The book lists of Merton College from the fourteenth century distinguish between texts, commentaries, and *questiones* as different categories of philosophical books, and price them in descending value, so we can discern a hierarchy of books to be shared out among the Fellows on a yearly basis. This hierarchy was based as much on physical differences as on the intellectual value of the books to the Fellows.[37]

Very few of these books can be identified as having been written by professional scribes. They must have been very largely the work of students copying from exemplars. An exception is the copy of Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo et mundo* made by Richard of Mancetter in 1308. The manuscript was made for William of Mundham, who subsequently gave it to Balliol College.[38] Another exceptional case, this time of an astrological work, is the copy of Haly Abenragel, *De iudiciis stellarum*, made in 1380 for the Carmelite Peter of Beccles.[39] One of the reasons why so few manuscripts can be identified as the product of professional scribes was no doubt the expense of such work. Even so we need to recognize that some of the copies of the *libri naturales* were not only copied out but illuminated at the behest of particular patrons. Each of the texts in BL, Harley ms. 3487, is introduced by an elaborate historiated

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36 Parkes 1992b, p. 425 discusses the *questiones* in the Gonville and Caius mss.
37 Ker 1981; Powicke, *Merton*, pp. 47–51, 60–7.
38 It is now Balliol College, ms. 244, inscribed on fol. 134: *Iste liber scriptus fuit ad opus Magistri Willelmi de Mundham. Anno domini Mccc Octavo per manus Ricardi de Mainestria quem deus commendet in eternum Amen.* Cited by Parkes 1992b, p. 414, and in *DMOL*, no. 747, pl. 150.
39 Now Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 151. On fol. 218v: *quem librum Frater Petrus de Bekklys ordinis beate marie genetricis dei de monte Carmeli fecit scribi in Civitate Oxon.* See *DMOL*, no. 774, pl. 214, and *ECBH*, pl. 5, i.

initial. The work is that of an illuminator associated with a group of English Aristotle manuscripts produced in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. He also contributes marginal grotesques and animals to the book. The first miniature in the *Physics* shows (most unusually) books being burnt as a king and a Franciscan argue above, a possible allusion to the burning of Aristotle texts in Paris in 1210. Many of the illustrations redeploy conventional biblical or Psalm subjects, but a number appear to respond to the challenge of interpreting the subject matter of the texts in a fashion relevant to the issues of the day – clearly the illuminators were still developing a repertoire of appropriate images for these Aristotle manuscripts. Above all, the use of illumination in books of the *libri naturales* testifies to the authoritative nature of the texts they contain, and the desire of patrons to recognize that authority.[40]

Most of the scientific books commissioned for owners, or, more likely, written out by the owners themselves, no longer survive. Of the books that remain, a surprising amount of evidence can be found for the practice of pledging philosophy books in the university chests. The first such is found in BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 206, written between 1247 and 1254 in Oxford. Inscriptions on fols. 103v and 257v record that 20 *peciae* of the book were pledged for loans for Willelmus de Solers, probably in the St Frideswide loan chest in 1254.[41] Apart from the few surviving books with inscriptions declaring their ownership, or their pledging in the various university chests of Oxford and Cambridge, our knowledge of book ownership is mostly institutional. Two main sources are available: the records of the college libraries and of religious communities whose members carried their books back from university to the mother-house.[42] Luckily, one set of records for Merton College includes a list of philosophical books made around 1320, and then added to until 1340: 'Libri philosophie de aula de Merton'. Of the eighty-five headings, thirty-eight are identified as *libri philosophie*, thirteen as *libri mathematice*, and four as *libri gramaticales*, the remaining thirty being miscellaneous benefactions of eight donors to the Library. When taken together with the *electio* lists of 1372 and 1375 we are able to gain an impression not only of the significant numbers of philosophy books that might be expected of a college that became famous for its contribution to logic and natural philosophy, but of the ways in which the Fellows were able to distribute them amongst themselves. There were evidently considerable

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40 Camille 1985; *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 145,146a, 156a,c
41 *Survey*, IV/2, no. 146a. For other pledged philosophy books see Mynors 1963.
42 Records of Cambridge college libraries are discussed in *CBMLC*, x. Other volumes in the *CBMLC* series deal with monastic houses.

numbers of natural philosophy books in circulation by the fourteenth century, judging by these lists and those of great monasteries, like Christ Church and St Augustine's, Canterbury, to which former students left their books. The entries are often laconic, listing *textus naturalium*, *commentum de celo et mundo*, *physicorum*, *antique questiones*, and the like, but these at least can tell us that we are talking about texts, commentaries and *questiones* that were familiar to Mertonians as standard, and interchangeable, books.[43]

Medicine as a subject was a late arrival on the university scene in England. There was no faculty of medicine in Oxford or Cambridge before the fourteenth century, and doctors of medicine in England were overwhelmingly educated abroad even then. But medical writings were found in considerable numbers in England, and they were used extensively by the glossators and commentators on the *libri naturales*. Quotations from Johannitius' *Isagoge*, an introduction to Galenic medicine, occur as postils in thirteenth-century copies of the *De sensu et sensato* and the Oxford glossator of *De differentia spiritus et anime* refers to the *Prognostics* of Hippocrates.[44] This is not surprising, insofar as topics like the heart, spirit and pulse, and the role of the brain in converting vital to animal spirit, were equally relevant to philosophy and medicine; the philosophical gloss refers often to opinions 'according to the medics' (*secundum medicos*). It is not easy to show that copies of the *Ars medicine*, the main corpus of teaching texts in medicine – including both Johannitius' *Isagoge* and the *Prognostics* of Hippocrates – were being created in Oxford or Cambridge. One fourteenth-century copy exists as Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms.14, inscribed 'Willelmi manibus de Beuerle scribitur iste'. But manuscripts of the *Ars medicine* were certainly widely circulated: a volume containing two copies of the *Ars medicine* was given as a gift by William Langdale to Brother Nicholas Morland, who then gave it to Master John de Buchcaster (Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms. 247, opening flyleaf). The *Ars medicine* was pledged by Walter de Kasten in the Botulph chest at Cambridge (Cambridge, Peterhouse, ms. 251). Copies of the *Ars medicine* found their way into the monastic libraries too – no less than twelve copies at St Augustine's Abbey, given by eight different named donors.[45]

On 16 November 1335 the Oxford scholar, Walter de Kelmescot, pledged a copy of the *Ars commentata* (a version of the *Ars medicine* with standard

43 Powicke, *Merton*; and for monastic owners, James, *AL*.

44 French 2000, pp. 84 n. 23, 92 n. 42, lists English mss. citing these authorities.

45 O'Boyle 1998, pp. 175–6, 183; James, *AL*, pp. 334–45. Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 364, and St John's College, ms. 99 (D. 24) both survive, as cited by O'Boyle 1998, p. 170.

Galenic and other commentaries), originally written towards the end of the thirteenth century, that was later redeemed by John Tichemersh, later Doctor of Medicine (Oxford, St John's College, ms.10, fol. 125v). This manuscript is heavily annotated, especially the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and Galenic commentary, in various anglicana hands. William de Walmete, Fellow of Merton between 1324 and 1335, also inscribed this book, giving it to a library whose name has been lost. So by this date at least one of the owners was a student of medicine, presumably using the book as a text-book in that subject. That English manuscripts of the *Ars medicine* were also being used in the classroom is suggested by BL, Royal ms.12 D. XIII, which contains glosses on the *Ars medicine* corrected by a Magister William Manlore, otherwise unidentified. These glosses are almost certainly of English origin, and there may have been a standard gloss for the *Ars medicine*, as there had been for the *libri naturales*.[46]

Our best idea of which other medical books were valued by medical men at the universities in the fourteenth century is gained from the will of Simon Bredon, Doctor of Medicine by 1355 and Fellow of Merton, himself author of the *Trifolium* (a copy of which came to Merton only in 1490). The will was made in 1368 and proved on his death in 1372. Alongside the *Ars medicine* he gave to Merton copies of Avicenna's *Canon*, two different Rhasis books, Galen in two volumes, and the most popular titles in medicine from the School of Salerno, as well as early fourteenth-century authors like Arnald of Villanova and Henri de Mondeville, in all a total of eighteen medical volumes. Tantalizingly, he also mentions in the will two volumes of *questiones* and lectures in medicine and ten tables of contents for medical books which Bredon presumably assembled himself in five volumes, to be copied for Merton by his clerk Robert Waleys. This is as near a comprehensive library of medicine, together with the intellectual tools to find one's way about in it, as we know of in medieval England, but only four manuscripts of the total are known to survive, and the most interesting items are missing. In addition Bredon showed himself to be abreast of fashions in astronomy, astrology and geomancy, all then used as aids to prognostication in medicine: six lost titles in all.[47]

A characteristic feature of late medieval medicine in England is the enthusiasm for ownership of compendia of practical medicine. The best known of these are the thirteenth-century *Compendium* of Gilbertus Anglicus, and the

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46 Hanna 2002, pp. 13–14; O'Boyle 1998, pp. 198, 214; *CRMSS*, pp. 46–7.
47 Powicke, *Merton*, pp. 82–6, 138–142; *BRUO* 257–8.

fourteenth-century *Rosa medicine* of John of Gaddesden.[48] Both achieved wide circulation to judge from surviving manuscripts and library lists, not just in England but in Continental Europe. The floral names of these assemblages of diseases, signs and therapies indicate the method of composition: the garnering of flowers from other authors' gardens. This approach was to be emulated at the end of the fourteenth century in the works of John Mirfield, canon of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and author of both the massive *Breviarium Bartholomaei* and the *Florarium Bartholomaei*.[49] These compendia crossed boundaries between university medicine and the needs of literate but unacademic practitioners. Although John of Gaddesden was a Mertonian, his work displays little interest in the complexities of diagnosis, or the quantification of measurement of degree in medicine, or a critical attitude towards charms and rituals. Essentially, such works are mines of recipes, and surviving manuscripts witness to their owners' willingness to edit or add to the stock. Another compendium was the work of a Benedictine monk of Coventry, John of Greenborough (d. after 1383). It is found in BL, Royal ms. 12 G. IV, which consists of an early fourteenth-century copy of the *Compendium* of Gilbertus Anglicus, augmented by the collection of John himself. The colophon reads:

> (f. 187v) Brother John of Greenborough, infirmarer for more than thirty years, bought this book called 'Gilbertinus' for the use of the sick of the church of Coventry. And John compiled those materials written in the new quires drawn from the books of practice of England, Ireland, the Jews, the Saracens, the Lombards and the Salernitans, and he paid much money to doctors for collecting their medicines. Many things in the new quires written above have been tested in practice, but several doctors refuse to approve of them because they do not know anything about medicine in practice, but waste time on spinning empty words.[50]

Here we see a degree of anti-scholastic bias on the part of infirmarers and practitioners who owned such manuscripts; they had little patience with the university doctor's commitment to finding a rational basis for all therapies, rather than relying on the witness of experience alone.

