



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

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	<i>Epistolae</i>	+	–	–
3	BnF, lat. 2088	1050-1075	Augustine	<i>De trinitate</i>	+	–	+
4	BnF, lat. 4210	c. 1000	Smaragdus	<i>Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti</i>	+	–	+
5	BnF, lat. 5080	1100-1150	Eusebius; Peter Alfonsi	Eusebius: <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> ; Peter Alfonsi: <i>Dialogi contra Iudaeos</i>	+	–	–
6	BnF, lat. 5356	1108-1187	John the Deacon	<i>De vita sancti Gregorii, Papae</i> ; 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	<i>Hexameron, De fide ad Gratianum, De incarnationis dominicae sacramento, De officiis ministorum, De spiritu sancto</i>	+	–	–
13	Rouen 464	1108-1187	Augustine	Exposition on the Epistles of Paul	–	+	–
14	Rouen 469	c. 1050	Augustine; Jerome	Augustine: <i>Retractationes, Epistolae, De catachizandis rudibus, De diversis haeresibus, De patientia, Soliloquia</i> ; Jerome: <i>De illustribus viris</i>	–	–	+
15	Rouen 528, part 1 (fols. 1-184)	1001-1028	Bede	<i>Expositio in Marcum</i>	+	+	+
16	Rouen 532	1025-1050	Augustine; Bede	Augustine: <i>Enchiridion</i> Bede: <i>Super actis Apostolorum</i>	–	–	+
17	Rouen 540	1108-1141	Anselm; Anonymous	Anselm: <i>De libero arbitrio, De casu diaboli</i> ; Anonymous: <i>Vita sanctae Oportunae virginis</i>	+	–	+
18	Rouen 1122	1050-1075	Flavius Josephus	<i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>	+	–	–

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, ‘Scholastische 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. I* (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 described 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 superfluous, 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 brevitatis 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 *Compilatio*’, 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 occurrer*, *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 superfluous, 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 brevitatis 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

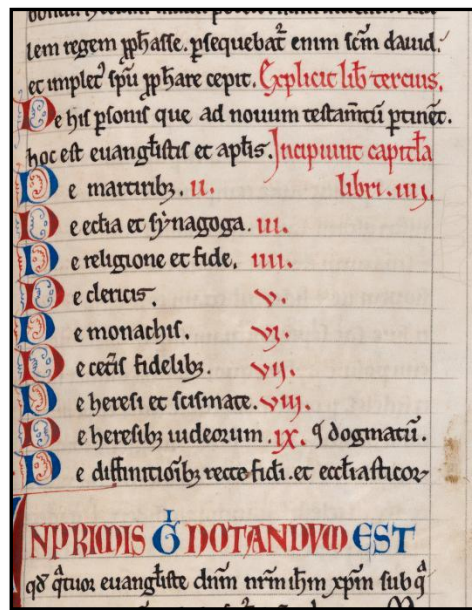


Fig. 13 – CCCC 11, fol. 22r: Chapter table for book 4

³⁹ Parkes, ‘The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Complatio*’, 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 quatuor 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.

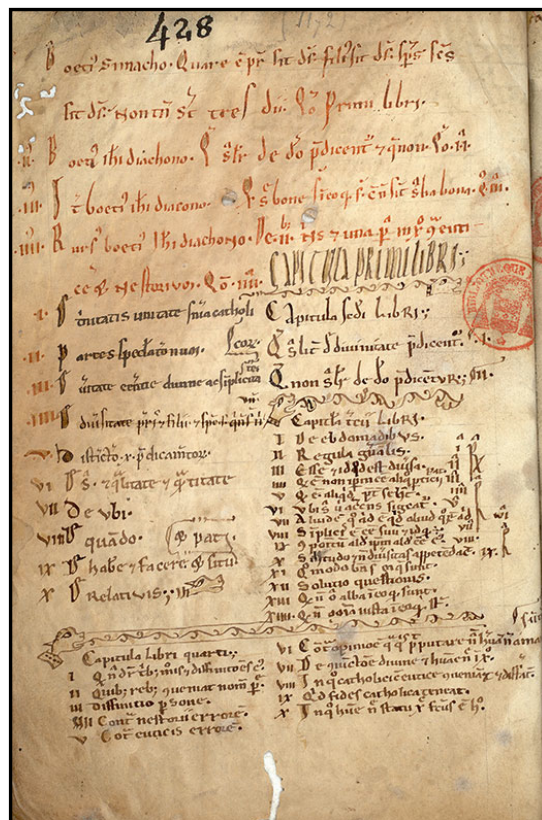


Fig. 14 – Bib. Maz. 657, fol. 1v

⁴² Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Complatio*', 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*.

