

Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The Spirit of the Page: Books and Readers at the Abbey of Fécamp, c. 1000-1200

Weston, J.A.

Citation
Weston, J. A. (2015, March 10). *The Spirit of the Page: Books and Readers at the Abbey of Fécamp, c. 1000-1200*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32272

Version:	Corrected Publisher's Version
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32272

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32272 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Weston, Jennifer Ann
Title: The Spirit of the Page: Books and Readers at the Abbey of Fécamp, c. 1000-1200
Issue Date: 2015-03-10



The Spirit of the Page

Books and Readers at the Abbey of Fécamp, *c.* 1000 – 1200

Jennifer Ann Weston

The Spirit of the Page:

Books and Readers at the Abbey of Fécamp, *c.* 1000 – 1200

Proefschrift

Ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M Stolker
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 10 maart 2015
klokke 16.15 uur

door

Jennifer Ann Weston

geboren Victoria, British Columbia, Canada
in 1984



PROMOTORES:

Prof. dr. R. H. Bremmer (Universiteit Leiden)

Dr. F. Kwakkel (Universiteit Leiden)

PROMOTIECOMMISSIE:

Prof. dr. P. G. Hoftijzer (Universiteit Leiden)

Prof. dr. P. C. M. Hoppenbrouwers (Universiteit Leiden)

Dr. T. Webber (University of Cambridge)

Table of Contents



Abbreviations iii
List of Figures iv
Acknowledgements v

Introduction 1
1. This Study 4
2. State of Research 8
   2.1 Material Evidence 10
3. Case Study: L'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp 12
   3.1 Origins of Fécamp 13
   3.2 Manuscript Corpus 14
   3.3 Methodology 16
4. Chapter Outline 18

— PART ONE —
LECTIO DIVINA

Chapter 1: *Lectio Divina* 21
1. The Texts of *Lectio Divina* 22
2. The Goals of *Lectio Divina* 26
   2.1 Spiritual Purity 27
   2.2 Spiritual Knowledge 30
   2.3 Communion With God 33
3. The Performative Aspect of *Lectio Divina* 35
   3.1 Step One – *Lectio* 36
   3.2 Step Two – *Meditatio* 37
   3.3 Step Three – *Oratio* 42
   3.4 Step Four – *Contemplatio* 44
4. Silent Reading 46
5. Concluding Points 48

Chapter 2: *Lectio Divina* & the Material Book 50
1. Dimensions, Decoration, and Gloss 51
   1.1 Page Dimensions 51
   1.2 Decoration 54
   1.3 Gloss 57
2. The Application of Reading Aids 63
   2.1 Organizational Reading Aids 64
   2.2 The Function of the Paragraph Mark 64
   2.3 Marking a New Text 66
   2.4 Marking Quoted Material 70
3. Navigational Reading Aids 72
   3.1 Absence of Navigational Reading Aids 74
   3.2 Scribal Training 79
   3.3 Exemplar 81
   3.4 Textual Traditions 83
   3.5 *Lectio Divina* 87
4. Concluding Points 89

— PART TWO —
Navigational Reading Aids & Selective Reading

Chapter 3: Navigational Reading Aids 91
1. Navigational Reading Aids at Fécamp 91
2. The Scholastic Context 93
    2.1 Scholastic Programme of Learning 96
    2.2 *Quaestio* & *Disputatio* 98
    2.3 Selective & Non-Sequential Reading 99
3. The Scholastic Book Format 100
    3.1 Navigational Reading Aids & the Scholastic Book 102
    3.2 Other Scholastic Features 109
4. Concluding Points 112

Chapter 4: Navigational Reading Aids in Fécamp Manuscripts 114
1. One Type of Reading Aid 116
    1.1 Navigational Paragraph Marks 117
    1.2 Running Titles 120
    1.3 Chapter Tables 121
    1.4 Considering the Text 122
2. Two Types of Reading Aid 124
    2.1 Chapter Tables + Running Titles 125
    2.2 Chapter Tables + Navigational Paragraph Marks 129
3. Three Types of Reading Aid 132
4. Concluding Points 136

Chapter 5: Books for Selective Reading at Fécamp 138
1. Bibles with Navigation 138
    1.1 The Bible and the Mass 139
    1.2 The Bible and the Divine Office 144
    1.3 The Bible and the Refectory 149
2. Gospel Books with Navigation 156
    2.1 The Gospels and the Mass 156
3. Patristic Texts with Navigation 159
    3.1 Patristic Texts and the Divine Office 160
    3.2 Patristic Texts and Collation 163
4. Concluding Points 165

Chapter 6: Reading Aids & their Implications 168
1. Material Understanding of *Lectio Divina* 168
2. Selective Reading at Fécamp: the Scholastic Question 168
3. What Shapes a Reading Experience? 171
4. Beyond Fécamp 172

Appendix 1 175
Appendix 2 188
Bibliography 195
Nederlandse Samenvatting 213
Curriculum Vitae 214

Abbreviations



Bern	Bern, Burgerbibliothek
Bib. Maz.	Paris, Bibliothèque mazarine
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCSL	Corpus Christionorum, Series Latina
PL	Patrologia Latina, Ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844-55)
Rouen	Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen

List of Figures

Fig. 1	BnF, lat. 5356, fol. 131v; BnF, lat. 564, part 3, fol. 71r
Fig. 2	Rouen 424, fol. 138v; Rouen 427, fol. 1v
Fig. 3	Bern, Cod. 162, fol. 4r
Fig. 4	Rouen 116, fol. 8v
Fig. 5	Rouen 444, fol. 85v
Fig. 6	BnF, lat. 5305, fol. 54r
Fig. 7	BnF, lat. 564, fol. 18v
Fig. 8	Rouen 469, fol. 5r
Fig. 9	Rouen 427, fol. 36r
Fig. 10	BnF, lat. 4210, fol. 37r
Fig. 11	BnF, lat. 2157, fol. 52r
Fig. 12	Rouen 506, fol. 49r; Rouen 507, fol. 20v
Fig. 13	CCCC 11, fol. 22r
Fig. 14	Bib. Maz. 657, fol. 1v
Fig. 15	CCCC 239, fol. 15r
Fig. 16	BnF, lat. 6306, fol. 1r
Fig. 17	Rouen 116, fol. 3v
Fig. 18	Rouen 469, fol. 111r
Fig. 19	Rouen 28, fol. 18r
Fig. 20	BnF, lat. 5080, fol. 145v
Fig. 21	Rouen 29, fol. 68r
Fig. 22	Rouen 29, fol. 115r
Fig. 23	BnF, lat. 4210, fol. 37r
Fig. 24	Rouen 528, part 1, fols. 10v-11r
Fig. 25	Rouen 1, fol. 17r
Fig. 26	Rouen 7, fol. 6r
Fig. 27	Rouen 1, fol. 4v
Fig. 28	BnF, lat. 258, fol. 156v

Acknowledgements



This book would not have been possible without funding provided by the NWO Vidi-project 'Turning Over a New Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance'. I would like to especially thank the project's principal investigator and my supervisor Dr. Erik Kwakkel who has provided unlimited support in the research and writing of this study. I am also very grateful to my promotor Prof. dr. Rolf H. Bremmer who has offered invaluable advice and guidance along the way. My fellow project members Irene O'Daly, Julie Somers, and Jenneka Janzen have been pivotal in the completion of this thesis, and I will be ever thankful for their friendship. It has also been a pleasure to work alongside so many dynamic colleagues at LUCAS and the Leiden University English Department, with special thanks to Michael Newton for being a delightful office neighbour, Peter Liebregts for reviewing my Latin translations, and Thijs Porck for translating a summary of this book into Dutch. I also owe gratitude to the staff at the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, as well as the Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches for allowing access to their manuscript collections. A special thanks goes to Jean-Luc Leservoisier, curator of the special collections at Avranches, who showed a special interest in this project, and who introduced me to the Abbey of Mont-St-Michel. I would also like to thank Hanno Wijsman at the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* for facilitating my research at the microfilm department. A final thanks goes to my family in Canada and my partner Lytton who have tirelessly supported and encouraged my four-year Dutch adventure.

Introduction

> This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it. For then you shall make your way prosperous, and then you shall be successful.
>
> —Joshua 1:8

The reading of scriptural texts constituted a primary and foundational component of Christian worship from its earliest period. The Old and New Testament direct their audiences to read and meditate upon the Word of God diligently – a petition that is championed by the Desert Elders, Church Fathers, and other trusted exponents of the Christian faith from late-Antiquity through to the Middle Ages.[1] In the words of the Church Father Jerome (*c.* 347 – 420), 'anyone who does not know the Scriptures does not know the power and wisdom of God either; ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ'.[2]

---

[1] For biblical references to books and reading, see, for example: Joshua 1:8, 8:34; Psalms 1:2, 77:12, 77:13; Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 1:0, 6:37, 14:20, 14:22; Exodus 24:7; Esther 1:22, 6:1; Deuteronomy 17:19, 31:11; Nehemiah 8:3, 8:8, 8:18, 9:3, 13:1; Isaiah 29:16, 34:16; Esther 6:1; Jeremiah 36:6, 36:8, 36:10; 36:13-15, 36:21, 36:23, 51:61; Acts of the Apostles 7:42, 8:28, 8:32, 13:27, 15:21, 15:23; Ephesians 3:4; 1 Timothy 4:13; 2 Corinthians 1:13, 3:2, 3:15; Colossians 4:16; Baruch 1:3, 1:14; 1 Thessalonians 5:27; Hebrews 9:19; 2 Maccabees 2:25; 6:12; 8:23; 2 Kings 22:8, 22: 10; 22:16, 23:2; 2 Chronicles 34:18, 34:24, 34:30-31; Matthew 12:3, 12:5, 19:4, 21:16, 21:42, 22:31; Mark 2:25, 12:10, 12:26; Luke 4:16, 6:3; John 19:20, 21:25. For all biblical references and quotations I use *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version*, trans. Bruce M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Other written examples that reflect the significance of reading can be found in the surviving works of Augustine, Origen, Ambrose and Gregory. In the *Confessions*, for example, Augustine reflects upon his own Christian conversion, which was sparked by a reading of Paul; Augustine, *Confessions, Vol. III, Commentary Books 8-13*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Book VIII, 3-71. In the works of Origen, we find descriptions of how the reading of Scriptures can help illuminate heavenly and divine matters, a perspective that was later echoed by both Ambrose and Gregory, both of whom advocate the pursuit of Divine and spiritual understanding via the patient and repeated reading of scriptural texts. See, for example, Origen's prologue to the Song of Songs in *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. and annoted by R. P. Lawson (London: The Newman Press, 1957), 22. For examples from Ambrose see the prologue to his *Commentary on Luke*, re-printed in Michael Heintz, 'Prologue of Ambrose of Milan's *Homilies on Luke*' Antiphon 8:2 (2003), 26-31; cf. 'Prologue to the Commentary on Luke', in M. Adriaen et al., eds., *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam. Fragmenta in Esaiam (Ambrosius Mediolanensis)*, CCSL 14.1-6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957). For Gregory, see Raymond Studzinski, *Reading to Live: the Evolving Practice of Lectio Divina* (Trappist: Cistercian Publications, 2009), 130-133; and John Fleetwood, 'Exhortations to, and Directions for, Reading the Holy Scriptures', in *The Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (New York: T. Kinnersley, 1823), 594-614.

[2] 'Ne illud audiam cum Judaeis: *Erratis, nescientes Scripturas, neque virtutem Dei* … Si enim juxta apostolum Paulum Christus Dei virtus est, Deique sapientia; et qui nescit Scripturas, nescit Dei virtutem ejusque sapientiam: *Ignoratio Scripturarum, ignoratio Christi est*' (Jerome, *In Isaiam*, Prologue to Book XVIII, *PL*, Vol. 24, Cols. 17A-22A).

Coenobitic monks, who yearned for a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of God and who dedicated their lives to the pursuit of spiritual perfection believed the reading of holy texts to be a critical exercise in the cultivation of monastic spirituality.[3] According to the Desert Elder John Cassian (*c.* 360 – 435), the monk's desire to read the Word of God is never satiated, and he reminds his fellow brothers to 'strive in every respect to give yourself assiduously and even constantly to sacred reading'.[4] What Cassian refers to is not an ordinary type of reading, but a kind of spiritual reading.[5] This mode of devotional reading was considered 'divine' or 'sacred' as it involved the slow and repetitive reading of scriptural and theological texts, with frequent pauses given for prayer, meditation, and contemplation of God. For the medieval monk, divine reading was not motivated by a desire for worldly knowledge, but instead was a means to achieve spiritual purity and understanding, as well as an opportunity to seek communion with God. In pursuit of this divine experience, monastic readers took a comprehensive and sequential approach to the text – they read their books from cover to cover (as opposed to selectively), and carefully followed the sequence of the original text. In the words of Michael Casey, divine reading can be described as a 'sober, long term undertaking and, as such, better reflected in sustained attention to whole books than in seeking a quick fix from selected texts'.[6]

---

[3] Monks were expected to go beyond 'normal' Christian devotion. In the words of the twelfth-century monk William of St Thierry: 'It is for others to serve God, it is for you to cling to him; it is for others to believe in God, know him, love him and revere him; it is for you to taste him, understand him, be acquainted with him, enjoy him' (William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle, A Letter to the Brethren at Mont Dieu*, trans. Theodore Berkeley, with an introduction by J. M. Déchanet [Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971], V.16, 14).

[4] Cassian, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, ed. and trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Newman Press, 1997), X:2, 514. For the role of the Bible in monastic life, see Isabelle Cochelin, 'When the Monks Were the Book: The Bible and Monasticism (6th-11th Centuries)', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 61-83.

[5] For discussions of *lectio divina* in the monastery, see Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris: Cerf, 1947); *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); 'Monastic Commentary on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature from Late Antiquity to the Twelfth Century', trans. A. B. Kraebel, *The Mediaeval Journal* 2, No. 2 (2012), 27-53; R. D. G. Irvine, 'How to Read: *Lectio divina* in an English Benedictine Monastery', *Culture and Religion* 11, No. 4 (2010), 395-411; Mary Agnes Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk:* Lectio Divina, *Religious Literature, and Lay Devotion* (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2000); Monica Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', *The American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), 82-114; Studzinski, *Reading to Live*; and Duncan Robertson, *Lectio Divina: the Medieval Experience of Reading* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996).

[6] Michael Casey, *Sacred Reading: the Ancient Art of Lectio Divina* (Ligouri: Triumph Books, 1995), 9.

In the early sixth century, the practice of divine reading was anchored into the daily schedule of coenobitic monks with the composition of the Rule of St Benedict. This Rule gave divine reading, which Benedict (*c.* 480 – *c.* 547) terms *lectio divina*, a dominant place in his programme of monastic practice.[7] Eleven out of the seventy-three chapters of the Rule mention the practice of reading or listening to 'holy reading' and Benedict places *lectio divina* as one of the top priorities of monastic life in addition to manual labour and prayer.[8] According to Benedict's Rule, the community should not only spend a portion of each morning engaged in divine reading, but they are also permitted to read (quietly to themselves) during the rest period of the day.[9] It has been calculated that Benedict allocates more than three hours a day to this practice (depending on the time of year), and Sundays were to remain almost entirely free for *lectio*.[10] Benedict also explains the specific approach to the text that *lectio divina* required, stating that the book should be read 'per ordinem ex integro' [straight through, in its entirety].[11] Soon after its composition, the Rule (and thus the practice of *lectio divina*) gained widespread recognition throughout the Latin West, and it quickly became the spiritual and programmatic cornerstone of monastic worship.[12]

---

[7] 'Otiositas inimica est animae; et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina' (St Benedict, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde, Dumberton Oaks Medieval Library 6 [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011], Chapter XLVIII, 160); cf. Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 123. It is likley that Benedict relied upon the earlier writings of Cassian when composing the Rule, as he not only praises the work of Cassian, but also prescribes the reading of his *Institutes* and *Conferences*. See, for example, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter LXXIII, 228.

[8] References to reading in the Rule can be found, for example, in Chapters IV, VIII-XI, XXXVIII, XLII, XLVII, LXVI, LXXIII. In Chapter IV, titled, '*Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum*' [What are the instruments of good works], Benedict writes, '*Lectiones sanctas libenter audire*' [To listen gladly to holy reading]; *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter IV, 34. In Venarde's edition of the Rule this line is written as '*Lectiones sanctas liventer audire*'. Upon closer inspection of the original manuscript used for the edition, St Gall 914, the original scribe has added a marginal correction (a small 'b' in the margin), which would change *liventer* to *libenter*. It is not clear whether or not Venarde failed to notice the marginal correction in the original manuscript. It is interesting that despite not adding the correction to his Latin edition, Venarde translates the passage as if it had been corrected (translating *liventer* as *libenter* or 'gladly').

[9] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLVIII, 160.

[10] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 123.

[11] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLVIII, 160.

[12] In the *Monastic Capitulary* of the Council of Aachen in 817 it is stipulated that abbots must 'scrutinize the *Rule* word for word, in order to understand it well, and with their monks let them endeavor to practice it' ('Capitula Aquisgranensia I', in Bruno Albers, ed., *Consuetudines Monasticae*, Vol. 3 [Monte Cassino: Soc. Ed. Castri Casini, 1907], 116); Daniel M. LaCorte, 'The Expositio and Monastic Reform at Cîteaux', in David Barry, trans., with introductory essays by T. Kardong, J. Leclercq, and D. M. LaCorte, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel: Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007), 9-23, esp. 11-12. After the monastic reforms of the early eleventh century, many Norman monasteries called for a more rigorous following of the Rule of St Benedict. See Cassandra

Lectio divina comprised a major part of this programme. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (*c.* 760 – *c.* 840), for example, extols the value of divine reading in his commentary on the Rule, and provides a (rather lengthy) list of its perceived benefits:[13]

> The knowledge of sacred reading provides those who cultivate it with keenness of perception, increases their understanding, shakes off sluggishness, does away with idleness, shapes their life, corrects their behavior, causes wholesome groaning and produces tears from a heart pierced by compunction; it bestows eloquence in speaking and promises eternal rewards to those who toil; it increases spiritual riches, curbs vain speech and vanities, and enkindles the desire for Christ and our heavenly homeland.[14]

Throughout the Middle Ages, the practice of *lectio divina* was considered a critical component of the daily Benedictine schedule, and it has since been recognized as a formative influence on the broader development of monastic culture, belief, and identity.

1. This Study

The significant role that *lectio divina* played in the medieval monastic experience has also lent itself to a trend in scholarship to equate the general practice of 'devotional reading' – defined as reading specifically related to religious worship[15] – with the

---

Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), esp. 22-34.

[13] Smaragdus' work was popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A large number of manuscripts survive of his commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, as well as his other work *Diadema monachorum*. Smaragdus' texts are also listed in the library inventories of Fécamp and Bec. For Fécamp, see Betty Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp from the Eleventh and Twelfth Century', *Manuscripta* 23 (1979), 159-172; for the Bec booklist, see Gustav Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: M. Cohen and Sons, 1885), 257-266. For further statistics on his popularity as an author see Terrence Kardong, 'Smaragdus and his Work', in David Barry, trans., *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007), 1-7, at 3; and Daniel M. LaCorte, 'The Expositio and Monastic Reform at Cîteaux', 13.

[14] *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. David Barry with introductory essays by Terrence Kardong, Jean Leclercq, and Daniel M. LaCorte (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007), 227.

[15] I use the Oxford definition of *devotional* to describe this kind of reading: 'Of, pertaining to, of the nature of, or characterized by, religious devotion, or the exercise of worship' (*Oxford English Dictionary* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014]). I exclude from this definition of devotional reading, any kind

specific practice of *lectio divina*: to read scriptural and theological texts in the medieval monastery is to read according to *lectio divina*. While this study takes the practice of *lectio divina* as a starting point, it aims to expand current understandings of how reading was practiced in the Benedictine monastery, and suggests that *lectio divina* may not have been the only mode of devotional reading pursued by monks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Drawing upon new material evidence, this study argues that some Benedictine communities also engaged in a *second* mode of devotional reading; this mode shares many characteristics with *lectio divina*: the texts are the same (scriptural and theological material), and the goals of reading are the same (the pursuit of spiritual purity, knowledge, and communion with God), but the approach is different. Instead of reading the book comprehensively and sequentially (as stipulated by the tenets of *lectio divina*), this second mode involved reading the book in parts, and often in a different order than the original sequence of the text.

To show that some Benedictine communities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries engaged in not just one, but *two* modes of devotional reading, this study turns to a material source that lies at the very heart of the reading experience, but that is often overlooked by scholars working in the field: the surviving manuscript books. When monks engaged in the practice of reading, they would have held a book in their hands (or had one placed in front of them on a lectern); a volume that was very often designed and produced, by hand, in their own local scriptorium. Despite the fact that the book as an object plays a critical role in the practice of reading, it is consistently missing from studies devoted to the topic. This present study draws attention to the books, and shows how the material study of the manuscript book can significantly contribute to our understanding of how reading was perceived and practiced in the medieval Benedictine monastery. To be clear, I am not just referring to the contents of the book (the texts contained therein), but more specifically, the material object itself – the manuscript, designed and hand-crafted by Benedictine scribes for use within the local community.

---

of utilitarian or pragmatic reading that took place in the monastery, such as reading an inventory or reading instructions on how to perform a service.

This study is rooted in the theory that the needs of readers are embedded into the physical design of the book (or the 'codicology' of the book).[16] Everything from the size of the page, the layout, decoration, and the inclusion of visual paratextual features (such as chapter tables and running titles), provide tangible clues that help determine how the book was intended to be read. For example, the size of the text-block compared to the size of the page can show whether the scribe expected marginal notes to be added by the reader: if the margins are exceptionally wide, for instance, we can assume that the addition of a marginal commentary was anticipated; or if there are chapter tables present at the opening of every text, we can assume that the reader regularly wished to look up and find specific chapters in the volume.

This study begins with an in-depth investigation into the theory and practice of *lectio divina*, and explores how this first (and most well-known) mode of devotional reading manifests on the manuscript page. As such, the first part of this book identifies a number of codicological features present in devotional manuscripts produced by Benedictine scribes that directly support the practice of *lectio divina*, and which help to expand current understandings of this spiritual mode of reading. As I will show, the majority of books examined in this study match current understandings of how *lectio divina* was practiced in that they are of a size that could be easily transported (for private reading around the monastery), they contain limited decoration and glossing (that might serve as an unwanted distraction), and they include hardly any paratextual elements that might facilitate easier navigation through the volume (such as chapter tables and running titles) – that is, features that were wholly unnecessary for the comprehensive and sequential approach of *lectio divina*. Although these books may look rather plain, the simplicity of their design

[16] This theory has been discussed and demonstrated in the following works: Malcolm B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115-141; *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); 'Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 90-102; Richard and Mary Rouse, '*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 201-25; *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979); Jacqueline Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., Lydia Cochrane, trans., *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 103-119; Erik Kwakkel, 'Decoding the Material Book: Cultural Residue in Medieval Manuscripts', in Michael Van Dussen and Michael Johnson, eds., *The Cultures of the Medieval Manuscript Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

perfectly aligns with the spiritual aesthetic of *lectio divina*, making these books ideally suited for this particular mode of reading.

The second part of this study focuses on a small number of books produced by Benedictine scribes that do *not* physically fit with traditional understandings of *lectio divina*. While these books contain texts that were suitable for devotional reading (scriptural and theological material), they also present visual features that do not correspond with the practice of *lectio divina*. For example, in a volume containing Bede's commentary on the Gospel of St Mark, copied between 1001 and 1028, there are a number of paratextual features present that are specifically designed to increase navigational efficiency in the volume: there are chapter tables that help the reader to quickly and easily look up specific sections of the text, running titles that orient the reader as he flips through the volume, and paragraph marks, positioned in such a way as to call the reader's attention to the start of new sections and chapters. The presence of these 'navigational reading aids' suggest the expectation of a reader who wished to look up and find specific passages of text quickly and easily; an individual who wished to read the book in parts (as opposed to the whole), and potentially in a different order than the original sequence of the text. This type of 'selective' and 'non-sequential' reading does not line up with the comprehensive and sequential method traditionally associated with *lectio divina*. Indeed, the manuscript evidence presented in this study appears to reveal a second, distinct mode of devotional reading practiced in the Benedictine context.

To further investigate this type of selective reading in the monastery, this book critically examines a number of prominent studies that address the application of chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks in medieval manuscript books. What is particularly striking – and truly important in the context of this project – is that nearly all of the major research studies that address the presence (and function) of navigational reading aids in medieval manuscripts and their relation to specific modes of reading concern books and readers from a much later context: the 'scholastic' milieu of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It has been argued that during this later time period, a 'new' mode of reading evolved in the Latin West in response to intellectual and educational developments taking place in urban schools. This mode of reading involved a more selective, non-sequential, and referential

approach to the text, and is commonly referred to in the literature as the 'scholastic model of reading'.[17]

It has also been claimed that this 'scholastic' approach (initiated by students and scholars trying to keep up with the rigours of a new academic system), provided the impetus for the development of a new book format in the late twelfth century. This type of book was equipped with tools that could facilitate such selective and non-sequential approaches to the text and included features such as chapter tables, chapter numbers, running titles, paragraph marks, and indices that enabled readers to look up and find desired passages with relative speed and ease. The presence of many of the *very same* features (later appropriated as navigational tools) in earlier Benedictine manuscripts is thus surprising in two respects: these features appear in books produced nearly two hundred years prior to the 'age of scholasticism', and they appear in books produced in a 'non-scholastic' context.[18] How can we explain this phenomenon? Is it possible that Benedictine monks were reading their books 'scholastically' long before the scholastic period began? Could Benedictine monks be the original architects of the selective mode of reading and the scholastic book format?

Through the critical examination of surviving manuscripts, this study offers an in-depth investigation into the practice of devotional reading in the Benedictine monastery during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It not only adds a material dynamic to the study of *lectio divina*, but it uses this material component to uncover and analyze a second, distinct mode of devotional reading that presents striking parallels to the 'scholastic' model of the later period. As such, this book offers a nuanced and comprehensive examination of how Benedictine monks read books, and how these reading practices manifest on the physical page.

2. State of Research

The topic of reading in the medieval monastery has garnered substantial attention from scholars working in a range of different fields. For the most part studies that

[17] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading'.

[18] This is also not to say that these features *originated* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Running titles, for example, have been traced back as early as the fifth century. See Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 79; E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 199 ff. and 270. I only claim here that these features evolved independently from the scholastic milieu of the late twelfth century.

address the practice of devotional reading tend to focus exclusively on the practice of *lectio divina*, and have approached the topic from a number of different perspectives. One can now study the origins and development of *lectio divina* via the respective work of Raymond Studzinski and Ivan Illich;[19] the impact of *lectio divina* on literary composition and methods of medieval exposition through the work of Duncan Robertson, G.R. Evans, and Henri du Lubac;[20] or the role of *lectio divina* in the context (and development) of monastic spirituality, pedagogy, and identity.[21] Deserving particular mention in this latter category is Jean Leclercq's 1957 volume *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, which offers one of the most comprehensive expositions of *lectio divina* and its decisive role in the shaping of monastic spirituality.[22] Leclercq's work has offered a starting point for many subsequent investigations that connect monastic *lectio* to the wider context of monastic worship, ethos, and practice.[23]

While all of these studies offer considerable insight into the history and impact of *lectio divina* in the monastic context, they rarely take into account the possibility that other modes of devotional reading may have been pursued alongside *lectio divina*. Of course, most scholars tend to explain that in addition to the private activity of *lectio divina*, reading also happened in the monastery during the celebration of the liturgy, during meal-times in the refectory, and at evening Collation. Yet, despite referring to

---

[19] In many cases, the impetus to piece together an historical overview of *lectio divina* stems from a desire to revive the practice of spiritual reading in modern religious contexts. Some of these studies prove useful in their ability to lay the historical groundwork for modern understandings of *lectio divina* and its practice in the Middle Ages. For the most comprehensive study in this regard see, Studzinski, *Reading to Live*. For the early origins of *lectio divina*, see Ivan Illich, '*Lectio Divina*', in Ursula Schaefer, ed., *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, Script Oralia 53 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), 19-35; Casey, *Sacred Reading*; Basil Pennington, *Lectio Divina: Renewing the Ancient Practice of Praying the Scriptures* (New York: Crossroad, 1998).

[20] Principal among these studies is Duncan Robertson's *Lectio Divina: the Medieval Experience of Reading*, which focuses on the culture of divine reading and the literary traditions that arose from the practice. Roberston places specific emphasis on texts composed in the spirit of *lectio divina*, including the works of Hugh of St Victor and Guigo II, as well as various medieval expositions on the Song of Songs. Cf. G. R. Evans, *The Language of Logic in the Bible: the Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Leclercq, 'Monastic Commentary on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature', 27-53; Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*.

[21] Irvine, 'How to Read: *Lectio divina* in an English Benedictine Monastery', 395-411; Paul F. Gehl, *Competens Silentium: Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); François Vandenbroucke, 'La Lectio Divina du XIe au XIVe siècle', *Studia Monastica* 8 (1966), 267-293.

[22] Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*.

[23] Studies of note include Monica Sandor's article, '*Lectio divina* and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', which not only includes a comprehensive discussion of the spiritual ethos behind *lectio divina*, but also explains how this mode of reading shifted from a basic component of daily monastic worship, to an integral component of monastic spiritual growth and development in the twelfth century. See Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading'.

these 'other' opportunities for reading, few scholars have explored or explained what specific modes of reading were practiced during these activities.[24] For example, how was reading performed during the Divine Office? Did monks follow the principles of *lectio divina* there too, or were other approaches required? What about reading during meal-times or at the evening gathering of Collation? This present study aims to expand the scope of what we know about monastic reading by presenting a comprehensive and nuanced account of devotional reading as it was pursued and practiced in a Benedictine monastery.

2.1 Material Evidence

In addition to this collective focus on *lectio divina* as the predominant mode of devotional reading in the Benedictine monastery, there is a trend in current scholarship to rely almost exclusively on primary literary sources to form modern theories of monastic reading. Principal among these sources are the works of the Desert Elders, Church Fathers, and medieval monks who wrote about their experiences and ideas related to the practice of divine reading. Stimulated by the pioneering efforts of Jean Leclercq, there has been a great incentive over the years to collect, transcribe, and translate the original works of late-Antique and medieval authors in order to broaden our knowledge of medieval reading practices.[25] We can now turn to a substantial collection of medieval works to gain a first-hand perspective on how one should think about and pursue reading in the monastery, with a particular focus on the practice of *lectio divina*. The edited works of Origin, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Cassian, Isidore, Ambrose, William of St Thierry, Anselm of

[24] Steps in this direction have been made by Teresa Webber in her article, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, *c.* 1000 – *c.* 1300', London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture 2010, revised 2013, 1-49, available online at http://www.ies.sas.ac.uk/publications/trust-fund-lectures/john-coffin-memorial-lectures-and-literary-readings, accessed 1 October, 2014. Works such as John Harper's *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* or Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly's edited volume, *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, also present some discussion of reading in the monastery during the liturgy and refectory, though such discussions are rarely situated within the broader context of monastic modes of reading.

[25] As Robertson notes, one of Leclercq's primary contributions to the field of medieval reading was to 'open the sources – that is to say, the whole province of medieval monastic literature – to the theologians, activists, and contemplatives who sought them', see Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, 5.

Canterbury, Jean of Ravenna, and Hugh of St Victor (to name but a few) have proven invaluable in this regard.[26]

Despite the fact that the writings of the Desert Elders and Church Fathers offer essential insight into medieval perceptions of *lectio divina*, they offer little in terms of concrete, tangible evidence of this practice. Do these sources present accurate, practical, and comprehensive assessments of how devotional reading was pursued in the monastery? Do they convey idealistic views – descriptions of how reading *ought to be* practiced by devout Christians, as opposed to how it was actually practiced on a day-to-day basis? Without corroborative evidence, modern understandings of monastic *lectio* are inevitably confined to speculative impressions. The introduction of a manuscript dynamic to the study of devotional reading, however, can provide this missing material element; it can help shift the study of monastic reading out of the hypothetical realm and into a more tangible context, where the study of reading can be pursued and analyzed in concrete terms.

Although few scholars have used the study of manuscripts as a means to study devotional reading in the Benedictine monastery, those working in adjacent fields of manuscript research have developed theories and methodologies that prove relevant to this current project.[27] This study draws its primary inspiration from the work of

---

[26] To name just a few examples: Origen: *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. and annotated by R. P. Lawson (London: The Newman Press, 1957); Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998); Augustine: *Confessions*, trans. with introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); *Saint Augustine: Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, trans. with notes and indices by Philip Schaff, Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series 8 (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1989); Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Gregory the Great: *Dialogues*, ed. John Zimmerman, The Fathers of the Church 39 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959); Cassian: *John Cassian: The Conferences*, ed. and trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Newman Press, 1997); Isidore of Seville: *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. with introduction and notes by Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Ambrose: Ramsey, Boniface, *Ambrose* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); *De officiis*, ed. and trans. with introduction and commentary by Ivor J. Davidson, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); *Prologue to the Commentary on Luke*, reprinted in Michael Heintz, 'Prologue of Ambrose of Milan's *Homilies on Luke*', *Antiphon* 8:2 (2003), 26-31; William of St Thierry: *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Berkeley; Anselm of Canterbury: *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Frölich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990); *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm with the Proslogion*, trans. with an introduction by Sister Benedicta Ward, S. L. G., forward by R. W. Southern (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973); Henry P. Desmond, *The De Grammatico of St. Anselm: The Theory of Paronymy*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies 18 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964); Jean of Ravenna: *In suam de verbis seniorum collectionem ad juniores informandos*, *PL*, Vol. 147, Cols. 477-480A; Hugh of St Victor: *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor*, trans. and ed. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

[27] I do not mean to imply that there has been no attention paid to manuscripts produced in medieval monastic scriptoria. There is a substantial body of literature available that address monastic book production in the Latin West. See, for example, Rodney Thomson, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book

Malcolm B. Parkes and Richard and Mary Rouse. Over the course of their respective careers, these scholars have demonstrated the palpable connection between a manuscript's appearance and the cultural context in which it was produced and used. Both Parkes and the Rouses focus primarily on books produced during the late twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In some of their principal publications, they work to identify features prevalent in the 'scholastic' book format and situate these features in the context of 'scholastic' reading and learning methods that developed in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[28] The research presented by Parkes and the Rouses have significantly added to our understanding of reading in the urban scholastic milieu. As it stands today, however, there is no equivalent study that addresses the context of devotional reading in the monastery, using similar principles of investigation and analysis. This book aims to fill in this lacuna for the Benedictine context.

3. Case Study: L'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp

To assess how Benedictine monks read their books in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this study observes and analyzes the reading practices of one particular house that will serve as a primary case study: l'Abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp (or the Abbey of Fécamp), a large Benedictine monastery located on the north-west coast of Normandy. This institution is especially suited to serve as a case study for two reasons. First, a large collection of eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts produced in-house at the Fécamp scriptorium survive, which provide an appropriate corpus for this study. Second, there are a number of other primary-source documents related to the Abbey of Fécamp that are available, adding further contextual insight into the practice of reading at the abbey. These include: the theological writings of one of the community's most prominent abbots, Jean of Ravenna (1028 – 1078), two book-lists providing records of the library holdings from the eleventh and twelfth

---

Production', in Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol., 2, 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 136-167; *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey, 1066-1235, I: Texts, II: Plates* (Woodbridge, Brewer, 1982); Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c.* 1075 – *c.* 1125 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and the Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[28] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*'; *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*; 'Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text'; Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*'; *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*.

centuries, and an early thirteenth-century Ordinal from the abbey, which outlines aspects of the daily worship programme, including information pertaining to devotional reading. Each source is incredibly rare, and the fact that these are all available for a single institution makes the Abbey of Fécamp a unique and optimal focal point for this study on devotional reading.

3.1 Origins of Fécamp

Like many ancient religious institutions in Western Europe, the Abbey of Fécamp has a long and illustrious history. Originally founded in 658 AD by the Merovingian count Waningus as a community for nuns, the abbey underwent a series of physical and spiritual reforms from the seventh to the eleventh century.[29] The site was almost entirely destroyed by a Viking raid in 842 AD, and was not rebuilt until the early tenth century, when William I, duke of Normandy (*c.* 900 – 942) chose to install a new community of canon regulars.[30] By the reign of Duke Richard I (933 – 996), the canons were accused of becoming 'lax' in their religious fervour and, under the leadership of Richard I's son, (Duke Richard II, *c.* 978/83 – 1026) they were expelled and replaced by a new group of Benedictine monks under the leadership of the renowned Italian reformer and abbot, William of Volpiano.[31]

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Abbey thrived as a reformed Benedictine house. Throughout Western Europe, people were drawn to the cloister for its popular external and internal schools, its close ties to the royal ducal families (who maintained a residence located quite literally across the road), and its reputation as an important centre of Benedictine devotion.[32] Its widespread renown is reflected

---

[29] For an overview of the history of Fécamp, see Leroux de Lincy, *Essai historique et littéraire sur labbaye de Fécamp* (Rouen: Edouard Frère, 1840).

[30] Dom Patrice Cousin, 'Le monastère de Fécamp des origines a la destruction par les Normands', in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), 23-25, at 25.

[31] For further reading on the reform activities of William of Volpiano, see M. René Herval, 'Un moine de l'an mille: Gullaume de Volpiano, 1er abbé de Fécamp', in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), 27-44; Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, 27.

[32] De Lincy notes that under the rule of the 'pious' abbot William ('le gouvernement du pieux abbé Guillaume') the monastery maintained a grand reputation, 'non-seulement par toute la France, mais encore dans différentes contrées de l'Europe' (De Lincy, *Essai historique et littéraire*, 13-14). He adds, 'Ainsi, deux ecclésiastiques très considérés à la cour du roi de France, Lecolinus et Berugerius, se retirèrent à l'abbaye de Fécamp. Un membre de la famille des rois saxons d'Angleterre vint chercher un refuge dans la même communauté. Il se nommait Clément, disent les chroniqueurs, et, aussi

in a poem written sometime in the eleventh century and dedicated to the glory and devotion of the Fécamp community:[33]

> Vivas Fiscannis semper felicibus annis!
> Fiscannis gaude, quia tu dignissima laude.
> Vos, Fiscannenses, virtutum cingitis enses;
> Ecclesiae postes, nebulosos sternitis hostes.
> Felix Fiscannis, stella rutilante Johannis,
> Qui vigili cura, mereris regna futura.
> Seminat in luctus, metet in sua gaudia fructus,
> Grex suus est tutus, Domini mandata secutus,
> Nam prodesse sibi cupiens dat utrumque necesse;
> Expedit ut duret et ut ecclesiastica curet.
> Sub quo Bernardus, Christi dulcissima nardus,
> Hostis ad angorem qui sanctum spirat odorem.
>
> [Long Live Fécamp always with blessed years!
> Rejoice Fécamp, since you [have] the highest praise.
> You, Fécamp, wear the swords of virtue;
> Guardians of the Church, scatter the dark enemies.
> Happy Fécamp, the glowing star of Johannes,
> Because of his vigilent care, [he] deserves to reign.
> He plants in lamentation, he reaps the fruit of his joys,
> His flock is complete, having followed the commands of the Lord,
> Desiring to be useful, he gives what is needed;
> He sets free, and so endures, and cares for the Church.
> Under Bernard, the sweetest balsam of Christ,
> Enemy of anxiety, he who exhales the odour of the saints].

3.2 Manuscript Corpus

Not only was the Abbey of Fécamp considered an important centre of Benedictine devotion, but it also offers a rich collection of surviving manuscript evidence. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the abbey housed an active scriptorium where books were produced to sustain the daily reading needs of the community. To date, there are 166 extant manuscripts with a Fécamp provenance that have been identified. These are eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts that were either

clément d'esprit que de nom, il profita si bien des pieuses doctrines de l'abbé Guillaume, qui'il devint un parfait miroir de toutes les vertus chrétiennes' (De Lincy, *Essai historique et littéraire*, 14).

[33] All translations my own, unless otherwise specified. The poem can be found in a manuscript with the text *De moribus et actis de Dudon*, and, as Herval suggests, it was likely written by someone who knew the abbey quite well, and is likely dated to the reign of the Abbot John of Ravenna (1028-1078). Herval, 'Un moine de l'an mille', 36-37. The poem is also printed in De Lincy, *Essai historique et littéraire*, 271.

produced or owned by the Fécamp community.[34] While there are a number of Norman Benedictine houses with equally large collections of surviving manuscripts, such as Jumièges, St-Évroul, and Mont-St-Michel, these collections typically comprise manuscripts with unknown origins (i.e. the books may have been bought, borrowed, or donated from elsewhere and collected over time).[35] The collection of Fécamp is unique, however, in that 122 of these 166 manuscripts have been identified as in-house products of the Fécamp scriptorium: these 122 books were designed and produced by Fécamp scribes for use in the immediate community. This proximity between the scribe (who designed and produced the book) and the reader (who used the book) make the Fécamp manuscript corpus particularly useful in the context of this present study. As local members of the community, the scribes would have been familiar with the needs of the Fécamp readers, and it is very likely that they designed the books they copied to suit the expected context of their use. As such, the physical design of the 122 Fécamp manuscripts very likely reflects the reading practices of the Fécamp community.

This corpus of in-house manuscripts from Fécamp was originally identified and classified by two French scholars, Geneviève Nortier and M. François Avril, in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[36] The work of Nortier and Avril would go on to inspire a palaeographer by the name of Betty Branch, who, in her 1974 doctoral thesis, presented a study of the Fécamp scriptorium with a specific focus on the development of script in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[37] As part of her study,

---

[34] The most comprehensive catalogue of surviving manuscripts of Fécamp provenance can be found in Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie: Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroul, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen*, 2nd edn. (Paris: P. Lethielleux 1971), 26-30. These manuscripts have a Fécamp provenance, and so do not exclude books that may have arrived at the Abbey via donations, lending, or commercial purchases. The majority of the books from Fécamp are currently housed at either the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen or the Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Latin collection). See Appendix 1 for a complete list of corpus manuscripts.

[35] Teresa Webber writes, 'Manuscripts owned by a community at any one time cannot be used unreservedly as evidence of intellectual life there at that time. Some collections were built up over several centuries, and therefore represent a cumulation of the differing interests of successive generations' (Webber, *Scribes and Scholars*, 5).

[36] Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*. François Avril, 'La decoration des manuscrits dans les abbayes bénédictines de Normandie au xie et xiie siècles', Unpublished thesis, École nationale des chartes. Positions des thèses (Paris, 1963), 21-28; 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits bénédictins normands du xie et du xiie siècles', École Français de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 76 (1964), 491-525; 77 (1965), 209-248. To identify the Fécamp manuscripts, these scholars have relied on palaeographical analysis, the presence of scribal colophons (when available), as well as patterns in illumination techniques.

[37] Betty Branch, 'The Development of Script in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century Manuscripts of the Norman Abbey of Fécamp', PhD Dissertation (Duke University, 1974).

Branch provides an updated list of manuscripts identified as in-house products of Fécamp, largely based on the earlier work of Nortier and Avril. This relatively large corpus of manuscripts originating from the scriptorium of Fécamp is incredibly unique, as most manuscripts from this period present unknown origins. The Fécamp corpus thus provides an exceptional opportunity to study not only the design and production of manuscripts, but also the readers who used them.

Out of the surviving 122 manuscripts produced at the Fécamp scriptorium, this present study examines a selected corpus of sixty-six manuscripts – thirty-three produced in the eleventh century and thirty-three produced in the twelfth century (see Appendix 1 for the complete list). These particular manuscripts were first chosen on the grounds that they were available for consultation, and second, because they each contain texts that have been identified as suitable devotional reading material: the Old and New Testament, the works of the Desert Elders, Church Fathers, saints' lives, and other related theological texts and commentaries.[38] Because this study is about the practice of devotional reading in the monastery, the corpus excludes books that primarily served an administrative function, such as cartularies, charters, and inventories; service-books designed to guide the activities of the liturgy (missals, antiphonaries, etc.); as well as books reserved for use in the classroom, including grammar books and classical texts. Composite manuscripts – books that contain multiple production units bound together – have been divided, with each production unit documented and described as an independent manuscript.[39]

3.3 Methodology

To investigate how certain medieval reading practices manifest on the physical page, this study follows the principles of 'quantitative codicology' – a theoretical approach

[38] For a list of books commonly read during the practice of *lectio divina* see 'The Texts of *Lectio* Divina', in Chapter 1 of this present study.

[39] In cases of composite manuscripts the shelfmark is noted, as well as the specific 'part' of the book (and folia numbers). For example, Rouen 528, part 1 (referring to the first production unit). For terminology and explanation of 'production units', see Erik Kwakkel, 'Late Medieval Text Collections: A Codicological Typology Based on Single-Author Manuscripts', in Stephen Partridge and Erik Kwakkel, eds., *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 56-79. For further discussion on composite manuscripts see Pamela Robinson, 'The "Booklet": A Self-contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', in A. Gruys and J. P. Gumbert, eds., *Codicologica 3: Essais typologiques* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 46-69; Birger Munk Olsen, 'L'élement codicologique', in P. Hoffman, ed., *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident* (Paris: Presses de l'Ecole normale supérieure, 1998), 105-129.

to manuscript investigation wherein a relatively high number of manuscripts are examined and their physical and visual features are systematically documented in an organized and retrievable system. Such data collection helps to highlight patterns and trends in the copying and production of manuscripts that may be overlooked otherwise. One of the first studies of this kind was presented in 1980 by Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato in a collection of essays that involved the systematic examination of 6200 manuscripts produced from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.[40] Over the course of three essays (as well as a supplement published in the same year), Bozzolo and Ornato documented the number of books produced in each century, taking note of various aspects of their material composition such as size.[41] This study and others, such as Albert Derolez's analysis of 1200 dated manuscripts to determine general ruling practices, [42] and F. Bischoff's work on the make-up of bifolia in twelfth-century German Gospel Books,[43] are celebrated by J. P. Gumbert in his 'Fifty Years of Codicology' for their capacity to uncover 'valuable discoveries, which could not have been made with non-quantitative methods'.[44]

This present study adopts the principles of this quantitative approach, albeit on a slightly smaller scale. It incorporates the essential tenets of the quantitative method by examining the sixty-six manuscripts of the Fécamp corpus in a systematic manner, and it documents their physical and visual features in a custom-designed

---

[40] Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge: Trois essais de codicolgoie quantitative* (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980). Over the course of these studies, Bozzolo and Ornato demonstrate the potential of systematically examining a high number of manuscripts (and documenting the data in an organized and retrievable fashion), in search of over-arching patterns and systems of manuscript design and production – patterns which can be easily overlooked by manuscript investigations conducted on the smaller-scale.

[41] For a brief overview of these studies, see A. I. Doyle, 'Recent Directions in Medieval Manuscript Study', in Derek A. Pearsall, ed., *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 1-14, at 9. Another major study published in 2000, presented by Dutch scholar Eltjo Buringh, presents a similar system of database collection and analysis (which Buringh calls 'statistical codicology'). In his study Buringh tracks the number of manuscripts produced between the years 500 and 1500 in eleven areas of the Latin West, resulting in a database containing roughly 30,000 manuscript entries. He then examines how many of these books survive in extant collections. See Eltjo Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Exploration with a Global Database* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[42] Albert Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984).

[43] F. M. Bischoff, 'Pergamentdicke und Lagenordnung. Beobachtungen zur Herstel-lungstechnik Helmarshausener Evangeliare des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', in P. Rück, ed., *Pergament. Geschichte – Struktur – Restaurierung – Herstellung*, Historische Hilfswissenschaften 2 (1991), 97-144.

[44] J. P. Gumbert, 'Fifty Years of Codicology', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 50 (Dec, 2004), 505-526, esp. at 523. Erik Kwakkel presents another useful example of this method in his study, 'Biting, Kissing, and the Treatment of Feet: the Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick, and R. Thomson, *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 79-125.

digital database.[45] The structure of the database makes it possible for each manuscript in the corpus to be analyzed in a uniform fashion by filling out a selection of 'fields'. Each field is linked to a specific component of the manuscript's composition, including physical features: dimensions, writing support, layout, and ruling; palaeographical features (i.e. script); the presence (or absence) of visual apparata: glosses, decoration, chapter tables, chapter numbers, initials, rubrics, paragraph marks, and running titles; as well as contextual components: date, origin, provenance, language, author, textual contents, and genre.[46] Over the course of research conducted *in situ*, each field was filled out for each of the sixty-six Fécamp manuscripts, providing a complete profile for each book.

With the fields in the database complete, the entire corpus could be searched, making it possible to uncover patterns, commonalities, and disparities in the design and production of the Fécamp books. For example, with the database one can easily search for the number of manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus that contain chapter tables, or the number of books that feature the combination of chapter tables and paragraph marks. It is also possible to incorporate contextual information into the search, such as the date of the volume's production or its textual content. For instance, one can search not only how many manuscripts contain chapter tables, but also how many of those were produced between 1050 – 1075 and how many of those contain the works of Augustine. Because there is no limit to the number of fields that can be queried on each search, the database offers a wide range of potential explorations into the field of manuscript production at the Fécamp scriptorium. This present study uses the database as a means to uncover general characteristics in the design of Fécamp books, and then works to connect common physical and visual features to the practice of reading in the monastery.

4. Chapter Outline

This book is presented in two parts, designed to emphasize the *two* distinct modes of reading practiced at the Abbey of Fécamp. Part One focuses on the traditional

[45] This database was constructed with the software program, FileMaker Pro 11.

[46] I define 'physical features' as characteristics pertaining to the manuscript's codicological make-up – writing support, page dimensions, ruling etc. I define 'visual features' as characteristics added by the scribe, and which can be seen on the material page – decoration, chapter tables, running titles, paragraph marks, rubrics, initials etc.

approach of *lectio divina* and covers the theory, practice, and manuscripts associated with this mode of reading. Part Two explores the second selective mode of reading and the manuscripts related to this approach.

Part One – *Lectio Divina*

Chapter One begins with a critical introduction to *lectio divina*, offering a nuanced and synthesized overview of the practice. This chapter includes a list of books commonly read during *lectio divina*, the purpose for reading, as well as a discussion of the performative component of spiritual reading. While secondary sources are addressed, this chapter relies primarily on the words of the Church Fathers, Desert Elders, and other medieval practitioners of *lectio divina* who describe and discuss divine reading from late-antique and medieval perspectives. Many of the authors and works examined in this opening chapter have served as the principal-source base for modern understandings of *lectio divina*.

With an understanding of how *lectio divina* was ideally practiced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Chapter Two turns to the manuscripts of Fécamp. This chapter presents a concise codicological and visual examination of the Fécamp corpus (sixty-six manuscripts produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries). It argues that the majority of books in the Fécamp corpus were of a size that could be easily handled, they contain minimal decoration and glossing, and they present hardly any paratextual features that facilitated easy navigation through the volume. As such, the books present features that directly coincide with medieval (and modern) understandings of how *lectio divina* was practiced in the Benedictine monastery.

Part Two – Navigational Reading Aids & Selective Reading

Chapter Three draws attention to the books from Fécamp that present visual features that do *not* correspond to the practice of *lectio divina*. It begins with a brief introduction to eighteen corpus manuscripts that include navigational reading aids in the form of chapter tables, running titles, and/or paragraph marks. To investigate and understand how these particular features may indicate a *second* mode of reading practiced at Fécamp, this chapter explores how other scholars working in adjacent fields of research have addressed the application of navigational reading aids in

medieval manuscripts. It demonstrates how most scholars typically connect these features (and the modes of reading they facilitate) to a totally different cultural context: the 'scholastic' milieu of the late twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

Chapter Four returns to the Fécamp corpus and presents an in-depth investigation into how navigational reading aids have been applied to the manuscripts. It examines the presentation of chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks; the way in which these features were combined; as well as the types of texts that appear to attract these kinds of reading aids. This chapter demonstrates that the visual apparata present in these manuscripts reflect a selective and non-sequential mode of reading. This chapter also challenges current theories that early manifestations of navigational reading aids (i.e. in books produced prior to the 'scholastic period') often lack sophistication and systematization in their application, and draws parallels between the Fécamp manuscripts and later 'scholastic' books.

Although it is tempting to argue that the monks of Fécamp may have been engaging in 'scholastic' methods of manuscript production and reading as early as the eleventh century, the fifth and final chapter of this this book aims to situate the Fécamp manuscripts that feature navigational reading aids within the context of traditional Benedictine worship. This chapter critically examines three different book-types that present navigation – Giant Bibles, Gospel Books, and patristic texts – and attempts to situate these books in different contexts of use.

PART ONE



LECTIO DIVINA

Chapter 1

Lectio Divina



In a letter known as the *Golden Epistle*, the Benedictine monk William of St Thierry (*c.* 1075 – 1148) offers a first-hand description of how to read in the monastery:

> You will never enter into Paul's meaning until by constant application to reading him and by giving yourself to constant meditation you have imbibed his spirit … And that applies to all Scripture. There is the same gulf between attentive study and mere reading as there is between friendship and acquaintance with a passing guest, between boon companionship and chance meeting.[1]

Here William describes the special mode of spiritual reading known as *lectio divina* or 'divine reading'. Unlike other modes of reading, *lectio divina* centres upon the patient and comprehensive reading of holy texts with the goal of enhancing one's spiritual affinity with the Divine. As William explains, the process of *lectio divina* goes beyond the 'mere reading' of words on the page; it requires the formation of a relationship between the reader and the sacred text, which he likens to 'boon companionship' between friends. It is not just the spiritual sentiment that makes *lectio divina* unique, but a culmination of factors – the textual repertoire, the motivation to read, and the very way in which the reader approached the page: slowly and repeatedly reading short passages of text, pausing for prayer and contemplation, and imbibing the spirit of the page.