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48 Sharpe, *HLW*, pp. 143–4 for Gilbert the Englishman, pp. 252–3 for John of Gaddesden (and listing mss.).

49 Sharpe, *HLW*, p. 284.

50 BL, Royal ms. 12 G. IV, f. 187v: *Frater Johannes de Grenborugh per triginta annos et plus nuper infirmarius emebat istum librum vocatum Gilbertinum ad utilitatem infirmorum in ecclesia Coventre existentium et ea que in novis quaternis sunt scripta compilavit a practicis phisicorum Anglie hibernie judeorum saracenorum lumbardorum et salernitan (or)um et expendebat multa in medicos circa compilacionem illarum medicinarum. Multa in novis quaternis suprascriptis per practicam sunt vera set plures phisici nolunt approbare ea quia multi illorum ignorant practicam sed multa verba et vacua in ventum seminant.* See Hunt 1990, pp. 33–5.

Unsurprisingly the quires that John of Greenborough added to his copy of Gilbertus do not constitute a single well-organized text, though there are headings for particular ailments. Instead he seems to have borrowed remedies in Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English from a variety of texts ('here begins the *practica* of Edward of the University of Oxford who was the best surgeon in that area')[51] and perhaps elsewhere relied on the experience of acquaintances or word of mouth recommendations ('hoc probatum est per magistrum Willelmum de Stafford', f. 145r).[52] In fact his book belongs to a well-established medieval English tradition of such remedy books, more usually anonymous. These remedy books contain recipe collections, but also often small texts on prognostication, materia medica, bloodletting, weights and measures, and *experimenta* of all kinds. Such manuscripts must have served their compilers or owners as vade-mecums for the practitioner, and for that reason even the considerable numbers that survive probably do not indicate the real level of circulation that remedy books enjoyed. They are usually multilingual, written in a variety of informal cursive hands with frequent additions by later owners, and were probably originally sewn into limp vellum covers (long since replaced by post-medieval boards in most cases).[53]

The most visually impressive and innovatory of late medieval medical books were copies of the writings of the English surgeon John of Arderne, who flourished from 1349 to the 1370s. While there is at least one example of an earlier illustrated surgery book written in England, the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman translation of the *Chirurgia* of Roger of Parma found in Cambridge, Trinity College, ms. 0. 1. 20, accompanied by delicate pen and wash drawings of surgical operations in the lower margins (fig. 18.3), Arderne seems to have gone his own way in devising his surgical treatises.[54] These are most often illustrated with a complex programme of 250–300 marginal drawings, plus full-page diagrams of surgical instruments and the operation for fistula-in-ano, and inset portraits of patients treated by Arderne.[55] He seems to have conceived the entire programme himself, as he refers frequently from the text to the pictures. Conversely many of the illustrations make no sense without reference to the

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51 Occupying ff. 188v–99v in Greenborough's manuscript: 'Hic incipit practica Edwardi universitatis Oxonie qui fuit optimus in illis partibus cirurgicus.'
52 Hunt 1990, pp. 33–5, 86–8.
53 Remedy books and Leechbooks are described in Keiser 1998, pp. 3653–8, and in Voigts and McVaugh 1984, pp. 21–3. See also Hunt 1990, who concentrates on Anglo-Norman examples. There is no adequate discussion of the genre as represented in Latin or in mixed languages, though most thirteenth- and fourteenth-century specimens belong to these categories.
54 An English translation of the Roger of Parma *Chirurgia*, and uncoloured copies of the drawings may be seen in Hunt 1992.
55 John Arderne: *Treatises of fistula*.

text, and some of the copyists of these manuscripts were in considerable doubt as to what it was they were in fact copying (a picture of a bell might come to substitute for the *bolus* or excrescence on the elder tree intended by Arderne). The text too is a complex amalgam of authorial descriptions of operations, surgical procedures, instruments, bandages and case-histories, with older remedy-book material drawing on Gilbertus, John of Gaddesden and Bernard de Gordon. Despite the disorganized nature of the text, and the sometimes confusing illustrations, Arderne's writings rapidly established themselves in Latin or Middle English translations as among the most popular books of practical medicine circulating in England.[56] Short texts on bloodletting and zodiacal medicine seem also to have been adapted as part of the Arderne corpus. The *Speculum phlebotomie* or *Mirror of bloodletting* that is incorporated in many of the longer Arderne manuscripts, but also circulates independently, is one of a number of practical guides to bloodletting to be found in English manuscripts. The only text so far studied in detail in both its Latin and Middle English versions is the treatise of Henry of Winchester *De egritudinibus fleubotomandis*, translated in the early fifteenth century as *Of phlebotomie*. There is some textual overlap between this and the *Mirror of bloodletting*. They were both sometimes partnered by the vein man picture, where the correct veins to let blood for particular ailments were indicated on a naked figure, accompanied by captions.[57] Many of these shorter texts with their relevant illustrations were no doubt originally written as booklets that could later be assembled with other material into longer manuscripts by their owners. A similar story could be told about the short texts on the zodiac and astrological medicine, accompanied frequently by illustrations of the zodiac man.[58]

The last quarter of the fourteenth century marks a phase of transition for the scientific and medical book in England. The output of this type of book is on a different scale to earlier developments, and the book produced for university purposes is rapidly overtaken in number by the book supplying practical and informational needs for the householder. The balance between *doctrina* and the provision of useful information shifts decisively in favour of the latter, at least as measured in terms of production, if not of prestige. Translation from Latin into Middle English of scientific and medical texts is one component of

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56 Jones 1987; Jones 2002.
57 Voigts and McVaugh 1984, where Latin and Middle English versions of the Henry of Winchester text are edited, and Plate III shows a vein man found in a 1384 *Horae* written at the Augustinian friary at York. Jones 1998 has other examples of vein men and zodiac men.
58 Voigts 1989 is based on a survey of English manuscripts written 1375–1500, and discusses both booklet compilation in medical and scientific manuscripts and the frequency of illustration. See Jones 1998 and Murdoch 1984 for the zodiac man.

the change, and translation often involves a process of editing out the more theoretical parts of the original. The use of the booklet, the presence of diagrams and illustrations, and the appearance of informal and cursive scripts alongside formal bookhands are the codicological and palaeographic markers for this transition.[59]

59 Voigts 1989 and Jones 1994 remark on the timing and significance of the late medieval transition, though they do not explain its causes.

Any account of music books in Britain in the later Middle Ages is of necessity hampered in two major respects. The widespread destruction of books at the time of the Reformation was inevitably meted out with particular vigour to books of plainchant and other Latin liturgical music, to the extent that only a very small number of these fundamental musical sources remains intact, out of the many thousands that must once have existed. Conversely, instrumental music was only very exceptionally notated in this period: no more than a few fragments survive today, but they are not likely to bear witness to a widespread practice of writing down this music. Similarly, the written sources of secular song are far fewer than are found in other countries, or from later centuries in Britain. This is not to say that secular music held a less important place in cultural life, merely that it was not so dependent on the written record. We know that some of the courtly songs of the troubadours were sung in England, but no English books comparable with the luxurious French chansonniers are extant.[1] What music manuscripts do survive, though, make it abundantly clear that the British Isles were far from being a musical backwater: some of the most technically complex polyphonic liturgical music to survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries anywhere is known from British sources, and there are many innovations in other branches of music from the time. Moreover, several notable English writers brought new levels of understanding to the theory of music.

The most ubiquitous music books of the Middle Ages were of course the books of plainchant for the Mass and Office, respectively the Gradual and Antiphoner. It was decreed that all churches, whether monastic or secular, cathedral or parish church, should have the appropriate books *ad psallendum et legendum*,[2] and one estimate, considered cautious, suggests that at least 24,000 Antiphoners must have been in existence in England and Wales by the time

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1 Chaytor 1923.   2 *Councils and synods* II/1, pp. 29, 81, 111.

of the Reformation, of which only around twenty are known today.[3] Even fewer Graduals survive: no more than ten are in any state near completeness.[4] Another important music book was the Processional, a small, portable book made by and for singers, containing the chants for the processions for Candlemas, Palm Sunday and certain other occasions such as Rogation days. Over thirty Processionals survive from the British Isles, mainly from the later Middle Ages.[5] The various church councils that met through the course of the thirteenth century often gave a list of the liturgical books required for churches, and the other specifically musical book listed was the Troper, a book containing tropes – interpolations, often in verse, usually to the Mass chants of special feasts – and sequences (also called proses), which are free-standing musical-poetic compositions sung between the Alleluia and the Gospel in the Mass.[6] Even fewer such books survive from Britain (they number in single figures and all date from before 1300), which is particularly disappointing since their contents vary widely from one source to another; they are much more a testament to local liturgical creativity than was possible in the officially regulated texts of the Gradual and Antiphoner.[7]

The extent to which the various secular liturgical Uses prevalent in Britain became standardized and autonomous in this period is discussed in another chapter.[8] The differing liturgical requirements of the Uses of Salisbury (or Sarum), York and Hereford had some effect on the music sung in church, but in all cases the chant remained basically in accordance with the practice of the rest of the Roman Rite. The musical differences are minor melodic alterations rather than wholesale replacements of melodies; they are not systematic or substantial, and constitute a difference in dialect rather than one of musical language.[9] Sets of Proper Mass chants and Offices for local saints were newly composed, but in many cases the musical aspects of this act of composition consisted in the adaptation of existing melodies to fit the new texts.