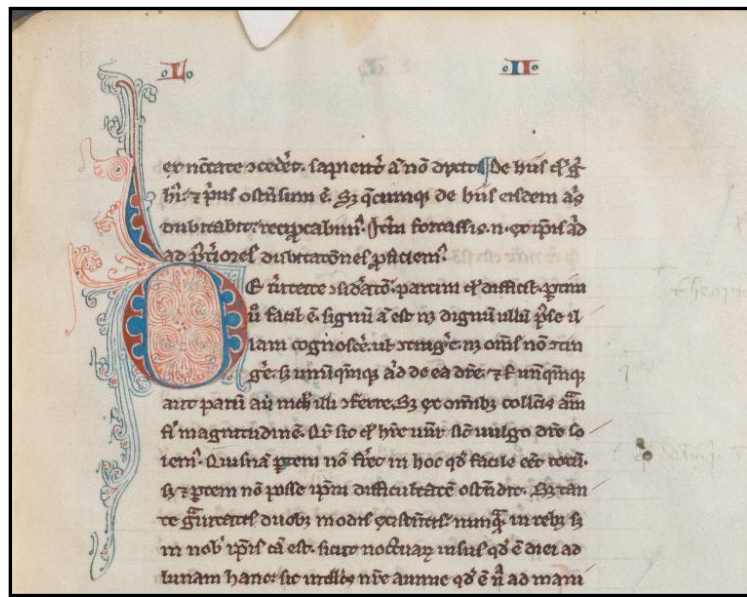


Fig. 15 – CCCC 239, fol. 15r: ‘Scholastic’ running titles

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:

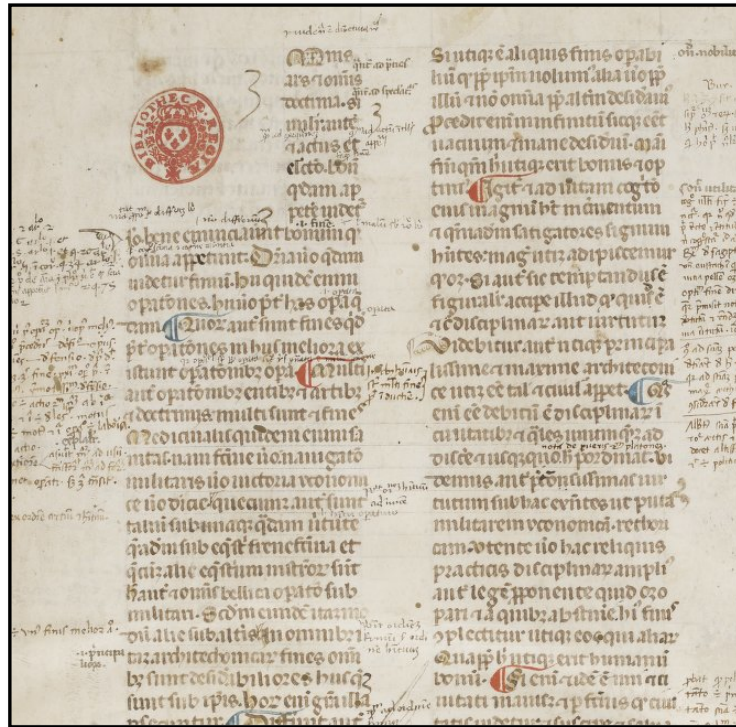


Fig. 16 – BnF, lat. 6306, fol. 1r: Paragraph marks highlighting key points

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 (cording 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 facilitate 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.