This chapter works to provide a concise, yet comprehensive overview of the practice of *lectio divina*, as it was perceived and practiced in the eleventh- and twelfth century-Benedictine monastery. It draws upon primary-source material to describe why *lectio divina* maintained such a central position in the daily monastic schedule throughout the medieval period. It covers the types of books that commonly lined a well-stocked *lectio divina* library; the goals that motivated the practice; as well as the

---

[1] William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle, A Letter to the Brethren at Mont Dieu*, trans. Theodore Berkeley O. C. S. O., introduction J. M. Déchanet OSB (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971), Advice for Novices, XXXI.121, 51-52; cf. Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 50.

way in which *lectio divina* was performed. This chapter aims to provide a synthesis of what is currently known about *lectio divina*, with a goal to reflect the current state of research in the field. With a comprehensive understanding of *lectio divina*, it then becomes possible to investigate the relationship between this mode of reading and the material evidence presented in the manuscript books, a topic that will be addressed in the following chapter.

1. The Texts of *Lectio Divina*

To begin, let us take a brief look at the textual corpus of *lectio divina*. What does a well-stocked *lectio divina* library look like? What types of books did the monks choose to read in this fashion? Although each Benedictine community maintained a slightly different collection of books, in general, the sources suggest that a *lectio divina* corpus was comprised primarily of scriptural and theological texts.[2] In his Rule, for example, St Benedict explicitly praises the Old and New Testament and the works of the 'holy catholic Fathers' as suitable material for *lectio* and fundamental sources for one's pursuit of spiritual perfection.[3] To his list of recommended reading he also adds the Conferences of the Fathers, their Institutes and their Lives, as well as the Rule of St Basil.[4] Beyond the books listed by Benedict, as well as a general celebration of the merits of reading the Holy Scriptures, there are few sources that explicitly state which texts and authors were to be included in a *lectio divina* reading programme. To piece together a general corpus of material, we can turn to some of these other sources, including medieval letter-collections and surviving library inventories.

Texts that are similar to those mentioned by Benedict in his Rule are also documented in a late twelfth-century letter written by an unidentified monk (though

[2] To compare the different library collections of Norman Benedictine libraries, see the following: Theodor Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890); G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885). For projects on French and Norman booklists, see Betty Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp from the Eleventh and Twelfth Century', *Manuscripta* 23 (1979), 159-72; Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*; H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908-1913). For a list of surviving Benedictine manuscripts, see Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*. For a brief discussion of the books read during *lectio divina* see Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', 94-96.

[3] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter LXXIII, 228.

[4] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter LXXIII, 228.

likely a member of the Abbey of Saint-Marie de Josaphat).[5] The letter, addressed to a fellow brother named 'Hugo', opens with a general description of *lectio divina*, and then moves on to provide a detailed list of books that should be read and studied, as well as the order and manner in which they should be read. According to the letter, one must first begin by reading the books of the Old and New Testament, as well as the works written by the Church Fathers Jerome, Augustine, and 'others', of whom there are too many to name [*quorum multitudinem enumerare superfluum est*].[6] For those who require some help with the more challenging scriptural material, one can also seek assistance from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, Jerome's *De expositionibus Hebraicorum nominum*, pertinent glossaries, and a book of derivations [*liber Derivationium*], which, the letter states, can be found in many libraries [*qui in copiosis armariis invenitur*].[7] The letter-writer particularly favours the works of Augustine, specifically his *De quaestionibus*, *De doctrina Christiana*, and *De civitate Dei*, which he says should be read with diligence and enthusiasm [*cum omni diligentia et studio legantur*].[8] The letter-writer does not disregard contemporary medieval authors, and he mentions some names, such as Hugh of St Victor and another master identified as 'magister Simonis'.[9] For novice monks who may find the reading programme too challenging, the letter-writer suggests a more elementary *lectio divina* programme, consisting of the Psalter, the Proverbs of Solomon, the Book of Ecclesiastes, Job, the Evangelists, the Acts, and the Letters, as well as the Prophets, books of history and (if mature enough) the Song of Songs; as well as the works of the fathers, Cyprian (which should 'always be held in hand' [*semper in manu teneat*]), the letters of Athanasius, and the books of St Hilary.[10]

Both the Rule of St Benedict and this twelfth-century letter present a fairly uniformed corpus of *lectio divina* reading material, consisting of the Bible, the Church Fathers, Desert Elders, and the works of theologians. The popularity of such texts is

---

[5] *Epistola anonymi ad Hugonem amicum suum, De modo et ordine legendi sacram Scripturam*, *PL*, Vol. 213, Cols. 713-718B. For an overview of the letter, see Vandenbroucke, 'La lectio divina du XIe au XIVe Siècle', 270.

[6] *PL*, Vol. 213, Col. 714C.

[7] *PL*, Vol. 213, Col. 715B.

[8] *PL*, Vol. 213, Col. 716C.

[9] *PL*, Vol. 213, Col. 716C.

[10] Vandenbroucke, 'La lectio divina du XIe au XIVe Siècle', 270. The more 'elementary' list of books were originally mentioned in a letter written by Jerome to a woman named Laeta, on the education of her daughter, see Vandenbroucke, 'La lectio divina du XIe au XIVe Siècle', 269-270; cf. *Epistola anonymi ad Hugonem*; Philippe Delhaye, 'L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', *Traditio* 5 (1947), 211-268, at 232-233.

also evident from surviving library inventories. These inventories (or 'booklists') provide an opportunity to browse the bookshelves of a medieval Benedictine house; they show what books were present in a *lectio divina* library collection, and which books were favoured by *lectio divina* readers. Fortunately, a number of booklists survive from Norman Benedictine abbeys between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including: two booklists from the Abbey of Fécamp – one from the eleventh century (containing 87 titles), and another from the late twelfth century (containing 176 titles); two twelfth-century booklists from the Abbey of Bec (one featuring 166 titles and the other 115 titles); as well a twelfth-century booklist from the Abbey of St-Évroul (with 153 titles).[11] All of these sources present fairly uniformed book collections, with an emphasis on the Scriptures and works of the Church Fathers – i.e. a preferred corpus of *lectio divina* reading material.

Among the 87 books listed on the eleventh-century inventory of Fécamp, for example, we find many of the same authors and books recommended by both St Benedict and the anonymous letter-writer of the twelfth century, such as: the Bible (including both the Old and New Testament); various works of the Church Fathers (with a strong emphasis on the works of Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome); two books written by Isidore of Seville (*De generibus* and *Liber officiorum*); John Cassian's *Collationes patrum*; seven books by the Venerable Bede (*De tabernaculo*, *De temporum ratione*, *Expositio in Marcum*, *Historia ecclesiastica*, *Super acta Apostolorum*, *Super apocalypsim*, and *Super Lucam*); two books by Cassiodorus (*Expositio in Psalmos* and *Historia tripartita*); Smaragdus' *Expositio in Regula S. Benedicti*; and a collection of saints' lives.[12] The twelfth-century inventory from Fécamp reflects an expanded collection and includes 176 titles (reflecting a growth in the community population). Like the older list, this twelfth-

[11] Fécamp booklists: The eleventh-century booklist survives in Rouen 1417, fol. 55v; the twelfth-century booklist survives in BnF, lat. 1928, fol. 180r. For a description of their contents, see Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp', 159-172. Bec booklists: both of the Bec booklists survive in Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale 159, fols. 1-3. For a description of their contents, see H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits de bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Tome II, Rouen* (Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1888), 385-99, and Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui,* 199-202 (no. 86), 257-66 (no. 127). The Bec lists have also been edited by J. P. Migne, see *Catalogus librorum abbatiae Beccensis circa saeculum duodecimum*, *PL*, Vol. 150, Cols. 769-782C. St-Évroul booklist: one twelfth-century booklist survives in BnF, lat. 10062, fol. 80v. For a description of the contents, see Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits. Tome II: Rouen,* 467-469. For a discussion of all three institutions and their library inventories, see Jenny Weston, 'Taking Stock: Evidence of Medieval Reading Culture', in Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, eds., *The Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages,* Storehouses of Wholesome Learning Series (Louvain, Paris, Walpole, MA: Peeters, forthcoming).

[12] For a complete list of books from the inventory, see Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp', 159-172.

century inventory focuses primarily on the books of the Bible, the Church Fathers, the Desert Elders, and works written by popular theologians of the day. While many of the same authors are present, this later inventory features a greater number of titles for each author. For example, whereas there are nine books written by Augustine on the eleventh-century list, there are twenty books by Augustine on the later twelfth-century list.[13] There is also an increase in the number of contemporary authors present on the list, such as Anselm of Canterbury (*c.* 1033 – 1109), Gilbert of Nogent (1055 – 1124), William of Jumièges (died *c.* 1090), Hugh of St. Victor (*c.* 1096 – 1141), Ivo of Chartres (*c.* 1040 – 1115), Peter Comestor (died *c.* 1178), and Peter Lombard (*c.* 1096 – 1164).[14]

Very similar authors and titles are also listed on book-lists from the neighbouring Benedictine abbeys of Bec and St-Èvroul, which suggests that theological and patristic texts were not just favoured by the readers at Fécamp, but also by other contemporary Benedictine communities.[15] Like the Fécamp booklists, the twelfth-century Bec inventory features a high-number of patristic and theological texts from the Western and Eastern traditions, including the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, Cyprian, Cassian, Tertullian, Bede, Isidore of Seville; as well as the works of Clement, Origin, Athanasius, John Chrysostom, and Eusebius of Caesarea.[16] The twelfth-century list from the Abbey of St-Évroul also presents a similar corpus of scriptural reading material. There are biblical texts, including the Old and New Testament and the Psalms (listed as '*Psalterium magnum*'); liturgical texts, including multiple graduals, antiphonaries, and sermons; and a wide assortment of patristic texts and commentaries, including Jerome's *Contra Jovinianum*, *De questionibus*, *super Psalterium*, Ambrose's *De sacramentis*, *De fide*, and his *Exameron*, Origen's *Super vetus*

[13] Betty Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp', 159-172.

[14] Betty Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp', 159-172. It is also possible to get an idea of the types of books that interested Benedictine monks by looking at some of the copying programmes of certain abbots. See, for example, the lists provided by Branch in 'The Development of Script'.

[15] For the Bec booklists, see R. H. and M. A. Rouse, '"Potens in opere et sermone": Philip, Bishop of Bayeux, and His Books', in eA. S. Bernardo and S. Levin, eds., *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 315-41, at 323; Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 199-202.

[16] Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 199-202 (no. 86), 257-66 (no. 127). Giles Gasper has noted that patristic works appear in 104 of the 166 volumes and make up 30 of the 83 authors; Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 94. The lists also feature a number of late-antique and Carolingian theologians, such as Gratian, Rabanus Maurus, Gildas and Alcuin, as well as some eleventh- and twelfth-century contemporaries, including Bernard of Clairvaux, Lanfranc, Anselm, Fulbert of Chartres, Gilbert of Poirée, Hugh of St Victor, and Peter Lombard. See Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui,* 199-202 (no. 86), 257-66 (no. 127).

testamentum, and a wide range of Augustinian texts, including *Super Johannem, Contra Faustum, De verbis Domini*, and *De trinitate* (to name but a few).[17] The large collection of books devoted to theology and biblical exegesis (both patristic and contemporary) give the appearance of a well-stocked *lectio divina* library.

Together, the Rule of St Benedict, the twelfth-century letter, and the three Benedictine book-lists suggest that the most traditional corpus of *lectio divina* consisted of biblical and theological material, with an emphasis primarily on the books of the Bible, and those trusted Fathers and Doctors of the Church who provided careful expositions of the Word of God, such as Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory. While there are some volumes present on the booklists, as well as in surviving manuscripts that do not fall into this category of scriptural or theological material – such as classical texts, grammar books, and other philosophical material – the emphasis is very clearly centered upon biblical and theological works, and these were most likely the books that were diligently read and studied by those engaging in *lectio divina*.[18]

2. The Goals of *Lectio Divina*

Now with a better understanding of what to read, we can turn to the question of *why* read according to *lectio divina*. What are the goals of *lectio divina*? What motivated the monks to spend so many hours at this task? Because this present study connects the theoretical practice of *lectio divina* to the material design and production of manuscript books, it is fundamental to understand what motivated monks to read in this fashion. We must first know what the primary tenets of *lectio divina* are, before we can see if these are reflected on the physical page.

Lectio divina was an exercise that focused almost exclusively on the attentive contemplation of spiritual and divine matters. Scriptural and theological texts were to be read continuously and comprehensively, with a spirit of devotion and a burning desire to know and understand God. *Lectio divina* was not intended to bolster the reader's worldly knowledge or to augment his intellectual capacities, but instead was designed to stimulate one's 'spiritual affections' for God, an exercise that was valuable

[17] For the nineteenth-century edition of the inventory, see Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits. Tome II: Rouen,* 467-469. For a description of the catalogue's holdings, see Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales,* 106-12.

[18] For a detailed look at the contents of these booklists, see Weston, 'Taking Stock: Evidence of Medieval Reading Culture'.

in itself as a means of spiritual purification and edification.[19] For the most part, late-antique and medieval explanations of this reading practice have remained fairly consistent. Generally speaking, there were three motivations of *lectio divina*: (a) to achieve spiritual purity (i.e. 'spiritual cleansing'), (b) to gain 'spiritual' knowledge (i.e. understanding of God), and (c) to seek personal communion with God. The following section addresses each of these goals respectively, with an emphasis on how each objective relates to eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic ethos and culture.

2.1 Spiritual Purity

One of the foundational goals of the monastic life, and one of the primary objectives of *lectio divina*, was to achieve 'purity of heart'.[20] This aspiration was strongly rooted in the biblical verse 'Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God', a verse that motivated monks to cleanse themselves of sin, vice, and worldly distractions and to wholly devote their mind, body, and spirit to the service and contemplation of God.[21] Part of this critical process of spiritual cleansing was facilitated by the assiduous reading of divine Scriptures, which helped to spiritually prepare and purify the monk.[22]

In the first place, the Bible and other theological texts provided the necessary moral instruction for those needing to correct improper or sinful behaviour. Writing in the fourth century, St Basil (*c.* 329 – 379) celebrates the exemplary capacity of

---

[19] Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 56.

[20] According to Cassian's conference '*On the Goal of the Monk*', one of the first goals for the novice was to seek 'purity of heart', a goal that was to be pursued with all of the monk's strength (Cassian, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, ed. and trans. Boniface Ramsey [New York: Newman Press, 1997], Conf. IV.3, 42, Conf. V.1-4, 44). For further reading on Cassian's pursuit of 'purity of heart' or *puritas cordis*, see Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 42-47. For a more comprehensive history of this monastic goal (and its manifestation prior to Cassian) see Juana Raasch, 'The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources', *Studia Monastica* 8 (1966), 7-33.

[21] Matthew 5:8. This verse is also mentioned in Guigo II, *The Ladder of Monks, A Letter on the Contemplative Life and Twelve Meditations*, trans. with an introduction by Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, SJ (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979), chapter 4, 'The Function of Reading', 69. Cassian also reminds his readers that it is impossible for the soul that is distracted by worldly matters to 'deserve the gift of knowledge or to beget spiritual understanding or to remember the sacred readings' (Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, IX.3, 512).

[22] Cassian also notes the importance of 'fasts, vigils, labors, [and] bodily deprivations' to achieve purity of heart. He then goes on to state that these actions are the 'tools of perfection' (Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. VII.1, 45, Conf. VII.3, 46). For further reading on Cassian's discussion of reading and the monastic vocation, see Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 22. In the popular twelfth-century letter to monks Guigo II, a carthusian monk identifies reading as the first rung on the spiritual ladder that lifted monks from earth to heaven; Guigo II, *The Ladder of Monks,* trans. Colledge and Walsh, 68.

Scriptures to demonstrate how to live an ideal Christian life: 'Scriptures not only propose to us counsels for the conduct of life, but also open before us the lives of the blessed handed down in writings as living images for our imitation of life spent in the quest of God'.[23] St Benedict also recognizes the capacity of holy texts to serve as a guide for those seeking spiritual direction when he writes:

> For which page, which word of the divine authority of the Old and New Testament is not the most righteous guide for human life? And which book by the Holy Catholic Fathers does not resound with how we may arrive at our creator by a straight path?[24]

This sentiment is later re-stated by the Cistercian monk and theologian Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth century. In a sermon dedicated to the Song of Songs, Bernard instructs those who experience a 'misguided love of the world' and 'an excessive love of self' to first read the Book of Ecclesiastes and the Book of Proverbs, as they will provide the necessary antidotes to the infections of sin.[25] Once these evils have been 'warded off by the reading of choice books', the individual can proceed with his 'holy and contemplative discourse', which is only available to 'well prepared ears and minds'.[26]

Through the reading of holy texts, the monk also comes to know what is good and perfect according to God, and he is filled with a desire to cast off sin and to imitate Christ. The Church Father Origen (*c.* 184 – *c.* 253) for instance, describes the Scriptures (what he calls 'divine teachings') as the necessary means 'by which the soul acquires "similarity" to God', a concept that was echoed in the works of Augustine,[27] as well as in the writings of the twelfth-century monastic theologian William of St.

---

[23] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 112.

[24] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter LXXIII, 228.

[25] Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, Vol. 2, Song of Songs I*, ed. Kilian Walsh, O. C. S. O. (Kalamazoo: Kalamazoo Publications Inc., 1981), Sermon I: Chapter 2. It is possible that Bernard of Clairvaux was inspired by Origen's commentary on the Song of Songs, where he also advises readers to begin with Proverbs and the Book of Ecclesiastes prior to seeking more complex spiritual meanings in the text. See Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. and annotated by R. P. Lawson (London: The Newman Press, 1957), 44.

[26] Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, Vol. 2*, ed. Walsh, Sermon I: Chapter 3.

[27] Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), Chapter 21:31, 259; Augustine, *Augustine: On the Trinity*, ed. Gareth B. Matthew, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. Book XII, 82-102; Stock, *Augustine the Reader*, 260.

Thierry, who encourages novice monastic readers to digest the spirit of the holy texts, unifying the self with God and his disciples.[28] In this sense, the goal of *lectio divina* is to come to know the Scriptures so fluently that the divine spirit of the texts is reflected back upon the reader – purifying the reader in the image of Christ.

This idea of pursuing the 'image of Christ' also underlined the theological position of Bernard of Clairvaux. Like William of St Thierry, Bernard relies on the ideas of Origen and Augustine to discuss the transformation from sin to salvation. In his writings and sermons, he often discusses a vision for mankind (both Christian and monastic) that involves a return to God, from sin to glory, from *dissimilitude* to *similitude* with Christ.[29] In Bernard's opinion, this transformative process could not be achieved via secular education, but instead depended on a mystical experience that could only be attained through service to God.[30] This desire to resemble Christ was at the root of all monastic activity, but it was especially present in the act of spiritual reading, at which point the monk came to know and understand the divine.

In another, perhaps more practical sense, the exercise of *lectio divina* also helped to train the individual's mind away from worldly and idle distractions (the source of sin and vice and the cause of 'dissimilarity' to Christ), and to focus purely on heavenly and divine matters.[31] In Cassian's *Conferences*, for example, there is an account of a disciple asking the Desert Elder Nesteros how to avoid impure thoughts and to stop

---

[28] This concept of 'refashioning the self' in the image of Christ is discussed by both Origen and Augustine. Origen writes, 'for there is one activity for those who have attained God by means of the Word who stands before him and that is to contemplate God, so that through the act of knowing and seeing God he may be completely transformed and become a son, just as now only the Son knows the Father' (Karen Jo Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1985], 121-122). Torjesen notes the similarity of this doctrine to Platonism (see esp. 121). Studzinski notes that Augustine similarly believes that 'Reading the Scriptures was … the means of refashioning the self to accord with the image of the Creator' (Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 87); cf. Augustine, *Confessions*, CCSL 27, 260-261.

[29] Vandenbroucke, 'La lectio divina du XIe au XIVe Siècle', 279, explains: 'S'il est chez lui une vision de la vie humanine – chrétienne et monastique –, elle consiste bien en un retour à Dieu, du péché à la glorie, ou, en d'autres mots, de la <<dissimilitude>> à la <<similitude>>. L'homme a comme tâche, au cours de sa *peregrinatio*, de restaurer en lui l'image de Dieu, présente en lui avant la chute, non anéantie par le péché, mais déformée, voilée par celui-ci. L'homme retrouvera la similtude divine perdue en franchissant les étapes de l'humilité, comme l'enseigne le *De gradibus humilitatis*'. He also notes, 282, that later monastic authors who adopted this concept, were likely influenced by the works of Origen and Augustine.

[30] 'En quoi Bernard [of Clairvaux] s'opposait à un Pierre Abélard qui, selon lui, aurait faussé entièrement le rôle de la raison en soumettant la foi à son empire. Mais ce que la raison ne peut donner, l'expérience mystique le peut. Ce n'est pas dans les écoles séculières, mais à l'école du service du Seigneur qu'on apprend la vraie théologie, et le moine est dans une situation privilégiée à cet égard' (Vandenbroucke, 'La lectio divina du XIe au XIVe Siècle', 280).

[31] To cleanse the spirit, the monk was encouraged to engage in the reading of sacred texts, which Cassian describes as a 'speedy' and 'effective remedy' against unwanted thoughts and worldly distractions (Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, XXII.1, 517).

accidentally pondering the content of unholy texts, such as classical works or histories that were read prior to taking the monastic vow. Nesteros explains that the monk must focus solely on the reading of spiritual writings with 'diligence' and 'urgency'; by exclusively focusing on these holy texts the 'former thoughts' will be 'gradually cast out and completely abolished'.[32] This mental focus was considered an important skill to master, as Cassian reminds his readers that it is 'impossible for the soul which is even slightly taken up with worldly distractions to deserve the gift of knowledge'.[33] He continues on to explain that when the 'mind's attention is occupied with reading and with preparing to read, it cannot be taken captive by the entrapments of harmful thoughts'.[34]

There is also an account given by the Benedictine monk Orderic Vitalis (1075 – *c.* 1142) who lived nearly his entire life at the Norman Abbey of St-Évroul. In Book II of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, Orderic praises an oblate named William for his dedication to reading, chanting, and copying books – activities that, Orderic argues, can diminish the threat of idleness in the monastery.[35] When describing William, Orderic writes: 'he was an able reader and chanter, and a distinguished scribe and illuminator of books. The works executed by his own hands for reading and singing are still models which encourage us to put away idleness and follow his example'.[36] If a man was idle, either in body or mind, there was a potential for one's thoughts to drift toward sinful imaginations and negatively affect his quest for spiritual purity and perfection. Through *lectio divina* the reader distances himself from the present world and wholly focuses his mind on the spiritual realm, gradually cleansing his heart of all human and temporal distractions in the hopes of becoming worthy of divine understanding.

2.2 Spiritual Knowledge

In addition to the pursuit of spiritual purity, *lectio divina* also provided the means to acquire 'spiritual knowledge', defined by Cassian as a type of knowledge that consists

[32] Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, XXII.1, 517.
[33] Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, IX.3, 512.
[34] Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, IX.3, 514-515.
[35] Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni: Volume I, Introduction and Books I–IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), Book II, 87.
[36] Van Houts, *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, Book II, 87.

'in the contemplation of divine things and in the understanding of most sacred meanings'.[37] This was different from the acquisition of worldly knowledge in that its focus was entirely based upon heavenly and spiritual matters. The intention was not to gain knowledge in order to 'sharpen the tongue' but to rouse one's spiritual affections.[38]

Throughout the Middles Ages, it was widely understood that Holy Scripture comprised of multiple layers of meaning, both visible and hidden, and it was up to the reader to seek out and interpret the significance of each.[39] This process of interpretation is perhaps best explained in the exegetical works of Origen, who often discusses how to locate and contemplate the hidden meaning of Scripture.[40] In his commentary on the Song of Songs (written *c.* 240), Origen focuses on allegorical interpretation and uses the case of the bride entering a room to explain how a passage of Scripture can contain at least two different meanings:

> Reading it as a simply story, then, we see a bride appearing on the stage … with longing for his [the bridegroom's] love … This is the content of the actual story, presented in dramatic form. But let us see if the inner meaning also can be fittingly supplied along these lines. Let it be the Church who longs for

[37] Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, I.3, 505.

[38] 'Tu autem, fili mi, non quaestiones quaeris, sed devotionem; nec unde lingua acuatur, sed unde affectus exitetur' (Aelred of Riveaulx, *De Iesu puero duodenni*, quoted in Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 56). The twelfth-century monk Arnould of Bohéries writes that the goal of reading was not to 'seek knowledge [*scientia*]', but 'wisdom [*sapientia*]' (Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', 100). Bernard of Clairvaux also warns against the acquisition of other types of knowledge. He writes: 'This curiosity is to be found among those who want to know only for the sake of knowing, so that knowledge becomes the goal in itself … Even if there is nothing wrong with the sciences in themselves, they usurp the time we owe to God' (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera, Vol. 2, Sermones super Cantica Canticorum, 36-86*, eds. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais [Rome: Cistercian Editions, 1958], 5-6). For further discussion on the topic of 'curiositas', see Jean Leclercq, '<<Curiositas>> et le retour à Dieu chez S. Bernard', in Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz, *Bivium: Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Diaz y Diaz* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 133-141; Birger Munk Olsen, 'The Cistercians and Classical Culture', *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 47 (1984), 64-102.

[39] 'If there are hidden relations between the seen and unseen, between earth and heaven, flesh and soul, body and spirit, and if the world takes its origin from their uniting into one, then Sacred Scripture too has a visible and an invisible element' (Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. Lawson, 9).

[40] Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, 43, describes Origen as a 'pioneer in developing the allegorical methodology that would govern Biblical commentary throughout the Middle Ages and beyond'.

> union with Christ; but the Church, you must observe, is the whole assembly of the saints.[41]

Throughout his commentary, Origen often begins with a literal explanation, and then moves on to discuss the inner meaning, which may not be obvious at first glance, yet helps to explain the deeper symbolic meaning of the text.[42] He also stresses that hidden understandings are not unusual, but instead can be found throughout Scripture: 'If you look into the matter, you will find over and over again that in many passages in Scripture where sun and fire are mentioned, it is not the visible sun and fire that are meant, but those that are unseen and spiritual'.[43] Based on Karen Jo Torjesen's analysis of this exegetical method, the hidden meaning is also the more important reading of the text. She notes that Origen often stresses that the historical and literal sense of the text is 'not the proper subject matter', but instead merely the 'medium by which the proper subject matter is conveyed, divine communication of the spiritual sense'.[44] This spiritual course of study involves going 'beyond things seen' to contemplate things 'divine and heavenly, beholding them with the mind alone, for they are beyond the range of bodily sight'.[45] Cassian follows similar exegetical principles, also noting the logical transition from a literal understanding of a text to a spiritual one.[46] In his fourteenth *Conference*, for instance, Cassian outlines four types of contemplative knowledge: 'historical (past and evident), allegorical (prefigured and enduring), tropological (moral and practical), and anagogical (foreshadowing and heavenly)'.[47] Every line of Scripture was believed to contain these four kinds of knowledge, and it was up to the reader to identify and interpret the significance of each.

---

[41] Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. Lawson, 58-59. The works of Origen were well-known to Benedictine communities by the twelfth century and they can be found on the booklists of Fécamp, Bec, and St-Évroul. See Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp', 159-172; Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 257-266; Omont, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits*. The Bec booklist includes Origen's commentary on the *Song of Songs*, and the St-Évroul list includes a book containing excerpts from the same commentary (see references above for complete lists of works).

[42] Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies,* trans. Lawson, 63.

[43] Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies,* trans. Lawson, 112-113.

[44] Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method*, 130.

[45] Origen, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. Lawson, 40.

[46] See Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, 27.

[47] Quoted in Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, 27; cf. Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, VIII.1-6, 509-11.

The inspective *lectio divina* method of mining Scripture for deeper meaning was also widely promoted by those who came after Origen and Cassian, including Jerome and Gregory, as well as by later monastic authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[48] Lanfranc (*c.* 1005 – 1089), originally a Benedictine monk of Bec (and later archbishop of Canterbury), demonstrates an affinity for allegorical interpretation of Scripture in his commentary on the Old Testament,[49] while his eleventh-century contemporary, John of Fruttuaria, echoes Origen and Cassian by stressing three different ways of interpreting holy texts: historically, allegorically, and anagogically:

> Accordingly, it is the prudent recognition of true faith, and knowledge of the Scriptures, in which one ought to consider the three types of meaning, of which the first is historical: the second is allegorical; the third is the greater meaning, which is called anagogical.[50]

Here John encourages his monastic audience to move beyond the allegorical interpretation and consider other meanings as well.

The pursuit of multiple meanings and interpretations of Scripture was a primary component of *lectio divina*. According to this method, no scriptural text could ever be fully understood, which opened up the potential for continuous and repetitive readings of the same passages of text over and over again. For the *lectio divina* reader, there was always another layer to uncover and contemplate, each of which blessed the monk with greater spiritual knowledge and understanding of God.

2.3 Communion with God

---

[48] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 117; Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, 27. Gregory also follows Origen but goes further to state that different interpretations of Scripture reflect the individual reader's spiritual needs. If the individual is 'in search of a moral lesson' he can read the text based on the historical event presented in the text. If one is seeking an 'allegorical or typological meaning', similarly, 'a type would suggest itself' (Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 132).

[49] Ann Ryan Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 179. Collins also suggests that Lanfranc adopted this method of exegesis from Augustine (180).

[50] 'Siquidem prudentia est agnitio verae fidei, et scientia Scripturarum, in qua intueri oportet illud trimodum genus intelligentiae, quorum primum est historicum: secundum allegoricum: tertium superior ille intellectus, quem dicunt anagogen' (John of Fruttuaria, *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione*, Caput VII, 'Quatuor virtutes cardinales, et earum munia describuntur. Item de virtutibus theologicis', *PL*, Vol. 184, Col. 574D). John does not mention the 'tropological' meaning, which would become popular in the twelfth century exegetical tradition.

In addition to spiritually purifying the reader and providing access to divine knowledge, *lectio divina* was also believed to hold the capacity to open up a spiritual connection between the reader and God. This was another primary goal for engaging in *lectio divina* on a daily basis. According to the Church Father Ambrose (*c.* 340 – 397), through divine reading one can visit, speak to, and listen to Christ.[51] In this sense, when a monk focuses his mind on the holy text, he does not just read empty lines on a page, but opens up a sacred channel between himself and God, where he can ask questions and seek counsel. This notion of God speaking to the reader is perhaps best exemplified with the phrase: 'sit tibi vel oratio assidua vel lectio: nunc cum Deo loquere, nunc Deus tecum [You should apply yourself to prayer or reading: at times you speak with God, and at times God speaks with you].[52] First penned by Cyprian of Carthage, the phrase would be echoed over the centuries not only by Ambrose, but also by Isidore of Seville, Jerome, and Smaragdus.[53] As Daniel Rees elaborates, monks were 'buoyed by the certainty that in reading the Scriptures they were not operating on some alien material, but were having a real encounter with Christ analogous to sacramental communion with him'.[54]

It was important for those who dedicated their lives to the service of God to maintain a feeling of closeness and intimacy with Christ, and monks were encouraged to take time to nurture this connection. William of St Thierry describes this desire for spiritual communion, and notes that the monastic cell can serve as a special place where the monk can shut away the world and enclose himself together with God and his Word; a place where the monk can be alone with God and speak freely with him:

> Accordingly, as your vocation demands, dwelling in heaven rather than in cells, you have shut out the world, whole and entire, from yourselves and shut up yourselves, whole and entire, with God … the cell is holy ground and a holy place in which the Lord and his servant often talk together as a man

---

[51] Ambrose, *De officiis,* ed. and trans. Davidson, Vol. 1, 169.

[52] Cyprian of Carthage, *Epistola Prima, Ad Donatum*, *PL*, Vol. 4, Col. 221B.

[53] Jerome, *Select Letters*, trans. F. A. Wright, Loeb Classical Library 262 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), letter 22.24, 108; Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. and trans. Davidson, Vol.1, 169; Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, Book 3, *PL*, Vol. 83, Cols. 537-738B, at Col. 670. For other examples of this phrase see Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, xi, footnotes 1 and 2.

[54] Daniel Rees, *Consider Your Call: A Theology of Monastic Life Today* (London: SPCK, 1978), 266.

> does with his friend; in which the faithful soul frequently has intercourse with the Word of God.[55]

This private interaction between the monk and God reflects the importance of solitude and purity when engaging in the practice of *lectio divina*. This passage also reflects the important belief that God was listening to the monk when he prayed and would provide divine instruction when he read. Such activities were also critical in establishing a tangible connection between the temporal world and the divine sphere. In a sense, divine reading was welcomed as a quiet moment where the monk could distance himself from worldly cares and rest his mind in the heavenly realm – sampling the pleasures of salvation through contemplation, prayer, and meditation of God.[56]

3. The Performative Aspect of *Lectio Divina*

With a better understanding of the primary goals of *lectio divina*, let us now consider how this mode of reading was practiced. The performative aspect of *lectio divina* will prove to be particularly significant in the wider context of this study, as it is the style or mode in which monks read that will be connected to the physical design of the page in the following chapter. What did this performative aspect of *lectio divina* entail? Do the goals of *lectio divina* (spiritual purity, spiritual knowledge, and communion with God) relate to the performative practice of this mode of reading? The activity of *lectio divina* is often described as a process consisting of four steps: reading (*lectio*), re-reading for the sake of memorization (*meditatio*), prayer (*oratio*), and contemplatio (*contemplatio*). Writing in the twelfth century, the Carthusian monk and prior of Grande Chartreuse monastery, Guigo II (d. *c.* 1188) explains the synthesis between these four steps:

> Reading, as it were, puts food whole into the mouth, meditation chews it and breaks it up, prayer extracts its flavor,

---

[55] William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle,* trans. Berkeley, X.31-XI.35, 20-22.

[56] '*Lectio divina* in the widest sense, the uninterrupted communion of prayer and listening to God, became coextensive with the entire life of the monks, and this general attitude would be brought to its focus and point of expression at the time of *lectio* in the stricter meaning of the word' (Rees, *Consider Your Call*, 268).

> contemplation is the sweetness itself which gladdens and refreshes.[57]

Guigo likens each of these steps to the rungs on a great ladder that extends up into the heavenly realm. As the reader completes each step of the *lectio divina* process, he moves higher on the heavenly ladder and closer to perfection. The remainder of this chapter addresses each of these four steps – *lectio*, *meditatio*, *oratio*, and *contemplatio* – and the manner in which each step was to be performed.

3.1 Step One – *Lectio*

The first step of *lectio divina* (and the first rung of Guigo's spiritual ladder) was to read or listen to a passage of text. This initial reading of the text was meant to be performed in a slow and patient style. The individual was not to rush through a reading of the textual material, but instead was encouraged to take time, carefully reading and absorbing the words. G. R. Evans describes *lectio* as a 'leisurely approach to the text, the cultivation of quiet receptiveness which allows the Holy Spirit to speak in a man's heart as it will, patient reflection upon every detail of expression'.[58] This concept of 'patient reflection' appears to be one of the primary descriptors of *lectio divina* in the medieval period.[59] For example, in the prologue of Anselm of Bec's *Prayers and Meditations*, a text composed in the late eleventh century while Anselm resided at the Abbey of Bec, there is a short segment that explains how the text should be read: the words on the page are designed to

> stir up the mind of the reader to the love or fear of God, or to self-examination. They are not to be read in turmoil, but quietly, not skimmed or hurried through, but taken a little at a time, with deep and thoughtful meditation.[60]

---

[57] Guigo II, *The Ladder of Monks,* trans. Colledge and Walsh, 82-83.

[58] Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible*, 13. For modern references to *lectio divina* being a 'slow' activity, see Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', 84, and Rees, *Consider Your Call*, 272.

[59] McGinn also describes *lectio divina* as a 'prayerful' and 'slow' activity. See, for example, Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism, Vol. 2, The Growth of Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1994), 135.

[60] 'Non sunt legendae in tumultu, sed in quiete, nec cursim et velociter, sed paulatim cum intenta et morosa meditationes' (Anselm of Canterbury, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S.

Here Anselm encourages a slow and focused reading of the text, and cites the importance of thoughtful meditation and the careful reflection of the words. Guigo II also stresses the need to 'linger' with the text while engaging in *lectio*, ultimately 'penetrating to its deeper meaning beyond the letter'.[61] Monica Sandor adds that 'the slow, prayerful reading of a passage … not only taught the monk moral lessons and the road to salvation, but was already a first step toward achieving that goal. For that activity was to restructure and shape one's entire way of thinking'.[62]

If we think back to the goals of *lectio divina* – to achieve spiritual purity, to seek spiritual knowledge, and to experience communion with God – it seems like a sensible petition to encourage monastic readers to take time with their texts; giving the words on the page one's full attention, reading them carefully and thoughtfully. These objectives of *lectio divina* were critical components of a monk's spiritual maturity and development, and these experiences were not to be rushed, but pursued with patience and obedience, creating spiritual experiences that were to be savoured by the body, mind, and spirit. As such, this attention to patient reading directly relates to the purported objectives of *lectio divina*.

3.2 Step Two – *Meditatio*

Once the monk has read a section of text, he then comes to the second step of *lectio divina* (and the second rung on the ladder) known as *meditatio* – a notion that is inextricably linked to the practice of divine reading. While *lectio* often refers to the primary activity of reading, *meditatio* refers to the repeated reading of each passage, the recitation of the words, and ultimately the 'total memorization' of the text and its meaning.[63] In the words of Jean Leclercq:

Schmitt, 6 vols. [Edinburgh: Nelson & Sons, 1946-1961], Vol. 3:1). Cf. Anselm of Canterbury, *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm with the Proslogion*, trans. with an introduction by Sister Benedicta Ward, S. L. G., forward by R. W. Southern (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 89; Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 204. On the problem of rapid reading, see Émile Faguet, *L'árt de lire* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1912), 1-2.

[61] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 168.

[62] Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', 98-99.

[63] As Parkes, notes, 'reading aloud' was used to instill an 'aural' and 'muscular' memory of the words to prepare the way for *meditatio* ('Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West* [Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999], 90-102, at 92). For further discussions of *meditatio* and its relationship to *lectio*, see Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 72; Roberston, *Lectio Divina*, xiv; McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 135. Sandor also

> To meditate is to read a text and to learn it 'by heart' in the fullest sense of this expression, that is, with one's whole being: with the body, since the mouth pronounced it, with the memory which fixes it, with the intelligence which understands its meaning, and with the will which desires to put it into practice.[64]

This method of repeatedly reading short sections of text allowed the reader to memorize the material for continuous contemplation: as the individual read, he would murmur the words quietly, turning them over in his mind, memorizing their sound and meaning.[65] Writing in the late sixth and early seventh century, Isidore of Seville further explains the relationship between reading and the memorization of texts through *meditatio*:

> Reading requires the help of memory. Even if [memory] is naturally slower, nevertheless [it] is sharpened by frequent meditation, and is obtained through assiduous reading. Often extended reading will overwhelm the memory because of its length. Although if it is short, and, with the book removed, if one retains the sense in the mind, then it can be read without labour, and that which has been read, cultivated by memory, will not disappear.[66]

In a way, the activity of repeated reading helped to form a sort of personal textual reservoir, from which the reader could freely conjure up specific passages desired for

---

notes that the term *meditari* 'is not to be confused with the later sense of "meditation" as a reflective or contemplative mental exercise', but instead as a practice that followed the initial reading of a text, where the reader would repeat the words and ultimately commit them to memory (Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', 90).

64 Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 17.

65 For the exercise of *lectio* and memorization, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. at 205; Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 72.

66 'Lectio memoriae auxilio eget. Quod si fuerit naturaliter tardior, frequenti tamen meditatione acuitur, ac legendi assiduitate colligitur. Saepe prolixa lectio longitudinis causa memoriam legentis obtergit. Quod si brevis sit, submotoque libro sententia retractetur in animo, tunc sine labore legitur, et ea quae lecta sunt recolendo a memoria minime excidunt' (Isidore, *Sententiae*, Book 3, Caput XIV, *De collatione*, *PL*, Vol. 83, col. 689B).

contemplation. In the words of Jerome, the mind becomes a 'library of Christ'.[67] By memorizing the texts, the monk is able to contemplate the Word of God freely, even when he is without a book at hand, such as when working in the fields or even sleeping. In some cases, this delayed contemplation is beneficial, as the reader might come to a deeper understanding when he ponders the text later on. Cassian describes this theory below:

> Hence the successive books of Holy Scripture must be diligently committed to memory and ceaselessly reviewed. This continual meditation will bestow on us double fruit. First, inasmuch as the mind's attention is occupied with reading and with preparing to read, it cannot be taken captive in the entrapments of harmful thoughts. Then, the things that we have not been able to understand because our mind was busy at the time, things that we have gone through repeatedly and are laboring to memorize, we shall see more clearly afterward when we are free from every seductive deed and sight, and especially when we are silently meditating at night. Thus, while we are at rest and as it were immersed in the stupor of sleep, there will be revealed an understanding of hidden meanings that we did not grasp even slightly when we were awake.[68]

This particular understanding of *meditatio* and its connection to *lectio* was also discussed by the eleventh-century Benedictine monk and abbot of Fécamp, Jean of Ravenna (1028 – 1078). In a letter written to the widowed wife (turned nun) of Henry III of Burgundy, Agnes of Poitiers, Jean asks that his words should be read reverently (*reverenter legenda sunt*) and then also meditated upon (*meditanda*).[69] He also asks that she should read his work frequently, so that with her mind 'inspired by heavenly desire' she might 'assume the wings of contemplation' and fly into the air to 'drink from the fountain of supernal sweetness'.[70] Instead of just reading the work once through, John

---

[67] The concept of a resevoir is elaborated in Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 99. For references to the 'Library of Christ' [*bibliotheca Christi*], see Jerome, *Select Letters*, trans. Wright, Letter 60.10, 286.
[68] Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. XIV, IX.3, 514-515.
[69] Jean Leclercq and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un Maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle: Jean de Fécamp* (Paris: Vrin, 1946), 214.
[70] Leclercq and Bonnes, *Un Maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe*, X, 211-217.

directs Agnes to carefully re-read the words to engage in spiritual meditation and ultimately find a deeper understanding of the text – a practice of *lectio divina*.

Another Benedictine named John of Fruttuaria (not to be confused with Jean of Ravenna), also describes the process of *meditatio* in his mid-eleventh-century treatise to young novice monks.[71] He argues that the tenets of faith are first instructed by the careful meditation of Holy Scriptures, which begins a chain reaction leading to Christian perfection:

> Faith is instructed by assiduous meditation on the Holy Scriptures, and illuminated by instruction, and augmented by illumination, and perfected by augmentation, and made firm by perfection.[72]

For John of Fruttuaria, the repeated reading, memorization, and contemplation of the Scriptures are gateway activities that lead to an ideal Christian life.

The related concepts of *lectio* and *meditatio* are also commonly explained through the metaphor of 'ingesting' and 'chewing' food. In Ambrose's popular book, *De officiis*, he writes, 'Scriptura divina convivium sapientiae est; singuli libri singula sunt fercula' [Divine Scripture is the feast of wisdom; individual books are individual courses].[73] John Moorhead explains that to Ambrose, 'the words of the Bible were pastures on which its readers fed each day' and by chewing these words over they

---

[71] The distinction between John of Fruttuaria and Jean of Ravenna is complicated by the fact that Jean of Ravenna also lived for a time at the Abbey of Fruttuaria. The authorship of the treatise for young monks '*Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione*' is also debated. Caroline Walker Bynum argues that it was written by John of Fruttuaria, while Paul Saenger, suggest that it was the work of Jean of Ravenna (given that the only surviving copy of the work was located at the Norman monastery of Mont-St-Michel in close proximity to Jean of Ravenna's monastery at Fécamp). In this study I will follow Bynum's argument that John of Fruttuaria composed the treatise, but suggest that the text is nonetheless reflective of Norman Benedictine views given its presence at Mont-St-Michel. For references to this debate see Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), at 119-123, and Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 202-203.

[72] 'Assidua meditatione Scriptuarum sanctarum fides eruditur, et erudiendo illuminatur, et illuminando augetur, et augendo perficitur, et perficiendo stabilitur' (John of Fruttuaria, *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione*, Caput VII, 'Quatuor virtutes cardinales, et earum munia describuntur. Item de virtutibus theologicis', *PL*, Vol. 184, Col. 575D).

[73] Ambrose, *De officiis,* ed. and trans. Davidson, Vol. 1, Book I, 212-13. For further commentary on this metaphor of 'eating the book', see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 53-54, 208-209.

were 'renewed' and 'restored'.[74] In a letter to the brethren of Mont Dieu, William of St Thierry makes a similar statement:

> Some part of your daily reading should also each day be committed to memory, taken as it were into the stomach, to be more carefully digested and brought up again for frequent rumination; something in keeping with your vocation and helpful to concentration, something that will take hold of the mind and save it from distraction.[75]

This metaphor of 'ingesting' the word of God may stem from an earlier literary tradition, based on the Prophecy of Ezechiel from the Old Testament (2:9-3:3), which describes Ezechiel eating a scroll:

> And I looked, and a hand was stretched out to me, and a written scroll was in it. He spread it before me; it had writing on the front and back, and written on it were words of lamentation and mourning and woe. He said to me, O mortal, eat what is offered to you; eat this scroll, and go, speak to the house of Israel. So I opened my mouth, and he gave me the scroll to eat. He said to me, mortal, eat this scroll that I give you and fill your stomach with it. Then I ate it; and in my mouth it was as sweet as honey.[76]

The metaphor of eating, chewing, and being nourished by the Word of God is a suitable description of the medieval connection between *lectio* and *meditatio*: first one ingests the words by reading, and then through the assiduous practice of repeated readings and deep contemplation (chewing over the words), the individual is sustained. Just as food strengthens the physical body, reading and meditation on the Word of God strengthens the spiritual body.

---

[74] John Moorhead, *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 76.
[75] William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Berkeley, I.120-124, 52; Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 52.
[76] Ezekiel, 2:9-3:3 (NRSV); cf. Smaragdus' comments on this passage of Ezechiel in *Smaragdus of Saint-Michiel, Diadema monachorum,* trans. Barry, 9.

The practice of *meditatio* – the repeated reading of the text – also directly relates to the primary goals of *lectio divina*; in particular the goal of seeking divine knowledge through the deep mining of scriptural texts. The process of searching out different layers of meaning within each passage required the individual to read and then re-read short sections of text repeatedly, each time considering a different layer of meaning and interpretation. Not only, then, does *meditatio* facilitate the goal of memorization (for continuous contemplation of the text), but it also enables the practice of contemplative exegesis and the quest for spiritual knowledge.

3.3 Step Three – *Oratio*

As the individual reads (and re-reads) the text, he allows for frequent interruptions for the purpose of *oratio* (prayer), which comprises the third step (and third ladder-rung) of the *lectio divina* process. The desire to lift one's eyes from the book and pray to God, was perceived as a natural and spontaneous response to one's interaction with the Word of God. In his letter to the Brethren of Mont Dieu, William of St Thierry reminds his monastic audience that reading should 'stimulate the feelings and give rise to prayer, which should interrupt your reading: an interruption which should not so much hamper the reading as restore to it a mind ever more purified for understanding'.[77] As both Mary Agnes Edsall and Bernard McGinn comment, respectively, interruptions for prayer were necessary to refresh the mind, so that it became possible to absorb the content and to understand even more.[78] Unlike other forms of prayer that were performed throughout the day in the monastery, this particular type of *oratio* (expressed in reaction to reading) should be ecstatic and spontaneous. In the *Conferences* of Cassian, for example, we find a description of how such an experience may come to pass:

> [That incorruptible prayer] is not only not laid hold of by the sight of some image, but it cannot be grasped by any word or phrase. Rather, once the mind's attentiveness has been set ablaze, it is called forth in an unspeakable ecstasy of heart and

[77] William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Berkeley, I.120-124, 52; Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 52.
[78] Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*, 53; McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 132.

> with an insatiable gladness of spirit, and the mind, having transcended all feelings and visible matter, pours it out to God with unutterable groans and sighs.[79]

Although monastic readers engaging in *lectio divina* were encouraged to interrupt their reading with prayer, it was nonetheless important for the reader to remain focused on the textual material at hand – concentrating on one book, text, passage, or concept at a time, as opposed to shifting one's attention arbitrarily from text to text or passage to passage. As Ambrose explains, assiduous concentration is of critical importance, as 'diligence opens for itself the door of truth'.[80] William of St Thierry explains this notion further when he writes:

> At fixed hours time should be given to certain definite reading. For haphazard reading, constantly varied and as if lighted upon by chance does not edify but makes the mind unstable; taking into the memory lightly; it goes out from it even more lightly. But you should concentrate on certain authors and let your mind grow accustomed to them.[81]

Aelred of Rievaulx, another twelfth-century Cistercian monk and author, also warned against the perils of curiosity, and its capacity to lure the mind away from focused reading and contemplation. In his *Speculum caritatis*, he writes that reading too many non-scriptural texts (out of curiosity) can lead to confusion; by accident 'we meditate on the *Eclogues* (of Virgil) with the Gospels and read Horace with the Prophets and Cicero with Saint Paul'.[82] For Aelred, it was important for the reader to stay focused

---

[79] Original quotation and translation provided by Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, 87: 'Non solum nullius imaginis occupatur intuitu, sed etiam nulla uocis, nulla uerborum prosecutione distinguitur, ignita uero mentis intentione per ineffabilem cordis excessum inexplebili spiritus alacritate profertur, quamque mens extra omnes sensus ac uisibiles effecta materies, gemitibus inerrabilibus atque suspiriis profundit ad deum'. Cf. Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. X, XI.6, 385.

[80] Boniface Ramsey, *Ambrose* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 163, from the Prologue on the Commentary on the Gospel According to Luke.

[81] William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle,* trans. Berkeley, XXXI.120, 51.

[82] 'Hinc est quod plerique, qui inani philosophiae dedere animum, quibus etiam moris est cum Evangeliis Bucolica meditari, Horatium cum Prophetis, cum Paulo Tullium lectitare' (Aelred of Rievaulx, *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera Omnia, Vol. I: Opera ascetica*, eds. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot [Turnhout: Brepols, 1971], 100).

on spiritual texts and not mingle religious literature with alternative genres, which might overwhelm or confuse the mind.[83]

Not only was it important for the monk to stay focused on a single textual genre, but it was also necessary to concentrate on a single passage of text at a time, as opposed to shifting between various sections or passages while reading. Although the reader may take a moment from the page to pray, he did not return to his reading with an entirely new section of the books, but would continue on where he left off. As Benedict stipulates in the Rule, the book should be read straight through, in its entirety – that is to say, sequentially and comprehensively.[84] Raymond Studzinski explains that 'part of the discipline of *lectio* … was staying with a particular book of the Scriptures rather than jumping around to different passages', a comment also echoed by Michael Casey who notes that '*Lectio Divina* is a sober, long term undertaking and, as such, better reflected in sustained attention to whole books than in seeking a quick fix from selected texts'.[85] Although the monk was encouraged to take pauses from reading for *oratio*, this exercise was not meant to distract the reader or to encourage selective or haphazard reading. On the contrary, the frequent pauses for prayer were intended to refresh the mind and to restore mental and spiritual concentration on the material at hand. As much as possible, the reader was to train his focus on a single book or a single passage of text in order to embrace the words whole-heartedly.

3.4 Step Four – *Contemplatio*

The combined effects of *lectio*, *meditatio*, and *oratio* are designed to lead to the fourth and final step of the *lectio divina* process (and final rung on the spiritual ladder), known

---

[83] This concept of mental tranquility and purity is also mentioned by Cassian. He writes: 'Whatever may disturb the purity and tranquility of our mind, then, however useful and necessary it may appear, my be avoided as harmful. For in following this rule we shall be able both to avoid the byways of errors and distractions, and, thanks to a clear direction, to arrive at the desired end … This should be our principal effort, then; this should be constantly pursued as the fixed goal of our heart, so that our mind may always be attached to divine things and to God. Whatever is different from this, however great it may be, is nevertheless to be judged as secondary or even a base, and indeed as harmful' (Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, Conf. VIII.1, 46-7).

[84] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLVIII, 162; M. Dorothy Neuhofer, *In the Benedictine Tradition: the Origins and Early Development of Two College Libraries* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1999), 11.

[85] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 125; Terrence Kardong, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 391-92; Casey, *Sacred Reading*, 5-11, esp. at 9; George Holzherr, *The Rule of Benedict: A Guide to Christian Living*, trans. Placid Murray (Dublin: Four Courtes Press, 1994), 232-234.

as *contemplatio* or divine contemplation. It is this last stage that binds together the entire *lectio divina* experience, beginning with the careful reading of select passages of text, committing them to memory, and giving time for prayerful intercession. In the practice of contemplation, the individual reflects upon these experiences and the spiritual insight he has acquired, turning the mind away from the text and the material world, and resting the mind in the realm of divine reverie. The reader is encouraged to ponder the words he has come to know by heart, reflect on his prayers to God, and dwell on the spiritual knowledge and understanding he seeks to attain.