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3 Edwards 1989; Frere 1894–1932, nos. 25, 26, 563, 608, 682, 766, 767; *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*; *Facsimile Penpont antiphonal* is a Welsh Antiphoner of Sarum Use, and *Facsimile Breviary York* a noted Breviary of York Use (Lambeth, Sion Coll., ms. Arc. L.40.2/L.1).

4 *Graduale Sarisburiense* and Frere 1894–1932, nos. 6, 204, 205, 602, 608, 908, 944; *Facsimile Bodleian lat. liturg.b.5* reproduces a fifteenth-century Gradual of York Use.

5 Huglo 1999–2004. A York Processional, Bodleian, ms. e Mus. 126, is published as *Facsimile York Processional*.

6 *Councils and synods II*, pp. 296, 379, 599, 1005, 1387.

7 The extant British Tropers are listed in Husmann 1964. In the later Middle Ages, a sequence collection was sometimes incorporated into the Gradual.

8 Morgan, pp. 297–301.

9 For a summary of the bibliography on Sarum chant, see Sandon 2001; for chant usage in Scotland, see Preece *et al.* 2000, pp. 55–74, 201–24.

Meanwhile, the diversity of monastic chant practice throughout Europe was reflected in microcosm in the British Isles. The Cistercians, for example, undertook meticulous editing of what they saw as corrupted Benedictine chant melodies, applying rules such as that no chant should have a range of more than ten notes.[10] The result of this process of standardization, the final stage of which was complete by 1183, was a slightly more austere, somewhat sanitized, but most importantly unified chant practice, decreed to be used in identical form throughout the order.[11] The Dominicans followed Cistercian practice in certain respects, while the Franciscans had their own centrally administered reform in the mid-thirteenth century.[12] As well as these variations between orders in their attitude to the core repertory of chants for the Mass and Office, there were more substantial differences in how the various Orders and Uses supplemented this material with additional music. The Use of Sarum, for example, which by the thirteenth century had come to be used far more widely than in Salisbury alone, appears to have had a more standardized repertory of tropes and sequences than are found in Benedictine manuscripts, while Cistercian regulations forbade them outright (though they are on occasion found in practice).

Even greater diversity of practice is found in the matter of polyphony. At its simplest, polyphony may consist of a second voice elaborating a new melody simultaneously with a chant, a style known as *organum*. A very important witness to this practice from the first half of the eleventh century is the Winchester Troper, and instructions in the performance of *organum* survive in a Canterbury manuscript from the late tenth century, in the widely known treatise *Musica enchiriadis*.[13] It is likely that the practice of polyphony was widespread elsewhere, though not generally written down in books. As an adjunct to the principal chant, it did not have the authority to be notated in the standard chant books, which for reasons of practicality as well as tradition generally conformed to certain patterns in their format and contents.

Though much was never written down, these supplementary musical practices did come to be transmitted in a variety of different written formats. The materials and skills necessary for the creation of written documents were available to a far wider range and number of people than in the earlier Middle Ages, and musical notation became in many respects easier both to comprehend and to write down. Through the course of the twelfth century, musical notation became increasingly square in form, in contrast to the rounded but

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10 See Marosszéki 1952.   11 In practice there were of course exceptions: see Chadd 1986.
12 On the Dominicans, see Delalande 1949; on the Franciscans see Van Dijk and Walker 1960.
13 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, mss. 473 and 260 respectively.

vertical neumes found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the previous century; at first it was written with two stave-lines, usually to show the pitches of C and F, and by the end of the century generally on four lines, in which form with only slight modifications it remains in use to this day for the notation of plainchant.[14] Specialist music scribes would furnish the rapidly expanding need for notated service books, but the principles of the system of square notation were simple enough for musically literate singers to imitate without any formal training.

Sequences, as well as several of the new polyphonic genres that came to prominence through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as motets, were often written down on rolls or in unbound *libelli*, two formats which had the advantages of economy and portability, but from the modern perspective the disadvantage of impermanence. This is unsurprising, since unlike plainchant these new compositions would often go out of date within a generation; it was therefore the exception rather than the rule for great expense and labour to be lavished on their production. We might imagine that such manuscripts were produced by singers for their own use, rather than in a scriptorium, and discarded when new musical fashions took over. Much of what we know today survives in the bindings of other books, the parchment put to a secondary use once the music became outdated.[15]

We are lucky that even one such musical *libellus* has been preserved in its entirety. Originally a quaternion, it was subsequently used as flyleaves to a fourteenth-century book of theological tracts, with two bifolia bound at each end of the codex. CUL, ms. Ff. 1. 17 (1) comprises a collection of thirty-four songs compiled in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (fig. 19.1).[16] It is a very messy book, crudely written on rough parchment, and contains a mixture of *versus*, tropes and didactic poems, some monophonic and others polyphonic. By its entirely unpretentious appearance this volume tells us much about the purposes for which it was written: the notation is simple and pragmatic, at times to the point of being makeshift. The variety of note-forms is very limited, and the scribe makes little attempt to align the music of the different voice-parts

14 Examples of all these stages of development are shown in Nicholson 1913 and Bell 2001; see fig. 12.2 (CUL ms. Kk. 2.6) for a typical example of square notation from the mid-thirteenth century. The characteristics of English notations prior to 1200 are described in Hartzell 2006, which catalogues some 364 notated sources of English provenance.

15 Several polyphonic fragments are described and illustrated in Wathey 1993; further facsimiles are provided in *Manuscripts of English polyphony*, *English polyphony* and DIAMM. For further discussion of methods of production, see Wathey 1989a.

16 Facsimiles in *Early English Harmony*, pls. 25–30 (partial), *Faksimile Cambridge Ff.i.17*, and Stevens 2005 (complete with transcriptions, the latter with an extensive commentary); see also Schumann 1943–50 and Rankin 2000.

when writing polyphonic music in score. As a result, it was necessary to add vertical lines connecting the upper and lower parts to show which notes belong with which syllables.

This hastily written, seemingly inept little anthology could not provide a greater contrast with what is by any reckoning the most important music manuscript to survive from the British Isles during this period, the 'St Andrews Music Book', generally known from its modern library abbreviation as W_1.[17] W_1 is a substantial collection of *organa*, *conductus* (a type of Latin song for one or more voice-parts) and other monophonic and polyphonic compositions, probably written in the 1230s or 1240s. It originally had 214 folios, measuring 210 × 150 mm, of which seventeen are now missing, and was probably the work of three scribes. A fourteenth-century *ex libris* annotation connects it with the Augustinian Cathedral Priory of St Andrews, and it is very likely that it was copied there, or at least copied for the institution.

W_1 is the earliest book to preserve a version of the polyphonic repertory often referred to in modern scholarship as 'Notre-Dame polyphony', a repertory which came into being in Paris in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and whose immense significance in the history of music arises from the fact that it is deliberately composed in a manner that depends on writing for its proper expression: it is in this new approach to notation that we may observe the first attempts at a systematic, measured rhythmic notation – a direct ancestor of the modern system of notating rhythm – as well as the harmonic and contrapuntal techniques of succeeding centuries. The influence of this new written culture spread quickly and internationally, and it is by chance that the only books to remain from Notre-Dame itself are of later date than this St Andrews manuscript. W_1 is largely concordant with the two major sources to survive from Paris – they all begin with the elaborate four-part settings of the Gradual chants for Christmas and St Stephen's day, *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes* – but many compositions and other characteristics are unique to W_1 and may well be witnesses to a local tradition.

It is difficult to say whether W_1 is but one of many similar Insular books of polyphony, none of which survives today. Music of such sophistication is unlikely to have been sung at any but the larger foundations, and the extant fragments of similar music are not generally of such a high grade of execution. The book from which two flyleaves of CUL, ms. Ff. 2. 29 were taken constitutes an exception: they are somewhat more beautifully presented than W_1,

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17 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.; facsimiles in *Old St Andrews music* and *Mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W₁*; the principal studies are Roesner 1974, 1976 and Everist 1990.

with illumination in five colours and an unusually large page size (fig. 19.2), and are likely to come from a book of similar contents and date, possibly from Bury St Edmunds.[18] In total, almost 300 polyphonic pieces may be identified in British sources of the thirteenth century, a large proportion of them *organa* and *conductus*; this is a relatively large number compared with continental repertories.[19]

In the fourteenth century, though no complete books of polyphony survive, the evidence of fragments suggests that such books may have been slightly more prevalent, though still connected mainly with large and well-endowed institutions.[20] These fragments, a higher proportion of which transmit motets, present considerable problems in their identification and chronological assignment, but they may sometimes be grouped together: of particular interest are some fifty-nine leaves from Worcester, containing over one hundred polyphonic pieces, from several books dating from throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[21] Collectively these fragments tell us a certain amount about the various formats and contents of books of polyphony in the time between W_1 and the next major extant codex of English provenance, the Old Hall manuscript of c.1415–21.[22] Scholars have also discerned particularly English harmonic styles and idiosyncratic notational practices in these sources.[23] Many of the compositions were intended for use at various points in the Mass, but others were sung as part of the Office, or in some cases probably outside the liturgy.[24]

There are also numerous references to books of polyphony among the financial and administrative records of larger churches and royal and noble households: ten are known from the thirteenth century and twenty-four from the fourteenth.[25] Of the references in thirteenth-century records, three are to rolls rather than books, and one is an enticing mention in 1255 in St Paul's Cathedral of a 'Liber organorum W. de Faukeberge perpulcrum est incipiens *viderunt.* finit *cristus pater*', which one might imagine as broadly comparable

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18 CUL, ms. Ff. 2. 29, f. ii, is reproduced in *Early English Harmony*, pls. 36–7. The binding strips and flyleaves removed from Cambridge, Jesus College, ms. Q. B. 1, probably of slightly later date, may also be from Bury: some binding strips are reproduced in Fenlon 1982, pp. 47–51; see also Losseff 1994, pp. 26–7, 56–60.

19 For a catalogue, see Losseff 1994, pp. 203–43.   20 Wathey 1989b.   21 Sanders 2001.

22 The Old Hall manuscript is BL, Add. ms. 57950; Bent 2001. On motet sources, see Lefferts 1986.

23 On musical style, see Sanders 1964, Crocker 1990 and Caldwell 1991, pp. 34–107; on notation, *Manuscripts of English polyphony*, pp. xix–xxviii, and references cited there.

24 Harrison 1958, pp. 104–55; Lefferts 1990 offers a discussion of the liturgical context of Marian compositions.

25 Wathey 1988.

with W_1, beginning again with the *organum quadruplum Viderunt omnes*.[26] Another reference is to a theological miscellany from Christ Church, Canterbury, which includes a single *organum*. And here we encounter another quite distinct manuscript tradition in which music often plays a part: the miscellany, or compilation.

Some thirty-five English miscellanies survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which music is found together with other textual contents. Some of these are commonplace books, written by or for an individual and often with spaces deliberately left blank for the addition of prayers, music or other annotations. In other cases the musical components form an integral part of the conception of the compilation. The most prevalent musical genre in these collections is the sequence, but there are also numerous examples of *conductus* and other kinds of song, sometimes set polyphonically and sometimes even in the vernacular. The most famous of all these books is the compilation BL, Harley ms. 978, from Reading Abbey, which includes a substantial and varied body of music, including the six-voiced canon 'Sumer is icumen in'.[27] But in most cases there are only isolated musical components in these books, often written inexpertly, sometimes by the main text scribe of the volume. Only recently have attempts been made to assess the place of music in these compendia, and in many cases what appeared an accidental juxtaposition can be seen to have some intention behind it. In hagiographical compendia, a sequence in honour of the saint whose *vita* is recorded may serve the purpose of presenting the chief message of the main text in an easily remembered form; in sermon collections the musical additions were in several cases pieces quoted as texts in theological writings of the time.[28]

Another important body of music books detached from the liturgy is constituted by the tradition of didactic texts written through the thirteenth century to enable the performance of increasingly sophisticated polyphony. Two of the most famous Continental writers on polyphonic music were Johannes de Garlandia and Franco of Cologne, neither of whose musical writings survive in Insular sources, but there were also large numbers of anonymous music theorists at the time.[29] Occasionally these treatises are to be found in

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26 Ker 1969, p. 58 (Ker, *BCL*, p. 228). William de Fauconberg was treasurer of St Paul's, c.1228–32. On the possible evidence of organum being sung in the Chapel Royal in the thirteenth century, see Bent 1963–4, pp. 93–5.

27 See especially the discussion in Hohler 1978. Another Middle English song of c.1396/7, using a more developed mensural notation, is shown in fig. 15.4 (CUL, ms. Add. 5943).

28 Deeming 2005.

29 Johannes is edited in Johannes de Garlandia: *De mensurabili musica*; Franco in Franco of Cologne: *Ars cantus*; for a catalogue of anonymous treatises, see Balensuela 2001; see also Meyer *et al.* 1992 and 2003.

the same manuscripts as the music they describe, but this is exceptional: it is far more common for them to circulate in compilations, combined either with other music-theoretical texts or with 'school' texts from other disciplines. To modern scholars, the best-known such compilation is the *Tractatus de musica* arranged from several existing treatises by Hieronymus (Jerome) 'de Moravia' sometime after 1272.[30] This is a thoroughly Parisian work – Jerome was a Dominican friar in Paris, and probably made the compilation for the use of other Dominicans wishing to perform and understand music – but may have a Scottish connection, since it has recently been suggested that he is more likely to have come not from Moravia but from Moray, perhaps joining the Blackfriars at Elgin after their establishment there in 1233/4, before moving to Paris later in life.[31]

The various treatises brought together in Jerome's *Tractatus* provide a sound theoretical basis for the understanding of the rhythm shown in thirteenth-century polyphonic sources, and a certain amount is also written about harmony, but remarkably little mention is made here or elsewhere of techniques or nuances of performance, or of the milieux in which the types of music described were written and performed. For this we are largely dependent on an untitled treatise by an unnamed English writer known today from its publication as the fourth in an edition of several such works as 'Anonymous IV'.[32] The principal manuscript source – another compilation manuscript, this time a mixture of musical and other liberal arts subjects – was one of the many books acquired for the abbey of Bury in the fourteenth century by its prior Henry de Kirkestede, and for this and other reasons it is unlikely, as is often claimed, that the writer was himself a monk at Bury; one plausible alternative suggestion is that he was in some way connected with the Dominicans at Oxford.[33] The treatise has been dated around 1275, though some aspects suggest a date as late as the early fourteenth century.

Anonymous IV reveals a host of valuable information about Notre-Dame polyphony, naming various composers and musicians associated with the repertory – including the *magistri* Leoninus and Perotinus[34] – and discussing many different aspects of performance technique. The concept of the *magnus liber organi*, often used in modern scholarship to describe the St Andrews book (W$_1$) and those like it, derives solely from a passing reference in this treatise.[35]

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30 The compilation is BnF, ms. lat. 16663; Hieronymus de Moravia: *Tractatus de musica*.
31 Huglo 1994.
32 *Scriptorum de musica*, vol. I, pp. 327–64; *Musiktraktat Anonymus 4* supersedes this edition.
33 Hohler 1978, p. 18; see also Roesner 1976, p. 379 and *CBMLC*, XI, p. lvii. The manuscript is BL, Royal ms. 12 C. VI.
34 Wright 1986 and 1989, pp. 288–94.   35 Roesner 2001.

The work is notable for its colloquial style: it has been suggested that it may originally have been written down as lecture notes, on which the writer would expound when teaching his students. In any case, it is far distant from the systematic, scholastic style of many of the other treatises, particularly those that circulated in Paris through the thirteenth century, and means that the main source for our understanding of the performance of music in Paris in the early thirteenth century is an English writer of almost a century later.[36]

By the fourteenth century, the rigidly systematic exposition of the rhythm of measured music became a particular art among certain English music theorists. A very thorough example is the *Regule* of 1326 by Robertus de Handlo, which is a lengthy commentary on one of the many abbreviations of Franco of Cologne's treatise that circulated at that time in manuscript compilations of music theory; it survives today only in an eighteenth-century copy of a Cotton manuscript, made shortly before the Cotton library fire in 1731.[37] This work was updated and expanded considerably in a later treatise written by Johannes Hanboys (or Hauboys), probably around 1375.[38] Hanboys describes a musical hierarchy of eight different rhythmic values, and proceeds at great length to explain the almost identical properties of each note; but in so doing he makes many invaluable comments about specifically English characteristics of notation and performance.

Treatises of so technical and specific a nature were surely intended for a very specialist audience; they are mainly found in compilation volumes with many works of similar content. As with their continental ancestors in the thirteenth century, their form is closely delimited, and generally restricted to discussion of the notation of rhythm. At the other end of the theoretical spectrum from this unashamedly self-centred group of writers stand several Insular witnesses to the more ancient speculative traditions of music theory, which saw man-made music as an earthly representation of the divine harmony of the spheres, and used mathematical discussions of the harmonic proportions as a means of explaining the perfection of the cosmos. Throughout the Middle Ages, Boethius' treatise *De institutione musica* was central to the teaching and understanding of music as one of the liberal arts, and several Insular sources of the text survive from the eleventh century onwards.[39] The complete treatise is often paired with the same author's *De arithmetica*, while other manuscripts transmit excerpts in combination with other musical writings. The most influential

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36 On the scholastic aspects of the other treatises, see Huglo 1980–1.   37 BL, Add. ms. 4909.
38 Both are edited in Robertus de Handlo: *Regule*; on the date of Hanboys' treatise see Bent 1973, p. 71.
39 Sources of this and subsequently named treatises are listed in Meyer *et al.* 1992 and 2003.

treatises of the ninth to eleventh centuries were all the work of continental writers, but the few sources that survive suggest that they were also known in England. The most famous and widely disseminated of these is the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, and all of them are centrally concerned with the structure and properties of plainchant.[40]

In the later Middle Ages there was a revival of interest in these older texts: several writers made analytical commentaries on Boethius' text,[41] and one of the most interesting commentaries on Guido's *Micrologus*, called *Metrologus* because of its particular concern with metrics, is the work of an Englishman writing in the thirteenth century.[42] As well as these attempts to expand and reinterpret ancient texts, there was a propensity throughout the arts for producing encyclopaedic works covering the whole of a discipline. In the case of music, this meant a synthesis of the speculative tradition of Boethius and other ancient writers with the plainchant theory of Guido and his contemporaries and the rhythmic theory tradition in which Franco was central. Jerome's *Tractatus* was one method of bringing these three separate traditions together, but though there is a certain amount of original material in his work, the bulk of it consists of a compilation of other theoretical sources.