As McGinn argues, this 'highest level' of the *lectio divina* itinerary can be described as 'mystical', a concept that is further explained by Smaragdus in the *Diadema monachorum*:

> It often happens that someone can grasp that the words of sacred Scripture are mystical if that person himself, enflamed by the grace of heavenly contemplation hangs upon things celestial. The marvelous and inexpressible power of the sacred text is acknowledged when the reader's intellectual soul is penetrated by love from on high.[86]

While *oratio* refers to a 'continuing affective impulse toward God based on reading and meditating' on Scriptures, McGinn explains, *contemplatio* refers to a general and unceasing 'goal of desire', understood as a 'burning desire for heaven'.[87] Monica Sandor goes further to connect the practice of *lectio* to *contemplatio* by suggesting that reading is the 'most suitable preparation for contemplation', which she describes as a 'silent communication of love between the soul and God'.[88] Throughout the process of *lectio divina*, all points lead to the final goal, the contemplation of God. This is the critical moment when the individual communes and connects with the Divine, relying on the spiritual knowledge and experience he has earned throughout he process of *lectio*, *meditatio*, and *oratio*.

Thus far, we have looked at the four steps of *lectio divina* and how each of these steps were traditionally performed: *Lectio* involves the slow and prayerful reading of

---

[86] Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, *PL*, Vol. 102, Col. 598C, quoted in McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 134.
[87] McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 139-140.
[88] Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', 105.

short selections of text, *meditatio* involves the continual re-reading of these texts, *oratio* entails brief and spontaneous interruptions of prayer, and *contemplatio* encompasses thoughtful reflections of the entire spiritual experience and one's burning desire for God. Although this process involved frequent interruptions as the reader re-read each line of text and performed prayers to God, this mode of reading can best be described as a comprehensive and sequential method – the texts are meant to be read from cover to cover in the order that they were originally presented, each line read with assidouous concentration and devotion.

4. Silent Reading

In addition to the four steps of *lectio divina*, it is significant to briefly comment on the 'silent' component of divine reading. This will prove important in the wider discussion of how *lectio divina* manifests itself in the physical manuscript book, since an emphasis on 'silent reading' may have contributed to the design of the page (as will be argued in the following chapter). For the most part, the practice of *lectio divina* was meant to be a quiet and private practice. Although it was typical for the monk to read the text out loud, it was usually performed in a quiet mumble or a whisper.[89] This muffled recitation of the text contributed to the individual's experience of *lectio divina*, as it involved the full participation of the body and mind. Leclercq explains that monks 'read with the lips, pronouncing what they saw, and with the ears, listening to the words pronounced, hearing what is called the "voices of the pages"'.[90] This audible recitation of the words also contributed to the memorization of the text (as part of the practice of *meditatio*).

Although, for the most part, the performance of *lectio divina* was an audible activity, it did not detract from the high-value placed on the virtue of monastic silence (*competens silentium*), which was celebrated as a foundational principle of monastic culture and ethos. In an eleventh-century treatise, *De ordine vitae*, written by the Benedictine monk John of Fruttuaria, the author explains to his novice readers that they must strive to be silent and obedient at all times, as it demonstrates a level of

[89] McGinn notes that the 'slow repetition, often audible, of a portion of a sacred text' would help the monk memorize the material (*The Growth of Mysticism,* 135).
[90] Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 15.

respect for God and one's community.[91] Similarly, in the opening of a treatise written by Jean of Ravenna titled *In suam de verbis seniorum collectionem ad juniores informandos*, 'silence' is presented as one of the top three virtues for all young monks to learn: '*tres vero virtutes sunt quae pueris et adolescentibus magis congruunt: verecundia, taciturnitas et obedientia*' [indeed, there are three virtues which correspond greatly to boys and adolescents: modesty, silence, and obedience].[92] Ambrose likewise states that silence is the virtue that must be learned 'before everything else', as it is helps the individual avoid the pitfalls of sin through speaking.[93]

But how does the virtue of silence relate to the practice of reading in the monastery? McGinn suggests that monastic silence 'was actually a mode of activity – not just a refraining from speaking or undue noise, but a special form of attentiveness to God' and it was 'looked upon as necessary for attaining mystical contemplation'.[94] Monastic silence was not just the act of being quiet, but it also reflected a particular state of mind, undisturbed by the distractions of the world and prepared for the deep contemplation of the Word of God. While the reading of the book itself was not necessarily a silent practice, the virtue of silence was still exercised in that the monk's attention was wholly devoted to God at this time; his mind was silent, calm, and poised to contemplate the words as deeply as possible.

To make sure that monk's were properly engaging in this type of reading, Benedict suggests in his Rule that while the community reads, one or two senior members should 'go around the monastery' to make sure that each monk is fully engaged in the occupation of reading.[95] This attentive and concentrated reading (enforced by monitors), helps to give an idea of the practice of *lectio divina* as a focused act, based on the undisturbed contemplation of the word of God with limited material and social distractions. Even when monks listened to books being read, there was an emphasis on silence. Benedict, for example, advises that while the *lector* reads during meal time, there should be a strict silence among the audience: '*Et summum fiat silentium, ut nullius mussitatio vel vox nisi solius legentis ibi audiatur*' [There should be complete silence, so that nobody's muttering or voice is heard there except the

[91] John of Fruttuaria, *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione*, Caput IV, 'Taciturnitatem et silentium praecipue convenire adolesentibus', *PL*, Vol. 184, Col. 569B.
[92] Jean of Ravenna, *In suam de verbis seniorum collectionem ad juniores informandos*, *PL*, Vol. 147, Cols. 477-480A.
[93] Ambrose, *De officiis,* ed. and trans. Davidson, Vol. 1, 119.
[94] McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism,* 130-131.
[95] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLVIII, 162-163.

reader's].[96] He continues to explain that this is not a time to ask questions about what is being read or 'about anything else' in order to maintain the silence.[97] Despite the fact that the community is gathered together, the reading of the book is not designed to spark questions or discussion among the group. Instead it is treated as an opportunity for individuals to engage in attentive listening for their own spiritual edification. In Lanfranc's eleventh-century treatise *On the Instruction of Novices*, he describes the appropriate etiquette to be observed while eating at the table:

> There he shall always keep his eyes upon the table and his ears open to the reading. Let him eat and drink in absolute silence, and let him take care to refresh his body with bodily meat and drink, and his soul with the food of spiritual doctrine. If by mischance he make a sound which disturbs the brethren or hinders or drowns the reading, the offender shall rise forthwith and prostrate himself before the prior's table until he hears a signal from the prior.[98]

These examples suggest that, for the most part, *lectio divina* was a particular mode of reading that was less focused on inquiry and discussion, and more focused on the pure and personal absorption of holy texts. While the physical performance of *lectio divina* may have been an audible one, it was exercised in an atmosphere of spiritual, metaphysical silence.

5. Concluding Points

This chapter has reviewed the primary tenets of *lectio divina* as it was perceived and practiced in a Benedictine context.[99] It has demonstrated that the primary goals of

---

[96] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XXXVIII, 134-135.

[97] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XXXVIII, 134-135.

[98] Lanfranc of Canterbury, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. David Knowles, revised by Christopher N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 218.

[99] This present study focuses specifically on the Benedictine context. This is largely due to the fact that the Benedictine order was the largest and most wide-spread during the period in question (the eleventh and twelfth centuries). While other orders emerged and grew in popularity in the twelfth century, such as the Cistercians and Carthusians, they largely followed the same principles of Benedictine worship. For further information on these orders and their specific practices, see Janet E. Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011); Giles Constable, 'From Cluny to Cîteau', in Giles Constable, ed., *The Abbey of Cluny: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Eleven-Hundreth*

lectio divina were to achieve spiritual purity, spiritual knowledge, and to seek communion with God. To achieve these objectives, monastic readers were encouraged to take time with their books, reading each text slowly, comprehensively, and sequentially. The belief that each passage of text contained multiple meanings, prompted readers to continually review the material, reading and re-reading each passage before moving on to the next part until the words were wholly memorized and internalized (as if chewed and digested like food). This practice of total memorization allowed the reader to continually recite and contemplate the material throughout the day, even when separated from the material text. We have also seen how monks were encouraged to embrace any emotional responses to the text by interrupting their reading with prayer. Despite these frequent interruptions, the *lectio divina* experience was still intended to be an activity that required deep concentration – with prayerful pauses designed to refresh and restore the mind and to maintain ultimate focus. Having read the text, memorized the words, and made frequent intercessions for prayer, the reader could then turn his mind to the spiritual contemplation of God, seeking communion and unity with the Divine. We have also seen that, despite the fact that monks typically recited their texts out loud (to facilitate memorization among other things), the general atmosphere of the monastic space was rooted in the valued concept of silence – discussions over the texts were limited, and emphasis was placed on the quiet and obedient reception of the Word of God.

To compile this synopsis of *lectio divina*, this chapter has relied upon primary and secondary source material such as biblical verses, the works of the Church Fathers and Desert Elders, as well as some texts written by monastic authors. In doing so, this chapter has followed traditional lines of research and investigation, piecing together a synthesized overview of the medieval *lectio divina* experience. We now shift our attention to the material component of this divine reading experience – the manuscripts of *lectio divina*. As the following chapter will show, the codicological study of books designed and produced for the practice of *lectio divina* can greatly enhance our collective understanding of this practice; these manuscripts fill in the gaps of our knowledge and provide a much fuller picture of how *lectio divina* was practiced in the medieval Benedictine monastery. Let us now turn to the books.

Anniversary of its Foundation (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2010), 235-263; Julian M. Luxford, ed., *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, Medieval Church Series 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

Chapter 2

Lectio Divina & the Material Book



With the help of primary and secondary literature, we now have a good view on the origins, textual corpus, goals, and practice of *lectio divina* in the Benedictine monastery. Thus far, however, few connections have been drawn between *lectio divina* as an ideological practice and *lectio divina* as presented in a material book format. The foundational studies on monastic reading presented by Jean Leclercq, Raymond Studzinski, Duncan Robertson, R. D. G. Irvine, Mary Agness Edsall, and Monica Sandor, for example, offer valued insights into the theoretical component of *lectio divina*, but they fail to address any kind of manuscript dynamic in their assessments of the practice.[1] The present chapter fills in this gap in the collective scholarship by examining the appearance of manuscript books used during the practice of *lectio divina*. How do the manuscripts contribute to the image of *lectio divina* that we have pieced together in the previous chapter? And how exactly does the study of book design enrich our understanding of reading in the Benedictine monastery?

To investigate the material dynamic of *lectio divina*, this chapter turns to a corpus of sixty-six books made in-house at the scriptorium of the Benedictine Abbey of Fécamp in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These books all contain scriptural or theological texts that have been identified as suitable reading material for the practice of *lectio divina*, and they were all produced in the eleventh or twelfth century. As noted in the introduction, these books were designed and copied by local Fécamp scribes for use by the monks of Fécamp Abbey. Forty-two of these books were examined *in situ*, with the remaining twenty-four examples examined via microfilm or other images sources.

This chapter begins with an examination of some of the more general codicological features present in the manuscripts, including page dimensions, decoration, and glossing. It then focuses on the presence (and absence) of paratextual features, some of which are counted as basic organizational reading aids (initials, rubrics, *incipit* and *explicit* headings, and certain types of paragraph marks), and others

---

[1] See, for example, Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*; Studzinski, *Reading to Live*; Robertson, *Lectio Divina*; Irvine, 'How to Read: *Lectio divina* in an English Benedictine Monastery'; Edsall, *Reading Like a Monk*; Sandor, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading'.

that are specifically designed to help the reader to navigate through the volume (chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks). This chapter will show that the majority of books containing devotional texts from the Fécamp corpus, present a material design that was conducive to the practice of *lectio divina*.

1. Dimensions, Decoration, and Gloss

To begin this investigation, we can turn to three essential components of the manuscript's physical and visual appearance: size, decoration, and gloss.

1.1 Page Dimensions

Let us start with the basics: the size of the manuscript. We can learn a great deal about the context of a book's use simply by examining its dimensions. If a book is very small, for example, it was probably meant to be portable; if it is very large, it was more likely to remain stationary, perhaps displayed and read from a lectern. As such, the study of a manuscript's size is a sensible place to start our investigation into the physical aspect of *lectio divina*.

Taking a random sample of fifteen manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus, the average page dimensions measure 309 x 214 mm.[2] If we compare these measurements to the average page sizes of books owned by neighbouring Norman Benedictine institutions (Jumièges, St-Èvroul, and Mont-St-Michel), we find roughly the same dimensions, though the Fécamp books tend to be slightly larger (by about 1-2 centimeters). The following table presents the average dimensions of a selection of fifteen books from each of the four Norman Benedictine houses (measured *in situ*):[3]

[2] This average is based on the dimensions of the following manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus: Rouen 28 (355 x 275); Rouen 29 (350 x 265); Rouen 30 (218 x 124); Rouen 41 (290 x 205); Rouen 86 (265 x 178); Rouen 116 (280 x 185); Rouen 313 (285 x 195); Rouen 424 (355 x 240); Rouen 444 (275 x 180); Rouen 445 (368 x 275); Rouen 448 (260 x 180); Rouen 451 (270 x 180); Rouen 469 (320 x 210); Rouen 477 (335 x 230); Rouen 478 (408 x 290). For a discussion of the sizes of original skins used and the size of parchment sheets in different regions in the Latin West, see J. P. Gumbert, 'Size and Formats', in Marilena Maniaci and Paola F. Munafo, eds., *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, Studi e testi 357 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993), 227-263. Similar average dimensions (310 x 210 mm) can be found in a study of mid-eleventh-century Latin manuscripts from Worcester, England, see Richard Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, eds., *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University press), 194- 243, at 217.

[3] All manuscripts were measured *in situ*. Jumièges: Rouen 8 (486 x 342); Rouen 23 (362 x 240); Rouen 55 (300 x 200); Rouen 141 (298 x 222); Rouen 151 (348 x 250); Rouen 177 (370 x 245); Rouen 479

Table 1: Average Page Dimensions of Benedictine Books

Institution	Average Height	Average Width
Fécamp	309 mm	214 mm
Jumièges	301 mm	207 mm
St-Èvroul	289 mm	196 mm
Mont-St-Michel	285 mm	209 mm

The majority of books produced at Fécamp (and at neighbouring institutions) were of a size that could be picked up and carried without difficulty. The ease at which a book can be carried also depends on the weight of the book, however. Although some of these volumes contain up to 300 folia, the average number of folia in the Fécamp corpus is 124.[4] Although it was not possible to weigh the manuscripts while examining them *in situ*, I can confirm that when transferring the books from the manuscript box to the table during research at the municipal library of Rouen, the majority of manuscripts can be picked up and carried without trouble.

The size of these books may also tell us something about their use in the monastery and the practice of *lectio divina*. Although there is no medieval source that I know of that explicitly states where *lectio divina* was to take place in the cloister, there are some indications in the Rule of St Benedict that this type of reading happened in various locations. We know, for example, that private reading was permitted in the dormitory after meal-times at which time the monks were allowed to either rest on their beds or read quietly to themselves.[5] There are some indications to suggest that

(245 x 170); Rouen 488 (290 x 190); Rouen 536 (243 x 178); Rouen 551 (245 x 170); Rouen 522 (286 x 197); Rouen 536 (243 x 178); Rouen 758 (275 x 193); Rouen 1333 (318 x 210); Rouen 982 (205 x 125). St-Évroul: Rouen 24 (245 x 174); Rouen 31 (320 x 200); Rouen 455 (275 x 182); Rouen 456 (340 x 232); Rouen 461 (334 x 240); Rouen 467 (370 x 270); Rouen 484 (315 x 220); Rouen 486 (292 x 185); Rouen 507 (265 x 168); Rouen 508 (275 x 185); Rouen 661 (200 x 115); Rouen 665 (205 x 144); Rouen 1174 (298 x 210); Rouen 1343 (315 x 215); BnF, lat. 12131 (290 x 195). Mont-St-Michel: Avranches 48 (265 x 155); Avranches 52 (365 x 265); Avranches 70 (290 x 220); Avranches 74 (275 x 215); Avranches 97 (400 x 305); Avranches 110 (315 x 245); Avranches 225 (260 x 205); Avranches 70, part 2 (290 x 225); Avranches 159 (300 x 215); Avranches 26 (290 x 220); Avranches 221 (250 x 190); Avranches 32 (285 x 215); Avranches 232, part 2 (220 x 155); Avranches 232, part 5 (220 x 155); Avranches 235, part 1 (255 x 150).

[4] This is based on averages calcuated from the database.

[5] 'Rising from the table after Sext, they should rest in their beds in complete silence, and those who want to read to themselves should do so as not to disturb others'. [Post sexta autem surgentes a mensa, pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio aut forte qui voluerit legere sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet] (*The Rule of St Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLVIII, 160-161).

reading also happened in the church and chapter-house.[6] It is also possible that at certain times of the day the monks were spread-out in the monastery as they engaged in *lectio divina*, with some perhaps reading in the chapter-house and others in the dormitory, for example. This is suggested by a passage in the Rule that stipulates that two senior monitors should 'go around the monastery at the hours when the brethren's occupation is reading' to make sure that everyone is focusing on their task, which implies that at certain times of the day the monks were reading in different locations in the cloister.[7] Moreover, during the period of Lent, each monk was given a single book from the library to read completely over the course of the year. Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* describes how, at the beginning of this season, the monks were to collect the books they had been given during the previous Lent and return them to the chapter-house:

> Before the brethren go into chapter, the librarian should have all the books save those that were given out for reading the previous year collected on a carpet in the chapter-house; last year's books should be carried in by those who have had them, and they are to be warned of this by the librarian in chapter the previous day.[8]

From Lanfranc's description it is clear that not all of the books destined for *lectio divina* were kept in a centralized location nor did reading happen in one place. Instead, the books were given out to the community and were carried from place to place. As such, it makes sense that the scribes who designed and produced the Fécamp manuscripts ensured that most of the books intended for *lectio divina* would be of a size that could be easily carried.

---

[6] It is clear that reading took place in the church during the celebration of the liturgy (Chapter IX); the refectory at meal-times (Chapter XXXVIII); and in the chapter-house or church during Collation (Chapter XLII). However, it is not known if *lectio divina* as a specific mode of reading took place in these locations.

[7] 'Ante omnia sane deputentur unus aut duo seniores, qui circumeant monasterium horis quibus vacant fratres lectioni, et videant ne forte inveniatur frater acediosus, qui vacat otio aut fabulis et non est intentus lectioni, et non solum sibi inutilis est sed etiam alios distollit' (*The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLVIII, 162). Kardong similarly suggests that the patrol of the *lectio* readers 'indicates that the monks did *lectio* alone and in various places. There were no private cells, and the cloister was the usual place for *lectio*, but no doubt this varied greatly from place to place and from season to season' (*Benedict's Rule*, 393).

[8] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. Knowles, 28-31.

Not *all* of the books from the Fécamp corpus are of a size that could be picked up and carried with ease, however. There are a small number of books, for example, that greatly exceed the average page dimensions mentioned above, including BnF, lat. 1992, Rouen 1, Rouen 7, Rouen 464, Rouen 491, and Rouen 1400.[9] These books are not only very tall and wide, but they also feature a higher-number of folia than the rest of the Fécamp manuscripts, making them heavy and difficult to move. Some of these large-format books will be addressed in detail in the following chapter.

1.2 Decoration

Let us now turn to the decorative element in the Fécamp manuscripts. Out of the sixty-six corpus manuscripts, there are twenty-eight books that feature no decoration whatsoever, and thirty-eight manuscripts that feature some kind of decoration, largely presented in the form of a decorated initial. The style, colour, and degree of detail of the decoration tends to vary between the manuscript examples: some books feature simple penwork embellishments with no added colour, while others showcase an impressive range of colour and elaborate designs, as the following examples show.



Fig. 1 – Plain penwork decoration on initials: BnF, lat. 5356, fol. 131v (left); BnF, lat. 564, part 3, fol. 71r (right)

[9] Rouen 491 includes parts 1 and 2.



Fig. 2 – Elaborate decoration on initials: Rouen 424, fol. 138v (left); Rouen 427, fol. 1v (right)

Most of the manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus only feature decoration in the initials, typically positioned at the opening of new books or sections of text. There are only two volumes in this corpus that feature miniatures: BnF, lat. 2639 includes a full-page painting of St Ambrose in Prayer (fol. 31v), and BnF, lat. 2079 begins with a full-page penwork miniature depicting St Augustine overcoming Faustus (fol. 1v). Besides these two examples, however, the Fécamp manuscript corpus is noticeably devoid of overt and dramatic illustrations and miniatures located beyond the bounds of the initials.

In recent decades, there has been some debate as to whether monastic communities welcomed or rejected the display of artwork in the cloister (and also in their books). One of the well-known apologies for the use of artwork in spiritual devotion was provided by Gregory the Great, who celebrated the capacity of artwork to educate and inspire illiterate audiences: 'What writing does for the literate, a picture does for the illiterate looking at it'.[10] However, as Miriam Gill points out, some twelfth-century monastic leaders, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, considered the display of artwork to be an unwanted distraction – a threat to monastic devotion, and

[10] L. G. Duggan, 'Was Art Really the Book of the Illiterate?', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227-51, at 227.

in particular, a threat to monastic *lectio*.[11] In his own *Apologia* (written *c.* 1125), Bernard argues that artwork poses an unneccessary risk to the concept of 'monastic enclosure' by presenting 'violent and worldly images' that 'distracted monks from reading and meditation'.[12] He vehemently questioned the display of artwork in the places where reading took place: 'What is this ridiculous monstrosity doing in the cloister, in the presence of brothers while they are reading?'[13]

Bernard's primary concern was the spiritual hazard of worldly distraction or *curiositas*, one of the most serious threats to monastic concentration and the practice of *lectio divina*. In her work on medieval memory, Mary Carruthers explains how *memoria* – the act of memorization, and a major component of *lectio divina* – was often jeopardized by the 'great vice' of *curiositas*, a notion described by Cassian as '"wantonness," *fornicatio*, which is an aimless, fruitless, shifting expenditure of energy'.[14] For Cassian, it was important for the individual (the monk) to curb the mind's natural desire to wander by training it to sustain a 'firm concentration' on vigils, meditation, and prayer. For Bernard, artwork and imagery, presented in 'programs of sculpture and murals and book illuminations', promoted 'spiritual laziness and *curiositas*' especially among those who did not require the crutch of illustrations to understand the Word of God.[15]

Bernard was a member of the Cistercian order and his perception of worldly artwork may reflect a more conservative approach to monastic worship, yet many of his views were supported by other orders following the Rule of St Benedict. The Fécamp community's interest in Bernard's work (and in particular his *Apologia*) is attested by the fact that two copies of the work are listed on the twelfth-century library inventory of Fécamp; the books currently survive as BnF, lat. 564, part 5 (fols.

[11] Miriam Gill, 'The Role of Images in Monastic Education: the Evidence from Wall Painting in Late Medieval England', in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig, eds., *Medieval Monastic Education* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 117-135, at 117; Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books Limited), 62-65. While Bernard of Clairvaux was a Cistercian (and not a Benedictine), both orders follow the same Rule and their attitudes towards *lectio* are largely synonymous.

[12] Gill, 'The Role of Images in Monastic Education', 117; cf. Conrad Rudolph, *The 'Things of Greater Importance': Bernard of Clairvaux's 'Apologia' and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), esp. at 101-111 and 115-121.

[13] Quoted in Mary Carruthers, *Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 87.

[14] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 82.

[15] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 87.

71r-132r) and BnF, lat. 2531.[16] Thus, despite the fact that Bernard of Clairvaux was a Cistercian, his writings (and ideas) were clearly of interest to the Benedictine monks of Fécamp, and it is not beyond reason that they also shared his view on the perils of manuscript illumination. This fear of distraction, particularly when reading (*lectio*) and attempting to memorize and internalize the Word of God (*meditatio*), likely motivated the scribes of Fécamp to limit the inclusion of large-scale artistic programmes in the manuscripts they copied. While they still added some decoration to the books they copied, for the most part their artistic enterprises remained relatively subdued and bound to the confines of the initials – a reflection of the Fécamp community's attempt to sustain a 'firm concentration' on the text without the hindrance (or help) of illustration.

1.3 Gloss

The next feature to examine here is the presence (and absence) of marginal and interlinear commentaries in the manuscripts of Fécamp. As the following section will show, the study of glosses can help determine how these manuscripts were used by Fécamp readers. Did the monks comment upon the texts they read? Did they question the material they read? Did they use the margins of the page as a place where ideas could be expanded, enhanced, or tested?

Since the early Middle Ages, scribes and readers have used the empty spaces of the page to add notes and commentaries to the primary text.[17] These glosses served a number of different functions: they might expand an abbreviation, define unusual words, explain difficult concepts, present relevant textual material, or expound the

[16] Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp', 168-172.

[17] Some of the earliest glossed manuscripts are dated to the Carolingian era, and almost every type of text was subject to glossing. For early gloss traditions on Gratian's *Decretum*, for example, see Rudolf Weigan, 'The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum*', in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington, eds., *The History of Medieval Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: from Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 55-97. For Martianus Capella gloss traditions, see Mariken Teeuwen, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The Ars Musica in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); and Teeuwen, 'Marginal Scholarship: Rethinking the Function of Latin Glosses in Early Medieval Manuscripts', in P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari, and C. Di Sciacca, eds., *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 54 (Porto: Gabinete de Filosofia Medieval, Faculdade de Letras, 2011), 19-38; cf. J. J. Contreni and P. P. O'Neil, eds., *Glossae divinae Historiae: the Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena*, Millenio Medievale I. Testi I (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997); C. Chazelle and B. Van Name Edwards, 'Introduction: the Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture', in their *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, Medieval Church Series 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 1-16.

meaning of the text itself. Although the concept of a medieval gloss may be simple – a marginal or interlinear commentary added to the empty spaces on the page – in reality they prove to be a challenging research subject.[18] Their complexity stems from two primary factors: the first has to do with the content of the gloss, and the second has to do with its application to the page. In the first place, glosses may contain text from a single source, such as a single commentary or the personal reflections of an individual, or they may contain texts drawn from multiple sources, and may consist of layers of annotations 'stacked upon each other, mixed into one new text, or reworked into a new commentary'.[19] The second factor has to do with the way in which the gloss has been incorporated into the layout of the page. In some cases, the scribe anticipated the addition of a gloss, and designed the layout of the page in such a way as to leave space for its inclusion (i.e. by making sure there was enough room in the margins or between the lines to include further text). When glosses are planned in this way, they are often presented in an organized manner and are usually copied by the main scribe at the same time as copying the primary text. In other cases, the addition of a gloss was not anticipated. When glosses are unplanned, they are usually squeezed into the margin of the page or between the lines in a far more haphazard manner, as the page has not been designed to accommodate them; these glosses are usually copied in a different hand than the primary text.

Due to the limited parameters of this present study, I have chosen to focus my attention on this latter component – the distinction between 'planned' and 'unplanned' glosses – and I use this distinction as a means to organize and discuss the glosses present in the Fécamp manuscripts. Having examined the books from the Fécamp corpus, it is intriguing to observe that the vast majority of books do not contain *any* kind of gloss, either planned or unplanned.[20] Out of the sixy-six manuscript examples, for instance, fifty-four books (or 82%) do not feature *any* kind of marginal or interlinear gloss. The margins of these books are clear without annotations, comments, or other noticeable markings. An example of this kind of

[18] For the difficulty of studying glosses, see Mariken Teeuwen, 'The Impossible Task of Editing a Ninth-Century Commentary: the Case of Martianus Capella', *Variants: Journal of the European Society of Textual Scholarship* 6 (2007), 191-208, as well as the introduction to Teeuwen's, 'Marginal Scholarship', 19-20.

[19] Teeuwen, 'Marginal Scholarship', 20.

[20] I do not include glosses that were added much later (i.e. after the twelfth century).

'clean page' can be seen in a Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 162, a mid eleventh-century collection of works by Augustine:

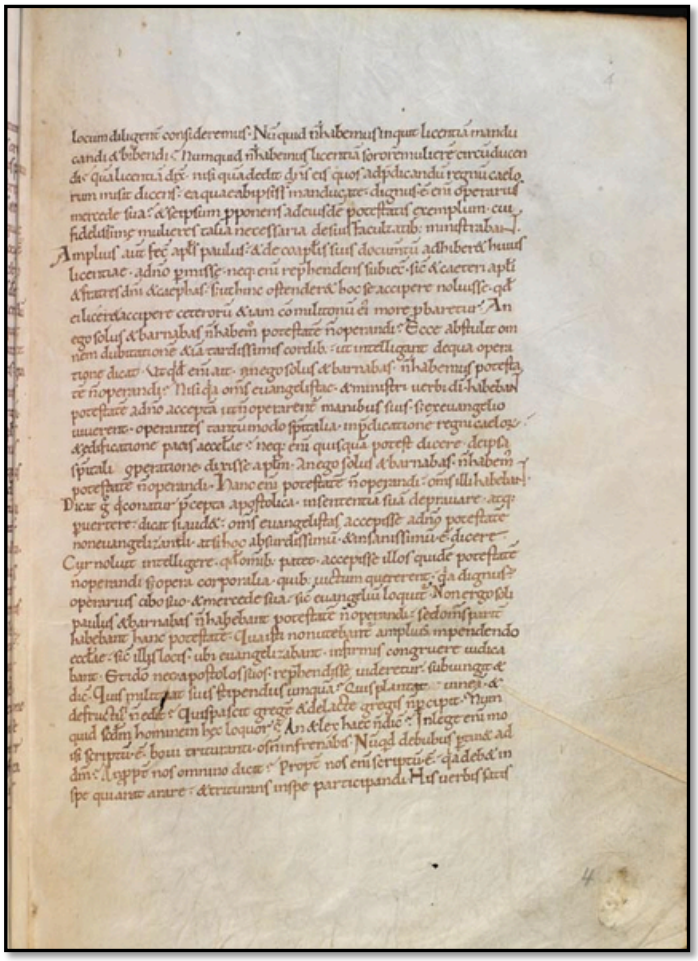


Fig. 3 – Bern, Cod. 162, fol. 4r: Typical page without glosses

Although it would have been nearly impossible to include any kind of 'interlinear' gloss in Bern, Cod. 162 (due to the lack of space between the lines), there is ample room in the margins for the addition of a gloss. Like most books from the Fécamp corpus, however, this volume of Augustine has been spared the glossator's pen and the margins remain blank.

That said, there are twelve books from the Fécamp corpus (18%) that do feature some annotations. What is interesting to note – and significant in the context of this material study of *lectio divina* – is that out of these twelve volumes, nearly all of

them feature a 'planned gloss' (i.e. organized annotations added to the margin by the main scribe during the production of the manuscript). Eleven out of the twelve books feature this type of systematic and organized gloss. These books are listed in the table below:[21]

Table 2: Fécamp Manuscripts with 'Planned' Glosses

A: Shelfmark; **B**: Date; **C**: Author/Text

Ref.	A	B	C
1	Rouen 116	1108-1187	Genesis
2	BnF, lat. 188	1075-1150	Job
3	BnF, lat. 437	1075-1150	Gregory: Commentary on the Psalms, Commentary on the Song of Songs, Homily on Ezechiel; Augustine: Extracts
4	BnF, lat. 4210	*c.* 1000	Smaragdus: *Expositio in regulam St Benedicti*
5	BnF, lat. 5057	1108-1187	Flavius Josephus: *De bello judaico*
6	BnF, lat. 5080	1100-1150	Eusebius: *Historia ecclesiastica*; Peter Alphonsi: *Dialogi*
7	Rouen 1	1060-1080	Bible
8	Rouen 7	1100-1150	Bible
9	Rouen 41	1108-1187	Leviticus
10	Rouen 86	1108-1187	Matthew
11	Rouen 489	*c.* 1050	Theological Works

As the table demonstrates, many of the books that feature a 'planned gloss' contain biblical texts. In most of these volumes, the gloss is derived from a specific set of biblical annotations known as the *glossa ordinaria*. This collection of glosses was gradually compiled over the course of the Middle Ages and comprises a collection of biblical commentaries composed by well-known theologians, such as the Church Fathers and Doctors of the Church (i.e. Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Bede).[22]

[21] Many of the dates for the Fécamp manuscripts have been provided by Branch, 'The Development of Script'. Following the earlier work of Avril, Branch dates various books to the abbacies of Fécamp leaders (hence the specific date-range for many books).

[22] For the *glossa ordinaria*, see Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: the Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); E. A. Matter, 'The Church Fathers and the *Glossa Ordinaria*', in I. Dorota Backus,

One of the most popular editions of the *glossa ordinaria* is said to have evolved in the schools of Laon in the early twelfth century (and is often credited to Anselm of Laon).[23]

Although these eleven glossed manuscripts reflect some interest in gloss traditions (particularly in terms of biblical commentary), it is nonetheless significant that the vast majority of books produced at Fécamp do not contain a gloss of any kind (82%). To investigate this phenomenon further, I would like to turn our attention back to the performative aspect of *lectio divina*. As discussed in the previous chapter, many medieval practitioners of divine reading describe this practice as something that requires 'assiduous concentration': the reader must limit any kind of distraction in both the environment and the mind, as he focuses on each line of text, reading the words slowly and carefully, and imbibing the spirit of the page.[24] Bernard McGinn argues that when monks read in this way they pursued a 'special form of attentivenes to God', a particular state of mind that was undisturbed by the distractions of the world, clear of interference, and poised to contemplate Word of God as deeply as possible.[25]

I, therefore, suggest that the addition of a marginal or interlinear gloss on the manuscript page may have been perceived as an unwanted distraction from the focused reading of *lectio divina*. In a sense, the marginal notes and references were designed to prompt a type of 'textual discussion' on the page between the primary text (at the centre of the page) and the secondary text positioned in the margin or between the lines. When a gloss is present, the reader is invited to participate in this textual discussion by reading both the main text and the associated commentary. This process of flipping back and forth between primary text and commentary may have compromised the high-level of meditative focus typically required to sustain the

---

ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 83-111.

[23] Andrée Alexander, 'Anselm of Laon Unveiled: The *Glosae super Iohannem* and the Origins of the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Bible', *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011), 217-60; and his 'The *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of St John: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts with a Presentation of the Text and its Sources', *Revue bénédictine* 118 (2008), 109-34, and 289-333.

[24] The need for assiduous reading is mentioned in the following: Isidore, *Sententiae*, Book 3, Caput XIV, *De collatione*, *PL*, Vol. 83, col. 689B; John of Fruttuaria, *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione*, Caput VII, 'Quatuor virtutes cardinales, et earum munia describuntur. Item de virtutibus theologicis', *PL*, Vol. 184, Col. 575D; Boniface Ramsey, *Ambrose*, 163. The idea of 'imbibing the spirit of the page' is also mentioned in William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Berkeley, 'Advice for Novices', XXXI.121, 51-52.

[25] McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism*, 131.

practice of *lectio divina*. As such, it may be suggested that there are so few glosses in the manuscripts of Fécamp, because, for the most part, the readers did not wish to be distracted from the spiritually-focused process of *lectio divina*.

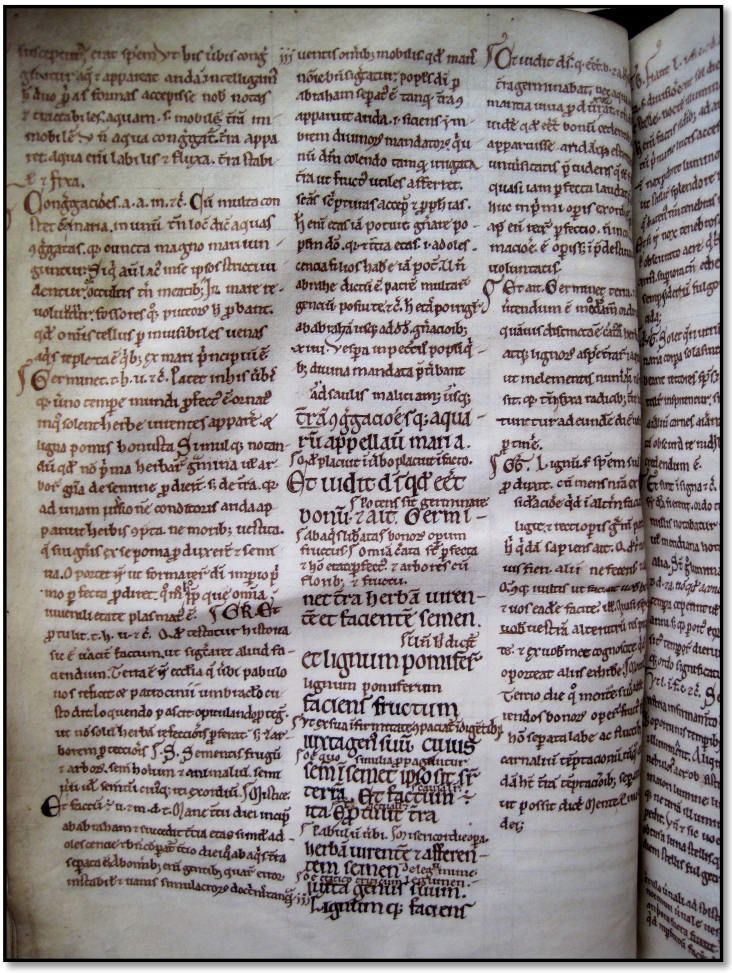


Fig. 4 – Rouen 116, fol. 8v: Genesis with glosses

In his *Golden Epistle*, William of St Thierry addresses the issue of maintaining concentration by reminding his readers to focus on 'definite reading' (*certae lectioni*), as opposed to 'haphazard reading' (*varia lectio*).[26] He warns that constantly varied reading 'does not edify but makes the mind unstable', and can affect the process of

[26] William of St Thierry, *Epistola seu tractatus ad fratres de monte dei*, Caput X, *Officia et exercitiae cellitae*, *PL*, Vol. 184, Cols. 327C-327D; William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Berkeley, 'Advice for Novices', XXXI.120, 51.

memorization: 'taking into the memory lightly; it goes out from it even more lightly'.[27] Although William is probably referring to the reading of multiple texts over a short period of time, this kind of 'haphazard reading', also sounds much like reading a glossed manuscript book: the reader must constantly switch between the primary text and marginal annotations, and must take-in material from multiple different sources at the same time. Indeed, it would have been exceedingly difficult to maintain the 'assiduous concentration' needed to pursue *lectio divina* when reading a highly-glossed text.

Such arguments may help to explain why there are so few books in the Fécamp corpus that contain glosses. Just as the majority of books lack a significant degree of decoration, they also appear to lack a significant degree of glossing, which may further reflect a desire to limit distractions for the reader. Of course, it is important to also recognize that the Fécamp community was not wholly against the inclusion of decoration or glossing (as attested by the few manuscripts that feature incredibly detailed artwork in the initials or those that include the *glossa ordinaria*). What I do wish to emphasize, however, is that these books are rare in the Fécamp corpus, and it is far more common to find books that present only the text, with no additions or embellishements either in the form of decoration or annotations. Given what we know about the practice of *lectio divina*, it is very possible that this trend in manuscript design was motivated by a desire to minimize any potential distractions that may have interfered with the reader's spiritual concentration.

2. The Application of Reading Aids

Thus far, we have seen that the majority of books from Fécamp were of a size that could be carried, and they tend to feature limited artwork and marginal or interlinear annotations. We now turn to a set of codicological features that helped the reader to *use* the books. I refer to these features under the umbrella term 'reading aids', though I make a distinction between two types. The first group, which I call 'organizational reading aids', provide basic organization to the page, and are often designed to clarify

[27] William of St Thierry, *Epistola seu tractatus*, Caput X, *Officia et exercitiae cellitae*, *PL*, Vol. 184, Cols. 327C-327D; William of St Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, trans. Berkeley, 'Advice for Novices', XXXI.120, 51. Studzinski also confirms that 'part of the discipline of *lectio* … was staying with a particular book of the Scriptures rather than jumping around to different passages' (*Reading to Live*, 391-392).

the text. The second group, which I refer to as 'navigational reading aids', help the reader navigate through the volume.

2.1 Organizational Reading Aids

Most scribes from the eleventh and twelfth centuries opted to include a number of basic organizational aids in the manuscripts they copied. These features include: large initials to mark the opening of a new book; smaller initials embedded within the text block to mark the beginning of a sentence; chapter numbers to note a section of text; punctuation to provide grammatical structure; rubrics to emphasize a heading or important phrase; variation in script size to differentiate headings and textual matter; *incipit* and *explicit* headings to signal the beginning and end of a text; and certain types of paragraph marks that served a range of different functions. By the eleventh century these types of organizational aids had become regular components of the manuscript page. For example, out of a sample of 178 Norman manuscripts produced in the eleventh and centuries, 178 include punctuation, 168 feature initials, and 140 present rubrics.[28] The corpus manuscripts from Fécamp also regularly include these features, and almost every book includes punctuation, initials, rubrication, different script sizes (to denote titles versus main text), and *incipit* and *explicit* headings. Out of these basic organizational reading aids, however, paragraph marks appear to be less of a standard feature than the rest – that is to say, scribes added these features less frequently than rubrication or initials. When paragraph marks do appear in manuscript books, however, they provide particularly useful insight into how the scribe envisioned the text to be read, as the following section will show.

2.2 The Function of the Paragraph Mark

Over the course of the Middle Ages, the paragraph mark appears in a variety of different styles, but during the eleventh and twelfth centuries it most often manifests in the form of a vertical and horizontal stroke connected at a single point. Occassionally the scribe produced a more embellished version of the same design with crosshatches and additional decorative strokes:

[28] These numbers are based on *in situ* research of manuscripts produced or owned by Norman Benedictine houses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.



Paragraph mark style common to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In his introduction to the history of punctuation, Parkes describes this style of critical sign as a *paragraphus*.[29] By the early thirteenth century, the most common form of the paragraph mark was the 'capitulum' form (described by Parkes as the *paraph*), which looks similar to the letter **C** (for 'capitulum') with a vertical stroke running through the centre of the letter:[30]



Paraph common to the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Just as the style of the paragraph mark varied, so too did its function. Scribes often employed this mark to serve a wide range of functions, some of which helped the reader to organize and understand the text, and others that helped him find his place in the volume. Some of the most common functions of the paragarph mark are presented in the following list:

Organizing & Clarifying the Text:

- Mark line extensions[31]
- Mark corrections
- Mark gloss
- Mark thematic headings
- Mark a new text
- Mark quoted material

Navigating the Volume:

- Emphasize *incipit* or *explicit* headings[32]

---

[29] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 305.

[30] Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', 68; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 305.

[31] In cases where there were only one or two words remaining in the text-block, instead of beginning a whole new line, the scribe often would add the words below, indented and separated with a paragarph mark. This would indicate that the words marked with the paragraph mark belong to the line above, and not to the beginning of the next section.

[32] The addition of a paragraph mark in front of an *incipit* or *explicit* heading is rather perplexing, since these headings are usually marked very clearly with an initial, rubrication, and a larger script. The addition of a paragraph mark does not appear to add a great deal of additional clarity to these points in

- Emphasize chapter numbers

While the paragraph mark could take on a broad range of functions, as the list above demonstrates, this present section focuses on paragraph marks that helped the reader to organize and clarify the text, such as those that mark the beginning of a new text or that mark the inclusion of quoted material. As I will show, the scribes of Fécamp sometimes used the paragraph mark to provide a signal to the reader in a very subtle manner, which may have proven useful for the *lectio divina* reader.

2.3 Marking a New Text

In most manuscripts the start of a new text is made clear through the use of an *incipit* heading, many of which are rubricated or copied in a larger-sized script to catch the reader's attention. Because the majority of volumes copied in the Middle Ages contained more than one text, such headings were an important means to separate the texts from each other and to alert the reader to the start of a new work.

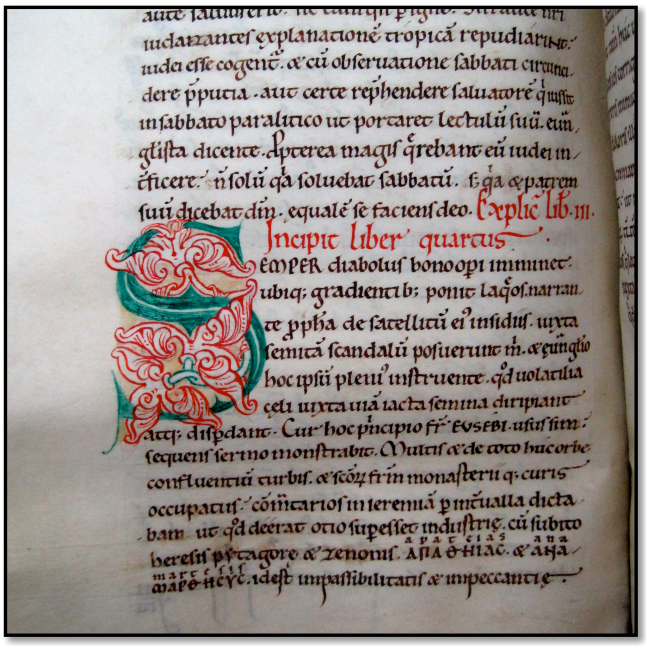


Fig. 5 – Rouen 444, fol. 85v: Standard heading (*Explicit Liber* III, *Incipit Liber* IV)

the text, but perhaps they were added out of habit by a scribe who was used to inserting them at points in the text that required emphasis.

There are some manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus, however, that do not feature a standard *incipit* heading of this kind to mark the opening of a new section, but instead only feature a small paragraph mark. The mark is either placed in the margin or in the text block itself, with no other contextual information provided (such as the title of the new text or a chapter number). There are four manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus that employ the paragraph mark in this way: BnF, lat. 5305, part 2; BnF, lat. 1939; BnF, lat. 440, and BnF, lat. 564.

The first example, BnF, lat. 5305, was copied between 1100 and 1150 and contains a collection of works by Anselm of Canterbury (*c.* 1033 – 1109), including his *De processione spiritus sancti* and *Epistola de sacrificio azimi et fermentati*, as well as a large verse work by Fulco of Beauvais, *Utriusque de nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae libri septem*.[33] In the first part of the volume containing Anselm's *De processione spiritus sancti*, the scribe uses a paragraph mark to signal the beginning of new chapters in the middle of the text block.[34] In the following image, the paragraph mark signals the opening of chapter three of Anselm's text (beginning with: *Consideremus etiam quod* …):

[33] Part two, (fols. 49r-110r). The date of the manuscript was originally listed as 1093, which I changed to 1102 based on the composition date of Anselm's *De processione spiritus sancti* in 1102. For an edition of the text by Fulco, see Fulcoius Belvacensis, *Utriusque De nuptiis Christi et ecclesiae libri septem*, ed. with introduction and notes, Sister Mary Isaac Jogues Rousseau (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1960).

[34] Anselm's *De processione spiritus sancti*, BnF, lat. 5305: Cap. II, fol. 52r; Cap. III, fol. 54r; Cap. IV, fol. 55r; Cap. V, fol. 56r; Cap. VI, fol. 56v; Cap. VII, fol. 57r; Cap. VIII, fol. 57v; Cap. IX, fol. 59r; Cap. X, fol. 59v; Cap. XI, fol. 60v; Cap. XII, fol. 61r; Cap. XIII, fol. 61v; Cap. XIV, fol. 62v; (extra mark added, fol. 63r); Cap. XV, unknown due to damage. The second Anselm text, copied in the same hand, is *Epistolia de sacrificio azimi et fermentati etc.* (fols. 64v-67r). There is only one paragraph mark dividing the chapters of the letter, which can be found at the opening of chapter VII (fol. 67r), with the words 'In tercia questione'. For an edition of this text, see Anselm of Canterbury, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. Schmitt, Vol. 2, 221-232.

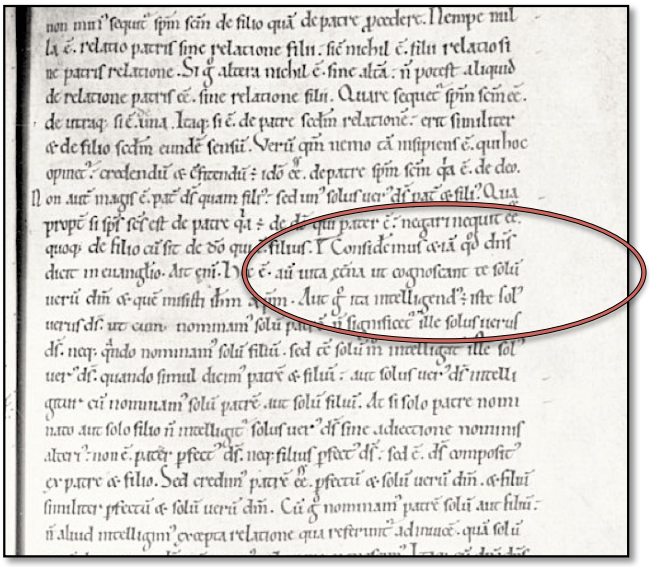


Fig. 6 – BnF, lat. 5305, fol. 54r: Paragraph mark at the opening of chapter 3

For those quickly scanning the page, such paragraph marks can sometimes be difficult to see, as they have a tendency to blend into the text block. The scribe has *not* chosen to add an extra line of space, a large initial, or even a chapter number to indicate the beginning of chapter three, but instead marks the transition to the new chapter in a very subtle manner. The very fact that these paragraph marks do *not* stand out (nor the chapter divisions in Anselm's text as a result) suggest that they were not intended to help the reader locate individual chapters of Anselm's text (as some paragraph marks were designed to do). Instead, they offer only a basic signal to the reader, as he was reading through the entire text, that a new chapter is beginning – this type of paragraph mark is not for a reader who was scanning the text looking for the opening of a new chapter, but for a reader who was reading the book on a more comprehensive basis.

BnF, lat. 564, part 2 is another example that features paragraph marks added in a similarly subtle manner to signal the start of a new text. This manuscript is a composite volume comprised of multiple sections.[35] Part two (fols. 5v-20v) contains the commentary on the *Song of Songs* by Bernard of Clairvaux, as well as a copy of Bernard's sermon XCI, *De tribus emissionibus*, and it was copied between 1108 and

[35] For a list of contents see the description available at the BnF website, Gallica, BnF, lat. 564, http://gallica.bnf.fr/, accessed 8 May, 2014.

1187.[36] Like the previous example, the scribe who copied BnF, lat. 564 did not overtly draw attention to the start of new books and chapters. On fol. 18v, for example, without any kind of division, *incipit* heading, or initial, the text transitions almost seamlessly from Bernard's commentary on the *Song of Songs* to Bernard's sermon XCI. The only indication that an entirely new text is beginning is the addition of a paragraph mark in the left margin.

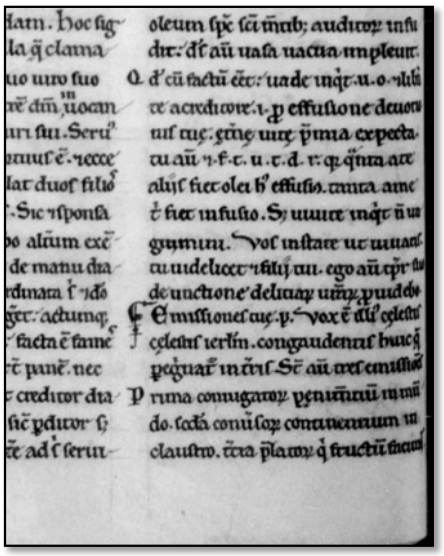


Fig. 7 – BnF, lat. 564, fol. 18v: Opening of Bernard's *Sermo* XCI

The scribe continues to add paragraph marks throughout the text, marking each of the three 'emissions' discussed by Bernard in the sermon. There is a final paragraph mark added on fol. 20r, signaling the end of the sermon, and the beginning of the next

[36] The description provided by the BnF (Gallica), suggests that the commentary is anonymous, but it is likely a copy of Bernard of Clairvaux's commentary on the Song of Songs. For an edition of Bernard's commentary, see 'In cant. cantic. priora duo capita brevis commentatio ex S. Bernardi Sermonibus contexta', in *Sancti Bernardi abbatis primi Clarae-Vallensis, Opera omnia, Volumen II, Continens duos posteriores tomos V & VI*, ed., Jean Mabillon (Paris: Sumptibus Petri Aubouyn etc., 1690), 263-282; and *PL*, Vol. 184, Cols. 407-436. Note: both of these later editions begin the text with the line 'Tres sunt status amoris Dei', while the Fécamp edition (BnF, lat. 564, fol. 5v) has one extra line added to the beginning of the commentary, 'Epithalamium canticum amoris admonet ut de amore primum aliquam differamus'. For an edition of Bernard's sermon, *De tribus emissionibus*, see *Sermo XCI, De tribus emissionibus*, *PL*, Vol. 183, Cols. 710-714A. Based on palaeographical grounds (plummet ruling and biting letter-forms), this book was likely copied in the second half of the twelfth century, possibly as late as the last quarter during the abbacy of Henri of Sully (1140-1189).

text.[37] In this example, the transition from one text to another is very understated with no obvious heading, spatial division, or other contextual information.

This particular use of the paragraph mark does not appear to function as a navigational aid. Without the addition of an *incipit* heading (providing the title of the work) or a chapter number, it would have been difficult for the reader to know which book or chapter was actually beginning. However, the inclusion of a mark to indicate the opening of a new text does suggest that the Fécamp readers wished to know when the texts transitioned, as we might expect. The use of paragraph marks in this fashion may have been a way of alerting the reader to the start of a new section, while providing as little distraction to the reader as possible. They may have also been designed to emphasize a natural break in the text, presenting the reader with a logical place to pause from his reading. This latter function of the paragraph mark is briefly addressed by Anselm of Canterbury in the preface of his *Prayers and Meditations*. Anselm explains that he has added paragraph marks to his text, so that the reader can start and stop reading as he likes: 'this way he will not get bored with too much material but will be able to ponder more deeply those things that make him want to pray'.[38] Here Anselm reflects upon the tradition of *lectio divina* and the practice of frequently pausing to pray during the process of reading. Because these particular paragraph marks do not provide any kind of significant navigational assistance, their inclusion may have been intended to accommodate the breaks and pauses needed to engage in *lectio divina*.