A far more innovative method was adopted by Walter Odington, a monk of Evesham who was active at the start of the fourteenth century. He was a polymath whose other writings include an important alchemical treatise entitled *Ycocedron* and an astronomical study of the motion of the eighth sphere.[43] Odington's *Summa de speculatione musice* survives complete in only one manuscript of the fifteenth century, though two other fragments are known.[44] His principal sources are the same as Jerome's – indeed, it is quite possible that he knew Jerome's treatise – but he puts a great deal of skill and ingenuity into obtaining a logical coherence between the various writers whom he paraphrases. The result is a treatise which links number theory not only to harmonic theory, but also to metrics and to rhythmic proportions. He thereby explicitly demonstrates the links between the study of music within the liberal arts and its performance, whether in plainsong or in measured polyphony. Though no other musical writings at this time from anywhere in Europe can compare directly with Odington's masterly rationalization of old and new theory, the principles behind his endeavour may be seen to underpin all of the developments in music-writing over this period. The ever-increasing complexity of new compositions, particularly in matters of rhythm, had as its ultimate

40 See Guido of Arezzo: *Micrologus*.   41 For an edition of one from Oxford, see *Commentum Oxoniense*.
42 Edited in *Expositiones Guidonis*, pp. 61–92.   43 Sharpe, *HLW*, pp. 738–9.
44 Walter Odington: *Summa musicae*. The complete ms. is Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 410.

purpose the working out of what was logically possible. By linking this directly to the arithmetic tradition of Boethius, Odington demonstrates the essentially theological purpose of this experimentation: in making systematic use of the various possible proportions, both harmonic and rhythmic, musicians of the later Middle Ages drew ever stronger parallels with the proportions that bond the cosmos in the harmony of the spheres.

Illustration and ornament

MARTIN KAUFFMANN

The twelfth century

In England, as on the continent of Europe, the twelfth century saw the production of illuminated manuscripts on a scale not witnessed before.[1] This reflects the overall rise in the number of books produced. There continued to be many books which were not provided with any decoration at all, and the proportion containing extensive illustration was always less than 10 per cent. Books were decorated in an English version of the Romanesque style, the first international style in Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. The main patrons of illuminated books in the twelfth century were monasteries such as Bury St Edmunds, St Augustine's Canterbury, and St Albans, and cathedral priories such as Christ Church Canterbury and St Swithun's Winchester (the Old Minster).[2] Secular cathedrals, such as Lincoln and Hereford, also possessed illuminated books, but it is not always clear whether they produced them themselves.[3] But even if illuminated books were made for monastic patrons, they were not necessarily illuminated by monks: there is evidence from the twelfth century of lay professional artists working for (and sometimes in) monasteries.[4]

Books were also imported into England from abroad, especially from Normandy.[5] Though the Normans had lagged behind their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries in the art of manuscript illumination, their preoccupation with the decoration of initial letters was to prove the springboard for the development of the Romanesque initial as a vehicle of artistic expression in twelfth-century England. Indeed, experiments in the relationship between script, ornament

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1 The best introduction to English illumination of the period is *Survey*, III. For the first part of the period, see Gameson 1999a, which gives a brief indication of the presence of illumination in each manuscript listed.

2 Thomson 1985; Dodwell 1954; McLachlan 1986.

3 Mynors and Thomson 1993; Thomson 1989.   4 Alexander 1992, pp. 10–20; Gullick 1998a.

5 Exeter and Durham, in particular, seem to have acquired numerous manuscripts from Norman sources, including manuscripts containing illumination by 'Hugo pictor', who was probably active at Jumièges for at least part of his career: see Pächt 1950; Gameson 1999b and 2001; Gullick 1999.

and illustration were to last throughout the three centuries under review, with letters providing major sites for decoration or the opportunity to unite a visual and verbal message.[6] The most basic function of decorated initials, as of tituli, rubrics and punctuation, was to structure a text, aiding memorization and cueing the process of recollection by means of which a reader engaged with a text.[7] To achieve this it was important to maintain a decorative hierarchy, so that the size and elaboration of the initial could act as a guide to the reader, communicating the position of major and minor textual divisions even before a word was read. The clarity of the decorative hierarchy, together with the endless invention displayed by the Romanesque decorated initial, can create an exquisite combination of function and ornament even in a modestly decorated book. Whilst some initials are entirely foliate, consisting of foliage coils terminating in luxuriant blossoms, others contain animals enmeshed in foliage scrolls, or clambering elongated human figures, often engaged in combat with animals, dragons or hybrid monsters. Such creatures, often ultimately classical in origin, could be derived from near-Eastern textiles, or from astrological illustrations, calendar scenes or bestiaries. The distinction made by modern scholars between 'decorated' and 'historiated' initials is not always clear: many initials feature human figures but do not seem to represent an identifiable narrative or history. Some of these initials may have been intended to represent the eternal struggle of human beings, trapped in a hostile world of sin, searching for salvation; their attraction lies partly in the tension between the exuberant imagination of the parts and the ordered balance of the whole, as well as in the contrast between the levity of many initials and the solemnity of the majority of miniatures.

In the twelfth and subsequent centuries, the book which most commonly received extensive illustration was not the whole Bible but the Psalter. Recited both by monks and by the laity, the Psalms were the prime devotional texts of the earlier Middle Ages. The text of the Psalms is often preceded by a liturgical Calendar which can contain pictorial cycles of the occupations of the months and the signs of the zodiac, either within or connected to the KL monogram itself (for the Latin *kalends*) which stands at the head of each month, or in separate roundels. The text of the Psalter was divided first into eight sections, marking the beginnings of the parts to be read at matins each day and at vespers on Sunday: that is, at Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109 (Vulgate numeration). At the same time the three-fold formal division at Psalms 1, 51 and 101 (Vulgate numeration), which had Insular origins in the early Middle

6 Alexander 1978b.   7 Parkes 1976.

Ages, was also retained, the two systems combining to make a ten-fold division. These divisions were marked by large decorated initials, and sometimes by historiated initials. A consistent choice of subjects begins to appear in the historiated initials of some twelfth-century Psalters, but it is not until the following century that a regular series of ten historiated initials becomes standard.[8] The subjects themselves are usually not literal illustrations of the text, but were suggested either by the Psalm's *titulus* or by its opening verse. The small group of manuscripts, of which the c.1150 Eadwine Psalter is one (fig. 15.2), which contain a literal illustration to every Psalm, was directly inspired by the presence at Canterbury of an extraordinary exemplar, the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter.[9] Several Psalters also have a cycle of full-page miniatures prefacing the text of the Psalms. This practice had begun in eleventh-century England, but only became common in the twelfth. Thus it was the Psalter, not the complete Bible, which carried the largest cycles of full-page biblical scenes.[10] As well as narrative subjects drawn from the Old and New Testaments, especially from the life of Christ, these cycles sometimes also include images of the Tree of Jesse, King David, the Virgin and Child, and Christ in Majesty. The scenes do not illustrate the text of the Psalms directly, but can be related to the Christian typological reading of the Psalms as messianic prophecies.

The twelfth century also saw the production of magnificently illustrated giant Bibles; these lectern volumes were read both in church and refectory, and must have been impressive symbols of the status of the communities which possessed them.[11] In many cases each book of the Bible is provided with a historiated initial; some manuscripts also have a full-page frontispiece to some but not all of the biblical books. As in the case of the Tree of Jesse illustration for the Book of Isaiah in the Lambeth Bible, these frontispieces can go beyond the illustration of the biblical narrative to become vehicles of complex typological or theological doctrines.[12] In Gospel Books each Gospel may begin with an Evangelist portrait and a large decorated initial; decorated canon tables preceding the biblical text are found only occasionally after 1100.[13] Manuscripts of the Pauline Epistles can contain a historiated initial for each Epistle, either showing St Paul or an episode from his life.[14]

The handsome copies of the biblical commentaries and other works of the Church Fathers, such as St Jerome and St Gregory the Great, with which

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8 Haseloff 1938.   9 Gibson, Heslop and Pfaff 1992; Van der Horst, Noel and Wüstefeld 1996.
10 Kauffmann 2003, pp. 112–39.   11 Cahn 1982; Kauffmann 2003, pp. 73–104.
12 Lambeth, ms. 3, fol. 198r: Dodwell 1954, pp. 88–90; Shepard 2007.
13 *Survey*, iii, nos. 2, 5, 25, 33, 53, 65, 80.
14 *Survey*, iii, nos. 79, 99 (Bodleian, ms. Auct. d.1.13; Durham Cathedral Lib., ms. a.ii.19).

English monastic and cathedral libraries were stocked, generally contain only decorated initials: historiated initials are the exception, not the rule. The only patristic work to be illustrated with full-page miniatures preceding the text is the *De civitate Dei* of St Augustine.[15] Similarly, the works of medieval theologians and commentators on Scripture, if illustrated at all, usually attracted only an author portrait and one or two historiated initials. The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm of Canterbury provides a rare example of such a text attracting an extensive scheme of illustration. Copies of the text had been sent to Anselm's monastic and lay friends during his lifetime, but it is uncertain whether these early copies already contained pictures.[16] Probably the earliest surviving manuscript containing a cycle of religious narrative illustrations to have been produced after the upheaval of the Norman Conquest, and the first English example of a fully illustrated account of the life and miracles of a single saint, is a manuscript of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, produced at Durham Cathedral Priory around 1100 and containing over fifty tinted drawings, illustrating each chapter of the text.[17] All over Europe, illustrated saints' lives were produced by communities which thus proclaimed the virtuous lives, miracle-working powers and continuing protection of their patrons;[18] only the Lives of St Cuthbert and of St Edmund survive in this form from twelfth-century England, though some Passionals contain historiated initials depicting scenes from the lives of several saints.[19]

Most illustrated twelfth-century secular manuscripts contain texts which have their origins in the classical world, either as Latin works or as Late Antique Latin translations of Greek works. Sometimes continuities can be identified between antique and medieval picture cycles, though the pictorial tradition in most cases seems to extend only as far back as the fourth or fifth century AD. In such instances the pictures in the twelfth-century manuscripts usually seem to have been adapted not directly from Late Antique exemplars, but from Carolingian or Anglo-Saxon intermediaries. Of literary, historical and philosophical works, only the comedies of Terence and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius were provided with cycles of pictures.[20] The St Albans Terence (Bodleian, ms. Auct. F. 2. 13), with its illustrations reflecting the masks and even

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15 De Laborde 1909; *Survey*, III, no. 19 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, ms. Plut. XII. 17).