2.4 Marking Quoted Material

In some cases, the Fécamp scribes also used paragraph marks to alert the reader to the addition of quoted material in the text. While medieval scribes frequently opted to use 'quotation marks' to signal the presence of referenced material (similar in appearance to modern quotation marks, though often placed independently of the text in the adjacent margin), the Fécamp scribes more often employed the paragraph mark for

[37] It is uncertain exactly what text begins on fol. 20r. The text begins with 'Egredimini filae sion et videte regem Salomonem in diademate, quo coronavit eum mater sua', a quote from the Song of Songs, Chapter 3, discussed at length in Bernard's *Sermo II, De Magis, ubi exponitur illud de Canticis, III*…, *PL*, Vol. 183, Cols. 147C-149B. The text at fol. 20r, however, does not continue with Bernard's sermon and it is currently unidentified; it ends on fol. 20v.

[38] Anselm, *The Prayers and Meditations*, trans. Ward, 89.

this purpose. There are four manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus, for example, that present paragraph marks functioning in this capacity: Rouen 451, Rouen 469, Rouen 424, and Rouen 532.

In most cases, the paragraph marks only provide a very basic indication that the text contains quoted or referenced material, without marking precisely where the quoted material begins or ends. One such example is Rouen 469, a mid-eleventh century collection of works by Augustine and Jerome.[39] The entire volume is copied by a single scribe and it begins with Augustine's *Retractationes*, a collection of Augustine's revisions of his previously published works.[40] In places in the text where Augustine draws upon quoted material from the original source, the scribe adds a small paragraph mark to the beginning of the sentence.[41] For example, on fol. 5r, at the opening of Augustine's revision of his *De immortalitate animae* (presented in the image below), there is a paragraph mark at the start of the sentence that contains material taken from the original book. The transcribed passage reads: 'Itemque alio loco dixi: nec ullam rem scientia complectitur, nisi quae ad aliquam pertinet disciplinam' [And also, [as] I said in the other place: … the other matter of knowledge is not complete, except that which pertains to discipline … etc.].[42]

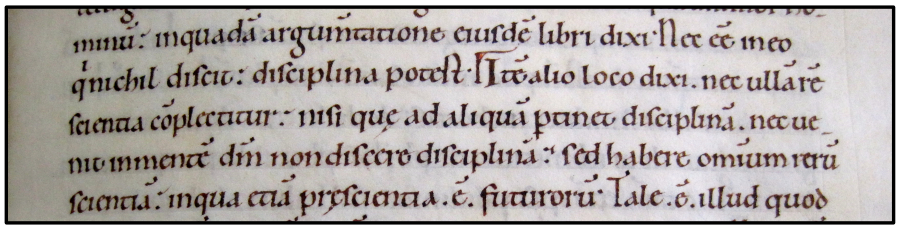


Fig. 8 – Rouen 469, fol. 5r: Sentence containing quoted material, preceded by a paragraph mark

By adding the paragraph mark to the opening of the sentence, the scribe alerts the reader to the presence of a quotation, yet he does not distinguish which part of the sentence consists of quoted material from the original work, and which part is from Augustine's *Retractationes*, nor does he signal where the quotation ends. (In fact, the

[39] The works contained in Rouen 469 are: Augustine: *Retractationes*, *Epistolae*, *De catechizandis rudibus*, *De catechizandis rudibus*, *De patientia*, and *Soliloquia*; Jerome: *De viris illustribus*.

[40] For more detail on Augustine's *Retractationes*, see Meredith F. Eller, 'The "Retractationes" of Saint Augustine', *Church History* 18, No. 3 (September, 1949), 172-183. For an edition of the work, see *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, Retractationum libri II*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher, CCSL 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984).

[41] Each text under discussion is also introduced with a rubricated *incipit* heading with a title often preceded by a paragraph mark.

[42] I have expanded the abbreviations from the original Latin in the transcription.

quoted material consists of only the second half of the sentence: '*nec illam rem scientia complectitur, nisi quae ad aliquam pertinet disciplinam*'.) In all likelihood, the scribe assumed that the reader would recognize where the quote began from the context of the sentence.

It is also interesting to note that the paragraph marks in Rouen 469 are not added to every sentence in Augustine's *Retractationes* that contains quoted material. There are a number of places in Augustine's revision of the *De immortalitate*, for example, that contain quotations, but which have not been indicated by the scribe via paragraph marks.[43] Indeed, *most* of the quoted material in Augustine's *Retractationes* as presented in Rouen 469 is not highlighted with a paragraph mark. It seems here that the scribe responsible for copying this text chose to add paragraph marks only to specific sections of the text, perhaps where he felt the reader would have benefited from their inclusion: perhaps the scribe wished to draw the reader's attention to revisions that were of particular interest to the community, or which pertained to Augustinian works that belonged to the Fécamp library. In general, it appears that the Fécamp scribes did not follow any kind of obvious house-style in their application of paragraph marks – that is, they did not add these features in a standard form or for a standard purpose in all of the books they copied at Fécamp. Instead, it seems that they employed these features on a more requisite basis, adding them only to books and passages that required additional clarity.

3. Navigational Reading Aids

In addition to reading aids that helped to organize and clarify the text, some scribes felt it was necessary to add a layer of navigational support in the manuscripts they copied. 'Navigational reading aids', as I refer to them here, are specifically designed to help the reader find his way through the volume and to look up and find specific passages of text with relative speed and ease. These features include chapter tables, running titles, and certain types of paragraph mark. As this section will show, these particular features are very rarely included in the manuscripts produced at Fécamp in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[43] See, for example, the line, 'Deinde cogitans nihil aliud quam animos hominum in quadam argumentatione eiusdem libri dixi: *Nec esse in eo quod nihil discit disciplina potest*' (Rouen 469, fol. 5r). In Augustine's text, there is a quotation, but in Rouen 469 the scribe has not indicated the quotation with a paragraph mark, as he does on other occcasions.

Let us briefly review the three navigational reading aids in question, beginning with the chapter table. For those who did not wish to read a book from cover to cover, the addition of a chapter table was essential. Typically presented in the form of a list, a chapter table is most often positioned at the opening of a volume or at the start of each book in a volume of collected works. The content of the chapter table is subject to variation, but it usually provides an entry for each chapter consisting of either an *incipit* heading or an abbreviated overview of the subject-matter, with each entry accompanied by a corresponding chapter number (usually presented in roman numerals). The primary function of the chapter table is to allow the reader to look up a desired section of text, and to locate that section via corresponding chapter numbers in the volume.

The second navigational reading aid examined in this study is the running title. In some cases, medieval scribes opted to include an abbreviated heading at the top margin of the page in the form of a running title. These headings typically present the title of the book (i.e. 'Genesis') or the book number (i.e. 'Liber V') either on a single page or stretched across the top of two pages. While some running titles were added during the initial phase of production, others were added after the completion of the book by a secondary scribe or reader.[44] In most cases, running titles are not added to every page of the book, but instead can be found placed on every other page (or every few pages) throughout the book or chapter. The primary function of the running title is to identify the title (or section) of the book to which the text on that page belongs. Like the chapter table, running titles were particularly beneficial to those who prefered to read only part of the volume or who wished to read the text in an alternative sequence (as opposed to reading the text from cover to cover in the original order).

The third feature examined here is the navigational paragraph mark. As we have seen previously, paragraph marks could serve a variety of functions. One of these functions is to help the reader navigate through the volume. In such cases, the paragraph mark is paired with a chapter number or *incipit* heading, and it is designed to draw the reader's attention to the start of a new chapter or book. Unlike the examples previously cited, 'navigational' paragraph marks not only signal the division of the text, but they are also accompanied by contextual information that makes it

[44] Because running titles were positioned in the top margin of the page, they often fall victim to the practice of marginal 'trimming', which was common during the practice of re-binding.

clear to the reader which text (or part of the text) is beginning. As such, these paragraph marks work within a larger, book-wide system of navigation, guiding the reader through the main text body and helping him find desired parts of the text quickly and easily.

3.1 Absence of Navigational Reading Aids

This last section of the chapter investigates the rate at which navigational reading aids (chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks) were applied to the manuscripts copied at Fécamp over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. When analyzing the data collected from *in situ* research of these books, it came as somewhat of a surprise to find that these features are largely absent from the Fécamp manuscripts. The final section of the chapter examines this phenomenon and considers how the absence of navigational reading aids may have supported the practice of *lectio divina*.

Out of the sixty-six volumes examined in the Fécamp corpus, forty-eight manuscripts (or 73%) do *not* contain any kind of navigational reading aid. These books are presented in a list below (arranged by genre).

Table 3: Fécamp Manuscripts Without Navigational Reading Aids

A: Shelfmark; **B**: Date; **C**: Author; **D**: Text

Ref.	A	B	C	D
I. Biblical Books				
1	Rouen 118	1075-1150		Expositions on the Psalms
2	Rouen 313	1108-1187		Gospels
3	Rouen 116	1108-1187		Genesis with gloss; Psalms with gloss[45]
4	BnF, lat. 188	1075-1150		Job with gloss
5	Rouen 41	1108-1187		Leviticus with gloss
6	Rouen 86	1108-1187		St Matthew with gloss
II. Patristic Texts				

[45] This MS has one paragraph mark next to a chapter number on the first page, but the entirety of the manuscript has no further chapter numbers or other navigational markings. The one paragraph mark present does not seem to link up to any visible navigational system either.

7	BnF, lat. 1939	*c.* 1050	Augustine	*De doctrina christiana*
8	Bern, Cod. 162	*c.* 1050	Augustine	*De opere monachorum*, *De fide et operibus*, *Contra Donatistas*, *De bono virginitatis*, *De bono coniugali*, *De bono viduitatis*, *De symbolo sermo*, *De oratione dominica sermo*
9	BnF, lat. 1992	1050-1075	Augustine	*Ennarationes in Psalmos*
10	BnF, lat. 2079	1075-1100	Augustine	*Contra Faustum*
11	Rouen 477	1075-1100	Augustine	*Contra Julianum hereticum*, *De perfectione justitae hominum*, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, *Contra sermonem Arianorum*, *De anima et eius origine*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De magistro*, *De mendacio*, *De natura et gratia*, *De vera religione*
12	Rouen 478	1108-1187	Augustine; Pseudo-Augustine	Augustine: *Contra Academicos*, *Contra quinque haereses*, *De beata vita*, *De duabus animabus*, *De ordine*, *Enchiridion*; Pseudo-Augustine: *Hypomnesticon*
13	BnF, lat. 2639	1050-1075	Ambrose	*De Isaac et anima*, *De bono mortis*, *De fuga saeculi*, *De Iacob et uita beata*, *De paradyso*, *De consolatione ulaentiniani*, *Epistola ad Vercellenses*
14	Rouen 429	1108-1187	Ambrose	*De fuga saeculi*, *De sancte virgintate*, *Exhortatio virginitatis*
15	BnF, lat. 5290, part 5 (fols. 151r-159v)	1050-1075	Anonymous; Bede	Anonymous: *Vita sancti Romani, Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi*; Bede: *Tractatus in Proverbia*

				Salomonis
16	Rouen 526	1100-1150	Bede	*Expositio in Parabolas Salomonis*
17	Rouen 525, part 3 (fols. 31r-135v)	1108-1187	Bede	*In genisim*
18	Rouen 451	*c*. 1100	Jerome	*Commentarius in canticum Deborae*, *De distantiis locorum*, *Interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum*
19	Rouen 424	1120-1130	Rufin	*In explanationem Originensis super epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*
20	Rouen 444	1100-1150	Jerome	*Super Jeremiam*
21	Rouen 445	1108-1187	Jerome	*Expositio in Ezechiel*
22	Rouen 448	1150-1200	Jerome; Anonymous; Pamphilus	Jerome: *Super Marcum*; Anonymous: *Ecclesiasticus*, *Martyrologium*; Pamphilus: *Apologeticus pro excusatione Origensis*
III. Contemporary Theological Works				
23	BnF, lat. 989, part 3 (fols. 8v-40r, 53v)	1025-1050	Anonymous; Alcuin	Anonymous: *Vita, inventio et miraculi St Taurini*; Alcuin: Homily and sermon on St Taurin
24	BnF, lat. 5305, part 2 (fols. 49r-110r)	1093-1150	Anselm; Fulco of Beauvais	Anselm: *De processione spiritus sancti*, *Epistola de sacrificio azymi et fermentati*; Fulco: *Opera*
25	Rouen 525, part 1 (fols. 1r-22)	1108-1187	Arnaldus Carnotensis	*De verbis Domini in cruce*
26	BnF, lat. 564, part 2 (fols. 4v-20v)	1108-1187	Bernard of Clairvaux	Commentary on the Song of Songs
27	Rouen 491, part 1 (fols. 1r-4v, 13r-223)	1075-1100	Cassiodorus	*Expositio in Psalmos*
28	Rouen 491, part 2 (fols. 5r-	1100-1150	Cassiodorus	*Expositio in Psalmos*

	12v)			
29	Rouen 492	1108-1187	Cassiodorus	*Expositio in Psalmos*
30	BnF, lat. 5057	1108-1187	Flavius Josephus	*De bello judacio*
31	BnF, lat. 437	1075-1150	Gregory; Augustine	Gregory: Commentary on the Psalms and Song of Songs, Homily on Ezechiel; Augustine: Extracts
32	BnF, lat. 564, part 4 (fols. 34r-69v)	1108-1187	Hildebert of Le Mans	*Versus de mysterio missae*, *Vita sanctae Mariae Aegyptiacae*, *Versus de novo sacrifcio vetus abrogante*, *De baptismo*, *De nova lege veterem abrogante*
33	BnF, lat. 440	1100-1150	John of Rheims	Commentary on the Psalms
IV. Hagiography				
34	BnF, lat. 989, part 4 (fols. 41r-53r)	1025-1050		*Passio metrica St Luciae*
35	BnF, lat. 5290, part 3 (fols. 54r-138v)	1050-1075		Saints' lives
36	BnF, lat. 5290, part 4 (fols. 139r-150v)	1050-1075		Saints' lives and passions
37	BnF, lat. 5305, part 1 (fols. 1-48v)	1075-1150		Saints' lives
38	Rouen 1388	1108-1187		Saints' lives
39	Rouen 1400	1108-1187		Saints' lives
40	Rouen 1404	1100-1150		Saints' lives
41	BnF, lat. 5390, part 2 (fols. 222r-235r)	1028-1078		*Vita sancti Willelmi*, *Abbatis primi Fiscannensis*, *Adsonis* (Monachi) *ad Gerbergam*, *Franciae Reginam espitola de ortu et tempore Antichristi*, *Syntagma de Sibylla, sive vaticanatio de mundi fine*
V. Compilations (Multiple Authors)				
42	BnF, lat. 564,	1108-1187	Anonymous	Treaty on the asceticism

	part 3 (fols. 23r-33r)			of monks
43	BnF, lat. 1684	1050-1078	Athanasius; Vigilius Tapsensis; Potamius; Jerome	Athanasius: *Epistolae II ad Luciferum*; Vigilius Tapsensis: *De trinitate,* *Contra Arianos dialogus,* *Solutiones objectionum Arianorum*; Potamius: *Epistola ad Athanasium*; Jerome: *De fide*
44	Rouen 471	1028-1078	Augustine; Fulbert; Fulgentius; Anonymous	Augustine: *De symbolo,* *De virtutibus caritatis,* *Contra Felicianum hereticum,* *De cantico novo,* *De cataclismo,* *De tempore barbarico*; Fulbert: *Sermones*; Fulgentius: *Pro fide catholica*; Anonymous: *Miracula St Michaelis Archangeli*
45	BnF, lat. 564, part 5 (fols. 71r-132r)	1108-1187	Bernard of Clairvaux; William of Champeaux; Anselm of Canterbury	Bernard of Clairvaux: *Apologia*, *Liber de praecepto et dispensatione*, *Optima sententia de corpore et sanguine Domini*; William of Champeaux: *Fragmentum de Eucharista*; Anselm: *Meditatio de humana redemptione*, *Proslogion*
46	Rouen 489	*c.* 1050	Gerbert; Boethius; Anonymous	Gerbert: *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus*, *De numerorum divisione*; Boethius: *De trinitate*; Anonymous: *De divisione,* *De fide catholica,*

				Liber contra Eutchen et Nestorium
47	BnF, lat. 3776	1028-1078	Gregory; Origen; Isidore; Jerome; Augustine; Cassian	Homilies on the Gospels
48	BnF, lat. 989, part 5 (fols. 54r-131v)	1025-1050	Johannes Diaconus Neapolitanus Paulinus; Augustine; Prudentius	Johannes: *Vita St Nicolai cum prologus*; Paulinus Nolensis and Augustine: *Epistolae*; Anonymous: Fragments of homilies for the office; Prudentius: *Psychomachia*

As the list shows, there is a high number of volumes (featuring a range of different texts) from the Fécamp corpus that do not contain navigational reading aids. While these books often include basic reading aids in the form of initials, rubrication, punctuation, and in some cases chapter numbers, there are no auxiliary reading aids present that propel these features to function in a navigational capacity.

At first, the conspicuous lack of navigational reading aids in the manuscripts from Fécamp may seem rather perplexing. One might immediately run through a list of potential explanations as to why the Fécamp scribes opted to exclude navigational tools from the majority of the books they copied: perhaps the scribes were untrained in the use of navigational reading aids; perhaps they were following an exemplar that did not include these features; or perhaps the lack of navigational reading aids has to do with the types of texts that these books contain. While these scenarios may, initially, seem to have merit, in the following section I will demonstrate that these explanations do not stand up to critical evaluation, and should ultimately be discounted in favour of a fourth option: the role of *lectio divina* and its impact on the physical design of the books from Fécamp.

3.2 Scribal Training

One might first suggest that the Fécamp scribes did not include these navigational reading aids in the books they copied simply because they were unfamiliar with them.

This notion is easily contested, however, by the fact that eighteen books from the Fécamp corpus *do* contain navigational reading aids.[46] Moreover, some of the scribes who were responsible for copying books *with* navigational reading aids, are also responsible for copying books *without* these features. We know the names of three Fécamp scribes, for example, (Hugo, Antonius, and John), each of whom were responsible for copying multiple volumes for the Fécamp collection in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[47] By examining their work in different volumes, we see that in some cases they opted to add chapter tables or running titles, for instance, while in other cases they chose not to, indicating a degree of flexibility in their application of these features.

If we look to the work of Antonius, for example, we find that when he copied Rouen 427, a collection of works by Ambrose made sometime between 1028 and 1078, Antonius adds chapter tables at the opening of most new books:[48]

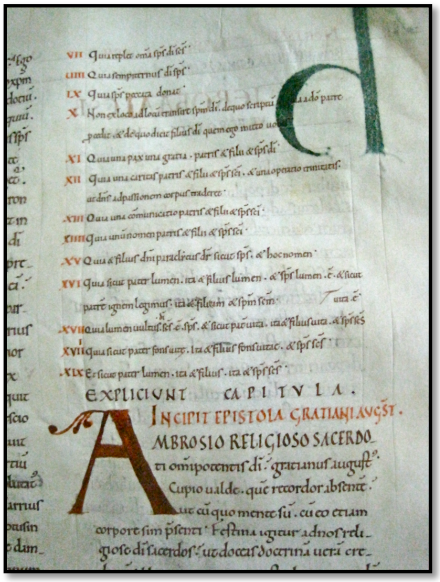


Fig. 9 – Rouen 427, fol. 36r: Chapter table copied by Antonius

[46] These books will be addressed in detail in the following chapters.

[47] Hugo is also identified via colophons in BnF, Lat. 2079, fol. 172v, and BnF, lat. 1684, fol. 128.

[48] Branch, 'The Development of Script', 73. Rouen 427 contains the following works by Ambrose: *Hexameron*, *De fide et Gratianum*, *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, *De officiis ministorum*, *De spiritu santo*, as well as a twelfth-century copy of a charter from Fécamp (fols. 151v-152r). For more information on the charter, see David Doublas, 'The First Ducal Charter for Fecamp' in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), 45-53.

However, in another *later* example of Antonius' work, BnF, lat. 1992 (a complete copy of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*), there are no chapter tables present in the volume. Even though Antonius had experience in adding chapter tables, as exemplified in his earlier work, he did not add this paratextual component to all of the manuscripts he copied.[49] Such an example demonstrates the versatility of the Fécamp scribes to adjust the way they chose to present each volume they copied. It is therefore very unlikely that the reason why there are so few navigational reading aids in the Fécamp manuscripts is due to the scribe's individual training.

3.3 Exemplar

Another potential explanation for the lack of navigational reading aids in the Fécamp manuscripts is that these books were copied from exemplar manuscripts that also did not contain them. Indeed, most manuscripts that survive today (especially those that contain late-Antique texts) have been copied from an older exemplar.[50] Such a suggestion, however, implies that the Fécamp scribes copied on a kind of 'auto-pilot' mode, and in an effort to produce an *identical* copy of the examplar, they chose not to adjust or improve the new copy to suit the needs of the contemporary reader. Upon closer examination of the manuscript evidence, however, this scenario seems highly unlikely, particularly given the inevitable variation between an exemplar manuscript and a new copy.

---

[49] Another Fécamp scribe named Hugo, demonstrates a similar flexibility in his use of chapter tables. Hugo was responsible for copying BnF, lat. 1684, a large multi-text volume, also copied during the abbacy of John of Ravenna (1028-1078), and containing the works of Vigilius Tapensis, Potamius, and Jerome. In this volume Hugo copies a large content list on fol. 1v. Like Antonius, Hugo demonstrates a clear understanding of how such a list might function in the manuscript. Also like Antonius, however, Hugo does not appear to have added similar lists to all of the books he copied. In BnF, lat. 2079, a late-eleventh-century copy of Augustine's *Contra Faustum* (copied in collaboration with Antonius and Johannes), Hugo refrains from adding any content list or chapter tables throughout the volume.

[50] Rodney Thomson points out that many twelfth-century books in England derive from only one or two exemplars. See Rodney Thomson, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production', in Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 136-167, at 142-143. For a more detailed account of how certain texts were copied from only one or two exemplars, see Teresa Webber, 'The Diffusion of Augustine's *Confessions* in England During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in John Blair and Brian Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 29-45; and Webber, 'The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective of the Making of Books', in Pamela R. Robinson, Rivkah Zim, and Ruth J. Dean, eds., *Medieval Manuscripts: Their Scribes and Readers, Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes* (Aldershot-Brookfield: Scolar Press-Ashgate, 1997), 191-205, at 201.

To demonstrate, we can look to three manuscripts from Norman collections copied from the same exemplar: BnF, lat. 1684, BnF, lat. 12131, and Rouen 425. All three books contain an identical collection of texts on the Trinity in identical order with corresponding *incipit* and *explicit* headings.[51] The connection between BnF, lat. 1684 and Rouen 425 was first noted by François Avril who suggested that Rouen 425 was lent by Fécamp to the neighbouring house of Mont-St-Michel and never returned.[52] He suspects that Rouen 425 served as the exemplar for BnF, lat. 1684 (given the identical structure of the texts). Somewhat by chance, I came across another collection of Athanasius' works, BnF, lat. 12131, while researching in Paris and noted that this manuscript also features an identical text structure, including indentical abbreviations and *incipit* headings to both Rouen 425 and BnF, lat 1684, suggesting that this manuscript was also copied from the same exemplar.

Despite the likelihood of being copied from the same exemplar, however, each manuscript presents different page dimensions;[53] different layout of the text (with different texts falling on different folio numbers, due to variations in script-size between manuscripts);[54] as well as different reading aids. BnF, lat. 1684, for example, presents chapter numbers added to the margin of book eight of Athanasius' *De trinitate* (titled *'De fidei unitate*', fols. 45r-46v). [55] However, in book eight of the remaining two copies there are no chapter numbers in this section of the book.[56] It seems that the

---

[51] The major text of each of the three manuscripts is Vigilius Tapsensis' *De trintiate* (often listed under the authorship of Athanasius). For an edition of this work, see *PL*, Vol. 62, Cols. 237-334. Both BnF, lat. 12131 and Rouen 425 were examined *in situ*, while BnF, lat. 1684 was examined via microfilm.

[52] For a description of Avril's findings, see Branch, 'The Development of Script', 113.

[53] BnF, lat. 1684 measures 295 x 215 mm; BnF, lat. 12131: 290 x 195 mm; and Rouen 425: 330 x 240 mm. The difference in page-size between these volumes is unsurprising given the fact that it would have been difficult to locate sheets of parchment that were identical in size to the exemplar; the size and quality of the parchment depended on the animal skin, which was subject to variation. While the parchment-maker could have theoretically cut the parchment to match the size of the original book, such a practice would have been largely uneconomical at a time when parchment was costly.

[54] For example, the fourth text in each of the three manuscript copies is Vigilius Tapsensis' *De singulis nominibus contra novellam heresim cuiusdam potentim urbici* (Abbreviated in the manuscripts as: '*De singulis nominibus adversus nouella' heresem potentini*'). In each volume, however, the text begins and ends on different pages: BnF, lat. 1684: fols. 24r-28r; BnF, lat. 12131: fols. 14r-16r; and Rouen 425: fols. 17v-20v. For a similar discussion on the difficulty that Carolingian scribes faced in copying exemplars after the introduction and standardization of caroline minuscule, see Rosamond McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick, and R. Thomson, *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 21-76, at 32-33.

[55] BnF, lat. 1684, fols. 45r-46v.

[56] BnF, lat. 12131, fols. 24r-25r; and Rouen 425, fols. 29v-30v. Although it is impossible to say which scribe altered the the text (as it is currently unknown which is the oldest copy out of the three), it is clear that a change has been made in either one or two of the books. If the original exemplar did *not* include chapter numbers in this part of the book, then the scribe who copied BnF, lat. 1684 chose to add these

scribes who copied these books, despite following the same exemplar, appear to have indulged in some degree of freedom in terms of how they chose to present each new copy.

In her work on the Carolingian book, Rosamond McKitterick has observed similar innovations on the part of scribes copying from older exemplar books. In one article, McKitterick considers the presenation of five copies of Eusebius-Jerome's *Chronicon* and compares the different layouts of the text and the degree to which scribes supplied innovations to the manuscript page.[57] Just as the examples from Fécamp show, Carolingian scribes also faced challenges when creating new copies from older exemplars, particularly those that feature older styles of script. McKitterick makes a convincing argument that Carolingian scribes were not adverse to adjusting the presentation of new copies of older texts, not just because it was difficult to create an identical copy of the original, but also because they were prepared to adjust the layout to accommodate the needs of the contemporary reader.[58] Given this argument, as well as the evidence provided by the three *De trinitate* manuscripts, it does not seem tenable that the state of the exemplar necessarily had a determinate effect on the design of new manuscript copies. As such, this role of the exemplar does not sufficiently explain why there are so few manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus that feature navigational reading aids.

3.4 Textual Traditions

Having now taken two scenarios 'off the table' (so to speak), some skeptics may still contend that the reason why the majority of Fécamp manuscripts do not have navigational reading aids has to do with the content of the books: perhaps some texts simply 'come with' navigational reading aids, and others do not.[59] However, if we

features to his copy; conversely, if the original exemplar did include chapter numbers in this part of the book, the two scribes who copied BnF, lat. 12131 and Rouen 425 may have chosen to exclude these features in their later copies.

[57] McKitterick, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production'.

[58] Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 70-71, similarly notes examples of medieval copies of the same text, that feature different punctuation.

[59] It has been widely recognized that certain literary genres are conducive to specific book layouts and presentation styles. Calendars, for example, are most often positioned at the opening of a volume, with each month presented on a single folia and ruled in four columns; verse texts are usually presented in a single column, the start of each line highlighted with an initial; martyrologies typically present a single entry for each day of the year, displayed in a 'single column of long lines'. For an overview of different layouts for different types of books, see Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', 55-74.

look to some examples of different manuscripts that contain the same text, we, again, find a high-degree of scribal innovation in terms of page layout and reading aids.

For example, if we compare two copies of Smaragdus' *Expositio regulae Sancti Benedicti*, one from the Fécamp corpus (BnF, lat. 4210), and another from the Abbey of St-Martial de Limoges (BnF, lat. 2157), we find a conspicuous contrast in the presentation of the text. Despite the fact that both books feature identical textual content, they differ in terms of their page layout and use of navigational reading aids. The example from Fécamp (BnF, lat. 4210), for instance, was copied around *c.* 1000 and presents Smaragdus' text in a two-column layout with the Rule of St Benedict presented in rustic capitals and uncials written in red, and the commentary written in light-brown minuscule.[60] This copy also features a chapter table (fol. 22r) with corresponding chapter numbers, as well as navigational paragraph marks highlighting the location of marginal chapter numbers:

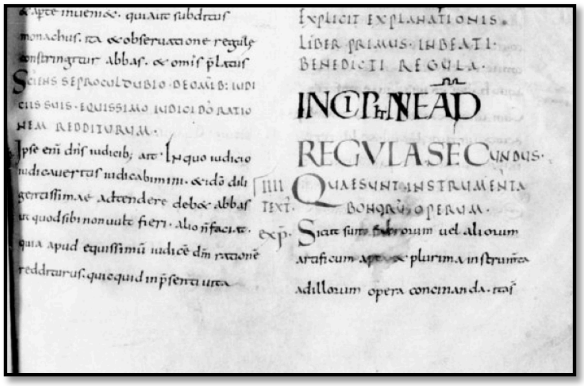


Fig. 10 – BnF, lat. 4210, fol. 37r: Opening of chapter 4 with paragraph mark

In the other copy of Smaragdus' *Expositio*, BnF, lat. 2157 (copied in the late tenth century) the text is presented in a single column of long lines, with the Rule of St Benedict present in non-rubricated uncials, with the commentary in the same colour ink, written in minuscules. While there is a section of text that features the same subject divisions BnF, lat. 4210, there are no *original* chapter numbers, nor navigational paragraph marks.[61]

[60] For an overview of BnF, Lat. 4210, see Branch, 'The Development of Script', 65-66.

[61] The chapter numbers seen faintly on the right of the image have been added by a much later hand in a light pencil (fols. 34r-35v). This hand is also responsible for the later addition of chapter numbers

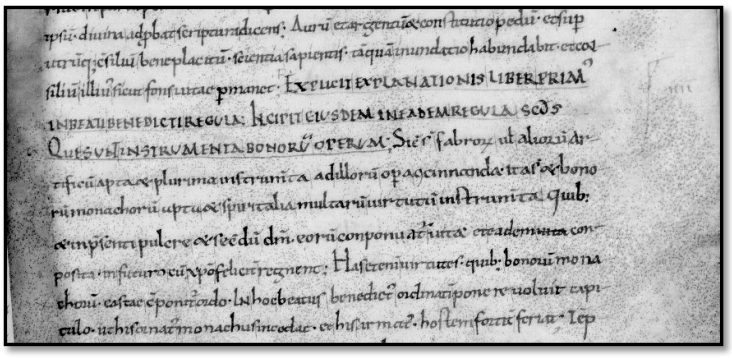


Fig. 11 – BnF, lat. 2157, fol. 52r: Opening of chapter 4 without paragraph mark

Another example of two texts that feature different visual apparata can be found in Rouen 506 and Rouen 507 – two very different copies of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. Rouen 506 was copied at the Abbey of Jumièges sometime in eleventh century and features a chapter table at the opening of each book, along with corresponding chapter numbers presented in large red roman numerals. Rouen 507 is a much later copy of the same text, likely produced at the Abbey of St-Èvroul in the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. Unlike its earlier counterpart, this copy of Gregory's *Dialogues* does not contain any chapter tables nor any chapter numbers at any point in the volume. The side-by-side images below show the opening of book four of Gregory's *Dialogues*: Rouen 506 on the left, clearly features a chapter table, while Rouen 507 on the right, indicates the opening of book four only with a rubricated *incipit* and initial:

and corresponding paragraph marks in the text – that is to say, the original manuscript did *not* include chapter numbers, nor corresponding paragraph marks in the primary text.

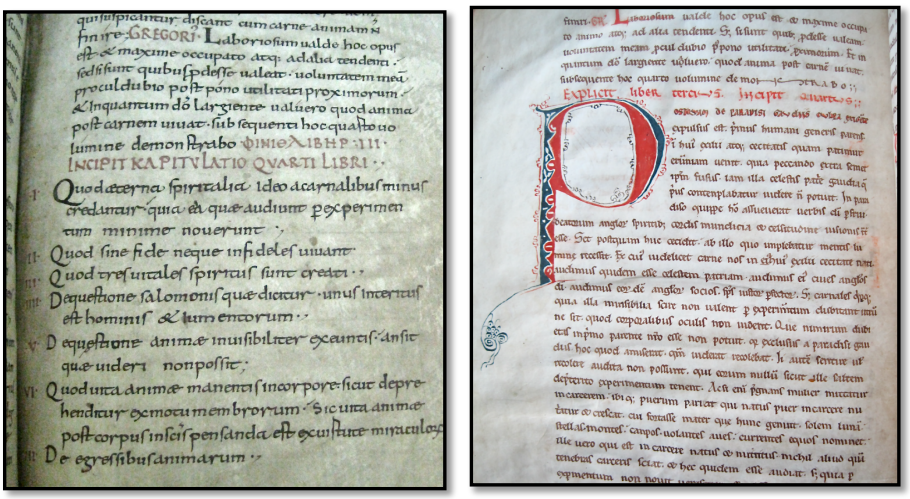


Fig. 12 – Two copies of Gregory's *Dialogues*: Rouen 506, fol. 49r (left); Rouen 507, fol. 20v (right)

These examples indicate that the text itself does not necessarily determine how a scribe chose to design and present each manuscript copy.[62] It would be premature, however, to argue such a position conclusively without conducting a far mor comprehensive study, examining each text individually (an undertaking that far exceeds the limitations of this present study). What is important to acknowledge, however, is that the nature of the text does not necessarily influence the design of the manuscript. There is sufficient degree of variation between different copies of the same text to invalidate the suggestion that the text alone is what drove the Fécamp scribes to exclude navigational reading aids in so many of the books they copied.

[62] Focusing on Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Pierre Petitmengin brings attention to another case of how chapter divisions of certain texts may change over time and may be presented differently in the manuscript record. Petitmengin explains that once Augustine had completed his *De civitate Dei*, he sent the manuscript to a catachumen named Firmus with a letter attached, which provided a summary of chapter tables intended to accompany the work. The letter (describing the chapter tables) was published separately from the primary work, and, either through accident, neglect, or otherwise, was not attached to all copies of the book circulating in the fifth century. This may help to explain why some later copies of the *De civitate Dei* include chapter tables and others do not. See Pierre Petitmengin, 'La division en chapitres de la *Cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin', in Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, eds., *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit* (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Libraire – Promodis, 1990), 133-138; cf. R. W. Hunt, 'Chapter Headings of Augustine *De Trinitate* Ascribed to Adam Marsh', *The Bodleian Library Record* 5, No. 1 (April, 1954), 65-68.

3.5 *Lectio Divina*

Having refuted three alternative possibilities, I now turn to, what I argue, is the most convincing explanation as to why so few Fécamp books contain navigational reading aids – that is to say, the practice of *lectio divina*. To follow this argument, we must re-consider the primary function of navigational reading aids in manuscript books. As discussed earlier in this chapter, these features (including chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks) are designed to help the reader navigate through the volume; helping him to look up and find specific passages quickly and easily. These features facilitate a type of reading that was inherently 'selective', with the reader jumping from section to section, or reading the text in a different order than the original sequence of the texts ('non-sequential'). In essence, these features promote a mode of reading that directly contradicts the primary tenets of *lectio divina*; a mode of reading that is defined by its slow, comprehensive, and sequential approach to the text.

It is probable, therefore, that the reason why there are so few chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks in the Fécamp manuscripts is because they were largely superfluous and unnecessary for the comprehensive approach of *lectio divina*. The Fécamp scribes did not add these features to most of their devotional texts, because they knew that their readers would not need them on a regular basis; these books were not designed to be read in parts or referenced quickly, but instead were intended for a reader who took a more inclusive approach to the text, starting at the beginning of the book and progressing through the whole text.[63] Not only were these features probably deemed 'unnecessary', but they may have also been 'unwanted'. As discussed at length in the previous chapter, Benedictine monks expressed a great concern for the vice of distraction. The threat of distraction lurked behind every decorated wall, every illuminated page in a book, and every idle conversation or activity that turned the mind away from God. Navigational reading aids, designed to facilitate quick searches and selective reading, may have threatened the concentration

[63] By limiting the addition of paratextual features, the Fécamp scribes present the reader with more of a 'neutral page', allowing the individual to pursue a wider range of interpretations of the text material. Given the emphasis on the repeated reading of scriptural passages to accquire multiple understandings of text, the readers of Fécamp may have welcomed a more neutral presentation of their texts. For a discussion of 'neutral page' design in regards to the addition of punctuation, see Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 70-71.

of the *lectio divina* reader, as they encouraged a faster, less focused, and less comprehensive approach to the text.

In a brief, yet similar study of a thirteenth-century manuscript known as the *Trinity Apocalypse* (Cambridge, Trinity College R.16.2), Teresa Webber has also noted a conspicuous absence of what she calls the 'visual apparatus' of the book, including headings, rubrics, initials, and consistent chapter numbers.[64] Although Webber focuses her attention on features that I categorize as 'organizational reading aids' (as opposed to 'navigational reading aids'), she argues that features such as headings and coloured initials were often used by individuals who wished to consult the text for 'reference purposes'.[65] In the *Trinity Apocalypse* manuscript, however, these visual aids are noticeably missing. Webber goes on to suggest two potential scenarios to explain their absence: either the person reading the book was sufficiently familiar with the book's contents, and was thus able to 'navigate the complex arrangement of text and commentary without additional visual or verbal clues' or the 'person for whom the book was intended had such an experienced reader at hand to assist him or her'.[66] The hypothesis that the reader was so familiar with the text that he did not require the addition of reading aids may also apply to the context of Fécamp. As discussed earlier, a major component of the *lectio divina* process involved the continuous reading and re-reading of texts (*meditatio*) in an effort to memorize and internalize the material for easy mental retrieval and contemplation (*contemplatio*). It is very probable that the readers of Fécamp were fluent with many of the texts they read (or were *expected* to be sufficiently fluent) that navigational reading aids were considered to be extraneous additions to the page.

As such, it can be inferred that the reason why there are so few navigational reading aids in the manuscripts of Fécamp is not because of scribal training or traditions in manuscript copying, but because of the way that these texts were meant to be *read*. As we have seen, *lectio divina* has been described as a very specific approach to the text, involving multiple steps and processes and requiring a high-degree of mental concentration and dedication to the task. Given the importance of *lectio divina* within the programme of spiritual worship in the Benedictine monastery, as well as

---

[64] Teresa Webber, 'Codicology and Palaeography', in David McKitterick, ed., *The Trinity Apocalypse: (Trinity College Cambridge, MS R.16.2.)* (London: The British Library, 2005), 34-44.
[65] Webber, 'Codicology and Palaeography', 42.
[66] Webber, 'Codicology and Palaeography', 42.

the very specific requirements of this particular style of reading, it is not surprising to see that Benedictine monks designed many of their devotional texts to specifically suit this special and critically important spiritual activity. Not only does it make sense that the scribes of Fécamp would have adjusted their books to accommodate their specific needs, but it also presents the most convincing explanation as to why there are so few books that present navigational reading aids.

4. Concluding Points

This chapter began with an overview of some physical and visual features common to devotional manuscripts produced at the Abbey of Fécamp. It has endeavoured to place these apparent trends in manuscript production within the context of Benedictine culture and the rituals of daily worship and belief. As we have seen, the majority of manuscripts from Fécamp are made to be of a size that could be easily carried (and read) in various different locations within the cloister. We have also discussed how the general lack of decoration and artwork in the manuscripts from Fécamp may demonstrate a cautious approach to anything that might serve as a distraction to those who were reading. Similarly, we noted the absence of marginal and interlinear glosses in the majority of manuscripts produced at Fécamp and considered some of the potential explanations, including some of the impracticalities of reading marginal commentary in tandem with a primary text, as well as the possible interference such annotations may have posed in terms of concentration – a particularly important component of the *lectio divina* experience.

The last section of this chapter focused specifically on the absence of navigational reading aids in the books of Fécamp in the form of chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks. Like decoration and glosses, the majority of Fécamp manuscripts that contain devotional texts do not include these features. Taking a number of potential explanations for their absence into account, I argued that that these particular features were excluded from most manuscripts on the grounds that they were unnecessary (or unwanted) for the practice of *lectio divina*, the primary mode of devotional reading in the Benedictine monastery. Not only were navigational reading aids impractical and superfluous for those engaging in *lectio divina* (which encouraged a patient, comprehensive, and sequential reading of the text), but

they also may have functioned as an unwelcome interference to this particular form of spiritual reading.

It may seem rather strange that this chapter has focused almost exclusively on features that are generally *absent* from the manuscripts produced at the Abbey of Fécamp. For the most part, the corpus manuscripts do not contain many things beyond the text, and some may think that these books look plain or elementary in their appearance. Although these books do not feature an array of artistic decoration, a maze of complicated marginal notes, or a systematic application of navigational reading aids, these books are by no means simplistic. In many ways, the rather austere and plain-looking appearance of these books, quite cunningly, veils a complex and sophisticated design aesthetic. Despite the fact that the scribes of Fécamp were well-aware of how to decorate a manuscript, how to organize the layout of the page to accommodate a marginal and interlinear gloss, or how to insert chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks to facilitate easy finding and referencing, they chose *not* to add these features in the majority of books they produced. In doing so, they presented a manuscript template that perfectly suited the *lectio divina* reader – a book that contains suitable devotional texts (first and foremost) and designed to present the text in a specifically 'monastic' manner, with as few distractions and non-essential features as possible. In somewhat abstract terms, this form of manuscript book perfectly reflects the principles of the Benedictine monk and *lectio divina* reader with its dedication to simplicity, obedience, and undistracted devotion to God.

But what about the 'other' manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus: those that *do* contain navigational reading aids? If *lectio divina* was the primary mode of devotional reading in the monastery, and this mode of reading did not require the addition of navigational support, then why do some manuscripts include chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks? How do these manuscripts fit within the context of the Benedictine monastery? Part Two of this study takes a closer look at these books, and argues that they reflect a *second* mode of devotional reading practiced alongside *lectio divina* at the Abbey of Fécamp in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

PART TWO



Navigational Reading Aids

&

Selective Reading

Chapter 3

Navigational Reading Aids



1. Navigational Reading Aids at Fécamp

Thus far I have argued that the design of the majority of books from the Fécamp corpus reflect the specific practice of *lectio divina*, and that the scribes of Fécamp designed these books to suit this approach to reading. It is important to acknowledge, however, that not *all* of the manuscripts produced in the Fécamp scriptorium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries present such a plain exterior. Despite the fact that the majority of books do not feature any kind of navigational reading aid, there are eighteen books out of the total sixty-six (27%) that *do* feature one, two, or three types of reading aid in the form of chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks. These books are listed in the table below (arranged according to shelfmark):

Table 4: Fécamp Manuscripts with Navigational Reading Aids

A: Shelfmark; **B**: Date; **C**: Author; **D**: Text; **E**: Chapter Table(s); **F**: Running Titles; **G**: Nav. Paragraph Marks
+ : Present; **–** : Not Present

Ref.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	BnF, lat. 258	950-1000		Gospel Book	+	+	–
2	BnF, lat. 1928	1078-1108	Augustine	*Epistolae*	+	–	–
3	BnF, lat. 2088	1050-1075	Augustine	*De trinitate*	+	–	+
4	BnF, lat. 4210	*c.* 1000	Smaragdus	*Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti*	+	–	+
5	BnF, lat. 5080	1100-1150	Eusebius; Peter Alfonsi	Eusebius: *Historia ecclesiastica*; Peter Alfonsi: *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*	+	–	–
6	BnF, lat. 5356	1108-1187	John the Deacon	*De vita sancti Gregorii, Papae*; collection of saints' lives	+	–	–
7	Rouen 1	1060-1080		Bible	+	+	+
8	Rouen 7	1100-1150		Bible	+	+	–
9	Rouen 28	1050-1100		Gospel Book	+	–	–
10	Rouen 29	1075-1100		Gospel Book	+	+	–
11	Rouen 30	*c.* 1050		Gospel Book	–	–	+

12	Rouen 427	1033	Ambrose	*Hexameron*, *De fide ad Gratianum*, *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, *De officiis ministorum*, *De spiritu sancto*	+	–	–
13	Rouen 464	1108-1187	Augustine	Exposition on the Epistles of Paul	–	+	–
14	Rouen 469	*c.* 1050	Augustine; Jerome	Augustine: *Retractationes*, *Epistolae*, *De catachizandis rudibus*, *De diversis haeresibus*, *De patientia*, *Soliloquia*; Jerome: *De illustribus viris*	–	–	+
15	Rouen 528, part 1 (fols. 1-184)	1001-1028	Bede	*Expositio in Marcum*	+	+	+
16	Rouen 532	1025-1050	Augustine; Bede	Augustine: *Enchiridion* Bede: *Super actis Apostolorum*	–	–	+
17	Rouen 540	1108-1141	Anselm; Anonymous	Anselm: *De libero arbitrio*, *De casu diaboli*; Anonymous: *Vita sanctae Oportunae virginis*	+	–	+
18	Rouen 1122	1050-1075	Flavius Josephus	*Antiquitates Judaicae*	+	–	–

All of the books listed above contain chapter tables, running titles, navigational paragraph marks, or a combination of these features.[1] If *lectio divina* was the primary mode of reading in the Benedictine monastery – as the current scholarship suggests – and navigational reading aids are largely unnecessary for this mode of comprehensive

[1] A detailed look into the presentation of these features will be addressed in the following chapter. More detailed manuscript descriptions can also be found in Appendix 1.

and sequential reading, then why do eighteen books from the Fécamp corpus include features that support the act of searching and finding in the text? What purpose do these features serve for the devotional readers of Fécamp?

Given the function of these features (to help the reader look up and find specific parts of the book) it follows that these books were designed for a different kind of reading – a mode that involved a more selective approach to the text. The possibility that the community of Fécamp engaged in more than one mode of devotional reading is particularly significant given the fact that Benedictine monks are most often only associated with *lectio divina*. There has been very limited exploration into the possibility that other modes of reading were exercised by Benedictine monks, and, most importantly, that monastic scribes designed their books to accommodate different approaches to the text.

While the eighteen books listed in the table above were produced in the monastery by Fécamp scribes, the historiography to date has placed books with navigational reading aids, almost exclusively, in a very different context: the urban schools of the late-twelfth and thirteenth-century 'scholastic' milieu. It is the primary task of this chapter to explain this paradox – how features typically associated with education, also appear, (and appear much earlier), in monastic manuscripts. This chapter will focus on how these features have been explained in the context of the scholastic period, and the following chapter will examine the features in the context of Fécamp.

2. The Scholastic Context

To begin, we must first take a brief look at what was happening in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a period often celebrated as an era of dynamic cultural and intellectual change. It is this period that some historians have described as the great 'awakening of Europe'[2] – a period characterized by a widespread interest in dialectic, debate, learning, teaching, and the rapid acquisition of knowledge, both sacred and profane. As R. W. Southern explains, there were 'quite suddenly … many individuals

[2] David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (Essex: Longman Group UK Limited, 1988).

who wanted new skills and new knowledge', and as a result, a new and important phase of scholastic development began.[3]

Currently the most widely accepted understanding of 'scholasticism' is that of a particular method of teaching and learning. The major tenets of the scholastic method comprised of *lectio* (the reading and expounding of texts); *quaestio* (the posing of philosophical and theological questions); *disputatio* (the discussion and debate over such questions); as well as the practice of *dialectic* (the presentation and discussion of opposing sides of an argument to find the most sensible solution).[4] David Knowles explains that 'if by a scholastic method we understand a method of discovering and illustrating philosophical truth by means of dialectic based on Aristotelian logic', then the term scholastic becomes 'useful and significant'.[5] This understanding is accepted and expanded by others, such as the German historian Ulrich Leinsle, who argues that 'scholastic' is most often used by medieval scholars as a way to describe a type of person, a book, or a 'manner of speaking or teaching' such as '*scholastice loquenties*' or '*scholasticae disputationes*'.[6] Thus, the 'scholastic book format' might best be defined as a particular type of codex that is physically designed to support a scholastic method of learning and teaching – *lectio*, *quaestio*, *disputatio*, *dialectic*.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a great number of young men began to pursue a 'scholastic' education, either for the purpose of employment or for their own edification. Southern perhaps best describes the change that was taking place among this new scholarly crowd:

> The large and rapidly increasing number of students in the early twelfth century … were not acting as members of a community: they were adventurers seeking rare and difficult

[3] R. W. Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 113-137, at 115.

[4] 'The Scholastic Method', Norbert M. Seel, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Sciences of Learning* (New York: Springer, 2012), 1170. For *quaestio*, see John Marenbon, 'Life, Milieu, and Intellectual Contexts', in J. E. Brower and K. Guilfoy, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13-44, at 23; L. J. Elders, 'Scholastiche Methode', *Lexikon des Mittelalters VII: 'Planudes bis Stadt (Rus')* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003), 1526-1528; Brian Lawn, *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic 'Quaestio Disputa': With Special Reference on its Use in the Teaching of Mathematics and Science* (Leiden, 1993); M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1909).

[5] Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, 79.

[6] Ulrich Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. Michael J. Miller (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 2.

> knowledge which would lead to personal advancement or the perfecting of a personal gift.[7]

This ubiquitous enthusiasm for learning was also largely sparked (and fueled) by the rediscovery of certain ancient classical texts. The works of many influential thinkers such as Aristotle and Plato were made available to Latin scholars in the west via the translation efforts of Greek and Arabic scholars and scribes.[8] With new texts in hand (on the topics of philosophy, logic, science, medicine, and mathematics), Latin scholars began to add their own voices to the intellectual exchange, compiling commentaries, incorporating their own ideas, debating age-old philosophical and scientific concepts, and writing new treatises inspired by their ancient predecessors. Learning was also quickly becoming a requisite for lucrative employment. Southern argues that those who wished to reach the 'highest places in government, whether ecclesiastical or secular', needed to be well versed in the 'advanced knowledge of systematic theology and canon law: they needed to operate easily in the intricacies of highly technical argument', and for this they required a higher education.[9]

Fortunately for this new group of 'academic adventure seekers' (to borrow Southern's phrase), the twelfth century was bursting with opportunities to learn. Whereas monastic and cathedral schools were once the primary destinations for students seeking a basic education in grammar, reading, writing, and perhaps some lessons in theology, for the most part, these schools were not designed to offer the kind of advanced curricula that this new ambitious crowd of students were searching for.[10] As a result, more and more young men began to look elsewhere for talented masters who might pose a greater intellectual challenge, and who, perhaps, might guide them to successful employment. Naturally, the cities of the Latin West were among the best places to find such masters capable of teaching new and difficult programmes.

This period of academic vigour largely coincided with the development of urban city centres, such as Paris, Oxford, and Bologna. Unlike a small town, which

---

[7] Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', 115.

[8] Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Translations and Translators', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 421-462; Charles Burnett, 'Scientific and Medical Writings', in N. Morgan and R. M. Thomson, eds., *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain II: 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 446-453.

[9] R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 76.

[10] Southern notes that in some exceptional cases, a talented master teaching in a monastery or cathedral could attract a large number of students, but such a teacher was unusual and fostered talents 'superior to the function for which he was employed' (Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol. 1, 76).

typically required the services of a single teacher, a city provided the much needed physical and intellectual space for several masters to teach in the same area and to set up their own competing schools.[11] The city also offered both intellectual and practical advantages to the growing number of students arriving each day: they were able to pick and choose from a wide variety of masters and schools (and thus could follow a programme that suited their particular interests), and they also had easy access to the necessities of student life, such as accommodation and supplies. In the twelfth century, students began flocking to these urban centres and the masters worked hard to establish themselves in the increasingly competitive world of teaching. To get a sense of the close proximity of these urban schools in the twelfth century, one only needs to stand on the bridge of the *Petit Pont* in Paris: from this vantage point, it is possible to see the cathedral school of Notre Dame, the historic location of Adam of Balsham's school on the *Petit Pont* itself, as well as the original place of Peter Abelard's famous school on Mont Ste Geneviève. From the bridge it also would have only been a short walk to the doors of the schools of Ste Geneviève and St Victor.[12] Naturally, many twelfth-century students took advantage of these opportunities for learning; it has been estimated that by the mid twelfth century there were approximately 2,000-3,000 students studying in Paris alone.[13]

2.1 Scholastic Programme of Learning

But what, exactly, were these masters and students so eagerly discussing, debating, reading, and writing about? With the increasing availability of texts, both new and old, a challenging 'scholastic programme' was emerging.[14] According to Southern's analysis, the masters of the twelfth century endeavored to establish 'a single complete and unified field of knowledge from the sciences of the mind (grammar, logic and rhetoric), through the sciences of the external world (arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music), to the new sciences of systematic theology and canon law'.[15] Students

[11] For the development of the schools of Paris, see Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', 113-137, and Stephen Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: the Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), esp. 14-15.

[12] See Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University*, 16.

[13] Southern, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', 128.

[14] Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol. 1, 58.

[15] Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, Vol. 1, 58.

were encouraged to read the works of Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny the Elder.[16] Aristotle was quickly becoming one of the more popular authors and nearly all of his works were translated and 'nearly all were intensely studied'.[17] By the late twelfth century, the most popular Aristotelian works were contained in the corpus known as the *Logica nova* – including the *Prior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistic elenchi*. These titles can also be found on a list of books written by Alexander of Neckham (1157 – 1217) with the heading: Books on which the 'student should attend lectures'.[18]

Some scholars in this period also moved beyond simply reading the works of ancient authors and Doctors of the Church, and tried their hand at commentary, compilation, and composition.[19] In addition to his compilation of works by the Church Fathers, theologian Peter Lombard (*c.* 1096 – 1164), for example, also penned a highly-popular commentary designed to expound hidden meanings of the Psalms by following thematic lines of discussion.[20] Another prominent theologian of the day, Peter Comestor (d. 1178) designed his own systematized edition of the Bible with a commentary known as the *Historia scholastica*.[21] Perhaps one of the most popular authors of the twelfth century, however, was Peter Abelard (1079 – 1142). Some of his most famous works included commentaries on the logical works of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories* and *On Interpretation*, and Boethius' *On Topical Differences*.[22] This young and controversial master's most famous and lasting work was undoubtedly the *Sic et non*, which presented short excerpts from patristic texts and then offered

[16] For Plato, see Stephen Gersh and Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen, eds., *The Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages: A Doxographic Approach* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002).

[17] Bernard G. Dod, 'Aristoteles latinus', in Norman Kretzmann et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy, Vol. 1: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 45-79 at 45. Dod notes the exceptions of the *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Poetics*.

[18] Dod, 'Aristoteles latinus', 70. Neckham also recommends that the student look at the *Metaphysics*, *De generatione et corruptione*, and *De anima*. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 356-76.

[19] Parkes argues that one of the primary industries of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries was rooted in the art of *compilatio*, or the compiling of texts together ('The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', 115-141).

[20] Marcia Colish, *Peter Lombard*, *Vol.1* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[21] Another copy of Peter Lombard's, 'Magna Glosatura' on the Pauline Epistles is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 725. This manuscript is decribed in detail by Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West: The Medieval Book, Volume 1* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame, 1993), 60-61.

[22] Marenbon, 'Life, Milieu, and Intellectual Contexts', 18.

opposing points of argument, which encouraged his readers and students to debate and discuss matters of Christian doctrine relying on logic and reason.[23]

While some authors, like Peter Lombard and Peter Abelard, published their commentaries and found wide scale success, lesser-known students and individuals also endeavoured to comment on texts in a similar fashion. In the twelfth century, students and masters (working at all different levels) were eager to add their opinions to the mix – jotting down notes in the margins of their books, compiling commentaries from textual authorities, and transcribing lecture notes. The physical manuscript page was no longer sacred and untouchable, but instead it became a new type of workplace; a space where ideas could blossom, personal opinions could be expressed, and one could individually explore new understandings of ancient ideas and concepts.

2.2 *Quaestio & Disputatio*

As part of the scholastic programme of learning, many of these masters and students devoted much of their time to the popular practice of *quaestio* and *disputatio*, where two opponents would debate the solution to a topic, idea, or problem (sometimes fiercely). John Marenbon argues that this learning exercise was so popular that 'even strangers could interrupt a lecture and draw the master into disputation'.[24] To properly prepare for the practice of *quaestio* and *disputatio*, students endeavored to gather as much information on a topic as possible, preferably from a varied array of sources. To make the task easier, some readers chose to compile multiple texts into single, easily accessible-volumes known as *florilegia*. As Jacqueline Hamesse notes, these new compendia 'gave what was essential in a work or a topic' and 'they often presented the texts in short, easily memorized sentences'.[25] Medieval authors also jumped on the *florilegium*-bandwagon, producing their own text compilations that were easy to reference. In the prologue of Peter Lombard's twelfth-century work, *Sententiarum quatuor libri* (also commonly known as the *Sententiae*), the author explains that he has gathered the sentences of the Church Fathers into one brief volume so that 'it is not

[23] For a comprehensive overview of Abelard's corpus of works, see Marenbon, 'Life, Milieu, and Intellectual Contexts', 18-20.
[24] Marenbon, 'Life, Milieu, and Intellectual Contexts', 23.
[25] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', 107.

necessary for one searching to pursue numerous books'.[26] Jean Leclercq directly connects this practice of compilation to the method of scholastic *quaestio*, explaining that, unlike in the monasteries, students in the 'urban schools' used these collections of excerpts as a 'veritable arsenal of *auctoritas* – they were seeking important, concise, and interesting extracts for doctrinal studies, something of value for the *quaestio* and the *disputatio*'.[27] Leclercq then adds, 'in this way the master or student acquired a capital of arguments and proofs always conveniently ready for use'.[28]

2.3 Selective & Non-Sequential Reading

The gathering together of short textual excerpts for the practice of *quaestio* and *disputatio* inevitably required a selective and non-sequential approach to reading. Readers were no longer expected to read a book from cover to cover, devoting equal attention to each line and argument, but instead they were trained to mine the text for useful and relevant passages that could be referenced over the course of a discussion or debate and to seek answers to specific questions. This approach required students to read only selected parts of the volume, as well as to jump around in the original sequence of the text, picking and choosing what was necessary for the particular argument and disregarding the rest. As Richard and Mary Rouse argue, this was not an age where students pursued 'reflective reading', but instead they read their books with the intention of 'seeking out specific information'.[29] J. P. Gumbert similarly argues that readers in this scholastic context preferred to read 'short passages in

[26] 'Non igitur debet hic labor cuiquam pigro vel multum docto videri superfluus, cum multis impigris multisque indoctis, inter quos etiam mihi, sit necessarius, brevi volumine complicans Patrum sententias, appositis eorum testimoniis, ut non sit necesse quaerenti librorum numerositatem evolvere, cui brevitas collecta quod quaeritur offert sine labore' (Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum quator libri, prologus*, *PL*, Vol. 192, Col. 521).

[27] Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 182.

[28] Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 182. It should be acknowledged that while Parkes and Hamesse identify the practice of *quaestio* and *disputatio* as the context for which selective reading took place in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Rouses argue that changes in approach to reading in this period were also stimulated by a growing interest in preaching. Just as some scholars mined their texts in preparation for classroom debate and discussion, preachers mined their own works to compile and compose sermons. Although the Rouses focus on the relationship between preaching and new modes of reading and book production, they also stress that the increased interest in preaching did not develop in isolation from the urban scholastic milieu, but instead developed from within that context. See Richard and Mary Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), esp. Ch. 2.

[29] Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', 206.

several texts, rather than of one entire text', and as a result, the 'habit of "looking things up" for "reference", or "consultative literacy", was born'.[30]

In a similar vein, it has been argued that these new scholastic pursuits were also the necessary pre-cursor for the development of a new type of book format. Just as students needed to apply different modes of reading to accommodate the rigours of the new academic system, their books needed to adjust as well – the physical book needed to support an increasingly complex system of teaching, learning, and reading. As such, the book not only needed to present the text, but it also needed to function as a searchable repository of information that could be quickly accessed by masters and students engaging in scholastic activities like *quaestio* and *disputatio*. As a result, the scribes who were given the task of copying these books, were faced with the challenge of presenting complex material as intelligibly as possible: the book needed a layout that offered a place for readers to add notes and commentary, it needed to have a system of navigation to help the readers look up and find necessary passages, and it needed to be clearly structured so that the combination of multiple texts did not end up as a confused jumble, but instead as an organized and systematic treasury of easily-retrievable ideas. It has been argued that it was in this atmosphere of intellectual enthusiasm and discovery in the late twelfth century that the 'scholastic book format' was born.

3. The Scholastic Book Format

One of the most prevalent principles guiding the design of the scholastic book format was an emphasis on order and organization. In his seminal article, Parkes discusses this collective desire to 'reorganize inherited material in a new, systematic way'.[31] This determination for order appears in many of the new treatises written in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which follow rational organizational structures designed to help readers better understand the content of the book. Peter Lombard's *Commentarium in Psalmos*, for example, demonstrates this heightened attention to the order and presentation of the text by presenting the Psalms and commentary

[30] J. P. Gumbert, 'Points and Signposts: Whom Do They Help?', *Scriptorium* 63 (2009), 231-37, at 232; Gumbert's quotations refer to Parkes, '*Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', 35. Gumbert points out that this form of reading was not exclusive to this period: 'It should be clear, by the way, that these are not absolutes; neither way was exclusive in its period (nor did the scholars who described these ways of reading imagine they were)' ('Points and Signposts', 232).

[31] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 117.

according to their natural thematic subdivisions, which Lombard felt would help his readers grasp the natural development of ideas discussed in each psalm.[32] Marcia Colish argues that in presenting the Psalms in this relatively new order, Lombard attempts to 'aid the reader' by making the texts easier to follow and, thus, easier to understand.[33]

It has also been argued that scribes working in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries endeavoured to create a book format that prioritized organization, as well as the act of searching and finding. In the prologue of Peter Lombard's aforementioned *Sententiae*, the author acknowledges this desire to navigate through the volume as easily as possible. He explains that he has arranged the texts into one volume so that the book can be searched 'without labour' (*sine labore*).[34] The Rouses argue that such language was common in prologues of this period, noting that 'expressions like *sine labore, facilius occurer, presto habere*, and *citius* or even *statim invenire*' were typical.[35] Jacqueline Hamesse similarly comments that the twelfth-century 'scholastic reader' wished to 'find what he was looking for with ease, without having to leaf through pages'.[36] She adds that 'readers needed not only to be able to read fast, but also to have convenient ways to find the passages they wanted to use and know what arguments were indispensable in a given domain'.[37] To this end, by the late twelfth century it was common to find books that were equipped with a variety of tools for 'finding', such as a 'clearly displayed text, with its chapter lists, running headlines, and marginal apparatus'.[38] What is particularly interesting is that three of the main navigational features commonly identified as primary components of the scholastic book format are the *very same* features we have found in manuscript books from the Fécamp corpus: chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks.

---

[32] Peter Lombard believed that the original order of the Psalms had been lost, possibly when the prophet Esdras scrambled to save the Psalms when the library of Babylon burned down. Colish, *Peter Lombard,* Vol. 1, 172.

[33] Colish, *Peter Lombard,* Vol. 1, 172.

[34] 'Non igitur debet hic labor cuiquam pigro vel multum docto videri superfluus, cum multis impigris multisque indoctis, inter quos etiam mihi, sit necessarius, brevi volumine complicans Patrum sententias, appositis eorum testimoniis, ut non sit necesse quaerenti librorum numerositatem evolvere, cui brevitas collecta quod quaeritur offert sine labore' (Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum quator libri, prologus*, *PL*, Vol. 192, Col. 521).

[35] Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', 207.

[36] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', 103.

[37] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', 107.

[38] Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', 209.

3.1 Navigational Reading Aids & the Scholastic Book

It has been argued that this new desire for order and navigation manifests itself on the physical page in the form of various visual features – particularly those that augment navigation. Parkes, for example, has described the inclusion of an analytical table of contents as a part of the 'scholarly apparatus' of the book in this period;[39] and the Rouses argue that by 'the mid-twelfth century such tables in new works became the norm, rather than the exception' and that they were specifically added to books in this period as a 'device to facilitate searching'.[40] An example of such a 'scholastic' chapter table can be found in a copy of Hrabanus Maurus' *De uniuerso seu de rerum naturis* (CCCC 11), produced *c.* 1200. At the opening of each new book in this volume, there is a chapter table with corresponding chapter numbers written in red ink:[41]

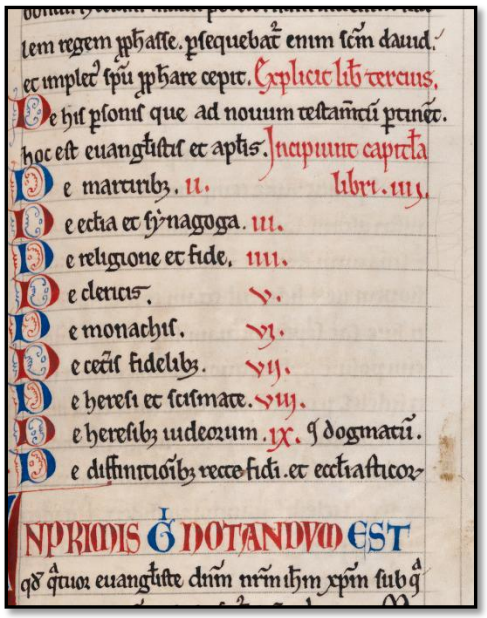


Fig. 13 – CCCC 11, fol. 22r: Chapter table for book 4

[39] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 135. In the previously mentioned prologue to Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, for example, this medieval author explains that he has prefaced the book with chapter titles, so that 'the [material] that is sought, may come to mind more easily': 'Ut autem quod quaeritur facilius occurrat, titulos, quibus singulorum librorum capitula distinguuntur, praemisimus' (Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum quator libri, prologus*, *PL*, Vol. 192, Col. 521).

[40] Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', 206.

[41] CCCC 11, fol. 22r. Images and a full description of the manuscript are available online at *Parker Library On the Web*, http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker, accessed 29 January, 2013.

While this example shows a chapter table added to the opening of each new book, Parkes notes that twelfth-century scribes more frequently gathered the headings in one place, and that they were often organized in a central table.[42] With a centralized table containing the chapters for the entire volume, the reader did not first need to locate the opening of each book to find the relevant chapters for that section, which would have significantly reduced the time needed to look up and find a specific book or chapter in the volume. An example of this centralized chapter table system can be found in a rather scruffy late twelfth-century copy of Gilbertus Porretanus' commentary on Boethius' *De trinitate*.[43] On the opening page of the volume, there is a messy grouping of chapter tables, corresponding to different books in the volume. While the chapter tables have been added at different times and by different hands, they correspond to Parkes' description of a centralized table of contents.

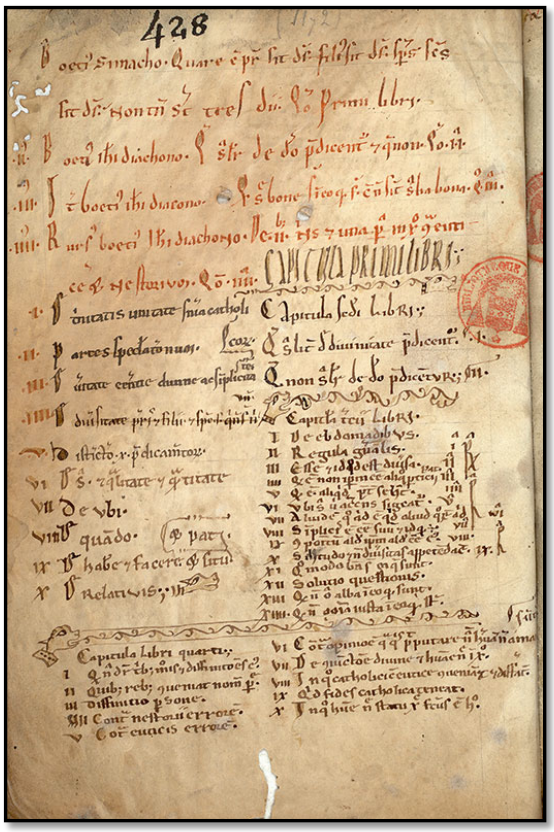


Fig. 14 – Bib. Maz. 657, fol. 1v

[42] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 123.
[43] Bib. Maz. 657, fol. 1v.

The rather ramshackle execution of the script and the irregular spacing for each table suggests that this collection of chapter tables was an unplanned addition to the book; it looks as if the user decided, after he bought or copied the book, that he needed to customize it to include some kind of searchable apparatus.

Just as chapter tables have been identified as a foundational component of the 'scholastic book', so too have running titles, despite the fact that they also exist in much older books and those produced in a totally different cultural context (as exemplified by the Fécamp corpus). Although most scholars acknowledge that running titles stem from an earlier tradition and can be found in manuscripts that pre-date the scholastic period (i.e. before the late twelfth century), Parkes argues that overtime these features had become 'neglected', probably because these features were, in his opinion, 'redundant' for the practice of monastic *lectio*.[44] It is important to take a moment here to address this assumption that monks *only* read according to the traditional mode of *lectio divina*, and that they did not engage in modes of selective reading where running titles would have been necessary – an assumption that is largely contested by this present study of the Fécamp manuscripts. As Parkes explains, these features fell into disuse in the centuries prior to the scholastic age largely because they were unnecessary for the type of reading pursued in the monastery, and they were not revived until the late twelfth century when they were required to support new modes of scholastic reading.[45] The Rouses similarly suggest that the practice of adding running titles to manuscripts in the earlier period tends to be 'haphazard' and 'spotty', whereas by the second half of the twelfth century, the practice of adding running titles had become '*de rigueur*'.[46]

Although Parkes and the Rouses were incorrect in their assumption that running titles were not used by monastic communities, as I will show, there is little doubt that by the late twelfth century these reading aids had become regular components of books designed for use in the scholastic milieu.[47] They are commonly

---

[44] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 122; cf. Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 29.

[45] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 122.

[46] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 29.

[47] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 122. The Rouses note the presence of a range of different finding aids in the early manuscripts of the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas Ireland, among them: 'Signposts such as running headlines, marginal letters of the alphabet designating individual extracts, marginal notation of the authors that are cited, rubrics dividing the subjects and paragraph marks distinguishing the extracts one from another, and a table of chapters all assist in this

found, for example, in longer texts that include multiple sections, compilations of texts by different authors, and manuscripts that include several texts by the same author.[48] An example of a 'scholastic' running title can be found in a late thirteenth-century copy of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, made for a scholar in Oxford (CCCC 239).[49] On fol. 15r the beginning of each new book is signalled by the addition of an abbreviated running title: 'L: II' – or *Liber* II.

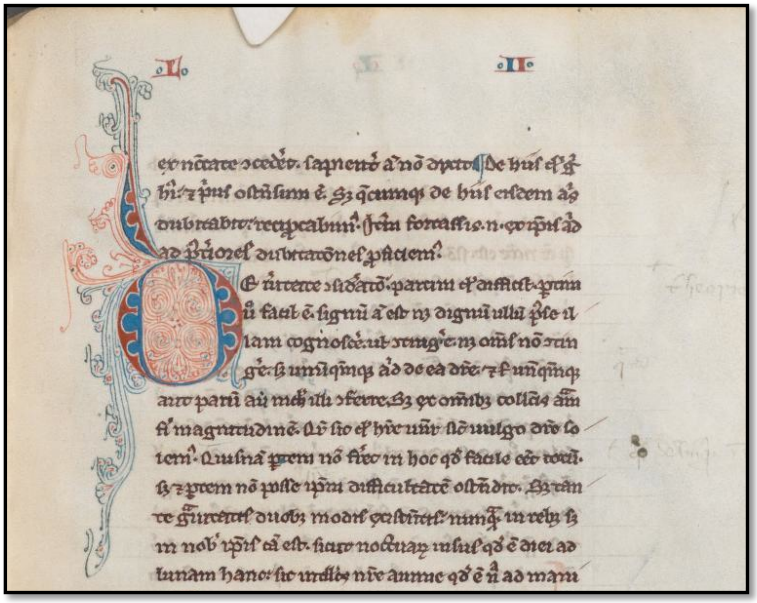


Fig. 15 – CCCC 239, fol. 15r: 'Scholastic' running titles

The subsequent folia present similar running titles, though with the *Liber* presented on the left page, and the book number on the right page. It has been argued that these headings were designed to help the scholarly reader orient himself in the book, and would have helped him find broad sections of text without having to read (or even scan) the main text block for reference. Other examples present running titles with even more detail. On fol. 77r of Bib. Maz. 3462, a late thirteenth-century copy of Aristotelian works from Paris, for example, there is a title written in capitals in alternating red and blue ink: '*De memoria* [*e*]*t reminisce*[*n*]*cia*'. A few folia later, (fol. 83r),

purpose … – these techniques are common to books of the period 1250-1350' (*Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 27).

[48] Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', 66.

[49] Based on the fact that the text is copied below top-line, it can be estimated that this manuscript was copied between 1250 and 1300.

we come across the opening of a new book, clearly announced by the running title, also written in capitals, '*De sompno* [*e*]*t uigilia*'. In this collection of works by Aristotle, the reader could easily find the opening of each new book without having to look any further than the top margin of the page.[50] In addition to helping readers find passages, Parkes further argues that running titles enabled students and scholars to make cross-references within the same work;[51] it allowed students to shift between books and arguments, even when the book contained multiple texts or divisions. If we consider that many masters and students were engaging in the argumentative form of *quaestio*, where it was important to synthesize various different arguments from multiple sources, running titles would have greatly enhanced the speed at which the reader could work.

Another feature that is consistently associated with the scholastic book format is the paragraph mark.[52] The Rouses, for example, describe the paragraph mark as part of the typical apparatus of the scholastic book, especially in volumes produced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[53] Like the paragraph marks that we have discussed in previous chapters of this present study, those present in the 'scholastic book' also served a range of different functions: while some were used in a navigational capacity, many were used to organize the page, in particular by marking out key arguments of the text. Indeed, for those engaging in the scholastic practice of *quaestio* and *disputatio*, one of the major tasks was to collect information from a wide range of sources. To do so, students needed to quickly scan large segments of text and locate the primary points of an argument; these points would be collected and used to support various discussions and debates in the classroom.

In order to facilitate this activity of 'mining the text', it has been argued that by the late twelfth-century scribes working in urban centres used paragraph marks to highlight key points in a passage of text. An example of a paragraph mark functioning in this capacity can be seen in a thirteenth-century copy of Aristotle's *Nicomachean*

[50] Another example of abbreviated running titles on each page can be found in BL, Harley 3487.

[51] Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', 66-67.

[52] Parkes distinguishes between a *paragraphus*, described as a 'critical sign used to mark the beginning of a paragraph or section', and a *paraph*, defined as 'a symbol developed from the letter C (for *capitulum*) with a vertical stroke, which largely replaced the *paragraphus* to indicate the beginning of a paragraph, proposition, stanza or section' (*Pause and Effect*, 305).

[53] Rouse and Rouse, '*Statim invenire*', 207.

Ethics (BnF, lat. 6306).[54] On fol. 1r (the opening of book one) we see two columns of dense text with red and blue 'capitulum' paragraph marks identifying the primary arguments:

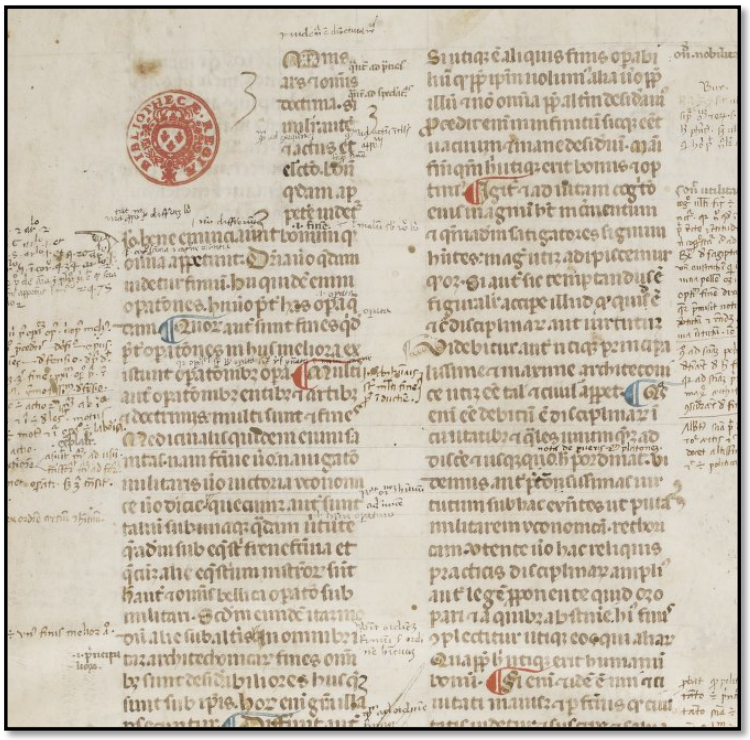


Fig. 16 – BnF, lat. 6306, fol. 1r: Paragraph marks highlighting key points

To show how the paragraph marks function in the context of the passage, I have provided a transcription and translation of the opening lines of the first column on fol. 1r:[55]

[54] For a description and images of BnF, lat. 6306, see Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, available online at http://gallica.bnf.fr/, accessed 11 December, 2013.

[55] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. W. D. Ross, *The Internet Classics Archives*, available online at http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.1.i.html, accessed 11 December, 2013.

Omnis ars et omnis doctrina similiter autem et actus et electio, bonum quodam appetere uidetur. Ideo bene eununciauerunt bonum, quod omnia appetunt. Differentia uero quaedam uidetur finium. Hi quidem enim operationes, hi uero praeter has, opera quaedam. ¶ Quorum autem sunt fines quidam praeter operationes, in his meliora existunt operationibus opera. ¶ Multis autem operationibus existentibus et artibus et doctrinis, multi sunt et fines…	Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and pursuit, is thought to aim at some good; and for this reason the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim. But a certain difference is found among ends; some are activities, others are products apart from the activities that produce them. ¶ Where there are ends apart from the actions, it is the nature of the products to be better than the activities. ¶ Now, as there are many actions, arts, and sciences, their ends are also many…

By adding paragraph marks to the main textblock, the scribe can either isolate a passage from the text (cordoning off the beginning and end of the passage with paragraph marks), or he can highlight consecutive points in the passage: 'products are better than activities', and there are 'many activities with many ends'. With the help of the paragraph marks, the reader did not have to read through the entirety of the passage to identify the argument presented on that page. As such, the reader could quickly and easily extract the main points, without wasting any time reading unnecessary material.

It has also been argued that paragraph marks were used to mark divisions in the text. Parkes has argued that the use of paragraph marks to indicate textual divisions was 'stimulated by developments' that were taking place in the schools in the second half of the twelfth century.[56] The Rouses also note a change in the use of the paragraph mark, suggesting that by the late twelfth century the paragraph 'had obviously been co-opted and adapted to serve a new purpose, that of distinguishing sections, usually the smallest units, of a text one from the other'.[57] The manuscript evidence presented in the Fécamp corpus, however, once again contradicts the assumption that paragraph marks were used differently in the scholastic period, as we have seen that the Fécamp scribes also used paragraph marks to signal new text divisions.

[56] Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', 69.
[57] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 30.

3.2 Other Scholastic Features

It is also important to acknowledge that while navigational reading aids have been identified as foundational components of the scholastic book format (as demonstrated above), scholars have further identified a number of other features common to this book format that we do *not* see in the earlier manuscripts of Fécamp. For example, in their work on the *Manipulus florum* tradition of Thomas Ireland, the Rouses provide a list of features that they argue are entirely new to manuscripts produced in the thirteenth century, and which reflect not only a desire to access material in a systematic way, but also a *need* to access material: 'the spirit they embodied was more assertive, even aggressive, than that of the twelfth century'.[58] To faciliate this increasingly urgent need to 'get at' material, some scribes in the thirteenth century opted to go beyond the regular addition of navigational reading aids (chapter tables and running titles, for example) and instead combined these aids within wider navigational systems, such as distinctions, concordances, and alphabetical subject indexes.

Distinctions (or *distinctiones*), for instance, typically present a noun found in Scripture alongside its figurative or symbolic meaning. These lists are designed to help the reader understand the meaning of the word within the context of a specific scriptural passage. As the Rouses argue, distinctions were often used in the thirteenth century as a tool used for preachers as they delivered a sermon: preachers could choose a few different meanings of a word, and use those meanings to shape the theme of the sermon.[59] Concordances were also used by preachers, as well as by scholars studying the Bible.[60] Although they can take different forms and layouts, for the most part concordances were designed to help a reader locate a desired word, find its meaning, as well as where it can be found in the Bible, via a system of chapter numbers and reference points.

In addition to distinctions and concordances added to manuscript books, the thirteenth century also saw the development of the alphabetical subject index.[61] This type of index was also commonly used to prepare and compose sermons, and the

[58] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 4.

[59] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 9.

[60] Rouse and Rouse, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5-30; '*Statim Invenire*', 201; *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 9-11.

[61] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', esp. at 131-134; Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 11-23; '*Statim Invenire*'.

Rouses argue that the earliest indexes were 'probably made in the schools in Paris, since this is where their antecedents, the distinction collection and the verbal concordance, were formed'.[62] While the works of Aristotle may have attracted some of the first subject indexes, by the mid thirteenth century, the index can be found in a variety of different manuscripts, many containing works by patristic authors.[63] The Rouses presents an example of a volume containing the collected works of Augustine, Jerome, Dionysius, Anselm, Bernard 'and others', in BnF, lat. 16334, compiled by Robert of Paris in 1256 for 'Master Guy of Motun, canon of Saint-Géry in Cambrai'.[64] The Rouses describe the index below as follows:

> Under some 570 topics, alphabetized by the first two letters of each word, the volume refers to work, book, and chapter, and frequently employs the A-G method of reference to subdivide chapters. It begins '*Abraam.* Quod Saare ius erat qui peteret filium ab eo, XV de civ. Dei 4 … ,' continuing with *ablutio, abstinencia*, *abyssus*, *accidia*, *acceptio personarum*, *accidens*, *Adam*, and so on.[65]

As the Rouses explain, books that were equipped with such tools were not meant to be read, but rather they were meant to be 'used'.[66]

Despite the fact that navigational reading aids are not the only paratextual features to be identified as 'scholastic' – we must also add to the list distinctions, concordances, and alphabetical subject indexes – it is important not to dismiss the fact that chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks are still very often identified and classed as 'scholastic' reading aids, and these features continue to be associated with this later scholastic context. Indeed, as the previous sections have demonstrated, there is a trend in the current scholarship to cast the use of navigational reading aids (chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks) in scholastic books as an innovative technique of book production, designed to accommodate new methods of scholastic reading that emerged in the late twelfth century. While Parkes and the

[62] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 11.
[63] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 14.
[64] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 14.
[65] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 14.
[66] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 4.

Rouses do make some effort to explain that many of these features are not entirely new to the period, they consistently stress that the way in which they are applied to the book is different than earlier generations. The Rouses make a distinction, for example, between earlier manuscript traditions and those of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when they write:

> In early books … these signposts were never consistently employed; and many of them dropped out of use, only to be revived in response to the needs of later scholars. It is only in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries that such signposts became an expected, rather than an occasional, feature of the manuscript book.[67]

As noted earlier, Parkes similarly contends that running titles largely fell out of use in the centuries prior to the scholastic period, largely because they were not required for the practice of monastic *lectio*. However, the presence of running titles in much earlier manuscripts produced by Benedictine scribes (as demonstrated by the Fécamp corpus) suggests that these features had *not* fallen into disuse in the period leading up to the late twelfth century.

Others, however, still claim that even though navigational reading aids existed in older books, when they 're-appear' in the late twelfth century, they manifest in a far more sophisticated and organized form. Not only were they added more regularly to the page, as the Rouses suggest, but they were also paired and combined together in new ways to better support the scholarly reader. Gumbert argues, for example, that it was the 'concerted and systematic use of a number of these features together' that was truly innovative in the twelfth century.[68] He goes on to explain that by combining various finding aids together, urban scribes were able to 'produce books which for complexity, transparency and "searchability" had no equals in earlier periods'.[69]

---

[67] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 28-29. Although they acknowledge that many of the devices used to facilitate these ends were 'not new', they argue that a change took place in this later period, which 'lay in their systematic and sophisticated application' ('*Statim invenire*', 206). Gumbert similarly admits that features designed to facilitate searching were not 'new' to the twelfth century, and notes that some earlier books feature similar apparata ('Points and Signposts', 231). Like the Rouses, however, Gumbert argues that twelfth-century urban scribes and scholars took these tools to a new level.

[68] Gumbert, 'Points and Signposts', 231.

[69] Gumbert, 'Points and Signposts', 231.

Unlike earlier traditions, these features are more often combined together, and paired with new apparata (such as the concordance), to create a book that was easily searched, clearly organized, and ready to use.

4. Concluding Points

This chapter has aimed to synthesize the work of different scholars who have drawn strong connections between navigational reading aids and selective modes of reading in the context of the scholastic milieu of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is clear that the design of the book in this later period supported a greater desire (and need) for organization and navigation: on a regular basis, scribes incorporated various textual apparatuses, such as content lists and chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks to help readers grasp the increasingly complex textual material, while also allowing them to engage in scholastic methods of learning that encouraged compilation and immediate access to the text. It has been argued that during this period, the book evolved from a simpler format and gradually took on a greater responsibility to its users – the presentation of the text itself (the physical book and its visual apparata) became a crucial apparatus for those engaging in new intellectual methodologies, such as *quaestio* and *disputatio*. Its readers were more interested in actively engaging with the text, adding glosses, synthesizing works, and cross-referencing material. This chapter has also considered the ways in which modern scholars have described and explained the changing appearance of the manuscript book. The work of Parkes, the Rouses, and others, have offered sensible explanations as to why the manuscript book in this period looks the way it does: it perfectly reflects the intellectual context in which it was used.

Turning our attention back to the Fécamp manuscript corpus, however, we are still left with eighteen manuscripts that include, what appear to be, the *very same* navigational reading aids that Parkes, the Rouses, Gumbert, and Hamesse classify as 'scholastic' tools. How do these manuscripts change the traditional view of scholasticism? What do these books reveal about reading in a Benedictine abbey in the period leading up to the scholastic age? If we follow the arguments presented by Parkes and the Rouses, we are essentially left with two options in terms of how to view and understand the presence of these reading aids in the Fécamp corpus: (i) these reading aids are 'scholastic', and reflect scholastic activities happening at Fécamp in

the eleventh and twelfth centuries; or (ii) these reading aids are early, less-sophisticated manifestations of these later scholastic tools, and they have been added in a 'haphazard' and 'spotty' manner. To determine whether such scenarios justly apply to the manuscripts of Fécamp, let us take a closer at the eighteen books that feature navigational reading aids, and explore, precisely, how these features have been added to the page.

Chapter 4

Navigational Reading Aids in Fécamp Manuscripts



The presence of navigational reading aids in books produced by Fécamp scribes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is significant for a number of reasons. In the first place, these books suggest that a second mode of reading was practiced at Fécamp – a mode of reading that was distinct from the traditional approach to *lectio divina* in that it involved a selective and often non-sequential approach to the text. This in itself is an important observation given the widespread assumption that Benedictine monks only engaged in the practice of *lectio divina* and did not pursue other approaches to reading. The presence of navigational reading aids in Fécamp manuscripts is also significant because these particular features are more readily associated with the scholastic milieu of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As the previous chapter has shown, chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks are classified among the primary features of the 'scholastic' book format, and they are rarely discussed or analyzed beyond this particular context. This chapter takes a closer look at the manuscripts from Fécamp that present navigational reading aids. It examines how, exactly, chapter tables, running titles and paragraph marks have been applied to the books (and in what types of combinations), what types of texts they are most frequently found in, and the degree to which these features indicate and accommodate modes of selective reading.

To begin this investigation, let us turn to the eighteen manuscript books from the Fécamp collection. To get a better idea of the types of books involved, as well as the types of reading aids present in each example (and how they have been combined), all eighteen books have been compiled into a table below. The corpus has been broadly arranged into three types of books: (i) books that feature only one type of reading aid, (ii) books that feature two types of reading aid, and (iii) books that feature three kinds of reading aid.

Table 5: Fécamp Manuscripts with Navigational Reading Aids

A: Shelfmark; **B**: Date; **C**: Author; **D**: Text; **E**: Chapter Table(s); **F**: Running Titles; **G**: Nav. Paragraph Marks
+ : Present; **–** : Not Present

Ref.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1. ONE TYPE OF READING AID							
Navigational Paragraph Marks							
1	Rouen 30	*c.* 1050		Gospel Book	–	–	+
2	Rouen 532	1025-1050	Augustine; Bede	Augustine: *Enchiridion*; Bede: *Super actis Apostolorum*	–	–	+
3	Rouen 469	*c.* 1050	Augustine; Jerome	Augustine: *Retractationes*, *Epistolae*, *De catachizandis rudibus*, *De diversis haeresibus*, *De patientia*, *Soliloquia*; Jerome: *De illustribus viris*	–	–	+
Running Titles							
4	Rouen 464	1108-1187	Augustine	Exposition on the Epistles of Paul	–	+	–
Chapter Tables							
5	BnF, lat. 1928	1078-1108	Augustine	*Epistolae*	+	–	–
6	BnF, lat. 5080	1100-1150	Eusebius; Peter Alfonsi	Eusebius: *Historia ecclesiastica* Peter Alfonsi: *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*	+	–	–
7	BnF, lat. 5356	1108-1187	John the Deacon	*De vita sancti Gregorii, Papae*; collection of saints' lives	+	–	–
8	Rouen 28	1050-1100		Gospel Book	+	–	–
9	Rouen 427	1033	Ambrose	*Hexameron*,	+	–	–

				De fide ad Gratianum, *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, *De officiis ministorum*, *De spiritu sancto*			
10	Rouen 1122	1050-1075	Flavius Josephus	*Antiquitates Judaicae*	+	–	–
2. TWO TYPES OF READING AID							
Chapter Tables + Running Titles							
11	BnF, lat. 258	950-1000		Gospel Book	+	+	–
12	Rouen 29	1075-1100		Gospel Book	+	+	–
13	Rouen 7	1100-1150		Bible	+	+	–
Chapter Tables + Navigational Paragraph Marks							
14	BnF, lat. 2088	1050-1075	Augustine	*De trinitate*	+	–	+
15	BnF, lat. 4210	*c.* 1000	Smaragdus	*Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti*	+	–	+
16	Rouen 540	1108-1141	Anselm; Anonymous	*De libero arbitrio*, *De casu diaboli*; Anonymous: *Vita sanctae Oportunae virginis*	+	–	+
3. THREE TYPES OF READING AID							
Chapter Tables + Running Titles + Navigational Paragraph Marks							
17	Rouen 1	1060-1080		Bible	+	+	+
18	Rouen 528, part 1 (fols. 1-184)	1001-1028	Bede	*Expositio in Marcum*	+	+	+

1. One Type of Reading Aid

Let us start with the books that feature the most basic system of navigation. There are ten manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus that include only a single type of navigational reading aid (nos. 1-10 in the table above). Three of these manuscripts exlusively feature navigational paragraph marks, one manuscript presents running titles only, and six present chapter tables as the only additional reading aid. While all

three of these navigational features are designed to augment the clarity of the volume, they differ in the degree to which they promote and accommodate selective reading.

1.1 Navigational Paragraph Marks

As discussed in previous chapters, the primary function of a navigational paragraph mark is to draw the reader's attention to the start of a new chapter or a new section of the volume. This type of paragraph mark is typically positioned next to a chapter number or an *incipit* heading and accentuates any divisions or changes in the text. Unlike some of the other kinds of paragraph marks previously examined in this study (particularly those in some Fécamp manuscripts that mark the beginning of a new text), this type of mark is distinct in that it is always paired with additional contextual information, such as a chapter number or title. This is an important distinction, as it is the combination of the paragraph mark *and* the contextual details that help the reader to find his way through the volume more easily.

In the Fécamp corpus, there are three manuscripts that feature this kind of navigational paragraph mark. In each example, the marks are used to draw the reader's attention to the presence of a chapter number or *incipit* heading. For example, the scribes who copied Rouen 116 – a glossed copy of the book of Genesis and a glossed copy of the Psalms – opted to use navigational paragraph marks to amplify the presence of chapter numbers, and to mark the precise place in the text where the next chapter begins. In the following image, we can see that the scribe has positioned the paragraph mark in the main text next to a rubricated initial and placed the chapter number in the adjacent margin. With the combination of the rubricated initial, the chapter number, and the paragraph mark, the reader is able to see precisely *where* the new section of text begins, as well as *what* part of the text begins there (chapter three in this case).

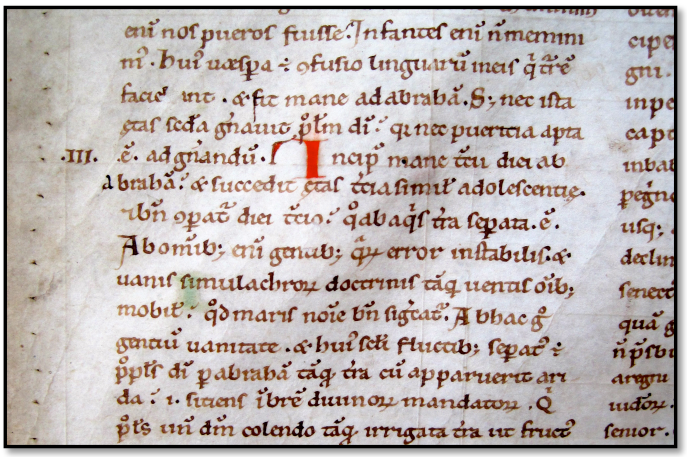


Fig. 17 – Rouen 116, fol. 3v: Navigational paragraph mark connected to marginal chapter number

Moreover, by placing the paragraph mark in the text-block and the chapter number in the margin (in a far more visible location on the page) the scribe, who was responsible for adding both the paragraph mark and the chapter number, makes it easier for the reader to find the number. This placement also makes it possible for the reader to quickly scan the margins of the book for the start of new sections, ultimately helping him to flip through the book and locate specific chapters.

In other cases, even more contextual information is provided by the scribe. In Rouen 469, for example, the scribe opens the start of each new section with a navigational paragraph mark, a chapter number, and a rubricated *incipit* heading. To make sure that the reader could easily locate the opening of a new book, the scribe who copied Rouen 469 employed a full arsenal of navigational tools.

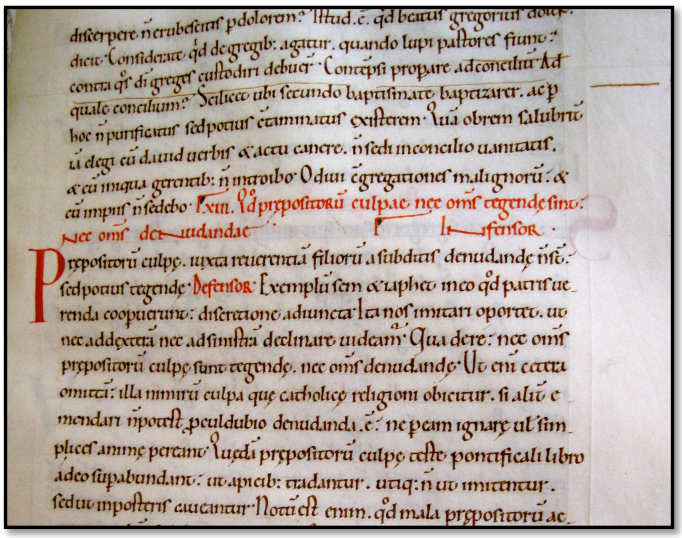


Fig. 18 – Rouen 469, fol. 111r: Opening of book 13

In this case, the text of this manuscript may have influenced the scribe's decision to clearly mark the opening of a new section. As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, Rouen 469 contains a copy of Augustine's *Retractationes*, a collection of revisions made by the author to previously published works. The text is divided into chapters, each of which addresses a different work, wherein Augustine comments upon or revises various arguments presented in the original book. Because the *Retractationes* presents excerpts from multiple texts, it would have been important for the scribe to very clearly mark the start of each new book and its respective commentary. Moreover, in many instances Augustine provides critical revisions to earlier works, many of which were owned by the Fécamp community.[1] Given the nature of this text, it thus seems reasonable that the Fécamp scribes chose to employ navigational paragraph marks (in addition to chapter numbers, initials, and rubricated *incipit* headings) to ensure that the revisions for each of Augustine's works could be easily located.

Such examples demonstrate how navigational paragraph marks were employed by the scribes of Fécamp. That being said, although this type of paragraph

[1] In the eleventh-century book list from Fécamp the following Augustinian works are listed: *De consensu Evangelistarum libri iv*, *De symbolo*, *De trinitate*, *De verbis Domini*, *De virtutibus caritatis*, *Enchiridion*, *In epistolam Johannis ad Parthos*, *In epistolam I Johannis*, and of course, the *Retractationes*. The twelfth-century book list includes the following Augustinian works: *Confessionum fragmentum*, *Contra Julianum hereticum*, *De civitate Dei*, *De consensu Evangelistarum libri iv*, *De diversis quaestionibus*, *De doctrina christiana*, *De moribus ecclesiae*, *De opere monachorum*, *De perfectione justitae hominum*, *De quaestionibus*, *De trinitate*, *De verbis Domini*, *De virtutibus caritatis*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *Epistolae*, *In epistolam Johannis ad Parthos*, *In epistolam I Johannis*, *Retractationes*, *Super epistolae Pauli*, and *Super Genesim*. Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fecamp', 168-172.

mark technically functions in a navigational capacity (working in tandem with other reading aids to mark the opening of a new section), on their own, they do not necessarily facilitate a selective reading of the text. For instance, if a Fécamp monk wished to read Augustine's revision of his work *De immortaliate animae* in the *Retractationes* (Rouen 469), he would not necessarily know were to find this particular section in the volume, despite the fact that the opening of the text is highlighted with a paragraph mark, chapter number, initial, and rubricated *incipit* heading.[2] To track down the opening of this particular text, the reader would either need to be sufficiently familiar with the layout of the volume, or he would need to flip through each page of the book in search of the text, a rather time-consuming method of retrieval. As such, although navigational paragraph marks on their own help to organize the layout of the text (accentuating the start of new sections), when they are applied in isolation (i.e. without a chapter table or other navigational reading aids), they do not necessarily precipitate a selective approach to reading that involved looking up specific passages.

1.2 Running Titles

There is only one manuscript from the Fécamp corpus that features running titles as the only additional navigational reading aid: Rouen 464, a copy of Augustine's exposition on the Epistles of Paul. In this manuscript the running titles stretch across the top two pages. For example, in the first section of the volume – Paul's letter to the Romans – the scribe adds 'AD RO' on the left page, and 'MA – NOS' on the right page, completing the title 'Ad Romanos'.[3] With the help of these running titles, the reader would have had an easier time locating general sections of the volume. Like the examples discussed above, however, when running titles are applied on their own, without the addition of chapter tables or chapter numbers, for example, their primary function is to help the reader navigate large sections of the volume, and not to help the reader look up and find specific chapters or sections of the text.

---

[2] Rouen 469, fol. 5r.

[3] See, for example, fols. 3v-4r. This book also contains a number of marginal notes that provide the authors and titles of sources referenced in the main text, such as 'From the Trinity III'; the source material is wide-ranging, including references to the Psalms, works by Anselm of Canterbury, Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, and sentences of the prophets. For examples, see fols. 13v and 37v.

1.3 Chapter Tables

The addition of a chapter table, however, is far more effective in facilitating a selective and non-sequential mode of reading, as it enabled readers to look up and locate desired chapters in the volume. Even if this is the *only* navigational reading aid added to the manuscript, the presence of a chapter table significantly enhances the searchability of the volume. In the Fécamp corpus there are six books that exclusively feature a chapter table (nos. 5-10 in the table above). The inclusion of a chapter table (or chapter tables) indicate that these volumes were expected to be read on a more selective basis. Some of these books also feature additional evidence that further suggests that the scribes anticipated a selective mode of reading.

For example, Rouen 28, a Gospel Book copied at Fécamp between 1150 and 1200, presents not only a chapter table positioned at the opening of each new Gospel, but it also features Eusebius' canon tables. In the first place, Eusebius' canon tables were specifically designed to help the reader compare and relate sections of the Gospels with similar material presented elsewhere in the volume. With the help of a directory at the opening of the volume, the reader was presented with an overview of comparable material in the Gospels, accompanied by a corresponding system of references to books and chapters added to the margins of the volume. The reader can either look up related material via the canon tables presented at the opening of the volume, or he can refer to the marginal references placed throughout the text.

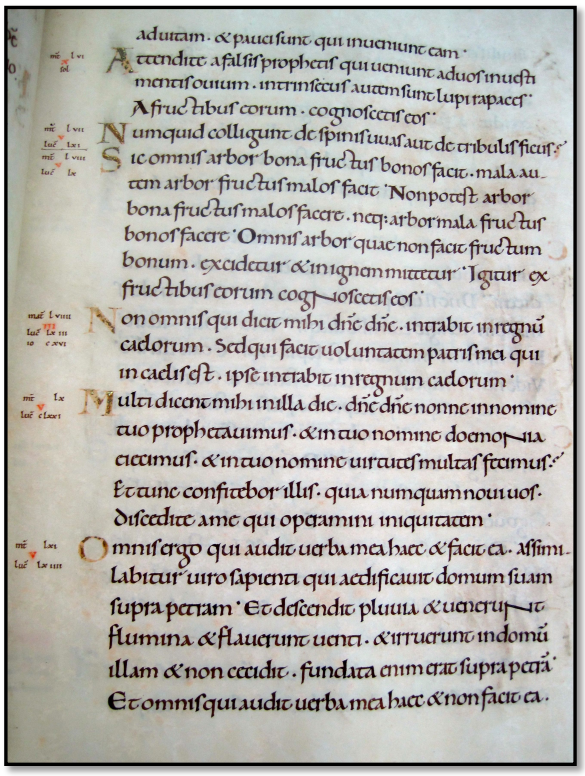


Fig. 19 – Rouen 28, fol. 18r: Marginal references as part of Eusebius' canon table system

If one reads a section of the Gospel of St John, for example, and wishes to see if and where similar content is discussed in the remaining three Gospels, one only needs to look as far as the margin for a direct reference to the related texts. The chapter tables and corresponding chapter numbers further aid the reader in this process of cross-referencing and comparing the Gospel material. The presence of chapter tables as well as Eusebius' canon tables in Rouen 28, therefore, precipitate a style of reading that was selective, as the apparata encouraged the reader to pause from reading, flip to a relevant section in the book, and compare the texts and discussions therein.

1.4 Considering the Text

While Rouen 28 presents a number of features that indicate selective and non-sequential reading, in other cases, the extent to which the chapter table was used for selective reading is not quite so clear-cut. When analysing the physical and visual profile of a manuscript it is always important to consider the text. Although we have

seen that books containing identical texts could come in a range of different formats (some copies present navigational reading aids, and others do not, for example), in some cases the nature of the text seems to have played a stronger role in the design and presentation of the book. Take, for example, a manuscript from the Fécamp corpus that contains chapter tables as the only navigational reading aid: BnF, lat. 5080. Copied between 1100 and 1150 at Fécamp, this volume contains a copy of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* and a copy of Peter Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*. At the opening of the second text in the volume, Peter Alfonsi's *Dialogi* (fol. 145v), there is a large chapter table with twelve chapter divisions, followed by corresponding chapter numbers in the main text.

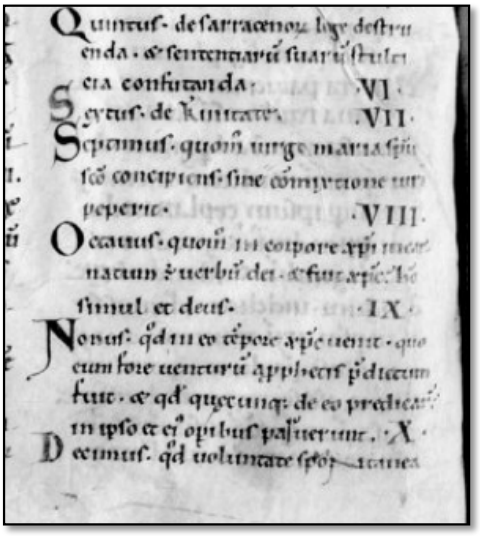


Fig. 20 – BnF, lat. 5080, fol. 145v: Chapters VI-X in opening chapter table (added by main scribe)

For those examining the book solely from a visual standpoint (taking into account the presence of the chapter table only), it would seem that Peter Alfonsi's text was expected to be read selectively in parts, rather than from start to finish, and, indeed, this might have been the case. However, unlike most books from the Fécamp corpus, this particular text is preceded by a prologue wherein the author, Alfonsi, directly specifies the arrangement of his text and his rationale for dividing the work into twelve sections. He writes:

> I have arranged the entire book as a dialogue, so that the reader's mind may more quickly achieve an understanding … I have

> divided the book into twelve headings [*tituli*], so that the reader may find whatever he desires in them more quickly.[4]

In the remainder of the prologue, Alfonsi goes on to list each heading featured in the chapter table, with a brief explanation of their subject matter. For the first *titulus* Alfonsi writes, 'The first heading shows that the Jews understand the words of the prophets according to the flesh and explain them falsely'.[5] According to Alfonsi's plan, a reader interested in this topic would easily be able to find the relevant passage in the manuscript via corresponding chapter numbers. While the purpose of the chapter table in BnF, lat. 5080 is the same as the previous Gospel Book example – to help the reader locate 'whatever he desires' in the text more quickly – it is not entirely obvious whether the chapter table in BnF, lat. 5080 was specifically added by the Fécamp scribe to facilitate this type of selective and non-sequential reading, or whether the scribe included the table in respect to the author's original design of the text. Such an example reminds us of the importance of taking into account the nature of the book's contents when assessing whether it was designed to be read on a selective basis. That said, in books that do not include any kind of authorial insight into the design of the text (such as the prologue by Alfonsi), nor any other reason to suggest that the chapter table (or other kind of reading aid) was not intended to be used by the reader, it is fairly safe to assume that the presence of such features in the book was motivated by necessity.

2. Two Types of Reading Aid

On occasion, it appears that the scribes of Fécamp felt it was necessary to provide even greater navigational support to certain books, and opted to pair together two types of reading aid in a single volume – either chapter tables and running titles, or chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks. It should be noted that of all the books that feature two (or more) types of reading aid, one of these is always a chapter table. This emphasizes the importance of the chapter table as a critical navigational tool. Out of the sixty-six manuscripts of the Fécamp corpus, there are six books that

[4] This part of the prologue can be found in BnF, Lat. 5080 on fol. 145v. Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue Against the Jews*, trans. Irven M. Resnick, The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 41-42.