16 Pächt 1956; *Survey*, III, nos. 31, 75 (Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 70; Bodleian, ms. Auct. D.2.6).

17 Oxford, University College, ms. 165: Baker 1978.   18 Hahn 2001.

19 For the Life of St Edmund (PML, ms. M. 736), see *Survey*, III, no. 34; for a Passional, see *Survey*, III, no. 17 (BL, Arundel ms. 91).

20 Jones and Morey 1931; Stettiner 1895–1905; *Survey*, III, nos. 30, 73 (BL, Cotton ms. Titus D.XVI; Bodleian, ms. Auct. F. 2.13).

perhaps the gestures of the Roman stage, represents the end of an antiquarian tradition. The other illustrated secular texts are mostly technical and scientific, including herbals, bestiaries (fig. 20.1) and treatises on astronomy and astrology. Of these, the bestiary had travelled furthest from its antique roots; the animal lore in its text was by now almost entirely in the service of Christian themes, and the picture cycles are medieval in inspiration.[21] The main purpose of the herbal was to identify plants and to describe their medicinal properties; illustrations were integral to the identifications, though in most cases artists did little more than copy the conventionalized pictures they found in their exemplars.[22] Illustrations accompanying medical tracts, such as drawings of cautery figures, were also traditional.[23] In one instance illustrated astronomical and astrological texts are found in conjunction with the illustrated Marvels of the East, descriptions of natural wonders and monstrous races going back ultimately to ancient Greek descriptions of the fabulous peoples of India.[24]

The twelfth-century love of classification found its pictorial expression in diagrams whose balanced and elegant construction could be used to depict the harmonious relations between microcosm and macrocosm in the constitution of the universe according to Christian cosmology: the four seasons, elements, humours and ages of man, for instance, or the seven planets, sacraments and liberal arts.[25] Such diagrams were designed to impress the relations between different parts of a subject on the memory of the reader. Indeed, the organization of space in many Romanesque illustrations may reflect the same purpose, with geometric or architectural forms providing a grid within which images, often identified by inscriptions, are grouped hierarchically around a central motif or figure.

The thirteenth century

In the twelfth century the majority of illuminated books were made for religious institutions, especially monastic houses, whether for liturgical or library use. The thirteenth century is the first in which we can identify a considerable number of illuminated books as being commissioned by the upper ranks of lay

21 Baxter 1998; *Survey*, III, nos. 36, 104–6 (Bodleian, ms. Laud. Misc. 247; Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 22; BL, Add. ms. 11283; New York, PML, ms. M.81).
22 Collins 2000; *Survey*, III, nos. 10, 11 (Bodleian, Ashmole ms. 1431; Bodleian, Bodley ms. 130).
23 MacKinney 1965; *Survey*, III, nos. 12, 27 (BL, Sloane ms. 2839; Durham, Cathedral Lib., ms. Hunter 100).
24 James 1929; Saxl 1957, pp. 96–110 and pls. 52–61; *Survey*, III, no. 38 (Bodleian, Bodley ms. 614).
25 Saxl 1957, pp. 58–72 and pls. 34–42; Evans 1980.

society, both male and female – mostly members of the royal family or of the high aristocracy – for their own personal use.[26] This did not immediately cause a radical change in the types of text most likely to receive illustration. Patronage of illuminated books by Benedictine monks and nuns and Augustinian canons did continue, though it accounts for a decreasing proportion of the total as the century progresses. The number of illuminated books made for the secular clergy increases; but the number associated with the Franciscan or Dominican friars remains lower than might have been expected, given the impact made by the mendicant orders on English spiritual and cultural life. Lay professional scribes and illuminators were now probably responsible for producing the bulk of illuminated books, either peripatetically or in established workshops, most prominently in London, Oxford, Winchester, Salisbury, Cambridge and Norwich. There is little evidence for the production of illuminated books within the royal court, which seems instead to have commissioned books from existing London workshops.

The most commonly illuminated book was still the Psalter. It now has a full set of historiated initials at the liturgical divisions, with decorated initials at the beginning of ordinary Psalms and sometimes smaller ornamental initials to every verse. As the century progresses, the traditional English range of 'historical' subjects at the liturgical divisions gradually gives way to the Parisian tradition of more literal illustrations, just as English artists were influenced by Parisian early Gothic stylistic models.[27] The number of Old and New Testament scenes in prefatory cycles of full-page miniatures, placed before or after the calendar, varies enormously, with the ninety miniatures of the Munich Psalter at one extreme.[28] Whilst the emphasis in the first half of the century is still on narrative illustration, in the second half the prefatory cycles tend to become shorter, and an increasing stress is placed on subjects from the life of Christ which could convey a more intense devotional meaning, such as the Crucifixion, Christ in Majesty or the Virgin and Child. The intimate relationship between the Virgin and Child, or the suffering of Christ on the Cross, were essentially human subjects whose dramatic emotional appeal, sometimes underlined by the responses of onlookers depicted within the picture, was designed to lead the viewer to an empathetic response. This response was not conceived as an end in itself but as an avenue to a deeper understanding of the religious significance of the scene; it corresponds to the development of

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26 The best introduction to English illumination of the period is *Survey*, IV. For women's patronage of illuminated books, see Gee 2002.
27 Haseloff 1938, pp. 8–18, 60–4, 100–1, 118–19.
28 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 835: *Survey*, IV/1, no. 23; Morgan 1992.

the literary genre of the meditation on biblical events, especially the Passion, which was so characteristic of later medieval spirituality.

The Apocalypse, produced as an independent book, often including the commentary of Berengaudus, attracted intensive illustration in the thirteenth century, especially in its third quarter.[29] The most common layout is to have a rectangular miniature, either fully painted or in tinted drawing, occupying the top half of each page, with the text and commentary (either in Latin or in Anglo-Norman French) in two columns beneath. Many of the manuscripts have closely related picture cycles; in some, scenes of the life of St John the Evangelist (identified as the author of the Book of Revelation) are placed before and after the Apocalypse illustrations. Scholars have attempted to find reasons for this upsurge in production. Prophecies of the end of the world and the signs of the times which would indicate its approach, such as those of the late twelfth-century monk Joachim of Fiore (who prophesied that the world would come to an end in 1260), were discussed and elaborated in terms of contemporary events, such as the conflict between the Emperor Frederick II and the Pope. At the same time, the story of the Apocalypse must have appealed in its own right, as an allegory of the experience of the believer enduring the tribulations of the world but arriving finally at the vision of the heavenly city, or even as a biblical parallel to the heroic and turbulent events of Arthurian romances.[30]

Some other biblical and religious texts also received decoration, though there are few surviving illuminated books for the public liturgy. The one-volume portable Bible was commonly illustrated with a small historiated initial at the beginning of each book and a small decorated initial for the corresponding prologue, though not as many examples survive from England as from Paris and northern France, where the format had been developed. Texts used for the teaching of biblical history could also be illustrated. The *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* of Peter of Poitiers is often presented in the form of a roll, as befits its genealogical presentation, with the drawings in medallions – a format which could even allow it to be hung on the wall of a classroom.[31] The main decoration of the Missal is a full-page Crucifixion miniature facing the beginning of the Canon prayer. The middle to second half of the century sees the beginning of the Book of Hours as an independent book; previously the main elements, such as the Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead, had

29 Lewis 1995.
30 The context for this popularity of illuminated Apocalypses is discussed in Morgan and Brown 1990, pp. 17–37.
31 *Survey*, IV/1, nos. 43, 79, 90 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll. ms. 83; BL, Cotton ms. Faustina B.VII; Cleveland, Museum of Art, CMA 73.5; Liverpool, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Mayer 12017; Eton, College Lib., ms. 96).

appeared in conjunction with the Psalter. No clearly established pattern of illustration appears for the Book of Hours until the following century; the full-page miniatures and historiated initials of the de Brailes Hours are exceptional for their date (fig. 8.1).[32] A group of illustrated Saints' Lives, with texts in Anglo-Norman French, is linked with Matthew Paris, the monk and chronicler of St Albans, either as author or illustrator or both (figs. 4.2, 20.2). They share the same layout as the largest group of Apocalypses, having tinted drawings at the head of each page above the columns of text; they are also one of several kinds of illustrated book at this period to employ captions or *tituli* to mediate between texts and picture cycles.[33] Though the twelfth century had largely satisfied the need for copies of the Church Fathers, the works of more recent theologians and commentators on Scripture, such as St Anselm of Canterbury and Hugh of St Victor, were occasionally illustrated in the thirteenth. In Canon Law, copies of Gratian's *Decretum* and subsequent decretal collections were sometimes given a historiated initial for each case, illustrating the relevant offence or dispute, but most copies circulating in England appear to have been imported from France or Italy (fig. 11.2).[34]

The finest illumination of a secular text in the thirteenth century, especially popular in the first half, is to be found in the bestiary – if it is right to call this Christianized version of ancient natural history, in which the animals are really actors taking on roles to dramatize Christian themes, a secular text. Unlike the drawings of most twelfth-century examples, the illustrations of the animals are now fully painted and framed, often with heavily burnished gold grounds, but they are still set within the text.[35] Apart from the occasional domestic genre scene, the touches of naturalism are few: most of the animals were either fabulous, or at least not native to this country. The presence of Creation scenes at the beginning of some manuscripts accompanies the textual shift towards the exegesis of the Genesis accounts of Creation. Other secular texts to receive illustration include herbals, medical treatises, legal texts, chronicles and topographical works, romances and Aristotelian texts – though the number of surviving examples in most of these categories is small. The medical function of the herbal is emphasized by the presence in some manuscripts of pictures of medical operations. An illustrated manuscript of Roger of Salerno's *Chirurgia*, showing the preparation of medicines as well as operations (fig. 18.3), and a late

32 Donovan 1991.
33 *Survey*, IV/1, nos. 61, 85 (Wormsley Coll. Sir Paul Getty; Dublin Trinity Coll., ms. 177); *Survey*, IV/2, no. 123 (CUL, ms. Ee. 3.59).
34 Melnikas 1975; L'Engle and Gibbs 2001.
35 *Survey*, IV/1, nos. 13, 17, 19, 64; *Survey*, IV/2, nos. 98, 144, 171, 172.

thirteenth-century manuscript containing anatomical drawings, are rarities at this date.[36] The richness of illustrations to chronicles and historical accounts in the thirteenth century is not matched either in the preceding or in the succeeding centuries; the chronicles of Matthew Paris, and the descriptions by Gerald of Wales of his journeys in Ireland and Wales, are especially notable for placing their illustrations of events in the margins.[37] Few illustrated romances survive: those that do usually have framed miniatures or tinted drawings set within the columns of text. From the middle of the century onwards, as Aristotelian texts and commentaries appear and grow in importance for the university curriculum, Aristotelian manuscripts are occasionally found illustrated with historiated initials (fig. 10.1).[38]

The fourteenth century

In the fourteenth century a significant number of illuminated books were produced not only for members of the royal family and aristocracy, but also for members of wealthy and upwardly mobile county families.[39] In the case of the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, a whole group of illuminated books, most of them Psalters and Books of Hours, can be associated with a single family through textual, pictorial and heraldic references. Several of these books were illustrated by a single group of artists, and are closely related to each other in their design and decorative programme.[40] Monastic patronage is also still significant in the fourteenth century, though monastic illuminated books seem mostly to have been made by lay professional artists, working both within and outside the cloister. The mendicant orders and the universities play a relatively minor role in the patronage or production of illuminated books.

The most striking feature of fourteenth-century illuminated manuscripts is the enlivening of the whole text page with decoration. This more complex mise-en-page, whose early development is already evident in the previous century, is especially to be observed in Psalters, Bibles and Books of Hours.[41] Whether scattered through the text block as in Books of Hours, or aligned down the

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36 *Survey*, iv/1, no. 78 (Cambridge, Trinity Coll., ms. 0.1.20); *Survey*, v/2, no. 19 (Bodleian, Ashmole ms. 399).
37 Lewis 1987.
38 Camille 1985; Camille 1995; *Survey* iv/2, nos. 145, 146, 156 (BL, Harley ms. 3487; Vatican City, BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 206; Oxford, Merton Coll., ms. 269; BnF, ms. lat. 6323a; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, ms. Phill. 1781; BnF, ms. lat. 6505.)
39 The best introduction to English illumination of the period is *Survey*, v.
40 James and Millar 1936; Sandler 2004.
41 For the beginnings of these features in the thirteenth century, see Morgan 2002.

left-hand edge of the text as in some Psalters, small initial letters are decorated with penwork flourishing, or fully painted with a coloured or patterned field (the area enclosed by the letter form) and contrasting background panel (which may be squared or may follow the approximate shape of the initial). Line endings fill the space between the last word of a verse text and the edge of the text block. Their degree of ornamentation ranges from penwork patterns to fully illuminated and gilded blocks, incorporating animals, grotesques and even human figures as in the Clifford-Pabenham Hours (fig. 20.3). Penwork flourishing, developed out of the decoration of 'arabesque' initials which had marked secondary divisions of the text in Romanesque manuscripts, but increasingly characterized by foliate rather than abstract motifs, begins to shoot into the margin from verse initials or the last line of text. Penwork flourishing was probably the province of the scribe, whilst small painted initials would have been executed by artists, though probably not the same artists who were responsible for major schemes of decoration or illustration. In the later Middle Ages it seems to have been common for different individuals, sometimes working at different times and in different places, to be employed in executing script, rubrics, penwork initials, borders and miniatures.

The frame of a fourteenth-century illuminated page frequently consists of an extension of the tail or finial of an initial letter which takes foliate or vegetal form as it 'grows' down the side margin and across the top or bottom of the page. Such frames are often tied to further marginal decoration and illustration (fig. 20.3). Sometimes marginal figures, instead of using these frames as ground lines, inhabit the bas-de-page, the rectangular space created within the area between the bottom line of the text and the marginal framework. The marginal world, inhabited not only by human and animal figures but by a variety of hybrids, is characterized by inversions of scale, with human figures often no bigger than plants or insects or birds. The range of relationships of marginal figures and scenes – to other marginal components on the same page, to marginal depictions on other pages, to initials and miniatures or other 'central' illustrative components and to the text itself – is extremely wide. Marginal scenes may illustrate the main text directly; they may parody or satirize the main text or illustrations; or they may form separate narrative series of religious or secular scenes.[42] In many cases the marginal illustrations constitute the chief decorative interest of a manuscript. An extreme example is the Smithfield Decretals, which contains just five miniatures illustrating its Canon Law text, but over

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42 Randall 1966; Camille 1992; Sandler 1997.

six hundred marginal illustrations, filling the bottom of every page with scenes of animals, birds, hybrids and daily work or play, as well as whole cycles drawn from the Bible, miracles of the Virgin and of saints, animal fables, fabliaux and chivalrous tales.[43]

As in the previous century, the vast majority of illustrated texts are in Latin, and the most common type of illuminated book is the Psalter. Though the prefatory cycle of miniatures is still found – sometimes of extraordinary length, as in the Queen Mary Psalter [44]– other sites for illustration within the text are more prominent: historiated initials or miniatures at the liturgical divisions, decorated or historiated initials at the beginning of each Psalm, and scenes in the lower margins. Even within a single manuscript, the relationship of illustration to text can be complex and varied: for instance, the Isabella Psalter contains one Old Testament cycle in the main historiated initials and their accompanying lower margins, another Old Testament cycle in the ordinary Psalm initials and their respective lower margins, and a cycle of bestiary scenes in the lower margins of the alternate pages which contain the French text of the Psalms.[45]

At the same time the Book of Hours was gaining in popularity.[46] A variety of illustrative programmes was applied to its central text, the Hours of the Virgin: a cycle of scenes from the infancy and public life of Christ is common, situated at the beginning of each Hour, either in a miniature or an initial. Some manuscripts contain scenes from the infancy and Passion of Christ, which may represent the influence of the Short Hours of the Cross, which are often found adjacent to, or interspersed with, the Hours of the Virgin. The margins of Books of Hours are frequently used for further illustrations, either scenes from the Old or New Testament or other relevant material such as the miracles of the Virgin. Some manuscripts display extremely rich and sophisticated illustrative schemes. In the Taymouth Hours, the scenes which appear in the initials and miniatures at the main subdivisions of the Hours of the Virgin and the Short Hours of the Cross are connected to one another by representations of intermediate scenes from the Christological narrative in the margins of the text of each Hour.[47]

The decline in the number of illuminated Bibles in the fourteenth century probably reflects the fact that the large number produced in the thirteenth continued to be sufficient to satisfy demand. The taste for luxury illuminated

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43 BL, Royal ms. 10 E. IV: *Survey*, v/2, no. 101.   44 BL, Royal ms. 2 B. VII: Warner 1912.

45 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. gall. 16: *Survey*, v/2, no. 27.

46 For a study of three examples see Smith 2003.

47 BL, Yates Thompson ms. 13: *Survey*, v/2, no. 98.

Apocalypses evidently also declined by the mid-century; where they were produced, they often have miniatures interspersed into the text, rather than following the thirteenth-century format of miniatures occupying the upper half of each page above the text. A new trend is the variety of manuscripts containing tailored versions of all or part of the biblical narrative, accompanied by extensive cycles of illustration. In these cases the pictorial content clearly often provided the impetus for the creation of the whole book. The foremost example is the Holkham Bible picture book, whose opening page shows a Dominican instructing the artist in a book intended for 'riche gent'. It is dominated by over two hundred miniatures, whilst the vernacular text is reduced to a commentary; the vividness and coarseness of the pictures, which include illustrations of non-canonical stories such as the trials of Joseph and scenes from the apocryphal infancy of Christ, have been related to contemporary vernacular literature and drama.[48] Examples are also found of illustrated versions (in Latin or French) of the Life of Christ, and in one case of a whole apocryphal Infancy Gospel.[49] Richly illustrated biblical commentaries are rare, though one manuscript of William of Nottingham's commentary on the Gospels contains hundreds of historiated initials of the author writing or lecturing and of New Testament scenes.[50]

Once again, illuminated Breviaries and Missals do not survive in large numbers, though the century ends with a group of richly illuminated Missals: the Litlyngton Missal made in 1383–4 for Westminster Abbey, whose Abbot's Treasurer's roll provides valuable information about the production of the manuscript (fig. 3.1);[51] the Carmelite Missal, illustrated around 1398, now in fragments;[52] and the Sherborne Missal dating from c.1399–1405, which is one of the most spectacular of all English illuminated manuscripts, both for the splendour of its decoration and the complexity of its illustrative programme.[53] Illustrated copies of patristic texts are rare. A more popular vehicle for illustration is the burgeoning genre of the book of religious instruction. Most examples are vernacular texts aimed at the pious laity, such as Peter of Fetcham's *La lumere as lais*, composed in the thirteenth century to provide answers to questions about the faith, and found decorated or illustrated in the fourteenth (fig. 14.3).[54] An unusual example in a related genre is the set of instructions

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48 BL, Add. ms. 47682: Hassall 1954; *Anglo-Norman Holkham Bible*.
49 Boulton 1983.   50 Bodleian, ms. Laud. Misc. 165: *Survey*, v/2, no. 125.
51 London, Westminster Abbey, ms. 37: *Survey*, V/2, no. 150.
52 BL, Add. mss. 29704–5 and 44892: Rickert 1952; *Survey*, vi, no. 2.
53 BL, Add. ms. 74236: Backhouse 1999; *Survey*, vi, no. 9.
54 Pierre d'Abernon of Fetcham: *Lumere as lais*.

for the Mass, illustrated by a series of text miniatures, each showing the priest, server and congregation in various stages of the service.[55] As in previous centuries, theological, moral and scientific beliefs could be presented in diagrammatic form. The set of pictorial diagrams found in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle includes the wheels of the twelve attributes of human existence and of the ten ages of man, the trees of virtues, of vices, and of life, and the tables of the ten commandments, of the twelve articles of faith, and of the seven acts of the Passion.[56] The explanatory texts of these memorable frameworks might be said to illustrate the visual components, thus reversing the ordinary relations between texts and pictures.