[5] Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue Against the Jews*, trans. Resnick, 42.

feature two types of reading aid (Table 5, nos. 11-16): three present chapter tables and running titles, and three present chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks.

2.1 Chapter Tables + Running titles

The combination of chapter tables and running titles in a single volume precipitate a style of reading that prioritizes the ability to search through the volume and to find select passages with ease. When chapter tables and running titles are paired together these tools reinforce each other, providing a multi-layer navigation system designed to help the reader to look up and locate both general content (via the running titles) as well as specific parts of the text (via the chapter table system). Out of the entire corpus of sixty-six volumes from the Fécamp collection, three books present chapter tables paired together with running titles, all of which contain biblical texts. These books are: BnF, lat. 258, Rouen 29, and Rouen 7.

The first two books in this group are Gospel Books: BnF, lat. 258, copied *c.* 1000, and Rouen 29, copied *c.* 1075 – 1100. Despite having been copied nearly a century apart, these books are similar in that they both include navigational apparata in the form of chapter tables and running titles, as well as Eusebius' canon tables.[6] The first volume, BnF, lat. 258, is the oldest surviving Gospel Book from the Fécamp library collection.[7] The book begins with a decorative display of Eusebius' canon tables (fols. 9r-16r), followed by the four Gospels. Each Gospel is preceded by a chapter table that presents a rather lengthy thematic overview of the contents of each chapter. For example, in the chapter table for the Gospel of St John (fol. 121v), the entry for Chapter XI does not just list the *incipit* heading, but instead includes an overview of the chapter's contents:

> XI. He washes the feet of the disciples. From the tradition of the Jews and he predicts Peter's denial. And he gave a speech to the brothers. And that he is in the Father and

[6] It is possible that Rouen 29 was copied from BnF, lat. 258; this is based on the layout as well as the identical break-down of headings in the chapter lists.

[7] For a brief description of BnF, lat. 258, see Branch, 'The Development of Script', 46. Branch dates the manuscript to the late tenth century.

> the Father is in him. And in the heeding of the command of the Holy Spirit.[8]

For those searching for specific themes, topics, or events in the Gospels (such as Peter's denial of Christ), one only needs to locate the chapter table, look up the desired theme, and then proceed directly to the section via the corresponding chapter numbers.

In this Gospel Book, the chapter tables are not presented at the opening of the volume, but instead at the opening of each new Gospel. This is also the case in the second Gospel Book, Rouen 29:

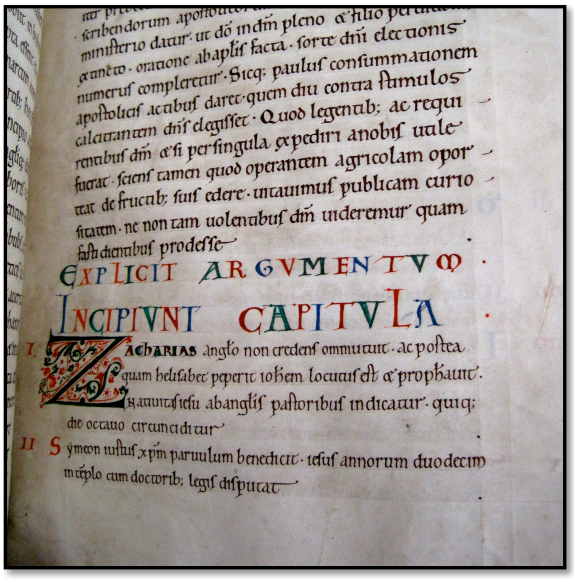


Fig. 21 – Rouen 29, fol. 68r: Chapter table at the opening of the Gospel of St Luke

While the proximity of the chapter table to the start of each Gospel made it easier for the reader to find a specific chapter (or a theme within that chapter), it may have still been time-consuming to locate the start of each new Gospel and the associated chapter table. To help the reader find each broad section of the volume, both BnF, lat. 258 and Rouen 29 are also equipped with running titles that stretch across the top margin of the page. In both books, the running titles provide an abbreviated heading

[8] 'XI. Pedes discipulorum lauat. De iudae traditione et petri negatione predicat. Et dedi[t] lectione fratrum. Et quod ipse in patre et pater in ipso est. Et obseruandis mandatis paracleti sp[iritu]s' (BnF, lat. 258, fol. 121v).

that notes the title of the respective Gospel (i.e. 'Secundam Iohannem' for the Gospel of St John).

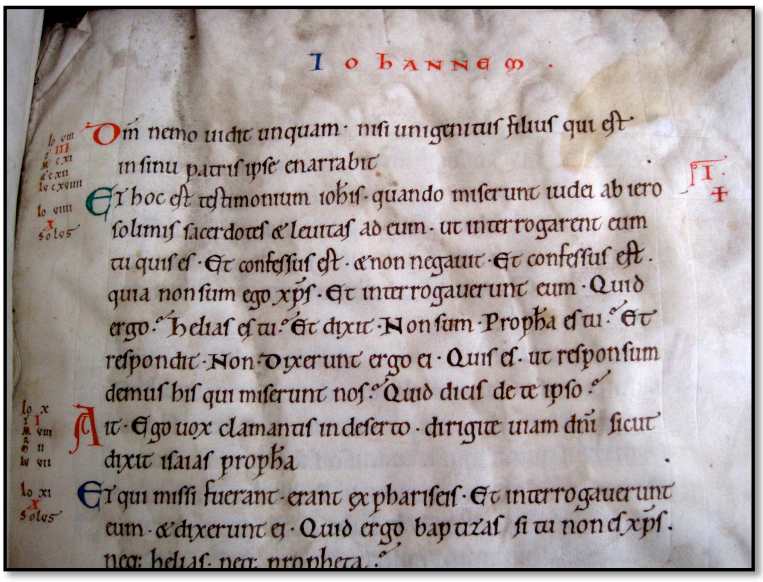


Fig. 22 – Rouen 29, fol. 115r: Running title 'Iohannem'

Whereas the chapter tables in BnF, lat. 258 and Rouen 29 help the reader to find specific themes, events, or chapters within the text of each Gospel (as they are listed in the tables), the running titles function on a broader level, helping the reader to navigate through the entire volume and find more general sections of the book, such as the 'Gospel of St John'. The running titles in these two Gospel Books may have also been particularly important for those seeking comparisons between different Gospels via the Eusebian canon tables. If one is reading a passage in the Gospel of St Luke, for example, and there is a marginal reference noting a similar passage in the Gospel of St Mark, the running titles direct the reader to the section of the volume where that Gospel is contained, at which point he can then look to the chapter numbers for more acute guidance in locating the desired passage.

It should be noted that the running titles in BnF, lat. 258 are not present on every page. In this volume, the Gospel of St Luke (fols. 84r-120r), for example, does not contain any visible running titles, while the other three Gospels feature running titles only on some pages. While it is sometimes the case that running titles are trimmed off in the process of re-binding, this is unlikely for BnF, lat. 258 because the

running titles present in the other Gospels are written quite low down in the margin (at a safe distance from the top edge of the page). It appears that the running titles were purposefully limited to certain sections of the volume, perhaps in sections of the text that were referred to or read more frequently. Moreover, the partial application of running titles in the remaining three Gospels of BnF, lat. 258 may not have been problematic, since the running titles only mark general sections of text, and even when they only appear every few pages, they still remain generally effective in helping the reader to locate broad sections of the volume.

The third book in the Fécamp corpus to feature chapter tables paired with running titles is Rouen 7, a large bible copied between 1100 and 1150. This volume, measuring 495 x 355 mm, falls into the 'Giant Bible' category, discussed at length by Christopher De Hamel in his work on the medieval Bible.[9] De Hamel notes that after the eleventh century, Giant Bibles can be found in most well-stocked library collections and argues that the massive size of the books was meant to reflect the status and importance of the text (and in certain cases, the status and importance of the manuscript's donor). Rouen 7 not only features very large page dimensions, but it also features a higher number of folia (204) in relation to the average of the Fécamp corpus, which is 124. Furthermore, it is quite possible that, at one point, this volume boasted an even higher number of folia, as the last part of the New Testament has unfortunately been lost (the text ends mid-sentence at the bottom of fol. 204v). Although it may have been a complete Bible pandect at one point, in its current form Rouen 7 includes the Old Testament and the Gospels.

Like the two Gospel Books mentioned above, each biblical book in Rouen 7 is preceded by a chapter table with thematic subject-headings and corresponding chapter numbers. The volume is also equipped with running titles in various sections that provide the title of the book in the top margin. The inclusion of these navigational tools would have been particularly welcome in a volume of this size, particularly given the fact that the book contains so many different texts collected

[9] Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2001). For the origins of giant Bibles in the Carolingian period, see David Ganz, 'Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours', in Richard Gameson, ed., *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 53-62. Diane J. Reilly remarks that Romanesque Giant Bibles are usually at least 45 cm tall and 30 cm wide when closed ('The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo Librorum ad Legendum*: Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions', in Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny/Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*, Disciplina Monastica 3 [Turnhout: Brepols, 2005], 163-189, at 164).

together. Even though it would not have been impossible to read this bible from cover to cover, the size of the volume, the high number of texts, as well as the presence of chapter tables and running titles, collectively indicate that this book was expected to be read on a more selective basis, rather than comprehensively or sequentially.

It is interesting to note, however, that there are a number of other manuscripts in the Fécamp corpus that feature similarly large collections of texts, but that do not include chapter tables or running titles. For example, Rouen 478 and BnF, lat. 2639 both feature seven works of Ambrose each, and Rouen 477 contains a collection of ten works by Augustine.[10] Despite the high number of texts, none of these books feature navigational apparata in the form of chapter tables, running titles, or navigational paragraph marks.[11] This phenomenon suggests that it was not *just* the large collection of texts present in the Giant Bible (Rouen 7) that motivated the scribes to include chapter tables and running titles, but their inclusion was influenced by something else, such as the context of the book's intended use. Indeed, the presentation of navigational reading aids in this Giant Fécamp Bible provides grounds for further investigation into the relationship between a book's contents and the application of reading aids. This connection will be addressed more fully in the following chapter.

2.2 Chapter Tables + Navigational Paragraph Marks

Whereas biblical texts appear to have attracted the combination of chapter tables and running titles, patristic and other theological texts seem to have attracted a different combination of reading aids: chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks. Whereas the combination of chapter tables and running titles help the reader to search and navigate through the *entire volume*, the combination of chapter tables and paragraph marks function on a smaller scale, helping the reader to search through and navigate the content of the *text* on a more localized basis. That is to say, the

[10] Rouen 478 contains the following texts by Ambrose: *Contra Academicos*, *Contra quinque haereses*, *De beata vita*, *De duabus animabus*, *De ordine*, *De Enchiridion*, and *Hypomnesticon*; BnF, lat. 2639 contains the following texts by Ambrose: *De isaac et anima*, *De bono mortis, De fuga saeculi*, *De iacob et uita beata*, *De paradyso*, *De consolatione ulaentiniani*, *Epistola ad Vercellenses*; Rouen 477 contains the following works by Augustine: *Contra Julianum hereticum*, *De perfectione justitae hominum*, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, *Contra sermonem Arianorum*, *De anima et eius origine*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De magistro*, *De mendacio*, *De natura et gratia*, and *De vera religione*.

[11] These books were all discussed in the previous chapter (manuscripts without navigational reading aids).

chapter tables direct the reader to a specific part of the text, and the paragraph marks direct the reader through that section of text, pointing out any divisions or breaks present in that section.

Out of the sixty-six volumes in the Fécamp corpus, there are three books that feature this combination of chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks: BnF, lat. 4210, a copy of Smaragdus' *Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti*; BnF, lat. 2088, a copy of Augustine's *De trinitate*; Rouen 540, consisting of two works by Anselm of Canterbury, as well as a short hagiographical text. None of the three volumes contain texts that were exceptionally long, and only Rouen 540 includes more than one text. The relatively short length of these texts (particularly in comparison to the Giant Bible, Rouen 7) may have made it simply unnecessary to add running titles, as it would not have been difficult to find specific areas of the volume in such a short book, particularly in cases where the volume only contains a single text. Indeed, the smaller scale of these books would have minimized the need for book-wide navigation (i.e. finding the start of a book in a collection of texts), but instead the focus lies on navigating the content of one text (i.e. finding specific themes or ideas presented in the text itself).

BnF, lat. 4210, a complete copy of Smaragdus' commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, for example, begins with a chapter table that comprises the forty-eight chapters of the original Rule.[12] In addition to the table, the scribe has also marked the opening of each new chapter very clearly by adding a rubricated *incipit* heading (written in large capitals), as well as the relevant chapter number emphasized by a paragraph mark.

[12] Smaragdus' decision to mirror the chapter divisions of his commentary and those found in Benedict's Rule may reflect an attempt to unify his exposition with Benedict's influential work; Smaragdus, *Smaragdus of Saint-Michiel, Diadema monachorum*, trans. Barry, xv; Barry primarily discusses Smaragdus' other text, the *Diadema monachorum*, but it seems likely that Smaragdus also intended for this work to serve as a daily companion to the Rule.

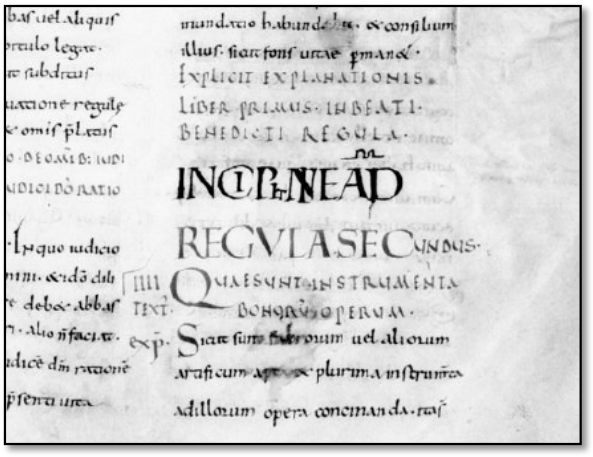


Fig. 23 – BnF, lat. 4210, fol. 37r: Marginal divisions and the opening of book 4

By combining chapter tables, chapter numbers, and paragraph marks in this way, the scribe creates an effective navigation system designed to help the reader look up a specific part of the Rule and find the associated commentary quickly and easily. This may have been particularly important, given the importance of the Rule to Benedictine communities in this period. Indeed, the entire community at Fécamp would have been familiar with the rules outlined by Benedict (not only were monks required to know the Rule before taking their vows, but parts of the Rule were also read out to the entire community on a regular basis). The commentary, however, was designed to discuss and explain various aspects of the Rule, essentially helping to clarify components of the Rule from a contemporary monastic perspective. This type of commentary would probably have served, primarily, as a reference text, read out either in tandem with the Rule of St Benedict, or consulted when certain aspects of the Rule were unclear or needed to be addressed. For this reason, it is unlikely that this particular volume was intended to be read comprehensively from cover to cover, but instead it was more suited to be read in parts on a requisite basis. As such, the chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks suit the use of this particular volume as a reference text.[13]

The examination of manuscripts that feature a combination of two types of reading aid paired together demonstrate a clever application of paratextual tools on

[13] In addition to the Smaragdus volume, there are two other books that feature a combination of chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks: BnF, lat. 2088, a late eleventh-century copy of Augustine's *De trinitate*, and Rouen 540, an early twelfth-century copy of Anselm of Canterbury's *De libero arbitrio*, *De casu diaboli*, and a hagiographical text on the life of St Oportuna.

the part of the Fécamp scribes to assist the reader in navigating the volume and text. Based on the Fécamp corpus, it seems that biblical manuscripts attracted both broad-scale 'volume-wide' navigation (in the form of running titles), as well as more localized and text-based navigation (in the form of chapter tables and chapter numbers). Manuscripts that contain non-biblical material, such as Smaragdus' commentary on the Rule of St Benedict or Augustine's *De trinitate*, however, typically feature navigational support on the acute level via the addition of chapter tables and navigational paragraph marks. The fact that all six books do include chapter tables, underscores the primary aim of the Fécamp scribe to ensure that the reader could quickly and easily look up and find desired sections of text. This ultimately suggests an anticipated mode of reading that was selective and non-sequential.

Again, it is important to acknowledge that this type of reading directly contradicts what we know about *lectio divina*, and thus suggests that this selective approach was practiced as a second mode of reading at the monastery of Fécamp. The fact that the scribes of Fécamp also pair together reading aids in various ways to facilitate different kinds of navigation in the volume challenges current theories that early manifestations of navigational reading aids in periods preceding the 'scholastic age' tend to be rudimentary. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Rouses, as well as Gumbert argue that it was not until the late twelfth century that navigational reading aids were readily combined to accommodate more sophisticated systems of navigation.[14] While it is clear that there are only a few manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus that feature navigational reading aids combined together, the examples examined here nonetheless demonstrate that scribes working much earlier than the late twelfth century (indeed, as early as the eleventh century), as well as in non-scholastic contexts, were well-versed in how to combine these features to increase navigational efficiency in the volumes they copied.

3. Three Types of Reading Aid

The final category examined in this study – with the fewest number of books – is that which contains manuscripts with all three types of navigational reading aid: chapter tables, running titles, and navigational paragraph marks. Out of the corpus of sixty-six

[14] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, 29; Gumbert, 'Points and Signposts', 231.

volumes from Fécamp, I have only found two books that feature this combination of reading aids: Rouen 528, part 1, an early eleventh-century copy of Bede's *Expositio in Marcum*, and Rouen 1, the second Giant Bible of the collection, though copied earlier than the previous example, sometime between 1060 and 1080 (Table 5, nos. 17 and 18). The combination of reading aids meant that both volumes were prepared to accommodate broad-scale searching across the entire volume (via running titles and chapter tables), as well as more acute searching on a textual basis (via paragraph marks). Essentially speaking, these books are fully-equipped to facilitate a selective and non-sequential mode of reading.

The first volume, containing Bede's commentary on the Gospel of St Mark (Rouen 528, part 1) is among the oldest surviving books from the Fécamp collection, copied sometime between 1001 and 1028 during the abbacy of William of Volpiano.[15] On fol. 2r, immediately following Bede's prologue, the Fécamp scribe has added a chapter table with brief thematic headings for each chapter. In the main text, the start of each new chapter is marked by the addition of corresponding chapter numbers that line up to rubricated excerpts from the Gospel of St Mark.[16] Like some of the previous examples we have seen, these chapter numbers are amplified by the addition of a paragraph mark, further directing the reader's attention to the opening of a new part of the commentary. The first section of this volume also includes running titles that stretch along the top margin, naming the author ('BE-DA') and the title of the text ('SUPER MARCUM').[17]

[15] This is one of the oldest surviving manuscripts from the library collection at Fécamp and was copied by a scribe named 'Stephen' (identified via a verse-colophon on fol. 184v); Branch, 'The Development of Script'.

[16] See, for example, fol. 41v.

[17] See, for example, fols. 41v-42r.

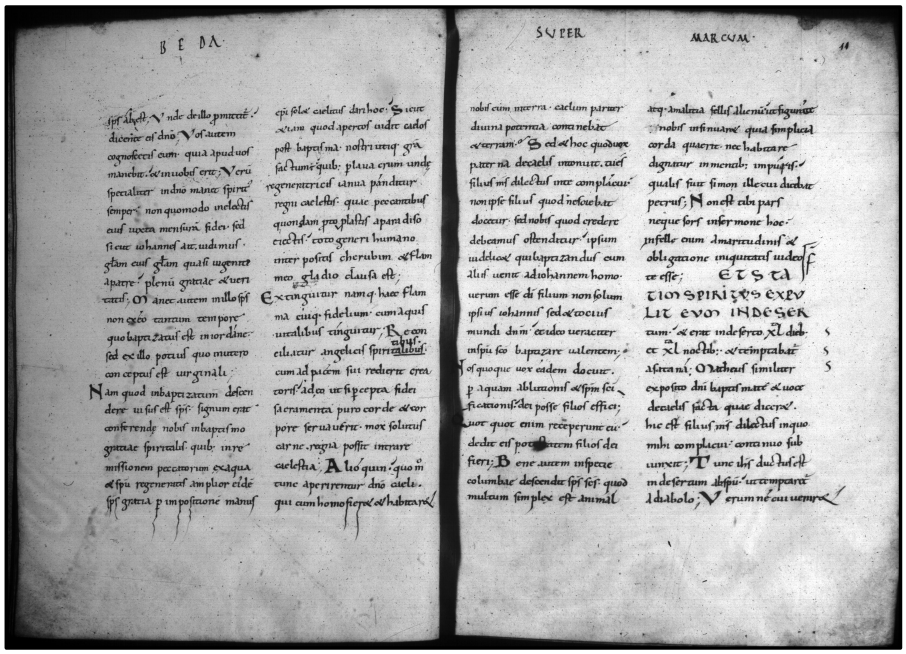


Fig. 24 – Rouen 528, part 1, fols. 10v-11r: Running title 'Beda Super Marcum'

It is important to note that while all three types of reading aids are present in Rouen 528, part 1, they are not present on every page. Instead, they appear only in certain parts of the volume: some sections feature running titles, others do not, for example; while some chapter numbers have been emphasized with paragraph marks, others go without. The application of these reading aids result in a book that was partially navigatable; certain sections would have been very easy to locate within the volume, while others would have taken more time to find.

The second volume in this category of three reading aids, and the last book examined in this chapter, is Rouen 1, a second Giant Bible copied between 1060 and 1080 at Fécamp. Like the previously examined bible (Rouen 7), this volume also classifies as a 'Giant Bible' due to its large dimensions (450 x 350 mm), its high-number of folia (350), and because it contains a near-complete collection of the Old and New Testaments. This volume is incomplete because it is missing the Gospels, the absence of which was clearly noticed by a somewhat perplexed fourteenth-century commentator, who added a note on fol. 304r: 'Here should follow the four books of the Evangelists completely lacking here'.[18] The exclusion of the Gospels from a Giant Bible pandect was not entirely unusual, however, and Christopher De Hamel notes at

[18] De Hamel, *The Book*, 75.

least two other contemporary examples that also lack the Gospels (see the eleventh-century Bible of St Maximin in Trier and the early twelfth-century Bible of St-Amand).[19] Because the Gospels were also often transmitted in other independent volumes either in the form of a Gospel Book or an Evangeliary, the scribes of Fécamp may not have felt the need to add these texts to a large biblical collection, especially if they were already available in another volume. Moreover, the Gospels were often carried into the church as part of the Mass procession, and it would have been advantageous to have a copy of the Gospels accessible in a smaller (more portable) volume for this purpose.[20]

Like the previous example, Rouen 1 includes all three types of reading aid in combination: chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks. Also like many of the previous examples, the chapter tables are present at the opening of each volume and contain thematic sub-headings for each chapter.

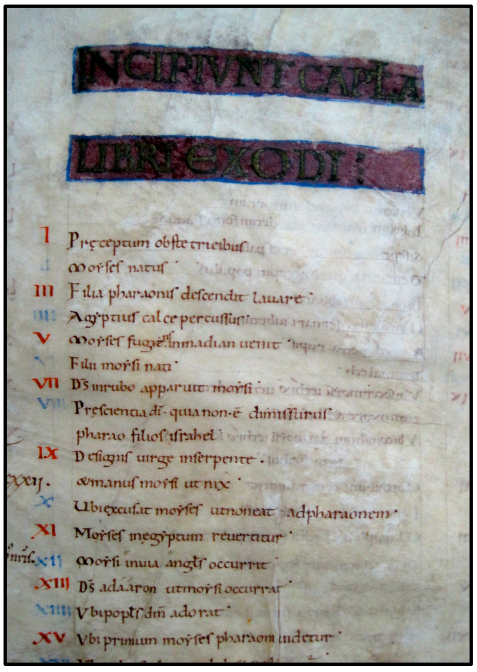


Fig. 25 – Rouen 1, fol. 17r: Chapter table for the Book of Exodus

[19] Both of these books are discussed in De Hamel, *The Book*, 75.

[20] Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Studies and Texts 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), 116-117; S. J. P. van Dijk, 'The Bible in Liturgical Use', in G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible: the West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 220-251, at 229-230.

The remainder of the volume is also equipped with corresponding chapter numbers, making it possible for the reader to locate specific chapters within each book quickly and easily.[21] Running titles have been added to the top margin of most pages by a contemporary hand (potentially the same early twelfth-century hand responsible for adding corrections to the text). These titles in the top margin typically consist of the individual book title. On fol. 56v, for example, the running title states 'LIBER DEUTERONOMII' (The Book of Deuteronomy), clearly identifying the general contents of the text presented on that page. Unlike Bede's commentary on St Mark, however, Rouen 1 features reading aids that have been applied to the entire manuscript.

As such, both Rouen 528, part 1 and Rouen 1 appear to have been designed to be searchable on a book-wide level (i.e. navigation across the whole volume), as well as on the level of the text (i.e. locating different themes and passages). These books from the Fécamp collection once more challenge the theory that books produced before the late twelfth century may include navigational reading aids, but these earlier manifestations tend to be crude in comparison to later 'scholastic' books. As we have seen, the reading aids in the Fécamp manuscripts do not appear as rudimentary additions to the page, but instead they have been combined together to achieve a practical degree of navigational support.

4. Concluding Points

It is significant that these two volumes from the Fécamp corpus that feature all three types of reading aids were both made in the eleventh century and are among the older books of the Fécamp collection. Indeed, out of the eighteen manuscripts examined in this study that include navigational reading aids, only *five* of these books were produced in the twelfth century, while the remaining thirteen books are products of the eleventh century. This, once again, underlines the fact that monastic scribes applied 'scholastic' navigational reading aids long before the dawn of the scholastic age in the late twelfth century. We have seen that these reading aids were often

[21] There are two competing chapter number systems added to Rouen 1, the first is original (rubricated chapter numbers in the main text) and the second is contemporary, added by an early-twelfth century scribe (who may have also been responsible for adding the corrections). Further discussion of this manuscript, and its chapter tables, will be presented in the following chapter.

combined together to achieve significant levels of navigation (i.e. navigation on a book-wide and text-wide basis), largely discounting the assumption that earlier manifestations of these features tend to be rudimentary.

We have also seen that these navigational reading aids facilitated selective and non-sequential modes of reading. Essentially speaking, the Fécamp scribes used the very same navigational tools (chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks) to accommodate the very same mode of reading (selective and non-sequential reading) as scribes working in later urban contexts, and whose work has been traditionally cast as 'scholastic'. Despite the fact that both the Fécamp monks and later 'scholastic' readers appear to share similar modes of reading, and even share techniques in book production, however, there is still the issue of cultural context, and in particular, the question of *motivation*.

Based on the arguments presented by Parkes and the Rouses in the previous chapter, the goals behind selective modes of reading in the scholastic context were directly related to the intellectual and educational pursuits of urban students and scholars: students wished to engage in discussion and debate (*quaestio* and *disputatio*) and needed to acquire pertinent information from a variety of sources as efficiently as possible. To achieve this end, students required books that could facilitate selective modes of reading, thus motivating scribes to apply navigational support to the books they copied. While this explanation fits the context of the urban scholastic environment of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries – particularly as it has been explained in relation to the practice of *quaestio* and *disputatio* – it does not seem to fit the context of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Benedictine monastery. At this point, there is no evidence to suggest that the monks of Fécamp were engaging in *quaestio* and *disputatio*, nor does it make sense that they would. So why did the monks of Fécamp design some of their books to facilitate selective modes of reading?

Chapter 5

Books for Selective Reading at Fécamp



The presence of navigational reading aids in eighteen manuscripts from the Fécamp corpus are suggestive of a reader who needed to locate specific chapters of the book, and, therefore, indicate a mode of reading that was different from the comprehensive approach of *lectio divina*. The present chapter aims to find an appropriate context of use for these navigational reading aids in the Benedictine monastery. Over the course of this chapter, I examine three book-types from the Fécamp corpus that contain reading aids: Giant Bibles, Gospel Books, and patristic texts. Moreover, I identify three settings where these books (equipped with navigation) would have been used: during the celebration of the liturgy (the Mass and Divine Office), during meal-time reading in the refectory, and during the evening gathering of Collation. Indeed, just as the Fécamp scribes designed many of their books to suit the practice of *lectio divina* (as shown in Part One of this study), it seems that they also custom-designed some of their books to accommodate a second mode of devotional reading.

1. Bibles with Navigation

There are two Giant Bibles from the Fécamp corpus that include navigational reading aids: Rouen 1 and Rouen 7. As noted in the previous chapter, both books are presented in a large format and each contain a large collection of books from the Old and New Testament: Rouen 1 contains all but the Gospels, and Rouen 7 contains the Old Testament and the Gospels.[1] The presence of navigational reading aids in these two Bibles (in the form of chapter tables and running titles) suggest that both of these volumes were designed to support searching and finding throughout the volume. The visual apparata present in these two Fécamp Bibles, then, prompts the following question: When, exactly, did the readers of Fécamp need to look up and find select passages of text in the Bible? Upon closer inspection of the daily worship schedule at Fécamp, as it was practiced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I have uncovered

[1] As mentioned earlier, Rouen 7 may have originally featured a complete New Testament, but the last part of the manuscript has been lost.

three distinct opportunities where a Giant Bible may have been used and when additional navigational support would have been welcome.

1.1 The Bible & the Mass (Epistle Reading)

Each day in the monastery there were two major liturgical meetings where the entire community would gather together to pray, chant, read, and listen to holy reading: the Mass and the Divine Office. The Mass was a Eucharistic celebration designed to commemorate Christ's Last Supper; it was centered upon the preparation of bread and wine, and involved a series of chants and prayers, as well as two scriptural readings – the Epistle and the Gospel reading. As I will show, the Epistle reading during the Mass may have required the use of a Giant Bible equipped with navigational reading aids.

During the celebration of the Mass at Fécamp, after the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, and Collect had been performed, a chosen soloist removed himself from the choir and stepped up to the lectern, where he would chant the Epistle reading to the congregation. This reading was typically taken from the Pauline Epistles (hence the name 'Epistle reading'), but it could also come from the Acts of the Apostles or passages from the Old Testament.[2] The decision of what to read each day was largely informed by the cycle of the liturgical calendar – the reading would be chosen to reflect the theme of the liturgical season (such as Advent or Easter), the day of the week, as well as a concurrent series of Feast Days. To keep track of which reading was suitable for each day of the year, the Epistle readings were often listed in two types of liturgical books: the Epistolary, which provided the Epistle readings, or the Lectionary, which provided both the Epistle and Gospel readings for the Mass. Both types of book helped to guide the activities of the Mass, and they typically provide the pericope for each reading, as well as some kind of indication as to where each reading could be found (usually via an *incipit* heading).[3]

The list of readings provided by the Epistolary or Lectionary are helpful in piecing together what texts were read during the Epistle, and the degree to which they

[2] Henri Leclercq, 'Épitres', in Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey, 1922), Vol. 5, cols. 244-344, at 246.

[3] Sometimes these books were divided into two distinct volumes: the 'Epistolary' containing the Epistle readings, and the 'Evangeliary' containing the Gospel readings. When these readings are combined into one volume it is known as a Lectionary.

changed over the course of the year. Although there is no surviving Lectionary from the Abbey of Fécamp from this period, it is possible to piece together a programme of Epistle readings based on similar contemporary sources. In his 1922 study on Epistle readings during the Mass, Henri Leclercq, for example, argues that many communities in the Latin West maintained similar reading programmes and relied upon nearly identical texts for the Mass, which makes sense as most would have been following the same liturgical calendar.[4] To see what types of books (and chapters) were read during the Epistle reading, we can turn to a Lectionary known as the *Liber comicus*. Copied in the eleventh century and used by the Benedictine community at the Abbey de Silos (on the Iberian peninsula), this Lectionary provides an outline of the types of books commonly read during the Epistle and can help us to better understand what would have been read at the Abbey of Fécamp in this period.[5] During the first week of Easter, for example, it is clear that the readings were primarily drawn from the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles:[6]

Table 6: Epistle Readings during the First Week of Easter (from the *Liber comicus*)

Day of the Week	Reading
Easter Sunday	Apocalypse, I: 1-18; I Corinthians, XV: 1-11; 22-22
Monday	Apocalypse, II: 1-17; Acts of the Apostles, I: 15-26
Tuesday	Apocalypse, II: 8-11; Acts of the Apostles, II: 22-41
Wednesday	Apocalypse, III: 7-13; Acts of the Apostles, II: 42-47
Thursday	Apocalypse, II: 12-17; Acts of the Apostles, X: 25-43
Friday	Apocalypse, II: 18-29; Acts of the Apostles, V: 12-6
Sabbath	Apocalypse, III: 1-6; Acts of the Apostles, XIII: 26-39

[4] Leclerq observes that even communities who followed different liturgical rites in the west (Ambrosian, Gallican, Mozarbe, or Roman) followed a similar reading programme during the Epistle: 'On y retrouve, de façon constante, les trois séries de lectures qui existèrent aux origines de toutes les liturgies, ou dans leur source commune: la série Ancient Testament, ou prophétique; la série Nouveau Testament, Actes, Épîtres, Apoc., la série évangélique. Sur le point, le rite mozarabe est en étroit accord avec l'ambrosien, le gallican et le romain ancient' (Épitres', Vol. 5, 262).

[5] This manuscript is known as the *Liber Comicus* (Paris, BnF nouv. ac. lat. 2171). The list of readings is reprinted in Leclercq, 'Épitres', Vol. 5, cols. 244-344. A complete edition of the lectionary can be found in D. Germanus Morin, ed., *Liber Comicus: sive Lectionarius missae quo Toletana Ecclesia ante annos mille et ducentos utebatur* (Maredsoli: Monaterium S. Benedicti, 1893).

[6] Leclercq, 'Épitres', Vol. 5, 266-267.

While the books of the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles were the primary focus for the Epistle reading during the week of Easter, at other points in the year, different books were chosen depending on the date. On the Feast Day dedicated to the saints Justa and Rufina, for example, the Epistle reading is Ecclesiastics, 39:17-21 and II Corinthians, 4:5-10;[7] alternatively, on Holy Thursday (the Mass of the Lord's Supper), the focus is on the book of Zechariah.[8]

It is also important to stress that the Epistle readings were subject to change each day. This means that the individual chosen to perform the reading would have needed to look up and find the appropriate book and chapter each day. What is more, if we look back to the list of readings for Easter Week taken from the *Liber comicus*, we see that, even though the books of the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles were used each day, the readings do not follow the original textual sequence of the books. On the third ferial day of Easter [Tuesday], for example, the reading is listed as Apocalypse, Book III, chapters 7-13, while the following day [Wednesday], the reading begins with Apocalypse, Book II, chapters 12-17.[9] Essentially speaking, the Epistle reading of the Mass service required the reader to take a selective and non-sequential approach to the text.

In order to locate the appropriate book and chapter for the Epistle reading each day, it makes sense that the community of Fécamp would have needed a system. One option was to collect all of the texts used throughout the year during the Epistle reading and compile them together into a single volume, arranged according to the liturgical calendar. As such, some Epistolaries and Lectionaries (which provided the

---

[7] Leclercq, 'Épitres', Vol. 5, 268.

[8] '*Legendum in Cena Domini ad missam*: Zac., II, 13-III, 5' (Leclercq, 'Épitres', Vol. 5, 266). Comparing the readings from the *Liber comicus* to other lectionary books from the period (via Leclercq, 'Épitres', Vol. 5, cols. 244-344), it is clear that the Epistle reading typically consisted of passages taken from Epistles, Acts, Apocalypse, and the Old Testament.

[9] There is currently some debate among scholars in terms of whether or not these scriptural readings during the Mass were *continuous* or not. Andrew Hughes suggests that both readings were, at some point, designed to be continuous, indicated by the 'sequences of epistles', as well as the use of the 'formula *Initium* (or *sequentia*) *sancti evangelii secundum*…', which indicated the beginning or continuation of a gospel (Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for the Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* [Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982], 85). Others disagree, however and argue this tradition had been largely abandoned by the early-fifth century. Lampe et al. makes it clear that by the fifth century this practice of continuous reading during the Mass was gradually interrupted to incorporate various feasts and celebrations, such as the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and for the 'feasts of the martyrs' (Lampe et al., 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture', 225). For further discussion on the selective reading of the Bible during Eucharistic services, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the* Sources, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Korgh Rasmussen (Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1981), 299-301.

list of readings for the Mass) were expanded to include the actual readings as well.[10] Because these volumes contained all of the necessary readings (excerpted from the original text) and were presented in an order that matched the events of the liturgical calendar, they could be read straight through from cover to cover.

Despite the very practical advantages of the expanded Epistolary or Lectionary, however, some scholars doubt whether these types of liturgical books were actually used during the service itself. D. M. Hope, for example, has suggested that the Lectionary was little more than a reference book, and that the actual readings for the Epistles were derived from a more complete edition of the text, such as a complete Bible that contained the Epistles, Acts of the Apostles, and the Old Testament, or single volumes that contained each of these texts separately (though still in complete, non-excerpted form).[11] Hope emphasizes that most communities actually *preferred* to use complete Bibles for these scriptural readings, and notes that it was 'custom that readings be taken, not from collections of selected passages, but directly from the Bible according to a list giving the beginning (*incipit*) and the end (*explicit*) of the extract … thus the lectionary, originally and for some considerable time, consisted only of biblical references'.[12]

In addition to collecting excerpts into single volumes, Richard Gyug also cites a second (and popular) method of text retrieval that involved preserving the texts in complete form, and then equipping the volume with *capitula* or chapter lists, with accompanying chapter numbers. Gyug explains that these 'capitula, or chapter cues, which identified the order and location of epistle and gospel readings' meant that the readers 'could find the passages to be read in complete copies of Epistles or Gospels'.[13]

Turning our attention back to the Fécamp corpus, it seems possible that Rouen 1 (featuring the Old and New Testament, except for the Gospels) may have

---

[10] Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 83-96.

[11] D. M. Hope, 'Liturgical Books', revised by G. Woolfenden, in Cheslyn Jones et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy, Revised Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), 96-101, at 97.

[12] Hope, 'Liturgical Books', 97.

[13] Richard Gyug, 'Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and Liturgy in the Beneventan Region', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 34-60, at 37. Gyug also adds that the 'same manuscripts often contain marginal indications were readings begin and/or end, although similar marginal notes are found in my Epistle or Gospel books without guiding capitula' ('Early Medieval Bibles', 37). Vogel similarly writes, 'At least in theory, readers faithfully followed the text they had before their eyes, often using not a special book of selected readings but a whole Bible specially marked for liturgical use' (*Medieval Liturgy*, 301).

been designed to suit the Epistle reading of the Mass. Firstly, given that the Epistle reading typically involved two readings taken from the Bible, which changed on a daily basis, and due to the high number of texts needed to support the daily readings for the week, it makes sense that a single volume (comprising multiple biblical texts collected together) would have been preferable, as opposed to keeping a high number of individual volumes on hand in the church. Rouen 1 includes a collection of all of the texts commonly used during the Epistle Reading.[14] Secondly, and perhaps most significant in the context of this study, is that Rouen 1 is equipped with a combination of chapter tables, chapter numbers, and running titles, which indicate that this Giant Bible was designed to support searching and finding throughout the volume.

Thirdly, the use of a Giant Bible for the scriptural readings of the Mass (such as Rouen 1) is further supported by the research of De Hamel, who draws attention to evidence in the codicological structure of various large-format Bibles that point to their use in this context. Some of these large Bibles, for example, were 'apportioned into daily readings, or "lections"', which reflect their function within the daily church service.[15] One such book, known today as the 'Dover Bible' (CCCC 3), even includes a 'detailed breakdown' of how the book was to be read over the course of the year.[16] Although Rouen 1 does not contain similar arrangements, the fact that other large-format Bibles were put to use during the Mass provides a precedent for situating a Giant Bible within this context. Finally, the large page dimensions and substantial weight of Rouen 1 further suggest that this book was, for the most part, meant to be stationary and read from a lectern.[17] And so, the fact that Rouen 1 includes a large

[14] While Rouen 7 is also a candidate, because the last part of the Bible has been lost (containing the texts most often used during the Epistle readings), it cannot be argued conclusively that it was also designed for this context. For further details of Rouen 1, see Chapter 4 of this present study, and Appendix 1.

[15] De Hamel, *The Book*, 73.

[16] De Hamel describes how Abbot Arnold from the Abbey of St-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens 'ordered a four-volume Old Testament in 1123': Volume I, the Pentateuch, comprised the text read in the monastery between Quinquagesima Sunday to the middle of Lent. Volume II, with Joshua, Judges, Ruth and Jeremiah, comprised the text read from mid-Lent to Easter' (likely for Easter to Pentecost) and 'for Volume IV, with I-II Maccabees, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets and Isaiah, comprised the text read from Pentecost to Christmas' (De Hamel, *The Book*, 73-75).

[17] 'Romanesque Giant Bibles can be recognized not only by their dimensions … but also by their large and legible script, consistent running titles, orderly *capitula* and prefaces, and frequently lavish decoration … this type of text provided the ideal medium from which to read aloud, particularly in the choir during the night office, and in the refectory' (Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 164). Although De Hamel situates large-format Bibles in the church, he suggests that these books acted as a 'textual control for biblical readings in other volumes … it was the arbiter for extracts transcribed into other books' (*The Book*, 75-56). While it is likely that these books were used as exemplars, I do not agree that this necessarily implies that they were not used during church services for reading. While any

collection of texts suitable for the Epistle reading (contained within a single volume), it presents navigational reading aids to facilitate searching and finding, it is in a format that has been linked to a liturgical context (via De Hamel), and it is of a size that indicates lectern reading, it seems very probable that Rouen 1 was designed for use during the daily Epistle reading at the Abbey of Fécamp.

1.2 The Bible and the Divine Office (Matins)

While the Epistle reading was one opportunity where the use of a Giant Bible equipped with navigational reading aids makes sense, upon closer examination of other aspects of the daily worship schedule at Fécamp, it becomes clear that there may have also been further opportunities – such as the celebration of the Divine Office – that may have required the use of a similarly-designed Bible manuscript. The Divine Office was the second major component of the daily liturgical worship cycle, though in contrast to the Mass, it was more oriented towards the performance of 'prayers and praise'.[18] The Office was divided over the course of eight prayer services that took place throughout the day and into the night: 'Vespers in the late afternoon before dusk, Compline after dark and before retiring to bed, Matins in the middle of the night between midnight and dawn, Lauds around daybreak, Prime in the early morning followed by Terce later in the morning, Sext at midday, and None in the mid-afternoon'.[19] The primary focus during each Office was the recitation of the Psalms (all 150 Psalms were supposed to be recited over the course of each week),

conclusions remain in the realm of speculation, it does not seem reasonable that the scribes of Fécamp would go to such lengths to copy a large and decorated Bible, only to serve as an exemplar for later copies.

[18] Lampe et al., 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture', 220 and 189; Susan Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10-33, at 11.

[19] Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', 11. In addition to these daily services, there were also various celebrations to commemorate Holy Week, Lent, Christmas, and various Feast Days. For a breakdown of the Divine Office with modern hours, see Lila Collamore, 'Prelude: Charting the Divine Office', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, eds. Margot E. Fassler, and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3-11, at 5. For a general discussion of the Divine Office in the Middle Ages, see J. D. Crichton, 'The Office in the West: the Early Middle Ages', in Cheslyn Jones et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy, Revised Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), 420-429; and John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

although the community would also perform prayers and scriptural readings.[20] While most of these meetings were relatively brief, the night office known as Matins (beginning usually around 2:00 am), was substantially longer than the rest, and involved a set of scriptural readings known as 'lessons' or *lectiones*.[21] It is during this Office of Matins, I argue, that another potential use-context for a Bible equipped with navigational reading aids can be identified.

To explain, during regular weekdays (known as 'ferial days'), Matins at Fécamp consisted of one to three *lectiones*, divided into a subdivision called a 'nocturn'. On Sundays and major Feast Days, the Matins reading programme was expanded to include twelve readings, divided into three nocturns (with four *lectiones* in each).[22] Like the Epistle reading of the Mass, the choice of what to read for each nocturn depended on the cycle of the liturgical calendar, which changed on a daily basis throughout the year.[23] Most scholars agree that the *first* nocturn of the Matins Office, however, always involved a reading taken from the Bible.[24] To get a sense of the range of biblical material read during the first nocturn, we can look to a collection of documents known as the *Ordines romani*, which contain the rubrics for all of the various liturgical services of the Roman rite, and which provide a general outline of a typical Matins reading programme.[25] One of the earliest surviving *Ordo librorum* from the eighth century, known as the Ordo XIIIA, provides an overview of the first nocturn readings for each month of the year:[26]

---

[20] Originally, the reading-list of the Divine Office comprised solely of the Psalms and prayers. By the fifth century, scriptural readings were added to the service, followed later by the addition of hagiographical texts, patristic works and sermons. Lampe et al. note that 'reading from patristic homilies and sermons seems to be of monastic origin and is attested by the rule of St Benedict' ('The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture', 233).

[21] Matins were also known as 'Vigils' or the 'Office of Readings'; Collamore, 'Prelude: Charting the Divine Office', 3-11. 'Both chapters and lessons were recited to one of a small group of designated tones (melodic formulas), in a manner comparable to the Epistle and Gospel at Mass' (Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 81).

[22] Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', 23.

[23] Boynton notes that by the end of the seventh century, the scriptural lessons for the first nocturn 'had been organized into an annual cycle' that followed the liturgical calendar ('The Bible and the Liturgy', 23-24).

[24] Boynton adds that in monastic usage, 'the first four lessons were normally taken from the Bible, while those of the second nocturn were patristic or hagiographic in origin. The third nocturn began with the Gospel of the day's Mass, followed by a homily by a church father or pope' ('The Bible and the Liturgy', 14 and 23); cf. Crichton, 'The Office in the West', 420.

[25] Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', 23-24.

[26] The list of books is found in the Ordo XIIIA, presented in Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 166. The same reading programme is outlined in Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', 23-24.

Table 7: First Nocturn Readings during the Office of Matins

(On Sundays and Major Feast Days)

Part of the Year	Reading
Septuagesima to Holy Week	Heptateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges)
Holy Week	Jeremiah
Easter to Sunday after Pentecost	Acts of the Apostles, Canonical Epistles, Apocalypse
Sunday after Pentecost to first Sunday of August	Kings and Chronicles
Month of August	Books of Wisdom
Month of September	Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, and Ezra
Month of October	Maccabees
Month of November	Ezechiel, Daniel, and Minor Prophets
Season of Advent	Isaiah
After Christmas until Septuagesima	Pauline Epistles

The reading programme laid out by the Ordo XIIIA suggests that the majority of the Bible would have been read over the course of the year, but Diane Reilly reminds us that the Gospels and the Psalter were not part of this schedule.[27] As the table above also demonstrates, the readings listed for the year do not follow the canonical sequence of the Bible; the *ordo* 'breaks up the traditional sequence of books', so that the reader was directed to different points of the Bible at different times of the year.[28] As a result, Reilly notes that 'the sense of the Bible as a chronicle of humanity's history from the Creation to the Last Judgment was lost as the reader flipped from the Octateuch to Jeremiah to Acts and Apocalypse, and then back in time to Kings and Chronicles'. [29] This indicates that the readings for the first nocturn involved a non-sequential approach to the text, which is an important observation since this type of approach may have required the inclusion of navigational reading aids to help the reader find the appropriate books.

[27] Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 166.

[28] Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 167. This perspective is countered by Hughes, who writes that 'the first kind of reading is direct recitation of the Bible, lessons from which are begun immediately after the benediction, without reference to their specific origin. Certain books are appointed to various seasons of the year, each book to be read in the correct order in continuous sequence throughout the season' (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for the Mass and Office*, 60).

[29] Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 167.

The sequence of books may have been 'out of order' textually-speaking, yet the readings provided by the *ordo* do not detail whether or not each book of the Bible was meant to be read comprehensively, or whether the community should read only selections of each text. At best, the *ordo* gives an indication of what books should be read throughout the year. Did the reader take a selective approach to the text as well? Some have argued that during the early Middle Ages biblical books were read in *lectio continua* during the Night Office, 'meaning that each day's reading began where the previous day's reading had ended', with the aim of reading the entire Bible over the course of the year.[30] However, as Teresa Webber acknowledges, 'the extent to which, in practice, individual communities implemented the cycle in full, and the various means by which the principle of continuous reading was fulfilled at least in spirit have yet to be fully explored'.[31] She draws attention to some of the practical difficulties of reading the Bible continuously during the Night Office. For example, the length of time between 'Epiphany and Septuagesima' as well as 'Pentecost and the beginning of August', tended to vary each year depending on the date of Easter.[32] During some years, there simply may not have been enough time to read through all of the designated material for that part of the year, and the readers may have opted to read only selected passages of the material. This suggests that the readers from Fécamp may have taken not only a non-sequential approach to the text, but also a selective one, which would have further warranted the inclusion of navigational reading aids in the books used for this service.

Perhaps the greatest disruption to this reading schedule, however, was the variable nature of the liturgical calendar, which required the monks to observe an ever-changing cycle of over-lapping feasts, most of which came with 'specially-designated readings'.[33] On these special days (which permeated the entire calendar year), the regular reading schedule would be disrupted to accommodate the reading of texts related to the day. We can see an example of this kind of textual transition by looking to the surviving Ordinal of the Abbey of Fécamp. This book (which now survives as Fécamp, Musée de Bénédictine 186) acted as a 'directory of the texts

[30] Gyug, 'Early Medieval Bibles', 38.

[31] Teresa Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, *c.* 1000 – *c.* 1300', London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture 2010, revised 2013, 1-49, at 21. This article was composed as part of a larger project titled, *lectio publica*, to be delivered at the J. P. R. Lyell Lectures, University of Oxford, 2016.

[32] Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', 21-22.

[33] Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', 21-22.

(prayers, chants, lessons and so on) contained in the various service-books' of the community.[34] It has been suggested that the Fécamp Ordinal was produced in the early thirteenth century during the abbacy of Roger d'Argences.[35] Despite a production date that is later than the scope of this present study, David Chadd suspects that the Ordinal was largely designed to codify current practice at Fécamp, and as such, it reflects general traditions of liturgical practice that had been exercised at Fécamp in the preceding centuries as well.[36] Fortunately for this present investigation, the Fécamp Ordinal provides the general Office readings for the regular Temporale calendar, as well as many of the special readings assigned on Saints' Days, Feast Days, and other celebrations (presented in the Sanctorale). For example, we are able to see that while the first nocturn readings for the month of November were typically taken from Ezechiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets, on the Feast of All Saints (November 1), the Ordinal directs the readers to a different set of readings. These include: a reading from the *Historia ecclesiastica*, a reading about Holy Mary, a reading on the Angels (listed as '*de angelis*', possibly by Cyprian of Carthage), and a reading on the Holy Fathers of the Old Testament.[37] On a practical level, these temporary transitions to alternative textual material would have required the reader to close one book and open another; it would also have required the reader to access material from multiple books. This process of switching from one book to another could have motivated the inclusion of navigational reading aids in the books regularly used for this service.

To sum up the findings thus far, the first nocturn of the Matins Office typically involved a reading from the Bible. While most of the Bible was meant to be read over the course of the year, the books were often read 'out of order', which would have required the reader to move backward and forward in the original sequence of texts. Moreover, the continuous integration of different texts into the nocturn schedule (to accommodate special events of the liturgical calendar) would have resulted in the reader closing the Bible, temporarily moving to a different text, and then returning to the Bible. Given these observations, a Bible book designed to supply the first nocturn

[34] David Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp (Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, Ms 186)*, 2 vols. (London: Boydell Press, 2000), Vol. 1, 6-7; Vol. 2, 391.

[35] The Ordinal was originally catalogued as a product of the sixteenth century, which was later revised to the thirteenth century, which has since been refined to the 'early' thirteenth century (based on palaeographical grounds). See Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol.1, 1.

[36] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 1, 3.

[37] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 605-607.

readings of the Night Office would have greatly benefited from the inclusion of navigational support.

With the revelation that the Matins Office involved a mode of devotional reading that was selective and non-sequential, it now begins to make sense why the Fécamp scribes opted to add a combination of navigational reading aids to the two Giant Bibles of their collection – Rouen 1 and Rouen 7.[38] If one of these volumes was already stationed in the church to support the Epistle readings of the Mass (likely Rouen 1 given the suitable collection of texts for the Epistle reading), it makes sense that it might also be drafted into service during the nocturn readings of the Office, which took place in the same location.[39] If this were the case, that one Giant Bible was used to support both services in the church, it would further warrant the inclusion of navigational reading aids, as the *lector* would have had to jump between sections of the volume to find the designated readings for each service.

1.3 The Bible and the Refectory

In addition to the scriptural readings during the Mass and the Divine Office, I have identified one last context in the Benedictine monastery where a complete Bible with navigational reading aids may have been useful: during the meal-time readings in the refectory. Reading in the refectory was anchored into monastic practice by the Rule of St Benedict which states: 'Reading should not be absent from the brothers' meals'.[40] While it is relatively well-known that monks listened to scriptural readings while they ate their meals, only recently have scholars begun to explore this context of reading more closely, examining the types of books used and the mode of reading practiced in this location. Significant steps in this direction have been made by Teresa

[38] Reilly provides another example of a giant Bible pandect clearly designated for use during the Night Office, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 1, which includes an *ordo librorum* 'penned by the original scribe'. While this type of direct evidence is rare, it nonetheless demonstrates that in some cases Giant Bibles were copied with a liturgical function in mind. Reilly goes on to cite potential connections between widescale monastic reform efforts, many of which involved the reinvorgoration of 'nocturn reading during the Night Office', and the surge in large-format Bible production in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The size of these books implies not only that they would have been suitable for lectern reading, but they also were intended to reflect the spirit of reform, including a greater interest in Biblical reading during the Office. Reilly, 'Lectern Bibles and Liturgical Reform', 110-112; 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 166.