The range of secular texts illustrated differs somewhat from the previous century. Lavishly illustrated bestiaries are not so common; where they do occur, they follow older compositional and iconographical formulas.[57] The outstanding example of an illustrated encyclopaedia is the *Omne Bonum* of James le Palmer, a heroic individual compilation which includes over 750 historiated initials and a series of over a hundred tinted drawings of biblical scenes.[58] A small group of coronation orders contain miniatures of royal coronations and funerals; it is unclear whether these were designed as books of instruction for participants in the ceremonies, or as mementos of the events.[59] Of illustrated books of advice for princes, a pair of manuscripts prepared by Walter of Milemete for King Edward III stand out.[60]

What can be said about the function of decoration and illustration which is common to illuminated books throughout these centuries? The idea that pictures are a substitute for the written word, provided for those who are unable to read for themselves, has a long pedigree, going back at least as far as the two letters written by Pope Gregory the Great in 599 and 600 to Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, who had destroyed the pictures in his church to avoid the superstitious worship of images.[61] Gregory tells Serenus that the uneducated may read in pictures the stories which would teach them what to believe. But this is hardly an argument which could work as a justification for pictures in books, whose audience is unlikely to have been composed of the illiterate – though it does

55 BnF, ms. fr. 13342: *Survey*, v/2, no. 58.   56 BL, Arundel ms. 83 pt. ii; Sandler 1983.

57 *Survey* v/2, nos. 20, 23, 39, 49 (Canterbury, Cathedral Lib., ms. Lit. d.10, Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 53; Oxford, St John's Coll., ms. 178; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., ms. 379).

58 Sandler 1996.

59 *Survey*, v/2, nos. 103, 155, 157 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., ms. 20; London, Westminster Abbey, ms. 38; Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, ms. 197).

60 James 1913; *Survey*, v/2, nos. 84, 85 (Oxford, Christ Church, ms. lat. 92; BL, Add. ms. 47680).

61 Gregory the Great: *Registrum epistularum*, 9:209, 11:10.

recur in this context.[62] Rather we should note the importance of visual images as hooks or cues for the memory. In the preface to his *Li Bestiaires d'Amours*, the thirteenth-century author Richart de Fournival explains that memory has two gates of access, sight and hearing, which are served by 'painture' and 'parole' respectively.[63] 'Painture' here includes the mental images created by reading or listening to a text; medieval treatises on memory and composition emphasize the need for people to 'see' their thoughts in their minds as organized schemata of images. Just as letters make present the voices and ideas of those not present, so pictures act as signs which make things present to the mind by acting on memory. Thus the pictures found in books at this period were designed not so much to imitate things as to recall them; they made their appeal to the eye of the mind as much as to the physical eye.

62 For instance, Gregory's justification is included in the twelfth-century St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, ms. St. Godehard 1, p. 68): Pächt, Dodwell and Wormald 1960, pl. 37.

63 Quoted in Carruthers 1990, p. 223.

Abbreviations

ABMA	Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi
AC	*Archaeologia Cantiana*
AHDLMA	*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge latin*
AJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies* (formerly *Proceedings of the Battle Conference of Anglo-Norman Studies*)
ANTS	Anglo-Norman Text Society
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAACT	British Archaeological Association, Conference Transactions
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands (University) Library*
BL	British Library, London
BLJ	*British Library Journal*
BLR	*Bodleian Library Record*
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BPPB	Griffiths, J. and Pearsall, D. A., *Book production and publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, Cambridge 1989
BRUC	Emden, A. B., *A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, Cambridge 1963
BRUO	Emden, A. B., *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols., Oxford 1957–9
CBMLC, i–xi	*Corpus of British medieval library catalogues*, London: i. Humphreys, K. W. (ed.), *The friars' libraries*, 1990; ii. Mynors, R. A. B., Rouse, R. H. and Rouse, M. A. (eds.), *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, 1991; iii. Bell, D. N. (ed.), *The libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, 1992; iv. Sharpe, R. *et al* (eds.), *English Benedictine libraries: the shorter catalogues*, 1996; v. Stoneman, W. P. (ed.), *Dover Priory*, 1999; vi. Webber, T. and Watson, A. G. (eds.), *The libraries of the Augustinian canons*, 1998; viii. Friis-Jensen, K. and Willoughby, J. M. W. (eds.), *Peterborough Abbey*, 2001; ix.

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CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CHBB, I, III	*Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, I. ed. Gameson, R. (forthcoming); III. ed. Hellinga, L. and Trapp, J. B., Cambridge 1999
CHMEL	*Cambridge history of medieval English literature*, ed. Wallace, D., Cambridge 1999
CLA	Lowe, E. A., *Codices Latini antiquiores*, 12 vols., Oxford 1934–72
CRMSS	Warner, G. F. and Gilson, J. P., *Catalogue of western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's collection*, 4 vols., British Museum, London 1921
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DMBL	Watson, A. G., *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts c. 700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Library*, 2 vols., London 1979
DMCL	Robinson, P. R., *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts in Cambridge libraries*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1988
DMLL	Robinson, P. R., *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts in London libraries*, London 2003
DMOL	Watson, A. G., *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts c. 435–1600 in Oxford libraries*, 2 vols., Oxford 1984
ECBH	Parkes, M. B., *English cursive book hands 1200–1500*, 2nd edn, London 1979
ECM	Bishop, T. A. M., *English Caroline minuscule*, Oxford 1971
EETS (e.s., o.s., s.s.)	Early English Text Society (Extra Series, Original Series, Special Series)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EMS	*English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*
Facs. edn	Facsimile edition
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HMS	Harlaxton Medieval Studies
HUO, I-II	*The history of the University of Oxford*, Oxford: I. Catto, J. I. (ed.), *The early schools*, Oxford 1984; II. Catto, J. I. and Evans, T. A. R. (eds.), *Late medieval Oxford*, Oxford 1992
James, *AL*	James, M. R., *The Ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge 1903
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Ker, *BCL*	Ker, N. R., *Books, collectors, and libraries. Studies in the British heritage*, ed. Watson, A. G., London 1985
Lambeth	Lambeth Palace Library, London

Library	*The Library. Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
ME	Middle English
MET	Middle English Texts
MLGB	Ker, N. R., *Medieval libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edn, London 1964
MLGB Suppl.	Watson, A. G., *Medieval libraries of Great Britain: Supplement to the second edition*, London 1987
MLL	Alexander, J. J. G. and Gibson, M. T. (eds.), *Medieval learning and literature. Essays presented to R. W. Hunt*, Oxford 1976
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MMBL, I-V	Ker, N. R., *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*, 5 vols., Oxford 1969–2002
MO	De la Mare, A. C. and Barker-Benfield, B. C. (eds.), *Manuscripts at Oxford: an exhibition in memory of Richard William Hunt*, Oxford 1980
MS	*Mediæval Studies*
MSML	Parkes, M. B. and Watson, A. G. (eds.), *Medieval scribes, manuscripts and libraries: essays presented to N. R. Ker*, London 1978
Mynors, *DCM*	Mynors, R. A. B., *Durham Cathedral manuscripts to the end of the twelfth century*, Oxford 1939
NewDNB	*The Oxford dictionary of national biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols., Oxford 2004
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
NMT	Nelson's Medieval Texts
NPS	The New Palaeographical Society. *Facsimiles of ancient manuscripts, etc.*, ed. Thompson, E. M., Warner, G. F., and Gilson, J. P., London, ser. 1, 1903–12, ser. 2, 1913–32; indexes 1914, 1932
n.s.	New Series
OHS	Oxford Historical Society
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
o.s.	Old Series
Parkes, *CLS*	*Their hands before our eyes: a closer look at scribes*, Lyell Lectures delivered at the University of Oxford, 1999, forthcoming
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PHS	*Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium*
PL	Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Powicke, *Merton*	Powicke, F. M., *Medieval books of Merton College*, Oxford 1931
PRO	Public Record Office, London (now London, The National Archives – TNA)

PS	The Palaeographical Society. *Facsimiles of manuscripts and inscriptions*, ed. Bond, E. A., Thompson, E. M., and Warner, G. F., London, ser. 1 1873–83; ser. 2 1884–94; indexes 1901
RB	*Revue bénédictine*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
RHS	Royal Historical Society
RS	Rolls Series
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*
SC	*A summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ed. Madan, F., *et al.*, 7 vols. in 8, Oxford 1895–1953 (rpt 1980)
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SeldS	Selden Society
Sharpe, *HLW*	Sharpe, R., *A handlist of Latin writers in the British Isles*, Turnhout 1997 (repr. with additions and corrections 2001)
SS	Surtees Society
STC	*A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and English books printed abroad 1475–1640*, ed. Pollard, A. W. and Redgrave, G. R., 2nd edn rev. Jackson, W. A., Ferguson, F. S. and Pantzer, K. F., 3 vols., London 1976–91
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TCBS	*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*
TMLT	Toronto Medieval Latin Texts
TNA	London, The National Archives (formerly Public Record Office)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
UL	University Library
VCH	Victoria History of the Counties of England

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