[39] Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 36.

[40] 'Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet' (*The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XXXVIII, 134-135).

Webber who offers a tantalizing glimpse into the practice of refectory reading in England.[41] Fortunately the study of reading in the refectory at the Abbey of Fécamp can be studied via the abbey's Ordinal, which provides a detailed list of refectory readings (listed as '*Lectiones ad prandium*') for the entire year, including Saints Days, Feast Days, and other special occasions.[42] Using original material provided by the Ordinal, it is thus possible to piece together a reading schedule for the Abbey of Fécamp, and to demonstrate that the use of a Giant Bible with navigational reading aids would have been useful in this context.

At the beginning of each week, the Rule of St Benedict specifies that one member of the community should be chosen to serve as the weekly reader.[43] During each meal, the chosen *lector* would stand at a lectern and read a passage from a book, while the rest of the community would eat in silence. This refectory reading has often been described as a form of spiritual nourishment – just as the food nourishes the body, the Word of God nourishes the spirit.[44] Based on an analysis of the *Lectiones ad prandium* list from the Fécamp Ordinal, it is clear that the refectory readings largely consist of passages from the Gospels, patristic expositions, and hagiographical texts (to commemorate Feast Days).[45] Like the Mass and Office readings, the refectory programme at Fécamp shows a significant degree of variation in the specific books and chapters read out each day. If we look to the readings for the Week of Easter at Fécamp, for example, we see that the reading involved only short sections of each Gospel, and the sequence of texts is largely out of order (i.e. the schedule does not follow the canonical order of the Gospel texts).[46]

---

[41] Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory'.

[42] For a list of the *Ad prandium* readings of Fécamp, see Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*,Vol. 2, 674-85. These readings have also been edited by D. B. Grémont in his article, 'Lectiones ad prandium à l'abbaye de Fécamp au XIIIe siècle', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle* 20, no. 3-4 (1971), 3-41.

[43] *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XXXVIII, 134-135.

[44] Studzinski draws attention to Origen's connection between divine reading and nourishing the spirit: 'In homilies he reminds his hearers that divine reading along with constant prayer and the word of doctrine are what nourish the spirit' (*Reading to Live*, 50); cf. Homily 9 on Leviticus 7 in Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus: 1-16*, ed. Gary Wayne Barkley (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990). Ambrose similarly perceived reading or listening to the reading of Scriptures as nourishment: 'The words of the Bible were pastures on which its readers fed each day and by which they were renewed and restored as they tasted them or chewed them over, and which would fatten up the flock of the Lord *(ps. 118* 14.2)' (Moorhead, *Ambrose*, 76).

[45] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 674-685.

[46] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 675.

Table 8: *Lectiones ad prandium* during Easter Week

Day of the Week	Ordinal Entry	Modern Bible Reference
Palm Sunday	Exposition on the Passion; *Scitis quia post biduum pascha fiet*; Jerome on Matthew	Matthew 26:2
Monday	*Ante sex dies Pasche*; Augustine on John	John 12:1
Tuesday	*Erat Pascha et azima post biduum*; Jerome on Mark	Mark 14:1
Wednesday	*Appropinquabat dies festus azimorum*; Ambrose on Luke	Luke 22:1
Thursday	*Ante diem festum Pasche*; Augustine on John	John 13:1
Friday	*Egressus dominus trans torrentes Cedron*; Augustine on John	John 18:1
Sabbath of Easter	*Vespere sabbati*	Matthew 28:1
Easter Sunday	*Maria Magdalena* with sermons	Mark 16:9

The emphasis on the Gospels indicates that either an independent Gospel Book or a Bible containing the Gospels would have been regularly used in the refectory. Moreover, the *Lectiones* from the Ordinal demonstrate that the readings only involved the reading of a select passage from the Gospels, and they did not follow the traditional canonical sequence of the text. On Monday, the *lector* was instructed to read the Gospel of St John 12:1, while on the following day, he was directed to read a chapter from the Gospel of St Mark (14:1). This would have required the reader to look up and find a new book and chapter each day in the refectory, and it makes sense that whatever book was used for this refectory reading would have benefited from navigational support in the form of chapter tables with *incipit* headings that matched the Ordinal listing. Indeed, if we briefly walk through this process of locating the appropriate reading, we will see that navigational support would have been very beneficial: each day during the meal, the weekly reader would look up the reading scheduled for that day in the Ordinal; he would then take the *incipit* heading listed in the Ordinal and match it to the *incipit* headings of the chapter table presented in the Gospel Book or Bible; he would then find the associated chapter number and locate the designated chapter of text in the volume via the number. Without this kind of

navigational system in place (chapter tables and corresponding chapter numbers), one can imagine how difficult and time-consuming it would have been for the weekly reader to locate the very specific chapter needed for the daily reading.

The Gospels were not the only biblical texts frequently read during meal-times, however, and there is evidence to suggest that a larger collection of biblical texts would have been needed in the refectory as well. Both Webber and Reilly relate testimony given by Bernard of Cluny (*c.* 1100 – *c.* 1150) and William of Hirsau (*c.* 1030 – 1091) suggesting that reading during the refectory could also be used as an opportunity to complete any of the scriptural readings from the Office that were not finished during the regular programme.[47] Bernard explains that 'once the reading from Exodus had begun, it and the other Books of Moses were to be read both in the church and in the refectory, so that each reading began where the previous one had ended, in order to complete the Pentateuch before Quadragesima'.[48] The English abbot Ælfric of Eynsham (*c.* 955 – *c.* 1010) similarly decreed that 'in the course of the year, the entire canon [of Scripture] ought to be read in church, but because we are lazy and slothful servants, we read in the refectory whatever we do not cover in church'.[49] It is therefore quite possible that the Fécamp community would have needed access not just to a Gospel Book, but also to other biblical texts to complete the Office readings in the refectory.

According to Webber, both Bernard of Cluny and William of Hirsau give instructions on how to transport the Bible from the church to the refectory to complete any of these unfinished readings (a process that involved two people, reflecting the size of the book and the difficulty in carrying it).[50] While this may have been a solution for some communities, it seems that the monks of Fécamp had a more efficient plan. Instead of regularly moving the Giant Bible from the church to the

---

[47] 'Twelfth-century evidence, both textual and manuscript, suggests that some form of dovetailing of Office and refectory reading of the bible became the norm not only in communities that followed the Benedictine rule (including the Cistercians) but also among the Carthusians and communities of regular canons' (Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', 23-24); cf. Diane Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 175-176.

[48] Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible', 175-176.

[49] Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 149.

[50] Webber notes that both Bernard of Cluny and William of Hirsau mention the need for an assistant 'to help the weekly reader carry the book to-and-fro between the refectory and the choir, if required' ('Reading in the Refectory', 29, footnote 71). For original references, see Bernard, 'Ordo cluniacensis', in Marquard Herrgott, ed., *Vetus disciplina monastica* (Paris: Typis Caroli Osmont, 1726; reprinted Siegburg: Schmitt, 1999), 252; and William of Hirsau, *Consuetudines Hirsaugensis*, *PL*, Vol. 150, Cols. 927-1146D, at Col. 1028.

refectory, it looks as though the Fécamp community simply decided to copy a second Giant Bible – one for the church, and the other for the refectory.[51] As noted earlier, there are *two* Giant Bibles from the Fécamp corpus, Rouen 1 and Rouen 7, both containing a large collection of biblical texts designed for lectern reading, and both replete with navigational reading aids to facilitate the searching and finding of select books and chapters.

Moreover, upon comparison of the chapter tables and chapter numbers in each of these two Giant Bibles, there is evidence to support the theory that the readings from the Office were continued in the refectory during meal-times at Fécamp. To explain, Rouen 1 was copied between 1060 and 1080 and contains a complete copy of the Old Testament and a partial copy of the New Testament (it is missing the Gospels, as previously mentioned); Rouen 7 was copied later, sometime between 1100 and 1150, and contains the Old Testament and the Gospels (the text cuts off at mid-point fol. 204v, suggesting that the volume may have originally included the remainder of the New Testament). Despite the fact that both Rouen 1 and Rouen 7 contain similar biblical texts, they originally had *different* chapter table systems. While both books feature chapter tables at the opening of each new biblical text, the texts are divided according to a different thematic structure, and the chapter numbers fall in different parts of the text: Exodus, Chapter 5 in Rouen 1 is different from Exodus, Chapter 5 in Rouen 7, for example.[52]

What is interesting – and significant in the context of this study – is that a twelfth-century scribe has gone back through the older Bible, Rouen 1, and not only corrected the text, but also crossed out the original chapter numbers and replaced them with numbers that correspond to the system present in Rouen 7. Essentially speaking, sometime in the twelfth century, Rouen 1 received a chapter number 'make-over', which synchronized the chapter numbers between the two Fécamp Bibles. We can see this phenomenon in the following two images. The first example presented below is taken from Rouen 7 (fol. 6r) and shows the beginning of Genesis, chapter 30 (marked by the rubricated roman numeral XXX):[53]

[51] For other examples of monasteries with two giant Bibles, see De Hamel, *The Book*, 81.
[52] Compare the original chapter lists presented on Rouen 1, fol. 17r and Rouen 7, fol. 19v-20r.
[53] The modern biblical reference is Genesis 12:5, 'Cumque uenissent in eam…'.



Fig. 26 – Rouen 7, fol. 6r: Genesis, chapter XXX

If we now turn to the same passage in the older Fécamp Bible, Rouen 1, the original chapter numbers for that section of text have been crossed out (chapters 65-67), and Chapter 30 (marked XXX) has been added to the left margin, with a small paragraph mark indicating the start of the passage in the text block.[54] With this change, the text of the new Chapter 30 in Rouen 1 directly corresponds to the text of Chapter 30 in Rouen 7 ('Cumque uenissent in eam …'):

[54] An even later hand has since crossed out the twelfth-century correction in favour of modern biblical references. So chapter XXX, for example, has since become chapter XII.

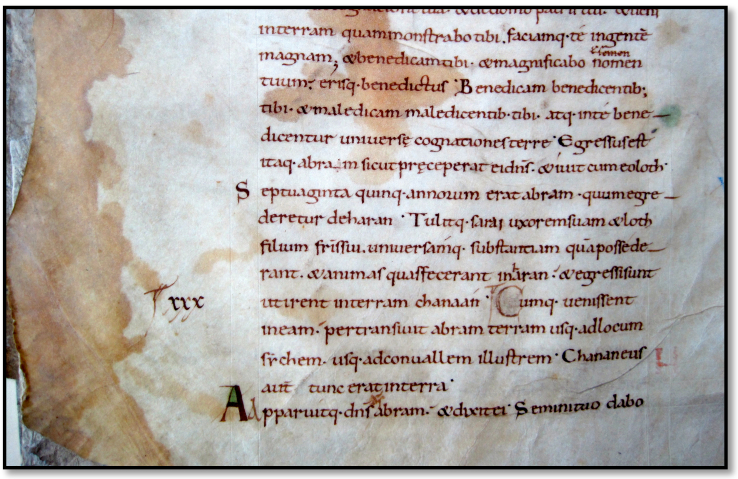


Fig. 27 – Rouen 1, fol. 4v: Genesis, chapter XXX added to the margin (corresponding to Rouen 7)

The efforts on the part of the twelfth-century corrector to ensure that the chapter numbers in both Fécamp Bibles corresponded to each other, adds further weight to the hypothesis that readings from the church were sometimes continued in the refectory and that both Bibles were used concurrently. With two Giant Bibles featuring matching chapter numbers, the readers of Fécamp would have had a much easier time linking up the Office readings with the refectory readings. According to this system the refectory *lector* could simply pick up the text in the refectory Bible where the Office reader left off in the church Bible. The matching navigation systems in these two Giant Fécamp Bibles thus demonstrate a commonsensical technique of book design that would have greatly helped the community to complete the selected readings designated by the liturgical cycle.

On a final note, there are textual grounds to argue that Rouen 1 was the copy stationed in the church of Fécamp, and Rouen 7 was the copy stationed in the refectory. This is based on the fact that Rouen 1 does not contain the Gospels, which were a major component of the refectory reading schedule. Also, as there was likely a separate Gospel Book stationed in the church (as I will show in the following section), it seems probable that the Fécamp community would have placed the Giant Bible *without* the Gospels in the church. Rouen 7, on the other hand, contains most of the Old Testament as well as the Gospels, which suggests that this book would have been

more useful in the refectory context, where, as noted, readings were largely drawn from the Gospels and supplemented by other biblical texts.[55]

2. Gospel Books with Navigation

As the previous section has illustrated, there are three use-contexts that can be identified in the Benedictine monastery where a Giant Bible with navigational reading aids would have been beneficial. However, it is important to acknowledge that there are more than just Giant Bibles from the Fécamp corpus that contain navigational reading aids. There are other types of books as well that feature similar reading aids, such as a number of Gospel Books that also need to be explained in the context of use in the Benedictine monastery. Indeed, there are four Gospel Books from the Fécamp corpus that include navigational reading aids in some form: Rouen 30, BnF, lat. 258, Rouen 28, and Rouen 29.[56] The added navigational aids in these books suggests that they were meant to be searched, and thus indicate that these books were not necessarily meant to be read comprehensively from cover to cover, but in parts. While the private reading of scriptural texts from the New Testament (including the Gospels) was part of the traditional *lectio divina* reading programme, the presence of navigational reading aids in these particular volumes suggest that these particular books were designed for a different mode of reading. Upon closer analysis of the Benedictine worship schedule, I have identified one potential context of use where a Gospel Book with additional navigational support would have been beneficial: the Gospel reading of the Mass.

2.1 The Gospels and the Mass

Once the Epistle reading, followed by the Gradual, Alleluia, and Sequence, were performed, there was another scriptural reading that took place during the Mass, the Gospel reading. This particular Mass reading was taken from one of the four Gospels. It took place at the altar and was typically sung by the priest, who chanted the reading

[55] Although Rouen 7 does not include a complete New Testament, given the fact that the current volume ends mid-sentence on fol. 204, it is possible that, at one time, these texts were included as well. In that case, Rouen 7 could have been used to complete the wide range of Office readings.

[56] For more detailed descriptions of these books, see Chapter 4 of this present study, as well as Appendix 1.

'to a simple lection tone'.[57] Like the Epistle, this reading was also dependent upon the liturgical calendar and similarly changed on a daily basis. To gain a sense of this variation, we can look to a set of scriptural pericopes (or *capitulare evangeliorum*), which outline the Gospel readings for the entire liturgical cycle.[58] Fortunately, two of the Gospel Books from the Fécamp corpus include a *capitulare evangliorum* that gives the typical reading schedule for this part of the Mass as it was celebrated at Fécamp in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: BnF, lat. 258 (copied around the year 1000) and Rouen 28 (copied between 1050 and 1100, probably from BnF, lat. 258).[59] The list of pericopes in BnF, lat. 258 can be found at the back of the volume, and it provides a detailed break-down of the books and chapters read during the Gospel reading. The mere fact that the pericopes are present in these two Gospel Books indicates that these books were used in the context of the Gospel reading of the Mass, as they directly relate the text to the liturgical cycle. To obtain a sense of these readings and the way in which they varied, we can look to the designated readings for the week of Palm Sunday, found in BnF, lat. 258, fol. 156v:[60]

[57] Boynton describes this tone as a 'formulaic melody consisting principally of a single repeated pitch' ('The Bible and the Liturgy', 23); cf. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 118.

[58] For a full description of pericopes and Gospel Books with *capitulare evangeliorum*, see Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 91-97. He notes that these lists are often preceded by a heading, such as '*capitulare evanglorium*', '*breviarium lectionum evangelii*', or '*ordo evangeliorum per annum*' (93, footnote 270); cf. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 316-320. Rouen 28, fol. 1v, there is an abbreviated heading '*incipiunt capitulare evangeliorum de anni circulo*', as well as an *explicit* at the end of the list on fol. 16v, '*explicit breviarium*'. For a brief definition of a pericope, see 'Pericope', in F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1256. For a description of how they were used in Gospel Books, see Daniel Sheerin, 'The Liturgy', in Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A. G. Rigge, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 157-182, at 172. Sometimes these scriptural pericopes are collected together into a liturgical book known as an Evangeliary or a Lectionary.

[59] The likelihood that Rouen 28 is a copy of BnF, lat. 258 is based on the similarity of the scriptural pericopes, as well as parallels in design, layout, and text.

[60] BnF, lat. 258, fol. 156v. For comparable lists of Gospel readings, see Leclercq, 'Évangiles', Vol. 5, cols. 852-923.

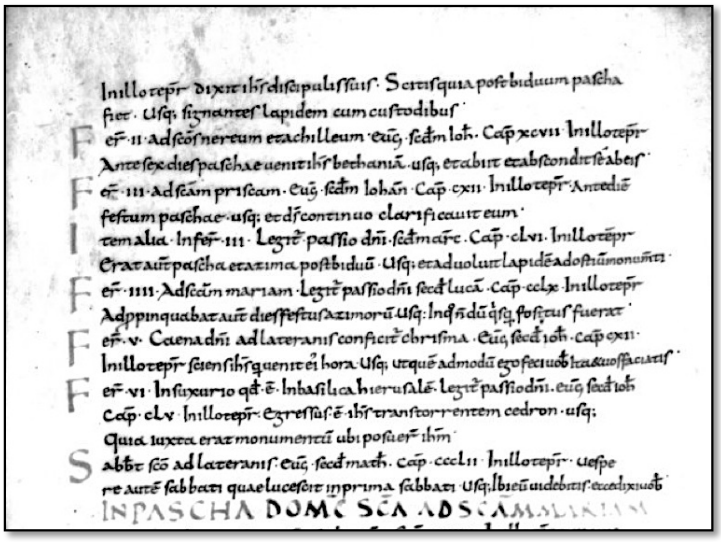


Fig. 28 – BnF, lat. 258, fol. 156v: Gospel readings for the sixth holy week

I have provided a transcription (and translation) of these readings in the table below. (The headings refer to Eusebian sections of the Gospels; modern Gospel references are provided in parentheses.)

Table 9: Gospel Readings for the Week of Palm Sunday
(transcribed from BnF, lat. 258, fol. 156v)

Day of the Week	Reading
Week Six, Palm Sunday	Gospel of St Matthew, chap. 273 (25:31-26:1)
Monday	Gospel of St John, chap. 97 (11:55-12:1)
Tuesday	Gospel of St John, chap. 112 (12:46-13.1); Gospel of St Mark, chap. 156 (14:1)
Wednesday	Gospel of St Luke, chap. 260 (22:1)
Thursday	Gospel of St John, chap. 112 (12:46-13:1)
Friday	Gospel of St John, chap. 160 (18:10-11:1)
Sabbath	Gospel of St Matthew, chap. 352 (28:1-4)

The pericopes for the week of Palm Sunday clearly demonstrate that the readings were not meant to be comprehensive, nor were they meant to be textually sequential – the reader is directed to skip certain chapters, as he moves backward and forward in the original sequence of the text. Essentially speaking, the pericopes in the Fécamp Gospel Books confirm that the Gospel reading during the Mass required a selective and non-sequential approach to the text.

As we have seen with the Epistle reading, some monastic communities opted to collect the Gospel readings used during the Mass into a single liturgical volume known as an Evangelary. Again, while these books presented a practical approach to the Gospel readings, it seems that some communities, nonetheless, preferred to use a *complete* edition of the Gospels for this reading, as opposed to a book of excerpts of this type. In such cases, the canonical order of the text is preserved; the scriptural pericopes (guiding the reader to the daily reading) are added to the front or back of the volume, and the text is equipped with navigational reading aids to help the reader look up and find the designated passages. As illustrated, there are two Gospel Books from the Fécamp collection that are structured in this way: BnF, lat. 258 and Rouen 28, both of which feature a complete edition of the Gospel text, scriptural pericopes, and navigational support in the form of chapter tables (and running titles as well in the case of BnF, lat. 258). The design of these two books suggest that they would have been perfectly suited to the Gospel Reading of the Mass, as they helped the reader to locate relevant passages prescribed by the liturgical calendar (summarized in the pericopes); it seems very probable, therefore, that they were designed to accommodate this context.

3. Patristic Texts with Navigation

It is not only Giant Bibles and Gospel Books from the Fécamp corpus that contain additional navigational support in the form of chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks. There are also a number of volumes from the corpus that contain works by the Church Fathers, such as Rouen 469, containing Augustine's *De catachizandis*; Rouen 427, containing Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*; Rouen 528, part 1, containing Bede's *Expositio in Marcum*; and Rouen 532, containing Bede's *Super actis*

Apostolorum – all of which feature navigational reading aids in some capacity.[61] Like the two Giant Bibles and the Gospel Books examined thus far, the visual profile of these books anticipate a reader who wished to regularly look up and find specific passages in the volume. It may initially seem unusual to find patristic texts with navigational reading aids in the Fécamp corpus, because these books are most often associated with the private and traditional approach of *lectio divina*. However, if we once again return our attention to the nocturn readings of the Office of Matins, this seems to be a context to which these books would have been well-suited.

3.1 Patristic Texts and the Divine Office (Matins)

While the first nocturn of the Office of Matins was derived from the Bible, most scholars agree that the second nocturn consisted of hagiographical or patristic material, and the third nocturn consisted of a homily from a Church Father or Pope.[62] Similar to the first nocturn, the second and third nocturn readings also followed the liturgical calendar, and were subject to change on a daily basis. On Feast Days, the material was usually derived from *vitae*, *passiones*, or *sermones* relevant to the particular saint or occasion.[63] For a better idea of what specific texts were chosen for the second and third nocturn readings at the Abbey of Fécamp, let us turn once again to the Ordinal of Fécamp. In terms of the second and third nocturn readings, we find that the programme listed in the Ordinal showcases a wide range of variation, as they follow a complicated schedule of Saints' Days, Feast Days, and other celebrations. On the Feast of St Maurus (15 January), for example, the reading is listed as '*Lectiones de vita ipsius*' [Reading from his [Maurus'] life];[64] on the Feast Day of St Hippolytus (13 August), the reading should be: '*Lectiones de passione sancti Ypoliti*' [Readings on the

[61] For the details on the types of navigational reading aids present in each book, see Chapter 4 of this present study or Appendix 1.

[62] Boynton adds that in monastic usage, 'the first four lessons were normally taken from the Bible, while those of the second nocturn were patristic or hagiographic in origin. The third nocturn began with the Gospel of the day's Mass, followed by a homily by a church father or pope' ('The Bible and the Liturgy', 14 and 23); Crichton, 'The Office in the West: the Early Middle Ages', 420.

[63] This is noted by Ælfric of Eynsham, who writes that on saints' days the scriptural programme can be interrupted to accommodate readings appropriate to the saint; M. McC. Gatch, 'The Office in late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 341-362, at 354-355.

[64] It is not only the *lectiones* of the Matins service that has a 'St Maurus' theme: various responses and antiphons for this day also relate to the saint. See, for example, the day's events listed in Chadd, *The Ordinal*, Vol. 2, 391-392.

Passion of Saint Hippolytus];[65] on the day celebrating St Taurinus (5 September), the congregation is instructed to read the *De inuentione* of St Taurinus.[66] While the second nocturn warranted the reading of a *passion*, *vita*, or *sermone* devoted to the particular individual, the third nocturn leaned more towards a patristic exegesis of a biblical text.[67] As Ælfric of Eynsham explains, 'whilst on the feasts of saints throughout the year, the office readings could be taken from the lives or passions of the saints, for the third nocturn they should be "from a homily on the Gospel as we do always and everywhere"'.[68] Because these readings only took place on the specific day devoted to the saint, and the reading only lasted for one part of the Matins service (comprising only one of the nocturn readings), it seems improbable that these texts would have been read comprehensively from cover to cover. Given the time restrictions (and the length of many of these texts), it is more probable that the community of Fécamp read only an excerpt from the prescribed book.

When the nocturn reading involved hagiographical material, the Fécamp Ordinal directed the reader to the community's '*magno passionario*' (or 'great passionary').[69] This was a type of liturgical book that contained a collection of saints' lives and passions that were regularly used during such services. While it is possible that the Fécamp community also drew material from other volumes from the collection that contained hagiographical texts – there are eight books from the Fécamp corpus that contain such material – the references in the Ordinal suggest that the passionary was more regularly used in this context.[70] Moreover, none of the eight independent volumes from the Fécamp corpus that contain hagiographical texts contain navigational reading aids in the form of chapter tables, running titles, or paragraph marks. The lack of navigational support in these independent volumes of saints' lives suggests that these books were not regularly expected to be read selectively in parts, which adds further weight to the likelihood that the Fécamp community relied primarily on their *magno passionario* for nocturn readings that involved

[65] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 528.

[66] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 560.

[67] Some scholars argue that these patristic texts may have leaned towards exegetical material, perhaps those that comment upon relevant biblical passages, such as those read in the first nocturn. See, for example, Boynton, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', 24; and Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', 19.

[68] Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', 33-34.

[69] Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 677.

[70] I have yet to determine whether or not this *magno* passionario survives from the Fécamp collection. It is possible that it is BnF, lat. 1805 listed in Nortier's catalogue as: 'Passion et oeuvres patristiques, IXe et XIe s.' (Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, 26), though a closer examination of this manuscript is needed.

hagiographical material, rather than locating a separate volume from the library's collection.[71]

In terms of the patristic material used for the nocturn readings, it seems reasonable that some of the volumes from the Fécamp corpus that contain suitable texts as well as navigational support, may have been designed for this component of the Matins Office. As mentioned above, some of the books from the Fécamp corpus that include navigational features contain texts by Augustine, Ambrose, and Bede, which line up with the suggested corpus of the nocturn readings.[72] Moreover, some of these volumes present further evidence to support this type of liturgical use. Rouen 532, for example, containing a copy of Augustine's *Enchiridion*, as well as Bede's *Super actis Apostolorum* (copied *c.* 1025 – *c.* 1050), features not just chapter numbers and navigational paragraph marks, which could have helped the reader to locate a selected chapter for the nocturn reading, but it also contains a set of chants at the opening of the volume with musical notation added between the lines.[73] On fol. 16r, for example, the page begins with the *Laudes Deo*, a chant that is typically sung from 'the pulpit simultaneously by two clerics' at Christmas.[74] Because these chants were performed in the church, this particular volume was probably used (or even stored) in the church of Fécamp to supply material for the readings.[75]

---

[71] These books are: BnF, lat. 989, part 4; BnF, lat. 5290, part 3; BnF, lat. 5290, part 4; BnF, lat. 5305, part 1; Rouen 1388; Rouen 1400; Rouen 1404; and BnF, lat. 5390, part 2. They are also listed in Chapter 2 of this present thesis. From this collection, Rouen 1400, is unusual in that it features very large dimensions (472 x 328 mm), which may suggest that this particular volume was meant for lectern-reading. A closer look at this volume is required before any conclusions can be made however.

[72] Rouen 532 contains: Bede's *Super actis Apostolorum*; Rouen 469: Augustine's *Epistolae, De catachizandis, De diversis haeriibus, De patientia, Soliloquia*, and Jerome's *De illustribus uiris*; Bern, Cod. 162: a collection of works by Augustine; Rouen 427: Ambrose's, *De fide*, *Epistola Gratiani Augustus*, *De spiritu sancto*, *De officiis ministrorum*, *Hexameron*; BnF, lat. 2088: Augustine's, *De trinitate*; and Rouen 528, part 1: Bede's *Expositio in Marcum*. See Chapter 4 or Appendix 1 for the specific types of navigational reading aid present in each book.

[73] There is unfortunately no direct mention of either of these two texts in the reading programme listed in the Ordinal. That said, both authors are clearly designated as suitable material, given that other works by these two authors are noted. For example, Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, *De symbolo*, *De Trinitate*, and *Super Iohannem*, are mentioned by name, as is Bede's *De Tabernaculo*. Because not every lesson is mentioned in the Ordinal, it is possible that other works by these others were also used during the Matins Office.

[74] Elizabeth Solopova, 'Manuscript Evidence for the Patronage, Ownership and Use of the Wycliffite Bible', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light, eds., *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 335; Tallis Scholars, *Christmas with the Tallis Scholars* (Oxford: Gimell, 2003).

[75] Similarly, BnF, lat. 564 from the Fécamp corpus contains not just Bernard's commentary on the Song of Songs, but it also includes a number of other texts that suggest a liturgical use for this volume, such as set of prayers, as well as the *Kyrie eleison*. The *Kyrie eleison* was 'added on feast days, and on Wednesdays and Fridays during the penitential seaons of Advent and Lent'. Referred to as the preces, 'at Lauds and Vespers' the *Kyrie* typically consisted of 'only the refrain "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison,

Another example is Rouen 464, a copy of Augustine's exposition on the Pauline Epistles. Not only is the text suitable for the second or third nocturn readings, but there are also running titles present, which suggest that the reader of this book required some degree of navigation. What is most important, however, is the sheer size of this volume. The book measures 478 x 360 mm and stands almost as tall as the two Giant Bibles from the collection. The large page dimensions of Rouen 464 imply that this book was less suited to private reading, and more suited to reading from a lectern (give the difficulty of holding this book open with two hands). Taking all of these factors into consideration – the text, the presence of navigational support, and the dimensions of the book – it is quite possible that Rouen 464 was meant to support the readings of the second and third nocturn of the Matins service.

Whereas most scholars may associate the reading of patristic texts with the traditional approach of *lectio divina*, as we have seen there is evidence to suggest that some of these texts were also called into service during the readings of the Divine Office. Most importantly this revelation helps to explain why the scribes from Fécamp chose to include additional navigational support to some texts that contain works by the Church Fathers, despite the fact that it is not what would be expected in books traditionally associated with *lectio divina*. Indeed, the presence of chapter tables, chapter numbers, and running titles, indicate that these books were used in a context where searching the text would have been necessary. As the second and third nocturn readings of the Matins Office involved the selective reading of short passages of texts relating to particular events in the liturgical calendar that changed on a daily basis, it seems like this a context where such a design would have been preferable.

3.2 Patristic Texts and Collation

A second occasion where certain patristic texts may have required some additional navigation is during the evening gathering of Collation (or '*Collatio*'). This meeting of the community is mentioned in Chapter forty-two of the Rule of St Benedict where it is written:

Kyrie eleison"' [Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy] (Collamore, 'Prelude: Charting the Divine Office', 7).

> If it is an ordinary day, as soon as they rise from supper, the brothers should all sit down together and one of them should read the *Conferences* or the *Lives of the Fathers* or something else to edify the listeners … If it is a fast day, once Vespers is said, there is a short break, and then the brothers should proceed at once to the reading of the *Conferences*, as we said, four or five pages being read, or as much as time allows, and all coming together during this reading period, even if it happens that one of them has been busy with his assigned task. [76]

As Benedict relates, this gathering involved the short reading of a book, approximately four or five pages at time. Green explains that the designated *lector* would choose a book from the collection and show it to the superior so that he could prepare a response; the *lector* would then 'read out a few lines' to the group, and the superior would offer an explanation.[77]

While Benedict recommends Cassian's *Conferences* and the Lives of the Fathers as suitable reading material for Collation, Webber provides a slightly more detailed list of potential books used, including 'patristic and early medieval texts that advocate or exemplify the monastic life and virtues, including those recommended by Benedict in the final chapter of the Rule (Cassian's *Collationes* and *De institutis coenobiourm*, and the *Vitas patrum*), as well as Gregory's *Dialogi*, Isidore's *Sententiae* and Smaragdus's *Diadema monachorum*' – books that frequently appear in lists of Collation readings.[78] In some of the entries of the *Lectiones ad prandium* from the Fécamp Ordinal there is also, on occasion, specific mention of the Collation readings, though these entries appear to

---

[76] 'Si tempus fuerit prandii, mox surrexerint a cena, sedeant omnes in unum et legat unus Collationes vel Vitas Patrum aut certe aliud quod aedificet audientes … Si autem ieiunii dies fuerit, dicta vespera parbo intervallo mox adcedant ad lectionum Collationum, ut diximus, et lectis quattuor aut quinque foliis vel quantum hora permittit, omnibus in unum occurrentibus per hanc moram lectionis, si qui forte in adsignato sibi conmisso fuit occupatus' (*The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Venarde, Chapter XLII, 144-145).

[77] Dennis Howard Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 34. Some interesting parallels between the practice of 'Collatio' and the development of 'Disputatio' have also been drawn by Henri de Lubac; see *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Mark Sebanc, Vol. 1, *The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 51-55.

[78] Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory', 9, draws attention to two important sources for comparing lists of Collation readings: Donatella Nebbiae-dalla Guarda, 'Les listes médiévales de lectures monastiques', *Revue bénédictine* 96 (1986), 271-326, at 275-83, 299-90; and James Raine, ed., *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm*, Surtees Society Publications 7 (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1838), 9-10. Green similarly suggests that the Collation readings were regularly drawn from the 'Scriptures or the Benedictine Rule or some patristic work' (*Medieval Listening and Reading*, 34).

be confined to special Feast Days, and they only refer to the reading of works by Eusebius. For example, on the Feast Day of John Chrysostom (27 January) the Ordinal provides the readings for the refectory *and* Collation:

> [27 January] On Saint John [read] his *Vita* in the large passionary. And after on Saint Anastasia. At Collation [read] the homilies of Eusebius on the Nativity of the Lord.[79]

The Ordinal thus demonstrates that while *some* of the readings for Collation at Fécamp were designated by the liturgical calendar, for the most part, the choice of what to read each evening was left to the monks. Although we cannot know for certain what books were regularly chosen by the Fécamp community to read during this evening gathering, it is possible that some of the patristic works from the Fécamp corpus were called into service at this time. Also, because this reading involved only short passages of a book (around four or five pages), it is very plausible that the books regularly discussed at this type of meeting required navigational reading aids. This may further help to explain why some of the patristic books from the Fécamp corpus contain additional navigational support.

4. Concluding Points

This chapter has aimed to situate some of the Fécamp manuscripts that contain navigational reading aids within specific contexts of use in the Benedictine monastery. The presence of these features in books designed by Fécamp scribes may seem perplexing at first, given the fact that navigational reading aids were largely unnecessary for the practice of *lectio divina*, and the parallels between these books and later examples from the 'scholastic milieu'. However, as I have shown in this chapter,

---

[79] '[vj. KL. Ianuarii.] De sancto Iohanne Vita eius [in] magno passionario. et post de sancta Anastasia. Ad Collationem in Omeliis Eusebii de Natiuitate domini' (Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 685). Another example can be found in the entry for 30 July: '[iii. KL. Iulij.] In Die festiuitatis. lege passionem apostolorum cum multis sermonibus in magno passionario. Ad Collationem in Omeliis Eusebii' (Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, Vol. 2, 680). Here the refectory readings begin with the passion of the Apostles with 'multiple sermons', and at Collation it states 'the homilies of Eusebius'. In other entries, the Collation readings echo the refectory readings more closely. On Easter Sunday, for example, the *lector* is instructed to begin with texts devoted to *Maria Magdalena* with related sermons; for the remainder of the week the *lector* is then instructed to read a Gospel, as well as homilies on the resurrection; on the last line of the entry it states: '*Et similiter ad Collationem per totam ebdomadam*' [and similarly at Collation for the entire week] (Chadd, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp,* Vol. 2, 675).

these manuscripts also had a place in the daily worship schedule of the Abbey of Fécamp. The two Giant Bibles, for example, would have been well-suited to support the selective and non-sequential reading that took place either during the Mass and the Divine Office, or at meal-times in the refectory; the Gospel Books with navigational reading aids would have been useful in the Gospel reading of the Mass (and in the refectory as well); the manuscripts containing the works of the Church Fathers would have been also beneficial for the selective reading of the Divine Office and the evening gathering of Collation.

This chapter has not only discussed why some of these Fécamp books contain navigational reading aids, but it has also emphasized that there were multiple occasions in the daily worship schedule that involved a selective and non-sequential approach to the text: the scriptural readings during the Mass and Office, reading during meal-times in the refectory, and reading at the evening gathering of Collation. As I have argued, the readings performed on these occasions were largely influenced by the events of the liturgical calendar, which required the Fécamp community to read short selections of text taken from a range of material. Although in some cases the original intention may have been to read the books in a *continuous* and comprehensive fashion, with entire books read over the course of the year, due to the complexity of the Christian year and the number of events that took place in any given week, a *continuous* or comprehensive approach would have been difficult, if not impossible, to maintain in practice. The fragmented nature of this schedule meant that reading would have inevitably required a more selective approach, with different books chosen for specific days, and only parts of books read, as opposed to entire volumes. I have also shown that some of these occasions involved a non-sequential approach. This is clearly the case during the Epistle and Gospel readings of the Mass, the nocturn readings of the Office, as well as many of the refectory readings, which required the readers to move back and forth between books and parts of text to accommodate the readings designated by the liturgical calendar.

What is important to take away here is that, although selective and non-sequential reading has been consistently linked to modes of 'scholastic' reading, these approaches were also pursued in the earlier Benedictine monastery. Indeed, the 'scholastic model of reading', as introduced by Jacqueline Hamesse, for example, is essentially described as a mode of reading that was selective and non-sequential: following this model, readers would pick and choose what they read, and jump from

section to section in search of relevant material.[80] This conspicuous relationship between 'scholastic reading' and 'selective reading' has given rise to the misleading assumption that selective and non-sequential modes of reading existed (and were practiced) only within the context of the later scholastic milieu. It is important to understand that while scholastic reading may be selective, selective reading is not necessarily scholastic, as the Fécamp case study has clearly demonstrated.

The somewhat 'presumptuous' relationship between scholastic reading and selective reading also continues to be perpetuated simply because of the fact that few people have looked beyond the scholastic context to investigate how reading was practiced in other cultural milieu during other time periods. Indeed, as we have discussed previously, many scholars have assumed that monks did not engage in any kind of selective reading prior to the scholastic age, but instead only focused on the traditional exercise of *lectio divina*, an assumption largely contested by this present study.

What is more, the monks of Fécamp did not only practice modes of selective and non-sequential reading over the course of their daily reading schedule, but they also specifically designed their books to accommodate this approach. They employed practical combinations of navigational reading aids to make sure that the texts intended for these selective reading activities could be easily found. It is particularly interesting to note that they did not include navigational reading aids to *all* of the manuscripts in their collection, but instead they appear to have chosen only books that they anticipated would be used in these selective reading contexts (i.e. Giant Bibles, Gospel Books, and some patristic texts). As such, this chapter has not only demonstrated that the monks of Fécamp engaged in a second mode of selective reading on a daily basis, but, above all, that they designed specific books in their collection to perfectly suit this approach.

[80] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading'.

Chapter 6
Reading Aids & their Implications



1. Material Understanding of *Lectio Divina*

This study set out to analyze two modes of reading practiced at the Abbey of Fécamp in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to do so by using surviving manuscripts from the Fécamp collection. As I have demonstrated, even many of the plain-looking manuscripts copied at the Fécamp scriptorium may actually veil a refined programme of design. While the Fécamp scribes were capable of adding decoration, gloss, and navigational reading aids to the books they copied (as demonstrated by a small number of books in the corpus), for the most part they opted to exclude these features, creating a corpus of manuscripts that perfectly suited the practice of *lectio divina*. The connections I have been able to draw between a manuscript's physical and visual features and the practice of *lectio divina* enhances our ability to situate manuscripts that feature a similar profile (both in terms of text and physical features) within the context of the Benedictine monastery. This link may prove particularly important for scholars working to place manuscripts with unknown origins or provenance within a specific context of production and use. While I do not claim that all manuscripts that present limited decoration, glossing, or navigational reading aids were necessarily designed for a *lectio divina* reader, I do argue that this visual profile in partnership with the appropriate textual material were conducive to divine reading, and the Benedictine context may be a suitable place to begin one's investigation.

2. Selective Reading At Fécamp: The Scholastic Question

My study of the Fécamp manuscript corpus has also uncovered a number of books that contain navigational reading aids. This discovery is particularly significant given the striking parallels that these books present to those produced in the scholastic milieu of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The presence of navigational reading aids in Fécamp manuscripts, produced by monastic scribes long before the scholastic age, challenges current understandings of when and where these features originated and developed. While scholars have acknowledged that these features

existed in earlier manuscript traditions, many assume, nonetheless, that they became 'redundant' in the centuries preceding the scholastic period, largely because they were unnecessary for the type of devotional reading common in the monastery.[1] However, the presence of these features in manuscripts produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at the Abbey of Fécamp counters this assumption: not only do these Fécamp books show that navigational reading aids were used in the centuries prior to the scholastic age, but also that they were relevant and even necessary for reading in the Benedictine monastery.

It is also important to acknowledge that scholars who focus on later scholastic manuscripts argue that the regular presence of navigational reading aids in manuscript books were just one component of a larger scholastic 'package' that developed in the twelfth century. This package also included alphabetical indices, concordances, distinctions, and plenty of room for marginal and interlinear glosses. Although some of the Fécamp manuscripts include similar navigational reading aids, they do not feature the 'entire scholastic package' – so to speak. What this present study calls for, however, are clearer distinctions between 'newer' features of the late twelfth century (alphabetical indices, distinctions, and concordances, for example), and the much *older* features that simply continued to be added to the page in the scholastic period (chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks). It is important to recognize that these navigational reading aids were not new to the twelfth century, nor were they even 're-discovered' or 'revived' after a period of redundancy, but instead they are demonstrably part of a steady and unbroken tradition of medieval book design and production.

The distinction between 'old and new' is particularly crucial for manuscript scholars who use the book's visual characteristics to estimate the time, place, and context of its production and use. For future scholars of the book, it is important to understand that if a manuscript contains a chapter table and a running title in combination, for example, it does not necessarily mean that it was produced by an urban scribe working in the scholastic milieu (and made for a student reader engaging in *quaestio* and *disputatio*), but that it may have also been produced much earlier in a Benedictine scriptorium for a devotional reader.

[1] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compliatio*', 122.

Of course, the assumption that navigational reading aids are indicative of a scholastic use may stem from the collective focus that scholars have placed on readers and manuscript production in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As shown in chapter three of this study, there is a trend in current scholarship to situate navigational reading aids within many of the wider developments taking place in urban schools in this later period. As a result, chapter tables, running titles, and paragraph marks have become synonymously linked to this specific cultural and intellectual context.

I argue that there is a need to re-define and re-conceptualize navigational reading aids *independently* from a specific context of use. Instead of casting these features as 'scholastic', it is better to use a more general label, such as 'features of the medieval book' and define them in similarly general terms: they are visual tools that were applied to different types of texts, within different contexts, and for different kinds of readers, and they can be found in books produced *throughout* the Middle Ages. This need to re-conceptualize the terms also applies to selective and non-sequential modes of reading, which have been similarly equated with the scholastic context. Just as navigational reading aids have often been defined as 'scholastic book features', so too have selective modes of reading been understood as 'scholastic modes of reading'.[2] However, Fécamp readers also engaged in selective modes of reading, within a context that did not traditionally involve scholastic methods of debate and inquiry, which makes it important to clarify that 'selective reading' does not necessarily mean 'scholastic reading'.

Of course, in view of the popularity of selective reading in the urban schools of the late twelfth century, it makes sense why some scholars have equated this selective approach with 'scholastic reading'. It also makes sense why most scholars have *not* equated selective reading with the monastery, given the general assumption that *lectio divina* was the only mode of devotional reading exercised there – and this approach conspicuously stands in stark contrast to the scholastic model. Hamesse typifies this common dichotomy when she writes: 'The new scholastic reading was totally different from the monastic model, which had been focused on a slow, rigorous comprehension of all of Holy Writ'.[3] What the case study from Fécamp has shown, however, is that

[2] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading'.

[3] Hamesse, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', 104; Leclercq, *The Love of Learning*, 72; Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 15.

some Benedictine communities engaged in two distinct modes of reading, and it is not *lectio divina*, but the *second* mode of reading – one that involved a selective and non-sequential approach – where significant parallels can be found between the monastic and scholastic context. With this discovery, there are grounds to conduct further investigations into the relationship between monastic reading and manuscript production and many of the 'new' developments taking shape in the twelfth-century scholastic milieu.

3. What Shapes a Reading Experience?

Over the course of this study, I have shown that there are significant commonalities between manuscripts produced at Fécamp and those produced in the later scholastic context; I have also demonstrated that these manuscripts were designed to support the same type of selective and non-sequential reading. We have seen that the form (i.e. the books) as well as the method of reading (i.e. selective modes) are largely the same between the Fécamp context and the later scholastic milieu. Despite these significant similarities, however, it would be incorrect to assume that the Fécamp readers in the eleventh century and the student readers in the thirteenth century shared the same reading experience. What still needs to be accounted for is the *goal* or *purpose* of reading in each context. What motivated the individual to read in the first place? And how did this shape the reader's experience?

As argued by Parkes and Hamesse, for the most part students and scholars in the later scholastic milieu read their books on a selective basis in order to prepare for academic discussion and debate (*quaestio* and *disputatio*), while others, as argued by the Rouses, used this method of reading to prepare sermons for preaching. I have claimed that the Fécamp readers engaged in selective modes of reading to accommodate various activities and ceremonies that comprised traditional Benedictine programmes of worship, including the celebration of the Mass and Divine Office, readings at meal-times, as well as the readings performed at the evening gathering of Collation. Despite the fact that the monks read some of their books in parts, and jumped from text-to-text to match the events stipulated by the liturgical calendar, these reading opportunities were still centered within a programme of divine reading and religious worship. Just like the practice of *lectio divina*, these reading opportunities were driven by a desire for spiritual purity, spiritual knowledge, and communion with God.

Although the Fécamp monks and later urban scholars may have followed the same mode of reading, and their books may have looked similar in many regards, their motivations to read were quite different, and for this reason they would have had very different reading experiences.

Above all, it seems that one's motivation to read was largely context-driven. For the monk, following a daily programme of spiritual worship in the cloister would have informed his approach to the text; similarly, a student sitting in a thirteenth-century classroom would have been influenced by this particular context in how he approached the text. These observations underline the importance of taking into account not just the visual appearance of a reader's book, nor just his method of approach, but also the reader's context and his motivation to read, when piecing together how and why one reads. Like pieces of a puzzle, when these components are combined together, we obtain a more complete picture of how an individual or community engaged in reading.

4. Beyond Fécamp

The present study has focused primarily on the Norman Benedictine Abbey of Fécamp in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While it has expanded traditional understandings of devotional reading and manuscript production as carried out at the Abbey of Fécamp, how far can such conclusions be drawn for the Benedictine context in general? How likely is it that two modes of devotional reading were practiced at other Benedictine houses in this period? What are the chances that other communities also designed and produced their books to accommodate two approaches? In principle, the fact that both *lectio divina* and selective modes of devotional reading are activities that can be firmly situated within the daily worship schedule of the Benedictine order (as prescribed by the Rule of St Benedict), it is quite probable that other coenobetic communities who followed the Rule would have similarly engaged in both modes of reading. That is to say, Fécamp was not unique in its programme of worship, including time spent in private reading, celebrating the liturgy, reading at meal-times, or gathering for the evening Collation. These were the cornerstone activities of any traditional Benedictine institution in the medieval period, and it is therefore very probable that other communities similarly engaged in two modes of devotional reading.

To further test whether the Fécamp community was unique in their practice of manuscript design and production, however, I have conducted an *in situ* exploration into the manuscript collections of three neighbouring Benedictine institutions in Normandy: Jumièges, St-Èvroul, and Mont-St-Michel. Taking a sample of manuscript books from each library collection, I have examined the frequency at which chapter tables were applied to the books owned by these communities. This study revealed that, like the manuscripts from Fécamp, the vast majority of books in each collection lack navigational support in the form of chapter tables. Out of twenty-six books examined from the Abbey of Jumièges, nineteen books (or 73%) do *not* include chapter tables; out of eleven books from the Abbey of Mont-St-Michel, ten books (or 91%) do not include chapter tables; out of fourteen books from the Abbey of St-Èvroul, twelve books (or 86%) do not present chapter tables (see Appendix 2 for shelfmarks and details). Despite the limited scope of this study, these numbers point to a conspicuous trend in manuscript production within Norman Benedictine scriptoria. Given the argument that books without navigational reading aids were suited for the practice of *lectio divina*, it makes sense that other Benedictine communities, who also followed the principals of the Rule and who engaged in *lectio divina* on a daily basis, would have designed their books accordingly.

Also mirroring the results of the Fécamp study, there are a few books from each collection that do include chapter tables, suggesting that some situations called for books with navigational support. Out of the twenty-six books from Jumièges, seven books include chapter tables; out of the eleven books from Mont-St-Michel, one book includes chapter tables; out of the fourteen books from St-Èvroul, two books feature chapter tables. As I have demonstrated with the Fécamp corpus, in all likelihood these books were designed for selective and non-sequential reading, which took place at various points in the daily monastic schedule. Furthermore, the types of books that include chapter tables are similar to those from the Fécamp corpus that feature this kind of reading aid. In the selection of manuscripts I examined from Jumièges, for example, there is an eleventh-century Bible pandect, Rouen 8, that not only features chapter tables at the opening of each book, but the manuscript also presents very large dimensions (486 x 342 mm), making this volume very similar in its physical profile to the two Giant Bibles from the Fécamp corpus – Rouen 1 and Rouen 7. Because of the similarities in content, size, and application of chapter tables it would make sense that Rouen 8 was similarly designed for selective modes of devotional reading at the Abbey

of Jumièges. The results of this study may be preliminary, but they reveal that the dual approach to reading and manuscript design exemplified by the Fécamp community may not have been unique, but representative of a much wider Benedictine tradition.



For nearly two centuries after Fécamp's first abbot, William of Volpiano, arrived at the gates in the year 1001, the abbey was celebrated and revered as a centre of Benedictine devotion. The faithfulness of its leaders, the dedication of its members, and its mandate of spiritual obedience and servitude contributed to Fécamp's recognition as a centre of religious piety. This dedication to God resonated through all aspects of daily life at the abbey, and it had a powerful effect on how the community designed, produced, and read their books. It guided the abbot as he chose which spiritual texts to add to the collection, the scribe as he put his pen to the parchment, and the monk as he engaged with the text on multiple levels. Whether he read alone according to *lectio divina*, listened to holy reading in the refectory, or participated in the selected readings of the Mass and Office, all of these interactions with the book were inspired by this devotion and gave meaning to the spirit of the page.

Appendix 1
Manuscript Corpus



The following list contains the sixty-six manuscripts from the Fécamp library collection that serve as the primary corpus for this present study. These books were all copied in-house at the scriptorium of Fécamp in the eleventh or twelfth century. Each entry presents the shelfmark, approximate date of production, origins, number of folia, writing support, page dimensions, author and text, as well as a brief description of the navigational reading aids (if present). The manuscripts are arranged according to institution and shelfmark.

All manuscripts from the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen were examined *in situ*. The remaining manuscripts were not available for *in situ* consultation and were thus examined via microfilm at the Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bern, Burgerbibliothek Cod. 162 was examined via online images made available by e-codices. In some cases where the manuscripts were examined via microfilm the dimensions are unknown.

1. Bern, Burgerbibliothek

Cod. 162
c. 1050; Fécamp; 104 fols.; parchment; 315 x 220 mm.
Augustine, *De opere monachorum*, *De fide et operibus*, *Contra Donatistas*, *De bono virginitatis*, *De bono coniugali*, *De bono viduitatis*, *De symbolo sermo*, *De oratione dominica sermo*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Avril suggests that this manuscript was copied from a Mont-St-Michel exemplar (Avranches 35), and then served as the exemplar for a Jumièges manuscript (Rouen 474). Avril, 'Notes', 514-522; Branch, 'The Development of Script', 102-103.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

lat. 188
1075-1150; Fécamp; 129 fols.; parchment; 245 x 165 mm.
Job with *glossa ordinaria*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 258
c. 1000; Fécamp; 161 fols.; parchment; 255 x 190 mm.
Gospels with Eusbian Canon Tables; scriptural pericopes.
Chapter tables at the opening of each Gospel; running titles also present (see, for example, fols. 68v-69r).

Remarks: On fol. 8v there is a poem by the seventh-century Irish saint Ailerán on the canon tables, *Quam in primo speciosa*, divided into ten stanzas, each corresponding to one of the ten canon tables.

lat. 437
1075-1150; Fécamp; 226 fols.; parchment; 275 x 170 mm.
Gregory the Great, Commentary on the Psalms, Commentary on the Song of Songs, Homily on Ezechiel; Augustine, Extracts.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 440
1100-1150; Fécamp; 230 fols.; parchment; 295 x 215 mm.
Psalms; John of Rheims, Commentary on the Psalms.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Partially copied by the scribe William (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 168, 170).

lat. 564, part 2 (fols. 4v-20v)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 16 fols.; parchment; 230 x 170 mm.
Bernard of Clairvaux, Commentary on the *Song of Songs*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 564, part 3 (fols. 23r-33r)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 10 fols.; parchment; 230 x 170 mm.
Anonymous, Treaty on the asceticism of monks.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 564, part 4 (fols. 34r-69v)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 35 fols.; parchment; 230 x 170 mm.
Hildebert of Le Mans, *Versus de mysterio missae*; *Vita sanctae Maria Aegyptiacae*; *Versus de novo sacrificio vetus abrogante*; *De baptismo*; *De nova lege veterem abrogante*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 564, part 5 (fols. 71r-132r)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 61 fols.; parchment; 230 x 170 mm.

Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia*, *Liber de praecepto et dispensatione*, *Optima sententia de corpore et sanguine Domine*; William of Champeaux, *Fragmentum de Eucharista*; Anselm of Canterbury, *Meditatio de humana redemptione*, *Proslogion*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 989, part 3 (fols. 8v-40r, 53v)
1025-1050; Fécamp; 32 fols.; parchment; 245 x 135 mm.
Anonymous, *Vita, inventio et miraculi St Taurini*; Alcuin, Homily on St Taurin; Sermon on St Taurin.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 989, part 4 (fols. 41r-53r)
1025-1050; Fécamp; 12 fols.; parchment; 245 x 135 mm.
Anonymous, Passion on St Luciae.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 989, part 5 (fols. 54r-131v)
1025-1050; Fécamp; 77 fols.; parchment; 245 x 135 mm.
Johannes Diaconus Neapolitanus, *Vita St Nicolai* with gloss; Paulinus Nolensis and Augustine, *Epistolae*; Fragments of a homilary; Prudentius, *Psychomachia*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 1684
1050-1078; Fécamp; 130 fols.; parchment; 295 x 215 mm.
Athanasius, *Epistolae ad Luciferum*; Vigilius Tapsensi, *De trinitate*, *Contra Arianos dialogus*, *Solutiones objectionum Arianorum*; Potamius, *Epistola ad Athanasium*; Jerome, *De fide*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Avril has suggested that this is most likely 'a copy of an exemplar lent to Fécamp (Rouen 425) by Mont Saint Michel which was never restored to the original owner' (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 113). This Fécamp manuscript was copied by Hugo, who has added a colophon on fol. 128: 'Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori Hugoni'.

lat. 1928
1078-1108; Fécamp; 173 fols.; parchment; 370 x 270 mm.
Augustine, *Epistolae*.
Chapter table at the beginning listing the different letters contained within the volume.

Remarks: The primary text of this manuscript is Augustine's *Epistolae*. At the end of the volume there are a number of hymns, an inventory of St Gabriel, as well as the Fécamp book list. It also contains a poem written by Jean of Ravenna (abbot of

Fécamp, 1028-1078) titled '*Pater mi*', fols. 171v-173. For an edition of the book list see Branch, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp'.

lat. 1939
c. 1050; Fécamp; 171 fols.; parchment; 345 x 240 mm.
Augustine, *De doctrina christiana*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe Antonius, fols. 49v-95v (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 124). Fol. 171v contains short note about the Abbey of Fécamp.

lat. 1992
1050-1075; Fécamp; 187 fols.; parchment; 465 x 355 mm.
Augustine, *Ennarationes in Psalmos*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Partially copied by the scribe Antonius, fols. 1-24v, 77-89v, 126-186v (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 126).

lat. 2079
1075-1100; Fécamp; 189 fols.; parchment; 320 x 235 mm.
Augustine, *Contra Faustum*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied by three Fécamp scribes, Hugo: fols. 1-92v, 137-176v; Antonius: fols. 92v-137; John: fols. 177v-179 (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 128). The scribe Hugo has added a colophon on fol. 172v: 'Hunc librum quicumque legeris Hugonis sui scriptoris momento miselli'.

lat. 2088
1050-1075; Fécamp; 204 fols.; parchment; 310 x 220 mm.
Augustine, *De trinitate*.
Chapter tables at the opening of each book (see, for example, fol. 2r) with corresponding section headings in the margin marked with navigational paragraph marks.

Remarks: Gold illumination on the initials. Copied entirely by the scribe Antonius (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 129).

lat. 2639
1050-1075; Fécamp; 183 fols.; parchment; 240 x 180 mm.
Ambrose, *De Isaac et anima*, *De bono mortis*, *De fuga saeculi*, *De Iacob et uita beata*, *De paradyso*, *De consolatione ualentiniani*, *Epistola ad Vercellenses*.

No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe Antonius, fols. 150-183v (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 130).

lat. 3776
1028-1078; Fécamp; 72 fols.; parchment; 310 x 215 mm.
Gregory, Origen, Isidore, Jerome, Augustine, Cassian, Homilies on the Gospels.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe John, fols. 34-72v (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 94).

lat. 4210
c. 1000; Fécamp; 152 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Smaragdus, *Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti*.
Chapter tables present at the opening of the volume (see fol. 22r); navigational paragraph marks emphasizing marginal chapter numbers.

lat. 5057
1108-1187; Fécamp; 114 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Flavius Josephus, *De bello judacio*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 5080
1100-1150; Fécamp; 205 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (*cum supplemento Rufini interpretis*); Peter Alphonsi, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*.
Chapter tables at the opening of each new book.

Remarks: Copied entirely by the scribe William (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 173).

lat. 5290, part 3 (fols. 54r-138v)
1050-1075; Fécamp; 84 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Johannes, Archdeacon (Barrensi), *Narratio de St Nicolai translatione*; Anonymous, *Vita St Leonardi*; Brother Johannes, *Vita St Odonis, abbatis*; Odilone (Presbytero), *Vita beati Majoli*; Peter Damian, *Vita beati Odilonis, abbatis*, Anonymous, *Vita St Tetbaldi, confessoris*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Composite volume; first part copied at neighbouring Benedictine house Mont-St-Michel and the remainder copied at Fécamp (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 97-99).

lat. 5290, part 4 (fols. 139r-150v)
1050-1075; Fécamp; 11 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Anonymous, *Vita Euphimiani, servi Dei*; *Passio St Eustachii et uxoris eius*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 5290, part 5 (fols. 151r-159v)
1050-1075; Fécamp; 8 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Anonymous, *Vita St Romani, Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi*; Bede, *Tractatus in Proverbia Salomonis*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 5305, part 1 (fols. 1-48v)
1075-1150; Fécamp; 48 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Anonymous, *Vita St Anastasiae, Romanae Virginis*; *Vita St Sylvestri, Papae*; *Vita beati Fulgentii, Episcopi Ruspensis*; *Vita beatae Genovefae, virginis*.
No navigational reading aids present.

lat. 5305, part 2 (fols. 49r-110r)
1102-1150; Fécamp; 61 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Anselm of Canterbury, *Tractatus de processione spiritus sancti*, *Epistola de sacrificio azymi et fermentati*; Fulco of Beauvais, *Poema de quibusdam gratiae divinae donis*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Earliest date of production is 1102 based on the presence of Anselm's *De processionione spiritu sancti*, which was composed in this year.

lat. 5356
1108-1187; Fécamp; 136 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
John the Deacon, *De vita sancti Gregorii, Papae*; collection of saints' lives.
Chapter tables present in John's *Vita sancti Gregorii*, though they do not apply to the entire text.

lat. 5390, part 2 (fols. 222r-235r)
1028-1078; Fécamp; 13 fols.; parchment; dimensions unknown.
Anonymous, *Vita St Willelmi, abbatis primi Fiscannensis*; Adsonis (monachi), *Ad Gerbergam, Franciae Reginam epistola de ortu et tempore antichristi*; *Syntagma de sibylla, sive vaticanatio de mundi fine*.
No navigational reading aids present.

3. Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen

Note: *Ancient shelfmarks in parentheses*.

Rouen 1 (A. 4)
1060-1080; Fécamp; 350 fols.; parchment; 495 x 350 mm.
Old Testament; incomplete New Testament (missing the Gospels).
Chapter tables at the opening of each new book; running titles and navigational paragraph marks added in the early twelfth century.

Remarks: The main text was corrected in the early twelfth century by a scribe who also added running titles and adjusted the chapter number system to match the numbers presented in Rouen 7 (the second Giant Bible in the Fécamp collection). Many of the main text corrections are expansions or explanations of carolingian letter forms and abbreviations. Avril also suggests that Rouen 1 was decorated by an Anglo-Saxon artist, who supplied a 'delicately penned figure of Job' on fol. 199v. Fol. 250v features an Epistle of St Paul copied by the the scribe John (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 77).

Rouen 7 (A. 5)
1100-1150; Fécamp; 204 fols.; parchment; 495 x 355 mm.
Old Testament and part of the New Testament (Gospels).
Chapter tables at the opening of each new book; running titles present in some sections of the volume.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe William, fols. 1-174 (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 174). Original chapter numbers match those that have been added to the margins of Rouen 1 by an early twelfth-century corrector. Decoration on the initials. Corners of the pages have been rounded and worn down with use. The volume cuts off mid-sentence (fol. 204), which suggests that the original manuscript included more texts, and may have featured a complete New Testament.

Rouen 28 (A. 14)
1050-1100; Fécamp; 177 fols.; parchment; 355 x 275 mm.
Calendar; Gospels (with Jerome's prologues); Eusebius' canon tables; *Capitulare evangeliorum*.
Chapter tables at the start of each new book.

Remarks: Copied entirely by the scribe Antonius (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 131).

Rouen 29 (A. 165)
1075-1100; Fécamp; 145 fols.; parchment; 350 x 265 mm.
Gospels (with Jerome's prologues); Eusebius' canon tables; *Capitulare evangeliorum*.

Chapter tables at the start of each new book; running titles also present throughout.

Remarks: Initials of the four Gospels have been cut away.

Rouen 30 (A. 436)
c. 1050; Fécamp; 117 fols.; parchment; 218 x 124 mm.
Gospels (with Jerome's prologues); Eusebius' canon tables.
Navigational paragraph marks emphasizing marginal chapter numbers.

Remarks: Some of the opening folia have been replaced by later inserts (likely in the thirteenth century).

Rouen 41 (A. 326)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 98 fols.; parchment; 290 x 205 mm.
Leviticus with gloss.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 86 (A. 351)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 127 fols.; parchment; 265 x 178 mm.
Gospel of St Matthew with gloss.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 116 (A. 310)
1108-187; Fécamp; 213 fols.; parchment; 280 x 185 mm.
Genesis with gloss; Psalms with gloss.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 118 (A. 317)
1075-1150; Fécamp; 218 fols.; parchment; 270 x 185 mm.
Psalms with gloss.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 313 (A. 279)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 132 fols.; parchment; 285 x 195 mm.
Gospels.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 424 (A. 133)
1120-1130; Fécamp; 152 fols.; parchment; 355 x 240 mm.
Rufin, *In explanationem Originensis super epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*; Origen, *Super epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Handwriting looks very similar to the scribe William. Colophon (without name of scribe) present on fol. 152: 'Talia qui scripsit regnum teneat paradisi'.

Rouen 427 (A. 143)
1033; Fécamp; 152 fols.; parchment; 360 x 256 mm.
Ambrose, *De fide*, *Epistola gratiani Augustus*, *De spiritu sancto*, *De officiis ministrorum*, *Hexameron*.
Chapter tables present in Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*; paragraph marks have been used to mark out major themes in the text (see, for example, fol. 73r).

Remarks: There is a twelfth-century copy of the Abbey of Fécamp's charter on fols. 151v-152r (Doublas, 'The First Ducal Charter for Fécamp', 45-53). Copied by the scribe Antonius, with a verse-colophon on fol. 151r.

Rouen 444 (A. 321)
1100-1150; Fécamp; 165 fols.; parchment; 275 x 180 mm.
Jerome, *Super Jeremiam.*
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied by the scribe William, though as Branch notes, he is not 'at his best' (Branch, 'Development of Script', 168).

Rouen 445 (A. 89)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 164 fols.; parchment; 368 x 275 mm.
Jerome, Exposition on Ezechiel.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied by the scribe William (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 175).

Rouen 448 (A. 371)
1150-1200; Fécamp; 19 fols.; parchment; 260 x 180 mm.
Jerome, *Super Marcum*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Branch notes that 'these few folios were once part of a larger volume whose contents are given on the final folio … including: *martyrologium*; *Expositio in Ecclesiasticum*; Pamphilus, *Apologeticus pro excusatione Origensis*' (Branch, 'Development of Script', 190).

Rouen 429, part 1 (A. 537) (fols. 1-75r)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 75 fols.; parchment; 176 x 115 mm.
Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi*, *De sancte virgintate*, *Exhortatio virginitatis*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 451 (A. 306)
c. 1100; Fécamp; 120 fols.; parchment; 270 x 180 mm.
Jerome, *Commentarius in canticum Deborae*, *De distantiis locorum*, *Interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum.*
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Betty Branch dated this manuscript to period 1108-1187 (the consecutive abbacies of Roger of Argences, 1108-1139 and Henry of Sully, 1139-1187). Based on palaeographical grounds, however, I suggest a production date of *c*. 1100 (see, for example, lack of biting between letter-forms, blind ruling, and the use of the ampersand within the word).

Rouen 464 (A. 47)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 167 fols.; parchment; 478 x 360 mm.
Augustine, Exposition on the Epistle of Paul.
Running titles present.

Remarks: This volume also features a number of marginal notations that provide textual references (i.e. 'From the book of Psalms VII' or 'From the trinity, book III'). See, for example, fol. 13v, which refers to works by Anselm of Canterbury.

Rouen 469 (A. 214)
c. 1050; Fécamp; 173 fols.; parchment; 320 x 210 mm.
Augustine, *Retractationes*, *Epistolae*, *De catechizandis rudibus*, *De diversis haeresibus*, *De patientia*, *Soliloquia*; Jerome, *De illustribus viris*.
Navigational paragraph marks highlighting chapter numbers and *incipit* titles, as well as marking divisions in the text block.

Remarks: Copied entirely by the scribe Antonius (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 132). There is a content list on fol. 173, added by a fifteenth-century annotator.

Rouen 471 (A. 271)
1028-1078; Fécamp; 109 fols.; parchment; 285 x 210 mm.
Augustine, *De symbolo*, *De virtutibus caritatis*, *Contra Felicianum hereticum*, *De cantico nova*, *De cataclismo*, *De tempore barbarico*; Fulbert, *Sermones*; Fulgentius, *Pro fide catholica*; Anonymous, *Miracula St Michaelis Archangeli*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 477 (A. 191)
1075-1100; Fécamp; 195 fols.; parchment; 335 x 230 mm.
Augustine, *Contra Julianum hereticum*, *De perfectione justitae hominum*, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, *Contra sermonem Arianorum*, *De anima et eius origine*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De magistro*, *De mendacio*, *De natura et gratia*, *De vera religione*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe John, fols. 18rv, 83-120v, and 134-195 (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 143). There is a colophon on fol. 194r identifying John: 'Deus propicius esto michi peccatori Iohanni'. There are also copies of letters on fols. 194v and 195r: two by William the Conqueror and one by Jean of Ravenna, abbot of Fécamp, 1028-1078 (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 143-144).

Rouen 478 (A. 71)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 101 fols.; parchment; 408 x 290 mm.
Augustine, *Contra academicos*, *Contra quinque haereses*, *De beata vita*, *De duabus animabus*, *De ordine*, *Enchiridion*; Pseudo-Augustine, *Hypomnesticon*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 489 (A. 254)
c. 1050; Fécamp; 75 fols.; parchment; 295 x 230 mm.
Gerbert, *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus*, *De numerorum divisione*; Boethius, *De trinitate*; Anonymous, *De divisione, De fide catholica, Liber contra Eutchen et Nestorium*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 491, part 1 (A. 8) (fols. 1-4v; 13r-223v)
1075-1100; Fécamp; 214 fols.; parchment; 485 x 335 mm.
Cassiodorus, Exposition on the Psalms.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe John, fols. 6-12v, 180rv, 215-216v, and 222-223 (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 144). This is a composite volume: Part one was copied in the eleventh century, and part two was copied in the twelfth century (see below).

Rouen 491, part 2 (A. 8) (fols. 5r-12v)
1100-1150; Fécamp; 7 fols.; parchment; 485 x 335 mm.
Cassiodorus, Exposition on the Psalms.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 492 (A. 105)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 147 fols.; parchment; 375 x 263 mm.
Cassiodorus, Exposition on the Psalms.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 525, part 1 (A. 421) (fols. 1-22v)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 22 fols.; parchment; 250 x 155 mm.
Arnaldus Carontensis, *De verbis Domini in cruce*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 525, part 3 (A. 421) (fols. 31r-135v)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 104 fols.; parchment; 245 x 155 mm.
Bede, *In genisim*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 526 (A. 275)
1100-1150; Fécamp; 142 fols.; parchment; 280 x 180 mm.
Bede, *Expositio in parabolas Salomonis*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 528, part 1 (A. 362) (fols. 1-184v)
1001-1028; Fécamp; 184 fols.; parchment; 263 x 192 mm.
Bede, *Expositio in Marcum*.
Chapter tables present; running titles added to some sections by a contemporary hand; navigational paragraph marks used to emphasize chapter numbers in the margins and in some cases to divide up the text block.

Remarks: Copied by the scribe Stephen during the abbacy of William of Volpiano (1001-1028). There is a verse-colophon naming 'Stephanus' on fol. 184v. This manuscript is composite and also contains a work titled, *De St Waningo et fundatione fiscannensis monasterii*, as well as a fragment of Marbod of Rheims, *Versus de duodecim lapidibus*.

Rouen 532 (A. 395)
1025-1050; Fécamp; 98 fols.; parchment; 250 x 160 mm.
Augustine, *Enchiridion*; Bede, *Super actis Apostolorum*.
Navigational paragraph marks present emphasizing marginal chapter numbers.

Rouen 540 (U. 148)
1108-1140; Fécamp; 67 fols.; parchment; 165 x 110 mm.
Anselm of Canterbury, *Tractatus de libero arbitrio*, *Tractatus de casu diaboli*; Anonymous, *Vita sanctae Oportunae virginis*.
Chapter tables present in Anselm's *De casu diaboli* (see, for example, fol. 15r); navigational paragraph marks used to emphasize marginal chapter numbers.

Remarks: Although this manuscript was originally identified by Branch as a product of the Fécamp scriptorium, I have recently discovered that it was copied in part by a well-known scribe from the nearby monastery of St-Èvroul, Orderic Vitalis. See my forthcoming article, 'Following the Master's Lead: The Script of Orderic Vitalis and the Discovery of a New Manuscript (Rouen 540)'.

Rouen 1122 (U. 18)
1050-1075; Fécamp; 127 fols.; parchment; 390 x 290 mm.
Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*.

Chapter tables present at the opening of each new book, copied in smaller script than the main text. In some cases the chapter numbers have not been filled in completely.

Rouen 1388 (U. 32)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 321 fols.; parchment; 328 x 225 mm.
Collection of saints' lives.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: A much later hand (post twelfth century) has added running titles, as well as a content list on fol. 320v.

Rouen 1400 (U. 3)
1108-1187; Fécamp; 112 fols.; parchment; 472 x 328 mm.
Collection of passions and saints' lives: *Vita sanctorum*, *Inventio sancte crucis*, *Vita St Taurini*, *Vita St Bertae*, *Passio St Christophori*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Rouen 1404 (U. 20)
1100-1150; Fécamp; 156 fols.; parchment; 380 x 275 mm.
Collection of passions and saints' lives: *Vita sanctorum*, *Inventio sancte crucis*, *Passio St Dionysii*, *Vita St Martini*, *Vita St Nicholae*, *Vita St Columbani*.
No navigational reading aids present.

Remarks: Copied in part by the scribe William, fols. 3-123v (Branch, 'The Development of Script', 176).

Appendix 2

Case Study: Chapter Tables in Manuscripts Owned by Three Norman Benedictine Houses



To test whether or not Fécamp was unique in its approach to manuscript design and production (to accommodate two modes of devotional reading), I have conducted a secondary case study using manuscripts owned by the Norman Benedictine houses of Jumièges, Mont-St-Michel, and St-Èvroul. Taking a selection of books from each surviving collection, I examined (*in situ*) the rate at which chapter tables have been added to the books. See the following tables for the results. Conclusions are also discussed in Chapter 6 of this present book.

Table 10: Summary of Chapter Tables in Norman Benedictine MSS

A: Institution; **B**: Total Number of Books Examined; **C**: Number of Books with Chapter Tables; **D**: Number of Books without Chapter Tables

A	B	C	D
Jumièges	26	7	19
Mont-St-Michel	11	1	10
St-Èvroul	14	2	12

Table 11: Chapter Tables in Norman Benedictine MSS

A: Shelfmark; **B**: Date; **C**: Page Dimensions (in mm); **D**: Author; **E**: Text; **F**: Chapter Table(s)
+ : Present; **–** : Not Present

	A	B	C	D	E	F
I. Abbey of Jumièges						
1	Rouen 8	1000-1100	486 x 342		Bible	+
2	Rouen 22	1100-1200	375 x 270		Bible	–
3	Rouen 23	1100-1200	362 x 240		Bible	–
4	Rouen 55	1100-1200	300 x 200		Psalms with gloss	–
5	Rouen 141	1000-1100	298 x 222	Paschase Radbert	Exposition on Matthew	–
6	Rouen 151	1100-1200	348 x 250	Ambrose; Peter Lombard	Ambrose: *Tractatus de epistolis Pauli apostoli*	–

					Peter Lombard: *Commentarius in epistolas Pauli*	
7	Rouen 177	1169-1200	370 x 245	Peter Comestor	*Historia scholastica*	–
8	Rouen 434, part 1 (fols. 1-104r)	1100-1200	240 x 170	Ambrose	*De officiis ministrorum*, *De virginibus*	–
9	Rouen 434, part 2 (fols. 104v-170)	1100-1200	240 x 163	Anselm of Canterbury	*De concordia praescientia et praedestinationis et Gratiae Dei cum libero arbitrio*, *Cur Deus homo*	+
10	Rouen 479, part 1 (fols. 2-43r)	1100-1200	245 x 170	Augustine	*Enchiridion*	–
11	Rouen 479, part 2 (fols. 44-46)	1100-1200	245 x 170	Ambrose	*Epistolae*	–
12	Rouen 479, part 3 (fols. 47r-65v)	1100-1200	245 x 170	Augustine	*Dialogus quaestionum*	–
13	Rouen 479, part 4 (fols. 66r-78r)	1100-1200	245 x 170	Anselm	*De grammatico dialogus*	–
14	Rouen 479, part 5 (fols. 78-82v)	1100-1200	245 x 170	Anselm	*Versus de quantitate verborum*	–
15	Rouen 479, part 6 (fols. 83r-93v)	1100-1200	250 x 175	Isidore	*Origins* (fragment)	–
16	Rouen 479, part 9 (fols. 172v-174)	1100-1200	245 x 170	Ambrose	*De observantia episcoporum*	–
17	Rouen 479, part 10 (fols. 175v-178r)	1100-1200	245 x 165	Augustine	*Sermon de symbolo*, *Sermones de ordinatione sua*	–

18	Rouen 488	1100-1200	290 x 190	Anonymous; Origen; Augustine	Anonymous: *In festivitate St Petri*; Origen: *De filis orientis et de gebeon ex parte*; Anonymous: *In passione sancti Petri apostoli* Augustine: *Regula St Augustini ad Clericos*	–
19	Rouen 520	1000-1100	270 x 190	Cassian	*De institutis coenobiorum*, *De remediis octo capitalium uitiorum*	+
20	Rouen 522	1000-1100	286 x 197	Isidore	*Abrege de liber Pontificalis*, *De summo bono*, *Synonyma*	+
21	Rouen 536, part 1 (fols. 1-94v)	1050-1100	243 x 178	Smaragdus	*Diadema monachorum*	–
22	Rouen 538	1100-1200	245 x 163	Guimond; (Lanfranc?)	*De corpore et sanguine Domini*	–
23	Rouen 539	1100-1200	254 x 161	Anselm	*De veritate*, *De libertate arbitrii*, *De casu diaboli*, *De incarnatione verbi*, *Monologion*, *Proslogion*, *Responsio Anselmi ad Gaunilonem*, *Majoris monasterii monachum*, *De conceptu virginali et de*	+

					peccato originali, *De St Spiritu contra Graecos*	
24	Rouen 551	1100-1200	245 x 170	Hugh of St Victor; Anonymous; Augustine; Jerome; William	Hugh of St Victor: *Cronica uenerandi*, *Expositio super partem ecclesiastica*; Anonymous: *Expositio super prima partem lamentationum theremie*; Augustine: *Sermo de Iacob et Isaiah*, *De regula uere fidi ad petrum*; Jerome: *Explanatio super Marcum*; William: *Sermonis regis anglorum*; Anonymous: *Consuetudines … normannie*	–
25	Rouen 565	1100-1200	190 x 123	Peter Lombard; Peter Comestor	Sermons	+
26	Rouen 1333	1000-1100	318 x 210	Paul the Deacon; Anonymous; Augustine	Paul the Deacon: *Historia Langobardorum* , Anonymous: *Liber Decem collationes sanctorum patrum*; Augustine: *De duodecim abusivis*, *Sermo de natale*	+

					sancti laurentii martiris, *Vita sancti columbani abbis*	
II. Abbey of Mont-St-Michel						
1	Avranches 23	1100-1200	248 x 150	Hildebert	Matthew with gloss; Hildebert: *Epistolae*	–
2	Avranches 26, part 2 (fols. 223r-296)	1100-1200	290 x 220		Exodus with gloss; Leviticus with gloss	–
3	Avranches 32, part 2 (fols. 137r-267)	1000-1100	285 x 215	Origen	Commentary on the Epistles of Paul	–
4	Avranches 48	1100-1200	265 x 155	Hugh of St Victor	*Interpretatione ierarchie beati dionisii ariopagitae*	–
5	Avranches 52	1100-1200	365 x 265	Origen	Homily on the Old Testament	–
6	Avranches 70, part 1 (fols. 1-54r)	1000-1100	290 x 220	Jerome	Exposition on Daniel	–
7	Avranches 70, part 2 (fols. 55-115v)	1000-1100	290 x 225	Augustine; John the Apostle	Augustine: Homilies; John: *Epistolae*	–
8	Avranches 74	1100-1200	275 x 215	Augustine	*Sententia ex libro tractationum*	–
9	Avranches 97	1000-1050	400 x 305	Gregory	*Moralia in Job*	–
10	Avranches 110	1100-1200	315 x 245	Rabanus Maurus	*Expositio in libros Regum*, *Expositio in libros Judith et Esther*; Macchabees	+
11	Avranches 232, part 2 (fols. 64r-71v)	1150-1200	220 x 155	Peter Abelard	*Tractatus de intellectibus*	–

III. Abbey of St-Èvroul						
1	BnF, lat. 12131	1100-1200	290 x 195	Athanasius; Vigilius Tapsensis	Works on the Trinity	–
2	Rouen 24	1100-1200	245 x 174		Psalms	–
3	Rouen 31	1100-1200	320 x 200	Ambrose; Jerome	*Liber pontificalis*; Ambrose: Commentary on the Psalms; Jerome: *Epistola ad Damasum Papam*; Gospels	–
4	Rouen 455	1100-1200	275 x 182	Augustine; Hugh of St Victor; St Benedict	Augustine: *De genesi ad litteram*; Hugh of St Victor: *Opera*; Rule of St Benedict	–
5	Rouen 456	1000-1100	340 x 232	Augustine; Bede	Augustine: Treaty on the Psalms; Bede: *De tabernaculo testimonii*	–
6	Rouen 461	1100-1200	334 x 240	Augustine	Treaty on the Psalms	–
7	Rouen 467	1100-1200	370 x 270	Augustine	Treaty on the Gospel of St John	–
8	Rouen 484	1100-1200	315 x 220	Augustine	*Contra Faustum*	–
9	Rouen 507	1100-1200	265 x 168	Gregory	*Dialogi*	–
10	Rouen 508	1100-1200	285 x 185	Cassian; Isidore; Augustine; Gregory	Cassian: *Collationes*; Isidore: *Liber differentiorum*; Augustine: *De duodecimus abusiuis*; Gregory: *Dialogi (De*	+

					miraculis sancti Benedicti abbatis)	
11	Rouen 661	1100-1200	200 x 115	Origen; Augustine; Jerome	Extracts	–
12	Rouen 665	1100-1200	205 x 144	Anonymous	*Expositio in Cantica canticorum*, *Moralia philosophia*, *De beata vita*, *Liber de marabilibus St Scripturae*, *Libellus Bacchiarii ad Januarium de repratione lapsi*, *Expositio moralis super genesim*, *Miscellanea quadam*	–
13	Rouen 1343	1113-1137	315 x 215	Bede; Anonymous	Bede: *Historia Anglorum*; Anonymous: *Vita St Martini*; collection of saints' lives	+
14	Rouen 1376	1100-1200	225 x unknown	Gregory of Tours; Boethius	Gregory of Tours: *De miraculis Sancti Patrum*; Boethius: *Carmina quidam ex libro de consolatione*; Hymns with notation; *Passio St Luciani*; *Passio Sancti Potentiani*, *Saviniani*, *et Altini*	–

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Aelred of Rievaulx, *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera Omnia, Vol. I: Opera ascetica*, ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971)

Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. and trans. with introduction and commentary by Ivor J. Davidson, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

——, *Prologue to the Commentary on Luke*, reprinted in Michael Heintz, 'Prologue of Ambrose of Milan's *Homilies on Luke*', *Antiphon* 8:2 (2003), 26-31

——, 'Prologue to the Commentary on Luke', in M. Adriaen et al., eds., *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam. Fragmenta in Esaiam (Ambrosius Mediolanensis)*, CCSL 14.1-6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957)

Anselm of Canterbury, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, trans. Walter Frölich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990)

——, *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm with the Proslogion*, trans. with an introduction by Sister Benedicta Ward, S. L. G., forward by R. W. Southern (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973)

——, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Nelson & Sons, 1946-1961)

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. W. D. Ross, *The Internet Classics Archives*, http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.1.i.html

Augustine, *Augustine: On the Trinity*, ed. Gareth B. Matthew, Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

——, *Confessions*, trans. with introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991)

——, *Confessions, Vol. III, Commentary Books 8-13*, ed. James J. O'Donnell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3-71

——, *Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981)

——, *Saint Augustine: Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, trans. with notes and indices by Philip Schaff, Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series 8 (Grand Rapids: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1989)

——, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, Retractationum libri II*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher, CCSL 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984)

St Benedict, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde, Dumberton Oaks Medieval Library 6 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011)

Bernard of Clairvaux, *In cantici canticorum priora duo capita brevis commentatio ex S. Bernardi sermonibus contexta, ubi de triplici statu amoris*, *PL*, Vol. 184, Cols. 407-436

——, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux, Vol. 2, Song of Songs I*, ed. Kilian Walsh, O. C. S. O. (Kalamazoo: Kalamazoo Publications Inc., 1981)

——, *Sancti Bernardi abbatis primi Clarae-Vallensis, Opera omnia, Volumen II, Continens duos posteriores tomos V & VI*, ed. Jean Mabillon (Paris: Sumptibus Petri Aubouyn etc., 1690)

——, *Sancti Bernardi Opera, Vol. 2, Sermones super Cantica Canticorum, 36-86*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais (Rome: Cistercian Editions, 1958)

——, *Sermo II, De Magis, ubi exponitur illud de Canticis, III…*, *PL*, Vol. 183, Cols. 147C-149B

——, *Sermo XCI, De tribus emissionibus*, *PL*, Vol. 183, Cols. 710D-714A

Bernard [of Cluny], 'Ordo cluniacensis', in Marquard Herrgott, ed., *Vetus disciplina monastica* (Paris: Typis Caroli Osmont, 1726; reprinted Siegburg: Schmitt, 1999)

'Capitula Aquisgranensia I', in Bruno Albers, ed., *Consuetudines Monasticae*, Vol. 3 (Monte Cassino: Soc. Ed. Castri Casini, 1907)

Cassian, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, ed. and trans. Boniface Ramsey (New York: Newman Press, 1997)

Catalogus librorum abbatiae Beccensis circa saeculum duodecimum, *PL*, Vol. 150, Cols. 769-782C

Cyprian of Carthage, *Epistola Prima, Ad Donatum*, *PL*, Vol. 4, Col. 221B

Epistola anonymi ad Hugonem amicum suum, De modo et ordine legendi sacram Scripturam, *PL*, Vol. 213, Cols. 713-718B

Fulcoius Belvacensis, *Utriusque De nuptiis Christi et ecclesiae libri septem*, ed. with introduction and notes by Sister Mary Isaac Jogues Rousseau (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1960)

Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, ed. John Zimmerman, The Fathers of the Church 39 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959)

Guigo II, *The Ladder of Monks, A Letter on the Contemplative Life and Twelve Meditations*, trans. with an introduction by Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, SJ (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1979)

Hugh of St Victor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor*, trans. and ed. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961)

Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae*, Book 3, *PL*, Vol. 83, Cols. 537-738B

——, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. with introduction and notes by Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Jean of Ravenna, *In suam de verbis seniorum collectionem ad juniores informandos*, *PL*, Vol. 147, Cols. 477-480A

Jerome, *In Isaiam*, Prologue to Book XVIII, *PL*, Vol. 24, Cols. 17A-22A

——, *Select Letters*, trans. F. A. Wright, Loeb Classical Library 262 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)

John of Fruttuaria, *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione*, *PL*, Vol. 184, Cols. 559-584A

Lanfranc of Canterbury, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. David Knowles, revised by Christopher N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002)

Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus: 1-16*, ed. Gary Wayne Barkley (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990)

——, *The Song of Songs Commentary and Homilies*, trans. and annotated by R. P. Lawson (London: The Newman Press, 1957)

Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum quator libri, prologus*, *PL*, Vol. 192, Col. 521

Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogue Against the Jews*, trans. Irven M. Resnick, The Fathers of the Church, Mediaeval Continuation 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006)

Smaragdus, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. David Barry with introductory essays by Terrence Kardong, Jean Leclercq, and Daniel M. LaCorte (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007)

——, *Smaragdus of Saint-Michiel, Diadema monachorum, The Crown of Monks*, trans. with introduction by David Barry (Trappist: Cistercian Publications, 2013)

——, *Diadema monachorum*, *PL*, Vol. 102, Cols. 593B-690A

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Vigilius Tapsensis, *De trinitate*, *PL*, Vol. 62, Cols. 237-334

William of Hirsau, *Consuetudines Hirsaugensis*, pr., *PL*, Vol. 150, Cols. 927-1146D

William of St Thierry, *Epistola seu tractatus ad fratres de monte dei*, *PL*, Vol. 184, Cols. 307-364B

——, *The Golden Epistle, A Letter to the Brethren at Mont Dieu*, trans. Theodore Berkeley, with an introduction by J. M. Déchanet (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971)

Secondary Sources

Alexander, Andrée, 'Anselm of Laon Unveiled: The *Glosae super Iohannem* and the Origins of the *Glossa ordinaria* on the Bible', *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011), 217-60

——, 'The *Glossa ordinaria* on the Gospel of St John: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscripts with a Presentation of the Text and its Sources', *Revue bénédictine* 118 (2008), 109-34 and 289-333

Avril, François, 'La decoration des manuscrits dans les abbayes bénédictines de Normandie au xie et xiie siècles', Unpublished thesis, École nationale des chartes. Positions des thèses (Paris, 1963), 21-28

——, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits bénédictins normands du xie et du xiie siècles', École Français de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 76 (1964), 491-525; 77 (1965), 209-248

Bailey, Terence, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Studies and Texts 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971)

Barry, David, *The Crown of Monks: Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel* (Trappist: Cistercian Publications, 2013)

Becker, Gustav, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: M. Cohen and Sons, 1885), 257-266

Bischoff, Bernhard, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Bischoff, F. M., 'Pergamentdicke und Lagenordnung. Beobachtungen zur Herstellungstechnik Helmarshausener Evangeliare des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', in P. Rück, ed., *Pergament. Geschichte – Struktur – Restaurierung – Herstellung*, Historische Hilfswissenschaften 2 (1991), 97-144

Boynton, Susan, 'The Bible and the Liturgy', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10-33

Bozzolo, Carla and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge: Trois essais de codicolgoie quantitative* (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1980)

Branch, Betty, 'Inventories of the Library of Fécamp from the Eleventh and Twelfth Century', *Manuscripta* 23 (1979), 159-172

——, 'The Development of Script in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century Manuscripts of the Norman Abbey of Fécamp', PhD Dissertation (Duke University, 1974)

Buringh, Eltjo, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West: Exploration with a Global Database* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

Burnett, Charles, 'Scientific and Medical Writings', in N. Morgan and R. M. Thomson, eds., *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain II: 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 446-453

Burton, Janet E., and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011)

Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979)

Camille, Michael, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books Limited)

Carruthers, Mary, *Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

——, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Casey, Michael, *Sacred Reading: the Ancient Art of Lectio Divina* (Ligouri: Triumph Books, 1995)

Chadd, David, ed., *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp (Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, Ms 186*), 2 vols. (London: Boydell Press, 2000)

Chazelle, C., and B. Van Name Edwards, 'Introduction: the Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture', in their *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, Medieval Church Series 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 1-16

Crichton, J. D., 'The Office in the West: the Early Middle Ages', in Cheslyn Jones et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy, Revised Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), 420-429

Cochelin, Isabelle, 'When the Monks were the Book: The Bible and Monasticism (6th-11th Centuries)', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 61-83

Colish, Marcia, *Peter Lombard*, *Vol.1* (Leiden: Brill, 1994)

Collamore, Lila, 'Prelude: Charting the Divine Office', in Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3-11

Collins, Ann Ryan, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007)

Contreni, J J., and P. P. O'Neil, eds., *Glossae divinae Historiae: the Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena*, Millenio Medievale I. Testi I (Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1997)

Cousin, Dom Patrice, 'Le monastère de Fécamp des origines a la destruction par les Normands', in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), 23-25

Constable, Giles, 'From Cluny to Cîteau', in Giles Constable, ed., *The Abbey of Cluny: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Eleven-Hundreth Anniversary of its Foundation* (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2010), 235-263

Cross, F. L., ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

D'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse, 'Translations and Translators', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 421-462

De Hamel, Christopher, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2001)

De Lincy, Leroux, *Essai historique et littéraire sur labbaye de Fécamp* (Rouen: Edouard Frère, 1840)

De Lubac, Henri, *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Mark Sebanc, Vol. 1, *The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998)

Delhaye, Philippe, 'L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', *Traditio* 5 (1947), 211-268

Derolez, Albert, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984)

Desmond, Henry P., *The* De Grammatico *of St. Anselm: The Theory of Paronymy*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies 18 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964)

Dod, Bernard G., 'Aristoteles latinus', in Norman Kretzmann et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy, Vol. 1: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 45-79

Doublas, David, 'The First Ducal Charter for Fecamp', in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), 45-53

Doyle, A. I., 'Recent Directions in Medieval Manuscript Study', in Derek A. Pearsall, ed., *New Directions in Later Medieval Manuscript Studies* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 1-14

Duggan, L. G., 'Was Art Really the Book of the Illiterate?', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), 227-51

Edsall, Mary Agnes, *Reading Like a Monk:* Lectio Divina, *Religious Literature, and Lay Devotion*, PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 2000)

Elders, L. J., 'Scholastiche Methode', *Lexikon des Mittelalters VII: 'Planudes bis Stadt (Rus')* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003), 1526-1528

Eller, Meredith F., 'The "Retractationes" of Saint Augustine', *Church History* 18, No. 3 (September, 1949), 172-183

Evans, G. R., *The Language of Logic in the Bible: the Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Faguet, Émile, *L'árt de lire* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1912), 1-2

Ferruolo, Stephen, *The Origins of the University: the Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985)

Fleetwood, John, 'Exhortations to, and Directions for, Reading the Holy Scriptures', in his *The Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (New York: T. Kinnersley, 1823), 594-614

Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, http://gallica.bnf.fr/

Gameson, Richard, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, eds., *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University Press), 194- 243

Ganz, David, 'Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours', in Richard Gameson, ed., *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 53-62

Gasper, Giles, *Anselm of Canterbury and his Theological Inheritance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Gatch, M. McC., 'The Office in late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', in Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 341-362

Gehl, Paul F., *Competens Silentium: Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)

Gersh, Stephen, and Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen, eds., *The Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages: A Doxographic Approach* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002)

Gibson, Margaret T., *The Bible in the Latin West: The Medieval Book, Volume 1* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame, 1993)

Gill, Miriam, 'The Role of Images in Monastic Education: the Evidence from Wall Painting in Late Medieval England', in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig, eds., *Medieval Monastic Education* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 117-135

Gottlieb, Theodor, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890)

Grabmann, M., *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1909)

Green, Dennis Howard, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Grémont, D. B., 'Lectiones ad prandium à l'abbaye de Fécamp au XIIIe siècle', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle* 20, no. 3-4 (1971), 3-41

Gumbert, J. P., 'Fifty Years of Codicology', *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 50 (Dec., 2004), 505-526

——, 'Points and Signposts: Whom Do They Help?', *Scriptorium* 63 (2009), 231-37

——, 'Size and Formats', in Marilena Maniaci and Paola F. Munafo, eds., *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, Studi e testi 357 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993), 227-263

Gyug, Richard, 'Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and Liturgy in the Beneventan Region', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 34-60

Hamesse, Jacqueline, 'The Scholastic Model of Reading', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., Lydia Cochrane, trans., *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 103-119

Harper, John, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991)

Haskins, Charles Homer, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927)

Herval, M. René, 'Un moine de l'an mille: Gullaume de Volpiano, 1er abbé de Fécamp', in *L'Abbaye Bénédictine de Fécamp, ouvrage Scientifique du XIIIe Centenaire 658-1958* (Fécamp: L. Durand et Fils, 1959), 27-44

Holzherr, George, *The Rule of Benedict: A Guide to Christian Living*, trans. Placid Murray (Dublin: Four Courtes Press, 1994)

Hope, D. M., 'Liturgical Books', revised by G. Woolfenden, in Cheslyn Jones et al., eds., *The Study of Liturgy, Revised Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992), 96-101

Hughes, Andrew, *Medieval Manuscripts for the Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982)

Hunt, R. W., 'Chapter Headings of Augustine *De Trinitate* ascribed to Adam Marsh', *The Bodleian Library Record* 5, No. 1 (April, 1954), 65-68

Illich, Ivan, '*Lectio Divina*', in Ursula Schaefer, ed., *Schriftlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter*, Script Oralia 53 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), 19-35

Irvine, R. D. G., 'How to Read: *Lectio divina* in an English Benedictine Monastery', *Culture and Religion* 11, No. 4 (2010), 395-411

Jones, Christopher A., *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Kardong, Terrence, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996)

——, 'Smaragdus and his Work', in David Barry, trans., *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007), 1-7

Knowles, David, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (Essex: Longman Group UK Limited, 1988)

Kwakkel, Erik, 'Biting, Kissing and the Treatment of Feet: The Transitional Script of the Long Twelfth Century', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick, and R. Thomson, *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 79-125

——, 'Decoding the Material Book: Cultural Residue in Medieval Manuscripts', in Michael Van Dussen and Michael Johnson, eds., *The Cultures of the Medieval Manuscript Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)

——, 'Late Medieval Text Collections: A Codicological Typology Based on Single-Author Manuscripts', in Stephen Partridge and Erik Kwakkel, eds., *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 56-79

LaCorte, Daniel M., 'The Expositio and Monastic Reform at Cîteaux', trans. David Barry, with introductory essays by T. Kardong, J. Leclercq, and D. M. LaCorte, *Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel: Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2007), 9-23

Lampe, G. W. H., et al., 'The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture', in G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2, The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 155-279

Lawn, Brian, *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic 'Quaestio Disputata': With Special Reference on its Use in the Teaching of Mathematics and Science* (Leiden: Brill, 1993)

Leclercq, Jean, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris: Cerf, 1947); *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961)

——, 'Monastic Commentary on Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature from Late Antiquity to the Twelfth Century', trans. A. B. Kraebel, *The Mediaeval Journal* 2, No. 2 (2012), 27-53

——, '<<Curiositas>> et le retour à Dieu chez S. Bernard', in Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz, *Bivium: Homenaje a Manuel Cecilio Diaz y Diaz* (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), 133-141

——, and Jean-Paul Bonnes, *Un Maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle, Jean de Fécamp*, Études de theologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité (Paris: Vrin, 1946)

Leclercq, Henri, 'Épitres', in Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey, 1922), Vol. 5, Cols. 244-344

Leinsle, Ulrich, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology*, trans. Michael J. Miller (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010)

Lowe, E. A., *Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

Luxford, Julian M., ed., *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, Medieval Church Series 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008)

Marenbon, John, 'Life, Milieu, and Intellectual Contexts', in J. E. Brower and K. Guilfoy, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13-44

Matter, E. A., 'The Church Fathers and the *Glossa Ordinaria*', in I. Dorota Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), Vol. 1, 83-111

McGinn, Bernard, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism, Vol. 2, The Growth of Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1994)

McKitterick, Rosamond, 'Glossaries and Other Innovations in Carolingian Book Production', in E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick, and R. Thomson, *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), 21-76

Morin, D. Germanus, ed., *Liber Comicus: sive Lectionarius missae quo Toletana Ecclesia ante annos mille et ducentos utebatur* (Maredsoli: Monasterium S. Benedicti, 1893)

Moorhead, John, *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World* (London and New York: Longman, 1999)

Munk Olsen, Birger, 'L'élement codicologique', in P. Hoffman, ed., *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen Âge, en Orient et en Occident* (Paris: Presses de l'Ecole normale supérieure, 1998), 105-129

——, 'The Cistercians and Classical Culture', *Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 47 (1984), 64-102

Nebbiae-dalla Guarda, Donatella, 'Les listes médiévales de lectures monastiques', *Revue bénédictine* 96 (1986), 271-326

Neuhofer, M. Dorothy, *In the Benedictine Tradition: the Origins and Early Development of Two College Libraries* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1999)

Newton, Francis, *The Scriptorium and the Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Nortier, Geneviève, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie: Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroul, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen*, 2nd edn. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1971)

Omont, Henri, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la bibliothèque nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908-1913)

——, *Catalogue général des manuscrits de bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, Tome II, Rouen* (Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1888)

Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Parker Library on the Web, http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker

Palazzo, Eric, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998)

Parkes, Malcolm B., 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', in Nigel F. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, eds., *The Book in Britain, Vol. II, 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 55-74

——, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)

——, 'Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages', in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 90-102

——, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115-141

Pennington, Basil, *Lectio Divina: Renewing the Ancient Practice of Praying the Scriptures* (New York: Crossroad, 1998)

Petitmengin, Pierre, 'La division en chapitres de la *Cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin', in Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, eds., *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit* (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Libraire – Promodis, 1990), 133-138

Potts, Cassandra, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997)

Raasch, Juana, 'The Monastic Concept of Purity of Heart and its Sources', *Studia Monastica* 8 (1966), 7-33

Ramsey, Boniface, *Ambrose* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997)

Raine, James, ed., *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm*, Surtees Society Publications 7 (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1838)

Rees, Daniel, *Consider Your Call: A Theology of Monastic Life Today* (London: SPCK, 1978)

Reilly, Diane J., 'Lectern Bibles and Liturgical Reform in the Central Middle Ages', in Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 105-125

——, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo Librorum ad Legendum*: Reassessment of Monastic Bible Reading and Cluniac Customary Instructions', in Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny/Du coeur de la nuit à la fin du jour: les coutumes clunisiennes au Moyen Âge*, Disciplina Monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 163-189

Robertson, Duncan, *Lectio Divina: the Medieval Experience of Reading* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1996)

Robinson, Pamela, 'The "Booklet": A Self-contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', in A. Gruys and J. P. Gumbert, eds., *Codicologica 3: Essais typologiques* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 46-69

Rouse, Richard and Mary, '"Potens in opere et sermone": Philip, Bishop of Bayeux, and His Books', in A. S. Bernardo and S. Levin, eds., *The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 315-41

——, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979)

——, '*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 201-25

——, 'The Verbal Concordance to the Scriptures', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), 5-30

Rudolph, Conrad, *The 'Things of Greater Importance': Bernard of Clairvaux's '*Apologia*' and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990)

Saenger, Paul, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997)

Sandor, Monica, 'Lectio Divina and the Monastic Spirituality of Reading', *The American Benedictine Review* 40 (1989), 82-114

Seel, Norbert M., ed., *Encyclopedia of the Sciences of Learning* (New York: Springer, 2012)

Sheerin, Daniel, 'The Liturgy', in Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A. G. Rigge, eds., *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 157-182

Smith, Lesley, *The Glossa Ordinaria: the Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009)

Solopova, Elizabeth, 'Manuscript Evidence for the Patronage, Ownership and Use of the Wycliffite Bible', in Eyal Poleg and Laura Light, eds., *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2013)

Southern, R. W., *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)

——, 'The Schools of Paris and the School of Chartres', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 113-137

Stewart, Columba, *Cassian the Monk* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Stock, Brian, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996)

Studzinski, Raymond, *Reading to Live: the Evolving Practice of Lectio Divina* (Trappist: Cistercian Publications, 2009)

Tallis Scholars, *Christmas with the Tallis Scholars* (Oxford: Gimell, 2003)

Teeuwen, Mariken, *Harmony and the Music of the Spheres: The Ars Musica in Ninth-Century Commentaries on Martianus Capella* (Leiden: Brill, 2002)

——, 'Marginal Scholarship: Rethinking the Function of Latin Glosses in Early Medieval Manuscripts', in P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari, and C. Di Sciacca, eds., *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 54 (Porto: Gabinete de Filosofia Medieval, Faculdade de Letras, 2011), 19-38

——, 'The Impossible Task of Editing a Ninth-Century Commentary: the Case of Martianus Capella', *Variants: Journal of the European Society of Textual Scholarship* 6 (2007), 191-208

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version, trans. Bruce M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Thomson, Rodney, 'Monastic and Cathedral Book Production', in Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, eds., *The Book in Britain, Vol. 2, 1100-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 136-167

——, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey, 1066-1235, I: Texts, II: Plates* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1982)

Torjesen, Karen Jo, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1985)

Trigg, Joseph W., *Origen* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998)

Van Dijk, S. J. P., 'The Bible in Liturgical Use', in G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible: the West from the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 220-251

Van Houts, Elisabeth M. C., *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni: Volume I, Introduction and Books I–IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

Vandenbroucke, François, 'La Lectio Divina du XIe au XIVe siècle', *Studia Monastica* 8 (1966), 267-293

Vogel, Cyrille, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the* Sources, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Korgh Rasmussen (Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1981)

Webber, Teresa, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England, *c.* 1000 – *c.* 1300', London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture 2010, revised 2013, 1-49, available online at http://www.ies.sas.ac.uk/publications/trust-fund-lectures/john-coffin-memorial-lectures-and-literary-readings

——, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075 – c. 1125* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

——, 'The Diffusion of Augustine's Confessions in England During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in John Blair and Brian Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 29-45

——, 'The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective of the Making of Books', in Pamela R. Robinson, Rivkah Zim, and Ruth J. Dean, eds., *Medieval Manuscripts: Their Scribes and Readers, Essays Presented to M.B. Parkes* (Aldershot-Brookfield: Scolar Press-Ashgate, 1997), 191-205

——, 'Codicology and Palaeography', in David McKitterick, ed., *The Trinity Apocalypse: (Trinity College Cambridge, MS R.16.2.)* (London: The British Library, 2005)

Weigan, Rudolf, 'The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum*', in W. Hartmann and K. Pennington, eds., *The History of Medieval Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: from Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 55-97

Weston, Jenny, 'Following the Master's Lead: The Script of Orderic Vitalis and the Discovery of a New Manuscript (Rouen 540)', in Elisabeth van Houts et al., eds., *Orderic Vitalis: New Perspectives on the Historian and his World* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, forthcoming)

——, 'Taking Stock: Evidence of Medieval Reading Culture', in Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, eds., *The Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, Storehouses of Wholesome Learning Series (Louvain, Paris, Walpole, MA: Peeters, forthcoming)

Nederlandse Samenvatting



Dit proefschrift onderzoekt hoe Benedictijner monniken van de Abdij van Fécamp in de elfde en twaalfde eeuw boeken ontwierpen, produceerden en lazen. Ofschoon het algemeen bekend is dat Benedictijner gemeenschappen zich bezighielden met de leespraktijk die bekend staat als *lectio divina*, is er nog weinig bekend over hoe deze wijzer van lezen haar weerslag had op de fysieke pagina van een handschrift. Het eerste deel van dit proefschrift verbindt de theorie van de *lectio divina* met het materiële boek. Aan de hand van een corpus van zesenzestig handschriften uit de Abdij van Fécamp (*c.* 1000 – 1200), identificeer ik specifieke kenmerken die vaak voorkomen in het ontwerp van boeken met devotionele teksten en die passen bij de traditionele opvattingen over hoe de *lectio divina* werd ervaren en beoefend in deze periode.

Het tweede deel van dit proefschrift richt zich op een klein aantal handschriften uit dit corpus. Deze vertonen kenmerken die niet passen bij de traditionele opvattingen over hoe de *lectio divina* werd beoefend. Hoewel deze boeken nog steeds stichtelijke lectuur (de Bijbel, patristische teksten en theologische commentaren) bevatten, impliceert hun fysieke ontwerp een andere leespraktijk – een tweede manier van lezen (anders dan de *lectio divina*) met een meer selectieve en niet-sequentiële benadering van de tekst. Bovendien vertonen veel van de kenmerken in de geselecteerde handschriften een sterke gelijkenis met kenmerken met boeken die later verschenen (*c.* 1175 – 1300) en in een heel andere context: de stedelijke scholen van West-Europa. Hoewel dit proefschrift de parallellen in boekontwerp en leespraktijken onderzoekt die zijn blootgelegd tussen het Fécampse milieu en die van de latere scholastische omgeving, beargumenteer ik dat deze kenmerken (en deze selectieve leespraktijk) kan worden verklaard in het kader van de traditionele Benedictijner devotie.

Curriculum Vitae

Jenny Weston



Jennifer Ann Weston was born in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, in 1984. She graduated from Lambrick Park Secondary School in Victoria, BC, in 2002, and went on to complete a Diploma (with Honours) in Contemporary Music and Technology at Selkirk College, Nelson, BC, in 2005. Following this, Jennifer obtained a Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree (with Distinction) from the University of Victoria, BC, in 2009, with a Major in History and a Minor in Greek and Roman Studies (Latin). Lastly, in 2010 she was granted a Master of Arts Degree in Medieval History from the University of York, UK. At present, Jennifer lives in New York City and works as a free-lance editor.